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EUROPEAN UNION

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

Annex 18.Comparative Analysis of Case Study Reports

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

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ESPON 2020

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Abbreviations

AT	Austria
BABF	Federal Institute for Less Favoured and Mountainous Areas
DE	Germany
D	Delineation
DG AGRI	Directorate-General for Agriculture and Rural Development
DG REGIO	Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy
ES	Spain
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
ESPON EGTC	ESPON European Grouping on Territorial Cooperation
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic information system
HCSO	Hungarian Central Statistical Office
HU	Hungary
Idescat	Statistical Institute of Catalonia
INE	National statistical institute of Spain
ILS	Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development
IP	Inner Periphery(ies)
IT	Italy
IT NRW	Central statistical and IT service provider of North Rhine-Westphalia
LAG	Local Action Group
LAU	Local Administrative Units
LEADER	Links between the rural economy and development actions
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PL	Poland
PROFECY	Processes, Features and Cycles of Inner Peripheries in Europe
NSI	National Statistical Institute Sweden
SE	Sweden
SGI	Services of General Interest
SME	Small- and Medium sized Enterprises

Executive summary

This report discusses the findings which arise from a comparative view on processes, features and cycles of “Inner Peripheries” across all seven case studies of the PROFECY project. The main focus here is an analytical one and aimed at supporting the development of policy recommendations in the project. While the seven chosen cases cannot claim to be representative for the variety of Inner Peripheries across ESPON territory, their analysis in a comparative perspective nevertheless provides valuable insights into the so far little explored developmental characteristics, challenges and the underlying factors.

In each of the cases a unique combination of factors is at work, with often no single identifiable factor at the roots of Inner Peripherality. Some regions have always been peripheral and at the margin of economic development processes. Others are partially integrated into the national and global circulation processes, but more and more challenged by the relational disadvantage of their area in relation to booming (metropolitan) areas. In some cases, poor access to Services of General Interest or weak economic potential can be identified as primary drivers, but more often it is a combination of primary drivers and secondary effects in a cumulative process over time. Some cases are located within a larger area of weak economic performance; in other cases labour market and economic data are (still) performing relatively well, but with obvious challenges arising from continuing outmigration, demographic change, low innovation capacity or a lessening ability to absorb external (economic) shocks.

With regards to the main drivers and triggers of Inner Peripheries, geographical location and accessibility of a region as the main factor for explaining traditional periphery play a role, too, but more important for the understanding of Inner Peripheries 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. Established institutions can become part of the problem, with weak local or regional actors, which are not able to form effective strategies to counteract peripherality processes. Problems can be identified concerning inner-regional cooperation, inter-regional cooperation, and the cooperation with higher/national levels in a multi-level governance system. The regional level, in our understanding, has a specifically important role for managing and coping with peripherality processes. Intermediary actors at a regional level can be most effective in promoting and strengthening regional cooperation, capacity building and the inner-regional bundling of resources, and at the same time enhancing the visibility of the region (and its specific IP challenges) at higher policy levels.

Ten lessons have been formulated on the basis of comparative analysis which are of interest to policy-makers at different levels:

1. In most reports, researchers selected Inner Peripheries below NUTS3 level as case study areas. This highlights the challenge regarding the identification of IPs insofar as these are poorly captured by the available NUTS3 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. It is important to clearly identify the place-specific assets 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 is the time for a shift of attention in spatial development policies, which have had a dominant focus on the development of metropolitan areas over recent years. Inner Peripheries suffer from the gravitational force of 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 – are 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 channeling 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.

1 Introduction

1.1 Aims of the report

The general aim of this report is to discuss the findings which arise from a comparative view on processes, features and cycles of “Inner Peripheries” (also IP hereinafter) across all seven case studies. The main objectives are:

- to understand factors and drivers influencing patterns and processes of peripherality through comparative analysis,
- to explore commonalities and specificities across different territorial contexts out of a trans-national perspective, and
- to generalise findings as a basis for the subsequent research work, specifically the development of policy recommendations.

The conclusions in this report are based upon the seven case study reports on Inner Peripheries in Austria (Wolfsberg), Germany (Landkreis Siegen-Wittgenstein), Spain (Montsià), Hungary (Tamási járás), Italy (Area Grecanica Calabria), Poland (Powiat Wieruszówski) and Sweden (Vimmerby). As it became clear in previous reports, the availability and quality of statistical data on different data aggregation levels often does not provide a complete picture of Inner Peripheries, their main features and the processes behind. The case studies enabled us to explore in-depth the processes and drivers of Inner Peripheries in their complexity.

In order to support comparative analysis, the case study reports followed a similar structure for describing and analysing empirical findings (see Annex 9[1]). Amongst these, a visual representation of the main triggers and drivers, features and opportunities in the case study reports was designed to support comparative analysis (see Annex 1 of this document). This report follows the temporal dimensions provided in the graph, from analysing the driving factors behind the development of Inner Peripheries, to their main features and territorial assets and the way how policy makers are dealing with the presented challenges. As the policy-related aspects are dealt with in a separate report (see Annex 19[2]), however, our main focus here is an analytical one and aimed at supporting the development of policy recommendations later on.

In the following, the report provides

- an overview on the main characteristics of the individual cases under study, as well as on commonalities and differences of their wider socio-economic and territorial context (see chapter 2),
- an analysis of the main drivers and triggers, defining features and intermediating processes out of a comparative perspective (see chapter 3 and 4),

and conclusions regarding policy-related aspects as well as the conceptual hypothesis of the project (see chapter 5).

1.2 Methodology for cross-case analysis

The methodology for cross-case analysis shall briefly be discussed here in order to make the conceptual foundation and the empirical process of comparative endeavours transparent.

The comparative analysis was supported by previous conceptual and empirical project work. First, identifying IPs at European level and analysing the status of IPs provided data and background knowledge for situating the chosen cases into a wider context (see chapter 2.1 and 2.2). Second, three idealised models of IP were developed, based upon separate academic discourses and highlighting different "triggers" for processes of Inner Peripherality. Case study authors were asked to reflect and comment on the validity of these models in the discussion section of their report, and exploring in how far these were relevant for explaining the processes in their case (see chapter 5.1).

For enabling and supporting a comparative view on all seven cases, the project developed a common structure on how to report findings as well as standardised tools, amongst them the scenario tool, a set of common tables for the case study reports and an illustrative IP Case Graph (see Annex 9[1] for the methodological case study approach).

The scenario tool in the PROFECY project was developed to highlight the key factors which have an influence on the future development of the case study area, and to trigger reflections on the possible future paths of development.

Tables in the case study reports, following a similar structure and layout, informed the comparative report in different ways. The tables provided additional context information in the form of introductory and exploratory data on socio-economic and territorial characteristics of the chosen area. For an easy access to the information, a summary of main data is attached as Annex 3 to this report. The tables also presented key findings regarding an analysis of relevant media and policy documents. These have informed different sections in this report, specifically in chapter 4.

The IP Case Graph is an idealised model for showcasing the major triggers, drivers, features and potentials of the respective case. It was designed to guide the analysis of the respective case in a way to yield policy-relevant findings, as the IP Graph

- distinguishes between supra-regional triggers and regional drivers, and thus shows which parts of the processes are „policy mutable" (and at which policy scale);
- defines the intermediating processes, that is assumptions which processes can be influenced on local or regional scale;
- defines opportunities, that is the routes for the further development.

The idealised model and two examples of the Graph as filled out for the Polish and the German case are annexed to this report for better understanding (see Annex 1 and 2 of this document).

With regards to the empirical process of comparative endeavours, all authors of this report read all individual case study reports different times and discussed the specificities of each

case, commonalities and differences across the cases. Key arguments and draft sections were discussed in an iterative process. A draft report was sent around to all case study authors, asking for comments and feedback to the draft and aimed at both, quality control of our interpretations and avoiding factual mistakes.

2 Presenting the cases

In the following chapter 2.1, the case study sample is characterised according to delineation outcomes and territorial characteristics. In chapter 2.2 each individual case is presented through short profiles.

The seven chosen cases cannot claim representativeness for the variety of Inner Peripheries across ESPON territory. At this stage of knowledge on Inner Peripheries, the cases are regarded as a "window" to explore their features and analyse factors behind the main developmental characteristics and challenges. At a national scale, different geographical locations in ESPON space are covered by the selected cases, with Spain and Italy representing the South, Sweden the North, Germany and Austria representing EU-15 Central Western and Poland and Hungary Central Eastern Europe. At a regional scale, the delineation outcomes (delineation 1 – delineation 4) guided the selection as well as the expert knowledge of researchers. The sampling was purposeful insofar as the aim was to cover a diversity of significant cases, in terms of inner characteristics as well as policy experiences (see Annex 9[1]).

2.1 Delineation outcomes for the case study areas

Comparing the case study areas according to their delineation outcomes we consider two different spatial levels of reference. Table 2.1 shows the delineation outcomes at NUTS3 level for the regions that embed the case study areas. It has become clear in previous work on the four delineations, that data aggregated at NUTS3 level has some limitations in adequately capturing areas suffering from processes of peripheralisation. This is due to the fact that the size of NUTS3 regions can be quite different in the various countries. In large NUTS3 regions significant internal differentiations have been noticed.

Table 2.1: Delineation results for NUTS3 regions containing case study areas[3]

Country	NUTS3 region containing CS area	Final delineation results (NUTS3)			
		D1 – reg. centre	D2 - interstitial	D3 - SGI access	D4 - depleting
Austria (AT)	Unterkärnten (AT213)				
Germany (DE)	Siegen-Wittgenstein (DEA5A)	■		■	
Spain (ES)	Tarragona (ES514)				
Hungary (HU)	Tolna (HU233)				
Italy (IT)	Reggio di Calabria (ITF65)				
Poland (PL)	Sieradzki (PL116)		■		
Sweden (SE)	Kalmar County (SE213)	■			
■ - *IP region according to average accessibility and depletion data used in the four types of delineation (see Annex 4 [4])*					

As the methodology discussion (Annex 9[1]) has shown, it is helpful to look beyond NUTS3 level in case study work to decipher the processes characterising Inner Peripheries.

Therefore, Table 2.2 summarises the delineation results for the specific case study areas, which are in most cases spatial units below NUTS3 level.

Comparing the administrative units studied, we need to note here that the focused research units are ranging from a group of LAU2 units in the Swedish and Italian case to LAU1 in the Polish, Hungarian and Spanish case to (parts of) NUTS3 in the Austrian and German case studies, and at the same time also important differences in NUTS3 size among countries. This goes along with very different position of IPs in governance and administration hierarchies and should be kept in mind when discussing IP processes, intervention strategies and opportunities later on.

Table 2.2: Delineations for case study areas[3]

Country	PROFECY case study areas	Admin. level/ structure	DELINEATIONS			
			D1 - reg. centre	D2 - interstitial	D3 - SGI access	D4 - depleting
Austria (AT)	Wolfsberg	part of NUTS3			■	■
Germany (DE)	Siegen-Wittgenstein	NUTS3	■		■	
Spain (ES)	Montsià	LAU1				■
Hungary (HU)	Tamási járás	LAU1			■	
Italy (IT)	Area Grecanica-Calabria	Group of LAU2	■		■	
Poland (PL)	Powiat Wieruszówski	LAU1		■		
Sweden (SE)	Vimmerby	Group of LAU2	■			
■ - IP region representing relevant characteristic of Inner Periphery at case study level.						

According to this assignment of IP status the PROFECY case studies represent different combinations of delineations (see Annex 4[4]). These can be described as areas of

- Delineations 3 & 4: poor access to SGIs and (thus) depleting (Austrian case study area)
- Delineations 1 & 3: low access to centres and services, but still good economic potentials and not yet depleting (German case study area, Italian case study area)
- Delineation 4: high accessibility and economic potential, but still depleting (Spanish case study area)
- Delineation 3: poor access to services, but high economic potential and good/stable demography (Hungarian case study area)
- Delineation 2: good accessibility and good (stable) demography, but low future potentials (Polish case study area)
- Delineation 1: poor access to a centre, but still good economic potential, good access to SGIs and thus good /stable demography (Swedish case study area)

As explained before, the sampling strategy was aimed at heterogeneity in Inner Periphery characteristics. The cases illustratively cover different types of delineation (and combinations

of delineations) (see Table 2.2). These types of delineation (combinations) represent 38.1% of the ESPON territory and roughly 83% of the space classified as IP under one or more delineation.

2.2 Territorial and socio-economic characteristics of the cases

Looking at the case study areas against the background of existing EU regional typologies (see Table 2.3) we see that our case studies mainly represent rural regions and intermediate regions according to the typology by DG AGRI and DG REGIO. While island regions were not considered for case study research, the Austrian case represents a mountainous region referring to the official typology[a]. Three of the seven case studies (the Italian, Polish and Hungarian cases) not only performed as IP but also as lagging according to one of the applied official definitions.

Table 2.3: Case studies characterised along EU regional typologies[5]

	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 offer a first overview over the general characteristics of a case study. Therefore, we compiled data on several socio-economic indicators such as population development, unemployment and labour market structure of the case study areas (see Annex 3 of this document). Thereby, the areas are put in relation to higher statistical levels, namely their NUTS3, their country and the EU28 level. For the sake of comparison, all data has been collected for the year 2013. Yet, as some cases show significant developments since then with regards to certain indicators, the most recent figures available are presented as well. The following diagrams illustrate a comparison among the seven case study areas concerning two of the most relevant socio-economic indicators of Inner Peripheries.

[a] Although according to the typology by DG AGRI and DG REGIO only the Austrian case is classified as a mountainous region, other case study regions are also (partly) characterised by mountains (e.g. Italy, Spain, Germany).

