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# **EUSALP** and the Challenge of Multi-level Governance Policies in the Alps

by Alberto Bramanti and Francesca Teston



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## **EUSALP** and the Challenge of Multi-Level Governance Policies in the Alps

#### by Alberto Bramanti and Francesca Teston

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#### **ABSTRACT**

'Wide area cooperation' may be the ultimate challenge within transnational cooperation processes. Although the Alps share a remarkable history of mutual collaboration, they are facing the challenge of a new sustainable-coordination paradigm. The Alpine territories are at a turning point. They are striving for a new governance arrangement, and trying to avoid both the Scylla of top-town dirigisme and the Charybdis of poor local governments. This paper aims to: address the recent literature focussing on the EUSALP macro-regional strategy; provide some insights into the role that EUSALP could play as ultimate coordinator of the numerous networks operating in the Alpine space; and discuss a workable division of labour among the different actors in order to ensure a renewed focus on sustainable development.

The main outcomes of this study are: a frame for a theoretical debate on the most appropriate governance structure for the Alps; guidance for policymakers on a division of labour among different actors that can promote sustainable tourism in the Alps and a list of suggestions for practitioners. Furthermore, the study acknowledges 'sustainable tourism' as a highly relevant field for the emerging of bottom-up arrangements toward a workable governance agreement.

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## **EUSALP** and the Challenge of Multi-level Governance Policies in the Alps

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#### 1. Introduction

In the last decades, the region of the Alps has undergone a dramatic change from a more backward, closed, domestic orientation – with nation-states addressing specific issues – towards a more forward, open, international (or cross-border), multi-sector orientation. At the same time, the number of actors involved has increased significantly (Debarbieux *et al.*, 2015; Bramanti and Ratti, 2016).

This shift has brought the introduction of a new form of territorial cooperation known as 'wide area cooperation', which might be the ultimate challenge within transnational cooperation processes. Although the Alps have a remarkable history of mutual collaboration, they are currently facing the challenge of a new sustainable coordination paradigm. Alpine territories are at a turning point – they must strive for a new governance arrangement while trying to avoid both the Scylla of top-town dirigisme and the Charybdis of hands-off handicapped governments.

This paper is divided into five sections designed to answer the main questions concerning the role that EUSALP – the macro-regional strategy for the Alpine region – could play as the coordinator of the region's numerous networks. It also offers a discussion of a workable division of labour among the different actors that will allow for renewal of the path to sustainable development.

This Introduction section addresses the different modes of territorial cooperation (Doucet, 2006; Bramanti and Ratti, 2014) from the theoretical and historical perspectives. This discussion starts with cross-border cooperation and ends with wide area cooperation (§ 1.1). It moves beyond the governance and governance structures debate to address the relational dimension of development, as well as the need for public-private networks and partnerships (§ 1.2). The Introduction closes with a look at the dense, overlapping networks found in the Alpine region, which are analysed using a governance approach (§ 1.3). These three paragraphs offer a solid theoretical overview of the cooperation key concepts in the Alpine area, and will serve as a basis for further development.

The next section depicts the methodology employed to extract and study three best practices for sustainable tourism (§ 2), the results of which are presented in the following section (§ 3). After a discussion of

the case studies (§§ 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3), we offer some remarks on the 'durability' of the projects, the lessons to be learned from their governance and the alignment of the projects with the macro-regional strategy (MRS; § 3.4).

The cooperation framework emerging in the Alpine region is the subject of the core section of the paper. That section mixes a qualitative SWOT analysis with the main results of the analysis of the three projects (§ 4).

The final section (§ 5) offers a synthesis of the theoretical debate as well as some guiding principles for establishing a workable governance structure for the Alpine region. It also includes some suggestions for practitioners wishing to identify and manage a project in a way that maximises the likelihood of delivering the expected results.

#### 1.1 A concise overview of territorial cooperation

Cross-border and inter-regional cooperation has spread across the entire European Union (Teston, 2016). However, wide area cooperation may be the ultimate challenge of the transnational cooperation process within Europe (Bramanti and Rosso, 2013). The path for the development of cooperation experiences between regions has historically started with cross-border cooperation and then been enlarged to aspatial networks of regions that come together due to complementarities and/or similarities, which in turn has led, more recently, to wide area cooperation (Bramanti and Bellini, 2008; Piattoni and Polverari, 2016).

The *first* step on this path (i.e., cooperation between neighbours) is the most consolidated precisely because it matches territories that belong geographically, culturally and often linguistically to a similar context. At some point, these territories were separated by a barrier (the border) for historical and geo-political reasons.

The *second* step in cooperation relates to networks of regions without any territorial contiguity. This type of cooperation, which is 'sector to sector' or 'district to district' (Bellini and Bramanti, 2008), exists among regions looking for complementary elements, common assets and economies of scale that can be jointly pursued.

A recent case of this type is the Vanguard Initiative (http://www.s3vanguardinitiative.eu/), a European network born in November 2013 with the aim of coordinating the efforts of 30 EU regions to align their regional specialisation strategies. The Initiative is committed to creating a platform for generating bottom-up ideas, and to supporting synergies and alignment on an inter-regional level. It focuses on advanced manufacturing, and it develops pilot activities aimed at fostering interregional cooperation, the exchange of good practices and the alignment of roadmaps for achieving complementarities. In terms of funding opportunities, potential EU 'Horizon 2020' calls have been selected.

