Trasferring territorial governance in the European Union: Why, what, how and through whom?

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Abstract: The field of policy transfer is highly complex. This is particularly true when it comes to territorial governance which is a process integrating several context-dependent policy fields rather than a policy per se. The contribution adopts a conceptual framework developed within the project ESPON TANGO to reflect upon this matter. In particular, it conceptualises distinct *modes* of policy transfer in the EU, explaining many ways through which a certain territorial governance practice in a given domestic context can reach other context(s) that may apply it. The presented framework is expected to help define *what* to transfer, *how* and *through whom*; in other words (i) what territorial governance elements may be effectively transferred, (ii) what interactive resources may favour the transfer and (iii) what 'receiving' stakeholders' group(s) may constitute the target. Building on this assumption, the contribution reflects upon the potential transferability of territorial governance 'features', intended as practical manifestation of good territorial governance in real cases.

Keywords: territorial governance, policy transfer, good practices, European Union, Europeanization, ESPON.

Introduction

The assumption that the dissemination of practices can lead to policy change "has become an accepted wisdom within national policies and programmes, as well as in international arenas and networks" (Bulkeley, 2006: 1030). This is evident when looking at recent European Union (EU) policy documents highlighting how the identification and dissemination of good practices is pivotal to many areas of European policy (e.g. CEC, 2006). Willing to provide a contribution in this respect the research project ESPON TANGO *Territorial Approaches for New Governance*[1] aimed, among others, at developing practical advice for territorial governance based on evidence from current practices. However, this proved to be a mind-ravelling task: territorial governance processes are intrinsically complex and made up of a lot of key dimensions and it is highly questionable whether

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[1] The ESPON TANGO project is pursued by a consortium led by Nordregio and composed by the following partners: Delft University of Technology, University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Politecnico di Torino, Research Centre for Economic and Regional Studies (Hungarian Academy of Sciences); University of Ljubljana (http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Projects/ Menu_AppliedResearch/tango.html).

any territorial governance practice is entirely 'good' or 'bad', being rather a mix of successful (from which something can be learned) and unsuccessful (in which the lesson comes from the recognition of the causes of failure) features.

If so, the problem of spreading good territorial governance can be profitably defined in terms of *identification* and *transferability* of its successful *features*. In this light, the main research questions addressed by this contribution are the following:

(i)   *What* are the main features of territorial governance emerging from empirical analysis that are potentially to be transferred?

(ii) What are the conditions in which each single feature may constitute a trigger for learning in other contexts, i.e. *how* and *through whom* could it be possibly transferred?

First, the author presents the working definition of territorial governance adopted by the ESPON TANGO research team. Then, he introduces a conceptual framework to allow better understanding of policy transfer in the context of EU territorial governance. Next, he illustrates the territorial governance *promoters* and *inhibitors* obtained aggregating the features identified from the project's case studies. Finally, he addresses each of them to a specific *mode of transfer*, and therefore to a specific target audience. A conclusive section rounds off the contribution and sketches out future research perspectives.

Territorial governance: a working definition

The Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union (Art. 174) mentions that in order to promote its overall harmonious development the EU shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic, social and territorial cohesion. The organisation of territorial development is however no piece of cake as territories are shaped by a complex tissue of decisions taken at different administrative levels, for different sector policies and by different types of public and private actors. The concept of territorial governance stands here as describing the political ambition to coordinate policies, programmes and projects in relation to territorial development. A recent addition to the governance and multi-level governance debate (cf. Pierre and Peters 2000; Stoker, 1998; Hooghe and Marks 2001, 2003), it focuses more on how these concepts have infiltrated and been interpreted in the territorial debate and has become an increasingly important aspect of policy actions in Europe (Janin Rivolin 2010; Faludi 2012).

Despite recent achievements, however, the territorial governance debate continues to build on traditional governance discourses. For instance, when defining territorial governance as "[…] the process of organization and coordination of actors to develop territorial capital in a non-destructive way in order to improve territorial cohesion at different levels", Davoudi et al (2008: 37) the term is largely conceptualised based on 'regular' governance theories, at the same time making the call for the development of a theory of territorial governance to be tested through new empirical analysis. In order to partially provide an answer to this need and to develop a working definition of territorial governance to build the various research activities upon, the ESPON TANGO consortium drew together various cornerstones from the literature as regards what is perceived as being most essential and inherent in the notion of territorial governance.