Figure 2.1: Population development age 18-30[6]

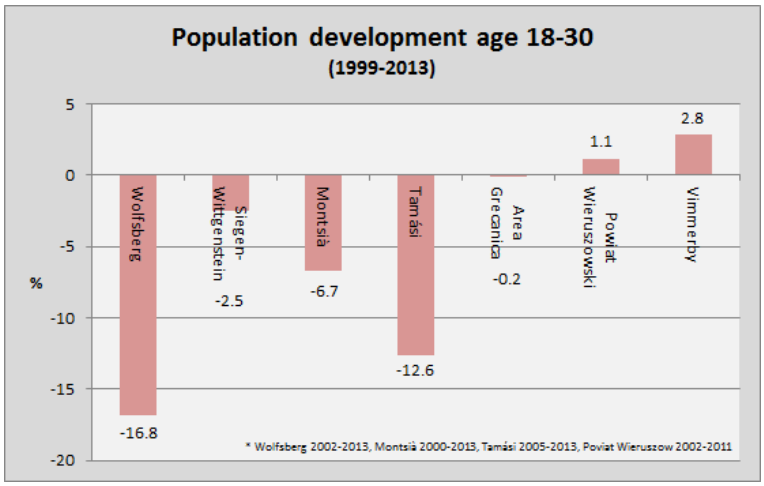
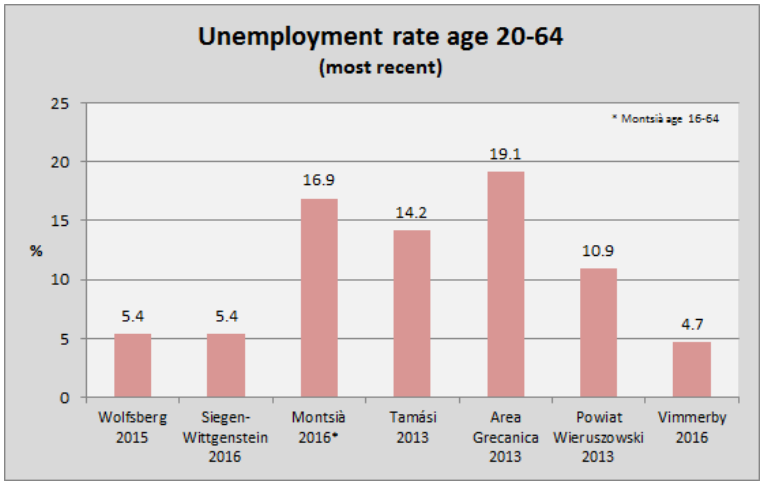


Figure 2.2: Unemployment rate age 20-64[6]



Independently from the year, the data collection supports the IP classification of the areas. This means that overall, the selected cases are sparsely populated, face a decrease in total population or very low numbers of population increase, especially with regard to the young population (see Figure 2.1). Concerning the economic and labour market statistics the seven case study areas show low performance in relation to their regional or national context. Exceptions to these classifications are the German case, whose GDP is higher than the German average, and the Austrian and Swedish cases, whose unemployment rates are on a low level even in relation to their regional and national context (see Figure 2.2). Furthermore, the case study areas generally present a stronger focus on agriculture and industry than on the third sector. Their rates of tertiary educated people are below the national and the EU28 averages. At the same time, differences between the cases according to EU regions can be observed through the data collection. Thereby, the compilation illustrates that the IP status of the cases under study is dependant on the situation of the surrounding regions. Hence, while certain areas might perform very well in comparison to other case study areas, they often lag behind their regional or national context.

Cross-case analysis showed that those cases of Inner Periphery, which coincide with being classified as lagging are different from those which are not. This is why in the following chapter we group the cases in two groups accordingly: lagging Inner Peripheries and non-lagging Inner Peripheries. In both cases, two subgroups might even be formed (continuous or disruptive process), as explained in the next chapter.

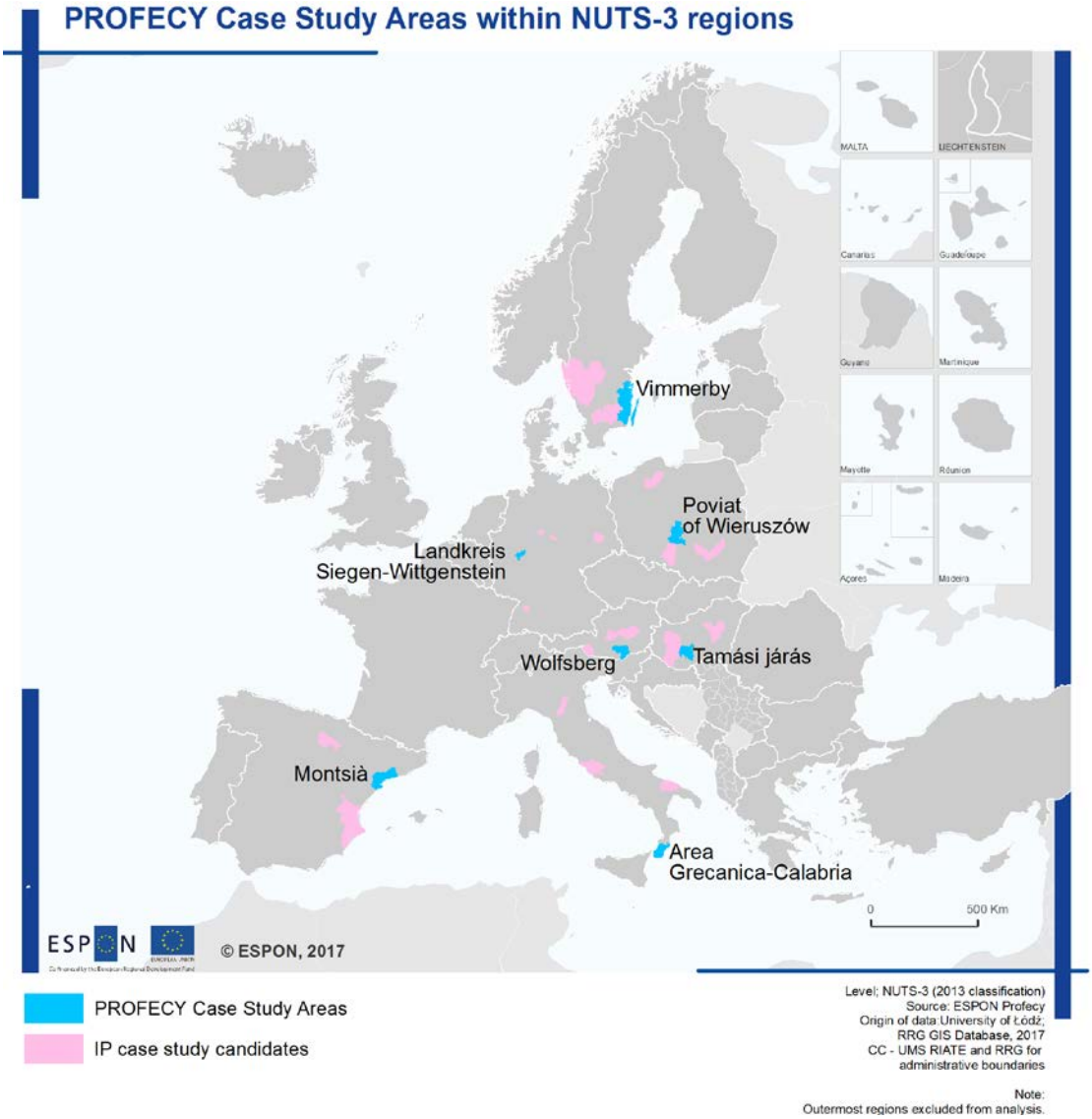
2.3 The individual cases

The seven IP case study areas can be differentiated into *non-lagging Inner Peripheries* and *lagging Inner Peripheries* and furthermore differentiated concerning the way in which a relational and typically long-term process of disconnection is intensified, or not, by external shocks. The Austrian, German, Swedish, and Spanish case study areas can be characterised as Inner Peripheries without being classified as lagging regions. While the developments of the regions of Wolfsberg/AT, Siegen-Wittgenstein/DE and Vimmerby/SE were continuous processes, the situation of Montsià/ES presents a special case due to a clear disruptive break in form of an economic crisis that occurred in addition to other more structural problems already present before. The Hungarian, Italian, and Polish case study areas can be classified not only as an Inner Periphery but also as lagging according to the common definition (see Annex 8[7]). While the lagging situation of Grecanica-Calabria/IT is due to a continuous downtrend, the situation in Tamási járás/HU and Powiat Wieruszówski/PL is exacerbated by the collapse of State Socialism as a clear break.[b]

Before entering into cross-case comparison in chapters 3 and 4, the following section provides a short account of each case. These short profiles follow a similar structure, including a description of the case-specific background, challenges and development potentials.

[b] The following introduction texts are based on the individual case study reports (Annexes 10-16 of the Final Report).

Map 2.1: Case study candidates and selected case study regions[8]



2.3.1 Non-lagging Inner Peripheries: A gradual and relational development process

An interesting phenomenon reflected by the following cases is that according to labour market and unemployment indicators, they partly perform quite stable. It seems paradox to name these areas as Inner Periphery then. As we will see, the challenges in these regions arise from a relative and relational process of losing attractiveness over time – a relative process, as all of them still have a strong local industrial base; a relational process, as they are competing for investments and skilled labour force with prosperous regions, such as metropolitan areas. In this competition for the young and skilled population, the case study areas suffer from a relational disadvantage; they are less able to keep and attract well-qualified labour force, be it for the poor access to SGI, a perceived low quality of infrastructure, or a lack of visibility of the regions' assets.

Wolfsberg / AT

Background

The case study area Wolfsberg in the province of Carinthia is an area situated between the Carinthian centre Klagenfurt and the Styrian centre Graz. The district has a population of 53,400 inhabitants and a population density of 55 inhabitants per km², while almost half of them live in the main city of Wolfsberg (25,000). Accessibility of the region was very difficult for a long time due to the remoteness of the area being surrounded by mountain ranges and limited access by different transport facilities. Nevertheless, natural resources and coal industry led to the emergence of a substantial industrial development (metal processing, pulp industry) which translated also in a considerable share of employment in the industrial sector. The region benefitted from infrastructure improvement (in highway connection) and linkage to other spaces and recently showed quite satisfying economic performance indicators.

Table 2.4: Basic information about Wolfsberg / AT[9]

Wolfsberg	Size of IP in km²	Size of Population	Population density per km²	Type of delineation
Part of NUTS3	974	53,707	55	D3 & D4: poor access to SGIs and (thus) depleting

Figure 2.3: Highway bridge in the case study area[10]

Challenges and problems

The main problems and challenges for regional development are seen in (a) the **negative demographic development** with consequences for diverse social aspects and economic issues of the region; (b) a **spatial concentration process** of services, trade and settlements making the provision of SGIs for specific groups of society and areas at the edge of the case study area more difficult, and (c) an **increased relevance of knowledge development** which is felt as a pressure for high-quality education and skills development. A differentiation of the area is needed because remoteness is hence experienced at the edges of the case study

area, but to a much lower degree in the central parts of the region. Therefore a classification of the whole NUTS3 region as Inner Periphery is difficult, as well with regard to the case study´s location within a larger space of low performing regions in southern Austria. Another reason for the problematic situation is the **lack of interaction** with stakeholders and institutions within the region and with other regions, although the awareness for the requirement to increase networks and cooperation is growing.

Future developments

There are some territorial capitals in the area including economic as well as natural and cultural assets. The strong basis in metal processing, wood industry and construction activities is a source for the comparably good position of the regional labour market. Moreover, a number of innovative individual project promoters generate a feeling of hope for future development. In addition, the region is based on a long tradition of strong cultural heritage and increasingly focuses on its landscape and natural resources as crucial assets and amenities for future socio-economic development and quality of living space. In terms of future development, local and regional institutions need to make an effort to provide enhanced results in regional coordination. This means in particular a focus on the spatial dimension of regional development strategy and land use planning issues. Integrated regional cooperation can be a main opportunity for Wolfsberg and a need to overcome the challenges. In this regard, it can be named a second future perspective: raising the visibility of the region, and enhancing the valorisation of the regional amenities as a core development potential.

Siegen-Wittgenstein / DE

Background

Siegen-Wittgenstein has approximately 280,800 inhabitants and a population density of 243 people per km². The district is located in the south-eastern part of the state North Rhine-Westphalia in Germany and borders with the states Hesse and Rhineland-Palatinate. It consists of two parts, the former district Siegen in the south-western part and the former district Wittgenstein in the north-eastern part of the district that were separated until 1975. The region is characterised by a high level of socio-economic development, being home to manufacturing and production industries. This is also reflected in the high number of employees in the secondary sector.

Table 2.5: Basic information about Siegen-Wittgenstein / DE[11]

Siegen-Wittgenstein	Size of IP in km²	Size of Population	Population density per km²	Type of delineation
NUTS3	1,133	274,904	243	D1 & D3: low access to centres and services, but still good economic potentials and not yet depleting

Figure 2.4: View over the municipality of Erndtebrück, showing the typical interspersion of SME production sites in landscape and settlements[12]

Challenges and problems

The area is characterised by a rather stable economic development but faces challenges regarding (a) the management of **demographic change** and the supply of skilled work force, (b) the **adjustment of traffic and data infrastructures** to current standards, and (c) the **adaptation of planning system structures** for dealing more effectively with the challenges in the rural, sparsely populated and border region parts. Regarding the internal differentiation of the case study area, the eastern part – the area of Wittgenstein – is found to be much more affected than the western part of Siegerland. Stakeholders assessed the case study's challenges as similar to the adjacent districts but rated the access to resources as worse when compared to metropolitan regions. Generally, a **lack of visibility** of and political attention towards the wider region and its specific needs, as well as influence on higher decision making levels was acknowledged.

Future developments

On the assets side of the case study area there are some relevant strengths and territorial capitals: there is a strong sense of local belonging and identification of key stakeholders and local communities with the region. Connected to that, a strong network of political and economic local leaders and stakeholders has been identified. Another remarkable strength is the vivid economic base and the high number of small and medium-sized enterprises, also located in the sparsely populated areas of the case study area. The natural landscape capital can play an important role in attracting potential residents and employees to live and work in the area.

The stable and effective networks on the local as well as on the regional level are the most powerful resource to tackle peripheralisation. Especially on the regional level, one programme was considered to have helped to approach problems comprehensively. The regional structural development programme REGIONALE, set up by the federal state of North Rhine-Westphalia, is said to have established a valuable and effective cooperation platform to integrate local development concepts, to learn from each other, and to gain visibility, recognition and influence regarding higher governance levels.

Vimmerby / SE

Background

Vimmerby is a rural municipality in northern Kalmar county in the South of Sweden, with approximately 15,636 inhabitants of which 8,098 people live in central Vimmerby. The population density amounts to 13.5 inhabitants per km². The economy is based on traditional agriculture, forestry and manufacturing industries, local tourism and the healthcare services sector. The municipality suffered economically during the 2008 financial crisis, which led to industrial decline and outward migration. However, the economy has since recovered, thanks largely to the ability of local industries in the agriculture and forestry sectors to diversify into new business areas and consistently high levels of tourism to the area due to the successful branding of Vimmerby's natural and cultural assets.

