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Developing the City, Developing the Port: Comparison of the Governance in Medium-size Port-cities in Europe

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ABSTRACT: Modifications undergone in global trade have forced ports to transform and move away from the city. This spatial distance contributes to a re-composition of territories and local governance. The analysis of medium-sized port cities is particularly illustrative in this respect. Their city-port relationship is especially robust and the mutual impacts of territorial and port dynamics emerge more clearly. Le Havre and Klaipeda (Lithuania) were therefore analysed. More than twenty interviews were carried out with some principal stakeholders, which facilitated to clarify the way in which the interplay between stakeholders' structures port cities and influences the development of territories at several scales.

1 INTRODUCTION

For 3000 years, port cities polarize and structure globalization. Accordingly, managing these spaces is a key issue. Additionally, since the mid-twentieth century, port cities have undergone major transformations which have had consequences on their spatial and social dynamics. Then, it is of critical importance that the port authorities, territorial communities and all the port city's stakeholders find modes of partnership in order to resolve any possible problems of cohabitation.

The purpose of this article is to analyse the interactions between the stakeholders who shape port dynamics by considering them as challenges in the development of the wider territory (extending beyond the port boundaries).

Our analysis is underpinned by a European benchmark which should, over time, incorporate a score of medium-sized port-cities (See Map 1) We shall present the case of Le Havre and Klaipeda (Lithuania), both chosen in view of certain similarities

between them. Approximately twenty interviews were conducted with the principal stakeholders in both port cities, enabling us as of now to identify some results and lines of thought. The degree of interdependence is especially high when one compares this scale to larger port cities (Rotterdam or Antwerp).

In the first part, this paper will set out some elements to define the medium-sized port city across Europe. It will highlight the complexity of the exercise. The second part will present the territories and study the governance of the two port cities by identifying the respective roles of the different stakeholders (port, municipal, regional, private, etc.). Lastly, the impact of their interplay on the port and territorial development will be explained.

2 EUROPEAN MID-SIZED PORT CITIES

Historical links between ports and towns are clear. Notably, many towns originate from ports. Indeed, it is recognised that there is a relationship between the size of a port and that of the conurbation it occupies, in particular for coastal towns with good port sites (Rodrigue & al., 2017).

Even if this correlation has lost its vigour over the last decades, it has not disappeared. There has been a gradual functional and spatial disconnection between towns and ports. Containerization has compelled ports to move further away, in a search for vast, easily accessible easements. The functional separation results from the progressive empowerment of urban functions compared with functions of interconnectedness port, maritime and transport), which make up the original functions of urban anchoring (Ducruet, 2005).

These evolutions have heightened what were already complex specificities and realities of port cities. For that matter, there is no commonly agreed definition of a port city. "The precise definition of a port city concept does not exist as such and varies according to different disciplines and even according to different approaches within the same discipline" (Ducruet, 2004). While its spatial role is clear (a traffic hub at the interface of maritime and land transport networks), the two major orientations of port cities (urban function, port function) combine in different ways. There are multiple urban-port configurations, just as there are variations in the size of port towns and cities.

Surveys on large ports dominate research on maritime transport. But, the port system is also characterized by the presence of numerous medium-sized ports which often service less extensive inland areas. Maritime geography or economic approaches less focus on these medium-sized ports and even less so (Comtois & al., 1993). Though there are issues of territorial development which justify a closer look at the inclusion of these ports and their territory in a globalized maritime system.

At the European scale, studies consider mid-sized cities as between 100 000 and 500 000 inhabitants (Giffinger, 2007). If the population of the town is of primary importance, it represents only one of the defining components. Its roles and functions within extended spaces (conurbation, region, etc.) also require special attention.

From the perspective of the port, especially because of the diversity of configurations, a wide set of criteria makes it possible to define medium-sized ports (Bird, 1971). They can be characterised rendering to the size of their facilities. But it is not sure that the extent of these infrastructures is indicative of traffic or activity (Comtois & al., 1993). Tonnage is certainly the most widely used instrument. The European Sea Ports Organisation defines medium-sized ports by traffic of between 10 and 50 million tons (Verhoeven, 2010). But this procedure also has its drawbacks such as the absence of account taken of the added value of a commodity. Most importantly, the notion of size needs to be put into perspective in accordance with the diversity of

coastline: a small Chinese port would appear like a large South American port.

