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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF PORT GOVERNANCE AND COOPERATION BETWEEN ACTORS IN EUROPEAN PORT-CITIES

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ABSTRACT

Maritime industry transformations force ports to redefine their scope of activities and has an impact on the new trajectories of governance marked by a new level of complexity which has caused a reshaping of the actors' system involved in the organization of ports. Models of port governance commonly consider the "public sector" to be a homogeneous object. But, its variety, the functions it performs and how it is linked with each other actor in the port are not so much analysed. So, the paper aims to provide some insights into this question. Moreover, the development of port activity echoes in the regional economy as well, hence governance is essential to maximizing the impact of ports on their region's economic development. The territory may be a resource for the port and its development. Correspondingly, the port is involved in urban/regional development. Likewise, the paper also seeks to identify the characteristics, constraints and dynamics of the relationship between ports and cities and to study their potential impacts on territorial development. It specifically focuses on an intermediate scale of port-cities. The methodology of this paper is primarily qualitative: interviews are conducted among key actors in ports. Collected speeches are the subject of a content analysis and a statistical treatment of textual data. The study mainly focuses on interrogations about the institutional status of the ports, the issues and consequences of the choices or the role of each category of actors (private /public for instance) in port and/or city governance.

Keywords: Port-city, Governance, Europe, Territorial development

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays maritime industry is facing up to a phase of liberalisation and deregulation that reinforces concentration and a largest integration of logistical operations with the other modes of transport that contribute to the transformation of territorial economies. It forces ports to redefine their scope of activities. These movements should have an impact on the new trajectories of governance and partnerships between ports and cities in Europe. Since the 1960s, port cities have undergone major transformations, which have had repercussion on their spatial and social dynamics. Until then, port cities were a combination of two entities acting as one. However, various factors gradually led to changes in this organic system (Daamen, Vries, 2013). It is therefore 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. As a result, managing these spaces is a key issue and port governance is marked by a new level of complexity that has caused a reshaping of the system of actors involved in the organization of ports.

The relation between cities and ports has been exhaustively analysed from different perspectives. There is a plentiful literature about port or port-city governance. The goal of this paper is not to produce one more analysis or model about these governances. It analyses the interplay between the stakeholders who shape port dynamics by considering them as challenges

in the development of the wider territory (extending beyond the port boundaries). European ports are dominated by the landlord port model, encompassing both the Hanseatic or Latin organisation. These territories are particularly concerned by the questions of the division of the uses of space and by the complexity and heterogeneity of the institutional framework (Debrie, Lavaud-Letilleul, Parola, 2013). We shall focus especially on the process of governance envisaged as a key driver of territorial development (Torre, 2018): "*territorial governance cannot be reduced to forms of cooperation and common constructions. It is more a question of interaction between the forces that foster cooperation and other conflicts. The processes of territorial development are carried out through phases of negotiation, collaboration or appeasement, but also of far more animated, or conflicting periods during which certain groups or categories of stakeholders are in disagreement, sometimes virulently, to define the course of action and options to retain*" (Torre, 2018).

The paper presents the first results of a research project supported by a European benchmark, which will incorporate medium-sized port-cities (Trieste, Dunkirk, Liverpool, Goteborg, Gdansk, A Coruña, Thessaloniki and Tarragona...). In this project, the analysis of decision-making processes will allow us to highlight dynamics of cooperation, but also antagonistic logics. In a highly competitive European context, the project will lead to recommendations to enhance the attractiveness and efficiency of ports in the French region of Normandy. We present here the cases of Le Havre (France) 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[1]. Qualitative analysis gives us a unique depth of understanding of port and city development and it offers a dynamic approach to research, producing valuable conversation around a subject. Commonly in human geography, interviews pose standardized, formally structured questions to a group of individuals, often presumed to be a sample of a broader population (McGuirk and O'Neill, 2016). The interview as a research method in geography enable richness of detail and complexity that can be derived from an interview-based approach allows to reconstruct a coherent representation of how and why particular phenomena came to be (Schoenberger, 1991).

The cases also illustrate a desire to privilege an intermediary scale by examining medium-sized port cities and their hinterland. Here there are particularly strong links between the city and the port. The degree of interdependence is especially high when one compares it to larger port cities. Furthermore, the reciprocal impacts of urban and port dynamics emerge more clearly. In effect, "*the presence of a port within a town has many positive local effects. Port activities, if they can have positive effects on employment or economic development, for*

[1] Our methodology subscribes to traditional methods of qualitative analysis in human and social sciences. Using a guide, we conducted about twenty interviews with key players in the port-city systems. These interviews form the heart of our fieldwork. Following the collection of the data, we have chosen to process a content analysis aimed at the description, understanding and interpretation of the actors' speeches in relation to our hypotheses. Then a comparative analysis, based on the different "content analyses", identified each actor's respective positions in relation to each theme, highlighting convergences and divergences. The quantity of collected materials (more than 400 pages of transcript) led us to perform content analyses according to the following model: we cut each interview according to thematic units (actor culture, personal variables, power and roles of the actor, impacts of port activity, impacts of municipal policy, relationship with other territories, interface port city, ecosystem and hinterland relations, industrial activities, fishing, transport-logistics, political issues, economic issues, identity issues, environmental issues, decision-making processes… Then we analyzed each unit using a comparative analysis of the speeches of actors.
In order to validate these results, a statistical processing of the interviews was carried out using *Alceste* textual statistics software.

instance, can also be the cause of environmental degradation. […] Some urban projects set up by the local community can also go against the interests of the port's needs. Land-use conflicts can sometimes arise" (Merk et al., 2011).

