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Territorial Cooperation With Non-Eu Regions

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TERRITORIAL COOPERATION WITH NON-EU REGIONS

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Abstract

Territorial Cooperation (TC) has been possible because there is a trajectory of many years of work invested by the local actors, participants who have become the architects of TC through the city or region involved. Transcontinental cooperation as studied by the European Union TERCO project is providing important lessons for understanding TC.

The purpose of the presentation is to analyze the process of European Territorial Cooperation with non-EU regions. In order to achieve this objective, three case studies will be presented: Andalusian-North of Morocco territorial cooperation during the last twenty years, Spanish-Department of Canelones (Uruguay) and Spanish-City of Rosario (Argentina) cooperation processes. Twinning cities, bilateral cooperation agreements and networks have structured participation in projects with varying degrees of impact on the economic, social, urban and environmental conditions.

The initiatives have always been local and with a bottom-up approach. The management capacity of key organizations working in a decentralized way and their background on local development governance have made available the implementation of local initiatives.

The projects with the best results are those that are carried out jointly and adapt to partners needs in agreement with its territorial development strategy which was previously defined. Special institutional and cultural mechanisms of developing in both sides of seas were very helpful. The institutional weaknesses and the complexity of decision-making mechanism in Europe and overseas territories can make relations difficult and therefore territorial cooperation weak.

Territorial Cooperation needs to be flexible enough to respond to changes in the socio-economic environment. These case studies show that local economic development (e.g. technological innovation or international trade) are important. These issues are usually approached through public-private coordination organizations, such as development agencies.

As shown by some other case studies of the TERCO project the results of the participation of such agencies are still modest. Special attention should be given to TC with Morocco due to geo-strategic relations both with Spain and Europe.

Key words: Territorial Cooperation, Local Development, Governance.

JEL codes: O15, O43, R58.

1. Introduction.

This paper presents the results of the TERCO project on Transcontinental Cooperation. The TERCO project is an applied research of the ESPON program, titled European Territorial Co-operation as a Factor of Growth, Jobs and Quality of Life. The leadership of the project is carried out by the University of Warsaw and, among other research teams, the Autonomous University of Madrid is in charge of the Transcontinental Cooperation task.

One must bear in mind that this task cannot be understood as an isolated case, but rather as a part of the whole project. That is why, in this summary a theoretical framework is left for the project leader's contribution for discussion in the congress. Likewise, the paper is focused especially on the result about the four main aims of the research, such as physical areas of territorial cooperation; driving forces and domains of co-operation; territorial structures and specific border cooperation; and governance structures and implementation of cooperation.

Three case studies were analyzed: the department of Canelones in Uruguay, the city of Rosario in Argentina, both with their cooperation relationship in Spain; and the cooperation between Andalusia, in Spain, with the Region of Tangier-Tetouan in Morocco. Each of them was chosen as being good examples of three stereotypes of territories: a big city such as Rosario, a department such as Canelones and a region such as Tangier-Tetouan. All of them hold very deep cultural and historical ties with Spanish regions.

In addition to this introduction, this paper describes the research method in section 2. Afterwards, the various impacts of transcontinental cooperation on the territories selected will be presented. In section 4 and 5 the main results are summarized in the four aims are presented for the Latin American and Moroccan cases, respectively. The paper ends with some final remarks in section 6.

2. Research method.

Following the project's theoretical proposal (TERCO, 2010) and after discussion as to the possible approaches to the case under study, it was decided, on the one hand, to make a bibliographical sweep, including web sites, on the territorial cooperation experiences between Andalusia and Northern Morocco, and, on the other hand, between the Latin American cases of Spanish cooperation with Rosario and Canelones.

Prospective interviews were made with those responsible for local and regional firms, some of which were interviewed more thoroughly later on. The information provided by the civil servants of the Junta de Andalucía, Provincial Government of Malaga, Provincial Government of Cadiz, the University of Cadiz, the Provincial Government of Jaen, the University of Jaen and the Andalusian Municipal Fund for International Solidarity, as well as the analysis of the bibliographical material, led the research team to focus the case under study on the territorial cooperation between Andalusia and the region of Tangier-Tetouan. The reason for this is the strength and endurance of the relations between them, as well as the geostrategic importance of the Strait of Gibraltar platform.

