



Local and Regional Partners Contributing to Europe 2020

Multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020



Spatial Foresight
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Urban Policy

This is the final report of the study on promoting multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020 (Contract No 2013CE16BAT019).

The study was led by Spatial Foresight and began in October 2013. The aim of this study on promoting multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020 is to provide lessons and to stimulate the increase and transfer of knowledge between regions. The study focuses on both the analysis and facilitation of transfer processes.

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EUROPEAN COMMISSION

Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy
Directorate B — Policy
Unit B.2 — Evaluation and European Semester

Contact: John Walsh

E-mail: john.walsh@ec.europa.eu

European Commission
B-1049 Brussels

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

To achieve the Europe 2020 strategy targets, all levels of governance from local to EU levels need to work on implementing this overarching long-term strategy. Multi-level governance describes collective decision-making processes where authority and influence are shared between stakeholders operating at multiple levels of governance. In other words, it describes decision-making processes that engage various independent but interdependent stakeholders. Multi-level governance does not define a model of exclusive decision making powers nor proposes stable hierarchies of authority.

What happens on the ground? Most debates on the implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy take place at the EU and national levels, based on EU documents and the National Reform Programmes (NRPs). From there the objectives and targets are assumed to trickle down to the regional and local levels to be translated into action. Stepping away from this command-chain view of Europe 2020 strategy governance and focusing on what happens on the ground shows diverse objectives being pursued, diverse arrangements and diverse processes at local and regional levels being realised.

Study on multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020. To stimulate discussion and potential transfer of learning DG REGIO launched a study on multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020. This study analyses eight case studies to better understand existing governance arrangements. Four case studies concern energy efficiency and four others focus on social inclusion. Based on these studies, seminars and workshops were organised to discuss the findings and possible transfer of governance tools and ideas to other cities and regions in Europe. The scope and timeframe of the study were too limited to allow definitive overarching conclusions to be drawn. Nevertheless the results provide valuable input to the discussion on multi-level governance processes in support of the Europe 2020 strategy and the roles of local and regional authorities in particular. The national and EU levels were also identified as relevant in several case studies.

Eight case studies were identified prior to the start of the study and documented during the work.

Energy efficiency case studies

- **Prignitz-Oberhavel (Germany)** concerns the interplay between energy strategies at different levels of governance and in particular the role of the standing conference of regional planning authorities, aiming at a more rational approach to energy issues.
- **Vrhnika (Slovenia)** involves the launch of a local energy concept complying with national laws, and formulated with a range of national ministries and local stakeholders.
- **Lombardy (Italy)** relates to the regional territorial plan (PTRA) for the Alpine Valley Area, which brought together the most important stakeholders to approach the issue of energy inefficiency and the unsustainable use of natural resources in the region.
- **Alsace (France)** is about a programme and cluster supporting the emergence of innovative products and services reducing energy consumption, through a range of cooperation activities, including a contract with the state.

Social inclusion case studies

- **Stockholm (Sweden)** concerns the Urban Game as a tool to encourage discussion and to increase awareness about the interdependencies of developments and decisions in different sectors and at different levels of governance in the context of social inclusion challenges.
- **Pomorskie (Poland)** involves the European Regional Development Funds (ERDF) to initiate local stakeholder cooperation and integrated social inclusions measures in tandem with physical urban revitalisation projects.

- **Timisoara (Romania)** relates to new local governance arrangements addressing the problems of non-EU migrants, which also led to policy changes at national level.
- **Liverpool (UK)** is about an initiative to encourage social entrepreneurship with ERDF support and its struggle to survive in changing administrative and governance settings, including reinforced cooperation of stakeholders in being more resource-efficient.

Implementation of Europe 2020 follows the subsidiarity principle. So actions should be taken as closely to citizen level as possible. The appropriate level of decision-making varies depending on the policy fields and the division of decision-making powers in a Member State or region. In addition, the EU level has, in general, limited formal scope to influence national governance arrangements. Still stakeholders from different levels of governance and different sectors, as well as public, private and civil society stakeholders, often need to cooperate to tackle the complexity of challenges addressed in the Europe 2020 strategy.

Towards a multi-level policy cycle. Implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy is embedded in policy developments that need to mobilise various levels of governance. Achieving the objectives set out in the Europe 2020 strategy requires the cooperation of multiple sectors and levels of governance. No single stakeholder or policy sector can achieve these complex objectives on its own. The challenge is to bring the necessary stakeholders together in a policy cycle. Depending on the local and regional pre-conditions and the policy field addressed, different stakeholders are involved at different moments of the policy cycle. Different modes of governance can be at play to bring on board the relevant stakeholders. The four most prominent modes are governing by authority, governing by provision, governing through enabling and self-governing. In practice, several modes are involved and their importance may change during the policy cycle.

Changing governance arrangements takes time. Governance processes and structures show strong inertia and it takes time to move towards new forms of shared decision-making processes. The time needed depends on the issue at stake, the change processes, the approaches and stakeholders to be involved. The more complex the process, the more difficult and time consuming it is to change.

Differences between policy fields. The eight case studies are too small a sample to draw conclusions on the differences of multi-level governance in the fields of energy efficiency and social inclusion. However, they suggest that legal and policy frameworks at EU and national level play a larger role in energy efficiency than in social inclusion, when initiating multi-level governance processes. At the same time, social inclusion governance processes put more emphasis on the local and even neighbourhood level. In addition, the governance arrangements in the social inclusion cases tend to include a larger number of different policy sectors than the energy efficiency cases.

Diversity and coherence of governance arrangements. Multi-level governance arrangements are context dependent. How to run them and who to involve depends on the issue at stake, existing multi-level governance platforms or experience, and the formal division of competence between levels of governance and stakeholders with decision making powers or influence. Consequently there are many multi-level governance arrangements, all of which are place and context-specific.

The factors listed above contribute to the challenge for those organisations that are interested in learning from interregional exchanges when trying to improve and modify governance arrangements. As suggested by the literature good governance practices cannot be transferred automatically, are more difficult to transfer than policy action and the effects of governance changes take a long time to materialise and are difficult to quantify.

However, there are some common characteristics that suggest a few critical success factors for efforts to improve multi-level governance relationships.

The main success factors arising from the study answer the following questions:

- **Why engage in multi-level governance processes?** Local development needs and the necessity to comply with legal requirements are key drivers for stakeholders to engage in multi-level governance processes. Policy frameworks at EU or national levels can trigger multi-level governance processes at local and regional level. Multi-level governance processes are also used because the issues at stake are so complex that they need the competence and decision-making powers of a range of stakeholders at different levels of governance.
- **Who drives or initiates the multi-level governance processes?** There is no single stakeholder who is per se designated to initiate or drive governance processes. Clear evidence of the needs and individuals with good networks and a broad understanding of governance in the respective policy field help to make a start. While very often these are politicians and civil servants at local, regional or national level, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and other stakeholders can also initiate change.
- **Which stakeholders should be involved?** The selection of stakeholders across levels of governance and policy sectors depends on the policy, the policy tools and existing governance. Any stakeholders whose decision-making power or political and social influence are needed to contribute to the policy cycle in order to solve the issue at stake should be involved. Also stakeholders from the private and the third sector should be considered. At the same time there is a trade-off between the number of stakeholders and effectiveness. Therefore, from the very beginning, a careful mapping must be undertaken in order to determine the most influential stakeholders in the field.
- **How to facilitate multi-level governance processes?** Facilitating cooperation of a considerable number of stakeholders needs communication routines and cooperation practices supporting agreement. This includes awareness-raising techniques to create a common understanding or even consensus among stakeholders, shared visions, objectives, strategic plans or contractual agreements. The crucial factor is the ability to create ownership and commitment among the stakeholders. The modes of governance also play a role. In this context a trusted neutral facilitator may play a valuable role to animate a process of governance change.
- **When should multi-level governance processes be used?** Multi-level governance arrangements and processes can be relevant at all stages of a policy cycle. It is important to adjust the composition of the stakeholder groups during the process in order to find the most appropriate arrangements for the different steps in the policy development. It is also necessary to plan for feedback loops at the stakeholders' institutions and consider external dynamics such as e.g. upcoming elections, which may influence decision-making processes.
- **What is it all about?** Clarity of processes, definition of roles and policy contents are important to facilitate a smooth multi-level governance process. Clear rules on the cooperation framework, clear roles for different stakeholders, and clear objectives for specific actions are all relevant to manage expectations and sustain engagement.
- **How can one learn from the experience of others?** Learning from others can help 'thinking outside the box', even if the learning first needs to be translated to the specific context. Transferring practices and experiences from one city or region to another needs to be

...mutual, resulting from dialogue between the sender and the receiver of this knowledge;
...concrete, focusing on practices that can actually be changed or influenced at the receiver's end;
...incremental, as new practices need to be integrated with current and future practices;
...context-specific, so there should be some similarity with the geographical, socio-economic and institutional conditions;
...adapted, as even the most obvious success story can never be fully transposed elsewhere;
...realistic, as some good practices may, in theory, have a high impact, but are actually difficult to apply outside their home context;
...durable, as there is no magic solution or quick fix that will foster long-term changes of attitude and have long-standing impact.

National bodies play a critical role. In the delivery of Europe 2020 objectives, national authorities have a pivotal role in the framing of National Reform Plans and the shaping and delivery of national policy initiatives. From this and other studies it is clear that a wide range of sub national public bodies also have roles, competencies and interests in key Europe 2020 policy fields. In the eight case studies chosen at the beginning of the study the national level is in all cases part of the policy cycle although in none of the eight cases national partners were mobilised during the exchanges. Nonetheless, national actors can also draw lessons from this work. National actors in many cases have a wider range of options open in terms of the modes of governance they wish to employ. But the key lessons on raising awareness of governance options, mapping the relevant stakeholders and actors that have important policy roles, the use of different tools and processes to facilitate consensus building and clarity on roles and retaining a focus on the policy objectives are all relevant for national players also.

Delivering Europe 2020 and EU Cohesion Policy. Europe 2020 objectives are not abstract EU level ideas, but concern the development of every city and region in the EU. Achieving the policy objectives requires effective governance mechanisms. Future debates need to focus more on sub-national levels. More emphasis could be given to 'bottom-up' processes and to furthering the understanding that implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy requires the cooperation between public, private and civil society stakeholders at different levels of governance and from different sectors. This means raising awareness and creating opportunities to facilitate learning within existing European frameworks and policy areas.

Initiatives within the European territorial cooperation programmes to promote multi-level governance and governance learning can also draw lessons from this work. Delivering governance change is highly context specific and dependent on complex relationships with territories. There are difficulties of time scale and identifying cause and effect relationships between multi-level governance actions and policy outcomes, which will lead to clear difficulties for European cooperation initiatives to demonstrate their results or benefits of time limited cooperation actions.

In relation to the governance of 2014-2020 ESIF programmes, the case studies documented, the tools identified and the lessons drawn from the work during this study can clearly inform efforts by programme authorities to put in place more effective governance arrangements with a view to deliver more effective policy interventions. The partnership principle and Code of Conduct on partnership¹ in the framework of European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) offer good starting positions in relation to investment policies, where taken seriously.

¹ Commission Delegated Regulation (EU) No 240/2014 of 7 January 2014 on the European code of conduct on partnership in the framework of the European Structural and Investment Funds (OJ L 74, 14.3.2014, p. 1).

RÉSUMÉ

Afin d'atteindre les objectifs généraux et à long-terme de la stratégie Europe 2020, tous les niveaux de gouvernance, du local à l'Union Européenne, doivent contribuer ensemble à sa mise en œuvre. La gouvernance multi-niveau désigne des processus collectifs de prise de décision caractérisés par un partage de l'autorité et de l'influence entre des acteurs opérant à différents niveaux. En d'autres termes, il s'agit de processus de prise de décision qui engagent des acteurs qui sont tout à la fois autonomes et interdépendants. La gouvernance multi-niveau n'a donc pas pour vocation de définir un modèle de répartition des compétences, ni de proposer niveaux de hiérarchie stables pour la prise de décisions.

Que se passe-t-il sur le terrain? L'essentiel des débats relatifs à la mise en œuvre de la stratégie Europe 2020 sont aux niveaux national et européen ; ils se focalisent sur des documents communautaires et sur les Programmes nationaux de réforme (PNR). Les objectifs et valeurs-cibles sur lesquels on s'accorde sont ensuite censés être répercutés aux niveaux régional et local afin d'être traduits en actions. La présente étude abandonne cette approche hiérarchisée de la gouvernance de la stratégie Europe 2020 et décrit des actions concrètes développées au sein des collectivités territoriales. Cela lui permet de constater la pluralité des objectifs poursuivis, ainsi que la diversité des arrangements institutionnels et des processus de développement.

Étude de la gouvernance multi-niveau à l'appui de la stratégie Europe 2020.

Pour stimuler la discussion et le transfert de connaissances entre régions, DG REGIO a lancé cette étude examinant la gouvernance multi-niveau à l'appui de la stratégie Europe 2020. Cette étude analyse huit études de cas pour mieux comprendre les processus et dispositifs de gouvernance existants dans différentes régions d'Europe. Quatre études de cas concernent la thématique de l'efficacité énergétique et quatre celle de l'inclusion sociale. A partir de ces études de cas, des séminaires et workshops furent organisés afin de discuter de la possibilité et pertinence du transfert à d'autres villes ou régions d'Europe de certains résultats, bonnes pratiques ou instruments spécifiques liés à la gouvernance. Malgré les limites du champ d'investigation et de la relative courte durée du projet, ne permettant pas de tirer des conclusions générales et définitives, les résultats de l'étude apportent de nouveaux éléments au débat concernant les processus de gouvernance multi-niveau à l'appui la stratégie Europe 2020 et sur le rôle que les collectivités territoriales peuvent potentiellement jouer afin d'y contribuer. Les niveaux national et européen furent aussi identifiés comme pertinent dans de multiples études de cas.

Huit études de cas ont été identifiées en amont du projet et documentées lors de l'étude.

Cas sur l'efficacité énergétique

- **Prignitz-Oberhavel (Allemagne)**, traite de l'interaction entre les stratégies énergétiques à différents niveaux de gouvernance et en particulier le rôle de la conférence permanente des autorités régionales pour l'aménagement du territoire, visant une approche plus intégrée aux questions énergétiques.
- **Vrhnika (Slovénie)**, traite du lancement du concept d'énergie locale respectant les règles nationales, et formulé en interaction entre différents ministères nationaux et les acteurs locaux.
- **Lombardie (Italie)**, est associé au plan régional d'aménagement du territoire de la vallée alpine, qui rassemble les acteurs les plus influents afin de définir une approche plus globale des problèmes liés à l'inefficacité énergétique et à l'usage non-durable des ressources naturelles de la région.
- **Alsace (France)**, traite d'un programme et cluster soutenant le développement de produits et services innovants permettant une réduction de la consommation énergétique au travers de multiples activités de coopération, notamment au travers d'un contrat état-région.

Cas sur l'inclusion sociale

- **Stockholm (Suède)**, concerne le Jeu Urbain, un outil permettant d'encourager la discussion entre acteurs régionaux et de favoriser la prise de conscience concernant les interdépendances existantes entre différents secteurs et niveaux de gouvernance afin de relever les défis liés à l'inclusion sociale.
- **Pomorskie (Pologne)**, traite de l'utilisation du Fonds Européen de Développement Régional (FEDER) pour le développement de la coopération entre acteurs locaux et de l'intégration de mesures favorisant l'inclusion sociale autour de projets de revitalisation de l'infrastructure urbaine.
- **Timisoara (Roumanie)**, traite des nouveaux dispositifs de gouvernance locale développés afin d'adresser les problèmes liés aux migrants extra-communautaires, et impliquant des changements durable de politique au niveau national.
- **Liverpool (Royaume-Uni)**, traite d'une initiative régionale encourageant l'entrepreneuriat social, avec le soutien des fonds structurels FEDER, et relate des difficultés rencontrées pour survivre aux récentes réformes de l'administration régionale et de ses effets sur la coopération entre acteurs locaux pour permettre une meilleure utilisation des ressources disponibles.

La mise en œuvre de la stratégie Europe 2020 suit le principe de subsidiarité.

Cela implique que les décisions et actions publiques doivent être prises aussi proches que possible des citoyens. Le niveau le plus approprié pour la prise de décision varie dans chaque État-membre d'une part selon les questions adressées et d'autre part selon la division des pouvoirs de prise de décision entre les niveaux de gouvernance. En outre, le niveau communautaire a peu de pouvoirs formels lui permettant d'influer sur la gouvernance au niveau national. Néanmoins, les acteurs provenant de niveaux de gouvernance et de secteurs différents ont souvent besoin de développer des axes de coopération afin de s'attaquer plus efficacement à la complexité des défis adressés par la stratégie Europe 2020.

Vers un cycle de politique multi-niveau. La mise en œuvre de la stratégie Europe 2020 est ancrée dans des politiques de développement qui nécessitent la mobilisation de plusieurs niveaux de gouvernance. Atteindre les objectifs élaborés dans la stratégie Europe 2020 nécessite donc la coopération entre de multiples secteurs et de niveaux de gouvernance. Aucun acteur ni secteur ne peut atteindre ces objectifs complexes à lui seul. Le défi est donc de rassembler ceux-ci dans un même cycle de prise de décision. Selon les conditions locales et régionales ainsi que les thématiques adressées, différents acteurs sont impliqués à différentes étapes du processus de décision. Différents modes de gouvernance peuvent ainsi être mobilisés afin de rassembler au mieux les acteurs pertinents au cours du processus. Les quatre modes de gouvernance les plus répandus sont la gouvernance par compétence, la gouvernance par provision, la gouvernance par facilitation ainsi que la gouvernance par autogestion. En pratique, plusieurs modes peuvent être mobilisés simultanément et leur importance respective peut varier au cours du processus.

Changer les structures de gouvernance prend du temps. Les processus et structures de gouvernance font preuve d'une forte inertie et la transition vers de nouvelles formes de gouvernance pour la prise de décision collective peut prendre du temps. La durée de cette transition dépend de la question adressée, des structures existantes ainsi que des méthodes et acteurs impliqués. Plus le processus est complexe, plus la transition sera longue et ardue.

Différences entre les champs d'action politique. Les huit études de cas représentent un échantillon trop limité pour pouvoir tirer des conclusions générales sur les différences de gouvernance multi-niveau existantes au sein des thématiques de l'efficacité énergétique et de l'inclusion sociale. Cependant, elles suggèrent que les cadres légaux et politiques aux niveaux européen et national jouent un plus grand rôle dans le cas de l'efficacité énergétique que dans celui de l'inclusion sociale, notamment en ce qui concerne l'initiation de nouvelles structures de gouvernance multi-niveau. Par ailleurs, les processus de gouvernance concernant l'inclusion sociale tendent à

mettre plus en exergue le niveau local voire même celui des quartiers. De surcroît, les structures de gouvernance adressant l'inclusion sociale ont tendance à inclure un plus grand nombre de secteurs que celles adressant l'efficacité énergétique.

Diversité et cohérence des dispositifs de gouvernance. Les structures de gouvernance multi-niveau sont dépendantes du contexte institutionnel et socio-économique dans lequel elles se développent. Comment les mettre en œuvre et qui impliquer dans ce processus dépendent donc de la question adressée, des plateformes ou structures de gouvernance multi-niveau existantes, ainsi que les divisions formelles de compétences entre les niveaux de gouvernance et les acteurs étant partie prenante du processus de décision. Ainsi les multiples structures de gouvernance multi-niveau qui se développent restent en lien étroit avec la spécificité institutionnelle et socio-économique du territoire.

Les facteurs listés ci-dessus constituent d'autant plus de défis pour les organisations qui veulent s'appuyer sur les expériences d'autres régions afin d'améliorer les structures locales de gouvernance. Cependant, comme la littérature scientifique le suggère, les pratiques de bonne gouvernance ne peuvent a priori pas être transférées telles quelles. Ces pratiques sont en effet plus difficiles à transférer que des actions politiques, les effets des changements de gouvernance prenant plus de temps à se matérialiser et étant plus difficilement quantifiables.

Néanmoins, il existe certaines caractéristiques qui apparaissent dans de nombreux cas, ce qui suggère que certains facteurs peuvent contribuer au succès de telles initiatives.

Les facteurs de succès les plus prépondérants adressent les questions suivantes :

- **Pourquoi s'engager dans un processus de gouvernance multi-niveau?** La nécessité de répondre aux besoins liés au développement local ainsi que celle de se soumettre aux cadres légaux existants sont les principales raisons amenant les acteurs à s'engager dans des processus de gouvernance multi-niveau. La complexité des cadres politiques aux niveaux européen et national peut inciter la mise en place de nouveaux processus de gouvernance multi-niveau adoptés par les collectivités territoriales. Les processus de gouvernance multi-niveau sont utilisés lorsque les questions adressées sont suffisamment complexes pour qu'elles nécessitent une prise de décision collective basée sur les compétences de multiples acteurs issus de différents niveaux de gouvernance ainsi.
- **Qui dirige ou initie les processus de gouvernance multi-niveau?** Il n'existe pas d'acteur qui puisse, seul, initier ou diriger ces nouveaux processus de gouvernance. Avoir une idée précise des besoins locaux, avoir une bonne capacité à créer des réseaux d'acteurs ainsi qu'avoir une connaissance étendue des problématiques de gouvernance dans le domaine politique en question sont des qualités nécessaires pour mettre en œuvre de telles initiatives. Dans de nombreux cas, ce sont les politiciens ou fonctionnaires de collectivités territoriales qui sont les plus à même d'initier ce changement, même si les organisations non-gouvernementales et d'autres acteurs peuvent jouer un rôle important pour le développement de ces initiatives.
- **Quels acteurs doivent être impliqués?** La mobilisation de divers acteurs provenant de différents niveaux de gouvernance ou secteurs publics dépend notamment de la politique, des instruments ainsi que de la gouvernance considérés. Tous les acteurs ayant un pouvoir de décision ou une influence sociale et politique notable doivent participer au cycle politique menant à une résolution durable de la problématique en question. En outre, les acteurs du secteur privé et du tiers-secteur doivent être impliqués. L'objectif de promouvoir une participation large doit néanmoins être équilibré avec la

nécessité de l'efficacité globale du processus initié. Ainsi, un juste équilibre entre le nombre d'acteurs impliqués et l'efficacité du processus doit être maintenu. Ainsi, dès le départ, une cartographie minutieuse des acteurs doit être effectuée afin de déterminer quels acteurs sont les plus pertinents ou influents pour répondre à la problématique.

- **Comment faciliter les processus de gouvernance multi-niveau?** Faciliter la coopération entre un nombre important d'acteurs nécessite le développement de routines de communication et de pratiques de coopération en soutien de la prise de décision. Cela inclut des techniques et méthodes facilitant la prise de conscience collective afin de créer une compréhension commune, voire même un consensus, entre les acteurs, des visions et objectifs partagés, ainsi que des plans stratégiques ou des accords contractuels précis. Le point crucial reste la capacité de créer une mobilisation et un engagement durable des acteurs. Les modes de gouvernance mis en œuvre jouent aussi un rôle décisif. Dans ce contexte, un facilitateur «neutre» ayant la confiance de toutes les parties peut jouer un rôle moteur pour initier un changement de gouvernance locale.
- **Quand doit-on avoir recours à la gouvernance multi-niveau?** Les processus et structures de gouvernance multi-niveau peuvent être pertinents durant chaque étape du cycle de prise de décision. Il est nécessaire d'ajuster la composition du groupe d'acteurs au fil du processus afin de trouver les agencements les plus appropriés aux besoins de chaque étape du cycle de prise de décision. Il est aussi nécessaire de planifier des plages de retour sur expérience au sein des organisations participantes notamment afin de prendre en considération d'éventuelles dynamiques extérieures, comme par exemple des élections prochaines, qui peuvent avoir un impact fort sur la mise en œuvre de ces processus.
- **En quoi consiste la gouvernance multi-niveau?** La transparence des processus, des rôles attribués et des contenus des politiques est cruciale pour développer un processus fluide et des structures adaptées de gouvernance multi-niveau. Des règles claires sur le cadre de coopération, des rôles bien définis pour chaque acteur participant et des objectifs précis pour les actions mises en œuvre sont tous nécessaires pour gérer les diverses attentes et soutenir durablement l'engagement des acteurs.
- **Comment apprendre des expériences des autres?** Apprendre des expériences documentées concernant des initiatives mises en œuvre d'autres régions ou localités peut aider à développer et mettre en œuvre des idées novatrices, même si l'apprentissage nécessite en premier lieu une identification précise des besoins du contexte local. Le transfert de pratiques et expériences d'une région à une autre doit ainsi être:

... réciproque, résultant d'un dialogue entre les responsables de chaque région et d'un échange réciproque ;

... concret, se basant sur des pratiques qui peuvent être effectivement appliquées ou adaptées dans une autre région ;

... progressif, puisque les nouvelles pratiques doivent être intégrées aux pratiques locales actuelles et futures ;

... contextualisé, un fort degré de similitude entre les conditions territoriales, socioéconomiques et institutionnelles des différentes régions étant ainsi préférable ;

... adapté, puisque même les bonnes pratiques les plus évidentes ne peuvent jamais être totalement transposée en d'autres lieux ;

... réaliste, puisque certaines bonnes pratiques peuvent, en théorie, avoir un fort impact, mais sont de fait difficiles à mettre en œuvre en dehors de leur contexte d'origine ;

... durable, puisqu'il n'y a pas de solution miracle qui puisse promouvoir des changements d'attitude durables et avoir des impacts au long-terme.