Table 2.6: Basic information about Vimmerby / SE[13]

Vimmerby	Size of IP in km²	Size of Population	Population density per km²	Type of delineation
Group of LAU2	1,140	15,287	13	D1: poor access to a centre, but still good economic potential, good access to SGIs and thus good /stable demography

Challenges and problems

The case study highlights that Vimmerby municipality is currently facing challenges common to all Swedish rural communities, including downward trends in relation to (a) a **declining and ageing population**, (b) a **lack of higher quality housing**, (c) **low levels of education**, (d) a labour market characterised by **high rates of unskilled people** and (e) **low access to SGIs**. As a main driver of Inner Peripherality in the municipality is considered metropolisation and the outmigration of young skilled workers, particularly women. This is contributing to a labour market with jobs for low skilled workforce as well as reducing the ability of local businesses to innovate into new areas. **Poor quality infrastructure** in relation to transport and housing is also a key driver of Inner Peripherality in the area, with poor commuting links to functioning urban areas and low quality housing provision reducing the likelihood of skilled workers moving to the area. Finally, a **lack of collaboration and coordination** between national,

regional and municipal governance levels is viewed as a major driver of peripheralisation. The peripheralisation process within the municipality has been triggered by the geographical distance and poor access to centres of economic activity, and to some extent, a lack of collaboration and interconnectedness with key regional stakeholders.

Future developments

Vimmerby municipality has a strong business community, active associations, municipal leadership and engaged residents. This is reflected in Vimmerby's social local development strategy that focuses on developing regional strengths, including increasing the attractiveness of the area by promoting the municipality's natural and cultural assets, particularly increasing local tourism through the Astrid Lindgren brand. In addition, local industries have also been successful in diversifying into new businesses, particularly in the areas of green growth and renewable energies. The regional food and wood strategies for Småland are important initiatives in this regard, promoting growth, diversification and innovation in the traditional industries. Finally, the Astrid Lindgrens Hembygd Association has developed a local strategy built on the 'leadership method', fostered by the European Network for Rural Development, that seeks to empower rural areas through building partnerships around strategic projects at a sub-regional level, between public, private and civil society sectors.

The municipalities' growth strategy has been relatively successful in promoting economic growth through tourism and business development, but more can be done to overcome the ongoing challenges posed by urbanisation, including: (a) using the high levels of destination tourism to the area to develop new innovative businesses, (b) building more housing to attract skilled labour to live in the area, (c) strengthening links between local businesses and regional higher education and research institutes to help match education programmes with regional labour market, and (d) improving the cooperation between national and regional levels, particularly in the coordination of rural growth strategies to improve transport infrastructure and increase investment in the municipality.

Montsià / ES

Background

Montsià County is located in Catalonia Region in eastern Spain. The area has a population of 67,646 inhabitants and a population density of 92 inhabitants per km^2. It includes twelve municipalities grouped in two distinct geographical zones: the inner-mountainous zone and the axis that connects the Ebro River and the Mediterranean coast. The economy is based on traditional agriculture and importantly on the services sector and manufacturing industry. The real estate crisis from 2008 dragged not only the prominent local industrial sector of furniture production, but also the production chain into downturn. This sudden break makes the Montsià case different from the aforementioned cases. The entrepreneurial structure is characterised by an absolute dominance of micro and small, family-based enterprises. The Montsià County has important environmental and cultural assets, but protection figures also

entail limitations, especially regarding land use and environmental protection. The region is suffering from population decline in selective processes of outmigration of the youth and more qualified population.

Table 2.7: Basic information about Montsià / ES[14]

Montsià	Size of IP in km²	Size of Population	Population density per km²	Type of delineation
LAU1	735	67,646	92	D4: high accessibility and economic potential, but still depleting

Challenges and problems

(a) The situation of the region in the south-eastern corner of Catalonia implies important added difficulties for the provision of services and for access to the large regional power centres. It is **located on the border** with the Valencian region to the south and Aragón to the west. Given that there are no collaboration agreements between them for the provision of basic services such as health or education, a large part of the case study area cannot benefit from basic services offered in the neighbouring regions close to Montsià. (b) Although Montsià is located in the middle of the "Mediterranean corridor", a trans-national axes of transport, its location occurs in one of the places where the corridor weakens in both rail and road. This physical **"disconnection"** has continuity in a sort of "socioeconomic disconnection" from the main regional decision centres, and beyond. (c) For decades, the region has not acted politically as a unit of interest. A **historical lack of cooperative governance** can be identified. Only in recent times a major regional action has been launched and the region counts on a regional strategy and an institutional action organised around common interests. (d) Montsià also suffers from a **challenging economic context**.The pillars of the local economy are found in traditional sectors with generally little added value and a low degree of innovation. Eventhough the service sector is growing, the primary sector still has a significant relevance in the area. Regarding agricultural production there is a large diversity of products and some sub-sectors that perform well like the rice and orange tree culture or the fishing sector in the coastal municipalities.

Future developments

The current situation shows an uncertain future. The conditions of provision and access to Services of General Interest are worse than those of the neighbouring territories that are closer to the centers of power of the region, although the quality of life is good in the opinion of the inhabitants. This apparent contradiction is due to the fact that the territory offers very good quality of life to those who manage to stabilise in the local labour market, and generates a strong sense of belonging that is transmitted from generation to generation. Montsià has the internal conditions to stop being an Inner Periphery in the future, as long as (a) local society continues on the path of collective action, (b) leaders contribute to implement the strategically generated vision agreed in recent years, (c) economic and political actors lobby in order to

strengthen internal and external networks, and (d) everybody works on overcoming the weaknesses that, at present, limit the development of the region's growth potential.

2.3.2 Lagging Inner Peripheries

After presenting the non-lagging Inner Peripheries, in the following paragraphs the three IP case study areas that can be classified as lagging are presented. While the first case, the Area Grecanica-Calabria in Italy, suffered from a continuous downtrend, the two other lagging Hungarian and the Polish IP case study areas experienced clear breaks and the economic transition following the socialist era affected their development.

Area Grecanica-Calabria / IT

Background

The Area Grecanica case study is located in the southernmost part of Calabria, which is the region located at the toe of the Italian peninsula, bordering in the north with the region Basilicata and surrounded by the Sea. It has about 42,200 inhabitants and a population density of 71 inhabitants per km². The economy is characterised by a low level of entrepreneurship and economic activities as well as poor competiveness. The primary sector plays a vital role in local development. Agriculture (especially the cultivation of the bergamot citrus) and the diverse activities associated to it (agro-tourism, village renovation, landscape and environment protection) are major sources of employment and income in the more internal areas.

Table 2.8: Basic information about Area Grecanica-Calabria / IT[15]

Area Grecanica-Calabria	Size of IP in km²	Size of Population	Population density per km²	Type of delineation
Group of LAU2	596	42,201	71	D1 & D3: low access to centres and services, but still good economic potentials and not yet depleting

Challenges and problems

Due to the complex interplay of the predominantly mountainous morphology, the poor accessibility of inner villages and the dispersed nature of rural inhabited locations, large parts of the area suffer from (a) **geographical isolation** and (b) **low access to services** for the population and for the productive system that undermine quality of life and economic opportunities. Over the decades, the Grecanica area has experienced a gradual and enduring process of peripheralisation marked by **loss of population, employment and services** and by deterioration of the territory. In the Grecanica area there is a demographic decline as result of two different processes: first, an internal migration from mountains and hills to coastline municipalities and second, the outmigration of the younger population that is especially

intense in inner villages. Key factors explaining peripherality in the area Grecanica are fundamentally two: the **weakness of local and regional institutions** and social relations based on **patronage and opportunistic relations**. Both factors feed each other in a mechanism of mutual dependence. Weak institutions in the Calabria case mean that public actors are unable to design a comprehensive and effective strategy to promote the creation of local public goods, which are necessary to change living and employment conditions for all inhabitants.

Future developments

Different funds and policy tools have been implemented in the area; not only single measures of Operational Programmes under ERDF/ESF and of Rural Development Plan under EARDF, but also diverse forms of integrated territorial projects. The contribution of this mix of policies to the process of peripheralisation is controversially discussed. On the one hand, these policies are strongly criticised for being too fragmented in small isolated interventions and in the worst cases even destroy endogenous potentials. On the other hand, there are policies strongly appreciated to regenerate territorial capital, to maintain social capital, to support innovative entrepreneurs and integration among different local resources.

Two scenarios can be envisaged: a) the “status quo” with usual features of low level of wellbeing, continuous outmigration and demographic ageing and b) a “sustainable innovation” scenario with the perspective of a better level of entrepreneurial activity, an increasing territorial added value and the slowing down of outmigration. The shift from the first to the second scenario is quite problematic without the provision of better SGI access for population and economic activities. This can be considered as a “politically mutable” driver, if national or regional policies are well-targeted and not fragmented in many small pieces of intervention as in the past. The other condition concerns local governance, which is crucial for policy effectiveness.

Tamási járás/ HU

Background

The Tamási district is located in south-central Transdanubia, in the north-western part of Tolna county, which is one of the three counties of Southern Transdanubia. Neighbouring Fejér county on the north and Somogy county on the west, Tamási district is located in a border position. The Tamási district has 39,900 inhabitants and a population density of 39 inhabitants per km², while the large majority of the population lives in the town of Tamási, the centre of the district. The territory of the district was an agricultural area during the years of Socialism. The change of regime in 1990 and the economic transition of this period significantly and negatively affected the economic situation in the area. The current economic profile of the area is still characterised by farming, forestry and the survivors of the former local branch establishments of industrial companies.

Table 2.9: Basic information about Tamási járás / HU[16]

Tamási járás	Size of IP in km²	Size of Population	Population density per km²	Type of delineation
LAU1	1,019	39,300	39	D3: poor access to services, but high economic potential and good/stable demography

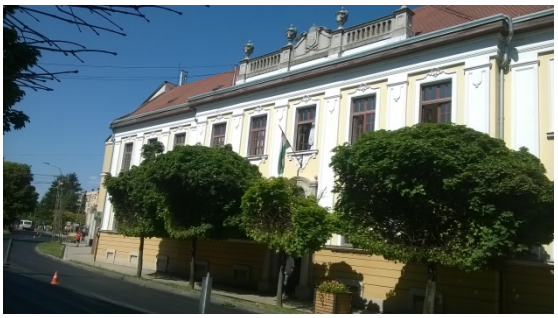
Figure 2.5: Illustrating functions of micro-regional centres[17]

a. Simontornya Coo

b. Iregszemcse village hall

c. Tamási commercial centre

d. Tamási administrative centre



Challenges and problems

The challenges and problems of the district particularly stem from its geographical position: (a) **large distances** to urban centres, (b) the **border location,** and (c) **weak neighbouring districts**, influenced also by state interventions mainly during the era of State Socialism. These interventions further weakened governance structures (small villages lost self-governing authority) and together with other path dependencies related to large estates of the pre-Socialist era and prevailing subsidiary industries of the Socialist times, “dependency” in administrative, economic and social structure got strong positions.

Path dependencies kept the area in a disadvantageous economic position that – together with degrading governance structures – triggered a rural exodus during State Socialism resulting in ageing and outmigration as well as ethnically segregated neighbourhoods.

Future development

Opportunities for future development are mainly provided by the end of the global financial crisis and returned growth. Thus, some disadvantages might be turned into advantages

through an available stock of labour with skills suiting the needs of assembling factories, available industrial sites in the bigger towns Tamási and Simontornya, and natural assets.

Although there are competent local leaders and the willingness to develop the district, the district is dependent on EU funds. Since national resources are scarce and the reform of state administration brought about a weakening cooperation culture among local authorities as well as discontinuities of targeted development programmes, the struggle for EU resources is becoming more and more fierce and the chance of small players to get funded is extremely low. Therefore, new opportunities triggered by the ceasing crisis will likely strengthen the two larger towns of the district, Tamási and Simontornya and the rest of the district remains rural, underdeveloped, (inner) peripheral in the middle run.

Powiat Wieruszówski / PL

Background

Powiat Wieruszówski is located in the central region of Poland, in the south-western part of the Łódź voivodeship, in the Sieradz subregion. The case study region has about 42,260 inhabitants and a population density of 73 inhabitants per km². The economic structure is dominated, on the one hand by the primary sector with a very limited specialisation of agriculture and on the other hand, by the industry (especially furniture and wood factories due to the accessibility of raw materials) and construction sector that plays an important role with 41.3 % of all employees working in this sector.

Table 2.10: Basic information about Powiat Wieruszówski / PL[18]

Powiat Wieruszówski	Size of IP in km²	Size of Population	Population density per km²	Type of delineation
LAU1	577	42,260	73	D2: good accessibility and good (stable) demography, but low future potentials

Figure 2.6: The view on the town of Wieruszów from the bridge over the river Prosna[19]

Challenges and problems

Powiat Wieruszówski is characterised by a rather stable economic development, but faces serious challenges regarding (a) the **outmigration** of young, working age people and ageing which results in **problems with supply of skilled workforce**, (b) very **low quality of local transport network and public services** although their quantity seems sufficient, (c) planning and management of the area's specialisation which is low and thus the Poviat cannot compete with neighbouring territories in addition to **lower wages than the averages** of region and country, and (d) the **integration of development strategies** and the **stability of development visions**. This area has always been peripheral in the regional scale, but in different times it has been defined by varying triggers and drivers.

Future developments

The contemporary social and economic position is primarily marked by 15 years of a difficult transformation from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, from a totalitarian to a democratic system. The development of entrepreneurship and local self-government are the most important achievements. Poland's accession to the European Union and the opening up of social and territorial systems to global flows have settled this peripheral area in the new conditions of economic development. The key factor for overcoming the development limitations is the inclusion of this territory in the national and European (also global) circulation of people, goods and information, which is possible with the modern infrastructure. In the case of Powiat Wieruszówski the newly established S8 expressway has become an important element in improving the quality of life of people living and working in the area, yet it is too early to assess the impact of this investment on local development. In spite of the improvement in transport traffic (shortening travel time), the district will still operate on the fringe of influence spheres of large urban agglomerations, especially Wrocław and Łódź, and face major development challenges, in particular: providing good quality of SGIs, improving the labour market and absorbing external funds for investment, especially in terms of improving the quality of local infrastructure.