For Latin America cases, on-line questionnaires were sent to a list of institutions considered to be significant local actors, as well as to their Spanish counterparts. Although the questionnaires were self-managed, in several cases it was necessary to provide help by email, telephone or in person to fill them out due to consultations or doubts on the part of those being polled. Structured interviews were held with key civil servants, some actors in the academic sphere and also with those who acted as intermediaries in cooperation projects with Spain.

Once the territories to be studied were determined, the need to approach the work from a dual thematic perspective was discussed. In the case of Andalusia-North of Morocco, the territorial cooperation stimulated through the various editions of the Interreg Initiative were to be studied, which focused the greater part of the study towards the provinces of Cadiz and Malaga (in Andalusia). , we should also analyze the effect of decentralized territorial cooperation, the so-called "solidarity funds" which are, from Andalusia, mainly focused on the Tangier-Tetouan region in multiple and varied projects, with a great variety of agents involved and spread out in micro-projects and microfinance initiatives; among a large part of

the thousands of local entities in Andalusia. This has led to certain complications when gathering fieldwork data. In Latin America cases, on the contrary, the focus was just on decentralized territorial cooperation since American countries are not within the European funding framework.

To this twofold analytical objective (the Interreg Initiative and decentralized cooperation) a double effort has been made with respect to designing the questionnaires. On the one hand, from the Andalusian perspective cooperation with Morocco under different programs was addressed. On the other hand, from the Moroccan point of view, the questions were directed towards those European territories that have maintained cooperation with the Tangier-Tetouan region. Thus, their interpretation provides interesting information in order to perceive the different attitudes towards territorial cooperation according to how the issues are seen from one side of the Strait of Gibraltar to the other. Likewise, this second mechanism was followed in Latin America cases, since they did not take part in Interreg program.

The choice of the sample of local entities to which the questionnaire was sent was made keeping in mind the capacity for their action in recent years, according to the information provided by regional actors. The rate of response was conditioned by the particularly sensitive period of time in which the field work was carried out. In Spain, on June 11, 2011 a change in the administration of the local governments took place, as a result of the elections, which caused changes among the executive and managerial departments and in the personnel who were to answer the questionnaires. These difficulties were overcome thanks to personal visits as well as telephone interviews in order to re-direct the questionnaires sent by e-mail during the summer to the appropriate individuals. Finally, 34 answers were obtained, out of 50 sent out in Spain (<http://www.esponterco.eridanus.org/info/>). The choice of the sample for transcontinental territories was made with the help of local teams¹. Finally 71 answers were obtained, out of 100 sent out (<http://www.esponterco.eridanus.org/list>). To wrap up the field work, in-depth interviews of principle agents for cooperation were carried out.

Moreover, sources of the Institutes of Statistics of Spain, Morocco, Uruguay and Argentina have been consulted as well as other national sources. Also used were the statistical analysis of the Computer-Assisted Web Interviews (CAWIs) and as well as documents from

¹We would like to thank the Art Gold Program team of the UNDP, directed by Cristino Pedraza, who has provided us with the data base with the main actors involved in territorial cooperation in Andalusia. The field work in Morocco required a previous contact and information mission with the politicians in charge in Morocco, both in Rabat and Tangier, in order to show our interest in carrying out the research.

European programs and research studies on cooperation and economic development in each territory in general.

The interviewees expressed their opinions freely and helpfully in the hopes of contributing to the success of the research and of being able to receive some sort of feed-back in exchange for their collaboration that would improve their work in the future.

3. Transcontinental cooperation.

The results show how territorial cooperation has a moderate impact on the general development process in transcontinental partners. As we can observe in tables 1, 2 and 3, about 45% of interviewees consider TC with no impact on flows and exchanges, socio-economic indicators and on some specific activities in their territories.

