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Co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund

Inspire policy making by territorial evidence

PROFECY – Processes, Features and Cycles of Inner Peripheries in Europe

(Inner Peripheries: National territories facing challenges of access to basic services of general interest)

Applied Research

Final Report

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ESPON 2020

Table of contents

List of Figures

List of Maps

List of Tables

List of Annexes

Abbreviations

ABCD	Assets Based Community Development
BABF	Federal Institute for Less Favoured and Mountainous Areas
CLLD	Community-Led Local Development
CREA	Council for Agricultural Research and Economics
DG AGRI	Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development
DG REGIO	Directorate-General for for Regional and Urban Policy
EAFRD	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development
EMFF	European Maritime and Fisheries Fund
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
ESI	European Structural and Investment
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
ESPON EGTC	ESPON European Grouping on Territorial Cooperation
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GVA	Gross Value Added
HAS	Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Centre for Economic & Regional Studies
ILS	Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development
IP	Inner Periphery(ies)
ITI	Integrated Territorial Investments
LAU	Local Administrative Units
LEADER	Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économique Rurale
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NORDREGIO	Nordic & European research centre for regional development and planning
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PROFECY	Processes, Features and Cycles of Inner Peripheries in Europe
QCA	Qualitative Comparative Analysis
R&D	Research & Development
SGI	Services of General Interests
SME	Small and medium-sized enterprises
TCP	TCP International - Transport Consulting Partners
UK	United Kingdom
ULODZ	University of Lodz

1 Introduction

The Final Report has been designed as follows:

- *A summary of the Conceptual Framework* (Chapter 2). The main ideas regarding the conceptualization of Inner Peripheries have been collected and are presented in the main report in a summarised form, while Annex 1 includes all relevant information on the conceptual and theoretical framework of the project.
- *An explanation of the methodology used* (Chapter 3). It provides a description of the methodological process followed to develop the different project tasks. It describes the methodology used to translate the theoretical concepts of inner peripherality into operational types (Annexes 2, 3, 4 and 5), and how the Inner Peripheries have been characterised. It also describes how the identified processes and drivers of this phenomenon through have resulted in the creation of three Descriptive Models. Furthermore, it presents the methodology to carry out the analysis of the Case Studies (Annex 9) and to compare the outcomes of each of them (Anex 18). Finally, the steps to propose strategies to deal with peripheralization are also described.
- *A selection of Maps and main results provided by the characterization of Inner Peripheries* (Chapter 4). A map has been developed for each one of the four delineations. In addition, a map has been created combining all delineations described regarding the main drivers of inner peripheralization. More detailed information of the different delineations can be found in Annexes 6 and 7. Regarding the characterisation of IPs, the main results achieved are presented. These outputs allow a closer approximation to the reality of inner peripherality in Europe. The analysis of IPs has been futher developed in Annex 8. The method proposed to identify the areas at risk of becoming Inner Peripheries is also described in this chapter.
- *Identification of processes and drivers* that are behind peripheralization (Chapter 5). It includes the three Descriptive Models for the three Conceptual Types of Inner Peripherality identified in the conceptual framework.
- *Synthesis of Case Studies* (Chapter 6). It presents briefly the seven Case Studies analysed and it provides the main ideas extracted from the comparative analysis. There is one annex report for each of them (Annexes 10 to 16), a brief overview of ten Case Studies in other European countries (Annex 17) and a trasnational analysis build up from the results of the comparison between the different Case Studies (Annex 18).
- *Strategies for Inner Peripheries* (Chapter 7). The main ideas regarding policy approaches to address the challenges faced by Inner Peripheries are summarized in this Chapter. It provides the basis for intervention logics, and how these strategies could be integrated into the existing EU and national policy frameworks, these ideas are further developed in Annex 19. In addition, a summary of policy recommendations at different levels (local, regional, national and European) is also included.
- *Ideas on future analysis and research on Inner Peripheries* (Chapter 8). It describes aspects of the research on inner peripherality that cannot be achieved nowadays due to level of data available. This chapter also points out the main research issues that remain to be covered and could drive research on inner peripherality after the results of PROFECY project.

2 Conceptual Framework

The chapter provides a summary of the conceptual framework of the project. The background to these ideas is fully elaborated in Annex 1. Clarity of concepts and diagnosis is the foundation for an appropriate intervention logic and effective strategies (Chapter 7). The key building blocks for this framework are a clear understanding of the processes which lead to the development of Inner Peripheries, and an extension of the concept of territorial capital. These are described in greater detail in Chapter 5.

2.1 Conventional Peripherality

It will be helpful, before presenting our understanding of the Inner Peripheries, to give a brief reminder of what is conventionally meant by the term peripherality. We will subsequently refer to this as “geographic”, “conventional”, or “spatial” peripherality. This was the subject of considerable research and quantitative modelling from the 1980s onwards. The basic idea was that regions which are physically a long distance from centres of economic activity are denied the benefits of agglomeration, and suffer a range of economic handicaps associated with high transport costs, access to sources of innovation, “thin” labour markets and so on. A fundamental concept of this modelling literature was “*economic potential*”. In essence this was a proxy for agglomeration advantages. Various formulae were developed to measure the “economic potential” of each region. In essence they took account of every other centre of economic activity across Europe, but weighted their influence according to size (proxied by GDP, employment etc) and inversely according to the distance away (measured in kilometres, travel time or cost). So the term “economic potential” has a very specific meaning relating to the geographic position of a region in relation to all centres of economic activity in Europe (not just the neighbouring ones).

2.2 Inner Peripherality

Inner Peripherality is a more complex, multidimensional phenomenon which compounds the effects of various socio-economic processes that cause disconnection from external territories and networks. The distinctive feature of Inner Peripheries is their degree of “disconnection” and not their geographical position in relation to the “core areas” of Europe.

Inner peripheries have in common the fact that their general performance, levels of development, access to services, or the quality of life of the population, are relatively worse when compared with their neighbouring territories. However, there is not a single type of inner periphery. They are very individual hybrids, each created by a unique history, multiple factors/processes, and context-related elements.

Thus a key to understanding inner peripheries as a specific territorial phenomenon is to realise that, location is not the sole explanatory factor. Distance to regional centres, agglomerations of population or economic activity, as well as access to services, may contribute to inner peripherality, but do not fully account for it. Non-spatial or “aspatial”

components also affect these territories in such a way that they contribute, sometimes strongly, to marginalization and suboptimal development.

The theoretical framework of our research has identified three conditions which (according to the academic literature) can result in inner peripherality:

1. Being an “enclave” of low accessibility to centres of economic activity (economic potential), surrounded by areas which are more accessible. In other words, these are simply localities which have relatively high levels of conventional peripherality, but which are not “on the edge” of Europe.
2. Having poor access to services of general interest, whether this is a consequence of geographic remoteness, or to changing service delivery technologies, or to austerity, or other changes in provision such as privatisation.
3. An absence of “relational proximity”, and exclusion from “the mainstream” of economic activity, due to low levels of interaction with the wider world. These are social and institutional characteristics, of individuals, groups, firms, or organisations, rather than geographic features. They are often associated with disconnection from the centres of political power, and a lack of influence in terms of governance These conditions may affect even geographically accessible regions, and such marginalisation processes are sometimes termed “peripheralization”.

These three conditions may be described as the *primary processes* which, according to the academic literature, are responsible for the development of Inner Peripheries. This does not imply that they lead to three discrete types of inner periphery. In reality most areas which can be identified as Inner Peripheries seem to be affected by combinations of at least two of the primary processes described above. Furthermore, in most of them the primary processes of peripheralization are associated with a range of *secondary marginalisation processes*. These are different from the primary peripheralization processes in that they are not driven by distance from centres of economic activity, poor connectedness, or lack of interaction, and they can occur anywhere, not just in Inner Periphery contexts. Thus, most Inner Peripheries can be conceived as complex hybrid phenomena, in which one or more of the primary processes acts as a driver, but a range of secondary marginalisation processes exacerbate the situation.

Inner Peripheries can form at a range of scales, local, regional, national, macro-regional. Although the first tend to be rural/small town by definition, the other two could equally apply to urban neighbourhoods.

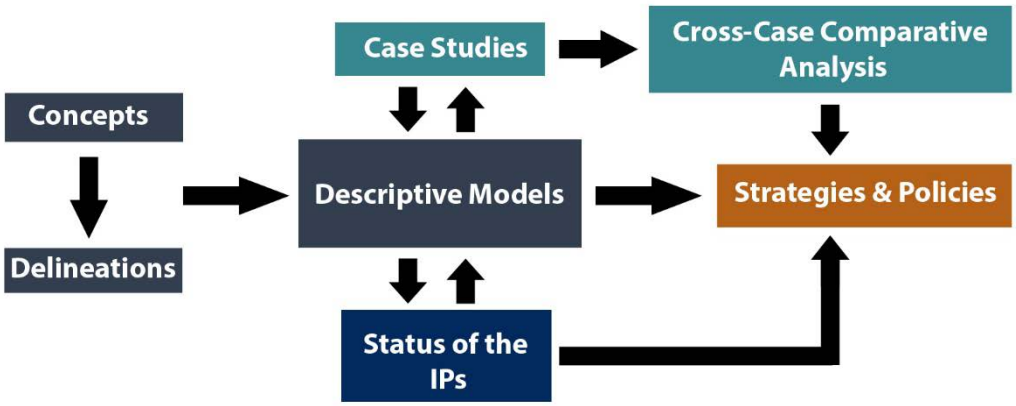
The development of appropriate strategies for Inner Peripheries can be further supported by an enhanced perspective of territorial capital. Assets Based Community Development, (ABCD), is an approach which seeks to realise the full potential of a locality, by utilising all forms of capital, fixed, human, social, institutional and so on. Camagni has suggested a helpful classification of territorial capital, characterising it according to “materiality” (hard and

soft) and “rivalry” (from public to private goods). We suggest a third axis of differentiation – “localisation/connectedness”, which distinguishes elements of territorial capital along a scale from those which are localised and disconnected, to those which are difuse, aspatial or highly connected. A disproportionate emphasis upon the former indicates a risk of inner peripherality, and strategies to tackle inner peripherality should seek to develop the latter.

Whilst conventional peripherality is powerful and difficult to ameliorate in some types of territories (e.g. mountain areas, small islands, secondary islands in archipelagos, or remote rural areas) because it is a result of physical geography and distance. In contrast, problems of socio-economic "disconnection", low levels of interaction, and the other "non-spatial" ingredients of inner peripherality, are more likely to be responsive to appropriate policy and practices. Their negative effects are more mutable.

3 Methodology

Figure 3.1: Summary of the methodology followed in the PROFECY project developement



Source: ESPON PROFECY, 2017

3.1 From theoretical concepts to operational types

The three theoretical concepts presented in the conceptual framework (Chapter 2) are translated into four operational delineations in order to best cover the various factors that may lead to the formation of inner peripheries[a]. Delineation 1 identifies inner peripheries based on higher car travel times to regional centres[b]; Delineation 2 defines inner peripheries with low economic potentials (expressed in potential accessibility), while Delineation 3 identifies those with poor car accessibility to public and private services[c]. Delineation 4 finally identifies inner peripheries on the basis of negative development processes (negative population and GDP development, and increasing unemployment). Delineations 1 and 3 are based on a grid approach in which the travel time is calculated from each grid cell to the nearest city or service facility. Delineations 2 and 4, on the other hand, are based on NUTS-3 regions for which only the necessary statistical data are available. In all four approaches, the indicator values for the spatial unit (grid cell, NUTS-3 region) are standardized on the average of the surrounding NUTS-3 regions in order to identify relative disadvantages of an area compared to its surrounding areas. An area is then defined as an inner periphery if it reaches less than half of the average performance of the surrounding areas. In case of Delineations 1 and 3, the results of the grid level are aggregated to the LAU-2 and NUTS-3 levels to identify municipalities and NUTS-3 regions that represent inner peripheries. Finally, the results of all four delineations are spatially superimposed in order to identify the most important "drivers" triggering inner peripheralization processes.

[a] For a detailed description of all four delineations please refer to Annex 4 (From conceptualization to delineation of IPs).
[b] Regional centres represent cities with more than 50,000 inhabitants, NUTS-3 region centroids and cities participating in urban audit programme, as well as cities belonging to the ten largest one in each country, and additional cities in five largest regions if they have at least 15,000 inhabitants.
[c] The following services-of-general-interest have been considered: banks, cinemas, doctors, highway ramps, hospitals, pharmacies, primary and secondary schools, train stations, supermarkets and convenient stores, jobs.

In addition to identifying inner peripheries, an approach has also been developed to identify areas-at-risk that currently are not considered as an IP, but may become an IP in the future. For this purpose, intermediate results from Delimitation 3 were used. Areas with poor accessibility to three or four SGIs, but which have not been identified as IP, are considered to be so-called areas of risk.

3.2 Characterising Inner Peripherality

Analyses on the status of inner peripheries aim at interpreting geographical patterns and socio-economic background of inner peripheriality in Europe (using basically NUTS-3 level data). Since various types of questions are raised, the methodological tools used are also diverse[d]. Certain questions relate to focus on the characterisation of inner peripheries in comparison with other region types. For analysing overlaps and deviations between geographies of inner peripheral areas and European lagging and other regional typologies, cross tables and overlaying maps are used. In socio-economic comparisons between regions affected by inner peripheriality and other groups of European regions (lagging areas, U–R typology etc.), distribution patterns of various socio-economic indicators are analysed with the help of the visual illustration of box plots and different descriptive statistics related to group features of region types considered.

When focusing solely on inner peripheral areas, scatter plots are used for analysing complex connection between accessibility conditions and socio-economic features of these regions, as well as for characterising socio-economic position shifts of inner peripheries over the past fifteen years. Paths of socio-economic development of inner peripheries during this period are also followed by the generalisation of basic trends of socio-economic processes analysed. In order to present a potential way of a complex description of socio-economic profiles of inner peripheral regions, experiments based on cluster and quantitative comparative analysis (QCA) are also considered to find answers to these questions.

3.3 Processes and drivers

On the basis of the three types of primary peripheralization process identified, three Descriptive Models were formulated. These graphically illustrate how primary peripheralization processes might typically link with a range of secondary marginalization processes to generate a cycle of decline. It is important to stress that these are not intended to replicate separate observable Inner Periphery phenomena, but simply to work through the logical chains of cause and effect which can later form a basis for “intervention logics”. In the real world two or more of the processes illustrated by the Descriptive Models are commonly combined.

[d] A detailed description of these methodological considerations (separately by subtasks) can be found in Annex 8 of the Final Report.

3.4 Case Studies and Comparative analysis

Case studies approach was designed to link both preceding and forthcoming activities planned in the process of explaining the complex, multidimensional nature of the inner peripherality phenomena in Europe. A holistic, multiple-case study approach is applied to produce both, on the one hand, regional- or case-specific research results, and on the other hand, messages that bear relevance to general theories and higher, European level policy making.

The case study framework includes a three-step process consisting of: (I) selection of seven case study areas in Europe and a design of common individual case study research, (II) case study implementation, and (III) cross-case analysis and general conclusions[e].

The selection of seven case studies included integrating literature reviews and expert knowledge, IP delineations carried throughout the project lifetime as well as coping strategies undertaken in particular territories. The common framework for individual analysis of each of the seven case study regions consisted of five main activities: 1) Analysis of the gap between case study areas and average situation in the regional, national and European scale; 2) Internal Diversity Analysis within case study areas; 3) Coping Strategies Analysis; 4) Policy Impact Analysis; and 5) Prospective Analysis based on the assessment of future scenarios by experts and stakeholders.

For enabling and supporting a comparative view on all seven cases, the project followed a common structure on how to report individual findings as well as standardized tools, amongst them a set of common protocols for the case study reports, a structured interview guide, an illustrative IP Case Graph, and a scenario tool. The comparative analysis is supported by previous conceptual and empirical project work. First, the status of IPs identified at European level and background knowledge was analysed for situating the chosen cases into a wider context. Second, three theoretical conceptual models of IP are developed highlighting different “triggers” for processes of inner peripherality. Case study authors reflect and comment on the validity of these concepts in the discussion chapter of each case study reports, and explore in how far these were relevant for explaining the processes in that case.

3.5 Strategies for inner peripheries

The methodology for elaborating a framework of strategy building for inner peripheries was based firstly on extending the conceptual framework and the Descriptive Models to extrapolate intervention logics, and secondly upon a host of relevant studies[1].

The intervention logic at the base of strategy development emphasizes particularly connectedness and the shaping of territorial capital in a place-based assessment of IPs

[e] For a detailed description of the methodology used in the case study approach please refer to Annex 9. For further details on case study cross-comparative analysis and methods, please refer to Annex 18.

challenges. Designing an integrated strategy approach[2] rests on the assumption that linear development support tools and/or mono-structural support schemes are neither sufficient nor effective in addressing societal challenges and realizing changes which are esteemed necessary to respond to these challenges. Case study exploration underpins the need for adopting regional development processes that enhance cross-sectoral perspectives and interaction (inside and outside of regional context). Principles for elaborating integrative strategies for IPs therefore advocate iterative and participatory approaches that require long-term commitment of local and trans-local actors. An assessment of regional development performance and the gaps in actual development processes (exemplified through the case study reports of PROFECY) underscore a number of triggers and drivers as main influences for the present situation, pointing to needs for coherence and integration in future regional development programmes. The comparative analysis of the case studies reveals that lack of cooperation and fragmentation of action is at the origin of downward trends in many IPs and call for a reassessment of governance structures, policy programmes and regional action (implementation).