Obviously, in each case a unique combination of factors is at work, with no single identifiable factor at the roots of Inner Peripherality. In some cases, poor access to Services of General Interest intensifies the weakness of a local economy; in other cases a strong local economy exists in spite of poor access. Some regions have always been peripheral and at the margin of economic development processes, while others are integrated into the national and global circulation processes and are more and more challenged by the relational disadvantage of their area in relation to booming (metropolitan) areas. After presenting the cases and the place-specific combinations of IP factors one by one in this chapter, the focus turns to single factors and their role as the drivers and triggers of Inner Peripherality in the following chapter.

3 Main drivers and features of Inner Periphery

After the descriptive presentation of the case study areas in the previous chapter, the following chapter focusses on the analysis of findings across cases.

3.1 Analysis of the dynamics over time: Main drivers and triggers

The analysed case study regions differ in relation to area characteristics and population size, social and economic structure as well as national specifics and characteristics (see chapter 2.1), but concerning the main triggers and drivers that lead to peripheralisation they have a lot in common. Triggers are defined as supra-regional trends that influence the development of the region, while drivers are defined as inner-regional processes causing or reinforcing peripheralisation. Often it is difficult to strictly distinguish triggers from drivers, as they are deeply interlinked and it is the (place-specific) combination of different triggers and drivers that leads to peripheralisation.

Location-based triggers and drivers

One main trigger that leads to peripheralisation in the analysed case study regions is the (natural) **geographical location**. Natural boundaries affect functional relations to surrounding areas and can lead to disconnections. Most of the case study regions are located in remote rural areas with high distances to urban centers. Often not just the natural conditions, but the combination of remoteness and an inadequate or improvable transport infrastructure, concerning road conditions as well as public transport, lead to poor accessibility and long travel times and with that to disadvantages in many different aspects. Political decisions and (dis-)investments can drive regions into peripheral positions or reduce peripheralisation in the sense of accessibility. The Austrian and German case study regions can serve as examples for the role and power of political decisions. The German case study is a good example for disinvestments in transport infrastructure and its negative effects: *"One main issue here is the road infrastructure which has been traditionally structured along the mountain ranges and which, due to higher policy level decisions, has never been developed further. The higher-level decision not to build an extension of a motorway into the area was partly discussed as the outcome of the area not sufficiently lobbying for their infrastructural demands"*[20] (p. 13).

In contrast to that, infrastructure investments in the Austrian case study area helped to open up new opportunities: *"A milestone in the connection of the region with important agglomerations in the East and West has been the building of the Austrian highway number 2. […] The construction of this highway was a particular priority in Austria's transport system as it links areas that were not well accessible before. […] The building of the highway through Lavanttal led to an important change in the perception of the region's socio-economic development, formerly viewed as a lagging region towards understanding the region as a place with various economic opportunities"*[21] (p. 3f.).

Additionally to the geographical location, some of the case study regions are located along administrative borders (e.g. the German, Spanish, Hungarian, and Polish cases). Administrative borders often cross through historically developed and formerly established living and cooperation spaces. The **border location** can pose a significant disadvantage for regional development, because local and regional conditions, regulations and planning systems can be different on each side of the border, as the German case study shows: "*As federal states in Germany are endowed with quite high legislative and administrative power and freedom, local conditions on either side of a federal state border can be quite different and the border can pose a significant obstacle for cooperation or even for coordination of plans and developments"*[20] (p. 17). The lack of cross-border cooperation and the lack of collaborative strategies and development concepts can pose considerable challenges as regards the capacity to provide, for instance, adequate access to Services of General Interest on both sides of the border.

Gradual and continuous processes that intensify problems over time

Apart from these location-based drivers (related to border location or accessibility problems), which play a role in the traditional concept of Peripheries, the following section explores factors and processes, which intensify problems over time and, in a cumulative process, drive regions into peripheral positions. One main trigger is the **metropolisation** respectively the ongoing integration of specific (metropolitan) city regions into global circuits of knowledge, investments and labour force. The concentration of services, trade and economic activities in these city regions lead to an underprivileged position of rural areas and smaller cities in a relational process. These factors and the preference of and wish for an urban lifestyle make major cities and metropolitan areas attractive for young people and skilled workforce. The cumulative concentration of jobs, services and social infrastructure as well as investment priorities for metropolitan regions or the lack of investments and the decline of public funding in the rural regions intensify the gap especially concerning service provision and infrastructure development: "*The general perception of all interviewees [of the Italian case study, authors' note] is that there is a lack of infrastructures and SGIs, in particular in education, local transportations (roads, railways and private buses) and medical and hospital cares. This is the result of infrastructures and SGIs decline due to the reduction of public resources (mainly national and regional) devoted to these public goods and the political incapacity to address these priorities and allocate available funds"*[22] (p. 11).

The metropolisation process is closely linked to **demographic change**. All case study regions suffer from outmigration, in particular of young and skilled people (in some cases especially of women). In cumulation with low birth rates, this leads to a significant population decline and ageing processes in most of the cases. Disinvestments and disregards concerning infrastructure measures can intensify the demographic challenges as the example of Vimmerby/SE explains: *"The accessibility challenges have a negative impact on the demographic development of the municipality, as a fast connection with other functional regions is seen as an important precondition for people to continue living in smaller urban and*

rural areas. Improved infrastructure (both rail, road and broadband) is crucial for creating the preconditions for a better access to a larger and more diverse job markets within commuting distance […]"[23] (p. 12).

The loss of population and the ageing of the society hit the case study regions in many aspects and have, in combination with other triggers and drivers, great impacts on their innovation potential and the quality of life: The outmigration of young and educated people leads on the one hand to a lack of high-qualified workforce for the regional enterprises and affects the economy negatively. The population decline means on the other hand a decrease of local tax revenues and a shortage of finance for local infrastructure and SGI (e.g. education, culture, public transport infrastructure). These processes may result in inabilities to take action and make the case study regions even more unattractive for residents, companies and skilled workforce. These processes are, as described, interrelated to each other and act like a downward spiral which is difficult to stop or break through.

The aforementioned (uneven) integration of places into global circuits of capital, goods and people, the so-called **globalisation,** affects the case study areas in different ways. Firstly, regions in which the primary sector (esp. agriculture) still plays an important role in the local economy (e.g. the Polish, the Italian and the Spanish case) need to find a niche for their products to stay competitive. But also regions with a highly specialised profile (in the industrial sector) and good economic performance (e.g. the German case) need to continually adapt to supra-regional standards (like in data and transport infrastructure) in order to stay competitive against the background of global competition: "*One process that drives peripheralisation on the regional scale is linked to a delay in adjusting to national and global standards with regards to transport and data infrastructure. This causes problems for the competitiveness of companies and the regions' ability to attract new investment […]. This is relevant for companies which have to transport their goods*"[20] (p. 13). Secondly, the general development towards a knowledge-based economy and the fierce competition for the young and qualified leads to a shortage of well-educated workforce in specific labour market segments in some of the regions: *"A further concern is with the development of knowledge infrastructure and related skills development of local population and how these match with enterprise needs. There is a disconnect seen between high-level education and knowledge provision oriented at (theoretical) knowledge advances and a lack of skills of craftmanship. Some argue that a focus on handicraft skills in the education of young people might be a useful strategy to boost regional development and particularly address the specific assets and opportunities of the region*"[21] (p. 17). In many case study reports, gaps between labour market supply and labour market needs are mentioned.

Clear cuts and breaks that reinforce peripheralisation

Apart from these gradual processes, there are clear cuts and breaks in form of **economic crises** that hit some of the case study regions. It is noteworthy that the effects of these crises are sometimes felt more strongly in Inner Peripheries as compared to other regions. The

collapse of the State Socialism in Hungary and Poland and the transformation of the economic system became a substantial trigger for an economic downturn in the respective case study regions: *"The contemporary social and economic […] position is primarily marked by 15 years of a difficult transformation from a centrally planned economy to a market economy, from a totalitarian to a democratic system"*[24] (p. 2).

In the Hungarian case, the economic transformation affected companies and employees in the rural regions negatively: *"The collapse of State Socialism swept away industrial subsidiaries and induced an exodus of industrial labour in rural areas that was interpreted […] as an 'export of crisis from centres to peripheries', that is: commuters were sacked […] and subsidiaries […] closed"*[25] (p. 14). The Hungarian case study also demonstrates that the negative effects of different cuts and breaks are sometimes cumulating in specific areas. After the collapse of State Socialism, local economy was hit toughly: industrial subsidiaries were winded up and privatisation of state and collective farms also started soon after the change resulting in a massive loss of jobs. The new (post socialist) structures, however, tended to reproduce vulnerabilities mainly with regard to manufacturing (small and dependent subsidiaries). From the point of view of profitability, the privatisation of state and co-operative farms resulted in a favourable, large scale farm structure which, at the same time, provides the population with extremely restricted job opportunities. In sum: the post-socialist economy was not capable of restoring employment capacities of the previous era. Moreover, one and a half decades after the transformation crisis, the area was impacted by the global financial crisis resulting in further shrinkages of the local labour market.

Other case study regions also suffered from crises and collapses of whole industry sectors. One main trigger for the peripheral position of Montsià, the Spanish case study region, was the real estate and housing crisis of 2008. The crisis hit the local construction sector and the respective supplier industries and thus the local economy quite hard. Many companies disappeared and many employees lost their jobs: *"This sector had a big influence and relevance in the local labour market of the Montsià County. Its failure has also affected the traditional furniture sector, which supplied the new housing construction sector"*[26] (p. 15). Vimmerby, the Swedish case study region and a traditional industry area, also suffered from the global finance crisis in 2008 that *"hit the region harder than Sweden as a* whole"[23] (p. 13) and led to an industrial decline. In consequence 5,000 jobs disappeared and many people left the region in search for new jobs. Other case study regions (e.g. the Austrian and the German cases) did not suffer heavily by recent crises but had to manage earlier crises like the coal mine crisis 1968 in Wolfsberg[21] (p. 13) or the steel crisis in the 1990s in Siegen-Wittgenstein[20] (p. 11) in which consequence a structural transformation had to be coped with. In combination with other factors (outdated infrastructure, low political capacity to adapt to changes, or limited economic ability to absorb sudden shocks) crises and sudden breaks may hit Inner Peripheries harder than other areas.

Weak governance structures as important drivers

In some of the case study regions, the established institutions and governance structures are part of the problem. The aforementioned drivers and triggers are exacerbated by weak local or regional **governance** structures, which are not able to form effective strategies to counteract peripherality processes out of different reasons. Problems can be identified concerning inner-regional cooperation, inter-regional cooperation, and the cooperation with higher/national levels in a multi-level governance system (see chapter 3.2 and 4).

In some areas, the reasons for these weak governance structures are historically rooted: administrative reforms of the past, which lead to very heterogeneous or large regions which are difficult to govern; a lack of cooperation between neighbouring municipalities or counties; state centralisation processes which weakened local abilities to act; or long-engrained clientelism structures which hinder and block effective local governance. The Hungarian case study region for example was affected by the centralisation policies and reorganisation of districts by the government during State Socialism.By this, a neighbouring district was fully, another one was partially integrated into the Tamási district redoubling its geographical extension, whilst the service providing capabilities of the town remained limited. Parallel to this process, a lot of municipalities *"lost self-governing authority and had been governed by 'common councils' of larger villages or towns"*[25] (p. 14). The case study shows that the town of Tamási has always been too weak to govern the entire district effectively. Similar is the situation in the Polish case study, where local self-government could not be achieved before the end of State Socialism. These examples indicate that regional enlargement (the rationalisation of services and administrative geography) can be an additional driver for peripheralisation. We focus in more detail on the governance structures in the case study regions in the next section.

3.2 Components and characteristics of Inner Peripheries

In this section, the defining features of the seven case studies are presented and analysed in a comparative perspective. Defining features refer to dominant local processes, which are currently taking place within a case study territory and stand in relation to its Inner Periphery-status. The data-driven and quantitative parts of the PROFECY-project have identified four delineations as relevant for the identification of an IP-status (see Annex 4[4]): The travel time to regional centres (delineation 1), the economic potential of interstitial areas (delineation 2), the access to SGI (delineation 3), and the depleting area index (delineation 4). Nevertheless, issues that are not covered by these delineations, but have been identified by local experts[c] as important features, are taken into account as well. Subsequently, this chapter includes reflections on the inner structure of the selected areas, subjective feelings of community of

[c] In this report, we do not distinguish between experts (by their profession) and local stakeholders, as we consider the latter ones as local experts, too.

their populations as well as governance-related problems. In most cases, these local features are caused by so-called triggers and drivers, which have been outlined in the previous chapter.

Inner structure of the case study areas

At first glance, when selecting the areas in the national context according to data and researchers' additional information, the selected areas were perceived as a seemingly homogeneous entity. In-depth research revealed that in several cases, **strong inner disparities** can be observed, by which a part of the area is relatively well-performing, whereas other parts are flagging. The German district Siegen-Wittgenstein, for example, is characterised by the regional centre Siegen in the west that is well-connected and equipped with specialised SGI such as a university and cultural amenities. The eastern area Wittgenstein, however, is shaped by large distances between villages and insufficient transport infrastructure. Subsequently, not all SGI can be reached within an adequate time. Similar issues are experienced in the Austrian case: *"By differentiating and analyzing indicators of accessibility, economic potential and aspects of interaction at a very low level, it becomes visible that the case study's impression is mainly informed by its centre, the municipalities in the main valley, respectively near the city of Wolfsberg. Settlements at the edge of the case study area and some municipalities in the North and South of the area show clearly features of IPs"*[21] (p. 47).

In the coastal area Grecanica/IT inner disparities exist as a consequence of **internal migration** from rural to coastal areas. "*[Demographic] differences are very substantial within the case study area. The area, in fact, is characterised by an evident dualism between the more internal mountainous villages and the predominantly coastline municipalities"*[22] (p. 30). This has strong consequences for the cultural and economic standing of the hinterland, as the Italian case points out: "*Internal disparities are also visible in natural resources and the cultural heritage. Both were severely depleted by the diffuse and uncontrolled urbanisation of the coastline areas, especially linked to second houses building for people [living] in the metropolitan areas and mass tourism development in 1970s-1980s"*[22] (p. 18). Heterogeneity between more populated towns and remote villages is furthermore observed in the Spanish and Hungarian cases. However, in contrast to the other cases, Tamási town as the area's centre is in itself already very small and cannot serve as a regional centre for SGI provision and transport connections properly. Similarly, the Polish case is dominated by small villages and lacks a regional centre. In the Swedish case, no significant inner disparities are mentioned. In these latter cases, cities equipped with specialised services in the health and education sectors as well as cultural institutions are generally found outside the areas' administrative borders. Overall, only two of the seven cases officially encompass a regional centre: Siegen in the German case and Reggio di Calabria in the Italian area.