Table 1
Impact of transcontinental cooperation on flows and exchanges (percentage out of respondents)

	No impact	With impact				
		Minimal	Little	Moderate	Large	Very Substantial
International trade	40.7	40.6	15.6	28.1	9.4	6.3
Foreign Direct Investment	46.3	44.8	20.7	24.2	10.3	0
Commuting for work	48.1	57.1	14.3	17.9	10.7	0
Tourism	38.9	33.3	15.2	21.2	27.3	3
Social Commuting	44.4	43.3	16.7	26.7	13.3	0
Migration	48.1	42.9	25	25	7.1	0
Educational Exchange	37	26.5	14.7	38.2	14.7	5.9

Source: Gorcelak, 2012. In-house compilation.

Furthermore, taking into account only the respondents who considered TC with impact, most of them recognize it has had a minimal or little impact on the issues surveyed. Hence, only about 20% of the individuals consulted considered TC with a moderate, large or very substantial impact on development.

However, a deeper insight is needed to understand the importance of TC. Some of the analyzed strands have such a strategic importance on development that it is worth to reflect on them. International trade, tourism and educational exchanges have received a notably high impact by TC, which are aspects especially interesting to bear in mind.

Likewise, the results seem to be important enough for economic growth, quality of life and quality of natural environment, as we can see in table 2, since more than 27%, 37% and 31% of the interviewees considered them with a moderate impact or higher, respectively.

Table 2
Impact of transcontinental cooperation on socio-economic indicators (percentage out of respondents)

	No impact	With impact				
		Minimal	Little	Moderate	Large	Very Substantial
Economic growth	46.3	27.6	20.7	44.8	3.4	3.4
Job creation	50	29.6	25.9	33.3	11.1	0
Quality of Life	46.3	20.7	10.3	51.7	13.8	3.4
Quality of natural environment	46.3	27.6	17.2	44.8	10.3	0
Service Provision	51.9	34.6	26.9	23.1	15.4	0

Source: Gorcelak, 2012. In-house compilation.

Instead of reduced impact observed, building mutual trust, joint project preparation and networking among NGOs are promising items for future cooperation. TC has gain a considerable impact on them, as table 3 shows.

Table 3
Impact of transcontinental cooperation on specific activities

	No impact	With impact

		Minimal	Little	Moderate	Large	Very Substantial
International networking cooperation among firms	48.1	42.9	10.7	35.7	7.1	3.6
Networking among NGOs	50	14.8	22.2	33.3	22.2	7.4
Building mutual trust	40.7	9.4	9.4	18.8	50	12.5
Joint project preparation	38.9	15.2	15.2	27.3	33.3	9.1
Joint spatial planning	51.9	50	11.5	26.9	7.7	3.8

Source: Gorcelak, 2012. In-house compilation.

Considering the difficulties of transcontinental cooperation, the general results on the selected items offer important possibilities to improve its impact in the near future, especially thanks to the mechanism already implemented, which has been able to create a space for cooperation, based in joint work, trust and networking.

4. Spain-Latin America cooperation: The cases of Rosario City (Argentina) and Canelones Department (Uruguay).

a) The case of Rosario city.

Located in the south of the province of Santa Fe, on the shores of the Parana River, Rosario (909,755 inhabitants)(NIS, 2008) constitutes one of the neuralgic points in the Central Region and one of the main external means of communication in Argentina. Located 300km. from the Federal Capital, Rosario has historically had national relevance, not only in terms of population, but also in terms of economic activity, artistic production and innovation.

Rosario has always strived to be a city of distinction. It is recognized internationally for its good practices in the field of urban management, which would have been impossible without putting a spotlight on the city and making it known internationally as well as a model of excellence at the regional level.

Behind this success, there is a trajectory of many years of work invested by the local actors, participants that became the architects of international management of the city. During

more than two decades they were committed to working with other cities and regions, among them European sites, to deal with common problems.

Without a doubt, the local government was the most important actor in promoting international territorial cooperation and for this purpose a General Direction for International Relations was created within the municipal institutional framework. Therefore, political willingness was a key factor in facilitating the processes of territorial cooperation of Rosario.

