

Europeanization as the Reterritorialization of the State: Towards Conceptual Clarification[†]

VRATISLAV HAVLÍK 
Masaryk University, Brno

Abstract

In connection with the so-called territorial dimension of the cohesion policy promoted by the European Commission, a gradual Europeanization of territorial organization can be observed in EU member states. Two main approaches can be identified in literature describing this phenomenon: scholars in European studies discuss the issue in terms of the notions of governance, while planners tend to focus on the priorities of regional development. What is missing is a unified conceptual understanding that includes the diverse aspects of these processes. This article offers an innovative view of the Europeanization of territoriality. Its key argument is that there are two ways of studying the Europeanization of territoriality: (1) as changes in the spatial organization of member states and the establishment of new regions (a static component of the polity); and (2) as changes in relations between actors of governance in consequence of the new territorial arrangement (a dynamic component of politics).

Keywords: Europeanization of territoriality; reterritorialization of the state; new regionalism

Introduction

The Europeanization of the territorial organization of EU member states is a topic that resonates in contemporary discussions about the impacts of European integration (for example, Allmendinger *et al.*, 2014; Luukkonen, 2017; Mendez, 2013, see also previous studies, for example Clark and Jones, 2008; Jensen and Richardson, 2004). In recent years this has been given increasing attention, largely because of what has been called the territorial dimension of cohesion policy.¹ In this ‘new approach’, the European Commission seeks to retarget its structural funds, favouring increasingly regional and subregional or local areas and supporting strong economies of agglomeration and local development milieus (Zaucha *et al.*, 2014, Bachtler and Begg, 2018, for a difference against ‘plain governance’, see Stead, 2014, p. 1380). The scholarly discussion has highlighted many aspects of this process: the motives of the European Commission in adopting this new approach (especially the process of improving competitiveness); the course of the process; the response by nation states; and the ‘new regionalism’, which is linked with the creation of new territorial units at the local, regional or supranational level. At the most general level of knowledge, one may note that the European integration process has provable long-term impacts on the administrative or territorial organization of

[†]I would like to thank the four anonymous reviewers, the JCMS editor and my colleague Martin Jirušek for their insightful comments.

¹Of course, the Europeanization of territorial organisation is not exclusively linked with the ‘territorial dimension’. New territorial units were previously established as part of EU cohesion policy, such as NUTS II regions and Euroregions and, subsequently, micro-regions, macro-regions etc.

nation states. Their territorial organization, which had long been stable, thus experiences relatively important change (in that new regions establish themselves alongside the already existing old regions).

Certainly, this is not a new phenomenon, but its conceptual understanding is hindered by a fragmentation of approaches employed by various disciplines. Each branch (European studies, planning studies, governance studies, geography, urban studies and economics) then only tells an incomplete, relatively narrow part of the whole story. There are at least two main approaches in the literature concerning the Europeanization of the territorial organization of the state. Although they often analyse similar aspects of the same issue, there is little communication between them. One approach prevails in European studies, another in planning studies and development theory. Mainstream political scientists in European studies (for example, Benz and Eberlein, 1999; Gualini, 2006; Marshall, 2005; Mendez, 2013; Luukkonen, 2017; more generally Stephenson, 2013) discuss the topic using the classical concepts of governance – specifically, Europeanization and multi-level governance (MLG). Typically, their terminology and concepts operate with bottom-up or top-down patterns, describing how regional and local actors adjust to the pressure to adapt exerted by the European Commission and how the actors respond to Europeanizing change in their own activities. These articles, although beneficial, lack the viewpoints available in the planning studies literature, which tends to discuss much more the specific outcomes of Europeanization such as ‘new regions’ (Keating, 1998) or ‘soft-spaces of governance’, including the process of their emergence and the dynamics of their operations. Planners (for example, Deas and Ward, 2000; Deas and Lord, 2006; Doucet, 2006; Fricke, 2017; Sykes and Shaw, 2008), for their part, often fail to consider the broad conceptual debate, or their debate is conceptually conducted outside the mainstream of political science, namely largely outside the notions of governance mentioned above, opting instead for concepts from such disciplines as geography, urban studies and environmental studies.

The aim of this article, thus, is (a) to summarize the main conceptual starting points of the approaches in literature and to integrate them in a unified view of the Europeanization of territoriality; and (b) to undertake a conceptual update based on the most recent empirical findings (see case and comparative studies from recent years, for example Boggero, 2016; Crivello and Staricco, 2017; Fricke, 2017; Havlík, 2018; Krukowska and Lackowska, 2017; Lang and Török, 2017; Nosek, 2017), one that can coherently explain the most recent events in the domain of the reterritorialization of EU member states. Thus, the article goes beyond compiling existing approaches to provide a new schematic overview of the transformations in EU member states’ territorial organization. As Gualini (2016, p. 513) noted, ‘New socio-spatial configurations of state agency affect traditional understandings of territoriality. They call for a renewal of the conceptual vocabulary of the processes of socio-spatial structuration.’ The added value stemming from interconnecting the debate about new trends and reforms of cohesion policy with the debate concerned with its consequences, consists of naming and understanding new phenomena from their instigation to their implementation to their consequences for the stability of the existing system of relations among the actors of MLG. The advantage of this new conceptual understanding is that it can be used to explain phenomena that are very new (for example, tensions between levels of governance). The consequences of the new regionalism, especially in Central and Eastern European (CEE) states with a

weak tradition of decentralisation, are very substantial and it would be insufficient to describe them separately as an ‘interesting nuance’ in the overall debate about new regionalism. The Europeanization of territoriality, as we have been discovering largely over the past two programming periods (namely 2007–13 and especially 2014–20), is different. It is not a small variation on the worldwide trend of urbanization, or a mere offshoot of the grand debate about rescaling the state (Brenner, 2009, see below). It is a phenomenon *sui generis*, which is not a gradual, creeping ‘disappearance of the Westphalian state’ due to globalization, but a purposeful action directed by the European Commission, which enters the Europeanization process not just in the initial phase, but also subsequently. The European Commission thus creates new territorial instruments in cohesion policy (for example, after 2014, the integrated territorial investments – see below), the implementation of which it then actively promotes in member states. The concept of the ‘Europeanization of territoriality’ is therefore not an amalgamation of existing approaches, but a new way of grasping a specific process, whose various hitherto undertaken partial descriptions do not provide sufficient understanding. The key argument is that there are two ways of studying the Europeanization of territoriality: (1) as changes in the spatial organization of member states and the establishment of new regions (a static component of the polity); and (2) as changes in the relations between actors of governance in consequence of the new territorial arrangement (a dynamic component of politics).

This article is split into three sections. The literature review presents selected concepts concerned with the reterritorialization of the state, as well as the two main approaches in the debate about the Europeanization of territoriality. A conceptual section, originally based on Risse, Cowles and Caporaso (2001) and Marshall’s (2005) update, is divided into various subsections that conceptually ground the Europeanization of territoriality. Some parts of this concept are partially based on original works by the authors cited above; but they have been amended to reflect the discussion about changing the territoriality of nation states, and take into account developments over the last decade. Thus, this section discusses (a) the European Commission’s motivations for the reterritorialization of member states, (b) adaptational pressures at the domestic level, (c) change agents/veto points, (d) domestic change and (e) the implications of domestic change for relations between actors of governance. The third section summarizes the main features of the concept and the ambiguities related to it and suggests avenues for future research.

