

СУСПІЛЬНО-ГЕОГРАФІЧНІ ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯ

Від редакції

У період з 14 по 16 жовтня 2015 року в м. Варшава, Польща відбувся VII Варшавський регіональний форум. На цей науковий захід кожні два роки збираються науковці з країн Центральної, Східної та Західної Європи, які займаються розробкою проблематики просторового розвитку. Цей форум дає можливість ознайомитися з найновішими розробками сучасної світової географії. До 2015 р. було проведено 6 форумів, присвячених такій проблематиці:

- *Центральна та Східна Європа: зміна просторових структур людської діяльності (2004);*
- *Центри і периферійні регіони у Центральній та Східній Європі (2005);*
- *Сучасні дилеми сучасного просторового розвитку в Європі (2007);*
- *Мережі в європейському регіональному та локальному просторі (2009);*
- *Функціональні регіони – до нової парадигми політики територіальної єдності (2011);*
- *Територіальний капітал – концепції, індикатори та політика (2013).*

Доповіді та дискусії цього разу були сконцентровані на проблемі, сформульованій як «Територіальна невизначеність і вразливість як виклик для міської та регіональної політики».

Наукову частину форуму відкрила цікава доповідь Кая Бьоме, в якій він виклав свої думки щодо бачення майбутнього розвитку Європи.

Кай Бьоме є відомим в ЄС і поза його межами фахівцем з просторового розвитку та прогнозування, має значний досвід міжнародних порівняльних досліджень в області політики регіонального розвитку та просторового планування. Він працював у наукових установах Швеції, Люксембурга, Німеччини, викладав результати своїх розробок в університетах Люксембурга та Великобританії, є членом Німецької академії просторових досліджень і планування (ARL).

На прохання української делегації Кай Бьоме разом із колегою Крістіаном Люером люб'язно погодилися підготувати на основі матеріалів доповіді статтю для Українського географічного журналу, яку і пропонуємо до уваги читачів журналу.

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EUROPE'S TERRITORIAL FUTURES: BETWEEN DAYDREAMS AND NIGHTMARES*

Europe is changing. Grand societal challenges which shape Europe's development have a considerable influence on our governance systems and the possible development paths of different parts of Europe, its regions and cities. Based on the results of a FP7 research project this article discusses possible governance and territorial futures for Europe – constantly balancing between daydreams and nightmares. At the end this article there is a plea for a shared territorial vision for Europe.

Keywords: forward looking analysis; territorial governance in the EU; territorial vision; territorial diversity; vision process.

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ТЕРИТОРІАЛЬНЕ МАЙБУТНЄ ЄВРОПИ: МІЖ МРІЯМИ ТА СТРАХІТТЯМИ

Європа змінюється. Величезні суспільні виклики, що зумовлюють європейський розвиток, мають значний вплив на системи управління та можливі траєкторії розвитку різних частин Європи, її регіонів та міст. У цій статті, підготовленій на основі результатів дослідницького проекту, що здійснювався в рамках Сьомої Рамкової програми ЄС, розглядаються можливі майбутні сценарії в площині управління та розвитку територій в Європі – у пошуках балансу між мріями та страхіттями. Наприкінці статті обґрунтовано необхідність формування спільного для Європи територіального бачення.

Ключові слова: аналіз очікувань; територіальне управління в ЄС; територіальне бачення; територіальне різноманіття; процес бачення.

* This article is based on the work conducted for the project Forward Looking Analysis of Grand Societal Challenges and Innovative Policies (FLAGSHIP), which received funding from the European Union through the 7th Framework Programme (FP7). The project was carried out from January 2013 to December 2015 by a consortium led by the Istituto di Studi per l'Integrazione dei Sistemi (ISIS-IT, Rome, Italy). Spatial Foresight led a work package on territorial governance.

Introduction: What shapes Europe's future?

Europe is often referred to as "The old continent" given its demographic profile and declining economic role in the global context. Europe, however, has changed substantially both in terms of governance and territorial development during the past decades and is expected to continue to change during the next decades. In other words, Europe is not too old to change and reinvent itself.

Discussions of possible territorial futures for Europe show that they easily turn into day dreaming while forgetting about increasing regional disparities which future developments are likely to bring, and thus missing the chance to discuss the actions needed to deal with them. Alternatively, discussions about the future easily become dystopian fantasies, often as a result of uncoordinated actions which have no common ground or vision to stand on.

Major changes have usually been the result of decisions made by such players as policy and decision-makers in Europe, as well as exogenous factors such as global decisions or global challenges. There is a close relationship between internal decisions and externalities. Players at different geographical levels (from global to local) make independent decisions, many of which shape Europe's future development. At the same time externalities, such as climate change or changing migration patterns, affect the future development and thus require (re)actions and political responses at different administrative levels.

Besides the vertical structure of decision-making systems, there is also the horizontal one which needs to be considered when referring to a wide variety of sector policies and financial resources. Cooperation and relations between different players who operate in different sectors (at multiple levels) imply a need for both the horizontal coordination between different sectors and the vertical coordination between different levels. This also includes the involvement of public and private stakeholders representing different interests and the participation of civil society (Böhme et al., 2015b; European Commission, 2015).

Moreover, the territorial characteristics, ranging from societal to economic and environmental characteristics, are unevenly distributed across Europe. Hence, the impact of external challenges varies between different regions and cities and depends on the specific **territorial context**: policies addressing climate change differ between coastal and mountainous regions; decision-makers in a metropolitan area with a strong RDTI profile have a different perception of globalisation from their colleagues in an export-oriented region that depends on the manufacturing sector. This leads to individual sets of sensitivities which need to be taken into consideration during policy making and implementation. To have an objective discussion about the Europe's future it is therefore necessary to better understand Europe's territorial diversity (ESPON, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c).

The decisions made at different levels, in different sectors and territorial settings are influenced by **externalities** such as existing and new challenges, to which policy formulation and implementation as well as decision-making processes in Europe continuously have to be adjusted. Exogenous factors are, i.a. decisions made at the global level or outside the European Union but also grand societal challenges.

Global decisions and decisions made outside Europe comprise various developments, which range from (geo)political conflicts, e.g. the current inflow of asylum seekers and refugees, to political decisions such as the recent global agreement (COP21) on binding targets to mitigate climate change.