So, to be as specific and exhaustive as possible, we have defined medium-sized port cities by means of this twofold component, urban and port. In order to do this, we have taken the classical quantitative indicators by assimilating the difficulty of international comparison. The medium-sized port cities taken into consideration in this paper are therefore the following (See Figure 1):

- Cities between 100 000 and 250 000 inhabitants with maritime traffic of over 10 million tons.
- And cities of over 20 000 inhabitants and fewer than 500 000 inhabitants with a port traffic of between 10 and 50 million tons.

Defining the thresholds can be subject to discussion. It is perhaps surprising to see Le Havre (because of its port traffic) classed amongst medium-sized European port cities. But, yet as early as 2004, Le Havre was not classified as a major European port despite being one of the highest performing as regards container traffic (Rozenblat, 2004). If we look again at the defining components above, its inclusion in the benchmarks seems legitimate.



Figure 1. Medium-sized port cities in Europe

3 CASE STUDIES ON MEDIUM-SIZED PORT CITIES: KLAIPEDA AND LA HAVRE

3.1 Two comparable configurations

The choice of these two cities is based not only on their belonging to our definition of a medium-sized port city, to their similarities, but also to their relative diversity which is omnipresent at European level.

By their similar populations (approximately 177000 inhabitants in 2017), Le Havre and Klaipeda are cities of comparable sizes in which port activities have a sure economic impact. Moreover, they are regularly associated with the phenomenon of shrinking cities which refers to the consequences of an urban shrinkage impacting these cities on three fronts:

loss of population; loss of activities, functions or jobs; increase in poverty and unemployment.

Klaipeda is the third largest city of Lithuania, but it witnessed a 19.3 % decline in its population from 1993 to 2010. However, the situation is less disastrous than it seems as this urban decline is largely due to suburbanization (Spiriajevas, 2015). Le Havre is one of a few industrial and port cities situated in growing regions described as shrinking cities (Genoa, Palermo, Aberdeen...) (Wolff, Fol, Roth & Cunningham-Sabot, 2013).

With regard to maritime activity, the picture is quite different. Having 72.7 million tons of traffic in 2017, the port of Le Havre is the largest port of our panel whereas Klaipeda's (46.3 Mt in 2018) is median. Similarly, the dynamics seems to be varied (See Figure 2). In fact, Le Havre's traffic has stagnated over the last twenty years, seeing the port lose market share in the northern European range (Serry, 2018). Meanwhile, the port of Klaipeda has seen intense growth. Moreover, Klaipeda has a far more diversified traffic (liquid and dry bulk like fertilizers, container, ro-ro) than the port of Le Havre, dominated by liquid bulk and containers.

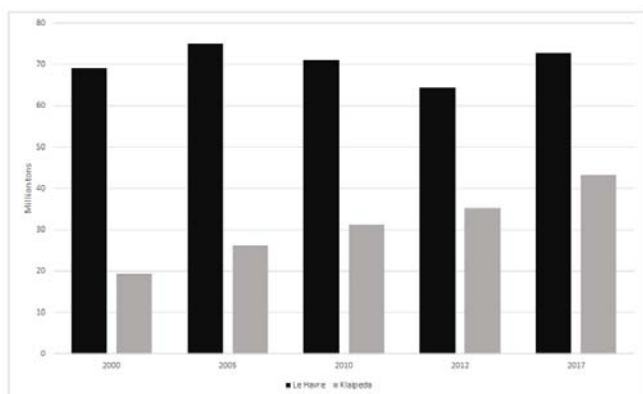


Figure 2. Trends in port traffic (Mt)
Source: Port of Le Havre, Port of Klaipeda (2018)

The situation varies considerably with regard to the port-city interface. At Le Havre, while the port activity moved away from the urban centre, it became more inward-looking. A waterfront project was consequently sharpened by the municipality, the conurbation community and the port in order to propose urban requalification to the original dock basins, as well as the adjacent neighbourhoods. At Klaipeda, the port and the city are still closely interlinked. Development of port activity is partially locked by urban morphology. On the other hand, the city's access to the sea is restricted by the port territory. Hence port function and urban function do not yet stand far apart, offering up little port wasteland to regeneration projects. Social and environmental impacts (notably dust emissions) from port activity are, in fact, very noticeable.