In the first part, this article is setting 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...). Finally, the impact of their interplay on the port and territorial development will be clarified.

2. Medium-sized port cities across Europe

The historical links between ports and towns is well known: many towns originate from them. Old maps show strong interconnections between the development of ports and urban development. Indeed, it is acknowledged 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 et al., 2017).

Even if this association has lost its force over the last decades, it has not disappeared. Several studies have thus noted a relative weakening in the relationship between increase in port traffic and a rise in the urban population as well as per capita GDP (OECD, 2014). Since the second half of the 20th century, there has been a gradual functional and spatial disconnection between towns and ports (Ducruet, 2005). The containerization revolution has compelled ports to move further away, in a search for vast, easily accessible easements. The building of gradually gigantic ships raises the question of a port's capacity to be able to accommodate these giants of the seas (Bourdin and Cornier, 2015). Ports are now established in the peri-urban space or indeed, if the physical environment was not propitious, outside the town (Jugie, 2014). This functional disconnection 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).

There is no commonly agreed definition of what a port city is. "*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). A simple definition defines the port city as a city exerting port and maritime activities. It can also be seen as a communication node between land and maritime networks developing auxiliary activities and having a strong influence on the spatial organization of the outlying region (Brocard, 1994). Another definition insists on the intensity degree of port-city relations and the imbalanced direction of the mutual socio-economic influence between port and city (Forno, 1985). In fact, "*port-city relations change over time, resulting in various configurations of port-city relations, each having its own logics*" (Ducruet, 2011). Roger Brunet underlines the difficulty in "*treating an unidentified real object*" (Brunet, 1997). Although its role in geographic space is clear (a traffic hub at the interface of maritime and land transport networks), the two major functions of port cities combine in different ways. There are multiple configurations, just as there are variations in the size of port towns and cities. From the urban side, it is difficult to give a precise definition of a medium-sized city, especially in the case of international comparisons (Démazière, 2014). Most authors use demographic data and, at the European scale, studies consider medium-sized towns as between 100 000 and 500 000 inhabitants.

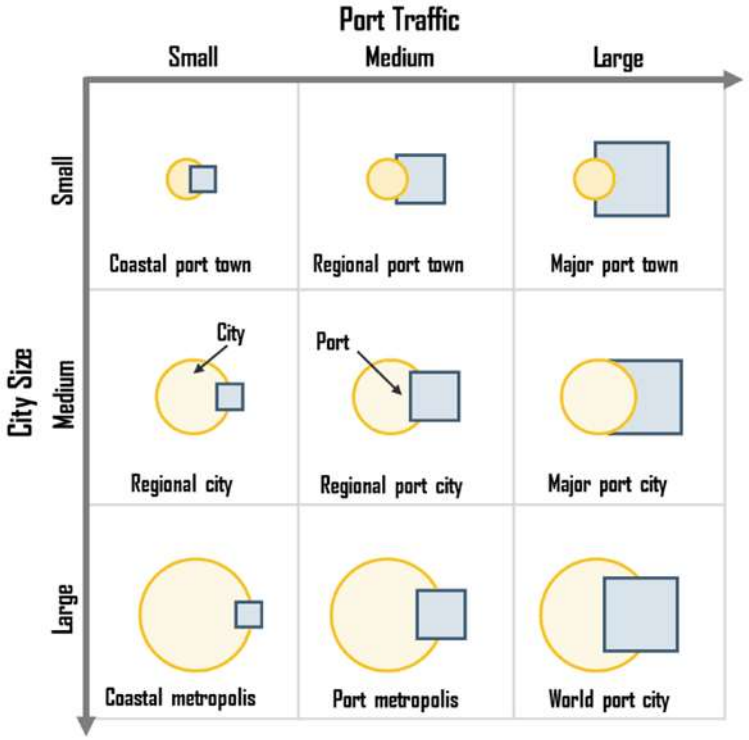
With regard to the maritime function, big ports handle a vast majority of the cargo carried. Therefore, they constitute a pertinent level for analysing the ports' evolutions. Studies on large ports dominate maritime transport research. However, the port world is also characterized by the permanence of medium-sized ports, which often service less extensive inland areas. Maritime geography focuses its research less on these medium-sized ports and economic approaches even less so (Comtois et al., 1993). However, there are issues of territorial development that justify a closer look at the inclusion of these ports in a globalized maritime system and their territory.

A broad set of criteria makes it possible to define medium-sized ports (Bird, 1971). They can be categorized in terms of the range of their facilities (quay length, for example). However, there is no certainty that the extent of these infrastructures is indicative of traffic or activity (Comtois et al., 1993). Tonnage is certainly the most widely used instrument. European Seaports Association defines medium-sized ports by traffic of between 10 and 50 million tonnes (Verhoeven, 2010). Nevertheless, this procedure also has its drawbacks such as the absence of account taken of the added value of a commodity. Sometimes, another criterion used is of an institutional nature, since large ports often come under domestic supervision and smaller ones are administered at local level. Such a definition does not take account of spatial diversities, nor national ones, like the presence of private ports, or even the often major role of municipal jurisdiction. Most importantly, the notion of size needs to be put into perspective in accordance with the diversity of the coastline: a small Chinese port would appear like a large South American port. Consequently, using tonnage to distinguish large-sized ports from medium-sized ports is specifically regional (Comtois et al., 1993).

