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Interreg

EUROPEAN RESEARCH PROJECT //

Collecting and analysing data for the post-27 INTERREG (Core-IB)

France-Italy (ALCOTRA)

Border profile

March 2026



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This document is a final report.

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1 Introduction

1.1 Context and objective of the border profile

The ESPON Core-IB project (Collecting and analysing data for the post-27 INTERREG) provides evidence-based, non-binding analytical work to support the next generation of Interreg programmes post-2027. By collecting and analysing harmonised territorial data, the project highlights key socio-economic characteristics, cross-border interactions, and governance structures. Its spatial focus covers 48 cross-border cooperation areas (40 land and 8 maritime), including all EU internal border regions and those bordering Liechtenstein, Switzerland, and Norway. The findings are analytical and informative; they do not create regulatory or policy obligations for Member States, the European Commission, or programme authorities. Each border profile serves as a comparable knowledge base for policymakers at EU, national, and regional levels, supporting dialogue and reflection rather than prescribing policy choices. The profiles aim to provide consistent, data-driven territorial evidence that can inform strategic discussions about future cross-border cooperation and contribute to the preparation of Interreg programmes post-2027.

The Core-IB border profiles are designed to support the upcoming steps in the Interreg programming process with analyses based on data that is available at the European scale, including ESPON, Eurostat, DG REGIO, JRC, and Interreg databases. Their main purpose is to ensure comparability of data analyses and to provide programme areas with access to recent harmonised data at high geographical resolution (NUTS3 level or finer). Member States may hold additional or more detailed data which can further enrich or contextualise the findings beyond the Core-IB project. These national sources are essential for refining and validating territorial evidence in policymaking processes, including additional regional, fine-scale information and insights from political processes related to prioritisation and objective setting. All border profiles follow a systematic and methodologically robust approach. They provide territorial evidence, structured along 6 thematic dimensions, offering insights into the geographic, economic, environmental, socio-economic, border security and governance characteristics of the border region. Quantitative data and qualitative analyses are combined to ensure meaningful insights into all 48 border areas. Due to methodological constraints and limited resources, local studies and national datasets falling outside the European data framework could not be included. Visualisations, such as maps and charts based on descriptive statistics, facilitate understanding and support evidence-based policymaking. The profiles analyse the border region as a whole at NUTS3 (2021) level (corresponding to the current Interreg VI-A programme area)¹ and position it within a broader European context. For comparative purposes, several reference categories are applied:

- › European averages (EU27 + Norway, Switzerland and Liechtenstein, depending on data availability)
- › National averages
- › National border region averages
- › Aggregated border region averages

To complement the quantitative evidence, the profiles also draw on strategic and qualitative sources, including:

- › Strategic documents from the Interreg Programme 2021-2027
- › Border Orientation Papers from the 2021-2027 programming period
- › Information from the keep.eu database on cross-border cooperation activities
- › Information from the Cohesion Open Data platform
- › Information from the b-solutions initiative
- › Information from recent ESPON Projects (i.e., CROSSGOV, House4All, PROFECY Update, CPS 2.0)

¹ As defined by Annex 1, Commission Implementing Decision (EU) 2022/74 of 17 January 2022, as amended by Commission Implementing Decision (EU) 2023/1638 of 14 August 2023 (OJ L204, 17.8.2023, p. 9): https://eur-lex.europa.eu/eli/dec_impl/2022/75/oj/eng

Within the ESPON framework, the CROSSGOV project (Governance mechanisms for cross-border functional areas) has been implemented in parallel to Core-IB. The CROSSGOV hub² provides a comprehensive platform for interactive data exploration, and selected data have been incorporated into this study.

Additional project-related information can be explored separately in the Core-IB **Final Report**. Further technical information on this border profile can be found in a separate **Technical Annex** providing an overview of data and methods.

1.2 Presentation of the border area

The Interreg VI-A border region 'France-Italy (ALCOTRA)' covers the area between south-eastern France and north-western Italy (see Figure 1.1). In France, the programme area includes most of the regions of Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur and Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes comprising a total of 5 NUTS3 regions. In Italy, it covers parts of the regions of Piemonte, Liguria, and Valle d'Aosta in north-western Italy, encompassing a total of 4 NUTS 3 regions.

Figure 1.1: Overview map

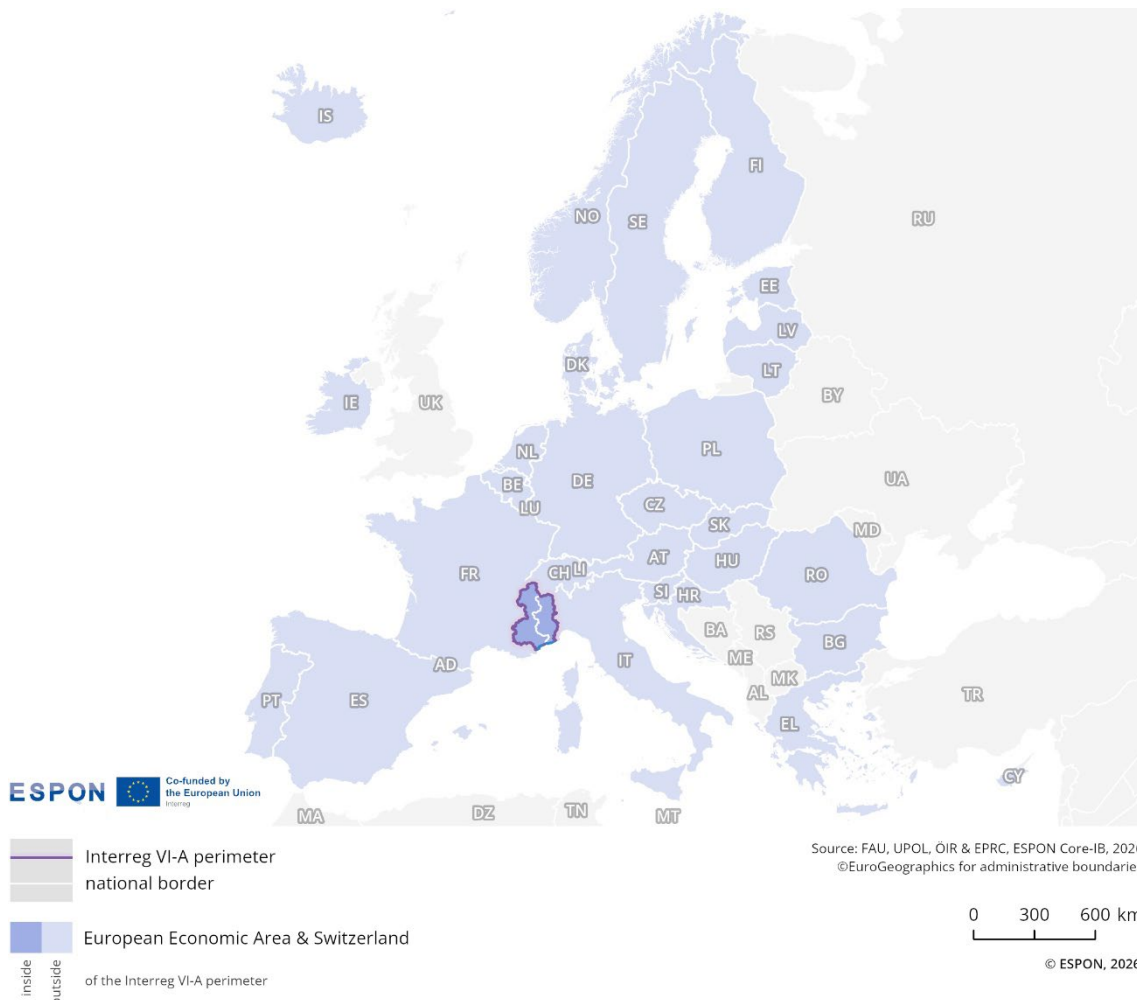
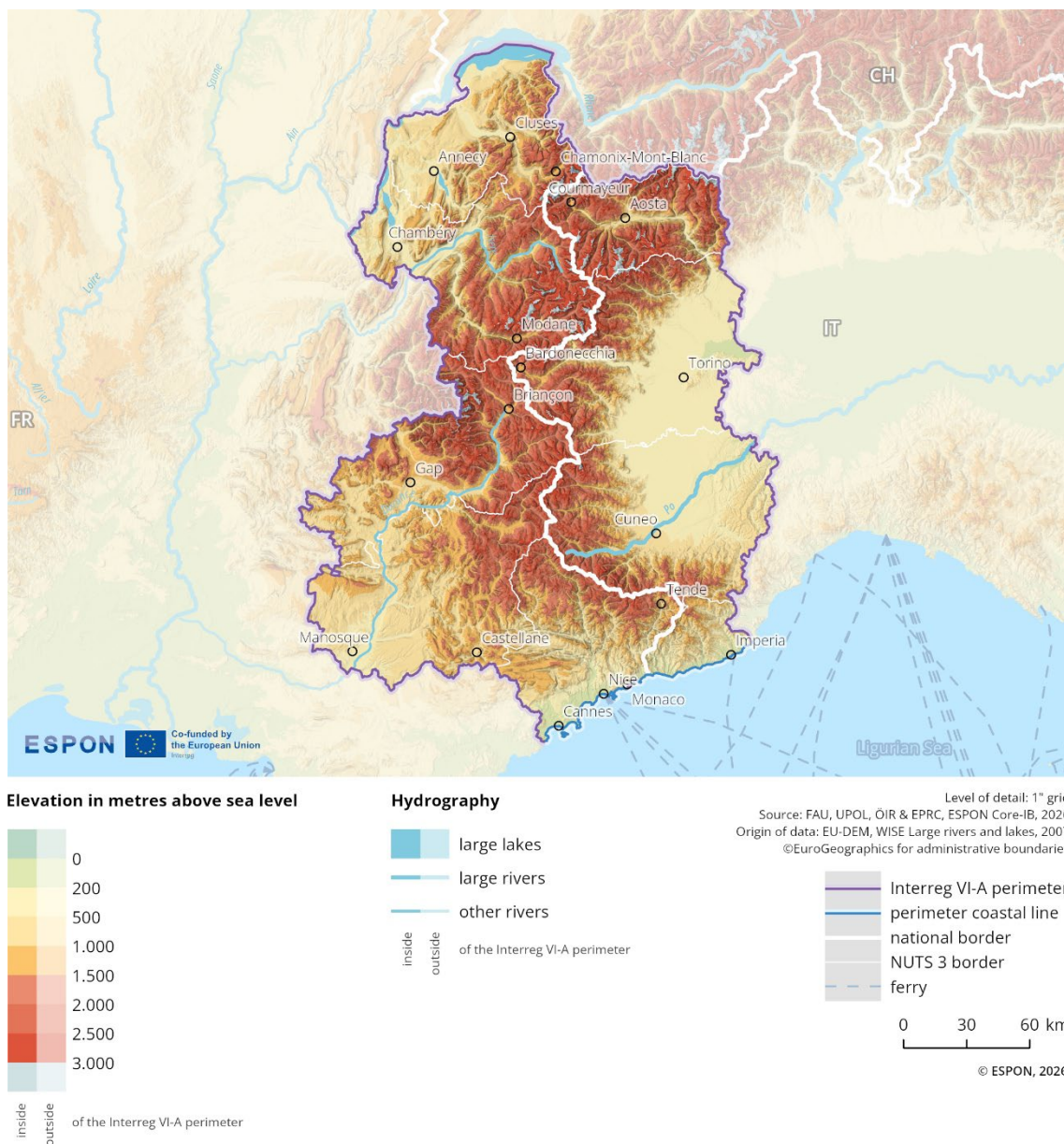


Figure 1.2 illustrates the region's geomorphological features and the perimeter of the current Interreg VI A programme area. Spanning approximately 46,000 km², the border area exhibits a high degree of

² ESPON CROSSGOV Hub: <https://gis-portal.espon.eu/arcgis/apps/experiencebuilder/experience/?id=27e3b86ef44441b08793a2239c370607>

geomorphological heterogeneity. The map illustrates the region's distinct topographical differences, reflecting its position between the Alpine arc and the Mediterranean basin. The region encompasses both high mountain environments, with the Alps stretching from north to south, and coastal zones along the south-eastern border with the Mediterranean Sea. The Alps cover a significant portion of the programme area.

Figure 1.2: Geographical features and characteristics³



The border region extends along the entire 515-kilometre length of the French–Italian border, from the Mont Blanc Massif in the north to the Ligurian Sea in the south. It includes territories with pronounced altitudinal gradients, ranging from glaciated Alpine peaks above 4,000 metres to coastal plains at sea level.

The northern part of the programme area is dominated by the Western Alps. These areas are characterised by rugged terrain, steep slopes, deep valleys and permanent snow cover at higher

³ The selection of displayed settlements is based on factors such as size, administrative or cultural importance, transport links, regional coverage and cartographic clarity. This is part of a standard cartographic generalisation process with no pre-set thresholds, and the main aim is to provide orientation.

elevations. The region contains numerous glacial landforms, rocky ridgelines, and alpine pastures, with natural corridors that have been primarily shaped by glacial and fluvial processes.

Further south, the mountains gradually descend towards the Mediterranean coastline, particularly along the French and Italian Riviera. The Maritime Alps gradually transition into Mediterranean foothills and steep coastal slopes. The coastal areas are characterised by a highly dissected shoreline featuring cliffs, coves and alluvial fans, and in some places, narrow beaches.

Several important river valleys traverse the programme area, the Po flowing through the Italian part of the programme area; the Isère flowing in the north-western frame of the programme area, on the French side of the border; and the Durance flowing from the French border across the south-western frame of the programme area. Further affluents and distributary rivers also structure the area including those of the Dora Baltea, Stura di Demonte, Ubaye, Var and Roia/Roya rivers. These deeply incised river systems serve as natural corridors between the mountains and the coast, supporting unique ecological and hydrographic systems. The rivers either drain into the Po Basin on the Italian side or directly into the Mediterranean Sea on the French side.

The area is also characterised by geological diversity, with outcrops of limestone, gneiss, granite and dolomite contributing to complex landforms and karst features, particularly in the foothills.

2 Cross-border analysis

2.1 Territorial dimension

The territorial dimension refers to the spatial characteristics and dynamics of a border region. It specifically depicts how factors such as population density, demographic trends, changes in settlement areas and accessibility influence and reflect cross-border integration.

2.1.1 Population and settlements

This sub-dimension illustrates the population characteristics and land use dynamics of the border region, based on analysed indicators. It examines population density, population development by age groups, and changes in settlement areas. The analysis highlights whether the border functions as a catalyst for integration or as a barrier. Comparisons with the respective countries and the EU average provide context for understanding the region's dynamics.

2.1.1.1 Population density

Indicator description

Population density refers to the number of residents per km². This indicator shows the number of inhabitants per square kilometre in a 1x1 km grid. It therefore provides information on the distribution and concentration of population across the region and allows to identify agglomerations of high density. In particular agglomerations at or close to the border area of key interest.

- **Source:** Eurostat
- **Temporal coverage:** 2021
- **Unit:** Inhabitants/km²

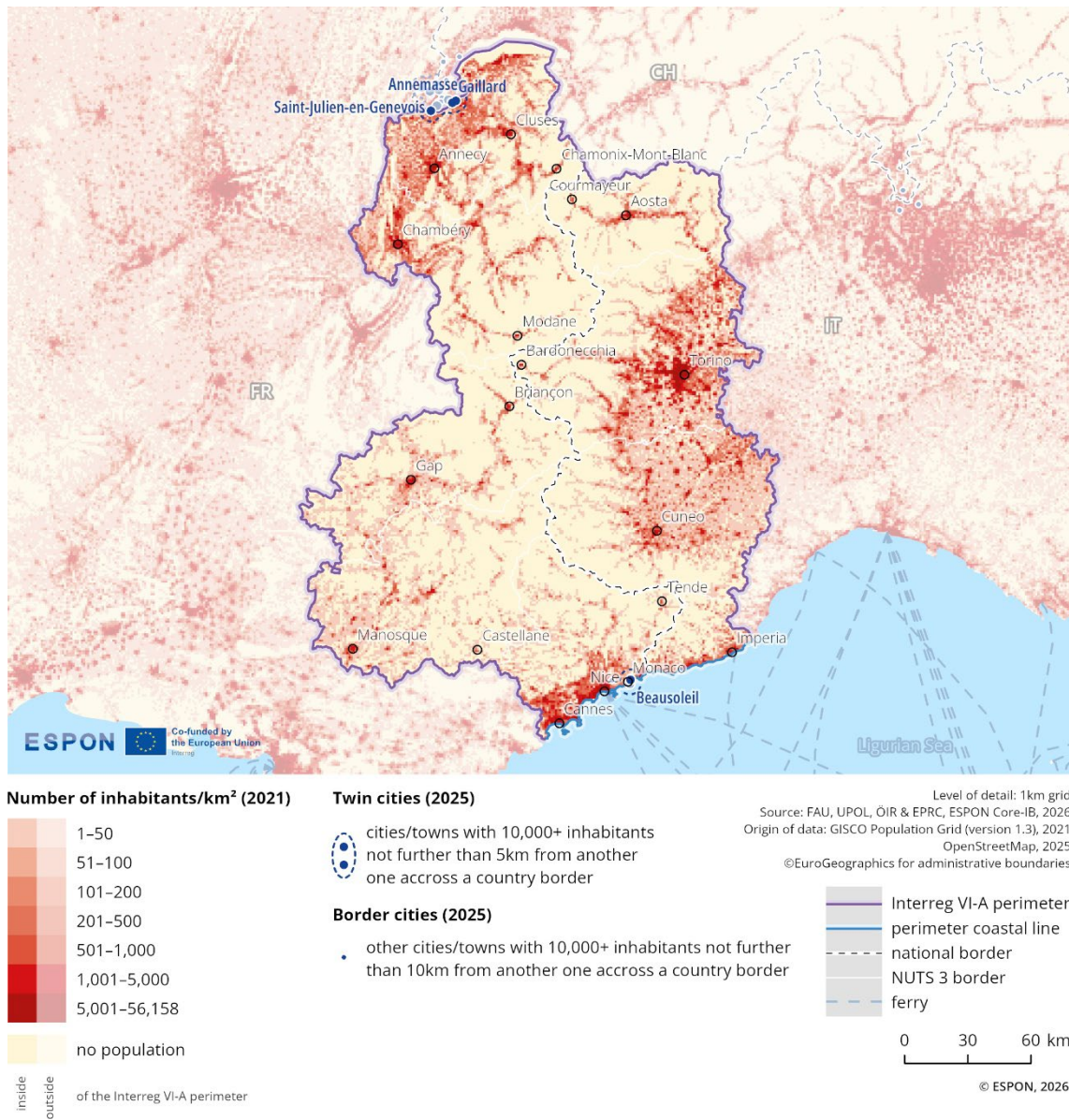
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

The border region includes 9 urban centres with a population of over 30,000 inhabitants. The map shows that the area directly adjacent to the border is very sparsely populated. There are 3 large, densely populated areas. In France, these are located in the north, around the cities of Annecy, Cluses and Chambéry, Gap in the middle and in the south, along the entire Mediterranean coast up to Monaco. The centre of population in Italy is Torino, and its relatively large surrounding area extends to the town of Cuneo. In the Alpine region, Aosta is a centre with a concentration of population. Large parts of the mountainous areas of both regions are very sparsely populated.

The population density in this whole cross-border region is 124 inhabitants/km², which exceeds the EU average of 109 inhabitants/km² (according to EUROSTAT), and it is comparable to the aggregated average of all EU evaluated border regions, which is 125 inhabitants/km².

The part of the border region in Italy has an average population density of around 166 inhabitants/km² and is lower than the national average population density in Italy (193 inhabitants/km²). The part of the border region in France has an average population density of around 94 inhabitants/km² which is lower than the national average population density in France (102 inhabitants/km²).

Figure 2.1: Spatial patterns of population distribution



2.1.1.2 Population development (by age groups)

Indicator description

Population development refers to the percentage change in population at regional level between 2014 and 2024. The data reflects on the total population, as well as on the age groups 0-14, 15-64 and 65+.

- **Source:** Annual Regional Database of the European Commission (ARDECO)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2014-2024
- **Unit:** Change in %

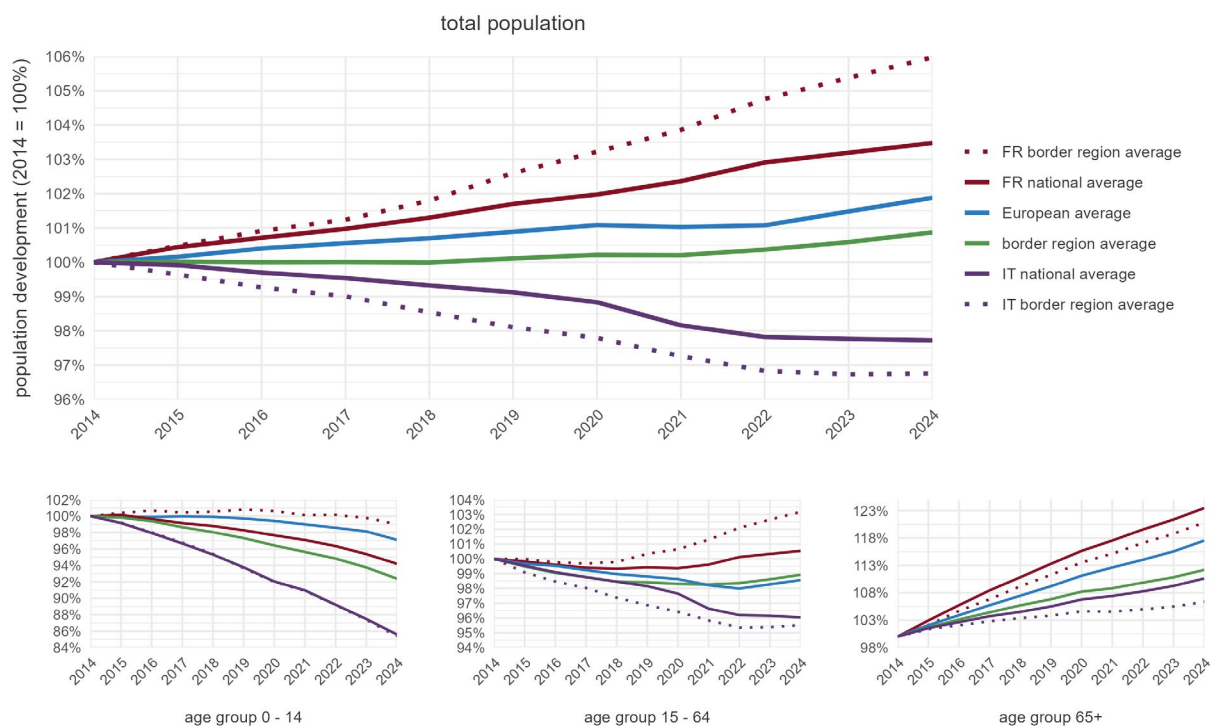
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Population in the France–Italy (ALCOTRA) region in 2024 (Eurostat): 5.9 million inhabitants, of which:

- › 53.1% in the Italian border territory (3.1 million inhabitants)
- › 46.9% in the French border territory (2.7 million inhabitants)
- › Region within the border region with the highest population increase since 2014: Haute-Savoie (FRK28) at 10.3%

Figure 2.2 shows the population change in the France–Italy (ALCOTRA) region between 2014 and 2024. During this period, the border region has experienced a slight growth of 0.9%, with the highest growth rate observed on the French side.

Figure 2.2: Population development (2014=100)



Population development across the whole cross-border region is slightly below the European average (0.9% vs. 1.9%) and also slightly below the average development in all border regions (0.9% vs 1.5%).

While the Italian part shows a decrease in both border and national averages (-3.2% vs. -2.3%), the French border area exhibits slightly higher growth than the national average (6.0% vs. 3.5%).

In terms of the development of individual age groups in the border region, the population aged 0–14 experienced a marked decrease of -7.6%, while the working-age population (15–64) showed a slight decrease of -1.1%. The population aged 65 and over underwent a notable increase of 12.2%.

2.1.1.3 Change in settlement areas

Indicator description

The indicator shows the relative change in settlement areas per LAU in the border region. It considers changes in land cover, from non-artificial areas (such as agricultural, forest and seminatural areas, wetlands and water bodies) to artificial areas (such as urban, industrial, construction sites) between 2012 and 2018. This indicator has to be viewed alongside population development in particular.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** The indicator is retrieved via processing of raster data from CORINE Land cover. The raster information is crossed with Local Administrative Units (LAU) to calculate a change in %.
- **Temporal coverage:** 2012-2018
- **Unit:** Change in %

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.3 illustrates the change in settlement areas at municipal level between 2012 and 2018. Overall, the map shows similar patterns of change in settlement areas on both sides of the French-Italian border. Changes are evident in particular around the urban centres of Annecy, Chambéry, Gap, Manosque, Torino and Cuneo. Cluses, Castellane, Monaco and Aosta are exceptions, with no significant changes during the observed time period. High growth in settlement areas is particularly evident around the French city Manosque as well as around the Italian city Torino. In close proximity to the national borders, the settlement area increases mainly around the mountain cities Isola and Artesina. The map also reflects the topographical characteristics of the border region, with hardly any changes in settlement areas visible in steep, high-altitude mountainous areas.

Figure 2.3: Settlement area dynamics

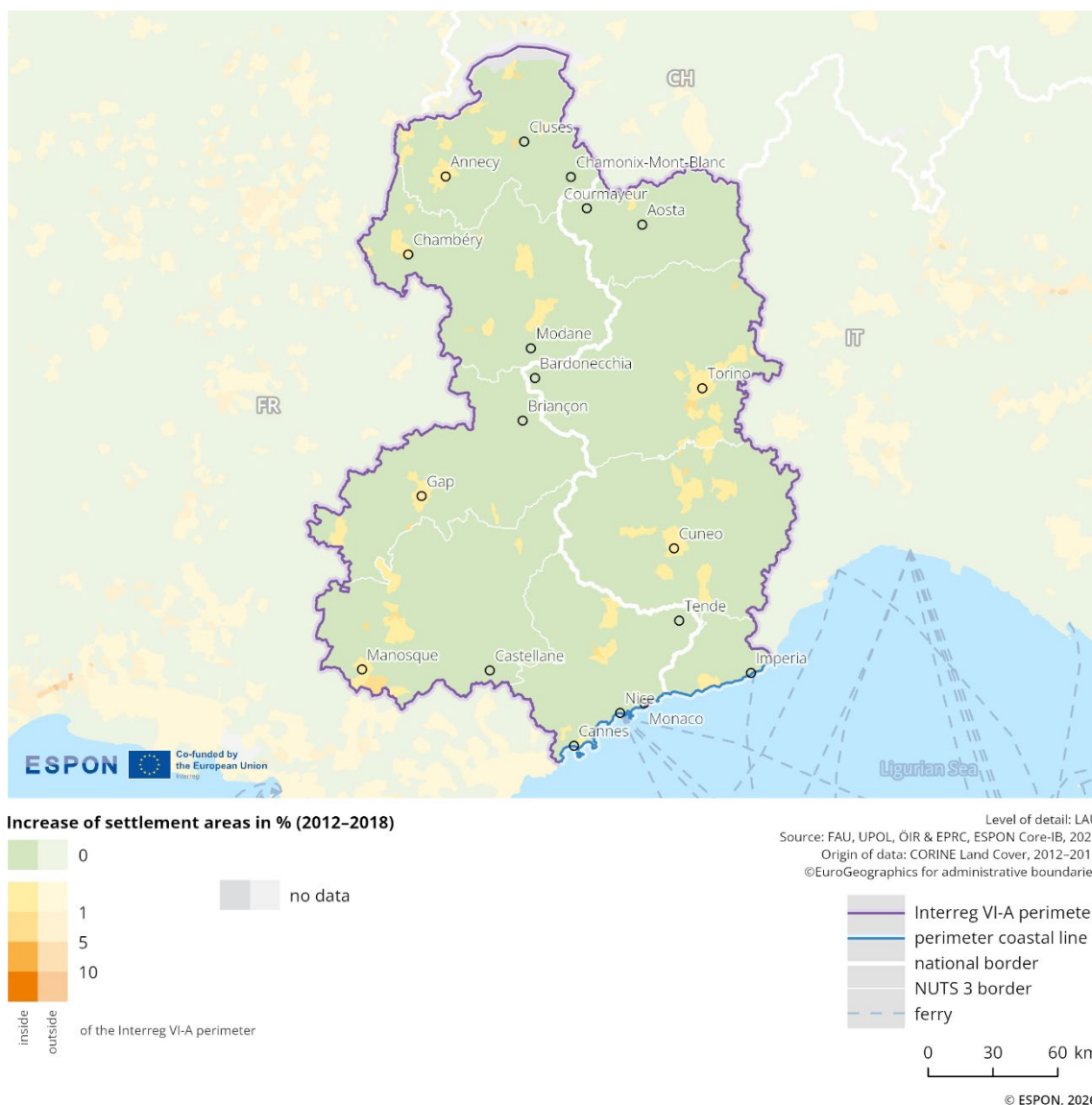
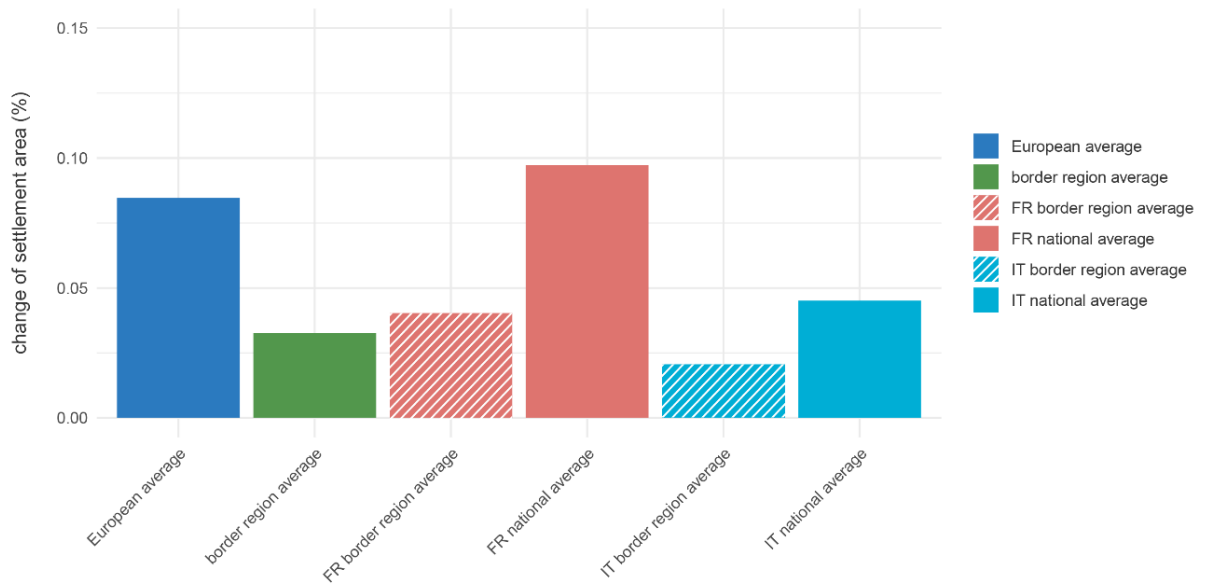


Figure 2.4 presents the change in settlement areas from a comparative perspective. The average for the France-Italy (ALCOTRA) programme area is lower than the overall European average (0.03% vs. 0.08%), which includes both EU member states and the EFTA countries Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and Norway. The French values are higher than the Italian ones, which applies for both, the national average as well as the border regions. The French and the Italian border-regional averages lie below the national French and Italian averages.