Les compétences nationales jouent un rôle crucial. Pour la mise en œuvre des objectifs de la stratégie Europe 2020, le cadre national joue un rôle primordial pour la formulation des Plans Nationaux de Réforme ainsi que pour la mise en œuvre des politiques sectorielles nationales. La présente étude, et d'autres études avant elle, permet d'identifier qu'un grand nombre de collectivités territoriales ont aussi des rôles, compétences et intérêts dans des domaines d'action de la stratégie Europe 2020. Dans chacune des huit études de cas sélectionnées, le cadre national est partie prenante du cycle de prise de décision au niveau local. Ainsi, les acteurs nationaux peuvent tirer des leçons intéressantes de ce travail. Dans plusieurs cas, les acteurs nationaux ont à leur disposition un large éventail d'options en termes de modes de gouvernance qu'ils souhaitent mettre en œuvre. Les enseignements tirés de cette étude concernent surtout la sensibilisation autour des options de gouvernance, l'identification des acteurs qui jouent un rôle majeur, l'utilisation de différents instruments ainsi que le processus menant à un consensus, ainsi que la clarté des rôles et la capacité à mettre en œuvre de façon concrète et cohérente des objectifs politiques.

Mettre en œuvre la stratégie Europe 2020 et la politique européenne de cohésion. Les objectifs de la stratégie Europe 2020 ne doivent pas être considérés comme des idées abstraites développées au niveau européen, mais plutôt comme des objectifs qui concernent le développement local dans chaque ville et région de l'Union. Atteindre ces objectifs politiques requiert des mécanismes de gouvernance plus efficaces. Les futurs débats doivent se focaliser plus sur l'échelon territorial. L'accent devrait être mis sur des approches ascendantes (bottom-up) ainsi que sur une meilleure compréhension de ce que la mise en œuvre de la stratégie Europe 2020 nécessite en termes de coopération accrue entre le secteur public, le secteur privé et les acteurs de la société civile. Cela implique de sensibiliser et de créer des opportunités afin de faciliter l'apprentissage en lien avec les cadres et politiques européens existants.

Les initiatives dans le cadre des programmes européens de coopération transfrontalière pour la promotion de la gouvernance multi-niveau peuvent aussi tirer des enseignements de cette étude. La mise en œuvre de changements de gouvernance locale est fortement liée à la spécificité du contexte local et est souvent dépendante des relations complexes entre territoires. Il existe de fait des difficultés liées à la durée relativement limitée des initiatives de gouvernance multi-niveau et aussi dues à l'identification des relations de cause à effet souvent complexes entre les actions et leurs résultats effectifs. Cette complexité rend difficile, pour les initiatives de coopération communautaire, à démontrer une valeur ajoutée concrète de ces initiatives dans un laps de temps assez limité.

En relation avec la gouvernance des programmes des fonds ESI (Fonds structurels et d'investissement européens) pour la période de programmation 2014-2020, les études de cas documentées, les dispositifs identifiés et les enseignements tirés de cette étude peuvent néanmoins informer les efforts des organisations chargées de ces programmes afin de mettre en œuvre des structures de gouvernance plus efficaces et ayant pour but une mise en œuvre plus efficace des actions publiques. Le principe du partenariat et le code de conduite européen en matière de partenariats offrent ainsi un bon point de repère en ce qui concerne les politiques d'investissements.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Um die Ziele der Strategie Europa 2020 zu erreichen, müssen alle Governanceebenen, von der lokalen bis zur EU-Ebene, an der Umsetzung dieser übergeordneten langfristigen Strategie mitarbeiten. Mehrebenen-Governance beschreibt gemeinschaftliche Entscheidungsprozesse, in denen Kompetenzen und Einflussnahme auf Akteure verschiedener Steuerungsebenen verteilt sind. Mit anderen Worten, es geht um Entscheidungsprozesse, in die verschiedene eigenständige Akteure involviert sind, deren Aktivitäten einander beeinflussen. Mehrebenen-Governance legt weder ausschließliche Entscheidungsgewalten noch unveränderliche Entscheidungshierarchien fest.

Was passiert vor Ort? Die meisten Debatten über die Umsetzung der Strategie Europa 2020 erfolgen auf EU-Ebene und auf nationaler Ebene. Diese basieren auf den Dokumenten der EU und den nationalen Reformprogrammen (NRP). Dabei wird angenommen, dass die Ziele und Zielsetzungen auf die regionalen und lokalen Ebenen heruntergebrochen und dort in Maßnahmen übertragen werden. Verlässt man diese Perspektive einer solchen Weisungskette der Strategie Europa 2020 und fokussiert auf das was vor Ort passiert, dann zeigt sich, dass vielfältige Ziele verfolgt und verschiedenste Strukturen und Prozesse auf lokaler und regionaler Ebene realisiert werden.

Studie zu Mehrebenen-Governance als Unterstützung der Strategie Europa 2020. Die Generaldirektion für Regionalpolitik und Stadtentwicklung hat eine Studie zu Mehrebenen-Governance als Mechanismus, welcher die Strategie Europa 2020 unterstützt, in Auftrag gegeben, um die Diskussion zu Implementierungsmechanismen der Strategie anzuregen und mögliche Lerntransfers zu unterstützen. In dieser Studie werden acht Fallstudien analysiert, mit denen ein Beitrag zum besseren Verständnis bestehender Governancestrukturen geleistet wird. Vier Fallstudien befassen sich mit dem Thema Energieeffizienz und vier weitere betrachten das Thema der sozialen Integration. Auf diesen Fallstudien aufbauend wurden Seminare und Workshops organisiert, um die Ergebnisse und mögliche Übertragungen von Governanceinstrumenten auf andere Städte und Regionen in Europa zu diskutieren. Der Umfang und Zeitrahmen der Studie waren zu begrenzt, als dass daraus endgültige und übergreifende Schlussfolgerungen gezogen werden könnten. Dennoch liefern die Ergebnisse wertvolle Beiträge zur Diskussion über Mehrebenen-Governanceprozesse zur Unterstützung der Strategie Europa 2020 und insbesondere zur Rolle lokaler und regionaler Behörden. Auch die nationale und EU-Ebenen wurden in mehreren Fallstudien als bedeutende Ebenen identifiziert.

Acht Fallstudien wurden vor Beginn der Studie festgelegt und während der Studienarbeit dokumentiert.

Fallstudien zu Energieeffizienz

- **Prignitz-Oberhavel (Deutschland)** befasst sich mit dem Zusammenspiel von Energiekonzepten auf verschiedenen Steuerungsebenen und betrachtet insbesondere die Rolle der regionalen Planungsgemeinschaft im Zuge eines rationelleren Umgangs mit Energiefragen.
- **Vrhnika (Slowenien)** beinhaltet die Entwicklung eines lokalen Energiekonzepts im Einklang mit der nationalen Gesetzgebung. Das Konzept wurde in Zusammenarbeit mit einer Reihe von nationalen Ministerien und lokalen Akteuren formuliert.
- **Lombardei (Italien)** bezieht sich auf den regionalen Raumplan (PTR) einiger Alpentäler, für dessen Entwicklung die wichtigsten Akteure zusammengebracht wurden, um Fragen der Energieineffizienz und der nachhaltigen Nutzung der natürlichen Ressourcen in der Region zu bearbeiten.
- **Elsass (Frankreich)** behandelt ein Programm und ein Cluster, welche die Entwicklung innovativer Produkte und Dienstleistungen zur Reduzierung des Energieverbrauchs durch verschiedene Aktivitäten unterstützen. Dies basiert u.a. auf einem Vertrag mit dem Staat.

Fallstudien zur sozialen Integration

- **Stockholm (Schweden)** befasst sich mit dem Urbanen Spiel als ein Instrument zur Förderung der Diskussion und der Bewusstseinsbildung von ineinandergreifenden Entwicklungen und Entscheidungen in verschiedenen Sektoren und auf unterschiedlichen Steuerungsebenen im Zusammenhang mit Herausforderungen sozialer Integration.
- **Pommern (Polen)** behandelt die Nutzung des Europäischen Fonds für regionale Entwicklung (EFRE), um die Zusammenarbeit von lokalen Akteuren und die gemeinsame Durchführung integrierter Maßnahmen der sozialen Integration und baulicher Stadterneuerungsprojekte anzuregen.
- **Temeswar (Rumänien)** bezieht sich auf neue lokale Governancestrukturen, die sich mit Problemen von Migranten, die keine EU-Bürger sind, befassen und die Politik auf nationaler Ebene beeinflusst haben.
- **Liverpool (Großbritannien)** beinhaltet eine Initiative zur Förderung des sozialen Unternehmertums mit EFRE-Unterstützung und dessen Überlebenskampf in einem Umfeld mit sich verändernden Verwaltungs- und Governancestrukturen, in deren Rahmen eine verstärkte Zusammenarbeit von Akteuren zur Steigerung der Ressourceneffizienz notwendig wird.

Die Umsetzung der Strategie Europa 2020 erfolgt entsprechend dem Subsidiaritätsprinzip. Diesem Prinzip entsprechend sollen die Aktivitäten möglichst bürgernah realisiert werden. Die angemessene Entscheidungsebene hängt dabei von den Politikfeldern und der Aufteilung der Entscheidungsbefugnisse in einem Mitgliedstaat oder Region ab. Darüber hinaus hat die EU-Ebene im Allgemeinen nur begrenzte formale Möglichkeiten die nationalen Governancestrukturen zu beeinflussen. Oft müssen Akteure verschiedener Regierungsebenen und unterschiedlicher Sektoren sowie öffentliche, private und zivilgesellschaftliche Akteure zusammenarbeiten, um sich der Komplexität der Herausforderungen, die in der Strategie Europa 2020 benannt werden, zu stellen.

Auf dem Weg zu einem Mehrebenen-Politikzyklus. Die Umsetzung der Strategie Europa 2020 ist in Politikentwicklungen eingebettet, die verschiedene Steuerungsebenen mobilisieren müssen. Um die in der Strategie Europa 2020 gesetzten Ziele zu erreichen, bedarf es der Zusammenarbeit mehrerer Sektoren und Steuerungsebenen. Kein einzelner Akteur oder Politikbereich kann diese komplexen Ziele allein erreichen. Die Herausforderung besteht darin, die notwendigen Akteure in einem Politikzyklus zusammenzubringen. In Abhängigkeit von den lokalen und regionalen Voraussetzungen und dem im Mittelpunkt stehenden Politikfeld sind verschiedene Akteure zu unterschiedlichen Zeitpunkten während des Politikzyklus beteiligt. Verschiedene Steuerungsformen der Politikgestaltung (Governance-Modi) können genutzt werden, um die relevanten Akteure einzubeziehen. Die vier am weitesten verbreiteten Formen sind die Steuerung durch Autorität, Steuerung durch Anreize, Steuerung durch Befähigung und Selbstverwaltung. In der Realität werden verschiedene Formen miteinander kombiniert und ihre Bedeutung kann sich im Verlauf des Politikzyklus verändern.

Die Veränderung von Governancearrangements braucht Zeit. Governanceprozesse und -strukturen sind ausgesprochen träge und es ist zeitaufwändig neue Formen gemeinsamer Entscheidungsprozesse zu etablieren. Der tatsächliche Zeitaufwand ist abhängig vom zu bearbeitenden Thema, den Veränderungsprozessen, den Ansätzen und den involvierten Akteuren. Je komplexer der Prozess, desto schwieriger und zeitaufwändiger ist es, ihn zu ändern.

Unterschiede zwischen Politikbereichen. Die acht Fallstudien sind eine zu kleine Stichprobe, als dass aus ihnen Rückschlüsse bzgl. der Unterschiede der Mehrebenen-Governance in den beiden Bereichen von Energieeffizienz und sozialer Integration gezogen werden könnten. Allerdings deuten sie darauf hin, dass rechtliche und politische Rahmenbedingungen auf europäischer und nationaler Ebene bei der Einführung von Mehrebenen-Governanceprozessen im Bereich der Energieeffizienz eine größere Rolle spielen als im Bereich der sozialen Integration. Gleichzeitig lässt

sich für Governanceprozesse zur Förderung sozialer Integration eine größere Bedeutung der lokalen Ebene und sogar der Stadtteilebene feststellen. Darüber hinaus weisen die Governancestrukturen der Fallstudien zur sozialen Integration tendenziell eine größere Anzahl verschiedener Politikbereiche auf als die Fallstudien zur Energieeffizienz.

Vielfalt und Kohärenz von Governancearrangements. Mehrebenen-Governance ist kontextabhängig. Wie die Steuerung umgesetzt wird und wer einbezogen werden soll, hängt davon ab, welche Fragen behandelt werden, welche bestehenden Mehrebenen-Governancestrukturen und -erfahrungen es gibt und wie die Kompetenzen zwischen verschiedenen Ebenen und Akteuren mit Entscheidungsgewalt bzw. Einfluss aufgeteilt sind. Folglich gibt es viele Mehrebenen-Governancearrangements, die alle spezifisch an ihren Ort und Kontext angepasst sind.

Die oben genannten Faktoren sind für die Herausforderungen im Zusammenhang mit Lernprozessen relevant. Institutionen, die daran interessiert sind, durch interregionalen Austausch zu lernen, um ihre Governancearrangements zu verbessern und zu modifizieren, sollten diese beachten. Wie in der Literatur dargestellt, lassen sich Praktiken guter Governance nicht automatisch übertragen und sind schwieriger zu transferieren als politische Maßnahmen. Die Auswirkungen von Veränderungen der Governance werden erst nach langer Zeit sichtbar und sind schwierig zu quantifizieren.

Nichtsdestotrotz gibt es einige gemeinsame Merkmale, die aufzeigen, welche kritischen Erfolgsfaktoren bestehen, die bei Bemühungen zur Verbesserung von Mehrebenen-Governancebeziehungen zu berücksichtigen sind.

Die wichtigsten Erfolgsfaktoren, die sich aus der Studie ergeben, beantworten die folgenden Fragen:

- **Warum sollte man sich an Mehrebenen-Governanceprozessen beteiligen?** Lokale Entwicklungsbedürfnisse und die Notwendigkeit, gesetzlichen Anforderungen zu entsprechen, sind Schlüsselfaktoren für Akteure, die sich in Mehrebenen-Governanceprozessen engagieren. Politische Rahmenbedingungen auf EU- oder nationaler Ebene können Mehrebenen-Governanceprozesse auf lokaler und regionaler Ebene auslösen. Mehrebenen-Governanceprozesse werden auch aufgrund der Komplexität der anstehenden Probleme genutzt. Diese bedürfen der Kompetenzen und der Entscheidungsbefugnisse von einer Reihe von Akteuren verschiedener Ebenen.
- **Wer initiiert oder treibt Mehrebenen-Governanceprozesse an?** Es gibt keinen einzelnen Akteur, der grundsätzlich geeignet ist, Governanceprozesse zu initiieren oder voranzutreiben. Die Kenntnis eindeutiger Anhaltspunkte der Bedürfnisse sowie Personen mit guten Netzwerken und einem breiten Verständnis der Governance im betroffenen Politikfeld sind hilfreich, um neue Prozesse einzuleiten. Es sind sehr oft Politiker und Verwaltungsangestellte auf lokaler, regionaler oder nationaler Ebene; aber auch Nicht-Regierungsorganisationen (NGOs) und andere Akteure können Veränderungen initiieren.
- **Welche Akteure sollten einbezogen werden?** Die Auswahl der Akteure verschiedener Ebenen und Politikbereiche ist abhängig von der Politik, den politischen Instrumenten und den bestehenden Governancestrukturen. All jene Akteure sollten einbezogen werden, deren Entscheidungsbefugnisse oder politischer bzw. sozialer Einfluss im Politikzyklus für die Lösung der betrachteten Herausforderung benötigt werden. Auch private Akteure sowie Akteure des dritten Sektors sollten berücksichtigt werden. Gleichzeitig gibt es einen Zielkonflikt zwischen der Anzahl der Beteiligten und der Effektivität des

Prozesses. Deshalb müssen von Anfang an die einflussreichsten Akteure des betroffenen Bereichs mit einer gründlichen Zuordnung bestimmt werden.

- **Wie können Mehrebenen-Governanceprozesse gefördert werden?** Um die Zusammenarbeit von einer beträchtlichen Anzahl von Akteuren zu erleichtern, bedarf es Kommunikationsroutinen und Kooperationspraktiken, die Absprachen vereinfachen. Dazu gehören Techniken der Bewusstseinsbildung, mit denen ein gemeinsames Verständnis oder auch Konsens zwischen den Beteiligten, gemeinsame Visionen, Ziele, strategische Pläne oder vertragliche Vereinbarungen geschaffen werden. Entscheidend ist die Fähigkeit, Teilhabe und Engagement unter den Beteiligten zu schaffen. Auch die Wahl der Steuerungsformen spielt eine Rolle. In diesem Zusammenhang kann ein vertrauenswürdiger neutraler Vermittler wichtig sein, um einen Prozess der Veränderung der Governance zu begleiten.
- **Wann sollten Mehrebenen-Governanceprozesse genutzt werden?** Mehrebenen-Governancestrukturen und -prozesse können für alle Stadien des Politikzyklus relevant sein. Es ist wichtig, die Zusammensetzung der Akteursgruppen während des Prozesses anzupassen, um die jeweils am besten angemessenen Strukturen für die verschiedenen Schritte der Politikentwicklung zu finden. Außerdem sind Rückkoppelungsschleifen in den Organisationen der Akteure einzuplanen und externe Einflüsse wie z.B. anstehende Wahlen zu berücksichtigen, wenn diese die Entscheidungsprozesse beeinflussen können.
- **Worum geht es?** Klare Prozesse und ein Verständnis der Aufgaben und Politikinhalt sind wichtig, um reibungslose Mehrebenen-Governanceprozesse zu fördern. Klare Regeln des Rahmens der Zusammenarbeit, klare Aufgaben der unterschiedlichen Akteure und klare Ziele für einzelne Aktivitäten sind wichtig, um die Erwartungen zu lenken und ein nachhaltiges Engagement zu sichern.
- **Wie kann man von der Erfahrung anderer lernen?** Von anderen zu lernen, kann helfen „über den Tellerrand zu schauen“ und neue Denkanstöße zu bekommen, auch wenn das Gelernte zunächst an den eigenen spezifischen Kontext angepasst werden muss. Die Übertragung von Praktiken und Erfahrungen von einer Stadt oder Region auf eine andere muss
 - ...gegenseitig sein und aus dem Dialog zwischen Absender und Empfänger des Wissens generiert werden;
 - ...konkret sein und sich auf solche Praktiken beschränken, die auf Seiten des Empfängers tatsächlich verändert bzw. beeinflusst werden können;
 - ...inkrementell sein, da neue Praktiken in bestehende und künftige Strukturen zu integrieren sind;
 - ...kontextspezifisch sein, weshalb Ähnlichkeiten hinsichtlich geografischer, sozio-ökonomischer und institutioneller Bedingungen hilfreich sind;
 - ... angepasst werden, da auch die offensichtlichste Erfolgsgeschichte anderswo nie ganz umgesetzt werden kann;
 - ...realistisch sein, da einige gute Praktiken theoretisch zwar wirkungsvoll sein können, sie jedoch schwierig außerhalb des ursprünglichen Kontexts anzuwenden sind;
 - ...dauerhaft sein, denn es gibt keine magische oder schnelle Lösung, die Ansichten langfristig verändert und dauerhafte Wirkungen entfaltet.

Nationale Stellen spielen eine entscheidende Rolle. Für die Förderung der Europa 2020-Ziele spielen nationale Behörden im Rahmen der Ausarbeitung der Nationalen Reformpläne und der Gestaltung und Förderung nationaler Politikinitiativen eine zentrale Rolle. Diese und andere Studien machen deutlich, dass auch viele subnationale Einrichtungen über Aufgaben, Kompetenzen und Interessen in wichtigen Politikfeldern der Strategie Europa 2020 verfügen. In allen acht Fallstudien, die zu Beginn der Studie ausgewählt wurden, ist die nationale Ebene Teil des politischen

Prozesses; gleichwohl wurden in keinem der acht Fälle nationale Partner für den Austausch in dieser Studie mobilisiert. Dennoch können auch nationale Akteure Lehren aus dieser Arbeit ziehen. Häufig können nationale Akteure, wenn von ihnen gewünscht, eine größere Vielfalt von alternativen Steuerungsformen nutzen. Aber auch die wichtigsten Erkenntnisse bzgl. der Bewusstseinsbildung alternativer Governancearrangements, der Darstellung relevanter Akteure mit wichtigen politischen Rollen, der Nutzung unterschiedlicher Instrumente und Prozesse zur Konsensbildung und der Klarheit der Aufgaben sowie des Erhalts von fokussierten Politikzielen sind für nationale Akteure bedeutsam.

Förderung der Strategie Europa 2020 und der EU-Kohäsionspolitik. Die Europa 2020-Ziele sind keine abstrakten Ideen auf EU-Ebene, sondern betreffen vielmehr die Entwicklung von jeder Stadt und Region in der EU. Die Erreichung der politischen Ziele erfordert effektive Steuerungsmechanismen. Künftige Debatten müssen stärker auf die subnationalen Ebenen fokussieren. Mehr Aufmerksamkeit könnte „Bottom-up“-Prozessen und der Förderung des Verständnisses gegeben werden, dass die Umsetzung der Strategie Europa 2020 der Zusammenarbeit zwischen öffentlichen, privaten und zivilgesellschaftlichen Akteuren auf verschiedenen Ebenen und von verschiedenen Bereichen bedarf. Dazu bedarf es der Bewusstseinsbildung und der Schaffung von Möglichkeiten, mit denen Lernen, im Rahmen der bestehenden europäischen Rahmenbedingungen und Politikbereiche, gefördert wird.

Auch Initiativen im Rahmen der Programme der europäischen territorialen Zusammenarbeit, die Mehrebenen-Governance und governancespezifisches Lernen fördern, können aus dieser Arbeit Lehren ziehen. Die tatsächliche Veränderung der Governance ist hochgradig kontextspezifisch und abhängig von komplexen Beziehungen innerhalb der Territorien. Es ist schwierig, entsprechende Ergebnisse der Programme der europäischen territorialen Zusammenarbeit innerhalb der siebenjährigen Förderperiode im Sinne von Ursache-Wirkungsketten zwischen Mehrebenen-Governanceaktivitäten und Politikergebnissen aufzuzeigen, da die entsprechenden grenzüberschreitenden Austausch- und Lernprozesse im Allgemeinen längere Zeiträume in Anspruch nehmen.

In Bezug auf die Steuerung der ESIF-Programme 2014-2020 zeigen die Fallstudien, dass die identifizierten Instrumente und Lehren aus der Arbeit während dieser Studie geeignet sind, die mit der Implementierung der Programme betrauten Behörden bei der Verwendung effektiverer Governancearrangements zu unterstützen und damit helfen, Politikinitiativen effektiver umzusetzen. Das Partnerschaftsprinzip und der Verhaltenskodex für Partnerschaften² im Rahmen der Europäischen Struktur- und Investitionsfonds (ESIF) sind gute Ansatzpunkte für Investitionspolitiken, sofern diese Prinzipien und Ansätze ernst genommen werden.

² Delegierte Verordnung (EU) Nr. 240/2014 der Kommission vom 07. Januar 2014 zum Europäischen Verhaltenskodex für Partnerschaften im Rahmen der Europäischen Struktur- und Investitionsfonds (OJ L 74, 14.3.2014, S. 1).