Demography and community

The areas under study do not only experience internal migration between remote and more populated areas, but also increasing **outmigration**. As a consequence, their populations are declining. This feature is captured in the data on delineation 4 (depleting area index), where population developments are studied over a certain time span. The largest group of inhabitants leaving the case study territories is younger people from around 18 to 30 years old. Especially in the Austrian, the German, the Hungarian and the Spanish case the share of youth emigrating is perceived to be very high. Additionally, the Austrian and the Swedish case experience a high outmigration of women. Most of these people leave the areas in hope of better education or a more attractive lifestyle in the metropolitan areas, as was argued in the previous chapter. The Spanish case highlights that the area cannot profit from the subsequent high-quality education of its youth: "*In most cases, young people have to move to another region to study and, once they finished their studies, they do not return (due to limited job opportunities)"*[26] (p. 14). The problem of a weak labour market or a gap between labour market supply and demand exists in many cases and is outlined later on in the chapter.

The outmigration of young people strongly influences the demographic profile of the respective region. All case studies report the **ageing of their populations** to foster peripheralisation. It is increasingly difficult for local administrations to finance an adequate living standard for the elderly, as new challenges with regards to SGI supply and transport infrastructure emerge while resources are scarce. In the Hungarian case Tamási, communities with a high share of elderly people are not only geographically disconnected, but socially vulnerable as well. The case study report indicates that the area is shaped by *"ageing and appearance of ethnically [segregated] neighbourhoods scattered in towns, villages and external settlements as pockets of poverty and social vulnerability"*[25] (p. 1). Such vulnerability reinforces inequalities and social tensions amongst the population. In none of the other case studies, ethnic differences were mentioned as a problem.

Nevertheless, as the example of Tamási/HU shows, there is a **subjective feature to the characterisation of many Inner Peripheries**. This involves the perception that people have of their area as well as their sense of belonging and feeling of community. Whereas in some cases, a rather negative perception of the area can further aggravate its peripheralisation, a strong sense of local identity might help to strengthen its standing within the wider regional context. In the Polish case, for example, feelings of remoteness are present. Yet, at the same time *"[despite] its low economic potential there is a very strong sense of its distinctiveness of Poviat of Wieruszów among residents. It should be considered as a very important factor in the further development of the area within the wider regional structure"*[24] (p. 41).

Moreover, some of the areas might have a strong local identity, but experience stigmatisation from the outside. Through **stigmatisation**, negative attributes are attached to a locality via discourses in public debate and the media. In none of the case studies, this issue was perceived as particularly strong. Nevertheless, as the German case shows, stigmatisation

through public debates (e.g. newspaper articles) can act as a local driver. "*The most influential narrative, however, was triggered by a newspaper article written in 1996 for the nation-wide distributed SZ Magazin.[27] The title of the article has since become a proverb-like saying, which plays with the German words for winning and losing: 'What is worse than losing: Siegen' (the name of the regional centre of the Kreis Siegen-Wittgenstein which also means 'winning' in German). The article creates an image of bad urban restructuring and incompetent local governance and has since publication been recited multiple times"*[20] (p. 19). Such narratives might not only have an impact on the populations' view on their own area, yet furthermore influence other stakeholders' decision-making processes.

SGI supply and transport infrastructure

In all case study areas, experts argue that the transport connections within the area as well as to regional centres (delineation 1) could be better. Similarly, problems with the accessibility of SGI (delineation 3) are reported. Thereby, especially the aforementioned demographic change within the communities challenges the **provision of adequate infrastructure**. The Polish case study illustrates how these processes simultaneously influence each other. *"[…] low levels of economic activity and growth have an impact on low local tax revenues, which results in a shortage of finance for local infrastructure development, poor provision of education, and cultural infrastructure, which contribute to the 'Human and Social Capital' loop, ultimately further depressing levels of entrepreneurship and innovation, and feeding back into the productivity circuit"*[24] (p. 18). Even the economically well-performing areas experience problems with the distribution of their resources. In the Austrian case, for example, the quality and accessibility of SGI and transport infrastructure is adequate in large parts of the area and new transport projects are under construction. Nevertheless, inhabitants of highly remote villages depend on private efforts when it comes to the access of services, as public transport options are scarce.

In most cases, the biggest problems with SGI provision refer to **specialised services in the health or education sector**. "*In this case [the Spanish, authors' note], the county is relatively well provided with various selected SGIs distributed across the county. The more common SGIs of daily use, such as primary schools, doctors or convenient stores can be found in most villages. By contrast, more specific services (specialized care, cultural services, secondary schools, administration offices, etc.) are more concentrated in Amposta, the capital city of the county"*[26] (p. 9). Subsequently, a good infrastructure would be necessary for inhabitants of remote areas to be able to access those services. Often, however, sufficient public transport options are missing, which aggravates the inner disparities of the respective areas.

Lastly, it is important to note that an inadequate SGI and transport provision is not always rooted in long distances or other geographical factors only. The Polish case, for example, is characterised by sufficient transport and SGI accessibility. What poses problems instead is the **low quality of the infrastructure**. This concerns for instance the bad condition of local

roads, which worsens the connection of the area to regional centres outside the selected case study area.

Economy and labour market

With regards to economic performance, the seven cases face a variety of challenges. In general, stakeholder here refer to the low attractiveness of the respective area for new companies and investments as well as the difficulty to keep up with the demands of a globalising market (see also chapter 3.1). Some of them classify as interstitial areas of low economic performance according to delineation 2. Hereby, the focus lays on the accessibility of the areas by road and rail. In addition to that, further features could be identified that aggravate the low economic potential of the areas under study.

Although all are experiencing problems with regards to economic innovation, the seven cases differ widely from each other when it comes to their current **economic strength and potential**. Thereby, the German, the Austrian and the Swedish case stand out, as they benefit from a strong industrial or SME basis. The German case even performs above average with regards to its national economic context ("*By this, the case study region´s GDP [per capita, authors´ note] is 108% of the average in Germany"*[20], p. 10). Yet, these areas have to take care to stay up-to-date with global technology trends in order to stay competitive in the future. In the Swedish case, for example, regional strategies are already aiming to tackle these problems. "*The strategy aims to create a round and borderless region by improving transport infrastructure and digital technologies. Growing the business landscape is also high on the agenda through the development of more knowledge-intensive businesses, particularly in the healthcare services and food production industry"*[23] (p. 25).

The economic profiles of Grecanica/IT and Tamási/HU, on the other hand, are traditionally based on agriculture and show low innovative capacity. Additionally, these cases have been hit particularly hard by the financial crisis of 2008, leading to a weak labour market and high unemployment rates. A decrease in investments and low innovative capacity can be observed in the Polish case as well. However, here the issue seems to be a lack of specialisation in general, as no economic sector is particularly strong.

The economic performance of the cases is strongly intertwined with the **labour market situation.** The most pressing problem in most areas seems to be a shortage of skilled workforce. In some cases such as Vimmerby/SE and Montsià/ES, this is partly due to a generally low education level of the population in comparison to the national average. Additionally, in most cases, young and well-educated people are leaving the areas in search for better job opportunities and/or different lifestyles. As a result, the competitiveness of the areas decreases and with it the number of job opportunities for skilled workers. What emerges is a vicious circle, highlighted in the Austrian case study, but also experienced in other cases: "'*Young faces are missing in the region' is a conclusive statement by one of the interviewed experts […] who explained this assessment by referring to the lack of (well paid) jobs in general and particularly missing appropriately attractive jobs for people with higher*

qualification and skills which leads to outmigration. Hence important skills and capacities are lost for the region ('brain drain') and reduce the development potential of future socio-economic activities"[21] (p. 21). An exception to this is the German case, where job opportunities for skilled workers are available. "*The case study area has a noticeable economic strength […] and a very low unemployment rate (less than half of the EU average, 2016). This is due to the high number of jobs in the manufacturing industries"*[20] (p. 17). Nevertheless, a shortage of skilled labour and the difficulties to attract skilled labour force from outside pose an increasing threat to the competitiveness of the local economy in the future.

Governance

For many experts, the areas' low performance has to do with their **lack of visibility on a supra-regional level**. In many cases, financial support structures favour large agglomerations over sparsely populated areas. With regards to the Swedish case study area, for example, the 2017 OECD Territorial Review argued that *"current government policy fails to comprehend the particular challenges faced by outlying areas and a more coherent approach focused on developing rural strengths and potentials is required"*[23] (p. 23). As a consequence, the Inner Peripheries often have to cope with scarce resources. Moreover, several cases could profit from more intensive **cross-border cooperation**. The lack of cooperation with regional centres in other administrative areas often leads to problems regarding an adequate SGI supply as the example of Montsià/ES shows: *"The situation of the region in the south-eastern corner of Catalonia implies important added difficulties for the provision of services […]. Given that powers for basic services have been largely transferred to Regions (Comunidades Autónomas), and that there are no collaboration agreements between them for the provision of basic services such as health or education, a large part of the case study area cannot benefit from basic services offered in the two larger towns of the region of Valencia that fall close to the Montsià area (Vinaròs and Benicarló)"*[26] (p. 49). Informal solutions in the health care sector are sought to overcome such bureaucratic problems, yet so far they are limited to cases in which the life of a patient is at risk.

Not only external, but **internal governance** issues can be observed within the areas as well. Many of the interviewed experts report problems with setting up a strategic action plan or planning system structures, which would be prerequisites for tackling other issues in a coherent way, too. In about half of the case studies, this can at least partly be attributed to a lack of internal cooperation. The Austrian case study report refers to a "*lack of cooperation between municipalities […] 'and small willingness to cooperate […]'"* and that the "'*idea of cooperation is missing' and 'regional thinking is not an issue' for many local and regional actors"*[21] (p. 24). Municipalities in the case study region tend to see local development as a "'*widespread internal competition*"'[21] (p. 24) rather than seeing benefits in a regional approach. This thinking prevents effective strategies. The Italian case study summarises the problem of weak governance structures as follows: "*Weak institutions […] mean that public institutions (municipalities, national park, provinces, mountain community, regional*

administrations) are unable to design a comprehensive and effective strategy to promote the creation of local public goods, which are necessary to change living and employment conditions for all inhabitants"[22] (p. 13).

In other cases, **institutions and governance structures at different levels** (from the local and regional to the national level) do not act hand in hand and hinder effective local development, or limit the ability of local actors for effective counteraction, as the Swedish case study points out: "*Poor collaboration across levels of governance, particularly in the coordination of national, regional and municipal strategies for rural growth and development, highlighting a need for greater cooperation across governance levels in supporting and financing joint projects*"[23] (p. 32). Decisions on higher policy levels are sometimes taken without taking the effects at a local level into account, as the Italian case study outlines: "*The multi-level governance and the relations of power between the local and the highest tiers did not work in the sense of supporting and assisting the local level in designing appropriate projects*"[22] (p. 33). This is closely linked to a lack of influence and disconnection from networks on higher policy levels. Many regions are, politically as well as economically, not able to place their concerns on higher political levels where important decisions which are affecting their regions, are taken.

Nevertheless, it has to be noted that the problems the areas face on a governance level are of different nature. The Italian and the Hungarian case, for example, are shaped by deeply engrained problems. Experts mention clientelism, patronage and opportunistic relations as the main governance issues: "*The issue is that local elites use political and economic networks to consolidate their power through patronage practices"*[22] (p. 32). Patronage and opportunistic relations weaken local governance and capacity for change: "*The poor quality of local institutions and the social/political dominant system go hand in hand and are blocking [every] possibility of change [of] the political and administrative leadership in the area. This contributes to consolidate the process of peripheralisation of the Grecanica area*"[22] (p. 14). In the German, Austrian, Swedish and Polish cases, on the other hand, the main aim is to improve the already existing cooperation between stakeholders as well as to formulate coherent development plans for the whole region.

This chapter has offered an overview of the defining features that shape the case studies in relation to their IP-status. All in all, there exists a wide variety of issues and every case represents an Inner Periphery in a unique way. Nevertheless, in every dimension general processes can be observed that appear in several or even all case study territories in the same or in similar ways. One example of such a pattern is the outmigration of mostly young people as a consequence of metropolisation and decreasing economic competitiveness of the regions. Moreover, areas that share a similar history, economic set-up and/or local context such as the Polish and the Hungarian case, are often shaped by similar defining features. Hence, a comparative analysis offers important insights into the differences and similarities

between Inner Peripheries within the EU. An awareness of these similarities and differences helps to shape adequate policies on a supra-regional level, knowing that effective local counteraction will always need policies which can be tailored to locally specific challenges.

4 Dealing with the challenges in Inner Peripheries

As the previous analysis made clear, the investigated localities show unique and place-specific challenges. At the same time, the localities 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 in a given place, usually referred to as "territorial capital"[28] (p. 15). This chapter now turns to firstly reflect upon the specific territorial capital of the studied cases and then pays attention to the existing governance structures and approaches in dealing with the challenges in Inner Peripheries.

4.1 Territorial capitals

To a certain degree, territorial capitals shape the future potential and development alternatives of a region, negatively as well as positively. For instance, economic potential and assets, which are particular to a specific locality, such as the strong SME base in the Austrian, the German and the Swedish case (see Table 4.1), are based on a long-term development, ranging back for decades, and thus not easily replicable in another place. The Bergamot production in the Italian case, or landscape and nature as crucial assets in the Italian, the Spanish, the Austrian, the German and the Hungarian case, are other examples for unique and place-specific resources. Similarly, the strong sense of belonging, closely-knit communities or territories with a rich cultural identity (in the Austrian, German, Italian and Spanish case) build specific assets of a place. A comparative view on the cases illustrates quite clearly that each one of the analysed places has a unique history and combination of "components" of territorial capital. This is not to say that territorial capital is a fixed set of resources, determining the fate of a place; quite to the contrary, as we will argue with respect to building appropriate governance structures and developing policy interventions for deploying the place-specific assets (see chapter 4.2).