Jean Paul Rodrigue clearly stated the relationship between the size of an urban area and the size of a port as well as the growing level of possible divergence between the level of port activity and city size (Rodrigue et al., 2017). Therefore, nowadays, port size can thus be totally unconnected from city size.

Figure 1: Typology of Port Cities

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Source: Rodrigue (2017)

Markus Hesse (Hesse, 2010) proposes a typology of port cities, which integrates the regional scale as well as the dynamics:

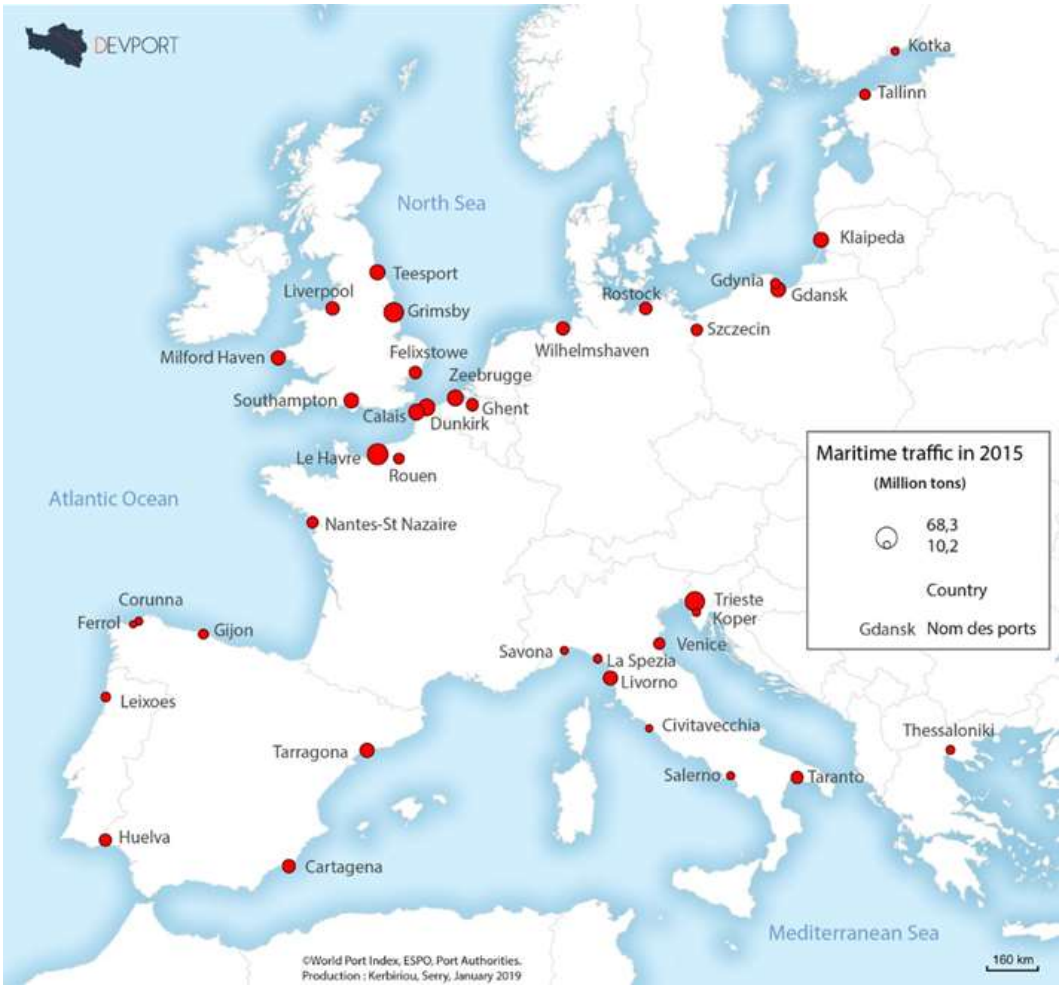
- Large diverse cities with a decline in port function and gateway;
- Stable port cities, albeit with a decline of the port in the regional economy;
- Port cities experiencing a constant decline in port concentration;
- Port cities with increased competitiveness or extending their hinterland, developing alliance strategies or institutional changes.

In our study, we have chosen to define medium-sized port cities by means of this twofold component, urban and port. In order to do this, we have retained the traditional quantitative indicators by assimilating the difficulty of international comparison. The medium-sized port cities taken into account in our work are therefore the following (Figure 2):

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

Figure 2: Medium-sized port cities in Europe

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Source: Loubet & Serry (2018)

Defining the thresholds can be subject to discussion. It might be surprising to see Le Havre categorized amongst medium-sized European port cities because it is sometimes classified as a major port city (OECD, 2014) and it can also be considered as the port of Paris, connected as it is by a corridor. However, 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).