Finally, **grand societal challenges** include a wide range of different trends that will affect the future development of European cities and regions. Most prominently, climate change, demographic change, globalisation and the financial crisis can be mentioned, but also information and communication technologies (ICT), new emerging sciences, energy supply and an increasing structural gap between Northern and Southern Europe are trends that shape Europe and pave the ground for its future development path. Figure 1 below provides an overview of 4 thematic fields (plus governance) and 29 trends (plus 7 governance-related trends), of which 10 trends were identified as being of particular importance. In the table below these ten trends are shortly introduced.

The FLAGSHIP project

This article is based on the work conducted for the EU research project Forward Looking Analysis of Grand Societal challenges and Innovative Policies (FLAGSHIP) funded under the 7th Framework Programme (FP7).

In the FLAGSHIP project, for which the work presented in this article was done, two visions were developed presenting two different pictures of Europe in 2050.

The **Perseverance** vision is a business-as-usual vision. In this vision policy-making will not underlie clear changes. Instead global growth will persist as the main paradigm. Despite its conservative character that will not imply any radical changes, the Perseverance vision assumes that various ambitious targets as defined in the Europe 2020 Strategy (European Commission, 2010) for smart, inclusive and sustainable growth or by sector policies such as the completion of the trans-European transport network (TEN-T), for example, will be achieved by 2050.

The **Metamorphosis** vision, on the other hand, is characterised by two main paradigm changes: First, a circular economy will be in place. This implies a revolution in the production and consumption system.

Energy and Environment	Climate Change	There is different vulnerability across regions, implying different territorial impact and sensitivity. This is to be understood as physical, social, economic, environmental and cultural. There is an increasing pressure for sectorial adaptation in certain regions. (European Commission, 2013; Schmidt-Thomé and Greiving, 2008)
	Challenges in energy supply	Challenges are two-sided; scarcity of conventional energy sources and increasing demand. This could potentially lead to a shortage of energy and potential conflicts. Furthermore, there is a desire of less greenhouse emissions due to climate change and more interdependencies in energy supply, e.g. smart grids. (Byles, 2013; EnAlgae, 2013)
Knowledge and Technology	ICT Changing Society	ICT has already changed our society, but the potential seems not to be fully unfolded. Traditional thinking on ICT solely aims at better communication, but should be replaced by a more dynamic and broader understanding. (ESPON, 2013a; De Prato and Nepelski, 2014)
	Green Technology and Growth	Green Technology is often linked with the goals of sustainability and aims at ensuring economic growth without destroying the nature. For Europe it can constitute a new market of exporting know-how. Innovation should focus on environmental friendly production and consumption. (ESPON, 2013b; Zillmer et al., 2014)
Goods and Services	Rising Unemployment	Differences in capacities on the labour market have been made clear by the economic crisis. Unemployment in some regions is even more striking due to youth unemployment. A shortage in labour force on the other hand might also be expected due to ageing in some countries. (ESPON, 2014a, 2014d)
	Financial Crisis	Increasing regional disparities, depending on initial structural conditions and associated vulnerabilities e.g. manufacturing focus, real estate and construction, financial sector, household incomes, or increasing government deficits. (ESPON, 2014b, 2014d)
	Regional Economic Structural Gap (before: North-South Structural Gap)	A remaining (and increasing) structural gap between European regions, characterised by, on the one hand technology-oriented Europe versus on the other a de-industrialising Europe. This is reflected in the salaries and general economic performance. (Böhme et al., 2015a; Lüer et al., 2014)
	Local Economies	A seeding focus on more local based economic systems is foreseen. Movements focus on small-scale enterprises that serve smaller geographic areas and try to create an alternative to a neo-liberal economy. (Midtkandal and Sörvik, 2012; Stuesson et al., 2012; Zaucha et al., 2013)
People	Migration and Ageing	The ageing population is a societal challenge in Europe, which is already high on the political agenda. The differentiated territorial impact of this is clear, as some territories are less impacted than others, due to both different natural population dynamics and migration patterns. (Böhme et al., 2015a; European Parliament, 2013)
	Transforming Lifestyles	As lifestyles are transforming, territorial dynamics change as well. For example, rural-urban dynamics, transportation systems, living conditions and working life. New technologies are seen as drivers for this transformation. Furthermore, family life is in transformation and a wider variety of family forms is emerging. (Bernau, 2014)

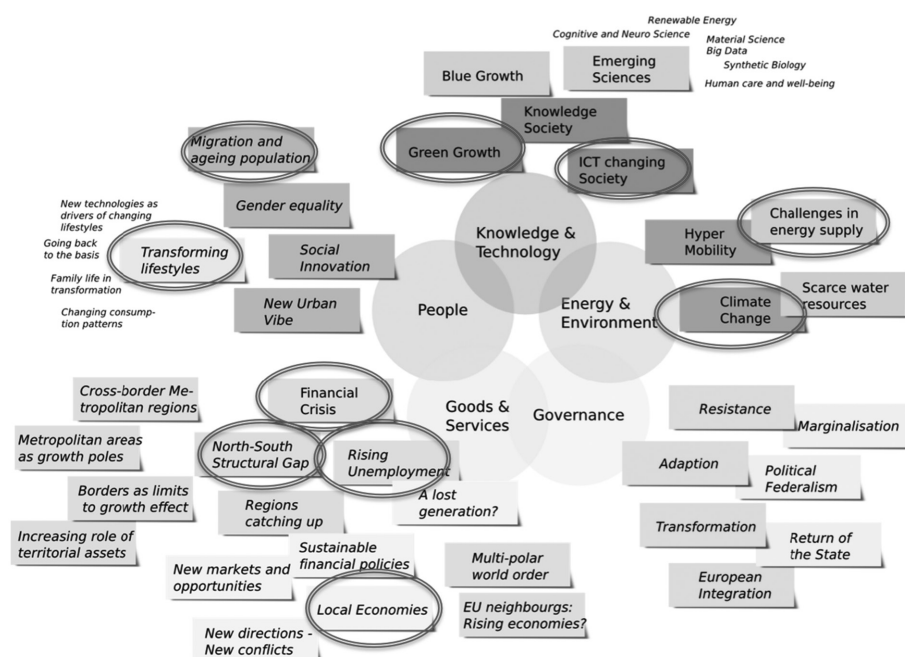


Figure 1: Overview of trends and selection of ten most relevant trends

Source: Spatial Foresight for FP7 project FLAGSHIP 2015

Second, equality, democracy, and participation will be the main guiding principles for all policies and claimed actively by the population. These paradigm changes will lead to new dynamics and development in all sectors but also affect decision-making and policy-making processes.