In general, the programme area shows a relatively low dynamic settlement development. Nevertheless, spatial development has to balance the various demands on land use (e.g., residential, commercial, tourism, transport, agriculture, and nature conservation), and this requires on-going coordination and exchange, also across the border.

Figure 2.4: Change in settlement areas (2012-2018) (comparison)



2.1.2 Accessibility of the border area

This sub-dimension illustrates the functional travel connections that already exist in the border region. It examines average cross-border travel times for different modes of transport and cross-border catchment areas based on mobility flows. It also considers travel times to and from border crossings. The analysis shows whether mobility flows are integrated between border regions or if the border hampers mobility.

2.1.2.1 Comparative quality of selected cross-border connections

Indicator description

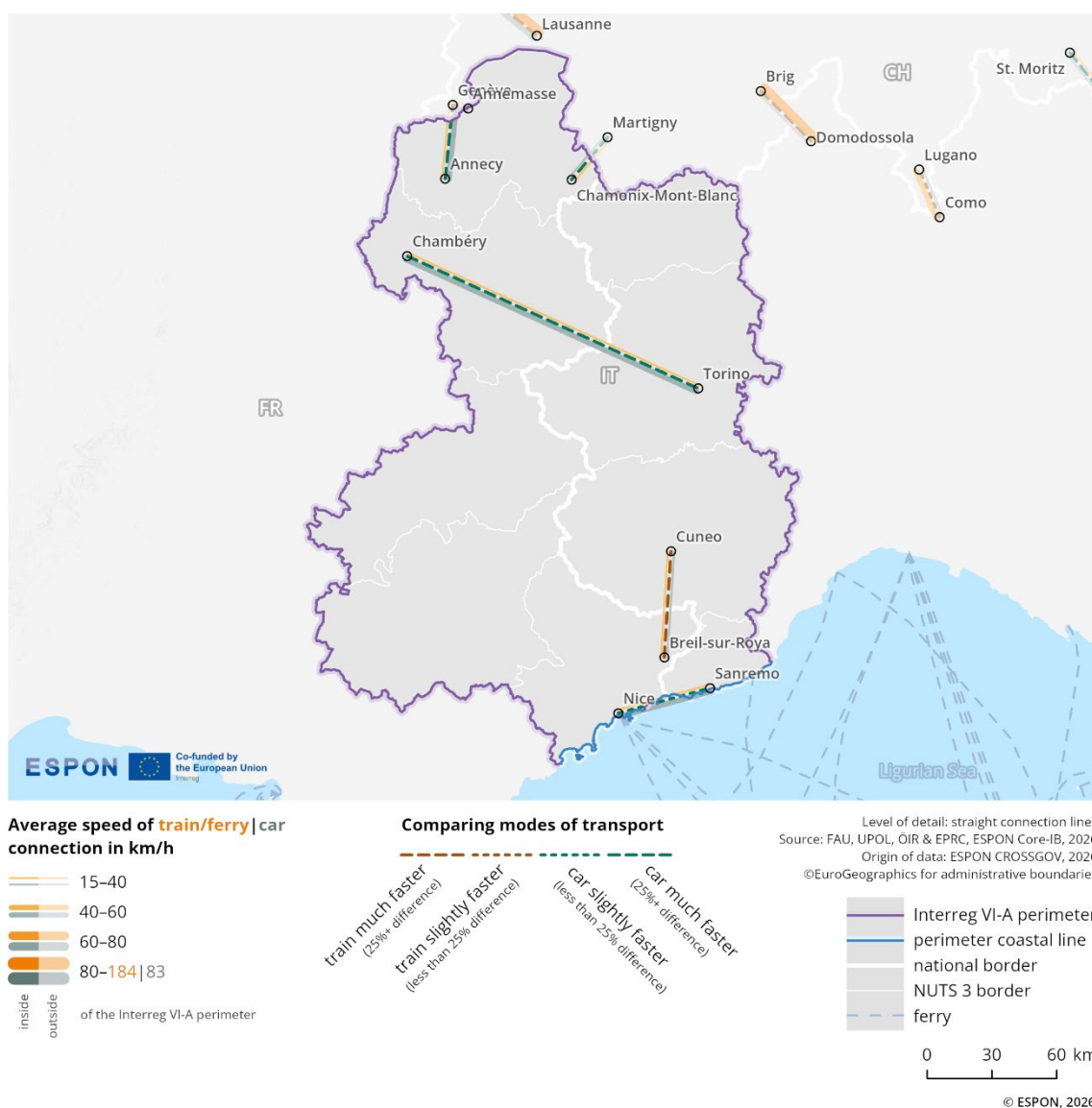
The indicator presents a comparative perspective for different modes of transport (public and private) and their average travel speed (so-called space-time-lines). As such it helps to understand and interpret accessibility patterns along the border and highlights the comparative quality of selected cross-border connections.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Average number and speed of rail connections/ferries, average speed of car connections between selected cities and towns in border regions using Rail Travel Sites, Google Maps, luftlinie.org, Direct Ferries, local ferry companies
- **Temporal coverage:** 2025 (first quarter)
- **Unit:** km/h

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Cross-border accessibility shapes cross-border interactions. Figure 2.5 illustrates this using a "space-time-line" map, which shows parts of a European overview of car and train travel times in the France-Italy (ALCOTRA) border region. This visualisation enables an assessment of transport quality by highlighting differences between public (train) and private (car) transport modes.

Figure 2.5: Comparative quality of selected cross-border connections



The selection of cities and connections covered is based on a set of criteria applied throughout Europe within the ESPON CROSSGOV project.⁴ These criteria include the presence of a railway station, population size, distance to the border, node hub and functionality. The thickness of the lines (orange for trains, grey for cars) indicates the average speed of connections in km/h, with thicker lines representing faster connections. Dotted lines in-between reflect the indexed ratio between train and car speeds. A brown colour scale (values below 100) denotes that trains are faster than cars along the specific route, while a green scale (values above 100) indicates the opposite.

The selected connections within the programme area include Chambéry–Torino, Nice–Sanremo, and Cuneo–Breil-sur-Roya. For most of these routes, namely Chambéry–Torino and Nice–Sanremo, car travel outperforms train connections in terms of speed. However high-speed train connections allow faster train travel time. Notably, both the Chambéry–Torino and Nice–Sanremo connections are characterized by slow travel times for both train and car.

⁴ ESPON CROSSGOV Atlas, see Storymap on 'Space-time-lines': <https://gis-portal.espon.eu/arcgis/apps/storymaps/collections/345c978adf784ad-fac30c16b90219d35?item=4>

2.1.2.2 Cross-border catchment area based on mobility flows

Indicator description

This indicator measures the movement of people across borders. The density of cross-border movements by Twitter/X users is displayed on a grid cell covering an area of 20x20 km. The indicator does not differentiate between reasons for movement.

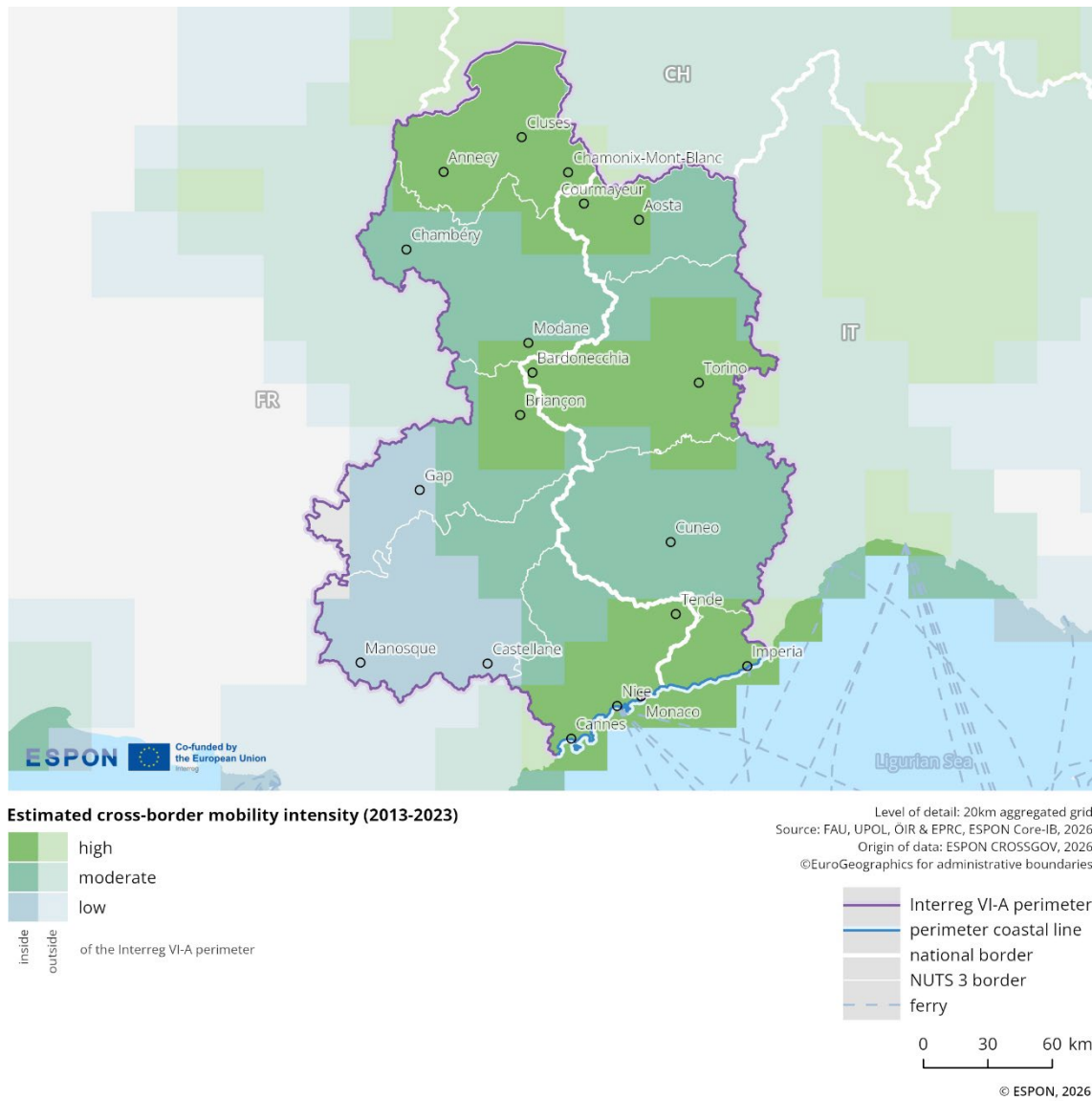
- **Source/method of retrieval:** The indicator is calculated based on Twitter (currently X) data. The digital footprint of individual users provides information about physical mobility flows and is used to calculate cross-border catchment areas of different intensity.
- **Temporal coverage:** 2013-2023
- **Unit:** n/a

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.6 shows the cross-border catchment area in the border region based on mobility flows from 2013 to 2023, highlighting estimated cross-border mobility intensity across 3 different quartiles. The first quartile represents the 25% highest mobility intensity shown in dark green, the second quartile represents 25-50% coloured in green-blue, and the third quartile represents 50-75% in light blue.

The intensity of cross-border mobility of people within this cross-border region is rather variable. In the northern part of the border region, around the cities of Annecy, Cluses, and Aosta, intensity is at its highest level. In the central part of the border region, around the city of Torino and the cities of Modane and Bardonnecchia, intensity returns to the highest level, and south of the city, it decreases again to a moderate level. In the south-western French section of the border region, intensity is low, while in the southernmost part of the region, around the city of Monaco and Menton and Ventimiglia, cross-border mobility intensity is once again at its highest level. These results should be viewed with some caution, as areas with poor network coverage remain within the programme area and this could result in an underestimation of the actual number of crossings compared to other Interreg A programmes.

Figure 2.6: Cross-border mobility intensity



2.1.2.3 Cross-border travel-time accessibility

Indicator description

The indicator shows the time it takes to travel from any location within a region to the next border crossing, using grid data and subsequent categorisations into accessibility groups of 30, 60 and 90 minutes. It reflects the accessibility in cross-border areas, considering road transport. The indicator can describe the quality and speed of road connections and thus spatial reach of the cross-border services.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Based on the OpenStreetMap road network, the travel time to the border is calculated for a grid of the border area. Based on this, areas are calculated within which border crossings can be reached below thresholds of 30, 60 and 90 minutes. As additional visual element, key services pharmacies, doctors, hospitals and shops (retrieved from the ESPON PROFECY project) are displayed and categorised into the accessibility groups.
- **Temporal coverage:** 2025 (first quarter, for accessibility data), 2021 (for service facility data)
- **Unit:** Minutes

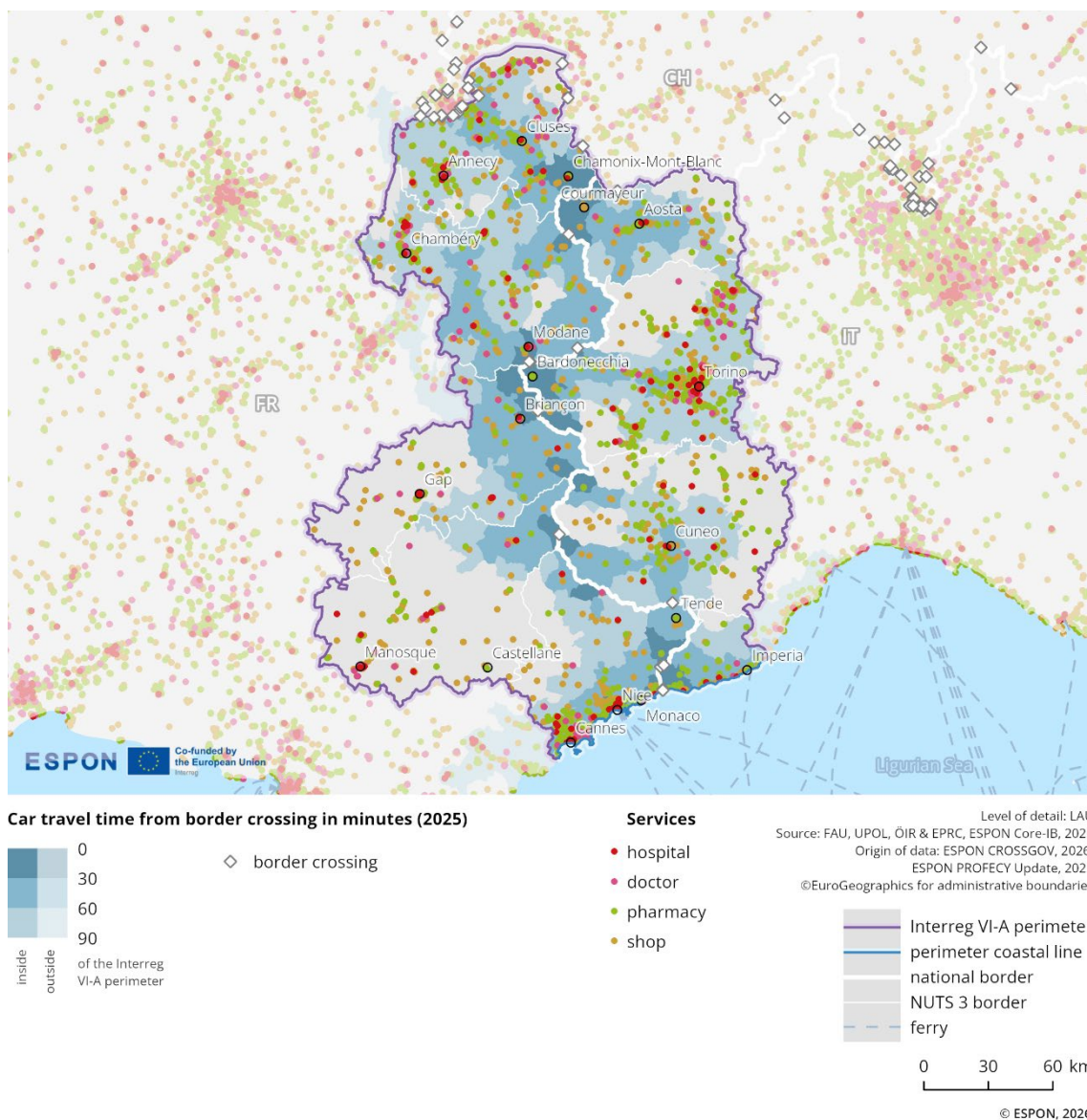
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.7 illustrates cross-border travel time accessibility in the Interreg area, showing the time distance from the national border in 2025. The legend indicates 3 travel time categories in minutes (30, 60, 90) represented by different shades of blue. In addition, it marks the location of services, including hospitals, doctors (general practitioners), pharmacies, and shops (supermarkets and convenient stores), with distinct coloured symbols+.

The map shows that this cross-border region has various travel time accessibility by car. There are no continuous belts of dominant shorter 30-minute zones around the border. However, the best category, with a travel time of up to 30 minutes, appears in only a small number of parts of the border, e.g., in the north and centre of the cross-border line and in some areas towards the south. More frequent are the areas needing up to 60 minutes of travel time to reach the border. The travel time zones are not symmetrical in several cases. Sometimes, the category above 90 minutes of travel time reaches directly the border. The western parts of the French region have longer travel times of over 90 minutes for accessibility across the border.

Services such as shops, hospitals, doctors, and pharmacies are concentrated in Torino (Italy) and Nice (France). The density of services is higher in Italy than in France. The distribution of services spans several towns in northern France region Haute-Savoie and the southern region Alpes-Maritimes.

Figure 2.7: Travel-time accessibility from border crossings



2.1.3 Key messages on the territorial dimension

The shared mountainous character of the cross-border region strongly influences the location of urban settlements and population density. This influence is particularly visible close to Chambéry, Annecy (in France) and Torino, Cuneo (in Italy) as well as along the coastline. While the Italian part of the border region is slightly more populated than the opposite side, the population in the Italian territory has been decreasing between 2014 and 2024 (and, in turn, increasing in the French territory). Ageing is also a demographic phenomenon quite pronounced in the whole cross-border region, particularly in the French side. High growth in settlement areas is particularly evident around the French city of Manosque as well as around the Italian city of Torino.

The topographic characteristics of the programme area are also representing a challenge in terms of accessibility and transport. For all analysed connections, car travel outperforms train connections in terms of speed. Moreover, 2 important tunnels, i.e., the Mont Blanc Tunnel linking Chamonix in France to Courmayeur in Italy and the newly widened Fréjus Tunnel represent major trans-Alpine transport routes between the 2 countries. This infrastructure notably explains the higher cross-border mobility

density in the regions where the tunnels are located. In the southernmost part of the border region, along the coast and around the city of Monaco, cross-border mobility intensity is also particularly high.

The density of services such as shops, hospitals, doctors, and pharmacies is higher in Italy than in France. A very high concentration is visible in Torino (Italy), which shows significant connection to the rising population density and settlement area. Some areas, particularly in the south-west part of the French territory show limited access to these services.

2.2 Economic dimension

The economic dimension includes analyses of gross domestic product, labour market conditions, competitiveness, and key infrastructure and housing indicators. The aim is to illustrate the impact of the border on economic performance, whether it acts as a barrier or a bridge, and the extent to which integration is supported by labour mobility, remote working, and infrastructure connectivity.

2.2.1 Gross Domestic Product

This sub-dimension illustrates the economic situation of the border region by analysing gross domestic product (GDP). It shows economic development within the border region and how this has changed over time. Comparisons with the respective countries and the EU average provide important context for understanding the region's dynamics.

2.2.1.1 Gross domestic product per capita at current market prices

Indicator description

The indicator shows the regional GDP/capita in current prices and its development over the past years. It highlights structural differences and similarities between the border region and the respective national figures as well as the European average. Furthermore, it highlights patterns within the border region, although has to be interpreted with care in the case of a strong presence of commuters.

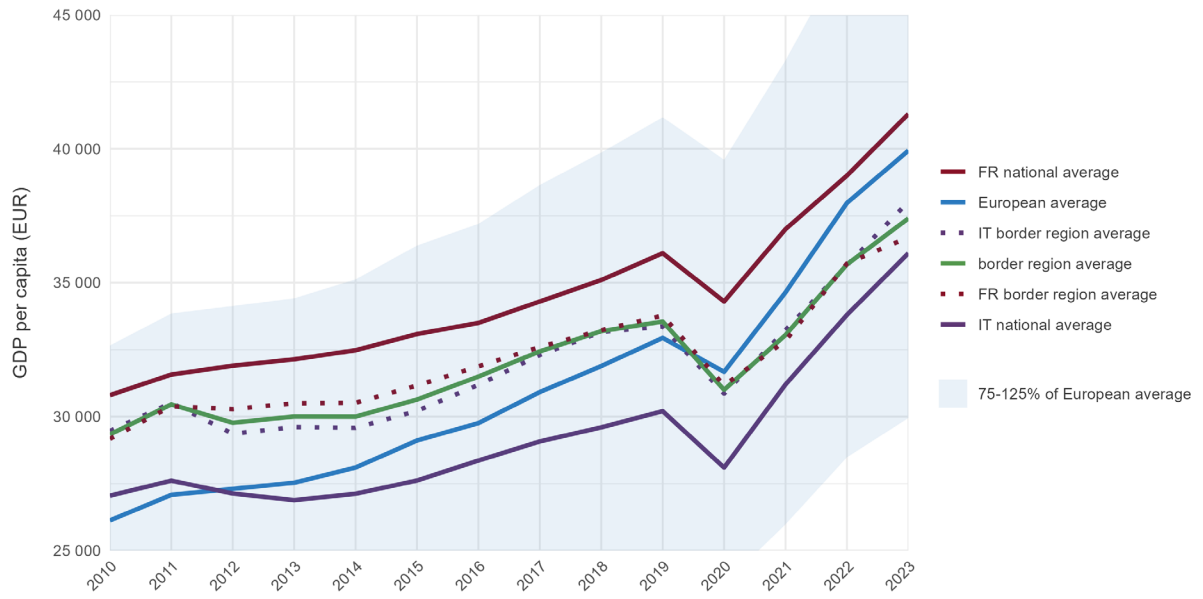
- **Source:** Eurostat, Annual Regional Database of the European Commission (ARDECO)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2010-2023
- **Unit:** Euro per capita

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

The border region shows a GDP/capita value of 98.7% of the EU average in 2022 and 98.5% compared of the average in European border regions in general. It marks a 23.9% increase of GDP per capita in the border region between 2014 and 2022⁵. This corresponds to a 16.2 percentage points lower increase of GDP per capita in the border region compared to the EU average. Furthermore, this corresponds to 15.7 percentage points lower increase of GDP per capita in the border region compared to the average of European border regions. Italian border regions average exceeds the Italian national average and is close to the EU average. Since 2019, both Italian and French border regions have developed almost in sync with each other. Nevertheless, for French border regions, they throughout the observed period trail the French national averages.

⁵ Percentage changes are calculated using Eurostat data to ensure harmonised statistics from official sources. The latest year for which full coverage of all European regions is available on Eurostat is 2022. For visualisation purposes, ARDECO data has been used to enable longer time series to be visualised by filling the official dataset's existing gaps with model-based estimates. Therefore, slight deviations between the calculation and visualisation are possible

Figure 2.8: Gross domestic product at current market prices (per capita)



2.2.2 Labour market and commuting

This sub-dimension highlights the existing and potential functional links within the labour market of the border region. It examines the employment situation and commuting patterns, as well as the role of telework agreements, and considers developments over time based on analysed indicators. The analysis identifies factors that facilitate or hamper cross-border labour market integration.⁶

2.2.2.1 Share of employment

Indicator description

This indicator shows the share of employees in the population aged 15 to 64. Although it does not fully capture entrepreneurs, marginal employees, or civil servants, this is an important statistic for understanding general labour market patterns. It covers 2 aspects: first, high values can result from a high proportion of the resident population being employed. Second, high values can result from a high number of incoming commuters (from other NUTS3 regions within the country or from neighbouring countries). The same arguments apply to low values: they may indicate low levels of employment, or they may result from high shares of outgoing commuters. Values of more than 100% are possible, since the number of incoming commuters can exceed the number of inhabitants aged 15 to 64 (including both domestic and cross-border commuters).