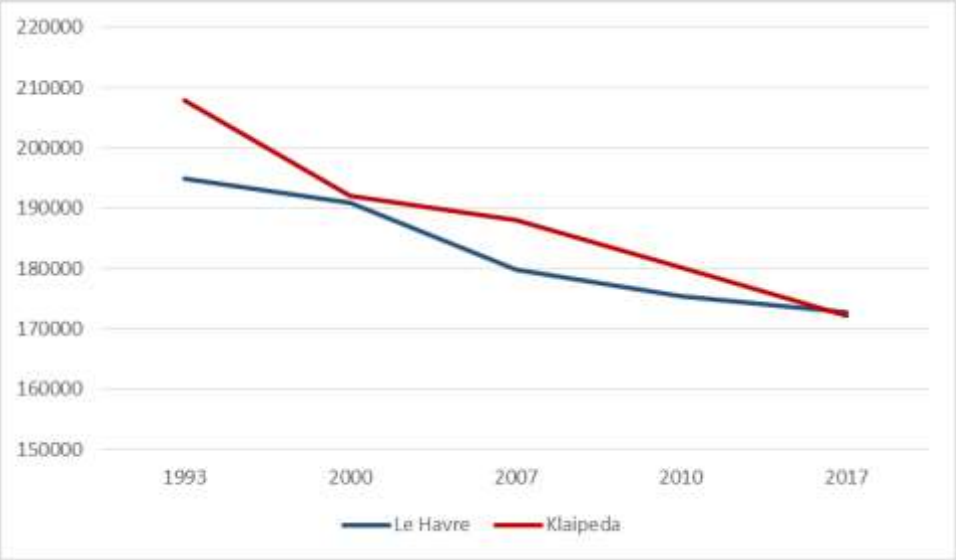
3. GOVERNANCE IN STUDIED PORT COMMUNITIES

3.1. The two case studies: Le Havre and Klaipeda

Le Havre and Klaipeda cities were chosen because they belong to our definition of a medium-sized port city, because of their similarities, and because of their comparative diversity (omnipresent diversity at European level).

At first, the cities have comparable populations with approximately 177000 inhabitants in 2017. Therefore, Le Havre and Klaipeda are cities of comparable dimensions in which port activities have a certain economic impact. Moreover, their names are regularly associated with the phenomenon of shrinking cities that refers to the consequences of an urban shrinkage impacting on these cities on three fronts: loss of population (Figure 3); loss of activities, functions or jobs; increase in poverty and unemployment (Géoconfluences, 2016).

Figure 3: Demographic decline in Le Havre and Klaipeda (1993-2017)

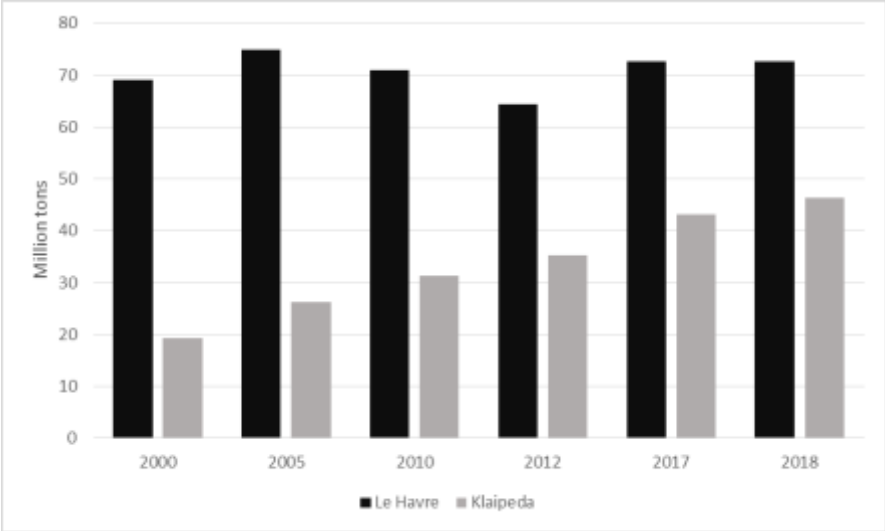


Source: INSEE, Statistics Lithuania (2018)

Although Klaipeda is the third largest city of Lithuania, it witnessed a 19.3 % decline in its population between 1993 and 2010. In Lithuania, this trend is particularly acute (Bruneckienė and Sinkienė, 2015), connected notably to high emigration. However, the situation is less catastrophic than it seems as this urban decline is mainly due to suburbanization (Spiriajevas, 2015). For its part, Le Havre is one of the eight large conurbations in France experiencing shrinkage (Cunningham-Sabot and Fol, 2009). Despite this being a continuous trend, it remains limited (annual population losses above 0.25 % since 1975). Le Havre is one of a few industrial and port cities situated in growing regions sometimes described as shrinking cities (like Genoa, Palermo and Aberdeen) (Wolff, Fol, Roth and Cunningham-Sabot, 2013).