INTRODUCTION

The Europe 2020 strategy is Europe's overarching policy framework, guiding all major policy developments and public investments at European level. Furthermore, through the Open Method of Coordination (OMC) and the National Reform Programmes (NRPs) there is a close link between EU and Member State policy objectives.

The Europe 2020 strategy is being implemented throughout the EU by translating policy objectives into reality through structural reforms, better regulation and concrete actions and investments at national, regional and local levels. The main focus of the implementation discussion are often the National Reform Programmes, from where objectives and targets are assumed to trickle down to the regional and local level and be translated into action.

This is the final report of the study on promoting multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020, commissioned by DG REGIO. The aim of this study is to provide lessons and to stimulate the increase and transfer of knowledge between regions. The study focuses on both the analysis and facilitation of transfer processes.

This report presents key lessons from policy experiences and learning between regions regarding multi-level governance. This includes also success factors for political and administrative partnerships across levels of governance and policy sectors. This report discusses examples of multi-level governance mechanisms with regard to energy efficiency and social inclusion, and how multi-level governance arrangements can be translated and transferred to other European cities and regions.

In this report, the 'command-chain' view of Europe 2020's multi-level governance perspective is challenged. While 'top-down' processes certainly matter, this study focuses on 'bottom-up' processes. It investigates what is happening on the ground and puts the focus on diverse arrangements and processes at local and regional levels that support the Europe 2020 strategy.

Eight case studies form the basis of this study and help make the discussions more concrete. They focus on two policy fields indicated in the terms of reference – energy efficiency and social inclusion. The case studies were selected prior to the start of the study, based on an open search for cities or regions that work with multi-level governance processes in the policy fields selected. One important criterion for the selection was the willingness of the parties to participate in the study. It was also important to establish a mix of case studies, to reflect a broad variety of governance contexts and arrangements in different countries, with different administrative systems, different approaches to multi-level governance and to have different ways of addressing the issues at stake.

The case studies illustrate how individually adapted multi-level governance processes can support Europe 2020 aims with regard to energy efficiency and social inclusion. Usually it is easier and more interesting to discuss policies than governance approaches, which are rather abstract. To give some life to the overarching conclusions in this report, the eight case studies are described in separate papers published by DG REGIO. The full case studies are available at:

http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/index.cfm/en/information/publications/studies/2013/promoting-multi-level-governance-in-support-of-europe-2020 .

The eight cases were presented and discussed at two multilateral meetings; one in Milan on energy efficiency in March 2014, and one in Stockholm on social inclusion in April 2014. The discussions started a process which identified lessons from each case and whether these could be applied to other cities and regions in Europe.

The discussions about lessons and transferability were continued in further detail in 16 twinning meetings. Based on an open call for interest, 16 regions and/or cities could meet up with one of the case study regions or cities to discuss their experience. These twinning meetings were moderated by the study team and resulted in action plans showing the lessons that could be learned and the first steps for testing or implementing these lessons back home.

A short survey in November 2014 showed that 14 of the twinning partners have started implementing these lessons. The short time period of this study did not allow following the implementation of action plans and changes of governance arrangements as these take much longer.

Although, eight case studies and 16 twinning meetings are too small a sample from which to draw EU-wide conclusions, they show that there are many multi-level governance arrangements. All of them are place and context specific. However some common characteristics allow for general conclusions and suggest a few critical success factors for multi-level governance which are presented in this report and were discussed at the final conference held on 05 March 2015 in Brussels.

Chapter 1 presents the theoretical backbone of the study. It contains findings on multi-level governance in general and as well as on the literature related to the Europe 2020 objectives for energy efficiency and social inclusion.

Chapter 2 presents the key lessons of the case study and twinning meetings. Many of these lessons are broader than just the focus of this study. The main lessons on important pre-conditions, initiation of the multi-level governance process, the importance of having the right stakeholders on board and how to motivate them, are applicable to multi-level governance in general and can also be taken independently.

Chapter 3 presents key findings on how lessons on multi-level governance in European cities and regions can be exchanged. The focus is on what is actually transferable and the pitfalls to be avoided when learning from others. Again this section can be of wider interest, since the lessons are not limited to energy efficiency or social exclusion issues.

The final chapter provides an overview of the key lessons, for the EU level, local and regional level stakeholders and policy transfer processes.

The Annex to this study contains short summaries of each of the eight case studies and a tabular overview of the most important lessons learned and actions developed in twinning meetings.

The report was prepared by Spatial Foresight with support of Nordregio and the authors of the individual case studies.

List of study deliverables:

- Inception report and literature review (December 2013)
- Eight cases studies (4 in Social Inclusion; 4 in Energy Efficiency) (July 2014)
- Report on the Conference of 5 March 2015 (March 2015)
- Final report (April 2015)

1 MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE & EUROPE 2020

The Europe 2020 strategy stresses the need for a 'permanent dialogue between various levels of government'³ and the inclusion of stakeholders and civil society in delivering the strategy. Hence, implementation by means of multi-level governance is one of the mechanisms for achieving coherence between national, regional and local policies. The Europe 2020 strategy is usually discussed in terms of the EU level and NRPs. From there the objectives and targets are assumed to trickle down to the regional and local levels to be translated into actions.

The Europe 2020 strategy

The objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth cover a wide range of policy fields. The strategy that was agreed by the EU institutions and Member States in 2010 was based on lessons from the Lisbon Agenda and a broad consensus on the key objectives and methods. These targets reflect the development needs and policy concerns of Member States, their regions and cities.

Implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy follows the subsidiarity principle, as stated in the Treaty of the European Union. This suggests that actions should be taken as close to citizen level as possible. The appropriate level of decision-making varies depending on the policy field and the division of decision-making competence in a Member State or region. Often public, private and civil society stakeholders from different levels of governance and different sectors need to cooperate to tackle the complexity of challenges addressed in the Europe 2020 strategy.

Nevertheless, for many stakeholders at local and regional level, Europe 2020 appears to be 'distant'. In fact, they may not even be aware of the Europe 2020 strategy since it has been integrated into other national or regional policies during its long journey before reaching stakeholders. This may particularly be the case when investments and projects are conducted locally within a national legal and policy guidance framework.

Figure 1 Interplay between policy levels



Source: Own elaboration, based on the Swedish national strategy for growth and attractiveness 2013-2020

The interplay between policy levels is shown in Figure 1. This example from Sweden illustrates the overlap of policies and programmes between the local level and European level.

Multi-level governance

Figure 1 also illustrates that different levels of decision-making are involved in implementation of the Europe 2020 objectives. Given the comprehensive nature of the development challenges and objectives addressed in the Europe 2020 strategy, no individual stakeholder could address it single-handed.

Implementation requires multi-level governance, as recommended under the partnership and shared management approach in the Code of Conduct for European Structural and Investment Funds⁴.

Multi-level governance describes collective decision-making processes where authority and influence are shared between stakeholders operating at multiple levels of governance and in different policy sectors. In other words, it describes decision-making processes that engage various individual but interdependent stakeholders. Multi-level governance covers both vertical cooperation between levels of governance as well as horizontal cooperation between different policy fields.

There are at least four main types of governance in Europe that describe the relations between levels (see text box).

Four modes of governance

Governing by authority suggests the use of traditional forms of authority, such as regulation and direction that persist despite reforms. This method is seen when national governments intervene directly in local politics through mandates or other compulsory means. Governing by authority uses sanctions.

Governing by provision shapes practices through the delivery of services and resources. This occurs when services and incentives, including funding, are offered by a national government in return for local action. Governing by provision is accomplished through practical, material and infrastructural means.

Governing through enabling includes local government facilitating, co-ordinating and encouraging action through partnership with private and voluntary sector agencies, and through various forms of community engagement. Governing through enabling works through persuasion, constructive criticism and incentives.

Self-governing includes a local government governing its own activities. It is characterised by self-motivated action and may take place in cities and regions. Self-governing may occur if mandatory national legislation is limited or non-existent. Self-governing relies on organisational management processes⁵.

Multi-level governance does not assign exclusive decision-making competence or establish stable hierarchies of authority. On the contrary, in order to deliver the objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy, the role and actions of local and regional stakeholders is pivotal, suggesting 'top-down' as well as 'bottom-up' elements in multi-level governance.

The following sections provide a general introduction to governance arrangements for energy efficiency and social inclusion. The detailed governance processes applied in the case studies can be found in the Annex.

4 COM (2013) Commission delegated regulation on the European code of conduct on partnership in the framework of the European Structural and Investment Funds 9651 final.

5 Bulkeley H. and Kern K. (2006), Local government and the governing of climate change in Germany and the UK, *Urban Studies*, 43, pp. 2237-2259.

1.1 GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS FOR ENERGY EFFICIENCY

The Europe 2020 strategy puts a strong focus on energy efficiency. Achieving energy efficiency targets leads to complex governance arrangements due to the multi-sector and multi-level dimensions involved in coordination and implementation. No single stakeholder or policy sector can achieve this complex goal on its own. Energy efficiency policies are thus constructed and contested through multiple governance levels⁶ and can hardly be tackled through a traditional single-sector, 'top-down' approach. Recent studies suggest that more coordinated actions across multiple levels of government – international, national, regional and local – can effectively increase energy efficiency⁷. This is admittedly a big shift for energy policies, since these have traditionally targeted improved technical standards and not the improved application of such standards through policy instruments, programmes and projects.

Hence, policies targeting the energy sector need a multi-level governance approach. Among others, the building sector appears to be central to strategies for energy efficiency. This is underlined by Directive (EU) No 27/2012 of the European Parliament and of the Council⁸. In fact, the share of energy consumption by the building sector is increasing⁹. Public action in other sectors may also have a direct impact on energy efficiency regionally, especially for sustainable water and waste management and the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions, by promoting cleaner modes of transport¹⁰.

The added-value brought by each level involved in the elaboration and implementation of energy efficiency policy is different and complementary. The spatial concentration of the energy efficiency issue in urban areas suggests, in governance terms, not only the involvement of relatively powerful local governments with major responsibilities, but also a strategic and regulatory framework from national and EU levels. From the multi-level governance point of view, it means that 'the urban and regional governance of energy systems is challenged by new institutional problems of inter-policy coordination, cooperation in a regional context and private sector involvement'¹¹.

The international and European level

The international level is important in developing common legislation and providing funding stimuli. Regulatory measures initiated at international level are considered among the most effective means of policy intervention, especially with mandatory building codes or minimal energy performance standards for new buildings and major renovations¹². The international level can provide an institutional framework for policymakers at EU, national, regional and local levels to develop policy interventions that are efficient both from a technical standpoint, meaning the standards to implement as well as a governance standpoint, or how to carry them out.

At the European level, EU institutions promote energy efficiency through consistent financial support in the form of multiple funds. These funds are mainly directed at regions and cities¹³.

6 Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005, p. 48.

7 Jollands et al., 2009, p. 9.

8 Directive 2012/27/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 on energy efficiency, amending Directives 2009/125/EC and 2010/30/EU and repealing Directives 2004/8/EC and 2006/32/EC (OJ L 315, 14.11.2012, p. 1).

9 Ryghaug and Sørensen, 2009, p. 984.

10 Committee of the Regions, 2013, p. 2

11 Monstadt, 2007, p. 328.

12 Golubchikov and Deda, 2012, p736.

13 Committee of the Regions, 2013, p. 13

The national level

National governments develop national legislation and support schemes to align strategic and operational dimensions to the existing institutional context.

The local level

Local governments play an important role in implementing energy policies through concrete initiatives 'on the ground'. Puppim de Oliveira considers that 'local governments generally hold important powers, in terms of legal competency and resources, in sectors that are relevant for the development of a green economy such as transportation, waste management, urban planning, buildings, water management and welfare'¹⁴. Additionally, in the UK, Bulkeley and Betsill confirm that 'one means through which local authorities have been encouraged to consider the issue of climate protection is through land use and transport planning'¹⁵. Hence, the responsibilities of regional and local authorities in terms of land use planning, public transport, environmental infrastructure, education, health, training and social services¹⁶ put them at the centre of location-based, coordinated actions to improve energy efficiency.

However, regardless of the amount of power held by local and urban authorities, integration of rules and regulations at national and international levels, such as in the EU, changes the regulatory framework for urban governance which *de facto* limits the legal powers of local players and increases their need for support from other levels of governance¹⁷.

However, there is no 'one-size-fits-all' model of governance for tackling energy efficiency issues. Puppim de Oliveira et al. acknowledge that 'an efficient governance structure would be flexible enough to allow for new interests and solutions to emerge, and to adapt to the different political situation faced by cities'¹⁸. The wide range of actors and sectors involved in energy efficiency and the evolving regulatory and technical frameworks necessitate a relatively open governance process. This is aligned with the conclusions of the Sustainable Urban Metabolism for Europe project that identifies two lessons to be drawn from cities that have successfully implemented sustainable development strategies with a specific focus on resource efficiency. First, an open planning process with broad participation of urban actors and stakeholders is important and second; cross-sector policy coherence must integrate land-use planning with transport, legal structures, incentive patterns and energy planning¹⁹.

Multi-level governance

The 'changing role of local authorities, away from a regulatory role towards one of enabling others to act'²⁰ implies that local governments need to integrate and align their actions with higher government levels as well as to coordinate their initiatives with local stakeholders.

Working with a wide range of actors is already built into the way that urban governments function, since they usually interact with key economic, political and social stakeholders. These include administrations at the regional or national level, such as international agencies and investors, private companies and businesses, NGOs, and citizens²¹. Hence there is already a mobilisation of stakeholders in urban governance. However, this can be challenging for issues related to energy efficiency since most of these actors are entrenched in closed policy communities, often with

14 Puppim de Oliveira et al., 2013, p. 140.

15 Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005, p. 45.

16 Committee of the Regions, 2013, p. 12.

17 Puppim de Oliveira et al., 2013, p. 140.

18 Puppim de Oliveira et al., 2013, p. 141.

19 SUME, 2011, p. 16.

20 Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005, p. 56.

21 Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005; Puppim de Oliveira et al., 2013, p. 140.

conflicting agendas and motivations, which continue to advocate 'business-as-usual' practices. These actors often use national and international discourses of economic neo-liberalism and inter-urban competition to justify their approach, focusing more on the cost-efficiency of environmental services than on the level of resource efficiency²² for human activities.

The mobilisation of stakeholders may turn out to be a critical point for the success of multi-level governance for energy efficiency, with the right number and range of stakeholders involved. Mobilising a wide range of stakeholders can be beneficial, for instance facilitating the commitment of additional funding resources and can lead to greater societal ownership, limiting the involvement of a core bureaucracy²³. Another aspect relates to the timing of stakeholder involvement, with some involved at an early stage, while others may be mobilised at later stages, for instance during the implementation or monitoring of the initiatives²⁴.

It seems that the economic crisis has had an impact on the type of measures targeted by multi-level governance. Indeed, multi-level governance for energy efficiency often redirects efforts towards direct energy efficiency measures, since these are made possible by large stimulus packages²⁵. Typically such measures make multi-level governance for energy efficiency more dependent on external funds.

This study includes four cases which give practical examples of multi-level governance arrangements in the field of energy efficiency. They highlight the absence of a 'no-one-size-fits-all' model of governance in the delivery of Europe 2020's energy efficiency objective. The specific governance process and approaches in Prignitz-Oberhavel (Germany) and Vrhnika (Slovenia) show more 'top-down' elements. In the German case the ERDF plays a role in establishing governance arrangements whereas the Slovenian case illustrates the importance of national law for local actions. The cases of Lombardy (Italy) and the Alsace (France) show different governance structures, including more stakeholders, and they illustrate different 'bottom-up' approaches. All case studies are presented in the Annex.

1.2 GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION

Social inclusion is one of the key goals in the Europe 2020 strategy.

In the light of the economic and financial crisis, addressing issues of social exclusion and poverty within the EU has become even more urgent. Daly stated that 'the fact that in Europe 2020 poverty is included in the same framework with employment and industrial policy seems like a significant step forward'²⁶. Traditionally, the issue of poverty has been tackled at the Member State level through a process of income redistribution. Such a redistribution process includes pensions, unemployment benefits and social security transfers.

The recent financial and budget crisis in the EU has changed the landscape for social inclusion policies in Member States. Bieling underlines that 'as always in times of economic crisis and rising unemployment – particularly in countries with comprehensive welfare regimes – social expenditures increased while revenues in the form of taxes or social insurance contributions diminished'²⁷. This picture has been confirmed in the Sixth Report on economic, social and territorial Cohesion²⁸. The reduction of funding may lead to more innovative and efficient forms of financial arrangements though this may not guarantee achieving the objectives. However,

22 Bulkeley and Betsill, 2005, p57-58; Ryghaug and Sørensen, 2009, p. 989

23 Jollands et al., 2009, p. 25.

24 Jollands et al., 2009, p. 25.

25 Jollands et al., 2009, p. 35.

26 Daly, 2012, p.275

27 Bieling, 2012, p260.

28 European Commission (2014) Investment for jobs and growth. Promoting development and good governance in EU regions and cities.

social inclusion has become an increasingly important issue in large parts of Europe – while there are fewer resources to address increasing demands for intervention.

Social exclusion and poverty are addressed by education policies and by combining social protection policies and labour market policies²⁹. Social inclusion can also be addressed through health care policies, housing and transport measures and urban regeneration policies. This multi-faceted character suggests that a wide range of policy sectors needed to be involved in addressing the issues of inclusion many of which involve specific target groups in the population.

The European level

Although there is no formal common EU policy to address social exclusion, the 'inclusive growth' target of the Europe 2020 strategy and the flagship initiatives focusing on these issues point to more direct involvement from the EU Commission. Other examples include the 2013 EU Social investment Programme and the 2011 EU framework for Roma inclusion.

EU Cohesion policy plays a role when it comes to reducing social exclusion. However, all the key policies to tackle poverty and social inclusion are still mainly organised at national (or regional) level in the Member States³⁰.

Social inclusion is a multi-faced concept, with most actions and policies designed at national level. The traditional national focus means that there are limited policy levers and a strong level of inertia in dealing with these issues within the EU. Hence, the inclusion of poverty and social inclusion as flagship initiatives in the Europe 2020 strategy should facilitate a more thorough EU debate on how to reduce disparities and develop synergies and initiatives to tackle joint or shared issues across national boundaries, especially the exclusion of Roma people³¹.

The national level

The national level has a key role in setting up policies promoting social inclusion. Social protection systems such as family allowances and pension systems are decided and financed at national level in most Member States, although this may differ, especially in the federal states. Labour market policies are often developed and labour market measures financed at national level. Different stakeholders, such as labour unions, business representatives and NGOs are often, in different ways, involved in the formulation of both social and labour-market policies at national level. Furthermore, the 2013 EU Social investment Programme encourages Member States to reorient 'towards social investment where needed, with a view to ensuring the adequacy and sustainability of social systems while linking these efforts to the best use made of the EU funds, notably the European Social Fund (ESF)³². On the one hand, Member States are urged to take advantage of the ESF, which is usually managed at national level, and on the other hand, 'Member States are urged to strengthen the involvement of relevant stakeholders at all levels, most notably social partners and civil society organisations, in the modernisation of social policy as part of the Europe 2020 Strategy³³.

Prevention of social exclusion and poverty is addressed differently in different Member States. The interplay between several policy sectors and ministries is often required at the national level in order to design policies tackling social exclusion.

29 Organisation of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), 2013

30 ESPON TIPSE Interim report, p. 4.

31 European Commission (2011) An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, COM(2011) 173/4

32 European Commission (2013) Towards Social Investment for Growth and Cohesion – including implementing the European Social Fund 2014-2020.

2020, COM(2013) 83 final, 21.

33 Ibid, p22.

The regional and local level

The sub-national level is important for the implementation of policies to reduce social exclusion. Around 16% of sub-national expenditure is spent on reaching the 'inclusive growth' targets of the Europe 2020 strategy³⁴. However, there is a strong geographic or territorial dimension to social exclusion.

In most EU Member States, the urban and regional levels play an important role when it comes to implementing policies to tackle poverty and social exclusion, not least because of the frequent phenomenon of geographic concentrations of excluded populations. Also, from a territorial perspective, social exclusion and poverty are mostly associated with urban areas in the western Member States, whereas in the eastern Member States, poverty is mostly associated with rural areas³⁵. This means that the national policies dealing with poverty in different countries may target different types of territories, which makes a pan-European approach more difficult.

Also, European cities experience increasing social exclusion, which has been reinforced as a consequence of the economic and financial crisis. As a result local authorities and neighbourhood authorities in cities play a key role in working with socially excluded people. Cities are therefore playing a crucial role in governance arrangements to fight social exclusion³⁶ and the urban setting is thus an important arena for new and innovative governance arrangements, especially those involving civil society³⁷.

The citizens' level

The involvement of civil society actors, as well as citizen participation, is also highlighted. The added value of involving local actors also concerns their knowledge and understanding of the social exclusion patterns within their territory, which may allow for a better design and implementation of innovative social measures.

In an urban context, neighbourhood initiatives mean that citizens can see the direct effects of their engagement³⁸. More 'loose' and innovative governance arrangements such as neighbourhood initiatives also tend to replace traditional participation and engagement, such as through trade unions and church organisations³⁹. Thus, the urban setting can serve as 'a scene for experimenting with new social innovative modes of governance'⁴⁰.

Multi-level governance

To successfully address social inclusion, all levels of governance need to cooperate across many different policy fields. An example of EU encouragement for adopting multi-level governance arrangements where all levels contribute, together with civil society, is the 2011 EU framework for Roma inclusion. The European Commission encourages Member States to develop national Roma strategies, but emphasises that the strategies should 'be designed, implemented and monitored in close cooperation and continuous dialogue with Roma civil society, regional and local authorities'⁴¹.

Four case studies illustrate the focus on local level actions in the field of social inclusion and the diversity of issues covered by this Europe 2020 objective. Specific governance process and arrangements in Stockholm (Sweden), Pomorskie (Poland), Timisoara (Romania) and Liverpool (United Kingdom) are presented in the Annex.

34 Committee of the Regions, 2013.

35 ESPON TIPSE Interim report, p. 4.

36 Committee of the Regions, 2013

37 Gerometta et al., 2012

38 Gerometta et al., 2005.

39 Gerometta et al., 2005.

40 Gerometta et al., 2005.

41 European Commission (2011) An EU Framework for National Roma Integration Strategies up to 2020, COM (2011) 173/4, p 9.

2 LESSONS FOR EFFECTIVE USE OF MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE IN SUPPORT OF EUROPE 2020

Many regions and cities in Europe contribute directly or indirectly to achieving the aims and objectives of the Europe 2020 Strategy. A variety of lessons may be learned from the eight case studies about multi-level governance arrangements increasing energy efficiency and social inclusion may be relevant for many other regions and policy fields beyond these specific objectives.

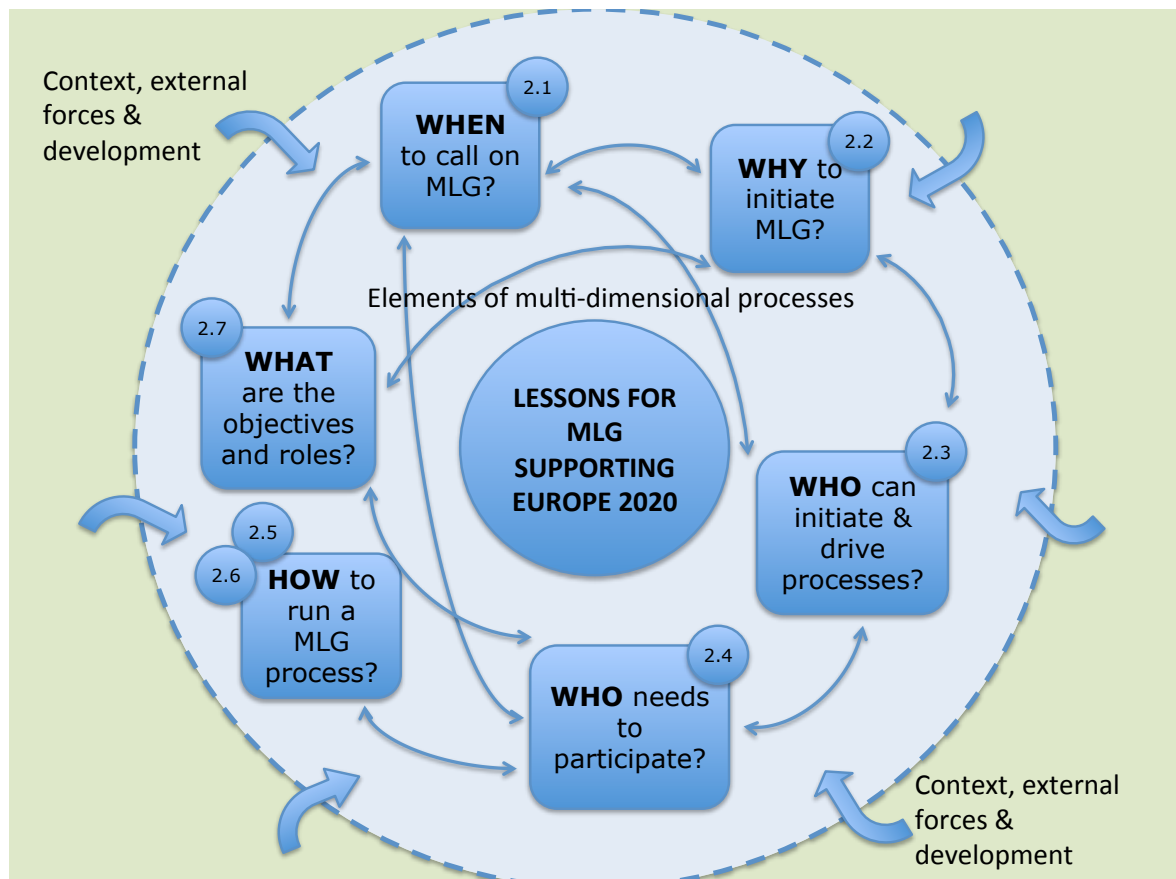
The main lessons concern processes and coordinated actions, rather than the Europe 2020 targets.