The analysis of policies and possible proposals for the development of IPs is based on the materials provided by case studies, in particular the materials concerning the use of policies at territorial level. Fundamental information in this regard have been provided by the interviews with local actors and experts on the types of policies implemented in each area (mainstream programmes and place-placed projects).

Finally, the set of policy recommendations has been developed taking into account previous conceptual and empirical project work and summarising policy recommendations , with some of them targeting the local or regional level and others the national or European level.

4 Inner Peripheries in Europe

4.1 Mapping Inner Peripherality

4.1.1 Higher Travel Time to Regional Centres

One of the outstanding characteristics of the urban system in Europe is its fine-grained hierarchical and generally dense system of cities, towns and regional centres. Administrative functions, economic and social activities, as well as the full range of services-of-general-interest are provided in these centres. They provide their services not only for the resident population, but also for those in the surrounding territories. Areas experiencing a lack of access to such centres can thus be considered as disadvantaged "inner peripheries", as they do not have sufficient short access to services of all kind, even though geographically they may be located in the centre of Europe.

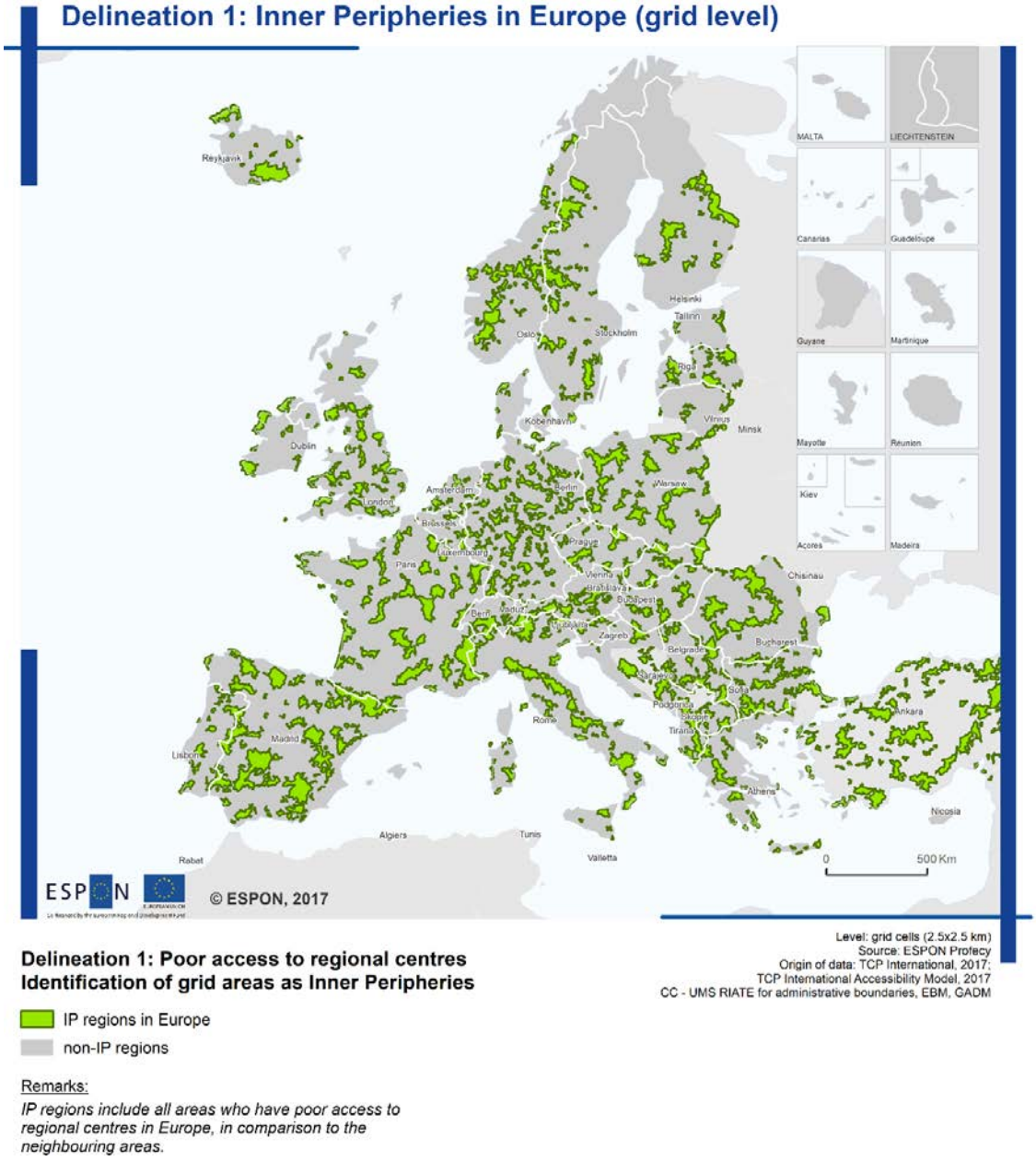
Globalization processes, with its economic tendency to centralize services and facilities, and processes of demographic change challenge the traditional European system of service provision from two sides, as the former processes tend to close facilities in many regions, while due to the latter processes the necessary economic basis (demand) for such services is scouring off. As a consequence, it becomes more and more difficult to maintain a minimum level of service provision in many areas.

Enabling good access to regional centres thus implies two main facets: On the one hand, a sufficiently good access (i.e. short travel time) should be strived for. For many services (like health care, education) sufficiently short travel times are a *conditio sine qua non*, while for other services people accept only certain maximum travel times (e.g. banks, shopping). On the other hand, certain areas may be considered as disadvantaged if they experience comparatively long travel times – compared to the surrounding regions. Due to the difference in access, these areas face the risk that in medium or long run service providers, enterprises, general economic and also social activities may move away to areas of higher access.

At a regional scale, the challenge then is not only to minimize travel times to regional centres, but also to minimize comparative differences in travel times. At the same time, these regional processes are overlaid by larger access differences at the European scale, between the countries (for instance, central European countries vs. Eastern European countries, Mediterranean countries vs. Central European countries etc.) and between specific types of regions (such as mountains and islands vs. central areas).

With respect to areas experiencing a high travel time to regional centres inner peripheries can be found in all ESPON countries (Map 4.1). Often, these areas follow NUTS-3 region boundaries and span areas of low accessibility along region borders. Sometimes these areas are quite small (e.g. Germany), sometimes they constitute large continuous areas covering several NUTS-3 regions and LAU-2 units (e.g. Norway, Sweden, Spain or Italy).

Map 4.1:Inner Peripheries in Europe (grid level): Areas of high travel times to regional centres.

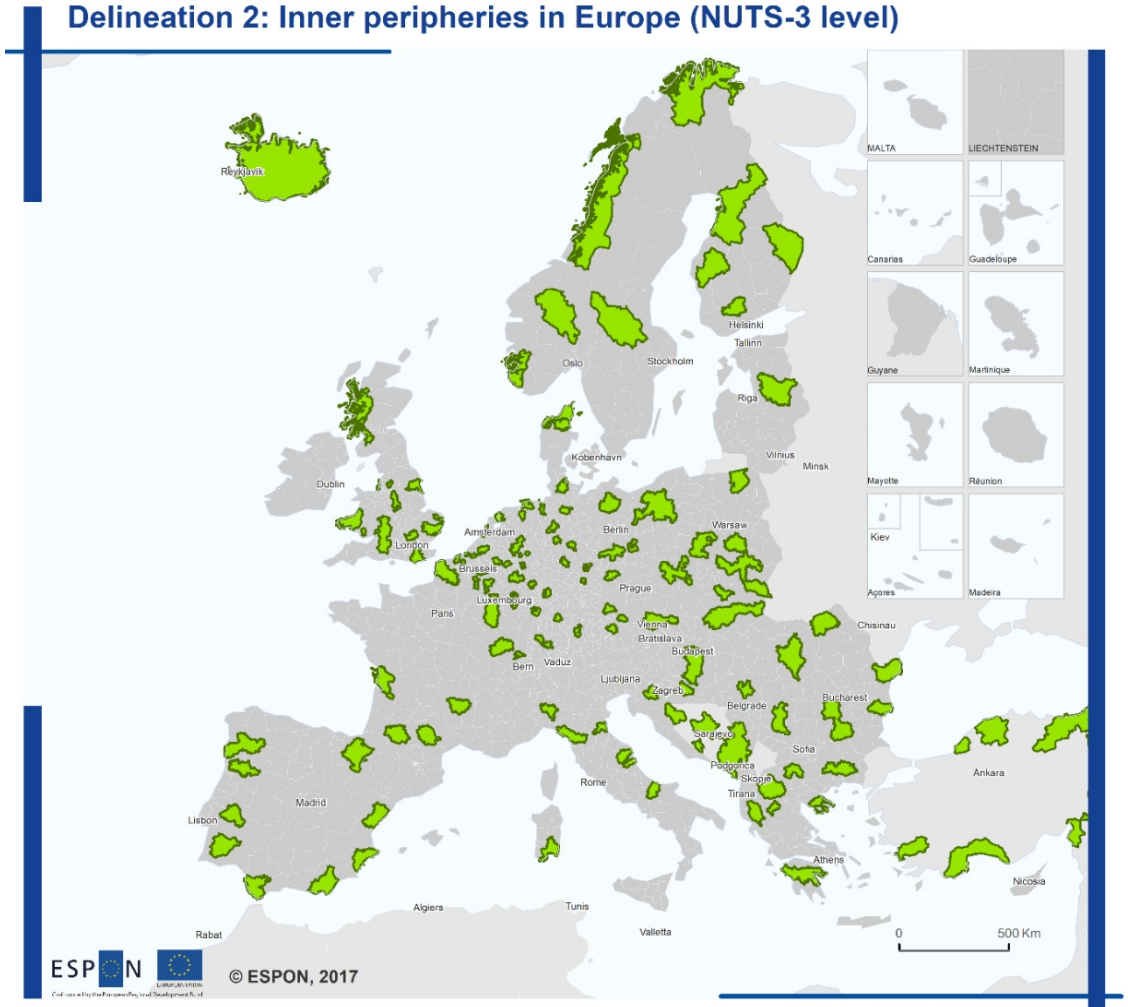


4.2 Economic potential interstitial areas

Inner peripheries can also be understood as interstitial areas of low economic potential in relation to their neighbouring regions, measured as low potential accessibility by road and by rail [f]. As a result, large continuous areas of inner peripheries can be found in Scandinavia, in Eastern Europe (Poland, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, Romania, Turkey) and on the Iberian peninsula (Map 4.2); smaller IP areas are scattered in the Benelux countries, Germany, Italy, France and the UK.

[f] All NUTS-3 regions currently having an economic potential below the regional average for road and rail and which have experienced a poorer development of the accessibilities for road and rail in the period 2001 to 2014 compared to their neighbouring regions are regarded as disadvantaged inner peripheries. Further information on the operationalization of this delineation including additional maps can be found in Annex 4.

Map 4.2: Inner peripheries in Europe (NUTS-3): Low economic potential.



4.2.1 Areas of poor access to services-of-general-interest

An adequate provision and access to main SGIs not only constitute an indicator of the degree of connectedness of territories, but easy and cheap access to many different types of services ensures higher quality of life, provides choice opportunities for the resident population (if two or more facilities for each kind of service are within reach) and thus contributes to keep population and jobs within the area. This type of IP tries to capture areas that suffer from relative poor access conditions in relation to the surrounding areas.

The map series in Map 4.3 illustrates that many areas in Europe appear as inner peripheries for several SGIs[g], i.e. experience a long travel time to several services; however, a detailed view reveals that the shape of the patch boundaries differ between the SGIs, so as their total numbers and sizes.

While these detailed individual results represent a value in themselves, aggregating them into one overall delineation reveals interesting insights (Map 4.4)[h]. With the exception of Cyprus and Malta, IP areas of poor access to SGIs can be found in all ESPON countries. Inner peripheries can be observed in areas that, from a traditional point of view, are considered as peripheral areas (Scandinavian regions and Iceland or areas along the borders to Russia and Belarus), but also on islands (such as Crete, Sicily or Sardinia), in mountain ranges (for instance, parts of the Alps, the Apennines, or Pyrenees), and, mostly, they represent rural landscapes. Another obvious evidence is that in many countries (Austria, Bulgaria, France, Poland, Slovakia and Spain) inner peripheries represent a significant share of the overall territory, illustrating large development differences of these areas in comparison to the agglomerations.

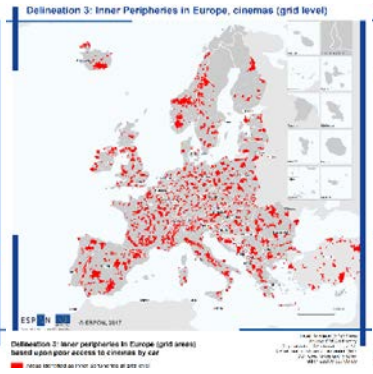
4.2.2 Depleting areas

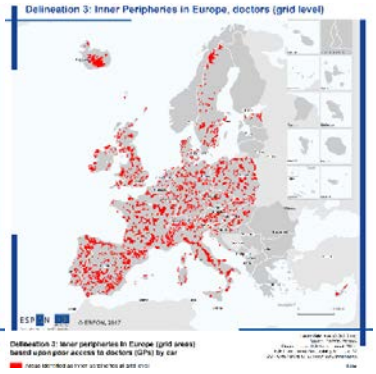
The phenomenon of inner peripheries can also be considered as a process. At some point in time, regions may enter into a negative downward spiral, often triggered by external shocks like closure of important industries or loss of importance of raw material deposits. Such shocks may then lead to increasing unemployment, decreasing wealth (GDP per capita), with further impacts on out-migration. A population loss may then weaken the basis (demand) for further economic activities which may result in closure of services and so in a further increased risk of out-migration. Such processes may occur even if the area in question has good access to regional centres or to SGIs. Therefore, the basic idea of this delineation is to go beyond accessibility variables, by looking into the actual state and recent development of key demographic and economic indicators.

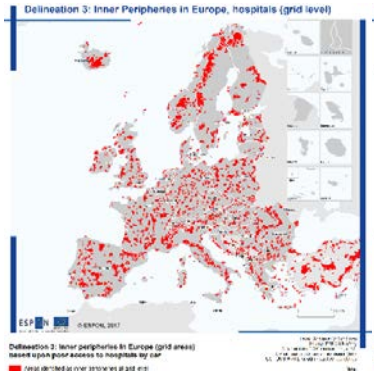
Depleting areas are, thus, areas exhibiting low levels of economic and demographic performance which can be attributed to an absence of “organized proximity” (of whatever kind), which are in some way excluded (or disconnected) from the “mainstream” of economic activities in other regions, or which can be said to be experiencing a process of “peripheralization”.

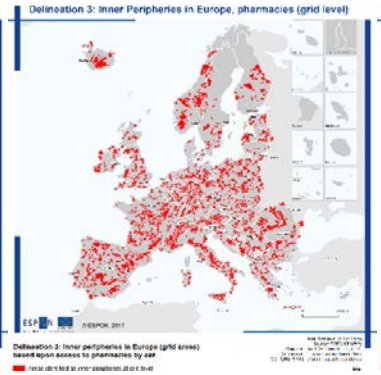
[g] Annex 7 provides enlarged map for each SGI.
[h] A detailed description as how this combination was implemented, is given in Annex 4.