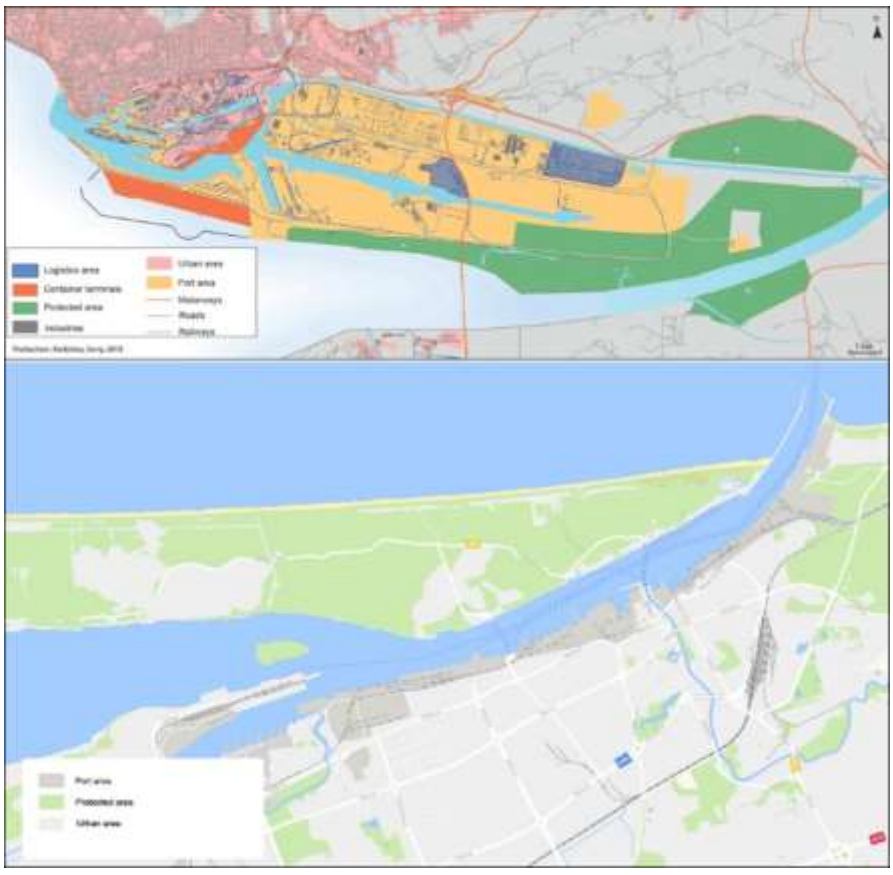
Regarding port activity, the picture is somewhat different. With its 72.7 million tonnes (Mt) of traffic in 2018, the port of Le Havre is the largest port in our study whereas Klaipeda's (46.3 Mt in 2018) is median. Similarly, the dynamics seems to be varied (Figure 4). In effect, Le Havre's traffic has stagnated over the last two decades, seeing the port lose market share in the northern European range (Serry, 2018). Meanwhile, the port of Klaipeda has seen strong growth. Moreover, Klaipeda has a far more diversified traffic (liquid bulk, dry bulk like fertilizers, container, roll on/roll off) than the port of Le Havre, dominated by liquid bulk and containers.

Figure 4: Trends in port traffic (Mt)



Source: Le Havre and Klaipeda Port Authorities (2019)

Figure 5: Two different spatial configurations



Source: GPMH, Port of Klaipeda, City of Klaipeda

Port employment is omnipresent in the two cities in our study. According to INSEE (the French National Institute for Statistics and Economic Research), Le Havre's industrial port complex employed 30200 salaried employees in 2014, including 13470 in the maritime and port cluster. At Klaipeda, approximately 800 companies, employing over 23000 people, are engaged in activities linked to the port, including 10300 located in the city of Klaipeda.

The situation varies considerably with regard to the port-city interface (see Figure 5). At Le Havre, while the port activity moved away from the urban centre, it became more inward-looking. A city-port interface project was therefore defined by the municipality, the conurbation community and the port in order to restore the original dock basins, their facilities as well as the adjacent neighbourhoods. At Klaipeda, the port and the city are still closely interlinked. Development of port activity is held well in check by its 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 obvious. Lastly, 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.

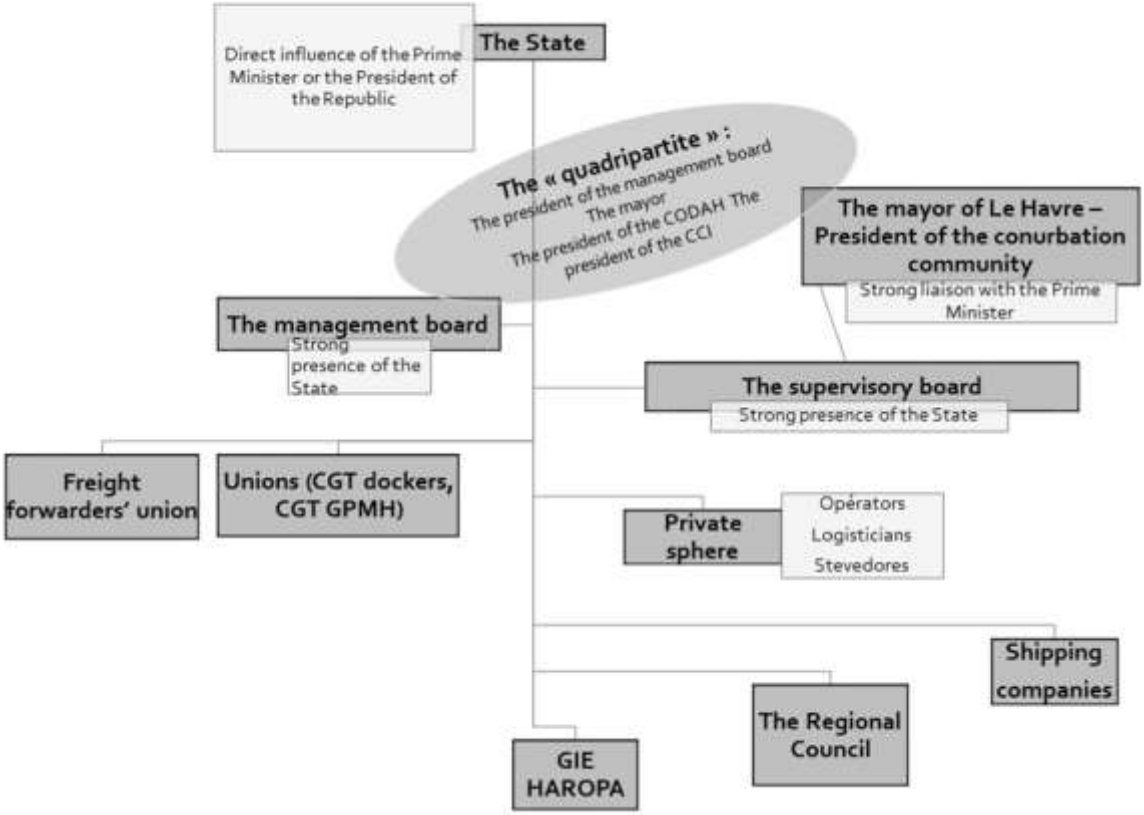
3.2. Governance of the Le Havre port community