I. The Expressions ‘Territorial’ and ‘Spatial’ as Concerned with the ‘Europeanization of territoriality’ Concept

First, we need to discuss briefly the expressions ‘territorial’ and ‘spatial’. Though formally they have distinct definitions, in the literature they are sometimes used interchangeably, whether due to author carelessness or the fact that the processes that unfold as part of EU cohesion policy are difficult to grasp. Luukkonen and Moilanen (2012, p. 484–490) have noted the difficulties with differentiating between the two concepts. They see ‘territory’ as one of many ‘spatial categories’, or ‘spatial constellations’. They also state that ‘spatial planning and development strategies include a growing number of new forms of spatial imaginaries, which challenge the traditional conceptions of territoriality.’ (Luukkonen and Moilanen, 2012, p. 485). Agnew (2015, p. 43) writes about the ‘need to stop associating “geography” with territory as the only modality for the spatial

organization of politics', with the ambition of suggesting that governance does not always necessarily take place in a territory, but, for example, in social interactions across networks (Agnew, 2015, p. 47, see also 'territorial trap' in Agnew, 1994). Elden (2010, p. 811) speaks of 'territory' as a 'political technology', which comprises 'techniques for measuring land and controlling terrain'. Thus, control over space (see below) can be seen as the fundamental criterion for defining 'territory'.

In the processes we observe, there is a blending of the two concepts (spatial and territorial), willy-nilly, because 'spatial development policy is necessarily territorial in the sense that there has to be some kind of authority over space in which the policy is to be implemented' (Luukkonen and Moilanen, 2012, p. 486). In describing the emergence of 'new regions' in the context of new trends in EU cohesion policy, I therefore use the term 'the Europeanization of territoriality'. Admittedly, these new regions do not always have 'responsibility for their territory', over which they would exercise 'exclusive power', as one of the definitions of territoriality would require (Faludi, 2009, p. 2). In discussing the Europeanization of territoriality, then, it must always be added that, rather than an achieved process in the sense of a 'change in territoriality', it is an ongoing process aimed in that direction, because the emerging territories are increasingly involved in 'mapping, bordering and controlling the space' (Luukkonen and Moilanen, 2012, p. 485–486). The understanding of territoriality employed in this article is compatible with Medeiros's (2016, p. 6), who sees a 'number of senses' in which the term 'territoriality' is used, including 'any form of behaviour displayed by individuals and groups seeking to establish, control, maintain, and exercise power over space'.

II. Selected Concepts Concerned with the Reterritorialization of the State

Beyond the literature on Europeanizing the territorial organization of the state, there are several other discussions and concepts that address similar processes. We shall look at these first. Beyond political scientists and planners, whose work is crucial for the conceptual grounding of this article, there are the debates of political geographers (important for their notions of territory, space and rescaling; see the next section), as well as urbanists (the notions of urbanization and metropolization) and economists (the notion of growth poles). There are other disciplines, which this article does not explore in greater depth, including environmentalists and sociologists. Most of these debates have one thing in common: they are concerned with the territorial transformations of regional, subregional and local spaces, but, at the same time and for reasons outlined below, they may be – but not necessarily are – linked with Europeanization.

Urbanists and economists view the contemporary transformations of European states' territory through the lens of the trends they observe. Prevailing in their studies are the issues of (a) urbanization (for example, Brenner and Schmid, 2014, 2015) and (b) metropolization or metropolitan expansion (for example, Brenner and Schmid, 2015, *cf.* Capello *et al.*, 2015). Brenner and Schmid (2014, p. 750) describe a process of the emergence of 'densely settled zones (cities, metropolitan regions, megacity regions, and so forth), in which population, economic activities and infrastructural systems are clustered.' Crucial for the present article is the view of urbanization as a very broad, 'planetary phenomenon' (Brenner and Schmid, 2014, p. 750). As with the debate in political science concerned with 'rescaling the state', mentioned below, the urbanists' debate is

not primarily concerned with the discourse of Europeanization. Finally, when considering the trends described by economists, it has been shown that during an economic crisis, recovery in agglomerated regions is fast (Capello *et al.*, 2015) and thus these have a solid potential for becoming ‘growth poles’ in their country’s economy. The emergence of a new level of governance such as the metropolis is thus often discussed as a consequence of a recent economic crisis (for example, Cotella *et al.*, 2015, p. 33–40). However, we need to distinguish the gradual and, from the viewpoint of capitalism, natural trend of people moving to cities and the related emergence of metropolizes on the one hand, from the process of creating ‘functional spaces’, intentionally controlled by the European Commission on the other. Certainly, the processes described in this article arise in the context of worldwide trends of changing local and regional governance and urbanization. However, unlike these trends, the discussed processes share another trait. The changes in the territoriality of member states – both in terms of contents and temporal sequence – are evident (and mostly provable) responses to steps taken by the European Commission. This can be shown in individual cases (in the spirit of the explaining-outcome process-tracing research method, Beach and Pedersen, 2013) by (1) the temporal sequence of events in which territorial changes in member states occur immediately after an EU initiative, (2) a content analysis of national strategic documents on regional policy, which directly refer to the initiating role of the European Commission in this process and (3) interviews (for example, Havlík, 2018) conducted with stakeholders from the various levels of governance, who confirm the important role exercised by the European Commission in the whole process. Thus, conceptually speaking, these changes are a product of a top-down Europeanization (for example, Börzel and Risse, 2000), even if it is obvious that this top-down driven Europeanization is inspired by current trends including urbanization, metropolization and other phenomena.

III. Europeanizing the Territorial Organization of the State

Given the focus of this article, this section must start with the discussions concerned with state rescaling, territory and territoriality, which need to be linked with the process of Europeanization. In terms of its generality and its overall geographic scope that goes beyond Europe, the broadest debate has been concerned with the concept of rescaling the state (for example, Brenner, 2009; Keating, 2009; Paasi, 2009; Gualini, 2006). This is based on the premise that within modern capitalism there occur ‘changing geographies of statehood’ (Brenner, 2009, p. 124), one consequence of which is the creation of new regions or ‘inter-regional competition’ (Keating, 2009, p.39). The problem for us here is that the rescaling of the state is a somewhat broad framework which, though it comes to many similar conclusions, does not fit very well with the current debate about the Europeanization of territoriality. Indeed, even Brenner (2009, p. 123) admits that the ‘processes of state rescaling must be distinguished analytically from other (territorial, place-based and networked) dimensions of state spatial restructuring’. Looking now at the above-mentioned territorial dimension of state restructuring, we see multiple points of contact with the Europeanization of territoriality. Murphy (2008, p. 16) sees the EU as an actor which ‘offers the possibility of overcoming some of the territorial rigidities of the modern state system’. While ‘many aspects of state territoriality (controlling education, pitting itself against other states) remain very much in place’ (Murphy, 2008,

