# AN AGENDA FOR A REFORMED COHESION POLICY

Independent Report prepared at the request of Danuta Hübner, Commissioner for Regional Policy

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# THE BUDGET REVIEW: A UNIQUE OPPORTUNITY FOR RECONSIDERING COHESION POLICY

# > The starting point of the Report

- very conflicting views on the policy model, its results, the rationale for EU responsibility
- high risks of
  - wrong changes
  - no change at all
- purpose of the Report: to help avert these risks and initiate the debate

## > The method of the Report

- launching a wide survey of different views:
  - 40 academics through 3 Hearings, 1 Workshop, 10 Working Papers
  - 40 policy-makers of Member States and Regions through 5 Seminars
  - 40 Commission officials through 15 months of work
  - a review of more than 200 articles and documents
- examining conceptual, political and operational aspects
- taking a comparative and historical perspective

### FOUR CONCLUSIONS

- 1. There is a strong case for allocating a large share of the EU budget to a "place-based development strategy"
- 2. Cohesion policy provides the appropriate basis for this strategy, but a comprehensive reform is needed
- 3. The reform requires:
  - > a renewed policy concept
  - > a concentration of priorities
  - > a change of governance
- 4. Three conditions for change to happen:
  - > a new high-level political compromise is needed soon
  - some changes can/should start in this programme period
  - the negotiation process must be adjusted

# THE POLICY CONCEPT: THE "NEW PARADIGM OF REGIONAL POLICY" OR PLACE-BASED POLICY

## Objectives

- reducing persistent underutilization of potential (inefficiency)
- reducing persistent social exclusion

### Unit of intervention

places or functional regions, set through the policy process

## Rationale = market and government failures

- appropriate institutions fail to be chosen by the local elite
- institutions have a strong inertia
- high uncertainty on efficient agglomeration patterns calls for verifiable public action

#### > Instruments

- supply of bundles of integrated public goods and services
- triggering institutional change

#### > Method

- external intervention through conditional grants
- eliciting and aggregating local information and preferences

### WHY SHOULD THE EU DO IT?

### I. Sustainability:

- no Union (with unified markets) can do without a development policy:
  - the EU is blamed if expectations of equal access to opportunities created by market unification and of equal chance to cope with its risks are not met
  - common market rules erode national identities and bonds and call for a "feeling of community" to be built at a supra-national level
  - it is NOT a "cost to pay" to preserve market and currency unification, BUT a complementary means to achieve the EU's aim of growth and peace
- place-based strategy objectives are the modern way to interpret the EU Treaty tasks of promoting "harmonious development" and "reducing disparities"
- a place-based strategy is the only policy model compatible with the EU's limited democratic legitimacy
- II. Taking care of over-the-border interdependencies
- III. Credibly keeping its distance from places

## **MISCONCEPTIONS AND CLARIFICATIONS**

## A place-based strategy is not:

- 1. A policy for "financial redistribution"
  - > the fallacy of the renationalization critique
  - > the need for intervening in all regions
- 2. A policy aimed at "convergence"
- 3. A policy restricting people's mobility
- 4. A policy constraining "natural" agglomerations
  - > the fallacy of self-proclaimed "spatially-blind policies"

# **POLICY RISKS**

- ➤ However, place-based strategies are complex and risky. When they go wrong, they can:
  - shelter regions from markets
  - create a dependency culture
  - fuel rent-extracting machines at local level, or, on the contrary
  - fail to give enough certainty to businesses and individuals who invest in the process
  - prevent agglomerations
- So the question is:
  - How is cohesion policy actually performing?
  - Does it follow successfully the place-based policy model?

# THE STATE OF THE EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE ON THE IMPACT OF COHESION POLICY IS UNSATISFACTORY

- there is great accountability (greater than in most national and EU policies) on how the resources are spent, but
- econometric studies do not offer any conclusive general answers on policy impact
- there is no systematic impact evaluation of interventions
- the system of outcome indicators and targets is of poor quality

# HOWEVER, THE AVAILABLE EVIDENCE LEADS TO TWO TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

- 1. Cohesion policy provides the appropriate basis for an EU placebased strategy, for the following reasons:
  - ➤ a system of multi-level governance, "contracts" and cooperation of high value
  - > a track record of achieving targets in specific contexts
  - > a contribution to institution-building in many regions
  - > an EU-wide network for cooperation and disseminating experience

## 2. A comprehensive reform is needed, for the following reasons

- > a failure to adopt coherently a place-based perspective
- ➤ a lack of focus on priorities and a failure to distinguish between economic and social objectives
- a failure of contracts to focus on results and to create adequate incentives to use resources effectively
- methodological problems in the use of indicators and the evaluation of impacts
- a remarkable lack of political debate on results

# THE REFORM DRAWS FROM THE POLICY CONCEPT AND FOLLOWS FIVE PRINCIPLES

- > Concentrating resources
- > Orienting grants to results
- > Mobilizing and learning
- > Strengthening the Commission
- > Reinforcing political checks and balances