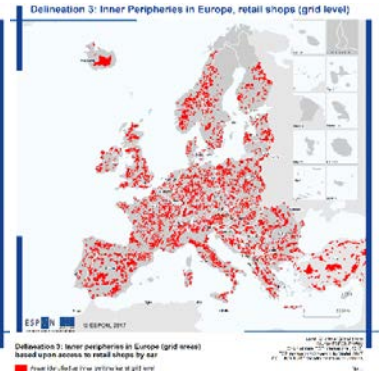
Map 4.3: Inner peripheries with poor access to selected SGIs (from top left to bottom right: banks, cinemas, doctors, hospitals, pharmacies, retail shops, primary schools, secondary schools, train stations, and jobs)[i]

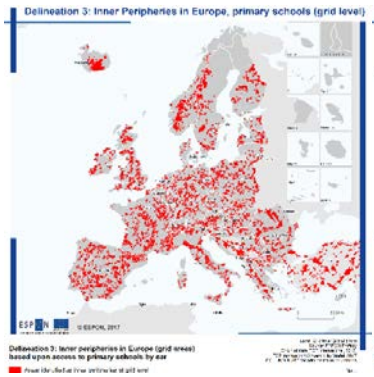


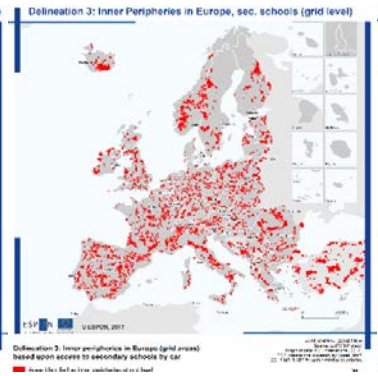


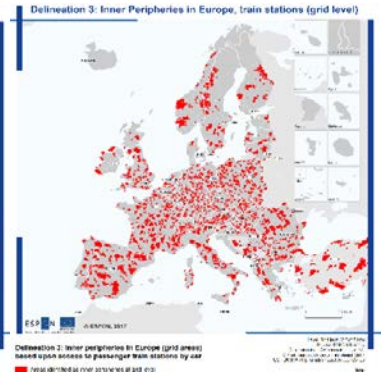


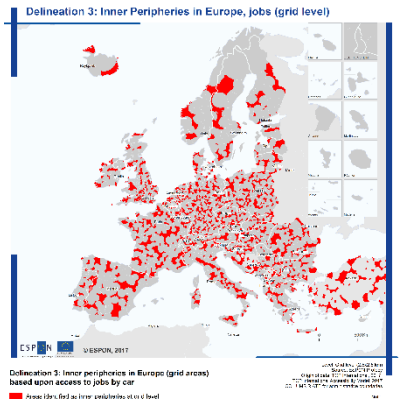






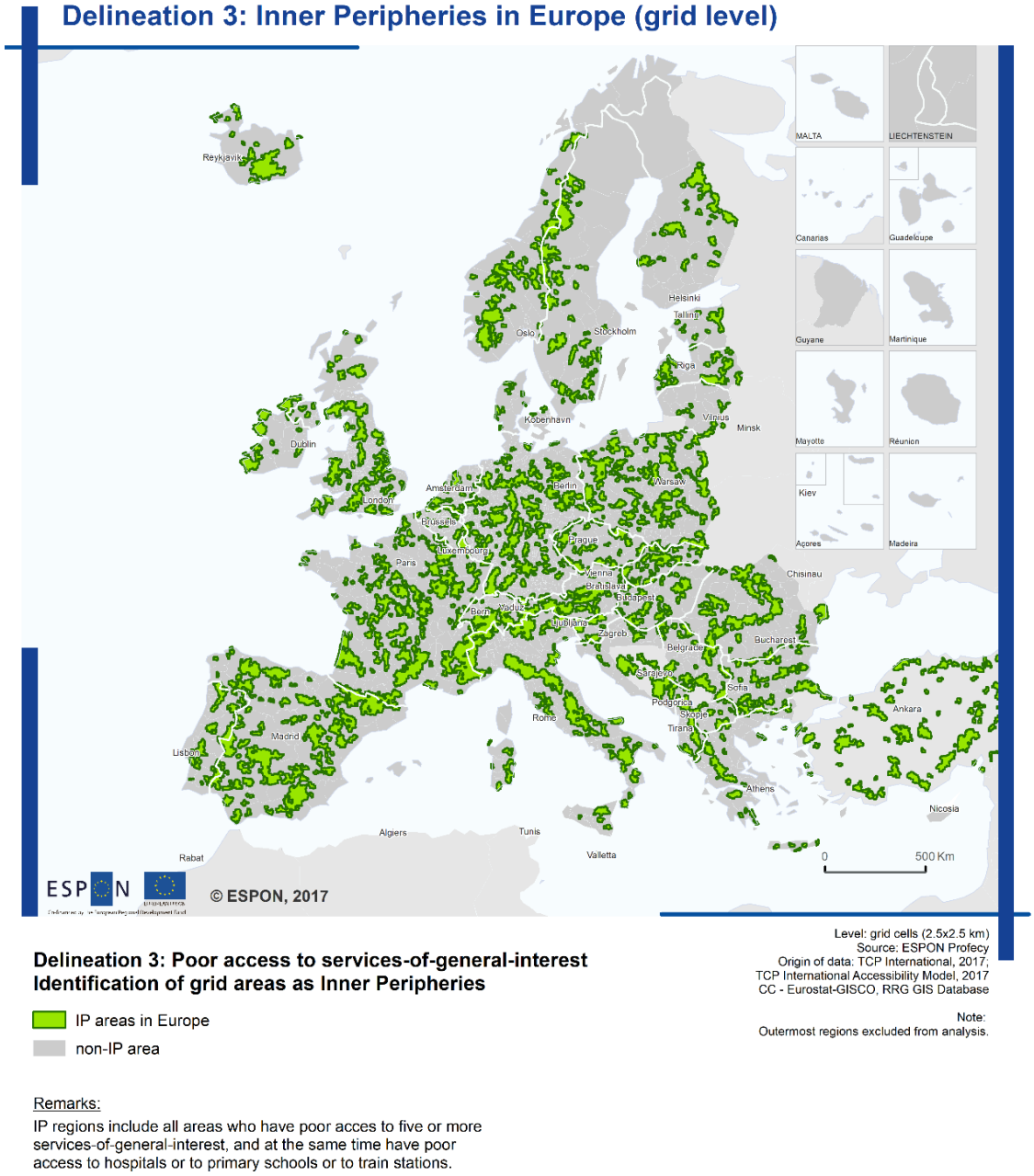






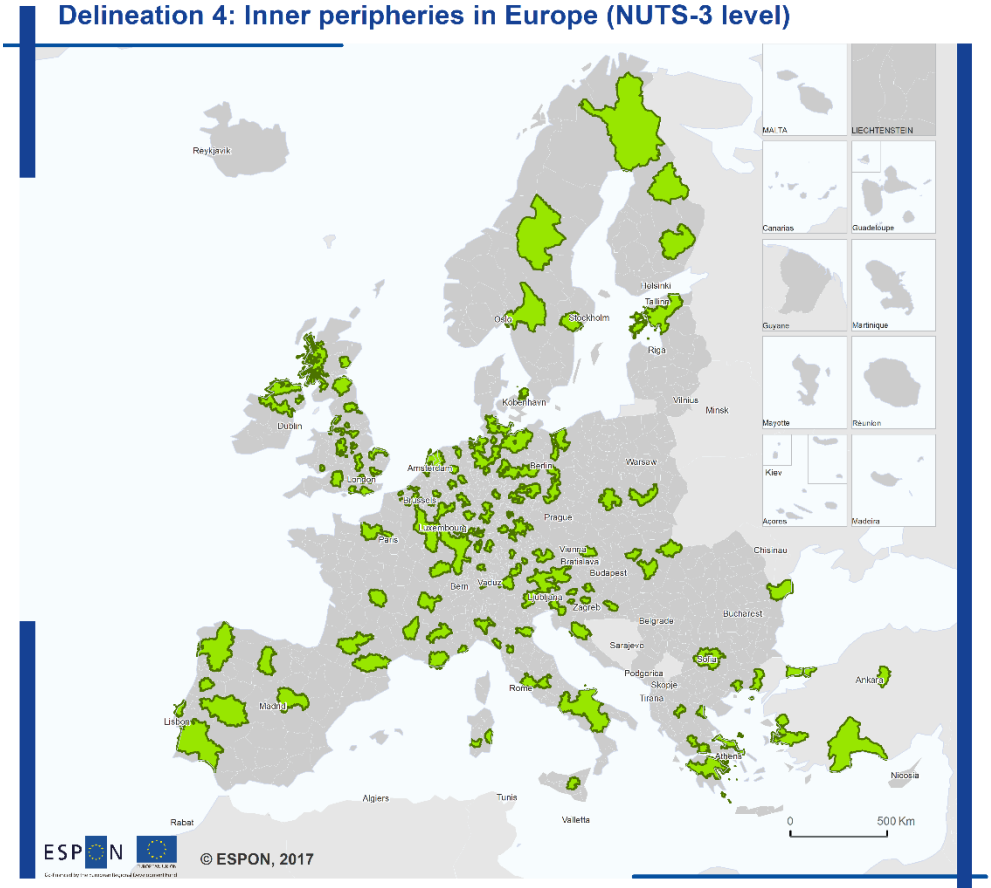
[i] All these maps can be found in a bigger size (one page map) in Annex 7 (Map 2.3, Map 2.11, Map 2.19, Map 2.27, Map 2.35, Map 2.43, Map 2.51, Map 2.59, Map 2.67 and Map 2.75).

Map 4.4: Delineation 3. Inner peripheries in Europe (grid level).



Map 4.5 shows that most of the depleting areas are located in the Mediterranean space, but also in Western Europe (Benelux, France, Germany and UK) and even in Scandinavia, while only very few regions in East European countries are concerned. This should not be misunderstood as a sign that East European regions are generally more prosperous compared to the old EU Member States; instead, it should be rather seen as a proof that the disparities between neighbouring regions (such as urban and rural regions) in old EU Member States are much larger compared to the new Member States. In the former countries, there are extremely prosperous regions located adjacent to regions facing large development problems, while in the latter countries disparities among adjacent regions are much smaller due to the generally lower performance of the economy.

Map 4.5: Delineation 4. Inner peripheries in Europe (NUTS-3).



Remarks:

IP regions include all NUTS-3 regions
(i) whose standardized population density in 2015 is < 50% of the average of neighbouring regions and who experienced negative mean annual change rates in the time period 2000-2015,
or
(ii) whose standardized GDP per capita in 2015 is < 85% of the average of neighbouring regions and who experienced GDP development in the time period 2000-2015 below the average of ESPON space,
or
(iii) whose standardized unemployment rate in 2016 is >125% of the average of neighbouring regions and who experienced increasing unemployment rates in the time period 2002-2016.

4.2.3 Combining inner peripheries

Since the four approaches are based on completely different theoretical concepts, a combination into one single delineation is not possible without comparing "apples with pears". Instead, the four delineations are overlaid spatially, to identify common areas; the resulting combinations are qualitatively described at the level of raster cells (Map 4.6). Approximately 45% of the entire ESPON territory represent inner peripheries, of which 29% are IP due to one delineation, and 16% of the ESPON space according to two or more delineations (Table 4.1) [j].

[j] A complete discussion and overview about all delineation combinations and description of main drivers is given in Annex 4 (From Conceptualization to Delineation of IPs).

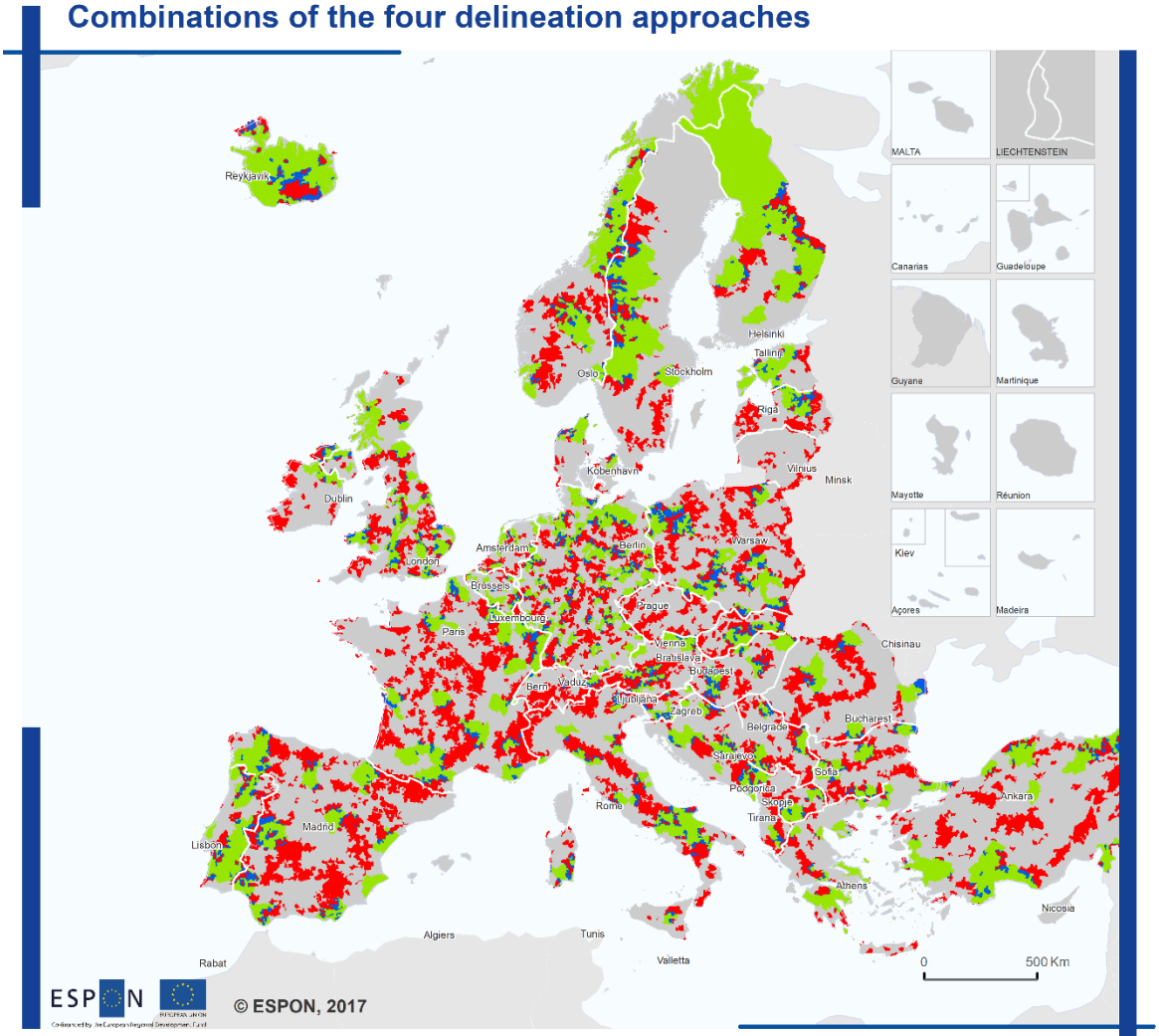
Table 4.1: Combining the four delineations: summary statistics.

#	Area	Share on entire ESPON territory	Share on all IP areas
1	Non-IP areas	54.6 %	./.
2	IP areas	45.4 %	100.0 %
	Of which		
3	IP for one delineation	29.2 %	35.3 %
4	IP for two or more delineations	16.2 %	64.7 %
	Of which		
5	IP, main driver poor economic/demographic situation	21.1 %	46.0 %
6	IP, main driver lack of access	20.0 %	44.6 %
7	IP, with both lack of access and poor economic / demographic situation as main driver	4.3 %	9.4 %

Notes:
Rows 5 -7 try to relate the delineation results to the three theoretical concepts developed (Chapter 2). The rows are illustrated in Map 4.6. Row 5 illustrates the share of IP areas who are mainly driven by poor economic and demographic developments, i.e. which can be characterized as areas with low levels of economic potential (Type 1) and low levels of socio-economic performance (Type 3). Row 6 illustrates the share of IP areas who mainly suffer from a lack of access (Type 2). Row 7 eventually gives the share of IP areas who experience both poor economic / demographic developments and poor levels of accessibility, i.e. representing a situation with a cumulation of IP types (Type 1, Type 2 and Type 3). Note that in Table 4.1 and in Map 4.6 in all cases the main driver was identified; the drivers however are not mutually exclusive, which means that an IP area may not only be triggered by one individual driver, but in some cases by the combined effects of two or three drivers.

Interestingly, the main driver in most Scandinavian IP areas and IP areas in Iceland is not a lack of access (as one may presume according to their general peripheral situation), but their poor economic potentials (Delineation 2) and poor demographic basis (Delineation 4), i.e. a lack of demand (Map 4.6). Similar cases can be found in East Germany, in the Baltic States, Turkey, southern Italy, in Portugal and parts of Spain, and in Scotland and parts of Eastern Europe. Altogether, 46% of all IP areas are predominantly suffering from its poor economic potential and poor demographic situation, corresponding to 21% of entire ESPON space. IP areas with a lack of access to centres or services as key drivers (Delineations 1 and 3) account for some 45% of all IP areas (or 20% of entire ESPON space). There is a strong correlation between these areas and the geomorphological situation. In fact, these IP areas cover mountain ranges around the Mediterranean basin from the Baetic ranges, Iberic System and Pyrenees in the Iberian Peninsula to the Taurus Mountains in the far south east of Turkey, and the Alps, Apennines, and the Dinarides. Following the same logic, poor access to SGI is also the main driver in other territories across Europe that are, either far away or respond to a typology of mountain regions. For instance, extensive territories in the French Massif central, Carpathian ranges in central-eastern European countries, but also in southern Scandinavia. These predominant spatial patterns should not cover the presence of such IP areas in regions where generally accessibility is not considered a major problem in geographic terms (parts of the English Midlands, some areas around Paris and Ille de France, parts of the Netherlands and the plains of northern Germany and Poland).

Map 4.6: Combining the four delineations: main drivers of inner peripherality.



Overlay of results of the four individual delineations:
Main drivers of inner peripherality
(lack of access vs. economic and demographic situation)

- non-IP area
- Main driver: poor economic potentials and poor socio-economic situation
- Main driver: lack of access to centres and/or services
- Main drivers: poor accessibility and poor economic potentials/poor socio-economic situation

Level: grid cells (2.5x2.5 km)
Source: ESPON Profecy
Origin of data: TCP International, 2017;
TCP International Accessibility Model, 2017
CC - UMS RIATE for administrative boundaries

Note:
Outermost regions excluded from analysis.

IP areas that are both triggered by poor access and by a poor economic and demographic performance are scattered around Europe in small patches with some concentrations in Poland, Slovakia, in parts of former Yugoslavia, and in the border region between Portugal and Spain, accounting for approximately 9.4% of all IP areas (or 4.3% of ESPON territory). These IP areas predominantly represent small enclaves, located in the vicinity of the territories where only one type of driver dominates and where the phenomenon of IP seems to be exacerbated. The reasons for the exacerbation include "border effect" or "double border", as well as unique combinations of processes and factors that are associated in spirals of degradation in specific local environments.

Good access to regional centres and to services are important factors contributing to quality of life in the regions. Good access implies that the services are not only accessible, but also

affordable, of good quality, treating customers equally, safe, and providing universal access. A lack of, or poor access to centres and services, in turn, results in low quality of life and may eventually be the reason to constitute an IP area.