In line with the previous analysis on the mixed position of IP regions regarding labour market or economic indicators, some of the cases show a stable economic base according to economic or labour market indicators. This holds true for the German case of Siegen-Wittgenstein, but also for the Austrian and the Swedish case. The Polish case and to some extent the Austrian case are examples for areas which enjoy very good spatial accessibility in recent years and yet share other features of Inner Peripheries. These examples clearly prove the relevance of relational explanations and the role of "other" factors beyond geographical-based peripherality for explaining Inner Periphery.

Table 4.1: The territorial capitals in the studied cases[29]

Territorial capital	Evidence from the cases
Economy and Labour market	
Strong SME base / specialised economic base	Strong basis in metal processing, wood and construction industry (AT) Strong SME base (DE) Strong industrial/ SME base (SE)
Underused economic assets	Diversity of economic sectors; company nurseries, research centers & underused industrial areas (ES) Availability of semi-skilled labour; availability of spaces for green / brownfield / industrial investments (HU)
Socio-cultural / Community	
Local belonging	Strong sense of local belonging (DE, ES)
Quality of life	Good quality of life and low cost of living (ES)
Strong cultural heritage	Strong cultural heritage (AT) Cultural identity linked to Greek traditions (IT) Arts and cultural assets (e.g. branding of "Astrid Lindgren") (SE)
Governance	
Networking and Commitment	Networking-strength of political and economic local actors (DE, PL) Commitment of institutions and stakeholders for long-term sustainable local development (ES)
Individual leadership	Innovative individual project promoters (AT) Competent local leaders, experiences in implementing cohesion policies (HU)
Strategic planning	Inclusive governance, long-term and comprehensive strategy designed by local agencies (LAG) (IT, ES) Strong territorial self-government (PL)
Natural resources	
Landscape and nature	Landscape and nature as crucial assets (AT, DE, ES) Natural assets, landscape, historical heritage and biodiversity of inner villages (IT) Landscape and natural assets (agriculture and forestry) (HU) Spatial hetereogeneity, weather and natural assets (ES)
Transport / Infrastructure	
Accessibility	Spatial accessibility (PL)

One of these "other" factors and arguably a most important one in terms of territorial capitals of IPs, as it can be influenced by policy, relates to the governance within and beyond Inner Peripheries: the way how actors and stakeholders in the area interact and whether there are appropriate mechanisms for dialogue and coordination within the IP and across governance scales. 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 and a strengthened strategic approach to develop the respective place-specific strengths and assets of the studied places. In the following section, we turn our attention to the existing coping strategies in the case study areas.

4.2 Governance Structures for coping with Inner Peripherality

As discussed before (see chapter 3.2), a lack of (inter-)regional cooperation and – often emerging from this – a lack of visibility of the region and its challenges at higher decision making levels are clearly visible in some of the cases. While in all of the cases, the need for a holistic, long-term strategic planning to develop the locality is clearly expressed in order to improve the situation, not all of the Inner Peripheral areas have resources yet – in terms of competent and inclusive leadership, an atmosphere of mutual trust and a culture of networking and cooperation – to design and implement long-term and comprehensive strategies from a local or regional perspective. In some cases, this has to do with a slow decentralisation of power and resources from the central to the local level in a traditionally centralised planning and administration system. Local self-government has a long tradition in countries such as Germany, Austria, Spain (especially in Catalonia) or Sweden, while the re-organisation of planning and administration towards a multi-scale governance system is a more recent development in other countries, such as the traditionally centralised or post-Socialist countries. In other cases, local institutions and communities have lost the potential for innovation and institutional change with the continuous outmigration of the young and most skilled. In still other places, it is the case of local interest groups and a fragmented institutional way of dealing with the challenges. A series of integrated interventions, aimed at institutional change, is thus essential for building up mutual trust and a spirit of co-operation. Such a climate of mutual trust and co-operation, not only within a locality, but also linking the place with other places, is a most important territorial capital, as it enables creativity and innovation in dealing with the challenges of peripherality. Arguably, the following indicators may serve as quality criteria or pre-requisites for effective interventions at the local level: whether or not the main stakeholders share a common vision on the challenges and potentials of the area; whether or not a long-term strategy serves as a basis for interventions and if so, how inclusive the process of strategy-building has been. The following Table 4.2 provides an impression with regards to these different indicators for the case studies. The table admittedly should be interpreted cautiously as it is based on a post hoc analysis of case study reports.

Table 4.2: Indicators for effective governance arrangements and cooperation conditions[29]

	Common understanding of problems of the case study area	Common vision for the case study's development	Inclusive process for strategy development	Existence of an integrated long-term strategy	Strong believe and positive feeling about the case study´s development opportunities
Austria	✓	-	(✓)	-	✓
Germany	✓	✓	✓	✓	(✓)
Spain	✓	✓	✓	(✓)	-
Hungary	0	0	(✓)	✓	0
Italy	-	-	(✓)	-	-
Poland	0	0	✓	✓	0
Sweden	✓	✓	✓	✓	(✓)

[✓ means existent; (✓) means rather existent; 0 means not explicitly assessed in case study; - means not existent (based on assessment of the authors of this report)]

In some cases such as the Austrian, the Italian, the Polish and the Swedish case, the LEADER programme was mentioned as a valuable trigger for enhanced inner-regional cooperation. In other cases such as the Spanish and the German one, the effects of LEADER seemed more limited or rather small-scale in their effects. In both of these cases, however, supra-regionally initiated programmes have had a strong and positive impact on inner-regional cooperation and networking.

The main actors, which initiated and steered intervention strategies varied strongly, ranging from local action groups to regional stakeholder groups and from public to public-private initiatives or successful private initiatives (such as in the Italian case where a lack of regional development vision is leapfrogged by a network of entrepreneurs connecting to international networks).

On a general note, and as the outcomes of the scenario tool in the PROFECY project show, local stakeholders in the case studies had a quite low expectation with regards to the possibilities to overcome peripheralisation processes. Reflecting on the possible future development paths of the area, they rated the likelihood of factors that increase peripheralisation (like for example the decrease and ageing of the population or the decline of SGI access and transport infrastructure) within the next five years as much higher than the likelihood of factors that lessen peripheralisation processes.

The overall impression from the case study reports is that effective and impactful intervention strategies need incentives and support from higher policy levels (be it the national or regional level), a long-term strategy and a common vision defined in an inclusive process among the main stakeholders. There is a role for national and EU policies in supporting such processes. In all case study areas, European programmes – the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) – play a role. In some cases also national or regional policy programmes play a role in order to cope with the local challenges – despite the fact that in the majority of cases, local stakeholders perceived that the specific challenges of Inner

Peripheries were kind of a blind spot to higher-level decision makers (see chapter 3.2). The 2017 OECD Territorial Review for Sweden supports this view by noticing that "*sectoral policies such as education and health services, spatial planning, and transport do not have a clear and coherent 'rural articulation'.*"[30] The report subsequently recommends to develop and implement an explicitly rural and coherent policy framework, including a spatially differentiated definition of rural areas. National and EU programmes and their relation to IP areas will be discussed in another report in more detail (see Annex 19[2]). In the following section we focus on intermediating processes and interventions on the regional and local scale.

4.3 Policy fields

In chapter 3.1 and 3.2 the main triggers, drivers and defining features named by the case study reports were presented. The following part discusses how these processes are taken up by local and regional coping strategies. The coping strategies span a wide range of activities, address challenges and involve stakeholders, which are not easy to compare given the different local situations.

Disadvantaged geographical location or poor accessibility call for infrastructural interventions such as improvements in road and rail connections. These interventions are often very costly and connected to long-term planning efforts and are therefore beyond the immediate handling of the regional or local level. Still, to be successful in voicing an areas' need for infrastructural improvements often well-coordinated action of many stakeholder has to be taken. For example, in the German case study area a locally driven cooperation of companies, trade union and administrations succeeded in the amendment of the national road infrastructure plan after lobbying for it in a well-coordinated long-term effort.

As discussed before, **administrative borders** can pose barriers regarding the accessibility of SGI and regional cooperation for an adequate provision of services. Disadvantages of cross-border areas (between Member States) are being addressed by the European Commission; we noted however also a need for cross-border cooperation between regions of the same Member State, which calls for local or regional initiatives. The way how to overcome related problems depends on the local situation and the legal conditions prevailing and range from local-to-local or region-to-region initiatives in a formal or (less effective) informal arrangement (see Spanish case study on cross-provincial health service access). In most cases, however, the higher level administrations have to give their consent or take action in order to change official regulations. In those cases, where hindering administrative borders and planning obstacles were successfully overcome, this was often linked to historic cooperation structures (such as in the Austrian and German case study) or to naturally defined catchment areas such as the Sénia river related cooperation across province borders in the Spanish case study area.

A further policy field for strategic action are interventions which aim at **increasing the attractiveness** of the area as a place to live and work. Regarding the outmigration of young people and skilled workforce, initiatives are taken to better match the profile of local workforce

with companies' interests or to support the remigration of people who have moved elsewhere for work or study back to the place of origin. These labour-oriented measures are accompanied by either improvements in housing conditions (in the Swedish case) or in cultural amenities and education infrastructure (in the German case). Effective action has been taken in some case study areas to establish innovation centres in the IPs, for example through the establishment of a university (Swedish and German case studies). Still, it poses a challenge to keep the people in the region after graduation. **Population decline and ageing of the population** are processes which are difficult to change and in most cases actions aim at coping with the consequences rather than aiming at a turnaround. In some cases, like the Swedish one, however, the region has benefitted from the integration of immigrants in the labour market and the local society.

An aspect closely linked to the aforementioned challenges of population decline is to maintain an **adequate provision of Services of General Interest** – adequate in terms of quantity and quality, linked to an orientation of these services towards local population needs. The coping strategies are mainly threefold, aiming either separately or in combination at

- strengthening the civil society's capacity to take over the provision of some of the services,
- forming new relations between civil society, market, and the state and deploying existing resources in a new and innovative way in order to adjust to new demographic, financial, and organisational situations, or
- unlocking external means (funding programmes) to keep up or to improve SGI at a reasonable level.

Examples for such initiatives range from – in the German case study area for example – transport services to culture clubs provided by local volunteers to village shops run by the local community or by welfare institutions. Inadequate provisions in the health and education sector are more difficult to compensate, but initiatives range from scholarship schemes for medical students who commit themselves to serve in rural and remote areas to the flexibilisation of formerly established thresholds for student numbers in the education sector. In the Spanish case for example, "rural schools" allow for an adequate education in very sparsely populated areas or small villages, even if the number of students is below the standard in other areas.

Within globalised economic structures and increased competition, some regions successfully specialised on specific economic niches to stay competitive. Depending on the local territorial capitals and local expertise, there is a specialisation in the German case study regarding metal processed products and in the Swedish case study area by branding the regional tourism with the world-acclaimed childrens' book author Astrid Lindgren. The Italian case study is interesting here, as local entrepreneurs are quite successful in the production of bergamot citrus: *"[…] when we explore economic connectedness of some niche products or some innovative activity […] we noticed that entrepreneurs were able to set international networks that created new markets and opportunity to enlarge their business"*[22] (p. 33). Other case study areas such as the Hungarian case, make use of infrastructures that had fallen out

of use in previous periods and can now be used to attract investments to the area. These developments are accompanied by labour market related measures to raise the skills of local inhabitants in order to sustain the attracted investments. Still, in certain ways the Hungarian case study stands out from the project's case studies, as much more emphasis on poverty alleviation and regional social cohesion is pursued in this case than in the others.

5 Conclusions

In this last chapter, we reflect the empirical findings from a conceptual point of view. We relate the findings to the PROFECY conceptual models in chapter 5.1 and discuss in a synthesising perspective main aspects stemming from a comparative analysis in chapter 5.2, amongst others the question of scale, the features of Inner Peripheries and the relevance of a long-term and integrating stategy for developing these.

5.1 Reflections on the three descriptive models

Three idealised and simplified descriptive models of IP, based upon separate academic discourses and highlighting different triggers for processes of Inner Peripherality, have been identified in the PROFECY Project:

- Enclaves of low economic potential, triggered by poor access or a long travel time to centres of economic activity;
- Areas where the poor access to or provision of Services of General Interest is considered as main driver;
- Areas lacking organised connectedness, where the relative inability of local stakeholders to connect to wider trends and a primarily cultural and institutional 'lock-in' process is seen as a main trigger.

The models were aimed to capture and understand the logic of the multi-dimensional processes in Inner Peripheries. It was clear from the beginning that the descriptive models are of conceptual value and do not claim to exist in pure form in real life. Nevertheless, in all cases it was possible to link empirical findings to the three models. Four general observations from the reading of the reports stick out:

- The general 'key elements' in their interaction as selected to define the processes of the models (human and social capital; political capacity to act; fiscal effects, etc.) seem well chosen; there were no suggestions for adding or removing these broader components. To different degrees, they played a role in explaining the cumulative process of peripheralisation in all cases.
- Most often, and as was to be expected, it was difficult to link the peripherality process to one conceptual model only. Rather, elements of all three models were discussed to play a role in explaining Inner Peripherality in the given case, and/or a 'dominating' model was discussed, with relevant aspects from alternative models being touched.
- Scale plays a role. The dynamics are often different across space and the inner heterogeneity of the chosen case study area explains that in some cases there is no overall descriptive model for the whole case study area, but rather for parts of the area. It is therefore "*an important question at which spatial level enclaves are defined*"[21] (p. 47). Policy makers should be aware of internally different dynamics and decide on the most appropriate levels for policy interventions.
- There was reference in some reports that connectedness or interaction capacity had different components (for instance, economic networks of the local SMEs, or the influence of local political stakeholders on higher policy-level agenda setting processes). An area might be connected partially, in economic or political terms, and yet there is a need to reflect the degree and nature of these interactions with a view

on strengthening the localities' territorial capital (see here the Hungarian case and the Italian case).

Table 5.1 presents an overview of researchers' view on the prevailing models for the different cases.