The *third* and most recent step is wide area cooperation, which encompasses some elements from the first two models. As in the first model, this type of cooperation assumes that physical contiguity determines the delimitation of the geographical areas in terms of unity and recognisability (e.g., seas, rivers, mountain ranges, plains). As in the second model, it adopts the element of elective affinity among regions that are not neighbours. In order to enter into wide-area cooperation, regions have to recognise each other; decide to work together; and uncover unifying elements that counteract factors that might otherwise keep them distant, bring them into conflict or simply make them ignore each other (Bramanti and Rosso, 2007a; 2007b).

For these reasons, wide area cooperation is more difficult than the first two models. It requires solid reasons for cooperation, and it becomes increasingly difficult as the dimensions and the number of participants grow. Therefore, the European macro-regional strategy clearly represents the greatest challenge. As such, it gives rise to a stimulating set of reflections on the future of territorial policies on the continental scale (Bauer, 2014; Bianchi, 2016; Celotti *et al.*, 2016).

#### 1.2 The debate on governance structures

The Alps represent a particular form of regional territory that differs from 'constitutional regions' (Debarbieux *et al.*, 2015). Throughout its history, it has served as a functional and relational space (Deas and Lord, 2006) characterised by a web of overlapping networks (Ganzie and Kern, 2016). Networking, as the main type of relational approach, implies complex and lasting relations based on trust and reciprocal communication and exchange structures (Eber, 1997; Chisholm, 1998). Therefore, the networking dimension may be interpreted as a relational system of shared knowledge in which interdependence is a weak point turned into a virtue.

Governance serves as a way of coordinating self-interests and microeconomic choices, resolving disputes, assigning property rights, distributing power among a community's members, enforcing entitlements, ensuring social embeddedness, pursuing shared visions of development, producing relational public goods, and strengthening trust, confidence and participation (Bramanti, 2002). As such, it is the answer to the coordination demands associated with a relational approach to territorial development (Enderlein *et al.*, 2010). Although governance cannot be regarded as a universally applicable blueprint for territorial success, it plays a central role in contemporary theory addressing the relational dimension of development (Bramanti, 2002; Bianchi, 2016). In this paper, governance is interpreted as the capacity of

political institutions together with civic society to articulate conflicting trends within the political process through public policies and democratic representation (Stephenson, 2013):

Governance, therefore, refers to self-organising inter-organizational networks: interdependence between organizations, continuing interactions between network members; game-like interactions rooted in trust and regulated by rules of the game negotiated and agreed by network participants, a significant degree of autonomy from the state. (Faludi, 2012: 3).

One major role of governance is to anchor regional development policies and planning in public-private partnerships rather than only in public authority. This is fundamental, as international trans-regional networks typically risk unbalanced interlinkages between public and private actors, or an uneven distribution of power in planning management (Enderlein *et al.*, 2010). At the same time, the private dimension of relational development does not suffice. As the domain of externalities lies, by definition, beyond the discretionary control of any private agent, social co-ordination is essential for securing the best possible performance of the regional economy (Keating and Loughlin, 1997).

If governance is the philosophical concept, governance structures are the correlated empirical and historical objects. From a territorial perspective, the relational approach has a key impact on organizational models. In this regard, governance structures arise to support a group's provision of collective goods to its members and to determine entitlements. In other words, governance structures are the rules governing the rights to enter the system and to use 'voice' to change that system (Bianchi and Miller, 1994).

Hooge and Mark (2010), who focus on interactions among government levels, distinguish between two types of multi-level governance. Type I does not really qualify as 'governance'. Instead, it refers to a type of multi-level government that is concerned with power sharing among general-purpose governments. This type operates on just a few levels and focuses on durability. Type II refers to more diffuse forms of governance. It entails jurisdiction (i.e., task specificity), and memberships are interactive and flexible rather than durable. Type II jurisdictions tend to be lean, flexible and task specific, while their intersecting memberships criss-cross judicial boundaries:

Type II suggest the absence of clear-cut distinctions between domestic and foreign affairs: local problem can become transnational in scope even as global challenge can have repercussion for neighbourhoods. (Hooghe and Marks, 2010: 21).

MRSs are type II examples. They are only vaguely related to geographical entities and have no territorial jurisdictions that are exclusively responsible for them (Faludi, 2012). They are examples of 'soft' space (Stead, 2014).

Project regions, such as the Alpine region, express their specificities in networks of stakeholders (Debardieux et al., 2015). Although the keys to truly sustainable development are coherent behaviours, appropriate governance structures and the emergence of progressive coalitions, the emergence of a coordinator is also decisive in the Alpine region. Insightful, charismatic leaders can often transcend the narrow-mindedness and selfishness of local oligarchs on the one hand and the oversized role delegated to the European Commission on the other hand. This role can be justified in terms of the newness of the Alpine strategy, but it has been declining over time.

In the following section, we focus on the Alpine region in terms of the governance approach and the ongoing implementation path (Roggeri, 2015; Ganzie and Kern, 2016).

### 1.3 Setting the scene: future developments in the Alps, a governance approach

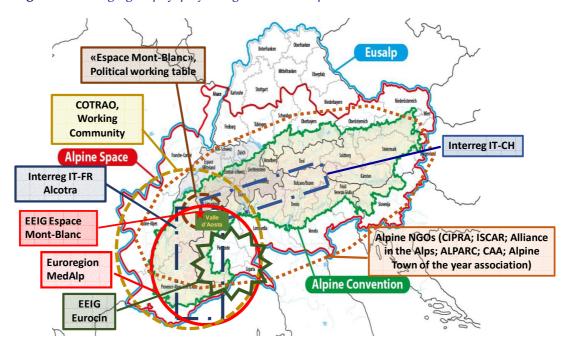
The strategic development of the Alps is at a turning point (Camanni, 2002). Grand-societal challenges are underway (e.g., a changing understanding of democracy, changing demographic pressures, slower economic growth), while the focus on environmental issues is on the rise (e.g., air pollution, global warming) (Interact, 2016). If we want to maintain and develop the Alps as a living space for human beings and nature for the years to come, we must adopt an enlightened vision, develop and support a robust strategy, delineate a workable implementation path (from words to action), and ensure sound management.