The starting point has been the argument by Davoudi et al (2008: 352-353) who claim, building on the results of the ESPON 2.3.2 project (ESPON, 2007), that territorial governance implies both horizontal and vertical coordination and can be analysed by looking at three broad types of

factors: (i) the structural context, (ii) the policies of the institutional realm and (iii) the results and processes of actions, programmes and projects for territorial cohesion. This makes the territorial governance to be considered an organization of new "constellations of actors, institutions and interests" (Gualini 2008: 16), both between units of government and between governmental and nongovernmental actors, and raises in turn the questions of *integration of relevant policy sectors* and the *coordination of such actors, in particular in a multi-level perspective*. In addition, the consortium addressed the recent debate around the concept of resilience of social systems and their *adaptability to changing contexts* (e.g. economic crisis, natural disasters), building on Gupta et al. (2010) idea of 'adaptive institutions', i.e. institutions that encourage learning among actors by questioning the socially embedded ideologies, frames, assumptions, roles, rules and procedures that dominate problem-solving efforts. Another key dimension of territorial governance emerges when factoring in the claims of participation, partnership and inclusion of relevant stakeholders that are expressed in particular in the spatial planning literature since the late 1980s (cf. Healey 1997), in other words to *mobilise stakeholder participation* and thus activate their specific knowledge and incorporate their claims and concerns in the formulation and implementation of territorial development public policies, programmes and projects. Similarly, being sensitive to Jordan's argument over the lack of geographical specificity of contemporary conceptualizations of governance (2008: 21), the consortium devoted particular attention to the extent to which *place-based/territorial specificities and characteristics* are addressed within territorial governance practices.

Based on the above elements, the ESPON TANGO working definition of territorial governance has been formulated as follows:

Territorial governance is the formulation and implementation of public policies, programmes and projects for the development[2] of a place/territory[3] by: (i) integrating relevant policy sectors, (ii) co-ordinating the actions of relevant actors and institutions, particularly considering multi-level interplay, (iii) mobilising stakeholder participation, (iv) being adaptive to changing contexts, (v) addressing the place-based/territorial specificities and characteristics.

(ESPON 2012: 11)

Transferring territorial governance in the EU: a conceptual framework

The transferability of territorial governance is an issue characterised by a high degree of complexity, difficulty and risk of failure. Reasons behind this situation are primarily linked to the field of policy transfer in general, and may be referred to (i) the questionability of 'reproductive' assumptions behind the rhetoric of 'best practices transferability', especially where this concerns diversified institutional contexts (James & Lodge, 2003; Vettoretto, 2009; Stead, 2012) and (ii) the lack of verified and tested universal models for policy transfer because of the high degree of variables at stake (Dolowitz & Marsh, 2000). An additional complexity is related to the very nature of territorial governance, which

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[2] Development is here defined as the improvement in the efficiency, equality and environmental quality of a place/territory, in line with the Europe 2020 strategy (CEC, 2010).

[3] Territory/place is here intended as a social construct, not necessarily limited by jurisdictional boundaries.

is the result of a complex multi-level and multi-actor process integrating several policies rather than a 'policy' *per se*, aimed at achieving specific territorial development goals.

In order to profitably address the issue of territorial governance transferability, the latter is here framed in the institutional domain of EU territorial governance with the purpose of reducing conceptual complexity as far as possible. Building on a proficient debate regarding (the design of) institutions in/for spatial planning (cf. among others: Alexander, 1995; Healey, 1999, 2006; Gualini, 2001; Moulaert, 2005; Verma, 2007), territorial governance may indeed be described as an institutional phenomenon, the end-product of a creative selection process of trial and error based on "(i) the generation of variety (in particular, a variety of practices); (ii) the reduction of this variety via competition and selection (the discourse); (iii) the propagation and persistence of the selected solution (the system of rules)" (Moroni, 2010: 279).