Usually, inner peripherality is the combined effect of several parallel processes and drivers, impacting a region in a way that it enters into a negative downward spiral. Unlike the well-known geography-based peripherality, marked by distance to centres of accumulation of economic activity and population, IPs are not only determined by "geography". Other processes and features, whose behaviour is not strictly associated to distance, such as economic potential or socio-economic performance, representing the regional capacities to “connect” with other regions, play an essential role as well.

4.3 Characterising Inner Peripherality

4.3.1 Objectives and approach

In characterising inner peripherality a key objective is to place inner peripheries delineated by the PROFECY project in the socio-economic space of Europe. The status of inner peripheries might be difficult to be understood and interpreted in itself, so it is reasonable to analyze their positions and spatial patterns in comparison with other types of regions in Europe. Thus, during the analyses implemented here, the main question was what made these territories differentiable from other areas in terms of geographical patterns and various socio-economic characteristics. Overlapping and differentiating geographies between inner peripheries and other types of regions might indicate how close they are to each other in a physical sense, and what aspects of spatiality form regional patterns of this image. The comparison of the socio-economic status of inner peripheral areas and other typologies might reveal if IP regions have entirely unique features or if these are inseparable from characteristics and potential mechanisms affecting other regions with certain socio-economic or geographical specificities too.

Analyses are not only focused on making comparisons between socio-economic positions and spatial patterns of IP and other areas in the ESPON space, but on exploring similarities and differences within the groups (different types) of inner peripheries too. It might help to resolve if inner peripheries identified by the four delineations – which are framed by a multidimensional understanding of peripheralization – form a group with common characteristics or if they are rather different, with having different reasons to be peripheral. Another important objective of characterising inner peripheries is to capture trends potentially affecting the socio-economic positions of inner peripheries. Besides following socio-economic tendencies and their regional patterns over time, it might also help to answer what makes IP to be evolved from the viewpoint of socio-economic factors.

These aspirations were translated into different tasks to be analysed, whose main findings are presented here in the Final Report:

- Providing an analysis on the geographies of European inner peripheries compared to other territories with certain geographic or socio-economic specificities;
- Analysing the socio-economic status of inner peripheries by exploring similarities and differences with other regional typologies and within the framework of European core–periphery and accessibility patterns;
- Following changes of socio-economic characteristics over time.

Analyses elaborated for characterising inner peripheries are carried out at NUTS-3 level. This choice is reasoned from different aspects. On the one hand, two of the four delineations (economic potential interstitial areas and depleting areas) used NUTS-3 level units for the identification of territories with inner peripheral characteristics. And analyses needed to be kept at this level to have a common basis in comparisons among different types of inner peripheral areas. Similar considerations were taken into account in the case of geographical and socio-economic comparisons between IP regions and other typologies (EU regional typologies, lagging areas), which are only available at this level. On the other hand, realities of gathering comprehensive socio-economic information for a Europe-wide analysis on the status of inner peripheries also supported NUTS-3 level analyses. By being aware of potential drawbacks of identifying IP at this level, in characterising inner peripherality, several experiments are carried out for refining the interpretation of status of inner peripheries.

4.3.2 Analysing geographies of European inner compared to regional typologies on other territorial realities

The analysis based on the comparison of deviations and overlaps between geographies of IPs and other regional typologies in Europe is using cross table analysis and overlaid maps to gain information on meaningful patterns. Units of analyses are provided by the delineation process identifying four groups of inner peripheral areas. Besides, regional typologies widely used in association with NUTS-3 EU regions (separated elements of Urban-Rural typology, mountain areas, islands and metropolitan regions) are also processed into analyses. Since a special focus on lagging areas is expected to be applied in comparisons with inner peripheries, different groups of lagging EU regions are identified by economic performance (GDP per inhabitant) in relation to EU and national averages.

Results based on cross tables and overlaid maps indicate significant overlap between different groups of inner peripheries and other regional typologies. In general, regarding EU regional typologies, inner peripheral regions the most frequently tend to overlap with intermediate, rural and mountain areas (Table 4.2), especially in the case of IPs whose delineations are based on accessibility (IP 1–3). Besides, other region types might show more notable overlap with one or another IP delineation types, such as in the case of depleting inner peripheries and urban or metropolitan areas, which imply that processes of marginalisation could significantly affect these territories too.

Table 4.2: Overlap between inner peripheries and EU regional typologies

	IP 1 (regional centres)	IP 2 (interstitial)	IP 3 (SGI access)	IP 4 (depleting)
Urban regions	9.60%	18.80%	10.80%	32.20%
Intermediate regions	48.60%	40.00%	44.10%	34.10%
Rural regions	41.80%	41.20%	45.20%	33.70%
Mountain regions	49.50%	38.20%	53.80%	24.40%
Island regions	0.00%	1.20%	1.10%	2.60%
Metropolitan regions	24.00%	23.00%	20.40%	43.00%
Lagging (<EU75%)	35,0%	46,4%	24,2%	43,3%
Lagging (<NAT75%)	46,1%	53,0%	34,1%	60,5%

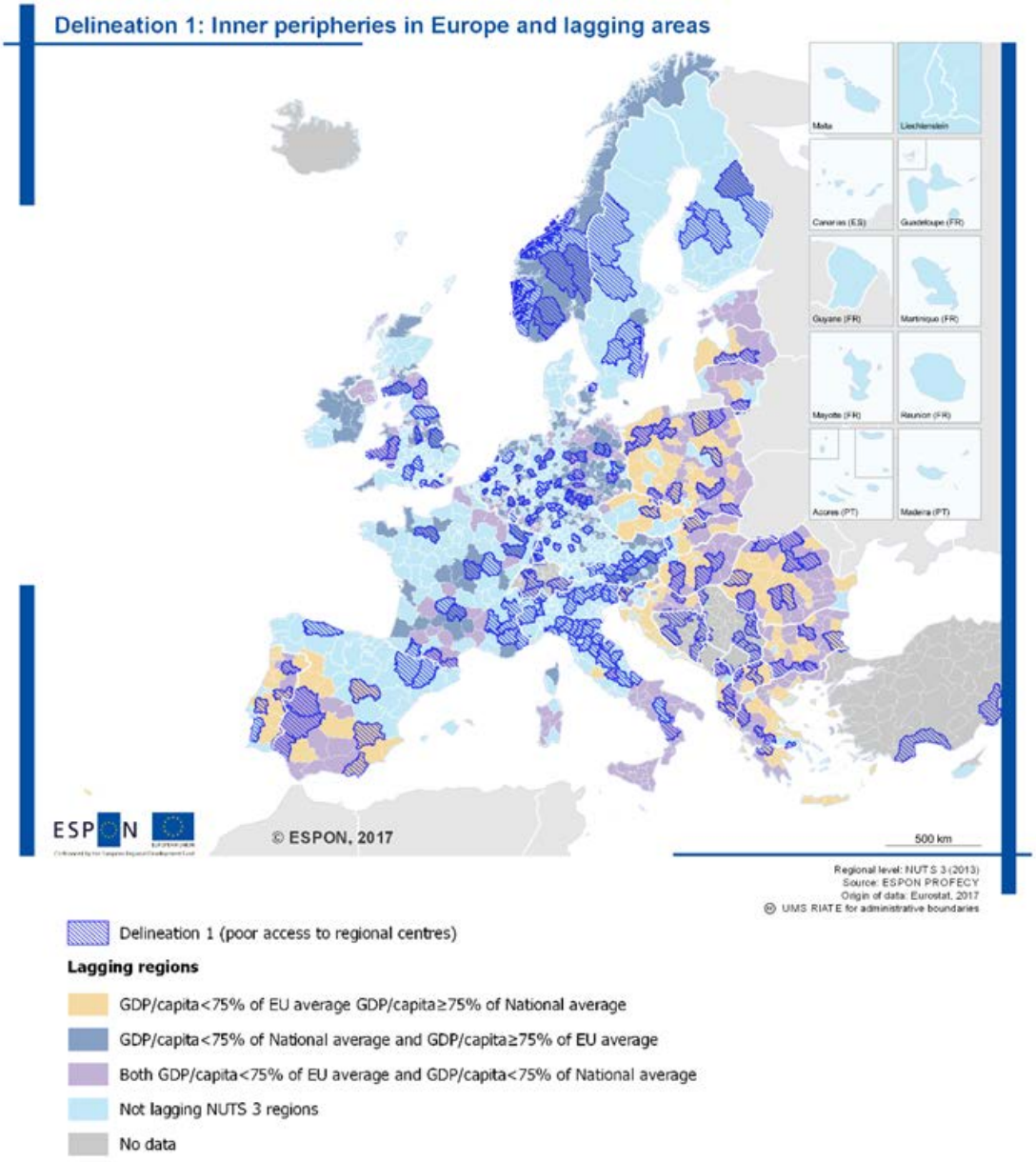
Among inner peripheries the share of lagging regions might also be high[k]. They usually have more overlaps with regions considered to be lagging from national aspects, but also with areas defined as lagging from both national and European perspective. Regarding overlaps between IP and lagging region types, economic potential interstitial areas (IP 2) and depleting peripheries (IP 4) seem to be more affected, which can be explained, since these delineations have more direct connection with economic performance.

Regarding macroregional patterns, inner peripheries of Central and Eastern Europe stand out, since here 95–100% of the IPs are located in lagging regions (Map 4.7 presents the overlap between Delineation 1 and lagging areas). In other cases, e.g. in European regions with higher GDP per capita values (largely located in Western and Northern Europe), the overlap with lagging regions occurs in areas considered to be lagging from a national perspective. Countries presenting lower GDP per capita values (predominantly located in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe), IPs overlap with regions lagging at a European scale (although a significant proportion of them are also considered to be lagging at a national level).

The recognition of overlaps between inner peripheral areas and other regional typologies has significant importance for policy considerations. Overlaps imply that inner peripheries share socio-economic similarities too with several rural, mountain or lagging areas, with having not just potential challenges related to aspects of peripherality but also with facing specific problems of these other typologies. Multiple overlaps between these categories might potentially increase the impact of these challenges.

[k] A detailed description and additional maps of the overlap between IPs and EU regional typologies (listed in Table 4.2) can be found in Annex 8.

Map 4.7: Overlap between inner peripheries (Delineation 1 – travel time to regional centres) and lagging areas



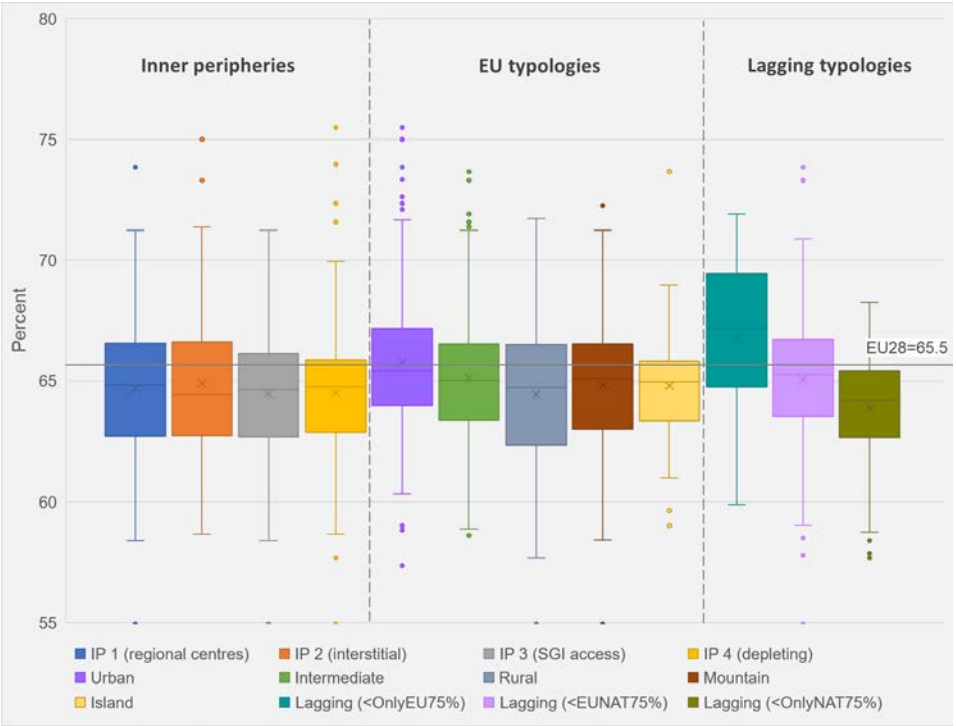
4.3.3 Analysing the socio-economic status of inner peripheries in comparison with other regional typologies and within the framework of European core–periphery and accessibility patterns

Comparisons between different demographic, social and economic characteristics of inner peripheries and that of lagging areas and other typologies frequently used in EU policy discourse serve to position the status of IPs in the European socio-economic space. To make these comparisons, distributions (of certain indicators) characterising different groups of IP and regional typologies were analysed in relation to each other. Socio-economic comparisons were built on box plot analysis, which represents distributions of data in a very illustrative way, and on various descriptive statistics also characterising positions of different region types compared to each other. Analyses cover various dimensions related to demographic, labour market, economic performance, entrepreneurship and SGI availability features.

Socio-economic positions of inner peripheral areas might vary regarding comparisons at the European level and national levels, between groups of regional typologies and within the group of four IP delineations. In general, at the European level, inner peripheral areas tend to be disadvantaged from the aspect of various demographic features compared to other region types. It appears most clearly in the form of tendencies associated with ageing and age structure (lower ratios of child and working age population, old age dependency), which might indicate further risks in various other dimensions (such as lack of manpower, or the contribution reduction related to inner peripheries) (Figure 4.1). Considering economic performance (GDP, GVA) inner peripheral areas also seem to be more disadvantaged, while their positions are not clearly unfavourable regarding entrepreneurship and SGI access indicators or from the aspect of labour market characteristics (unemployment, inactivity rates), at the European level and in comparison with other typologies too. Their share of employment in manufacturing industry is generally high, however this position is not good nor disadvantaged, but is a structural factor, which might be affecting other socio-economic dimensions.

Regarding positions of inner peripheries from the national levels, it can be stated that in most of those dimensions, where inner peripheral areas seem to be more disadvantaged at the European level, they might also have some sort of handicap compared to other national territories (e.g. demographics, economic performance). While in those cases, where the positions of groups of IPs seem to be moderate (e.g. labour market features), it also corresponds somehow to positions at national levels.

Figure 4.1: Ratio of working age (15-64) population in Europe by IP delineations and EU regional typologies, 2015



Source: ESPON PROFECY, 2017

Although the delineation of European inner peripheries was based on multiple aspects, different types of inner peripheral areas tend to show similar characteristics regarding various socio-economic dimensions, and they are usually closer to each other from this aspect than to any other regional typologies. This can be observed in the case of demographic and labour market dimensions or considering SGI density. Nevertheless, concerning economic indicators (economic performance, entrepreneurship), the four groups of delineated IPs seem to be more disperse. Usually, inner peripheries identified as economic potential interstitial areas (IP 2) and depleting inner peripheral regions (IP 4) are more disadvantaged from these aspects.

Potentially (partly) due to strong geographical overlaps, delineated groups of inner peripheral areas often share socio-economic similarities with intermediate and rural regions, and to some extent with different groups of mountain and lagging areas as well. This makes the identification of IPs in the European socio-economic space quite difficult, since it implies that their multiple difficulties in accessibility and connectedness do not always result in clear or typical disadvantaged socio-economic position in comparison with other European regions. Besides the mentioned (mainly) demographic and economic drawbacks, which outline their unfavourable positions among other typologies, a type of specificity of inner peripheral areas is the potential conjunction of low access or connectedness and socio-economic challenges.

Lower performance or unfavourable conditions in various socio-economic dimensions might be counterweighted, if accessibility conditions are fair regarding a certain area. But, along with poor access and connectedness, even moderate socio-economic positions might be challenging too. Therefore, analyses focusing on the connection between the spatial dimension of centrality–peripherality at the European scale and different features reflecting on the social characteristics or economic performance and accessibility conditions of inner peripheral regions (in particular) were carried out.

Comparing the positions of inner peripheral areas and other regional typologies related to core–periphery patterns, some disadvantages of IPs might be identified. In a framework of European accessibility measures (by road and rail) not all types of inner peripheries, but groups of delineation 1 and delineation 2 perform below the European average. Moreover, the improvement of accessibility by road for the period 2001-2015 shows generally lower rates in NUTS-3 units identified as inner peripheries, as compared to other typologies (rural areas and lagging European areas).

These accessibility patterns are in correlation with different features of access at lower (more local) levels too. Regarding accessibility patterns, inner peripheral areas (and other types of regions) showing lower values of potential accessibility also present a higher travel time to primary schools, hospitals and retail facilities. This is related to the fact that areas more distant to regional centres have, in general, worse access to SGIs. This also differentiates IP regions, since the more accessibility-related inner peripheries, delineation 1 and delineation 3

show higher travel times to selected SGIs (primary schools, hospitals and retail facilities) than other regions with similar potential accessibility values.

Positions of inner peripheries, analysed in the cross-section of different socio-economic and accessibility indicators also confirm this differentiation, with a result that delineation 1 (regional centres) and 3 (SGI access) might show more correlation with spatial indicators, while delineation 2 (interstitial) and 4 (depleting) peculiarities might be more related to socio-economic variables. Between measures of local access (travel times to SGIs) and economic performance or population density, there is a general inverse correlation which might explain positions of inner peripheral areas too within this framework.

