

Looking at
metropolitan
areas as
Laboratories
of metropolitan
governance



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This research is the results of conversations, meetings and talks which took place in several occasions and places in Europe, starting from the METREX conferences in Stockholm (June 2017), Helsinki (Oct 2017) and San Sebastian (June 2018) but also during interviews (in Rome, Naples, Bologna), skype and conference calls (Lyon, Prague, Milan). Therefore I am very grateful to all the people who have devoted their time and shared their thoughts on the present challenges faced by their governments in this particular moment of metropolitan transition.

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The research works refer to data collected until July 2018.

Models of metropolitan and regional governance

Seeking the factors that create the conditions for successful models/systems of metropolitan and regional governance.

This proposal has been formulated in the framework of the METREX Bernd Steinacher Fellowship for the Biennium 2016-2018. Although an integral part of a two-year collaboration, the research project was launched in the first half of 2017 and results have been shared with the METREX members during the Autumn conference held in Brussels on 11-12 October 2018.

The aim of the research

Adopting the approach of the metropolitan antenna, this research looks at a selection of cases both Italian and International, with the aim to raise common questions and reflections leading to solid learning-and-knowledge exchange-based actions. On the one hand, it wants to provide the existent METREX network with more opportunities for cooperation and dialogue with other cities and organizations in Italy and in Europe, producing exhaustive materials on today's metropolitan challenges. On the other hand, those interactions offer insights and a widened perspective on the European metropolitan dynamics in place. By producing a reference framework for current metropolitan practices, the main goal of the antenna is to support the idea of a joined thinking to understand, address and optimize today's governance systems.

How does the Metropolitan dimension take form in the metropolitan regional structures? How is the authority established, in relation to cities, city-regions, provinces and central government? What is their position: independent authority, representative authority (linked to cities), democratic legitimization, etc? What is the role? What is the metropolitan narrative and who is in charge of it?

Through a series of interviews and informal talks with a wide range of actors and stakeholders, this research aims to understand what are the models and the mechanisms of metropolitan governance in place and how do they work.

Concerning the Italian cases, this work wants to examine the role of the *città metropolitane* as drivers of metropolitan governance and understand if their creation has strengthened and given recognition to the metropolitan processes that were already in place and, if yes, how?

Questions will look at: *what kind of cooperation and alliances between Metropolitan Cities (in this research indicated as MC) and the municipalities do exist? And what are the relations between the municipalities in this new setting? Have they changed? Which competences have been shifted to the metropolitan level? Which types of relations between the MC and the surrounding territories? And between the municipalities, the MC and the region? What kind of cooperation or relationship between the MC and the other institutions (Region and State)? Can we talk about inter-metropolitan cooperation between the Metropolitan Cities? And what kind of relations exist between the MC and the surroundings non-metropolitan territories?*

At the European level, different metropolitan governance structures will be analyzed with the aim to understand what are those elements that can impact on the governance policy, trying to collect interesting experiences of governance (more or less successful) at the metropolitan level, from which we can learn.

How does the funding system work: where does the money come from and who does use it?

For which reason we need to make cooperation?

What is a successful criterion for cooperation?

Is the political agree fundamental to have cooperation?

The set of cases include the *città metropolitane* of **Bologna, Florence, Naples and Milan** and the European **Lyon Métropole, Helsinki Metropolitan Area and Prague Metropolitan Area**.

The research looks at those cases from different thematic perspectives, trying to question the role of the metropolitan areas and regions as drivers of metropolitan governance. What are the current policy questions locally rooted? What are the problems and the opportunities at the operational level while implementing the metropolitan agenda?

The Italian *città metropolitane* are very different from many points of view. They have different dimensions, different forms of urban aggregations, different population, business density and distribution, different infrastructural capacity, different political history and background.

Along with all these differences, each metropolitan entity has chosen its own approach when adopting the Law 56/2014 and has taken its own path seeking the most suitable governance model.

Why these cases have been selected?

The selected cases have peculiarities in terms of solutions explored, historical experience or dimension of the challenges to which they are confronted and for this reason they can give a contribution in the analysis of the policy questions raised at the metropolitan scale.

The Metropolitan City of Bologna is a federation of Municipalities and Unions, thanks to a model of shared administration that has already a long history in this region. Bottom-up voluntary processes of territorial and institutional integration are promoted by an active Regional legislative framework, which includes the financial support to mergers, Unions and models of shared management of functions related to territorial and socio-economic policies.

This model makes possible to aggregate the territories around a common metropolitan interest, therefore the research has analyzed what is the role of the unions and whether this federation of territories contribute to the creation of conditions for consolidating a metropolitan governance system.

In the **Metropolitan City of Florence**, the place of the citizens in the metropolitan construction has been discussed. Also in this case, inter-territorial cooperation (in particular with the Metropolitan City of Bologna) are currently being implemented, showing an effort to create territorial metropolitan alliances that can have great impact on the governance of the metropolitan project.

Then we looked at one of the biggest and most dense urban system in Europe with the case of **Naples**. Which relationships the Metropolitan City has established with the municipalities, the capital city and the neighboring territories? What are the struggles to which the metropolitan entity is confronted?

Milan is again another European metropolitan urban system. The Metropolitan City has chosen to invest on the "metropolitan welfare and urban regeneration" as drivers towards a new territorial governance model and consequently for the implementation of the metropolitan scale.

At the European level, talks with representatives of the **Helsinki Metropolitan Area** have helped to draw a picture of the debate on the reform of the governance system, while in France, **Lyon Métropole** is dealing with challenges emerged from the recent territorial reform and the creation of the new metropolitan entity.

Finally, **Prague Metropolitan Area** has given the chance to spend some thoughts on the effectiveness of Integrated territorial investments (ITI) as drivers of metropolitan governance.

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Metropolitan governance and issues in Europe

The Metropolitan development will be a determining factor in the economic future of Europe and address the metropolitan dimension will be crucial to achieve the targets of the EU2020¹ Agenda.

The Pact of Amsterdam signed on May 30, 2016 has set out the objectives and the operational framework for the New Urban Agenda for the EU released in preparation of the UN Habitat III conference in Quito. It identifies 12 priority themes and defines the actions and working method for institutional players and stakeholders urging the *“need to enhance the complementarity of policies and a new form of multilevel and multi-stakeholder cooperation with the aim of strengthening the urban dimension in EU policy.”* Furthermore, the Urban Agenda for the EU acknowledges that, besides of urban challenges being of a local nature, to face them requires a *“wider territorial perspective (including urban-rural linkages) based on cooperation within functional urban areas. Urban Authorities (regional, metropolitan and local) therefore need to cooperate within their functional areas and with their surrounding regions, connecting and reinforcing territorial and urban policies”*².

All over Europe, cities are facing a common challenge: the increasing need to cooperate beyond their formal borders. The 20th century has witnessed a progressive “metropolization process” of the European territory leading to a nearly three-quarters of the European population (Eurostat, 2014) living in metropolitan and urban areas. “The limits of what we understand to be *urban* are extended and in constant evolution (Mariona Tomàs, 2015) raising questions regarding the effective forms and models of governance that

better respond to the challenges posed by the metropolitan phenomena. Those embrace different dimensions: social (combating inequalities, ensuring access to public services), economic and financial (guaranteeing competitiveness and efficiency); territorial and environmental (the management of urban explosion, mobility and waste); political and institutional (the co-ordination of policies and services, democratic representation) (Mariona Tomàs, 2015).

With a 50% of the urban residents living in agglomerations of more than 500.000 inhabitants, the number of metropolitan governance arrangements is growing and becoming very diverse. According to OECD study¹, the metropolitan governance structures can be classified as follow: informal arrangements (52%), inter-municipal institutions (16%) and Metropolitan-cities (8%) (OECD,2015b). This is an expanding and complex universe proving that there is ‘no one fits all’ governance model. The variety of models depends on the interrelation between different factors which include: the territorial fragmentation (scale and number of municipalities and actors involved), the competencies and focus (soft or hard policies) and finally the type of financing capacity and representation (direct/indirect election of metropolitan mayors and councilors or civil society representation). Hence, each case is unique, due to its historical, institutional, cultural and socio-economic context.

Given these differences, and in line with the

1 - EMA policy paper, The role of metropolitan Areas in the Governance of Development Challenges: Towards the European Urban Agenda”, CIDOB, February 2016

1- updated to 2030

2 - Pact of Amsterdam, the Urban Agenda for the EU, May 30, 2016

OECD study (2015), the research developed by the European Metropolitan Authorities network on the metropolitan governance in Europe², has proposed a classification of models according to their level and type of institutional arrangements: 1. Metropolitan governments (with director indirect election), 2. Metropolitan agencies (with focus on specific sectors), 3. Vertical co-ordination (from an existing governmental level: region, province, etc.) and finally 4. Voluntary co-operation among municipalities (association of municipalities, Strategic Plans). The first category includes metropolitan governments created by law, equipped with formal bodies (metropolitan mayor, council and conference, which are elected directly or indirectly depending on the case) with responsibilities, competencies and financing powers to address and face the questions that emerge at the metropolitan scale. Among the cases explored in this research, Lyon Métropole and the Italian *città metropolitane* fit in this category besides the latter are suffering some substantial limitations: lack of financing autonomy, democratic legitimation and having their competences shared, and even, decided and approved by other governmental levels.

Belonging to the second model, the metropolitan agencies include bodies appointed for one specific target mission (public transport, environment, police etc.).

Numerous examples in Europe belong to the third case where a vertical co-ordination is in place: no metropolitan government has been created, however an existing institution (region, county or province) runs metropolitan functions on an area that is larger than the metropolitan area. The case of Prague, explored in this work, showcases this option where the City of Prague (in coordination with the Central Bohemian Region) is the managing authority of the EU funded ITI tool. In this case the pre-condition to receive the funding was the creation of a metropolitan area established through the cooperation between Prague and the neighbouring suburban territories to enable a strategy of metropolitan development.

Finally, the least institutional model is that of a voluntary co-operation between municipalities. This is today the case of Helsinki metropolitan area, where 14 municipalities, together with the Environmental Agency and the Transport Authority partner together to achieve an agreement with the national government on land use, housing, transport. Such agreement is to be renewed every four years, coinciding with the government election. As described on the OECD report³ this model of metropolitan governance “typically lack enforcement tools and the relationship with citizens”. The binding between the municipalities remains informal and the alliances are built on the cooperation between civil servants and the elected persons (only the Mayor of Helsinki is democratically elected by direct vote).

Though it is obvious that metropolitan collaborations already exist all over Europe and many metropolitan regions and areas are established, many others are in the midst of being created, and new and different models of governance are only increasing.

Many European metropolitan areas and regions are striving for more functional and effective territorial governance systems and metropolitan strategies are currently being built making them interesting laboratories for debate and concrete study cases. Apart from the major metropolises worldwide, the creation of the metropolitan areas relies on governance strategies and alliances among surrounding territories to achieve the objectives of resource management, urban quality or attractiveness. Creating networks of cities and agglomerations with their suburban territories, metropolises make different patterns of alliance to implement policies and projects and enhance their development. Many, among the people I have talked to, have used the words “**trust**” and “**confidence**”, that need to be built through a long-term process of sharing goals and, step by step, concrete achievements. **Complementarity, solidarity and cooperation together with consensus and participation are key elements to build upon a metropolitan strategy.** For a long time, in the complex European institutional landscape, marked

2 - Metropolitan Governance in Europe: Challenges & Models, EMA, AMB, Feb 2015

3 - OECD Study 2017, *Multi-level governance reforms*

by multiple levels of competence, territorial co-operations existed as “spaces” for debates and projects enabling public actors to overcome the institutional barriers, while maintaining their legitimacy with their level of competence.⁴

“There is a need to know more about the critical factors that contribute to achieve success in metropolitan areas, and how these factors can be applied in different situations.

European programmes such as ESPON and URBACT must ensure resources for this purpose as part of the overall territorial cohesion agenda” is the conclusion of the Metropolitan Areas in Action (MAIA) final report delivered by Eurocities in 2013.

In response to that, and with the aim to support EU Cohesion Policy, the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme conducts comprehensive spatial observations to generate studies about spatial developments. Among them, the SPIMA is a research which reunited representatives from the cities of Oslo, Prague, Brussels, Lille, Lyon, Zürich, Brno, Vienna, Terrassa and Torino with the goal to capture information about the current state of spatial planning and policies in metropolitan areas and produce recommendations for successful implementation of metropolitan development and policy. Results were released on November 2017 and presented at the Spring Metrex conference on June 2018 in San Sebastian, Spain.⁵

The SPIMA project highlights the major role played by metropolitan areas to achieve a sustainable and inclusive economic development as well as the well-being of the population living those territories. It clearly shows that there are major questions regarding the governance of the metropolitan dimension which brings in *“the question of how to address policy issues, since dialogue and commitment to joint policies has to be achieved by the core city and often many neighboring municipalities as well as directly elected local and regional authorities [...] New governance approaches, though, are promising to ease the potentially unfavorable*

effects of fragmentation of different municipalities and other public authorities within metropolitan areas”.⁶

To voice out the crucial role that Metropolitan areas could play as key partners for the European institutions specifically in the field of security, economic strength, sustainability and solidarity, the third edition of the EMA 2017 (European Metropolitan Authorities Forum), held in Warsaw last October (2017), has produced a Declaration paper signed by all the Mayors, Presidents, and political representatives of Metropolitan Cities and areas gathered at the meeting. It stated the urgency of **enabling Metropolitan Areas to realize the metropolitan priorities with a more robust and incisive support of the EU Policies** and funding system after 2020, recalling the role of instruments and programmes developed under the 2014-2020 Cohesion Policy as a way to trigger innovation in metropolitan governance systems.

The involvement of the metropolitan level in planning, management and evaluation of programmes and projects under the Cohesion Policy post 2020 will be crucial for the adjustment of policies and priorities to the challenges that metropolitan areas are currently facing. Major difficulties are in fact registered in the local management and implementation of the projects financed by Cohesion Policy funds targeting the metropolitan level⁷; therefore, the Declaration wishes for simplified tools to enable any hub city (or cities), together with their partners, to directly manage the required procedures. That comes combined with the request of increasing EU incentives to increment the use of tools for integrated urban development supporting structural reforms in particular when planned and realized at the metropolitan level and directed to strengthen their administrative capacity. To be noted that Italy is already using this tool for the creation of the national programme *“Metropoli Strategiche”* under the PON National Program 2014-2020.

The message seems unanimous and clear: **the EU**

4 - INTA first approached this topic at its 35th Congress in France (Grenoble and Lyon) focused on metropolitan development strategies and alliances worldwide <https://www.inta-aivn.org/en/activities/ex-change/congress/inta35>

5 - <https://www.espon.eu/metropolitan-areas>

6 - Targeted Analysis SPIMA: <https://www.espon.eu/programme/projects/espon-2020/targeted-analyses/targeted-analysis-spima>

7 - Mayors, Presidents, and political representatives of the European Metropolitan Cities and areas gathered in Warsaw at the 3rd European Metropolitan Authorities (EMA) Forum 2017, Warsaw, Oct 20, 2017

needs a strong Cohesion Policy based on a robust metropolitan dimension in order to achieve a more balanced territorial development across EU (Ivan Tosics, 2017)⁸.

As indicated by the Council of Europe in the recent 'Overview of metropolitan governance' (Strasbourg, 31 March 2017)⁹ some factors are crucial to design and implement an effective metropolitan governance (OECD, 2015). It states that: every initiative of metropolitan reform should be addressed as part of a broader multi-level governance reform approach and provide incentives and compensation for *metropolitan compromises* with consideration of how best to encourage those who might feel threatened to engage in any reform; motivate collaborations to identify concrete metropolitan projects; build a sense of belonging in a metropolitan sense among the stakeholders; ensure reliable sources of financing; and finally, implement a long-term monitoring and evaluation process.

Figures say that by 2050 the 80% of the European population is expected to be urbanized. With a growing number of concerns which include the territorial sustainability understood in its environmental (pollution, resource impoverishment), and social aspects (inequality, social exclusion), what emerges is an evident contrast between the metropolitan fact and its representation in terms of decision-making bodies and governments. In the European context, the regions and the municipalities have seen increased their representative power. In particular, with a shift of the European Policies towards the municipal level, the Mayor has become a privileged player for the implementation of the urban and sustainable development agenda. A decision that does not take into account that the dialogue is established with the micro territorial level (the city) at the expenses of a wider territorial vision; vision which becomes crucial, when addressing many issues such as climate change, social and territorial cohesion and sustainable urban development. '*Metropolitan Cities - the territories of the new urbanism - are central*', observes Elettra Malossi, Head of the Institutional and Territorial

Development and Metrex representative for the Emilia-Romagna Region, '*but the present approach doesn't seem efficient enough in terms of developing a territorial and comprehensive policy, bearing in mind that not all the municipalities are equipped to carry on such complex programs. The risk, especially in Italy, is to lose the inner areas. There is a challenge of territorial inclusion and equity that needs to be urgently tackled.*'

The adoption of the New Urban Agenda at the UN Habitat III conference in Quito on October 2016 (the Quito Declaration on Sustainable Cities and Human Settlements for All), has highlighted the role of cities and urban agglomerations as drivers for sustainable growth, urging the countries worldwide to act and adopt policies which could enhance inclusive, safe and resilient regions.

The Urban Agenda for the EU is in turn the mechanism through which the EU has committed to implement the UN New Urban Agenda, meaning that the current challenge now is *how to make this implementation to become concrete and place-specific and figure out, through which policies and tools, the metropolitan dimension can contribute to it.*

8 - Keynote presentation of Ivan Tosics, Director Metropolitan Research Institute (MRI), at the EMA Forum in Warsaw, Oct 2017

9 - OVERVIEW OF METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE, Strasbourg 31 March 2017

Interviews with

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Elettra Malossi
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Francesco Tentoni
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Bologna

Claudio Tolomelli,
former Metrex Council
Member, and former
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Metropolitan governance
issues at the Emilia-
Romagna Region

Florence

Pietro Rubellini,
Executive Director at the
Municipality of Florence
(City Council's Support Office)

Florence

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Cases and questions results from the interviews with stakeholders

Italian cases. A short introduction

*‘The reform of local government defined by Law 56/2014 gives [...] the opportunity to build a **more effective territorial organization**, more oriented to strategic behaviors, more consistent with the current situation and more diversified depending on place-specific problems in a country characterized by a great variety in morphological, economic, social and cultural conditions. However, it requires a coordination effort, both vertical and horizontal, arising from the awareness of the multilevel nature of the main local development policies. Without an active role of the central government, this opportunity of modernization is likely to be lost.’*

L'Italia da rammendare. Legge Delrio e ridisegno del sistema delle autonomie.
di Giovanni Vetritto¹

Before tackling the individual cases and see the innovations and the governance systems that the *città metropolitane* are in the midst of setting up, we need to make a premise on the fundamental features of the new form of governance dictated by Law 56/2014 "*Disposizioni sulle città metropolitane, sulle province, sulle unioni e fusioni di comuni*" (Regulations on metropolitan cities, provinces, unions and the mergers of municipalities).

This is a brand new institutional architecture, though interpreted and applied in a very different way depending on the local contexts. A reform of the local government that aimed at reducing the elected levels to the Region and the municipality, and create a new, second-tier institutional body geared towards pursuing and steering the strategic development of the metropolitan territory, responsible for an inter-institutional and multi-level territorial promotion and coordination. The established Metropolitan City has become a second-level territorial body whose political organs are the direct expression of the political representatives of the territories.

¹ Urban@it Background Papers. RAPPORTO SULLE CITTÀ 2015 METROPOLI ATTRAVERSO LA CRISI, ottobre 2015

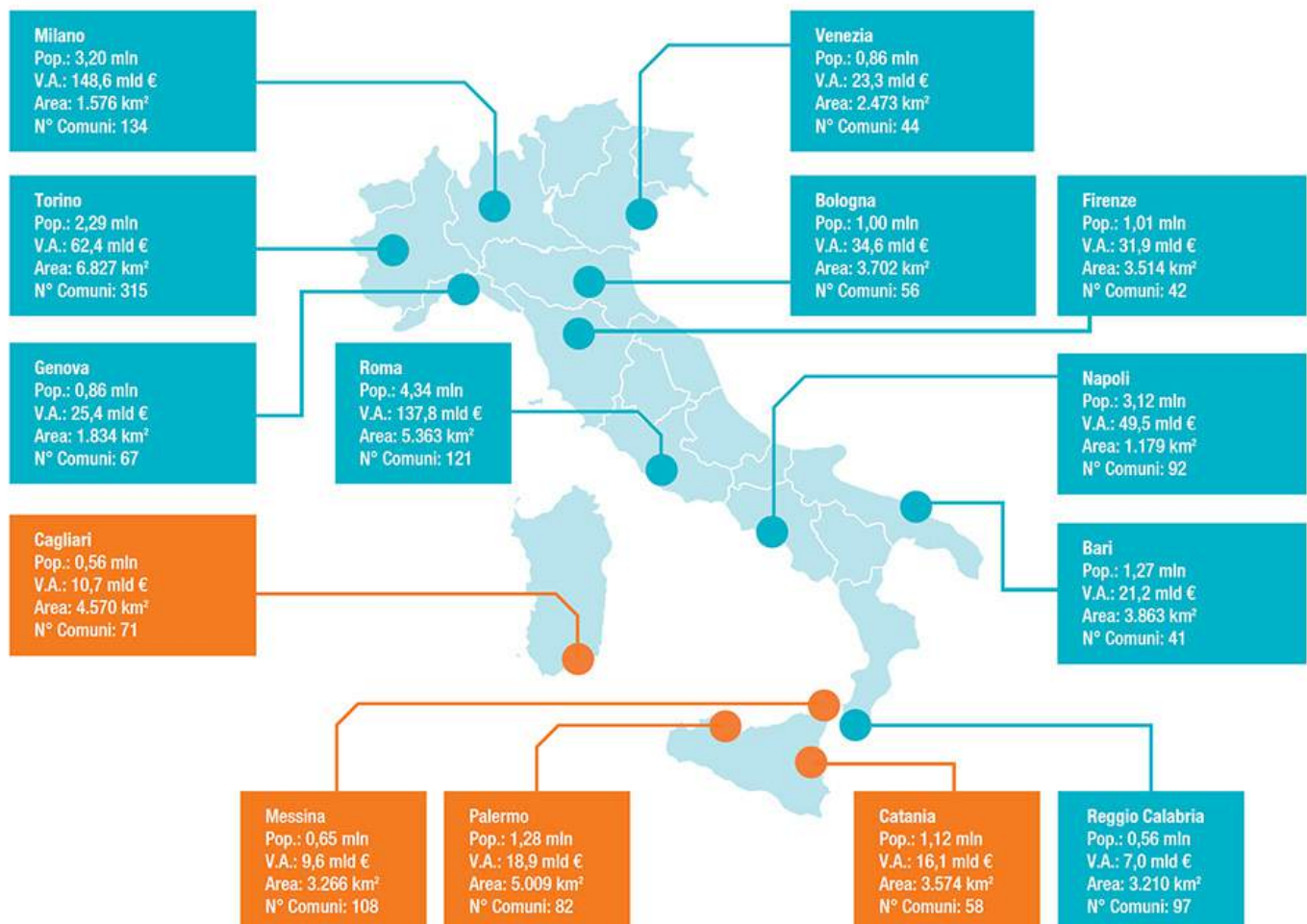
What is the scenario today?

There are **14 Metropolitan Cities in Italy today**. Each of them, by law (Law 56/2014), is called to govern a **territory corresponding to that of the former province**.

Despite being only recently approved, the institutionalization of the Italian metropolitan areas has been on the Italian political agenda since the year 1990, when the Law 142 had given the local authorities the responsibility to define the boundaries of metropolitan areas, making a bottom-up process of governance reform possible. That was a crucial moment in the Italian metropolisation course: it offered the chance to start negotiations among the municipalities and the concerned actors, that could have led to a process of institutional and territorial integration. However, “local actors did not size this opportunity and they did not set in motion the expected institutional change”¹, nor regional governments did take the necessary steps of drawing the boundaries of the metropolitan areas, showing already at that time the potential conflict around the existing balance of local power between regional and municipal bodies.

In fact, the institutionalization of the metropolitan authorities would have challenged the power of the regional

1 - 'The Metropolitan Question in Italy', Antonio G. Calafati, (November 29, 2016). Rivista Italiana di Economia, Demografia e Statistica, Forthcoming. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2877313> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2877313>



governments in the first place. In conclusion, neither the regions nor the central government at that time took any strong institutional or financial action to encourage the creation of the metropolitan level.

In 2012 (Law 135, Spending review), the Italian government decided to address the institutionalization of the Italian metropolitan areas in a more direct way. In 2013, it committed itself to present a new draft law creating the *città metropolitane*, which would leave no possibility for the regions to oppose it. The government also proposed to put aside some financial incentives in the EU Structural Funds 2014-20 programming period in order to support investments at the metropolitan scale for the ten cities previously targeted and four additional cities from the regions with special status.

In an effort to avoid the vexed question of how to identify the boundaries of those metropolitan areas – which had proven to be a major obstacle to the emergence of metropolitan structures in the past – the government decided to take the territories of the corresponding provinces as the territories on which to assign, by law, the status of *città metropolitana*. The main functions devolved to the new *città metropolitane* are: territorial and socio-economic development and management and coordination of public services. However, the government has given each territory the freedom – and responsibility – to decide the depth and breadth of inter-municipal co-ordination. The law also envisages the possibility of changing the provincial boundaries under the signature of specific agreements between the Metropolitan Cities and the individual contiguous municipalities or clusters of municipalities. Nonetheless, the complex political-administrative procedure required to expand the boundaries of the Metropolitan Cities may be regarded as an obstacle discouraging this option. (Overview of metropolitan governance, Council of Europe, 31 March 2017, p.33)

The laws 56/2014 leaves also room for individual decision to express in the Statute of the *città metropolitana* if to apply or not the direct election of the metropolitan organs (Mayor and Metropolitan Council). Milan, Genoa, Rome, Naples, Venice and Cagliari have chosen for this option, however the steps to be taken towards this change are quite demanding.

Requirements include: for the Metropolitan Cities with a population above 3 million inhabitants (Rome, Milan and Naples), it is enough to identify within the metropolitan territory sub-regions characterized by administrative autonomy. The so called “homogeneous zones”.

If the population is lower than the limit of the 3 million, requirements become stricter: in this case also the capital city of the metropolitan area needs to be split and administratively organized in municipal bodies. In all cases, the decision needs to be approved by a national decree.

We said that the law 56/2014 transforms the provinces into Metropolitan Cities and large territorial entities, but what we need to explain is that the process started is still incomplete and submitted to the formal abolition of the provincial government², this because the Italian Constitution needs to be revised in order to change the current institutional setting.

In fact, the process of transformation of the administrative geography set into motion by law 56/2014 was disrupted by the result of the constitutional referendum held on Dec 4th 2016, whose verdict was the “maintenance of the provinces as governmental level”. Provinces remain along with the changes applied with the Law 56/2014, meaning: emptied out of their functions, their human resources and financial capacity in order to reduce the costs of the public administration, and deprived of their political identity.

Therefore today, their existence as institution and territorial reality calls for an urgent step forward in the constitutional reform.

“What is needed is a Delrio Law 2.0”, say Pietro Rubellini, Executive Director at the Municipality of Florence.

“The outcomes of the constitutional referendum has frozen the Italian institutional reform [...] and it might take a long time before somebody will decide to take on those constitutional issues again”³. The coexistence

2 - Before the application of the law 56/2014, provinces were democratically elected, equipped with political organs with responsibilities towards the electorate of the territories they represented.

3 Reflection on the research' results by Pietro Rubellini, Executive Director Municipality of Florence in September 2018

of Provinces and MC requires the new government to clarify what is the direction that needs to be taken, and address the major issues regarding the future of the MC: the revision of their territorial dimension, the fiscal autonomy, the definition of competences with respect to the State (employment and labor policies), the Regions (territorial planning) and now also the Provinces (limits of competence and operational tasks).

To stick to what a Metropolitan City is today, the *città metropolitane* are entities with the following characters.

They have **Political organs** which include: *the Metropolitan City mayor*, corresponding to the Mayor of the capital city of the former province. This choice has given *de facto* much more power, representation and responsibilities to the capital city to the detriment of the neighbouring territories, observers say.

The other metropolitan organs include: *The Metropolitan Council and the Metropolitan conference*.

The Metropolitan Council is elected by the mayors and councilors of the municipalities of the metropolitan city. The Metropolitan Conference consists of the mayors of the municipalities that fall into the metropolitan area.

Functions attributed to the Metropolitan Cities. Law no. 56/2014 established that Metropolitan Cities must promote the economic and social development of the territory. However, the legislator did not make explicit the precise functions which these entities should acquire when becoming part of the current administrative geography which see already Regions, Provinces, Municipalities and the State. Nonetheless, a general indication on the main responsibilities of the Metropolitan Cities gives priority to:

- *Territorial Development* (through the adoption and annual update of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan; general spatial planning; communication and infrastructures planning, networks and public services; mobility;
 - *Economy* (promotion and coordination of the economic and social development);
 - and *Services* (management and coordination of public services; promotion and coordination of information and digitalization systems),
- However, the final decision about the policy field

associated to the metropolitan level is transferred to the specific contexts and referred to the regional legislative framework (meaning a strong dependence on the will of the regional authority). Therefore, the legislative framework and the distribution of the function is very different from case to case.

Main Instruments. The *Metropolitan Statute*, the *Metropolitan Strategic Plan* (a prescriptive tool, a binding three-year spending plan that is to be renewed annually) and the *General Metropolitan Spatial Plan*.

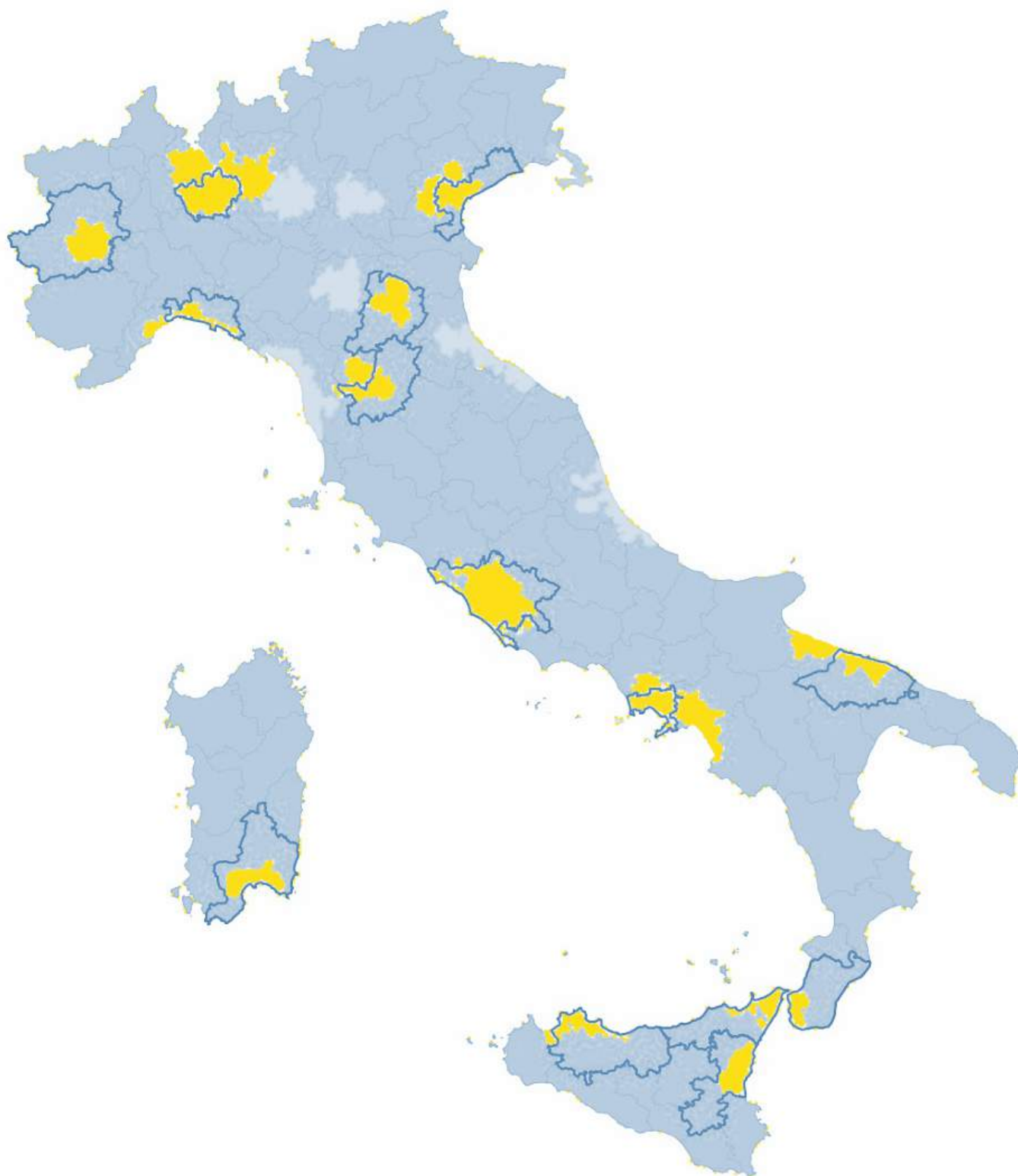
Financial resources. The new entity must ensure economic and social territorial development but without relying on autonomous financial resources, therefore struggles are already undermining the capacity of these entities.



But what is the role that was meant for the new governing body?

It is largely agreed that the **metropolisation processes require time and the understanding of a new dimension**, and that the new scale, new actors, new instruments and competences, new challenges and new systems **need a true cultural revolution**.

The entry into force of the Law of April 7, 2014, no. 56 (Delrio Reform) paves the way to profound changes to be made at the level of the territorial government. The law, in fact, identifies and regulates Metropolitan Cities as a new strategic territorial body and transforms the provinces into second tier institutions, encouraging the unions and mergers of municipal administrations to simplify the territorial governance. "The law is a good attempt to go beyond the administrative dysfunctional structure of the past" is the opinion of many observers, however, as previously said, it is incomplete, and many adjustments need to be made in order to make the reform become effective.