The MRS for the Alps, known as EUSALP, recently became reality – it was endorsed by the European Council in 2015 and launched in Brdo in January 2016. EUSALP fits into this evolving system and offers a framework for sustainable development in terms of enforcing territorial cooperation and cohesion alongside Europe 2020 goals. The general objective of this MRS has been described by the European Commission:

The general objective (of the EU strategy) is to promote sustainable economic and social prosperity of the Alpine Region through growth and job creation, by improving its attractiveness, competitiveness and connectivity, while at the same time preserving the environment and ensuring healthy and balanced ecosystems. (European Commission, 2015: 4).

MRS, therefore, contributes to translate those general guiding principles into a more specific territorial framework.

Like the other MRSs in the EU,<sup>1</sup> EUSALP's rationales lie in the perceived need for a collective response to shared challenges in the Alpine macro area and the need for better coordination of existing policies. Vision and action, strategy and implementation are therefore the two main pillars for the success of EUSALP.



**Figure 1** – *Emerging map of 'project regions' in the Alps* 

Source: Authors' elaboration.

EUSALP is a new MRS that applies to a cross-border functional region within the EU . Such regions are also known as 'project regions' (Debardieux *et al.*, 2015) or 'unusual regions' (Deas and Lord, 2006). The area's geographical span remains subject to debate (Rivolin, 2010; Omizzolo and Streifeneder, 2013). Some scholars question the mixing of large metropolitan areas with small highland villages in the region's definition. However, the widespread, inclusive and bottom-up discussion evident during the strategy's elaboration (Interact, 2016) revealed that the main issues – economic growth and innovation; mobility and connectivity; and environment and energy – required a geographical extension of the EUSALP territory to cover not only the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The European Strategy for the Baltic Sea (EUSBSR), endorsed by the European Council in 2009; the European Strategy for the Danube Region (EUSDR), endorsed by the European Council in 2011; and the European Strategy for the Adriatic and Ionian Region (EUSAIR), endorsed by the European Council in 2014 (European Commission, 2015).

mountainous area but also the surrounding regions, with a strong emphasis on a new alliance between core highlands and cities on the plains. The MRS, as well as the Alpine Space Programme, include major extra-Alpine metropolitan areas with the aim of addressing planning challenges related to labour mobility, residential and recreational patterns, and commuter-transport systems (Giorgi and Schmidt, 2005; Zonneveld and Stead, 2007). Figure 1 illustrates the array of collaborative initiatives related to the western arc of the Alps.

The map emerging in the Alpine region consists of a patchwork of territories with changing boundaries (Deas and Lord, 2006). It is not easy to build a stable, long-term frame for this kind of 'project region'. However, it may represent a new, functional space legitimised by policy making. Moreover, a lengthy process of cooperation based on networks of policy actors has already started, showing that some resources and power have begun to assemble around regions configured in non-standard ways.

#### 2. Sustainable tourism: methodology for the case studies

This section examines bottom-up projects related to sustainable tourism in the western arc of the Alps initiated in or after the year 2000. As mentioned above, the ultimate objective is to extract valuable insights into the emerging frame of the Alpine governance structure.

Interreg programmes are the most complete cooperation projects in Europe. For this reason, projects financed under the Interreg framework are the object of this analysis (Interreg V-A, 2016). Given this paper's focus, the programmes scrutinised include Alpine Space (transnational), Alcotra IT-FR and Interreg IT-CH (cross-border). Projects taking place in one of the last two completed programming periods (2000-2006 and 2007-2013) or in the current period (2014-2020) including the keyword 'tourism' were extracted from the official Interreg project database (keep.eu).

Multidisciplinarity was included as a selection criterion based on the idea that the presence of synergies among different priorities strengthens a project. Moreover, a sub-cluster of projects in which tourism was coupled with different topics<sup>2</sup> was selected. This subset was further assessed with respect to the governance issue. Projects with

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Specifically, the sub-cluster project linked the topic of tourism with: agriculture, fisheries and forestry; cultural heritage and arts; education and training; green technologies; new products and services; renewable energy; sustainable management of natural resources; and transport and mobility.

the western Alps,<sup>3</sup> the main actor involved in the macro-regional strategy, were included. This further assessment resulted in a subset of 25 projects, which were the objects of the qualitative durability assessment.

**Table 1** -Selected projects dealing with sustainable tourism: from 2000 up to now

Programmes	Project topic [1]	Multidisciplinarity [2]		Governance [3]	
	Tourism	More than 2 topics		Regions from Western Arc involved*	
2000-2006; 2007- 2013; 2014-2020	Number of projects	Number of projects	% share [2] on [1]	Number of projects	% share [3] on [2]
Alcotra Italy- France	93	77	82.8	16	20.8
Alpine Space	12	11	91.7	5	45.5
Italy-Switzerland	82	73	89.0	4	5.5
Total	187	161	86.1	25	15.5

<sup>\*</sup>Valle d'Aosta or Piemonte regions involved as project partner.

Source: Authors' elaboration on Interreg database [www.keep.eu].

The concept of result durability was key in our selection of case studies. We define durability as the sustainability of the results. In other words, we mean that project outputs, regulations, networks and other elements that were developed thanks to a project should remain in operation after the formal closure of the project. On the basis of this criterion, a qualitative evaluation was performed on the final subset of 25 projects. Projects that showed meaningful performance in terms of durability were selected.