Table 5.1: Prevailing Conceptual Models[29]

	AT	DE	ES	HU	IT	PL	SE
MODEL 1 **Enclaves of low economic potential**	X	X	X	X	XX	XXX	XXX
MODEL 2 **Poor access to or provision of SGI**	X	XX	X	X	XX		
MODEL 3 **Lack of organised connectedness**	XXX	XX	XXX	XXX	XX		XXX

[X means existent in the case study; XX means decisive factor and XXX means dominant representation]

The following findings from the case study reports might be useful to take into consideration when revisiting the three descriptive models:

Enclaves of low economic potential

- In the Italian, the Spanish as well as the Austrian case, it is argued that it is difficult to identify this type of IP based on NUTS3 data when the area is surrounded by an economically weak wider region.
  "IPs are distinguished from 'external' peripheries by representing an enclave that is surrounded by less peripheral areas. For areas that are located within a larger area of weak economic performance it is hence due to this definition very difficult to show indicators of IP as also surrounding areas would have low levels of economic potential"[21] (p. 47).
- The fiscal aspects of a decline in the local economy in explaining the vicious circle of Inner Peripherality varies in-between countries, as the role and relevance of the local business tax base for funding and financing services is quite different for the different countries. It may play a central role in some, but depending on the national fiscal redistribution system, not all countries.[20]

Poor access to or provision of Services of General Interest

- The indicators for SGI provision provide an average for an often larger area, while the quality and accessibility of SGI is quite different across this area. Small-scale, often huge, differences between different localities however do not show in the figures which give an average for the whole area. Also, the evaluation and importance of SGI provision is differently perceived and depends on age, individual mobility, gender or ethnicity. There is no easy solution for this problem, but it is important to keep in mind that SGI data are a first proxy, but in-depth research is needed in order to get a clearer picture on small-scale spatial variation and differences in subjective perception.

- The German case suggests to link *"the development of SGI and Human and Social Capital to communication and transport infrastructure, as developments in the latter field may open up new options for the former fields"*[20] (p. 40). It is thus important to think about linkages between the main components, which open up potential exit routes.

Areas lacking organised connectedness

In this third model the emphasis is upon relational proximity, with a quite strong representation of its key factors in the case studies. A range of aspects were raised here, such as the local economy being little connected to centres of innovation, or the local political stakeholders having only marginal influence on agenda setting processes at higher-policy level. Contrary to our assumptions for this model, processes of stigmatisation were not found to be of importance in many cases. Quite a few case study authors emphasised (which is true for the two above mentioned conceptual models, too), that the processes related to the conceptual model *"do not feature in all places and all contexts in the same way and degree across the district"*[25] (p. 19), referring here to the mentalities and lobbying skills.

As regards **main suitable interventions**, the following simplified hypotheses were made[31]: for areas of low access to centres of economic activity the main suitable interventions were assumed to be

- Infrastructural Investment
- Network brokerage
- Exploitation of territorial capital;

applicable mainly at national level.

For areas with poor access to SGI suitable interventions were assumed to be

- Information technology,
- Social Innovation,
- Governance reform,
- Enhancements to residential environment;

applicable mainly at regional level.

For areas experiencing aspatial "peripheralisation" processes the main suitable interventions were assumed to be

- Network brokerage,
- Strengthening of "soft territorial capital",
- Measures to strengthen exogenous linkages/interaction

applicable mainly at local level.

Most of these forms of interventions are indeed represented, or at least considered in the case study areas in one way or another (see chapter 4.3). As Inner Peripheries often occur where digitalisation is not being taken full advantage of, improvements in digital infrastructure and information technology were perceived as forms of intervention relevant to almost all

processes of Inner Peripherality. It was mostly discussed then in relation to infrastructure like improving broadband coverage. Less often, the role of virtual services was discussed and would thus need further investigation and experimenting as described in the Spanish case study: "[…] *the ongoing implementation of the e-administration in Spain, could contribute to reduce those barriers together with incentives for the uptake of digitalization*"[26] (p. 46).

As a second comment, and based on the impressions from the case study reports, the main focus on the local level in order to counteract aspatial "peripheralisation" processes might need further reconsideration. As a first step, capacity-building at local level is important, but in many cases will need triggers or incentives from outside. As discussed before (see chapter 4.2), effective interventions aiming at a lack of organised proximity might need to span across different spatial/ institutional governance levels. An analysis of the gaps and appropriate intervention levels therefore needs to precede the intervention.

5.2 Ten lessons from comparative research

The question of scale is crucial

> *"It is evident that NUTS3 data cannot provide a comprehensive realistic description […]."*[22] (p. 9)
>
> *"Peripherality of the Tamási district cannot be recognised if county data are considered only."*[25] (p. 4)

Inner Peripheries relate to a number of different scales of administration, from very local to broader regional contexts. As case study areas, researchers in the PROFECY project mostly selected Inner Peripheries below NUTS3 level. The identification of IP areas – including their size and their relation to different territorial scales – certainly depends on the values set for thresholds in the PROFECY project. Nonetheless it has become clear that existing administrative data, including NUTS3 data, can only insufficiently capture the existence and dynamics of IPs. Even the existence of a larger city being categorised as 'regional centre' in the national context does not automatically exclude an area from being defined as IP – some regional centres are too weak (or too far away) to fulfil their role for the surrounding area. Choosing, where available, aggregated data at lower levels, or data at grid level provides a clearer picture for policy and practice. One needs to keep in mind, however, that the identified geographical scale of an IP does not automatically define the most appropriate scale of intervention and governance, but its integration with and its embeddedness into higher or lower scales of interventions need to be considered.

Inner Peripheries have inner diversities

Linked to the first lesson is the fact that one needs to be aware of the inner diversity of IPs. Inner Peripheries are by definition relatively worse of when compared with their neighbouring territories. Nevertheless, a seemingly 'homogeneous' area defined in such a relational way

often shows broad internal heterogeneity, that is, small-scale differences in provision of Services of General Interest, motorway or rail access, quality of life of population, etc. At the same time, and overlaying such "objective" differences in geographical access or SGI provision, the individual feeling of being connected or not depends on life situations and subjective perceptions. Whether or not the last local shop or bank is closing has very different effects and impact according to age and access to individual transport. Different types of SGI are of different relevance to population groups. These differences in feeling connected or not can hardly be captured by statistical data. Surveys, workshops, or other forms of interaction with the local population can provide insights and knowledge for local policy makers to understand the different local social realities within an IP.

Inner Peripheries cannot be interpreted in terms of deficits only

> *"[...] provision and access to Services of General Interest are, on average, worse than those of the neighbouring territories, although the quality of life is optimal."*[26] (p. 2)

Interestingly, some reports also mention the ambiguity of being an Inner Periphery, with negative, but also positive consequences. Thus, as in the Italian case, the fact that the area has been lagging behind (in economic terms) creates today's specific local (natural) resources[22] (p. 16). Also, despite gaps in the provision of services identified out of a data-driven perspective, the overall perception might still be that the quality of life is good, as the quote above from the Spanish case shows. Factors such as low housing prices in Inner Peripheries, natural assets, or the local community-life play a role too. Better connectedness through big infrastructures (motorway, rail) is also not uniformly appreciated as progress or as overall positive, as the Austrian case study report argues[21] (p. 14). Local communities and stakeholders might be afraid of fostering out-migration and a 'brain drain' or increased competition form companies outside the area when changing accessibility through big infrastructures.

There is no single indicator to measure inner-peripherality

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 question then is, what are specific characteristics of IPs?

What characterises an Inner Periphery?

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:

- high outmigration among the youth and the high propensity of their not coming back, once they left for opportunities (higher education, labour market) elsewhere;
- an economic sector based on traditional activities and/or mono-economy;
- a weakness of local and regional institutions with quite some variety across the cases;
- a low share of skilled labour force and/or difficulties to attract external workforce;
- a feeling of abandonment perceived by local communities and a feeling of "being forgotten" in the political attention from higher-policy levels, as the regions are often far away from policy decision places.

Are Inner Peripheries lagging regions?

> *"The unemployment rate in Vimmerby […] is slightly lower than the Swedish average."*[23] (p. 9)
>
> *"The case study area represents Inner Peripheries […] where peripherality and lagging overlap."*[25] (p. 12)

Many IPs indeed do share, as the quantitative data analysis and the in-depth studies show, characteristics of lagging regions, but not all do. There are Inner Peripheries which are also "lagging behind" areas and there are Inner Peripheries which – according to labour market and economic data – do not. In the case of an IP being an economically lagging region, it is difficult to distinguish between the two concepts, as the process of lagging behind in some cases may lead to Inner Peripherality over time or, vice versa, the lagging behind may be the result of peripherality processes. It is nevertheless important to conceptually differentiate between the different concepts, as the suitable interventions and the remedies are different.

Inner Peripheries suffer from the 'gravitational force' of dynamic regional centers and metropolitan areas

> *"The relative proximity of other more powerful regional centres […] exert a 'gravitational effect' to which part of the local population cannot literally resist."*[26] *(p. 53)*

The relational process, in which agglomerations become stronger in the national (and international) context has reverse effects on the IPs. It might be time for a *"positive discrimination"*[25] (p. 33) policy for Inner Peripheries, which suffer from the gravitational force of metropolitan areas. In the perception of local policy makers in IPs, metropolitan area development has received considerable policy attention from higher-level policy makers in the last decades. It is time for a shift in policy attention towards the potentials of areas beyond metropolitan regions. This is not to say that specific policies are needed for the non-

metropolitan areas in general; rather, it is the urban-rural interlinkages which need policy attention and thoughts on how to develop linkages in a way to benefit in both directions.

Strengthening capacity-building and territorial capital

Territorial capital varies between different case study regions, depending on tangible assets, formal policies and intangible capital, such as community relations or social norms. 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 not only within the IP, but also with respect to strengthening the development of networks at different levels (i.e. intra-territorial or supra-municipal cooperation, but also at higher levels to reach decision-making).

Co-operative governance and long-term strategies are essential

> *"Regional strategic planning is missing."*[21] (p. 24)
>
> *"The lack of political influence […] resulted in difficulties to put their concerns in decision-making arenas and lobby to develop adequate policies tailored to local needs."*[26] (p. 23)

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 channeling relevant resources into the area, following a long-term vision for the area.

Inner Peripheries can function as dynamic 'laboratories'

Innovative interactions are needed for dealing with the non-spatial aspects and the multi-dimensional nature of Inner Peripherality. Inner Peripheries may be considered as laboratories for experimental and innovative policy interventions. For instance, for development strategies which promote capacity-building actions in these areas. Or, as areas in which to explore the potentials of digital infrastructures and services. Policies focusing on these aspects could play an important role in exploring further how to counteract socio-economic processes that cause and maintain disconnection with neighbouring territories and networks.

List of Annexes

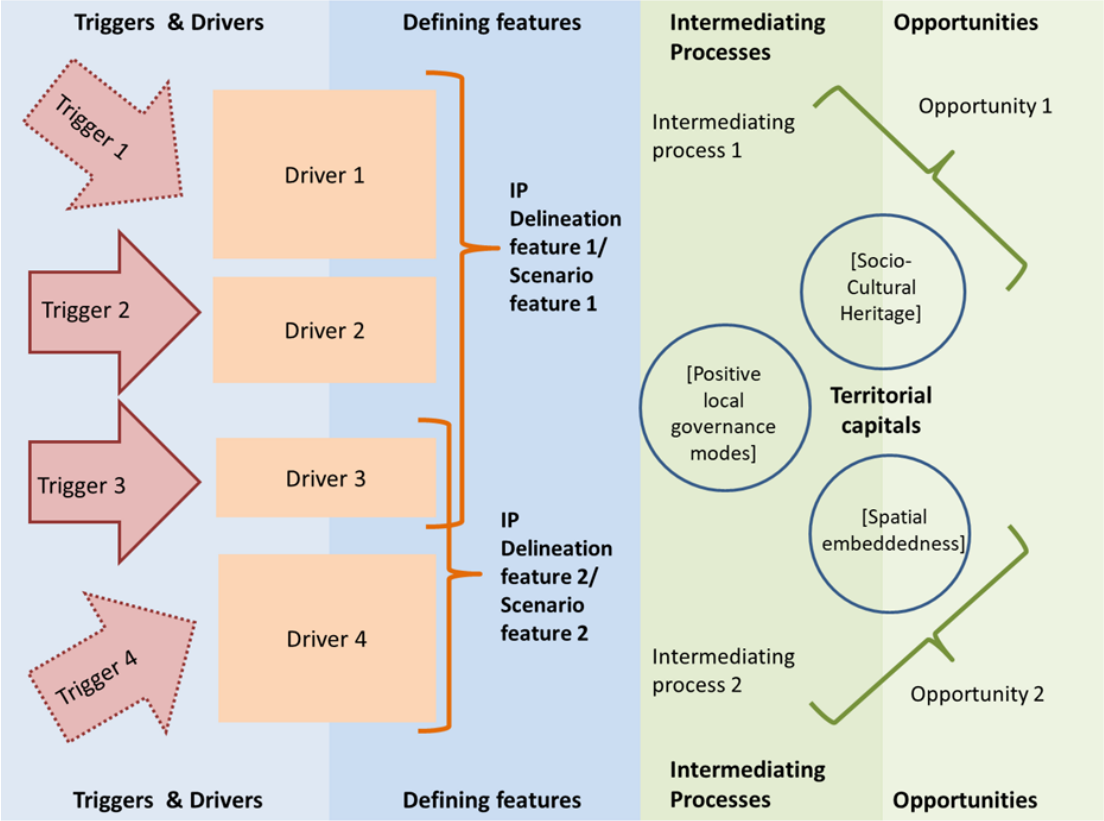
Annex 1: Model for analysing case studies: Visualisation of the main drivers and triggers, features and intermediating processes of Inner Peripheries.

Annex 2: Models of the case study areas Siegen-Wittgenstein and Powiat Wieruszówski

Annex 3: Statistical data on the case studies

Annex 1:

Model for analysing case studies: Visualisation of the main drivers and triggers, features and intermediating processes of Inner Peripheries.