The reform was aiming at the definition of inter-municipal cooperation in order to make more rational the public costs and increase efficiency of the public



-  nuove città metropolitane: perimetro della provincia assunta come area metropolitana secondo la L.56/2014
-  perimetro effettivo della zona urbana vasta

Source: Cityrailways.com Immagini a cura di Andrea Spinosa
© LOOP PAGE sgl

In ordine sparso													
CANTIERE APERTO													
La situazione delle città metropolitane: composizione degli organi, sedute effettuate dai consigli, bilanci approvati, risorse destinate alle scuole e alle strade													
	Bari	Bologna	Cagliari	Catania **	Firenze	Genova	Messina **	Milano	Napoli	Palermo **	Reggio Calabria	Roma	Venezia
Consiglieri metropolitani (sindaco metropolitano compreso)	19	19	15	-	19	19	-	25	25	-	15	25	19
Sedute consiglio metropolitano	2015	14	24	-	19	21	-	18	11	-	-	10	16
	2016	18	19	5	12	17	-	16	10	-	4	13	11
	2017*	5	8	4	5	5	-	4	3	-	4	7	7
Manutenz. edilizia scolastica (mln) 2016	1,4	5,3	14,2	6,4	4,5	7,1	-	4,6	32,7	-	3,8	13,2	37,7
Manutenzione strade (milioni)	2,6	9,9	25,8	7,2	11,8	3,9	-	5,5	11,3	-	-	3,5	45,7
Elezione diretta sindaco	NO	NO	SI	Statuto da appr.	NO	SI	Statuto da appr.	SI	SI	Statuto da appr.	NO	SI	NO
Piano strategico triennale	NO	NO	NO	NO	SI	SI	NO	SI	NO	NO	NO	SI	NO
Approvazione rendiconto 2016	SI	SI	SI	NO	SI	SI	NO	NO	SI	NO	SI***	SI	SI
Approvazione preventivo 2017	SI	SI	SI	NO	SI	SI	NO	NO	SI	NO	NO	NO	SI
DIFFICILE EQUILIBRIO													
La contabilità 2017 delle città metropolitane nelle Regioni a statuto ordinario (migliaia)													
	Bari	Bologna	Firenze	Genova	Milano	Napoli	Reggio Calabria	Roma	Torino	Venezia			
	146,7	0	0	-2.109	-46.641,4	0	0	-16.733,3	-20.437,7	0			
<small> Note: le spese di manutenzione strade delle città metropolitane di Bologna, Cagliari, Milano, Venezia si riferiscono al 2017. (*) periodo gennaio-maggio; (**) si è insediato solo il sindaco; le funzioni del consiglio sono svolte da un commissario (***) Bilancio approvato dal consiglio provinciale, perché la città metropolitana è stata istituita il 31 gennaio 2017. Fonti: elaborazione Il Sole 24 Ore dei lunedì su dati delle città metropolitane; Anci-Itel </small>													

The snapshot taken by Sole24Ore (03.07.2017) on the process of setting up of the metropolitan government bodies in Italy

action; it fosters the aggregation of the same unions and associations of municipalities for the definition of wider territorial areas for the management of shared functions with a differentiated governance system for the metropolitan areas which receive new responsibilities compared to the one of the former provinces.

However, mainly due to the Constitutional Referendum held on Dec 4th2016, which has called for, among many other things, the suppression of the Provinces and has, unexpectedly, produced the opposite result, the Italian *città metropolitane* are today somewhat hidden in the chaos of the provinces with the risk of not producing a substantial difference from the latter.

As already mentioned, the boundaries of the Metropolitan Cities are determined top-down and coincide with the former Provinces (which in most cases are very far from being “functional urban areas”) and, most of all, are not determined through a negotiated and place-rooted process of territorial and institutional integration. This choice has determined one

of the most evident and debated limitations of the reform because the metropolitan administrative limit never coincides with the real metropolitan dynamics which are currently in place, while it often concerns only a portion of the provincial area or it goes beyond the boundaries of the former province, extending over the extra-provincial territory outlining supra-regional agglomerations.

Some examples of Metropolitan Cities and large territorial areas introduced by the law can explain for themselves the need for case-to-case specific support for the implementation of the metropolitan project. The law has been applied to urban realities which are very different one from another for heterogeneity of contexts, characters, dimensions.

The former province of Turin for example includes as many as 316 municipalities, many of which have an alpine character and are very disconnected from the socio-economic reality of Turin. Opposite to this case, the former province of Florence or Milan, which only partially include the functional metropolitan area of reference, both in terms of physical conurbation,

uses and complementarity of production systems. The functional metropolitan area of Florence in fact includes the neighboring province of Prato and part of the conurbation of Pistoia, which belongs to a third province even further northwest. The functional metropolitan area of Milan extends way beyond the provincial and the inter-regional scale: investing the western parts of the province of Brianza and Monza, it even encompasses the wider urban region heading to Novara and Piacenza in Piedmont.

Furthermore the rigid time-line for the adoption of the statutes and for appointing the political organs was established, speeding up the process of creation of the *città metropolitane*. However, at present, only five have approved the three-year binding Metropolitan Strategic Plan (Milan, Florence, Genoa, Rome and last, on July 11th 2018, Bologna) and the metropolitan governments are struggling with the limited resources (as concerns competences and financing) and the unclear urban political agenda.

How Metropolitan Cities can play a driving role for territorial cohesion and a sustainable future? What are the instruments and the resources at their disposal?

All the Italian metropolitan mayors agree on the need of a metropolitan reform, however they claim the absence of a long-term agenda to frame the new role assigned to the metropolitan city. They all agree this is a chance not to be missed but point the finger at the government which has over charged them with power - and responsibilities - and left them alone. "The Institutional reform must be completed: the fiscal autonomy and the functions of the 14 Metropolitan Cities need to be clarified enabling them to have an organizational and financial model which makes them different from the former provinces" said the metropolitan Mayor of Florence last August 2017. Not only, how large and relevant is the policy field of metropolitan authorities remains a question that hasn't been addressed yet. And tensions between the Regions and the Metropolitan Cities around the role and the functions belonging to the new-born metropolitan bodies have already emerged.

For all these reasons, researchers have expressed some doubts concerning the substantive effects of the

metropolisation model that Italy has chosen.⁴

It has been indeed a good attempt, as it allows the whole system to make point and head and build a new administrative organization, functional to a more adequate and effective governance of the present territorial reality. Reality which has been transformed by the last 50-60 years of socio-economic and even physical changes leading to the *cities in nuce* (definition elaborated by the economist and urban researcher Antonio Calafati that wants to express the temporary character of the cities' incompleteness), "having Italy chosen, already decades ago, the model of the territorial coalescence without pursuing the institutional coalescence" (Calafati 2009).⁵

To briefly summarize the GOALS of the Law 56/2014:

- . It offers the chance to create Metropolitan Cities as a new strategic territorial body;
- . It offers the chance to build a new territorial administrative geography, functional to a more adequate and effective governance of the present reality;
- . It opens to new opportunities for the development of the local systems, through action of innovation and differentiation according to the ambitions of each territory;
- . It offers the chance to make more rational the public costs and increase efficiency of the public action;
- . It encourages the aggregation of the unions and associations of municipalities with the definition of wider territorial areas for the management of shared functions;
- . It steers the differentiation of the governance system for the metropolitan areas.

The picture taken by the national newspaper "Il Sole24Ore" in July last year (2017), shows a process of institutional change which has been set in motion, even though at a slow pace. On a total of 14 *città metropolitane*, only 4, had, at that time, formally approved the Metropolitan Strategic Plan (on July 2018 their number has raised to 5) while many of those were facing financial constraints mainly due to insufficient

4 - Calafati, Antonio, The Metropolitan Question in Italy (November 29, 2016). *Rivista Italiana di Economia, Demografia e Statistica*, Forthcoming. Available at SSRN: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2877313> or <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2877313>

5 - *Economie in cerca di città, la questione urbana in Italia*, Antonio G. Calafati, 2009. Donzelli Edizioni.

resources and inadequate financing systems.

The Law 56/2014 has been such an ambitious choice that "provide the necessary support to the reform is crucial, due to the extreme diversity of approach that each territorial situation requires in re-evaluating the areas' perimeters, in accordance with the real hubs of civil coexistence and development concretely recognizable in the territories, and for a "smart" and differentiated implementation of the new metropolitan governments⁶".

It is a law that is offering a plurality of solutions and possibilities of interpretations for the local governments which become responsible for their own choices. It also opens to new opportunities for the development of the local systems, through actions of innovation and differentiation according to the ambitions of each territory. Therefore, in order to facilitate this process of territorial change at the national scale, the Department for the Regional Affairs and the Autonomy of the Italian Government, has published (in March 2017) a series of Dossiers (one for each metropolitan city) with the aim to support the administrations involved in the implementation of the reform.⁷

Within the national legislative framework given, each metropolitan city, in agreement with the regional authority, can choose its character and which approach and instruments can better fit to govern its territory of reference. Highlighting the limits of this reform, the binding relation with the regional authority is one of the most troublesome factors. Two cases out of four in this research show how the opposition of the Region can prevent the metropolitan entity for being operational and completely untitled to govern. The regional legislative framework has to acknowledge the Metropolitan City clarifying the role and the policies of the two bodies in order to achieve a comprehensive and complementary territorial strategy.

Another limit of Law no. 56/2014 is that it has not constrained the process of institutional integration within a local process of "metropolitan awareness" and combine it, given an extraordinary difference in size, territorial organization and socioeconomic structure

among the 14 Metropolitan Cities established, with the necessity to declare each of them special for its own territorial features and potential. What emerges from the dialogue and the meetings with the different stakeholders, is a national framework (Law Delrio) which has a wide mesh structure and leaves room for local innovative choices determining the creation of local governance models that are the most relevant for the territories. Antonio Calafati, exploring the governance system of Naples, talks about "territorial interdependence and institutional integration" starting from the critical analysis of the territorial organization of the area with the aim to stimulate the substantial re-configuration of the institutional systems at the metropolitan scale.

Besides the organizational and political questioning and the many uncertainties, many actions have been undertaken at the regional and local level, and ad hoc special national programs have been set up. At the governmental level, ***Metropoli Strategiche*** is a project developed by the Department of the Public Administration, the Department of Regional Affairs, the Agency for Territorial Cohesion⁸ and the Digital Agency for Italy through the PON National Programs 2014-2020⁹, **which directly involves the political and administrative structures of the Metropolitan Cities and the encompassed Municipalities.**

Coordinated by ANCI - Italian Local Government Association - the project's aim is to support changes in organization and development of the necessary skills for fostering institutional innovation in the Metropolitan Cities. By doing so, it makes available **economic resources, tools and technical competences.**

The project addresses three important thematic areas, through the creation of a nationwide network of metropolitan actors and testing innovative organizational models on the ground and competence-building training activities for public administrators and officials.

6 - L'Italia da rammendare. Legge Delrio e ridisegno del sistema delle autonomie. Di Giovanni Vetrutto, Working paper Urban@it, 2015
7 - <http://www.affariregionali.it/comunicazione/dossier-e-normativa/i-dossier-delle-citt%C3%A0-metropolitane/>

8 - The National Agency's strategic objective is to provide support to regional and local administrations beneficiaries of EU and National programming for 2007-2013 and 2014-2020, through the activation of accompanying actions.

9 - <http://www.pongovernance1420.gov.it/en/Project/strategic-cities/>

Thematic areas:

- 1. Plans for the institutional (re)organization of metropolitan areas, including activities for supporting and testing the best possible forms of local government association, as well as processes for the joint management of local utility services and municipal association. Through integrated policy-making, the reorganization of part-owned service companies, the creation of joint offices and innovative models aimed at streamlining the bureaucracy and introducing standard rules and forms.*
- 2. Metropolitan strategy plans, featuring support the Strategic Planning processes at Metropolitan City level, with a special focus on engaging local stakeholders, and the introduction of organizational tools for managing and monitoring the implementation and progress of the Plans.*
- 3. Simplifying building and urban planning regulations and procedures, through the analysis, testing and development of innovative organizational models aimed at consistently implementing the recent reforms, also using open data management tools.*

How the “*città metropolitane*” can be drivers for the development of the national territory? What is not working and why?

These questions would require a specific analysis entirely dedicated to the observation of the dynamics that the law of territorial reform (56/2014) has provoked or enabled. The answers given by the *città metropolitane* differ from city to city as well as the reflections collected during the interviews reflect the variety of views and perspectives of the different actors depending also on their role.

What are the 14 metropolitan cities?

Some elements can be highlighted as factors of constraint ramping down the metropolitan development in Italy. As previously mentioned, the Delrio Law is a legislative tool imposing a drastic change in the territorial management and in the institutional geography of the country.

A national legislative framework which has deliberately chosen to transform 14 provincial territories into 14 metropolitan cities, maintaining the same territorial perimeter. The choice of the cities is already questionable as it doesn't correspond to an objective definition of the Metropolitan City explaining why a certain territory and not another was included in the list.

In fact, there are many more territories 'which have experienced territorial development trajectories and inter municipal integration processes that require metropolitan governance. However they are not in the list of cities that, in accordance with law no. 56/2014, are being turned into metropolitan cities' (Calafati 2016).

In the article “THE METROPOLITAN QUESTION IN ITALY” (2016) Antonio Calafati reports about three striking examples. The first one, he says, is “Bergamo, with a hinterland population of about

700,000 units and a land area of 881 km² governed by 122 municipalities. The metropolitan area of Bergamo is larger in terms of population than those of Bari, Firenze, Catania and Genova – cities that have been included by the law in the list of metropolitan areas. Moreover, it displays greater political-administrative fragmentation. This suggests that there would be much to gain from its institutional integration.

A second notable case is that of the metropolitan area of Padova, whose population is similar to those of Genova, Firenze, Catania and Bari. The case of Padova is also significant because it is contiguous to – and closely integrated with – the metropolitan area of Venezia, forming what is often referred to as the ‘Venezia-Padova metropolitan region’ (Corò & Torre, 2015; OECD, 2010; 2015).

Last and notable are the cases of Como – with a hinterland population of about 460,000 units and a land area of 581 km² governed by 99 municipalities – and that of Busto Arsizio – with a hinterland population of about 550,000 units and a land area of 519 km² governed by 52 municipalities.¹⁰

The right boundaries to enable an effective metropolitan governance

As already explained, a second problematic aspect of the Italian legislative framework relates to the choice of the legislator who has decided for the overlapping between the previous provincial boundaries and the new metropolitan entities without taking into account the metropolitan dynamics already in place.

In all the Italian cases, the functional metropolitan areas are very different from the “given space decided by law”. Either they exceed the borders and form a bigger area including the neighbouring territories (as it happens in the cases of Milan and Naples), either they are much smaller compared to the Metropolitan City established by law (Torino, Genova, Venezia, Bari, Reggio-Calabria, Palermo, Catania, Messina e Cagliari). This implies an increasing level of complexity for the Italian Metropolitan Cities which are asked to design policies and find solutions for territories which are very dishomogeneous.

Territorial fragmentation: the high number of municipalities which form the metropolitan city

One of the characters of the Italian *città metropolitane* is the high administrative fragmentation. Turin is the most stunning case: 316 municipalities, of which 114 (36,1%) with less than 1000 inhabitants while the 65% of the total has more than 3000. Milan has 134 municipalities, Naples 92. A great complexity which need to be taken into account when dealing with the challenges that metropolitan areas will have to face in the next decade and beyond. Moreover, the topographical diversity of this extensive territories (quite common to all the 14 metropolitan cities) require quite specific measures, as in the case of the former province of Turin where hills and mountains are the predominant landscape (73,3%).

Democratic territorial representation

As expressed by the Mayor of Bari, Mr. Decaro, a great value of the law 56/2014, has been the choice to lift the new entity to a second tier, indirectly elected body. In his view, this could reduce the political conflicts and lead to the creation of a metropolitan entity which plays as “the house of the municipalities”, forcing them to work together and take the ownership of a shared programme of future development. By contrast, the Mayor of Milan, Mr. Sala, thinks that the **7954¹¹ Italian municipalities are too many**. The reorganization of this administrative fragmentation has consequences on the financial resources, but also on the impact of sustainable and cohesive territorial policies as well as socio-economic actions which could be supported by the reform introduced by the law 56/2014. To have a strong leadership is an asset of the Metropolitan City and the Capital City has a role on that. The advice of Mr. Sala is also to keep in mind the differences between the *città metropolitane*, which can not be governed in the same way. The metropolitan mayors must work together, must share knowledge and create opportunities but each of them must find its own way

10 - Rivista Italiana di Economia Demografia e Statistica 53ma Riunione Scientifica – Roma UNINT (Author: Antonio Calafati). Electronic copy available at: <https://ssrn.com/abstract=2877313>

11 ANCI, at June 4th, 2018

forwards.

The lack of economic resources has limited the take-off of the *città metropolitane* and a long-term financing scheme should be associated to the consolidation of the metropolitan bodies.

Another aspect which shouldn't be forgotten is the overlapping of the metropolitan mayor and the mayor of the capital city of the former province. A model which finds its roots on the legitimation of the territorial mayors and councilors but which seems strongly imbalanced towards the power of the capital city to the detriment of the political representation of the metropolitan territories. Interestingly, some metropolitan statutes have envisaged the possibility of introduction of the direct election for the metropolitan mayor and for the council within the framework of a series of conditions set by the law¹².

Mobilize the territories though co-design and action-led planning

A more operational approach should be adopted, told me a representative of IRES Istituto di Ricerche Economico Sociali del Piemonte¹³, starting from the real needs of the territories. Starting from a mapping of projects in territorial terms (from disused industrial areas, rethinking the future of the territories with the contribution and participation of the territories themselves). In many cases what emerges is a request for help coming from the hinterlands around the capital city, which in some cases has been successfully recognized and capitalized (as in Bologna, Florence and Milan), in some others not (yet).

The policy fields

The uncertainties in the allocation of the policy fields is a crucial point of potential conflict between the region, the municipalities and the metropolitan government. Three years after the approval of the

Delrio Law, only 2 *città metropolitane* out of four cases (Florence and Bologna) can show effective multi-level coordination based on the acknowledgment of the role of the metropolitan government.

Apart from the political and administrative actors involved in the process of reorganization and institutional transformation, a player who has voiced its encouragement to make effective the Institutional Reform and has shown a vivid interest in the ongoing process of implementation, is the **Italian Network of the Metropolitan Industrial Associations**¹⁴. They have also produced the **Manifesto of the Italian Metropolitan Cities** which advocates for the introduction of an inter-municipal government, driver of a more effective distribution of public services at the local level, able to address more integrated and cohesive urban policies and territorial planning, increase public investments reducing their duplication and steer the metropolitan economic system through few primary themes:

- territorial marketing
- innovation and start-ups
- new economies (green economy, life science, smart manufacturing)
- digital agenda, smart city and smart community development

By doing so, some of them - as Assolombarda in the Metropolitan City of Milan - have actively contributed to the elaboration phases of the Strategic Plan and are currently promoters of its local implementation.

12 - Occorre che venga adottata una legge dello Stato sul relativo sistema elettorale e previa "articolazione del comune capoluogo in più comuni". Nelle città metropolitane con più di 3 milioni di abitanti (come nel caso di Roma, Napoli e Milano) è possibile, in alternativa, che lo statuto preveda la costituzione di zone omogenee, suddivisioni del territorio metropolitano, e che il capoluogo abbia ripartito il proprio territorio "in zone dotate di autonomia amministrativa".

13 - IRES is the agency charged with socio-economic research activities to assist the Regione's planning responsibilities in cooperation with the local government. website: <http://www.ires.piemonte.it/index.php/ires-a-short-history>

14 - <http://www.assolombarda.it/news/rete-associazioni-industria-li-metropolitane-lancia-il-manifesto-delle-citta-metropolitane>

Bologna Metropolitan City

The governance system of the Unions

On the News

The Metropolitan Mayor Virginio Merola sounds a warning: “Without resources, this new governance system is likely to be a castle of paper ready to collapse” and asks the government for a “Strategic Plan which let (the Metropolitan Cities) to gain momentum”. From larepubblica.it, 5 luglio 2017²

The formalisation of the new institution has been welcomed by the former province of Bologna, by its inhabitants and by the economic actors, as an opportunity and a development challenge. First in Italy to apply the Delrio Law, the Metropolitan City of Bologna is a federation of Municipalities and Unions, thanks to a model of shared administration that has already a long history in this territory. Bologna is among the first and most significant experiences of metropolitan conference (though informal) created in 1994 with the agreement between 49 mayors of the metropolitan area and the President of the Province of that time. The Provincial Territorial Coordination Plan approved in 2004 played a key role in this process and laid down the basis for territorial policy steering the cooperation to achieve solidarity and cohesive territorial development. In 2013 a first Strategic Metropolitan Plan, expression of a voluntary process of elaboration of a common vision designed together with the provincial territory, was approved. The new Metropolitan Strategic Plan (PSM2.0), following a process of territorial and institutional participation (2015-2018), has been finally approved on July 11th 2018. It indeed avails itself of the experience of the first voluntary Strategic Metropolitan Plan and the implementation of its 67 projects.

Question: *Territories are central in the definition of a strategy of metropolitan governance. The key to produce institutional innovation is the role of the Unions. The Unions become the focal point of the institutional chain: how do territories, organized in a federation of municipalities, contribute to the definition of a metropolitan governance system? How the Region and the Metropolitan City cooperate to foster the unions and their management over time?*

Dialogue and interviews with:

Elettra Malossi, Head of the Institutional and Territorial development at the Emilia-Romagna Region and Metrex representative

Silvia Grassi, Institutional and Territorial development at the Emilia-Romagna Region and Metrex representative

Alessandro Delpiano, Chief Director of Territorial planning, Bologna Metropolitan City

Francesco Tentoni, Institutional and administrative innovation service, Bologna Metropolitan City

Claudio Tolomelli, Former EU project Manager on Metropolitan governance issues at the Emilia Romagna Region

2 - <http://ricerca.repubblica.it/repubblica/archivio/repubblica/2017/07/05/lallarme-di-merola-la-citta-metropolitana-e-un-castello-di-carte>Bologna09.html

Città Metropolitana di Bologna



Key facts

Area: 3'702,3 km²

Pop MC (2018): 1,010,389

Pop Capital City: 390,198

Density: 271,7 ab/km²

N. of Municipalities: 55

Unions: 7

Homogeneous Zones: yes

Strategic Metropolitan Plan: approved on July 2018

Curiosity: 1st experience of metropolitan conference in Italy (voluntary system 1994-2014)

Summary of the key factors

Nurtured by a bottom-up voluntary process of territorial and institutional integration, which is creating the condition for consolidating the metropolitan governance system, the MC of Bologna is today supported by the prescriptive action of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan. The territory is organized as a **federation of Municipalities and Unions**. A **proactive and collaborative regional legislative framework**, including the financial support to the creation of the Unions and the shared management of functions, promotes the consolidation of a **model which makes possible to aggregate the territories around a common metropolitan interest**.

Political setting: favorable cooperation MC/ Region. Both are contributing at building the metropolitan narrative (the former provincial government had started the process already in 1994) in support to the definition of the new institutional and administrative territorial setting.

Policy field: Strategic Planning, socio-economic development, infrastructure and services integrated coordination (by law 56/2014)

Tools: Prescriptive Strategic Metropolitan Plan to achieve **institutional simplification and administrative integration**

Financial system: European, national, regional

Human resources: 408 employees . Staff in-house (workforce of the former province)

Challenge: strengthen the local organisms (Unions) and create uniformity in the functions that are shared at the level of the Unions. Prescriptive policy of the Strategic Plan as a medium-long term goal. Yet, the voluntary dimension of the action of the different institutional actors make the process still very fragile.

The Metropolitan level

By the end of the first birthday of the Metropolitan City, new regulatory and operational tools have been introduced laying down the foundations for the creation of new integrated policies. The first is the **Intesa Quadro (a memorandum of understanding framing the institutional cooperation between the Region, the metropolitan City, the Unions and the individual municipalities)** representing the starting point for the elaboration of territorial policies in agreement and, with the support of, the established legislative regional framework.

The Metropolitan Pact on Labor and socio-economic development (*Patto metropolitano per il Lavoro e lo sviluppo economico e sociale*) **represents the first metropolitan contribution to the regional strategies**¹, through which the Region reaffirms the role of the Metropolitan City as program-maker and driver of European and regional resources towards actions that integrate metropolitan and regional priorities.

This Pact, signed in 2015, was born with the goal of “*determining and governing the transformations taking place in the territory, and look at the production system, the labor market, the social context, through shared design approaches to safeguard social cohesion*”².

The Metropolitan City is first and foremost a **Federation of Municipalities** established and legitimized by the role of the Unions as concerns the management of services which supports citizens and businesses.

1 - siglato nel 2015 con l'obiettivo “di determinare e di governare le trasformazioni in atto sul territorio: del sistema produttivo, del mondo del lavoro, del contesto sociale, attraverso progettazioni condivise che rendano possibile la salvaguardia della coesione sociale”, Piano Strategico Metropolitano 2.0, Linee di indirizzo, pag.4

2 - Linee di indirizzo, Piano Strategico Metropolitano 2.0

An administrative geography, only case in Italy, which has made possible the participation of all the territories in the elaboration of the future metropolitan strategy (PSM 2.0).

A process that has enabled the identification of priorities for a medium and long term metropolitan agenda through the composition of the spectrum of the **different local voices which have been able to aggregate around a common metropolitan interest**. “The strength of the Metropolitan City will be in its ability to be a driver and proactive player of the regional urban system, true gate for the Emilia-Romagna region into the world [...]”³.

The elements of metropolitan governance. What territorial model?

The metropolitan area of Bologna extends over an area of 3,702 sq.Km with an average density of 271.9 inhabitants/sq.Km, it is composed by 55 municipalities. The CM is populated by 1,009,210 inhabitants⁴, of whom 384,202 reside in the municipality of Bologna (about 39 percent of the population of CM). An articulated and non-functionally homogeneous area dominated by regional infrastructural systems, highly competitive business systems, productive districts, internationally-relevant research facilities, but also territorial enclaves, environmentally and culturally rich, and strongly diversified in terms of nature and history but located far from healthcare and education services and distribution centers, and thus vulnerable to segregation and exclusion phenomena⁵. A complex

territorial system that creates connections “far beyond” the provincial boundaries, with productive and socio-economic dynamics at the inter-provincial level (Bologna-Modena-Imola) and at the inter-metropolitan and regional scale when looking at the infrastructural and cultural assets between Bologna and the Po Valley (Veneto, Lombardia) but also with Florence (Tuscany). That all requires the construction of a coherent institutional structure which addresses the non-homogeneity and the potentials expressed by this territory.⁶

Since the early 1990s, the Province of Bologna has played the role of “coordinator” for the integration of the municipal planning policies and has linked them to the regional legislative framework through an approach based on the principles of decentralization and cooperation between public and private actors. It is not unlikely that the Ptcp (Provincial Territorial Coordination Plan) of the Province of Bologna (2004) is considered an example of successful inter-municipal coordination, a case in which existing territorial interdependences have generated a “convergence of interests”, enabling an effective and rational coordination between the municipalities of the Province. Already in the period prior to the establishment of the Metropolitan City, the strengthening of institutions at the provincial scale has structured public decision-making processes in line with the territorial organization underneath. Today, the Metropolitan City is a territory where a multi-level cooperation project can be consolidated.

As already mentioned, in 1994 the first Metropolitan Conference was established (by the Province), and since then has acted as a **voluntary tool** for sharing and coordinating strategies of local governance.

In a context of co-operation and inter-institutional dialogue, in 2004, the “Territorial Coordination Provincial Plan” envisaged the creation of Territorial Agreements for the coordination of the urban planning functions to be shared and coordinated among Municipalities which recognize themselves in the same territorial system.

When in 2014 (law 56/2014) the Metropolitan Cities

3 - Linee di mandato 2016-2021 della Città Metropolitana di Bologna

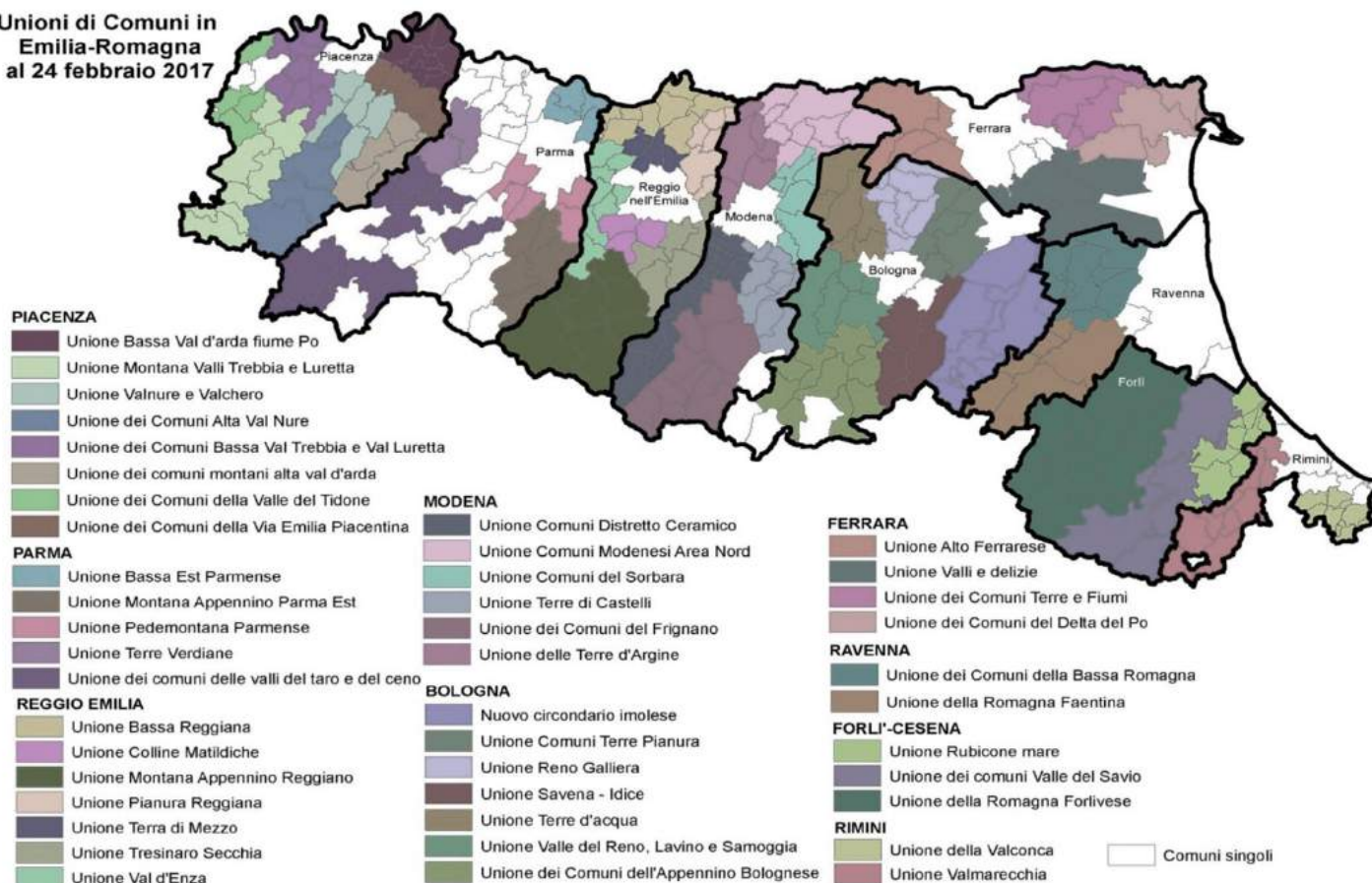
4 - Data at Jan 1st, 2017, Città Metropolitana di Bologna

5 - Strategia nazionale per le Aree interne: definizione, obiettivi, strumenti e governance. Documento tecnico collegato alla bozza di

Accordo di Partenariato trasmessa alla CE il 9 dicembre 2013

6 - I dossier delle Città Metropolitane. Città metropolitana di Bologna, I edizione, marzo 2017, DARA. pag. 61

Unioni di Comuni in Emilia-Romagna al 24 febbraio 2017



Source: Regione Emilia-Romagna

were established, in this Region and, more specifically, in the province of Bologna, the institutional change has found a well-rooted and fertile context from which to head off.

What are the Unions? How do they work? What functions are they in charge of?

On a National level, the Unions were introduced by national Law 142/1990, yet without producing the results expected. The Emilia-Romagna region has since then adapted its policy framework with the aim to encourage the inter-municipal cooperation in line with the national legislation. The numerous steps include, among others, the Regional Law 8 July 1996 n.24 "Norme in materia di riordino territoriale

e di sostegno alle Unioni e alle fusioni di comuni", and the Regional law 11/2001⁷ promoting the emergence of associative forms aiming at reducing the number of local stakeholders leading to a simplified structure of governance and creating areas of voluntary cooperation associating municipal functions (land registry, municipal police, taxes, staff, single business unit, etc.).

Then follows the Law n.10/2008 imposing the mutation of the mountain communities into Unions and including forms of incentive to the mergers.

A radical change in this process has been made with Regional Law 21/2012⁸, when it was made compulsory

7 - LEGGE REGIONALE 26 aprile 2001, n. 11: Disciplina delle forme associative e altre disposizioni in materia di enti locali.

8 - LEGGE REGIONALE 21 dicembre 2012, n. 21: Misure per assicurare il governo territoriale delle funzioni amministrative secondo i principi di sussidiarietà, differenziazione ed adeguatezza > <https://bit.ly/2xrXcmU>

the share management of a certain number of functions for municipalities with less than 5000 inhabitants and given the municipalities the authority to identify the territorial dimension of the Union.

In this context, the metropolitan area of Bologna was subdivided into 7 territorial functional areas (appropriate territorial areas for the operational execution of functions in associated form) which today represent the reference framework, the appropriate territorial area, to implement shared management functions.

In each of those territorial functional areas a Union was established. The metropolitan area of Bologna has 55 municipalities organized in 7 Municipal Unions.

Regional Law 21/2012 has also given directions as concerns the organization of the Union (art.19). There is a President (chosen among the Mayors of the municipalities which belong to the Union), the Board (the ensemble of the Board of Aldermen from the different municipalities) and, last, the Council which is formed by the councilors of the different City Councils. Is the Statute of the Union the formal document which assigns the roles and tasks of the different players and makes explicit what are the functions shared by the Union.

Once the Metropolitan City was formally created, the Statute of the new body adopted the experience of the Province of Bologna sketching for the whole metropolitan territory a real institutional framework⁹ with a solid and functional basis for the implementation of the metropolitan project.

The metropolitan city, as defined by the Statute, has a role of coordination of the local authorities, prioritizing the role of the Unions and promoting the fusion of the Municipalities; it also states that not only the capital city but also the existing municipal unions represent the prime reference for the territorial articulation of policies and actions of the metropolitan city.