p. 12), there are other aspects (not limited to cohesion policy) which states have to share, 'not only with the EU but also with new actors', that is, substate administrations or private stakeholders (Faludi, 2016, p. 496). Discussing the state's territoriality, Murphy (2013, p. 1214–1215) notes a 'tendency to downplay the tenacity of territory's continuing allure', aptly adding that 'less clear is the extent to which new multi-level governance arrangements are moving Europe beyond a political geography rooted in the Westphalian state system' (Murphy, 2008, p. 7). This idea needs to be further developed into two dimensions: (a) 'a place can be territory at times but not at others' (Elden, 2010, p. 802); in other words, the disruption of the Westphalian state territoriality varies over time, because newly established territories or spaces can be short-lived, and in terms of its territoriality, an EU member state can be weakened but also strengthened; the disruption of the state's territoriality might thus be temporary; (b) what always matters is the measure of decline in the state's territoriality, namely which of its functions the state is losing control of. As Keating (2009, p. 38) states in a similar context, 'European integration is creating new territorial boundaries for some purposes and not others so that, while states may be losing their old monopolies, this does not necessarily herald the emergence of an integrated European space to replace them.' Viewing the contemporary territorial changes, we do not observe an outflow of power from state territoriality to the benefit of a notional European territoriality, but the state monopoly on certain policies is disrupted.

The Europeanization of territoriality as described below can therefore change the territoriality of an EU member state, but that certainly does not mean that the Westphalian state is dead. Thus, it is worth emphasising that in the case of the Europeanization of territoriality, we are not so much dealing with a final result as with a suggestion of a trend, where 'the European Union is a major actor in the construction and governance of spaces and borders' and 'member states are much less able to decide what counts as important borders and spaces in Europe' (Rumford, 2006, p. 137). This argument of Rumford's is crucial for the understanding proposed in this article. So far, the Europeanization of territoriality is not necessarily to be understood in the narrow sense of the word, as a loss of the state's ability to exercise power over space, because EU member states hitherto have not lost much to the benefit of the new territories (for example, agglomerations). Rather, the Europeanization of territoriality is an expression of the process through which (a) new territories emerge within the state and (b) the state is no longer fully sovereign in the sense that it cannot fully control this process. Finally, the various manifestations of the Europeanization of territoriality are shown by Axford (2006, p. 168) in response to Brenner, 1999), who says that 'the making of Europe involves new configurations of territoriality as much as an abandonment of state-centric notions of territoriality.' As Agnew (2015, p. 45) noted, in the process of European integration, the territoriality of the state changes, in that the model of 'mutually exclusive and fixed territoriality upon which state territorial sovereignty has relied' comes to an end.

Let us now move to the literature that deals strictly with the process of Europeanization and the relations between the various actors involved. As noted above, there are at least two approaches to the study of the Europeanization of national states' territory in the literature, among which there is only a partial overlap. Of course, the distinction between the two approaches is only partially valid, as many articles sit on the boundary and to some extent employ aspects of both.

The literature which we can classify as focusing on the concepts of governance (Bachtler and McMaster, 2008; Benz and Eberlein, 1999; Gualini, 2006; Gualini, 2016; Marshall, 2005; more generally also Stephenson, 2013) itself takes various forms. A group of articles discuss Europeanization against a background of the concept of MLG (Benz and Eberlein, 1999; Gualini, 2006; Gualini, 2016; Marshall, 2005). There is some consensus that with the gradual regionalization of regional policy, the number of type II governance arenas rises inexorably (Gualini, 2006; Marks and Hooghe, 2003), but their number, stability and adaptability to MLG are not automatically given by a top-down European Commission decision. The degree to which a new region is able to adapt to MLG largely depends on the national institutional pattern (Benz and Eberlein, 1999). Bachtler and McMaster (2008, p. 407) assign to the government the responsibility for orchestrating the process in which influence is allocated to subnational actors. They say that ‘ultimately, it is central governments that need to arbitrate between competing interests in deciding the allocation of funding’. Although this claim is still largely valid, it has been somewhat relativised in recent years by two trends. Over the past decade, the European Commission has substantially increased the impetus behind implementing so-called territorial dimension, namely further regionalization, narrowing to some extent the options available to national governments. Within the territorial dimension, the main instrument is the integrated approach, which often implies the creation of new type II governance arenas (for example, metropolitan areas). Regional and local actors, which particularly in the new member states showed their lack of experience during the years following EU enlargement, more recently have partially emancipated themselves after all and many – though not all – are able to develop a bottom-up strategy for promoting their interests (Havlík, 2018). Existing literature thus suggests a development in governance in EU member countries, which is due to a changing understanding of the priorities of regional policy. New priorities demand new arenas of governance, which emerge alongside the old ones. Some such arenas will probably not last and will perish when EU funding comes to an end; others already show themselves to be stable players and thus interfere with the stable territorial organization of the nation state.

By contrast, some works in planning studies proceed from other points of departure, focus on somewhat different aspects and, most importantly, employ a different vocabulary. The planning literature (for example, Deas and Lord, 2006; Doucet, 2006; Dühr *et al.*, 2007; Fricke, 2017; Sykes and Shaw, 2008) gives more attention to the spatial development strategy, though undeniably it does so in the context of Europeanization. In this approach one can identify articles that highlight the current clash between the advocates of ‘growth poles’ and ‘lagging areas’, as the two main and largely opposed paradigms for development (Deas and Lord, 2006; Doucet, 2006; Fricke, 2017). The overall focus of planners or political geographers is different from that of their colleagues in European studies. The former place much greater emphasis on the results of Europeanization, namely the establishment of the so-called new regions, described variously by such terms as ‘soft territories’ (Luukkonen, 2015), ‘soft spaces’ (Allmendinger *et al.*, 2014) and ‘non-standard regional spaces’ (Deas and Lord, 2006). These articles have one thing in common. Being products of a broad current in the literature on new regionalism, they narrowly focus on the establishment and operation of the new regions and on their consequences for local governance (for more about the tensions involved, not only in planning studies, see for example Allmendinger *et al.*, 2014; Begg, 2010; Deas and Lord,