These inputs have been recently adopted for purpose of conceptualisation in comparative analyses, leading to a description of the evolutionary operation of territorial governance in any institutional context as occurring through cyclical processes variously interconnecting four analytical dimensions – *practices*, *discourse*, *structure* and *tools* – through stages of social experience, political sharing and institutional codification (Janin Rivoln 2012). A tentative application of this analytical model to the process of 'Europeanization' (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999; Olsen, 2002; Radaelli, 2004; Lenschow, 2006), has led to further interesting findings (see Cotella & Janin Rivolin, 2010; 2012), presenting the EU institutional context as characterised by the simultaneous activity of one supranational cycle (the EU) and various domestic cycles (as many as the EU Member States) (see figure 1). As several authors pointed out already, policy transfer in Europe is intimately connected with the process of Europeanization (Wishlade et al., 2003; Holzinger & Knill, 2005). The proposed analytical framework is therefore assumed to be of some value in framing conceptually the main opportunities for transferring 'good practices' in the domain of EU territorial governance, on the basis of the hypothesis that "the [EU] apparatus of policy diffusion and development has transnationalised in such a profound and irreversible way as to render anachronistic the notion of independent, 'domestic' decision-making" (Peck, 2011: 774).
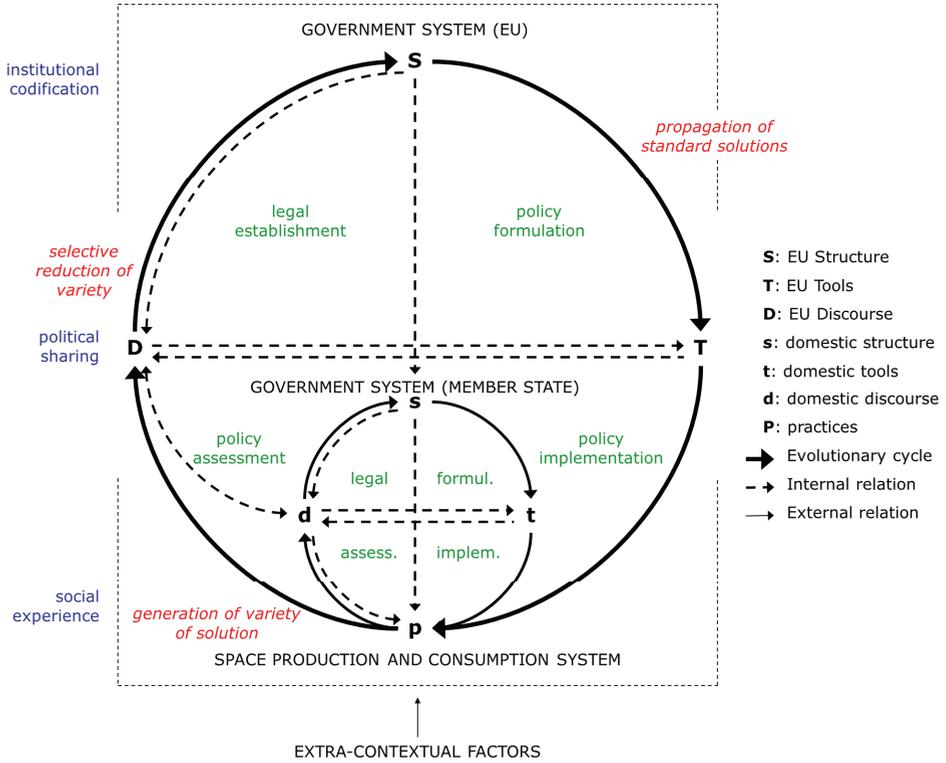
Figure 1. EU territorial governance process of change (adaptation on: Cotella & Janin Rivolin, 2010, 2012)

If so, the EU territorial governance process of change presented above may be used as a background for conceptualisation of the possible paths that policy transfer can be expected to take from a 'good practice' (p1, in a certain domestic context) to supposed receiving context(s) (p2/n, in one or more different domestic contexts). The first observation in this respect is that the initial step of these possible paths is anyhow directed from p(1) to D, that is from the supposed good practice to the 'EU discourse', i.e. the virtual place in which single social experiences are filtered and shared, via selection by policy assessment, in the form of ideas and proposals for good territorial governance at the EU level (e.g. the ESPON platform, but also the activities of the National Territorial Cohesion Contact Points. Adams et al 2011). This means that possible modes for spreading territorial governance in Europe are all pivoted on the activity of a EU discourse on territorial governance, more or less structured and coherent, and are distinguishable for the different paths that ideas and proposals can take from here in order to reach and influence other social experiences (p2/n). In particular, three distinct *transfer modes* are identifiable, on the basis of the assumption that ESPON TANGO plays an active role in the discourse about the formation of EU Territorial Governance , being engaged in a critical study of managing place-based/territorial policies, projects and programmes and as such focussing on a number of original *practices* (p1, i.e. the case studies) in order to identify their 'good' features and profitable ways to favour their transfer in other practices in different domestic contexts (p2/n) (Figure 2).
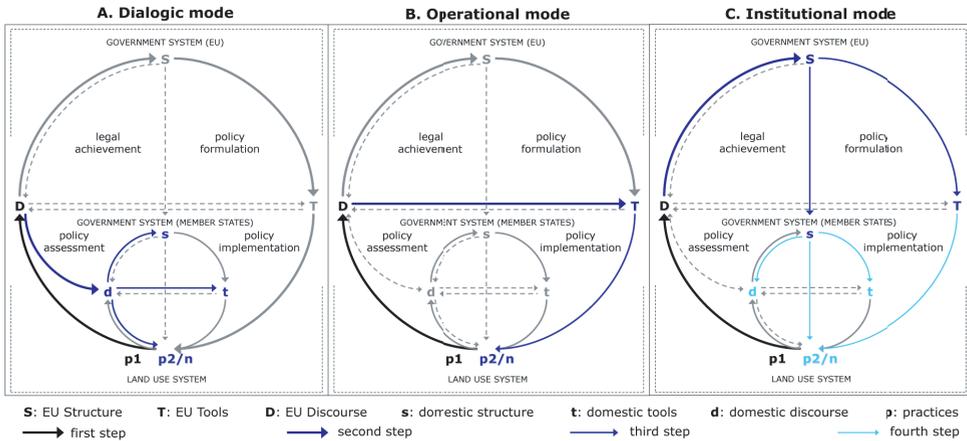
Figure 2. Transfer modes of (good) territorial governance in Europe
Source: Janin Rivolin & Cotella, 2014.