To finish, apart from socioeconomic similarities, these two port communities match a model of identical governance (from an institutional perspective) of Landlord Port under the direct supervision of the State.

3.2 Decision-making organization in Klaipeda

The organization and the functions of the port of Klaipeda are defined by the 1996 law. Under the direct regulation of the Lithuanian ministry of transport, the main missions of the port authority (Klaipeda State Seaport Authority) are to manage the territory in its possession, ensure safety and security, build infrastructure and perform strategic development plans. The port general director is appointed by the minister of transport.

The port development board formulates the development strategy and coordinates relations between the port and the municipal authority and governmental institutions. It is composed of representatives from the transport and finances ministries, the region, the Klaipeda municipality, representatives from the academic world, the port and its users. The port council, comprising representatives from almost the same bodies as those seen in the port development board, does not have any supervisory functions. It prepares the development plans.

The result of around ten interviews conducted in April 2017 with different actors in Klaipeda (deputy mayor, manager of the port authority of Klaipeda, directors of terminals, the manager of Lithuania's maritime academy, the manager of the public maritime transport company, managers of the Association of Lithuanian Stevedoring Companies, LJKKA) allow to analyse the decision-making organization in Klaipeda.

The institutional management of the port of Klaipeda, is based on great presence of central government. The State seems to enjoy very strong leadership.

"We are a state-run business and were set up by the ministry of transport. We are like a subsidiary of the ministry of transport". A manager of Klaipeda's port authority.

In this context, the city council finds it difficult to direct the port development in line with municipal policies:

"If I said that we have no impact on the port, this would almost be the truth. Lithuania only has one port. It's a state-run port and the municipality has no rights over it; other than the fact that we are convened to two advisory councils. The port council in which we don't have the right to vote. There's also the council for development in which we have four seats out of 23 and in which nobody pays any attention to us". The deputy mayor of Klaipeda.

So, local and central governments can face (over real-estate management, for example) in an environment where the municipality is not recognized by the port authority as a port stakeholder:

"There's no problem [in finding an agreement], but the discussions with the municipality; but it isn't a port stakeholder". A manager of Klaipeda's port authority.

Concerning private sector stakeholders, they are important partners and are present in the majority of decision-making instances. These companies participate actively in port management by means of their associations for the defence of their interests:

"We represent our industry in parliament, in the Lithuanian government and we help it to take the right decisions ... At the same time, we also discuss issues with the city council. We represent our members' interests with the city". A stevedoring company director, a manager of LJKKA.

« Our aim is to develop the port of Klaipeda together with state institutions, the port authority of Klaipeda... There are practices, such as: no direct face to face contact between the state institutions and businessmen. But generally, it's preferable to go along and negotiate with the government or ministries or the Lithuanian parliament as members of associations, for example for the port or for maritime activities". Another stevedoring company director, also a manager of LJKKA.

Companies negotiate and cooperate with the government, building coalitions which result in the municipality being marginalized in issues relating to the development of the port community. The city council, on the other hand, appears to communicate more on the defence of inhabitants faced with the negative externalities of industrial port activities.

Thus, positions are adopted which illustrate fairly classic land settlement where economic development (promoted by businesses and the State) seems to be in contradiction with the living environment and well-being of the residents (prioritized by the municipality). These tensions become exacerbated during the various electoral campaigns, be they local or national.

In such context, the lack of dialogue and the imbalance between the port authority and the municipality in their ability to wield influence (reported by a large number of port stakeholders) encourage the municipality to adopt a defensive attitude (perhaps to the detriment of the development of the port):

"I think that the city councillors should be part of the port council at the same level [as that of the port], but if the city wants to be part of the decision-making process, it should also contribute to port activities. As it stands, the city wants to take but doesn't like to give". The manager of the maritime academy of Lithuania.