Spain and Italy have been Rosario's main European partners in cooperation. Historical and cultural ties arising from immigration are factors that have driven the establishing of relations on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. Local organizations of representatives from these countries, such as the Basque Center of Rosario, have had a significant role in these relations. Incorporation into the European Commission's URB-AL Program has led to a greater number of contacts with new European partners, thus opening an array of possibilities to work in priority areas in the near future: education, economy, environment and social infrastructure, to mention only a few (Madoery, Alfonso y Vázquez-Barquero, 2011).

Physical areas of territorial co-operation

- *Strengths:* Rosario has ties with numerous territories through different cooperation programs, among which stand out the cases of cities and regions in Spain (such as Bilbao, Barcelona, Extremadura, Basque Country) and Italy (Alessandria). Furthermore, Rosario participates in numerous international networks linked to urban problems such as URB-AL or CIDEU.
- *Weaknesses:* cooperation has proved weak in terms of the creation of productive networking and interaction between economic actors, and did not help toward an integrated territorial approach for action.
- *Future challenges:* the availability and diffusion of information should improve, so as to allow for more complementary actions by public and private organizations and agents towards new areas of cooperation. Cooperation should increase so as to include metropolitan and regional areas, where the economic, social and cultural dynamics of the Region of Rosario is best appreciated.

Driving forces and domains of cooperation

- *Strengths:* education, participative budget, strategic planning and institutional strengthening are more highly valued by the actors involved. Nevertheless, the priorities in areas of cooperation vary according to the context.
- *Weaknesses:* international cooperation is weaker in economic matters. Local economic development, technological innovation or international trade, are less important.
- *Future challenges:* as a result of the changes in the social and economic patterns and the evolution of public institutions, the cooperation agenda is paying more attention to education, scientific exchange, networking, environment and habitat, and social infrastructures.

Territorial structures and co-operation

- *Strengths:* conditions that facilitate TC exist within the region: the historical-cultural profile of Rosario as an immigrant city; the opportunity given by the new constitutional framework since 1994, availing new space to the sub-national territories; the intermediate scale of the city, that allows for the capacity to manage complex projects; the interest on behalf of the local governments to use TC as a differentiating and positioning factor; the direct ties on behalf of the city dwellers with other territories, that have facilitated contacts and given rise to new opportunities. Certain basic conditions facilitated TC: historic-cultural identities, legal aspects, geographic-productive characteristics (such as the profile of port cities of Rosario, Barcelona and Bilbao).
- *Weaknesses:* the obstacles have been associated with the limited funds available, and basically to the lack of information and knowledge of the possibilities and opportunities on behalf of a large number of local actors. Another limitation is the narrow diffusion of information about some of the cooperation programs. In this sense, there has always been a danger of discrimination towards small cities and the municipalities of the Greater Rosario Metropolitan Area.
- *Future challenges:* if the approach of mutual benefit between members is to be enforced, it will be necessary for the cities and municipalities of the Greater Rosario Metropolitan Area to be more involved in the issues at hand and in the processes of implementation, respecting at all times the spatial and temporal context. For this reason, it is necessary to abandon the traditional approach still in force in both latitudes, in which

international cooperation is unilateral. With the understanding that learning is bidirectional, the capabilities of communities in both continents will be strengthened.

Governance structures and implementation of co-operation

- *Strengths:* an outstanding feature of the governance structures is the diversity of the actors involved. Of these, the role played by the municipality of Rosario and more recently that of the province of Santa Fe stand out. Also noteworthy is the role of UE organisms, the National University of Rosario, some local NGOs, as well as persons with special interest in some of the subjects in the cooperation agenda. The management of TC is always improving thanks to the skill of well-trained civil servants working in the municipality of Rosario and in the government of Santa Fe. Likewise, Rosario has numerous public-private institutions, such as the Development Agency, the Technological Pole, and the Tourism Authority, which strengthen the governance of the development process.
- *Weaknesses:* despite the institutional density, international territorial cooperation continues to be a political and management discourse only felt by the municipal and provincial civil servants, representatives of migrant communities (such as the Basque Center), and social organizations linked to specific problems that were the subject of cooperation programs (such as the participants in the Urban Agriculture Program). In other words, it is not a priority in the agenda for a large number of local and regional actors and institutions.
- *Future challenges:* to stimulate TC programs on the regional level and not only subscribed to the city of Rosario is very necessary. Above all, despite existence of a strategic planning office for the Greater Rosario Metropolitan Area, it has not shown significant advances in regional planning and territorial cooperation since its creation some time ago. It will also be necessary to enlarge the management capabilities in other localities, in order to make viable their participation in TC projects adapted to the local needs. Finally, to widen the range of regional actors that are associated with the TC at present, and to achieve the recognition on behalf of the citizens for this type of experiences.