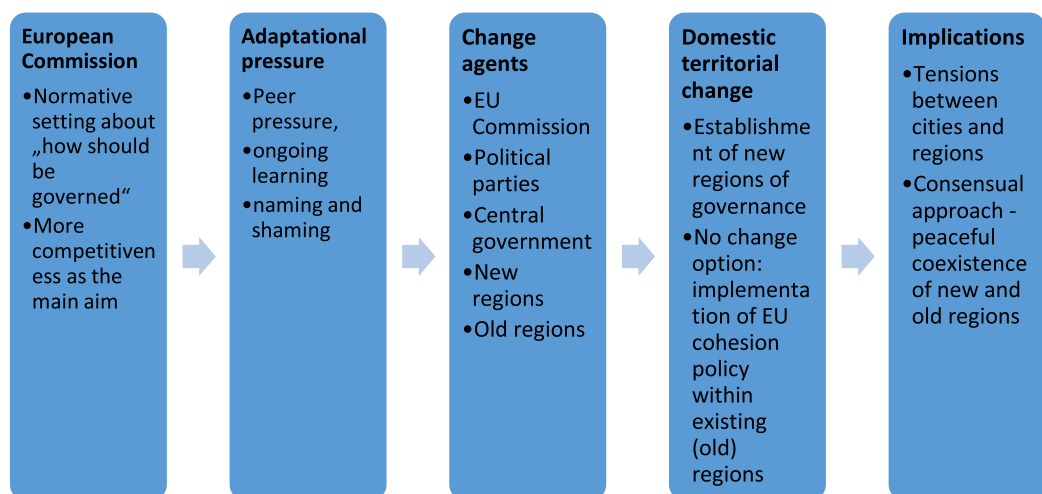
2006; Deas and Ward, 2000; Havlík and Kuchyňková, 2017; Havlík, 2018; Luukkonen and Moilanen, 2012; Van Der Zwet *et al.*, 2014; Wheeler, 2002; Ziafati Bafarasat, 2016).

It is precisely the study of the impacts the newly established regions have on relations among actors involved in governance that could significantly enrich European studies literature. There are already numerous case studies describing the tension between new and old regions (for example in Germany: Benz and Eberlein, 1999; Czechia: Havlík, 2018, Italy: Boggero, 2016, Crivello and Staricco, 2017, Grumo and Bellino, 2015); what is lacking is a study that synthesises this knowledge and transfers it from planning literature to European studies or general political science. Naturally, we also lack an understanding of the long-term impacts that the Europeanization of territoriality will have.

IV. Towards Conceptual Clarification

In seeking a schematic understanding of the contemporary ‘Europeanization of territoriality’, one may proceed using the approach proposed by Marshall (2005), which is based on a model by Risse, Cowles and Caporaso (2001). Beyond its simplicity, this approach is distinguished by its employment of the notions of veto players and mediating institutions. Specifically, a four-step model, called ‘Europeanization at the urban level’ (Marshall, 2005: 672), includes (1) EU initiatives (structural funds, community initiatives etc.), (2) adaptation pressures (degree of fit between EU and domestic norms), (3) mediating institutions (local, regional, national institutional context) and (4) urban structural change (institutional shifts/governance change). However, the model needs updating in view of (a) the precipitous development of regional policy in the last decade; and (b) the fact that the outcomes of Europeanization are not necessarily limited to ‘urban’ or regional ‘structural’ change, but could mean a total reterritorialization of national governance, or the creation of new territorial units (see Figure 1). Any attempt to synthesize the present

Figure 1: The Europeanization of territoriality. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



state of knowledge must consider several aspects as described above. It very much matters whether (a) we understand the Europeanization of territoriality broadly, in the sense of the developments unfolding over the past several decades or (b) narrowly in the sense of the rise of the 'territorial dimension' as promoted by the European Commission over the last decade. The original, general concept of Europeanization as proposed by Risse, Cowles and Caporaso (2001) and Marshall (2005) is used here as a framework. Combined with the topic of territoriality and the evolution of cohesion policy, and subjected to some modification, it creates an innovative conceptual scheme.

The European Commission's Motivations for the Reterritorialization of Member States and the Causes of 'Misfit'

In the last decade we have witnessed a change of priorities in regional development. Rather than 'balanced spatial development and territorial cohesion' (Lang and Török, 2017, p. 3), the European Commission has been emphasising competitiveness (Deas and Lord, 2006; Fricke, 2017; cf. Krukowska and Lackowska, 2017, p. 282–283; Tewdwr-Jones, 2013) and, in connection with this, support for a broader spectrum of actors including the 'poles of growth'. In the late 1990s, Benz and Eberlein (1999, p. 338 and p. 344) wrote about a 'certain competition for funding', but it would be another decade before the phenomenon was perceived to be more widespread. As Deas and Lord (2006, p. 1848) put it, the ambition of the European Commission was the 'creation of new internationally significant territories of economic dynamism'. One can infer that the aim of these new territories was to compete with (but not push out or eliminate) the old regions, thus increasing the push for quality in the projects that compete for 'European money'. Crucially, the motive of the European Commission is not just to promote 'integrated actions in detached geographical units with similar characteristics within a region' (European Commission, 2014), but, increasingly, to give support for 'functional areas'. In the Europeanization process as described, there is thus a 'misfit' (Börzel and Risse, 2000), consisting in the initiation, promotion and incorporation of new territorial units (for example, agglomerations, but also metropolitan areas and so forth), as new players of regional policy, into the established administrative setting of nation states. There are, of course, numerous instances of metropolitan areas existing long before the emergence of the 'territorial dimension' (for example, Zimmermann and Heinelt, 2012); but in the countries of Central and Eastern Europe in particular this is more a phenomenon of recent years. Overall, it can be noted that from the viewpoint of the European Commission, the primary motivation is to create new, 'effective', functional regions, not to change territoriality (of member states) as such. At the same time, it is true that in such a situation changes of territoriality come pretty much as a matter of course, although this was not necessarily intended by the Commission.

Adaptational Pressure

One notion discussed in the context of new members acceding to the EU in 2004 was 'accession conditionality'. Typically lacking experience with decentralisation, the new member states had to accept the creation of NUTS II regions, which did not correspond to their existing administrative structures (Adams *et al.*, 2013; Bache *et al.*, 2011, p. 131; cf. Bachtler and McMaster, 2008; cf. Baun and Marek, 2017). This step, often taken in a hurry (Yoder, 2007), was a condition of their drawing on EU structural funds

after accession (Keating, 2008), and the new members were given very little chance to adapt the size of the new NUTS II regions to their existing regional structures. The Europeanization of their territorial organization, then, was pretty much inevitable. In the case of the 'territorial dimension' (for the periods 2007–13 and 2014–20), the pressures to adapt were and are rather different. States are not obliged to implement the new types of soft space (for example, integrated territorial investments), but they (and this applies to old member states as well) are indirectly encouraged by the European Commission to do so. It is a form of peer pressure, where, as part of their ongoing learning, the member states are induced by the Commission to recognise the advantages that a change in their approach towards regional development priorities would bring (*cf.* Adams *et al.*, 2013, p. 37–38; for more on this aspect, see section (c) on change agents below). In extreme instances, adaptational pressures can take the form of naming and shaming. For instance, the Commission might highlight improper existing implementation in a member state (see the case of corruption in Czech regions; Havlík and Kuchyňková, 2017; Havlík, 2015), which might also imply an invitation (or a hint of recommendation) to implement future regional policy at a different level. This type of adaptational pressure could be expected in new member states (*cf.* Lysek and Ryšavý, 2018) which receive a substantially higher allocation from structural funds than their old counterparts. However, a substantial number of case and comparative studies show that the new understanding of priorities of regional development also supports the 'growth poles' (for example, Avdikos and Chardas, 2016; Boggero, 2016; Fricke, 2017; Havlík, 2018) and that new regions in old member countries (for example, Germany – see Koschatzky *et al.*, 2017, p. 181–184; Italy – Boggero, 2016, p. 8) are also financially motivated to participate (*cf.* Brunazzo, 2016, p. 31). Thus in recent years of the Europeanization process, what we observe is peer pressure and learning, rather than conditionality. Of course, the effect of all this is that the pace of changes to territorial organization is not equal across member states. While one country implements metropolitan areas (for example, Romania – Lang and Török, 2017; Czechia – Havlík, 2018; Italy – Boggero, 2016), another invests EU funds within the boundaries of its 'old regions' (for example, Slovakia – Havlík, 2018). What the European Commission implements is not a sudden change, but a gradual transition in the understanding of priorities. So far, its pressures are not unavoidable, as shown by the practice of many countries that implement the regional policy within their existing administrative boundaries (*cf.* Krukowska and Lackowska, 2017, p. 278).