Therefore, the State, the port authority, the businesses replaced by their associations, the municipality, have been described as major stakeholders. The workers' unions (such as Dockers') are not mentioned, as well as the intermediary territorial tiers (the region, for example).

3.3 Governance of the Le Havre port community

The governance of the Greater Maritime Port of Le Havre (GPMH) subscribes to the general model following the 2008 port reform. It is a public body, performing sovereign functions as well as the development of the harbour area. A The Management Board oversees the establishment and is responsible for its management. The Supervisory Board adopts the strategic guidelines for the establishment and exercises permanent control of its management. It is completed by a consultative body: the development council which is consulted on the seaport's strategic project and pricing policy. The decision-making

organization and leadership structure is clearly stated by the results from some ten interviews conducted from April to September 2017 with different stakeholders from Le Havre (elected councillors, chamber of commerce and industry directors (CCI) Seine Estuary, GPMH representatives, a stevedoring company director, port companies' association (UMEP) managers).

The State seems to be the most influential stakeholder. The institutional management of the port of Le Havre, therefore, partly resembles that which was presented in the case of Klaipeda. The geo-economic importance of the port of Le Havre, but also the former mayor of Le Havre who is the current Prime Minister, explain the particular attention paid to the development of this port community. The State ensures its control by means of senior civil representatives in all the decision-making bodies and especially the chairman of the port's management board.

"At the GPMH, decisions are taken by the management board... They're presented to a supervisory board which validates them, apart from budget matters since it's under Bercy's administrative (ministry of economy) supervision". A stevedoring company director.

According to most of the interviewed actors, entrusting the port's management to nominated officials is a handicap to territorial and port development.

"One of the main problems with port management in France is that representatives of the State are senior officials who come to the supervisory board with no genuine political mandate ... so they see to the management. There's no real vision, just management". A councillor of Le Havre.

Such port management by public officials "passing through" and "with no real local base" (according to the stakeholder interviewed), is seen as detrimental to the definition of a port and territorial strategy promoting long-term global development.

"Their careers are elsewhere, they come from elsewhere, and will return elsewhere. It would be better, as in other ports, to have people whose careers are based in this enterprise we call the port". A stevedoring company director.

In this context, the dual ministerial supervision (Transport Ministry, Economy and Finance Ministry) would complicate the management dimension and this would be to the detriment of more ambitious policies.

With regard to the urban side (City and agglomeration) it appears to be in an ambivalent position. On the one hand, the urban community of Le Havre seems to have limited power:

"The city isn't a stakeholder with strong decision-making powers [...] We aren't the ones who make the decisions, we're simply invited to the discussions... you have to realize that the governance of a port like Le Havre is largely out of the hands of the local elected officials". A councillor of Le Havre.

"As an organizing body, the City Council and the CODAH have no impact on us in our business proper". A stevedoring company director.

On the other hand, strong informal relations between the president of the GPMH board of directors and the mayor (president of the urban community: CODAH) enable the latter to have a significant impact on the main directions involving the port. These dynamics are strengthened in view of the closeness that exists between the current mayor and his predecessor, today the Prime Minister. Mechanisms of fairly classic "cross regulation" can be observed where central and decentralized powers are interwoven (Crozier & Thoenig, 1975).

"If you have a mayor of one town who has a certain power nationally and a mayor of another town who has no power nationally, you don't have the same type of relationship... And the political factor carries tremendous weight; it's clear that the quality of an institution like ours facing the Region..." A GPMH representative.

So, one informal and powerful decision-making body (acknowledged by all) has constructive cooperation between state officials (namely the director of the port) and the mayor: "the quadripartite".

"The Quadripartite, a meeting which takes place three or four times a year and brings together the mayor of Le Havre, the president of the CODAH, who is in fact one and the same, the president of the CCI and the president of the port board of directors. This is a powerful, yet totally informal, decision-making body. [...] On sensitive questions, where a choice has to be made between several scenarios, where arbitration is absolutely essential, that's what it's there for. Sometimes... it's just city and port". A councillor of Le Havre.

"That's where [at the quadripartite] discussions take place and then, depending on the decisions, well, decisions are taken at that level". A GPMH representative.