The lessons focus on the interplay of actors at various levels of government and with non-governmental actors, as well as across multiple policy sectors. In theory, effective processes lead to improved policy outcomes; however, achieving outcomes after changes in the governance system takes time.

The case studies, looking into details of governance arrangements at local and regional levels, supported the development of more particular lessons.

This chapter illustrates different mechanisms and elements in policy development that support delivery of the Europe 2020 strategy. The sections of this chapter present key lessons that were identified for the two policy fields of energy efficiency and social inclusion (see also Figure 2).

Figure 2 Lessons for multi-level governance (MLG) in support of Europe 2020



Source: Own elaboration

The key lessons are presented in relation to a series of questions:

- When should multi-level governance processes be used?
- Why initiate multi-level governance processes?
- Who can initiate and drive multi-level governance processes?
- Who needs to participate in a multi-level governance process?
- How should a multi-level governance process be run?
- What are the main objectives, demands and roles within multi-level governance processes?

The variety of different approaches and the different combinations of elements in the multi-level governance arrangements illustrate that each process is very individual. The lessons only show some essential features, how successful arrangements may look and what should be avoided.

2.1 WHEN?

MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE PROCESS CAN COME IN AT ALL STAGES OF THE POLICY CYCLE

Success factors for multi-level governance:

Timing

Time is an important dimension of governance processes, in particular as processes change over time and can be time consuming.

- Multi-level governance processes can be relevant at all stages of the policy cycle.
- Changing governance systems takes time.
- Adjust and change the mix and number of stakeholders during the process in order to find the most suitable arrangements for the different stages of policy development.
- Plan for enough feedback loops at the stakeholders' institutions.
- Political cycles are very important, stakeholders should anticipate political changes.

Implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy is embedded in policy development at various levels of governance, and benefits from well-defined governance processes. This includes the involvement of different stakeholders from different levels and sectors influencing policy delivery.

Key lessons on multi-level governance arrangements can be relevant at all stages of the policy cycle, from the phases of identification, formulation and implementation, as well as monitoring and evaluation.

At all stages of the policy cycle, different stakeholders can be brought together in multi-level governance processes. The tables below illustrate which actors were involved at which stage and how different stakeholders changed over time. The cases illustrate the relevance of including different actors. The policy outcomes might have been different depending on the inclusion of the actors at different stages of the policy cycle.

One approach involves broad participation of many stakeholders as early as the identification stage of the policy cycle. This was used in Lombardy, Alsace, and Timisoara. The second approach involves increasing the number of stakeholders when the policy is implemented. This was seen in Prignitz-Oberhavel, Vrhinka, Stockholm, Pomorskie and Liverpool.

Table 1 Multi-level governance dimensions at various stages of the policy cycle for energy efficiency

| | Prignitz-Oberhavel | Vrhnika | Lombardy | Alsace |
|-----------------------|---|---|--|---|
| | Developing regional energy policies | Developing a local energy concept in compliance with national regulations | Developing a regional planning strategy about energy efficiency | Developing regional clusters in the field of energy efficiency |
| Identification | Brandenburg state Ministries of Economic and European Affairs and Infrastructure and Agriculture initiated the state's Energy Strategy (2008 and revised 2012) and implementation of this strategy in the state's planning regions. | National Ministries of Infrastructure and Planning, Economy and Technology and Agriculture and Environment propose Energy Act (2004 and revised in 2009), requiring municipalities to draft energy concepts. | Launching the idea of a regional territorial plan (PTRA) in the Alpine Valleys at the end of 2011. At the beginning of 2012 the regional government initiated the PTRA through a resolution. | Alsace Region in cooperation with the main local players, i.e. regional environment and energy agency, chamber of commerce, authorities of the Alsace's agglomerations, representatives from universities and private stakeholders. |
| Formulation | Implementation and translation of the state's energy strategy by Prignitz-Oberhavel's planning office, which regularly consults its board and assembly. | Preparations of the pilot local energy concept started in 2008 at the municipality of Vrhnika. Promoted by the mayor, supported by civil servants. | Following analysis and drafting, the plan document was carried out by the University of Bergamo in cooperation with all the other actors. | Cluster administration initiated by the Alsace region with support of representatives from agglomeration administrations and private stakeholders. |
| Implementation | Involvement of local level to implement regional energy concept; district chief executives, municipal mayors and supporting staff. The involvement of interest groups, companies and citizens was voluntary. | 2009 (for 10 years) Projects and actions originated from the concept started in 2009 and will run for 10 years, being implemented with the help of local stakeholders, including schools. | | Local partnerships. |
| Accountability | Steering group from region's stakeholders and state representatives and managed by <i>Zukunfts-Agentur Brandenburg (ZAB)</i> , the state's economic development board, an agency under the Brandenburg Ministry of Economic and European Affairs. | Set out in national guidelines defining three levels of reporting. (1) the implementing body – the municipality. (2) municipality reporting to National Ministry of Infrastructure and Spatial Planning.(3) the municipal administration communicates the measures and results to the general public. | Different evaluation conferences (first in 2012) for incorporating concerns of all regional stakeholders in the Plan Document's further development. | Monitoring by the cluster administration as well as national assessment for the cluster's future. |

Source: Own elaboration

Table 2 Multi-level governance dimensions at various stages of the policy cycle for social inclusion

| | Stockholm | Pomorskie | Timisoara | Liverpool |
|-----------------------|---|---|---|---|
| | Developing and implementing the Urban Game | Introducing multi-level governance in the implementation of ERDF actions | Introducing trilateral dialogue for migration in Romania | Stimulating urban integration towards social entrepreneurship |
| Identification | Stockholm County Council and County Administration, based on a pre-study with representatives from the Swedish National Board for Housing, Building and Planning and the Stockholm County Association of Local Authorities. | The Regional ERDF Programme (ROP) identified areas for which urban regeneration becomes eligible in an expert manner. | Local stakeholders see need and start bottom-up action. | Regional authorities identified the need to promote social entrepreneurship for social inclusion. |
| Formulation | Stockholm region, with support from experts | Formulation of actions and funding application through local partnerships 'initiated' by the ROP. | Thematic work groups consisting of national players analysing cross-sector needs. | Liverpool city region Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) in cooperation with local stakeholders. |
| Implementation | Playing the game with stakeholders from different levels and sectors. | Implementation through local partnerships. | 2009-2015 Migrants in Intercultural Romania (MiIR) project started by intercultural institute of Timisoara. | Local partnerships, networks of intermediary organisations, e.g. Social Enterprise North West. |
| Accountability | Feedback from the Urban Game workshops to the County Council. | Project and programme level are accountable and involved in monitoring, with emphasis on the ROP level (expert type). | | |

Source: Own elaboration

Establishing governance change takes time; how much time depends on the issue at stake, the process, who is involved and how. In principle, complex processes are more difficult to maintain and take more time. Complexity in this sense refers to the number of stakeholders and the number of different levels and sectors.

The duration of establishing multi-level governance arrangements differs. In the case studies this ranges from about a year for the Urban Game to several years for most other examples. Finding agreements during policy identification and formulation often takes several years. Firstly, motivating and involving stakeholders takes time. Secondly, once all relevant stakeholders are involved they often need sufficient time to refine their positions within their own institutions. Thus several rounds of communication between the stakeholders are usually necessary. Thirdly, various

'internal' delays may prolong the process. Fourthly, achieving multi-level governance may make adjustments in capacities necessary at the stakeholder institutions.

Certain critical moments during governance processes are relevant regarding the policy outcomes. Critical moments can be the points when the stakeholders should change, for example when moving from one stage in the policy cycle to the next, or can be related to disruptive elements in the governance process. These can be unexpected conflicts among stakeholders, or elections changing policies at one level of governance.

Actors from several regions participating in the study hinted at the role of elections. Though they can be either beneficial or harmful to the multi-level governance arrangements, they always tend to involve uncertainties. The role of local and regional politicians and their relation to civil servants varies between European countries. In some cases, elections may affect the administrations' organisation or even the employment of staff. In other countries, uncertainties are more linked to changes in political attitudes and priorities, not directly and immediately affecting civil servants.

2.2 WHY?

LOCAL NEEDS DRIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE EUROPE 2020 STRATEGY

Success factors for multi-level governance: Local needs and contexts

There are many reasons why multi-level governance processes are initiated and their weight for shaping successful governance arrangements may differ.

- European or national policy frameworks can push for action.
- Local or regional development needs and challenges are important factors, which can push for multi-level governance processes.
- Building on existing governance structures.

The development challenges and policy objectives addressed by the Europe 2020 strategy suggest that stakeholders from different levels of governance and different policy areas, and in some cases also public, private or civil society stakeholders need to cooperate to tackle them.

In other words, multi-level governance processes are needed when working with the topics linked to the Europe 2020 strategy. This is regardless of whether the topics are to implement the Europe 2020 strategy or for other reasons.

The main reasons why regional and local stakeholders initiated or engaged with multi-level governance related to Europe 2020 topics in the case studies are mainly: (a) national policy frameworks, and (b) local or regional needs.

Policy frameworks driving multi-level governance processes

Actions at local and regional levels contribute to the Europe 2020 objectives and '20/20/20' targets in different ways and forms. In general, this depends on existing policy frameworks and local needs.

Many concrete, energy-saving measures take place at the local level, as opposed to a traditional 'top-down' approach. However, the case studies illustrate the importance of policy frameworks at higher government levels for governance arrangements at lower levels. In many cases, regions use frameworks defined at higher administrative levels to formulate their objective. These wider frameworks may include policy documents or laws from a higher level, as well as funding opportunities providing incentives.

- **Legal requirements** can drive multi-level governance processes in support of Europe 2020 energy targets. In Vrhnika, the municipality follows targets set in Slovenian national law, and the Alpine Valleys in Lombardy follow the Energy Performance of Buildings Directive⁴² as well as Italian planning law.
- **Policy documents** from a higher level of governance can also play an important role for the multi-level governance process involving regional and local stakeholders. In Prignitz-Oberhavel (see box) regional objectives are embedded in federal and state documents.
- **Contractual arrangements** between different levels of governance can also be decisive for shaping multi-level governance arrangements, as in Alsace.
- **Funding opportunities** provide another policy framework for multi-level governance arrangements in support of Europe 2020. Funding via EU or national sources played a role in Alsace (ERDF) and Pomorskie (ERDF).

Within these frameworks, local and regional stakeholders focus on different aspects of energy efficiency, depending on their local needs and the potential for energy efficiency gains.

Given that these four frameworks already implicitly incorporate Europe 2020 objectives, actors at local and regional level do not explicitly refer to the Europe 2020 strategy. Still, targets in line with the overall EU target to increase energy efficiency were expressly mentioned in Alsace and Prignitz-Oberhavel.

Focus on the Europe 2020 target of increased energy efficiency in Prignitz-Oberhavel

The Europe 2020 strategy and its objectives provide the guiding framework for national policies in Germany. Energy objectives are defined in sector-specific legal and policy documents, such as the law on renewable energy and the national energy concept. The energy strategy of the state of Brandenburg, which includes Prignitz-Oberhavel, refers to these national documents and to the EU Energy Efficiency Directive⁴³. These documents guide the regional energy strategy of Prignitz-Oberhavel, even though the regional strategy only expressly refers to the energy strategy of Brandenburg, rather than national documents or the Europe 2020 strategy.

Local needs driving multi-level governance processes

In all four cases for social inclusion, local development needs were the prime reason a specific actor initiated multi-level governance processes.

As local needs vary across Europe (and thus the case studies), there is also a large variation of social inclusion aspects and ways to improve them. The four case studies address multiple policy fields relating to social inclusion such as:

- **reducing socio-economic segregation** (the main focus in Stockholm and Pomorskie);
- **strengthening entrepreneurship** and, by that, inclusion in the labour market for socially excluded parts of society (the focus in Liverpool);
- **integration of non-EU migrants** (the focus in Timisoara).

The diversity becomes even more apparent comparing the local needs in Stockholm and Timisoara and their approaches to coordinated and integrated decision-making.

- Stakeholders in the Stockholm region acknowledge the need to address socio-economic segregation at both the local and regional levels of authority. This resulted in the development of the Urban Game, a tool for increasing awareness about interdependencies of developments and decisions at various levels of governance, as well as in various policy sectors.

42 Directive 2010/31/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 19 May 2010 on the energy performance of buildings (OJ L 153, 18.6.2010, p. 13).

43 Directive 2012/27/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 25 October 2012 on energy efficiency, amending Directives 2009/125/EC and 2010/30/EU and repealing Directives 2004/8/EC and 2006/32/EC (OJ L 315, 14.11.2012, p. 1).

- In Timisoara, NGOs introduced a new governance approach following the need to integrate increasing numbers of non-EU migrants in the region. This approach was successful and the national government is encouraging other cities and regions in Romania to develop similar governance approaches (see box).

Local needs in Timisoara led to a new governance approach

In Romania, the NRP addresses priorities like 'inclusive growth' and objectives regarding employment, education, and the reduction of poverty, by laying out a set of clear, but general actions. In reality, there is little direct and focused attention on the specific needs of migrant communities. Additionally, the 'top-down' approach to these actions shows little flexibility in accommodating different migrant communities and their cultures.

Traditionally, the response to integrating increasing numbers of non-EU migrants in Romania entailed a bilateral approach between migrants, local public authorities and civil society. A successful approach of the Intercultural Institute of Timisoara (IIT) led to the Directorate for European Affairs and International Relations, part of the Romanian Ministry of Internal Affairs that is the national manager of the European Integration Fund, launching a call for projects. The IIT responded with the Migrants in Intercultural Romania (MiIR) project, which is based on a trilateral approach between the three main groups of stakeholders.

The Timis region had to cope with an increasing number of non-EU migrants. Starting in 2009, IIT was directly involved in developing projects to improve the social integration of non-EU migrants in Romanian society, at first in Timisoara, and later in four other cities across the country. The cities were chosen based on the similarity of issues and migrant communities, since migrants usually settle in urban areas that offer attractive opportunities and housing.

Based on these local needs in Timisoara and the innovative trilateral governance approach, there is now a national process to promote the new governance process across Romania.

Multi-level governance legacy

Regardless of the reason why multi-level governance processes are initiated, existing structures with experience in multi-level governance help. This is also linked to the need to develop trust between the stakeholders. Multi-level governance is not simple to build from scratch. Sound governance structures need to evolve over time, even with strong engagement from the leading actors. Previous coordination experience often makes it easier to deepen policy cooperation, whereas the inclusion of further levels or sector policies may be more time consuming.

Building on existing governance structures to adapt multi-level governance mechanisms in Liverpool

In order to encourage (social) entrepreneurship assisting social inclusion in the Liverpool city region, new regional agencies have been established, making use of existing structures. The governance mechanisms in the Liverpool city region operate in a context that has changed substantially since 2008 and the beginning of the economic crisis in the UK. There has been a considerable reduction in public funding for business support programmes and encouraging entrepreneurship. Furthermore regional development agencies, like the North West Development Agency (NWDA) have been abolished. These agencies were responsible for a wide range of activities relating to business support and economic development.

Liverpool Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP), a voluntary membership organisation, was created the same year the NWDA closed, in 2010. The LEP took over some of the tasks of the NWDA; however, with a lower budget and fewer staff. The main tool the LEP has at its disposal relates to the NWDA approach to encourage partnership and cooperation between all relevant stakeholders in the Liverpool city region. Organisations dealing with social entrepreneurship had to deal with the changes at regional level and adjust accordingly. One response to the changed economic and governance context was to achieve economies of scale in encouraging social entrepreneurship. Therefore the focus shifted towards cooperation between stakeholders in a single large business support project, rather than a large number of smaller projects.

These shifts of focus and new governance structures rely on established structures, but have to change with changes in the economic context and changes to multi-level governance mechanisms at higher levels.

2.3 WHO?

INDIVIDUAL DRIVERS OFTEN INITIATE MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE PROCESSES

Success factors for multi-level governance:

Initiation elements

Multi-level governance processes can be initiated either 'top-down' or 'bottom-up'. 'Bottom-up' processes often need to be supplemented by 'top-down' initiatives. Despite a significant variety of initiation processes, there are some general success factors.

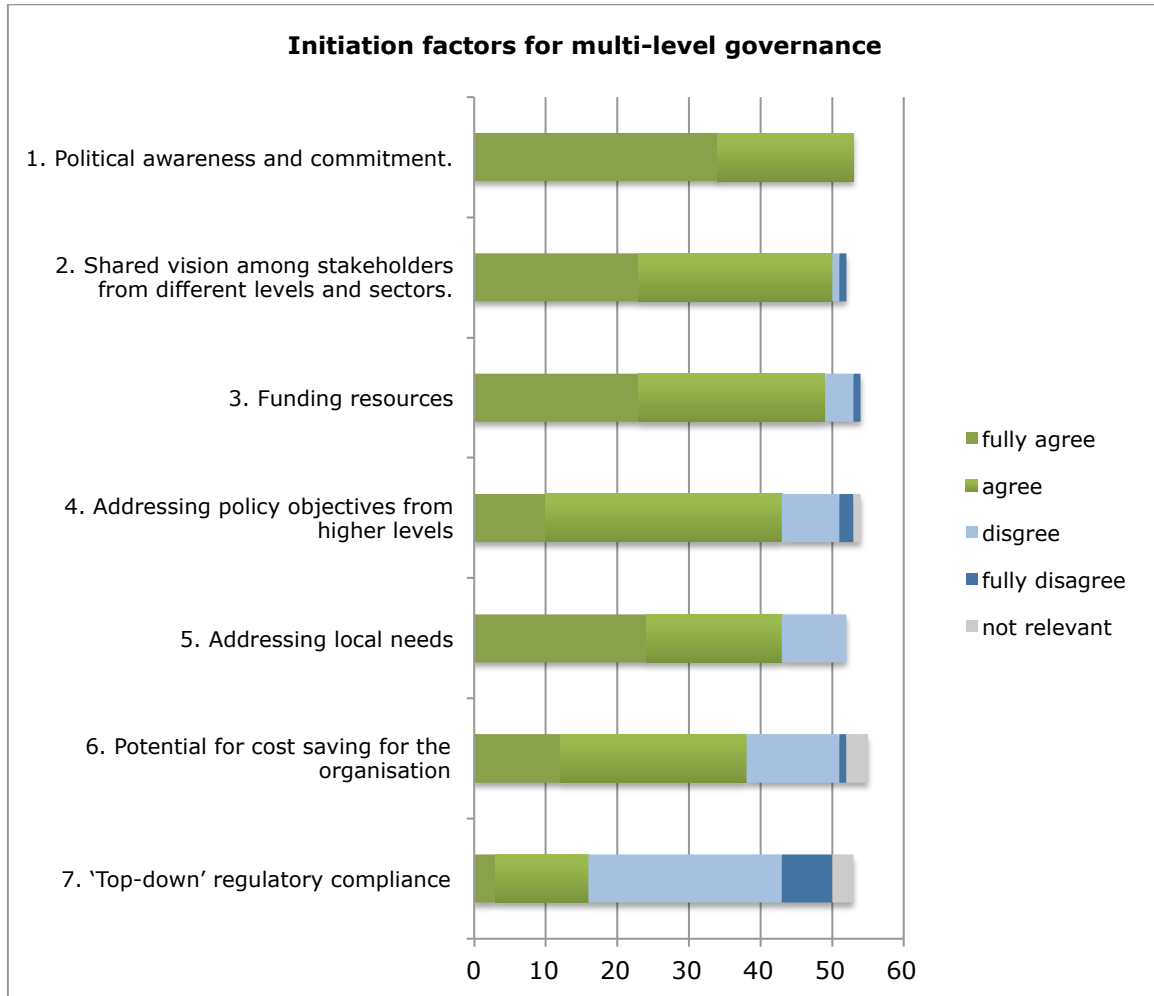
- No single stakeholder is designated to initiate or drive multi-level governance processes.
- Initiation processes need to be specific for each policy field. They depend on existing structures, the needs within each policy field and the geographical area.
- Specific development needs or local issues can help initiate processes at local and/or regional level.
- Individuals with good networks and a broad understanding of governance in the respective policy field can help initiate processes.

Multi-level governance processes tend not just to emerge 'out of the blue', but are usually initiated by a stakeholder and/or triggered by a particular event.

Political awareness and commitment, as well as shared visions for future developments with stakeholders across different levels and sectors can be highly relevant to setting multi-level governance processes in motion. Different factors that could initiate a change in governance arrangements have been highlighted by the case studies and the literature review:

- political awareness and commitment;
- shared vision among stakeholders from different levels and sectors;
- funding resources;
- addressing local needs;
- addressing policy objectives from higher levels;
- potential for cost saving;
- 'top-down' regulatory compliance.

As shown in Figure 3, 'top-down' initiation is the least relevant. However, the examples also show the importance of 'top-down' initiating factors to increase the multi-level character of governance process, i.e. more coordination between levels of government and across policy sectors.

Figure 3 Initiation factors for multi-level governance

Source: Online survey to local and regional stakeholders participating in the study and other interested actors (n = 55).

'Top-down' or 'bottom-up' initiation

Multi-level governance processes can be set in motion based on either 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' approaches. While 'top-down' approaches seem to dominate in the eight cases studied, elements of both approaches are also visible to different extents. Pure 'bottom-up' approaches seem to be rare.

The initiation processes seem to differ between policy fields, as do key responsibilities and existing structures. The levels at which processes are initiated differ between energy efficiency and social inclusion policies. For social inclusion policies, local and regional stakeholders mainly initiate the processes, whereas for energy efficiency policies it is normally stakeholders at national level.

The rationale for this difference lies in the extent to which these policies and their impacts are linked to higher administrative levels.

Apart from the direction of initiation, different factors can trigger the governance arrangements.