b) The case of Canelones Department

Canelones (514,550 inhabitants) is the second most populated department in Uruguay after Montevideo; 15% of the population of the country pertains to Canelones, 26% of the interior population, i.e. excluding Montevideo. This is in spite of the fact that the area of Canelones represents only 2.6% of the total (NIS, 2011). It is located on the left shore of River Plate (Rodríguez, Alfonso y Vázquez Barquero, 2011).

Physical areas of territorial co-operation

- *Strengths*: the major impacts of Spanish cooperation can be found in the provision of services and improvement in the standard of living and the environment.
- *Weaknesses*: cooperation has had weaker results related to the generation of cooperation between firms and access to international business networks.
- *Future challenges*: a tendency to favor triangulation of cooperation exist, which implies the promotion of cooperative relations with relatively less-developed American territories such as Paraguay and Bolivia and a new modality of cooperation with European territories.

Driving forces and domains of cooperation

- *Strengths*: the Government of Canelones placed particular emphasis on the promotion of TC in order to favorably position the Department in a national, regional and international context as a strategy for the fortification of development in the territory. Particularly used in relation to migration processes from Spain to Uruguay in the 19th and 20th centuries. The common factors of patrimonial revaluation and constructing identity provided fertile grounds for cooperation between Canelones and the Canary Islands in Spain. The areas of cooperation with Spanish territories mainly involve cultural and social issues, environment, (particularly as concerns waste management), support for physical planning, decentralization and governance, and improvement in public management.
- *Weaknesses*: it is observed that there is not a clear definition of the strategic priorities in TC and therefore the areas chosen to be the objective of cooperation mainly depend on the sensitivity of the administrators and leaders of the various offices administrating cooperation as well as the offers of cooperating entities. As a consequence of these factors, although cooperation contributed to placing several topics on the Canelones agenda, often acting as a catalyst for processes which were already in operation, there is still no guarantee that the lines

of work will continue with independence from the resources provided by the TC. The sustainability of the processes initiated should therefore be an important concern to the Government of Canelones as well as to the cooperating territories. TC should be inserted into territorial development strategy, thus guiding it toward priority areas and avoiding approval of any and all types of cooperation. Among the factors that hinder TC was lack of funds for cooperation. In almost all the interviews some of the weaknesses were pointed out: the deficit of trained human resources in the Departmental Government, and the organizations within the territory for executing the cooperation projects; the difficulty of consolidating stable technical staffs. Additionally, there were observations as to the need to continue improving management.

- *Future challenges:* beyond the study results of the various areas for future cooperation the interviews emphasize that the most important aspect involves the exchange of experiences and that this aspect should be continued. The most valuable contribution is that of understanding how others solve issues that are of concern to everyone or, if no solutions are available, learning how to search for solutions together.

Territorial structures and cooperation

- *Strengths:* the location of the Department of Canelones in a metropolitan area, near the major port and airport of the country is acknowledged as a factor which attracts TC. Canelones has developed very important economic and investment policies in recent years leading to great productive diversity (from the primary sector and technological industry, to services and tourism) as well as a significant cultural and socio-economic complexity (rural and urban environment, small cities and metropolitan areas, urban marginality problems and productive development poles). These conditions give rise to multiple areas of interest in developing cooperation with other local governments.
- *Weaknesses:* the Government of Canelones has defined, however, the organization of the territory into micro-regions according to the various productive vocations. However, it seems, at least initially, that this division into micro-regions has not played a significant role in steering TC.
- *Future challenges:* the interviews indicate that there are spaces in Uruguay to extend cooperation to smaller municipalities as a way to strengthen this incipient experience in territorial management. In Canelones, particularly, a great potential was identified for TC in supporting the definition and coordination of productive micro-regions carried out by the

Intendencia in the territory with recently created municipalities. Finally, in answer to the question as to whether some investment was required to facilitate transcontinental cooperation, most of the interviewees indicated that physical investments were not necessary but investment in training and contracting of qualified human resources specialized in the subject matter of cooperation, as well as better human resources for management, starting with the “Intendencia” itself were essential improvements to be made.