9 - CITTA METROPOLITANA DI BOLOGNA, Piano di riassetto istituzionale e organizzativo dell'area metropolitana bolognese, 2017. Servizio Innovazione Istituzionale e Amministrativa U.O. Sviluppo affari interistituzionali e innovazione

To date, there are, of course, different levels of consolidation and efficiency of the unions. **The Region promotes the Unions and the mergers of municipalities through financial incentives which relate to how many associated functions have been set** (at least 4 associated functions, but the type of function is not a restrictive factor). **Shared Management is applied today to service functions** (police, social-health services, education, etc.). **However, the new regional urban planning law**¹⁰ (which was approved a few months after the realization of the interview with the regional representatives) **pushes for the associated management of functions related to territorial and socio-economic management, giving a substantial contribution to the definition of common governance policies.**

The Region confirms a movement towards further mergers of the municipalities within the unions – this direction emerged during the meetings between the Region, the Presidents of the Unions and the Metropolitan City (2017), and it was indeed already indicated by the regional law 30 July 2015, no. 13, Art. 9 *"In order to promote the merging of Municipalities as a strategic opportunity and with the aim of making the merging paths more concrete and sustainable throughout the regional territory, rules on procedural simplification and financial incentives are introduced to stimulate mergers demographically significant and involving the largest number of municipalities."*

What is relevant to point out is the voluntary nature of the regional action striving to promote the inter-municipal cooperation and the dynamics of merging.

"The capital city of Bologna as well as the existing municipal unions represent the key reference for the territorial articulation of this metropolitan city's policies and actions".

What are the Functions of the Metropolitan City of Bologna? As established by regional law n.13 / 2015,

10 - Regional Law n. 24 21.12.2017 (Regional regulation on the protection and use of the territory) <http://territorio.regione.emilia-romagna.it/in-evidenza/nuova-legge-urbanistica-regionale-lr-24-2017>

the Metropolitan City of Bologna is recognized as an institutional authority aiming at the strategic development of the metropolitan territory. It is responsible for the territorial and socio-economic development, as well as for the environmental protection and enhancement and the general territorial planning aimed at the definition of programmes and policies, and the elaboration of a comprehensive metropolitan territorial plan that combines Strategic Planning with the contents of a structural urban plan.

In line with the Inter-Institutional Pact (May 22, 2015) signed between the Region, the Metropolitan City of Bologna, the Provinces, ANCI (Association of the Italian Municipalities) and UPI (Association of the Italian Provinces), it is recognized the leading role of the Metropolitan City on the Municipal Unions and the municipalities belonging to its territory.

Financing system

The funding system is built on European, National and Regional funding, such as PON Metro resources, created for metropolitan areas (but currently transferred to the main capital city only), the resources of the Structural Funds allocated to the Region, those of the national PONs to which the territory can apply. The PSM 2.0, unlike the first Strategic Plan, is therefore a Strategic Plan that can directly support the actions and projects it brings to life. It thus becomes the essential tool for a balanced and rational allocation of available resources aimed at defining the new metropolitan identity and the social and economic development of its community.

Relevant funding instruments that may affect the projects of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan 2.0 are:

- National Operational Programs (Pon), especially the “Pon metro”;
- National interventions (Bando Periferie): national funding transferred for the first time to the Metropolitan Cities and provincial bodies for physical and social actions aimed at the urban regeneration of the metropolitan outskirts.

- Development and Cohesion Fund (FSC), both at the regional and urban level
- Regional Operational Programs (POR) concerning the European Development Regional Fund (FESR), European Social Fund (FSE) and Rural Development Programs (RDP);
- Laws and Regional sector instruments (eg. Three Year Plan of Productive Activities and the mountain program);
- Direct Management Community programs (eg. Urbact)

Tools and approaches for multi-level governance

Principles for simplification and measures for administrative integration

Since the approval of the “Delrio” law the Metropolitan City of Bologna has focused its vision on three lines of action:

1. governance tools
2. institutional simplification
3. institutional synergies

Both the Statute and the programming tools designed for the Metropolitan City play an active role in promoting and supporting the processes of merging of the Municipalities into Unions. How does it work?

1 / through the establishment of an operational structure with the necessary expertise to support the fusion paths for the realization of the feasibility study and the drafting of the municipal administrative instruments resulting from the merging.

2) approving a scheme of implementation of the Institutional Cooperation Agreement through which the Metropolitan City makes available, for the local entities (Municipalities) involved, skills and expertise necessary to support the merging processes.

Regarding the promotion of the fusions between

municipalities, **the Strategic Plan will indicate the guidelines for the strategic coordination and the criteria for the aggregation. Finally the optimal territorial geography will be defined.**

1. governance tools

When talking about governance in the Public Administration it is generally intended to improve the decision-making processes of the various institutional levels in order to increase the efficiency and effectiveness of public policies and actions. This relationship between institutional geography and metropolitan governance is guaranteed by the Presidency Bureau (**Ufficio di Presidenza**). **This is the government of the Metropolitan City, where all the Presidents of the Unions are represented.** This body existed in voluntary form from 1994 to 2014. Today it has the task of connecting the Unions to the Metropolitan City's policies and actions, as well as to inform and prepare the works of the metropolitan conference. It is exclusively formed by the Presidents of the Unions. The Municipalities outside the Unions are presently not represented.

The Metropolitan Conference must approve the budgets, the regulations and the Statute. It is formed by all the Mayors of the Municipalities forming the Metropolitan City and it has a proactive and advisory power.

The will of this Metropolitan City is a governance system built and created with the Presidents of the Unions. For obvious reasons of simplification, the MC's privileged spokesman is the **Union**. Having communities outside the union is therefore a critical issue. **The Strategic Plan (approved on July 11th 2018) addresses this point aiming at strengthening the metropolitan governance through the inclusion of these municipalities and the definition of the functions within the Unions: once again, the Union is the primary local coordination body.**

2. Institutional Simplification

The Strategic Plan prescriptively indicate the path towards the institutional simplification. All the sectoral consultation bodies (tables) are merged into **one single nodal body that will be the Metropolitan Conference with the aim to simplifying the metropolitan coordination authority.** Through a system of mandates, the Mayors may delegate

their councilors, or the President of the Union may be also appointed by the Mayor of each Union. The coordination point then becomes the Metropolitan Conference: in this way a whole series of organisms will disappear, making the decision-making process simplified. Specific expertise activated on specific topics will be integrated when required.

Among other things, the Metropolitan City is launching particularly innovative planning and design processes through an effective cooperation between the City of Bologna and the Unions as concerns the PUMS (Urban Mobility Sustainable Plan). Autonomously and with a voluntary act, based only on the collaboration between the Metropolitan City, the Capital City and the Unions, they are merging the Traffic Plan and the Mobility Plan, into a single instrument. On the Mobility theme, the Region was very clear and assigned this task to the CM.

3. Institutional and multilevel synergies

The Metropolitan City has rooted its institutional relations on:

- **collaboration:** the administration needs to be able to communicate and share expertise and create an institutional network capable of governing the territory and delivering essential services;
- **uniqueness of the exercise of the function:** allocation to a single institution of homogeneous action fields, without duplications or partial attributions to other subjects;
- **specialization:** attempt to create professional branches of specialization linked to the unitary exercise of the function;
- **simplify and reduce any burden:** a common attempt by the institutional network to perform the functions or provide services without increasing the administrative burden on citizens.

With these goals in mind, the Region, the Municipalities, the Unions and the other administrations concerned are, each in its own way and along with its own possibilities, contributing to the institutional reorganization of the metropolitan functions.

Relations with the Region: Through the General Framework Agreement between the Metropolitan City of Bologna and the Region (Art. 5 of Regional Law n. 13 of 2015), it's given immediate

recognition to the strategic “role” of the new entity.

It’s codified the commitment of the Region to modify its legislation in order to enhance the new entity by assigning strategic tasks to it (specified by subsequent agreements for the definition of additional functions to be assigned to the new entity), in accordance with the institutional and differentiated role of CM, with particular reference to the content of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan. **A progressive, modular and responsive path is designed to steer development and growth** based on concrete functional needs that will eventually occur in the metropolitan area.

In general terms, the Region is moving in harmony with the territory and in particular agreement with the MC and the other provinces in order **to bridge the gap between the administrative recognition and the existing territorial structure**. The Region is moving towards this direction: try to find forms of consultation, collaboration and coordination that support the institutional reorganization (purpose of Regional Law 13/2015). Again (as expressed by all the parties interviewed in this research), the result of the referendum (4.12.2016)¹¹ has bewildered the political choices at all levels.

The Emilia-Romagna Region had already transferred the territorial coordination to the provinces years ago. As a consequence, the provinces were asked to design a coordination plan which was far richer than the Regional Plan. That means, strong empowerment towards the provinces; among them, the former province of Bologna stood out for a particularly effective Coordination Plan (2004). The results of the Constitutional Referendum of 2016 has therefore called for a reflection on the current scenario which has, in the first place, reconfirmed the role of the Unions, already identified as a key element of territorial governance by the Region; and, secondly, has called for a complete rethinking of the institutional roles and the functions at all the territorial levels (municipalities, unions, provinces, Metropolitan City and Region). As previously mentioned, a series of national and regional legislative steps (Regional Law

21/2011, and even before Regional law 10/2008) have led to an advancement on the topic of the Unions.

The natural choice for the Metropolitan City has been to consider the Municipal Unions the reference framework for building a development strategy. There is a need for an evolution of the governance system which is to be brought to a higher scale. An inter-municipal level which is only possible through a federation of Unions. **Over the past three years, the Region has devoted financial resources to achieve this goal and invested in these policies of “political and administrative reconstruction”**: around 8 million euro (per year) in addition to an equal national transfer (another 8m), for a total of 16 ml per year to support, via a quite complex system of reward, the processes of mergers and municipal unification. **The strong choice was to look for solid forms of consultation, with a President, a political and organizational legitimation. Financial incentives are resources that the Unions can spend on administrative management, organizational improvement projects and the enhancement of the governance of the Union.**

Despite all these policies and efforts, a recent study shows that there is a moment of stagnation and a need to revive this issue, therefore the Institutional and Territorial Development Department of the Emilia-Romagna Region, together with all the Presidents of the Unions, has decided to review the rules of the incentive system (reconfirming resources for the next three years – starting from 2018).

The idea is to change the criteria for allocating those resources, since apparently the economic incentive is not enough. A lot of work is currently being done: the departments from the Region, Association of Municipalities and Unions have gathered on 8 different themes to fine-tune the solutions.

This is the scenario on which law E.R 13/2015 was framed. Despite the result of the referendum (unexpected - and causing many troubles as making the national framework incomplete and with a hanging question “what role to give to the remaining provinces?”), the Region is conducting meetings encouraging a process of evaluation which involves the territories and the provinces to see if the model identified by the LR n.13 still works or whether there are critical aspects to be reviewed.

An important news to point out is the launch of a legal

11 - <http://www.repubblica.it/static/speciale/2016/referendum/costituzione/>

path to achieve **differentiated regionalism**¹².

The Emilia-Romagna Region seeks to gain greater legislative and administrative autonomy in order to be able to manage directly, and with clear resources, fundamental topics and achieve further social and economic growth on its territories, as well as additional simplification of administrative procedures and decision-making mechanisms, as concerns four strategic areas: Work and Training; Enterprises, research and development; Health; Territorial Government and Environment.

"What the Metropolitan City is claiming is autonomy: a decision-making role for the governance of the metropolitan territory, which translates into the request to the Region to provide a framework within which to move to take further the future decisions (both politically and legally)"

The Inter-Institutional Conference on Territorial Integration¹³. The Region, the Bologna Metropolitan city, provinces and municipalities identify new common spaces and disciplines to support the multi-level governance and to ensure effective participation of metropolitan and provincial areas to the definition of territorial strategies. **The Inter-Institutional Conference** is composed by the President of the Region, chairman, and the regional councilors responsible for institutional reorganization, the Metropolitan Mayor, the Presidents of the provinces, and the President of regional branch of ANCI. This conference, having heard the regional economic organizations and the most representative Trade Unions and the voice of the Territories, periodically defines and updates a document of institutional strategy and programming of the objectives of the territorial governance, **with the aim to strengthen the administrative and territorial integration**, as a Pact between the territorial institutions of Emilia-Romagna.

Relations with the Unions and Municipalities. The Institutional Cooperation Framework between the Metropolitan City, the Unions of Municipalities and Non-Associated Municipalities has been approved by the Metropolitan Council by resolution n. 20 of 27/05/2015 and renewed with resolution n. 54 of 30/11/2016.

As widely said, the metropolitan area of Bologna has a long history of inter-institutional cooperation aimed at strengthening the synergies between municipalities and their associative forms.

Law n. 56/2014 and the Statute of the Metropolitan City of Bologna, guide the new entity towards forms of joint organization of metropolitan and communal functions, possibly differentiated by territorial areas, according to principles of simplification, economic effectiveness and efficiency.

In particular paragraph 11 of Article 1 of the law 56/2014 envisages that the statutes of the Metropolitan Cities shall identify ways to make possible the transfer of functions, services and activities from the municipalities to the Metropolitan City without new public financial charges. The Presidency Bureau of the Metropolitan City is identified by the Institutional Cooperation Framework¹⁴ as a steering and coordination body for the implementation of the above-mentioned Convention.

What projects at the metropolitan scale?

The Metropolitan Strategic Plan 2.0

The elaboration of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan

12 - <http://www.regione.emilia-romagna.it/autonomiaier>

13 - Art. 10, L.R. 30 luglio 2015, n. 13

14 - <http://www.cittametropolitana.bo.it/portale/Engine/RAServePG.php/P/2124310010107>

2.0 is the focus of all the efforts. **The guidelines of Metropolitan Strategic Plan 2.0** are the result of meetings and dialogue between the officers of the Metropolitan City and the different territorial realities aggregated in Unions. They also stipulate that **the Strategic Plan should enhance the Union of Municipalities as entities for the associated implementation of the municipal functions and the scale of reference to negotiate the territorial governance.** How does it work?

The Plan 2016-2021 of the MC identifies the following ways:

- Enhancing the role of the Union of Municipalities as the territorial reference for co-design and disseminate the actions of the metropolitan city;
- Proposal and support for processes of institutional innovation and strategic coordination as concerns the mergers of the municipalities;
- Expanding the fields where is possible to create synergies between the Metropolitan City, Unions and Municipalities through common offices and functional collaborations.
- Creating cross-sectoral regulations, homogeneous in all the Unions and Municipalities of the metropolitan area (one registry of administrative procedures).

Concerning the promotion of merging processes, the Strategic Plan indicates the guidelines for the strategic coordination of the fusion paths and the criteria for aggregation and optimal territorial and administrative geography.

For this reason, this MC has been selected as a pilot entity on the topics of Governance and Institutional Partnerships for the Project called *Metropoli Strategiche* (under the coordination of the National Association of the Municipalities - ANCI), and it will receive fundings to be spent on a project of mapping of the functions assigned to the Unions. This project will allow the MC to pursue policies, including prescriptions, within the framework of the Strategic Plan, through which the alignment of the functions in the Unions can be achieved: perhaps only few functions per Union but entirely conferred at that administrative unit (Presidents must have full title on all 'scope' of the function).

The first chapter of the Strategic Plan¹⁵ (which was approved on July 11, 2018¹⁶) focuses on this kind of policies and prescriptions.

The basis and the metropolitan future is to make "uniform/ equally equipped" the Unions while strengthening their powers. Working on the homogeneity of municipal functions is the long-term goal because it requires an expensive and articulated preliminary investigation and a very strong political operation of persuasion combined with a hard-work on the Unions. In general terms, the main goal of the Metropolitan government is to invest on rethinking these inter-institutional cooperation models.

What is the challenge today?

The governance system that is being implemented is still very much based on voluntary policies in the absence of a legislative autonomy. We are in the presence of many (too many) spontaneous and voluntary steps, while the need for a precise definition emerges:

15 - <http://psm.bologna.it/Engine/RAServePG.php/P/33061PS-M0300/T/Presentato-il-documento-preliminare-del-Piano-Strategico-Metropolitano>

16 - On July 6th, the Metropolitan Conference has expressed a positive opinion on the PSM 2.0 Metropolitan Strategic Plan, which will pass to the final vote of the Metropolitan Council on Wednesday 11 July, 2018. The document was voted by 26 mayors (representing 749,875 inhabitants out of a total of 1,011,291) with 25 votes in favor and the abstention of the mayor of town of Imola. "A plan that - reminds the metropolitan mayor Virginio Merola - identifies the strategic choices that the Metropolitan City, the Unions and all the Mayors, in line with the regional guidelines, fulfill and commit to carrying on in its implementation phases". Also present was the regional councilor who expressed satisfaction "for the work that was carried out jointly with the metropolitan city". The Region has recently given positive evaluation regarding the coherence between the Metropolitan Strategic Plan and the objectives of the Intesa Quadro and the general strategies of the Emilia-Romagna Region". Source: Città Metropolitana di Bologna <https://bit.ly/2KFEebv>

Which activities can be carried out by the Unions? What functions can be performed in an associated form at the level of the Unions, what other functions at the Metropolitan City level according to the principles of distribution and differentiation? Which tools are at their disposal? What are the limits and boundaries of their competence?¹⁷

At present characterized by an ambivalent nature (still very much ex-province and projected towards a strategic driving role), the MC is a local government body, especially in terms of territorial and Strategic Planning and programming of economic development activities. **It is an entity, which in this case, is a Federation of Municipalities that not only draws the strategic vision, but also offers support and services to the municipalities**, through the creation of community support offices (advocacy desk, protection of personal data desk, training desk, etc). This is the most strategic and innovative part of the body (and where it will be invested the most from now to the next 10 years).

"The other aspect that is currently being tackled is the strengthening of the governance structure to achieve the alignment of the communal functions transferred to the unions."

There is already a rather homogeneous map about the participation of municipalities in the unions but absolutely a non-homogeneous (or little known) distribution of how many and what kind of functions the municipalities have transferred to the Unions. This is a strong criticism because one thing is to talk to people working on the same areas of expertise, another is to refer to representatives who represent the Union only partially with consequent loss of effective coordination between the Unions themselves.

17 - Interview with Alessandro Delpiano, Direttore Pianificazione territoriale, CM Bologna on July 2017

Firenze Metropolitan City

Citizens' participation and involvement in the metropolitan Strategic Planning process

On the News

“An institutional and political agenda for the Metropolitan Cities is a high priority. Metropolitan Cities must become increasingly “light” and cost-effective entities, free from active administrative tasks (such as schools and roads management, which can be shifted to Municipalities and state-run agencies) and entirely focused on the Strategic Planning, including urban planning and socio-economic promotion. “

Dario Nardella, Mayor of Florence and Coordinator Anci Metropolitan Cities¹

The future Strategic Plan of the Metropolitan City of Florence, called “Metropolitan Renaissance”, was presented to the Metropolitan Council and the Metropolitan Conference by the Metropolitan Mayor Dario Nardella at the beginning of January last year and then approved on April 9th, 2017. The plan presents itself as a long-term vision of 13 years with a deadline for the full implementation set by 2030. It consists of three areas: universal accessibility; widespread opportunities; wellness lands. The strategic vision for the Metropolitan City embraces a wide variety of initiatives and concrete projects and it is built on an effective process of collective participation. The Metropolitan Strategic Plan is in fact the key element of an increasingly evolving relationship between the Metropolitan City and the Region, and it is also “the instrument” to express the ability of a methodological and quality co-design among the key actors of the territory, such as the Metropolitan City, the Chamber of Commerce, Banks and the University, Research Foundations, Municipalities and Citizens.

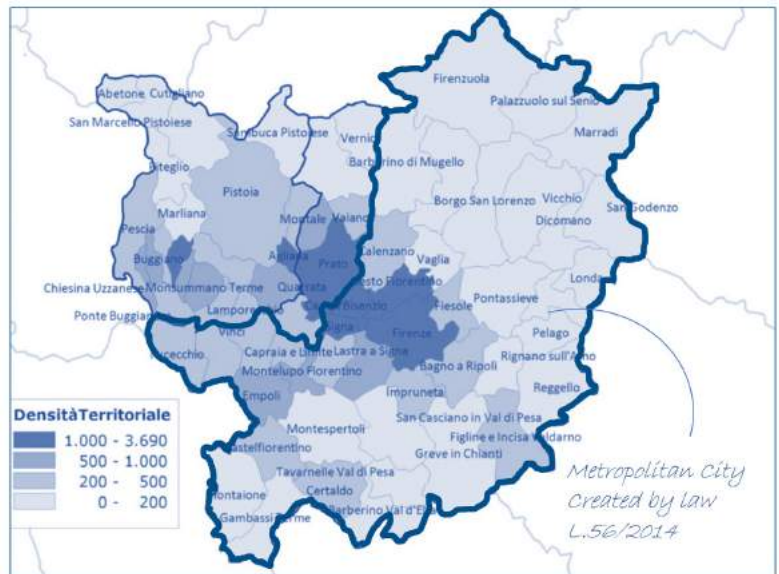
Question: *How is the metropolitan project understood, accepted and supported? The concept of collaborative planning at the metropolitan level and its impact on the construction of metropolitan governance: how the consultation and participation is organized with the different stakeholders and at the different territorial levels? How do you build a long-term cooperation? What are the incentives? What is the metropolitan awareness among the institutions, the business world, civil society and the citizens themselves? How does it differ from the image of the former province? What actions and initiatives have contributed to the creation of it?*

Dialogue and interviews with:

Pietro Rubellini, Executive Director at the Municipality of Florence (City Council's Support Office)

Nadia Bellomo, Project manager of the Strategic Plan

1 - Corriere della Sera on 20.05.2016 and ANCI website: <http://www.anci.it/index.cfm?layout=detttaglio&IdDett=56035>



Source: ISTAT 2013, from Dossier Città Metropolitane, 2017

The Metropolitan level

The Metropolitan City of Florence extends over an area of 3,500 sq.km, with a population of just over one million inhabitants (1,007,252 residents for an average population density of 288,4 ab/sq.km).

A metropolitan area where cultural poles and high-level international education centers, manufacturing and crafts industries productions, wine-making and gastronomy excellences are all condensed in a landscape of extreme value.

Contrary to other metropolitan cities, and in line with the Law 142/1990, the Regional Council of Tuscany (DL 130 of 01/03/2000) had already determined the metropolitan area of Florence through the merging of the Provinces of Florence, Prato and Pistoia, mainly focusing on the coordination of programming and spatial planning activities. However, after the Delrio Law (56/2014), the MC of Florence includes 42 municipalities corresponding to the territorial perimeter of the former province of Florence, basically limiting a territorial system whose dynamics extend, historically, to the area of Pistoia, and Prato. This is an historic development axis consisting of a polycentric settlement structure that, starting from the urban centers of Florence, Prato and Pistoia, brings together smaller cities, countless rural villages, scattered houses, industrial and commercial thickening

Key facts

Area: 3'513,69 sq.km
 Pop MC (May 2018) 1'013'754
 Pop Capital City: 379.180
 Density: 288,4 ab/sq.km
 N. Municipalities: 42
 Unions: 4
 Homogeneous Zones: No
 Strategic metropolitan Plan: Yes
 Curiosity: 30% of the world art-works is produced in Florence (source UNESCO)

Summary of the key factors

A cooperative Strategic Plan (2017-2030) as operational and prescriptive framework for projects of territorial, multi-level and inter-institutional cooperation.

Political Setting: political understanding, lucky/positive circumstances between the MC, the Capital City, the Region and the National Government

Policy field: Strategic Planning, socio-economic development, infrastructure and services integrated coordination (by law 56/2014)
In this MC the effort has been to reduce at the maximum the functions of the former province to allow the MC to play its strategic role

Financial System: national, regional and private resources

Human resources: 545 employees
The inception of the MC was guided by an operational team formed by human resources already working in the staff of the Mayor of the Capital City. Creation of a Board (5 people), a management and control team that can informally and quickly provide guidelines (to the political body) for the management and organization of activities related to the revision and update of the Strategic Plan and its tactical implementation.
Smart governance and monitoring of short-term effects (annual assessment). A three-head structure: Politics, Strategic Board and Administration

Challenge: address the major issues regarding the future of the MC: the territorial dimension, the fiscal autonomy, the definition of competences with respect to the State, the Regions and now also to the Provinces.

forming the so-called metropolitan functional area of Florence.

Capable of offering a broad-minded strategy, **the Metropolitan City's Strategic Plan has sought to free itself from the constraints of the former province's territorial perimeter and has opened up to the polarities of Prato / Pistoia, Empoli / Valdelsa, Chianti, Mugello / Valdisieve, as well as the territories of the Metropolitan City of Bologna** to which it intrinsically connects along the so called Apennines Tosco-Emiliano, and **with which it forms the only inter-metropolitan system through shared forms of cooperation.** A formal Pact has been signed by the two metropolitan mayors in November last year (2017), a memorandum of understanding seeking for shared socio-economic development, culture, sustainable tourism, Strategic Planning and urban innovation.

“The two metropolitan areas don't need administrative limits but opportunities for reunification, creating mutual knowledge and understanding”, are the words of Mr. Nardella (Mayor of Florence)¹.

The MC of Florence also emerges in the national landscape for the functions which are currently being assigned to it.

In fact, **this is the only case where there is a significant contraction in the scope of the Metropolitan City compared to the former Province.**

The Tuscany Region, the Metropolitan City and the provinces have done an important work in regard to the reorganization of the provincial functions. Apart from the roads and management of the secondary school buildings, this MC has been relieved from the burden of the old province, with a clear effort to allow this metropolitan government to go in the direction indicated by the Delrio Law (55/2014).

Partially, the merit goes to the Region which has created the ideal legislative framework to allow the Metropolitan City to take off. “The Tuscany Regional Law no. 22/2015, Art. 5, strengthens the role of the Metropolitan City as a ‘metropolitan government for the municipalities coordination’, and indicates the participation of the Metropolitan City in the scope of important regional programming functions in the form

1 - <http://www.dire.it/09-03-2018/181475-citta-metropolitane-patto-bologna-firenze-comincia-camminare/> (source: Agenzia DIRE)

of binding agreement or mandatory advice.”²

In terms of assigned functions, one important issue remains (although, when the interview was done - Sept 2017 - the government seemed to be on the way to resolve it). Before the referendum (which, as expressed by all those interviewed in this research, has been a thrashing to the reform), the national government was preparing a proposal for the creation of a Labor Market National Agency (the provinces had in fact the management of the employment and professional Training Centers).

The Tuscany Region, the provinces and the Metropolitan City have been prepared for this step, and have created a temporary hybrid operational mechanism between the MC and the Region whereby employment centers are currently managed by the region's management staff with the MC employees working with the Region's money on the budget of the Metropolitan City. These employment centers, which are temporarily transferred to the Region, provide a regulatory mechanism that would allow to make the transfer to the National Agency as soon as the conditions would require it.

A situation with significant management difficulties ... but the Constitutional Referendum has hampered the mechanism³.

It seems that the National government has resumed the issue with the intention of solving this problem before the elections and thus creating a centralized Labor market Agency⁴.

Made this introduction on the functions of the Metropolitan City of Florence, the question is: *how the co-design efforts (horizontal and multi-level and inter-institutional cooperation) had a positive impact in determining the definition of a metropolitan dimension? How the implementation of this strategy has affected the sustainability of the metropolitan project on the*

long run? How much has been understood, how much metropolitan awareness was created? What are the next steps?

Tools and approaches

The Strategic Plan is the flagship of the Metropolitan City built around an integrated process of Strategic Planning. It is a prescriptive tool. The participatory Strategic Plan “*Together for the Plan. Take part in the choices for the future of the Metropolitan City of Florence*” involved the public institutions, the stakeholders and the citizens in different ways, activating a complex and articulated methodological structure.

The process of listening has involved various components of the society (economic, cultural and social) mainly aiming at the definition of:

- strategic development scenarios for the Metropolitan City over the medium and long term;
- new policies to respond to the most urgent local needs of the territory, encouraging the involvement of the local authorities and the other non-institutional actors (citizens, enterprises, intermediate organizations, associations and committees, etc.);
- the opportunities offered by the institutional change to pursue efficiency goals for public services and the realization of economies of scale and synergies at a metropolitan scale.

At the same time, it was also the first testing ground for a new model of governance aimed at facilitating the creation of ‘multi-sectoral development coalitions’ that can, at the institutional level but also autonomously, pursue the implementation of the projects and territorial actions contained in the Strategic Plan.⁵

The 2030 Strategic Plan is the tool used by the Metropolitan City of Florence to bring about changes aimed at raising the quality of life of all the inhabitants of the metropolitan territory, with improvements also for the whole central Tuscany.

2 - urban@it background papers: di Claudia Tubertini ‘La città metropolitana tra regione, comuni ed unioni. Analisi delle relazioni istituzionali’, tratto dal Rapporto sulle città 2015. metropoli attraverso la crisi

3 - A reflection on the effects of constitutional Referendum was reported at pag17 of this research in the introduction to the Italian context.

4- This comment refers to September 2017 when the interview was realised. Meanwhile the National government has changed and so are the political objectives.

5 - ‘Verso il Piano Strategico Metropolitano’, Comitato Scientifico del Piano Strategico, 2016

"The Plan represents a prognosis of the future of the metropolitan community, which considers the territorial framework and defines a strong and shared strategic vision within it to provide an effective response to contemporary socio-economic and environmental challenges."

This vision has been possible thanks to both a broad participatory process framing some metropolitan actions, and to an extensive research work directed by a Scientific Committee where the University, the Research and Innovation Foundation, Irpet, the Cassa di Risparmio of Florence and the Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Handicrafts were widely represented.⁶

For the construction of the Strategic Plan, the Metropolitan City has involved external technical skills (The MC of Milan did the same, using the PIM – Milan Inter-municipal territorial planning Agency).

With the aim to govern the planning process, the Metropolitan Mayor has created a management structure which includes:

- an Organizing Committee, which is operationally supported by the Office for the Strategic Plan (MSP);
- a representative of the Metropolitan Council, in charge of the MSP;
- an Office for the Strategic Plan (MSP), which directly reports to the Directorate-General for the MC;
- a Scientific Committee working in synergy with the Office for the Strategic Plan (MSP)

Cleaned off from the typical functions of the former province (maintenance of the roads will be assigned to ANAS – National Agency for the road system, and the secondary school buildings given to the municipalities), **the Metropolitan City becomes a purely strategic entity**, as other European cities do (as for example Lyon), authorities responsible for planning, programming and territorial marketing.

Through the Strategic Plan and a bit of luck, it was

possible, at least in this case, to properly interpret the institutional reform. And most of all, it was possible to let the Municipalities understand the role of the Metropolitan City as driver and strategic player. This has happened thanks to a process of involvement of the same municipalities in the elaboration of the Strategic Plan (participation process which was massively funded by the Region and then by the Metropolitan City and the Municipalities). A process which has involved local authorities, people, opinion leaders, and economic stakeholders. The Metropolitan City has prepared the ground, and, for this reason, the launch of the implementation process was possible already during the closing phases of the Strategic Plan.

The tactical implementation of plan-based strategies has given the opportunity to show the municipalities (to the citizens it would be much more difficult!), that the Strategic Plan was not just "a plan on itself" but a concrete strategic framework that, properly used, could have produced effective results on their territories.

The element that made possible to understand this point (at the beginning the municipalities were skeptical) was the national tender (25 May 2016) for the regeneration of the peripheries. This was the first open call for Metropolitan Cities and provincial capitals in Italy. Florence was awarded with 50 million euro of fundings earmarked to the realization of a total of 50 projects, involving 20 local administrations.

"The success of the Strategic Plan consists on its capacity to act as a guiding framework."

This aspect has convinced the municipalities that, within that scheme, with the coordination of the Metropolitan City, they could have achieved results that they would have never obtained playing alone. Starting from this national call, within the framework of the Strategic Plan, the MC has set the guidelines: education and culture have been chosen as the key elements for the urban regeneration of the hinterland, a network of structures dedicated to education and culture was created, and, finally, the project proposal was offered to the municipalities.

The municipalities were invited to send projects that could fit in the thematic puzzle. The results went beyond expectations: the municipalities that didn't

6 - 'Rinascimento Metropolitano, Piano Strategico 2030'

join (either because they underestimated the call or because they did not have projects ready for the application) reacted and asked the Metropolitan City to launch new similar initiatives.

Meanwhile, the Strategic Plan was approved (May 2017) and the MC has moved to the tactical implementation of the strategies.

The committee reuniting the promoters of the Strategic Plan includes a Bank Foundation - Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, the Chamber of Commerce, Research and Innovation Foundations, the University and the Metropolitan City. The Bank Foundation⁷ is an interesting actor worth noting. In fact, it was decided to initiate a process in which part of the funding (the Foundation usually reserves some fundings for urban renovation in the metropolitan area), will be devoted to the tactical implementation of the Strategic Plan; in line with this choice, in 2018 part of the private funding will be devoted for the local administrations which intend to realize projects of urban regeneration.

In short, the Bank Foundation will make the tender and provide the money; the Metropolitan City will be responsible for the coordination; the municipalities will work independently and each of them will make its own project. From the beginning (in 2016 - launch of the national tender for projects of urban regeneration in the metropolitan outskirts), the MC has tried to bring together 20 municipalities and make a collective and co-designed territorial plan, but it failed. Due to the great interest of the municipalities, there will be a new call this year (2018), and this time the MC will try to define a common territorial project.

The public implementation of the Strategic Plan

The Metropolitan Strategic Plan followed three main strategies:

- **100% re-utilization and regeneration:** this strategy encourages density only where the land is already

urbanized. Cooperation between the MC and the local Bank Foundation (which has urban, socio-economic and financial interest in the renewal and urban regeneration of the metropolitan area) will be the premise for the creation of a new tender at the metropolitan scale (2018) for the reclamation of functional urban spaces to achieve social improvement. These actions will integrate the national tender of 2016 for the regeneration of the metropolitan outskirts.

- **“Well-being Land” strategy:** this strategy seeks to enable territorial growth and foster socio-economic well-being. The Delrio Law imposes to the Metropolitan City the territorial boundaries of the former province. This latter includes the rural areas of Chianti (eno-gastronomic excellence) and the Apennines (forests and rural areas). The functional metropolitan area insists on the territory of Florence-Prato-Pistoia. The Delrio Law's decision to limit the boundaries was turned into a virtue and the Metropolitan City found itself working with the Region to form three territorial integrated projects' plans, which are basically functional in addressing sustainable rural development by integrating private entrepreneurship and public entities.

- **Universal Accessibility:** Another implementation action is the Cycling Mobility. The National government has made a series of Agreements with the Capital City and made fundings available, under the signature of the Pact for Florence, for a Cycling Mobility project (also included in the Strategic Plan). The project includes actions for new bicycle routes (business slopes) connecting long-distance industrial areas (for example Florence-Prato).

In addition, on the Justice side, a Memorandum of Understanding has been signed as the “Pact for Metropolitan Justice”, involving the Court of Justice of Florence, the University, the Chamber of Commerce and the Bank Foundation. The result is a project of restructuring and improving the efficiency and speed on the field of civil justice. In addition, a local legal help-desk to support citizens has been created.