As a result of the 2008 port reform, the port of Le Havre, like other large French ports, became "Grand Port Maritime" (GPM - "Greater Maritime Port"). These GPM are public bodies, perform sovereign functions as well as the development of the harbour area. The ports become outright owners of their domain but make it their aim to work in "harmony" with the territory accommodating them and the stakeholders and regional authorities that govern it. Similarly, coordination between ports on the same coastline or waterway axis is greatly encouraged (HAROPA, Le HAvre-ROuen-PAris, was created in 2012 to this end). These "inter-port authorities" have been developed to broaden their scope of action, in order to integrate strategic issues such as investment coordination and engage in a wider range of activities (Debrie et al., 2017).

The decision-making organization of the greater maritime port council of Le Havre (GPMH) subscribes to the general model: a management board ensuring the management of the establishment as well as its administration; the Management Board oversees the establishment and is responsible for its management. The Supervisory Board adopts the strategic guidelines for the port 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. We will not detail here the composition of these three organs that group together representatives of the State, the local territorial authorities, personnel from public institutions, skilled people from chambers of commerce or large companies. Figure 6 shows the decision-making organization and leadership structure according to the representations of the port stakeholders interviewed. They result from some ten interviews conducted in 2017 with different stakeholders from Le Havre (elected councillors, chamber of commerce and industry directors (CCI) Seine Estuary, GPMH representatives, a handling company director, association of port companies (Union Maritime et Portuaire, UMEP) managers. This diagram makes it possible to understand the port governance according to the ability that the different stakeholders have to influence port rulings. Figure 7, obtained from processing the textual data software[2], confirms our results and highlights the leadership of the central government in the governance of the port place of Le Havre.

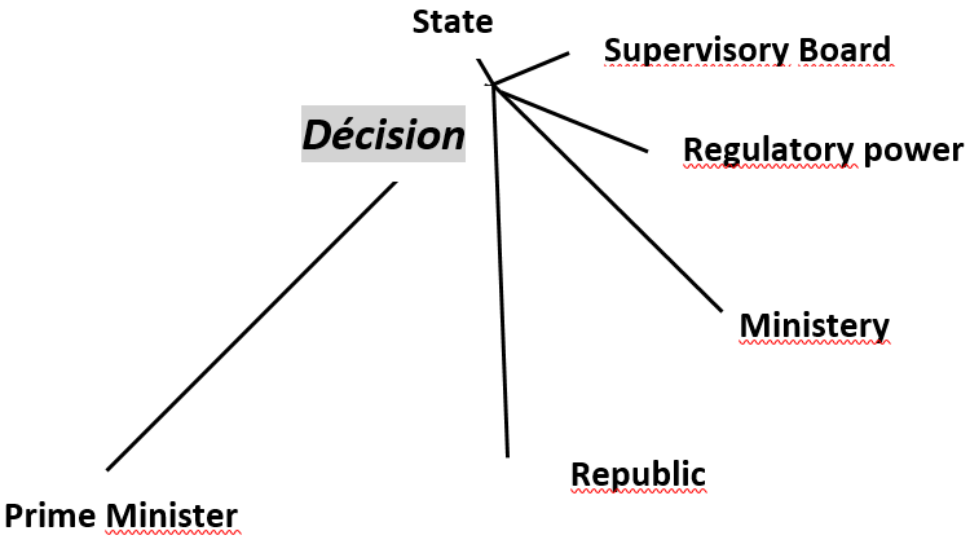
[2] Methodology: using textual statistics software, we analyzed the discourses of the interviewed actors. Such graph "form network" represents the number of text segments in which the chosen term chosen ("decision") is correlated with other words in the discourse. The most redundant words appear automatically on the chart. If the word is

Figure 6: Stakeholders governing Le Havre's port community



Source: Loubet & Serry (2018)

Figure 7: Port decision - Discourses' analysis



closed to the central one, it means that the number of text segments in which the two terms appear is high. The closer the words are, the stronger are the correlations.