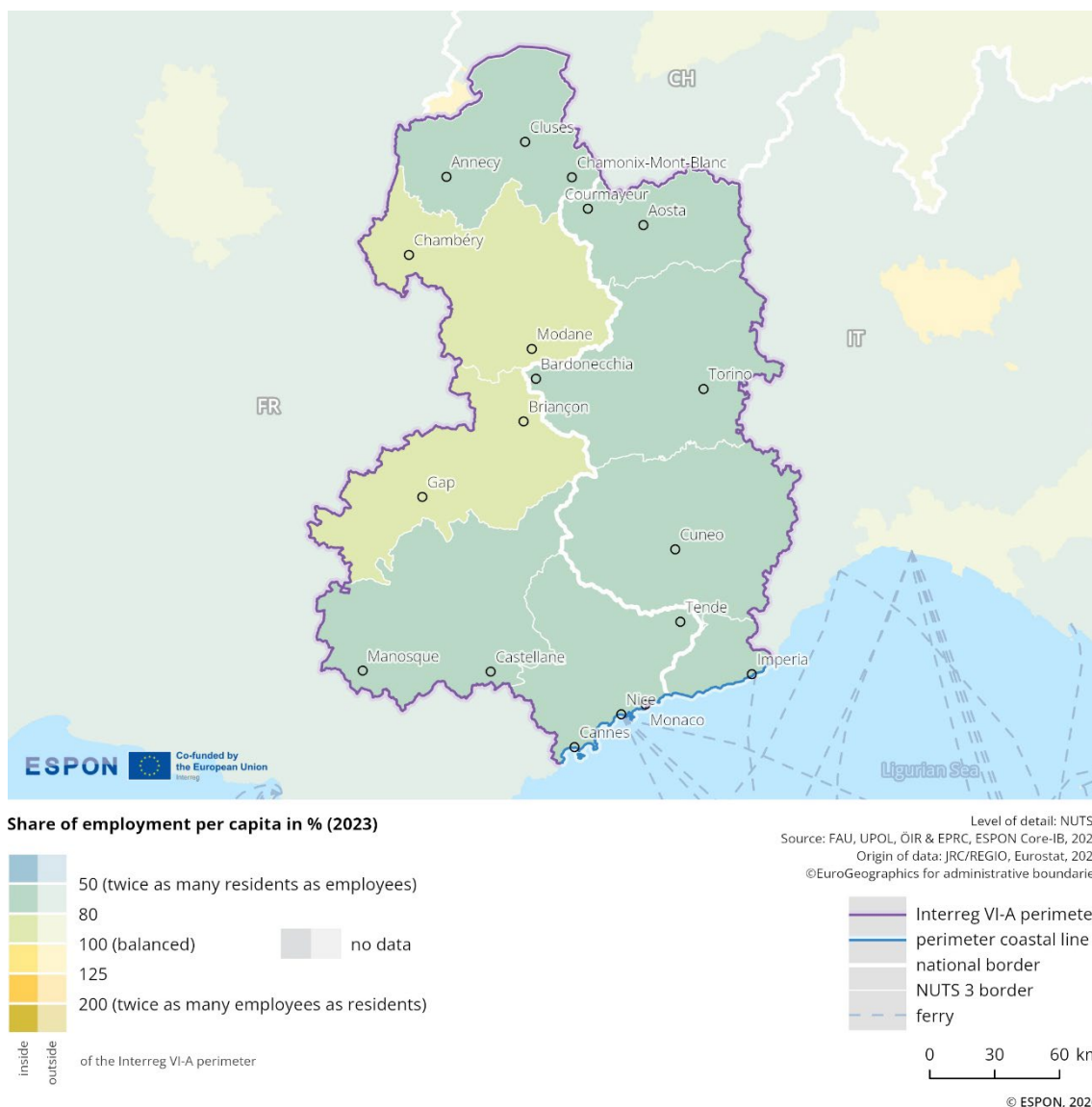
- **Source:** Eurostat, Annual Regional Database of the European Commission (ARDECO)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2014-2023
- **Unit:** Share in %

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.9 illustrates the share of employment per capita in the population aged 15 to 64 in 2023. The data are categorised into ranges from below 50% (twice as many residents aged 15 to 64 as employees) to above 200% (twice as many employees as residents aged 15 to 64), with 100% representing a balanced ratio. Blue or green-coloured regions indicate more residents aged 15 to 64 than employees, while yellow regions indicate more employees than residents aged 15 to 64.

⁶ See also: European Commission 2024: Cross-Border Regional Labour Market Analysis, <https://op.europa.eu/s/AazM>

Figure 2.9: Employment share⁷



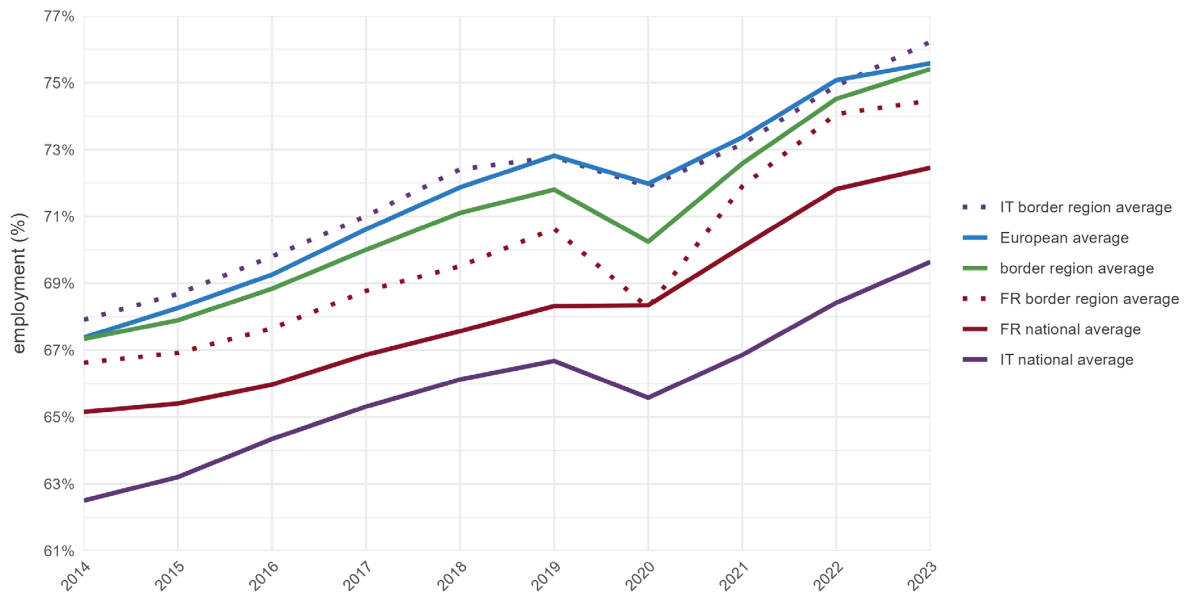
The share of employment in this border region is relatively stable, with the regional average reaching 75.4% in 2023, which is an increase of 8.1 percentage points since 2014. In most parts of the border region, indicator values range between 50% and 80%. Only in the vicinity of the towns Chambéry and Gap does the indicator reach values between 80% and 100%. When comparing the share of employment in this border region with different averages, the following can be observed (see Figure 2.10):

- › Compared to the European average, values in the cross-border region are lower by 0.2 percentage points; in 2014, the values were equal.
- › Compared to the Italian average, values in the cross-border region are higher by 5.8 percentage points; in 2014, they were higher by 4.8 percentage points.
- › Compared to the French average, values in the cross-border region are higher by 3 percentage points; in 2014, they were higher by 2.2 percentage points.

⁷ Note: In this map, 'residents' refers to the population aged 15 to 64.

- › The French border area reaches values 2 percentage points higher than the French national average, while the Italian border area exceeds the Italian national average by 6.6 percentage points.
- › Compared to the average of all cross-border regions, values are higher by 1 percentage point, the same as in 2014.

Figure 2.10: Employment share over time (comparison)



2.2.2.2 Share of working-age population

Indicator description

This indicator shows the share of people aged 15 to 64 in the total population, reflecting the potential working-age population. The population counted includes all residents who live in the country permanently, excluding foreign students and military personnel. Using the 15–64 age range is a standard European statistical proxy, since differences in retirement age or labour participation across countries cannot be captured systematically. It allows for regional differentiation of potential workforce throughout the border region.

- **Source:** Eurostat, Annual Regional Database of the European Commission (ARDECO)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2014-2023
- **Unit:** Share in %

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

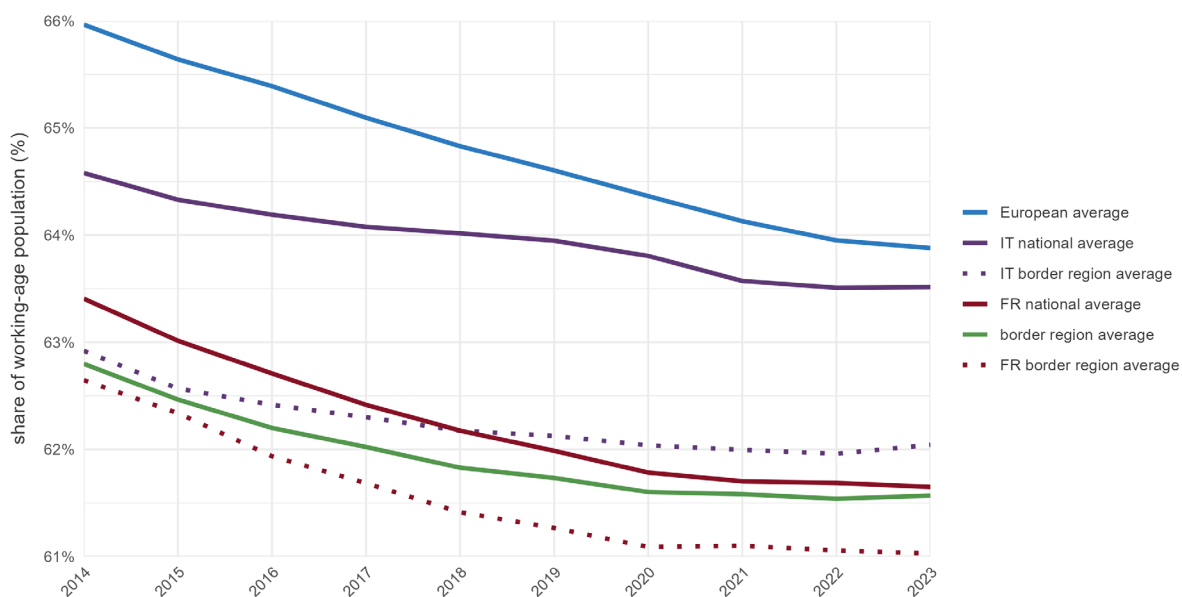
Figure 2.11 shows the evolution of the share of the working-age population in the France-Italy (ALCOTRA) cross-border region between 2014 and 2023. In 2023, the border region shows an average working-age population share of 61.6%, compared to the European average of 63.9% and 63.7% for the average of all cross-border regions.

The share of the working-age population in the whole cross-border region is slightly higher than the French border average (61.0%), and very similar to the Italian border average (62.0%). Compared to national levels, it is very similar to the French national average (61.7%), and moderately lower than the Italian national average (63.5%).

The ALCOTRA region experienced a slight 1.2 percentage point decrease in the share of working-age population between 2014 (62.8%) and 2023 (61.6%). This decline is somewhat slower than the European average, which dropped by 2.1 percentage points in the same period. While all areas in the region show a declining trend, the rate of decline has been more pronounced in the French parts (-1.6 percentage points at the border and -1.7 percentage points at the national level) than in the Italian parts (-0.9 percentage points at the border and -1.1 percentage points at the national level).

The France-Italy (ALCOTRA) cross-border region experienced a slight overall decline in the share of the working-age population between 2014 and 2023. In 2023, the border region remained below both the European and cross-border averages, with a more visible decrease on the French side.

Figure 2.11: Share of working-age population over time (comparison)



2.2.2.3 Employment by sector

Indicator description

The indicator differentiates the number of jobs in a region by sector. This indicator focuses on workplace-based employment, providing insight into the employment landscape of a region. The dataset can be disaggregated according to “10-sector” NACE (Nomenclature statistique des activités économiques dans la Communauté européenne) classifications, allowing for detailed analysis of employment distribution across various industries.

- **Source:** Eurostat, Annual Regional Database of the European Commission (ARDECO)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2014-2023
- **Unit:** Share in %

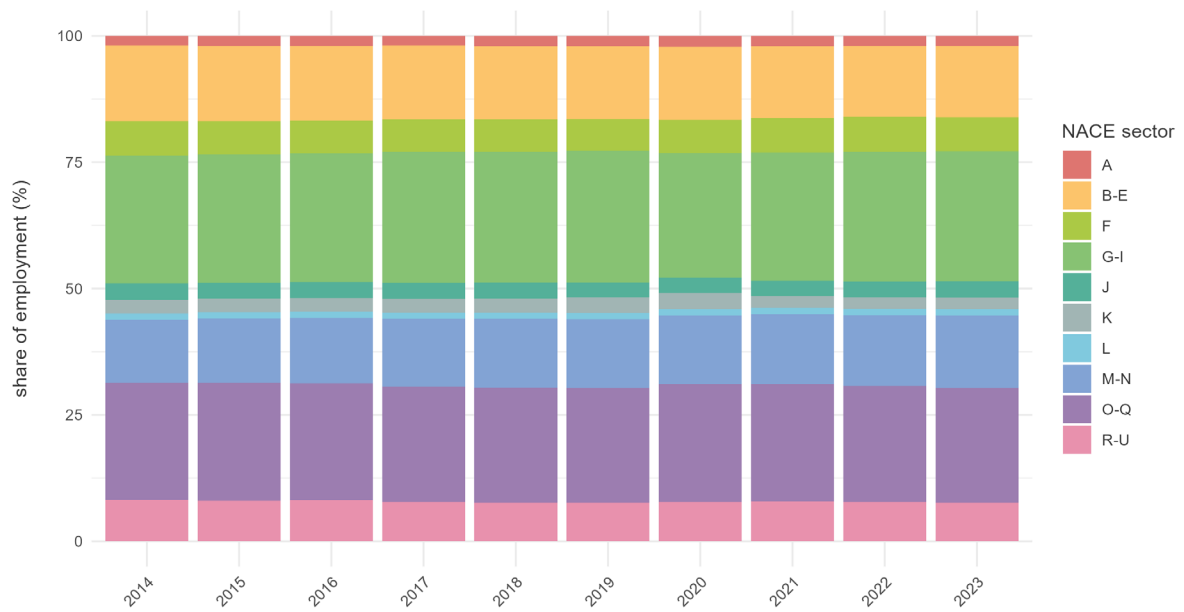
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.12 illustrates the relative number of jobs in the border area differentiated by sectors. It shows where jobs are located (not where employed persons live). This workplace-based indicator offers insight into the employment structure of a region.

The dataset uses a '10-sector' classification based on NACE categories. The sectoral breakdown is as follows:

- › A: Agriculture, forestry and fishing
- › B-E: Mining and quarrying (B), Manufacturing (C), Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply (D), Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities (E)
- › F: Construction
- › G-I: Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (G), Transportation and storage (H), Accommodation and food service activities (I)
- › J: Information and communication
- › K: Financial and insurance activities
- › L: Real estate activities
- › M-N: Professional, scientific and technical activities (M), Administrative and support service activities (N)
- › O-Q: Education (O), Human health and social work activities (Q)
- › R-U: Arts, entertainment and recreation (R), Other service activities (S), Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use (T), Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies (U)

Figure 2.12: Employment by sector (comparison)



A: Agriculture, forestry and fishing
 B-E: Mining and quarrying (B), Manufacturing (C), Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply (D), Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities (E)
 F: Construction
 G-I: Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (G), Transportation and storage (H), Accommodation and food service activities (I)
 J: Information and communication
 K: Financial and insurance activities
 L: Real estate activities
 M-N: Professional, scientific and technical activities (M), Administrative and support service activities (N)
 O-Q: Education (O), Human health and social work activities (Q)
 R-U: Arts, entertainment and recreation (R), Other service activities (S), Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use (T), Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies (U)

Between 2014 and 2023, the relative number of jobs in the different sectors remains fairly stable. There is a slight decline in the share of employment in Arts, entertainment and recreation (R), Other service activities (S), Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use (T), Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies (U). Conversely, there is a modest increase in the number of jobs in Professional, scientific and technical activities (M) and in Administrative and support service activities (N).

Over the entire period, the sectors with the highest share of jobs are 'B-E' (mining, quarrying, manufacturing, electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply, water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities), 'G-I' (wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles, transportation and storage, accommodation and food service activities) and 'O-Q' (education, human health and social work activities).

2.2.2.4 Outgoing cross-border commuters

Indicator description

The indicator shows outgoing cross-border commuting dynamics at NUTS3 level. Even though no origin-destination information can be provided, it is assumed that commuters primarily travel across the nearest border. Spatial, economic and population arguments are combined to calculate the number of outgoing cross-border commuters.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Eurostat/LFS data on outgoing commuters currently available on NUTS2 level has been regionalised for NUTS3 by means of weighting by border length, NUTS3 population-weighted centroid distance to border, population per NUTS3 region (15–64 years old) and real compensation per employee
- **Temporal coverage:** 2015-2023
- **Unit:** Share in %

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

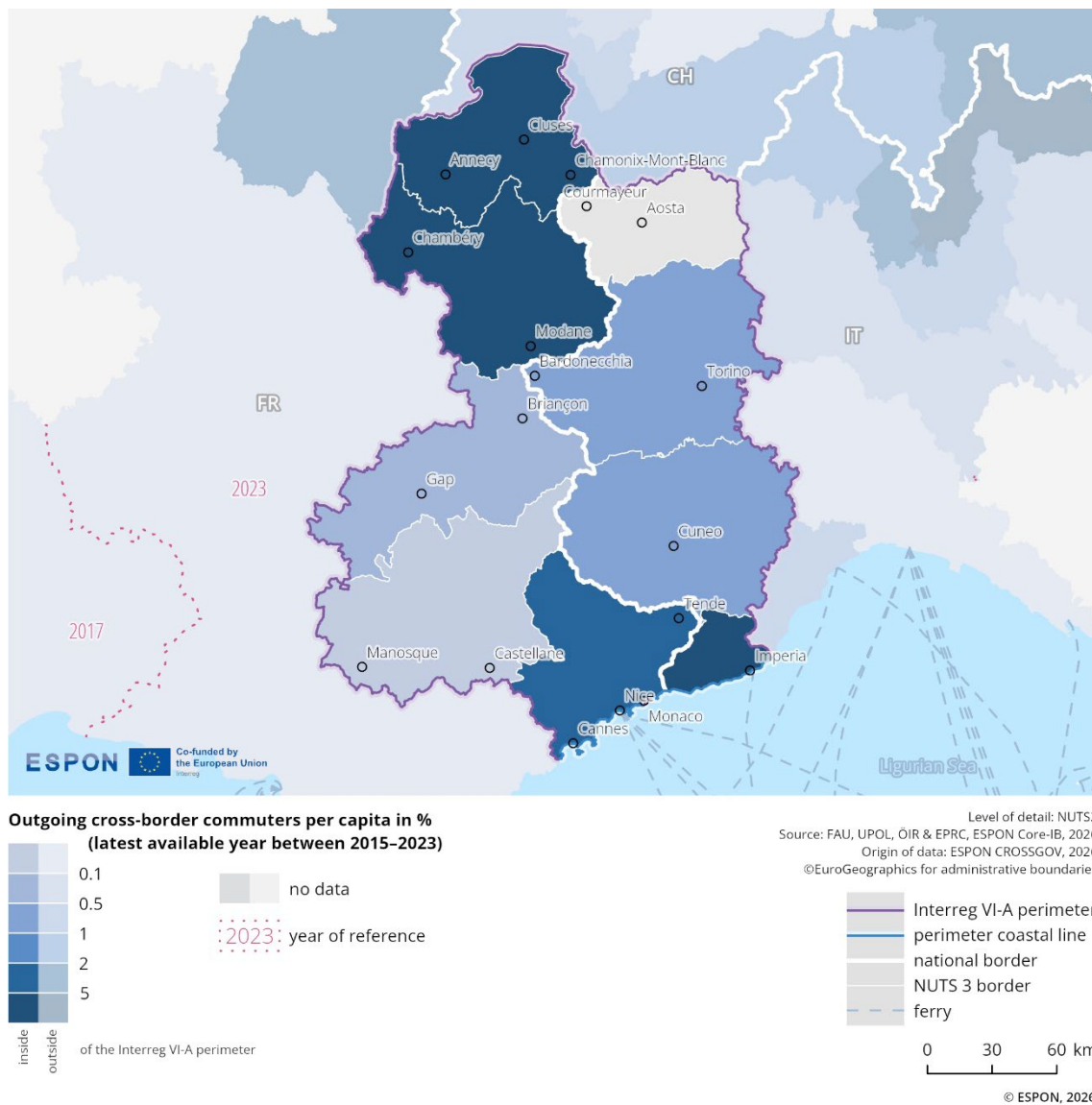
Commuting is one of the most relevant cross-border flows to identify functional linkages. Figure 2.13 illustrates the share of outgoing commuters per capita for each NUTS3 region (more concretely speaking the share of outgoing commuters among the residential population of the age group 15-64 years old, resembling the potential labour force). Origin-destination information cannot be provided, but the share of outgoing commuters in regions close to the border indicates the relevance of commuting. It highlights functional relations in the labour market within the cross-border region.

The map illustrates the share of cross-border commuters, based on the most recent available year of data. It shows relatively strong and somewhat unevenly distributed cross-border commuting activity in areas directly adjacent to the border, mainly on the French side.

The Savoie, Haute-Savoie (France) and Imperia (Italy) regions stand out, with high levels of outgoing commuters. This highlights the important role of the principality of average income per hour as an incentive for commuting with the proximity to Switzerland in the north, the difference of wages between France and Italy, as well as the presence of the principality of Monaco in the south. Therefore, these border areas serve as a strong commuting corridor⁸. Another 'hotspot' is the Alpes-Maritimes, a French coastal region. This NUTS3 region also shows elevated shares of outgoing cross-border commuters per capita. These results suggest a complex interplay of commuting trends in the northern part of the programme area. Exchanges between Swiss, French and Italian commuters would only become apparent at a higher geographical scale.

⁸ See Eurostat Statistical Atlas for NUTS3 (2021) regions: <https://ec.europa.eu/statistical-atlas/viewer/?config=typologies.json&ch=NUTS&mids=BKGCNT.NUTS2021L3.CNTOVL&o=1.1.0.7¢er=49.69576,14.33324&lcis=NUTS2021L3&>

Figure 2.13: Outgoing cross-border commuting patterns



2.2.2.5 Cross-border telework agreements

Indicator description

The indicator shows what kind of legal framework for cross-border telework is enacted.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** The indicator is based on information about the legal framework for social security regarding cross-border teleworking, categorised by border pair.
- **Temporal coverage:** Status as of March 2025
- **Unit:** n/a

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

The 2 countries involved in the programme are signatories of the 2023 Framework Agreement on Cross-Border Telework. Under this agreement, cross-border workers can telework from their country of residence for up to 50% of their total working time without affecting their social security affiliation.

2.2.3 Competitiveness

This sub-dimension illustrates the competitiveness of the border region by analysing the main industry sectors that contribute to its economic development. It assesses gross value added (GVA) at basic prices by sector, as well as nominal compensation per hour worked, in order to understand productivity levels and sectoral strengths.

2.2.3.1 Gross value added at basic prices by sector

Indicator description

The indicator shows the gross value added (GVA), which is a measure of the contribution of a country or region to the economy. Regional GVA represents the value generated by all units involved in the production of goods and services within a specific area. This indicator can be disaggregated by industry and service sector, allowing for a detailed analysis of economic contributions across different fields. Additionally, the sum of GVA across all industries or sectors, combined with taxes on products and minus subsidies on products, yields the gross domestic product (GDP) of the region. The dataset is available in "10-sector" NACE classifications, facilitating comprehensive evaluations of the regional economy.

- **Source:** Annual Regional Database of the European Commission (ARDECO)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2014-2023
- **Unit:** Million purchasing power standards (PPS)

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

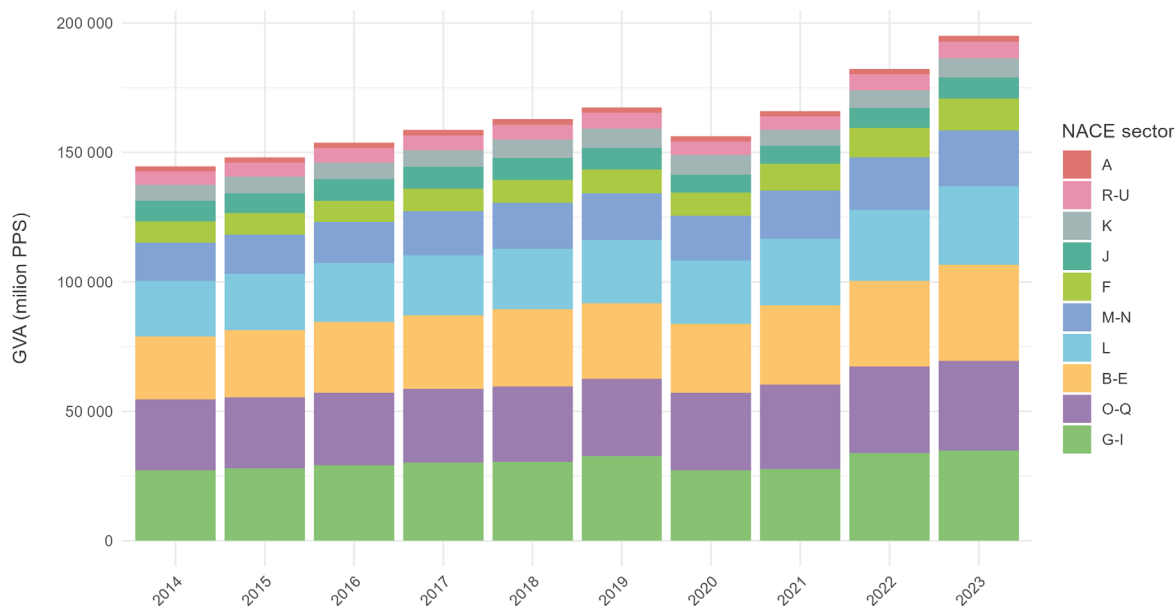
Figure 2.14 visualises gross value added (GVA), which is an important indicator of economic activity. GVA measures the value created by all economic activities involved in producing goods and services in a specific area. It is differentiated by sectors to provide detailed insights into the economic contributions of different fields.

The dataset uses a '10-sector' classification based on NACE categories. The sectoral breakdown is as follows:

- › A: Agriculture, forestry and fishing
- › B-E: Mining and quarrying (B), Manufacturing (C), Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply (D), Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities (E)
- › F: Construction
- › G-I: Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (G), Transportation and storage (H), Accommodation and food service activities (I)
- › J: Information and communication
- › K: Financial and insurance activities
- › L: Real estate activities
- › M-N: Professional, scientific and technical activities (M), Administrative and support service activities (N)
- › O-Q: Education (O), Human health and social work activities (Q)
- › R-U: Arts, entertainment and recreation (R), Other service activities (S), Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use (T), Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies (U)

Between 2014 and 2023, the GVA in the border area of France-Italy (ALCOTRA) increased from 144,675 million purchasing power standards (PPS) to 195,054 million PPS — a growth of 35%. Sector groups B–E, G–I, and O–Q together make up over half of the total GVA, highlighting their significant contribution to the regional economy within the border area. The sector groups B–E contributed the largest share, with a total of 37,218 million PPS in 2023. This underlines the significance of sectors such as Mining and quarrying (B), Manufacturing (C), Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply (D), Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities (E) in France-Italy (ALCOTRA) border region.

Figure 2.14: Gross value added at basic prices by sector (comparison)



A: Agriculture, forestry and fishing
 B-E: Mining and quarrying (B), Manufacturing (C), Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply (D), Water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities (E)
 F: Construction
 G-I: Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles (G), Transportation and storage (H), Accommodation and food service activities (I)
 J: Information and communication
 K: Financial and insurance activities
 L: Real estate activities
 M-N: Professional, scientific and technical activities (M), Administrative and support service activities (N)
 O-Q: Education (O), Human health and social work activities (Q)
 R-U: Arts, entertainment and recreation (R), Other service activities (S), Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods- and services-producing activities of households for own use (T), Activities of extraterritorial organisations and bodies (U)

2.2.3.2 Nominal compensation per hour worked

Indicator description

The indicator shows the average income paid for each hour worked, known as compensation per hour worked. This measure is calculated by dividing the “compensation of employees at current prices” by the total number of “hours worked (employees).” Employees, in this context, are defined as individuals engaged by contract in productive activities for a resident unit, receiving remuneration irrespective of their place of residence. The total hours worked is considered the most appropriate measure of labour input, representing the aggregate number of hours actually worked by employees. This indicator provides valuable insights into labour productivity and wage dynamics within the economy.