#### 3. Main results of the field analysis

We studied three cases found in this subset of projects as 'best practices'. Our aim in this regard was to evaluate the emerging Alpine governance frame. They were:

- Marittime-Mercantour Park-PIT (Cross-border Joint Development Plan), which includes six more sub-projects (Alcotra, 2007-2013);
- ITER-Imaginez un Transport Efficace et Responsable (Alcotra, 2007-2013); and
- ClimAlpTour-Climate Change and its Impact on Tourism in the Alpine Space (Alpine Space, 2007-2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Projects that involved Valle d'Aosta or Piedmont regions as a partner or lead partner were selected.

#### 3.1 Marittime-Mercantour Park, a virtuous project chain

The Mercantour National Park and the Alpi Marittime Natural Park on the French-Italian border stretch across nearly 80 kilometres between the Départements of Alpes-de-Haute-Provence and Alpes-Maritimes in France and the Province of Cuneo in Italy. In 2001, the two parks jointly obtained the 'European Sustainable Tourism Chart', which officially recognised their sustainability efforts and committed them to further activities in this area. The cooperation between the two parks received a major boost during the 2007-2013 programming period owing to the Alcotra programme's co-funding of a tailor-made *Piano integrato Transfrontaliero-PIT*, 4 the Marittime-Mercantour PIT, which promotes a socio-economic development plan for the cross-border area.

From a durability perspective, the Marittime-Mercantour PIT is a successful example of cooperation for at least two reasons (European Commission, 2007). First, its activities have made a major contribution to the creation of the two parks' European Grouping for Territorial Cooperation (EGTC), which has provided a stable legal framework for common activities since May 2013. Second, PIT actions have paved the way for additional common projects (AlpMediterr project, 2015; European Sustainable Tourism Chart, 2015).

The strengths of the Marittime-Mercantour PIT include the following (Alcotra, 2012):

- A strong participative approach. The plan was developed after two years of consultation. Local municipalities, association, the parks' administrative bodies and regional stakeholders were all involved in a lengthy consultation process.
- The involvement of key, highly committed local actors. Notably, the PIT Consortium has enlarged the base of previous cooperation by involving neighbouring municipalities, towns' unions, tourism offices and museums, which had not previously been involved in the parks' cooperation. In addition to enriching the understanding of the area's needs, these actors have enhanced the impact of the cooperation. This applies in particular to the tourism field, where the effects of the project have been tangible in the implementation of a joint cross-border tourist offering.

When considering the area's history of cooperation, one weakness should be highlighted. Cooperation is highly dependent on Interreg funds, especially Interreg Alcotra, for the implementation of joint

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Piano Integrato Trasfrontaliero (PIT) is a funding feature promoted by Alcotra 2007-2013 in addition to regular projects. PIT aims to support the area's socio-economic development through tailor-made measures and projects. PIT is based on studies that highlight the strengths and needs of the area, and it consists of a series of projects.

activities. In the absence of those funds, these activities would not have been undertaken (Alcotra, 2012).

In terms of governance, the project showcases some interesting lessons. First, the coordination mechanism implemented in the project appears to be effective. The project has a centralised cross-border activity-coordination unit, which ensures the consistency of the numerous parallel topics and subprojects (European Commission, 2007). This has been highly beneficial, as it has ensured a continued focus on the overall objective of enhancing the area's socio-economic development. The high performance of single actions implementation has been possible thanks to the involvement of key actors in the various fields - all of the people responsible for different themes within the parks' administration system have been involved. Furthermore, PIT projects have offered an invaluable learning opportunity for all of the partners involved, which has enabled them to enhance their visions and competences, and develop skills for dealing with enlarged strategies. This unpredictable capacity-building effort would prove its potential with the birth of the MRS five years later.

The six topics covered by PIT – natural heritage and bio-diversity, cultural heritage, landscape planning, sustainable tourism, sustainable mobility, and young citizen education – are all included as priorities in the Alpine strategy. EUSALP is currently gaining momentum and could offer an opportunity for the newly established EGCT to promote the actions implemented through the PIT and to enjoy political backup at the regional level, which was only partially present in the PIT context.

A win-win situation seems likely with the development of EUSALP. The strategy is supposed to involve additional funds, which could add degrees of freedom to the project, ease its financial constraints and make it stronger in the years to come.

#### 3.2 ITER project, where technology meets tourism

The ITER-Imaginez un Transport Efficace et Responsable project was financed through the Alcotra 2007-2013 programme and offers another example of best practice in terms of durability. The project delivered numerous tangible outputs, which have been permanently adopted by the involved partners and are currently in use in the area. Notably, the project has led to an improvement in the accessibility and sustainable mobility for tourists and local residents in the cross-border area close to Gran Paradiso mountain (Valle d'Aosta, Italy). More specifically, electric bikes have been made available to tourists in the municipalities involved in the project and a network of hotspots, which offer Internet access for free, has been implemented in the main bus stops and public squares in the area. In addition, two smartphone applications have been made available to the general public. The first, 'Gran Paradiso Valleys',

offers information on the different means of public transport available, as well as public events and cultural initiatives in the area. The second, 'SVAP bus', allows users to receive real-time updates on bus arrival and departure times. Moreover, as the ultimate objective of the project was to improve the sustainability of people's mobility choices and behaviours, a toolkit for sustainable tourist mobility has been produced and distributed.