4.3.4 Following changes of characteristics of inner peripheries over time

Analyses dedicated to follow changes of certain socio-economic features of inner peripheral areas reflect on the dynamic nature of the concepts of inner peripherality, and intend to explore changes of socio-economic status of today's IPs in the recent past. The question is whether changes of these features over a certain period of time show trends potentially associated with peripheralization or led to different position changes compared to other European regions. These processes were analysed by using a set of selected indicators considered to be illustrative from the aspect of representing socio-spatial processes from the millennium to current years.

Socio-economic position shifts (absolute changes) during the analysed periods often have a particular direction regarding the vast majority of European NUTS-3 regions (increased ageing, decrease of low qualified people and employment in manufacturing industry), with some dispersion and exceptions to the main trends, affecting mostly the diverse paths related to economic and labour market dimensions. Inner peripheries also seem to be fit into these trends. Considering relative position shifts, most of these regions showed signs of conservation of positions during the past 15 years (no significant improvement or increase of disadvantages), which might imply from the aspect of inner peripheries, that their current positions and disadvantages are usually not direct results of processes in the recent past.

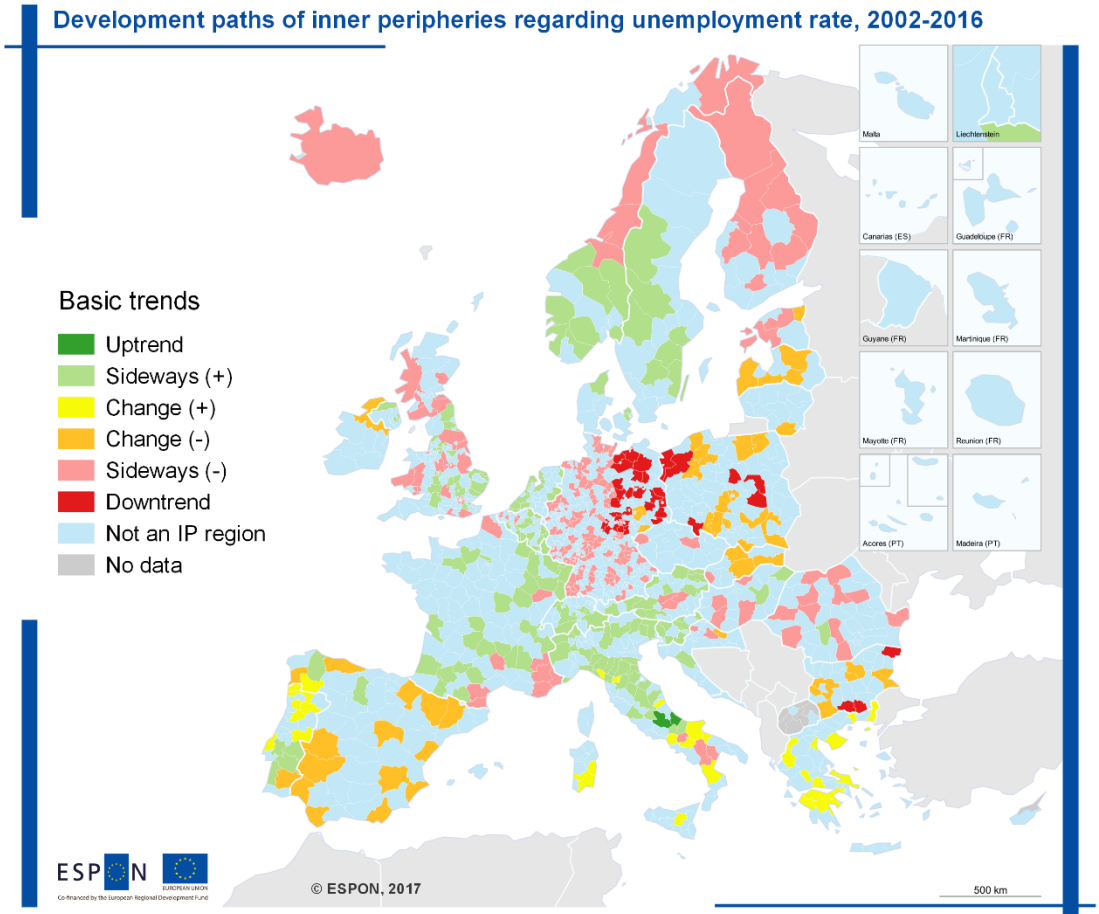
Besides these trends, inner peripheries show a more disadvantaged situation especially regarding demographic processes, e.g. with a bigger share of shrinking regions. Negative position shifts of inner peripheries in population dynamics are more striking in comparison with other national territories. It might draw attention to current demographic vulnerabilities of these territories, and potentially outlines future socio-economic risks of IPs (decrease of economic performance, ageing, etc.).

By focusing only on areas with inner peripheral characteristics (a united pool of inner peripheral regions, with all delineations merged together), variances behind these position shifts were also analysed by generalising tendencies of 10–15 years (based on the evaluation of typical directions and level of change). Development paths of inner peripheries from the early 2000s to the mid-2010s regarding analysed demographic, labour market and economic

processes are not unidirectional. In this way, European inner peripheral areas, while sharing several similarities regarding socio-economic status, faced different kinds of socio-economic tendencies in the past fifteen years.

This dispersion in dynamics of inner peripheral areas regularly revealed more or less clear and well-known regional patterns. Demographic tendencies mostly differentiate between inner peripheral areas of Western (more frequent positive dynamics) and East Central Europe (higher probability of outmigration and shrinkage). Labour market tendencies highlight the vulnerability of Mediterranean inner peripheries, where trend changes or increase in unemployment rates due to the economic crisis dominated outcomes of these processes (Map 4.8). Changes in economic performance indicate an overall catching up of East Central European inner peripheral areas to EU28 average. These development paths seem to be mostly similar compared to national tendencies, however in some cases some 'anomalies' might occur. For instance, in the case of several East Central European IP regions, where the usually positive dynamics in economic performance at the European level meets lagging characteristics measured at the national scale.

Map 4.8: Development paths of inner peripheries regarding unemployment rate (15+), 2002–2016



Uptrend: significant overall increase of unemployment rate
Sideways (+): minor-average overall increase of unemployment rate
Change (+): an overall increase of unemployment rate with trend change (decrease/increase; stagnation/increase)
Change (-): an overall decrease of unemployment rate with trend change (decrease/increase/decrease)
Sideways (-): minor-average overall decrease of unemployment rate
Downtrend: significant overall decrease of unemployment rate

Differences between generalised paths of inner peripheries considering the four delineation types are moderate. Tendencies related to socio-economic indicators analysed affect these groups in a more or less similar way. Explainable differences are mostly related to interstitial areas (IP 2) and depleting inner peripheries (IP 4) whose economic performance or labour market and population processes often indicate dynamics potentially more associated with negative consequences of peripheralization compared to other IP types. These drawbacks might fit in the explanation of delineation approaches of them, i.e. distance from economic centres and general disadvantaged situation regarding socio-economic status and processes.

4.3.5 Experiments on further analysis of the status of inner peripheries

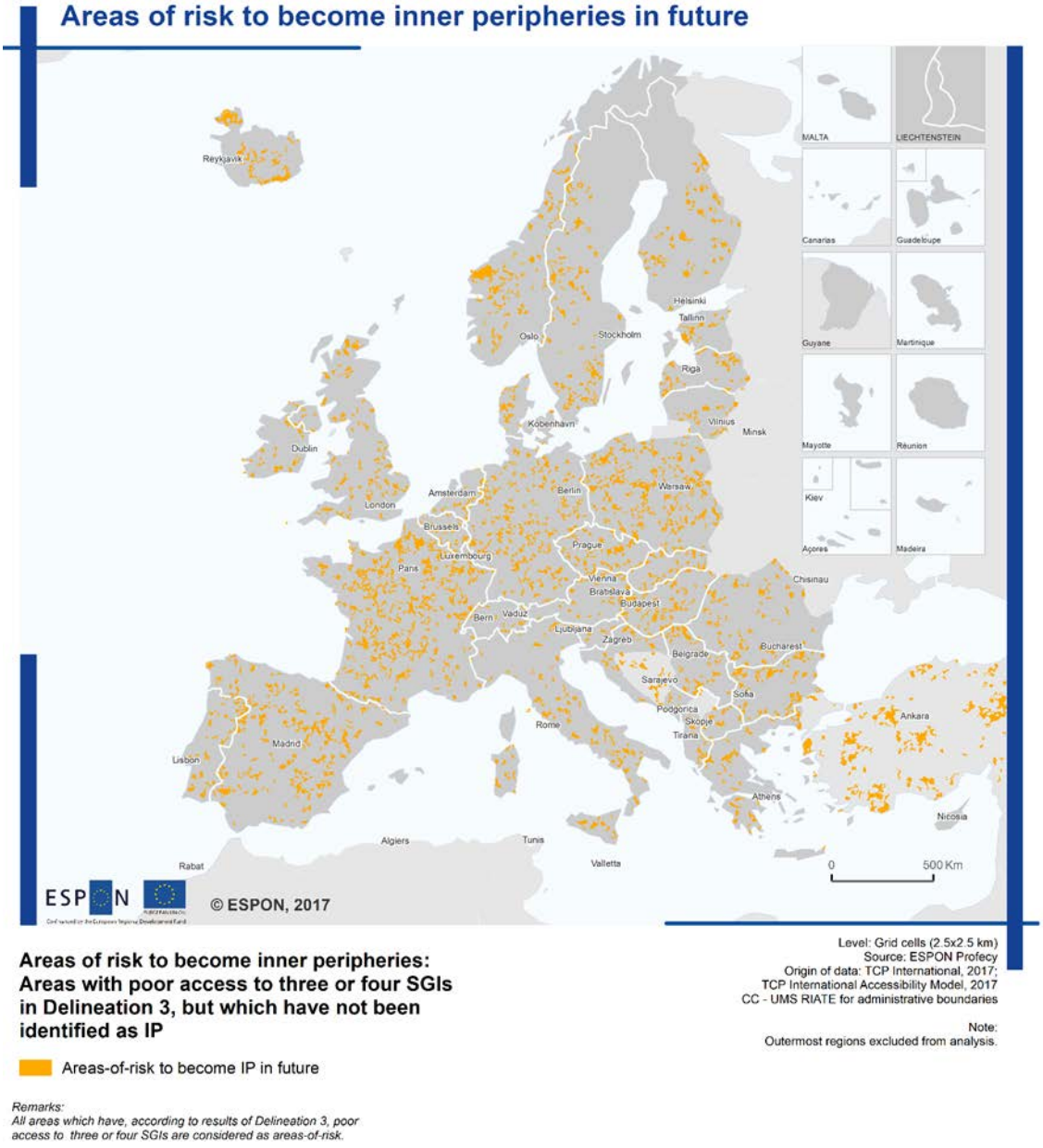
For supporting a deeper look into characteristics of IPs, several experiments were carried out. Regional and socio-economic profiles of IP regions were characterised by clustering methods, which underlines similarities in terms of socio-economic characteristics between different IP regions (demographic characteristics or economic performance), but also highlights their differences regarding e.g. socio-economic dynamism. Correlation analyses between measures of inner peripherality and different socio-economic factors were also carried out, which might confirm that the relationship between inner peripherality and various socio-economic vulnerabilities is not direct. Analysed results indicate that socio-economic disadvantages seem to increase along with higher coverage of peripheral areas in NUTS-3 regions, especially regarding the case of age structure and economic performance. Detailed exploration of these ideas can be found in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 of Annex 8.

4.4 Areas at Risk of becoming Inner Peripheries in Future

Conceptually, areas-of-risk of becoming inner peripheries in the future represent areas that today are non-IP areas with, overall, good or fair access to most services, but which already may lack access to few services or which may rely on just one single facility of each type of service. If, for whatever reason, this facility closes or ceases services or the service quality deteriorates, the served area may find itself in a situation where services are at risk. Reflecting these considerations, PROFECY developed two approaches to identify areas-of-risk, one which can be applied when access to just one individual SGI shall be analysed, and another approach to be used when access to several SGIs are in the focus (Chapter 5 of Annex 4 provides additional methodological detail).

The first approach was exemplified for primary schools and hospitals, reflecting two crucial SGIs for basic education and health care. Results of this approach are illustrated in Annex 4. The second, more general approach was applied upon the grid-level results of Delineation 3 (poor access to SGIs). The idea being that all areas which have not been identified as IP in Delineation 3 (see Map 4.4), but which today already have poor access to three or four types of services, are considered as areas of risk (in contrast to areas with poor access to five or more SGIs, which were considered as inner peripheries in Delineation 3). These areas may not be able to compensate a further loss of services in the future, then finding themselves in a downward spiral towards peripheralization.

Map 4.9: Areas of risk to become IP in future: areas with poor access to three or four SGIs.



The results of this attempt are illustrated in Map 4.9. In effect, areas in all European countries have been identified. Most of these areas are comparatively small, scattered across the countries. Even though that the importance of each individual area may be rather low, altogether they account for a significant proportion of the national territories, and, if they would enter into a peripheralization process, would increase the number and size of national IP territories significantly.

Politicians and stakeholders in these areas should be cautious to keep the existing level of service provision, avoid closures or out-movements of services (support supply side of services), maintain or even improve the current level and quality of accessibility (connectiveness), and they should find measures to stabilize or increase the demographic basis, i.e. maintain or even increase the demand for services.

5 Processes and drivers

5.1 The Role of the Three Descriptive Models

In the PROFECY project the processes and drivers which are the “engines” of inner peripherisation are represented by three “Descriptive Models”. These are three simple diagrams which are derived from the three types identified in the conceptual framework presented in the second chapter of this report, and which provide the basis for the four approaches to mapping described above. The three Descriptive Models are being developed and enriched by insights from the analysis of the status of the IPs, and the case studies. They are intended as the basis for intervention logics for strategies and policies. They are in a sense the conceptual nervous system of the project (Figure 3.1).

Before discussing the three Descriptive Models in more detail it will be helpful to anticipate and dispel some likely misunderstandings:

1. The Descriptive Models are theoretical abstractions, heuristic devices. It is not claimed that exact examples of any of them exist as a pure form in the real world. The IPs that may be observed (for example in our case studies) are generally hybrid, exhibiting characteristics of two or all of these ideal types.
2. Therefore the value of the Descriptive Models lies in helping us to tease out and understand the logic of the various interacting processes which account for the negative socio-economic characteristics of IPs. All of these are driven by inadequate connectedness of some form. This is what distinguishes an IP from other kinds of marginal region.
3. The three Descriptive Models are not a sufficient framework for summarising the more complex hybrid processes of specific case study regions. For this purpose a more pragmatic and inclusive approach and diagram is presented in the next chapter of the report.

5.2 The Three Descriptive Models

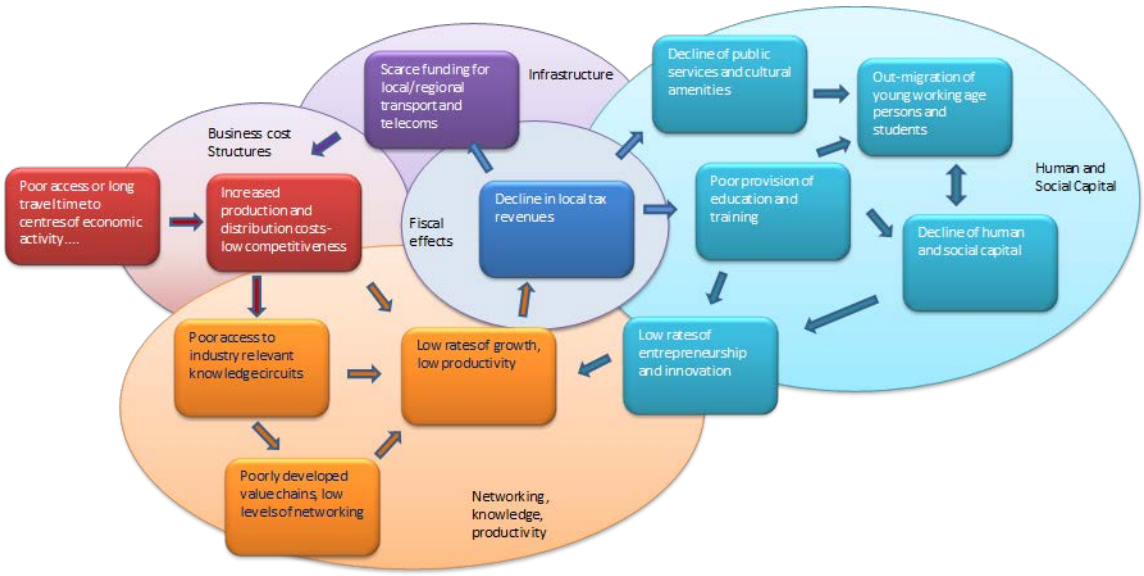
The three types of (Inner) peripheralization process identified in the second chapter of this report are quite distinct in terms of their drivers, outcomes, and the nature of their “peripherality”. The first two types are driven by “conventional” or geographical distance. Type 1 is manifest primarily through exclusion from the agglomeration benefits for economic activity, and assessed in terms of “economic potential”. Type 2 is expressed in terms of social wellbeing, and is driven by poor accessibility to services of general interest. The third is more complex, driven by both geographical distance and the implications of “relational space” and forms of proximity not based upon physical distance.