- **Source:** Annual Regional Database of the European Commission (ARDECO)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2023 (missing data from 2023 in Switzerland were supplemented by values from 2022)
- **Unit:** Euro

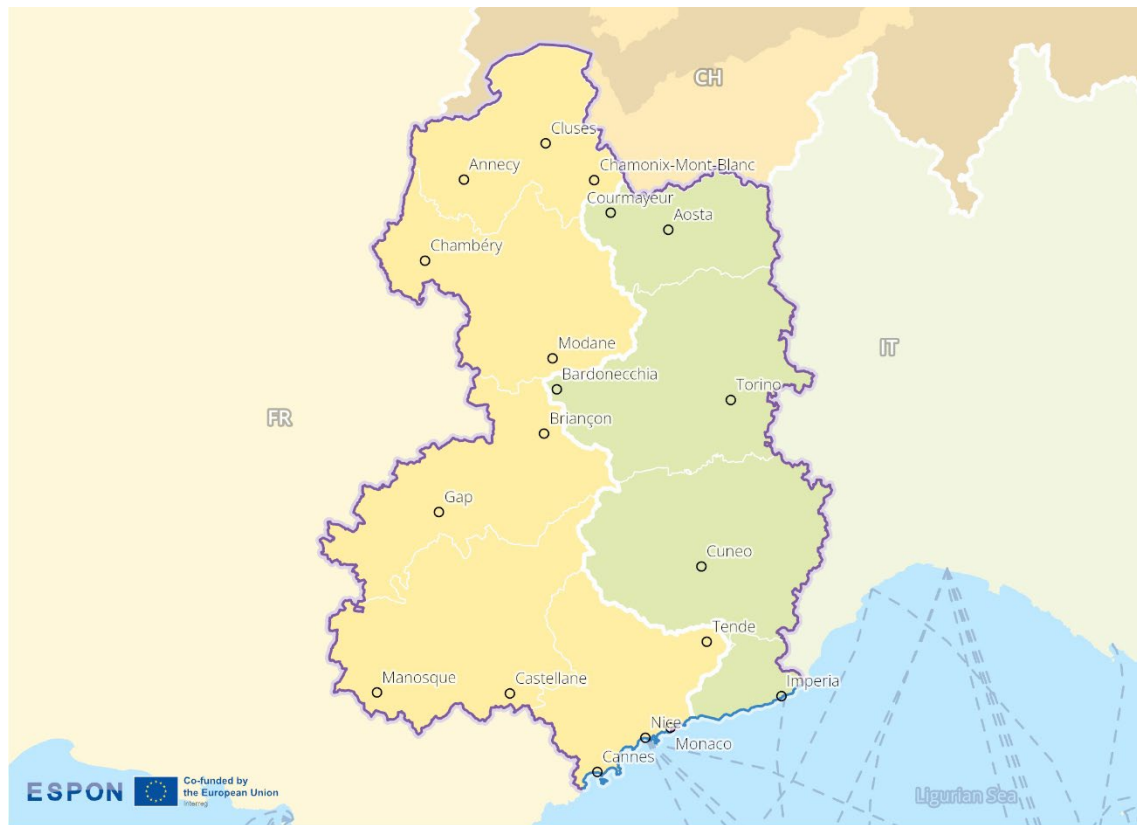
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.15 shows the average values for the 'compensation per hour worked'. This indicator is calculated by dividing the total compensation of employees (at current prices) by the total number of hours worked by those employees. In this context, 'employees' are defined as individuals engaged by contract in productive activities. The data is available for the place of work, regardless of the place of residence. Total hours worked represent the actual number of hours worked by employees and are considered the most accurate measure of labour input.

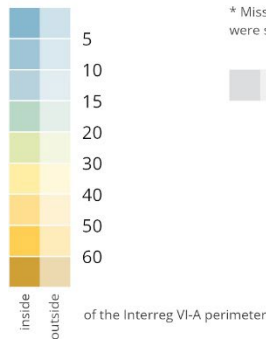
In 2023, nominal compensation per hour worked in average in France is €36.30 and in Italy €24.70. The map of the average wage rates in the border region is somewhat unevenly distributed. In the Italian parts of the cross-border region, the average hourly income ranges between €20 and €30, whereas the French parts show values between €30 and €40.

Cross-border wage differences can encourage labour migration from lower-wage areas to more economically prosperous neighbouring regions, creating both opportunities and challenges for local labour markets and social systems. However, in this particular border region, the wage differences do not appear to be especially significant.

Figure 2.15: Average income per hour



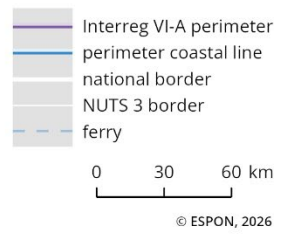
Average income per hour worked in euros (2023*)



* Missing data from 2023 in Switzerland were supplemented by values from 2022.

no data

Level of detail: NUTS3
Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
Origin of data: ARDECO database, JRC / REGIO, 2006-2023
©EuroGeographics for administrative boundaries



2.2.4 Infrastructure and housing

This sub-dimension shows the impact of the border on infrastructure and housing in the region. It assesses housing prices and average internet speed in order to identify cross-border effects, including potential price spillovers and disparities. The analysis reveals whether infrastructure and housing markets facilitate integration or expose structural challenges that are specific to the border area.

2.2.4.1 Advertised sales prices

Indicator description

The indicator shows the advertised sales price per square meter for houses/appartements as retrieved from commercial real estate websites at national level. In the cross-border region, local differences between average sales prices are highlighted and the “cutting” effect of the border and its influence on price levels is visualised.

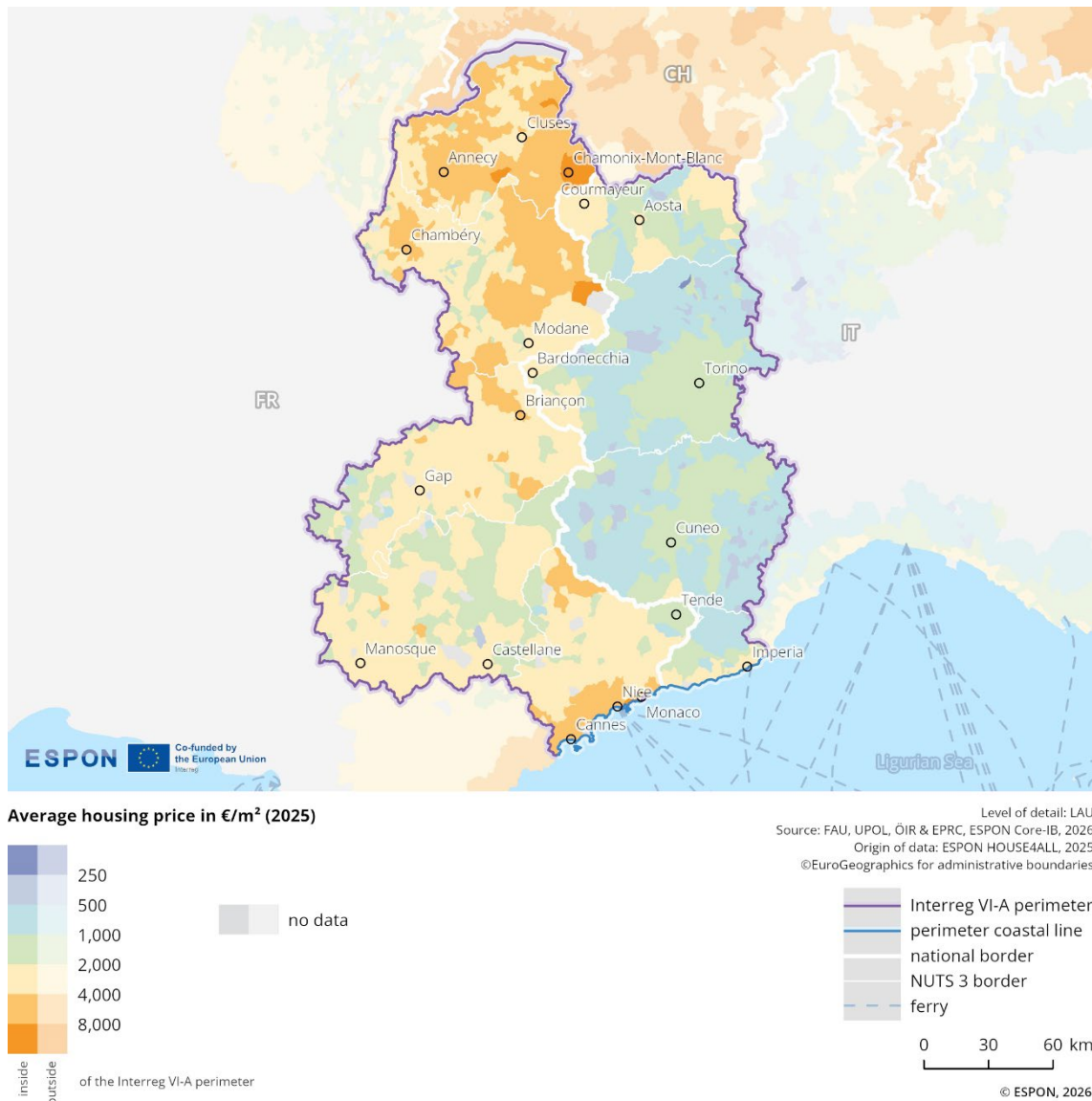
- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processed ESPON House4all data. The original data is collected via web-scraping of national listing websites over a one-year period.
- **Temporal coverage:** 2024/2025
- **Unit:** Average price per square meter (€/m²)

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.16 illustrates the advertised sales price of housing in 2025 across the border region. The data are categorised into ranges of average housing price per square metre, from below 250 €/m² up to more than 8,000 €/m², shown in colours ranging from purple and blue to green, yellow and orange.

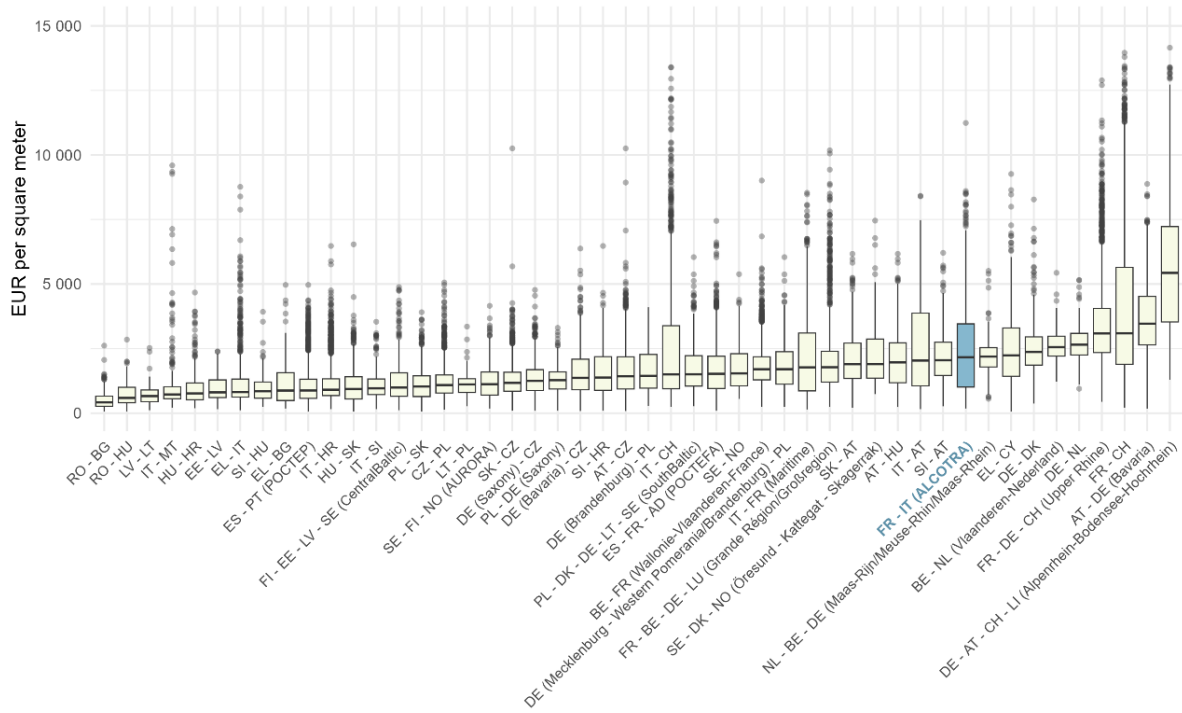
The map shows that the average price ranges from 250 to a maximum of 2,000 €/m² in the Italian part of the cross-border area. The exception is in the northern part around the city of Aosta, where the price reaches 4,000 €/m². The French cross-border is very varied. In the southern part, the average price predominantly ranges from 1,000 to a maximum of 4,000 €/m². 2 small areas approach the 8,000€/m² limit, especially in the coastal areas in Nice. In the northern part of France, prices are significantly higher than in the south. The area around Chamonix-Mont-Blanc ranges from 8,000€/m². The cross-border represents an evident difference in average sales prices.

Figure 2.16: Advertised housing prices



The French part of the border region records an average advertised residential sales price of approximately €3,364 per square metre, while the Italian part reports a substantially lower average price of about €1,039 per square metre. Overall, the average advertised sales price across the entire border region is estimated at €2,428 per square metre. This value exceeds the average for all EU-evaluated border regions (€1,900 per square metre) but remains below the European average of approximately €5,600 per square metre.

Figure 2.17: Advertised housing prices (comparison)



2.2.4.2 Average internet speed

Indicator description

The indicator shows the population weighted average internet speed available at municipal level. It highlights differences in the “digital preparedness”. In border regions, this indicator is particularly relevant for identifying digital infrastructure gaps that may hamper balanced development and cross-border integration.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing of data provided by Speedtest by Ookla Global Fixed and Mobile Network Performance Maps, based on Ookla’s analysis of Speedtest Intelligence data.
- **Temporal coverage:** 2022
- **Unit:** Download speed in Mbps

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

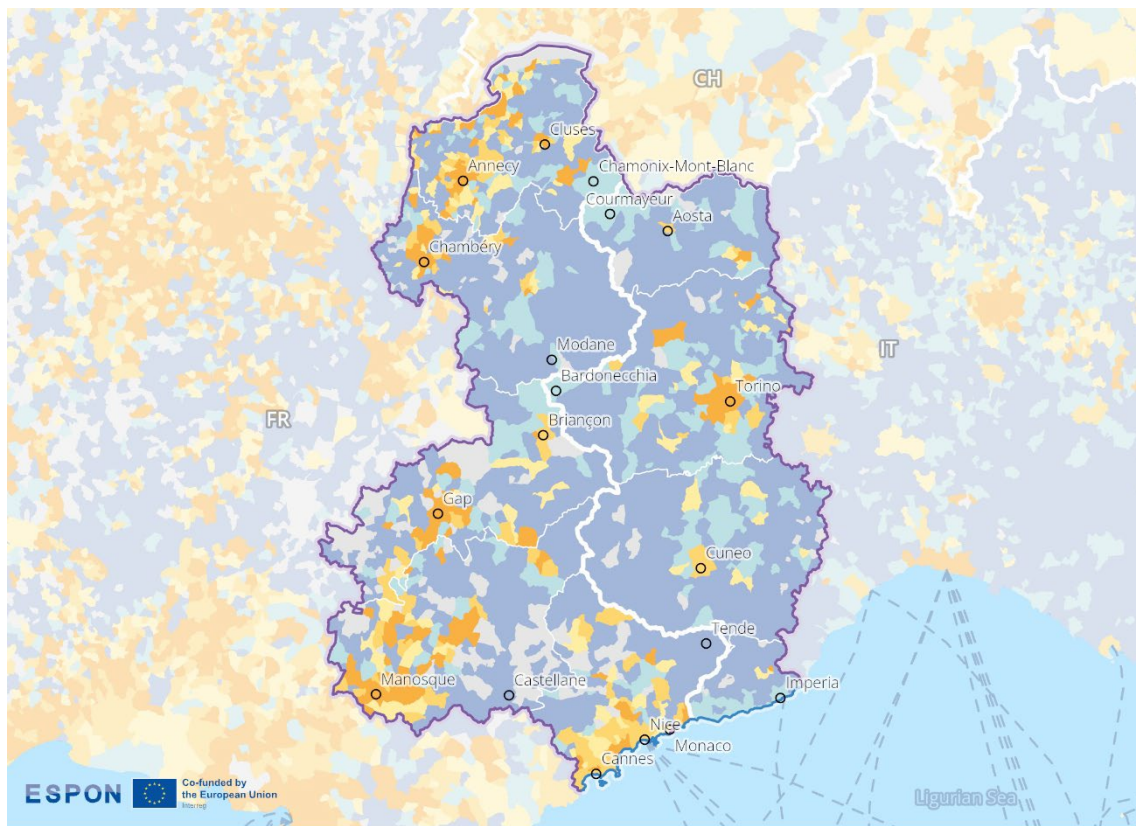
Digitalisation is a highly relevant issue in European border regions, with the overarching objective of ensuring appropriate digital access. It is widely recognised as a key precondition for successful regional and economic development. A major challenge in this process is preventing ‘digital divides’, i.e., avoiding significant disparities in economic, social, and spatial terms.

Average internet speed is a telling indicator of such disparities, highlighting differences in ‘digital preparedness’ at the local level. Figure 2.18 shows the average download speed at the municipality level. The colour scheme ranges from dark blue (very slow speeds) to orange (very fast speeds). The

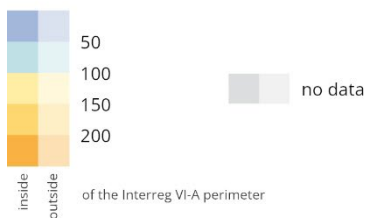
data, prepared by OBC Transeuropa for EDJNet, is based on Speedtest Intelligence data from Speedtest/Ookla's Global Fixed and Mobile Network Performance Maps for the first quarter of 2022. The average download speeds are expressed in megabits per second (Mbps), not to be confused with megabytes per second (MBps).

The map reveals significant differences between urban and rural areas, with values ranging from under 50 Mbps to over 200 Mbps. Cities such as Cluses, Annecy, Chambéry, Gap, Manosque, Monaco, Aosta, Torino, and Cuneo report relatively high average speeds, while surrounding areas tend to have significantly lower values. This may be due to the greater return on investment typically associated with digital infrastructure projects in urban areas compared to rural ones. However, not all urban areas in this border region have high download speeds, for example, Castellano does not stand out in this regard. Mountainous terrain on both sides of the border clearly poses a challenge in providing high-speed internet.

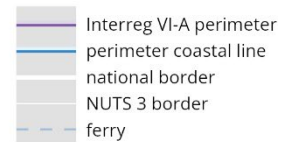
Figure 2.18: Average internet download speed



Average internet speed in Mbps (2022)



Level of detail: LAU
 Source: FAU, UPOL, ÖIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
 Origin of data: Orinaldo Gjergji, European Data Journalism Network, 2022
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2.2.5 Key messages on the economic dimension

The France-Italy border region is economically quite dynamic with a 23.9% increase of GDP per capita in between 2014 and 2022. The Italian border regions average exceeds the Italian national average and is close to the EU average. The GDP per capita in both Italian and French border regions has been fluctuating following the exact same patterns, this suggests a close economic integration of the cross-border region as a whole.

In terms of employment, the cross-border region has a slightly higher share compared to the respective countries' average. The share of employment in this border region is relatively stable, with the regional average reaching 75.4% in 2023. The share of working age population in the programme area is following a similar decline trend than in both countries as well as at EU level. The economic sectors concentrating jobs in the cross-border region are mining, quarrying, manufacturing, electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply, water supply; sewerage, waste management and remediation activities, wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles, transportation and storage, accommodation and food service activities and education, human health and social work activities. The analysis of the gross value added by industry confirms the economic importance of these sectors.

Several French regions show elevated shares of outgoing cross-border commuters per capita. While the cross-border wage difference across the border is also quite striking, nominal compensation per hour worked in France being higher than in the Italian regions, they do not appear to be a driving factor of commuting between France and Italy. The patterns shown by the maps suggest that this asymmetry is a driver of commuting towards other neighbouring countries such as Switzerland and the principality of Monaco.

The cross-border region is marked by an evident difference in average housing sales prices, including important disparities between the French regions of the cross-border territories. Higher prices are notably observed in the northern French regions, bolstered by high demand for ski-in/ski-out properties. Likewise, the Côte d'Azur's popularity is reflected in high housing prices.

2.3 Green dimension

The green dimension highlights the environmental characteristics, vulnerabilities and sustainability-related interactions within the border region. The analysis provides insight into the environmental interdependence of border regions. Additionally, the spatial distribution of renewable and conventional energy infrastructure, alongside indicators of resources and the circular economy, reveals whether the border facilitates collaborative transitions towards sustainability.

2.3.1 Nature protection and pollution

This sub-dimension investigates cross-border functional links in protected areas and areas affected by air and water pollution. It analyses the presence of protected areas in order to identify cross-border ecological links and conservation efforts. It also highlights the extent to which air and water pollution affects people living in border regions.

2.3.1.1 Protected areas

Indicator description

The indicator shows the presence and territorial coverage of protected areas based on the combination of 3 data sources, i.e., Nationally designated areas, Natura 2000 Network and Emerald Network.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** The indicator represents a combination of nationally designated areas, Natura 2000 and Emerald network provided by EEA (European Environment Agency) Geospatial data catalogue.
- **Temporal coverage:** 2024
- **Unit:** n/a

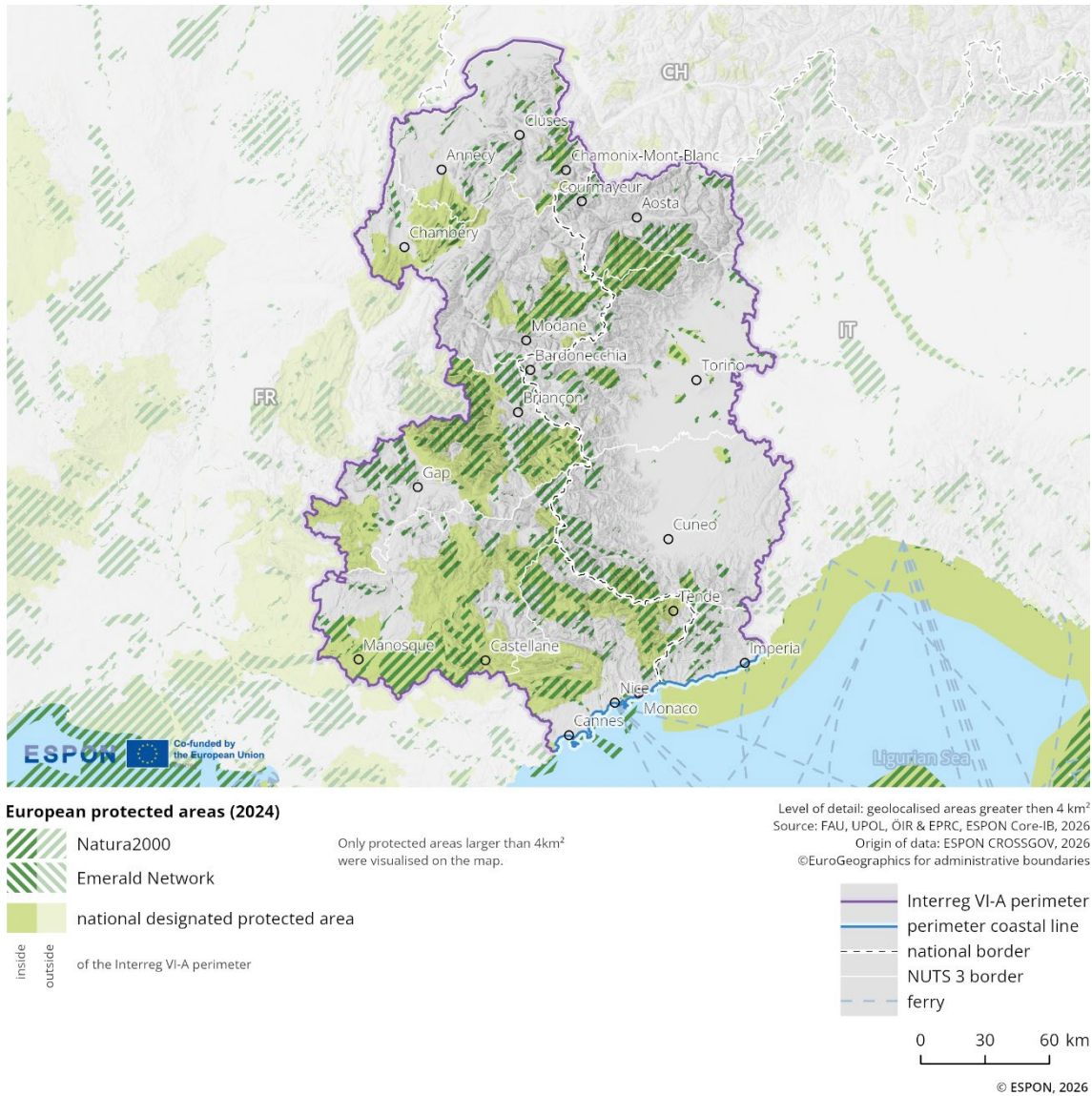
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.19 illustrates the distribution of protected areas in 2024 across the border region. The data differentiates between Natura 2000 sites, the Emerald Network, and nationally designated protected areas, with only protected areas larger than 4 km² displayed.

Protected areas within the Interreg region are densely distributed across the central and southern alpine zones, particularly around Castellane, near Gap, and Aosta, where Natura 2000 and national designated areas overlap. The largest contiguous zones follow the mountain ridges, while northern parts near Annecy, western areas near Cuneo and southern coastal areas near Monaco show more fragmented patterns. Western and central areas also contain medium-sized patches scattered throughout the border region.

Several protected areas show clear cross-border counterparts, especially between the French and Italian alpine zones. These create continuous corridors along the mountain range all the way towards Monaco.

Figure 2.19: Nature protected areas



2.3.1.2 Air pollution

Indicator description

The indicator shows the air pollution from fine particulates (PM_{2.5}) at NUTS3 level. The data shows the population-weighted average air pollution level (µg/m³), providing an indication of the extent to which the regional population is affected by air pollution.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing and analysis of European Environment Agency data
- **Temporal coverage:** 2022
- **Unit:** Population weighted average of µg/m³

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

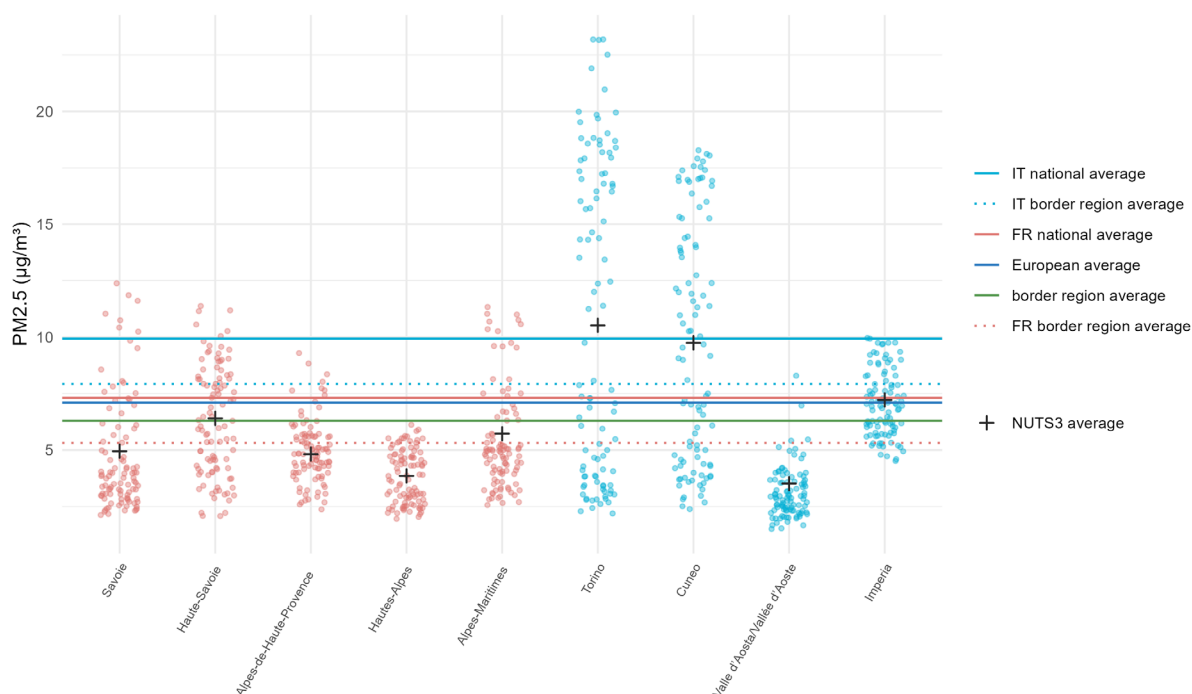
Figure 2.20 illustrates PM2.5 concentrations (in $\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$) across NUTS3 regions in France and Italy in the ALCOTRA Interreg region. Each small dot represents an individual measurement, while the black crosses indicate the average PM2.5 concentration for each NUTS3 region⁹. The regions are aligned along the x-axis, with French regions on the left (in red) and Italian regions on the right (in blue).

PM2.5 measurements in the Italian region show a wider range compared to those in the French regions, where values are more concentrated and rarely exceed $10 \mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$. Overall, Italian regions show higher individual peaks in PM2.5 concentrations than the French regions.

The Italian border region average lies below both the Italian national average. A similar pattern is seen in the France national and border region averages.

The European average is significantly lower than the Italian values but closely aligned with the French national average. However, both the French border region average and the cross-border average are below the European level, reflecting the higher values in the Italian border region and the lower values in the French border region.