The delivery of tangible outcomes and the contribution to improved sustainability in the transport field are clearly two of the project's main strengths. However, we must also mention the consistency of the project-related activities with broader strategies and the wider framework of initiatives that emerged around the project. These two elements are viewed as highly positive contributions to project sustainability. ITER is embedded in a broader path that the Valle d'Aosta region has supported for many years, which is focused on developing a coherent frame that links different activities related to mobility and tourism. References to this multidisciplinary approach can be found in the Strategic Marketing Plan of the Valle d'Aosta region (Regione Autonoma Valle d'Aosta, 2009). It has been supported by several parallel and coordinated actions, which have been financed with mainstream funds (e.g., Rê.V.E. Grand Paradis - Grand Paradis Electric Vehicles Network, 2011; CityPorto Comune di Aosta project, 2011). This active, multilateral approach proves the strong, proactive commitment of the partners, which is a key strength of the project.

On the French side, the project paved the way for a discussion of the use of technology to improve accessibility to services. As such, it contributed to removing barriers to tourism. After the project, the province of Haute Savoie launched the Haute Savoie Experience application, which offers visitors information on all tourist experiences available in the area and ways to reach them.

Notably, the tight bond between tourism and connectivity is also a thematic priority in EUSALP. The second EUSALP objective reads as follows:

Besides transport systems, the notion of connectivity also embraces communication infrastructures and services (including tourism). (European Commission, 2015).

This may have a twofold interpretation. On the one hand, the project may have contributed to the strategy, as both regions involved in the ITER partnership (i.e., Valle d'Aosta and Rhône Alps) are represented in Action Group 5 within the macro-regional strategy. This Action Group focuses on connectivity and accessibility to public services, and insists on using technologies to make services more accessible. On the other hand, it represents an opportunity for the project partners to develop a

general supportive strategy that can pave the way for additional actions in this field. At the same time, it may help in capitalising on the work done through the project, enhance the project's status as a best practice and allow for its replication in neighbouring territories.

#### 3.3 ClimAlpTour, key partners focussed on a key issue

The ClimAlpTour project was financed through the transnational programme Interreg Alpine Space 2007-2013, and it operated in the field of tourism and climate change. The project investigated adaptation trends in Alpine tourism related to the effects of climate change (Balsiger, 2012). The project activities included an in-depth analysis of the environmental, economic and societal consequences of climate change with a focus on tourism. Twenty-four pilot areas were identified, and tailor-made tourism strategies aimed at addressing the effects of climate change were developed and implemented. In addition, a decision-making support tool was developed. This project is one of the three selected cases, as it represents a best practice for the durability of the Consortium (the operative instrument for the implementation of the project), which has perpetuated cooperation among the partners in other projects on environmental topics (e.g., AdaptAlp).

The project's multilevel partnership is one of its main strengths. The Consortium has involved national, regional and local administrations in the Alpine area, which work together with research institutions and international organisations. A unifying element of the project has been the need to produce a common knowledge base on climate-change effects in the tourism sector. The outcomes have been highly detailed. At the same time, they represent true local-needs-linked knowledge.

In the same programming period, eleven<sup>5</sup> additional projects on climate-change effects were financed through Alpine Space (Alpine Space, 2014). On the one hand, this redundancy could be positive, as the projects' analyses and activities have explored and covered different nuances of the climate-change impact. On the other hand, a unified approach might have been beneficial. Therefore, an opportunity seems to have been missed in terms of establishing a link with the other projects (beside C3-Alps).

This is EUSALP's playground, and EUSALP now plays a key coordination role in terms of determining the strategy and the process of structuring it through a coherent Action Plan. It must also work to maximise synergies among the different projects under implementation in the Alpine space (European Commission, 2016).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> <u>http://alpine-space.org/2007-2013/projects/projects-per-thematic-field/index.</u> <u>html</u>.

These reflections appear consistent with ClimAlpTour's results and final policy recommendations, which highlight the need for a common response to climate change. Overall, the project's results demonstrated the need to work together towards more sustainable forms of tourism, and to identify the most effective ways to adapt the strategy to deal with the impacts of climate change. Moreover, the project highlighted the need to coordinate locally tailored development strategies under a unifying 'big picture'.

The EU strategy for the Alpine region, which had not been implemented at the time of the project, seems to be a good opportunity to advance a common strategic response to this issue. At the moment, climate change is covered by EUSALP's Action Group 8. The work of this Action Group, which is still under development, could offer a chance to capitalise on the results of the project. The Alpine Convention's efforts related to climate-change adaptation, which are also mentioned in the ClimAlpTour report, should also be taken into consideration.

#### 3.4 A synthesis of main achievements

Table 2 summarises the main information on the selected projects. The table also covers the most important issues that these projects have raised in relation to governance and relationships with EUSALP.

In terms of durability, two features are particularly interesting: the establishment of structural coordination devices, such as the creation of EGTC or a Consortium, which provides the partnership with a long-term perspective; and the possibility to engage in additional projects with the same partners. In terms of governance, the focus on inclusivity (e.g., a broad consultation process, widespread participation of stakeholders) made a significant difference. Finally, signals that attention was being paid to the EUSALP strategy indicated positive appreciation of the linkages between the project and the macro strategy, thereby ensuring consistency and paving the way for further improvements.