7 - The Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze, as part of its activities, promotes and supports initiatives by third parties wishing to present and implement projects within the Tuscan territory.

Smart governance for tactical implementation and monitoring of short-term effects (annual assessment):

The Strategic Board

The Strategic Board is in charge of the strategic guidelines. It is interesting to note the creation of this Board, a Management and Control Team that can informally and quickly provide guidelines (to the Politics) for the management and organization of activities related to the revision and updating of the Strategic Plan and its tactical implementation.

The Board is composed of five people: the Chairman of the Scientific Committee, the Chairman of the Foundation for Research and Innovation, a representative of the Organizing Committee, the Project Manager of the Strategic Plan, and the Metropolitan Mayor (Chair of the Board).

The time-span of the Strategic Plan: a thirteen-year Strategic Plan (the Metropolitan decision-making structure has also in this case decided to turn the problem into an opportunity). Since the Delrio Law foresees a binding three-year spending plan that is to be renewed annually and will likely be developed directly by the administration itself, the MC of Florence envisages an annual monitoring and evaluation of the implementation action and a three-year review of the strategies, framed in the context of a 13-year vision.

Inter-institutional relations

Relations with the Region: The Metropolitan City has coordinated the regional development program. The Region has in fact fully received the MC's strategies as guidelines which will produce joint-agreements and further implementations of the plans. **The Regional Law 22/2015, art. 5, establishes that the Tuscany Region provides the necessary legislation reforms and acts in order to strengthen the role of the Metropolitan City of Florence as the government responsible for the governance of the metropolitan**

territory and the coordination of the municipalities which are part of it. The Region and the Metropolitan City stipulate goals for the implementation of the regional development program in order to settle the main actions and projects of the metropolitan interest in support to the economic development and the strategic infrastructural provision needed. The agreements form the framework of the program initiatives and regional interventions aimed at strengthening the competitiveness of the metropolitan territory.

Agreements can also be used to implement the Strategic Plan adopted by the Metropolitan City for the part of the plan that is developed in concert with the Region. Any arrangements between the Region and the individual metropolitan municipalities must, however, be in line with the Strategic Plan.

A new regional-Metropolitan City conference is currently being established. And there is an agreement with the Region on the actions needed to ensure the implementation of the metropolitan Strategic Plan. Through the Region, the Metropolitan City also receives funding from the National Strategy focused on the Internal Areas of the country.

Relationships with other Metropolitan Cities

There are actions that are currently being taken aimed at the creation of inter-institutional collaboration between contiguous regions and MCs. These agreements are finalized to tackle the problem of a specific geographic context which happened to be shared by both the Metropolitan City of Florence and the Metropolitan City of Bologna: the mountain region of the so called Apennines Tosco-Emiliano. A formal Pact, a memorandum of understanding has been recently signed by the two metropolitan mayors showing a great interest from both sides to urgently address together issues regarding infrastructures, tourism and cultural development in the inter-regional territorial dimension of the Apennines.

Despite the great effort of the metropolitan institutions, the regional level is not yet involved.

Cooperation with the territory

For the design and the implementation of the Strategic Plan the MC has appointed an Organizing Committee that is a body, external to the metropolitan entity, capable of making strategies that are not only public but which concern the entire territory including all the players acting on it (from companies to private individuals and research institutions). Therefore, one of the first initiatives was the establishment of the Council of the Big Companies. With the aim to create a partnership that could make the area of Florence strong and attractive, and thanks to the collaboration of private individuals and institutions operating in the territory, this Council is a place where strategies and visions are debated to create the favorable conditions for the public to ensure high development and business to hire, invest and work.

In these two years the MC recognizes that there has been a good involvement of local institutions and actors. There has been a recognition by the municipalities of a strong and effective role of MC through the tactical implementation of the Strategic Plan. A Strategic Plan that plays a decisive role and proves to be one of the driving elements of the Metropolitan Government.

The MC of Florence seems an exemplary case indicating a *modus operandi* for an inter-institutional coordination model and horizontal cooperation approach with the territories.

Financing System

National Funds

- Patto per Firenze

- PON Metro (funding go to the Capital City not to the metropolitan entity)

- Bando periferie (50m given to the metropolitan entities distributed over 50 projects involving

- 20 municipalities of the MC)

- National Plan for the upgrade and regeneration strategy of the Internal Areas

Regional Funds

PIT – Progetti Integrati Territoriali (Territorial Integrated Projects) which involve the municipalities and the agricultural farms.

Private Funds

- Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze (Bank Foundation)

What projects at the metropolitan scale ?

The Metropolitan City of Florence wants to create a metropolitan office for fundraising, aiming at providing the municipalities with technical support in the fundraising activity. Mobilizing some resources, it was already possible to find a way to use the diplomatic team (employed by the National Ministry and the Metropolitan City) to create diplomatic advisors who have the task of meeting the territories divided in homogeneous areas/polarities or unions (5 polarities that coincide with the Unions) and understand what the needs are. In the first place, the territories need assistance in the dialogue with the European Union: the Metropolitan City will advise the municipalities so that they can continue to ask for funding and deal with the EU policy frameworks.

Like all the other Italian Metropolitan Cities, there are heavy budget constraints: there is money for investments in school building and road maintenance, which unfortunately is no longer available for the Metropolitan City, by being these functions moved to other levels.

What is the challenge today?

Dario Nardella, Mayor of the City of Florence and Metropolitan Mayor, also coordinator for the Metropolitan Cities at ANCI, launches a warning to the National Government. The Institutional Reform

must be completed: **“The Delrio Law has been a good law, but it is imperative to integrate it”** reinforcing the fiscal autonomy and the functions of the 14 metro-cities, enabling Metropolitan Cities to have an organizational and financial model in real discontinuity with the earlier provinces.

What is happening today is that Metropolitan Cities drag the burden of the legacy of the provinces from which they originate. The ability to review their functions increasingly distinguishes them from municipalities and regions and allows them to be Strategic Planning bodies, promoting the territory, with less active administrative tasks and a new coordination role.”

(ANSA) - Florence, 31 August 2017

Napoli Metropolitan City

Financing the metropolitan scale

On the News

“The mayor (of Naples) has conquered all the Italian colleagues at the head of the metropolitan cities. Given the scarcity of resources, he has proposed to share (what was left) and give what is in his possibility to the most “in need” [...] “This decision makes us more united, he said, and strong in dealing with the government. We must not be divided in the future, and we must better assert our ideas”

Corriere del mezzogiorno, 25 luglio 2017¹

The Metropolitan City of Naples has a very complex territorial setting. If you look at concrete territorial interdependencies, the area enclosed within the borders of the former provincial territory contains one of the largest and dense urban areas of Europe. An urban system of about 3 million inhabitants which includes 92 municipalities forming the fifth bigger city in Europe, according to OECD. The Metropolitan City together with the Capital City of Naples join the Multi-fund National Operational Programme Metropolitan Cities 2014-2020 (PON METRO) for the implementation of the initiatives conceived in the framework of the European Urban Agenda for social inclusion and cohesion policies, born with the aim of strengthening the role of the big cities and their territories.

Question: *In the metropolitan area of Naples, it would be interesting to understand how funding programs aimed at improving the quality of services and promoting social inclusion can also become driver for the definition of a multi-level cooperation reinforcing the metropolitan governance system. What are the roles, the functions of the different stakeholders and what are the sources of funding? What are the tools that the stakeholders can use at the different levels to redistribute these resources and how do they activate programs that enable the metropolitan project?*

Dialogue and interviews with:

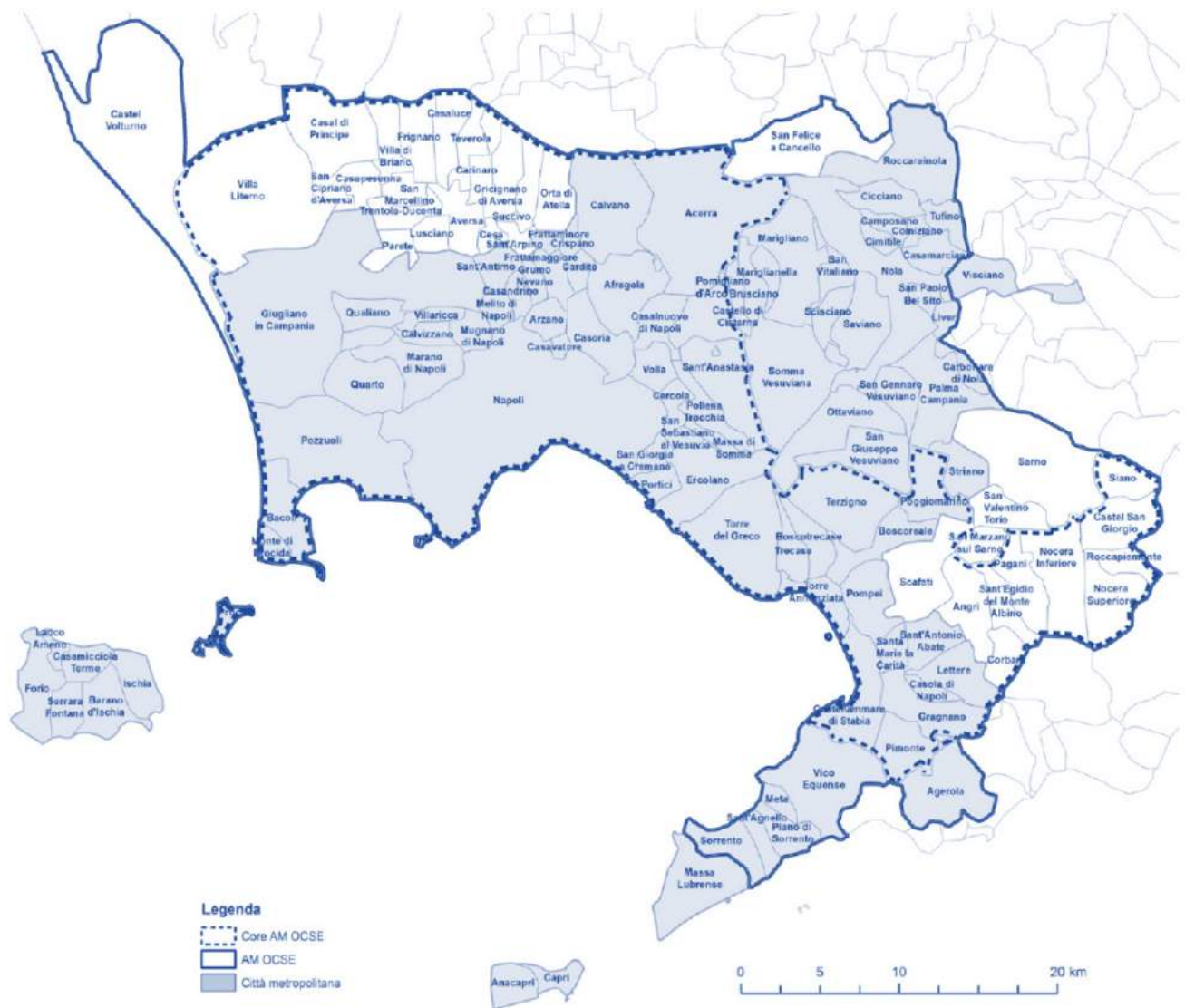
Giacomo Ariete, Area Coordinator, Territorial and Urban Planning Directorate, Naples Metropolitan City

Valeria Vanella, Territorial and Urban Planning Directorate, Naples Metropolitan City and Metrex representative

Maria Vottari and Massimo del Vasto, EU programmes and funds, Naples Metropolitan City

Bartolo Cassaglia, General Directorate, Municipality of Naples

1 - “Luigi e il nuovo colpo di teatro. Dare a Sala i fondi del governo”, Il Corriere del Mezzogiorno, 25 luglio 2017 di Antonio Napoli: http://corriere-delmezzogiorno.corriere.it/napoli/cronaca/17_luglio_25/luigi-nuovo-colpo-teatro-dare-sala-fondi-governo-c8bad86a-711b-11e7-a9c2-27f83044ecce.shtml#



Source: 'L'area metropolitana di Napoli: interdipendenza territoriale e integrazione istituzionale'. Autori: Antonio Calafati e Francesca Mazzoni. GSSI Cities / Working Papers # 23 | 2015

Metropolitan Cities are an important opportunities for development. However, in Italy, after 25 years of hesitations and failed attempts, **the institutionalization of the Metropolitan Cities has begun without addressing some fundamental knots** and, above all, without first having figured out **how to provide this process with an adequate basic funding system with the consequent risk of making the reform relaunched by law 56/2014 only a nominal fact.**

Area: 1'178,93 sq.km
 Pop (ISTAT 2016): 3'113'898
 Density: 2'641,3 ab/sq.km
 N. Municipalities: 92
 Unions: No
 Homogeneous Zones: No
 Strategic Metropolitan Plan: No

How to finance the action of the new Metropolitan Authorities and let them perform as territorial and socio-economic drivers is a key issue. In Naples, what has been done in order to rethink the territorial governance and its funding capacity?

Summary of the key factors

*"The Metropolitan City is an opportunity for a more effective reorganization and a sound management of shared public services (transport, waste, water, schools...). By being part of the Metropolitan City, the individual municipalities gain negotiation power towards the central government. By being one voice, instead of 92, the territory will become stronger; no one will be left behind. Planning and programming will include the entire metropolitan area and the European funds will be evenly distributed"*¹. (De Magistris, current metropolitan mayor, in 2014)

Political Setting: conflicts between the Region and the Metropolitan City with the result of a disintegration of the political and institutional framework that is going to undermine the programmatic capacity and the cooperation between the various institutions.

Tools: Projects-led multi-level governance. An Inter-institutional partnership between the Capital City and the Metropolitan entity to achieve the activation and implementation of the EU funded PON metro activities on the axis 1. Digital agenda for the metropolitan area.

Policy Field: defined by National Law and the Statute but dependent from the Regional Framework which is inexistent so far.

Financial System: Integrated National, European Funds (and indirectly Regional Funds)

Human resources: In House staff (former province): 969

Challenge: How to combine territorial and institutional organization? How to build financial models supporting the implementation of the metropolitan project?

¹ - The future metropolitan mayor talks about the opportunities of Naples Metropolitan City/ On Metro Napoli TV, Feb 2014: <https://bit.ly/2m570gn>

Mission of the MC: an integrated and multi-polar urban area with a unifying identity capable of enhancing the autonomy and the local assets of its municipalities.¹

Vision of the MC: Industrial pole with a "brain-intensive" model, driving sectors (aerospace, biotech and automotive) and traditional excellence (textile, jewelery and agri-food); Touristic destination, among the first in the world; center for maritime economy.

The metropolitan level Between territorial and institutional re-organization

When talking about the case of Naples, it is necessary to address, in the first place, its territorial and socio-economic governance system, and tackle the question "what is the metropolitan territory" we want to refer to.

The area of the former province of Naples is composed by 92 municipalities and is inhabited by more than 3 million people living an area of 1,179 sq. Km; meaning that Naples is, among the 14 metropolitan cities, the smallest in terms of surface: only the sixth part of Turin, the fifth of Rome and the half of Venice. At the same time, it is the one with the highest population density: on a surface that is about the 8% of Campania, Naples gathers over the 50% of the inhabitants of the entire region, with a density average of 2,661 inhabitants/sq.km, which rises above 8,200 in the Capital City. This densely populated territory includes the most populated non-capital town of Italy (Giugliano, over 120,000 inhabitants) and two more cities with around 80,000 inhabitants², for a total of 10 municipalities, in addition to the Capital City of Naples, which exceed the 50.000 inhabitants to confirm the demographic weight of this metropolitan area over the entire Campania region.

As recalled by the Dossiers on the Metropolitan Cities

¹ - Source: Start City, Città Metropolitane, Il rilancio parte da qui. Un progetto di ANCI, The European House Ambrosetti e Intesa Sanpaolo)

² - I dossier delle Città Metropolitane. Città metropolitana di Napoli, I edizione, marzo 2017, DARA

edited by the Ministry of Regional Affairs (2017)³, the OECD and many other observers (Calafati, 2015 and Veneri, 2013), the metropolitan area of Naples is not a single functional urban area. Apart from the core, there are a number of functional areas, each with its own specific features and characters. There are areas formed by coalescence of municipalities around the Capital City or around towns which function as centers to which those municipalities relate in spatial or functional terms. This is an area characterized by several systems of territorial interdependence that confirm the incongruity between the provincial boundaries and the social and institutional dynamics of the area.

The lack of a territorial project of integration (at the various scales) is probably limiting the emergence of an effective metropolitan governance within this particularly fragmented institutional context.

Within the territory of the current Metropolitan City there are no Unions of Municipalities except for one case of inter-provincial integration: the town of Frattaminore which forms the Union of 'Atella' in the province of Caserta, on the northern border of the Metropolitan City, demonstrates how the

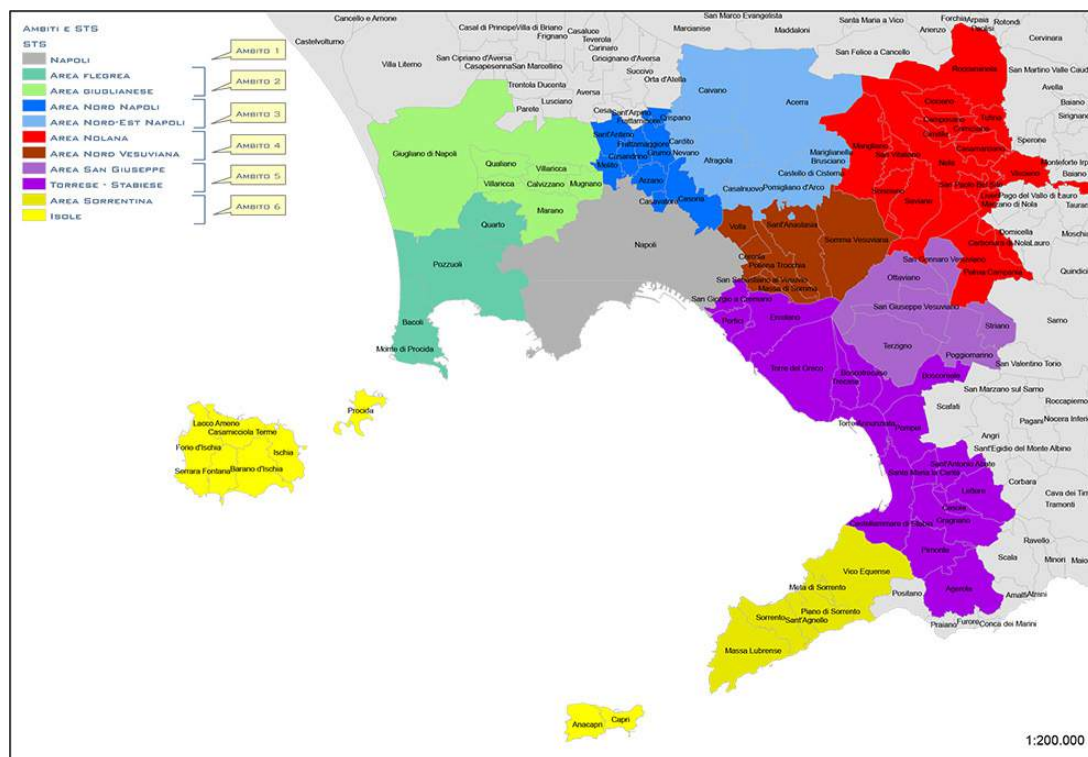
historic provincial borders are outdated. The law 56/2014 establishes the coincidence of the limit of the former province as the new area of competence of the Metropolitan City, however it introduces the possibility of modifying these boundaries by interpreting existing territorial interdependencies. This element is certainly relevant in a metropolitan system among the largest in Europe (OECD, 2012) which is characterized by a complex diversity of local systems. "For each Metropolitan City established, a major policy theme is the examination of the spatial and economic significance of the current boundaries in relation to the development issues and their consequent potential redefinition which seems necessary for most metropolitan cities" (A. Calafati, 2014). In the case of Naples, the governance and the institutional form of the new metropolitan entity is much more difficult and urgent and must be addressed in the light of the complex territorial organization.

Homogeneous zones

To better manage local functions and to provide effective local public services, the MC wants to organize its territory into Homogeneous Areas based on identity characters, geomorphological, natural and landscape contexts and socio-economic relations. ZO, which haven't been approved yet, are expected to be administered by the assemblies, formed by the mayors of

municipalities of each zone, who are called to express opinions on the acts of the Metropolitan Council. Each ZO is given a dimension which relates to a population of not less than 150,000 inhabitants. The ZO's derive from the Territorial Development Systems (STS), already identified by the Regional Territorial Plan of the Campania Region and further defined by the PTC of the Province of Naples. Such systems have been identified to

3 - Dossier Città Metropolitane, Department regional affairs and Autonomies, Prime Minister's Office, March 2017



optimize the use of the Structural Funds, in line with EU development strategies and cohesion policies. The definition of Homogeneous Areas (currently under discussion) will make clear how the specific territorial character can be reflected at the metropolitan scale of the MC.

The map at pag.50 shows the sub-municipal areas which form the metropolitan territory, as indicated in Art. 65 bis of the Implementation Rules of the PTC Proposal (elaborated by the former Province).

Based on these areas, the ongoing discussion will define the Homogeneous Areas as established by the Statute.

Inter-institutional relations

In Campania, the lack of implementation of the regional law for the reorganization of the administrative functions is undermining any attempt to reorganize the governance system. The current regional planning legislation (16/2004) doesn't make any reference to the Metropolitan City while the most recent regional law n.12/2017 on Civil Protection wants to concentrate all the programming and the coordination functions within the regional level, leaving the operational and administrative functions to the provinces, depriving the Metropolitan City of the role of strategic player within its territory of competence.

On the contrary, the MC of Naples, as indicated in the Statute, claims its role and proposes negotiation actions with the Region in order to define each other's areas of competence and to establish a collaboration on topics of metropolitan interest.

Metropolitan City and Municipalities

Besides the 'missing link' with the regional legislation, the Territorial and Urban Planning Directorate of the MC has initiated discussion with several municipalities in the field of development and environmental protection. Activities include advice and assistance not only in the territorial and urban planning fields

but also in the sector of risk protection, seeking the integration between the general planning and the risk management. From seismic, volcanic and hydro-geological risk to industrial risk, the 80% of the metropolitan territory is marked by high risk and it's densely populated. Thus, the coordination of the municipal planning together with the risk protection scheme is a fundamental approach to be followed. Co-planning means to find a **forum for sharing knowledge and expertise between the Metropolitan City and the 92 Municipalities** (ideally starting by the identification of the Homogeneous Areas, which is not possible at the moment) with a direct and bilateral relationship with each individual municipalities.

Relations with the other provinces

Both on the territorial and strategic metropolitan planning, relations with the other provinces must be foreseen. With regard to transport, environmental policies and housing requirements (this latter being one of the fundamental factors for sizing the municipal urban plans), coordination needs to be pursued especially with the provinces of Caserta and Salerno, territories which form with Naples a continuous and spatially uniform urban area. The problem of coordination between the Metropolitan City with the provinces and the region needs to be faced, calling for an inter-provincial planning action at the regional scale to define a framework for sizing the regional needs and redistribute them according to the territorial capacity of uptake. Such a forum can only exist and be effective at the Regional level, despite its absence on everything concerning the metropolitan matter.

The discouragement of the representatives of the Metropolitan City is palpable (Sept 2017): as they report, the disintegration of the political and institutional framework is going to undermine the programmatic capacity and the cooperation between the various institutions.

Financing System

"Il patto per la Città metropolitana di Napoli" (2017)

had a total value of 630 million⁴ and it consisted of 189 million resources previously allocated, 133 million EU resources (PON Metro), and 308 million FSCs 2014-20.⁵ This portfolio combines a number of financial resources which allow investments on different fields such as infrastructures, economic development, environment, culture and the Public Administration's improvement. Naples is one of the cases where the integration of different financial instruments has allowed some tangible results: PON Metro, resources from the National tender for the urban regeneration of the outskirts and the Complementary City Metropolitan Action Program (a program financed with national resources, directed to the "less developed" regions - Puglia, Calabria, Campania and Sicily - specifically designed to complement the PON Metro actions). They have all been factors contributing to the realisation of actions aimed at increasing the competitiveness and the quality of life for both the citizens and the business sector in the Italian cities.

However, though the territories of the Metropolitan City seems to have a large portfolio at its disposal, this doesn't come with a programming framework and the financial recognition needed. What does it mean? Besides the name, the EU PON Metro Programme Funds are managed and operated exclusively by the Capital City (Naples) as well as the complementary fundings.⁶

On the other hand, Regional funds for sustainable development (POR Campania FESR 2014-20) are managed by the Region and directed to 19 different medium size towns within the metropolitan area, meaning that the regional resources are focused on the individual municipalities instead of looking at the metropolitan territory as a whole as concerns the regional strategy for sustainable development. As some observers point out, at the EU level the metropolitan level is not taken into consideration, nor it is included in the regional development strategies. It would be appropriate to build a programmatic framework for the metropolitan development which implies a new governance of the financing tools and

a coordinated financial strategy for the metropolitan government. Things might start to change, though. With the law 205/2017 a national contribution of 111 million euro for 2018 to the Metropolitan Cities has been announced with the aim to support the scope of their powers and responsibilities (Art.1, comma 838, law n.205, 27 Dec 2017).

What projects at the metropolitan scale?

The PON Metro

In the last decades, the development of Naples has been characterized by an increasing divide in the social structure, but also in the way this structure is organized and distributed in the urban fabric, urging a very specific attention to the dynamics of this region. The European Union's efforts to support sustainable urban development⁶ include integrated actions which address the urban challenges in their complexity and from an economic, environmental, climatic, demographic and social perspective in line with the specific framework drawn by the European Regulations.

To address these challenges, the City of Naples has put in place a number of actions involving the use of specific resources (eg. PON, funds from the Ministry of the Environment, Regional funds, etc.).

The PON Operative Plan includes 31 projects that together pursue the objective not only to increase the services for the citizens in relation to the thematic areas of the Program, but intends to be consistent with a logic of social planning capable of generating an overall improvement of the conditions of the population. The integration of policies, resources and intervention strategies defines an action plan for the city that intends to act on a long terms basis. The financial package amount to 91,895,333.67 euro of resources. The actions are organized in five axis (1.

4 - http://www.governo.it/sites/governo.it/files/Patto_Napoli_Tabella_Interventi.pdf

5 - Urbanistica Informazioni n.271, articolo di Emanuela Coppola, Valeria Aniello, Giuseppe Guida

6 - Art. 7 del Regolamento (UE) n. 1301/2013 Art. 7 del Regolamento (UE) n. 1301/2013

Digital agenda, 2. Urban mobility and public services sustainability, 3. Services for social inclusion, 4. Infrastructures for social inclusion, 5. Technical assistance.

Activities and actions are primarily concentrated in the area of Naples, except for the (12) projects of *axis 1. Digital Agenda* which contribute to a real change in policy-making and produce long-term effects on the metropolitan territory. For this reason, they cannot be limited to the administrative boundaries of the city of Naples (the direct beneficiary of this funding). And an inter-institutional partnership between the Capital city and the metropolitan entity has been stipulated.

The agreement was signed with the aim to activate the interventions: the Metropolitan City being in charge of providing the analysis of the needs expressed by the territories and taking care of the implementation of the agreements with the municipalities; the city of Naples being the competent and sole authority responsible for the overall financing programme.

The Agreement between the Metropolitan City and the City of Naples aims to “promote and disseminate the use of advanced technology solutions to improve the overall level of digital services provided to citizens, city users and businesses in the metropolitan area increasing their participation in E-GOV processes, in line with the investment priorities of PON Metro, Axis 1, and in particular with the Operational Plan of the City of Naples.”⁷

Mutual collaboration is guided by the common goal of the parties involved in strengthening the capacity of the Metropolitan government to use advanced technology solutions in the most effective way for achieving the expected results.

Projects include: the creation of a metropolitan web page for cultural and sustainable tourism, the set-up of an on line network of libraries but also a system of information and monitoring of public works and infrastructural investments in the municipalities of the metropolitan area.

In order to coordinate the process of implementation of the Urban Sustainable Urban Development Strategy of the city of Naples, a PON METRO steering

Committee is set up, whose tasks include:

- stimulate the comparison between the various institutional parties;
- connect and enhance the contribution of various actors and stakeholders (City of Naples, Metropolitan City, singular municipalities);
- ensuring the sustainability of actions;
- fostering the strengthening of public and social partnership.

Who does participate to the PON Metro Steering Committee?

- The General Manager of the managing body - the City of Naples
 - The Director General of the Metropolitan City;
 - The Manager in charge of the management structure of the Metro PON, City of Naples;
 - The Manager of the Information Systems of the City of Naples
 - The Director of the Integrated Information Systems Department of the Metropolitan City;
- and, if the agenda for discussion requires it:

- The Managers of the Municipality of Naples, the Metropolitan City and the Municipalities of the metropolitan area competent in the required thematic areas.

At the end of June this year (2018) a public event organized in cooperation between the Capital City and the Metropolitan body, has provided an overview on the implementation stages of the projects in Axis 1 and presented the potential and the operational functions of the software providing the online certifications (to access the civil registry service) already active for the City of Naples and now ready to be extended to the municipalities of the metropolitan area.

What is the challenge today?

Homogeneous Areas are strategic. These are areas with factual interdependencies: territorial and socio-economic and morphological cohesion. Foreseen by-Law, the Homogeneous Areas are a tool for the governance of strategic and territorial planning. At

⁷ - Draft Agreement between the Metropolitan City of Naples and the Capital City of Naples (direct receiver of the EU PON Metro Funds)

present the ZO's have not been identified yet, nor designed, nor formally formed. Politico-institutional and financial uncertainties are affecting the process of aggregation and the definition of those areas with profound impact.

This picture of uncertainty is also due to the incomplete nature of the Delrio law, with the subordination to the referendum of December 4, 2016, concerning powers and competences of the Metropolitan Cities and the abolition of the provinces, which in fact did not happen.

So, what the representatives of the Metropolitan City point out is the need to review the powers and competences conferred to the provinces that are now institutionally and constitutionally recognized together with the Metropolitan Cities.

Moreover, the regional laws in Campania do not provide enough support to handle metropolitan processes. The Territorial and Urban Planning Directorate of the MC has defined the criteria to proceed to the perimeter and definition of the Homogeneous Zones: an effort to achieve a re-balanced territorial governance based on a polycentric distribution. Even in the latest Regional legislation (Law 21, 22 May 2017) for the Civil Protection there is no sign of the functions and tasks to be attributed to the Metropolitan City, a governmental level which is apparently completely forgotten. The representatives of the Metropolitan City report a total "lack of attention" of the Campania Region over the national legislative framework determining the creation of the metropolitan entity. The draft of the territorial planning law that has been announced by the Regional Council is intended to reduce or even completely erase the role of the Metropolitan City in the territorial planning processes with serious damage to the inter-institutional relations because the Region does not have the competences nor the human resources, the tools or the means to manage the planning processes at the metropolitan scale.

In the view of Giacomo Ariete, Area Coordinator, MC Territorial and Urban Planning Directorate, a Metropolitan City should be an Agency founded on a simple and smart structure dealing with territorial development dynamics, collecting the policy questions expressed by the territory and coordinating the functions of the regional, municipal and territorial authorities. How to make this Agency to acquire

the competences and the resources (financial and technical) needed in order to enable this synergistic action with the other institutional levels, still remains a major challenge today.

Milano Metropolitan City

Flagship metropolitan projects.

Urban regeneration at the metropolitan scale, towards a new territorial model

On the News

“[...] We are not lacking foresight and vision, far from it (and the Strategic Plan, first to be approved in Italy, proves it). What is lacking are concrete and stable resources and a favorable economic framework. [...] I strongly believe in this new entity. In these months as a vice-mayor I have fought every day and everywhere with the aim to explain, and to convince, that the future of the territories goes through an institution like the metropolitan city. Only the Metropolitan City can formulate answers and govern processes which increasingly exceed the boundaries of the individual municipalities“

From the article “I, deputy mayor. Arianna Censi replies to Valentino Ballabio”¹

Milan is a unique case in the Italian panorama as the first Metropolitan City having already approved in May 2016 the Strategic Metropolitan Plan as indicated by the Law n.56/2014. The law imposes the adoption of a binding three-year spending Strategic Plan that is to be renewed annually. Conceived as a driving force to foster a process of change, the Strategic Plan of the City of Milan outlines the basis for the elaboration of a shared development vision, the strengthening of the new entity leadership and the pioneering political connotations and projects that are necessary to a strong operational footprint. The Plan does not only identify strategies and projects, but it is also concerned with their implementation through the connection with the other financial planning tools and the improvement of the organizational and administrative model to meet objectives and emerging needs.