Figure 2.20: Air pollution



⁹ See Eurostat Statistical Atlas for NUTS3 (2021) regions: <https://ec.europa.eu/statistical-atlas/viewer/?config=typologies.json&ch=NUTS&mids=BKGCNT.NUTS2021L3.CNTOVL&o=1.1.0.7¢er=49.69576,14.33324&lcis=NUTS2021L3&>

2.3.1.3 Water pollution

Indicator description

The indicator shows the ecological status or potential for coastal and river water bodies. It is based on an assessment of biological, hydro-morphological, chemical and physico-chemical quality elements.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing and analysis of European Environment Agency data
- **Temporal coverage:** 2022 (supplemented by 2016 data)
- **Unit:** n/a

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

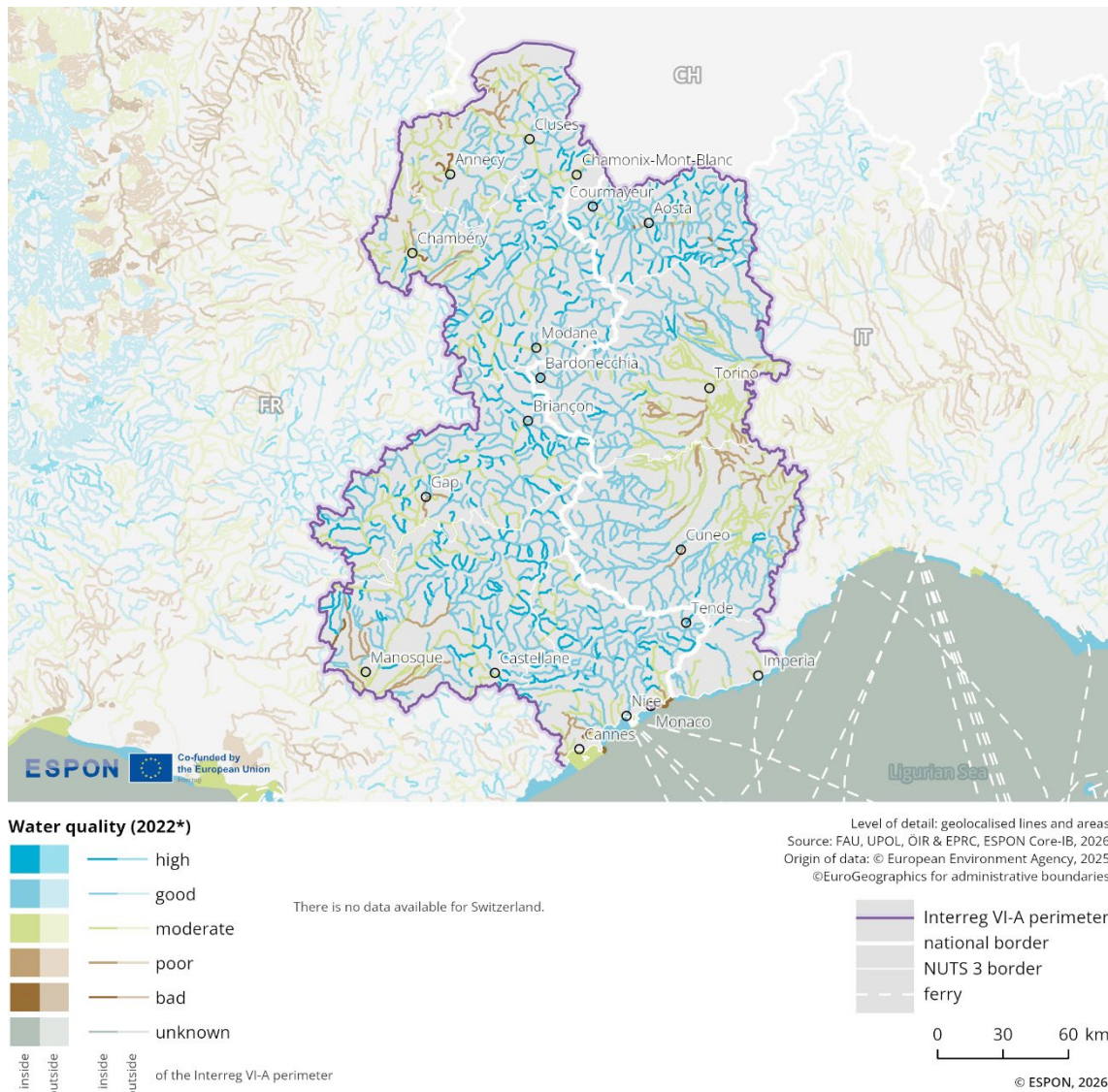
Figure 2.21 illustrates water pollution levels in the France–Italy Interreg region ALCOTRA in 2022. Water quality is represented using 6 colour-coded categories, ranging from "bad" to "high", including an "unknown" category¹⁰.

In the French part of the Interreg region, water bodies are predominantly rated as "good" and "high". However, rivers in the north near Annecy and Chambéry and to the south around Gap, Manosque are largely rated as "moderate" or "poor". Only isolated stretches are shown as "moderate" or "poor".

In the Italian part of the Interreg region, rivers in the north around Aosta and Torino are mostly rated as "good" or "high", while further south towards Cuneo and the coastal areas near Monaco more stretches are classified as "bad".

¹⁰ For more information see the Water Framework Directive Reporting Guidance (2022): https://cdr.eionet.europa.eu/help/WFD/WFD_715_2022

Figure 2.21: Water quality patterns



2.3.2 Climate risks and resilience

This sub-dimension examines cross-border functional links relating to climate risks and resilience. It analyses exposure to natural hazards such as landslides, earthquakes, droughts and floods in order to identify vulnerabilities and risks.

2.3.2.1 Natural hazard risks

Indicator description

The indicator shows the risk the border region is facing in relation to natural hazards (floods, droughts, landslides and earthquakes). The map highlights potential cross-border affectedness and allows to judge the relative relevance of each risk for the cross-border region.

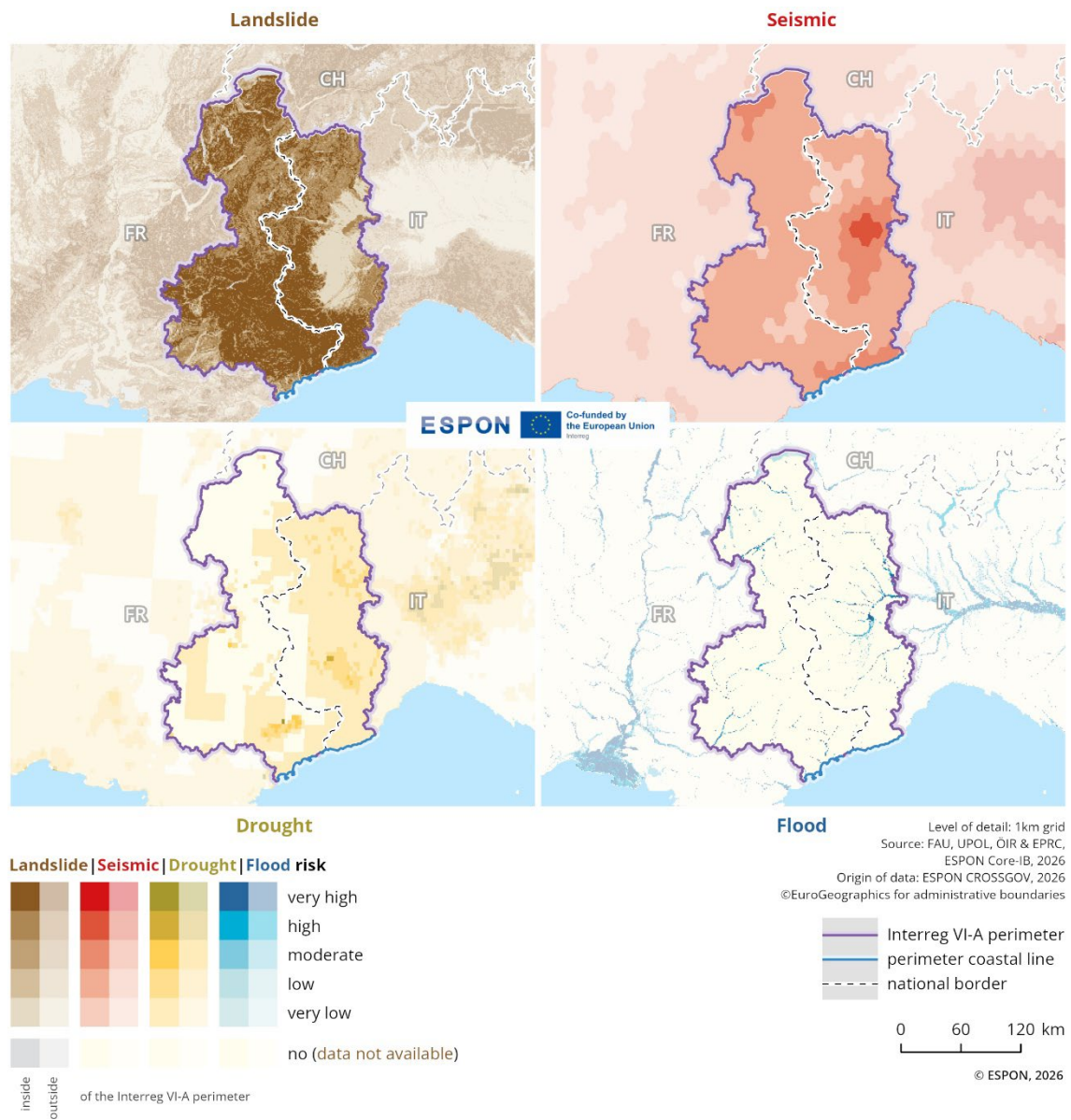
- **Source/method of retrieval:** The indicator is based on geodata from the Disaster Management Risk Knowledge Centre/JRC. It provides the likelihood of specific natural hazard events at grid level.
- **Temporal coverage:** 2024
- **Unit:** n/a

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

The maps illustrate the spatial distribution of natural hazards in the ALCOTRA region, highlighting areas where risks are shared across national boundaries and where risks are not necessarily cross-border relevant.

Vast parts of the border region display a (very) high risk of landslides, especially in the southern parts of the border region and alongside the border in general. Around the city of Torino there is a high rate of seismic activities registered, while in the rest of the border region the risk of earthquakes is low. Drought risks are low across the whole border region and floodings usually occur only very locally.

Figure 2.22: Natural hazard risks



2.3.3 (Renewable) Energy and energy infrastructure

This sub-dimension assesses cross-border functional links in energy supply and infrastructure, focusing on existing connections and missing links. The distribution of power lines, energy infrastructure and power stations is analysed to identify supply patterns and potential integration gaps. The analysis reveals whether the border facilitates energy cooperation and connectivity, or if infrastructural differences create barriers.¹¹

2.3.3.1 Power lines and energy infrastructure

Indicator description

The indicator shows the distribution of power lines and energy infrastructures in the cross-border region. The geodata highlights the existing links and gaps in the cross-border interconnections of the energy transmission network.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Geodata on high-voltage energy infrastructure (100 kV and above) has been collected and processed from OpenStreetMap.
- **Temporal coverage:** 2025
- **Unit:** kV

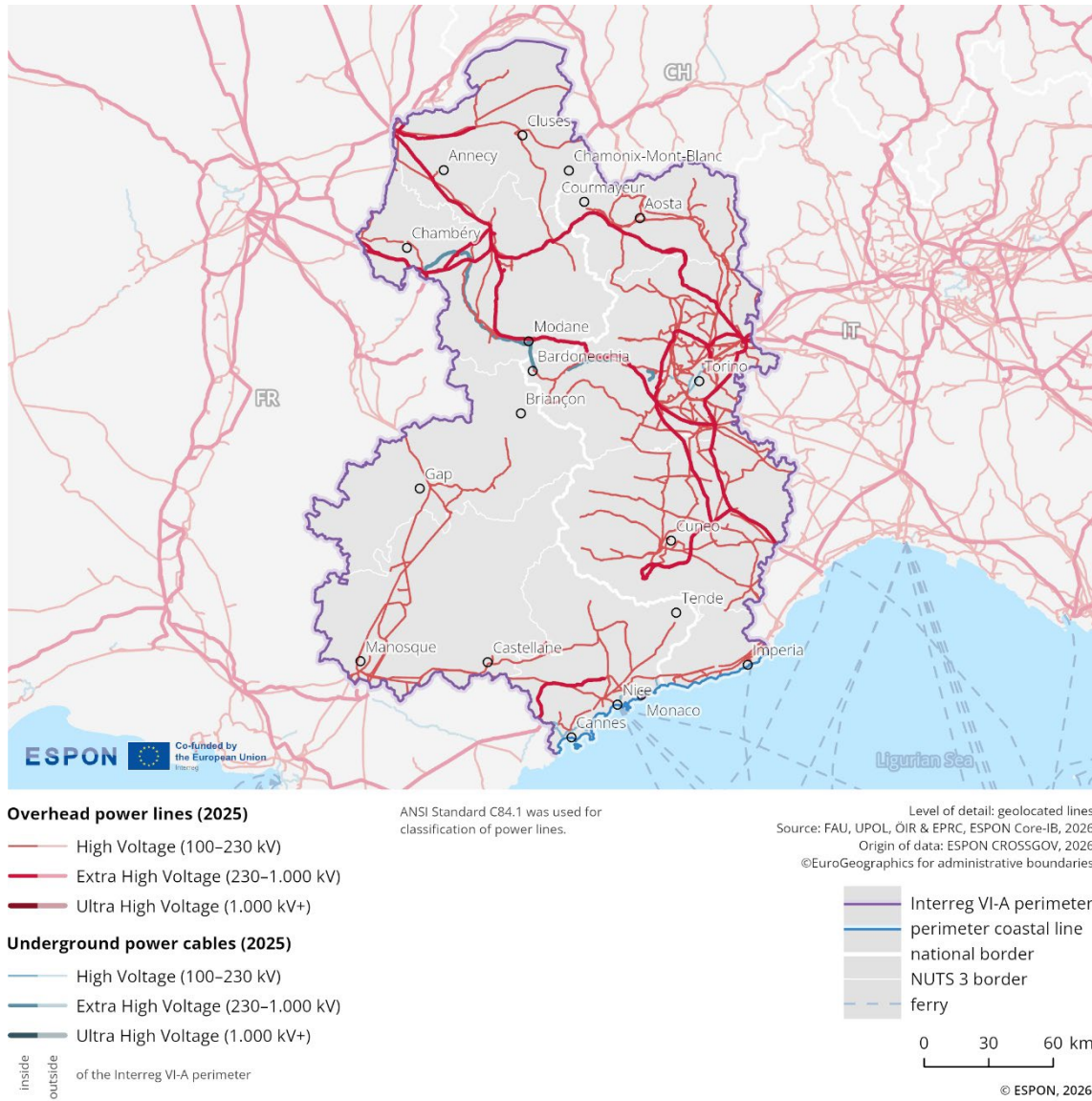
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.23 illustrates the distribution of power lines and cables in 2025 across the border region. The data distinguish between overhead and underground power lines, further classified into high-voltage (100-230 kV), extra high-voltage (230-1,000 kV), and ultra-high voltage (above 1,000 kV).

The cross-border region of France-Italy (ALCOTRA) exhibits relatively extensive high- and extra high-voltage transmission infrastructure on the Italian side of the border and in the northern part of French territory. In contrast, the southern half of the French part of the cross-border region is more sparsely covered and served almost exclusively by high-voltage lines. In Italy, the high-voltage network is very dense and complements the higher level of power lines. In the high mountain areas on both the Italian and French sides, electricity is also supplied by underground cables of the extra high-voltage category. One of these cables also provides a direct connection between the 2 countries. Other direct connections are located in the south near the coast (via high-voltage lines) and at 2 points in the northern part of the common border via an extra high-voltage lines.

¹¹ See also: European Commission 2025: Handbook on Cross-border Energy Communities, https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/studies/2025/Handbook_on_Cross-border_Energy_Communities.pdf

Figure 2.23: High-voltage transmission infrastructure



2.3.3.2 Power stations

Indicator description

The indicator shows the location of power stations by type and energy production levels (coal, gas and oil, nuclear, hydro). It can indicate differences and complementarities in the national energy supply systems as well as highlight potential supply-demand links when viewed in conjunction with power lines infrastructure.

- **Source:** OpenStreetMap, Global Energy Monitor, JRC Hydro-power plants database
- **Temporal coverage:** 2025
- **Unit:** MW

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

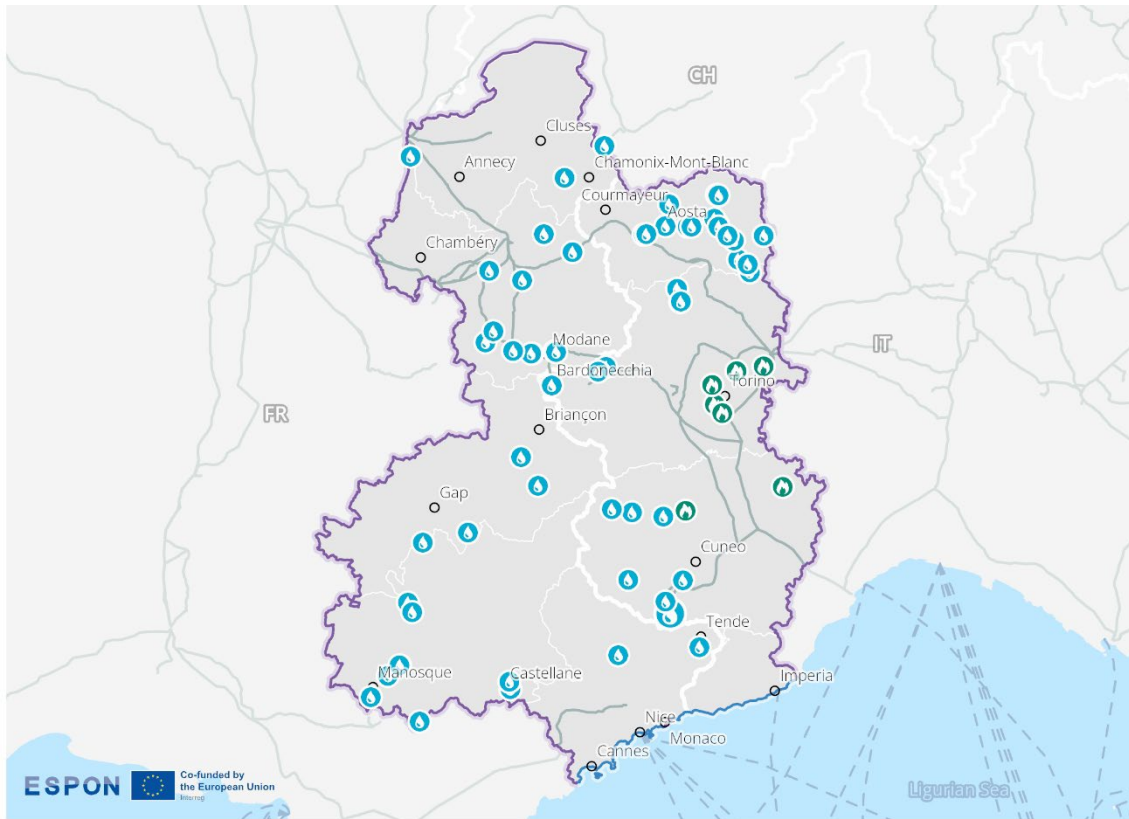
In the France-Italy (ALCOTRA) cross-border region, in total, there are 67 power station locations, while the most prevalent is represented by hydroelectric power stations (see Table 1).

Table 1: Number and type of power stations

Power stations/plants	Less than 1GW	1GW and up
Nuclear	/	/
Coal	/	/
Gas and oil	7	/
Hydro	59	1

In Italy, there is 32 locations operating hydroelectric power stations, while in France a total of 28 stations are in use. As expected, most hydroelectric power stations are located in mountainous areas of both countries. All 7 gas and oil power stations are located in Italy (but together they comprise a total of 9 operations) in the vicinity of Torino (see Figure 2.24). No nuclear power plant or coal power stations are present in the whole border region.

Figure 2.24: Power stations infrastructure



Power stations (2025)

- nuclear
 - coal
 - gas and oil (greater than 20MW)
 - hydro (greater than 20MW)
- ≥ 1GW
 < 1GW

Power lines and cables (2025)

- ≥ 230kV
 inside
 outside
 of the Interreg VI-A perimeter

Level of detail: geolocalised point and linear features
 Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
 Origin of data: ESPON CROSSGOV, 2026
 ©EuroGeographics for administrative boundaries

- Interreg VI-A perimeter
- perimeter coastal line
- national border
- NUTS 3 border
- ferry



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2.3.4 Resources and circular economy

This sub-dimension focuses on resource use patterns in the border region and their implications for circular economy practices. It analyses resource productivity and waste generation in order to evaluate the efficiency and sustainability of resource utilisation across the border.

2.3.4.1 Resource productivity

Indicator description

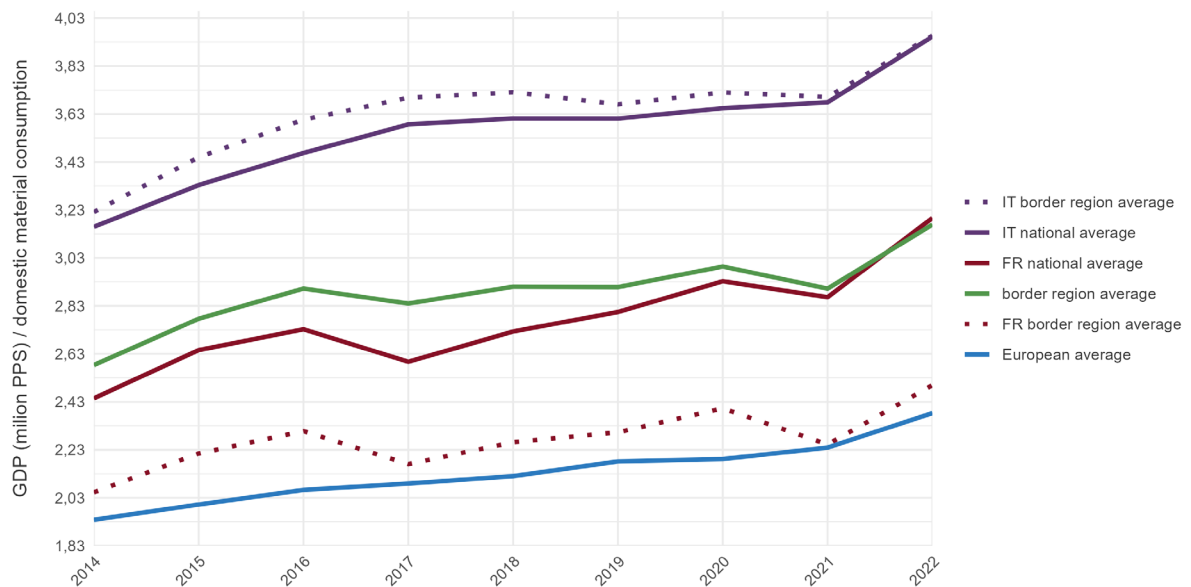
The indicator shows the economic value generated per unit of material consumed for each region within the cross-border area. Developments over time provide insights if the decoupling of productivity from resource use is progressing on regional level.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing of Eurostat and ESPON CIRCTER (Circular Economy and Territorial Consequences) Update data
- **Temporal coverage:** 2014-2022
- **Unit:** PPS/tons

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.25 illustrates the development of GDP per unit of domestic material consumption in million PPS/DMC (purchasing power standards per domestic material consumption) between 2014 and 2022. The data compare the national averages, the averages of their respective border regions, and the overall border regional average with the European average.

Figure 2.25: Resource productivity



The Italian national average of resource productivity shows a steady increase over the period, rising from around 3.23 in 2014 to over 3.83 million PPS per unit of domestic material consumption in 2022. The average for the Italian border regions follows a similar trend and is slightly higher, but from 2021 onward, both values are nearly aligned.

The French national average also shows an upward trend during the observed period, but less constant and at a significantly lower level compared to the Italian values. It is nearly aligned with the border regional average, especially from 2019 onwards, as both values have increasingly converged. The average for the French border region follows a similar pattern, but remains notably below the French national average, reaching around 2.43 million PPS per unit of domestic material consumption in 2022.

The European average lies significantly below both the Italian and the French national averages, while the French border region average is only slightly higher. The border region average represents a combination of the lower values from the French border region and the higher values from the Italian border region, reaching around 3.03 million PPS per unit of domestic material consumption in 2022. However, notable disparities exist within the border region itself.

2.3.4.2 Generation of waste per GDP

Indicator description

The indicator shows the regional distribution of waste creation in relation to the GDP development. Comparing waste generated to GDP reflects the waste intensity of the economy and provides a measure of “eco-efficiency”. Observation of its change from year to year permits to assess whether the economy is able to produce more wealth while at same time generating less waste.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing of Eurostat and ESPON CIRCTER Update data
- **Temporal coverage:** 2014-2022
- **Unit:** Tons/PPS

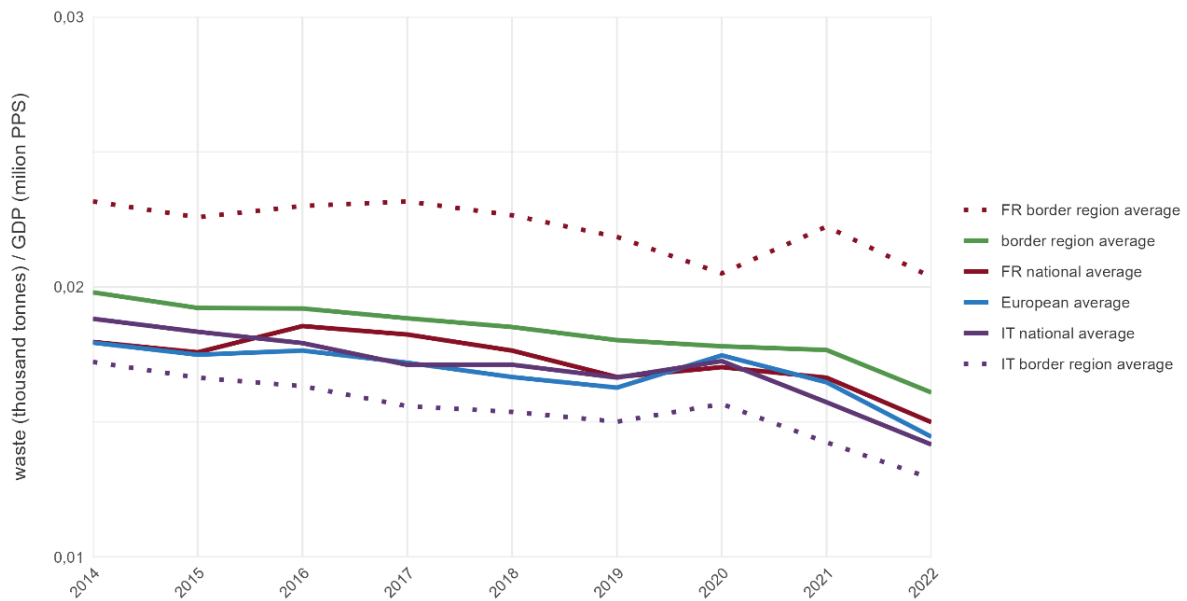
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.26 illustrates the trend in waste generation relative to economic output, measured in tonnes of waste per million PPS (Purchasing Power Standard) of GDP from 2014 to 2022 in the Interreg region ALCOTRA (France-Italy).

Italian and French values show a steady downward trend over the observed period. In both countries, the national average is closely aligned with the European average and reaches around 0.015 tonnes of waste per million PPS in 2022. While the Italian border region average is slightly lower than the national average, the French border region average is significantly higher than the French national average.

The European average gradually decreases from around 0.018 in 2014 to approximately 0.015 tonnes of waste per million PPS in 2022. The cross-border regional average consistently remains above the European average and lies between the higher values of the French border region and the lower values of the Italian border region. In 2022, it reaches a value of approximately 0.016 tonnes of waste per million PPS.

Figure 2.26: Waste generation per GDP



2.3.5 Key messages on the green dimension

The coverage of protected areas (Natura 2000 and nationally designated protected areas) is quite fragmented in the France-Italy cross-border areas. They are more concentrated in the French part of the border region. The existence of such protected areas is more limited in the Italian regions, apart from areas along the border and in the Valle d'Aosta. The air pollution in the Italian regions is also correspondingly higher than in the French regions but remains lower than the national Italian average. Again, the Valle d'Aosta is standing out for its higher water quality, compared to the other Italian regions of the cross-border regions.

A very high risk of landslides is present in the border region, especially in the southern parts of the border area and alongside the border in general. The city of Torino is particularly affected by a high rate of seismic activities registered, while in the rest of programme area the risk of earthquakes is low. Drought risks are low across the whole region and floodings usually occur only very locally.

The cross-border region of France-Italy exhibits relatively extensive high- and extra high-voltage transmission infrastructure on the Italian side of the border and in the northern part of French territory. In contrast, the southern half of the French part of the cross-border region is more sparsely covered and served almost exclusively by high-voltage lines. Given the significance of water resources in the border region, hydropower represents the most prevalent type of power station. A few gas and oil power stations are to be found in the vicinity of Torino.

The economic value generated per unit of material consumed for each border region within the cross-border area (resource productivity) indicates that the average of the border region is, in general, dragged by the lower values from the French border region and the higher values from the Italian border region. In turn, considering the waste generation relative to economic output, the cross-border regional average consistently remains above the European average and lies between the higher values of the French border region and the lower values of the Italian border region.