The municipal officials can also benefit from more leadership thanks to the role they play as mediators in the event of social conflicts. The municipality hovers between a form of neutrality and a mission of appeasement between the trades unions and the port management.

The unions also emerge as influential players after the State and the municipality, especially in light of their ability to block agreements. This leadership appears as a very important component when representatives of port companies are interviewed.

"If a decision issuing from the State doesn't go down well, you've got a month of strikes, a month with no work and several million euros lost... so as for me, I'd have said, the operating force: that means, the unions first". A UMEP representative.

In this context, private sector stakeholders (operators, logisticians, handlers, etc.) do not appear to have much influence in decision-making bodies.

"The share of the private sector should be increased in these decision-making groups. Sovereign power is clearly indisputable, but I think that the voice of the people on the ground should be heard, those who are involved". A UMEP representative.

Other stakeholders who could appear as key players in the system are mentioned last in our interviews or else are not cited.

In order of importance, shipping companies are poorly represented in GPMH decision-making bodies, they exercise considerable influence. Their strategies, the size of their ships..., condition the directions and development of ports. As such, they influence economic models and port infrastructures

"Here is a very important player yet one who is rather infrequently to be seen in governing bodies. He is represented all the same, but there's no need, he dictates, in fact. He's not even represented on the port supervisory board". A councillor of Le Havre.

The regional level is virtually absent from our interviews. At a time when the regionalization of ports is under discussion, the regional council is not mentioned as an important player in Normandy's port system. The lack of clarity in the distribution of roles, skills and missions seems to disadvantage identification of this echelon:

"There is the big question of the respective place the State and the region should have in these governing bodies, since the Region is increasingly called upon to co-finance infrastructural projects and the place of the Region in the governance has not yet been determined". A councillor of Le Havre.

In parallel, there is no citation from HAROPA which purpose is to coordinate the strategy of port development of the three ports on the Seine axis (Le Havre, Rouen, Paris) by promoting a pooling of strategic functions (commercial development, quality of network services into the hinterland, communication, etc.). It confirms the difficulty arising from the emergence of midway scales between the local (municipality and port community) and the national. It is clear that to date, this organization does not appear, in the eyes of the stakeholders questioned, as an echelon of reference in the development of a port like Le Havre's.

"It's a good thing that it exists and the question that really arises today is: should we go further? And we're in the process of studying that because that's what was announced at the same time as plans to reflect on regionalization". A councillor of Le Havre.

"HAROPA is better than nothing. But it's not enough. There must be much stronger integration in all the decision-making processes concerned with the Seine axis". A stevedoring company director.

Therefore, although the role of the region concerning port development, the creation of bodies of enhanced cooperation, or even mergers, seem to be under discussion, the major stakeholders remain the State (and its deconcentrated representatives), the municipal tiers (in relation to its political legitimacy) and the particularly powerful intermediary bodies (the Dockers' unions, for instance). In addition to this governance, ship-owners play a relatively solitary role. Contrary to the Klaipeda case, the workers' unions (such as Dockers') are often mentioned and they appear to carry a great deal of influence. Similarly, the intermediary territorial scales (the region, for example) seem hardly to be acknowledged (as is the case in Klaipeda).

4 GOVERNANCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE PORT AND TERRITORIES

Port city, which serves as a link between local territories and the global economy, is an interaction of both urban and port systems, giving rise to its complex and dynamic nature (Xiao & Lam, 2017). Mutations in international trade have forced ports to transform and generally move away from the city. Nowadays, in order to be competitive, ports must effectively interact within their own territory. This contains building infrastructures, coordinating actors and cargo flows, creating long-term relationships with private entrepreneurs and public parties... (Debie, Lavaud-Letilleul, Parola, 2013). So, it can be more difficult for municipal representatives, for instance, to understand what are the current trends in the maritime industry and the need for port development of any magnitude in order to remain competitive. There is a rising separation of the city from the port, fuelled by institutional and organizational rationales peculiar to each stakeholder and territory.