A **dialogic mode** for transferring good territorial governance initiates with the capacity of the EU discourse to influence one or more domestic discourses (D → d2/n) and, from here, relevant practices in direct or indirect ways (i.e. via domestic tools or structure). This occurs when "in its 'weakest' form, European policy […] affects domestic arrangements […] indirectly, namely by *altering the beliefs and expectations* of domestic actors. […] Hence, the domestic impact of European policies is primarily based on a cognitive logic" (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 2). This kind of *discursive integration* "can be successful when there are strong policy communities active at European and national levels and direct links between them" (Böhme, 2002: III), with potential borrowers that may exploit the opportunity of voluntarily importing territorial governance practices depending on the actual level of integration of a domestic discourse (d2/n) with the EU discourse (D). A direct declination of the dialogic mode concerns the transfer of features of good territorial governance from the discursive arenas into practices (p2/n). Domestic practices may be influenced also indirectly in a longer period, if domestic discourse is able to have an effect on domestic structure (s2/n) or tools (t2/n).

An **operational mode** for spreading good territorial governance concerns the transfer of insights gained in the EU discourse into EU tools (D → T), which are then capable of influencing practices in various domestic contexts. This mode is effective insofar as "European influence is confined to *altering domestic opportunity structures*, and hence the distribution of power and resources between domestic actors" (Knill & Lehmkuhl, 1999: 1). In practice, features of good territorial governance can be translated into other kinds of components (e.g. methods, techniques, know-how), which are transferred rather "directly" to new potential experiences in various domestic contexts (p2/n) via economic conditionality.

An **institutional mode** for spreading good territorial governance occurs when the EU discourse is codified within the EU structure (D → S), inducing changes into domestic structures and, from here, to respective practices, or into EU tools with effects described in the operational mode. In this case, "European policy-making may trigger domestic change by prescribing concrete institutional requirements with which member states must comply; that is, EU policy 'positively' prescribes an *institutional model* to which domestic arrangements have to be adjusted" (Knill & Lehmkuhl,

1999: 1). This mode implies that features of good territorial governance are translated into further kinds of components (e.g. rules, codes and laws). Many local experiences may be reached this way through a longer but "enveloping" process of policy transfer, regarding an influence in terms of legal conditionality filtered by domestic structures (s2/n) plus a possible economic conditionality induced by EU tools (T).

This view is compatible with one critique often raised in relation to the transferability of good territorial governance (cf. Wolman and Page, 2002), i.e. that aiming at promoting transferability indiscriminately addressing the general public is most often ineffective; rather it may be more successful to address the transfer of peculiar elements of territorial governance to specific categories of stakeholders. In other words, the hypothesis here is that the various transfer modes described above do not address all potential stakeholders active in the field of territorial development in the same way. On the contrary, each of these modes addresses, primarily but not exclusively, one or more categories of stakeholders. For instance, the institutional mode addresses specifically EU decision makers. Conversely, the technical mode implies the opportunity to transfer features of good territorial governance to EU policy-makers. On its hand, the dialogic mode is particularly concerned with the territorial knowledge communities active in a specific domestic context but, in second instance, may reach any stakeholder active in territorial development in that context: decision-makers, policy-makers and practitioners (See table 1).