In a next step, the abovementioned trends as well as the current governance system were confronted with key characteristics of the two visions. This led to impact projections that are presented in the following chapters and illustrate how the European territory and governance system in Europe may look like in 2050 under the respective assumptions of the Perseverance and Metamorphosis visions. First the governance dimension will be explored illustrating different governance systems and arrangements for 2050. Afterwards, the territorial dimension will be presented for two thematic fields – Knowledge and Technology, Economic Integration – illustrating different final territorial pictures in these fields in 2050. For both dimensions (cartographic) illustrations are included, which are supposed to function as eye-openers by illustrating the main underlying principles and focusing on key aspects with a strong territorial dimension. These illustrations shall stimulate and enrich discussions.

Governance dimension

The FP7 FLAGSHIP project concentrated mainly on governance arrangements in the context of the European Union. However, the changes discussed are actually not necessarily limited to the European Union and may also comprise other European countries, regions and cities.

Europe on its path towards Perseverance: From Government to Management

Although the Perseverance is a conservative, i.e. business-as-usual, vision, significant dynamics in governance arrangements will result from progress in different sector policies and have implications for governance arrangements. Some key characteristics of the future (territorial) governance system are the following:

Territorial governance patterns will be characterised by multilevel governance and subsidiarity. The subsidiarity principle ensures that different remits are assigned to specific administrative and territorial levels, whereas multilevel governance focuses on linkages and the interaction between the different levels

(Böhme et al., 2015b; European Commission, 2015; Faludi, 2012).

Due to the dominance of governmental players, multilevel governance in the Perseverance Vision can also be described as multilevel *government*. The formulation and implementation of policies will still be sector-oriented and decision-making and policy interventions will refer to politico-administrative jurisdictions instead of functional territories. This impedes a specific and integrated focus on territorial matters and development.

It furthermore implies that policy will not become pro-active with a focus on long-term strategic approaches but instead remain re-active and be responsive to urgent and short-term challenges and develop and implement ad-hoc solutions. Due to the lack of long-term thinking, preliminary consortia and alliances will be established for as long as it is necessary to work together on the specific ad-hoc solution.

Besides these general rationales, the relevance of players from different territorial and administrative levels involved in formulating and implementing policies, will change. Shifts in power will be characterised by centralisation – i.e. moving decision making power to supra-national players – and decentralisation processes – i.e. moving decision making power to lower regional or local players. Given the focus of the study on the EU, this implies on the one hand that on-going European integration will entail more supranational coordination and harmonisation, i.e. competences will be transferred from the national to the EU level, especially to the European Parliament as the main legislative and budgetary body and the

European Commission as the main executive power. However, these tendencies can also be understood more generally and translated into the other supranational contexts and players.

On the other hand, competences will also be transferred to the local and regional level. Due to lack of resources on the national level and increasing need for more flexible and place-based arrangements, e.g. in the field of services of general interest, national authorities will continuously withdraw from ever increasing number of tasks. Regions and municipalities will furthermore seek to develop and implement region-specific approaches and this way become more autonomous.

Both centralisation and decentralisation process will lead to a decline in power of national governments. Although they will still have the right to define alternative policies or deviate from European policies and thus remain important players, their overall position will be weaker than today and, consequently, also the influence of the European Council will decrease, whereas the influence of the European Committee of the Regions as representative of municipalities and regions will increase (see figure 2).

Europe on its path towards Metamorphosis: From Places to Flows

The Metamorphosis Vision is characterised by paradigm changes which will also have implications for governance arrangements, policy approaches and cooperation between different players and levels. Some key characteristics of the future (territorial) governance system are the following:

First of all, the main rationale of the Metamorphosis Vision is a drastic change of values and behaviours aiming for a possible strategic fit between policies and sustainable development. This sustainability turn will lead to the shift from ad-hoc solutions to holistic and systemic approaches. The territorial dimension of different challenges will be taken into consideration for the formulation and implementation of policy approaches.

Decision-making processes will also change with regard to the involvement of different players. New approaches will be tested and new governance players will be involved, which will consequently lead to new structures of co-decision-making. The relevance of

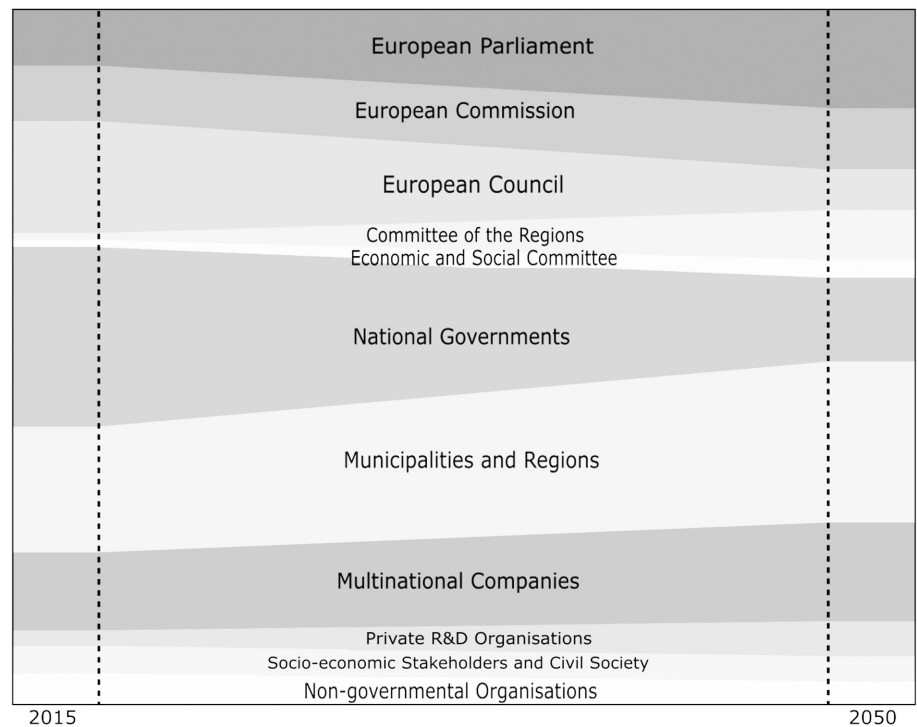


Figure 2: Shifts in power for selected players (Perseverance Vision)

Source: Spatial Foresight for FP7 project FLAGSHIP 2015

governmental players for decision-making will decline and, in the long run, their ‘shadow’ will only be visible for formal and legal reasons.