Question: *What are the thematic mainstream chosen for supporting the implementation of the metropolitan vision and strategy and what the flagships projects that are being implemented? Who are the stakeholder involved?*

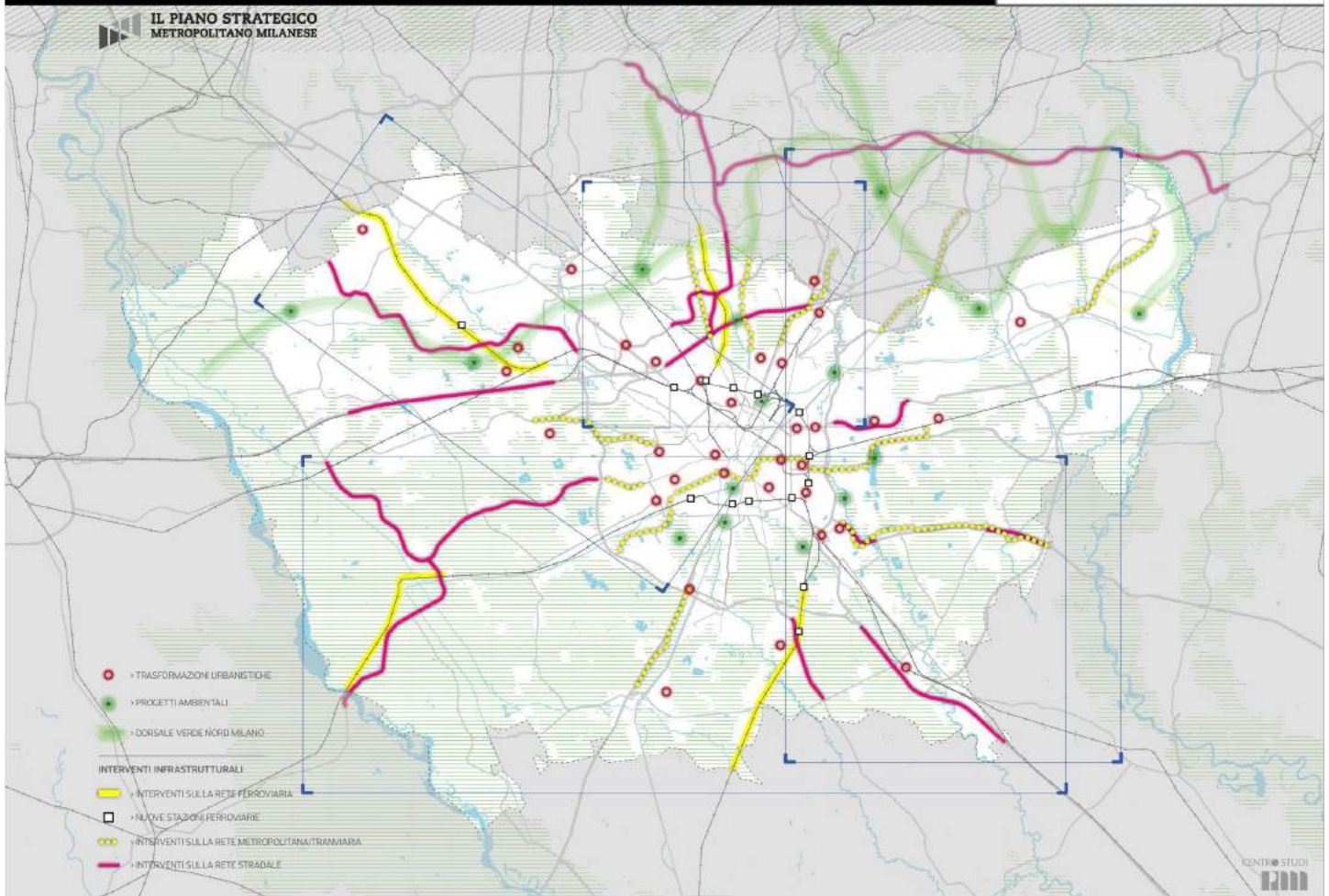
Dialogue and interviews with:

Franco Sacchi, Director PIM - Centro Studi Piano Intercomunale Milanese

Isabella Susi Botto, Head of Territorial Planning policies, Metropolitan City of Milan

Carminé Pacente, Head of European Policies and Programming, and LEAR - Legal Entity Appointed Representative Metropolitan City of Milan

¹ - An article signed by the Deputy Mayor of the Metropolitan City of Milan, on ArcipelagoMilano (13 June 2017)



Territories in transition > One of the maps describing the action of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan, 2016.

Source: Milan Metropolitan City

Area: 1.575 sq.km
 Pop (data CM 2017): 3.196.826 ab
 Pop Milan capital city 1.337.155 ab
 Density: 2016 ab/sq.km
 Number of municipalities: 134
 Unions: 5
 Homogeneous zones: 7
 Strategic metropolitan plan: yes

Summary of the key factors

Strategic Plan: enabler of multilevel and multi-actor strategic actions. The approval of the Strategic Plan in March 2016 has been the first step towards a process of consolidation of a working method that is fueling the inception of future policies and projects that in turn will help to qualify the action of the Metropolitan City and to form a conscious metropolitan public opinion.

Political Setting: substantial political difference between the Region, the Capital City and the Metropolitan City. Great opposition of the region to the take-off of the metropolitan body.

Policy field: Lombardy Region has claimed for itself functions of metropolitan government, from transport to the promotion of socio-economic development, topics that remain within the regional sphere to the detriment of the driving role of the metropolitan city. **Critical frictions between the Capital City and the Metropolitan entity.**

Financial System: National tenders, national funding (PON-Metro, Pact for the metropolitan city), European funding, private tenders

Human resources: 1000 employees

Challenge: find a balance between responsibility and powers. Find economic resources which can adequately support the policies and actions required; allow some maneuver to be done on the human resources; introduce innovation (new young managers); implement a true simplification of the institutional levels; build a constructive cooperation with the capital city and the region

The Metropolitan level

The Metropolitan City of Milan is the beating heart of the Lombardy region. The region counts over 10 million people, approximately the 16% of the Italian population, ranking the 6th position among the 28 European countries for GDP pro capita.

The Metropolitan City is an international center and the regional and national economic engine. With 3 million of inhabitants, this is, together with Naples, among the largest urban poles of European importance.

The introduction in the Italian legislation of the law n. 56, April 7, 2014, on "*Disposizioni sulle Città Metropolitane, sulle province, sulle unioni e le fusioni di comuni*", fueled with determination a process of reformulation of the institutional layout, opening to the possibility to define the optimal territorial areas in which to allocate the functions (forcing the dialogue between the different territorial authorities, region, metropolitan city, municipalities and unions), and offering the opportunity to realign the "territorial facts" with an institutional reality (which is currently being built) capable of governing the existing territorial organization (Calafati 2009).

Since its establishment in January 2015, the Metropolitan City of Milan has sought a model of governance capable of reducing the gap between the real Metropolitan City and the institutional city - despite the uncertain national legislative framework which has followed the rejection of the constitutional reform in 2016¹. The elaboration of the Strategic Metropolitan Plan has brought together the new Metropolitan City, the Municipalities, the Unions and the actors of the territory, through the activation of a process made of urban regeneration programmes and policies that want to enhance the reorganization

1 - The rejection of the constitutional Reform (consequent to the results of Dec 4th 2016) has raised the question over the model of administrative structure that might better suit to the Metropolitan City and the provinces (which stay as governmental level). This question remains unsolved and, on the view of many observers, won't be addressed by any of the political parties in the short term given the complete absence of this issue in the political campaign of the last political elections held on March 4th 2018, determining a structural weakness for the 2nd tier governmental bodies and the inability of the Metropolitan Cities to play as drivers of metropolitan governance.

and rationalization of the existing forms of inter-communal cooperation in support to the economic and social development of the metropolitan area.

“The Metropolitan City is the right level of governance for territorial policies that are meant to foster the economic and social development”[..] (To work at the scale of the metropolitan city) *“means acting at the heart of citizens’ demand”*, said the Vice Mayor Arianna Censi, during an interview released last November (2017).

Only one year ago, the Director of the Regional Affairs, Presidency of the Italian Minister Council, Giovanni Vetritto, pointed out that *“the Metropolitan City is a fact and therefore it is extremely important to change the process of institutionalization of the new metropolitan authorities. The new entities are appointed to govern problems that arise at scales characterized by a great territorial interdependence, among a very large number of municipalities. At the level of the central city of the agglomeration, in this case Milan, some problems can no longer be solved because they concern a larger scale. So, if we want to increase the effectiveness of policies with respect to the citizens’ daily life, a stronger and faster process of institutionalization of the metropolitan areas is a fundamental step for the modernization of the local government system in Italy.”*²

The current scenario is that of a “real Metropolis living a profound metamorphosis, not without shadows and contradictions, but particularly dynamic in terms of socio-economic development and spatial transformation”³ (Strategic Plan 2016). Milan is experiencing a phase which is particularly rich, with opportunities for economic and civil growth. The Expo 2015 has condensed and activated the dynamics that have given the motivation for the construction of the metropolitan Strategic Plan and the launch of initiatives and projects at the metropolitan scale capable of setting in motion processes of great interest.

In a book entirely dedicated to a long reflection on the state of the Italian Metropolitan Cities signed by the authors Massimo Allulli and Walter Tortorella in 2014⁴, it was highlighted the paradox of Milan

being [the most extensive and mature of the Italian metropolitan areas] where “any attempt to equip the area with a government corresponding to its real borders” was never pursued until the national law has imposed it.

Great responsibility, is the analysis of the authors, must be sought in the role of the Lombardy Region, claiming for itself functions of metropolitan government, from transport to the promotion of socio-economic development, topics that remain within the regional sphere even today after the approval of the regional law LR 32/2015 “Provisions for the enhancement of the institutional role of the Metropolitan City of Milan”, a law that introduces substantial elements of guidance on the future role of the metropolitan city.

Preliminary forms of informal and voluntary supra-municipal cooperation have involved portions of the current metropolitan territory since the years 60s of the last century. Among these, the establishment of the Milan Inter-Municipal Plan (PIM) and then the birth of the public-private partnerships of the Milan Project (1982-90)⁵ attempting to face the government of territorial development on a larger scale than the city of Milan. This was a pioneering and voluntary phase that had the merit of educating the political and administrative culture of Milan (and neighboring territories) towards an inter-municipal approach in the processes of territorial and environmental planning, empowering the local communities and encouraging the processes of participation. More recently, the Strategic project *Città di città* (2005-2009) was a space for reflection on the metropolitan challenges initiated by the Province of Milan and Milan Metropolitan Development Agency, with the support of the University of Milan (Politecnico) and the participation of public and private institutions. However, the non-institutional nature of the choices,

2 - <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3tS5xraH1qw&feature=youtu.b>

3 - Milano Metropoli Reale, Metropoli possibile, piano strategico triennale del territorio metropolitano [2016-2018], p.7

4 - Città Metropolitane, la lunga attesa. Autori Massimo Allulli e Walter Tortorella, ed. Marsilio.

5 - Gli anni '80-'90 vedono l'avvio di corpose attività di studio e ricerca, che provano ad avanzare proposte e orientamenti per il futuro di Milano: Progetto Milano (1982-1990) immaginato e coordinato dall'IRER, che vede coinvolte, oltre al PIM, le diverse università milanesi. Finanziato da Regione Lombardia, Provincia e Comune di Milano, Camera di Commercio, Assimpredil, Assolombarda e da varie imprese e istituti bancari, tale progetto esibiva una grande scommessa: quella di rappresentare in forme nuove le dinamiche metropolitane orientate verso un'economia dei servizi e, al contempo, il tentativo di “capire il cambiamento per guidarne l'evoluzione” (source: Milano Metropoli Reale, Metropoli possibile, piano strategico triennale del territorio metropolitano [2016-2018], p.32)

the lack of financial resources and a long-term vision, have made difficult to achieve appreciable results, showing their weakness.

It is only with the birth of the Metropolitan City (Law n.56/2014) and the contextual institutionalization “by law” of the Strategic Plan as a planning device of the new government, that a new season has begun: a phase of concrete commitment towards the construction of a cooperative system between the territories and, therefore, the start of a new phase for the metropolitan governance.

There is optimism in the words of Giangiacomo Schiavi (Speranza Milano, 2017)⁶ *“The city is beautiful again [...]. It has found the smile again and the desire ‘of doing things’. Tourism is booming [...] Milan is less gray than then in the seventies, less divided than in the eighties, less gloomy than in the nineties: a city where it is worth to be”* because the future is being built. *“A piece of future, precisely where the Expo left its mark”*. The momentum of Expo 2015 is also reflected in the choice to find an instrument capable of measuring the attractiveness and competitiveness of Milan in the European scene. To achieve this, only one year ago (May 2017), the City of Milan asked the association of the industrial sector, Assolombarda, to create the “Osservatorio Milano”, which brings together the main Research Centers and experts in the area and includes partners like Google, Mastercard and Fondazione Fiera Milano.

Besides the enthusiasm for a great dynamism, many observers and city-makers voice the urgency to act in order to create the conditions for an effective metropolitan governance. The MC of Milan is today the center of a vast and complex urban system. A city with a strong civic identity, which *“must project itself outwards and think of itself as the center of a system with strong interdependencies. [...] To miss the opportunity of defining institutional arrangements in line with the mandate of this new entity would be very dangerous, as it would limit the potential that the ‘Milan in nuce’ clearly possesses”*, it is stated in the Dossier elaborated by the Ministry of Regional

Affairs (Dossier Città Metropolitana, March 2017)⁷. The Metropolitan City is a national industrial production pole capable of attracting investments, businesses and talents on an international level. A manufacturing core integrated with a highly developed service system, a virtuous network of small and medium-size enterprises connected with large international companies, a university system closely linked to the entrepreneurial world combined with the availability of highly qualified human capital. An open-minded city made up by Italians and foreigners, the latter being today (2018) the 13% of the resident population (the percentage rises to 17% in the capital city of Milan).

Some key facts about the MC of Milan

1049 employees

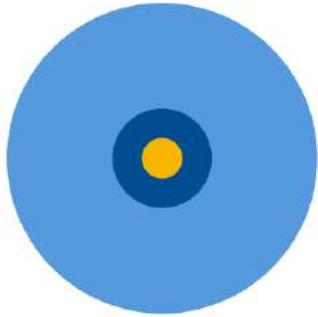
288.000 active business = 1/3 of those in the region

Productive density: 183 businesses and 1175 employees per km²

186.000 students (5% of which foreigners)

A Metropolitan City that places itself in the international competition arena, however finds itself fragile in its inner heart: increasing poverty and new social challenges emerge within its territories. The 2016 Report of the Caritas Ambrosiana highlights a growing number of people in need for temporary and adaptive housing solutions (mainly migrants and refugees); but there are also problems related to the social exclusion of the “new poor” in need of assistance (old people, unemployed, single parent families); and finally the worsening of unemployment and low income conditions. Big and complex challenges to which the decision-makers of the metropolitan area must confront themselves, perhaps as much as in no other metropo-

7 - ©2017 DARA. Dipartimento per gli Affari Regionali e le Autonomie, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri 'I dossier delle Città Metropolitane'. Città metropolitana di Milano, marzo 2017



CITY

Comune di Milano
1,3 ml ab. - 182 km²

METROPOLITAN AREA

Città metropolitana di Milano
3,2 ml ab. - 1.576 km²

REGION

Lombardia
10,0 ml ab. - 23.864 km²

Source: Osservatorio Milano, November 2017

litan cities.

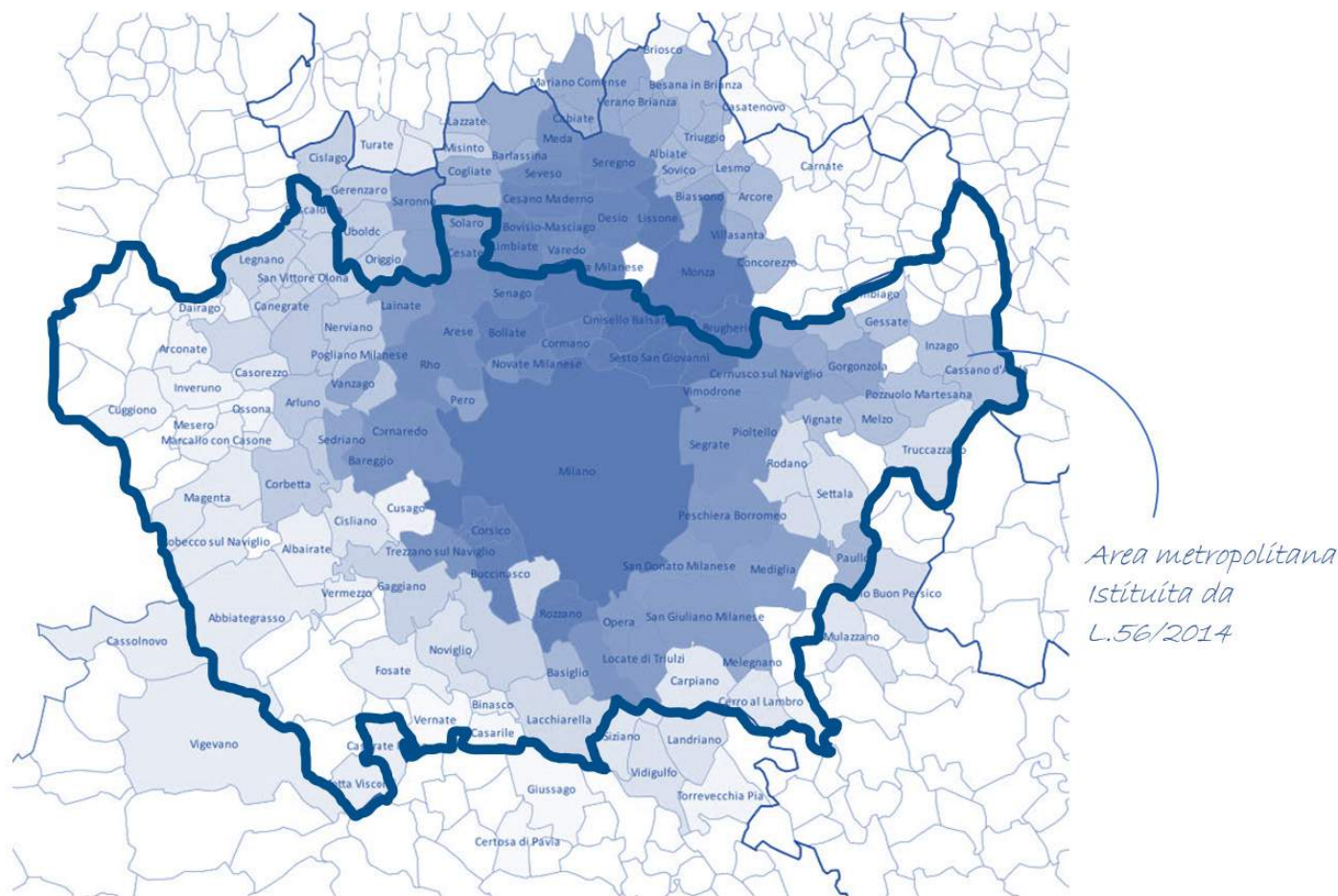
The Metropolitan City of Milan is composed of 134 municipalities. It has an extension of 1.576 sq.km and is populated today by 3.196.825 inhabitants (of which 1,337,155 only in the municipality of Milan), almost a third of the residents of the whole Lombardy region. The consolidated image of this area is that of a strongly interconnected territory characterized by a continuous urbanization. An area with high density and polarization (comparable only to those of Naples), where the demographic weight of the territory outside the capital is predominant. A compact and uniform territorial area as CENSIS reports: “every day commuters who enter Milan are 592,000, more than 45% of the population living in the Municipality, confirming that **the metropolitan dimension is for Milan a deeply rooted issue both in the economic and territorial reality, as well as in the search of forms of representation of the governance of the**

social and economic phenomena.^{8''}

The metropolitan system of Milan is in fact much wider than the administrative boundaries of the metropolitan city, which doesn't seem to be the adequate reference to efficiently govern the existing urban system. An urban system which, as highlighted by the OECD studies in 2006 (Milan territorial review report), includes the urban polarities belonging to the neighboring provinces. Territorial phenomena include a continuous urban form, economic homogeneity and relationships linked to the mobility of people within the region. **Territories in search of metropolitan government⁹**, has been said, that exceed the restricted limits of the former Province of Milan, extending not only to the western part of the Province of Monza and Brianza and in the immediate north of the metropolitan city, but which also invest a wider urban region at the inter-provincial scale and, towards

8 - Relazione Città Metropolitana di Milano, Comm. Periferie. Ott 2017, pag 3

9 - Milano Metropoli Reale, Metropoli possibile, piano strategico triennale del territorio metropolitano [2016-2018], p.27



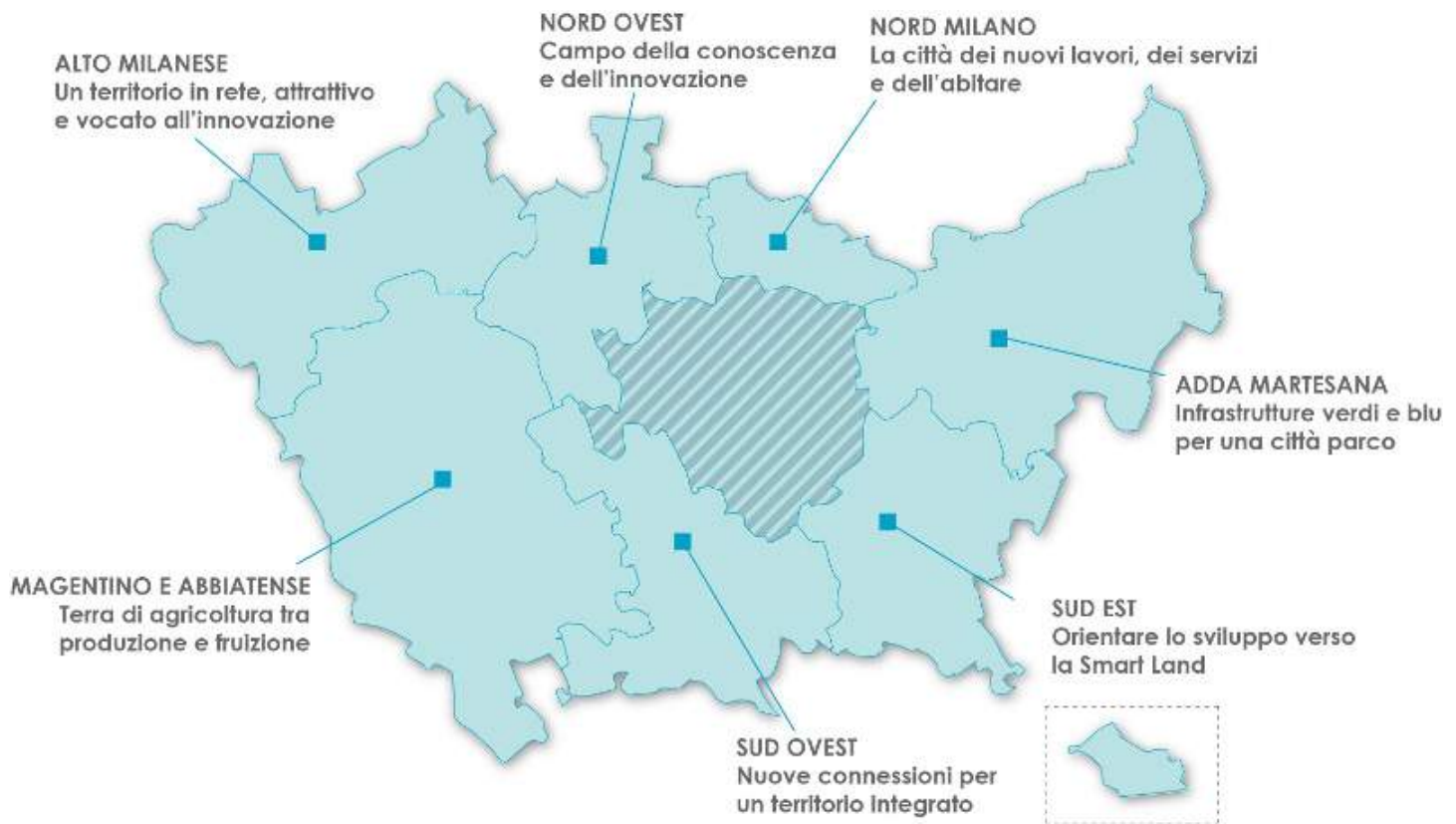
Functional integration going beyond the borders of the Metropolitan City towards the provincial territories of Monza and Brianza.
Source: I dossier delle Città Metropolitane. Città metropolitana di Milano, marzo 2017

Novara and Piacenza, the inter-regional levels.

The Dossier *Città Metropolitane* also points out at the importance of adopting a flexible and progressive attitude "in redefining the boundaries of the area to be governed [...], which gives the local actors the margin to move in different directions. This approach also suggests "the hypothesis of strengthening the strategic potential of the central area in a synergistic cooperation between the regional capital and the surrounding area, incorporating the adjacent municipalities and reinforcing the already mentioned functional continuity; this could be done by incorporating a significant part of the municipalities of the province of Monza-Brianza, with the aim to make the policies for metropolitan services more consistent within the functional reality and "Milan the pole of attraction of few but incisive strategic functions"¹⁰.

The challenges that come with the birth of the Metropolitan City are gigantic. The machine set into motion emphasizes the primary role of the new entity through the experimentation of policies and projects characterized by a strong operational and action-led approach. With the aim of steering the strategic development of the metropolitan territory, the new authority's first act was the construction of the Strategic Plan. This is the first significant opportunity offered to local institutions and actors to give substance to the change indicated by the law of reform of the local autonomies, helping them to realize the transition from the former Province to the Metropolitan City. In order to make this to happen, however, a process of transformation is necessary, and only possible through a process that increases awareness and therefore **create discontinuity with the previous provincial**

tonomie, Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri. 'I dossier delle Città Metropolitane'. Città metropolitana di Milano, marzo 2017



Vocations in the 7 Homogeneous Zones of the MC of Milan.
Source: the web page of the Metropolitan City of Milan

body. Franco Sacchi, Director of PIM¹¹ speaks about a 'necessary and urgent cultural change'.

As for the other Italian Metropolitan Cities, the premise for the formation of the Metropolitan City was a strong demand for institutional reform and a response to a deep economic crisis. A reform therefore that arises from an incisive action of costs reduction whose imperative was the cut on the resources of the existing institutional architectures. Costs reduction which has "led to the construction of a Metropolitan City rather different from that one imagined"¹².

The implementation of the Law 56/2014 has led to a progressive reorganization of the new entity. To understand the magnitude of this change: the financial resources of the new body were € 43,029,131 on Jan 1st, 2015 as a result of the expenditures' reduction of the 31.05% compared to April 2014. A contraction that produced a substantial decrease of the human resources of an estimated 500 units, about a third of

the former provincial staff, which today counts about 1000 units.

Tools and approaches for a multi-level governance

With an approach that focused on caring and safeguard of the territorial development, the Metropolitan City of Milan has chosen to immediately start the Strategic Planning process, giving life to a new and unprecedented path that has led to the approval of the Strategic Plan on the first birthday of the institution (unique case in the Italian panorama).

The Strategic Plan / enabler of multilevel and multi-actor strategic actions

Useful tool to define the role of the new institution, intended as a body that encourages and creates the conditions for territorial projects and activities, the Strategic Plan has enhanced multi-actor and multilevel processes for the construction of integrated policies that want to be inclusive. The preparatory

¹¹ - PIM is a center of Urban Studies in Milan metropolitan area
<http://www.pim.mi.it/>

¹² - Milano Metropoli Reale, Metropoli possibile, piano strategico triennale del territorio metropolitano [2016-2018]

work saw the Metropolitan City in confrontation with the municipalities, the socio-economic representatives and the civil society also through public meetings and debates aiming at experimenting different forms of involvement, no longer in terms of formal representation, but also through the active participation in the definition of the processes and the concrete realization of the projects.

Working at the scale of the Metropolitan City "*means acting in the heart of citizens' demand*", said the vice-mayor during an interview released last November (2017) and this is the focus of the action of the metropolitan institution in the first place.

The result of this work has been the elaboration of **six project platforms, with a transversal character, which constitute a framework for the Metropolitan City's action for the coming years.**

The platforms have become a reference for the municipalities and the unions of the 7 Homogeneous Areas which can make proposals and integrate plans and projects through the multiple contributions of those present or active in the area.

"The Metropolitan City has focused on the ability of the different subjects to interpret and guide the processes of institutional change using the degree of freedom granted by the legislation and the political-social context, to overcome, for example, the stiffness imposed by the administrative boundaries established by law."

Also, the MC has opened up to proactive cooperation with the different actors and stakeholders which are present or active in the decision-making arena of Milan metropolitan area, as the Association of the Industrial sector Assolombarda and Cassa Depositi e Prestiti, to name a few.

On the institutional level, the City has approved, in agreement with the Region, the subdivision of the metropolitan territory into 7 Homogeneous Areas. With the municipalities and the local actors operating in these areas, the city has promoted spaces for discussion through the so called 'territorial tables' which have led, as a result, to the formulation of

a territorial agenda: a basis for the action and the future choices of the municipalities within each Homogeneous Area. The agendas identify a "vocation" for each territory which is translated into actions and project themes.

Projects' proposals that are currently being developed in the Homogeneous Areas also show the emergence of new actors in the metropolitan scene. One of this is Assolombarda.

This is an entrepreneurial Association. By promoting solidarity and cooperation among its members (mainly small and medium-size businesses) and by fostering and protecting their interests when they have to face problems related to industrial, social, economic or cultural matters, its principal focus is the development of the local industry.

This actor emerges in the Lombardy region and in particular in the territories of the Metropolitan City in this very moment, that can be described as of *institutional impasse*; this is an actor who has decided to fill the gap created by the conventional institutional players (Region, Capital City and Metropolitan City) due to a lack of coordination in the elaboration of a strategic vision and a not clear political will.

On the territory of the Metropolitan City, Assolombarda has a geographical articulation correspondent more or less to the Homogeneous Zones. In particular, in some areas in the North of the Metropolitan City of Milan, Assolombarda has recently launched a network of actors around place specific strategic projects. Among these, the "Nord Milano 2030: proposals for a territorial agenda", organized in cooperation with the Capital City of Milan.

The initiative has the following objectives: 1. promote the development of a vision for the future of the Northern areas of Milan Metropolitan City capable of guiding and supporting the economic development and attractiveness of the territory; 2. identify projects' proposals to be developed in partnership with other actors present on the local scene.

This actor expresses a very clear question and is acting to stimulate the mutual understanding between the institutions.

It is clearly promoting the need for an alliance

between the Capital City, the Metropolitan City and the Region, whose absence is becoming of substantial weight. Having repeatedly expressed this feeling, Assolombarda is looking for a clear institutional actor with whom to open a dialogue and negotiate favourable conditions for the growth of businesses and the economic system.

Operatively supported by the PIM (which has carried out a preliminary analysis on the evolution of the economic and social context of the territory) and by sharing urgencies and topics with the local actors (interviews, workshops with experts, events and thematic tables to deepen the analysis, etc.), Assolombarda is working on the definition of the priorities and the possible actions that will constitute the proposal for a territorial agenda of the metropolitan quadrant North Milan (corresponding to one Homogeneous Zone).

“The projects' implementation is crucial for the strategic role that we want to give to the Metropolitan City. If there are projects and these become part of local strategic vision then the resources to realize them can be found” says Isabella Susi Botto, Head of Planning for Territorial Policies at the MC of Milan.

Along this line, the Metropolitan City is participating to public tenders (European and national) but also promoting projects to foundations and investors in the world of the social and sustainable economy.

The Strategic Plan of the Metropolitan City has therefore created the basis for the launch of processes of this type, playing as bearer of local interests. Processes that require a strong political and administrative direction, a strong operational management and adequate technical support, enhancing the internal skills of the Metropolitan City, the knowledge of agencies, study centers (PIM), University, together with the contributions of a multiplicity of civil, social and economic actors.

The approval of the Strategic Plan in March 2016 was only the first step towards a process of consolidation of a working method that is fueling future policies and projects that in turn will help to qualify the action of

the Metropolitan City and form a conscious metropolitan public opinion.

How Homogeneous Areas are conceived? Roles and possible evolutions

The establishment of the Homogeneous Zones represents an important opportunity to create places of representation of the territorial interests. Those territorial zones will allow to reorganize and rationalize the existing forms of inter-municipal cooperation and the exercise of decentralized functions within the metropolitan area.

For this reason, the primary objective of the Strategic Plan is and remains **“the construction of the Homogeneous Zones as a new instrument of inter-municipal governance, meaning jointly articulated municipal services for the exercise of functions of metropolitan competence”**.

It is around this primary objective that the Strategic Plan has defined a programme made of six different territorial platforms. The Metropolitan City, having supported the projects of the Municipalities organized in the Unions and in the Homogeneous Zones, assuming them as a substantial contribution to the Strategic Plan, commits itself to give a contribution to their development through:

- the political-administrative action, in agreement with the Municipalities, in order to make adjustments to regional regulations for the sectors concerned;
- the approval of projects which are coherent with the guidelines of the Strategic Plan itself;
- the financing priority given to the projects promoted by the Municipalities, Unions and the homogeneous Zones, despite the budgetary constraints and in line with the organization's planning
- technical, administrative and communication support for the development of projects promoted by Municipalities, Unions and Zones;
- the commitment to the partnership in the event of participation to grants and funding for projects or for the realization of actions envisaged as implementation or outcome of the Strategic Plan, proposed by Municipalities, Unions and Homogeneous Zones.

Today, from an operational point of view, the



Homogeneous Zones are designed but the process of institutional planning has slowed down due to different reasons: too little trust in the capacity of co-design and planning together, local rivalry and mistrust, which can only be overcome by concrete actions and facts.

If the Homogeneous Zones will really take off, it will only be thanks to the realization of concrete activities. At present "no one feels they are necessary. You do not make the box, without the contents" adds Isabella Susi Botto. **The Homogeneous Zones must be functional to projects in order to take off.** If they remain only a form of institutional representation, without any concrete actions to be carried out, they won't work. They must become territorial areas with homogeneous vocations, shared projects and visions where it is possible to work together in a cooperative way through strategic alliances; only then, the homogeneous area can become a true laboratory able to enhance and develop forms of political representation and organizational articulations of the

Metropolitan City providing local support. Offices with technical competence run by employees of both the municipalities and the metropolitan city.

A cultural change is very much needed, it is the opinion of Franco Sacchi, Director of PIM. **It is necessary to make clear and understood that being together is a form of convenience. The benefits of the cooperation must be appreciated,** then perhaps the trust will be consolidated. Only then it would be possible to build boxes (territorial entities) which are more institutionalized, permanent, true pillars for the construction of the metropolitan system.

It seems necessary to start laying down concrete projects regarding the different territorial areas and therefor concretely show the impact and the territorial consequences and results that can be achieved at the level of Homogeneous Zones.

regeneration through a governance model based on the open network

What are the metropolitan projects?

The urban regeneration at the metropolitan scale.
From an extraordinary program to an ordinary intervention model for urban

As concerns the Metropolitan City of Milan, the definition of urban regeneration policies oriented to the redevelopment of the urban poles within a polycentric logic is one of the contents of the Metropolitan Territorial Plan. Urban regeneration was already given attention in the Statute of the MC (Article 30), which indicated that the Metropolitan City establishes forms of cooperation and collaboration with municipalities or with the unions of the metropolitan area with the purpose of achieving a common organization and management of the services and the metropolitan functions. It is mentioned as well that the **inspiring principles of the Strategic Plan** (approved by the Metropolitan Council Resolution No. 27 of 12



Riqualficazione urbana nel Nord Milano

Nord Milano



Periferie al centro - Pioltello

Martesana Adda



Rigenerare Comunità e Abitare

Nord Ovest



Per una Città del noi

Sud Ovest



Integration Machine

Alto milanese



Riqualficazione asta M2

Martesana Adda

Le sei aree d'intervento del progetto "welfare metropolitano".
Source: website Città Metropolitana di Milano

May 2016) **are the cohesion and the cooperation between territories and actors** (institutions, territorial agencies, economic and social realities, the associative world and the third sector) aiming at the promotion of action-oriented policies and projects designed for the qualification of the territory and for the creation of service management networks.

Within this framework, the opportunity offered by the national government to metropolitan and provincial bodies in 2016 with the creation of a national tender for the urban regeneration of the suburbs, has seen a great response.