5.2.1 Type 1 - Enclaves of low economic potential

The identification of inner peripheries driven by the first kind of primary peripheralization process uses the same kind of measurement employed in the “classic” studies of

peripherality, based upon a Newtonian gravity analogy and "measured" by economic potential, taking account of all centres of economic activity across Europe, according weights to them according to their size and (inversely) according to their distance away. It is distinguished from "external" peripherality simply by being an enclave, surrounded by less peripheral areas.

Figure 5.2: Descriptive Model of Type 1 Inner Periphery Processes



Source: ESPON PROFECY, 2017

Such an enclave is excluded from agglomerative advantages, and local businesses have to pay high transport costs for non-local raw materials, and (on average) higher costs to reach distant markets. These basic disadvantages constitute the primary peripheralization process, and are represented by the two red text boxes within the ellipse labelled "Business cost structures".

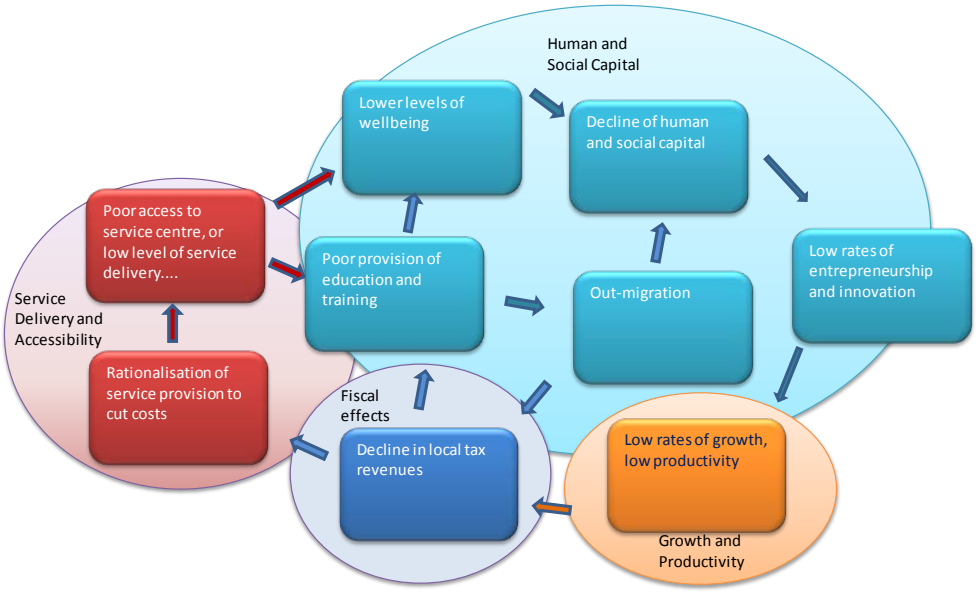
A secondary marginalisation effect is summarised by the orange ellipse labelled "Networking, knowledge and productivity", and the text boxes relating to access to knowledge, value chain development and productivity. Low levels of economic activity and growth have an impact on tax revenues, which results in a shortage of finance for regional infrastructure development, which may potentially exacerbate the basic accessibility problem of the region. It may also affect provision of research, education, and cultural infrastructure, which contributes to the "Human and Social Capital" loop, ultimately further depressing levels of entrepreneurship and innovation, and feeding back into the productivity circuit.

These multiple "feedback" loops of secondary marginalisation processes explain the difficulty of reversing the trend in this kind of inner periphery, once the cycle has been triggered. The other thing to notice about this model is that the drivers and outcomes are defined in terms of economic activity and economic disadvantages, whilst human and social capital effects have a background role.

5.2.2 Type 2 – Areas with poor access to or provision of Services of General Interest

The descriptive model centred on the second kind of primary peripheralization process (Figure 5.3) has some features in common with the previous model. Fundamentally, it is also driven by geographic distance. However this time the effect of distance is played out in terms of access to, or delivery of, services of general interest. In this case it is only the nearest access point or source for delivery which is taken account of. Unlike the previous model, access to SGI has a direct impact upon the human and social capital cycle, and thence an indirect (secondary) effect upon the productivity of economic activity, which feeds back into regional tax-raising capacity. Lean public finances feeds back into capacity to deliver SGI, including education and training – the latter have a secondary impact upon human and social capital.

Figure 5.3: Descriptive model of Type 2 Inner Periphery Processes



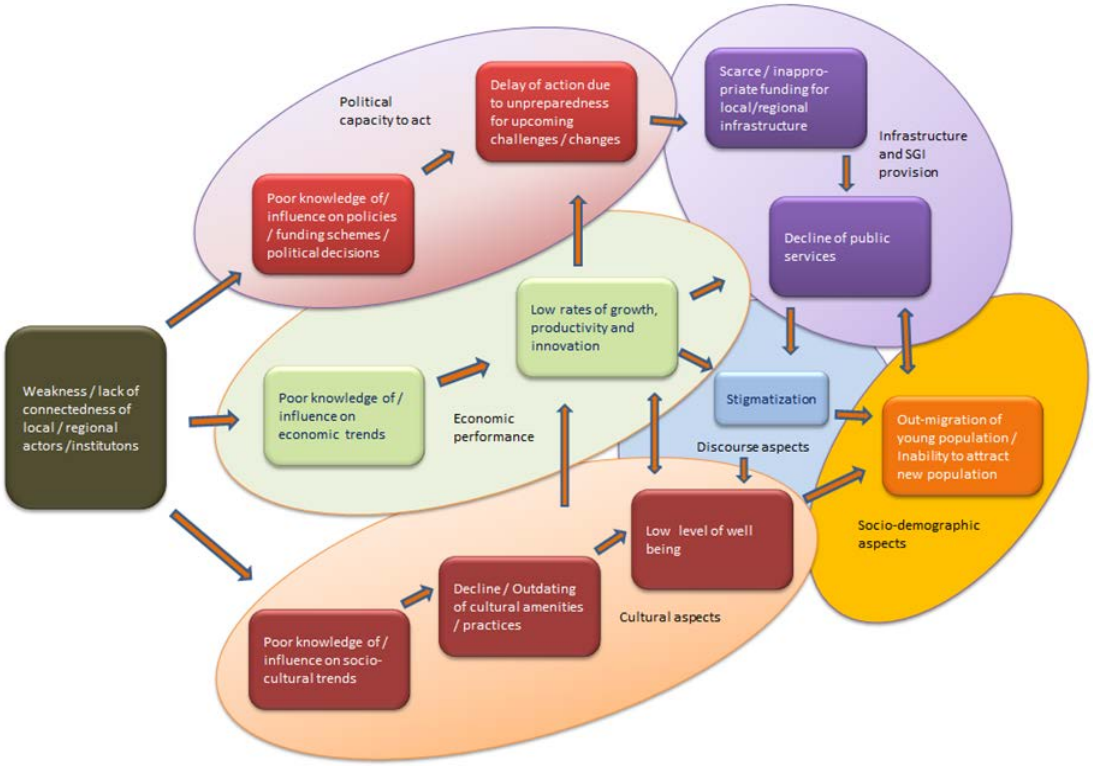
Source: ESPON PROFECY, 2017

5.2.3 Type 3 – Areas showing complex negative processes due to low levels of interaction

The main "trigger" of this type of inner periphery (the primary peripheralization process), is a weakness of interaction, or a lack of connectedness of stakeholders and institutions relating to wider networks. This is associated with a lack of influence on the centres of power and in governance arrangements. These processes can affect a single or more than one field such as policy networks, economic actors' networks and / or socio- cultural networks. In contrast to the first two types, which are triggered by geographical distance, the effects arise mainly from a lack of information flow or a lack of steering capacity on the basis of insufficient or one-sided network building in a vertical as well as in a horizontal direction. There is a similarity to discourses on institutional "lock-in" and path dependency, where the main actors might rely too long on the continuation of trends that made the region successful in the past. Primary effects often manifest themselves in the form of delay in taking action for locally, regionally,

nationally or globally triggered changes, problematic situations or crisis, in the form of decline or stagnation of economic growth and innovation, and of a decline in wellbeing within the population.

Figure 5.4: Descriptive Model of Type 3 Inner Periphery Processes



Source: ESPON PROFECY, 2017

Secondary marginalisation effects are visualised for the fields of infrastructure and SGI provision and for socio-demographic aspects. Acknowledging that not only physical and network dispositions but also discourses can have noticeable impact on IP development, the process of stigmatization is reflected and shown in relation to primary and secondary effects.

6 Synthesis of case studies

6.1 Introduction

In this part of the Final Report, results of case study research will be briefly summarised. Details on each of the seven chosen locations are presented in Case Study Reports (see Annexes 10 to 16) and general findings exploring their commonalities and specificities across different territorial contexts out of trans-national perspective are provided by Annex 18.

Case Studies were carried out in seven areas across Europe: Austria (Wolfsberg), Germany (Landkreis Siegen-Wittgenstein), Spain (Montsià), Hungary (Tamási járás), Italy (Area Grecanica Calabria), Poland (Powiat Wieruszówski) and Sweden (Vimmerby), aimed at reflecting and exploring, with a more qualitative focus, in-depth and at micro-scale level, within its real-life context, the complexity and multidimensional character of the problem of Inner Peripherality. The cases were selected to cover different approaches in both defining Inner Peripheries following delineation outcomes as well as policy experience in coping with this socio-spatial problem. Detailed information on the methodological Case study approach is presented in Annex 9.

Along the process of delineation of European IPs it appeared that NUTS-3 units are not the most suitable level for such analysis as the problem of inner peripherality often refers only to a certain part of a wider administrative area. Moreover, European countries have various administrative structures and NUTS-3 are not necessarily the administrative units responsible for regional planning and implementation of development strategies. Therefore, except Germany and Austria, where case study research was conducted on the NUTS-3 level or its part, all other cases were carried out within lower scale of LAU-1 or LAU-2.

Every case study area selected for the in-depth research in the PROFECY project could be described as specific in location, regional context, historical background and regarding its inner characteristics. However, out of a comparative perspective**,** all seven areas were the basis for drawing analytical generalisations on critical factors and drivers in the process of genesis and evolution of IPs. Where purely quantitative data falls short, results of the case studies offer the possibility to complement research with a more qualitative perspective. The selected case studies draw a real portrait of the problem of Inner Peripheries enabling to make improvements both in conceptual approach as well as practical responses by local communities, states and Europe. Case studies results, along with other parts of the PROFECY project, have led to better knowledge on inner peripherality and, at the same time, contributed to open new questions and reflect ideas for the further research.

6.2 Comparative Analysis

The objective of the comparative analysis was to gain a deeper understanding of the processes, features and cycles of IP across all seven analysed cases, based upon the respective case study reports. The main focus was an analytical one and aimed at supporting the development of policy recommendations in the project. The comparative analysis was

supported by previous conceptual and empirical project work: The identification of IP at European level and the analysis of the status of IP provided data and background knowledge for situating the cases into a wider context. The three Descriptive Models of Inner Periphery processes, that were based upon separate academic discourses and highlighting different "triggers" for processes of Inner Peripherality, were developed further against the comparative view of findings from the single case studies.

6.2.1 Delineations outcomes and socio-economic characteristics of the cases

The concept of IP has a key component of relativity with respect to the situation and performance of neighbouring territories. It is, therefore, a phenomenon that is not shown in absolute values but in relation to the values of the environment, especially when zooming into NUTS-3 units and their internal diversity. The relatively worse position of case study areas as compared to their surrounding was usually described in the context of the distance and travel time to regional centres (D1 – regional centre), economic position, including individual incomes, local tax revenue and innovation capacity (D2 – interstitial), access to infrastructure, SGIs and their quality (D3 – SGI access) and socio-economic processess (D4 – depleting). According to this assignment of IP status, case studies represent different combinations of delineations (see Table 6.1).

Table 6.1: Delineations for case study areas

Country	PROFECY case study areas	Admin. level/ structure	DELINEATIONS			
			D1 – reg. centre	D2 – interstitial	D3 – SGI access	D4 – depleting
Austria (AT)	Wolfsberg	Part of NUTS-3			■	■
Germany (DE)	Siegen-Wittgenstein	NUTS-3	■		■	
Spain (ES)	Montsià	LAU-1				■
Hungary (HU)	Tamási járás	LAU-1			■	
Italy (IT)	Area Grecanica-Calabria	Group of LAU-2	■		■	
Poland (PL)	Powiat Wieruszówski	LAU-1		■		
Sweden (SE)	Vimmerby	Group of LAU-2	■			
■ - IP region representing relevant characteristic of Inner Periphery at case study level.						

Looking at the case studies against the background of existing EU regional typologies it is noticeable that four out of seven were classified under the urban-rural typology by DG AGRI and DG REGIO as *predominantly rural.* Three regions (in Germany, Spain and Italy) were identified as *intermediate regions,* close to cities, but however, still in a peripheral situation. Another interesting point is that three of the cases (the Hungarian, Italian and Polish) not only perform as IP but also as lagging regions according to the used definitions (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Case studies characterised along EU regional typologies

	Urban	Intermediate	Predominantly Rural	Mountain	Island	Metropolitan	Lagging (<EU 75%)	Lagging (<OnlyEU75%)	Lagging (<EUNAT75%)	Lagging (<OnlyNAT75%)	Lagging (<NAT75%)
Austria (D3/D4)											
Germany (D1/D3)											
Spain (D4)											
Hungary (D3)											
Italy (D1/D3)											
Poland (D2)											
Sweden (D1)											

- case study areas that also perform as areas of other EU regional typologies

Statistical data can give a first overview over the general characteristics of a case study. Therefore, each case study compiled data on several socio-economic indicators such as population development, unemployment and labour market structure to compare it with the higher administrative units. The case study areas have in common that they are sparsely populated, face a decrease in total population or very low numbers of population increase, especially with regard to the young population. Concerning the economic and labour market statistics most of the cases show low performance in relation to their regional or national context. Although some cases might perform relatively stable in comparison to the others, they often lag behind compared with their regional and national context.

6.2.2 Triggers, drivers, components and characteristics of IPs

As described previously (see chapter 6.2.1) the analysed case study regions can be differentiated concerning their characteristics and population size, social and economic structure and their national specifics, but concerning the main triggers and drivers leading to peripheralization processes they have a lot in common.

Main triggers and drivers like the (natural) geographical location or the (administrative) border location of an area can be described as location-based. In combination with a poor transport infrastructure, the physical location can lead to poor accessibility on the one hand and, on the other hand, administrative boundaries affect functional relations to neighbouring regions. In addition to the location-based triggers and drivers, gradual and continuous processes that intensify and accumulate the problems over time have been observed. Examples are metropolisation processes, which lead to underprivileged positions of rural areas and smaller cities, as well as globalisation processes, that affect areas economically against the background of global competition. Apart from these continuous processes, clear cuts and breaks in forms of transformations of the economic systems or economic crises have been observed and reinforce peripheralization. Often weak local and regional governance structures strengthen the peripheralization of the area. Problems can be identified concerning

inner-regional cooperation, inter-regional cooperation, and the cooperation with higher/national levels in a multi-level governance system.

Though geographical location and accessibility of a region play a role, too, more important for the understanding of IPs is accumulation and overlap of spatial and non-spatial factors in a gradual and continuous downward spiral which is difficult to stop or break through. These are in a social dimension, for instance, demographic changes on the basis of ageing population or outmigration, with the outmigration of young and skilled population being perceived as specifically problematic. Outmigration as a driver but also a defining feature of inner peripherality can be seen as a proxy for a multiple set of discontentedness of the population. Locally defining features vary depending on the factors at work in the studied Inner Peripheries. They can be summarised as: a) population instability, mostly in the form of population decline due to outmigration, b) limits in local and regional economic development often due to lack of innovation, lack of diversity in the local economy or lack of skilled workforce, and c) Services of general interest facing limitations and adjustment challenges.

6.2.3 Dealing with the challenges

The analysis has shown that each case study area has unique and place specific challenges. Referring to the challenges, in each case study a group of experts and local stakeholders were asked about their perceptions on the future development of investigated areas and assessment of particular factors lessening or strengthening the problem of inner peripherality. In five of the seven cases (the German, Austrian, Polish, Hungarian and Italian) the interviewed experts and local stakeholders were asked to fill a scenario questionnaire. In remaining case studies (the Swedish and Spanish) optional methods of a focus group or individual in-depth interviews were used to produce results with very similar findings.

Factors lessening and strengthening peripheralization that were most often pointed by interviewees are collected in Table 6.3.

Research conducted in all case studies indicate that, in general, the expectations for overcoming inner peripherality are quite low. This is shown by the fact that the factors that could lessen peripheralization are generally rated as improbable. Whereas the factors that could strengthen peripheralization processes are rated as more probable, like for example the decrease and ageing of the population or the decline of SGI access and transport infrastructure.

Talking about the possibilities to deal with the challenges, one has to have in mind that the localities where peripheralization processes take place are also places of unique endowments – in form of natural resources, quality of life, but also economic or social capital, including informal rules and customs as well as formal governance structures, usually referred to as “territorial capital”. To a certain degree, territorial capitals can shape the future potential and development alternatives of a region, negatively as well as positively.