Governance structures and implementation of cooperation

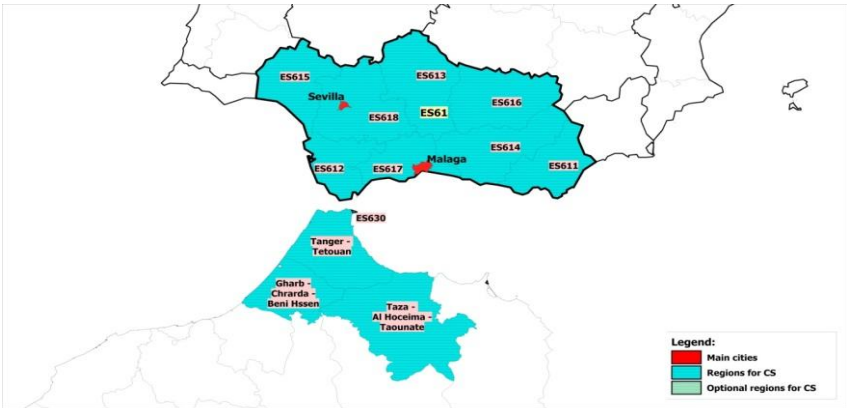
- *Strengths:* the most important actor among those capable of promoting and executing TC is the Departmental Government itself. Since the present Intendente was elected in 2005 and re-elected in 2010, the city council has taken a proactive role with positive results. Also considered significant are the roles of both Spanish and Italian immigrant associations and, to a lesser degree, the role of other actors in the civil society. The main strengths of the territory with respect to governance and implementation of TC are the successful experiences that can be considered “good practices”.
- *Weaknesses:* according to the legislation currently in force in the country (Law of Political Decentralization and Citizen Participation), the Municipalities cannot be subject to agreements of any kind. Beyond the difficulties at the national level, many internal problems in the city administration of Canelones were acknowledged. Although the planned actions are carried out and results achieved, there are often difficulties in meeting the deadlines for presenting expense accounts. One of the aspects to be corrected is that institutional improvement has often been aimed at persons or teams that are temporary which implies a weakness in the real effect on the strengthening of the institution.
- *Future challenges:* among aspects to be corrected in the future is that of improving the human resources that administer and manage. Likewise, a better elaboration and management of projects in the various dependencies that participate in cooperation and by involving, in a more transversal way, the various areas of city government in TC projects in order to avoid excessive fragmentation. As concerns the optimal structure for governance, there is general agreement among the interviewees that management should be decentralized, with a predominant role for the second level of government (the “Intendencia”) and increased future participation of the third level of Government (the municipalities). An argument in favor of greater participation of the nearby local governments is that they can better represent the interests of the local community, going beyond political partisanship or the relation with the

Departmental Government. There is also agreement that the civil society should participate more in TC processes, thus making governance more horizontal. The idea behind favoring a decentralized structure is that cooperation in centralized environments leads to cooperation agendas which are restricted or limited and risk not optimally representing the needs and concerns of the territory. Moreover, a large part of TC arises from informal and personal exchanges, bottom-up processes that would be “smothered” in a centralized structure. Furthermore, the study points out the need to foster agreements between universities, social organizations and the Government of Canelones to work together on the issue of cooperation. This would strengthen the territory, generate continuity and establish more adequate work proposals with greater potential in TC relations.

5. Andalusia-Tangier-Tetouan cooperation.

Tangier-Tetouan is the most dynamic region economically and socially in northern Morocco, as well as the region of greatest geo-strategic interest for Europe as a consequence of the maritime proximity (14 kilometers) by way of the Strait of Gibraltar. The geographic extension of the region is 13,712 square kilometers. It is bordered on the west and north by the Atlantic Ocean and the Strait of Gibraltar, on the East by the Mediterranean Sea and the region of Taza-Alhucemas and on the south by this same region and the Garb-Chrarda-Benihsen region (map 1).