On that occasion, all the Metropolitan Cities in Italy have mobilized their territories to respond to the call ("Extraordinary program of intervention for urban regeneration and the security of the suburbs ", DPCM of 25 May 2016), and designed projects and actions to enhance the urban regeneration of the metropolitan outskirts. The project presented by the MC of Milan was called "*Metropolitan Welfare and urban regeneration - overcoming emergencies and building new spaces for cohesion and hospitality*" and represented a chance, fully taken by the Metropolitan City, to test its role as strategic leader and curator of the metropolitan dynamics.

This is what the MC aspires to become: an agency for the promotion of the urban and territorial regeneration with a co-operative, inter-sectoral and inter-institutional approach and a highly innovative character. A model of governance based on an open network, shared with the municipalities and all the actors involved, that looks appropriate to overcome the emergency logic and allows to change the scale and face urban regeneration on a larger and more complex dimension, as it is the metropolitan one.

The project designed by the Metropolitan City was divided into six programs of intervention, each relating to an aggregation of municipalities in the metropolitan area, coinciding with the division of the MC into homogeneous zones, within which the theme of the urban regeneration was locally rooted and deepen according to the potential expressed by the territory of reference.

The total picture of the investments and the grant received by the government is the following: 50 million of euro, 51 urban regeneration projects and the

redevelopment of buildings and public spaces within 6 homogeneous areas. The project was built with the partnership of over 31 municipalities and numerous other institutional actors and representatives of the civil society.

The aim of the program was to trigger the processes of redevelopment of under-utilized or abandoned spaces through projects that could respond to the housing demand for vulnerable groups of the population, but also offer places for cultural activities, hubs for culture and economic-productive value, supporting the social inclusion, as well as promote a sustainable mobility system connecting those spaces.

The transformations envisaged in each of the six macro-projects are developed within a series of inter-sectoral actions, involving several levels: environmental and sustainable mobility, inclusive housing, social and work-related promotion. In this perspective, this project represents, for the metropolitan city, the first phase of a path that will involve wider territories than those currently entailed by the interventions, and therefor constitutes the ground for an experimental method built on inter-sectoral and inter-institutional cooperation, which will become a reference for all the regeneration programs at the metropolitan scale. **A model of shared governance based on Implementation Pacts** (each signed with a territorial sector/homogeneous area) **anticipating a more general perspective of multilevel governance** in the form of an "inter-sectoral and multi-actor agency".

A very interesting aspect emerged from this experience (whose conclusion is expected to be in 2019) is the development of a series of new activities blooming from the "metropolitan welfare project". Evolution which is taking a very promising turn. The Metropolitan City had indeed retained a package of resources (the 1.7% of the 40mln received via the national tender) to be used in actions towards the improvement of the governance system and the development of the cooperation processes, which has allowed to lay the foundations for further projects that will see their launch within the framework of the Strategic Plan.

In fact, the planning department of the Metropolitan City is working at the revision and the implementation of the Strategic Plan through three strands of actions:

1. Organizational innovation - construction of the metropolitan incubator

2. Development of the theme “promotion of the common goods
3. Development of the theme “method of intervention on the private properties in the suburbs”

All three mediated by the theme of the urban regeneration. Three thematic streams involving the institutional partners already involved in the project “Metropolitan Welfare” aiming at the construction of a platform for the urban regeneration at the metropolitan scale.

1 / RIME Incubator - a tool to create organizational innovation: an organizational activity involving various sectors of the Metropolitan City: financial offices, heritage, environment, etc. A coordination platform, a meeting place to facilitate participatory processes and resolve the knots related to bureaucratic or procedural nature.

This tool will lead to new relationships with some new actors, including *Cassa Depositi e Prestiti*¹³, but also to acquire new skills in terms of sustainable finance (develop expertise that will serve one day to support the municipalities when the incubator will be consolidated).

2 / ValoRI project (give value to regenerate): projects with social and market functions.

Enhancement of the public heritage with the involvement of local partners for the identification of cases that can be replicated and definition of a method involving municipalities that have assets and heritage estates.

3 / definition of a model of intervention for the regeneration of privately owned degraded suburban neighborhoods.

On this issue there is already a coordination of three municipal authorities that will present a bid for the Urban Innovation Action programme together with the Metropolitan City. This is one of the most challenging themes. Very difficult. To be noted here that the Capital City of Milan did not want to participate together with the Metropolitan City and it is therefore making another independent candidature. To carry out this planning program with the

territories on the theme of urban regeneration, the Metropolitan City has created an operational unit, composed of 4 people, partly responsible for the ordinary management and partly responsible for the development of the incubator for the metropolitan regeneration as well as a coordination work that allows cross-cutting relations with the other sectors that must necessarily be involved in the development of the activities.

Of the six areas in which the Metropolitan Welfare project has been organized (coinciding with the six Homogeneous Areas defined in terms of territorial management by the Strategic Plan), each area has appointed a local coordinator.

In the view of the Metropolitan City, the identification of the local coordinator should be the preliminary step to the establishment of an institutional and organizational articulation of the Homogeneous Zones. However, for the moment, this step has not been very successful. Difficulties are many: the municipalities are overburdened by ordinary work and are gripped by many local problems. As a result, the working relationship between the Metropolitan City and municipalities is 1 to 30 (the number of the partners), instead of 1 to 6 (the areas identified for the metropolitan welfare project).

From a formal point of view (but also confirming the value of the Metropolitan City's action) the new general Director of the Metropolitan City confirms the interest to continue with the previous track by directly assuming the responsibility of this project.

Financing system

The Metropolitan City of Milan is the case that has most highlighted the structural financial fragility of the metropolitan cities. Last June, the councilors threatened to resign in protest against the national government, when the Metropolitan City was deep in debt and went almost bankrupt, then saved by the solidarity of the other mayors who agreed to the redistribution of their own funds. "We cannot go on saving the budgets, we have to look ahead, giving an important role to the metropolitan cities," said the

13 - Cassa Depositi e Prestiti (CDP SpA) is a prominent Italian investment bank

Metropolitan Mayor Giuseppe Sala last October¹⁴. "What is needed is a new financial policy for the metropolitan cities, allowing them to fully acquire the role of leaders of the development processes of the territory, as assigned by Law 56/2016."

It is necessary to guarantee the economic capacity of the Metropolitan Cities allowing the exercise of the fundamental functions with the start of the new season of European structural funds (after 2020).

The Strategic Plan should play as promoter of projects able to attract investments and generate a multiplier effect of the resources - not only economic - resources which actors of various kinds have the capacity to bring in. In this perspective the Metropolitan City must have the ability to play a proactive leadership role by activating a collaborative relationship primarily with companies and the research world, but also with actors in the field of the social and sustainable economy.

The role of the national funds. Among the tools put in place by the national government, the call for the regeneration of the suburbs, was the first public bid for the Metropolitan Cities in 2016.

The Metropolitan City of Milan took part to the program with the project 'Metropolitan Welfare', whose economic dimension amounted to a total of € 50,763,172, of which 40,000,000 euro was the contribution of the national government. This contribution was split as follow: 39,298,404 euro for public works and social actions to be implemented in the municipalities involved and 701,596 euro for planning, e-government, territorial marketing, development of new services and training that could be functional and supportive to the project. The Metropolitan City of Milan has therefore decided to allocate a share of just over 1.7% for the strengthening and development of its coordination capabilities and its active directing role of the project, in the strategic perspective of implementing a permanent and ordinary instrument such as the **metropolitan incubator for the territorial regeneration**.

Moreover, for the two-year period 2018 - 2020, the Metropolitan City of Milan will receive over four million euro as resources to be allocated to the design of public works - including school buildings - and other interventions of primary importance for the territory, thanks to two decrees of the Minister of Infrastructure and Transport.¹⁵

Furthermore, the Budgetary Law 2018 confirms the arrival of funds specifically allocated to the Metropolitan Cities to facilitate the implementation of the fundamental functions and secure their financial management.

The Metropolitan City will receive for the year 2018, 18.189.516,00¹⁶.

Inter-institutional relations

The inter-institutional relations between the new Metropolitan City and the Lombardy Region, the Municipality of Milan, the other Municipalities and the sector agencies, are still too little marked by a model of positive cooperation. One aspect, this, highlighted in the document of the Strategic Plan that calls for a change of gear especially if we consider that the processes of metropolitan government - the current ones, in addition to those that will mark the future of the Milan area - will necessarily be the outcome of relationships and resources which relate to a plurality of institutions and social and functional actors, which go beyond the "geographical borders" of the new institution. (Strategic Plan, p.5)

From an institutional perspective, the Metropolitan City wants to design a model that follows the lines of the organizational structure, wishing to create a multi-level governance model. The

14 - "Città metropolitana: Sala: "Bilancio salvo grazie a solidarietà altri sindaci" su Affaritaliani.it, 2 ottobre 2017 - http://www.affaritaliani.it/milano/citta-metropolitana-sala-bilancio-salvo-grazie-a-solidarieta-altri-sindaci-502091.html?refresh_ce

15 - In arrivo quattro milioni per la messa in sicurezza degli edifici pubblici - 14 Mar 2018 - <http://www.cittametropolitana.mi.it/portale/news/comunicati/In-arrivo-quattro-milioni-per-la-messa-in-sicurezza-degli-edifici-pubblici/>

16 - https://www.lapostadelsindaco.it/rivista_del_sindaco/249_arrivano-i-fondi-destinati-le-citta-metropolitane.html

Metropolitan City plays an important coordination role becoming a reference for the partners (Municipalities and Social Agencies). Therefore, the metropolitan authority will create a special office for the metropolitan regeneration (RIME Incubator), a platform which will capitalize on the experience of the national tender of 2016 to create skills and define intervention models that give form to a strategic long-term vision. Through the signature of the six territorial pacts, one for each territorial area involved, the Metropolitan City has implemented its territorial support which, during the development phases, the Metropolitan City intends to further consolidate. This will be done stimulating projects planning in the Homogeneous Zones and identifying the actors which can pro-actively promote the regeneration programs, progressively including larger territories than those currently involved by the interventions.

Relations with the municipalities

With the start of the elaboration of the Strategic Plan, the confrontation with the municipalities of the metropolitan area was meant to create a stable arena for discussion through debate session organized by Homogeneous Zones.

The concrete experience of these round-tables, in addition to the development of numerous ideas and design themes intended to fuel the part of the Plan dedicated to the policy and projects orientations for Municipalities, Unions and Homogeneous Zones, has also offered the room for a new way of looking at inter-municipal cooperation and related issues. As concerns this aspect, a favorable ground was certainly given by the socio-economic context of this historical phase, in which less economic resources and an electoral law that encourages the management of services at the inter-municipal level, has favored a renewed feeling of cooperation, placing the Homogeneous Areas at the center of the mayors' attention. Fertile ground for inter-municipal cooperation. What really matters are the practices: the Strategic Plan has stimulated the mayors to identify their forward-looking approach and trajectories.

With regard to the group of municipalities that participated in the call for the national tender (31), the response is being adequate, and the activities are being carried out according to the time schedule and

to what has been formulated in the implementation pacts, through an organizational setting established by the MC which took on the role of the coordinator. The frictions between the Metropolitan City (corresponding to the hinterland of the capital city) and the Capital City remain concrete and a true obstacle to the development of shared programme of activities at the metropolitan scale. As already expressed previously, in terms of size, demography and economic power, the Capital City has a dominant weight and the strategic effectiveness of future choices and programs, even more in terms of welfare and urban regeneration, cannot be done regardless of a concrete collaboration between the Metropolitan City and the Capital City.

To support this need, within the framework of the European policies sector, the Metropolitan City is working to create a cross-sectoral coordination table with the representatives of the different territorial levels including those in charge of the PON metro, the capital city and the most important neighboring municipalities. There is an effort to include the region as well in a debate that involves all the levels of governance with the aim to rethink the funding system and the necessary actions for a productive debate on the urban policies that must refer to the European policy guidelines as a common ground.

Relations with other Metropolitan Cities and with the national government. What is the continuation of the first national tender for the urban regeneration of 2016? How is the government moving to support the strategic role of the CM?

Relations with other Metropolitan Cities are made of informal exchange at the moment.

ANCI plays an important role in this area: from 2015 it organizes the metropolitan meetings that reunite the metropolitan mayors to motivate and encourage a national confrontation on the construction of an Italian metropolitan agenda. Precisely on the basis of this work and in relation to the response given by the metropolitan territories to the national tender in 2016, the budgetary law 2018 has made available several resources to enhance urban regeneration projects and planning in the metropolitan areas.

Relations with the Lombardy Region

The Conference Region-Metropolitan City is the

permanent seat of confrontation both for creating a link between the policies of the two bodies and for the definition and update of the legislative framework as well as the institutional context where it is possible to discuss the strategies of territorial reorganization (with special reference to the provinces surrounding the Metropolitan City and their model of governance). The Permanent Metropolitan City-Region Conference is the organ that has allowed the approval of the 7 Homogeneous Areas. At the moment the Region is facing two crucial issues that emerged as a follow up of the recent developments of the "Metropolitan Welfare" program. In the first place, a review of the system of institutional relations is envisaged. This means the revision of the Agreement Region - Metropolitan City (ex LR.32/2015). Secondly, a review of the ordinary instruments of territorial governance that should happen through a proposal of law amending the LR.12/2005, in particular with reference to the definition of the nature and role of the Metropolitan Territorial Plan (PTM) and its relations with the regional territorial plan (PTR).

As concerns the first point, the metropolitan project is fostering an innovative approach in terms of planning practices, therefore, within the framework of the synergy PTR-PTM, it wants to test a pilot of the Metropolitan City-Region agreement, which could be adapted and adjusted in relation to the effectiveness of the tools, keeping in mind the broader horizon of the overall agreement.

As concerns the second aspect, from a more juridical-regulatory perspective, the evolution of the metropolitan welfare project can contribute to define a new notion of urban and territorial regeneration demanding for a revision of the law on territorial governance (LR.12/2005). This latter should provide a regulatory framework to the best practices being experimented so far, both when they come from voluntary initiatives and from the participation in that particular project (metropolitan welfare) but also other special programs.

Unfortunately, at the moment, everything has been suspended because of the political uncertainty determined by the political elections held on March 4, 2018 which caused delays in the formation of the

new regional elected committee.¹⁷ From a technical point of view, there are relationships and cooperation between the metropolitan and regional administrative offices, but what is lacking is a political representation and consequently the political will.

What is the challenge today?

The great challenge for Milano Metropolitan City is to use the possibilities offered by the Delrio Law to create the conditions for a governance project of the metropolitan system: meaning optimize functional relations and aim at aggregations which are more consistent and homogeneous of those of the previous province. The metropolitan entity has to acquire a completely new and strong leading role steering the regional strategic development.

The new entity is showing a great effort in the attempt to define a project of spatial, relational, and political re-organization, capable of giving voice and identity to the already existing territorial interdependence of the social and economic processes in place.

The Metropolitan City is doing it by investing heavily on the planning capacity of the territories, starting from the regeneration of the metropolitan area. By designing a model of governance shared with the municipalities and all the actors of the territory, this approach is quite innovative in terms of organization and inter-institutional relations: a pioneering comprehensive perspective of multi-level "cross-sectoral and multi-actors governance".

17 - The situation was still unclear when this article was written in April 2018

As affirmed by Franco Sacchi, director of PIM, a very positive aspect is to have made the process start. This has led to the agreement with the region avoiding its opposition to the Strategic Plan and then to the creation of the Homogeneous Zones.

The economic struggles that the Metropolitan City has experienced since its creation up to the profound crisis of 2017, have provoked a deep anxiety and frustration concerning its role, the possibilities and the ways the Metropolitan authority could implement its mandate in carrying out the metropolitan project. The relationships with the capital city and with the Region remain two weak nodes in the process of building a guiding role for the metropolitan city. The region seeks the intermediation with the municipalities in particular with the Homogeneous Zones to build a privileged dialogue and maintains a distressed attitude towards the take-off of the metropolitan city. The region is an extremely powerful body that controls all the most significant areas of governance: transport, urban planning, environment, agriculture, tertiary sector, labor market management, etc.

On the other side, the other great weakness of metropolitan institution is the lack of dialogue and cooperation between the Capital city and the Metropolitan city. "... if the Capital continues to act in full autonomy and the Metropolitan City remains only the expression of the hinterland municipalities, the announced purpose of driving the metropolitan territory is likely to be an affirmation of principle without any concrete effects. What is needed is a single technical structure [...] that outlines a unified strategy for planning the entire metropolitan area " wrote Ugo Targetti, on Arcipelago Milano in February 2017.¹⁸

If the metropolitan area deals only with the territory outside the administrative borders of the capital city, the potential of a common project is weakened.

In general terms, the capital cities are struggling to give up their leadership role, as they are privileged actors in the confrontation with the regions, the national government and with Brussels (this same challenges are currently forcing the metropolitan pole of Lyon to redefine its own mission and scope). As

for the French case, in Milan the primary role of the Capital city is too big, and powers are too unbalanced (also concerning the access to European funding).

Again Franco Sacchi highlights the importance of encouraging the functional and strategic action of the metropolitan city, and the activation of a process of coaching that allows the **construction of a metropolitan culture**.

We need to let the processes to live over time:

1. Allow the Public Administration to have budgets that are standing and adequately support the policies and actions required
2. Allow some maneuver to be done on the human resources
3. Introduce innovation (new young managers)
4. Implement a true simplification of the institutional levels

In the current context (March-May 2018) of great instability (the national policy is busy with the formation of a new government), all the metropolitan mayors have renewed a plea to the national government: "we need a credible national authority with whom we can talk about the most urgent issues Italian Metropolitan Cities and urban areas are confronted with today (work and safety, infrastructure and environment)".

Besides the efforts made by the CIPU (Inter-ministerial Committee for the Urban Policies)¹⁹, Italy hasn't adopted a national urban agenda yet. By encouraging the creation of a national programme for the Metropolitan Cities and the urban areas to be linked to the European Agenda (in terms of policy goals and funding systems), ANCI²⁰ has voiced the need for the creation of a Ministry for the cities emphasizing the urgency of taking on responsibilities of the Italian urban future.

18 - "Milano e città metropolitana. un super-ufficio per l'urbanistica. La revisione del Piano di Governo del Territorio milanese e il Capoluogo", 14 feb 2017, ArcipelagoMilano. Author: Ugo Targetti

19 - Coordination body for the urban policies created in Italy in 2012
20 - Anci (the national association of the Italian municipalities) is advocating for the creation of a Ministry of the cities (2018)

Helsinki Metropolitan Region

The debate on the reform of the governance system

On the News

Jan Vapaavuori says he believes the Finnish government's regional reform plans will push the country in the opposite direction than the rest of the world is taking. The Mayor of Helsinki says that the role of major cities is being expanded everywhere else on the planet, but the current government seems convinced in reducing the decision-making power of urban areas. [...] "It's in the best interests of the entire country that the metropolitan area is doing well and stays competitive in international rankings. This year Helsinki contributed with 289 million euro in tax revenue to Finland's coffers, next year will be over 300".¹

(Sources Yle, 31.10.2017)

Helsinki metropolitan area is one of the fastest-growing metropolises in Europe. It is attractive to international investors and businesses, because it provides the perfect mix of economic, social and ecological sustainability. With one of the best education systems in Europe (if not in the world!), Helsinki Metropolitan Area, encourages open democracy: such a level of openness for business and administration – and society as a whole – that few would have imagined possible just a decade ago. Since 2011, when Helsinki launched its open data service HRI (Helsinki Region Infoshare), the Finnish capital has been at the forefront of the European efforts to make public data available to the public and to encourage their use for creating a better society². Helsinki is also a forerunner in energy efficiency and a strong hub for start-up activities.

By 2050, the population of the Helsinki Region will increase from the current 1,400,000 to over 1,800,000. In the next two decades, dozens of billions will be invested in smart construction and an even more effective urban transportation system. The year 2015 saw the opening of the Ring Rail Line, a great example of Metropolitan cooperation which provides direct access to the Helsinki Airport in Vantaa. Only 30 min from the city centre of Helsinki, it offers an opportunity for 200,000 potential residents and 200,000 potential commuters to use the public transport.

In this context, the panorama of the governance system in Finland is rather complex and multi-layered.

1 - https://yle.fi/uutiset/osasto/news/helsinki_mayor_lambasts_government_plans_to_enact_regional_administration_reform/9906331

2 - Helsinki Region Infoshare: <http://www.hri.fi/en/category/news/>

The country is divided into 18 regional councils, established by the Finnish Law. Regional councils are formal institutions whose politicians are elected by the member municipalities for a mandate of four years. They represent the political will of the region according to the results of the local elections. Zooming into the Helsinki area, the region of reference is the Uusimaa Region formed by 26 municipalities.

Within Uusimaa, the Helsinki Region is formed by the Metropolitan Area of Helsinki (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen) and the municipalities of Järvenpää, Nurmijärvi, Tuusula, Kerava, Mäntsälä, Pornainen, Hyvinkää, Kirkkonummi, Vihti and Sipoo, said KUUMA, for a total of 14 municipalities.

The Metropolitan Region of Helsinki was officially born in 2005, following a request of the national government to establish a new model of metropolitan organisation. This was a cooperation that, although informal, has produced infrastructure investments and ambitious strategic projects. And this is definitely the area where population growth in Finland is concentrated.

What is called the **Helsinki Metropolitan Area** encompasses **four cities (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen)** with a total of approximately one million residents, nine universities, eight polytechnics, numerous research institutes and several diverse regional and national bodies dedicated to research and innovation technology.

The years 70's of the last century had already seen the establishment of a metropolitan body - the Helsinki Metropolitan Area Council – an institutional agency, which was headed by the municipalities of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen. Main goals of the Metropolitan Council were: foster the development through an efficient public transport system, waste management, air quality monitoring and the incentive for cooperation between the administrations of the 4 cities, with particular regard to land use planning.

In 2009, the Metropolitan Council was dismantled to create two distinct public authorities of metropolitan services: 1. the Helsinki Metropolitan Environmental Services Authority and 2. The Helsinki Metropolitan Transport Authority. Since then, the two organizations cooperate with the Helsinki Metropolitan region (14 municipalities) and the State. **Among the tools** to stipulate the agreements, the **MAL is a four-year regional land use, housing and transport plan that describes how the Metropolitan region should develop.**

The government in power is currently discussing a reform that wants to redistribute the roles between the municipalities and the regions, the only two institutions formally existing ... while the mayors of the Helsinki Metropolitan region want to discuss metropolitan governance and see formalized their existing and successful cooperation. Let's see how it works in details.

Question: *There is a governance reform taking place in Finland which implies changes in the regional governance system and in the way the tasks between the cities and the region should be divided. How does the metropolitan governance system work today? What are the assets and the problems emerging from this setting? What are the changes proposed and what are the reason of this change (distribution of financial resources, planning system, shared services)? What will be the tasks and the functions at the different levels with the new reform in particular at the municipal level and at the metropolitan scale of the Helsinki Region?*

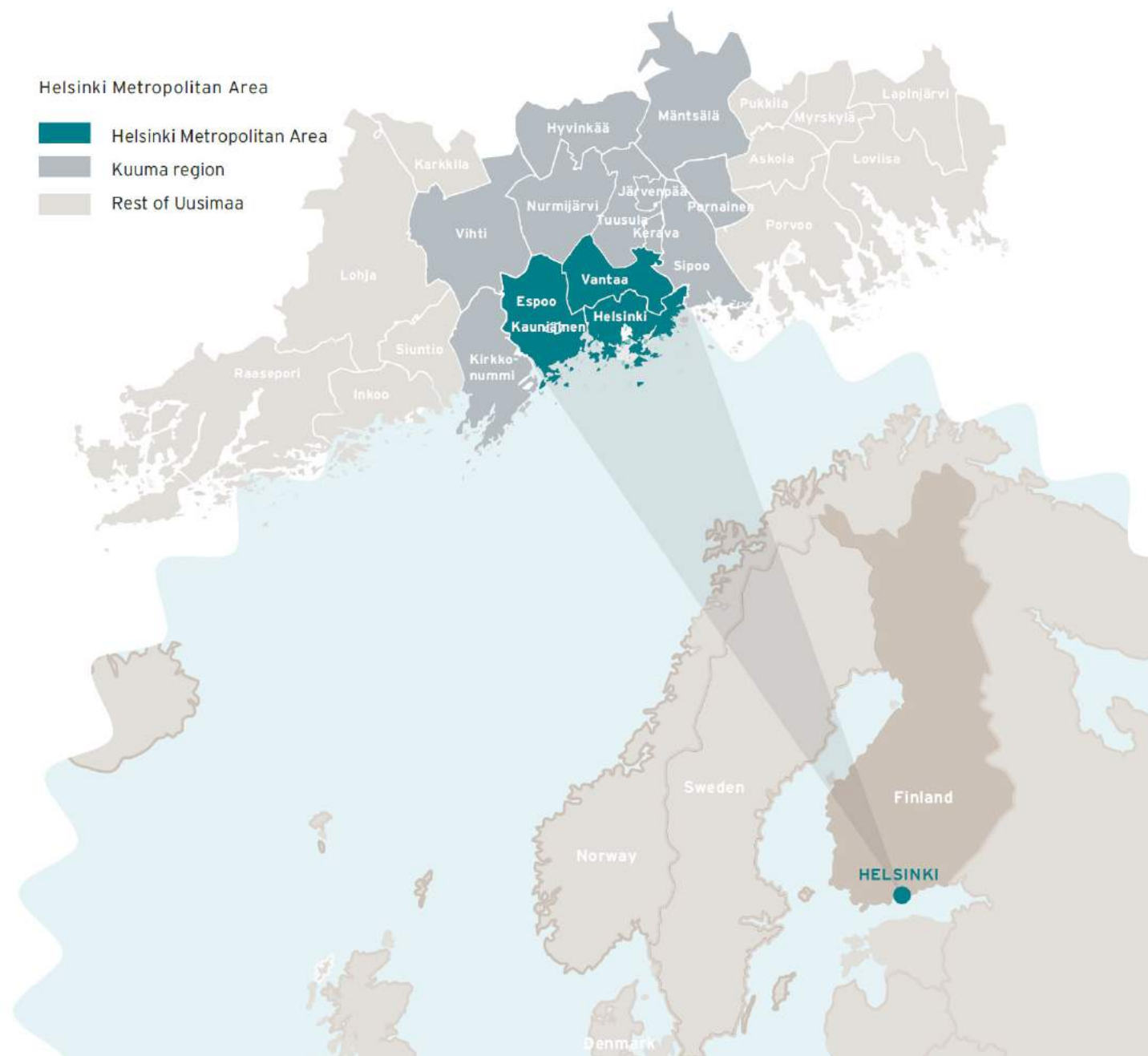
Dialogue and interviews with:

Hannu Penttilä, Deputy Mayor, Land Use, Building and Environment, Municipality of Vantaa, Metropolitan area of Helsinki

Llona Mansikka, Regional Planning Manager, Helsinki-Uusimaa Regional Council

Merja Vikman-Kanerva, Director Land Use Planning, Helsinki-Uusimaa Regional Council

Irma Karjalainen, Director Regional and Environmental Information, HSY



Source: HSY, Climate actions in Helsinki metropolitan area

Key figures (2017)	Helsinki metropolitan area – HMA (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen)	Helsinki region (HMA + 10 municipalities)	Helsinki-Uusimaa Region (26 municipalities)
Square Area	770 km ²	3700 km ²	9097 km ²
n. of residents	1.139.000	1.457.000	1.638.000
Population density	1434 resident/km ²	382 residents/km ²	182 residents/km ²
Dwelling units			
Work-places	565.000	656.000	713.000

By 2050 Helsinki Region will increase to 2 million inhabitants.

Summary of the key factors

Power and money keep together the 14 Mayors of the Helsinki Metropolitan area and the Transport and Environmental agencies. **The Metropolitan area is an informal cooperation**

Political Setting: Metropolitan Area in dialogue with the National Government only. Not through the Region.

Policy Field: land use, housing and transport

Financial System: Direct dialogue (and formal agreements) with the national government to receive financial support and the approval on the 4-year term development and investments strategy.

Human resources: staff appointed among the civil servants of all the metropolitan municipalities (14) on a part-time basis.

Challenge: The Mayors of the Metropolitan area join forces trying to keep stronger the role of the cities. They wish to achieve more power and responsibilities for the cities and the metropolitan organization. Metropolitan organization which is, in this very moment, informal. **Do they need an institutionalized structure?** There is a **lack of democracy (there is no direct participation of the society and citizens in the decision making at the metropolitan level)**. Alliances are based on cooperation between civil servants and the mayors and the elected persons.

The Metropolitan level

Helsinki, Vantaa and Espoo are the core cities of the Helsinki Metropolitan area.

In the 1960-70s there was already a formal proposal to merge the cities of Espoo and Vantaa into the Helsinki administration. At that time, the mayors could refuse that strategy.

The mayor of Helsinki noticed that merging those cities into Helsinki, wasn't really a concrete possibility so he made the proposal to organize a Metropolitan Council. This was happening in the late 1970s. The four cities of Helsinki, Vantaa, Kauniainen and Espoo were part of it, and the Council became the place for discussion and political debate for the metropolitan development. Around the year 1985, this organization got some practical tasks in the areas of public transport, planning, solid waste management, air quality control and environmental issues."

"If you would have asked twenty years ago, what is a metropolitan governance system, everybody would have looked at that organization gathering the four cities" says Hannu Penttilä, Deputy Mayor City of Vantaa and former Director of the Metropolitan Council from 2004 to 2008.

The Council of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area was a formal metropolitan entity with its own legislation. It was a level in between the Uusimaa Region and the municipal level. Main tasks included: Transport Planning, waste management, air quality monitoring and the environmental information.

In 2009 that organization was split into two metropolitan authorities:

1. The Helsinki Region Environmental Services Authority
2. The Helsinki Region Transport Authority

The Helsinki Region Environmental Services Authority (HSY) is a regional authority that provides water and waste management services and produces information about the Helsinki Metropolitan Area and the environment. One of the responsibilities of HSY is to provide the metropolitan level with spatial data among which also most of the data for the Helsinki Region Info share (HRI).

HSY is also responsible for creating the Metropolitan Climate Strategies, both for climate mitigation and adaptation, reporting regularly on the outcomes. It is an important task, because it steers the cities cooperation at the metropolitan level to jointly achieve the approved objectives of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area Climate Strategy to the year 2030. HSY serves **7 municipalities, employs ca. 740 people** and its **operating budget in 2016 amounted to 364 ml/euro**.

The Helsinki metropolitan Transport Authority (HSL) is a joint local authority whose member municipalities are Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen, Kerava, Kirkkonummi, Sipoo, Siuntio and Tuusula. HSL's annual operating income is over **€640 million**, of which ticket revenue accounts for about €330 million (about 46% in 2016). HSL has **373 employees**.

The two organizations are actively cooperating and together operate at the metropolitan level which encompasses a bigger area than the former four cities, slowly going to enlarge their own area of reference. Both organizations are important for the cities. The municipalities considered them as part of the metropolitan system.

In 2005, when the government made a proposal to establish a new metropolitan organization, **the Mayors of Helsinki, Vantaa, Kauniainen and Espoo decided to take action and this is when they agreed to establish an informal cooperation between 14 municipalities – the so-called Helsinki Metropolitan region** - and made a proposal of plan to be submitted to the government regarding Transport, Housing and Land use planning.

In 2016, around 1.44 million people (every fourth resident of Finland) lived in the area which comprises the 14 municipalities of the Helsinki region (Helsinki,

Espoo, Vantaa, Kauniainen, Kerava, Kirkkonummi, Sipoo), Hyvinkää, Järvenpää, Mäntsälä, Nurmijärvi, Pornainen, Tuusula and Vihti). Workplaces in the region were 650,000. Projections say that by 2050 there will be two million people and more than one million jobs. In order to master urbanization pace and population growth, long-term co-operation in the Helsinki region and between municipalities and the state is a prerequisite.

In Finland, the National Government is elected every four years. When a new government takes office, the 14 municipalities sign an agreement - letter of intent - with the government in power about housing, infrastructure investments and land use planning. That cooperation involves the 14 Municipalities, the Helsinki Metropolitan Transport Authority and the Helsinki Metropolitan Environmental Services Authority. This agreement doesn't include the Uusimaa Region.

Tools and approaches at the Helsinki regional scale

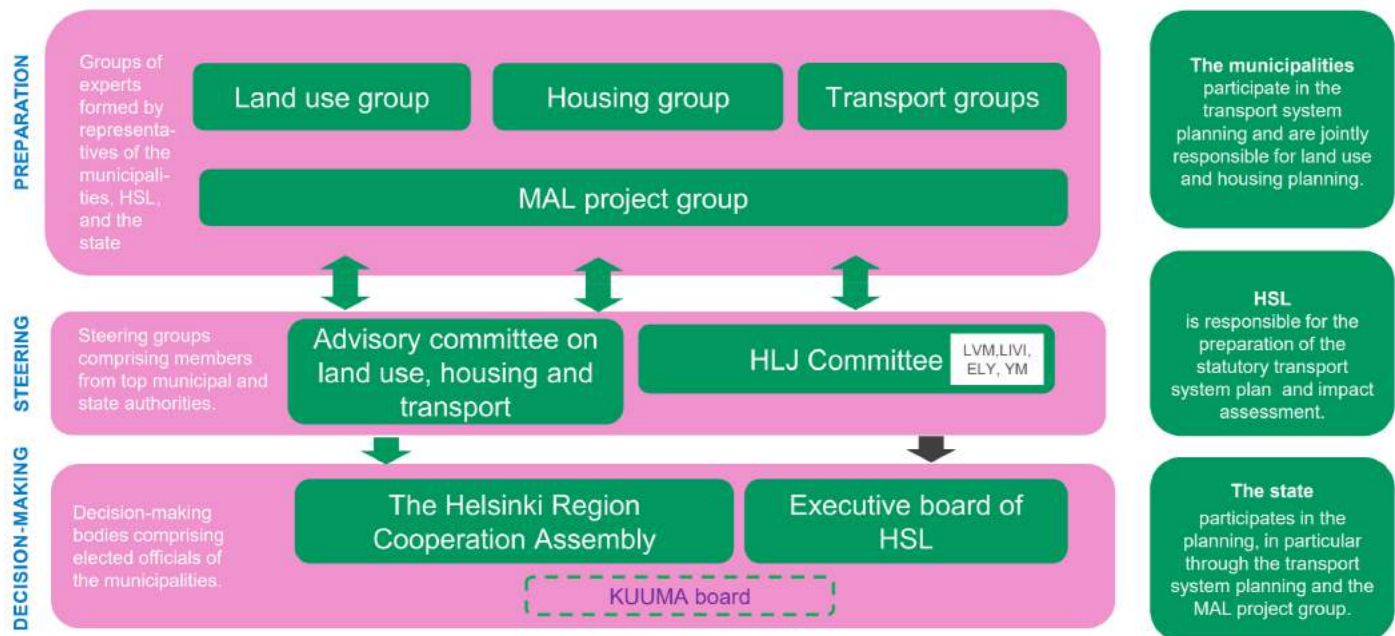
The MAL is a regional land use, housing and transport plan that describes how the region should be developed in the next decades 2019-2050.