Consequently, despite standardisation of the modalities of governance according to the landlord port model (Verhoeven, 2010), there is no single archetype. For that matter, this model already distinguishes the hanseatic configuration. This model describes a "governance of proximity", striking the right balance between private port and Latin pattern (in which the port is under the influence of the State) (Tourret, 2014). Furthermore, each port is exposed on a variable basis to political bodies of the different institutional levels (municipal, regional, provincial, national, international). Associated to this is the impact of the mechanisms for delivering goods, which are decisions taken by the private sector. This variety of scales and multiplication in the number of stakeholders make up the general framework in which the modes of governance of world seaport systems fit (Comtois, 2014).

In this context, the organization of the urban project and port project, spatial planning or the drafting of urban planning documents reveal the nature of relations between stakeholders as they represent the fundamental issues of territorial development. The geopolitics of urban-port development is based on conflicts of practices and is expressed fairly classically. National, regional or municipal interests are often at odds with each other (Brooks, Cullinane, Pallis, 2017). On this occasion, the imperatives concerning the environment, the economy, the well-being of inhabitants, fishing, logistics and industrial activities, etc., may raise objections to port development. In the case of Klaipeda, for example, the development of tourism and protection of living conditions, promoted by the municipality, encounter negative externalities and land requirements for port activity. In the case of Le Havre, the particular interests of the port authority (duplicated by its land management mission) might lead it to rein in the economic and industrial development of the territory:

"I have a stakeholder today, the port, which has a real land policy which can even conflict with economic development. There are areas of interest but where industry won't be set up. Because industry doesn't provide activity and as a port, what interests the port is developing traffic.

So what you find is a port with a land strategy which has to legitimately provide activity but which in reality won't provide the economic and especially the industrial activity of the territory". A manager of a chamber of commerce and industry of the Seine-Estuary, April 2017

Consequently, the ability of stakeholders to set up regulatory areas, formal and informal arenas likely to reconcile the different projects, is fundamental. At Le Havre, the alignment of port and urban projects benefits from the "quadripartite" regulation. Strong local government (municipal and intercommunal) guarantees that there is mutual recognition between stakeholders. In the Lithuanian case, the "interlocking/interconnecting" of projects seems to suffer from a form of manipulation of the port issue driven by the mayor in order to express his inclinations to resist in the face of central government. The lack of reciprocal recognition culminates in a development which would benefit from more reconciliation:

"There are two of them [projects]... because they are not combined and there are two distinct developments, not just one". The manager of Lithuania's maritime academy.

"The port has its vision, the city has its own...". A manager of the public maritime transport company, April 2017

Consequently, urban projects and port projects will produce games and strategies which are illustrated most notably through attempts to appropriate spaces:

"The city is always intimidating the port so as to regain access to the water, to increase its surface area for port activities". A stevedoring company director, a manager of LJKKA.

This unstable governance, where leadership of the local, central and port authorities is endlessly under discussion, accentuates the areas of uncertainty for economic stakeholders who require institutional stability:

"We need clear, legitimate boundaries for the development of the future port of Klaipeda. The port and the municipality don't want to come to an agreement... We're very willing to determine the areas for future development for the next 25 years". Another stevedoring company director, a manager of LJKKA.

The partisan dimension (political parties) also characterizes local governance. Depending on the context, it can have an impact on the dynamics of territorial development. In the case of Klaipeda, for example, national bipartite oppositions can be seen at local level in the port sector:

"In all of this you can see a redolence of politics [...] we now have a liberal party at the head of the municipal council. If the director of the port authority were of the same party, I don't think we'd have a conflict. But at the moment, the director of the port authority is in the social-democrat party and the head of the municipal council in the opposing party". A director of a stevedoring company, a manager of LJKKA.

The drafting of territorial planning documents is therefore a considerable political issue. In the two cases examined, they enable the communal block to "regain control" in a relationship where the State

appears often as the privileged interlocutor of the port authority. In this, the communal block sees itself endowed with an excess of leadership:

"It is clearly the urban planning laws that impact heavily on the port's flexibility. In the end, it's the regulations that result in a sort of game of dependence of the port concerning those municipalities: it's what they authorize... In the end, there's a time when the municipalities dictate the regulations in force in their territories". A representative of the GPMH.