Initiation of multi-level governance processes:

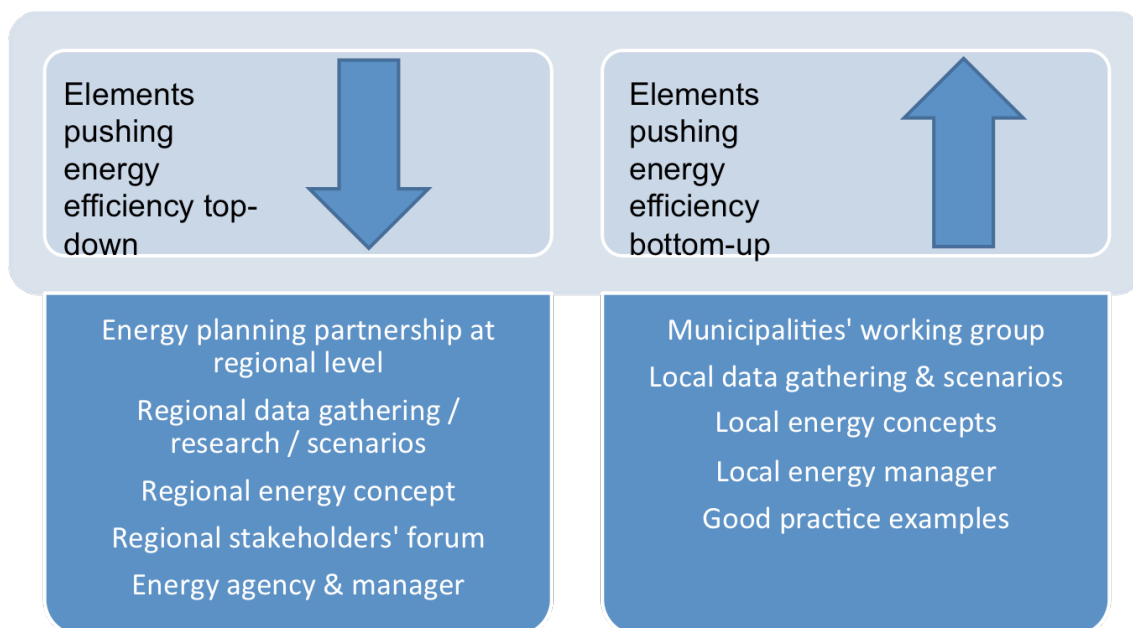
- **Stockholm:** Local developments led a senior official at the regional council to develop the "urban game" tool and initiate a multi-level governance approach to social inclusion issues concentrated in different municipalities.
- **Liverpool:** The reduction in regional and national funding and changed governance structures pushed stakeholders in multi-level governance processes to adapt their cooperation to be able to continue to support the employment of socially excluded groups with ERDF co-financing (2007-2013).
- **Pomorskie:** ERDF funding and the desire to use this funding strategically led the Managing Authority of the regional ERDF programme to initiate a multi-level governance process to address social inclusion by integrating inclusion measures with physical urban regeneration.
- **Timisoara:** Non-EU immigration in Timisoara prompted an NGO (supported by the EU migration Fund) to start a range of local processes, which later activated governance processes at regional and national levels.
- **Alsace:** The availability of funding (including ERDF) together with a national 'cluster' policy prompted stakeholders in the Alsace region to establish the ENERGIVIE programme and related cluster. This was supported by politicians and contractual arrangements between the regional and national levels.
- **Prignitz-Oberhavel:** governance coordination processes were initiated by the state of Brandenburg that offered funding for energy efficiency measures to the planning regions.
- **Vrhnika:** National law required Slovenian municipalities to develop local energy concepts and caused the municipality to lead and engage in multi-level governance processes.
- **Lombardy:** Local needs and the need to comply with national laws and EU directives made stakeholders at the regional level initiate multi-level governance processes for improving energy efficiency in the housing stock of the respective Alpine Valleys.

Energy efficiency policies at local and regional levels are often linked to policies at national, EU or even global levels. However, the energy efficiency policies illustrate that despite their link to higher administrative levels, there is no obligation for them to be initiated 'top-down'. Higher levels should be involved, but initiation can be inspired from the local level.

Figure 4 illustrates how 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' forces may be beneficial for multi-level governance in support of energy efficiency. 'Top-down' forces push the initiatives of the local level. Local level activities can be found in regional strategies and approaches. 'Bottom-up' initiatives provide the basis for effective implementation of regional objectives and targets. Local action is thus needed for implementation of higher level objectives. At the same time, it feeds back to the regional level by providing examples for local actors in other municipalities within the region.

In Prignitz-Oberhavel, the process began with cooperation between two regional levels. While the state (upper regional level) was the initiator by offering funding, the planning region (lower regional level) complied by taking the initiative and changing processes to supplement with its own funding. In Vrhnika, the 'top-down' initiation suggested a direct link between national and local levels (see box).

In Lombardy and Alsace, initiation resulted from a combination of 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' processes. In Lombardy, the interplay between local and regional levels initiated the processes. In contrast, Alsace is an example of combined initiation between regional and national levels.

Figure 4 'Top-down' and 'bottom-up' forces in multi-level governance processes

Source: Own elaboration

'Top-down' initiation of a local energy concept in Vrhnika

The municipality of Vrhnika's Local Energy Concept (LEK) is partly based on a legal obligation to implement the National Energy Programme and to stimulate a more strategic approach to the management of energy supply and demand at the local level.

The idea of the LEK was first introduced by the Slovenian Energy Act in 2004. To promote the use of this new instrument, a number of LEKs were co-financed, as pilot cases, at the national level. The key actor was the ministry responsible for energy – at that time the Ministry of Economy, now the Ministry of Infrastructure and Spatial Planning. LEKs were first envisioned in the Energy Act as a tool for local energy policies in the municipalities. The Ministry later encouraged the first LEKs in the pilot phase.

In 2008, Vrhnika began to approach sustainable energy policies systematically when preparing its local energy concept. The proposal was supported at national level in a cross-sector approach and involved the Ministry of Infrastructure and Spatial Planning, the Ministry of Agriculture and the Environment and the Ministry of Economic Development and Technology.

Social inclusion in urban areas, in contrast to energy efficiency, puts a focus on local themes and needs, although many social inclusion issues are subject to national policies including the labour market and education.

The initiation processes of governance processes related to social inclusion do not vary as much between national, regional and local levels as do energy efficiency policies. However, social inclusion policies further differentiate the local level because they go down to the neighbourhood level, which mirrors the local character of social inclusion issues in urban areas. The initiation of the Urban Game in Stockholm may be considered an example of 'top-down' initiation, since the regional level actively tackled local needs. In this case, the regional level not only initiated the overall process but also actively managed it. Pomorskie and Liverpool may be seen as a 'top-down' initiation process in which funding provided by the regional level triggered local players to combat social exclusion. However, this provision of funding would not have been set in motion without initiatives taken by local actors. Thus, the 'top-down' initiation was supplemented by 'bottom-up' initiation.

Only Timisoara may be best described as a 'bottom-up' process that was initiated at local level.

Different ERDF-driven mechanisms for initiating multi-level governance projects

A comparison of Prignitz-Oberhavel and Pomorskie illustrates different initiation mechanisms, though both are ERDF-driven. Their common aspect lies in the design of a programme that foresaw multi-level governance arrangements as a prerequisite for funding.

In Prignitz-Oberhavel, the provision of funding at state level went along with the state's expectation that all five planning regions should apply for funding for a regional energy strategy. This approach was based on the desire to cover the whole of the state of Brandenburg with energy strategies. Furthermore, the state provided a strict outline of what should be included in the planning regions' energy strategies. Although not compulsory, the planning regions, including Prignitz-Oberhavel, responded to this request.

In contrast, in Pomorskie the ERDF-driven mechanism provided the opportunity of funding for a less precisely defined group of beneficiaries. It offered local actors the possibility of proposing different projects. Thus, regional initiation was only set into motion when local actors made corresponding project proposals. This approach neither aimed at full coverage of all areas with a social inclusion issue nor did it aim at only one type of project. Much more freedom was left to local initiative than in the above example.

The driver is often a person

There was an individual driver for multi-level governance processes in most case studies, regardless of the policy field or initiating process.

In almost all cases, one individual can be identified as crucial for setting the process in motion. At least to start with, this individual was the main contact for representatives from other administrative levels and policy sectors. Often these individuals have a mandate to act according to their position in the public administration. But this mandate in itself is not necessarily sufficient to induce a multi-level governance process. It also requires active pursuit of the envisioned governance.

The initial driver most often is either a political representative or a civil servant. The latter usually needs to spark the interest of political representatives in order to get broader support in raising awareness. Typically, politicians can 'sell' the policy to a broader audience than civil servants. The governance concept implicitly includes the involvement of non-public stakeholders. As the example of Timisoara shows, it is not always necessary for policies to be initiated by the public sector. Civil society, pulling the right strings, may also succeed, though this may not apply in the same way to different policy fields.

Examples of key persons as drivers of multi-level governance in Stockholm and Timisoara

Individuals as drivers for multi-level governance processes are most prominent in the social inclusion examples in Stockholm and Timisoara. Whereas the key person for the Urban Game in Stockholm could rely on experience and a vast network in the region, the Timisoara case showed the importance of being persistent.

Despite the joint initiative for the Urban Game by Stockholm County Council and the County Administration Board, the driver behind the Urban Game can be boiled down to a single person. This key person launched the Urban Game making use of his vast network, gained by working at different governmental levels in the Stockholm region and in different policy sectors, making it easier to engage all the stakeholders. This network was further used to promote the Urban Game beyond Stockholm.

Such a network might not always be to hand. There are other ways for a key person to put forward a multi-level governance approach, as illustrated in Timisoara. The key person here was persistent and reminiscent of a Romanian saying 'if you can't go through the door then jump through the window' (*'Dacă nu poți să intri pe ușă atunci intră pe fereastră'*), this key person relied on pursuing the aim, despite negative replies or barriers along the way.

Individuals initiating multi-level governance processes usually have wide networks across levels and/or sectors. Within these networks these people are often also accepted as 'leaders', which helps to create mutual trust and interest in the issue. Given their experience in networks, such individuals can build strong links across sectors and levels and may also communicate more easily between the different actors since they are comfortable moving between levels or sectors.

2.4 WHO?

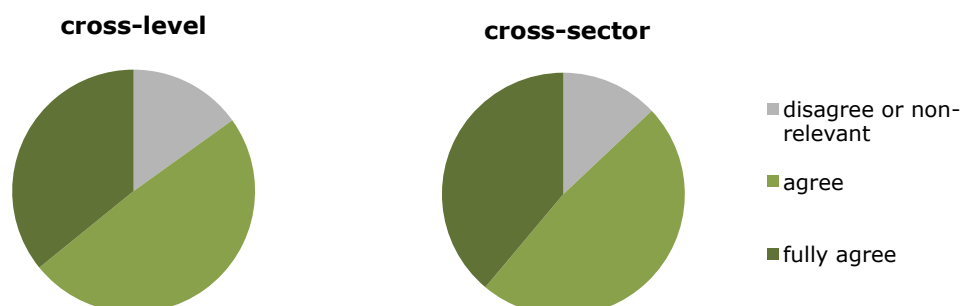
SELECTING AND MOTIVATING ALL CRUCIAL STAKEHOLDERS

By definition, multi-level governance processes include a wide range of stakeholders, no matter how they were originally initiated. Local and regional authorities that are pivotal stakeholders engage with public authorities at other administrative levels, with stakeholders from different policy sectors and with non-public institutions.

The methods for selecting stakeholders and motivating them to become part of the process are a critical factor for developing successful governance arrangements. It is not easy to identify and motivate all crucial actors. Furthermore, there is a trade-off between the widest possible inclusion of relevant actors and establishing an efficient governance process. Mobilising a wide range of stakeholders can be beneficial, for instance for facilitating the commitment of additional funding resources, as in Alsace. It may also create greater ownership, as in Lombardy. At the same time, motivating and coordinating substantial numbers of actors is time-consuming, thereby hampering any urgency or at least inducing time lags in achieving policy outcomes. Therefore, limiting the involvement of actors to core stakeholders can speed up decision-making processes and reduce bureaucracy⁴⁴. The development of different degrees of involvement for different types of stakeholders can help in structuring a more efficient process while giving crucial actors the opportunity to contribute.

Furthermore, complex policy processes are fragile if they involve a wide range of stakeholders from various sectors and levels of governance. Mutual trust among stakeholders is a key pre-condition for smooth and successful cooperation. For policy objectives, trust helps to create mutually approved agreements with broad ownership. In Lombardy, the involvement of the University of Bergamo resulted in trust being yet another important pre-condition for effective multi-level governance.

Figure 5 A new cooperation culture is needed with regard to ...



Source: Online survey to local and regional stakeholders participating in the study and other interested actors (n = 53)

In most of the case studies the key actors are skilled and experienced in cooperating with different stakeholders and sectors and with finding process partners. In other words, in these cases a cooperation culture exists. Participants from the twinning cities and regions underlined that in their case new cooperation cultures would be needed

for the process to work in a similar manner, for both cross-sector and cross-level cooperation (see Figure 5).

However the case studies illustrate that even where cooperation structures have evolved; this does not ensure minds open to new cooperation. Indeed, there is also the danger of getting stuck in previously tested coordination structures. In consequence, experience from these cases provides lessons on how to identify, select and motivate crucial actors, though these lessons may be ambiguous.

2.4.1 Stakeholders from multiple sectors and administrative levels get involved

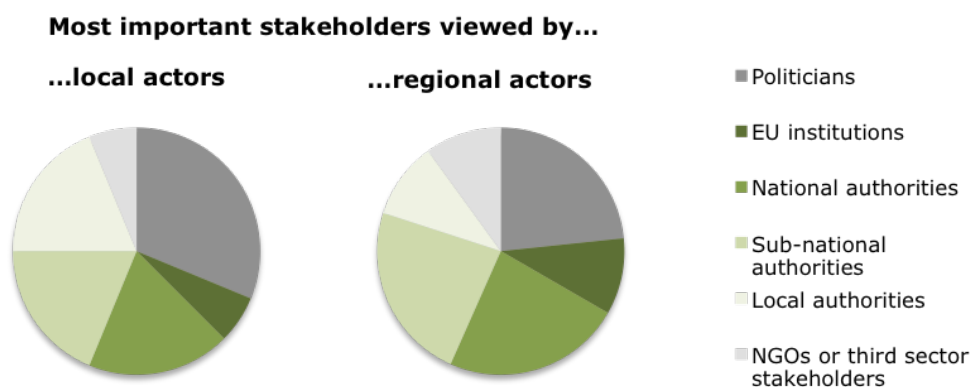
Success factors for multi-level governance: Selection of actors

The combination of crucial and relevant sectors varies strongly from case to case. It depends on different factors including local / regional structures, past governance experience, the policy issue at stake and the dominant rationale for taking action.

- From the very beginning, a careful mapping of stakeholders can help to determine the most influential stakeholders.
- Principally, stakeholders need to be decisive. The extent to which the different levels influence and cooperate with each other directly varies between policy fields.
- Addressing social inclusion often demands an integrated approach and the inclusion of more policy sectors, which suggests the inclusion of actors from more diverse policy fields, as compared to energy efficiency.
- There are different types of non-public actors who may deliver important input. Policymakers do not always seem to be aware of these choices.
- Trust facilitates sustainable coordination between stakeholders.

Multi-level governance processes usually build on the involvement of a wide range of different stakeholders, from different levels of governance, from different policy fields and from different parts of society, e.g. politicians, civil servants, civil society, knowledge institutes and private enterprises.

Figure 6 Most influential stakeholders in multi-level governance processes



Source: Online survey to local and regional stakeholders participating in the study and other interested actors (n = 55)

In general, the public sector is most influential in multi-level governance processes according to the survey. In particular national and regional authorities are important stakeholders. In the perspective of local stakeholders local authorities are considered to be of equal importance (see Figure 6). Although public authorities are the most

important stakeholders, the importance of politicians should not be underestimated. Local stakeholders tend to emphasise the importance of politicians more than regional stakeholders (see Figure 6).

Overall, the eight case studies show the need for a good mix of stakeholders, which naturally differs from case to case. For each multi-level governance approach, this mix needs to be refined, taking into account local and regional structures as well as the issue at stake. The case studies also show that involvement of stakeholders that are central to the processes and developments is crucial. If some actors cannot be involved for various reasons, this may endanger the overall policy success or require the approach to be refined.

This is illustrated by the example of energy efficiency in existing buildings. Energy efficiency may be increased in public as well as private buildings. If, for instance, private housing is more energy efficient, dominating ownership structures, private households or housing associations must be included as actors. They need to be approached in different ways. If they cannot be successfully included in the governance process, the policy approach may have to be reviewed to focus on public buildings only, or on other types of energy consumption, such as street lighting.

Involvement of stakeholders from different sectors

Multi-level governance processes for energy efficiency and social inclusion involve a wide range of stakeholders from other sectors. Overall, the case studies show that social inclusion policies follow a more interdisciplinary approach than energy efficiency policies.

The social inclusion examples include more policy sectors than the energy efficiency examples. Employment, education and urban and regional planning are the sectors that were most often involved in social inclusion. Urban planning authorities play the most central role in Stockholm and Pomorskie, whereas Timisoara mainly involved actors dealing with migration. In Liverpool, business support and entrepreneurship actors played a crucial role.

For energy efficiency policies, the number of sectors per policy approach seems to be considerably smaller than for social inclusion policies. In addition the variety of different sectors is lower. The main policy sectors included in these cases are regional development, environment and housing.

The interdisciplinary dimension of energy policies

Whereas energy issues have to be included in a wide range of policies, it appears that the energy sector itself involves other policies less often. The Committee of the Regions (CoR) Background Paper stressed the importance of energy efficiency as a guiding principle of EU policies across several fields, referring to energy, transport, climate change, industry, raw materials, agriculture, fisheries, biodiversity, water and waste management, land use and regional development⁴⁵. However, the literature also shows that energy efficiency issues need to focus on increased integration and coordination between sector policies that are traditionally conceived and implemented in parallel. Thus, the examples may still reflect the more traditional approach.

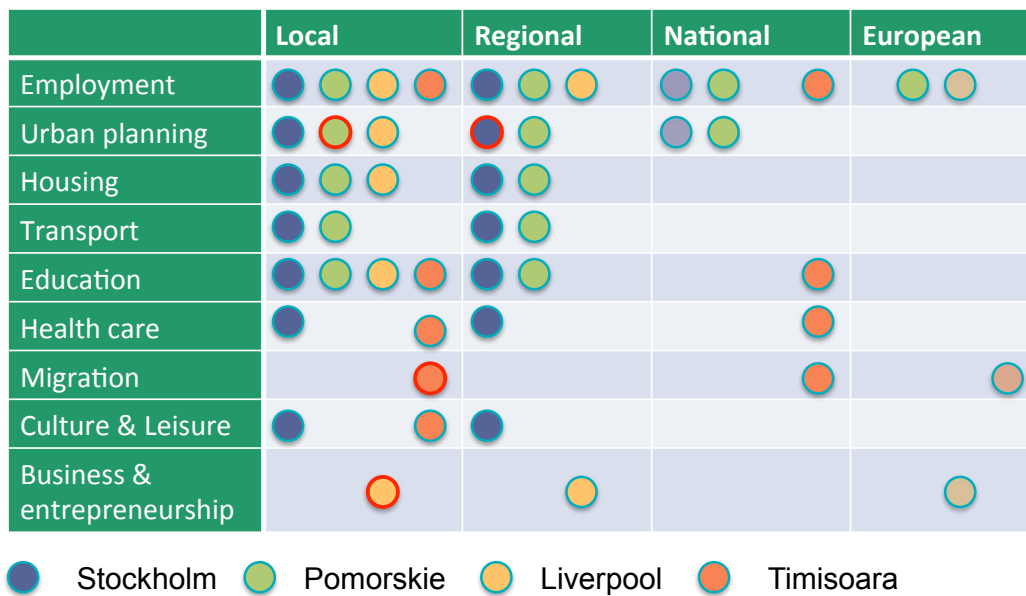
While the number of sector policies involved in energy efficiency is lower than for social inclusion policies, two sectors were included in only one case study each – transport and education. Transport is a major source of greenhouse gas emissions. It plays a role only in the strategy of Prignitz-Oberhavel and even there, transport policy perspectives are of minor importance. The role of education and change of behaviour in favour of energy efficiency is also mentioned. However, a local representative of the education sector, i.e. the headmaster of the local school, was actively involved only in Vrhnika.

⁴⁵ Committee of the Regions, 2013, p. 2.

Figures 7 and 8 show the main sectors addressed with respect to the government level and the main sector focus of each of the examples. Government levels and sectors that provide a framework without being actively involved are depicted by more transparent dots. Policy sectors here not only refer to public authorities but also explicitly include non-governmental and other private actors who are active in the policy field.

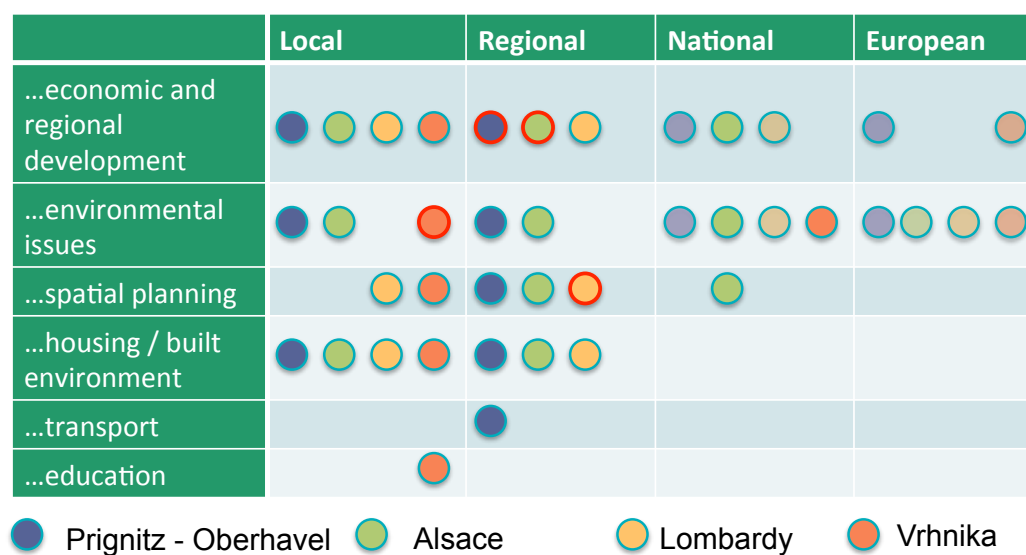
The distribution of dots in each line and across levels indicates that the inclusion of a policy sector at one level does not automatically imply the inclusion of the same sector at other levels. This is particularly visible for Liverpool, where several sectors are involved at the local level, whereas the regional level is involved in only two policy fields.

Figure 7 Sectors involved in multi-level governance processes on social inclusion



Source: Own elaboration

Figure 8 Sectors involved in multi-level governance processes on energy efficiency



Source: Own elaboration

The importance of involving a mix of representatives from different sectors in multi-level governance arrangements was also confirmed in the survey. Respondents largely agree with the statements on strengthened governance mechanisms across different policy sectors. The need for strengthened coordination across sectors is perceived as

most relevant, whereas respondents tend to disagree more with the statement that new organisational capacities are needed to improve this coordination (see Figure 10).

Links between Policy sectors and levels in Stockholm

In Stockholm, the Urban Game was designed to encourage discussion and increase awareness about the interdependencies of developments and decisions in various sectors and at various levels of governance. More specifically, the Urban Game helps visualise how different measures implemented at different governance levels and sectors relate to each other, for both vertical and horizontal coordination.

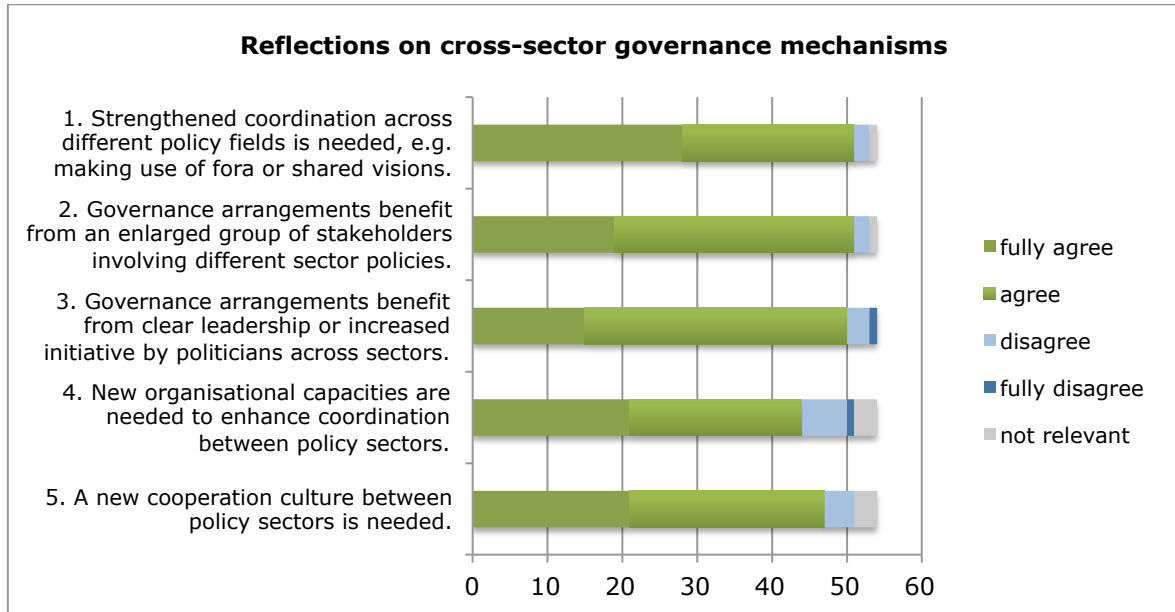
Approximately 100 possible measures (playing cards) identify what is important in order to achieve social inclusion. By using the game as a tool, participating stakeholders are asked to place a given measure (playing card) in a 'square' of their choice on the 'playing field' – hence, contemplating the governance level and sector they think has the mandate to implement that measure.