Change Agents/Veto Points

A key element in all this is a re-evaluation of the role of nation state as a MLG actor, at least as the implementation of regional policy is concerned. This is not to deny Bachtler and McMaster (2008), who ascribe the crucial coordination role to the national government; but we must not underestimate the key role of the European Commission. Although central governments continue to orchestrate the assigning of influence to subnational actors, their room to manoeuvre is being increasingly restricted as the European Commission specifies or alters regional development priorities and subnational actors become more active and emancipated. We need to be aware that, more than ever before, since 2013 the European Commission has pushed for a different understanding of regional development policy priorities (Zaucha *et al.*, 2014) and, hand-in-hand with this process,

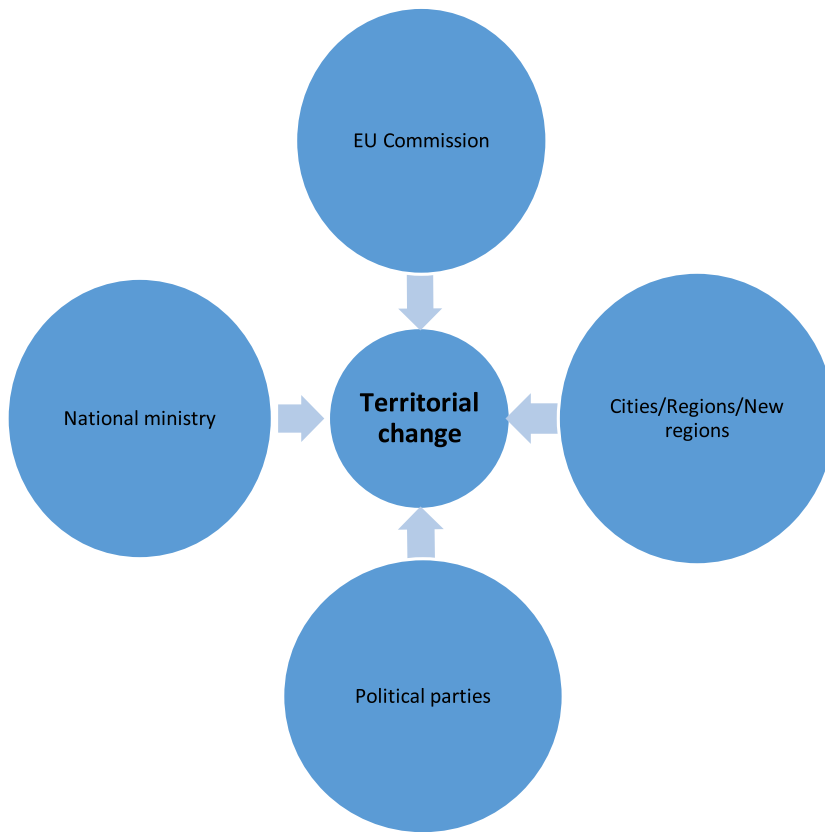
the Commission obtains control over the programming (Mendez, 2013, p. 641) as well as broad authority in the Europeanization process. It is not that the European Commission won more powers at the expense of the nation state in respect of this policy – one of the ‘shared EU policies’. Rather, in the initial setup of the agenda the Commission substantially amended the definition of who should be supported, thus substantially affecting the character of the policy as a whole (*cf.* Stead and Nadin, 2013, p. 157). It would be too limiting to understand the Commission as a mere initiator of change, because in addition to having this legislative function it also plays the role of change agent throughout the Europeanization process. It is the Commission that takes the key position in the ongoing evaluation of member states; it is the Commission that suggests the course of regional policy implementation in individual member states. It is also the Commission that, at the end of the negotiations, does or does not sign the partnership agreement with a state for the next seven-year period. Regions or cities can also be effective change agents, but the weight of their votes is substantially dependent on the national institutional pattern, as well as on the long-term positions which they won (or failed to win) for themselves in the process of regional policy planning. If specific subnational actors have been able to obtain requisite positions and skills in MLG as European integration unfolded, they can become decisive change agents (opinion makers) in the process, and influence the regional policy setups in their countries. It is theoretically possible that, in the context of new regionalism, new regions – as long as they have been created and obtained for themselves the requisite position in their country – could also become change agents, or veto players (see Figure 2).

Politicians are, of course, also change agents involved in the process. As case studies (Baun and Marek, 2017; Havlík and Kuchyňková, 2017) and some theoretical works (Keating, 2017a; *cf.* Keating, 2017b; Van Der Zwet *et al.*, 2014) have shown, under the right circumstances regional development priorities can become a strongly politicized issue that polarises the political spectrum. Whether the national governing party holds a substantial number of elected offices at the regional, as opposed to the local, level may swing the matter decisively, as it may decide whom the central government supports in regional policy planning (Havlík, 2018). The politicizing of regional development thus implicitly determines whether the process of Europeanization will or will not take place. In practice, the creation of type II governance arenas (for example, new metropolitan areas) might be contingent upon there being a political interest in supporting the large cities in a country, or not. The odds of territorial organization becoming politicized is largely dependent on how attractive the structural funds are to central and regional actors. In this respect, one may contrast the relatively consensual setup of, for instance, the integrated approach of Germany’s Baden-Württemberg (a developed region with relatively small allocation, *cf.* Koschatzky *et al.*, 2017, pp. 181–184) with the very turbulent setup of the same in Czechia, where the amount of money distributed is incomparably larger than in the western regions of Europe (though direct connection with the size of the allocation cannot be proven).

Domestic Change

The Europeanization of subnational actors does not necessarily lead only to their structural change or to a change in governance techniques in existing territorial units.