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Source: made by the authors.

"*At the GPMH, decisions are taken by the management board. Why? Because they're put forward by the management board. The development board might be apprised… There's no obligation. They're presented to a supervisory board which validates them, apart from budget matters since it's under Bercy's administrative supervision and only they can say "no" or "we need justification for that". I think, and we know this, that they (Bercy) are very involved in the administrative supervision*". A handling company director, September 2017

Yet according to most of the stakeholders interviewed, entrusting the port's management to senior 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, June 2017

Port management by senior 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 handling company director, September 2017

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 community bloc (City and urban community: CODAH, Communauté d'Agglomération Havraise) it appears to be in an ambivalent position. On the one hand, the urba 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, June 2017

"*As an organizing body, the City Council and the CODAH have no impact on us in our business proper*". A handling company director, September 2017

On the other hand, strong informal relations between the president of the GPMH board of directors and the mayor (president of the 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.

"*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, June 2017

Consequently, one informal and powerful decision-making body (acknowledged by all) has constructive cooperation between state officials (namely the port director) 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 Chamber of Commerce and Industry 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 there's no point in being four, in fact there are actually only three of them, sometimes it's just city and port*". A councillor of Le Havre, June 2017

"*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, June 2017

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 GPM management.

The unions, therefore, emerge as influential players after the State and the municipality, especially according to the stakeholders interviewed, 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, June 2017

In this context, private sector stakeholders (operators, logisticians, handlers...) 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, June 2017

Other stakeholders who could appear as key players in the system are mentioned last in our interviews or else are not cited: ship-owners, the Regional Council and HAROPA.

In order of importance, ship-owners, although poorly represented in GPMH decision-making bodies, they exercise considerable influence.

"*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, June 2017

Their strategies, the size of their ships, the enormous size of their container carriers one often sees, condition the directions and development of ports. As such, they influence economic models and port infrastructures.

Regarding the regional stakeholder, he 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, June 2017

Similarly, there is no citation from the HAROPA that confirms the difficulty arising from the emergence of echelons midway between the local (municipality and port community) and the national. In effect, HAROPA's 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...). It is clear that to date that 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?*". A councillor of Le Havre, June 2017

"*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 handling company director, September 2017.

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 example). In addition to this governance, ship-owners play a relatively solitary role in a context maximizing the areas of uncertainty, but also their scope for freedom.

3.3. Governance of the port community of 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 produce strategic development plans.

The port development council 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. Regarding the port council, it does not have any supervisory functions. It prepares the development plans. It comprises representatives from the same bodies as those seen in the port development board.

Figure 8 presents the decision-making organization and structure of leadership, according to the representations from the port stakeholders interviewed. It is the result of around ten interviews conducted in April 2017 with different stakeholders 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).

The institutional management of the port of Klaipeda, therefore, partly resembles that which was presented in the case of Le Havre, however with a greater 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

In this respect, local and central government can oppose one another (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

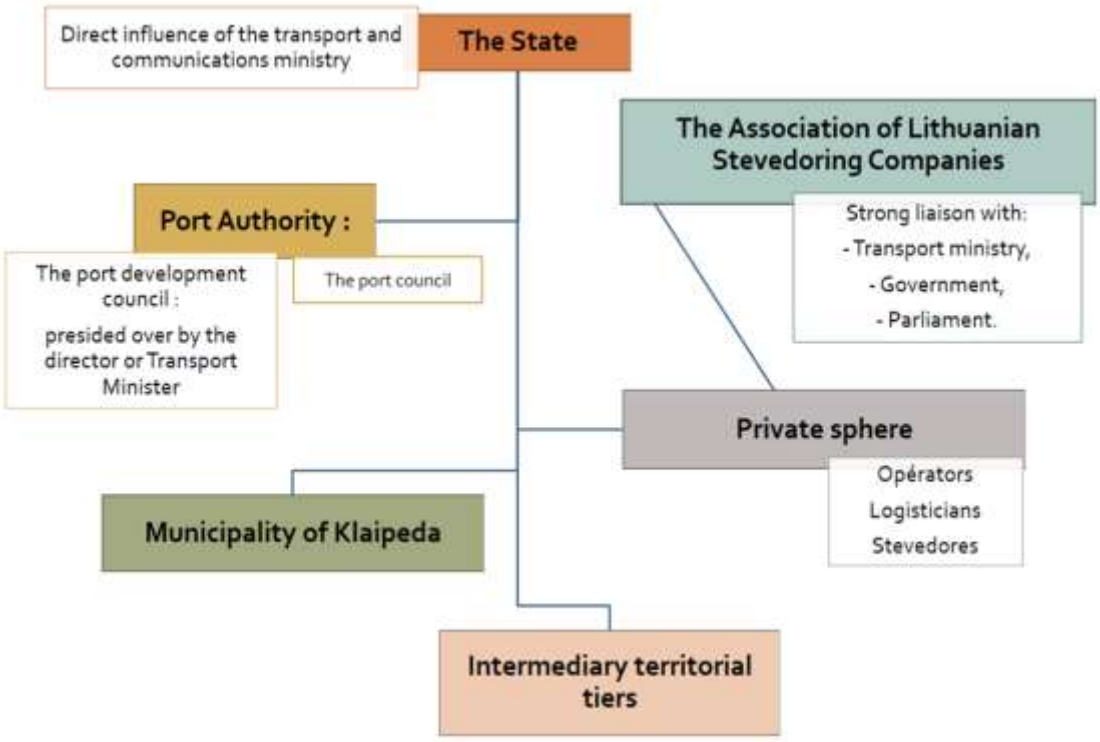
Regarding private sector stakeholders (companies), they are important partners and are present in the majority of decision-making instances. These companies participate actively in port management by means of their associations for the defence of their interests:

"*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 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 director, also a manager of LJKKA

Figure 8: Governing stakeholders of the Klaipeda port community

ISSN:



Source: made by the authors.