**Table 2 –** *Main outcomes of the case studies* 

Project and Topic	Durability	Governance	The project and EUSALP
PIT, Marittime-Mercantour Socio-economic development. Six sub-topics: sustainable tourism; natural heritage and bio-diversity; cultural heritage; landscape planning; sustainable mobility; young citizen education.	<ul> <li>EGTC created between the two parks (May 2013).</li> <li>Additional cooperation projects among partners.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Effective coordination of parallel actions on the six topics in the development plan.</li> <li>Strong participative approach and wide consultation process in the strategy-development phase.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Integrative approach; project activities performed within the framework of a wider, multidisciplinary strategy.</li> <li>Learning opportunity in which partners can consider the 'big picture'.</li> </ul>
ITER, Imaginez un Transport Efficace et Responsable Tourism, mobility. Accessibility of sustainable mobility services and tourism-related offering through technology.	<ul> <li>Project outputs permanently adopted by the areas involved (smartphone applications; ebikes; Wi-Fi hotspots).</li> <li>Further commitment of partners on the topic through strategies and actions.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>High level of agreement and coordination among partners.</li> <li>Consistent actions on both sides of the border ensured tangible improvements in accessibility to sustainable mobility services and tourism-related offering.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Consistency with EUSALP priorities.</li> <li>EUSALP objective 2 pairs connectivity with sustainable tourism.</li> <li>Relevant project partners now involved in EUSALP Action Group 5 on connectivity.</li> </ul>
ClimAlpTour, Climate Change and its Impact on Tourism in the Alpine Space Climate-change effects on Alpine tourism sector	<ul> <li>Additional joint actions and projects promoted by the project Consortium's members.</li> <li>24 tailor-made adaptation strategies for the 24 pilot areas.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Participatory approach to developing local strategies (municipalities and stakeholders involved through Delphi Analysis and workshops).</li> <li>Multi-level partnerships (national, regional, local administration, research institutions and international organisations).</li> <li>Attention paid to different but mutually reinforcing approaches to the topic.</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Consistency of project's results (need to reshape and adapt tourism offering) with priority of the Health Tourism sub-group of Action Group 2.</li> <li>Relevance of transnational approach for the project's topic. Consistency with EUSALP Action Group 8 (focused on management of climate-change effects).</li> </ul>

Source: Authors' elaboration of field analysis.

### **4.** A qualitative SWOT of the emerging cooperation framework in the Alpine region

If EUSALP had been a greenfield investment that followed a top-down process in the Alpine space, we would have evaluated the MRS solely on the basis of its internal coherence, the sustainability of its design, its assets and its enforcement mechanisms. However, EUSALP is a lengthy brownfield investment that began at the end of a bottom-up, inclusive process, which took place in a densely crowed context. It is, therefore, useful to offer a qualitative evaluation of the existing governance frame found in the Alpine region (European Commission, 2014). This evaluation covers the opportunities and threats that characterise the present situation (European Commission, 2016), taking into account the theoretical framework (see § 1), the map (see Figure 1) and the lessons derived from the case studies (see § 3).

#### 4.1 Strengths

We should mention at least three strengths.

i) The co-existence of two fundamental levels: policy and management; strategy and implementation; and general rules and specific incentives. The presence of a well-defined strategy that is aligned with the broader European development goals adds value to the pre-existing implementation work. Given the procedures used to build EUSALP (an extensive listening exercise), the various points included in the Action Plan represent an 'ennobling' of past experiences with collaboration (European Commission, 2015; Bramanti and Ratti, 2016).

This approach is also positive for the project analysis. A successful strategy must encompass a compromise between a forward-looking vision and a robust, practical implementation. Therefore, bottom-up inputs must be taken into consideration. The strategy should ensure that contingencies and local problems can be faced in a more effective and sustainable way, and the focus should be on long-term effectiveness and the 'big picture' (Alpine Space, 2014; Bauer, 2014). As experienced in the PIT projects (see § 3.1), the MRS can benefit from local projects with a well-targeted participatory approach that is able to highlight local needs. At the same time, the MRS can serve as a tool for enhancing best practices and making them more visible, as seen in conjunction with the technological approach to tourism promoted in the ITER project (see § 3.2).

In addition, we find, on average, a high degree of coherence among the nine points in EUSALP's Action Plan and the contents of the Interreg Alpine Space Programme 2014-2020 without crowding-out effects of the former on the latter (Interact, 2016; Interreg-Interact, 2017). One of the main strategy tasks facing the Alpine region is to ensure that

all involved regions and projects are working in the same direction as EUSALP.

ii) The history of successful cooperation among different actors and territories, which encompasses a significant number of cooperation structures that have been operating in the Alps for many years (Teston, 2016). An emerging limitation of these experiences may be their fragmentation in terms of topics, policies, instruments, territories and stakeholders. All of this shows the expected benefits of the enhanced integration that should be provided by EUSALP, which will work to closely align and mutually reinforce them (Bauer, 2014; Roggeri, 2015). This was also highlighted in the project analysis, which underlined the importance of a strategic context for projects in order to exploit their full potential. This is particularly evident in terms of dealing with the tourism strategy for climate-change adaptations, as mentioned in relation to the ClimAlpTour project (see § 3.3) However, it is also true for many other subjects (e.g., mobility, natural-resource preservation). Consistency between the MRS and upcoming projects should therefore be guaranteed.

*iii)* The ability to govern the provision and exploitation of collective goods (e.g., water) in which actions within the MRS do not necessarily need to focus on the implementation of specific projects. Instead, they may focus on coordinating national policies and decisions, and on promoting regulatory intervention.

#### 4.2 Emerging weaknesses

Among the weaknesses emerging from the present situation, we point to the following:

*i) Unresolved frictions,* which sometimes emerge between strategic planning and implementation (e.g., putting words into action). All of the initiatives and actions in the pipeline, including the projects descending from EUSALP's Action Plan, would benefit from clearer coordination within and between actors (European Commission, 2016).