Plans for MAL 2019 are currently being prepared, and the new regional plan on land use, housing and transport is due for completion in 2019.

It gives an account of the common intents and ambitions in the Helsinki region as agreed between State and the 14 municipalities. Questions which the new plans need to address include: **What will traffic and housing be like in Helsinki in the future? How can we make two million residents and one million jobs work together to promote optimal growth and the well-being of people?**

The MAL agreement is done every four years, at the opening of a new government.

How is the planning organized?



Source: HelsinkiRegion.fi

What is a Letter of intents?

Agreements on land use, housing and transport¹

The state concludes agreements concerning land use, housing and transport (MAL) with the main city regions of Finland. These agreements enhance cooperation among the municipalities in the respective city regions and between the municipalities and the state in the steering of community infrastructure and coordination of land use, housing and transport. The aim is more functional and competitive urban regions and a balanced development of the municipalities. The agreements specify, for example, the objectives for land use and housing production in the coming years and the key development projects concerning the transport network.

The state parties to the agreements are the Ministry of the Environment, the Ministry of Transport and Communications, the Housing Finance and Development Centre of Finland (ARA), the Finnish Transport Agency and the Centre for Economic Development, Transport and the Environment.

By tradition, the big cities deal directly with the national government. They do not want to have the regions in that political discussion because the regions are not the ones who sign that letter of intent.

The MAL is the result of a voluntary collaboration between the municipalities and the State and the most important players in the Helsinki Metropolitan region. Preparation phases see groups of experts formed by representatives of the municipalities, HSL and the national government.

The purpose of the MAL 2019 Plan is to identify the most important measures for land use, housing and transport in the Helsinki Region and:

- Provides a common view for the development of the region
- Draw the area long-term development vision and prepare for changes in the operating environment
- Evaluate the impact of the plan and taking into account the assessment data in the preparation phases
- Develop planning practices, collaborate and make efficient the use of resources

¹ -What is a Letter of intents: Agreements on land use, housing and transport? <http://bit.ly/2uVjNJe>

Who is responsible for the MAL preparation phases and who is entitled to take decisions?

The approval of the MAL 2019 plan is being decided by elected officials in the Helsinki Region Cooperation Assembly, the Executive Board of HSL and the KUUMA board.

The municipalities participate in the transport system planning and are jointly responsible for land use and housing planning. The land use, housing and transport plans are discussed by top experts in the municipalities of the Helsinki region and the Helsinki region transport Authority (HSL) is responsible for the preparation of the statutory transport system plan and the impact assessment.

And finally the State participates in the transport system planning and in the MAL project group which includes representatives of land use, housing and transport.

The monitoring of the MAL agreement is done by the Helsinki Region Environmental Services Authority (HSY) twice a year. The monitoring is useful to the Ministry of the Environment which, at this stage of the process, sets the final goals of the MAL agreement. This is an important part of the process of legitimization of the agreement.

The follow up is based on spatial data by HSY and it confirms or not if the goals of the agreement have been achieved – land use, transport and mobility and housing plans.

Once the framework of the MAL 2019 has been established (2017), the plan is made circulate for comments (in this case, it is expected to happen in the Fall 2018) after which the plan will be finalized and approved at the beginning of 2019.

With such a process of agreements in place, cooperation among the different actors and levels is achieved.

Inter-institutional relations

How cooperation works and who are the players and what their role?

The different levels of government include:

- The municipal level (**formal authority**)
- The Helsinki Metropolitan area which consists of - Helsinki, Espoo, Kauniainen and Vantaa (**informal cooperation**)
- The KUUMA municipalities which gather Hyvinkää, Järvenpää, Kerava, Kirkkonummi, Mäntsälä, Nurmijärvi, Pornainen, Sipoo, Tuusula and Vihti (**informal cooperation**)
- The Helsinki Region which consists of the Helsinki metropolitan area and the KUUMA municipalities (**informal cooperation**)
- The Uusimaa Region which consists of the Helsinki Region and 12 more surrounding municipalities (**formal authority**)

The objective of the cities in the Metropolitan Area is to develop their cooperation, intensify collaboration with the municipalities of Helsinki Region as well as to protect their own interests and cooperate with the State.

The Helsinki Metropolitan Area Advisory Board

The Helsinki Metropolitan Area Advisory Board is a cooperation body of leading elected politicians of the four cities in the Capital Region of Finland. The cities are Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen.

The activities of the Advisory Board are based on a cooperation agreement, a common vision and a joint strategy.

The Board consists of 11 members and include the Mayors of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa and Kauniainen and the Chairpersons of the City Councils of Helsinki,

Espoo and Vantaa. A representative nominated by the City Board of Helsinki shall act as the Chairperson of the Metropolitan Area Advisory Board.

The strategic pillars for the metropolitan area include:

- .Joint measure to develop welfare and services
- .Improving international competitiveness
- .Harmonization of the urban structure and development of housing
- .Democracy and participation
- .Social cohesion
- .Economic balance

The so-called *Helsinki Metropolitan Area Cooperation Group* assists the Board.

This is a cooperation body of the highest elected officials and civil servants of the cities in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area. Its activities are based on the Cooperation Agreement between the cities in the Helsinki Metropolitan Area approved by the city councils of Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen.

The purpose of the Cooperation Agreement is to improve the international competitiveness of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area, develop regional cooperation and metropolitan policy in the Helsinki region and shared advocacy for the interests on a national level.

The agreement also promotes cooperation between the cities in matters related to land use, housing and transport as well as it improves the services of the cities and steers the coordination of jointly owned corporations. The current agreement is valid until 2021.

The members of the Cooperation Group include the Mayor and Chief Executive Officer of Helsinki, the Mayors of Espoo, Kauniainen and Vantaa, and elected officials appointed by the City Board of whom four come from Helsinki, three from Espoo, three from Vantaa and one from Kauniainen. The Cooperation Group meets at least twice a year with the Mayor of Helsinki acting as the chairperson of the meeting.

Helsinki Metropolitan Area Cooperation Assembly

The Helsinki Metropolitan Area Cooperation Assembly is a cooperation organ of the highest elected officials of the cities within the Metropolitan Area. The Assembly endorses the Area's vision and

strategy, deals with strategic alignments related to the development of the Metropolitan Area and monitors the implementation of the cooperation.

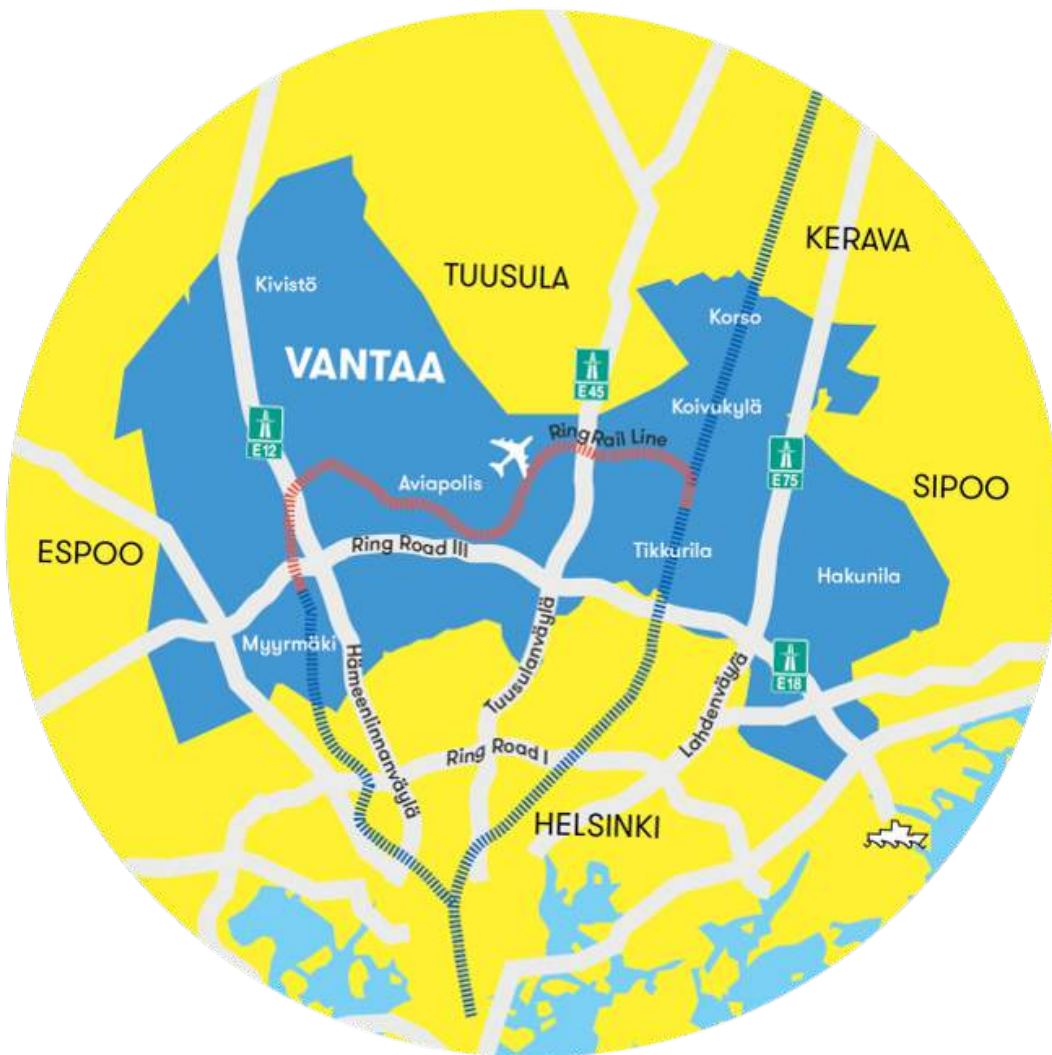
The members of the Assembly include the Chairpersons and first and second Vice Chairs of the City Councils and City Boards of Helsinki, Espoo and Vantaa and the Chairpersons and the Vice Chairpersons of the City Council and City Board of the City of Kauniainen accounting to 23 persons in total.

Furthermore, the Assembly is entitled to elect three extra members for a two-year term from the political groups that are not represented in the Assembly. The members in question shall be elected from among the members of the city councils or city boards. The Assembly is chaired by the Chairperson of Helsinki City Board; the Vice Chairperson is the Chairperson of Espoo City Board and the Second Vice Chairperson is the Chairperson of Vantaa City Board.

The Helsinki Region Cooperation Assembly is the cooperation body of the leading elected officials of the fourteen municipalities in the Helsinki region. The Assembly is formed by the cities of the Helsinki Metropolitan Area (Helsinki, Espoo, Vantaa and Kauniainen) and the Central Uusimaa KUU-MA municipalities (Järvenpää, Nurmijärvi, Tuusula, Kerava, Mäntsälä, Pornainen, Hyvinkää, Kirkkonummi, Vihti and Sipoo). The Helsinki Region Cooperation Agreement came into force on October 1st, 2005.

What projects at the Metropolitan scale?

The ring rail is a successful example of cooperation within the Helsinki region. The Ring Rail Line is a joint project of the Finnish Transport Agency, City of Vantaa and Finavia Oyj, born as part of the infrastructure investments agreement between the State and the Metropolitan cooperation. The construction works started in 2009 and the infrastructure became operational in June 2015. The total costs of the project is 783 million euro.



Source: Presentation of Tarja Laine, Head of Urban Planning at the City of Vantaa, at the METREX Autumn Conference in Helsinki, 4-7 October 2017

The Ring Rail Line takes passengers from the center of Helsinki to the Vantaa Airport in 30 minutes. While improving the public transport offer and commuting possibilities within the region, it also extends the rail service to new areas in Vantaa. 18 kilometers of rail track, 5 new stations, the project has created the favorable conditions for a consistent development in the area around the airport of Vantaa: 30,000 new housing units and jobs in the next ten years, retail and shopping center.

The Ring Rail Line also receives partial funding from the European Union and from the Trans-European Transport Network (TEN-T) because, reducing the need for bus and car traffic along with associated environmental impacts, it enables the achievement of the EU's climate policy objectives.

What is the challenge today?

This is more or less the picture of the Metropolitan area current cooperation's players and tools.

Two existing formal organizations (the Helsinki Region Environmental Services Authority and the Helsinki Metropolitan Transport Authority) and an informal cooperation (14 cities) aiming at signing the letter of intent with the national government about infrastructure, land use policies and housing.

Then there are the regions. The Regional Councils are mandated by the Finnish law. In Finland, there are 18 Regional Councils formed by municipalities. The municipal division is decided by the Finnish Government and the current municipal division came into force in 2009. Each council receives its funding from its member municipalities, from the Government and the European Union. The tasks of the councils include regional planning, like regional land-use and transport planning, and the promotion of local and regional interests in general."

The Helsinki-Uusimaa Regional Council is the joint regional authority in charge of the regional development. The Council represents the interests of

26-member municipalities for a total of 1.6 million people, which accounts to more than a quarter of the Finnish population. The region extends for 9,440 sq.km. The Regional Council works in close cooperation with the member municipalities, the government, the business sector, the universities and research institutions, as well as with the civil society. The officials in the Council are politicians elected by the member municipalities for a mandate of four years. They represent the political will of the region according to the results of the municipal elections.

There are in fact two different levels of governance: the regions with a larger and top-down approach; the inter-communal/metropolitan cooperation level based on the cooperation among the municipalities within the Helsinki Metropolitan region.

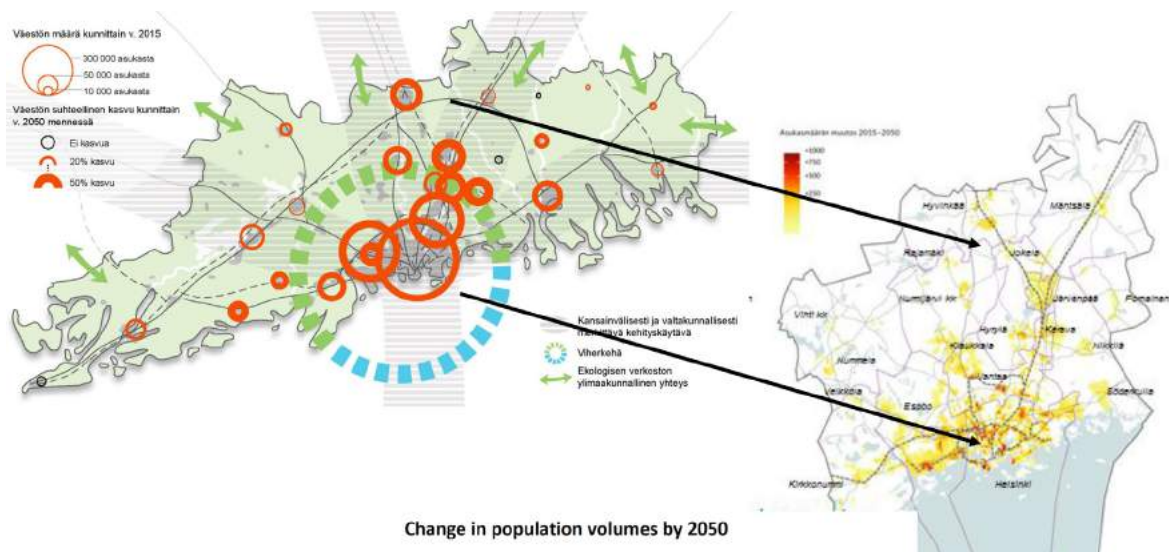
The last government (2011-2015) had a coalition formed by social democrats and conservatives. The current government is formed by a coalition between the conservatives and the center-party (the old agrarian party). The last government discussed the legislation for a metropolitan level but it didn't achieve a result on that.

Therefore, the current government is pushing for a regional reform.

What is this reform about?

This reform is part of a larger package of reforms including: the pension reform, the social welfare and healthcare reform (with these public services transferred from the municipalities to the regions), the cutting of the municipal costs by reducing duties and responsibilities and the simplification of the regional and central administration. The reform is also aiming at creating a new level of direct elected self-governments (18 regions), making the regional councils stronger.

In addition to responsibilities in healthcare and social services, the autonomous regions should gain new functions from the current regional councils, from the Center for the Economic Development, Transport and Environment and rescue services. In order to manage this new package of duties, the new regions will discuss financial provisions with the central government.



Change in population volumes by 2050

Source: Helsinki-Uusimaa Metropolitan Region. Metropolitan challenges and solutions.

Presentation by local representatives at the METREX Autumn Conference in Helsinki, 4-7 October 2017

The representatives of the UUSIMAA region note that new regions will become big organizations, moving from the current 70 employees of the Regional Council to 70.000(!), more powerful by being democratically legitimized by direct elections, and finally much more independent from the cities. The reform will strengthen the link between the national government and the regional level weakening the voice of the cities. They also note that metropolitan level is currently acting within a framework which is completely informal and not regulated, but which only stands thanks to a powerful cooperation between the mayors.

The reality so far is that the reform hasn't been approved by the parliament yet. And it is receiving a strong opposition even within the conservative party itself. It is a truly political discussion. The reform was heavily criticized by the constitutionalists mostly as concerns the role of the private companies involved in the delivery of the Social and Health care services. Also, the Mayor of Helsinki has raised his voice against this reform. He is from the same conservative party and his opposition is making clear that there are two different positions within the same party in respect to this reform.

The ones who are critical and oppose the reform recognize that the metropolitan region is indeed a voluntary cooperation, currently supporting the metropolitan dimension, and that this might make it a very instable and weak structure; however they

strongly believe that it is at the metropolitan level that major challenges will need to be faced soon. Cities will keep growing and the countryside will keep losing population. "Only cities are truly equipped to address these challenges", say the opponents to the reform.

If the reform will be approved, the municipalities fear that the national government will then look at the 18 regions as they were all the same, weakening the driving power of the Helsinki region (very unique concentration of economic and human capital, counting the 26,6% of the whole country population) aggregating the economic and population growth of the overall country.

The Mayors of the Metropolitan area are united and advocate for a primary role for the cities and the metropolitan cooperation as driver of sustainable and effective and inclusive urban development.

The national reforms of social welfare, health care and regional governance "should strengthen cities as builders of economic dynamism. The reforms should be based on the principle of subsidiarity: according to this principle, legislation and public administration should flexibly enable various types of solutions for regions" it was the joint statement of the C21¹

1 - Finland's C21 cities establish a permanent network to strengthen dialogue on urban policies and their joint promotion of interests. Joint statement by C21 cities on 06.10.2017

Article published on the website of the City of Helsinki: <https://www.hel.fi/uutiset/en/kaupunginkanslia/strong-and-influential-urban-pol->

last October. With the aim to promote the urban interests, develop an urban policy agenda and define the joint objectives of Finland's biggest cities (C21), a permanent assembly gathering the top officials of the cities was established and will meet on a regular basis twice a year.

When the interviews were realized nobody knew exactly if the government would have changed the regional council roles and in which respect. And, as far as we know, the situation hasn't changed.

A new statement of the elected officials of the six biggest Finnish cities (Espoo, Helsinki, Oulu, Tampere, Turku and Vantaa) of the 18th of April 2018² **insisted on the fact that “climate change can only be solved at the urban scale”**. It points out that when national goals are set, then it is up to the cities to introduce new policies and clean technologies. Because enough critical mass of users and market can only be found in cities, they are able to turn strategies into concrete actions and implement smart solutions with a substantial impact. “When setting high climate goals, the biggest cities in Finland have recognized the benefits of ambitious climate politics and have identified themselves as capable of turning their high goals into concrete action. **Cities have the will and the ability to solve problems related to climate change in a cooperative way.”**

Besides the aspiration and the advocacy for a recognition of the metropolitan dimension, the Helsinki metropolitan region, in this very moment, is informal. There is no legislation on how to make the letter of intents which represents the essential tool for shaping the long term development plans. And there is a **lack of democracy** (because of no direct participation of the civil society and of the citizens in the decision making at the metropolitan level). Alliances are based on the cooperation between civil servants and elected persons.

Representatives are definitely happy about this structure so far as this makes possible to receive the governmental funding for infrastructural investments.

However the question raises spontaneously: **do they need a more structural form?** They want to discuss metropolitan governance and they hope they can be successful in the next future. **Money and the power keep them together.**

icies)

2 - Statement by elected officials of six biggest Finnish cities: <https://www.helsinginseutu.fi/hs/en/uutiset/statement-six-biggest-cities-climate-change>

Lyon Métropole

Challenges of a new metropolitan institution

On the News

{...} Par rapport à la construction métropolitaine, il n'y a jamais une solution institutionnelle pleinement satisfaisante. Ce serait une illusion d'imaginer une grande autorité qui pourrait tout régenter sur un territoire au périmètre pertinente et stabilisé, et faire ainsi le bonheur des citoyens [...] Je (suis) en faveur de « l'inter-territorialité pour une construction métropolitaine s'appuyant sur l'interactivité et les dynamiques de coopération des acteurs au service d'un projet partagé avec des mécanismes forts d'incitation. Cependant, je pense qu'il faut une autorité publique supérieure qui s'assure de l'absence de failles entre les différentes formes de gouvernance territoriale.

Entretien avec l'ex président et membre du conseil du développement du Grand Lyon, M. Jean Frébault, sur la « revue Urbanisme » n. 49 août 2014

On January 2015, in France, the Law no. 58 (January 27, 2014) on the modernization of the public action in the field of territorial management, has formally established 11 metropolises whose characteristics include: either have more than 400,000 inhabitants, or be located in urban area of more than 600,000 inhabitants, or be regional capitals, or employment centers of an area of more than 400,000 inhabitants.

They keep their statutes of EPCI¹ and they have been effective starting from January 2015: Bordeaux, Brest, Grenoble, Lille, Montpellier, Nancy (July 1, 2016), Nantes, Rennes, Rouen, Strasbourg and Toulouse, following the Nice Metropolitan City, already in place. Three more metropolises with special statutes were then identified: Grand Paris and Aix-Marseille-Provence Métropole (since January 1, 2016) and Lyon Métropole (January 1, 2015).

To these 15 original metropolises, 7 more were added last year (2017), which have seen the day because of a reduction of the population's limit and of the conditions of institutionalization established by national decree. Those are Clermont-Ferrand, Dijon, Orleans, Saint Etienne, Toulon, Tours.

The French law has defined a Metropolitan City as a public inter-communal cooperation body (EPCI), which includes several municipalities gathering together within “a solidarity space to develop and implement programmes of economic growth and environmental, educational, cultural and social development, in order to boost their territorial competitiveness and cohesion”.² The ‘Metropolitan City’ has also the task of improving the economic

1 - établissement public de coopération intercommunale (EPCI)

2 - Code général des collectivités territoriales <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichCodeArticle.do?idArticle=LEGIARTI000023241653&cidTexte=LEGITEXT000006070633>

services and transport networks, activating resources, research and innovation programs and ensuring the international territorial promotion.

The creation of the metropolises is part of a process of Territorial Reform which also includes the Law on the New Territorial Organization of the Republic (Law NOTRe, August 7, 2015). This law strengthens the role and the competences of the regions and the EPCIs and sets the minimum threshold for the constitution of an inter-municipal entity to 15,000 inhabitants (previously it was 5,000), which in 2016 has resulted in a significant number of inter-municipal mergers. Within this path, the law on the reorganization of the regional geography, January 16, 2015³, reduces the original number of French regions from 22 to 13.

In this context of reform, fifty years after the establishment of the “*métropoles d'équilibre*” created by the State to provide the national territory with strategic development poles, the metropolitan area of Lyon has been able to shape its strategy to address the metropolitan process.

An animated territory for the intensity of exchanges, the interdependence of diverse contexts - home-work commuting, cultural and economic attraction sites and transport networks - which have made possible the creation of a metropolitan space fully appreciated by over 3 million inhabitants in their daily life. Strategically located between North Europe and the Mediterranean countries, with a solid industrial base and poles of excellence at the international scale, the Metropolitan Area of Lyon has been considered, since the years 60 of the last century, an appropriate area for thinking a coherent metropolitan development⁴. Central to this process, the creation of Lyon Métropole is the result of political dynamics that began long ago with the creation of the Lyon Urban Community (Courly) in 1969.

Today, following the MAPTAM Act, Lyon has acquired a Special Statute (Territorial Community such as the Region, Province and Municipalities) and has merged with the province on its own territory.

Since it has been made official, Lyon Métropole represents one of the institutional innovations of the MAPTAM law which, starting from the abolition of a first level of government (the department), wants to simplify the institutional and administrative geography of territorial authorities, recognizing de facto the metropolitan dimension of those territories.

Question: *Three years after the establishment of Lyon Métropole, how do you see the future of this metropolitan territory? What kind of dynamics and which kind of reality is emerging? Beyond the tools and the new functions acquired, what are the challenges that the Métropole must tackle? What will be the consequences of the change in the leadership in terms of territorial governance and strategic development built over the last fifty years by the agglomeration?*

Dialogue and interviews with:

Deborah Galimberti, Researcher at Science PO Lyon

Sébastien Rolland, Researcher, Inter-Scot coordinator at UrbaLyon

Bruno Coudret, Lyon Métropole

Agnès Goux, Adjoint Director, Lyon Metropolitan Pole

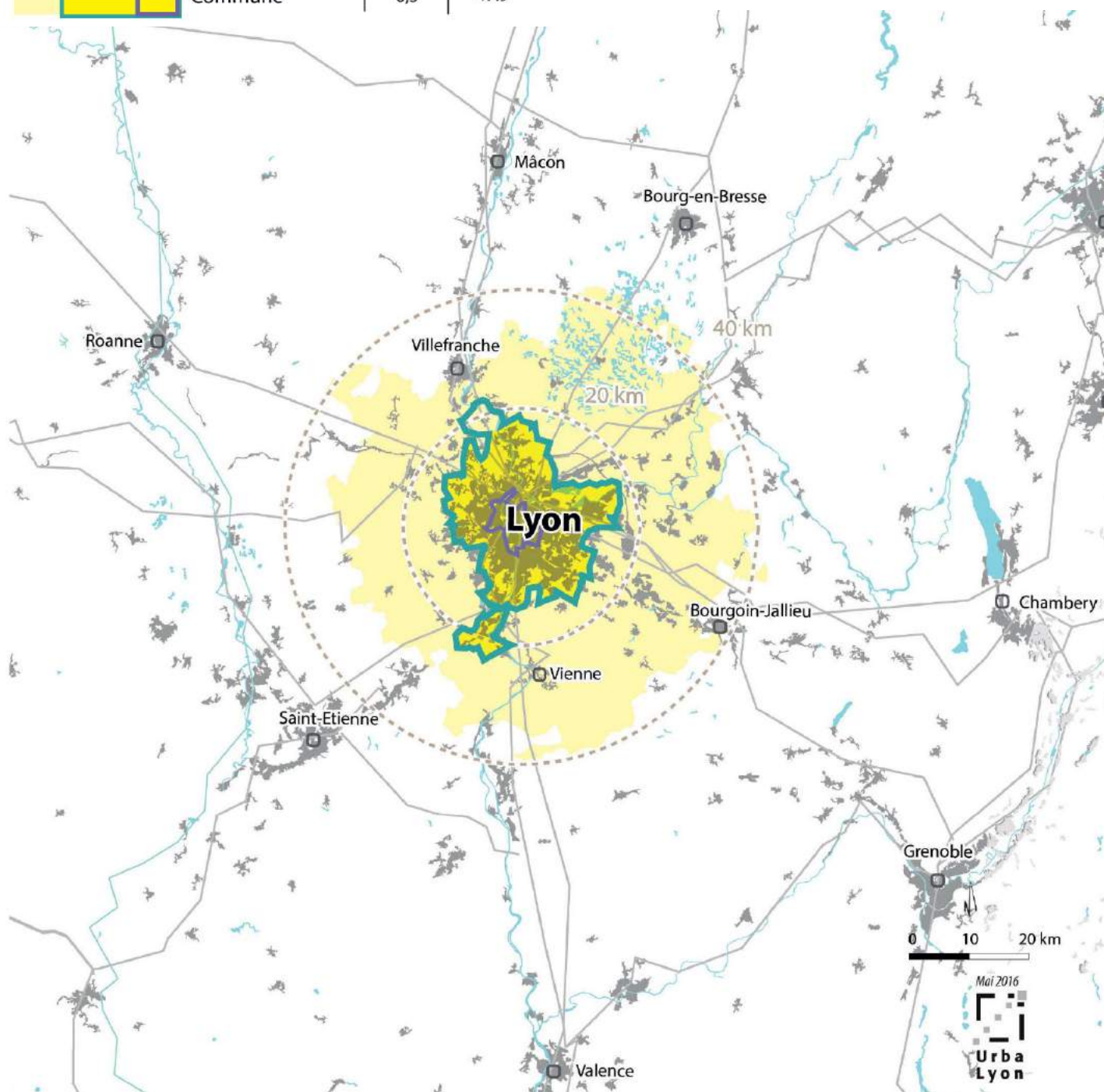
Xavier Laurent, Researcher, economist, network coordinator for the four urban planning agencies in the Region Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes

3 - La loi N° 2015-29 du 16 janvier 2015 relative à la délimitation des régions, aux élections régionales et départementales et modifiant le calendrier électoral est une loi française qui procède notamment à un redécoupage des régions. Elle fait partie de l'acte III de la décentralisation mis en œuvre sous la présidence de François Hollande.

4 - Dynamiques de métropolisation. Un document des agences d'urbanisme de Lyon e Saint-Etienne, mars 2015

Périmètres d'Eurostat
Audit urbain, 2011-2014

	Population (millions)	Superficie (km ²)
Zone urbaine fonctionnelle	1,9	3 649
Métropole / Agglomération 59 communes	1,32	534
Commune	0,5	47,9



Source : Corine Land Cover

Source: Corine Land Cover, Cahier de la gouvernance, Juin 2016 UrbaLyon

Summary of the key factors

Lyon Métropole is a robust and mature experience of inter-municipal cooperation. Special Statute of a Local government given by national Law (*LOI n° 2014-58 du 27 janvier 2014 de modernisation de l'action publique territoriale et d'affirmation des métropoles*).

Strong relationship with the territories which contributed to create and disseminate a **metropolitan consciousness. Strong Leadership**

Policy Field: Economic development, Territorial planning and programming, Transport and Housing Policies and Social Policies (received from the province)

Financial System: its own fiscal and financial system

Human resources: 8700 employees

Challenges: Major territorial and institutional weaknesses. **Is the scale of Lyon Métropole the right scale to cope with the present socio-economic and territorial issues?**

The overall geography of the metropolitan area is today under great transformation and it is complicated, at present, to define a clear system of governance. On the one hand, Lyon Métropole is consolidating its new organizational system and its leadership. On the other hand, the recent territorial reforms and institutional changes at the national level have shaken the overall governance system and obliged to a process of reconfiguration, that is currently in place.

At the metropolitan scale different governance settings co-exist: a new (bigger) region, with massive planning and development powers, new Metropolises have been created within the Metropolitan Pole (Saint-Etienne), and within the region (Grenoble and Clermont-Ferrand), political representatives have changed due to recent administrative and presidential elections.

There is a question around the effectiveness of Lyon Métropole being such a powerful organization, what is the territorial dimension for actual metropolitan governance and how to find the right balance in the political arena: who is carrying out the political vision and how to build cooperation in the current territorial competition?

Key facts about Lyon Métropole

Municipalities: 59

Inhabitants: 1.320.000

Area: 534 sq.km

Density: 2481 ab/sq.km

8700 employees

3° agglomeration of France

82% Rhone employment

The Metropolitan level

How Lyon territorial governance has evolved and what are the consequences

«(Aujourd'hui) Il va falloir resensibiliser les acteurs, aux différentes échelles, pour traiter des sujets d'intérêt métropolitain et favoriser une dynamique de développement plus équilibrée entre territoires ».

Tous les acteurs ont conscience qu'il y a plusieurs enjeux qu'il convient de traiter à l'échelle métropolitaine, mais avec quel modèle de gouvernance ?

Agnès Goux

Directrice adjointe Pôle Métropolitain de Lyon

Avril 2018

« La création de la Métropole lyonnaise s'inscrit dans le sens de l'Histoire qui a vu le renforcement du rôle et du rayonnement des grandes agglomérations d'une part, et la montée en puissance de l'intégration intercommunale, d'autre part. (...) La création de la Métropole de Lyon est la suite logique et naturelle de ce processus »

Dossier de presse « La Métropole de Lyon »,
Espace Presse Grand Lyon 2015¹

The agreement between the Grand Lyon and the Rhone department (2012), and the creation of the new Métropole (2015) which has followed, is defined by the observers a real institutional hurricane². It is undoubtedly the result of a longer and complex history, but it can be described as the natural consequence of a process of empowerment (political and economic) of the agglomeration.

Pioneer in this sense, and only case in France, Lyon Métropole replaces the Lyon Urban District, while maintaining the same territorial limits, and receives the functions of the department of Rhone in the social field, increasing from 4700 to 8700 its basins of employees.

Its competences today range from the economic development to mobility, social policies, assistance to people with disabilities, childhood and family, urban and cultural policies, attractiveness and competitiveness, water, air quality, waste collection and dump management, road cleaning, major projects and land management, public space management, energy, environment and social housing.

The reasons for this can be found in two main factors that have characterized the agglomeration's long-term growth: the consensus from the political, economic, cultural and university local elites around

2 - La Métropole de Lyon. Splendeurs et fragilité d'une machine intercommunale, Hérodote n.154, La Découverte, 3 trimestre 2014. Anche « Ce qui faut savoir sur ce big bang territorial » <http://www.rue89lyon.fr/2014/12/31/metropole-de-lyon-ce-qu'il-faut-savoir-sur-ce-big-bang-territorial/#titre12>

1 - URL : <http://www.grandlyon.com/pratique/espace-presse.html>

an agenda entirely dedicated to growth and attractiveness; all this combined with a broad consensus on the recognition of the inter-municipal structure as the main vehicle for implementing this ambitious program.

Factors that Lyon was able to exploit to its fullest potential due to its demographic weight and the alliance with the economic elites of the territory that have understood and supported its agenda and its goal of attractiveness and ultimately the effectiveness of the inter-communal infrastructure.

Because of the intense negotiations between the State and the local politicians, in 1969, Lyon's Urban Community (COURLY) was born, thanks to implicit arrangements between various groups of municipalities. First of all, an agreement between Lyon (right wing city) and Villeurbaine (left wing city), an alliance that allowed the achievement of a political agreement and the involvement of the peripheral municipalities. The small municipalities on the edge of the agglomeration remained out of executive council (at least until 1983) but they received robust benefits from urban and infrastructure regeneration programs funded by the urban community.