Functional coalitions with a strategic, pro-active and long-term orientation will result from new governance approaches and from the involvement of new players. Depending on the specific context and challenge, a variety of stakeholders from different scales will be involved which will lead to more flexible geometries of governance and thus also the clear delineation of single levels will be replaced with more fuzzy, partially overlapping approaches on flexible scales. This will strengthen the territorial dimension of decision-making and policy implementation.

These changes in governance arrangements and rationales will have significant implications for the role of different players. The abovementioned hybrid understanding of space will not fit with the concept of nation states as independent entities separated by linear borders. Consequently, especially the importance of the national level will decline (see figure 3). In general, the influence of public authorities will decline as the entire system of public authorities is based on the idea of entities separated by linear borders.

Other players with strong local and regional roots will occur and form place-based coalitions. Especially in the early phase of this process a constant change of governance structures and processes will occur and governance will become more fluid because different players can obtain different roles in different contexts. This will lead to different forms of local and regional self-organisation or even self-governance. On

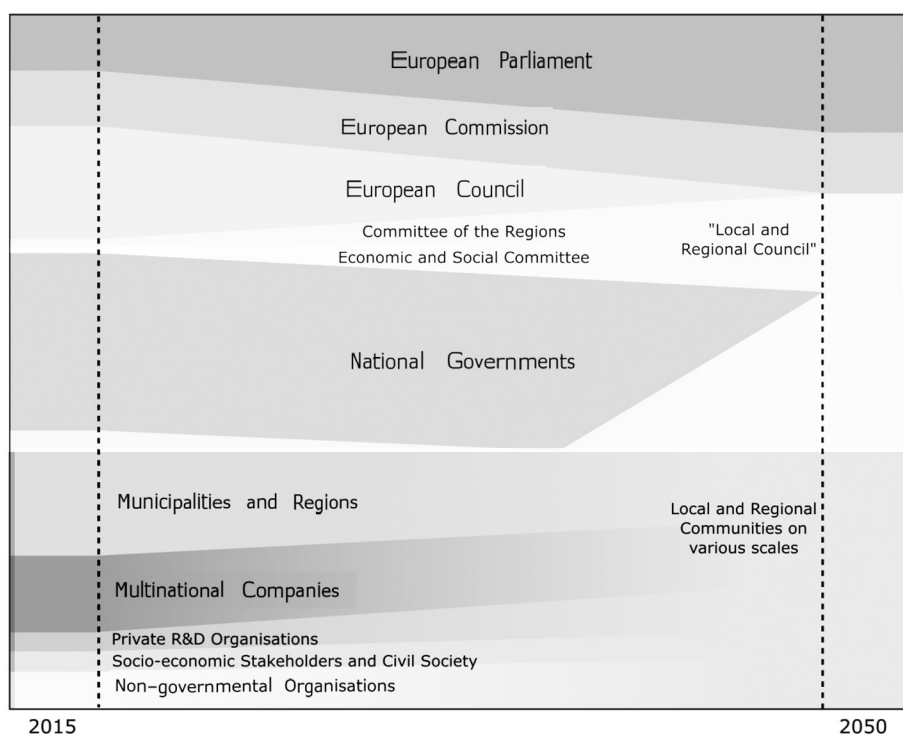


Figure 3: Shifts in power for selected players (Metamorphosis Vision)

Source: Spatial Foresight for FP7 project FLAGSHIP 2015

European level, these players will be represented by the newly established Local and Regional Council, which will replace the European Council and receive support from the European Commission. The European citizens will be represented in the European Parliament.

Within a system of overlapping and various fuzzy governance arrangements, cooperation between different local and regional communities will be essential as responsibilities will not always be clearly allocated to one specific player, community or coalition. More close cooperation will then lead to deeper integration at various scales, which can range from (sub-) local scales to macro-regional or transnational scales and mainly depends on the specific context and dimension of a challenge.

Territorial dimension of Europe's futures

Moving from the governance dimension to the question of different territorial impacts of the two visions, the project has focused on a series of different topics. In below we will only briefly discuss two of them, i.e. (1) knowledge and technology and (2) goods and services / economic integration.

The project aimed at territorialising the impacts of the two visions for these topics, to see what they will imply for different types of territories and different parts of Europe. This was largely done by merging approaches of territorial foresight and territorial impact assessment. The territorial impact assessment approach used for the one developed by ESPON ARTS (ESPON, 2012).

For each thematic field, an analysis of the status quo of the European territory was conducted. Based on this, a future picture was developed on the assumptions of the Perseverance and Metamorphosis Visions. In the next step, a number of sector policies were identified as (the) most relevant for the future development in this field. In total, seven working steps with several feedback were taken to develop the understanding of how territorial patterns may change and how the territory may look like in 2050, ranging from desk research and literature review to brainstorming sessions and internal workshops to seven regional case studies and meetings of work package partners.

As part of the abovementioned drafting process of the territorial future, for each thematic field

two illustrative maps were developed to display the territorial dimension of this field under the assumptions of the Perseverance and Metamorphosis Visions. The purpose of these maps is threefold: (1) They illustrate the general underlying principle and help to understand the basic idea of the territorial dimension. (2) They display key aspects with a strong territorial dimension and highlight differences between the territorial dimensions of the two visions. (3) They stimulate and enrich discussions, i.e. function as eye-openers: a picture is worth a thousand words.

Applying this approach a strong emphasis was put on understanding possible future developments both in words and maps. These are not meant as accurate pictures of the future but rather as eye-opener showing possible territorial diversities that future might bring. Contrasting the results for the two different visions provides insights on the range of possible territorial implications.