Table 6.3: Factors lessening and strengthening peripheralization pointed by interviewees

Factors lessening the peripheralization	**Factors strengthening the peripheralization**
- Stable numbers of residents - Decrease in ageing - Increasing numbers of NGOs - Increasing or at least stable numbers of well-educated people - Increasing or at least stable numbers of jobs - Increasing individual income - Increased SGIs access - Development of the transport system - Increase or at least stable level of national subsidies - Increase or at least stable access to information on policy supply - Stable access to policy networks	- Decreasing numbers of residents - Increase in ageing - Decreasing numbers of NGOs - Decreasing numbers of well-educated people - Decreasing numbers of jobs - Stable or decreasing individual income - Decrease or stable access to SGI - Slowdown in development of the transport system - Stable or decreasing cooperation of local authorities within the region - Stable or decreasing levels of national subsidies - Decreasing or stable access to information on policy supply - Stable or decreasing access to policy networks

Some territorial capitals, like economic potentials, based on a strong SME foundation (in the Austrian, German and Swedish cases) depend on long-term development and are therefore not easily replicable in other places. The Bergamot production (in the Italian case) or landscape and nature assets (in the Italian, Spanish, Austrian, German and Hungarian cases) are also unique capitals und therefore place-specific. Other examples are a strong sense of belonging or territories with a rich cultural identity (in the Austrian, German, Italian and Spanish cases). Each case study area has a historically grown combination of territorial capitals. This does not mean that territorial capital is a fixed set of place-specific resources. Other territorial capitals relate to the governance within and beyond IPs. While nearly all cases identify governance-related territorial assets, one can clearly see from the reports that some of the areas would profit from stronger cooperation within and beyond the area. As governance aspects can be influenced by policy, those are arguably one of the most important territorial capitals.

It was very characteristic that among interviewed experts in all case studies there was a common perception of “being forgotten”, “left alone”, staying outside the decision-making processes on the regional and state level. As stated before, a lack of (inter-)regional cooperation and also a lack of visibility of the region at higher decision making levels are present in some of the cases. Although in all of the cases, the need for a holistic, long-term strategic planning to develop the locality is clearly expressed, not all the studied areas have designed and implemented long-term and comprehensive strategies from a local or regional perspective yet. It has to be stressed that regions which have implemented common objectives and cooperation among local and regional stakeholders were most successful. Stable and consequent development policy was crucial for shaping the future of IP areas. The overall impression from the case studies is that effective and impactful intervention strategies need the support from higher policy levels.

6.3 Reflection of the most relevant findings

On the basis of comparative analysis, the following ten lessons, which are relevant for understanding and counteracting peripheralization processes, are formulated:

1. In most reports, researchers identified Inner Peripheries below NUTS-3 level. This poses a challenge to the identification of IPs insofar as these are poorly captured by the available NUTS-3 data. Choosing, where available, aggregated data at lower levels, or data at grid level provides a clearer picture for policy and practice.

2. One needs to be aware of the inner diversity of IPs, that is, small-scale differences in provision of Services of General Interest, motorway or rail access, quality of life of population, etc. Surveys, workshops, or other forms of interaction with the local population can provide valuable insights and knowledge for local policy makers to understand the different local social realities within an IP.

3. An IP status is not necessarily negatively perceived by parts of the local population. Factors such as low housing prices in Inner Peripheries, natural assets, or the local community-life might outweigh the positive effects of better accessibility and connectedness for some groups. Peripherality cannot then be interpreted in unilateral categories of economic delay and problematic areas. Peripherality should be also translated as cultural potential, social and territorial identities, a set of specific family and community-driven traditional values. It is important to clearly identify the place-specific assets and challenges in an inclusive process of defining its specific features and development strategies.

4. There is no ‘failsafe’ single indicator for Inner Peripheries; neither is their economy and labour market always performing below national average (which makes them distinctive as opposed to lagging regions), nor are they always characterised by a disproportionally high level of disadvantaged communities (which makes them distinctive as opposed to the geographies of social exclusion); nor are they necessarily located peripheral in geographic terms (which makes them distinctive as opposed to the traditional periphery). The multifaceted nature of IPs calls for a holistic and cross-sectoral analysis.

5. Many IPs indeed do share, as the quantitative data analysis and the in-depth studies show, characteristics of lagging regions, but not all do. It is important to conceptually differentiate between the different concepts, as the suitable interventions and the remedies are different.

6. Despite the diversities of IPs, and the uniqueness of driving factors in each IP, there are features which seem common to most investigated cases. These common features include a high rate of outmigration among the youth, a local economy based on traditional activities, a weakness of local and regional institutions, difficulties to

attract external workforce and a feeling of abandonment perceived by local communities or “being forgotten” in the political attention from higher-policy levels.

7. It might be time for a shift in attention to Inner Peripheries, which suffer from the gravitational force of (in spatial development policies much appreciated) metropolitan areas, specifically with regards to the drain of skilled and young people. The urban-rural interlinkages need policy attention and thoughts on how to develop linkages in a way to benefit in both directions.

8. The interlinkage between spatial and non-spatial factors conditioning the development of the IP is quite obvious. Specific place-based capital – such as the capability of civil society to organise itself – is present in some, but not in all studied cases. In these latter cases, development strategies are needed which promote capacity-building actions in order to deal with the persistent nature of challenges in inner peripheries.

9. A coordinated approach is needed, but strategies for IPs often suffer from unclear responsibilities. There is a need for appropriate mechanisms for dialogue and coordination within the IPs, but it seems equally important to connect these local strategies with strategies across governance scales. Regarding effective governance in order to unlock development opportunities in Inner Peripheries, there is quite a potential in a single agency or an intermediary actor that ensures creating dynamic from coordinated efforts from below, and vice versa, bundling and channelling relevant resources into the area, following a long-term vision for the area.

10. Innovative interactions are needed for dealing with the non-spatial aspects and the persistent nature of problems in inner peripheries. Rather than viewing inner peripheries in a deficit-oriented perspective only, the specific potentials of IPs need consideration, too. Inner Peripheries may be considered as laboratories for experimental and innovative cross-sectoral policy interventions. Actions promoting capacity-building and testing the potentials of digital infrastructures and services might be specifically relevant.

7 Strategies for inner peripheries

Much of the recent discourse on regional development has emphasised the role of urban areas as “engines of growth”, powered by agglomerative advantages, which radiate beneficial effects to their hinterlands through “spillover” and “spread” effects. In a general sense IPs are places “left behind”, or excluded, from this process. In this chapter, we discuss the implications of our research for the development of “strategies” or policy approaches which could address the challenges faced by Inner Peripheries. We do so firstly by thinking through the implications of the Descriptive Models of the peripheralization processes which we have presented in Chapter 5. Among other things, this points very clearly to the need for integrated, multi-faceted policy approaches (the subject of the second subchapter). It is also vital to look for pragmatic ways in which such strategies could fit into existing EU and National policy structures. Finally the policy implications are summarised and applied to different levels of regional, national and European governance. A more extensive discussion of each of these sub-chapters is to be found in Annex 19.

7.1 Deriving Intervention Logics from the Three Descriptive Models

The PROFECY conceptual framework (Chapter 2) has shown that the scientific literature has identified three kinds of *primary peripheralization process* which seem to be responsible for the initial development of Inner Peripheries. The three primary peripheralization processes are associated with (a) “enclaves” of low economic potential due to low accessibility to centres of economic activity, (b) poor access to services of general interest, and (c) complex deficits in terms of relational capacity, both in terms of economic activity, and in terms of governance, which lead to “peripheralization” which is independent of geographical location. In the real world each of these are bundled together with a range of closely linked *secondary marginalization processes*, which exacerbate the downward spiral of economic and social performance (Chapter 5).

Figure 7.1: Outline Intervention Logic[I]

Source: ESPON PROFECY, 2017

Each of the three primary processes of peripheralization can form the basis of an intervention logic designed to address its specific challenges. These are fully described in Annex 19, and summarised in Figure 7.1. Although each of these intervention logics have distinctive

[I] Note this is a composite diagram illustrating examples from all three primary peripheralization processes.

characteristics, they have in common a focus on the need to enhance different forms of connectivity, either in terms of physical travel or transport within geographical space, or in the form of the capacity to exchange and use information. For example, in the case of the first kind of peripheralization, a key priority could be transport and communications infrastructure between the region, its neighbours, and key centres of economic activity. Where access to services of general interest is seen as a key driver of peripheralization the connectivity deficit could perhaps be addressed by innovative local delivery or access arrangements, and by ensuring household capacity to interact with providers both within and beyond the region. Where the peripheralization process is cased by poor "relational proximity" consideration needs to be given to the capacity and propensity of a wide range of local actors to interact with each other and with the wider world. Crucially improvements in the capacity to connect and interact should not be limited to the sphere of economic activity, entrepreneurship and innovation, but must extend to governance and social capital, in order to help the community and its institutions to achieve more equal standing and influence in regional and national contexts.

The case studies described in the previous chapter provide ample illustration that Inner Peripheries rarely, if ever, conform to one of the three models described in Chapter 5. This does not undermine the value and relevance of the Descriptive Models, which support greater clarity of thought, policy and planning, in the context of confusingly complex hybrid cycles of decline. It is important to try to identify both primary peripheralization and secondary marginalisation processes, so that appropriate strategies may be devised. This is why policy integration is so important (see below).

7.2 Territorial Capital, Capacity and Potential

As already stated, primary peripheralization processes are always related to some form of interaction, either in terms of geographic or relational proximity, and it is therefore helpful to consider how this emphasis upon connectedness relates to territorial capital. Territorial capital is manifest across a very wide range of forms, (built, financial, natural, human, social cultural and institutional, see Annex 1), and stronger local development occurs when the potential of the full range of territorial capitals is realised. Neo-endogenous development theory emphasises the need to combine local (place-based) assets with effective interaction, not only between local actors, but also with resources and agencies further afield. It is therefore important to recognise that such capacity for interaction (connectedness) is a key element of territorial capital. Territorial assets may be localised and disconnected, or, at the other end of the scale, difuse, aspatial or highly connected. Strategies to ameliorate the challenges facing Inner Peripheries should therefore seek to enhance the connectivity of the full range of territorial capitals.

7.3 Tangibility and Mutability

In policy contexts prioritisation is always necessary. The range of possible interventions which may be employed to ameliorate IP processes may perhaps be helpfully distinguished in terms

of two axes of characterisation – tangibility and mutability. The first of these describes the degree to which an IP characteristic can be objectively measured. Mutability refers to the degree of (cost) effectiveness of policy measures. Clearly measures which address aspects of peripheralization which are both tangible and mutable should be prioritised over those which are difficult to observe and less responsive to intervention.

7.4 Need for policy coherence and integrated approaches

Linear development support tools are neither sufficient nor effective in addressing societal challenges and realizing changes that are esteemed necessary to respond to IP challenges. Intensive discussion over the last decades underpins the need to enhance policy coherence and the requirements for "integrative" approaches to policy frameworks addressing the challenges of specific regional types. In addition to the permanent demand for policy coherence and integration, the project's analysis, particularly through its case studies, indicate relevant features and approaches to preventing marginalization processes in these areas.

Despite the long-running debate on integrated strategies, increase in policy coherence remained quite limited. Yet, the dynamic setting of regional governance systems and procedures to facilitate the development of strategic capacity are understood as basic elements to raise regional strategic capacity, to organize a strategy review process and to build a governance system that overcomes "policy separatism" and addresses incumbent cultural changes. Involved action requires a sufficiently developed level of trust and an orientation towards long-term working objectives[3]. In the context of IPs, the reference to the underlying triggers and drivers, and the explanatory model for peripheralization processes seems particularly important for understanding the complex dynamics and designing the most influential levers for policy action.

Such place-based approaches tailored to local conditions challenge "the tendency not to give equity the same status as efficiency in public discourse and policy"[4]. Experts underline that the mix of different policies, including closing the infrastructure gaps and enhancing human capital development as "classical" contributions to regional development, as well as tackling institutional weaknesses, are crucial for effective regional policy. In particular, the lack of a common and strategic vision and gaps in multi-level governance frameworks are addressed as key challenges for many lagging regions.

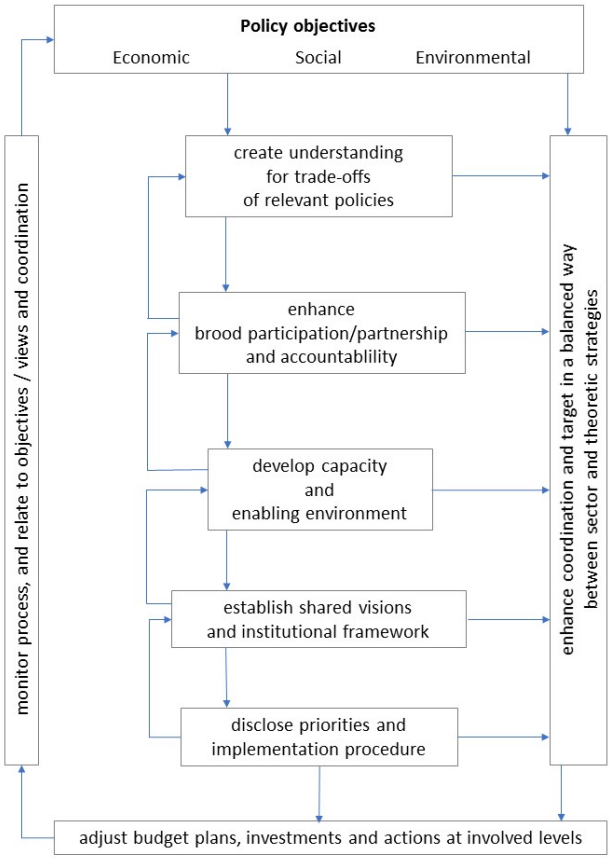
This is relevant for IPs that might be left out from clear overarching territorial goals as their challenges relate to a specific mix of deficiencies and institutional needs[5].

Principles and methods to enhance integration

The recent Communication of the European Commission[6] on strategies for "Strengthening Innovation in Europe's Regions" (COM(2017)376 final) highlights the need of addressing the regional potential, increasing interregional cooperation, the focus on less developed and transition regions and "joint work across EU policies and programmes supporting innovation".

Following from considerations on regional development planning[7] thriving to achieve sustainable development goals and integrate well-being concerns in their programmes, a set of significant elements for enhancing "integration" in regional development strategy building should be explored. The sequence of activities presented in feedback loops (Figure 7.2) suggests that a continuous need for reflecting and returning in regional strategy work to the previous stages/elements of policy elaboration. On the other hand, it is also important to underpin that the integrative perspective of local/regional levels has to be seconded by larger administrative levels. In designing regional strategies and operational programmes it seems crucial not just to focus on the main drivers of peripheralization but to include analysis and activities also with regard to the secondary driving forces.

Figure 7.2: Loop processes of regional policy integration[8]



Source: ESPON PROFECY, 2017

7.5 Overcoming fragmentation of regional action

The data analysis could reveal that inner peripheries are representing differentiated geographies but dispose of significant overlaps with spatial categories of European regions (including particularly mountain, rural and intermediate regions)[9]. Common findings of the case studies emphasize *regional priorities* and the need for policy coherence and stronger efforts to elaborate strategic concepts for IPs[10]. Analysis spotted the following as main dynamics influencing the emergence and development of IPs[11]: (i) Location-based triggers

and drivers, (ii) gradual intensification of spatial problems over time, (iii) weak governance structures and lack of institutional support, and (iv) significant events that act as breaks to a steady development process and reinforce peripheralization. These drivers don't allow to argue with linear cause-effect relationships or simplified explanations of unique driving influences for peripheralization processes, but have to be understood in a highly complex system of interrelated factors contributing to the observed spatial dynamics.

What is apparent from the priorities of the case studies[12] is the high degree of internal linkages of various envisaged "future" policy activities with impacts in other fields. This inter-relation of regional development activities is explicitly mentioned in two case case studies (Hungary and Poland) by pointing to proposals towards "integrated regional development strategies". Moreover, almost all case studies highlight the lack of (regional) coordination and weak institutional development and support as an important element for continuation (aggravating) "spiraling-down" processes in these areas. Thus, the case study reports underpin the need for addressing *cooperation and interaction* as the fundamental areas to impact on key challenges of IP processes. In addressing these aspects, they call for a comprehensive view on regional development issues, including socio-economic, cultural and environmental policy areas and advocate improved coordination and "integration" of regional strategy elaboration.

In taking account of current socio-political changes the shift in policy orientation from a predominant "growth" perspective towards a more encompassing view on regional goals of "well-being" and societal advancement becomes influential for IP strategy building[13]. Activities to enhance attractiveness of these regions have to address particular challenges of IPs, the complexity of the nature of development processes, and transition obstacles[14].

The challenge arises how to achieve "social, economic and environmental considerations (that) are on an equal footing rather than regularly being superseded by economic imperatives"[15]. To *overcome fragmentation* in action, "integrated" strategies need to address the various components that lead to IP processes. In general, no single indicator is responsible for IP processes (alone) and challenges extend to a number of interrelated aspects of socio-economic and cultural development. The following considerations and the inter-related strategic approaches[16] might represent a set of useful inputs for regional action in IPs.

- Focus on local and regional action adapted to the approirate spatial scale and reflecting internal differentiation;
- Tackle main reasons for IPs, but rely on integrated approaches to cope with complex systems and dynamics;
- Adopt a policy approach for IPs that enhances "territorial equity" and addresses local opportunities and interaction as prime levers;
- Facilitate development of "intangible factors" such as community relations, social norms and capacity-building;

- Nurture cooperative governance and institutional development; and
- Overcome limited views and realize the potential of IPs.

Regional action in IPs requires this long-term perspective and integrative approach that transcends short-term constraints and (local) feelings of disadvantage and handicap. Only by addressing and achieving increased attractiveness negative downturn trends might be reverted.