A governance lesson can also be drawn from the three analysed projects, as the most relevant shared strength that they share is probably 'coordination'. This is particularly evident in the PIT project (see § 3.1), where the overall strategy of sustainable territorial development involved multiple topics, projects and people, and only the presence and effectiveness of a strong coordination unit ensured the expected results. The PIT project's ability to multiply and spread, its character in terms of permeating other fields of action and engaging other actors, and its ability to set precedents are all strong signals of the project's durability.

ii) A certain degree of malfunctioning cooperation, especially among actors on different hierarchical levels (e.g., municipalities and

ministerial departments). Peer-to-peer collaborations are more easily managed, even across borders.

iii) Difficulties with the consolidation of a homogeneous degree of involvement on the national level, especially in the Italian case. The degree of national participation always varies depending on sectors and timing. iv) A lack of accountability, transparency and updated information on projects (e.g., websites are not always updated). It is difficult for stakeholders not involved in specific projects to know the current status of a project or to quickly gain access to relevant information. This raises a question about the effectiveness of project capitalization and information dissemination, which remains an unsolved issue in the final phases of the life cycle of any project. Therefore, a sound monitoring system is key for ensuring an informed decision-making process grounded in results-oriented actions (Bramanti, 2013; European Commission, 2015).

#### 4.3 Future perspectives: opportunities and threats

With regard to the future of the Alpine region, we can distinguish some opportunities as well as threats. In terms of opportunities, one aspect that is widely appreciated by numerous stakeholders is the degree of inclusiveness in the decision process. Projects are proposed by specific actors operating in the different territories. The ability to listen to key needs and the 'voice' option offered to various territorial stakeholders reinforce a truly bottom-up approach, which is typically significantly deeper than approaches implemented in other 'place-based policies'. This important feature needs to be preserved, as it represents a concrete opportunity to motivate actors involved in the projects and to deliver results.

A second opportunity is found in the political commitment of territorial governments. EUSALP is a subject of interest in the European Parliament, where an informal group – 'friends of EUSALP' – has been created. A high degree of political ownership seems necessary for ensuring the success of the MRS, but the process will only prove useful if key stakeholders participate and take full ownership of the process. Notably, at times, the national and regional levels are less than present at the relevant tables.

Moreover, the complex framework allows for a strategic move to pool funds. Cooperation in the Alpine region has been closely linked to Interreg programmes, but these programmes do not finance infrastructural investments, even though the effectiveness of long-term projects is often linked to such investments. The MRS could provide more sustainable support by enabling the mobilisation of financial resources for the achievement of the goals, and by bridging the gap between strategies and funding opportunities, which is still a challenge (Wishlade, 2014).

The threats are mainly linked to the need to overcome short-termism and develop a capability to ensure the effectiveness and long-term sustainability of implemented projects. This may involve phasing out certain initiatives, as well as greater involvement of private partners, NGOs and citizens.

Two additional points relate to coordination activities, which remain highly important. First, the right skills and human capital must be accumulated. Often, designated ministerial/regional representatives have only a limited influence:

The extent to which (they) have really the necessary institutional, administrative and technical capacity, and can benefit from fully acknowledged legitimacy and authority to fulfil the coordinating functions inside their own country and with other countries, remains a challenge (Roggeri, 2015: 151).

Second, the cost-effectiveness of coordination activities must be ensured. While the 'no new funding' principle could easily be shared, the absence of new money is a powerful incentive for efficiency and effectiveness within the MRS – operational management and coordination tasks are not free. If cooperation becomes an integral part of territorial policies, then:

They should be entirely incorporated into the usual day-to-day national/regional policy governance and implementation management. As such they should not require additional procedures and human resources. (Roggeri, 2015: 154).

However, this is not the rule. Secondary staff may be a problem, especially for the smaller territorial actors.

EUSALP, supported by Interreg's dedicated strategic project AlpGov, can make a contribution and help these territories strengthen their cooperation in three ways: *i*) by carrying out a 'gateway function' and playing the role of system integrator; *ii*) by developing a strategy related to the entrepreneurial and coordination roles of territorial administrations; and *iii*) by building, modifying and widening actors' new mental maps; ensuring a long-term orientation; and spurring a learning capacity and the creation of specific assets, thereby enhancing the process of accumulating territorial capital (Celotti *et al.*, 2016). In this regard, Roggeri (2015) suggests:

The macro-regional approach demands deliberate willingness to achieve results together and openness and readiness for cooperation, i.e. ability to compromise on priorities and modalities. (Roggeri, 2015: 146);

#### 5. Discussion and concluding remarks

In this paper, we have discussed the role of EUSALP in light of the beneficial and widespread history of territorial cooperation within dense networks of actors operating in the Alpine region (Debarbieux *et al.*, 2015; Bramanti and Ratti, 2016; Sielker, 2016). We have also dealt with 'sustainable tourism' and 'governance structures', and looked for the conditions that allow for successful project implementation. The connections with the philosophy and the articulation of the EUSALP Action Plan (EAP) are straightforward (European Commission, 2014). The first thematic policy area within the EAP focuses on improving the competitiveness, prosperity and cohesion of the Alpine Region. The strategy, which aims to support innovative economic development, is built on the complementary assets of the regions sub-territories.

The economic potential of strategic sectors in the Alpine region is a central issue. Some sectors, when addressed in a more integrated manner, may offer significant potential for growth and innovation, and they may have a positive impact on the labour market. These sectors are:<sup>6</sup>

- Bioeconomy (potential for companies to create new business and to contribute to environmental protection),
- Timber (a source of added value and local employment) and
- Health tourism (combining medical and tourism aspects).

The attention devoted to sustainable tourism in this paper is therefore easily understandable and fully aligned with the emerging 'big picture'. Moreover, strong interdependencies are evident among the aforementioned sectors, as shown in the three best-practice cases. In addition, they all highlight the need for strong macro-regional coordination (European Commission, 2016; Interact, 2016; Piattoni and Polverari, 2016).