Figure 2: Change agents in Europeanization of territoriality. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]



The possibility that entirely new territorial units will be created must also be considered. It is also true that the process of Europeanization does not necessarily lead to a one-off change of the status quo in the sense that new territorial units (for example, regions) are created overnight. Also, as products of the European integration process, the new regions are characterised by their 'temporal dynamics' (Allmendinger *et al.*, 2014). By its nature, the process of the Europeanization of territoriality will always be unfinished, as it is possible and in fact probable that over the years many new regions will either 'harden' or, by contrast, 'soften' (that is, in practice, perish; Allmendinger *et al.*, 2014). The authors also emphasize a key phenomenon that helps us to understand the process of Europeanization. 'Soft spaces are not only an outcome of political processes, but they can also be employed as a political tool [...] They can be an efficient element in political bargaining of political competences and power.' In this respect (see Figure 1), new regions can be seen as a form of adaptation pressure, the aim of which is to achieve something else – the establishment of the European Commission as the promoter of a new shape of regional development. If we see domestic change as the institutionalisation of new governance arenas, then these are a perfect fit for type II MLG, as described by

Marks and Hooghe (2003). Their relatively short longevity or instability can then be a crucial factor – but does not have to be.

The Implications of Domestic Change for Relations between Actors of Governance

Europeanization outcomes can also create dynamism in the relations between the actors involved, for example, in tensions arising in response to the newly set up relations between the different levels of governance (Havlík, 2018). Strictly speaking, this is not about a physical change of the territory, but about relations between territories. In other words (and as stated above in the introduction), the Europeanization of the territorial organization of member states (a static component of polity) may under certain circumstances change the relations between actors of governance (a dynamic component of politics). The very fact that new regions are established alongside old regions does not imply a tranquil and stable coexistence. Such tension is not necessarily a direct and intended consequence of European Commission policy; rather it is a externality of the Europeanization process. As the ‘territorial dimension’ or ‘place-based approach’ are implemented (Barca, 2009; Nosek, 2017), there are now, empirically speaking, many changes in the relations among domestic actors; ranging from tensions among actors at the regional and subregional levels (for example Boggero, 2016) to entirely tranquil coexistence (Havlík, 2018). A stability, or non-escalation of relations among the actors involved, are not necessarily products solely of the diplomatic efforts of central government or the powers that be in general, but also of the simple fact that in some countries (typically in Western Europe) the new regionalism does not provide a substantial enough stimulus in terms of the size of the funds allocated to prove itself attractive to the actors involved. In CEE states (but not only: see Boggero, 2016), by contrast, the change in the relations among actors of governance is a logical response to the Europeanization of the polity, for the reason described above.

Conclusions and New Research Agendas

The Europeanization of territoriality is a process largely resulting from the development of EU regional policy, but also from the continuously evolving notions of good governance, modified on the go. There is a difference between changes of territorial organization in new and old member states. New member states may act differently and have less experience with the setup of new regions; on the other hand the promise of substantial allocation from the structural funds can prove a stimulus for the substantial Europeanization of their territories. The most recent trends suggest that the European Commission has embarked on a path that might lead towards the Europeanization of territoriality not just in new but also in old member states. The creation of instruments such as integrated territorial investments and community-led local developments suggests that across the EU increasing emphasis is, and will continue to be, placed on the so-called growth poles and integrated development. The Commission’s ambition is to introduce more competitiveness into regional development, simply because too much emphasis on convergence (*cf.* Farole *et al.*, 2011) – in the sense of decreasing the GDP-per-capita gap between regions – and, broadly speaking, the unending support for old regions across EU generally have not proved efficient and ‘policies supporting peripheral and disadvantaged areas

seem to have lost importance' (Lang and Török, 2017, p. 1). Instead, the adaptation of existing regions to globalization seems to require a more differentiated, 'place-based' approach (Bachtler and Begg, 2018). In this context the externalities of the new priorities of planning might prove a problem. The future of the new regions created by this process is not easy to predict. They might become important competitors for old regions and establish themselves permanently on the map of the territorial organization of member states. But they might also prove transitory phenomena, spurred by munificent support from EU structural funds, after the termination of which they might disappear as quickly as they emerged. The persistence of these new regions is a more likely scenario, as suggested by evidence from Western Europe, with metropolitan areas or thematic regions established in some countries (even without EU support) decades ago, that continue to be successful.

This article has attempted to provide a conceptual grounding for a very topical phenomenon: the Europeanization of the territorial organization of EU member states. This is a description of an unfinished process – indeed, in many countries it has not even been started yet – that might develop in various directions. More than anything else, this article is a conceptualization of processes that have occurred over the past decade. In the light of this fact, this article views the Europeanization of territoriality (1) as changes in the spatial organization of member states; and (2) as changes in the relations between actors of governance in consequence of the new territorial setup. This dynamic component of the concept can prove crucial for the future of the Europeanization process, in that the nature of relations between regional and local actors might accelerate or decelerate this process.

Based on new empirical data produced by the developments in the upcoming seven-year programming period 2021–27, the future research agenda should place increased emphasis on the dynamic element in the Europeanization of territoriality. Specifically, future articles ought to aim to describe and explain the evolution of relations between new and old territorial units, or more broadly the evolution of relations among MLG actors, after the establishment of new regions. This should take our knowledge beyond the finding that Europeanization causes territorial change. We should increasingly ask ourselves what these changes mean for governance and for long-term relations among actors.

After several years, an answer to the question of whether the new territorial units are stable actors – whether they persist over time – or whether they perish, will provide another welcome contribution. The trend of the European Commission, aimed at a substantial change in the understanding of regional policy priorities, has a clear direction, but we are unable to estimate its permanence. Future studies should also address the question of the identities (*cf.* Capello, 2018) of those new regions that emerged in the most recent wave of regionalization, namely the territorial dimension of regional policy (especially in the period 2014–20) as described in this article.

Given the planning cycles of EU cohesion policy, the next chance to update research will occur in two or three years. By that time we will know the general setup of the policy for the next seven-year period, and more importantly how this setup will have been reflected in the specific negotiations at regional and local levels and in the setup of specific (operational) programmes. That point in time will also provide welcome space for new research proposals. These might be theoretical works moving forward the discussion about the Europeanization of territoriality or of substate governance. A change in the paradigm of governance may entail externalities that existing knowledge could not consider.

Funding Information

This work was supported by the Grant Agency of Masaryk University: [Grant Number MUNI/A/0834/2017].