The territorial dimension of Knowledge and Technology

Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) will play an important role in social and economic development in the Perseverance Vision. The Internet of Things and Everything and a data-driven economy will be key elements in the Perseverance Vision and paramount for all sectors related to society and economy. As the use of ICT mainly depends on the access to ICT, it will depend on the quality of access to high-speed networks. Given the current policies, it can be expected, however, that the access to ICT will

be distributed unevenly across Europe. Access to the best and most recent technologies will hence be restricted to the main European metropolises, which will entail comparative advantages for those regions and lead to an increasing gap between urban and rural, peripheral and sparsely populated regions. This will lead to an even stronger position for urban poles and allow them to further develop their role as the growth engines (see figure 4). Only in the regions with high density of urban areas, the potential for synergies and integration between metropolitan areas and their surroundings will be developed. Other rural regions will mainly be detached from new technological developments.

These changes will significantly affect education and science and, consequently, Research, Technology, Development and Innovation (RTDI). The quality and structures of education and training will differ between urban and rural areas and the most important research institutions and organisation will concentrate in the main urban agglomerations that provide best access to ICT. Synergies and spill-over effects will, however, be restricted to areas with a high proximity of agglomerations.

As advanced ICT access generally leads to better results in educational and academic achievements, the demand for related skills will increase and regions with better access will produce more highly skilled labour force to further develop the data-driven economy. The concentration process of technology and research institutions will therefore also include people, capital and enterprises, whereas other, rather rural, areas will more often experience continuous brain drain and outflow of human capital.

Other fields offering substantial potential for future economic activities are green growth and technology, and blue growth and technology, respectively. Both approaches link sustainability and environment-friendly economic growth and innovation. Green growth and technology refers to territorial assets, blue growth and technology to marine potential and resources. Due to their focus on ecological resources, both fields generally offer economic potential for rural areas. However, as human capital and technologies will be rather concentrated in urban areas, the green and blue economy will become more important in agglomeration areas than in rural and coastal (and other

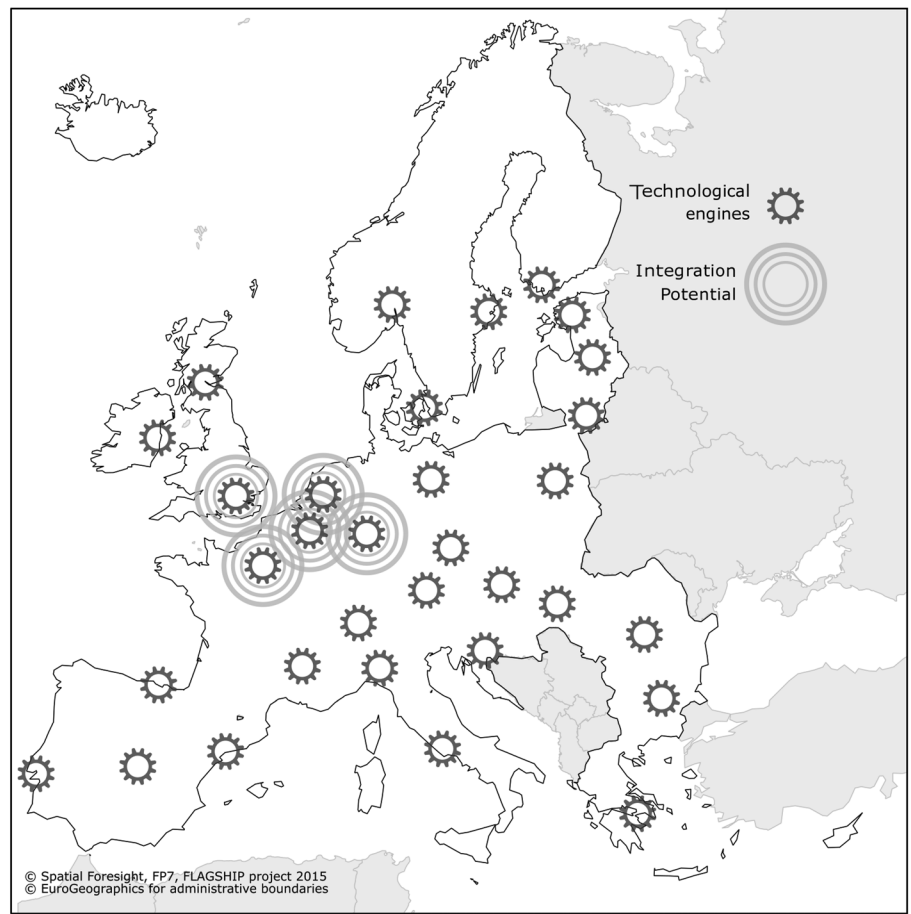


Figure 4: Knowledge and Technology in 2050 (Perseverance Vision)

Source: Spatial Foresight for FP7 project FLAGSHIP 2015

marine) regions. Rural and coastal regions will mainly provide natural assets and environmental resources but the main economic activities offering high value-added will rather take place in agglomeration areas.

Also in the Metamorphosis Vision, ICT will be paramount for socio-economic development. In contrast to the Perseverance Vision, however, the access to ICT will be more evenly distributed across the European territory. The distinction between providers and users of ICT will disappear increasingly. Already today it can be seen that people do not only consume but also produce content. In the future this will also apply to the infrastructure side. The dependency on stationary and large-scale physical infrastructure will be replaced with networks in which all individual devices are nodes that boost the signal. Hence the users become providers and build the network conjointly. If ICT access will be available ubiquitously, technological development and innovation can take place in different places and new development opportunities will emerge especially for rural and peripheral regions.

The new way of using and accessing ICT will also change science. Networks of scientists and researchers will become location-independent and replace major universities and research centres as RDTI hubs. Social capital will consequently be distributed more evenly