7.6 Territorially-blind policies and place-based policies

Even if there is a range of different policies to address needs of territorial balance in the last decade, mainstream programmes (Operational programmes funded by ERDF and ESF and Rural Development Programmes funded by EAFRD) are frequently territorially-blind. They are often not targeted to IP areas, lack a coherent vision of specific territorial needs and short of a coordinated action of the different Funds involved. Most of initiatives are funded by separate policy instruments. Moreover, local actors of IP areas criticise the unbalanced distribution of EU funds between centres of economic activities/large cities, on one side, and peripheral areas, on the other side. It seems that public support, in general, tend to focus on already economically developed areas rather than trying to rebalance social and economic disparities between sub-regional territories. In several IPs (Powiat Wieruszowski-Poland; Tamási Járás-Humgary; Calabria Grecanica-Italy) a substantial positive impact of EU funds was perceived because the alternative would be the absence of public intervention for local entrepreneurship and accessibility to public services. However, at the same time there were significant failures in the programme design (outside the influence of the area) also due to the excessively fragmented delivery of public support in small isolated interventions. In response to these failures, the governance of programmes has been pointed out as a multifaceted challenge[17,18]:

- lack of connections between rural development interventions and Cohesion policies, due to the lack of collaboration between sectoral administrations;
- centralised government of programmes (e.g. programme guidelines and funds' allocation often decided by central and even by EU levels);
- strong control of compliance to rules and legality, but few attention to the quality of projects and their impact on territorial gaps.

Inner peripheries are specifically affected by these problems. Conceptually, they can be effectively targeted by the policy frame focusing on a territorial, place-based, multi-fund and multi-sectoral approach, and multi-level governance. Due to the small-scale spatial variance, the local level deserves a strong role in cooperation with regional and national level (particularly relevant in all those countries where regional administrations have an important role in policy design and delivery). The following three kinds of policy instruments already include some of the required fundamental characteristics: a) Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI); b) Community-Led Local Development (CLLD); c) some national approaches. In Annex 19 we have described the main characteristics of these approaches in terms of multi-fund

support programmes and types of partnership. Different forms of place-based approaches were implemented in case studies. Such policy approaches are usually perceived (by people interviewed at local level) as more appropriate to the local development than the territorially-blind mainstream programmes and It seems particularly important to stress that there is no unique typology applicable for place-based approaches. Information collected through case studies show that almost all areas have adopted LEADER local development strategies (under the mono-fund approach), while the Polish, Hungarian and Italian areas have also set up strategies of local development outside the Leader model, making use of structural funds (including EAFRD). Among these examples, we can find two very similar approaches adopted in Hungary and Italy, which are specifically addressed to disadvantaged/peripheral areas: the Tamasi District Complex Development programme in Hungary (2007-13) and the Inner Areas Strategy in Italy (2014-20). Both are multi-fund, allocating a fixed quota of ESI Funds to local development strategies with holistic visions of the policy objectives for these areas: they combine public support to local economic initiatives and the enhancement of local services.

Place-based approaches also vary according to the type of partnership. We can observe two main models: one based on mixed partnerships (public+private), following the Leader characteristics, either funded by the Leader programme or by other schemes; the second one based on partnerships mainly composed by local governments (municipalities, districts, provinces) and eventually open to the participation of other local institutions (like universities). These partnerships are responsible for local development strategies that include several advantages for IPs: earmarking of financial resources at a relatively small territorial scale for the programming period, opportunity to design a strategy encompassing economic development and access to services; preference for interlinked project activities instead of independent and isolated projects; and design and implementation at the relevant scale and potential adaptation to changes of the local situation.

7.7 Some proposals for the future Cohesion policy

A greater policy focus on inner peripheries would imply emphasising three key principles for policy reform:

- to define the ways for a greater territorialisation of both Cohesion and Rural Development policies at sub-regional level;
- to conceive place-based approach as main conceptual basis for developing territorial policies;
- to simplify territorial policies and their implementation for local communities.

Policy Territorialisation. The territorial dimension of European polices has still to be fully developed[19] in the direction of territorial visions and plans which contribute to give more coherence to sectoral policies and also provide a more explicit territorial basis for the allocation of European Structural and Cohesion Funds across territories and sectors. Assuming that well-targeted and comprehensive territorial policies can reverse the process of peripheralization, IPs need to find **specific resource allocation and earmarking** in Operational Programmes which are generally designed as «blind policies» with no peculiar

territorial targeting, excepting for metropolitan areas and big cities (see for example all initiatives under Sustainable Urban Development priority[20]). Some forms of specific earmarking for sub-regional territories facing challenges in demography, access to services and local development would guarantee the necessary resource to develop integrated and multi-sectoral projects in these areas.

Another relevant issue concerns the relation between EU programmes and national policies. In order to face the process of peripheralization, the intervention promoted by EU programmes should be complemented by national programmes, as it already happens in some case studies. Strengthening these relations would be necessary to ensure policy effectiveness.

Place-based approach. The use of a place-based approach has gathered interest, especially among the local administrations and stakeholders. Failures of territorial policies at local scales originate mainly from the assumption that place-based has only to be synonymous with participation, decentralised design and management of development projects. This concept neglects other relevant components, especially relations between local and other actors/institutions outside the local dimension, which in a "lock-in" situation may be decisive in generating social innovation. The successof place-based policy depends upon the capabilities of IP actors to design a comprehensive strategy, negotiate financial resources, combine different funds and policy tools according to a well-designed long-term vision. This is often due to the lack of social and human capital, level of entrepreneurship and those social-political networks which are components of local capabilities. Decentralisation of design and implementation, cooperation between local communities and between different tiers of policy intervention, and better guidance and training of local capabilities are the main ingredients of a stronger place-based approach. This would require the introduction of **incentives for approaches** based on the decentralisation to local actors and **a stronger support to build and develop capacity** in project design and innovation. The support should be ensured by «central» administrations to local actors, even through skilled and motivated experts, aiming to improve local projects and involve real «innovative forces» in the area. In this direction, the experiences which emerge from case studies can provide some interesting examples of the variety of models and solutions adopted in the European context.

Simplification of current procedures. This implies to strengthen the role of the policy tools already existing (in particular ITI and CLLD) and simplify the working rules of ESI Funds. In this regard, the European Parliament in 2016 adopted a Report on ITI and CLLD in which declares that *«CLLD and ITI should play an even more important role in the future cohesion policy»*[21] and that the sub-delegation of competencies and resources within the framework of ESI Funds needs to be further promoted. As pointed out by the European Parliament, simplification efforts are necessary in order to create conditions for the implementation of these tools. The proposal launched by the Reflection paper on the Future on EU Finances[22] of defining a single set of rules for existing Funds and also of a single «rule book» for

cohesion policy and other funding instruments with programmes or projects of the same type seems very helpful and potentially effective. This would ensure more coherent investment and simplify the life of beneficiaries and stronger complementarity, for example between cohesion policy and rural development measures. This means that also EAFRD and EMFF should be included in the «rule book».

7.8 Recommendations to policy stakeholders

Inner Peripheries are present in almost all European countries. They are a phenomenon that needs political attention on the European and national level in order to support the local or regional stakeholders to deal with the challenges. Before proceeding to a set of policy recommendations, some key research findings from the PROFECY project shall be emphasised here, as they have implications for the recommendations.

One of the key tasks of the project was to analyse whether IP regions have unique features that make them a clearly distinguishable type compared to, for instance, lagging regions or mountain regions. Data analysis as well as case study research has made clear that IPs are experiencing complex hybrid processes with an overlapping of different types of phenomena and **there is no single indicator for identifying and measuring IPs**. There is a significant overlap of inner peripheral regions with rural or intermediate areas, mountain areas, or lagging regions. Also, in most of the cases, there is an overlapping of key elements of the three conceptual IP-models. Primary processes of peripheralization (as defined in the three Descriptive Models) co-exist with secondary marginalisation effects, leading to a downward cycle in Inner Peripheries. In consequence, out-migration of the young and highly-skilled, demographic changes and a usually higher old-age dependency rate, a lack of skilled workforce and an economic sector often based on traditional activities are some of the challenges, which Inner Peripheries share. As emphasised in the data analysis (Annex 8), **path changes of regions defined as Inner Peripheries are rare - which is why political action is required in order to break a continuing downward cycle**. In our understanding of Inner Peripheries, a main reason for their relatively worse position is a lack of connectedness in terms of geographical or relational proximity. It is thus different aspects of connectedness that the following recommendations focus on.

7.8.1 Recommendations at local level

Clarity on causes and effects: **Suitable strategies must be informed by a clear understanding of the specific primary peripheralization process**. Effective interventions need to be based on a conceptually informed understanding of causes and effects, drivers and features in a given area. As a first recommendation to local policy makers, it is important to pay attention to the different primary drivers of inner peripherality, as these call for different policy intervention types.

Articulating a pathway to change: It is important to **develop a clear "narrative" with regards to the intervention logics** for overcoming peripheralization processes, which are based on a clear understanding of the specific place-based assets and limitations and the way forward.

Ideally, this is not achieved as a "technical" task by a single group of actors, but **in an extensive stakeholder involvement process**.

Developing strategic capacity: Case study evidence points to a substantial lack in regional policy coordination, as well as trans-sectoral policy development and gaps in internal and external interactions in most cases. The **development of strategic institutional capacity is a decisive factor** for breaking downward cycles, changing routines and reversing trends.

Connectedness of territorial capital: Local policy makers have to **adopt an explicit focus on connectedness and interaction capacity when reflecting the localities' territorial capital**. Examples for this are, related to the labour market, network brokerage to support the attraction of external labour force to the region, or joint initiatives for qualifying local labour force. In response to deficits in service provision, it might involve new ways and constellations incorporating novel IT-based solutions.

Table 7.1: Recommendations to the local level stakeholders

Recommendations to the regional level stakeholders
- Clarify the key processes of IPs and elaborate place-specific strategies by applying a concerted elaboration in a multi-governance process. Strategies shall then highlight a priority of actions according to the specific peripheralisation model as discussed in Annex 19, Chapter 1.1.1. - Develop a common understanding of the IP's specific path to change that all major stakeholders can agree on. Orientation for a path developing process is given in Annex 19, Chapter 4.2.1. - Pay particular attention to the need for cooperation and interaction as fundamental elements for improving the relatively worse position of the Inner Periphery in relation to the situation and performance of neighbouring territories. (See Annex 18, Chapter 4.2 for different cooperation arrangements for the local level.)Intensify schemes to establish social, economic and digital service delivery alternatives actively and accompany the preparation by a critical local decision- making process. (See Annex 18, Chapter 4.3 for a detailed discussion on SGI challenges and coping options)Identify the IP's-specific territorial capitals and pay special attention to their capacity for creating connectedness and interaction. (For examples, see Annex 18, Chapter 4.1).

7.8.2 Recommendations at the regional level

In some cases, Inner Peripheries are rather small in scale or they are of a very dispersed nature, so that it is difficult for local stakeholders to raise sufficient resources for an effective intervention strategy. In these cases, **a supra-local (regional) platform is important** for connecting resources and developing action plans.

The role of intermediary regional agencies: A regional agency or platform may have an important role as an intermediary actor that ensures creating dynamics from **co-ordinated efforts from below**, and at the same time, bundling and **channelling relevant resources into the area from upper levels**.

A **comprehensive vision on synergies and complementarities***:* Regional co-operation might be specifically effective regarding locality branding and positive visibility of the affected IPs; strategies for retaining or attracting skilled workforce; fostering innovation through R&D and SME development; and monitoring and evaluation, among others.

Table 7.2: Recommendations to the regional level stakeholders

Recommendations to the regional level stakeholders
- Regional stakeholders shall create or use existing regional platforms to facilitate exchange, decision making, implementation and evaluation processes. (See Annex 18, Chapter 4.2 for examples of successful regional platforms). - Develop and adhere to regional co-operation and strategic plans. (See chapter 4.2.2 of Annex 19 for details on possible purposes and aims of regional strategic plans).

7.8.3 Recommendations at the national level

Paying political attention to Inner Peripheries: There is a common perception among political stakeholders in the Inner Peripheries of "being forgotten" in the national political agenda in a two-fold sense: It was difficult to get sufficient attention and support from higher political levels for dealing with the specific challenges of their region, and there was a feeling of being little connected to the decision-making policy arenas at higher policy levels, and thus not being able to influence the agenda setting processes for the future. It may now be the **time for shifting political attention to the Inner Peripheries** as locations with specific socio-cultural, but also economic assets.

Monitoring and supporting access to funding*:* The pathway to change rests upon an endogeneous development process and at the same time the capacity to connect with exogenous ressources and agencies. National/regional state governments or agents can support Inner Peripheries in this process. This is not necessarily a call for new funding programmes. However, it does imply political attention to the presence of Inner Peripheries in the national context, how these might be better targeted in existing programmes and a monitoring of their development.

Table 7.3: Recommendations to the national level stakeholders

Recommendations to the national level stakeholders
- Strengthen discussions on spatial justice and comparability of standards regarding infrastructure, SGI and financial support within the national framework. - Open communication channels to decision making levels for IP regions. - Reconsider existing programs regarding their adaptability to IPs special needs, such as out-migration, demographic change, lack of skilled workforce, insufficient SGI provision or unsuitable connectivity. - Consider positive discrimination of IP areas to break through a downwards spiralling development, e.g. for issues of digitalisation.

7.8.4 Recommendations at the European level

Integration of programmes and policies: A lack of integration between different programmes and policies hampers the design and implementation of comprehensive territorial development. In this context, a **greater territorialisation of both Cohesion and Rural Development policies** would strengthen interventions which can evolve around the specific challenges of inner peripheral areas rather than following presupposed topics and sectoral intervention logics.

Access and transparency: For local stakeholders in inner peripheral areas it is important to access supra-local funds on the basis of locally defined priorities. This is closely linked to the **sub-delegation of competencies and resources to the lowest possible regional/local level** in contrast to the still often prevalent elaboration and management of programmes on a higher governance level, which might not be sensitive to local specifics.

Implementation: In some cases, local stakeholders criticised the administrative and accountability burden that goes along with the implementation of EU policies and programmes. It **should be ensured that a necessary control of compliance to rules and legality does not overshadow the attention to the quality of interventions** and to their impact with regards to overcoming or reversing peripheralization processes.

Table 7.4: Recommendations to the EU-level stakeholders

Recommendations to the EU-level stakeholders
- Integrate existing programmes across territories and sectors. - Strengthen place-based approaches and the territorialisation of policies. - Consider IP specific indicators such as out-migration, demographic change or a lack of skilled workforce as new criteria for allocation of funding. - Allow more flexible access to supra-local funds on the basis of locally defined priorities and needs and increase acceptance for stabilising rather than growth-oriented goals in funding schemes. - Enforce the delegation of responsibilities and decisions to the peripheralised areas. - Relief IP areas of administrative and accountability burden that accompany the implementation of EU policies and programmes as these disadvantage IP areas disproportionally compared to more integrated areas.

8 Ideas on future analysis and research on this topic

It has been noticed that there is not a single manifestation of inner peripherality in Europe, but multiple expressions of the phenomenon that depend on the variety of (parallel) processes that affect territories in different ways according to the socioeconomic, geomorphological, and cultural variety of European regions. Witnessing such multiple manifestations, there is not an "one size fits all" approach to deal with this phenomenon. Nevertheless, additional research questions emerge, presenting interesting issues to pursue further in other research contexts.

Regarding the mapping and delineation of inner peripheries, there is a lack of availability of adequate and harmonized existing statistical information at an appropriate scale. In fact, the scale of the available up-to-date socio-economic data at NUTS-3 is clearly inappropriate, in a relevant number of European countries, for understanding territorial phenomena such inner peripherality. There is an urgent need to gather and harmonise data at more disaggregated territorial levels. Therefore, competent authorities should work on the development of LAU-2 and "grid" indicators to improve the possibilities of analysis and knowledge of the European regional reality.

The developed methodology provides scope for further improvements regarding the delineations of IPs. Two delineations have overcome the scale limitations by using a grid level, but the methodology still leaves room for several adaptations, without changing the general approach (see Chapter 7 of Annex 4). Focusing on a national and regional scale would allow for a more detailed analysis in order to explore how inner peripheries can utilise their territorial potentials and support their competitiveness. In the future, increasing grid resolution, lowering the level of standardization with neighbouring areas and using lower units of aggregation (including sub-urban districts) could be especially useful. In addition, the compiled Pan-European SGIs database could be complemented with other services (stadiums, city halls, police stations, restaurants, universities, etc.) or information on the quality and the development of SGIs. Furthermore, if a complete public transport network (bus, metro, etc.) is available, it may well be used in addition to road networks (Annex 4). In addition, the functional roles of regional centres could be explored further, especially considering the phenomenon of shrinking cities as well as the different degrees of cross-border and regional-border integration, and specially regarding obstacles for SGI provision (which is being recently investigated in the ESPON targeted analysis on “Cross-border Public Services”). Furthermore, research on case studies also hinted some issues to pursue further:

- the role of administrative borders (and border shifts) within national states in “disconnection” and cooperation hindrances (and programs to address them);
- the relation between different kinds of support received and IP development;
- the challenge to attract or keep skilled workforce in the region, looking at practices to overcome peripheralization addressing labour market mismatches and
- the role of transport infrastructure, which may, in practice, have no influence or a counter-productive ‘tunnel effect’ effect contributing to out-migration.

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