Correspondence:

Vratislav Havlík
Masaryk University, Faculty of Social Studies
Dep. of International Relations and European Studies
Joštova 10, 60200 Brno
Czech Republic
email: vhavlik@fss.muni.cz

References

- Adams, N., Cotella, G. and Nunes, R. (2013) 'Territorial Knowledge Channels in a Multi-jurisdictional Policy Environment. A Theoretical Framework'. In Adams, N., Cotella, G. and Nunes, R. (eds) *Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning* (New York: Routledge), pp. 26–55.
- Agnew, J. (1994) 'The Territorial Trap: The Geographical Assumptions of International Relations Theory'. *Review of International Political Economy*, Vol. 1, No. 1, pp. 53–80.
- Agnew, J. (2015) 'Revisiting the Territorial Trap'. *Nordia Geographical Publications*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 43–8.
- Allmendinger, P., Chilla, T. and Sielker, F. (2014) 'Europeanizing Territoriality – Towards Soft Spaces?'. *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 46, No. 11, pp. 2703–17.
- Avdikos, V. and Chardas, A. (2016) 'European Union Cohesion Policy post-2014: More (Place-Based and Conditional) Growth – Less Redistribution and Cohesion'. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, Vol. 4, No. 1, pp. 97–117.
- Axford, B. (2006) 'The Dialectic of Borders and Networks in Europe: Reviewing "Topological Presuppositions"'. *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 2–3, pp. 160–82.
- Bache, I., Andreou, G., Atanasova, G. and Tomsic, D. (2011) 'Europeanization and Multi-level Governance in South-East Europe: The Domestic Impact of EU Cohesion Policy and Pre-accession Aid'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 122–41.
- Bachtler, J. and Begg, I. (2018) 'Beyond Brexit: Reshaping Policies for Regional Development in Europe'. *Papers in Regional Science*, Vol. 97, No. 1, pp. 151–70.
- Bachtler, J. and McMaster, I. (2008) 'EU Cohesion Policy and the Role of the Regions: Investigating the Influence of the Structural Funds in the New Member States'. *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, Vol. 26, No. 2, pp. 398–427.
- Barca, F. (2009) *Agenda for a Reformed Cohesion Policy* (European Commission).
- Baun, M. and Marek, D. (2017) 'The Limits of Regionalization: The Intergovernmental Struggle over EU Cohesion Policy in the Czech Republic'. *East European Politics and Societies and Cultures*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 863–84.
- Beach, D. and Pedersen, R.B. (2013) *Process-Tracing Methods. Foundations and Guidelines* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press).
- Begg, I. (2010) 'Cohesion or Confusion: A Policy Searching for Objectives'. *Journal of European Integration*, Vol. 32, No. 1, pp. 77–96.
- Benz, A. and Eberlein, B. (1999) 'The Europeanization of Regional Policies: Patterns of Multi-level Governance'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 329–48.
- Boggero, G. (2016) 'The Establishment of Metropolitan Cities in Italy: An Advance or a Setback for Italian Regionalism?'. *Perspectives on Federalism*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 1–22.

- Börzel, T. and Risse, T. (2000) 'When Europe Hits Home: Europeanization and Domestic Change'. *European Integration Online Papers*, Vol. 4, No. 15.
- Brenner, N. (1999) 'Beyond State-Centrism? Space, Territoriality, and Geographical Scale in Globalization Studies'. *Theory and Society*, Vol. 28, No. 1, pp. 39–78.
- Brenner, N. (2009) 'Open Questions on State Rescaling'. *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economy and Society*, Vol. 2, pp. 123–39.
- Brenner, N. and Schmid, C. (2014) 'The "Urban Age" in Question'. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 38, No. 3, pp. 731–55.
- Brenner, N. and Schmid, C. (2015) 'Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban?' *City*, Vol. 19, No. 2–3, pp. 151–82.
- Brunazzo, M. (2016) 'The History and Evolution of Cohesion Policy'. In Piattoni, S. and Polverari, R. (eds) *Handbook on Cohesion Policy in the EU* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing), pp. 17–35.
- Capello, R. (2018) 'Cohesion Policies and the Creation of a European identity: The Role of Territorial Identity'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 56, No. 3, pp. 489–503.
- Capello, R., Caragliu, A. and Fratesi, U. (2015) 'Spatial Heterogeneity in the Costs of the Economic Crisis in Europe: Are Cities Sources of Regional Resilience?' *Journal of Economic Geography*, Vol. 15, No. 5, pp. 951–72.
- Clark, J. and Jones, A. (2008) 'The Spatialities of Europeanization: Territory, Government and Power in 'Europe''. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 300–18.
- Cotella, G., Othengrafen, F., Papaioannou, A. and Tulumello, S. (2015) 'Socio-political and Socio-spatial Implications of the Economic Crisis and Austerity Politics in Southern European Cities'. In Knieling, J. and Othengrafen, F. (eds) *Cities in Crisis: Socio-spatial Impacts of the Economic Crisis in Southern European Cities* (New York: Routledge), pp. 27–46.
- Crivello, S. and Staricco, L. (2017) 'Institutionalizing Metropolitan Cities in Italy. Success and Limits of a Centralistic, Simplifying Approach'. *Urban Research & Practice*, Vol. 10, No. 2, pp. 228–338.
- Deas, I. and Ward, K.G. (2000) 'From the New Localism to the New Regionalism? The Implications of Regional Development Agencies for City–Regional Relations'. *Political Geography*, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 273–92.
- Deas, L. and Lord, A. (2006) 'From a New Regionalism to an Unusual Regionalism? The Emergence of Non-standard Regional Spaces and Lessons for the Territorial Reorganization of the State'. *Urban Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 10, pp. 1847–77.
- Doucet, P. (2006) 'Territorial Cohesion of Tomorrow: A Path to Cooperation or Competition?' *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 10, pp. 1473–85.
- Dühr, S., Stead, D. and Zonneveld, W. (2007) 'The Europeanization of Spatial Planning through Territorial Cooperation'. *Planning Practice and Research*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 291–307.
- Elden, S. (2010) 'Land, Terrain, Territory'. *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 34, No. 6, pp. 799–817.
- European Commission (2014) 'Integrated Territorial Investment'. Available online at https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/informat/2014/iti_en.pdf. Last accessed: October 2018.
- Faludi, A. (2009) 'A Turning Point in the Development of European Spatial Planning? The "Territorial Agenda of the European Union" and the "First Action Programme"'. *Progress in Planning*, Vol. 71, No. 1, pp. 1–42.
- Faludi, A. (2016) 'The Territoriality of Cohesion Policy'. In Piattoni, S. and Polverari, R. (eds) *Handbook on Cohesion Policy in the EU* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing), pp. 491–505.