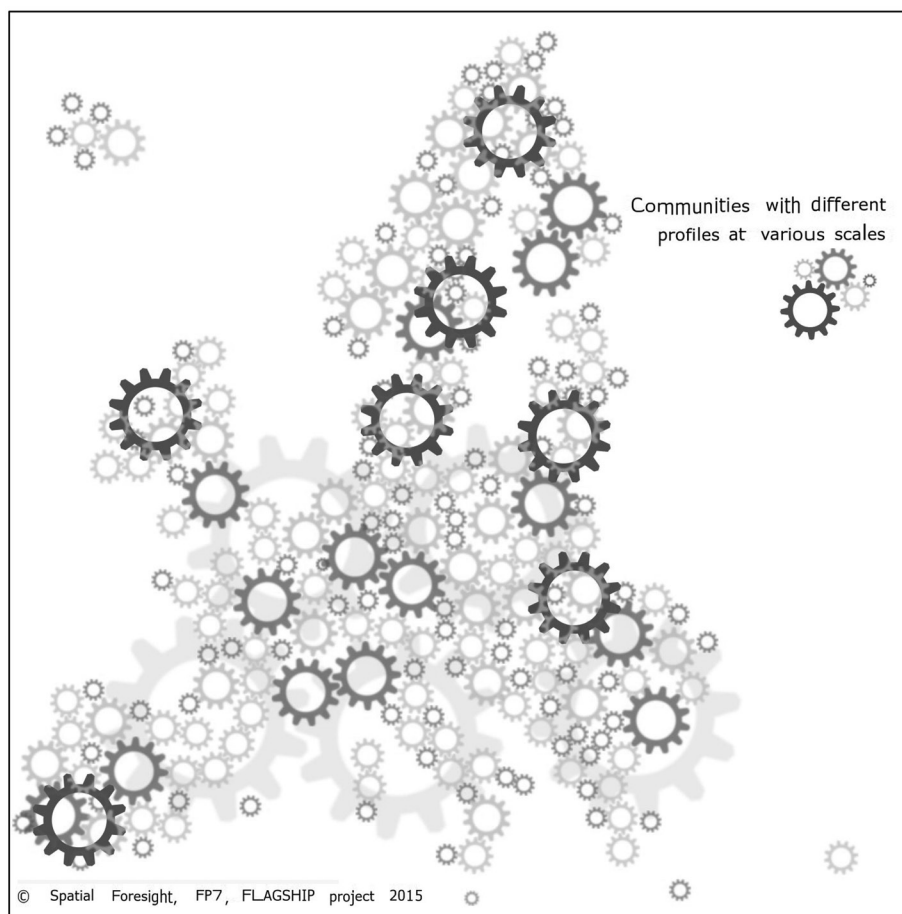


Figure 5: Knowledge and Technology in 2050 (Metamorphosis Vision)

Source: Spatial Foresight for FP7 project FLAGSHIP 2015

and promote endogenous and balanced territorial development. Based on a combination of cooperation and competition (co-opetition), regions will develop different profiles and adjust new technologies and innovations to their specific needs and context. This combination of cooperation and competition will also lead to integration processes, which will take place on different scales – from intra-regional to inter-regional scale and beyond (see figure 5).

The new way will furthermore affect the educational systems. The general level of education will increase and, due to better access to new technologies, skills and capabilities fitting the needs of specific regions or a specific regional system will become more important than formal educational attainments, for example. As everybody has a value in such a complex system, the main challenge is to find the place where a specific person can best contribute to societal development. This of course implies additional challenges, e.g. how to bridge physical and psychological distances.

Due to the paradigm shift towards a full-circular economy, economic growth will be decoupled from resource consumption, which is of course a comprehensive challenge that needs new ideas and

ways of thinking. As regions that already today show good performance in the field of sustainable development and green growth might be inclined to retain their chosen path, this will allow less developed but innovative region to catch up with current regions. This development requires however functioning public institutions, general and financial support and access to innovations, skills and knowledge.

The territorial dimension of economic integration

In the conservative Perseverance Vision, both centripetal and centrifugal forces will influence economic development in Europe. This will reinforce concentration processes and the core-periphery pattern.

On the one hand, economic integration will take place on different levels, e.g. across the former Iron Curtain in the German-Polish border area (Berlin-Szczecin-Poznan), at the Baltic Sea (Helsinki-Stockholm-Tallinn) or at the Austrian-Slovakian-Hungarian border (Vienna-Bratislava-Győr).

This will lead to ongoing integration in the European core, comprising Germany, France, the Benelux, Scandinavia, and some countries in eastern and northeast Europe (see figure 6).

On the other hand, centrifugal forces will challenge the integration process. Among these is the trend of (economic) renationalisation that refers to turning away from the European Union and establishing closer links to other regions of the world, for example to former colonies that are expected to grow significantly in the next decades (e.g. Portugal: Brazil, Angola, Mozambique) or other countries with which they have long-standing relationships (e.g. United Kingdom and Ireland: USA, Canada). In addition, other conflicts in the European neighbourhood will also have significant impact on future development and (economic) integration in the European Union, e.g. in Turkey, Ukraine, and the Middle East. Whether or not it will be possible to solve these conflicts will certainly reinforce either centripetal or centrifugal forces.

With regard to the latest financial crisis that has especially affected Ireland, Spain, Portugal, Cyprus and Greece, significant social and economic tensions can and will be seen for the next 5-10 years. However,

in the long-term it can be expected that these regions will attract people again after a long and steep decline. This may lead to a new hype, which can also lead to a new bubble burst within a few years. In order to avoid this and base future economic development on existing regional strengths, smart specialisation strategies will play a crucial role. As smart specialisation relies on the empowerment and involvement of regional and local players, their expertise and creativity, it will be paramount that the European and national levels create a functioning institutional, financial and legal environment, which allows these players to exploit their potential and actively develop and implement such strategies.

With regard to Europe's embeddedness in international flows of goods, maritime transport and logistics are important. Also in 2050, the outflow and inflow of goods will still rely on the motorways of the sea. Due to continuous concentration processes in the European core, especially the ports of the North Range in Belgium (Zeebrugge, Antwerp), the Netherlands (Rotterdam, Amsterdam) and Germany (Hamburg, Bremerhaven) will further develop their capacities. As the Mediterranean ports however, offer faster connections to the Far East, they also offer enormous potential for future development. Here it will be of particular importance to establish sufficient hinterland connections which are so far less developed than in northwest Europe.

A paradigm shift in consumption will entail radical changes in consumption in the Metamorphosis Vision. Mass consumption will be replaced with ecologically and socially responsible consumption. Although many products and services will be produced and provided on local and regional level, they will also be exchanged between different regions. This will lead to an economic system of interacting and trading, yet equal regions.

This new approach for economic cooperation will lead to functional and institutional integration on different scales, ranging from cross-border to macro-regional scales (see figure 7). Better cooperation is then expected to promote polycentric development and territorial cohesion in Europe.