Table 1. Modes for transfer good territorial governance in Europe

Transfer modes	Interactive resources	Target beneficiaries	Addressed dimension	Following paths to reach the borrowers	Influence mechanisms
Dialogic	Practices of implementation	Practitioners	domestic practices (p)	p1→D→d2n→p2n	lesson drawing
	Techniques and methods for policy-making tools	Domestic policy-makers	Domestic tools (t)	p1→D→d2n→t2n	lesson drawing
	Rules for structuring TG	Domestic decision-makers	Domestic structure (s)	p1→D→d2n→s2n	lesson drawing
Operational	Techniques and methods for policy-making tools	EU policy-makers	EU Tools (T)	p1→D→T→p2n	Economic conditionality
Institutional	Rules for structuring TG	EU decision-makers	EU Structure (S)	p1→D→S→s2n p1→D→S→T→p2n	Legal conditionality Economic conditionality

Following the argument of Wolman and Page (2002) who define policies as made of various elements that can be exchanged, the transfer of each feature of good territorial governance from one context to others may be seen as depending on different *interactive resources* that, in turn, may be more relevant for specific categories of stakeholders active in territorial development activities. Linking each territorial governance feature that may potentially be transferred to the category or categories of interactive resources – namely: (i) ideas and principles, (ii) practices of implementa-

tion, (ii) techniques and methods for policymaking tools, and (iv) rules for structuring territorial governance – which would potentially be more effective in promoting the transfer may therefore allow to link each of these features to the specific group of stakeholders that usually manage those resources. In particular, those promoters that are identified as more easily transferrable through practices of implementation should be primarily addressed to practitioners[4]; those that seems to require techniques and methods for policymaking tools should be addressed to policy-makers[5]; and those that need the codification of rules for structuring territorial governance should addressed to decision-makers[6]. Finally, the promoters whose transfer is considered to potentially occur through ideas and principles should be addressed to all categories of stakeholders.

Promoters and inhibitors of good territorial governance

In the light of the discussion sketched above, the ESPON TANGO project frames the problem of the identification of good territorial governance practices in terms of identification of their specific and virtuous features, as well as of those elements that may constitute potential barriers for good territorial governance processes to occur. The ESPON TANGO case studies[7] were used to provide in-depth insights on how territorial governance practices appear to be operational (or not) and thus contribute to (or hamper) the success of the development of a place or territory. More in detail, the results of the analysis were used to generate a number of *features* of territorial governance. Building on the assumption that each case would include practical characteristics of territorial governance and thus could help to define what features may contribute to 'good' territorial governance and what may undermine it, each research team was asked to identify specific territorial governance *promoters* that emerged from their case study by referring to the five territorial governance dimensions that constitute the ESPON TANGO working definition of territorial governance. Similarly, they were asked to identify, in relations to each of these five dimensions, one or more *inhibitors,* i.e. bad features of territorial governance.

On the basis of the territorial governance features gathered for all the twelve case studies, a reduction of complexity of the collected information was operated by aggregating, for each of the

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[4] Practitioners of territorial governance are the private or public professionals engaged in various roles concerning activities with a territorial dimension at different scales and cohesion policy programmes or projects in Europe. Practices are the specific resource they 'can manage', since they are protagonists of the creation of interactive knowledge, which is generated from the social experience of territorial governance processes.

[5] Policy makers of territorial governance are usually public executives and officials in charge of spatial planning and control activities at various administrative levels in all countries, as well as deputed to implement cohesion policy at the EU level (e.g. officials of the European Commission) or at national, regional and local levels in Member States. Techniques of policymaking, applied through the elaboration of programmes and projects, are the primary resource of which they dispose in order to address territorial governance processes.

[6] Decision makers of territorial governance are those appointed by democratic vote, such as members of the EU Parliament and national parliaments or regional and municipal councils, often in charge of ministerial or departmental roles that are related to spatial planning and to cohesion policy. In reason of their elective position, they are the ones that can establish rules on territorial governance.

[7] The ESPON TANGO Project developed the following case studies: 1) Territorial Climate Change governance in the Baltic Sea region; 2) Territorial Governance as a way to resource efficiency in urban development; 3) Coordination of land-use and transport (StedenbaanPlus); 4) Cross-border cooperation Rhine Basin Rhine River basin; 5) Target-based Tripartite Agreement between the European Commission; 6) Innovative economic development strategies in Saint Étienne within the South Loire SCOT framework; 7) Greater Manchester City Region Governance; 8) North Shields Fish Quay: Neighbourhood Planning in the UK; 9) Management of Structural Funds in Central and Eastern European countries; 10) European Capital of Culture; 11) Formulation and implementation of spatial planning strategies and regional development policies in Ljubljana Urban Region; 12) Governance of natural areas in the Alpine Adriatic area Alpine Adriatic area. Further details are available at: http://www.espon.eu/main/Menu_Projects/Menu_AppliedResearch/tango.html.