**Map1
Andalusia&Tangier-Tetouan**



Source: Rodríguez-Cohard, Alfonso y Vázquez, 2011

According to the latest official census (RGPH, 2004), the region of Tangier-Tetouan has about 2,504,000 inhabitants, 8.15% of total Moroccan population, of which 58.24% live

in urban zones. According to estimates of the High Planning Commission (HCP, 2004), the population for 2008 could be about 2,625,000 inhabitants, with 60% living in urban areas².

From an urban point of view, the region is bipolar since the two major cities contain about half of the population: Tangier (669,685 inhabitants) and Tetouan (320,539) are located at a distance of only 60 km from each other. Moreover, these cities concentrate most of the economic activity: 86% of all industry is concentrated in Tangier where the main activities are agro-food industry, manufacture of machinery and electrical equipment and the textile and handicrafts industry. On the other hand, the area served by these cities concentrates the main national and foreign investments: the Tanger-Med port, highways and tourist centers, including the creation of two new cities around the new port and in the area of Tetouan (Rodríguez-Cohard, Alfonso y Vázquez, 2011).

Physical areas of territorial cooperation

- *Strengths*: the actions that have worked best are those in which Andalusia can contribute added value due to its own experience in development: decentralization in the areas of administration, health, rural development policy and agriculture. In Addition, a broad spectrum of actors involved: workers unions, universities, chambers of commerce, NGOs, city halls, “Diputaciones” (provincial government), entrepreneurial associations, regional administration, and associations of local entities, development agencies, international organisms and foundations.
- *Weaknesses*: varying interest in the cooperation on both shores. Furthermore, a Deadlock in the agreement on the Instrument of European Neighborhood Policy exists, which prevents the carrying out of joint projects in better conditions. The Lack of funding, as a consequence of the economic crisis in Europe, could hinder cooperation process, as the economic effort lies mainly on the European side.
- *Future challenges*: it is needed to find more common interests. In any case, there is a wish to work in a dynamic of triangular cooperation, which would allow for cooperation with Morocco on projects that would benefit other African countries, in a long run European strategic framework.

²The effects of recent reform of the regions in the country are not included in this estimate. Therefore, the region actually has a slightly larger population due to the incorporation of new bordering territories with low population densities.

Driving forces and domains of co-operation

- *Strengths:* work in social and cultural spheres has led to intervention in other areas such as infrastructure or local economic development linked to improved standard of living in general. In this sense, The projects with the best results are those that are carried out jointly and adapt to Moroccan needs in agreement with its territorial development strategy which was previously defined or has been planned due to previous actions to improve synergies have been established among projects with different sources of funding as a consequence of mutual contact and a network of agents established in Andalusia for cooperation among the various local entities and other social agents. We could recommend a bottom-up cooperation, since it has had greater impact than centralized cooperation because it is programmed at the local level based on the needs of the local population within a common strategic development plan in Morocco.
- *Weaknesses:* the decision-making mechanism in Morocco, representative and executive lines of responsibility, can make relations difficult if a delicate balance between both lines is not maintained, because the representative current has budgetary and decision-making limitations while representing the municipalities and social agents. On the contrary, the executive line has not the representative support, but the King's confident, and as a consequence the real power to implement actions. On the other hand, there are limitations imposed from the EU on visa policy, which make it difficult for the actors in Moroccan cooperation to travel to Spain.
- *Future challenges:* a Greater technological equipping in the Moroccan digital platforms is needed.

Territorial structures and specific border cooperation

- *Strengths:* maintenance of organizational structures in Morocco: permanent office presence of Spanish Chambers of Commerce and vice-versa, of Spanish development agencies and some foundations and associations from local entities. Furthermore, Cooperation on Biosphere Reserve of the Strait of Gibraltar as a model for environmental cooperation processes between continents and, as a protocol for joint action in the case of environmental threats. Sharing cooperation projects for so long has led to informal bilateral relations between both regions even at moments in which diplomatic relations had been suspended. Finally, above all, The Strait of Gibraltar as a geo-strategic platform constituting a competitive advantage for the cooperating territories.