The second thematic policy area is sustainability, a label that is widely interpreted and frequently all inclusive (Balsiger, 2012; Stead, 2014). It is worth noting the four main dimensions – economic, social, environmental and governance – of which the paper has focused on governance. We offer some insights into a workable division of tasks between territorial actors and EUSALP. The SWOT analysis provides

<sup>6</sup>The EUSALP Action Plan refers to five sectors: agriculture and sustainable forestry; tourism (environmental sustainable tourism and year-round tourism); energy (clean, renewable energy production and energy storage); health (connected to the agricultural and tourism sectors); and high-tech (development of services and products linked to specificities of the Alpine region). Action Group 2 (June 2017), which is responsible for the strategy's implementation, has chosen three specific fields of action: bioeconomy; wood; and health tourism.

advice on how to cooperate within and among the different networks operating in the Alpine region. An additional conclusion can also be made here, which answers a more direct question: What type of governance seems to be the most conducive of true sustainability?

#### 5.1 Implication for practitioners: defining a 'good project'

The implications for practitioners are far reaching and we, therefore, offer a short list. From a logical point of view, the implications can be sequentially ordered in two steps. First, we look at what might be considered a good project (§ 5.1). Second, we turn to the kind of governance that could best support good projects and enable them to deliver the promised results (§ 5.2). Even though it may seem unusual to focus on the project level when dealing with the MRS, this is a core issue from an implementation point of view. A major objective of the MRS is to enhance sustainable development in terms of supporting the implementation and coordination of an increasing number of good projects in order to exploit all possible synergies (Roggeri, 2015; European Commission, 2016). In addition, practitioners (who are connected with local territories on the operational level) are mainly interested in promoting concrete actions that respond to the needs of their citizens or stakeholders. They are ultimately committed to projects with the highest likelihood of success, and to managing them until they achieve their expected results. They are, therefore, the strongest supporters of good projects.

The following remarks delineate the core of the definition problem. From a sustainable point of view, a good project is one that:

- Delivers the expected results and achieves long-term objectives;
- Triggers permanent structural changes, thereby allowing for durable results;
- Redefines citizens' or clients' needs by acting on mental maps and working on cultural dimensions;
- Communicates in a simple, far-reaching way that also reaches younger generations;
- Follows the standard cycle of policy evaluation (i.e., awareness raising, problem definition, option identification, policy selection, implementation, monitoring, evaluation, and feedback on further implementation); and
- Develops strong private-public partnerships as a way to enhance its financial sustainability.

#### 5.2 Toward a tailored governance structure

In order to close the circle, we need to highlight several characteristics of the governance structure that can help achieve the previously mentioned features. An analysis carried out by the European

Commission (2014) on the existing governance structures in the four macro-regions was prodromal to suggestions regarding possible revisions and improvements. Evaluations and advice which result all the more focused in the light of the developed analysis and the case of the three best practices on sustainable tourism.

The two main points made by the European Commission remain: a strong political commitment and a robust organization. Incidentally, such an organization may be costly given the EC's statement that it will not provide more funds for MRSs. In this regard, we mention the four main features developed in the main section of the paper (see § 4):

- Vision with implementation;
- A top-down/bottom-up approach;
- Territorial inclusiveness and involvement of the key actors;
- Strong dimensions of financial sustainability with access to different and complementary financial instruments.

The governance of the macro region should not serve as a substitute for top-down, detailed planning of the bottom-up projects coming from the territories. It is neither useful nor wise for EUSALP to override strategic actions grounded in the territorial cooperation frame. This also means that EUSALP should not use a large share of the Interreg funds. On the contrary, EUSALP might act as a funding source for operating networks in the Alpine region, and enable them and their projects to gain access to various European funds.<sup>7</sup>

In a clear and robust division of tasks and complementarity among territorial networks and MRS, EUSALP should mainly address:

- Projects with a clear trans-regional dimension in which the direct component of infrastructural investments is large enough to require a macro-area response.
- Horizontal projects focused on servicing territorial stakeholders and their networks. These might include exploitation of previously delivered results, evaluation of achievements, communication plans, and support for capacity building and project financing.

However, the proposals and implementation of operative projects that respond to the needs of the territories should be handled by the territorial actors. Proposals should encompass a strong ex-ante conditionality consisting of alignment with the EUSALP Action Plan and include a focus on durability.

<sup>7</sup> These include: COSME (on the competitiveness of SME); ERASMUS+ (on skills exchange and the circulation of human capital); Europe Creative (on the creative and cultural sectors); Horizon 2020 (on research and innovation); Connecting Europe Facility (on European transport, energy and digital networks); LIFE (on environment and climate issues); and ISA2 (on innovation in public administration and the supply of digital services).

Possible implications in terms of rules of governance in this regard include:

- Avoiding unanimity on the level of the nation-state involved in EUSALP – a qualified majority is adequate for a broad set of issues.
   A General Assembly involving all of the nation-states and regions that deliberates and requires unanimous decisions may encounter significant problems.
- Strengthening the role of regions as strategic links between finegrained territorial actors and the macro region. Regions should be assured of a coordination role on a rotating basis, and of their leadership on relevant sectoral and thematic areas.
- Launching peer-to-peer project evaluations, which should allow for wider circulation of information and more transparent results.

Unfortunately, the whole picture will not be the end point of an automatic and spontaneous path. If good governance structures are to work properly, they need policy endowments, leadership, human skills, persistence and stubbornness, as well as an engaging attitude. We hope that the character of the people in the region will support the policy design.

If you want to build a ship, don't drum up people to collect wood and don't assign them tasks and work, but rather teach them to long for the endless immensity of the sea. (Antoine de Saint-Exupery).

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