five territorial governance dimensions, a list of more 'general' promoters and inhibitors that may be considered to either favour or constrain the occurrence of good territorial governance (see table 2 and 3). Furthermore, the obtained list of promoters was discussed and further reviewed in an *ad hoc* organized Stakeholders' workshop. The territorial governance promoters represent a number of 'good' territorial governance features that may contribute to generating good territorial governance processes. The inhibitors, on the other hand, constitute a set of 'warnings' for the intended target group (the practitioners, policy and decision maker) being actively involved in various way in territorial governance processes, a sort of 'to-be-avoided' list has been collected based on those features that may undermine good territorial governance processes.

Table 2. List of territorial governance promoters as derived from the case study analysis

Dimension	TG Promoters	Case Studies[a]
1. Coordinating actions of actors and institutions	• Stability of cooperative experiences	2, 4, 7, 12
	• Pro-active public organisation	3; 4, 10
	• Motivation	4, 5
	• Capacity of negotiation	8, 11
	• Clear and uncontested leadership	2, 3, 6, 7, 11,12
	• Self-committed leadership	1, 4
	• Effective strategic framework	4
	• Political commitment	9, 11,12
	• Common goals, common history	Stakeholders workshop
	• Code of conduct – guidelines	Stakeholders workshop
	• Institutional capacity – qualified staff	Stakeholders workshop
	• Follow-up – monitoring	Stakeholders workshop
	• Leadership at the right level	Stakeholders workshop
	• Quality of motivation	Stakeholders workshop
2. Integrating policy sectors	• Acknowledgement of, and integration with, a multi-level framework	3, 4, 5, 12
	• Political support to policy integration at the appropriate territorial scale	4, 7, 11
	• Spatial tool favouring sectoral integration	9, 10, 11
	• Rationale catalysing integration	2
	• Involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders	2, 3, 4, 7
	• Organizational routines favouring cross-sector fertilisation	6, 9, 11, 12

Dimension	TG Promoters	Case Studies[a]
2. Integrating policy sectors	• Strong political commitment towards a shared territorial vision	1, 2, 6, 8
	• Balance between flexibility and legal certainty	4
	• Monitoring process	Stakeholders workshop
	• Win-win situation – interest	Stakeholders workshop
	• Effective strategic framework – strategies	Stakeholders workshop
	• Leadership – vision	Stakeholders workshop
	• Compatible policy sectors	Stakeholders workshop
3. Mobilising stakeholder participation	• Political commitment	2, 4
	• Usage of various mechanisms of participation	8, 12
	• Mix of indirect and direct democratic legitimacy	3, 11
	• Mechanisms allowing for broad stakeholders' involvement	1, 2, 11
	• Information flow ensured	7, 9
	• Effective means of communication/dissemination of information	2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 11
	• High level of accountability	2
	• Clear stakeholder process of involvement (mechanisms, expectation)	Stakeholders workshop
	• How to motivate stakeholder (vision, benchmarking, learning)	Stakeholders workshop
	• Feedbacks to stakeholders	Stakeholders workshop
	• Ownership of questions	Stakeholders workshop
4. Being adaptive to changing contexts	• Co-production of knowledge, knowledge transfer	4, 9, 10, 11, 12
	• Institutional mechanisms that favour learning	2, 7, 10
	• Feedback procedures	1, 2, 3
	• Institutional mechanisms supporting adaptivity	6, 7
	• Role of people in charge of responsibility	2
	• Flexibility of governance structure	3
	• Experience in complex programming	11
	• Multi-annual programming	Stakeholders workshop
	• Involvement, participation, commitment	Stakeholders workshop

Dimension	TG Promoters	Case Studies[a]
4. Being adaptive to changing contexts	• Adaptive management (small-steps, flexibility, room to change direction)	Stakeholders workshop
	• Exchanging best practices to understand the right amount of adaptation	Stakeholders workshop
	• Methods for attracting change	Stakeholders workshop
	• Power to decide change at the right level	Stakeholders workshop
	• Integrative holistic approach	Stakeholders workshop
	• Being conscious and being inspired	Stakeholders workshop
5. Realising place-based/ territorial specificities and impacts	• Awareness of territory	2, 7, 8, 10
	• Involvement of different levels of government	3, 12
	• Spatial tool for coordination	2, 4
	• Acknowledgement and use of territorial potentials	2, 3
	• Co-production of knowledge, knowledge transfer	4, 11
	• Existing shared territorial knowledge	7, 12
	• Evidence of larger territorial context	Stakeholders workshop
	• Spatially differentiated policies	Stakeholders workshop
	• Territorial Impact Assessment	Stakeholders workshop
	• Functional regions	Stakeholders workshop
	• Territorial oriented evaluation	Stakeholders workshop
	• Territorial challenges	Stakeholders workshop
	• Building trust – permanent cooperation	Stakeholders workshop
	• Eliminate barriers to cooperate	Stakeholders workshop