The playing fields are defined by the most relevant sectors and levels of governance. The most important sectors for social inclusion in Stockholm are health & welfare, culture & leisure, education, housing, urban & green structure, enterprise & employment, and traffic & infrastructure. The most important levels of governance are individual, city district, municipality, sub-regional, regional, national and EU.

Figure 9 Policy sectors and levels in the Urban Game



Source: Stockholm County Council

Figure 10 Reflections on cross-sector governance mechanisms

Source: Online survey to local and regional stakeholders participating in the study and other interested actors (n = 55)

Involvement of stakeholders from different levels of governance

Figures 7 and 8 illustrate various sectors and the involvement of different administrative levels.

The majority of actors in energy efficiency and social inclusion respectively are at local and regional level. Differences between the policy fields refer to involvement at the local level. At the same time, actions at local and regional levels often depend on policies at national and EU levels, giving the framework and providing funding.

The main participants in both policy fields come from either local or regional levels. However, local drivers seem to be more common in social inclusion policies and regional drivers are more often found in energy efficiency policies. The local level was crucial in Pomorskie, Timisoara, Liverpool and Vrhnika. The regional level was crucial in Stockholm and the energy efficiency examples of Prignitz-Oberhavel, Alsace and Lombardy. It is worth noting that for Prignitz-Oberhavel, two regional levels are at play – the *Land* and the spatial planning region. The crucial role after initiation is with the planning region. Given that there is no relevant regional level in Slovenia, it is not surprising that national and local levels interact directly. This absence of a regional level may also be the reason for the dominant role of the local level in Vrhnika.

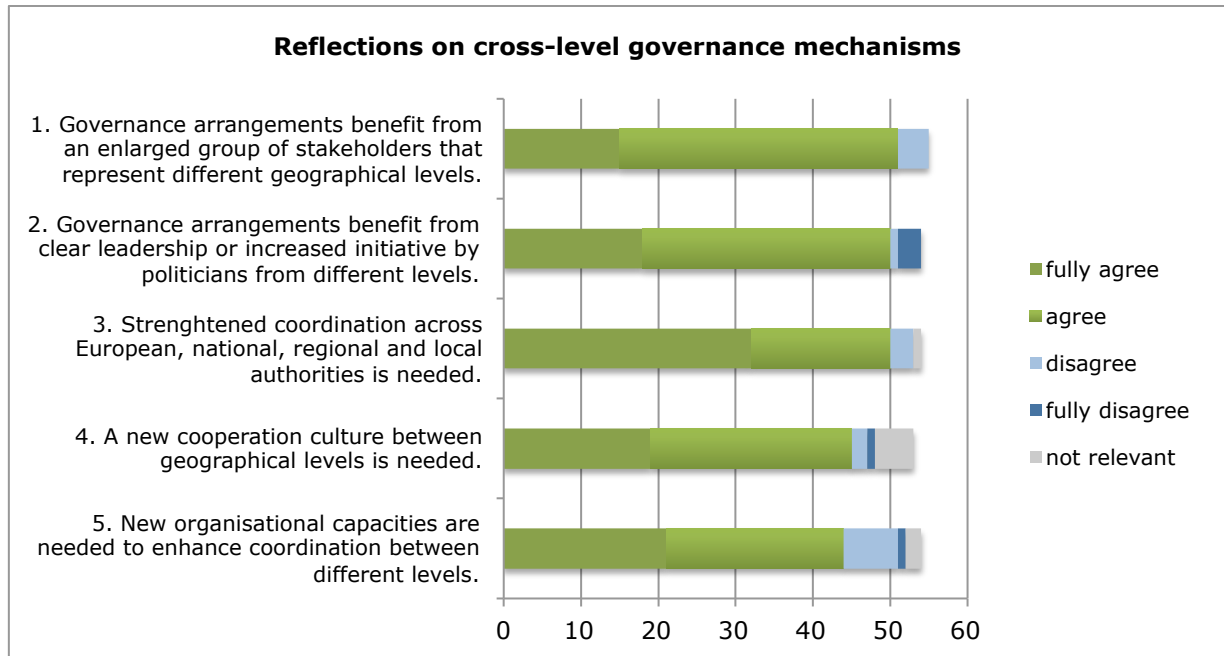
In both policy fields, the EU level mainly provides framework conditions without being directly and actively involved. This shows that the local and regional levels usually do not interact directly with the EU level. This is not only a consequence of predominating governance and government structures but also results from regional and local capacities to interact with higher levels. The study conducted by Martinková⁴⁶ highlights that only regional governments with a significant capacity for cross-level cooperation may interact with the EU level. They can use this capacity to deliver regional interests to the EU. However, even this type of interaction is not an active involvement of the EU level in multi-level governance approaches in the sense of this study.

The importance of the mix of representatives from different levels of governance in multi-level governance arrangements was also confirmed in the survey. There were strengthening coordination across different policy fields (see Figure 11). Respondents

46 See Martinková (2013)

largely agree with the statements on strengthened governance mechanisms across different levels of governance. The need for strengthened coordination across levels is perceived as most relevant, whereas respondents tend to disagree more that new organisational capacities are needed to improve this coordination.

Figure 11 Reflections on cross-level governance mechanisms



Source: Online survey to local and regional stakeholders participating in the study and other interested actors (n = 55)

Involvement of public and non-public stakeholders

In general, key stakeholders in multi-level governance arrangements related to energy efficiency or social inclusion are politicians at different administrative levels and civil servants working at different levels and in different policy sectors. In addition, stakeholders from civil society, the private sector or universities can be involved, as well as the general public, including households.

The involvement of actors other than public authorities varies strongly. They may be crucial stakeholders, as in Timisoara, or one that gets involved only during opportunities for communication with non-public actors.

The main groups beside public authorities that need to be considered are:

- **the third sector.** Depending on the issues to be approached and the responsibility of local and regional governance structures, stakeholders from the third sector can be important actors. The examples from Timisoara and Liverpool provide insights into the importance of the third sector and the different ways diverse stakeholders can be involved.(see box);
- **the knowledge sector.** Stakeholders representing the scientific or knowledge sector can play different roles. The example of Lombardy shows that they can be important partners in providing evidence for the policy process. In Alsace, they play a much larger role as stakeholders with their own interests in the clustering process;
- **the private sector.** Governance arrangements can also involve private sector stakeholders that are needed for implementation. In particular, Alsace underlines the role of the private sector as direct stakeholders in various processes, where companies are crucial for developing research into marketable products.

Third sector involvement in Liverpool

While addressing social integration issues and the increasing numbers of deprived neighbourhoods with relatively high unemployment, the Liverpool City Region had to cope with changes in the economy and governance at higher levels. Accordingly, the focus shifted towards the cooperation of various stakeholders on a large business support project, rather than a larger number of small projects.

The Liverpool Local Enterprise Partnership (LEP) works with a network of intermediary organisations (including charities and social enterprises) that are involved across wards in the Liverpool city-region to deliver business start-up support to individuals, as well as advice and support to businesses. For example, Social Enterprise North West (SENW) is the lead agency for the Big Enterprise in Communities (BEiC) project. SENW is a social enterprise whose role is to act as a regional network, bringing together other social enterprise networks from across the region. SENW is actually the leader of the BEiC project. The key delivery partners in the project are mainly from the third sector.

Due to these partnerships and inclusion of the third sector, the city region can continue to increase social inclusion and encourage social entrepreneurship.

2.4.2 Different motives for mobilising stakeholders

Success factors for multi-level governance processes:

Motivations

Stakeholders only become involved if they are motivated. This motivation may have to be 'activated'.

- If motivations are complementary, successful governance processes are more likely than if there are conflicting motivations and interests.
- Each stakeholder may have several interlinked motivations, adding to a complex picture.

Stakeholders have different motivations for becoming involved in multi-level governance processes. All eight case studies and several twinning partners underline the benefit of involving stakeholders from different levels and different sectors in their policy processes. Lessons refer, inter alia, to ways to mobilise stakeholders. The case studies highlight lessons on the selection, mobilisation and motivation of stakeholders. The mobilisation of stakeholders needs:

- the interest of stakeholders to be involved;
- the capacity to act;
- all relevant competences for the issue should be covered;
- stakeholders should share responsibilities without conflicts;

The motivation of stakeholders to get involved is similar in the energy and social inclusion cases. The main motivations for stakeholders are illustrated in the table below. The dark shaded cells indicate primary motivations, whereas lightly shaded cells represent secondary aspects that may motivate involvement in multi-level governance processes.

Knowledge of different motivations is important for getting the relevant stakeholders involved. They may not always be self-motivated at the start, but have to be motivated by the person or institution driving the governance process. Thus, the different motivations provide access points for the driver to motivate stakeholders.

Table 3 Motivating factors by types of stakeholders

| | Politicians | Civil servants | Civil society / NGOs | Private sector | General Public / households | Universities |
|-------------------------|-------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------|-----------------------------|--------------|
| Influence | Dark Grey | Light Grey | Dark Grey | White | White | White |
| Funding possibilities | Light Grey | Dark Grey | Dark Grey | Dark Grey | Light Grey | Light Grey |
| Cost savings | White | Dark Grey | White | Dark Grey | Dark Grey | White |
| Local challenge | White | Dark Grey | Dark Grey | White | Light Grey | White |
| Durability | Light Grey | Dark Grey | Dark Grey | White | White | White |
| 'Belonging to the club' | Dark Grey | White | Dark Grey | Dark Grey | White | Dark Grey |
| Attention / 'fame' | Dark Grey | White | White | White | White | White |

Source: Own elaboration

Differences in motivation between the two policy sectors are mainly related to the different levels that play a crucial role in their different governance arrangements. At the neighbourhood level, there is a tendency for local challenges to be a particularly strong motivation. NGOs are highly aware of these challenges. At higher administrative levels, these challenges may not be as visible and other motivations are more important.

For politicians and NGOs, it is important to **influence** the governance processes and policy outcomes. This influence may be linked to motivations such as 'belonging to the club' or 'fame' since influence can be mirrored in these other two motivations. Civil servants may also aim at exerting influence, which can vary depending on cultural backgrounds and the type of influence. It does not necessarily refer to influencing policy outcomes, but could also be having influence within the civil servant's institution, including personal career development.

The possibility of **additional funding** is a trigger to engage in multi-level governance for all stakeholders. Generating funds not only enables additional activities, but is often considered to be an indicator for the actors' success or 'importance'. For NGOs and the private sector, it is an economic necessity. Multi-level governance approaches may help in raising funds, since the involvement of multiple actors can create a critical mass for the application.

Furthermore, some actors may be needed to provide supplementary funds that are beneficial to the project; this is evident in the cases of Liverpool and the Alsace. The cluster initiative in the Alsace builds on the experience and resources of non-public partners in the cluster. The participants in the ENERGIVIE cluster even pay a fee to be part of the cluster and make use of the network. This creates a multiplier effect for the policy to increase the energy efficiency of buildings in the region. At the same time, this example shows how important network access is for companies in this cluster to be economically successful.

Cost savings are also a motivation for stakeholders to get involved. Cost savings include administrative cost and increasing policy coherence. This is based on the assumption that partners supplement each other's activities. By contributing to a

common project, the individual partner activities are worth more than the sum of the parts. Cost savings are a particularly relevant motivation for civil servants and the private sector. While this is economically driven in the private sector, including households, the rationale may be different for civil servants. The need to fulfil compulsory public activities on limited budgets creates the need for cost savings.

In particular, Liverpool shows the importance of cost savings as a motivation for stakeholders to change their governance approach. Other examples are Stockholm and Pomorskie. Additionally, the lessons from the twinning partners illustrate this aspect, as described below (see box).

Policy coherence and cost efficiency gains in Reus

Based on the twinning meeting between Pomorskie and Reus, the municipality of Reus took the initiative of cooperating more with the neighbouring municipality of Tarragona. Both towns in the Catalan Region in Spain have similar challenges. Through cooperation and policy coordination between the two Spanish municipalities, the representatives try to manage their costs and capacities more efficiently.

A first bilateral commission between Reus and Tarragona took place one month after the twinning meeting and the best way to exchange best practices and common strategies was discussed. This included not only social inclusion topics, but other common challenges.

These cooperation initiatives were not only a result of the twinning meeting with Pomorskie, but also the twinning meeting on energy issues with Prignitz-Oberhavel.

Addressing a **local challenge** can be a typical motivation for civil servants and NGOs. For NGOs there may also be an ideological motive. For politicians, this type of motivation may be related to future elections, whereas the general public are often motivated by the 'NIMBY syndrome'⁴⁷. Local challenges were most explicit in the case of Timisoara, which illustrates the motivation of NGOs that typically voice concerns of civil society that are not properly addressed by public authorities. Thus, by publicising local or regional issues, the NGO raises awareness not only among the wider public but also in public authorities. The example of Timisoara shows how this motivation can trigger a response from the public administration.

Including more partners and sharing ownership can increase the **durability** of policies. The case studies show the relevance of elections, which may exert positive or negative effects. They can prompt multi-level governance arrangements, enhance these mechanisms or terminate partnerships between different administrative levels or policy sectors. This affects the timing. Thus, governance processes relying on several stakeholders may be considered less vulnerable to change than those with only a few actors. An exception may be organisational changes that affect the driver of the governance process.

The last two motives for engaging in multi-level governance processes are even more interlinked than the other motives. A **sense of belonging** or additional **attention** may also motivate participation. Belonging to a 'club' gives rise to other network opportunities and is often an important source of information. Being well informed may, in turn, be beneficial for fund-raising opportunities and exerting influence. Belonging to the 'club' is often used to interact with other relevant stakeholders in a more informal though legitimate way. For politicians, this is important since they can gain the attention needed to win future elections.

This discussion of different motivations also shows that they are interlinked and that often more than one motivation may drive the participation of stakeholders. The different combinations of motivations between different stakeholder groups may be crucial not only for their participation, but also for further development of the process.

⁴⁷ Not In My Back Yard.

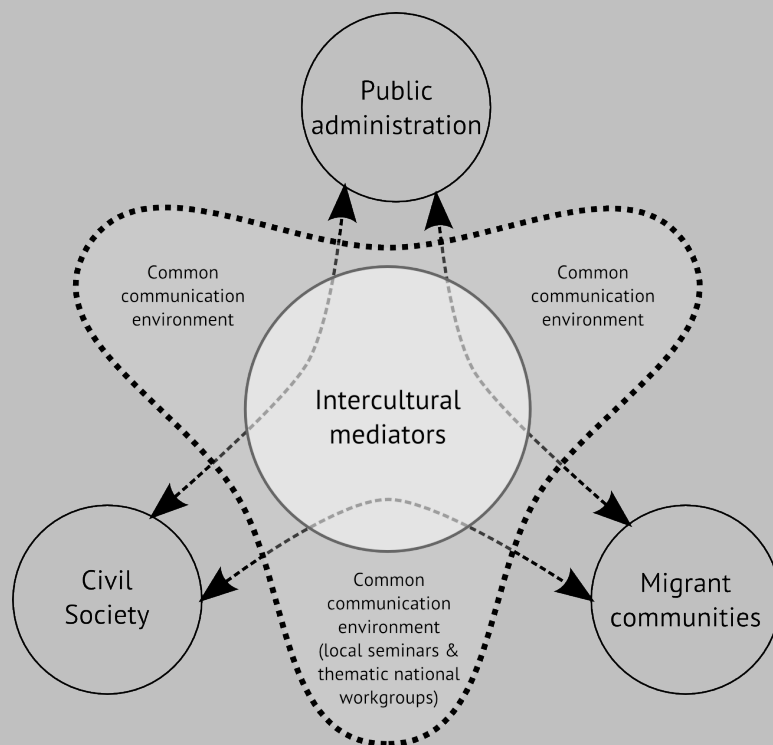
The different motivations may have complementary effects or could create conflicts that prolong or endanger the process.

Different stakeholder groups and motivations in Timisoara

The Migrants in Intercultural Romania (MiIR) project, initiated by the Intercultural Institute of Timisoara (IIT), worked towards a trilateral communication mechanism between migrant communities, civil society and public administration. In short, the main cornerstones of this new approach are:

- local working groups bringing together local stakeholders to solve local challenges by using local resources and administrative tools;
- national thematic working groups focusing on policy and legal solutions, which require interventions at national level;
- intercultural mediators facilitating communication and cooperation between all players, considering each individual community or cultural context.

Figure 12 Trilateral communication on the case of Timisoara



Source: Own elaboration

Public and private stakeholder involvement in ENERGIVIE in Alsace

The ENERGIVIE programme and cluster in the Alsace region has a broad participatory approach and includes many different stakeholders. The cluster contains both public and private sector members. Some examples from the private sector are representatives of companies working in energy, housing, tourism and agriculture. Public bodies include state services, research, training and other experts in the field of energy. They were carefully selected to represent all sectors in the development of renewable energy in the Alsace region.

Public partners are sometimes involved in the multi-level governance process due to obligations from senior public authorities. Furthermore, public sector participants bring not only their institutional competence in terms of environment and energy efficiency, but also want to foster the economic position of the region and regional industry.

Private partners recognise opportunities for the regional economy that ENERGIVIE creates. For private participants, the cluster provides the opportunity to join forces and work together on innovation in the region's energy efficiency sector, creating products and new employment and strengthening the Alsace region as a frontrunner.

2.5 HOW?

DIFFERENT FUNCTIONS OF MODES OF GOVERNANCE

Success factors for multi-level governance: Role of different modes of governance

Vertical relations in multi-level governance processes suggest different relationships between the authorities, which may affect the motivations and roles of the stakeholders.

- Through developing multi-level governance processes, traditional modes lose importance and are increasingly replaced by more cooperative structures.
- Multi-level governance processes usually build on more than one mode.
- Different modes may shape the relations between different vertical levels.
- Some modes are only applied during certain phases of the policy cycle, i.e. governing by provision, whereas other modes can play different roles at different stages, e.g. self-governing.

Modes of governance describe the relation between local and regional authorities with other administrative levels of governance, focusing on the vertical dimension of multi-level governance. Different modes require different stakeholders, with different motivations and roles, for multi-level governance processes. The initiation also differs.

Four modes of governance are differentiated in theory (see chapter 1):

- **Governing by authority** refers to traditional forms of authority such as regulation and direction.
- **Governing by provision** shapes practice through the delivery of services and resources, including providing incentives for regional or local action.
- **Governing through enabling** includes supporting local government in facilitating, co-ordinating and encouraging action through partnership.
- **Self-governing** includes the capacity of local government to govern its own activities and is characterised by self-motivated action⁴⁸.

In practice, these modes may not always be clearly differentiated. In fact, vertical governance relations can be characterised by combinations of different modes, which may also evolve over time or be applied at different stages of the policy cycle. The eight case studies made it clear that at least two of the modes were always employed. The table below provides an overview.

Table 4 Prevailing modes of governance in the case studies

| | Stockholm | Pomorskie | Liverpool | Timișoara | Prignitz-Oberhavel | Vrhnika | Lombardy | Alsace |
|----------------------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-----------|--------------------|---------|----------|--------|
| Governing by authority | X | X | | | | X | | X |
| Governing by provision | | X | X | | X | X | | X |
| Governing through enabling | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |
| Self-governing | X | X | X | X | X | X | X | X |

Source: Own elaboration

⁴⁸ For more details on the different modes see Bulkeley H. and Kern K. (2006), Local government and the governing of climate change in Germany and the UK, *Urban Studies*, 43, pp. 2237-2259.

Governing by authority in Vrhnika and Alsace was through adopting national acts and regulations, so the local and regional levels respectively were required to follow or implement the legal provisions. Thus, national authorities used this mode to trigger lower level activities. In Pomorskie, this governance mode is applied in a somewhat different way. The Managing Authority of the regional ERDF programme steers stakeholders into the governance process through its authority.

Governing by provision encourages stakeholders to initiate or engage in governance processes and work towards the objectives. This can be seen in Pomorskie, Liverpool, Prignitz-Oberhavel and Vrhnika. In all of them, ERDF plays a crucial role. ERDF programmes provide a financial incentive to the regional or local levels to tackle their challenges while simultaneously contributing to the objectives of a higher administrative level.

Governing through enabling supports stakeholder groups in engaging and in developing solutions. This mode of governance can be seen in various forms in all the examples, although it is less prominent in Alsace and Vrhnika. Support can be provided in different ways. It is often offered during different phases of the policy cycle, especially during policy formulation and development. Given that the different examples often include more than two levels of administration, this mode may be applied to different vertical relations than the other modes.

Self-governing focuses on the capacity of local or regional governments to govern their own activities, which can also be seen in all eight cases. Self-governing mechanisms sometimes even contribute to initiating the process; in others it refers to selected activities. Vrhnika is an example of the latter, where the local primary school initiated activities and measures to implement the local energy concept.

The eight examples highlight several lessons for the use of governance modes during the change towards multi-level governance.

- **Shift from governing by authority to self-governing.** With the change to more multi-level governance, the traditional method of governing by authority and provision is replaced by enabling as well as self-governing by local and regional authorities. Lombardy is a good example of this.

Change of governance favoured new modes of governance in Lombardy

Traditional governance arrangements in Lombardy are not based on a coordinated approach and the clear 'top-down' approach in some policy sectors may be described as governing by authority. However, a regional territorial plan caused a change in governance arrangements to governing through enabling. The regional territorial plan (PTRA) for the Alpine Valley Area is an example of a process led by the regional institution, enabling local actors to change their approach to governing the area.

- **Different policy phases go with different modes of governance.** In Stockholm, governing by authority started the process, whereas self-governing became the focus of the Urban Game. The Urban Game was developed through 'bottom-up' incentives and the self-motivated actions of the main actors/initiators representing the county council and the county administrative board. Furthermore, the Urban Game supports self-governing processes and provides an opportunity to discuss the whole governing system that affects sustainable urban projects.

Pomorskie illustrates the change in the prevailing mode of governance as well as the predominance of different modes at the different administrative levels (see box).

Modes of governance at play in the Pomorskie region

The new approach to incubating and implementing urban revitalisation in the Pomorskie region was to a large extent dependent on funding from the regional ERDF programme. At the same time, this change led to more effective negotiation procedures across different levels and broader horizontal partnerships. Thus the main governance structures can be described as:

- **governing by provision**, where the process of negotiation for each deprived area resulted in a balanced combination of 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' approaches. This combination helped to meet the interests and expectations of local urban authorities with specific requirements;
- **governing through enabling**, when effective negotiation procedures on different levels inspired and created a framework for a coherent combination of horizontal partnerships. Local stakeholders were involved in the preparation and implementation of the projects as decision makers and cooperation partners.

Other governance modes are:

- **governing by authority (at regional level)**: when using the regional ERDF programme, the regional Managing Authority made different local stakeholders work in partnership, encouraging community and business activity in deprived urban spaces and raising the development potential of major cities;
- **self-governing (at local level)**, when the consultation process with local communities resulted in changes in the revitalisation projects. The changes focused on infrastructure investments and self-motivated social actions. They contributed to changing the perception of revitalisation in the local community. This is no longer just a city authority concept and concern, since the local community has started to understand its own role in the revitalisation process.

2.6 HOW?

FACILITATING MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE PROCESSES

Success factors for multi-level governance:

Tools for multi-level governance

Facilitating coordination among many stakeholders needs communication methods and specific tools that support agreement.

- Multi-level governance needs specific approaches to facilitate the governance process highlighting the partnership principle and allow communication among stakeholders.
- Several approaches are usually applied, each facilitating different elements of the governance process. The mix may be crucial for a successful arrangement. These are different communication methods and cooperation practices supporting agreement.

While the modes of governance provide the framework for the principal vertical relations between the stakeholders, putting governance arrangements into practice requires specific approaches. These develop, maintain and enhance the processes and were identified as relevant lessons by participants in the study.