They 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.

Consequently, positions are adopted that 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:

"*It's a lot of politics and lots of people want to make political gain out of it: "Look, they are bad people, blahblahblah, don't believe them" on the other hand "OK, we might not be good people, but we pay good salaries and we've got the jobs…*". There's an internal issue "*Who's the leader?*" "*The city or the port?*" "Who's the main one? A manager of a public maritime transport company

In this 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' or others) were not mentioned, contrary to the Le Havre case where they appear to carry a great deal of influence. Similarly, the intermediary territorial tiers (the region, for example) seem hardly to be acknowledged (as is the case in Le Havre).

4. THE ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PORT AND TERRITORIES

Changes in international trade have forced ports to transform and in general move away from the city. This spatial distancing can lead to a weakening of links in a context where there is a correlation between "spatial proximity" and "cognitive proximity" (Bouba-Olga and Grossetti, 2008). It is more difficult for municipal stakeholders, for example, to gauge 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 growing separation of the city from the port, fuelled by institutional and organizational rationales peculiar to each stakeholder and territory.

Therefore, despite normalization of the modalities of governance according to the landlord port model (Verhoeven, 2010), there is no single archetype. However, if the functioning scheme is very similar the political, context of each port changes the governance capacities of each port authority (Pages Sanchez, 2016). 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 (Tourret, 2014). This Latin model applies a more centralised governance organisation in which the port authority is more connected to the decisions and planning from the central government (Ferrari, Parola, Tei, 2015). Furthermore, each port is subjected on a variable basis to political bodies of the different institutional levels (municipal, regional, provincial, national, international). For instance, in Sweden or Finland, municipalities are the major public sector entity involved in port ownership and operation (Bergqvist, Cullinane, 2017). Moreover, there are some important impacts 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. The achievement of win–win solutions in port cities often remains an enormous challenge (Daamen, Vries, 2013). On this occasion, the imperatives concerning the environment, the economy, the well-being of inhabitants, fishing, logistics and industrial activities, 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 myself have a stakeholder today, the port, which has a real land policy that 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 that 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, April 2017

"*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 handling company director, a manager of ljkka, April 2017

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 handling company director, a manager of LJKKA, April 2017

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 handling company, a manager of LJKKA, April 2017

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, the PLU (local urban planning). 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*". UA representative of the GPMH, June 2017

On the other hand, urban planning documents are also learning tools for cooperation 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, which also have strategic and developmental scope" (Nadou and Demazière, 2018).

"*Which project is it for the town and which place does the town give to the port in this project? […] Before, in those towns, all the way to Gonfreville, 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, June 2017.

This makes port decision-makers re-examine their territorial anchorage, operate an "expansion of their baseline territorial status" (Loubet, 2011), here the port. Freed from the burden of port territoriality, participating in a reflection on urban planning documents encourages port decision-makers to develop a wider territoriality and "local citizenship" (Poche, 1992). 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.

Therefore, 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). Consequently, 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).

Furthermore, 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). Consequently, scales and contexts are of primordial importance. A country with a large number of ports will conduct a very different policy from another, boasting few ports, or ports having little impact on the domestic economy (Foulquier and Maugeri, 2014).

Moreover, structural changes caused by global, intermodal logistics are redefining the relationships between the port and its region (Comtois, 2014). Ports now expand 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 that are connected to maritime traffic (be it regional or national). Therefore, it 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. CONCLUSIONS

In the studied port-cities we found common problems, e.g. environmental issues, traffic associated to port activity or land use competition. However, the institutional, political, or environmental context plays a crucial role, generating specific behaviours. 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 reflection in action research with the aim of optimizing port governance for the purpose of territorial development.

Many governments seek improvements in port governance. To do so, strengthening the understanding of port city relations is particularly relevant. To insert governance is a challenge as the complexity, the perspectives of the various actors, the institutionalization of the port and the character of the issues are very contextual. Each port has its own cultural, historical and political heritage. As a result, there is no governance type. For instance, eastern Baltic ports have experienced significant reforms for twenty years now. The general trend favours the landlord port model in which the public-private partnership has become essential. But a differentiation emerged in the port regulations. An organization close to the Hanseatic model strongly focused on corporatization stands in Estonia and Finland where the ports management may even be deprived. There governance is quite different from the case of Klaipeda when in Latvia the situation is intermediate, leaving more place to local authorities when the role of private companies remains unclear.

Nevertheless, our first findings seem to value the role of stakeholders, their ability to adopt cooperative behaviours 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 practical absence of one main stakeholder, ship-owners, in decision-making bodies? How can an increased role of the region 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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