2.4 Socio-economic dimension

The socio-economic dimension examines patterns of social integration, tourism, and access to public services in the border region. It identifies how socio-cultural links, visitor flows and essential services influence development in the cross-border area. By examining interpersonal interactions via social media, language similarities, tourism intensity, and the accessibility of facilities such as secondary schools, grocery shops, hospitals, doctors, pharmacies and cinemas this dimension highlights both functional integration and potential socio-spatial differences.

2.4.1 Social integration

This sub-dimension evaluates the level of social integration in the border region by identifying areas with low or high cross-border interactions. It analyses cross-border connectivity in social media and language similarities across and along national borders to evaluate the potential for cultural and social integration.

2.4.1.1 Cross-border connectivity in social media

Indicator description

The indicator refers to the existing connections between users of META social media (in particular Facebook) across the border. It aims at giving an overview of the degree of personal connectivity between inhabitants of the border area. Even though not all these internet connections will relate to real communication exchanges but sometimes just “following” content from other users, they give an overview of interpersonal and cultural knowledge of the social media landscape from across the border.

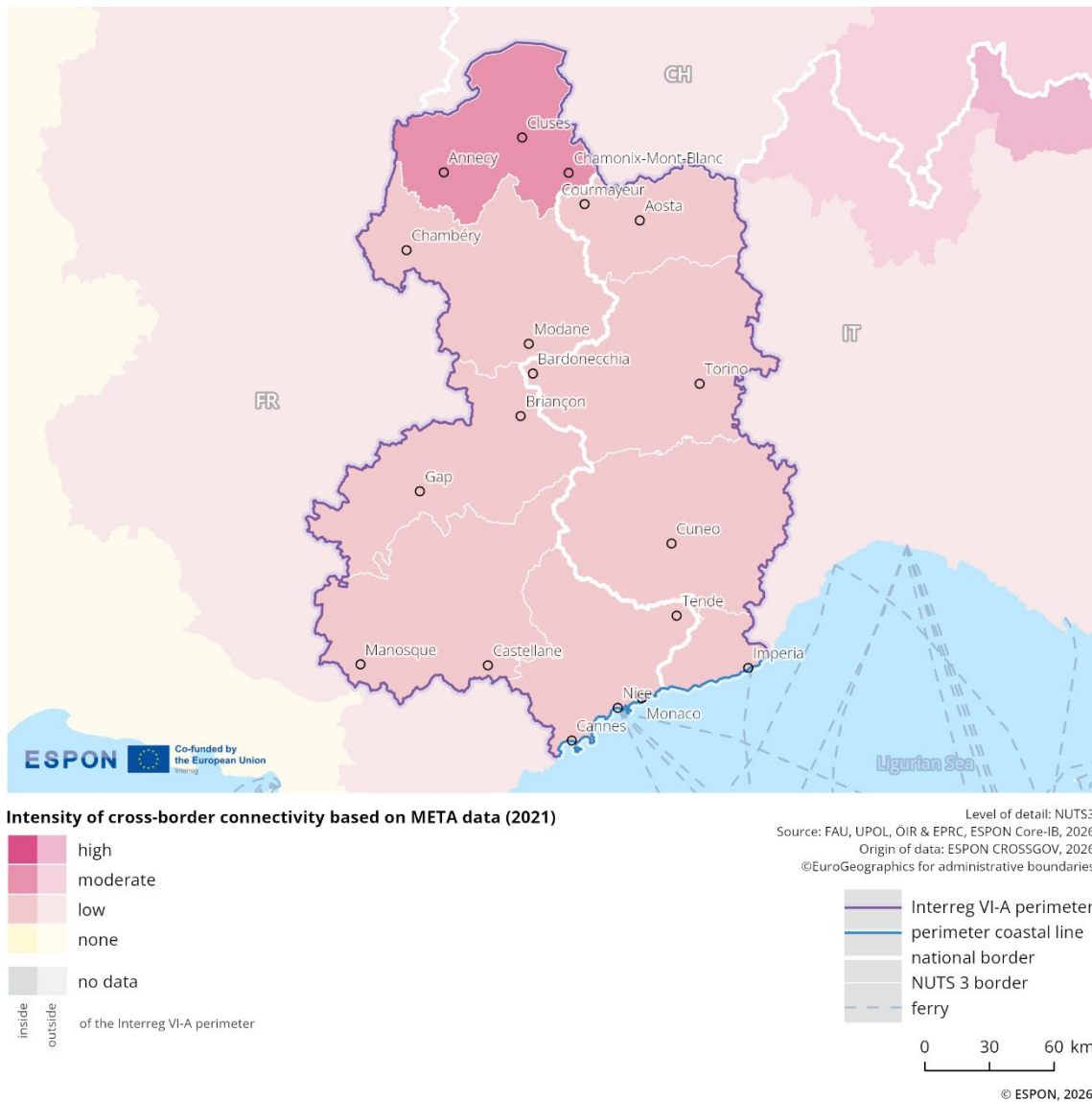
- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing Facebook data on existing connections across the border (data for Good Meta)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2021
- **Unit:** n/a

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.27 illustrates the spatial distribution of cross-border connectivity based on Facebook information in the border area. The different shades of pink indicate varying intensities of connectivity, ranging from low to high, with darker tones representing stronger intensity of cross-border connectivity in social media.

The intensity of cross-border connectivity in social media among residents of this border region is largely uniform, with all Italian regions and most French regions reporting low degrees of social connectivity. The only exception is the area around the French cities of Annecy, Cluses and Chamonix-Mont-Blanc, where connectivity intensity is moderate. The cross-border connectivity in social media depicted could also be directed towards the bordering Swiss region or other European regions and is possibly linked to the higher degree of international tourists coming to this region.

Figure 2.27: Cross-border connectivity in social media



2.4.1.2 Language similarities along national borders

Indicator description

The indicator specifies whether the language is the same across the border, whether the respective national languages have commonalities, whether while different, there are local linguistic commonalities, and whether the language is different.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** ESPON cross-border public services (CPS) 2.0 database along border segments
- **Temporal coverage:** 2022
- **Unit:** n/a

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

2 different languages characterise the border region. While Italian and French are linguistically close and there are bilingual areas such as Valle d'Aosta and cross-border commuters who maintain high levels of bilingualism, local authorities report that the overall level of mutual knowledge of the neighbouring language has decreased over the years, particularly on the French side.

2.4.2 Tourism

This sub-dimension identifies key tourism hotspots in the border region to highlight tourism dynamics. It analyses the number of nights spent in tourist accommodation establishments in order to evaluate the attractiveness of, and developments in, the tourism sector. Comparisons with the respective countries and the EU average provide context for understanding cross-border regions dynamics.

2.4.2.1 Nights spent at tourist accommodation establishments

Indicator description

The indicator shows the number of nights a guest or tourist actually spends in a tourist accommodation establishment or non-rented accommodation (overnight stays). This may reveal the tourism attractiveness of a region and shed light on the role of tourism in the local economy, i.e., tourists/guests staying overnight may spend more in the region than one-day visitors.

- **Source:** Eurostat
- **Temporal coverage:** 2020-2023
- **Unit:** Nights per capita

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

The spatial distribution of overnight stays highlights the importance of key tourist destinations in border areas. Tourism contributes significantly to regional income, infrastructure development and employment, and thereby supports regional prosperity. At the same time, it affects environmental and living conditions, which may reduce local acceptance despite its economic benefits. This is in particular the case in places of overtourism, seasonal pressures, and increasing land-use conflicts.

Figure 2.28 shows the number of overnight stays per capita at tourist accommodation establishments in 2023. It includes hotels, holiday and other short-stay accommodation, as well as campsites, caravan and trailer parks. The map uses a colour gradient, with darker shades indicating a higher number of nights spent per capita in 2023. It also shows the cumulative number of overnight stays from 2020 to 2023.

In 2023, a particularly high intensity of overnight stays is evident on the French side of the border. Several NUTS3 regions show 20 to 40 nights per capita, including Savoie, Hautes-Alpes and Alpes-de-Haute-Provence¹². On the Italian side, the per capita figures are somewhat lower, though still relatively high in regions directly adjacent to the national border (e.g., Valle d'Aosta). In terms of total overnight stays over the 3-year period, the leading tourism regions are located in Savoie (approx. 16 million), Alpes-Maritimes (approx. 13 million), Haute-Savoie (approx. 12 million). In general, in this border area are several popular UNESCO cultural heritage sites located, such as the Fortifications of Vauban and the Residences of the Royal House of Savoy.

¹² See Eurostat Statistical Atlas for NUTS3 (2021) regions: <https://ec.europa.eu/statistical-atlas/viewer/?config=typologies.json&ch=NUTS&mids=BKGCNT.NUTS2021L3.CNTOVL&o=1.1.0.7¢er=49.69576,14.33324&lcis=NUTS2021L3&>

Figure 2.28: Overnight stays in tourism

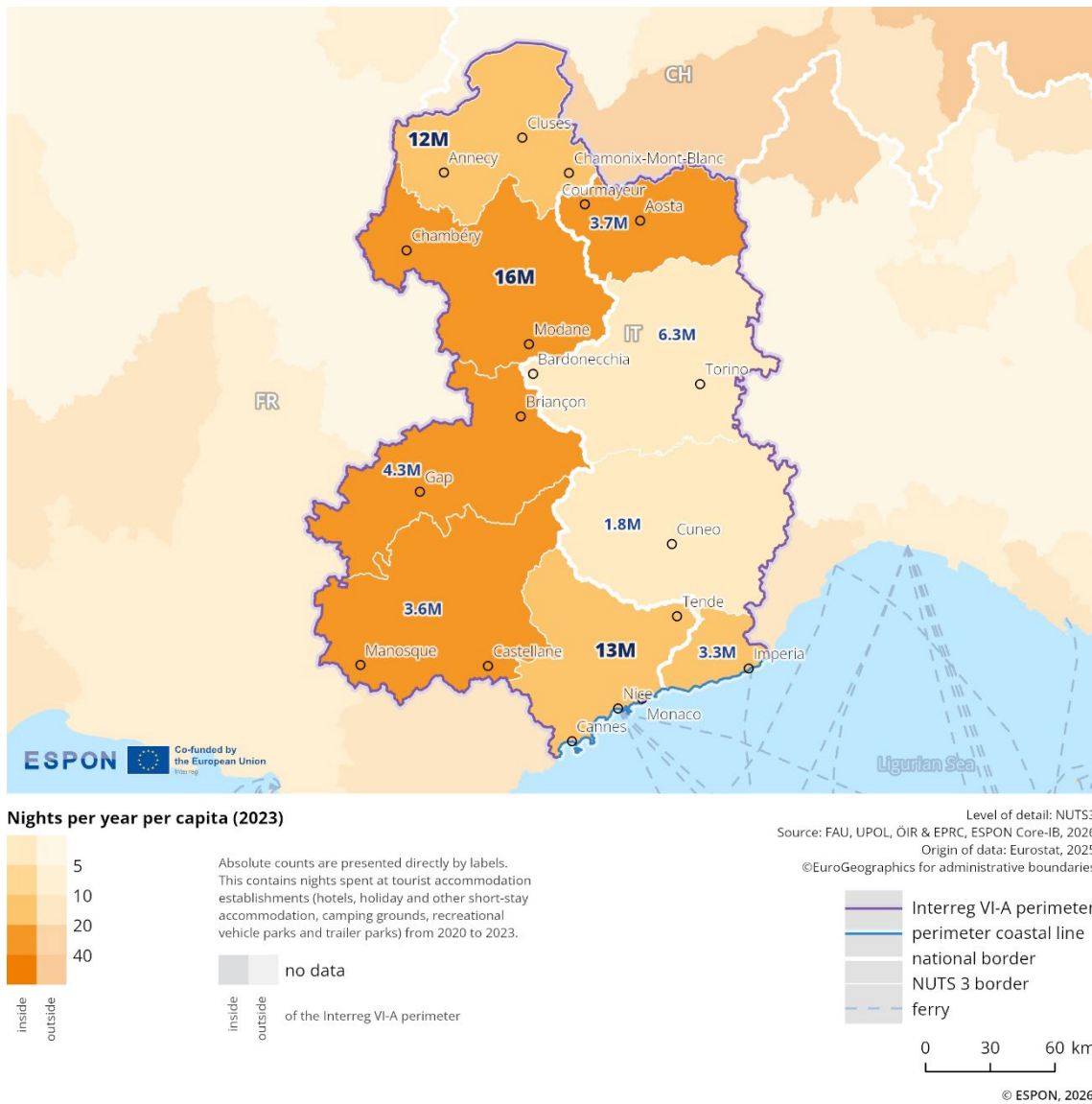
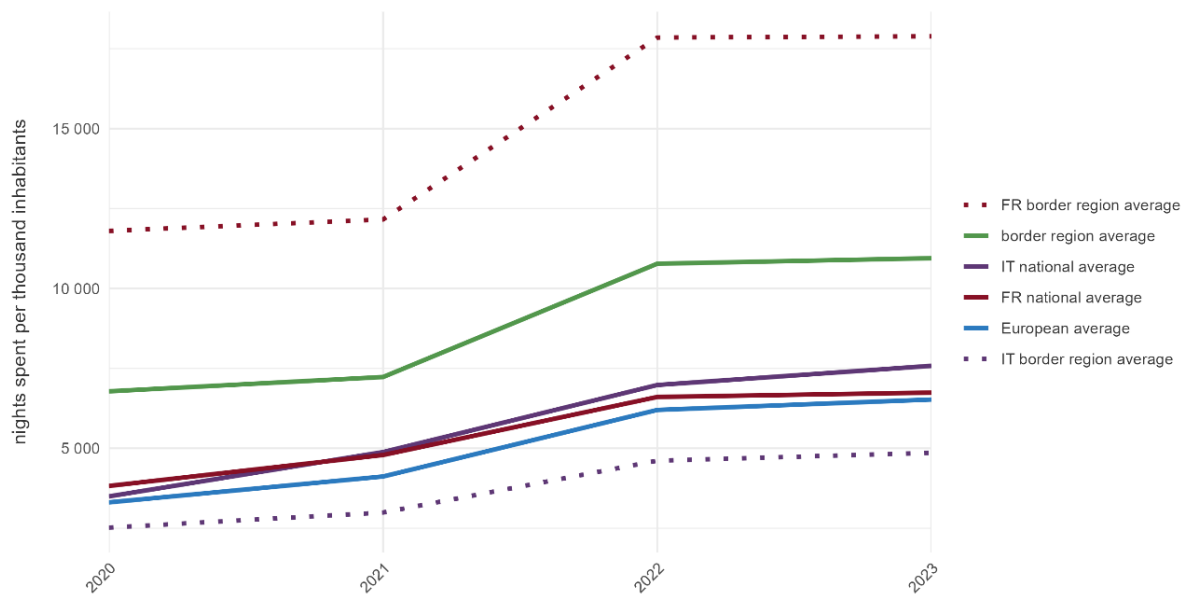


Figure 2.29 illustrates the development of nights spent at tourist establishments per thousand inhabitants from 2020 to 2023. Over the entire period, the average for the France-Italy programme area is higher than the overall European average, which includes EU member states and the EFTA countries Iceland, Liechtenstein, Switzerland and Norway. While the border regional average in France is higher than the national average for all 4 years, the Italian border regional average is lower than the national average. Additionally, the regional average for the French border area is significantly higher than that for the Italian throughout the given period.

Touristic patterns have a series of implications for spatial development on either side of the border. Transport infrastructure has to consider peak volumes and balancing recreating activities with socio-cultural as well as environmental heritage can be a challenge.

Figure 2.29: Overnight stays in tourism (comparison)



2.4.3 Services of general interest

This sub-dimension looks at how accessible services of general interest (SGIs) are in the border region, identifying areas that are well-served and those that are more difficult to access. It analyses access to essential services such as secondary schools, grocery shops, hospitals, doctors, pharmacies and cinemas.

2.4.3.1 Accessibility to services of general interest

Indicator description

The indicator shows, for the below listed facilities and services, the average driving time to the nearest facility of a series of services of general interest.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing and analysis of standardised travel-time accessibility to secondary schools, grocery shops, hospitals, doctors, pharmacies and cinemas available in the ESPON PROFECY Update (2022)
- **Temporal coverage:** 2021
- **Unit:** Minutes (in 2.5 x 2.5 km grid)

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figures 2.30 to 2.35 visualise average car travel times to services of general interest within the programme area. The maps display accessibility to:

- › Secondary schools (Figure 2.30)
- › Grocery shops (Figure 2.31)
- › Hospitals (Figure 2.32)
- › Doctors (Figure 2.33)
- › Pharmacies (Figure 2.34)
- › Cinemas (Figure 2.35)

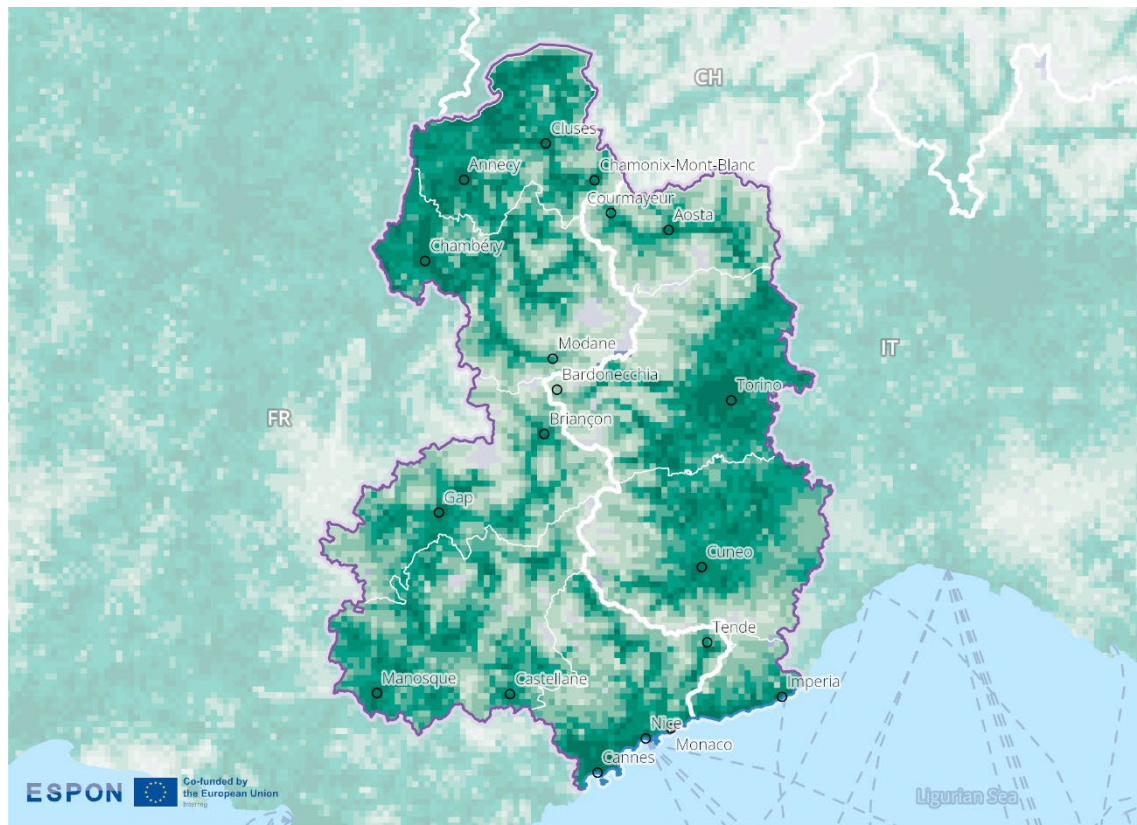
These indicators show how long, on average, it takes to reach the nearest facility by car. The data comes from the ESPON PROFECY Update project (2022) and is visualized based on a 2.5-kilometer grid.

In the France–Italy border area, essential services such as hospitals, pharmacies, schools, and grocery shops are evenly distributed across eastern Italy and north-western France, resulting in overall good accessibility. The same applies to doctors, though with better accessibility observed only in northeastern Italy. In the central French and Italian regions, services are mostly concentrated in the main valleys, which are also relatively well accessible.

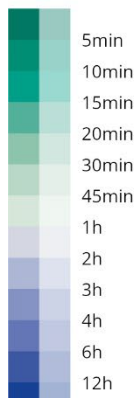
However, the mountainous terrain along the border creates accessibility challenges. Some areas located directly at the national border are harder to reach. Steep mountains make it difficult to build and maintain transport infrastructure. Consequently, travel times to essential services are often longer in these regions.

Hospitals, as a medical service, are mainly located in cities and more densely populated areas. This leads to an urban–rural gradient, with shorter travel times in and near urban centres and longer ones in rural or remote regions. The same applies to cinemas as a cultural service.

Figure 2.30: Travel time to secondary schools

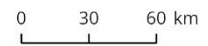
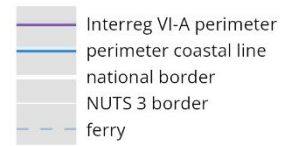


Car travel time to the nearest secondary school (2021)



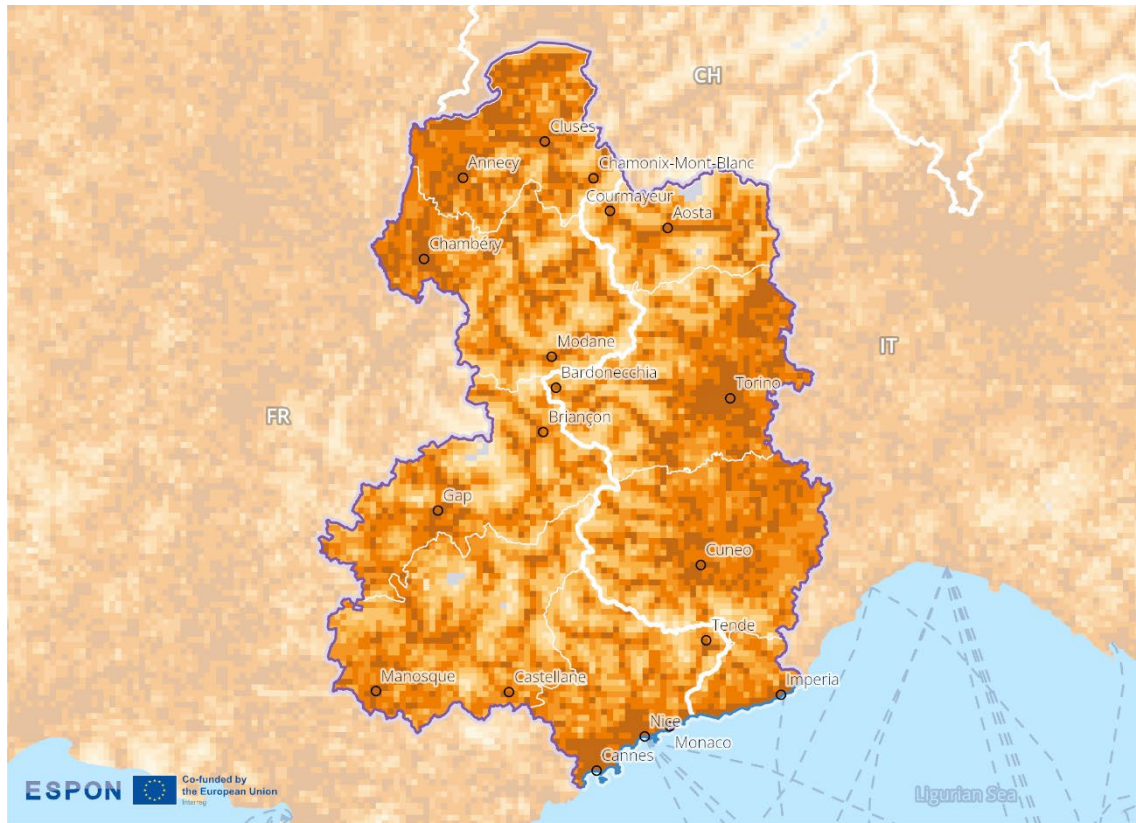
inside
outside
of the Interreg VI-A perimeter

Level of detail: 2.5km grid
Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
Origin of data: ESPON PROCECY Update, 2022
©EuroGeographics for administrative boundaries

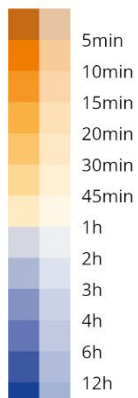


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Figure 2.31: Travel time to grocery shops

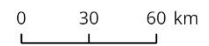
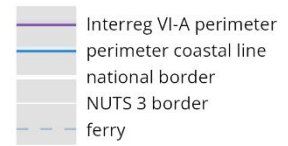


Car travel time to the nearest shop (2021)



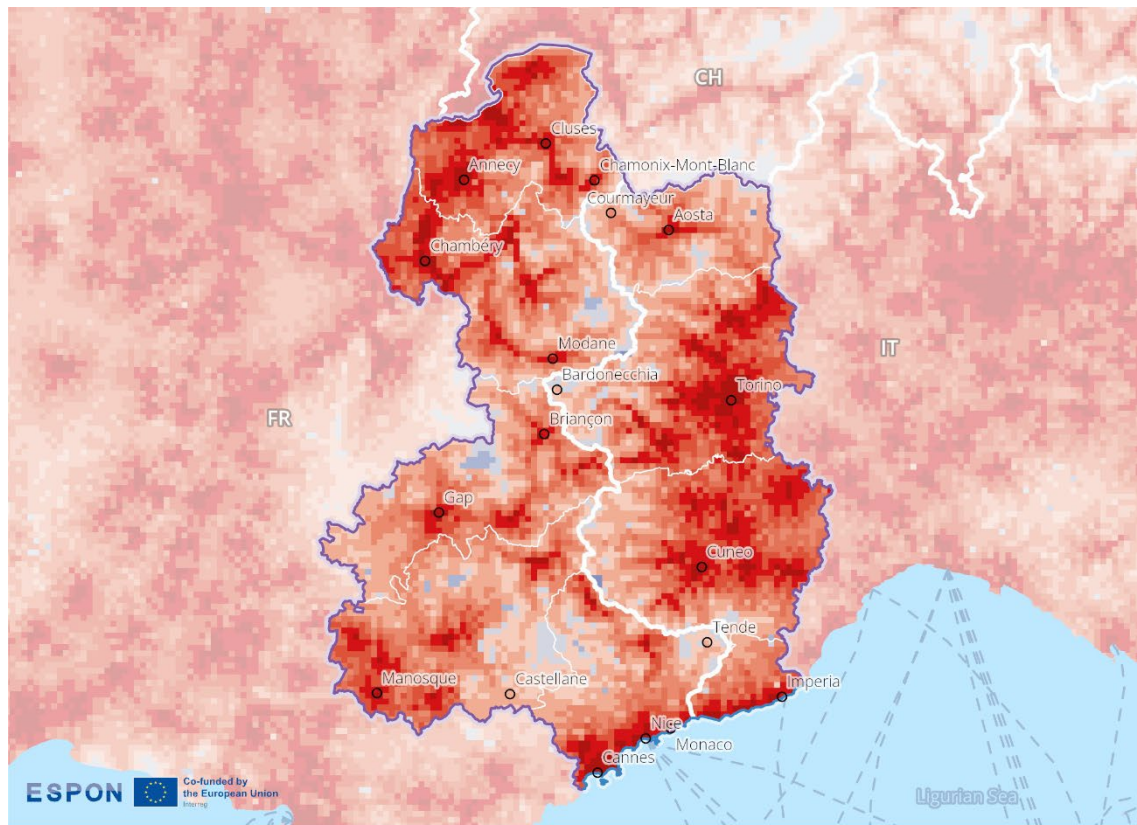
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of the Interreg VI-A perimeter

Level of detail: 2.5km grid
Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
Origin of data: ESPON PROCECY Update, 2022
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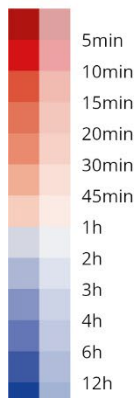


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Figure 2.32: Travel time to hospitals

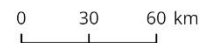
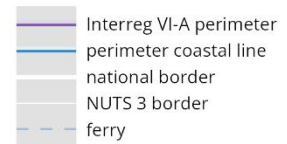


Car travel time to the nearest hospital (2021)