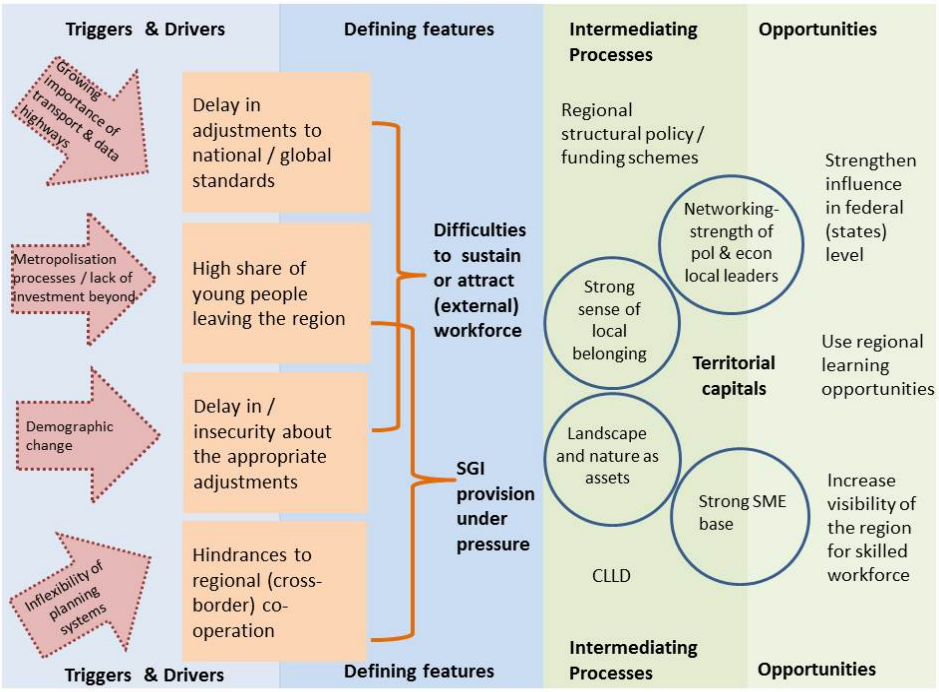
Definitions:

- **Triggers:** Supra-regional (national, European, global) developments that cannot be determined at regional / local scale. Two different types of triggers are distinguished: (1) Sudden discontinuity; (2) Slow & continuous decline, or, stagnation with simultaneous ascent of the surrounding regions
- **Drivers:** Local / regional effects caused by the triggers against the background of the regional development path
- **Defining features:** Dominant local processes in relation to IP-Status (see delineation outcomes)
- **Intermediating processes:** Processes that can be influenced on the local / regional scale
- **Territorial capitals:** Local potentials in the field of governance actors / spatial embededdedness / cultural heritage etc.
- **Opportunities:** Positive development options that seem realistic on the basis of the aforementioned aspects

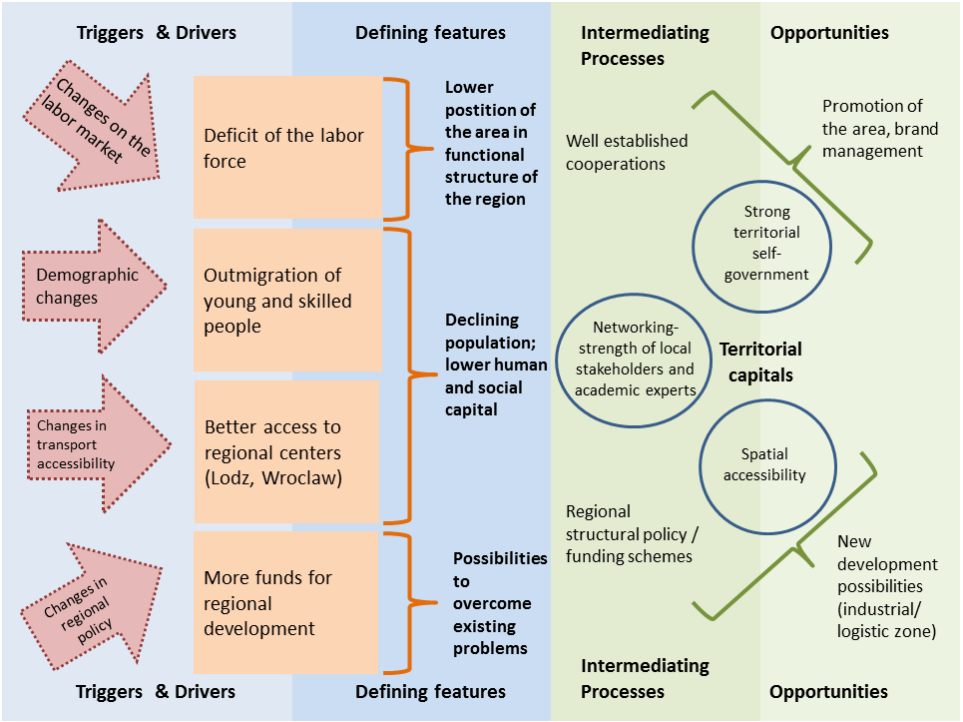
Annex 2:

In order to illustrate how the Annex 1 model provided a clear narrative with respect to the triggers, drivers, features and potentials of the respective case, two examples are presented here: The German case of Siegen-Wittgenstein and the Polish case of Powiat Wieruszówski.

Model of the case study Siegen-Wittgenstein[20]



Model of the case study Powiat Wieruszówski [slightly modified by the authors of this report][24]



Annex 3:

Overview of comparative data of the seven case study areas in relation to their NUTS3 and country levels.

Statistical data on the case studies[32]

	Admin. level	Population development in %		Population development age 18-30 in %	
		1999 – 2013	Most recent	1999 – 2013	Most recent
Wolfsberg	Part of NUTS3	-6.5	2002-2017: -5.1	2002-2013: -16.8	2002-2017: -20.1
Unterkärnten	NUTS3	-6.2	2002-2017: -5.1	2002-2013: -15.7	2002-2017: -18.8
Austria	NUTS0	5.9	2002-2017: 8.8	0.9	2002-2017: 10.2
Siegen-Wittgenstein	NUTS3	-7.5	1999-2016: -5.52	-2.5	n.a.
Germany	NUTS0	-1.7	1999-2016: 0.17	-2.7	n.a.
Montsià	LAU1	29	2000-2016: 21.17	2000-2013: -6.73	2000-2016: -21.84
Tarragona	NUTS3	35.9	2000-2016: 32.37	2000-2013: -6.43	2000-2016: -15.75
Spain	NUTS0	15.9	2000-2016: 14.96	2000-2013:-21.76	2000-2016: -28.28
Tamási	LAU1	-11.1	1999-2015: -11.4	2005-2013: -12.6	2005-2015: -16.3
Tolna	NUTS3	-8	1999-2015: -8.1	2005-2013: -15.7	2005-2015: -19.5
Hungary	NUTS0	-3.4	1999-2015: -2.2	2005-2013: -13.1	2005-2015: -15.5
Area Grecanica	Group of LAU2	-0.09	n.a.	-0.15	n.a.
Reggio Calabria	NUTS3	-0.04	n.a.	-0.12	n.a.
Italy	NUTS0	-0.15	n.a.	1.06	n.a.
Powiat Wieruszowski	LAU1	1.12	n.a.	1.02	n.a.
Lodzkie	NUTS2	-5.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Poland	NUTS0	-1.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Vimmerby	Group of LAU2	-3.2	1999-2017: -0.9	2.8	1999-2017: 4.3
Kalmar	NUTS3	-1.4	1999-2017: 1.8	6.4	1999-2017: 9.1
Sweden	NUTS0	7.9	1999-2017: 12.9	12.9	1999-2017: 16.8
EU 28		4.2	1999-2016: 5	n.a.	n.a.

	Admin. level	Unemployment rate age 20-64 in %		Youth unemployment rate age 15-24 in%	
		2013	Most recent	2013	Most recent
Wolfsberg	Part of NUTS3	5.6	2015: 5.4	8.8	2015: 8.7
Unterkärnten	NUTS3	6.4	2015: 6.4	8.9	2015: 9.1
Austria	NUTS0	5.1 (6.9)	2015: 7.6	9.7	2015: 10.4
Siegen-Wittgenstein	NUTS3	5.8	2016: 5.4	5.9	n.a.
Germany	NUTS0	5.2 (6.9)	2016: 4.1[d]	7.8 (6)	2016: 7.1
Montsià	LAU1	36.45[d]	2016: 16.89[d]	25[d]	2016: 23.51[e]
Tarragona	NUTS3	27.26[d]	2016: 19.06[d]	25.83[d]	2016: 20.61[e]
Spain	NUTS0	25.6[d]	2016: 19.63[d]	55,5[d]	2016: 44.46 [e]
Tamási	LAU1	14.2	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Tolna	NUTS3	11.5	2015: 7[f]	n.a.	n.a.
Hungary	NUTS0	10	2015: 6,7	26.6	n.a.
Area Grecanica	Group of LAU2	19.1	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Reggio Calabria	NUTS3	20.27	n.a.	2011: 51.4	n.a.
Italy	NUTS0	11.9	n.a.	40	n.a.
Powiat Wieruszowski	LAU1	10.9	n.a.	8.9	n.a.
Lodzkie	NUTS2	11.1 (14.4)	n.a.	23.8 (9.4)	n.a.
Poland	NUTS0	10.2 (13.4)	n.a.	27.3 (9)	n.a.
Vimmerby	Group of LAU2	6.4	2016: 4.7	16	2016: 18.5
Kalmar	NUTS3	7.2	2016: 5.8	23.3	2016: 20.8
Sweden	NUTS0	7.1	2016: 6.9	23.5	2016: 18.9
EU 28		10.9	2016: 8.4	23.8	2016: 18.7

[d] Age 16-64.

[e] Age 16-24.

[f] Age 15-64.

	Admin. level	GDP per capita as % of EU28(=100)		Share of tertiary educated people age 25-64 in %	
		2013	Most recent	2013	Most recent
Wolfsberg	Part of NUTS3	n.a.	n.a.	15.3	2015: 16.1
Unterkärnten	NUTS3	95	n.a.	16.3	2015: 17
Austria	NUTS0	142	n.a.	20.6 (19.7)	2015: 20.5
Siegen-Wittgenstein	NUTS3	134	2015: 135	16.6	n.a.
Germany	NUTS0	131	2015: 129	28.6	2015: 28.3
Montsià	LAU1	59	2014: 57	2011:17.23[g]	n.a.
Tarragona	NUTS3	96	2014: 86	2011: 24.62[g]	n.a.
Spain	NUTS0	82	2014: 82	2011: 25.29[g]	n.a.
Tamási	LAU1	n.a.	n.a.	2011: 9.4	n.a.
Tolna	NUTS3	30	2015: 29	2011: 14.2	2015: 15.9[h]
Hungary	NUTS0	38	2015: 39	22.6	2015: 20.2[h]
Area Grecanica	Group of LAU2	n.a.	n.a.	11	n.a.
Reggio Calabria	NUTS3	65	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Italy	NUTS0	99	n.a.	16.4 (11)	n.a.
Powiat Wieruszowski	LAU1	45 (in PPS)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Lodzkie	NUTS2	36	n.a.	23.5 (16.7)	n.a.
Poland	NUTS0	38	n.a.	25.8 (17.5)	n.a.
Vimmerby	Group of LAU2	131	2015: 132	21.6	2016: 26.3
Kalmar	NUTS3	134	2015: 122	29	2016: 34
Sweden	NUTS0	170	2015: 158	37	2016: 42
EU 28		100	100	28.6	2016: 30.7

[g] Age 16-64.

[h] Age 15-74.

	Admin. level	Share of employees per sector in %					
		Agriculture		Industry		Services	
		2013	Most recent	2013	Most recent	2013	Most recent
Wolfsberg	Part of NUTS3	8	2015: 8	34.7	2015: 33.8	57	2015: 57.4
Unterkärnten	NUTS3	7.5	2015: 7.4	30.5	2015: 29.8	61.8	2015: 62.1
Austria	NUTS0	4.4	2015: 3.3	23.7	2015: 22	71	2015: 72.7
Siegen-Wittgenstein	NUTS3	0.3	2015: 0.3	43.7	2015: 42.6	56	2015: 57.1
Germany	NUTS0	1.5	2015: 1.4	24.7	2015: 27.7	73.8	2015: 70.9
Montsià	LAU1	13.75	2016: 6	22.42	2016: 29	63.83	2016: 65
Tarragona	NUTS3	4.62	2016: 5.05	22.9	2016: 24.25	72.48	2016: 70.7
Spain	NUTS0	4.3	2016: 4.25	19.75	2016: 19.6	75.95	2016:76.15
Tamási	LAU1	2011: 10.8	n.a.	2011: 30.4	n.a.	2011: 58.8	n.a.
Tolna	NUTS3	2011: 7.6	2015: 8.5	2011: 34.2	2015: 40.8	2011: 58.1	2016: 50.7
Hungary	NUTS0	4.78	2015: 4.8	29.9	2015: 30.4	65.32	2015: 64.8
Area Grecanica	Group of LAU2	2011: 25	n.a.	2011: 14	n.a.	2011: 61	n.a.
Reggio Calabria	NUTS3	2011: 19	n.a.	2011: 14	n.a.	2011: 67	n.a.
Italy	NUTS0	3.6	n.a.	27.05	n.a.	69.35	n.a.
Powiat Wieruszowski	LAU1	35.6	n.a.	41.3	n.a.	23.1	n.a.
Lodzkie	NUTS2	19.4	n.a.	27.4	n.a.	53.2	n.a.
Poland	NUTS0	17.1	n.a.	26.3	n.a.	55.6	n.a.
Vimmerby	Group of LAU2	6.7	2015: 6.6	25.9	2015: 26.3	65.5	2015: 66.8
Kalmar	NUTS3	4.6	2015: 4.6	17.5	2015: 17.6	76.2	2015: 77.8
Sweden	NUTS0	2.02	2015: 2.1	19.6	2015: 12	78.37	2015: 85.9
EU 28		4.82	2015: 4.52	24.18	2015: 23.95	70.43	2015: 70.9

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[8] RRG GIS Database (2017) *Case study candidates and selected case study regions.* Map.

[9] Own design based on Annex 10 and the Eurostat database.

[10] Machold I (2017) *Highway bridge in the case study area*. Photograph.

[11] Own design based on Annex 11 and the Eurostat database.

[12] ILS (2017) *View over the municipality of Erndtebrück, showing the typical interspersion of SME production sites in landscape and settlements*. Photograph.

[13] Own design based on Annex 16 and the Eurostat database.

[14] Own design based on Annex 15 and the Eurostat database.

[15] Own design based on Annex 13 and the Eurostat database.

[16] Own design based on Annex 12 and the Eurostat database.

[17] MTA KRTK (2017) *Illustrating functions of micro-regional centres*. Collage of photographs.

[18] Own design based on Annex 14 and the Eurostat database.

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[32] All tables of Annex 3 are own designs based on data from Annex 10-16, the Eurostat database, and World Bank data. For Austria, the BABF database has been used as an additional source; data from Germany is partly based on IT NRW, Wegweiser Kommune, and the Federal Employment Agency; data on Spain also stems from the Idescat database, the Diputació Tarragona, and the INE; for the Hungarian case the HCSO provides an additional source; and for data on Sweden, the NSI and the NORDREGIO database have been consolidated.

ESPON 2020 – More information

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