- *Weaknesses*: a great lack of Moroccan funding for territorial cooperation as well as different institutional and legal systems and divergent cultures.
- *Future challenges*: the creation of twinning territories would lead to lasting personal relations and would be transmitted and maintained by trusted local administrations. Moreover, a support to increase Moroccan funding for territorial cooperation should be made. Taking advantage of Andalusian experiences, training courses in the management of decentralization within democratic processes and in the management of local entities in Morocco could contribute to improve Moroccan economic development. It is important to bear in mind that cooperation must be implemented from the position of equality and respect. The relations established should be understood as relations between partners, not as aid-givers/receivers. If this is not adequately taken into account, cooperation may be understood as sequels of colonialism.

Governance structures and implementation of cooperation

- *Strengths*: coordination and concentration of actions at the time of the designing and presenting of cooperation projects, after which decentralization of the projects among counterparts from both territories should take place in order to avoid overlapping and dispersion of efforts and to take advantage of joint action synergies on the part of the various entities interested in the cooperation. As it has been said, twinning territories, but only if they are based on solid personal relationships of trust maintained between the corresponding local leaders, are interesting tools to be used for encouraging useful territorial cooperation processes.
- *Weaknesses*: coordination problems as a consequence of excessive decentralization of Andalusian cooperation. In addition to sporadic problems of a bilateral strategic nature between Spain (EU) and Morocco which can affect cooperation.
- *Future challenges*: greater coordination between, on the one hand, the Spanish International Agency for International Cooperation (AECID) and Andalusian Municipality Fund for International Solidarity (FAMSI) and, on the other hand, the Moroccan Regional Council of Tangier-Tetouan and Art-Gold Program of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). A reinforcement of the support of Moroccan universities which are not sufficiently involved in Moroccan territorial development could improve territorial cooperation. In any case, a process of evaluation of the actions of decentralized cooperation to verify its impact on socio-economic development in each project should be implemented.

Likewise, it is recommendable to develop mechanisms which maintain permanent Spanish structures in Morocco at the expense of Moroccan funds in the framework of joint projects, and permanent Moroccan structures in Spain at the expense of Spanish/European budgets. What is more, Good practices are being transferred from Europe to Morocco, but it is hoped that there will be transfer mechanisms in the future from Morocco to Europe so that action is not only based on the idea of solidarity, otherwise on mutual development.

6. Final remarks.

Transcontinental cooperation has a moderate impact on local development process. However, some topics such as international trade, tourism or educational exchanges have been encouraged. Hence, from a European point of view, territorial cooperation is important, since, in the case of Morocco, for instance, it has been estimated that 10.000 \$ added in Gross Domestic Production increase 1.300 \$ in European exports to Morocco (Khader, 2010). Furthermore, the European contribution to Moroccan development, in order to contribute to reduce immigration pressures on the south coast is relevant.

Territorial cooperation involves some significant difficulties, which must be understood under a long term perspective. The main pillars for the base on which cooperation should be built are mutual trust and joint project preparation: both of them have been creating and holding decentralized projects for years and they are a solid base for the future. In this sense, transcontinental cooperation played a relevant role.

The bottom-up approach is better considered than a top-down one, in order to involve local organizations to support a long term development process. As a great number of actors are working on it, better coordination is needed. Likewise, an adequate evaluation system must be considered to identify gaps and implement mechanisms to overcome them. Nevertheless, organizations and actors could be hindered in a centralized structure, like FAMSÍ, for instance, to take advantage of accumulated experience and sharing knowledge on the ground: we recommend it as a best practice.

Territorial cooperation must not be unilateral, but bidirectional. Otherwise people in transcontinental territories might not understand European territories as partners but as old metropolis. In this sense, TC could be used as a tool for establishing a wider mechanism to cooperate such as triangular cooperation, which would allow new possibilities of influence on

strategic territories from a European point of view. Unfortunately, nowadays there is a significant lack of funding for cooperation projects that could be an obstacle in the near future to developing important activities based on cooperation built with such great effort during the last twenty years.

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