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[a] Each of the numbers below refers to one of the 12 case studies, as indicated in footnote 7. Those features that emerged during the "Stakeholders workshop" are marked accordingly.

Table 3. List of territorial governance inhibitors derived from the case study analysis

Dimension	TG Inhibitors	Case studies[a]
1. Coordinating actions of actors and institutions	• Lack of institutional capacity / stability	2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 12
	• Scarce cooperation between public authorities	6, 11
	• Lack of financial autonomy	9
	• Power struggles	4,10,11
	• Unclear assignation of responsibilities	2,3,5,6,8
2. Integrating policy sectors	• Lacking or inappropriate mechanisms for coordination	5, 9, 10, 11
	• Sectoral rationale dominating	1, 2, 4, 12
	• Lack of institutional capacity / stability	9
	• Scarce cohesion among actors	3, 7, 8, 10
	• Lack /ineffectiveness of integrating spatial tools	4,9,11
3. Mobilising stakeholder participation	• Late or no involvement of stakeholders	2, 10
	• Involvement of non-cooperative stakeholders	6, 8
	• Exclusion / limited involvement of certain stakeholders	6
	• Hegemony of politicians over the process	2, 10, 11
	• Limited communication among stakeholders	6, 10, 11
	• Limited communication towards the outside world	2
	• Weak civic actors involvement	9
4. Being adaptive to changing contexts	• Absence of feedback procedures	2
	• Lack of institutional capacity / stability	9, 10
	• Prejudice or limited strategic thinking	2, 8
	• Uncertain/blurred strategy	1
	• Rigidity of governance structure	8, 9
	• Negative influence by people in charge of responsibilities	9
5. Realising place-based/ territorial specificities and impacts	• territorial scope disputed	1, 2, 5, 6, 10
	• lack of structured institutional framework	9, 12
	• time constrains	11
	• limited use of existing territorial knowledge	1, 2, 6, 10
	• excessive complexity of programming tools	12

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[a] Each of the numbers below refers to one of the 12 case studies, as indicated in footnote 7.

Transferability of territorial governance features The discussion on territorial governance transferability presented above suggests additional guiding questions concerning the territorial governance features emerging from the case studies, i.e. under which conditions each of them may constitute a trigger for learning in other contexts, how could it be possibly transferred and through whom. In order to provide an answer to these questions, each case study analyst was asked to assess the identified features of good territorial governance in relation to the various interactive resources that might potentially be helpful to transfer each of them from one context to another.

The collected information was aggregated under the same logic as the one adopted above for the abstraction of the general territorial governance promoters and inhibitors, and then verified during the Stakeholder's workshop. In this way, it was possible to link each promoter in the list to the specific group of stakeholders that usually manage those interactive resources that were identified as potentially useful for its transfer. In particular, those promoters that were assessed as more easily transferrable through practices of implementation were primarily addressed to practitioners; those that seemed to require techniques and methods for policymaking tools were addressed to policy-makers; and those that were indicated as needing the codification of rules for structuring territorial governance were addressed to decision-makers. Finally, the promoters whose transfer was considered to potentially occur through ideas and principles were addressed to all the categories of stakeholders (see table 4).

Table 4. Territorial governance promoters organized by interactive resources and target audiences

Practices of implementation (practitioners)	Techniques and methods for policy-making tools (policy-makers)	Rules for structuring territorial governance (decision-makers)	Ideas and principles (all stakeholders)
• Organizational routines favouring cross-sector fertilisation	• Effective strategic framework – strategies	• Political support to policy integration at the appropriate territorial scale	• Strong political commitment towards a shared territorial vision
• Involvement of relevant public and private stakeholders	• Institutional capacity – qualified staff	• Spatial tool favouring sectoral integration	• Win-win situation – interest
• Common goals, common history	• Follow-up – monitoring	• Balance between flexibility and legal certainty	• Compatible policy sectors
• Motivation	• Stability of cooperative experiences	• Code of conduct – guidelines	• Rationale catalysing integration
• Capacity of negotiation	• Pro-active public organisation	• Leadership at the right level	• Acknowledgement of, and integration with, a multi-level policy framework
• Effective means of communication/dissemination of information	• Mechanisms allowing for broad stakeholders' involvement	• High level of accountability	• Quality of motivation