- Farole, T., Rodríguez-Pose, A. and Storper, M. (2011) 'Cohesion Policy in the European Union: Growth, Geography, Institutions'. *Journal of Common Market Studies*, Vol. 49, No. 5, pp. 1089–111.
- Fricke, C. (2017) 'Metropolitan Regions as a Changing Policy Concept in a Comparative Perspective'. *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, Vol. 75, No. 3, pp. 291–305.
- Grumo, R. and Bellino, L. (2015) 'Regional Disparities and Social Cohesion Policies. The Case of the Metropolitan Area of Bari (Italy)'. *Romanian Review of Regional Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1, pp. 35–48.
- Gualini, E. (2006) 'The Rescaling of Governance in Europe: New spatial and Institutional Rationales'. *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 14, No. 7, pp. 881–904.
- Gualini, E. (2016) 'Multilevel Governance and Multiscalar Forms of Territorialization'. In Piattoni, S. and Polverari, R. (eds) *Handbook on Cohesion Policy in the EU* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing), pp. 506–23.
- Havlík, V. (2015) 'The EU Regional Policy in the Czech Republic and its impact on European identification of Czech citizens'. In Tudela, J. and Kölling, M. (eds) *EU Regional Policy and the Identification with Europe* (Zaragoza: Revista Cuadernos Manuel Giménez Abad), pp. 15–23.
- Havlík, V. (2018) 'Competing Discourses of Territorial Development: Tensions between Cities and Regions as a Result of the New Regionalism'. *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 26, No. 10, pp. 1999–2014.
- Havlík, V. and Kuchyňková, P. (2017) 'Cities and Regions in Competition? Negotiations for the 2014–2020 Programming Period in the Czech Republic'. *Transylvanian Review of Administrative Sciences*, Vol. 13, No. 50, pp. 90–109.
- Jensen, O.B. and Richardson, T. (2004) *Making European Space. Mobility, Power and Territorial Identity* (London: Routledge).
- Keating, M. (1998) *The New Regionalism in Western Europe: Territorial Restructuring and Political Change* (Cheltenham: E. Elgar).
- Keating, M. (2008) 'Thirty Years of Territorial Politics'. *West European Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 1–2, pp. 60–81.
- Keating, M. (2009) 'Rescaling Europe'. *Perspectives on European Politics and Society*, Vol. 10, No. 1, pp. 34–50.
- Keating, M. (2017a) 'Contesting European Regions'. *Regional Studies*, Vol. 51, No. 1, pp. 9–18.
- Keating, M. (2017b) 'Europe as a Multilevel Federation'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 24, No. 4, pp. 615–32.
- Koschatzky, K., Kroll, H., Schnabl, E. and Stahlecker, E. (2017) 'Cluster policy adjustments in the context of smart specialization? Impressions from Germany'. In Fornahl, D. and Hassink, R. (eds) *The Life Cycle of Clusters. A Policy Perspective* (Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing), pp. 173–200.
- Krukowska, J. and Lackowska, M. (2017) 'Metropolitan Colours of Europeanization. Institutionalization of Integrated Territorial Investment Structures in the Context of Past Cooperation in Metropolitan Regions'. *Raumforschung und Raumordnung – Spatial Research and Planning*, Vol. 75, No. 3, pp. 275–89.
- Lang, T. and Török, I. (2017) 'Metropolitan Region Policies in the European Union: Following National, European and Neoliberal Agendas?' *International Planning Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 1–13.
- Luukkonen, J. (2015) 'Planning in Europe for "EU"rope: Spatial planning as a political technology of territory'. *Planning Theory*, Vol. 14, No. 2, pp. 174–94.
- Luukkonen, J. (2017) 'A Practice Theoretical Perspective on the Europeanization of Spatial Planning'. *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 259–77.
- Luukkonen, J. and Moilanen, H. (2012) 'Territoriality in the Strategies and Practices of the Territorial Cohesion Policy of the European Union: Territorial Challenges in Implementing "Soft Planning"'. *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 20, No. 3, pp. 481–500.

- Lysek, J. and Ryšavý, D. (2018) 'Empowering through Regional Funds? The Impact of Europe on Subnational Governance in the Czech Republic'. *Regional and Federal Studies*, online first, pp. 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2018.1500906>.
- Marks, G. and Hooghe, L. (2003) 'Unraveling the Central State, but How? Types of Multi-level Governance'. *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 97, No. 2, pp. 233–43.
- Marshall, A. (2005) 'Europeanization at the Urban Level: Local Actors, Institutions and the Dynamics of Multi-level Interaction'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 668–86.
- Medeiros, E. (2016) 'Territorial Cohesion: An EU Concept'. *European Journal of Spatial Development*, Vol. 60, pp. 1–30.
- Mendez, C. (2013) 'The Post-2013 Reform of EU Cohesion Policy and the Place-Based Narrative'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 5, pp. 639–59.
- Murphy, A.B. (2008) 'Rethinking Multi-level Governance in a Changing European Union: Why Metageography and Territoriality Matter'. *GeoJournal*, Vol. 72, No. 1–2, pp. 7–18.
- Murphy, A.B. (2013) 'Territory's Continuing Allure'. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 103, No. 5, pp. 1212–26.
- Nosek, Š. (2017) 'Territorial Cohesion Storylines in 2014–2020 Cohesion Policy'. *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 25, No. 12, pp. 2157–74.
- Paasi, A. (2009) 'The Resurgence of the "Region" and "Regional Identity": Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Observations on Regional Dynamics in Europe'. *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 35, No. S1, pp. 121–46.
- Risse, T., Cowles, M. G. and Caporaso, J. (2001) Europeanization and domestic change: Introduction. In M.G. Cowles, J. Caporaso and T. Risse (eds) *Transforming Europe: Europeanization and domestic change* Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1–20.
- Rumford, C. (2006) 'Rethinking European Spaces: Territory, Borders, Governance'. *Comparative European Politics*, Vol. 4, No. 2–3, pp. 127–40.
- Stead, D. (2014) 'The Rise of Territorial Governance in European Policy'. *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 7, pp. 1368–83.
- Stead, D. and Nadin, V. (2013) 'Shifts in Territorial Governance and the Europeanization of Spatial Planning in Central and Eastern Europe'. In Adams, N., Cotella, G. and Nunes, R. (eds) *Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning* (New York: Routledge), pp. 154–77.
- Stephenson, P. (2013) 'Twenty Years of Multi-level Governance: "Where Does it Come From? What is it? Where is it Going?"'. *Journal of European Public Policy*, Vol. 20, No. 6, pp. 817–37.
- Sykes, O. and Shaw, D. (2008) 'Investigating Territorial Positioning by Sub-state Territories in Europe'. *Regional & Federal Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 55–76.
- Tewdwr-Jones, M. (2013) 'Cohesion and Competitiveness. The Evolving Context for European Territorial Development'. In Adams, N., Cotella, G. and Nunes, R. (eds) *Territorial Development, Cohesion and Spatial Planning* (New York: Routledge), pp. 69–83.
- Van Der Zwet, A., Miller, S. and Gross, F. (2014) 'A First Stock Take: Integrated Territorial Approaches in Cohesion Policy 2014–20'. European Policies Research Centre, University of Strathclyde.
- Wheeler, S.M. (2002) 'The new Regionalism: Key Characteristics of an Emerging Movement'. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, Vol. 68, No. 3, pp. 267–78.
- Yoder, J.A. (2007) 'Leading the Way to Regionalization in Post-Communist Europe: An Examination of the Process and Outcomes of Regional Reform in Poland'. *East European Politics and Societies*, Vol. 21, No. 3, pp. 424–46.
- Zaucha, J., Komornicki, T., Böhme, K., Świątek, D. and Zuber, P. (2014) 'Territorial Keys for Bringing Closer the Territorial Agenda of the EU and Europe 2020'. *European Planning Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 246–67.

- Ziafati Bafarasat, A. (2016) 'Exploring New Systems of Regionalism: An English Case Study'. *Cities*, Vol. 50, pp. 119–28.
- Zimmermann, K. and Heinelt, H. (2012) *Metropolitan Governance in Deutschland. Regieren in Ballungsräumen und neue Formen politischer Steuerung* (Wiesbaden: Springer).