When new partnerships are created to enhance policy outcomes and contribute to the Europe 2020 strategy, it is important to facilitate, monitor and evaluate the cooperation and to 'keep all stakeholders on board'. Different approaches may be used for different aspects of the multi-level governance arrangements. The same approach may even be used for different objectives. Facilitation processes are most apparent in the implementation phase, but may also be relevant at earlier stages of policy development.

Key success factors in the eight case studies include: (a) the partnership dimension; (b) communication and awareness-raising capacities without hidden agendas; and (c) the need to build on existing platforms and structures (see section 2.1). In addition, lessons can be drawn from specific approaches to maintain multi-level partnerships and to increase the effectiveness of policy coordination. Several approaches were often combined to facilitate different elements of the multi-level governance process.

Contracts and other tools for creating legal obligations between different stakeholders tend to be used when governing by authority. Contracts were used in Alsace between the state and the region (see box). Vrhnika showed similar legal obligations, since the municipality was required to adopt a Local Energy Concept in compliance with the National Energy Act. The case studies provide lessons on other contracts as well. The relationships between actors in the Alsace ENERGIVIE cluster is to some degree based on a contract, i.e. membership, since each participant pays a fee to be part of the cluster.

'State-Region' contract between the central government in France and the region of Alsace

With the State-Region contract (*Contrat de Projets État-région/ CPER*), the state and the region commit themselves to programming and multi-year funding for major projects such as infrastructure development, or support for promising niches, like renewable energy and energy efficiency, as determined by ENERGIVIE. The government, through the Secretary General for Regional Affairs, together with the region, agrees on projects relating to regional planning and the funding for each entity. Other authorities, such as councils or urban communities, can join a CPER for help to finance projects.

The first ENERGIVIE Programme was included in the CPER 2000-2006. Together with an agreement between the region and the French Environment and Energy Agency, EUR 3.6 million was made available. The ENERGIVIE programme was developed between 2003 and 2005, funded by EUR 5.5 million, half of which came from EU funds. In November 2005, a framework agreement with the government was signed. Alsace officially became a pilot region for renewable energy and low-consumption buildings for the 2006-2008 period.

Providing evidence and sound analysis. Empirical evidence is important when addressing local needs via multi-level governance approaches. Empirical evidence can provide a common ground for discussions and can assist in decision-making where a large number of different actors come together, each with their own interests and perceptions. A sound analysis of the territory, its development challenges and potential is frequently used to define a common understanding of local needs. In the case studies, this was most prominent in the Lombardy region. This region in Italy involved the University of Bergamo at an early stage of the process (see box). Sound empirical evidence provided by 'neutral' external experts played an important role in the acceptance of the findings as objective grounds to inform the policy process.

Needs based on sound analysis for the regional territorial plan in the Lombardy Alpine Valleys

The University of Bergamo provided strong evidence for the regional territorial plan in the Alpine Valleys in Lombardy. The university offered the scientific background around which all the reflections and debates could revolve. This ensured a common understanding that made it easier to 'identify' and 'focus' on the core issues.

The region's choice to engage the University of Bergamo as an academic partner from a nearby area provided another key element in overcoming initial distrust of the traditionally rather insular, mountain-based local authorities with respect to any initiatives 'coming from Milan', the capital of Lombardy. Furthermore, the specific technical contribution offered by the University of Bergamo proved to be a key factor in persuading local stakeholders of the quality and reliability of the regional territorial plan (PTR) for the Alpine Valley Area. The identification of specific sub-areas of the PTR territory with a high level of natural and socio-economic uniformity, with 10 specific territorial framework settlements, was particularly crucial since it was based on scientific evidence.

Key success factors for needs analysis are: (a) solid evidence and knowledge to inform priority setting processes; (b) the proactive involvement of relevant stakeholders from different governance levels and sectors; (c) including local communities in the identification of needs, making use of their tacit knowledge.

A shared vision, objective or strategic plan can create ownership among stakeholders and guide, maintain, or reinforce multi-level governance. During policy formulation and development, the mutual development of strategy or vision creates ownership among representatives of the multi-level governance arrangement. For later phases of the policy cycle, they provide evidence for the overall objectives.

In addition, communication plays a crucial role for raising awareness and facilitating cooperation. Different types of communication and approaches are useful for different purposes. This includes publicity for raising awareness among the wider public, group seminars, conferences, or round table discussions to facilitate cooperation and exchange among the stakeholders as well as the provision of targeted information. This includes examples of successful projects from other regions to provide showcases that initiate action at the local level.

Multi-level governance processes can also put a strong focus on raising awareness. The Urban Game was developed to address urban segregation in the Stockholm region and is an example of a tool to facilitate discussion and raise awareness. The Urban Game stimulates discussions across different levels and sectors. Players are encouraged to think 'out-of-the-box' and consider not only the level and sector they represent, but consider whether decisions or policy implementation could be more efficient at other levels and sectors.

Also the case of Timisoara includes multi-level governance designed as a sort of tool. The trilateral consultation mechanism put forward by stakeholders from Timisoara and promoted by national authorities includes discussions between migrant communities, civil society and public administration. The trilateral consultation mechanism can be identified as a tool which, by including different stakeholders in the cooperation, explicitly addresses the need for better integration of non-EU migrants in Timisoara from a cross-sector perspective.

Combination of different tools in Prignitz-Oberhavel

Collecting empirical evidence about energy supply and consumption provided the basis for discussions among the stakeholders. By setting out this evidence, it was not only possible to provide comparable information to all stakeholders but the discussions became a more objective starting point, contributing to a positive exchange.

The development of the regional energy strategy was not only aimed at formulating targets for energy consumption and the production of renewable energy. These targets were embedded into an overall strategic plan with actions that were defined for different levels. Furthermore, a shared vision was developed as part of the strategy, to become the 'sustainable and active energy region Prignitz-Oberhavel'.

Different types of information exchange facilitated the inclusion of different stakeholders and the mutual development of objectives and visions. This included regular meetings of the steering group established at the level of the state of Brandenburg, open workshops at the planning region level while the strategy was being set out, a regular working group with different topics for local representatives in the planning region to improve implementation and providing showcases to illustrate different approaches for local actors.

2.7 WHAT? NEED FOR CLEAR OBJECTIVES, DEMANDS AND ROLES

Success factors for multi-level governance:

Need for clarity

Clarity of processes and contents has several dimensions:

- Clear rules set the framework.
- Clear roles of different stakeholders avoid misunderstandings, delays etc. Everybody should be aware of their roles.
- Clear demands may be defined externally or internally within the multi-level governance arrangement.
- Clear objectives support the definition of actions etc. in order to implement the policy at later stages. The benefit of clear objectives may not be natural for all those involved.

Multi-level governance processes are more efficient when they are based on clear objectives, demands and roles for the different stakeholders. Regular reporting and transparent monitoring are also important to keep the participatory approaches on track.

Clarity was vital in many of the processes. It addresses all the above aspects and the main lessons learned on multi-level governance. Clarity concerns both the aims of the processes and the roles and responsibilities of each stakeholder.

Clarity was crucial for:

- **external demands.** Some of the cases employed multi-level governance processes to develop appropriate responses to external demands. Such external demands include national regulations or policies to which the regional and local actors have to respond. Vrhinka and Prignitz-Oberhavel show that clarity is important so: (a) the processes respond to national demands; and (b) these national demands are formulated sufficiently clearly so the stakeholders can make a cooperative effort to relate to them;
- **own demands.** Some of the cases were clear about their own demands. This followed the logic that the process can only start with clear expectations and demands. Such demands can be expressed as clear success criteria or monitoring systems, as in Pomorskie, Alsace and Lombardy;
- **clear division of labour.** A clear division of labour and responsibility between the various stakeholders has been highlighted in all cases. In actuality, transparent processes with unclear roles and responsibilities for the different stakeholders are a major obstacle to successful multi-level governance processes.

Clear division of labour for developing the Energy Concept in Prignitz-Oberhavel

A new, clear division of labour was introduced in Prignitz-Oberhavel due to a changed multi-level governance approach. A hierarchical system fosters efficiency and broadens the involvement of stakeholders

Developing the regional energy strategy improved cooperation between different levels of governance. Clearly assigning responsibilities to administrative levels and stakeholders helps to clarify their different roles. Vertical relationships become increasingly integrated. The regional energy manager ensures efficient coordination and communication with the local level, as well as coordination with the state level. Overall, coordination within administrations and between civil servants is more advanced than among political stakeholders of different levels. This coordination has also been tackled by the 'Energy tours 2013' with the Brandenburg Minister of Economic Affairs.

3 LESSONS FOR TRANSFERABILITY

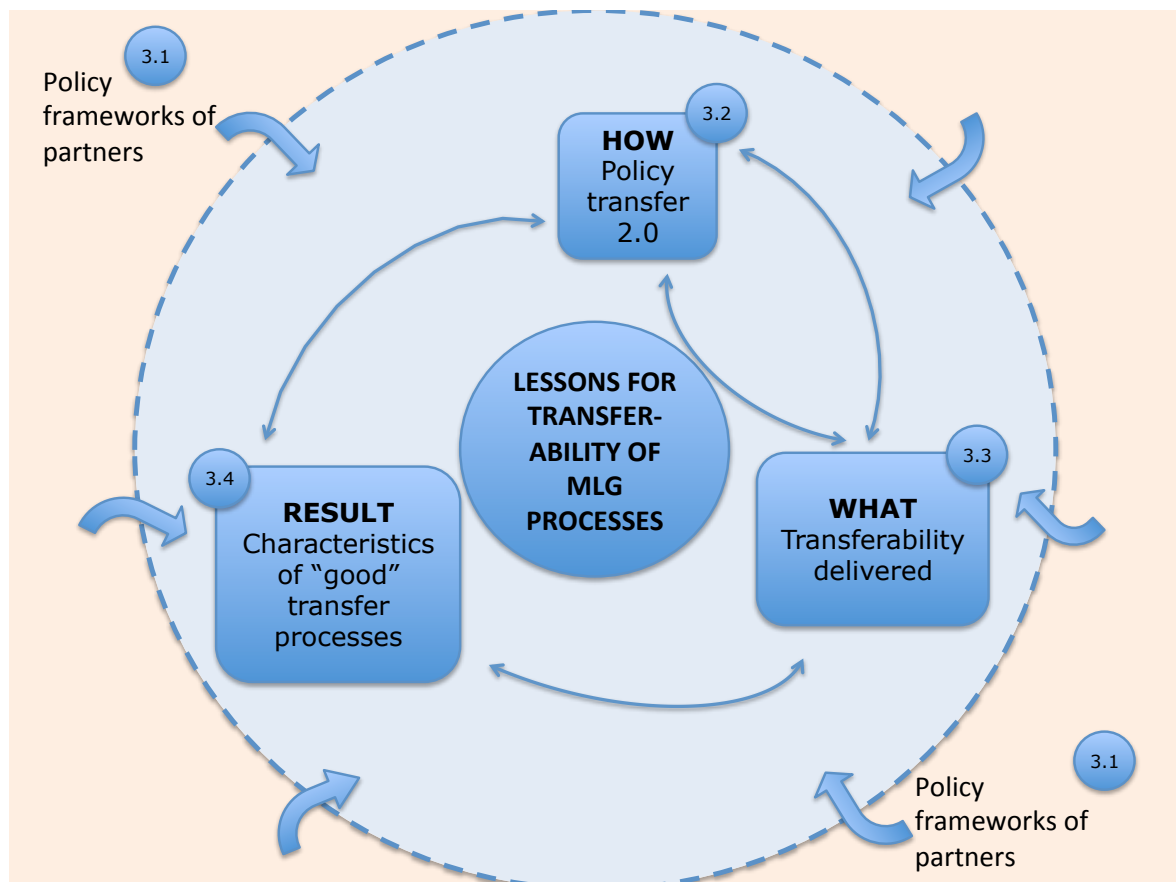
The exchange on policy practices is often reduced to a diffusion of best or good practices. In these cases, a central assumption with the transfer of 'good practices' is that 'they are equally applicable and effective in another setting'⁴⁹. Clearly, such an assumption does not take into consideration the diversity of EU territories and regions, with substantial differences in governance, administrative cultures, and professional capacities, as a limitation for such learning processes⁵⁰. Hence, the idea that a 'governance practice' can be effectively replicated in other geographical and institutional settings is questionable⁵¹.

The transfer of practices based on mutual learning rather than the dissemination of 'good practices' was embedded into the overall context of this study. Several elements appear to be crucial for achieving a policy transfer (see Figure 13). The exchange of policy frameworks, institutional conditions and other relevant context aspects, determines the overall transfer process. Transfer approaches tackle several central questions that deal with:

- how to design the learning processes, i.e. the exchange between the transfer partners, building on trust and cognitive proximity;
- what should be transferred and in which form or type of action.

These lessons on 'how' and 'what' to transfer are discussed in terms of the principle characteristics of a good transfer process that takes into account regional differences.

Figure 13 Lessons for transferability of multi-level governance (MLG) processes



Source: Own elaboration

49 Stead, 2012, p. 107.

50 Stead, 2012, p. 107.

51 Vettoretto, 2009; Stead, 2012, p. 107.

3.1 THE POLICY TRANSFER SETTING OF THE STUDY

Transfer success factors:

Relevance of policy framework

Collecting good practice examples is only useful if the examples are further utilised, so if they help the transfer of successful practices. For successful transfers regional or local conditions set the framework:

- Territorial and institutional settings need to be taken into account when designing the transfer. They cannot be changed rapidly nor should they be changed for the policy. In contrast, the practice needs to be adjusted before embedding it into the regional context.
- For an effective transfer, all participants need to understand each others' specific contexts (or develop this understanding in the process). This requires mutual interactions with intensive knowledge exchange and trust.

The diffusion of 'good practices' within and across Member States can be beneficial in the sense that it demonstrates to local and regional public authorities that it is possible to cope with ambitious objectives. If it has been done in one region, this 'success' could be replicated in another. Several challenges can be identified in that regard.

Governance arrangements, however well designed and implemented, are highly location-sensitive. The combination of specific territorial challenges, institutional settings and even individuals have led stakeholders to develop a specific form of collaboration, coordination and partnership in order to tackle the problems they face.

Such arrangements are the visible outcome of a long and slow process of incremental evolution in collective behaviour and are rarely the result of a successful transplant. New governance arrangements are often outcomes of long-term changes in collective attitudes and behaviours in a locality or region. Thus it is a long-term incremental process and there is no quick fix if the changes are meant to be long-term.

Good practice can be transferred if it resonates in another region. The literature has voiced the risk of shallow policy transfer. Countries or regions that tend to adopt 'best' practices, without adapting these new governance arrangements to the institutional, economic and social context of a region, run the risk of problems in the long-term. In that sense, effective policy transfer necessitates both relevant and sufficient knowledge and information⁵² combined with effective channels and trust among participants.

Policy learning is a complex process. It requires mutual interactions, some level of empathy and trust. The policy transfer process in this study has been designed as a set of collaborative and relational exercises for regional and local authorities. The European Commission, which commissioned this study, acts as an enabler, while the experts act as knowledge brokers, exchange facilitators and brokers of the process, rather than implementers. This design may provide a good example for different roles to be considered when designing policy transfer processes, though the roles of the enabler and knowledge brokers may be taken by other players.

⁵² Stead, 2012.

3.2 HOW? POLICY TRANSFER 2.0

Transfer success factors for transfer: Designing policy learning

Ownership plays a crucial role in developing and implementing successful policy approaches. In particular, the main actors need to feel ownership throughout the process:

- interest voiced by local or regional actors in a 'bottom-up' approach indicates motivation and is beneficial for building ownership for transfer;
- give all parties enough space for presenting, explaining and discussing their case and their perspectives;
- pin down results in actions that are as concrete as possible to create and document commitment.

Transferability processes are complex and involve a lot of policy stakeholders. Typically they bring together different actors such as politicians, civil servants, planners and academics representing different regions in different countries. From the outset, these actors are likely to have very little in common and have a high degree of 'cognitive distance', which is the difference in thought processes, experiences and practices between different organisations⁵³. Significant cognitive distance typically induces novelty, whereas cognitive proximity fosters trust and enhances the likelihood of inter-organisational relations to jointly achieve shared goals⁵⁴.

Transferability processes need to reduce cognitive distance by inducing trust among actors. To a certain extent, trust necessitates face-to-face interaction to create acquaintances and foster informal discussions. Trust is a necessary precondition for open dialogue among stakeholders.

The transfer of policy processes and governance arrangements, rather than the transfer of objectives, is particularly demanding for the players. Policy actors are likely to be more used to exchanging policy content, rather than findings on processes and governance arrangements. The exchange of this type of information not only needs to be embedded into the abovementioned framework information, but also requires constant refocusing of the discussion. For this, a neutral moderator for the meetings can be of help.

The transfer of good practices across national (and regional) boundaries is more effective with policy dialogue and learning. The ownership of the process should be shared by all participants. In order to achieve this, it is important that each participant engages. By doing so, the responsibility for implementation of an effective policy transfer process becomes shared among the group. Thus, the transfer process needs careful designing. Apart from the already mentioned elements needed for building trust, the exchange needs to focus as clearly as possible on the aspects to be transferred.

Thus matchmaking, exchange and focusing on the issues at stake are critical elements in the overall design. The box on the next page illustrates the approach followed by the study.

The way to approach matchmaking can be crucial, since it affects the initial position of the regions, in actuality or in their perception. In many policy transfer processes, the potential recipients of good practices are appointed by a third party, often at a higher

53 Nooteboom, B. (2006) Innovation, learning and cluster dynamics, in Asheim, B., Cooke, P. and Martin, R. (Eds) Clusters and Regional Development: Critical reflections and explorations (137-163), Routledge, London.

54 Nooteboom, B. (2000) Learning by Interaction: Absorptive Capacity, Cognitive Distance and Governance, Journal of Management and Governance, 4 (1-2):69-92.

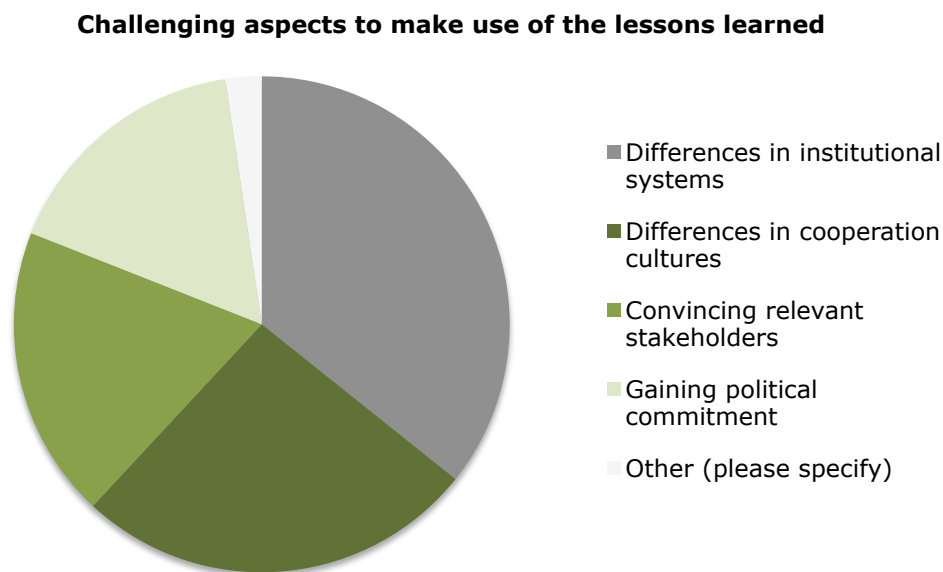
tier of government. This usually puts these potential recipients in an unfavourable situation because it implies that 'they have things to learn'. Thus, 'bottom-up' initiatives, where the potential recipient region or city indicates their wish to learn, avoids such a negative perception. Given their knowledge of their own needs they may be better able than an external player from another government level to identify other cases in which they are interested.

The exchange may be deepened step by step. It is useful to start with aspects that are easy to digest for participants such as policy elements and objectives. The more advanced the exchange the more questions are raised concerning details that may affect the transfer of the policy or elements of the policy. If interesting governance arrangement elements are identified and translated for the new context, it is important to obtain commitment. This may be done by documenting the approaches for the transfer. One form of documentation is an action plan that depicts the actions, objectives, activities and players to be involved, as well as the timing.

Any policy may be transferred by implementing the translated actions in the new context. As the examples of multi-level governance arrangements show (see chapter 2), policy development and implementation are time-consuming.

Governance processes applied in one region cannot be exactly copied to another region, but need to be adjusted to the local conditions, which takes time. Key challenges in a transfer process are differences in institutional systems, different cooperation cultures and the need to convince relevant stakeholders back home, who did not participate in the exchange of experience.

Figure 14 Challenges for transferring lessons



Source: Online survey (n = 26)

Design of policy transfer steps**Stage 1: Matchmaking between 'case study' and 'twinning' partners**

At the same time as drafting the case study reports, the selection process for 'twinning partners' took place. In this study, the potential recipients had to step up and take the initiative to be part of the process by replying to a 'call for partners'. In that sense, the potential twinning partners were proactive by: (a) identifying a need for them to change their way of implementing public action with respect to energy efficiency or social inclusion; and (b) by identifying a region that they see as a 'good match'. Thus from their perspective, the region was sufficiently similar to their own and learning from that region would be practical, logical and potentially beneficial. Based on the responses, the project-team, together with DG REGIO, selected two or three twinning partners for each of the eight case study regions.

Stage 2: Making a 'case' about the cases

Interaction between the case study regions and the twinning partners was kicked off at a multilateral meeting. During those events, the overall structure of the study was presented with key aspects of the learning arrangements. The results of the four case studies in each theme were presented and discussed in small groups of stakeholders from different regions. The multilateral meeting gave the opportunity for participants from the case study and twinning regions to get acquainted with each other and with the specific challenges of each region. Furthermore, it allowed fine-tuning of the matchmaking.

The multilateral meetings led to many informal and constructive discussions, during both the plenary and the table sessions. In the Stockholm meeting Timisoara's presentation was lively and participants got very engaged. As a result, many could see how the Timisoara experiences could actually relate to their own challenges. Hence, overcoming the cognitive barriers, conscious or not, can be identified as an important added value of multilateral meetings.

Stage 3: Exchanging experiences

Following the multilateral meetings, the participants had to organise one or two twinning meetings. These meetings gave the participants another opportunity to discuss the good practices that emerged from case study experiences in more depth. The twinning partners could understand the successive steps that were taken in the case study regions that led to successful initiatives. For the case study regions, having to describe their experiences and argue carefully with external actors induced a reflective process that often led to the identification of further room for improvement. In that regard, the case study regions also learned through direct interaction with other stakeholders. At the meetings, it was challenging to keep the focus of the dialogue on 'governance arrangements' and the 'Europe 2020' strategy, since these are abstract notions that can be difficult to explain properly during a conversation.

Stage 4: Developing action plans

Based on the key elements discussed during the twinning meetings, facilitators of the twinning meetings noted down what was discussed and agreed during the meetings following the structure of an action plan. The draft action plan was circulated and commented by the participants to ensure that it contained the approaches and actions as developed by the participants from the participating regions. The main aim was to develop action plans for the twinning regions but, when possible, an action plan was also developed for the case study regions. The actions in the plans could differ and have different timespans. Some actions could be very concrete and immediate; some could be more abstract at first and take more time to implement, such as when cooperation with other regional stakeholders was needed. The action plans were very pragmatic and 'down to earth'. The objective was to change the attitudes, behaviours or ways of doing things in a specific region, but the plan should remain as operational as possible, and be incremental, thus inducing a step-by-step evolution of current governance practices in one region.

The proposed actions all had different time spans:

- Twelve regions proposed actions with a time span of 1-2 year.
- Four regions proposed actions running until 2020.

Stage 5: Implementation and monitoring of action plans

Given the limited time period of the study, transfer implementation could not be analysed in detail. Nevertheless, within a few months of the meetings some progress could be seen when surveying the participants, such as:

- The twinning cities and regions all highlighted the increased awareness of different governance approaches that could also be applicable in their home region.
- Finding 'new' stakeholders and looking for new cooperation possibilities. After the twinning meeting, e.g. Reus contacted its neighbouring municipality of Tarragona, to discuss addressing common challenges jointly. This led to an agreement for more cooperation.
- Continued contact with the twinning partners. For example the partners from Lisbon and Nea Propondită are still in contact with their twinning regions discussing future cooperation possibilities.
- Adjusting and further developing the proposed actions to the local situation. A concrete example of this is application and running of the Urban Game in the Helsinki region.
- Examining options towards implementing new ideas achieving social inclusion or energy efficiency. For instance the show cases on energy efficiency in the Alsace inspired discussions in Oradea.