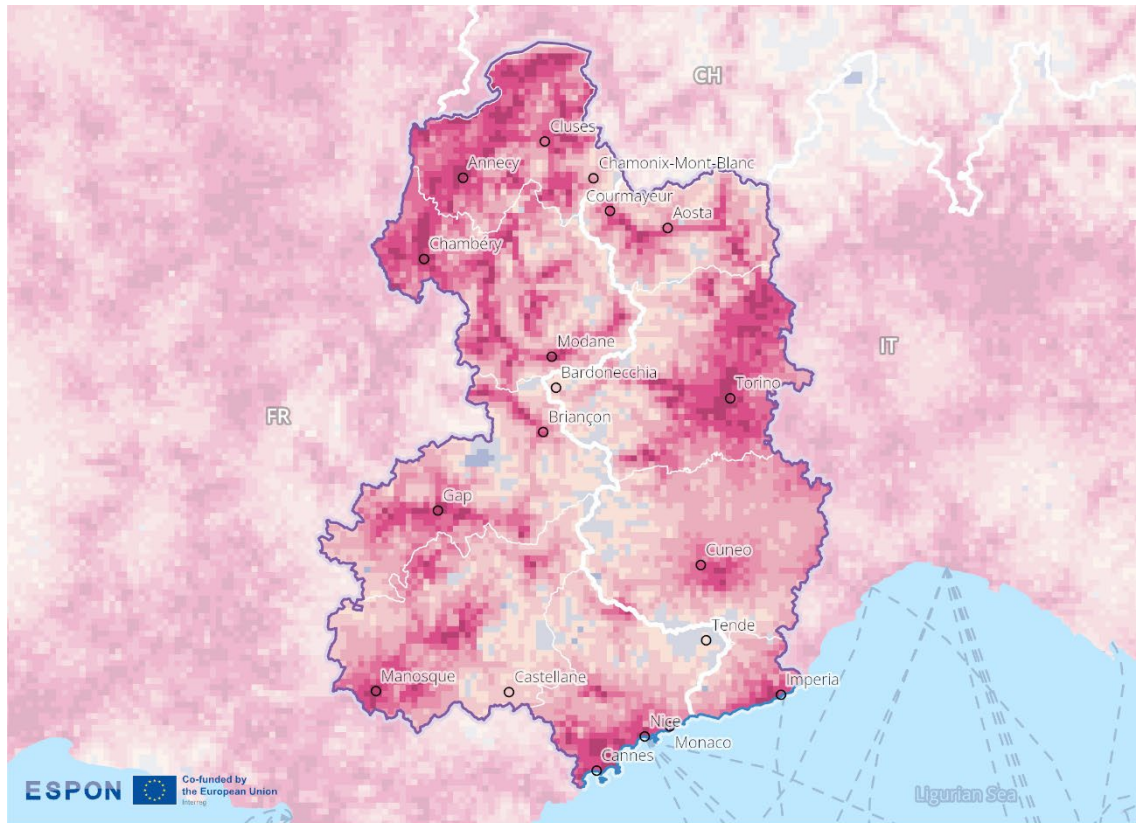
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Level of detail: 2.5km grid
Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
Origin of data: ESPON PROCECY Update, 2022
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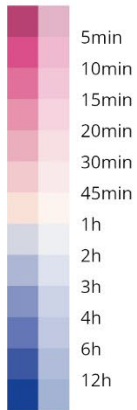


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Figure 2.33: Travel time to doctors

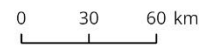
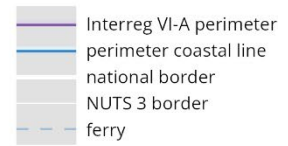


Car travel time to the nearest doctor (2021)



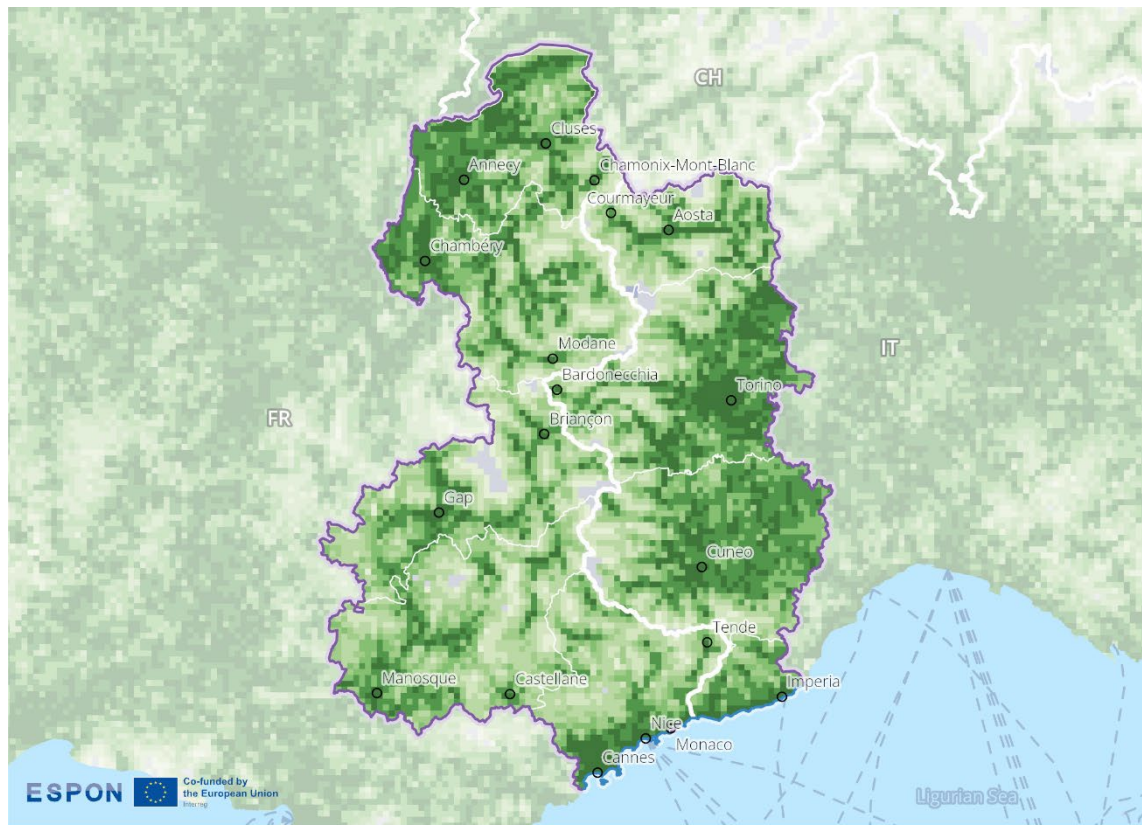
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of the Interreg VI-A perimeter

Level of detail: 2.5km grid
Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
Origin of data: ESPON PROCECY Update, 2022
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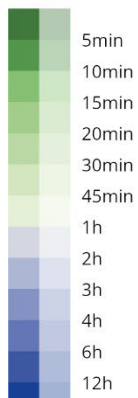


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Figure 2.34: Travel time to pharmacies

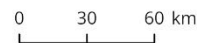
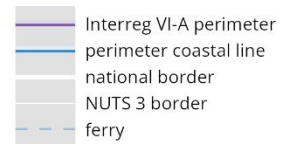


Car travel time to the nearest pharmacy (2021)



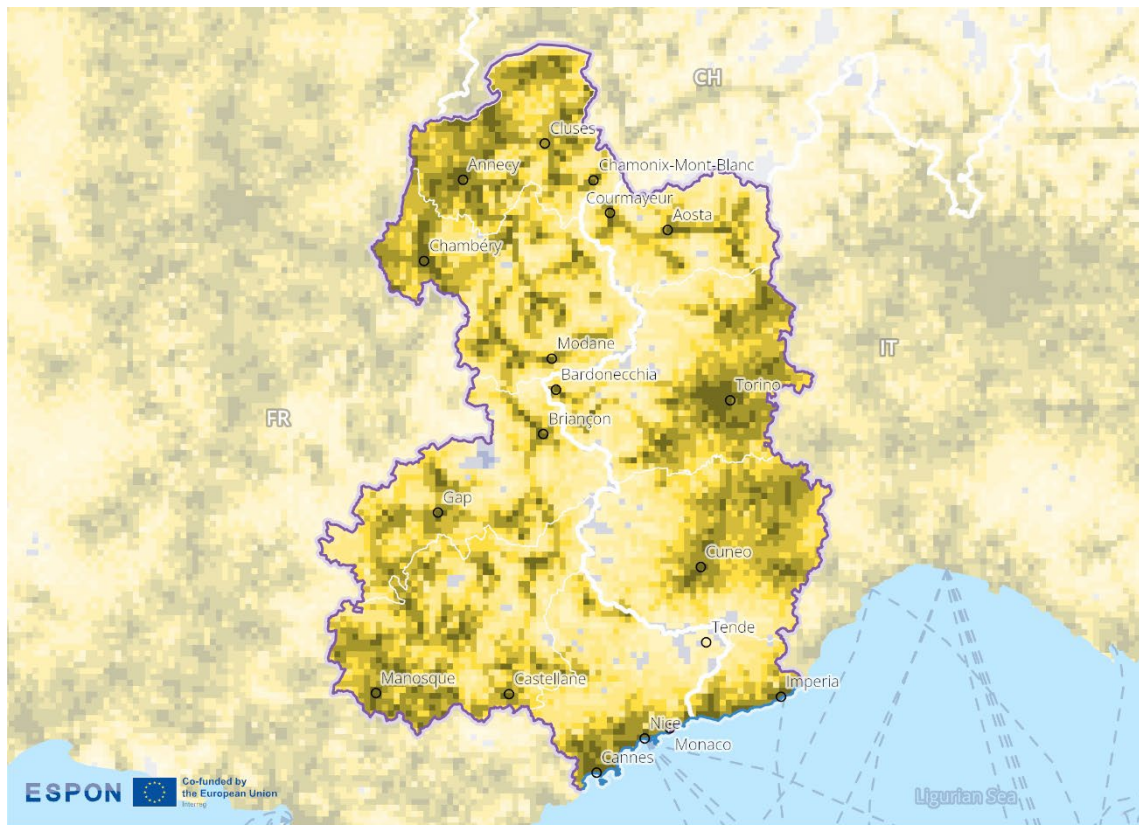
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of the Interreg VI-A perimeter

Level of detail: 2.5km grid
Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
Origin of data: ESPON PROCECY Update, 2022
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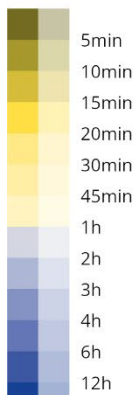


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Figure 2.35: Travel time to cinemas

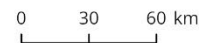
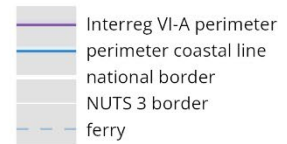


Car travel time to the nearest cinema (2021)



inside
outside
of the Interreg VI-A perimeter

Level of detail: 2.5km grid
Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
Origin of data: ESPON PROCECY Update, 2022
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2.4.4 Key messages on the socio-economic dimension

Cross-border connectivity in social media do not seem very developed apart from 2 border regions around the cities of Annecy and Cluses. The language barrier may explain this observation. While French is an official language in the Valle d'Aosta, social interactions with the French regions are limited.

In terms of total overnight stays over the examined 3-year period, the leading tourism regions are located in France (Savoie, Alpes-Maritimes, Haute-Savoie) with still relatively high values in the Valle d'Aosta. Travel-time accessibility to secondary schools, grocery shops is rather homogeneous across the border region, with some issues linked to the topographic situation of some areas. Unsurprisingly, accessibility to hospitals, doctors, pharmacies and cinemas is evenly limited in these areas.

2.5 Border security and safety

This dimension shows the security and safety conditions in border regions. It analyses the number of days on which border control is temporarily reintroduced at internal borders, using this as an indicator of security concerns and restrictions on cross-border movement.

2.5.1 Temporary reintroduction of border controls at internal borders

Indicator description

The indicator shows the number of days of temporary reintroduction of border control at internal borders, including the official reasons behind. The reintroduction of border control at the internal borders must be applied as a last resort measure, in exceptional situations, and must respect the principle of proportionality. The scope and duration of reintroduced border control should be restricted to the bare minimum needed to respond to the threat in question.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing and analysis data of European Commission information pursuant to Article 25 and 28 et seq. of the Schengen Borders Code
- **Temporal coverage:** 2006-2025 (cut-off: 08 May 2025, in order to allow data treatment before work package completion)
- **Unit:** Days per year

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

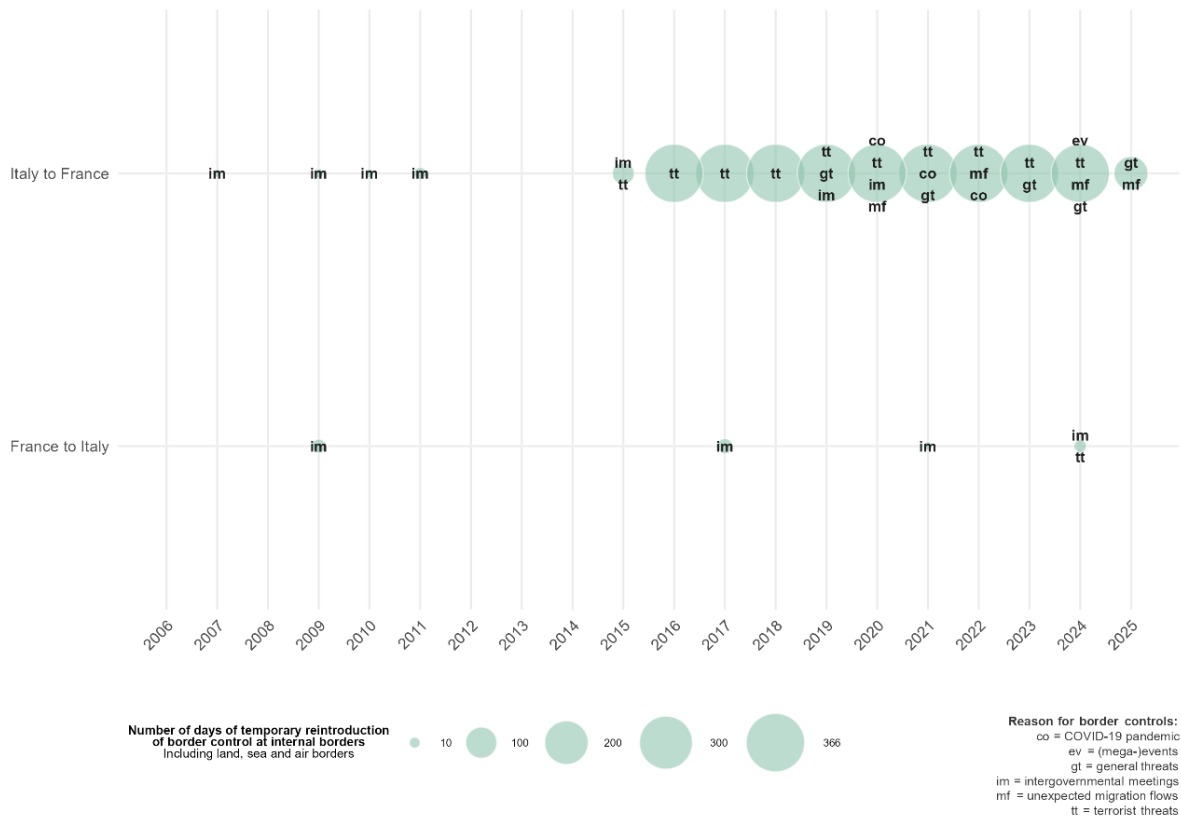
Figure 2.36 illustrates the number of days during which temporary border controls were reintroduced at internal borders within the Schengen Area. Each bubble represents a specific year with bubble sizes indicating the number of days the respective border was under control. The categories of reasons for reintroducing controls include:

- > co – COVID-19 pandemic
- > ev – (Mega-)events
- > gt – General threats
- > im – Intergovernmental meetings
- > mf – Unexpected migration flows
- > tt – Terrorist threats

The data spans from 2006 to 2025 (cut-off: 08 May 2025) and is based on notifications from the European Commission information pursuant to Article 25 and 28 et seq. of the Schengen Borders Code. In line with Schengen rules, the reintroduction of controls is to be used only as a last resort, for exceptional circumstances, and with strict adherence to the principle of proportionality—both in duration and scope.

Both, France and Italy had already been part of the Schengen Area by 2006.

Figure 2.36: Temporary reintroduction of border controls



ESPON Co-funded by the European Union © FAU, UPOL, ÖIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026; Origin of data: European Commission, own calculations, 2025

The France-Italy border area is characterized by an asymmetric pattern:

- › Crossing the border from Italy to France: Temporary border control occurred in 15 out of 20 years, driven by intergovernmental meetings such as NATO and G20 summits. From 2016 until 2024 the border is permanently controlled. The reasons are terrorist threats e.g., due to attacks in Paris and Nice (2016-2017), major sports events like the EURO 2016, the Tour de France (2016) or the Olympic and Paralympic Games (2024). Further the border has been controlled due to COVID-19 (2020-2022) and general threats like the situation at the external borders, organized criminality and smuggling (2020-2022). Another reason is the unexpected and persistent migration flows since 2019 (until 2025).
- › Crossing the border from France to Italy: Temporary border controls occurred in 4 of 20 years, tied to intergovernmental meetings like G8/G7 (2009, 2017, 2024) or G20 (2021) as well as terrorist risk (2024).

From a comparative perspective, France has implemented controls for significantly more days than Italy, indicating an unequal impact on cross-border movement in one direction.

These controls tend to have a tangible effect on the smooth functioning of cross-border flows, especially commuting and logistics, as they introduce delays and unpredictability.

2.5.2 Key messages on the border security dimension

The analysis of temporary reintroductions of border controls highlights challenges and potential in the France-Italy (ALCOTRA) border region, in particular the asymmetrical implementation of such controls. From a comparative perspective, France has imposed border controls for a significantly longer period of time than Italy. Besides from the Covid crisis, the most recent reasons for reintroducing border

controls are linked to terrorism threats (in line with the ant-terrorism plan “Vigipirate”), organized criminality and smuggling and illegal migratory flows.

The findings suggest that, although the border region benefits from close socio-economic interaction, it remains vulnerable to uncoordinated national measures. Strengthening resilience and ensuring the long-term functionality of cross-border cooperation, particularly in times of crisis, will require continuous, balanced and jointly managed governance mechanisms.

2.6 Governance dimension

Because of the shared Alpine terrain, the Italy-France ALCOTRA programme area has a long history of cross-border cooperation. Well-established bodies that have long promoted cooperation, like the EGTC Maritime-Mercantour and the Espace Mont-Blanc, facilitate institutional partnership. The programme strongly searches out synergies with other cross-border and transnational projects and is closely associated with the EU Strategy for the Alpine Region (EUSALP). With assistance from a Joint Secretariat in Torino and a Monitoring Committee comprising partners from both nations, the Managing Authority in the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes Region (France) serves as the focal point of the ALCOTRA governance.

2.6.1 Cross-border cooperation

This sub-dimension identifies the extent of cross-border cooperation in the border region. It illustrates areas of high cooperation intensity and identifies functional links in governance structures across borders. It also identifies areas with high awareness of obstacles and the willingness and support services to overcome them, as well as areas where Interreg cooperation intensity is already strong.

2.6.1.1 Cross-border governance structures

Indicator description

The indicator shows active institutionalised cooperation that act as cross-border entities. It includes cooperation formats such as Eurocities, Euroregions, EGTC, cross-border associations, cross-border councils, etc.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Localisation and categorising of cross-border cooperation formats (Eurocities, Euroregions, EGTC, cross-border associations, cross-border councils, conferences, working communities), based on desktop research.
- **Temporal coverage:** Status as of October 2025
- **Unit:** n/a

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

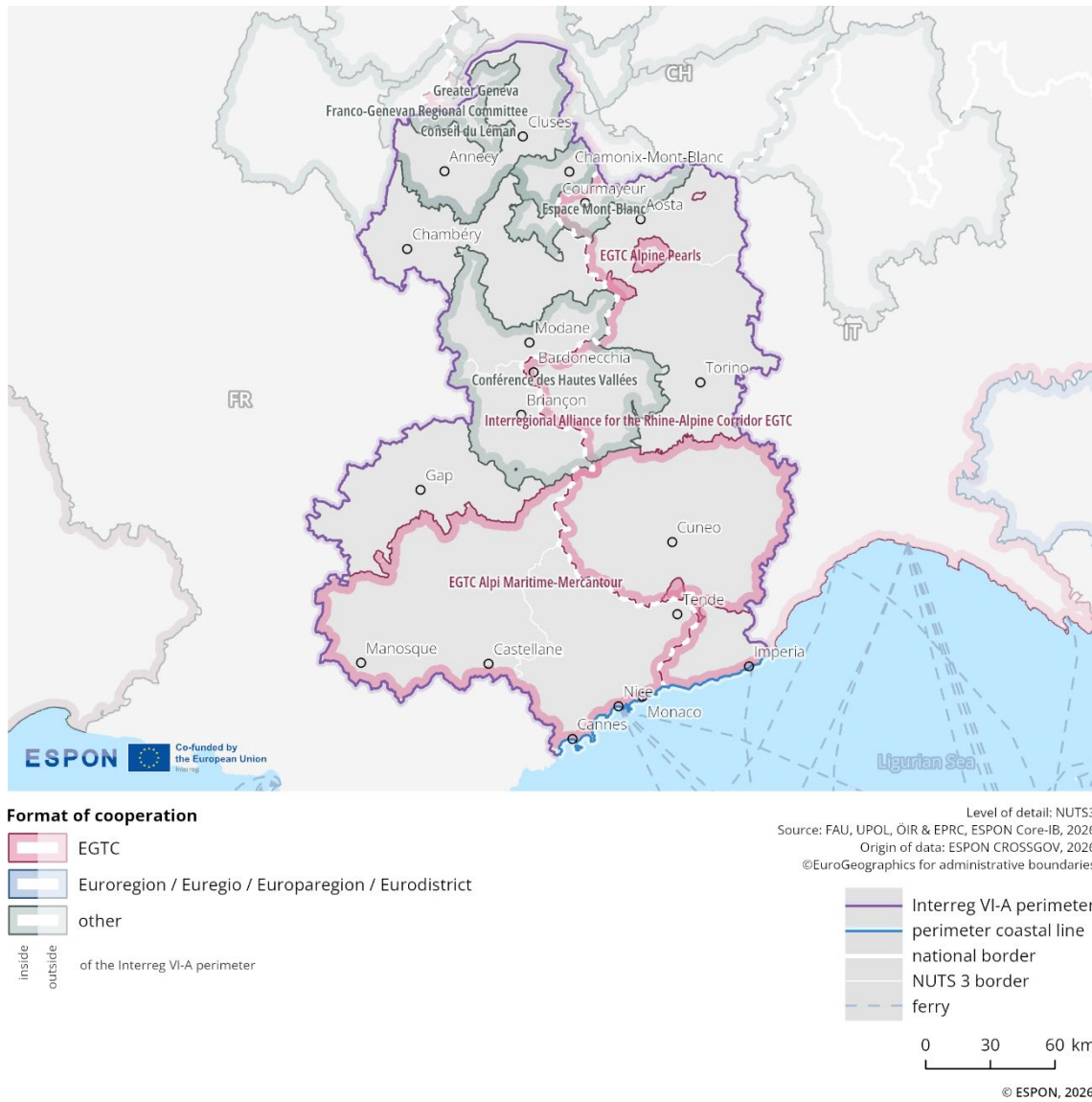
Figure 2.37 shows the different types of institutionalised cooperation. These governance structures either function as cross-border entities or bring together stakeholders from the cross-border region around shared topics. The governance structures covered include Eurocities, Euroregions, European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTCs), cross-border associations and councils. Project-based cooperation is not included.

The coloured markings on the map indicate different types of institutionalisations: EGTCs are shown in red, Eurocities in yellow, Euroregions/Euregios/Europaregions/Eurodistricts in blue, and other formats in grey.

The multi-level governance structure in this programme area shows broad spatial coverage along the borders. Overall, the border region exhibits a high level of institutionalised cooperation along the

national border, with relatively small perimeters. EGTCs and other formats, such as councils and conferences, are the most prevalent.

Figure 2.37: Cross-border governance structures



2.6.1.2 Cross-border public services

Indicator description

The indicator shows different services specialised on cross-border challenges and development potential, including their domain of operation. As a specific form of services of general interest, cross-border public services (CPS) address joint problems or development potentials of border regions that are located on different sides of one or more national borders.

- **Source:** ESPON cross-border public services (CPS) 2.0 database
- **Temporal coverage:** 2022
- **Unit:** n/a

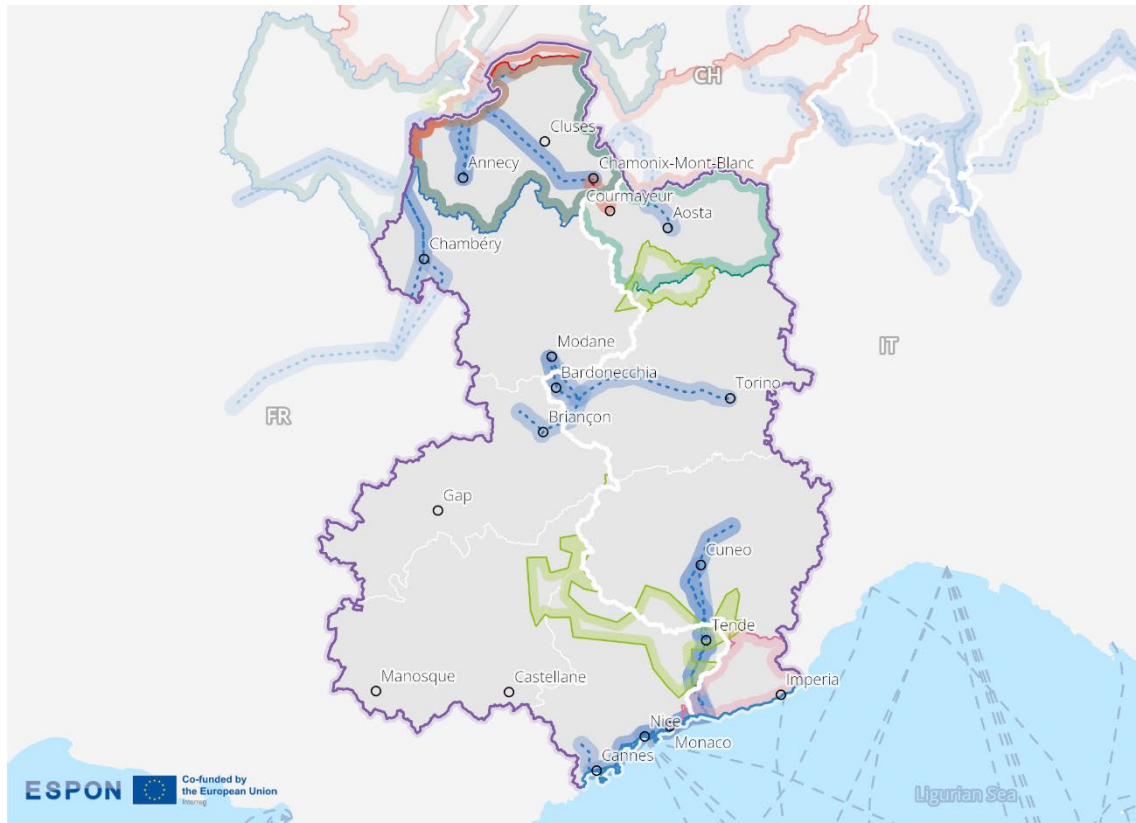
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.38 depicts the geographical extent of cross-border public services in the border area in 2022. Different thematic areas are represented by distinct symbols and colours, indicating services such as disaster management¹³, health care, transportation, education, environment, energy, job placement, and culture. The visualisation highlights where these services operate across the national boundary.

Cross-border public services in the France–Italy–Monaco border area show a fragmented and varied pattern. In the northern section near Annecy and Cluses, services focus on disaster management, education & research and transport, extending into Switzerland. Education & research and environment & water services and a transportation link to Switzerland are present around Aosta. Torino hosts a transportation link expanding towards France and Cuneo hosts a transportation link expanding towards Monaco. Another is along the French Riviera and Ligurian coast, where the Monaco area plays a central role in transport, healthcare and environment & water services.

¹³ For more information on cross-border disaster and risk management between Italy and France see: European Commission: Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy, Technopolis Group, CMCC, Nordregio, *Strengthening the Resilience of EU Border Regions – Mapping Risks & Crisis Management Tools and Identifying Gaps*, 2024, <https://data.europa.eu/doi/10.2776/832103>

Figure 2.38: Cross-border public services



Geographical extent of cross-border public service themes (2022)

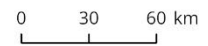
areal	linear	character of the service
		Disaster management
		Health care
		Transportation
		Tourism & information
		Education & research
		Environment & water
		Heating & energy
		Job placement
		Culture

inside outside
inside outside
of the Interreg VI-A perimeter

Cross-border public services covering more than one theme have been assigned only to one. Furthermore, some polygons have been excluded because they were only approximately and not accurately spatially defined.