Due to a generally high degree of (cross-border) integration, national borders will no longer matter by 2050 in the Metamorphosis Vision. However, as different cross-border regions are at different stages

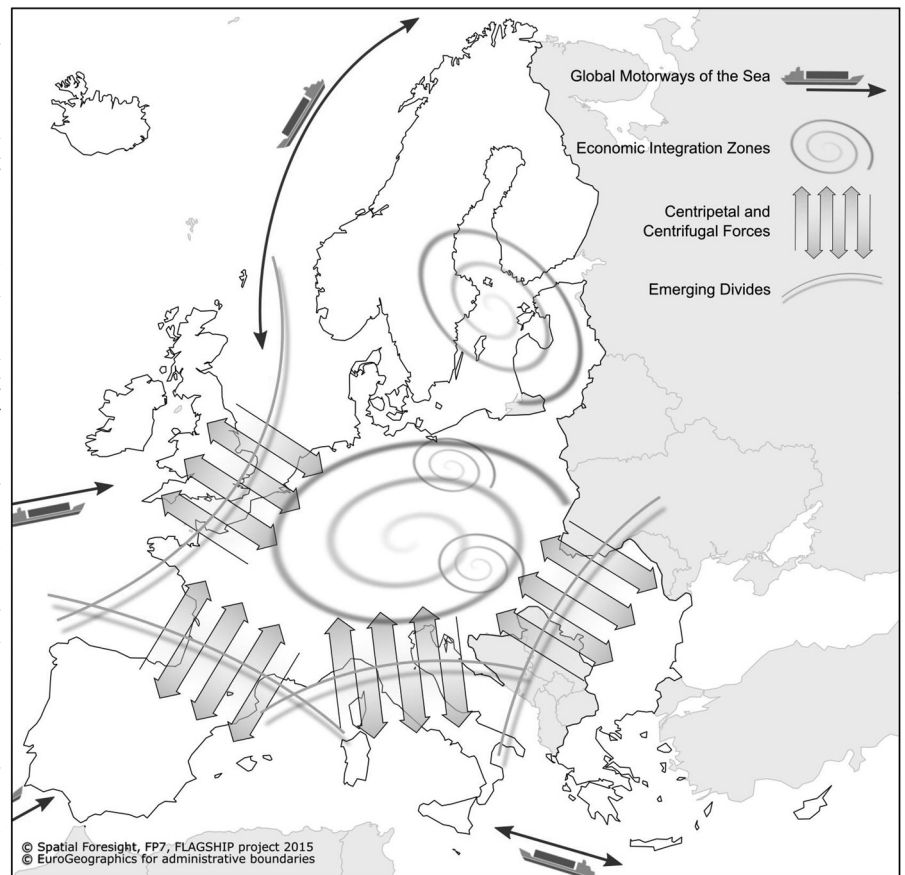


Figure 6: Economic integration in 2050 (Perseverance Vision)

Source: Spatial Foresight for FP7 project FLAGSHIP 2015

of the integration process, they first have to focus on different aspects to foster integration, ranging from the development and implementation of solutions for political and ethnical conflicts and the promotion of linguistic skills to the development of joint technical and social infrastructures and the enhancement of institutional cooperation.

Regional development will have a wider scope and allow for various development paths. Based on local knowledge, open-ended entrepreneurial experimentation will lead to discovery processes on a micro scale. This adds a new component to smart specialisation, because the regional scale only steps in afterwards to further develop the specialisation and ensure continuing participation of the micro-level players. Based on this small-scale approach, each region will develop an own profile, which will then lead to new economic patterns and new forms of intra- and inter-regional economic integration.

For micro-scale experimentation and its utilisation a high level of institutional capacity is essential. As some regions will lack the institutional capacity in the beginning, they offer good preconditions for alternative and more ventured local and regional approaches. They rely however on support and empowerment from the European and macro-regional scale to develop their own local (institutional) capacity.

With regard to maritime transport, the relevance of

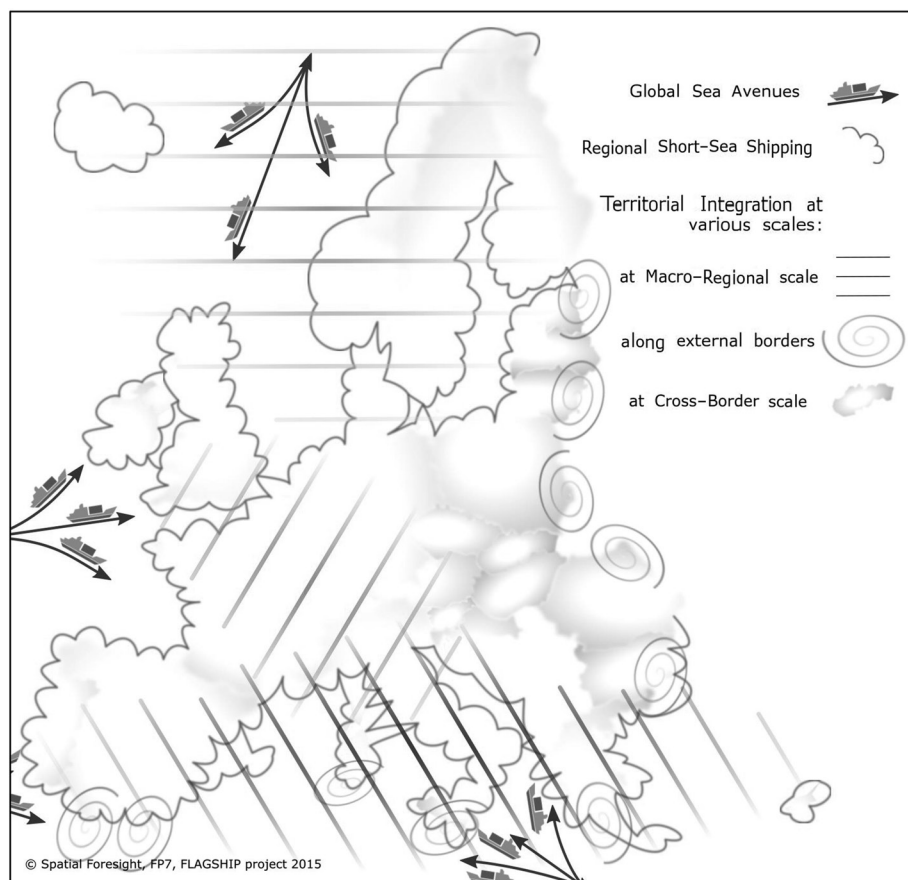


Figure 7: Economic integration in 2050 (Metamorphosis Vision)

Source: Spatial Foresight for FP7 project FLAGSHIP 2015

point-to-point connections and short-sea shipping will increase.