Practices of implementation (practitioners)	Techniques and methods for policy-making tools (policy-makers)	Rules for structuring territorial governance (decision-makers)	Ideas and principles (all stakeholders)
• How to motivate stakeholder (vision, benchmarking)	• Information flow ensured	• Multi-annual programming	• Clear and uncontested leadership
• Usage of various mechanisms of participation	• Feedback procedures	• Power to decide change at the right level	• Self-committed leadership
• Exchanging best practices to understand the right amount of adaptation	• Methods for attracting change	• Role of people in charge of responsibility	• Ownership of questions
• Involvement, participation, commitment	• Territorial Impact Assessment	• Institutional mechanisms that favour learning	• Adaptive management (flexibility, room to change direction)
• Co-production of knowledge and knowledge transfer		• Institutional mechanisms supporting adaptivity	• Integrative holistic
• Experience in complex programming		• Involvement of different levels of government	• Being conscious and being inspired
• Existing shared territorial knowledge		• Functional regions	• Evidence of larger territorial context
• Acknowledgement and use of territorial potentials		• Eliminate barriers to cooperate	• Territorial challenges
• Building trust – permanent cooperation		• Spatially differentiated policies	• Awareness of territory

Conclusive remarks and future research perspectives

By reflecting on what are the main features of good territorial governance and under which conditions they may constitute a trigger for learning in other contexts, this paper aimed at building an analytical bridge between the analysis of territorial governance empirical experiences and the production of policy relevant dissemination outputs. In so doing, it did not deal primarily with transferability as such (can/should we transfer territorial governance?), but mainly with a typology of potential transfer modes (how can we transfer it and through whom?).

On the basis of the presented conceptual framework, the author then presented some of the preliminary results of the ESPON TANGO project. When looking at territorial governance in order to understand how related practices and institutions can provide added value to achieving

territorial cohesion, the project gathered relevant insights into current 'good practices' for territorial governance in Europe. Having been given the mandate to address specific questions regarding how territorial governance matters in producing a territorial development outcome or following-up on a larger policy goal such as territorial cohesion, the project team had not only to consider territorial governance from an analytical perspective, but also to integrate a normative one, namely in terms of what constitutes 'good' territorial governance, into the working definition of adopted as the main pivotal element of the research. By doing so it has been possible, on the basis of the materials collected through the case study analysis, to identify some generalizable lessons on 'what to do' and 'what not to do' in relation to territorial governance. This resulted into the definition of a list of general *promoters* and *inhibitors* of good territorial governance that may potentially provide fuel to the policy debate on the matter.

However, when it comes to policy relevant implications, it is important to stress that the various case studies constituting the evidence-base of the project address policies, programmes and projects insisting on various governance levels as well as located within different institutional and geographical context. Therefore, particular attention must be paid to identify 'for whom' the identified territorial governance promoters and inhibitors are considered to be 'good' or 'bad'. This raises particular challenges in relation to any in-depth discussion concerning the extent of their transferability into other contexts. Whereas the contribution presented a preliminary classification of the territorial governance promoters derived from the case studies according to the main interactive resources that may be useful for their transfer and, in turn, to the potential target audience to which the various promoters are mainly addressed to, such a distinction is by no mean exhaustive and requires further empirical research on the matter.

More in detail, as various critiques addressed to theories of policy transfer and lesson drawing (James & Lodge, 2003; Bulkeley, 2006; Vettoretto, 2009; Peck, 2011; Stead, 2012) clearly remark, the 'filtering out' process of translating and combining features of good territorial governance from different contexts into one is a complex process that implies different degrees of adaptation. In a similar way, the 'filtering in' process through which specific territorial governance features may be taken on board in a different domestic context appears to be related to two intertwined dimensions, namely a process of adoption, that gives origin to policies/actions according to new contextual forms or shapes, and a degree of territorialisation, that is the relationship between these possible policies/actions and specific place-based issues at stake.

Finally, the authors would like to stress that neither this contribution nor the ESPON TANGO project aim at searching for 'one-size-fits-all' solutions concerning the transferability of territorial governance, but rather at building an evidence-based set of opportunities for innovation in territorial governance practices at different levels/in different contexts, from which various stakeholders may draw lessons according to their own peculiar needs and will.

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