On the other hand, urban planning documents are also learning tools for cooperation (Loubet, 2012) and help to improve the dynamics of local development. In addition, "Spatial planning, urban planning and development documents therefore constitute territorial arenas for dialogue between stakeholders (Nadou, 2013):

"Before, in those towns, it was partial land use plans and the port territory was outside the partial land use plans. One day, they were asked to review those partial land use plans and were asked: what are you going to write on the port, then? So then, the port and the towns interacted. It was the impact of the Solidarity and Urban Renewal act. So typically in areas like that, it made two stakeholders come and talk to one another...". A GPMH representative.

This makes port decision-makers re-examine their territorial anchorage, operate an "expansion of their baseline territorial status" (Loubet, 2011), here the port. Similarly, they incite councillors, technicians and even inhabitants, to question the port's integration in the city and the way in which they participate in building a sense of identity. As such, the procedure of drafting urban planning documents reconciles urban and port projects. It also constitutes a means for testing the organizational competence of local communities in a context of increasing complexity where account should be taken of the plurality of stakeholders and all of the issues. As in the management of social movements in the port of Le Havre, the "mediation" (Muller, 2000) used bolsters the municipal and intercommunal leadership.

So, structuring planning tools, different projects and multiple spatialities brings to light a multifaceted interplay: public/private relationships, institutional interference, effects of competition and a divergence in viewpoints between people of the sea and those of the land (Foulquier, 2009). Similarly, "the relationship with public authority remains ambivalent, between the need for strategic supervision to see ahead and calls for autonomy to act faster. The State advances at its own pace, but it still has a great deal to undertake where ports are concerned, in particular to give sense to land and environmental management" (Guillaume, 2014). Thus, the port authorities have been encouraged to think about the medium and long-term relevance of their development strategies. What is important is no longer the tonne handled, but the economic impact on the territory, especially in terms of job creation (Lemaire, 2012).

Moreover, the rescaling of ports means that cities have to go along with the new territorial re-composition. "The complexity and extremely contextual character of the issues make it indispensable that there is collaboration between the

different stakeholders and the preliminary study of the strengths and weaknesses of the territory... A good city/port relationship would thus appear to be indispensable" (Jugie, 2014). As a consequence, scales and contexts are of primordial importance. A country with a big number of ports will conduct a different policy from another, boasting few ports, or ports having little impact on the domestic economy (Foulquier & Maugeri, 2014).

Furthermore, structural changes caused by global, intermodal logistics are redefining the relationships between the port and its region (Comtois, 2014). Ports today enlarge their activities and functional involvement above and beyond their metropolitan or regional borders. (Prelorenzo, 2011). There remains, however, an unfamiliarity with the advantages for the whole territory which are connected to maritime traffic (be it regional or national). It therefore seems imperative to reflect upon the scales in discussions, in a context where decentralizing ports enables the regions to exercise and impact on port infrastructures and the development of seafront and inland areas. Increasingly, the regional stakeholder is encouraged to strengthen his leadership in the governance of port communities. Yet according to the cases of Le Havre and Lithuania, his role appears to be only poorly identified.

5 CONCLUSION

If the analysis of the Le Havre and Lithuanian case is not sufficient enough to operate an increase in generalization, it suggests some avenues for further reflections with the aim of optimizing port governance for the purpose of territorial development. These cases emphasize the need to understand port and city decision-making organization in their specific temporal and spatial contexts.

Our first findings seem to value the role of stakeholders, their ability to adopt cooperative behaviors within specific territorial configurations. Beyond the institutional context, the relationships between stakeholders require particular attention. The degree of dependence on central government, the interplay between deconcentrated and decentralized local authorities constitute an environment structuring the quality of cooperative relationships and local development. Similarly, it would appear that if the entrepreneurial sphere and intermediary bodies (associations and unions) contribute extensively to territorial and port governance, their influence appears to vary considerably depending on the territories. Their interplay and strategies might appear as variables which could explain the many issues. Moreover, what can be said of the virtual absence of one main stakeholder, ship-owners, in decision-making bodies? How can an increased role of the regional level be envisaged with such a timid presence in stakeholder representation in the port community? An in-depth analysis using a group of European cases would make it possible to lay the groundwork of these avenues of reflection.

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