The old system with a number of dominating maritime hubs at the North Sea does not fit the new economic system. Instead a decentralised system of smaller ports will develop. When it comes to hinterland connections, a shift from road to inland waterways will lead to a better-integrated transport system.

Wild cards

Based on a set of assumptions, the Perseverance and Metamorphosis Visions show two different futures for 2050. The developments described in these visions and their assumptions are however not certain to happen. On the contrary, it might be more likely that several unexpected events will have enormous implications and lead to a different development path for the next decades (Steinmüller and Steinmüller, 2003). Events with low likelihood but high impact have influenced Europe's development in the past. So it is quite likely that these 'wild cards' will continue to change the game in the future. Their wildness might differ considerably and mainly depends on the reader's imaginative power.

The below is a selection of wild cards elaborated by the FLAGSHIP project, mainly with the aim to provoke thinking about the unexpected:

Grey slums. On global level, urbanisation is currently driven by poverty. A population surplus is not required for the economy and society and thus expelled. Given the ageing process in the EU, the question is whether pensioners will become Europe's surplus and inhabitants of 'grey slums'.

EU no more. The financial or the refugee crises show the increasing dissent between EU Member States. In the future this might lead to voluntary and forced exits and in the mid-term to the collapse of the EU.

EU Cohesion Policy no more. Following today's economic argumentation, single projects, investments and sector policies are more efficient than comprehensive regional policies. The EU Member States will therefore reduce the European budget 2020+ and abolish cohesion policy in 2028.

Privatisation of EU Commission Services. Already today the European institutions outsource a considerable share of their back office functions. In the future, the EU Member States might decide to outsource all

Commission services to private tenderers, e.g. the Big Four.

Digital no more. Due to a number of incidents, people lose their trust in ICT and new technologies and work and communicate offline. Only online nerds that are able to access the Internet safely, will use online services and still communicate online.

Europe goes South and East. Europe is an old continent with ageing population. Other regions, especially in Africa and Asia, will become booming economic centres that continuously attract young talents from Europe.

Emergence of new states. Catalonia, the Basque Country, Scotland, Wales, Northern Ireland, South Tyrol, Bavaria and Flanders will vote for their independence in referenda. Many of these new states will remain in the EU and significantly change the power structures of the EU and its institutions.

No common climate action. The EU Member States will take over all climate governance responsibilities from the EU. EU regulation and binding targets will be replaced with more voluntary action on national level. This will weaken the power of the EU, both within the EU and on global level.

Russia joins the EU. Despite current conflicts (e.g. Ukraine, Syria), economic integration between the EU and Russia will continue. Similar to the Trans-

Pacific Partnership, the EU and Russia will sign a pan-European partnership, establish a single market and become a regular member state of the EU.

Conclusions – need for vision process

Although the described visions differ in many points, the basic picture is similar: Both visions entail more subsidiarity and a stronger role of local and regional governance players, and at the same time a more power at the European level. This combination of centralisation and decentralisation reflects the need to develop place-based approaches to address region-specific challenges as well as the continuous withdrawal of the national level from an increasing number of tasks in the field of services of general interest. However, the approaches that will be developed vary significantly in detail and can thus either reinforce or counterbalance the specific challenge. This way, they can lead to increasing territorial disparities or more balanced, polycentric development.

This underlines the interdependencies between emerging trends, territorial development and governance patterns, on the one hand, but also reveals uncertainties and that the ultimate impact of a specific approach depends on its precise design. It furthermore illustrates that visions need actions and vice versa:

- **Visions without actions are daydreams.** Knowledge about the picture of a desirable future is meaningless if decision-makers and other players have no understanding or imagination how they can implement single actions necessary to realise this future.

- **Actions without visions risk to become nightmares.** If decision-makers have a wide understanding of different unrelated short-term actions, policy formulation and implementation become chaotic. People in the driver's seat need to have a common idea, say a compass that provides them with orientation and guides them.

Given the current developments in Europe, there is a need for a shared vision – a vision shared across countries and levels of society, which helps understanding why Europeans need to find common answers to today's challenges.

Often, political journalists and analysts as well as former political leaders comment that today's leaders in Europe lack a joint vision and that neither they nor citizens do know (anymore) what Europe is or should be standing for. However, such a vision needs to be shared broadly and involve all relevant players in the development process, e.g. through a co-design strategy. The interaction, consisting of co-designing a commonly owned new development path seems the core activity of players in creative decision-making

process for strategic planning (Vogelij, 2015).

For approaching such a vision process, some key aspects need to be taken into consideration (Zillmer et al., 2015, p. 33):

Preparation. Here it is crucial to set up large participative processes to involve various players and get their support. Long-term support and commitment is furthermore important for the key players initiating a vision process. In order to avoid too wide scope, the process should focus on one (commonly agreed) vision that can even be restricted to one specific topic.

Presentation. It is important that all involved players conjointly develop the vision and perceive it as 'their' vision. Hence, measures to create ownership are necessary. With regard to timing, the presentation of the final result of the visioning process should be related to other decision-making processes so that the usefulness and relevance for other processes can be illustrated. In order to strengthen the territorial dimension, maps or cartographic illustrations can be suitable tools for presentation but understanding and interpreting them can be challenging for policy-makers.

Awareness raising. Vision processes do not only raise awareness about what is actually shared between different players but also emphasise which aspects are *not* shared. In order to promote polycentric and balanced territorial development, it is important to clarify and raise awareness for the territorial dimension of the vision. Does the vision take into consideration the territorial diversity of the area in question?

Type of discussion. A vision process is not the right tool for any kind of discussion. It can stimulate a broader debate on common objectives as it allows the involved players to develop a common understanding of what the future territory shall look like. However, the picture of the territorial future should not be an end in itself. It is furthermore important that the exercise serves a more general objective and is linked to an overarching goal or decision-making process (see above).

Added value. Vision processes and territorial visions have a high added value for overarching policies as they provide orientation and function as a compass. The result of a vision process can be a common framework to guide other policies or initiatives.

Still, one needs to keep in mind: a vision (however good) without action remains a daydream, while action without a vision easily can turn into a nightmare. In that sense it really seems like Europe's territorial future lies between daydreams and nightmares right now.

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