3.3 WHAT? TRANSFERABILITY DELIVERED

Transfer success factors for transfer: Policy component of interest for transfer

Each policy consists of several components, which may not be similarly useful to transfer. When multi-level governance experiences are transferred, the following components may be of particular interest:

- interesting actions may have to be transformed before being embedded in the new context;
- the individual facilitating a multi-level governance process should be trustworthy and neutral. The institutional affiliation is of less importance;
- empirical evidence is a pre-condition for multi-level governance processes;
- resource-efficient practices are needed.

Much of the focus on policy transfer is about making the process as efficient as possible. Recent research on policy transfer has also raised the importance of the type of know-how that may be transferred and the varying effectiveness of the process. A good practice is only worth transferring if it is not too context-dependent. Otherwise, only regions that are similar would benefit from the transfer.

Based on the findings of a report commissioned by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Stead puts the level of visibility into perspective, so this feature can be understood by external observers. In addition, it should have the capacity to be 'exported' to another context.

An interesting conclusion is that features with a high degree of visibility, such as programmes, institutions, modes of organisation, practitioners and joint projects, have a seemingly low degree of transferability. This means that transferring such features may prove to be difficult and inefficient in practice. On the other hand, features with a medium level of visibility, such as methods, techniques, know-how and operating rules have a high degree of transferability. These findings from Stead are important because they provide an understanding of what types of information are most efficiently transferred. This was also confirmed in the twinning meetings. The lessons from twinning meetings were to focus on tools and methods for governance processes as illustrated in the action plans.

In addition, transferability needs to take into consideration:

- **the scope**, i.e. is the purpose of the action the same in the regions of origin and destination;
- **the extent**, i.e. can the practice be translated and applied in its entirety, or just partially;
- **temporality**, i.e. does the translation and application of this good practice necessitate implementation of other enabling practices upstream? Should it be followed-up by other actions downstream?

An interesting way to monitor the transferability process is to compare how good practices were identified and formulated by the representatives of the case study region with the types of actions this has led to, i.e. how this knowledge has been interpreted, translated and re-formulated by representatives of the twinning regions.

Transferring the Stockholm Urban Game to the Helsinki context

The Helsinki City Region translated the Stockholm Urban Game to its own context and played the game during their twinning meeting with representatives from the Stockholm region. The Urban Game is an example of a concrete mechanism to facilitate exchange of experience and discussion among stakeholders, which made it relatively easy for the representative of the Helsinki region to make a first attempt to apply this tool in their context.

The governance structure in Finland and Sweden is quite similar with the national level providing guidance and a strong municipal level with large responsibilities and operational power.

The 'urban game' is seen as inspiring, creating new ways of understanding multi-level governance in practice. It raises awareness of how more effective multi-level governance can help reach policy goals of the participants. In the Helsinki case, the discussion mainly focused on cross-sector coordination of different actors and activities as well as cooperation between these in relation to housing and urban development.

The session included participants from Lisbon, Portugal who also learnt from the game. Based on the experience of Stockholm, representatives from Helsinki acknowledged/proposed an increased awareness for thinking 'out-of-the-box' in policy implementation and that it facilitated more cross-sector coordination to address local needs.

This is a relatively advanced example of transferability of governance processes, made possible within a relatively short time frame due to similar socio-economic and institutional contexts.

The table in annex 2 highlights insights from the transfer of good practices during this study. Looking at how these lessons led to different actions is illustrative of the 'tailor-made' nature of the policy transfer process. There are indeed clear discrepancies between, on the one hand, what regional stakeholders from each case study region could see as potential good practices and, on the other hand, what was identified by the twinning partners as an interesting practice and how it ended up being formulated in the action plan. The box above gives a more detailed example of a transfer process in which the identification of interesting policy elements led to a very straightforward translation by adjusting the tool from Stockholm to the Helsinki context. In contrast, the box below provides examples for much more complex and step-wise interpretation, translation and re-formulation processes for adjusting elements to the new context.

Transfer of governance processes in different contexts – the cases of Warsaw and Bayreuth

The bilateral meetings between cities and regions across Europe illustrated possibilities to transfer lessons learned, even when the socio-economic and / or institutional context was different. In these cases, the transferable elements boiled down to more practical methods and tools regarding stakeholder involvement and awareness raising, often using existing structures.

Participants from the Warsaw region recognised the differences in context between their region and their twinning partner, Liverpool. Despite the institutional differences, the action plan based on the meeting contains interesting and valuable elements to transfer. Based on the experience in Liverpool, the Warsaw region proposed discussing different funding opportunities and developing the duties of the region's territorial forum for consultations. Following the example from Liverpool this forum could also be used for coordination between local and regional authorities in the region.

The representatives of Bayreuth in Germany also acknowledged their institutional differences with the Lombardy region in Italy. The participants in the twinning meeting from Bayreuth recognised different contexts, but saw similar problems as in Lombardy such as population decline, the need for energy efficiency solutions and an ageing population in rural areas. The similarities in their needs meant that practical elements could be transferred. These included working groups and the inclusion of scientific evidence to raise awareness among stakeholders.

Each good practice underwent a process of interpretation, adaptation and translation that was unique for each case study and twinning pair. The aim of a good practice is not to be applied as such in other regions, but rather to act as a catalyst for changing the ways of coping with persistent issues. This process of re-embedding is facilitated through a direct dialogue between the region of origin and the region of its potential adaptation.

Key principles for transferring governance mechanisms

Comparison of the outcomes from the multiple twinning processes enables key principles to be identified.

- 1. Who should initiate and facilitate the multi-level governance process?** The basic idea of multi-level governance is the collaboration of public actors from different tiers of government, different sectors and different spheres, public, economic and social. In theory, the process should not be steered by one specific actor, but jointly by all participating actors. However, in practice, the study has shown that it is often necessary for one actor to step up, identify the need for doing things in a more innovative manner and facilitate the process of collaboration and coordination. More precisely, it often boils down to identifying an individual that can take this role of knowledge broker and network facilitator. The organisation that this individual is associated with can differ depending on the specific needs of each region. Such an individual should have the trust of all organisations participating in the multi-level governance process in order for the process to be sustained over longer periods of time. This trust is based on the perception of the relative neutrality of this facilitator towards the outcomes of the process. This can be secured either by appointing a facilitator that is external to the process itself but nonetheless knowledgeable about both the regional context and multi-level governance processes, typically a researcher or consultant; or by delegating this task to the most powerful government authority within the arrangement, typically the regional authority or the local authority of the largest municipality in the region. In the former case, the type of brokering is based on external network facilitation; in the latter, it relates to a participatory leadership approach.
- 2. Implementing evidence-based strategies regionally.** In many of the examples in this study, the lessons led to the understanding, in the twinning region, that the stakeholders need to know more before changing their practices and behaviours. Thus several regions identified the creation of a shared knowledge base using data and socio-economic analysis as the first step towards the implementation of multi-level governance arrangements. Such actions often take the shape of a database of socio-economic data or a feasibility study by a research institution. In that respect, the role of research institutions could become greater as partners for regional and local authorities in their attempt to better base their governance on concrete and properly framed challenges. More efficient public management is based on systematic follow-up and monitoring.
- 3. Exchanging operational knowledge on actions promoting energy efficiency or social inclusion.** Inducing policy transfer across national boundaries necessitates the organisation of face-to-face meetings in order to promote the joint ownership of the stakeholders with regard to the multi-level governance arrangements and to improve the level of trust among them. There were 46% of the participants that mentioned that a key benefit from the study was establishing contacts with other regions other than the twinning region. Therefore the learning took place in much more complex configurations than primarily intended, which targeted more specific exchanges between pairs of regions.

The stakeholders from the local and regional authorities that participated in the study identified that the main added value of the twinning process was improving

their understanding of what actions could be taken at local or regional level for promoting energy efficiency or social inclusion. This was deemed as more relevant than understanding how to implement them, i.e. governance arrangements (50% against 43% of respondents). Participating regions seemed to have benefited from the opportunity to tap into a pool of operational knowledge from other regions, especially knowledge that could be used to solve a tangible problem. This points to the important challenge that participants felt in looking at governance as opposed to policy actions.

4. **Financial dimension of multi-level governance processes.** An important point of discussion referred to the financial schemes that were designed and implemented in the case study cities and regions, and how twinning partners could apply such schemes in their own region. Some partners discussed the possibility of using European funds such as the ERDF (incl. European Territorial Cooperation programmes) as a way to co-finance public actions. However, most of the focus was put on finding new forms of finance collectively within the region. A stronger involvement of industrial actors was identified as a potential way forward. A clearer prioritisation in the use of local and regional finances was identified as a potential improvement. Making savings in one field of public intervention that is 'over-funded' could unlock financial resources that could be more efficiently used for removing bottlenecks in the promotion of energy efficiency or social inclusion in the region or locality. In fact, the twinning meetings were instrumental in raising the awareness of local and regional stakeholders on the fact that, even though multi-level governance arrangements are resource-consuming to set up and implement in the short term, they can lead to more efficient practices over longer periods of time.

3.4 FINAL REMARKS ON TRANSFERABILITY PROCESSES AND OUTCOMES

Success factors for transfer:

Transferability of good practices should be:

...mutual, i.e. resulting from a dialogue between the sender and the receiver of this knowledge;

...concrete, i.e. focusing on practices that can be changed or influenced at the receiver's end;

...incremental, since new practices need to be embedded into current practices and future prospects;

...context-specific, i.e. if there is a certain degree of similarity in the geographical, socio-economic and institutional preconditions of participating regions;

...critically undertaken, since even the most obvious success story can never be fully transposed elsewhere;

...realistic, since some good practices may, in theory, have a high impact, but are actually difficult to apply outside their home context;

...durable, i.e. no magic solution or quick fixes will foster long-term changes of attitude or have long-standing impacts.

The transfer process carried out during the study confirmed the insights presented in the literature but the time frame of the study was too short to evaluate the outcomes of the transfer processes.

A key lesson from the twinning meetings was the increased awareness of many local and regional stakeholders about the need to change the way they deal with such ambitious objectives. Some simple points can be highlighted for stakeholders to get the most out of such complex processes. Thus the transferability of good practices should be mutual, concrete, incremental, context-specific, critically undertaken, realistic and durable (see box).

Transferability should result from dialogue and exchanging knowledge. The dialogue should focus on practices that can be changed or influenced at the receiver's end. The more concrete the change, the easier it is for stakeholders to implement something that may initiate further steps and actions. These new practices need to be embedded into current practices and future plans, which takes time and proceeds one step at a time. Furthermore, if there is a certain degree of similarity in the geographical, socio-economic and institutional preconditions of participating regions, the transfer tends to be easier. Whenever this similarity does not exist, translation and interpretation processes tend to be more demanding and more difficult to achieve.

Even the most obvious success story can never be fully transposed to another location. There should be a critical review of the truly interesting elements for transfer. The aim should be to enhance governance processes only in support of policy objectives; rather than for 'better' governance. Some good practices may, in theory, have a high impact, but are actually difficult to apply outside of their home context. High-end objectives may raise interest but are deemed to be difficult to achieve, thereby risking overall failure of the whole transfer process. All in all, no magic solution or quick fixes will foster long-term changes of attitude or have long-standing impact. The table below indicates some findings of the study by type of transferability. Though linear learning processes (transfer without translation) are to be questioned, they may nevertheless be part of the transfer processes, especially when it comes to understanding the potential elements to be learned. At later stages of the transfer process, more complex modes usually dominate as indicated in the table.

Table 5 Modes of transferability highlighted in the study

| Transferability modes | Key theoretical elements | Elements evidenced in the study |
|-------------------------------|--|---|
| <i>Transfer</i> | 'Voluntary process undertaken by civil servants and politicians to emulate best practice'. (Stone 2012, p485) Mode of governance was enforced in a new regional context. | Regional stakeholders actively and voluntarily applied to take part in the process, based on their assumption that they had something to learn from other regions. |
| <i>Diffusion</i> | Mode of governance spread from one context to another by slow and successive adoption (Stone 2012) 'process by which policy choices in one country affect the policy choices in other countries'. (Obinger et al., 2013) | Some practices were directly applied in another region, e.g. the Stockholm 'Urban Game' was played at a workshop in Helsinki and may induce direct, immediate effects on regional policymaking. |
| <i>Convergence</i> | Process where policies or modes of governance in two or more countries become mutually more alike. (Stone, 2012) | Convergence was witnessed in relation to the congruence between targets and priorities identified in the Europe 2020 strategy and how it may relate to specific needs and challenges 'on the ground'. This process made the EU targets more understandable and actionable at lower tiers of governance. |
| <i>Translation</i> | 'Policies can be packaged into forms amenable to travel and translation on policy circuits [...] occasionally resulting in a new, mutated policy approach for release back onto the circuit'. (Prince 2012) | Dialogue between the actors led to the repackaging of good practices into a series of transferable elements that could be translated and reapplied in the new regional context. |
| <i>Institutional Learning</i> | Actors learn to work at new scales and in new types of networks in order to better address certain issues of transnational importance or they learn from other actors to better deal with specific local and regional issues. (Colomb, 2007) | Learning how energy efficiency or social inclusion could be concretely tackled at the regional level was identified as the main outcome of the process from the participants' own perception (see survey results). |

Source: Own elaboration

4 CONCLUSIONS

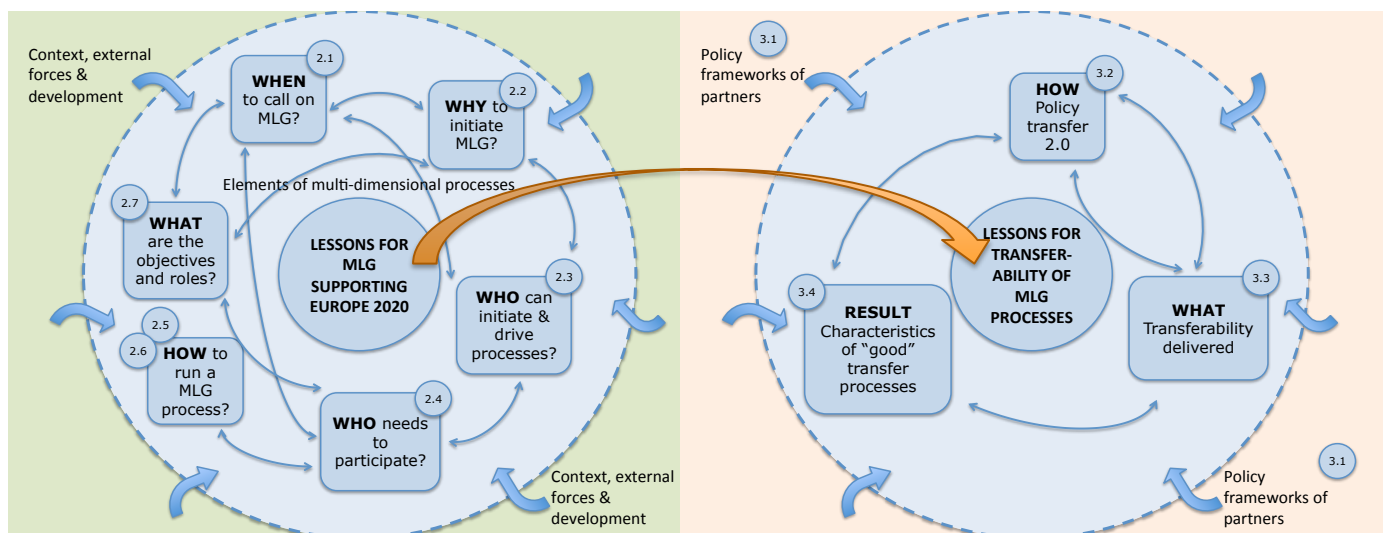
Regional and local public authorities play an important role in conceiving and delivering public policies for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth – although they do not always explicitly refer to the Europe 2020 strategy. Since the issues at stake are very complex, there is often no single actor with the necessary decision-making capacity. Therefore, multi-level governance approaches are employed to move towards collective decision-making processes where authority and influences are shared between stakeholders at multiple levels of governance and in multiple policy areas.

Based on a literature review and four case studies in the field of social inclusion, four case studies in the field of energy efficiency, discussions between local and regional stakeholders from the case study areas and 16 twinning areas, a number of conclusions can be drawn. Throughout the report, we have highlighted the diversity of development needs as well as governance contexts and arrangements. Accordingly, conclusions and overall recommendations on multi-level governance in support of Europe 2020 remain general in view of the small sample of cases, the short time period and the difficulties of separating the causal links between governance and policy effects.

In the previous chapters these lessons were developed, first for multi-level governance arrangements in support of the Europe 2020 strategy (chapter 2) and second on the transferability of these arrangements and processes (chapter 3). Figure 15 illustrates how these lessons are linked. For both types of lessons, several crucial elements could be identified during the study. The lessons on multi-level governance arrangements provided a central input for the development of lessons on transferability. This is for two reasons:

- a deeper and detailed understanding of 'good' multi-level governance processes supporting the two selected policy objectives of energy efficiency and social inclusion, was needed to feed the transfer processes efficiently;
- the analysis of case studies showed how to link context and governance effectively and what to take into account when approaching the transfer.

Figure 15 Linking lessons on multi-level governance (MLG) process and transferability



Source: Own elaboration

4.1 Key lessons on governance arrangements

The delivery of the Europe 2020 strategy benefits from clear coordination and coherence between European institutions and national, regional and local authorities, as well as across different policy sectors.

Marrying 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' governance approaches. EU and national policy frameworks can play an important role for stimulating the development of multi-level governance processes. At the same time, 'bottom-up', multi-level governance processes are needed to achieve the objectives of the Europe 2020 strategy. The actions taken on the ground, implementing Europe 2020 objectives originate from local development needs. Although embedded into national and European policy frameworks, the governance arrangements developed for these policies focus on the local and regional level and their stakeholders. In other words, the subsidiarity principle is important for successful implementation of the Europe 2020 strategy.

Fostering diversity of multi-level governance arrangements. There are many approaches to multi-level governance, depending on the issue at stake and the stakeholders with influence in the field. Since the development and governance context is decisive in determining who should be involved and when, there will always be a huge variety of approaches.

The case studies show that governance processes linked to social inclusion policies normally put more emphasis on the local level and involve a larger number of policies from different sectors. On the other hand, processes in the field of energy policies tend to be more strongly influenced by EU or national policy frameworks.

Local development needs play a crucial role. Most of the multi-level governance processes studied were based on local needs. Although they can be seen in the context of European or national policy frameworks, the focus on cooperation between stakeholders was on local or regional development issues and needs.

National level plays an important role. This ranges from being a cooperation partner, or a framework builder, to being the object to be influenced. In terms of governance arrangements, national actors in many cases have a wide range of options at their disposal. The key lessons on raising awareness of governance options, mapping the relevant stakeholders and actors that have important policy roles, the use of different tools and processes to facilitate consensus building and clarity on roles and retaining a focus on the policy objectives are all relevant for national players also.

Governance processes are driven by individuals rather than institutions. There is no single stakeholder designated to drive multi-level governance processes. Individuals with good networks and a broad understanding of governance in the respective policy field can help to make a start.

Determine the stakeholders who influence the field. The number and type of stakeholders, across levels of governance and policy sectors, to be involved depend on the policy issues at stake. In any case, stakeholders whose decision-making power or political and social influence are needed to solve the issue at stake must be involved. Beyond public stakeholders, this may also involve NGOs and private actors.

However, there is a trade-off between the number of stakeholders involved and the effectiveness of the processes. In addition, the involvement of stakeholders can change over time. It is important to adjust the composition of the stakeholder groups during the process in order to find the most appropriate arrangements for different steps in the policy development.

Keep stakeholders motivated. All stakeholders have different motivations for becoming involved in multi-level governance processes, which may also change over time. Knowledge of the different motivations is important for getting relevant stakeholders involved and keeping them on board. Among the motivating factors are influence, funding possibilities, cost savings and responses to their own challenges.

Communicate and create ownership. Facilitating governance processes involving a large number of stakeholders needs communication routines and cooperation practices that support agreement. These can include awareness-raising techniques for a common understanding, consensus among stakeholders, shared visions, objectives or strategic plans and contractual agreements. The crucial factor is the ability to create ownership and commitment among the stakeholders.

Complex processes need time. It is necessary to plan for enough feedback loops at the stakeholders' institutions and consider external dynamics such as upcoming elections, that may influence decision-making processes.

Clarity is important. Despite the flexibility in governance arrangements, it is important to be clear on contents throughout the process. This involves clear rules that set the cooperation framework, clear roles for different stakeholders, and clear objectives of the process to support the definition of actions.

4.2 Key lessons on transferability

The key lessons on multi-level governance can be transferred across regions in Europe. Learning from others can help with 'thinking outside the box', even if the learning cannot be transferred directly and first needs to be translated to the specific context.

European diversity needs to be considered when lessons are transferred. There are substantial differences in governance, administrative cultures, and professional capacities that limit such learning processes. Different territories have their own governance legacies. Good examples of governance arrangements from one city or region cannot be directly replicated in other regions. There is a need to interpret and translate the lessons to the new context before transferring them.

Transferring methods and techniques are more promising. Programmes, institutions, modes of organisation and joint projects can be difficult to transfer, as they are very context specific. Methods, techniques, know-how and operating rules tend to be easier to transfer. In particular lessons on the stakeholders to involve and techniques to involve them can be of interest.

Adopting new governance mechanisms takes time. The transfer of governance approaches focuses on concrete actions raising awareness among stakeholders in the regions. The involvement of stakeholders for implementing actions in support of the Europe 2020 strategy has often been an eye-opener for new cooperation and coordination approaches in cities and regions. However, involving the right stakeholders to deliver policies contributing to the Europe 2020 strategy takes time.

Measuring the effects of transfer remains challenging. European territorial cooperation programme have already acquired a rich body of knowledge and experience concerning policy learning and the transfer of governance arrangements. These correspond largely to the results concerning transferability deriving from this study. There are, however, difficulties of time scale and identifying cause and effect relationships between multi-level governance actions and policy outcomes. This leads to difficulties for European cooperation initiatives to demonstrate their results or benefits of time limited cooperation actions.

Key discussions points raised a the final conference

During the final conference in March 2015, the results of this study have been presented and discussed. Some of the key points from this discussion are:

Get active yourself! Do not wait for others! One key message of the discussion was the potential of stakeholders to take the initiative instead of waiting for other players to become active. Municipalities or regional administrations do not need to wait for national legislations to define what they have to do, or civil society stakeholders raising awareness and actively contributing to searching for new governance solutions.

Individuals: In many cases, passionate individuals take the initiative and cooperate. They can be pictured as 'spiders' and to use their potential, they need a wide and stable 'web'. The question, however, is how to identify them and how to support them.

Paradigm change for public administration: Working across sectors and across levels of governance requires a new culture of working and decision-making in the public sector. Accordingly, strengthening multi-level governance is also about the mind set of people working in the public sector.

Trust and ownership: Many tasks traditionally conducted by civil servants involve – in the case of multi-level governance – a wide range of stakeholders, including civil society. This requires trust among stakeholders and new approaches to ownership.

Responsibility: Shared decision-making processes also raise questions concerning the responsibility for the process and its final outcomes. The question remains, who is actually responsible in the end? If everybody is responsible, it may be that nobody feels responsible.

Institutional capacity: Involving a wider range of stakeholders also calls on the institutional capacity of stakeholders. They need to have the resources and stability over time to develop an active long-term participation. Especially where the participation of individuals is important, ensuring continuity can be challenging. Shifting towards institutional arrangements may help.

Resources and funding: Multi-level governance certainly demands resources. At the same time, multi-level governance can be the way pool resources.

National level: As regards social inclusion and energy efficiency, national level policies play an important role. This ranges from being a cooperation partner, or a framework builder, to being the object to be influenced.

Local level left on its own: Some issues end up at local level because none of the higher levels take responsibility. This may follow the logic of subsidiarity, but there are also cases where the local level is simply left on its own with an issue it cannot solve.

European Commission supports multi-level governance: The 2014-2020 European Structural and Investment Funds put a stronger focus on the partnership principle, which in association with the European Code of Conduct on partnership, may open up opportunities for improving multi-level governance arrangements and collaborative actions in the future.

The conference is also available as a video-stream via [this link](#) and was also followed by discussions on twitter @EU_Regional#RegioMLG. The full report on the conference is available at http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/index.cfm/en/conferences/mlg2015

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