Level of detail: geolocalised lines and areas
Source: FAU, UPOL, OIR & EPRC, ESPON Core-IB, 2026
Origin of data: ESPON CPS, 2022
©EuroGeographics for administrative boundaries

- Interreg VI-A perimeter
- perimeter coastal line
- national border
- NUTS 3 border
- ferry



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2.6.1.3 Perceived cross-border obstacles in b-solutions

Indicator description

The indicator shows cases of legal or administrative obstacles selected in the framework of the b-solutions initiative. This indicator lists the number, location and nature of suggested solution of cases in the b-solutions initiative, including the topic and parties involved.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing and analysis of the b-solutions initiative data
- **Temporal coverage:** 2018-2025 (first quarter)
- **Unit:** n/a

Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

The b-solutions initiative is a European Union project that supports the resolution of legal, operational and administrative cross-border obstacles. It offers funding for pilot actions and legal expert advice in border regions. A high level of cross-border integration often reveals strong barriers of cross-border functioning. In order to exploit the cross-border potentials, these obstacles have to be overcome or at least addressed. Both the number of reported obstacles and the general interest in solutions serve as important indicators of cross-border interaction.

As part of the ESPON CROSSGOV project, all b-solutions initiatives were analysed to deepen the understanding of the thematic focus of the perceived cross-border obstacles across different border regions and the suggested solution, in particular from the European perspective.

In the border area of France–Italy (ALCOTRA), in the main cross-border obstacles of public services and transport relate to infrastructure development, road transport, urban mobility networks, maritime transport, and tourism. More specifically, 2 b-solutions pilot actions were identified. These included initiatives focused on establishing a local tariff fee for cross-border mobility and enhancing public services in relation to cross-border mobility. Applications for these pilots were mainly submitted by public bodies or bodies governed by public law.

Developing governance and institutional cooperation in this fields touches on the establishment of bilateral agreements and cross-border urban mobility plans, as well as the creation of European Groupings of Territorial Cooperation (EGTCs). Challenges in this area include the need for effective coordination between local authorities and transportation companies, particularly in relation to cabotage for regular services.

The solutions proposed in the pilot actions are predominantly administrative or hybrid in nature, (meaning being a combination of more than one approach). For example, the initiative regarding the local tariff fee for cross-border mobility involves administrative measures in which local authorities negotiate with companies operating the Fréjus road tunnel to extend the validity of individual transit passes. This aims to streamline the transit process for cross-border commuters and travellers.

The second initiative focused on facilitating public services and cross-border mobility includes a hybrid approach. This consists of legal measures to establish a bilateral agreement that enables cross-border cabotage for regular transport services. Additionally, it involves administrative actions to establish a comprehensive cross-border urban mobility plan and to create an EGTC, which will further enhance cooperation between the involved local authorities. Operational measures include authorizing a specific private operator or issuing a public tender to provide cross-border ferry services, facilitating better access to transportation across the border.

2.6.1.4 Institutionalised advice centres for cross-border issues

Indicator description

The indicator shows where institutionalised advice centres on cross-border issues are located, including their thematic focus and geographical perimeter.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Localisation and thematic focus of advice centres for cross-border issues are identified via desktop research.
- **Temporal coverage:** Status as of February 2025
- **Unit:** n/a

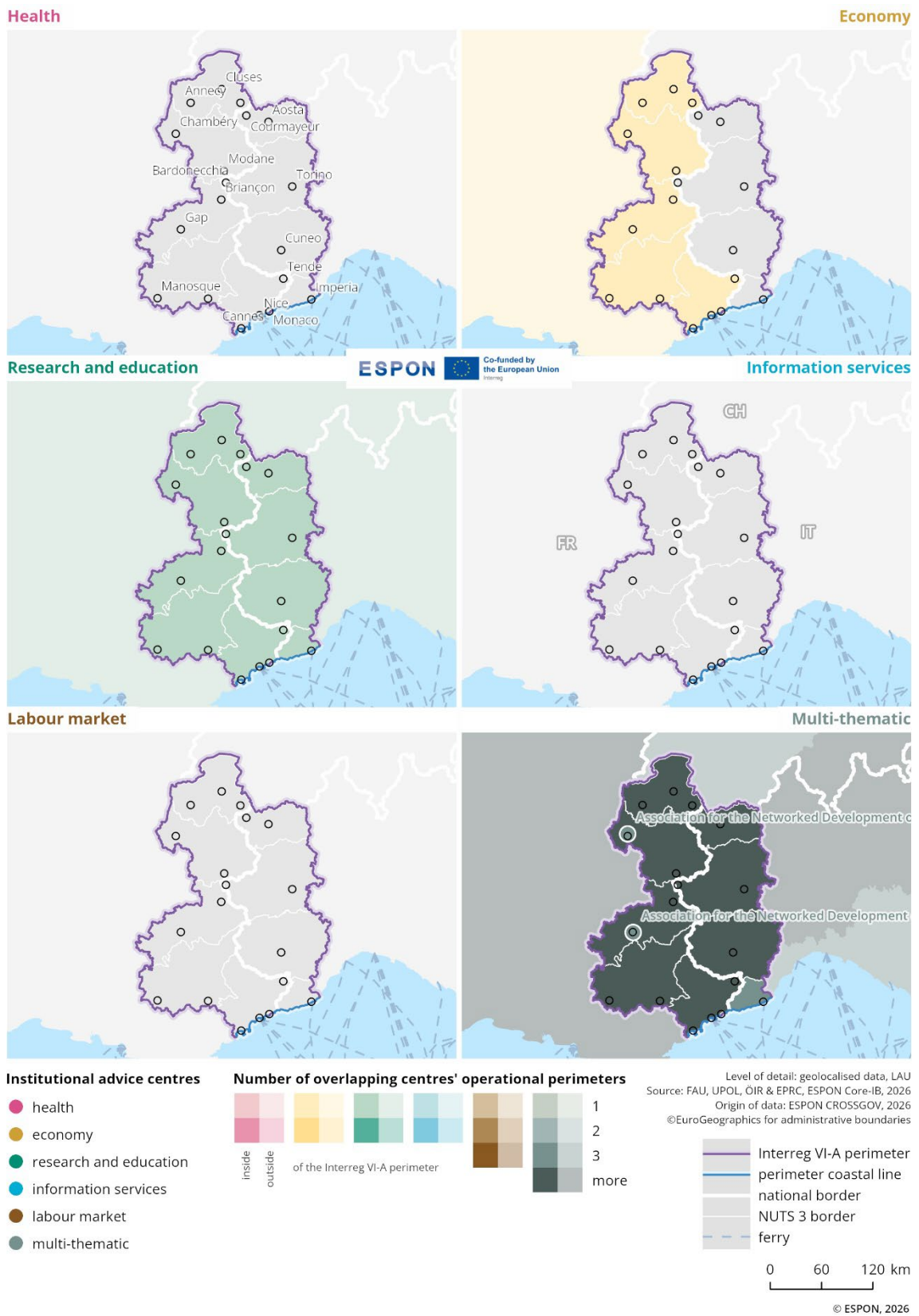
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

Figure 2.39 shows the locations and types of institutionalised advice centres, along with their operational domains, in the cross-border Interreg region between France and Italy (ALCOTRA). These centres throughout Europe provide support in various fields such as health, economy, research & education, information services, the labour market, and multi-thematic issues. The operational domains of these centres are also indicated by coloured shading on the map. The more intense the colour, the stronger the influence of that specific domain in the corresponding area.

There are 2 multi-thematic institutionalised advice centres, both located in the French part of the Interreg region. They belong to the Association for the Networked Development of Territories and Services (ADRETS), with one located in the northern city of Chambéry and the other further south in Gap.

Centres with multi-thematic, as well as research and education operational domains, are evenly represented in both countries within the Interreg area. Economic operational domains are also present in the French part.

Figure 2.39: Institutionalised cross-border advice centres



2.6.2 Outline of Interreg activities

The following section outlines the key Interreg activities in the 2021-2027 programming period. The aspects included concern the development opportunities and challenges identified (see Table 2), the budget available and split of allocation (Figure 2.40), overlapping Interreg programmes and the key aspects drawn from the programme.

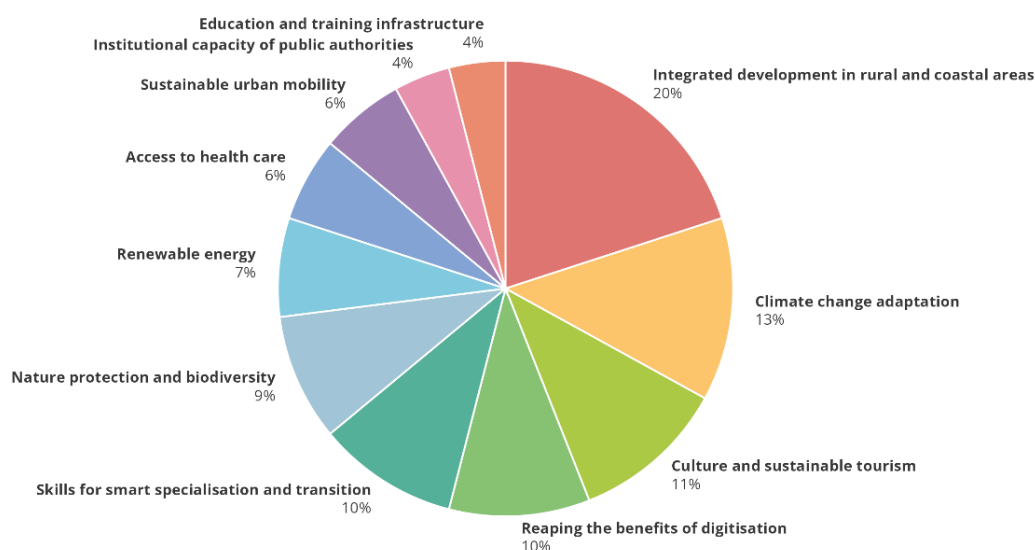
Table 2: Interreg VI (2021-2027): Opportunities and challenges

Topic	Key development opportunities and challenges identified for Interreg 2021-27
Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Faces persistent economic disparities, particularly between urban centres and rural or mountainous zones. ▪ Disparities are compounded by demographic challenges such as an ageing population and depopulation risks in peripheral areas, threatening the vitality of local economies. ▪ Business creation remains low in less accessible areas, and innovation capacity is uneven, with metropolitan hubs like Torino and Nice far outperforming rural counterparts. ▪ A digital divide persists. Mountainous and rural areas, particularly in regions like Hautes-Alpes, still suffer from limited access to reliable internet infrastructure. ▪ The labour market is fragmented, and cross-border mobility is limited, ▪ Strong tradition of cross-border cooperation and economic innovation, particularly in sectors such as tourism, agri-food, and the wood industry.
Environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Highly exposed to climate change, with distinct challenges in its mountain and coastal zones. ▪ Due to its morphological and hydrological profile, the territory is vulnerable to natural disasters such as avalanches, earthquakes, and pollution. ▪ Adaptive capacity remains relatively weak, calling for better preparation and risk management. ▪ Biodiversity is increasingly at risk due to climate impacts and tourist pressure, underscoring the need for careful planning and conservation. ▪ Strong foundation of environmental cooperation, with existing protected areas and shared governance models.
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ A primary concern is the ageing population, with an average age of 46.8 years, significantly above the EU average of 43.1. ▪ Increases the demand for healthcare and social services, particularly in isolated rural and mountainous areas. Educational inequality is also notable.
Governance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Challenges: Cross-border cooperation within the ALCOTRA area still faces latent administrative and legal obstacles. The programme area presents

Topic	Key development opportunities and challenges identified for Interreg 2021-27
	significant opportunities to strengthen cross-border governance and territorial cooperation.

Total Budget: EUR 227,913,112.01

Figure 2.40: Split of Interreg allocation



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Table 3 shows the number of Interreg 2021-2027 cross-border and transnational programmes which share at least one NUTS3 region with the border area. Each programme has its own distinct rationale, value and territorial focus. However, for the purposes of, for example, planning and capitalisation activities it is potentially helpful for programmes and programme stakeholders to be aware of and connected to other Interreg programmes with which they share a direct territorial link.¹⁴ The 4 Interreg C programmes Interreg ESPON, Interact, Interreg Europe and URBACT cover the whole EU territory and provide a range of joint services and initiatives.

Table 3: Shared geographies with other cross-border transnational programmes

Interreg A (cross-border)	Interreg B (transnational)
1	3

¹⁴ It is noted that synergies and links with a wide range of other territorial cooperation and sectoral programmes and initiatives are also valuable and this is reflected in the wider analyses presented in this border profile, but not specifically covered in this table.

Key aspects

- › Strong focus on green and sustainable development: the programme prioritises environmental challenges, sustainable tourism, risk prevention, and the valorisation of cultural and natural heritage, with projects addressing these themes throughout both the 2014–2020 and 2021–2027 periods.
- › Distinctive Alpine cross-border focus: ALCOTRA specifically targets the Alpine region between France and Italy, supporting innovation, resilience, and the sustainable development of mountain and rural areas. In this regard, the programme pays particular attention to mountain and peripheral territories facing demographic and economic challenges, with actions to promote diversification, innovation, and social inclusion.
- › Balanced and inclusive participation: the programme involves a wide range of project partners from both countries, including regions such as Piemonte, Valle d'Aosta, Liguria (Italy), and Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur (France), but also French departments and Italian provinces and Metropolitan areas (Torino and Nice) and it actively encourages the involvement of SMEs, local authorities, and community organisations.
- › Integrated, local, and inclusive territorial governance: ALCOTRA promotes territorial multisectoral and integrated strategies, (PITER+) bringing together public authorities, and local communities to address cross-border obstacles and promote economic and social dynamism.
- › Synergies across programmes: The ALCOTRA area overlaps with other major Interreg programmes, such as Italy-France (Maritime) and the Alpine Space, enabling potential synergies and complementary actions.

2.6.2.1 Interreg cooperation

Indicator description

Based on the keep.eu database, this indicator illustrates the network density of Interreg V-A (2014–2020). It is derived from the geographical location of all partners within a project consortium and reflects the intensity of cooperation between them. For the analysis, project networks were visualised by drawing lines between the locations of partners within a consortium. These connections were subsequently aggregated and spatially abstracted by calculating line density using GIS software. Dark red areas indicate a high density of connections between project partners, while yellow areas represent a lower density of cooperation links.

An additional element in this section is the development of project partner numbers between Interreg IV-A (2007–2013) and Interreg V-A (2014–2020), based on data from the keep.eu database. The datasets were cleaned to remove duplicates, using the partner names as reported in keep.eu. For both programming periods, keep.eu indicates a high level of data completeness¹⁵. Nevertheless, this development should be interpreted as indicative, as variations in partner name reporting and general limitations regarding the representativeness of the dataset affect the robustness of the results.

- **Source/method of retrieval:** Processing and analysis of the keep.eu database
- **Temporal coverage:** 2007–2013 (Interreg IV-A), 2014–2020 (Interreg V-A)
- **Unit:** n/a

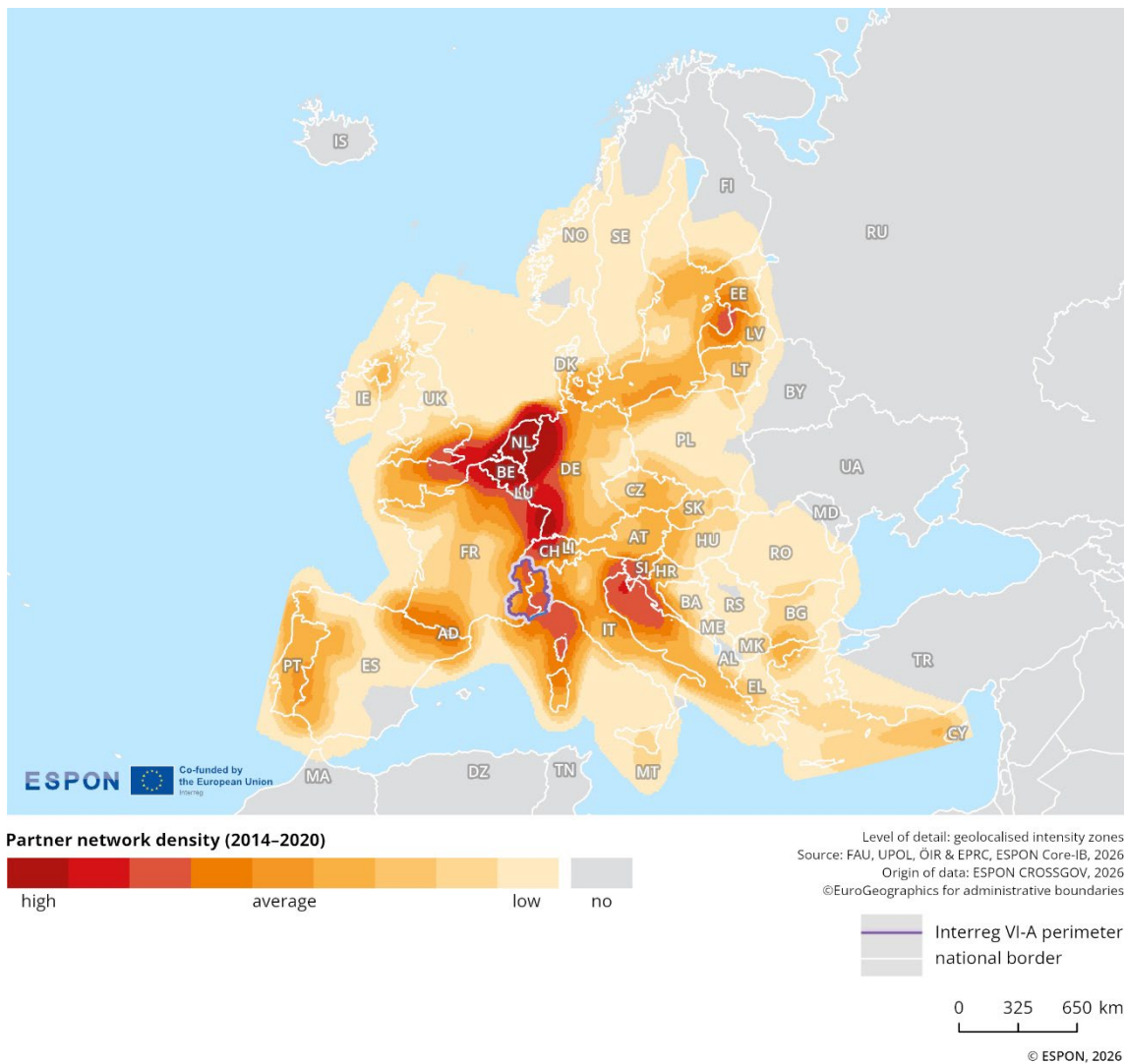
Please refer to the technical annex for more information.

¹⁵ see [Keep.eu representativeness: Interreg, Interreg-IPA and ENI cross-border](#)

Cooperation activities and networks are among the most meaningful types of information for delineating cross-border functional areas. As such, the indicator on cooperation through Interreg can help to identify networks among cross-border actors and highlight the density of cooperation in specific border segments.

Figure 2.41 shows the density of Interreg V-A (2014–2020) partner networks. The indicator includes the location of, and links between, Interreg project partners within a project consortium. From a European perspective, partner network density in the France-Italy (ALCOTRA) border area appears to be somewhat unevenly distributed. The partner network density is slightly higher in the north-western and south-eastern parts of the programme area, while other regions show more average levels of partner network density. Part of these territorial differences might be linked to the programme area geography (high mountains in the North, presence of urban centres). Overall, the partner network density in this border area is higher than the European average. Based on the keep.eu database and excluding duplicates, the number of project partners decreased from 548 in Interreg IV-A (2007–2013) to 466 in Interreg V-A (2014–2020), an decrease of about 15%. It is important that these changes are considered in the context of factors such as change in programme budgets between 2007-2013 and 2014-2020, emphasis on targeting impact, and numbers of strategic projects.

Figure 2.41: Interreg V-A partner network density



2.6.3 Key messages on the governance dimension

The France-Italy (ALCOTRA) border region shows a relatively high degree of institutionalised cross-border cooperation, supported by well-established multi-level governance structures, in particular through EGTCs and other formats such as councils and conferences. This institutional framework ensures broad spatial coverage (only a few areas of the border region remain uncovered).

Several cross-border public services are present in the border region, albeit covering the border region in a fragmented way. Public services concentrate in the northern part of the border region focus on education and research, while the southern part comprises a health cluster and an important environment and water cluster. Cross-border transportation public services exist close to the main routes crossing the Alps. Transport is a key issue also addressed by b-solutions initiatives, notably through pilots dealing with cross-border mobility. Other support measures to cross-border commuting are provided for example to local residents who are benefiting from simplified payment options to ease the crossing of the Mont Blanc.

The strong focus of the Interreg support on integrating development in rural and coastal areas is in line with the territorial discrepancies shown in previous sections of this border profile. Additionally, the Interreg VI-A Italy-France (Maritime) programme offers supplementary insights on the coastal regions of these cross-border regions. Likewise, climate change adaptation is essential given the reliance of (part of) the cross-border region on winter tourism activities.

3 Summary and key observations

To support the strategic dialogue on cross-border cooperation beyond 2027, this territorial analysis provides harmonised and comparable information. Its data-driven evidence helps to inform the future direction of cross-border cooperation by facilitating alignment with EU priorities and the evolving regulatory framework. The Core-IB border profiles adopt a harmonised methodology and provide programme areas with access to recent European data. As this approach comes along with limitations, member states may hold additional or more detailed data which can further enrich or contextualise the findings beyond the Core-IB project (see final report and technical annex of this project). These national sources are essential for refining and validating territorial evidence in policymaking processes, including: a) regional, fine-scale data and b) insights from political processes related to prioritisation and objective setting. The study's findings are analytical and are intended to support reflection and discussion. They do not create regulatory or policy obligations for Member States, the European Commission, or programme authorities.

Table 4 provides 2 types of information. Firstly, it summarises the key analytical findings for the border region, as discussed earlier in this profile. Secondly, it suggests policy options based on the analytical findings. These options are intended to provide a practical and informative basis for the strategic dialogue among programme bodies, managing authorities and the European Commission.

Generally speaking, the aim of cohesion policy is to promote harmonious territorial development (also) across borders. The objective is to mitigate the impact of borders and achieve 360° functionality, thereby enhancing the quality of life and fostering prosperous development on both sides of the border. The upcoming Interreg period offers an opportunity to address these objectives and potentials through targeted cooperation projects.

Table 4: Evidence-based conclusions

Territorial dimension	
Key analytical findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The mountainous character of the cross-border region strongly influences the location of urban settlements and population density, particularly important close to Chambéry, Annecy (France) and Torino, Cuneo (Italy) as well as along the coastline; • While remaining under the European average, the ageing of the population in the cross-border region is important, especially when territorially concentrated (e.g., cities of South of France, sparsely populated mountainous areas...); • High growth in settlement areas is particularly evident around the French city of Manosque as well as around the Italian city of Torino; • Car travel is the fastest transportation mode, as transport services are more complex to develop in this high-mountain region.

Territorial dimension	
Policy options	<p>Population and settlement related aspects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The high diversity of settlement types and population densities shaped by the mountainous landscape could be leveraged to identify differentiated development opportunities across the border region; • Cross-border cooperation measures may contribute to addressing population ageing by supporting adaptation to an ageing society, while at the same time helping to retain and attract younger age groups, particularly in sparsely populated mountainous areas; • There is potential for cross-border strategies to support sustainable spatial development in areas under increasing land-use pressure, such as major urban centres and protected areas, as well as in sparsely populated mountainous regions; • The use of cross-border spatial planning instruments can help maintain viable settlement structures and ensure access to services in remote mountainous areas. <p>Accessibility related aspects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The enhancement of the accessibility and attractiveness of cross-border public transport and rail connections can be supported through targeted cross-border cooperation; • Cross-border initiatives could improve last-mile connectivity in mountainous areas, with the potential to reduce car dependency; • A more strategic use of key cross-border corridors and nodes, including the Mont Blanc and Fréjus tunnels, coastal connections, Modane–Bardonecchia and Menton–Ventimiglia, may support sustainable mobility and cross-border commuting. <p>Cross-cutting aspect</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The development of integrated territorial strategies jointly addressing demographic change, settlement development and accessibility challenges could further strengthen coherent framework for cross-border development.

Economic dimension	
Key analytical findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The France-Italy border region is economically quite dynamic with a 23,9% increase of GDP per capita in between 2014 and 2022; • The GDP per capita in both Italian and French border regions has been fluctuating following the exact same patterns, suggesting a close economic integration of the cross-border region as a whole; • The cross-border region has a higher share of employment than the respective countries' average; • The cross-border wage difference across the border is quite striking, with nominal compensation per hour worked in France being higher than in the Italian regions; • The cross-border region is marked by an evident difference in average housing sales prices with tendentially higher housing prices in the French regions than in the Italian region, including important disparities between the French regions of the cross-border territories.
Policy options	<p>Competitiveness related aspects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cross-border strategies could support the economic resilience of the border region by addressing future shocks and identifying the most vulnerable parts of the regional economy; • Cooperation projects could address coordinated cross-border approaches to foster economic diversification in areas highly dependent on seasonal activities or a limited number of sectors. <p>Cross-cutting aspect</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coordinated approaches to housing, labour mobility and spatial development could address specifically the working-age population, particularly in areas outside major urban centres.

Green dimension	
Key analytical findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The existence of protected areas is limited in the Italian regions, apart from areas along the border and in the Valle d'Aosta. These oftentimes find a French counterpart, though might not be under a cross-border management. The air pollution in the Italian regions is also correspondingly higher than in the French regions but remains lower than the national Italian average; • A very high risk of landslides is present in analysed area, especially in the southern parts of the region and alongside the border. All over, the area presents a low risk of flood and drought. The city of Torino is particularly affected by a high rate of seismic activities registered, while in the rest of the region the risk of earthquakes is low; • Given the significance of water resources in the region, hydro-power represents the most prevalent type of power station. A few gas and oil power stations are to be found in the vicinity of Torino.
Policy options	<p>Environmental protection related aspects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stronger ecological connectivity between fragmented protected areas could be achieved through cross-border cooperation, especially where Italian and French protected sites form de facto ecological continuums; • Improved air and water quality may result from coordinated cross-border environmental governance frameworks. <p>Climate risks and resilience related aspects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cross-border cooperation can play a key role in anticipating and mitigating future climate-related risks and natural disasters in a context of increasing frequency and intensity of such events; • The strong presence of hydropower can be leveraged through cross-border cooperation to support a more resilient and integrated renewable energy system.

Socio-economic dimension	
Key analytical findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social interactions (assessed based on social media data) in the cross-border region do not seem very developed apart from 2 border regions around the cities of Annecy and Cluses. The language barrier may explain this observation. While French is an official language in the Valle d'Aosta, social interactions with the French regions are limited; • In terms of total overnight stays over the examined 3-year period, the leading tourism regions are located in France (Savoie, Alpes-Maritimes, Haute-Savoie and the coastal area) with still relatively high values in the Valle d'Aosta.
Policy options	<p>Language and cultural related aspect</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cross-border initiatives could foster social interactions and mutual understanding in a geographically fragmented and linguistically diverse context; • Supporting schools in the development of language teaching and inter-school exchanges could also be beneficial to strengthen social ties at programme level. <p>Tourism related aspects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cross-border cooperation may contribute to more balanced and sustainable tourism development, helping to mitigate pressures in high-intensity destinations; • Coordinated cross-border approaches can help ensure that tourism dynamism translates into durable social benefits for residents in the border region.

Border security and safety dimension	
Key analytical findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • France has imposed border controls for a significantly longer period of time than Italy; • Aside from the Covid crisis, the most recent reasons for reintroducing border controls are linked to terrorism threats, organized criminality and smuggling and illegal migratory flows.

Border security and safety dimension	
Policy options	<p>Cross-cutting aspects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The impacts of border controls on cross-border commuting and logistics can be mitigated through coordinated and institutionalised cross-border policy dialogue; • The mitigation of border control effects can form part of cross-border cooperation projects in various sectors. Economic networks, transport infrastructure initiatives and tourism-related actions can incorporate considerations related to the impacts of border controls.

Governance dimension	
Key analytical findings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The France-Italy (ALCOTRA) alpine border region shows a relatively high degree of institutionalised cross-border cooperation, supported by well-established multi-level governance structures, in particular through EGTCs and other formats such as councils and conferences; and integrated territorial strategies (PITER); • Some cross-border public services are present in the region, albeit rather fragmented. The presence of only few institutionalised cross-border advice centres underlines the potential for strengthening cooperation.
Policy options	<p>Cross-cutting aspects</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A focus could be on strengthening strategic coordination between existing networks of institutionalised cooperation formats, including EGTCs, councils, conferences, Espace Mont-Blanc and PITER strategies; • The scaling up and coordination of cross-border public services could reduce fragmentation and support more balanced territorial coverage.

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