### **CONCENTRATING RESOURCES**

# Pillar 1. An innovative concentration on core priorities and a conservative territorial allocation

- No substantial change in the criteria for territorial allocation and distribution of funds between lagging and non-lagging regions and to territorial cooperation
- ➤ The concentration of up to 2/3 of funding on 3-4 core priorities
- Selection of core priorities through a high-level strategic debate based on three criteria:
  - <u>EU-wide relevance</u>
    - needs/expectations of EU citizens
    - advantage of EU over Member States
    - Member States' interests
  - place-based nature
  - verifiability

### **CONCENTRATING RESOURCES**

- 1-2 core priorities must have a predominantly "social inclusion" objective:
  - the social and the territorial agendas must come together in a territorialized social agenda, an agenda aimed at persons and aware that policy effectiveness depends on contexts,
  - a unique opportunity for the EU to respond to the increasing constraints on Member States' social policies while respecting the diversity of national social contracts,
  - a case for *migration*
- ➤ 1-2 core priorities must have a predominantly "economic" objective:
  - a case for *innovation*, by adopting new results-oriented methods
- > other possibilities: *climate change*, *children*, *skills*, *aging*

## Pillar 2. A new strategic framework for cohesion policy

- ➤ <u>2010</u>: a high level political compromise on the future of cohesion policy
- Autumn 2010-Spring 2012: strategic dialogue between Member State and European institutions facilitated by a Policy Group
- ➤ By Spring 2012: a draft of a *European Strategic Development Framework*, setting out policy innovations, core priorities and indicators and targets for assessing performance, coherent with a new draft *Regulation*

# Pillar 3. A new contractual relationship, implementation and reporting aimed at results

- ➤ A National Strategic Development Contract (Contract) committing Member States (Regions) to:
  - objectives and targets
  - allocating resources to core priorities and Managing Authorities
  - criteria for the selection of "places"
  - administrative capacity
- Operational Programmes follow the same structure and are presented simultaneously
- > The Commission can:
  - adopt the whole Contract
  - adopt some parts of the Contract "subject to condition"
  - reject some parts of the Contract
- Conditions for, and checks on, the enhanced Commission's discretion
- ➤ Implementation Report and Implementation Assessment
- ➤ Annual Member States Report on Results (after 3<sup>rd</sup> year) and Commission Summary Report

## Pillar 4. A strengthened governance for core priorities

- ➤ The institutional framework for each core priority:
  - the EU establishes principles in the "European Framework"
  - Member States commit themselves to implement those principles in the way they see it fit to contests
  - an implementation assessment can be required
  - A system of performance monitoring through:
    - a high-standard system of indicators and targets
    - a Commission Indicators and Target Survey
    - a Scoreboard of Progress
    - a special assessment when no satisfactory justification is provided for the failure to achieve targets

# Pillar 5. Promoting additional, innovative and flexible spending

- Making "financial additionality" simple and politically relevant:
  - linking it to the Stability and Growth Pact
  - eliminating any automatic sanctions
  - extending it to all funds
- Committing Member States (Regions) to "policy additionality":
  - delivering the value-added which justifies the policy
  - being innovative

Applying the de-commitment rule not at the level of Programmes but for whole countries

### MOBILIZING AND LEARNING

# Pillar 6. Promoting experimentalism and mobilizing local actor

- > The positive effect at local level of focusing on objectives
- ➤ A small share of funding left at the Commission's disposal for Innovative territorial actions
- ➤ Directly mobilizing local actors: more room for manoeuvre of the Commission

# Pillar 7. Promoting the learning process: a move towards prospective impact evaluation

- Promoting all methodologies which investigate "what works", "for whom" and "why"
- Making a special effort to promote <u>counterfactual impact evaluation</u>:
  - the strong disciplinary effect of its "prospective" use
  - a "clearing house" of studies and results at the Commission
  - using random selection when applicable

### STRENGTHENING THE COMMISSION

# Pillar 8. Refocusing and strengthening the role of the Commission as a centre of competence

- ➤ A more ambitious and demanding role for the Commission and more discretion call for its Directorates in charge of cohesion policy....
- > ... to make a significant investment in human resources:
  - establishing core-priority task forces
  - staff induction training
  - evaluation department upgrading
  - creating administrative support teams
  - creating a research department
- > ... and to achieve inter-Directorates coordination which is now lacking

# Pillar 9. Addressing financial management and control

➤ It is assumed that the current new system, the proposals being debated and new proposals will increase efficiency and make space in the Commission for investing in new human resources

### REINFORCING POLITICAL CHECKS AND BALANCES

## Pillar 10. Reinforcing the high-level political system of checks and balances

- ➤ Improved information on results and greater Commission discretion make a more active role of the two other European Institutions feasible and necessary
- ➤ A new formal Council for Cohesion Policy would:
  - assess Contracts and Reports on Results
  - assess special decisions by the Commission
  - issue recommendations
- > The European Parliament would:
  - contribute opinions on Contracts and Reports
  - receive and debate the Commission's Summary Report

# THREE CONDITIONS FOR CHANGE TO HAPPEN

- > A strong and timely political compromise
- Anticipating/experimenting some changes in the current period
- ➤ Aligning the negotiation on resources, governance and goals

The Report, the transcripts of the Hearings, the summaries of the Seminars and the Working Papers are available on:

http://ec.europa.eu/regional\_policy/policy/future/barca\_en.htm.