Made possible on a political level, COURLY was an effective tool for implementing the state-sponsored modernization plan of the agglomeration.

In 1978, the Urban Planning Agency and the Aderly (association for the development of Lyon region) were established, mobilizing economic actors and academics to highlight a clear will for a strategic vision at the level of the agglomeration. In 1992 the plan "Lyon 2010" was published while a new name was replacing Courly. The name **Grand Lyon** dates back to 1991 showing the will to **strengthen the feeling of belonging within the metropolitan territory. Which, in terms of narrative, happened to be a great success.**

All this was possible thanks to a large public investment in the urban and economic fields. Came into power in 2001, the Socialist Senator-Mayor and President of the Grand Lyon, Gerard Collomb³ made

What does COURLY stand for?

It should be noted that COURLY (Communauté urbaine de Lyon) was a public institution of inter-communal cooperation in the form of Urban Community, one of the first four created in France by the Law 1969 (together with Lyon, also Bordeaux, Lille and Strasbourg). This is what explains the old habit of working together starting from the technical aspects (networks management) and then on planning, transportation and economic aspects heading to the last evolution, in 2014, with the construction of the contemporary Métropole which also deals with the social field. So that's quite an old story and one of the most successful forms of cooperation between local authorities.

3 - Minister of Interior under the French Presidency of Emmanuel

possible the federation of the political and economic world of the agglomeration around a new agenda based on the combination between research and economic development and a strategy built around the support of start-ups and businesses sectors heading to the definition of Lyon as “a model of economic governance”.

The success of Grand Lyon is largely due to the ability of its politicians and administrators who took advantage of the intercommunal co-operation format, benefiting from a certain degree of flexibility and informality⁴, despite an evident lack of democratic representation.

By contrast, the more recent national reform (2015) has raised new emerging challenges for the new-born Lyon Métropole and the metropolitan area of Lyon in general terms. Zooming out, **there is a question around the effectiveness of such a powerful organization, what is the territorial dimension for actual metropolitan governance and how to find the right balance in the political arena: who is leading and how to build cooperation in the current territorial competition?**

The territorial dimension. If we look at the functioning of Lyon metropolitan area today, this governance corresponds to the ‘urban system’ organized around the Metropolises of Lyon and Saint Etienne. On the one hand, Lyon Métropole, all powerful, strengthening its action with the integration of more competences (the social functions received by the department) a Métropole with special status; on the other hand, Saint Etienne which has become a Métropole as well since January 2018. A Métropole which has a powerful influence over its own territory but, at the institutional level, does not have fully formed its competences yet, being at the beginning of its process of integration. The result is a model of governance with these two major Metropolises and some smaller urban agglomerations (of around 100,000 inhabitants) forming a system with territorial interdependencies.

The Grand Lyon model, like all EPCIs (intergovernmental organization), was based on

the voluntary cooperation of municipalities and the possibility of negotiating the terms of their participation or opposition, making the perimeter and extension of the agglomeration a very mobile and fluid process.

The same approach has allowed G. Collomb, already in 1988, to launch the RUL – Lyon Urban Region – territories of cooperation⁵ between different local authorities based on economic development, territorial management and infrastructures. And, under the same principles, the year 2002 has seen the formalization of the Inter-SCOT: the gathering of 9, today 13, SCOTs (Schéma de Cohérence Territoriale), as a space of dialogue, technical cooperation and knowledge exchange among different agglomerations and territorial communities. And finally, in 2012, the creation of the Metropolitan Pole, a space of political cooperation between 6 (at the time of its creation only 4) agglomerations for the promotion of a sustainable development model. With the establishment of Lyon Métropole (2015) and the new Métropole of Saint-Etienne early this year (2018), the radical process of institutionalization seems to have undermined the territorial balance and the same principles on which cooperation was previously built.

From an organizational point of view, the great amount of functions already acquired by Lyon Métropole, to which the functions of the province (Rhône Department) were added, are likely to weight a machine whose strength points were agility, flexibility and innovation.

From a political perspective, the elections in 2014 have seen changing the mayors of most of the municipalities (approximately 2/3 of them have changed) consequently, also the presidents of the agglomerations have been replaced. At the scale of the metropolitan pole, powers have been shaken. In this new setting, scenarios have changed and new challenges (territorial cohesion and inclusiveness) are emerging while the national territorial reform has introduced new governance models.

Macron (2017 - Present)

4 - La Métropole de Lyon. Splendeurs et fragilité d'une machine intercommunale, Hérodote n.154, La Découverte, 3 trimestre 2014

5 - Organismes régionaux d'étude et aménagement d'aire métropolitaines, creati nel 1966 nell'ambito delle Métropole s d'équilibre.

and has an executive power. Each vice-president receives a mandate.

The **Metropolitan Conference** has a consultative role and was created to meet the needs of coordination between Lyon's Métropole and its municipalities (59). This is where the issues related to the metropolitan interest and the harmonization of the action of local authorities are discussed. It is chaired by the chairman of the council of the Métropole and includes the mayors of the municipalities and elaborates a plan for the consistency of the metropolitan action between the Métropole and the municipalities that also concerns the division of tasks between them.

The territorial conferences of the mayors (consultative role) are consulted during the elaboration and commissioning of the policies of the Métropole. These conferences bring together more municipalities which share similar topics with the aim to identify common solutions.

Inter-institutional relations

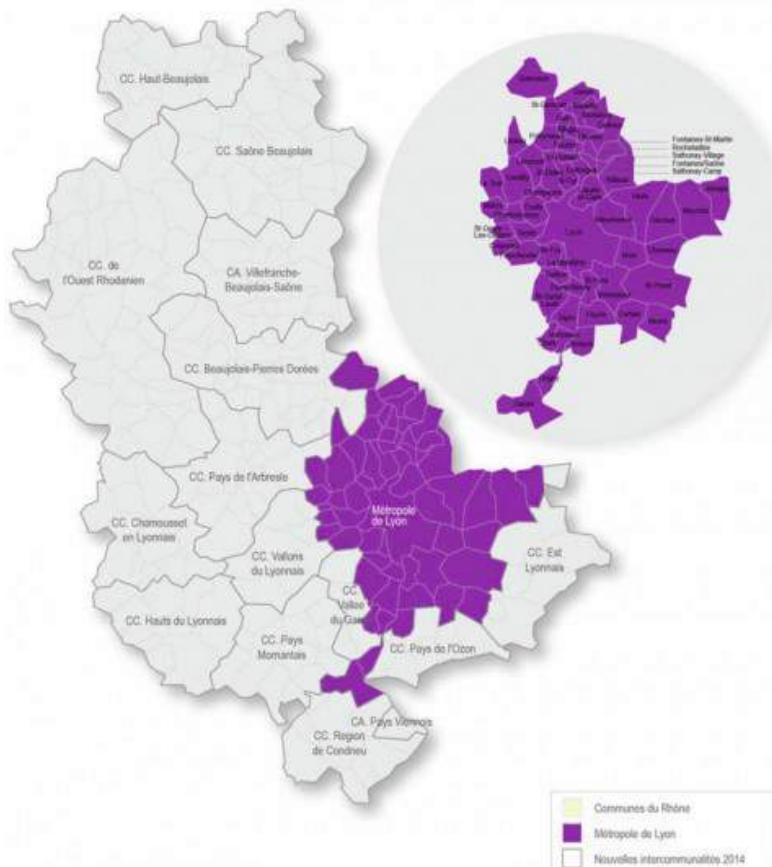
How cooperation works, what are the different players and what are their competences?

Lyon Métropole and Rhone Department

The Métropole acquires the department's expertise and competences on its territory. The Department continues to exercise its functions on the remaining 229 municipalities.

Métropole and Municipalities

The cooperation with the municipalities has been very strong in the 1980s when, on the one hand, there was the urban community in place, a



Which government is in place at the scale of Lyon Métropole

The council of the Métropole is a deliberative assembly consisting of 165 councilors elected by universal suffrage in the 59 municipalities. The council elects the chairman and the council committee, which constitutes the executive power of the Métropole. From 2020, metropolitan councilors will be elected directly by the citizens. The Law MAPTAM has established that by 2020 the Mayor of Lyon and the President of the Métropole must be different. However, this happens to be the case already now, since Mr. Collomb resigned to become Minister in July 2017 and today the Mayor of Lyon and the President of the Métropole are indeed two different representatives.

The standing committee consists of 24 vice-presidents

metropolitan government which bureaucratically relied heavily on the capital city (Lyon). Hence the realization of emblematic urban projects (Part-Dieu yesterday and Confluence later) which have been pursued through the cooperation between the technical and political team of the central city and the administrative and political team of the metropolitan government. These projects concerned inner areas of the City of Lyon whose effects were meant to have an impact on the metropolitan territory as a whole. The Strategic Plan "Lyon 2010" has made unique this type of approach and has produced a real cultural process of metropolization with a transfer of competences (skills) between the technical and political teams of the city and those of the Metropolitan City with key political personalities such as Mayors or Councilors of the city of Lyon who also played a role within the Metropolitan City and acted as *trait d'union* between the two institutional levels.

In the 1980s, the CU (*Communauté Urbaine*) of Lyon also engaged in the process also external technical and scientific structures: we are talking about the Agency of Urbanism (structure such as the Italian PIM, in Milan area or Torino Strategica in Turin) or the 'Economic Development Agency' both involved in the construction of the Lyon 2010 Plan supporting the creation and dissemination of a metropolitan consciousness.

The Métropole and the Region: a new cooperation?

Lyon Métropole joins the Region in the elaboration of documents covering aspects of territorial planning and development, such as the State-Region Plan and documents on economic, innovation and transport management and development, research and higher education. In particular, as a follow up of the Territorial Reform (law NOTRe) the new Regions are becoming much more powerful and entrusted with the elaboration of a major land-use planning scheme, called SRADDET (or regional scheme for planning, sustainable development and territorial equality) which will prevail on all the other documents, especially on the SCOTs. Today the InterScot makes a contribution to the development of this document to highlight the tens of works and reflections conducted by the territories in the last 15 years.

The Region may also delegate other functions to the

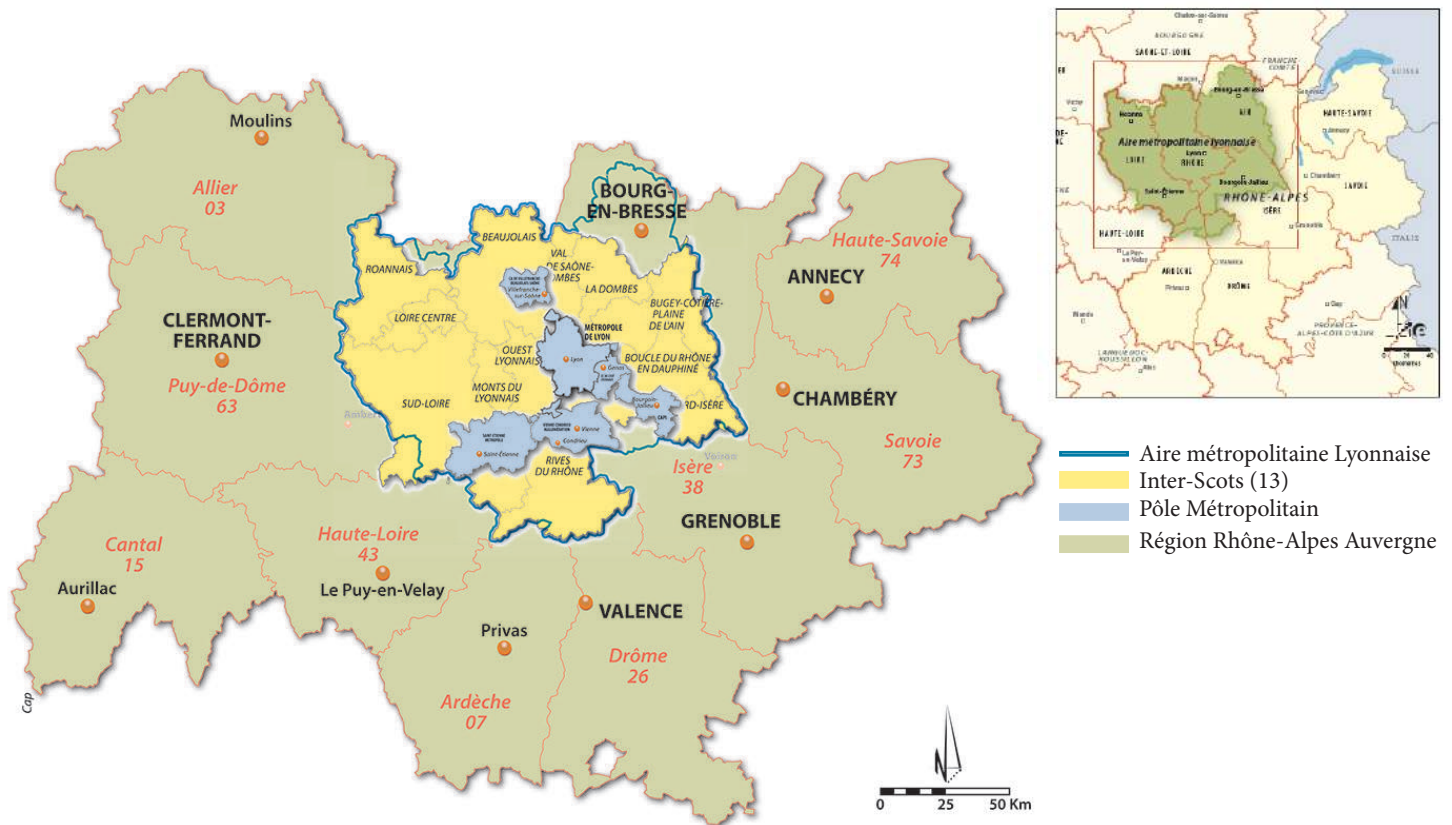
Métropole. To be noted here is the existing "clash between the Métropole and the Region which both compete for keeping the functions which are of major concern, as the territorial competitiveness and attractiveness".⁶

The cooperation at the scale of Lyon Metropolitan Area

The metropolitan area of Lyon extends over 12,300 sq.km, bringing together more than 3.2 million inhabitants. Today, there is a Metropolitan Pole, a mixed transport trade union for metropolitan areas (SMT), a Territorial Planning Directive - State driven strategy for territorial development (DTA), and the Inter-Scot, a territorial research system that brings together under the same flag the two urban planning agencies of Lyon and Saint- Etienne.

The Metropolitan Area then exists through more than one layer of cooperation and more than one perimeter showing a multiplicity of different approaches and processes in place. Visually it might seem very difficult to read but from an operational point of view, it allows to work on different programs of actions at the same time. All this brings in new governance systems based on the role of these different players and the combination between several layers of cooperation. Let's see more in detail how each of this layer works, through which kind of tool and with which purpose.

6 - La Métropole de Lyon. Splendeurs et fragilité d'une machine intercommunale, Hérodote n.154, La Découverte, 3 trimestre 2014



Carte base de la Région Auvergne Rhône-Alpes et réseau des 9 villes et agglomérations (avec superposition du pôle métropolitaine, du périmètre de l'Inter-Scot et Aire métropolitaine lyonnaise)- 2018 («territoire institutionnel » / 7,7 millions d'habitants)

© Philippe Capel, Agence d'urbanisme pour le développement de l'aire métropolitaine lyonnaise, 2018

© Alessandro Guida, modifications à la carte base

InterScot

The Inter-Scot is an informal space, born from the need of the territories to create spaces of cooperation and reflection, a neutral space that can produce a vision (also same vocabulary, same rules in terms of planning tools) to support the dialogue with the State on the Territorial Planning Directive (DTA). It gathers today 13 Scots.

Inter-Scot Key facts

968 municipalities
Population: 3 217 370 hab.
Surface: 12 316 sq.km
Density: 261 hab./sq.km
44% of the regional population
1 400 000 jobs (40% regional employment)
Regional economic and demographic driver

Territorial Planning Directive (DTA) is a strategic area of application of the State's fundamental guidelines on spatial planning and development, protection and enhancement¹. To be noted here is the fact that, contrary to the Metropolitan Pole or to the SMT and to some extent the Inter-Scot, the DTA doesn't correspond to a governance system.

DTA Key facts

444 municipalities
Population: 2 484 821 hab.
Surface: 5 169 sq.km
Density: 481 hab./sq.km

The Mixed Transport Trade Union (SMT) for the AML was created in 2013 and includes a territory where a coordinated transport fee is applied and where action for the implementation of a multi-modal information system and the coordination of transport services are developed.

SMT Key facts

380 municipalities
Population: 2 474 291 hab.
Surface: 4 457 sq.km
Density: 555 hab./sq.km

1 - <http://www.cohesion-territoires.gouv.fr/Directive-territoriale-d>

The Metropolitan Pole was born from the desire of cooperation expressed by the two Socialist Presidents of Grand Lyon and Saint Etienne already in 2008 to overcome the operational and political weakness of the RUL (*Région Urbain de Lyon*).

The metropolitan pole was set up in 2012, as a voluntary cooperation structure between non-contiguous territories.

Metropolitan Pole Key facts

191 municipalities

2007 sq.km

2.016.712 inhabitants

996 hab/sq.km (average density in France : 97 hab/sq.km - and Rhône-Alpes : 135 hab/sq.km)

67% of the territory is covered by agricultural land, green and natural spaces

1 million jobs

176 000 students

13 500 researchers

115 000 businesses

What projects at the Metropolitan scale?

The Metropolitan Pole is a peculiar type of co-operation introduced by Article 20 of Law No. 2010-1563 (December 16, 2010) for the Reform of Territorial Communities, whose fields of action are: economic development, culture and heritage, territorial planning, infrastructure and transport.

The Metropolitan Pole started as a cooperative space between four agglomerations that have become six in January 2016, with the entry of the agglomeration of Villefranche-Beaujolais (19 municipalities) and the community of municipalities located in the east of Lyon (CECEL - 8 municipalities), a very small community with high strategic ambitions, which houses the airport and the essential resources needed to support the economic development for the larger territory (metropolitan area of Lyon-Saint Etienne). The other agglomerations are Lyon Métropole (59 municipalities), Saint-Etienne Métropole (53 municipalities), CAPI - Port d'Isère (22 municipalities) and last Vienne-Condrieu (30 municipalities).

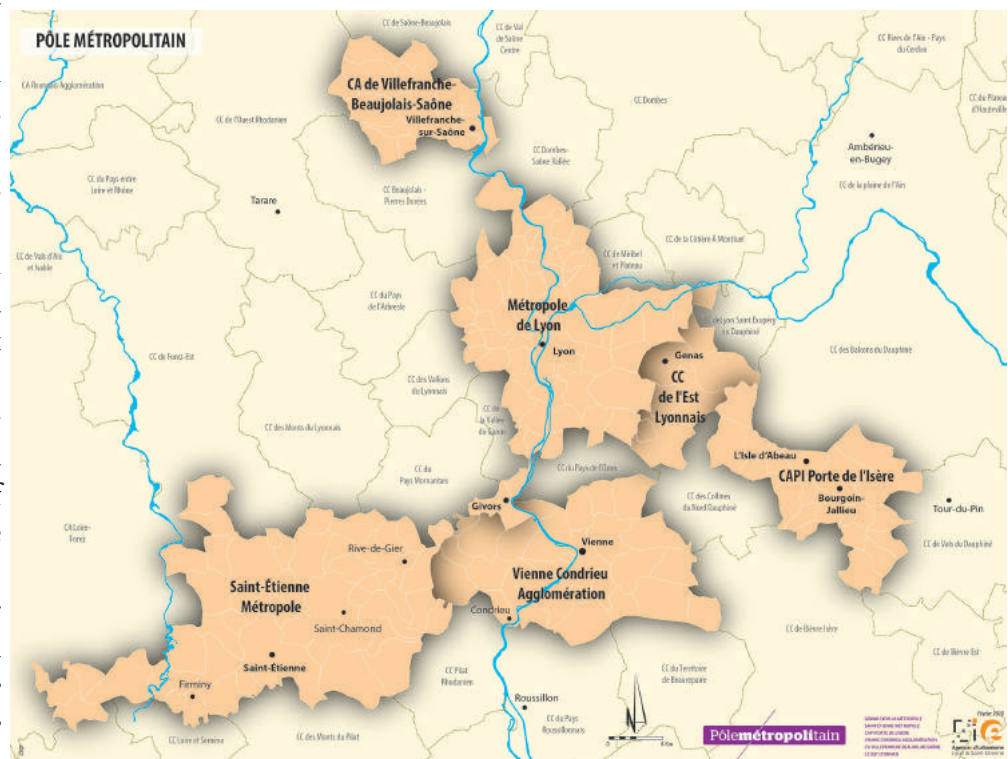
The Metropolitan Pole (MP) has been conceived as an area of implementation and promotion of sustainable development models and

planning, with the aim to “achieve” the critical territorial mass necessary to attain the status of Euro Métropole.

It means to respond to challenges of attractiveness and regulation, create a territorial cooperation able to welcome companies and generate economic development (give them prospect to prosper) and last but not least, improve the living environment and quality of life and well-being of the inhabitants who practice the territory at this scale.

The creation of the “*poles métropolitains*” occurred in a context of *metropolization of large urban territories linked to the globalization phenomena*.

It was a way to become more visible and attractive in order to be more acknowledged on the



Source : <https://www.grandlyon.com/metropole/pole-metropolitain.html>

scene of the major European cities.¹

What is extremely innovative of the metropolitan pole is that it takes into account **the issue of inter-territorial cooperation between the territories, moderating and facilitating the sharing of good practices and encouraging the realization of new synergies and finally encouraging a common reflection from the technical and political point of view in terms of territorial development.** Particularly in terms of territorial governance, the Metropolitan pole frames a scale where it is possible to set the conditions for a dialogue between urban-rural and peri-urban areas, especially when it comes to transport and resources (climate change, territorial resilience). Thematics that might not necessarily involve the big cities in the first place but that can be also driven by the network of medium-size cities.

Despite the undeniable contribution of the metropolitan pole to the development of a reflection on the metropolitan cooperation mainly in the cultural and transport fields (creating a Metropolitan Transport Association and introducing an integrated ticket on its territory of competence), the metropolitan pole did not lead to structuring policies for the territory. **Although it is a very agile structure with the potential of being a good tool for achieving territorial governance, it remains a voluntary space of dialogue, highly dependent on the political will of the presidents of the agglomerations to invest on it.**

From an organizational point of view, since its prefiguration phase (2009-2012), the metropolitan pole of Lyon has worked by working groups. The Mixed Syndicate² (as it is juridically defined) is governed by specific operating rules, with a legal identity and a structure with an operational team that animates the working groups on the different themes (Economic Development, Culture and Tourism, Mobility, Land Use Planning and Planning) aiming at building and implementing actions. Very often, in the other poles

the teams stay in each of the agglomerations and then organize themselves accordingly. In the case of Lyon, the Metropolitan pole seeks other resources among the members (made available in addition to the 5 employees of the permanent team of the pole). There are different technical and strategic level authorities to steer the metropolitan pole's road-map. It is the permanent team that lead all these technical bodies. In the same way, there are thematic commissions (economic development, mobility, culture and land use planning).

If this structure makes the pole a very flexible and agile entity, on the other hand, it also gives it a certain weakness. In fact, the process of decision-making (identify, build and agree on the level of ambition), becomes rather heavy, especially because of the systematic search for unanimity and consensus. The decision is based on "have faith /trust". There is a steering committee that brings together the directors and agree on how to translate the policy guidelines into actions.

The Metropolitan Pole has a Council formed by 88 elected members within the political systems of the six members' political organizations. The budget of 1.4M euro is based on the contributions of the members, depending on the weight they have in the governance system: Lyon covers the 48% (43 elected representatives of Lyon Métropole); the other 45 elected members are divided between the other agglomerations (15 elected from Saint Etienne Métropole, 9 per each of the other three agglomerations = 27) and finally 3 elected members for the small community of municipalities of the east Lyon (CCEL).

According to the law, the French Metropolitan Poles (Syndicates) are now open to regions and departments which can be associated at the political governance. But this is not the case in Lyon where memories of a conflicting past (when the governance at the metropolitan scale was organized through the Lyon Urban Region and didn't work well according to the elected officials) dissuading from a second attempt.

The territory of the Pole encompasses both the Region Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes and the four departments of Ain, Rhône, Loire and Isère.

Following the participation of two new entities, the governmental bodies of the Pole are undergoing modifications which are currently in progress. The

1 - <http://www.polemetropolitain.fr/?1459>

2 - In France, a Syndicat Mixte is a joint venture between various public authorities of different types. Typically, these might include a département together with a communauté d'agglomération or several communes. The organisations are governed by representatives elected by their member bodies (Wikipedia)

structures created to ensure and promote cooperation with the territory include:

- The *Assemblée Générale des Maires* consisting of 191 municipalities
- The *Conférence économique métropolitaine* participating in the definition of the metropolitan strategy by being the space for dialogue between economic and innovation actors and the politicians.
- The Metropolitan conference of the *conseils de développement* which gathers the citizens' representatives and works on specific projects assigned by the Metropolitan office.

Financing System

A powerful Lyon Métropole

Lyon Métropole is a powerful actor, capable of multi-annual Investment Programming (2015-2020)³, the tool for addressing and forecasting medium-term financing actions. In 2015, the funding of projects amounting to 3.5 billion euro of investments was approved. The projects financed were 1175 of which the 51,3% were projects realized in the agglomeration, 23,8% in Lyon and Villeurbanne, 24,9% in the other municipalities.

The 2017 budget amounts to 3,162 MILLION OF EURO. Given the revenue of 2,663.7 million € and operating expenses of € 2,396.7 million, Lyon Métropole had € 257 million for self-financing investment. The credits planned for the year 2017 under the Multi-annual Investment Program were 521,7 M €.

The resources include three types of revenue to support its operation:

66% tax revenue

20% transfers from the state

14% resources from service management

In general terms, the metropolitan financial structure of Lyon benefits from the strengthened tax revenues and it is built within the complex but stable finance system of the inter-communal governments and

departments, the latter being characterized by a very different and more incisive environmental taxation than the one of the Italian provinces. Compared to the prospects for financing the Italian metropolitan cities, therefore, there is a significant room for maneuver on the budget to help drive investment spending⁴.

What is the challenge today?

It seems there are different levels and layers of challenges to which the metropolitan area of Lyon is confronted today. On the one hand there is Lyon Métropole and its struggles: consolidate its new organizational system and its leadership. On the other hand, the recent territorial reforms and institutional changes at the national level have shaken the overall governance system and obliged to a process of reconfiguration, that is currently in place. As concerns the metropolitan area of Lyon, the cooperation system, which we have read about in the previous pages, is under great pressure: a new (bigger) region, with massive planning and development powers, new Metropolises have been created within the Metropolitan pole (Saint-Etienne), and within the region (Grenoble and Clermont-Ferrand), political representatives have changed due to last administrative (2014) and presidential (2017) elections, new territorial issues and challenges have emerged and different governance systems co-exist.

In this context of major turmoil, how does the governance of this territory work? In a context characterized by a decennial process of metropolisation, what kind of multi-level co-operation could be effective? What is the relation between the Métropole and its neighbouring territories?

Let's see what are the concerns and the reflections highlighted by the experts I have talked to.

Last summer (July 2017) comments around G. Collomb (former Mayor of Lyon and President of Lyon Métropole) leaving his office after 16 years,

3 - <https://www.grandlyon.com/projets/ppi-investissements-2015-2020.html>

4 - Piemonte Economico Sociale 2016, cap 4.1 Le risorse delle città metropolitane italiane e bisogno di investimento, IRES Piemonte

include remarks about “*un risque de panne de la Métropole*” stated by Pascal Blache, maire of the 6th department of Lyon and councillor of Lyon Métropole (Les Républicains).

Jean-Paul Bret, socialist maire of Villeurbanne et 3rd vice-president of the Métropole, noted that this change has offered the possibility for “*revoir les conditions de la gouvernance*” Il souhaite notamment que la Métropole reste “*un lieu d’équilibre*”⁵.

The challenge today is “*bâtir une Métropole qui soit à la fois compétitive, solidaire et inclusive*”⁶ was the answer given by Jean Frébault, president of the Development Commission of the Grand Lyon until 2015 during an interview with the French magazine *Urbanisme* in relation to the future of the Métropole. **Processes of metropolization are often associated to the exacerbation of territorial disparities and inequalities, phenomena of gentrification and segregation, which the Métropole is called to master. The new competences in the social sphere acquired by the Métropole from the province (Département du Rhone) will enhance this process. Citizens should be the real players and should be included in the elaboration of a metropolitan agenda.**

It should be also noted that the metropolitan authority of Lyon is a very mature and grown-up institution, with respect, for example, to the Italian metropolitan authorities. Conditions which is undergoing a very delicate transitional moment. As already mentioned, since 2015, the Métropole has merged, within its territory, with the province (Département du Rhone). The province continues to exist but outside the territory of the Métropole. Paradoxically, given the institutional growth path of the Métropole during the last fifty years, now the situation is becoming rather critical. **By acquiring the province’s functions, the Métropole is faced with new management costs and must handle new competences and human resources.** In fact, the provinces in France have administrative but not investment management tasks (as planning and urban regeneration) and are dealing with family assistance, handicap and the minimum

income management (RSA - Revenu solidarité active), which is assigned to those who cannot access to the unemployment allowance. In addition, the weight related to the acquisitions, from the financial point of view, is remarkably high.

These changes are creating a very sensitive situation also from an institutional point of view. Lyon Métropole up to now had a strong institutional level for its skills and investment capability (urban service management, and, above all, regeneration and transport projects) but did not have administrative management competences (what can be the management of a minimum income). **The problem of skills and adequate competences within the metropolitan structure is crucial.** There is a new staff who will need to interpret its own new role within the existing administrative hierarchy. The new social dimension of the metropolitan body needs to be urgently addressed.

Despite alliances and political initiatives, economic development and social cohesion continue to be disconnected at the metropolitan scale, as a result of the growing fracture in Lyon’s social structure. This disconnection is also linked to the fact that the unions have no voice in the lead, because of the political-industrial alliance built in the past. The Grand Lyon economic development strategy has always focused on the innovation industry (particularly high tech), encouraging competition and the creation of innovative economic-industrial clusters (an approach then institutionalized by the national agency of the “*pôles de compétitivité*”) with a certain lack of interest in the labor protection strategies, particularly in the traditional industry.

This is determining a social fracture already visible in the progressive replacement of the traditional working class with a new emerging middle class of highly qualified residents in the heart of the Métropole.

Organizational challenges

Two major challenges that characterize the metropolitan construction since 2015 are:

- maintain the territorial competitiveness
- provide local services, get closer to the citizens.

The organization of the metropolitan authority remains extremely vertical, so everything related to programming, urban planning, services management

5 - <http://france3-regions.francetvinfo.fr/auvergne-rhone-alpes/rhone/lyon/gerard-collomb-abandonne-ses-mandats-maire-president-metropole-lyon-1255733.html>

6 - Entretien à Jean Frébault, “Histoire de la construction métropolitaine lyonnaise » *Urbanisme*, hors-série n. 49- août 2014

and networks, all old skills of the urban community, are managed by specific departments in-house and spread out on the territories through the territorial conferences of the mayors.

The social function which is organized through the *Maisons de la Métropole* (which are 9 today) are distributed according to a different territorial framework not equivalent to the territorial conferences of the mayors. The Economic field is also delivered according to an additional layer of activities suddenly making really complicated to coordinate all those different actions on the ground, and therefore urgent to move to a more integrated and coherent organization of the metropolitan action.

The new financial structure (the weight of new management costs linked to the new skills acquired by the province) and the unification of two different administrative cultures (Métropole and province) have set in motion a delicate process of redesign and redistribution of skills within the structure of the metropolitan government.

The metropolitan government today is responsible for: territorial planning, indirect economic development (not through subsidies, but through territorial animation, support to the entrepreneurial world, territorial marketing, feasibility studies) and social functions (strongly linked to social issues and marginal population - recovered from the province). It does not manage European funds (that's what the municipalities do). What is missing, according to the opinion of researcher Deborah Galimberti is what links with the Labour Market policies to the professional training sector (competences which are peculiar of the national and regional level).

Territorial and institutional challenges
On the territorial and political dimension, the conversation with Bruno Coudret, Lyon Métropole and Agnès Goux, adjoint director of the Metropolitan pole, has highlighted thought-provoking insights regarding **major territorial and institutional weaknesses**:

- **A lack of Strategic and Political vision.** What is missing is a strategic and political metropolitan policy looking at the next 20 years, not an additional

thematic policy but an overall forward-looking formalized document carried by the majority of the elected officials of the Métropole.

- **A Missing link with the citizen.** Given a political project, several forms of civic involvement can be activated either at the municipal level or at the level of larger entity. The point is to position the metropolitan citizen in the metropolitan debate building a new metropolitan culture based on the ability of the authority to listen to the “metropolitan society”, thus raising the theme of participatory democracy in the metropolitan project and the consequent difficulties of implementing effective policies of citizens inclusion in the construction of the Métropole (see example of Forum Urbain in Bordeaux: <http://forumurbain.u-bordeaux.fr/>).

- **Too little reflection on the cooperation with neighboring territories**, especially on the cohesive and inclusive role that the Métropole could play. There's no relations with the department of Rhone on the way the department wishes to develop, and which complementaries could be crafted. Especially, no strategic thinking with the other three metropolitan poles within the Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes region (Clermont-Ferrand, Grenoble and Saint Etienne - the latter is involved in the Metropolitan Pole). This poses the problem, not new, of the relationship between the region and the metropolises.

To be recalled here is the objective of the Territorial Reform (Law NOTRe) that was to create territorial pairs made of region and the métropole, when today each entity wants to mark its own territory and show who is the boss on its own territory to the detriment of any kind of cooperation. That's also true that metropolises are very recent and the new regions as well. The homework for the next years is to normalize those relations.

Political (however informal) cooperation exists (metropolitan pole) but there is no reflection on what happens and how, when including the interstices, those rural and peri-urban territories in-between the poles.

The existing governance models at the scale of the metropolitan

area.

A reflection on the metropolitan pole

If we look at the functioning of Lyon metropolitan area today, this governance corresponds to the 'urban system' organized around the Métropole of Lyon and Saint Etienne. On the one hand, the Métropole of Lyon with a special status, and, on the other hand, Saint Etienne which is also a Métropole since January 2018, however a "Métropole under construction". The result is a model of governance with these two metropolises, and some smaller agglomeration (of around 100,000 inhabitants) forming a system with territorial interdependencies.

In the middle of the last chairmanship of G. Collomb at the metropolitan pole, the 2017 French presidential elections have shaken the executives, in particular that of the Métropole of Lyon: the president G. Collomb has become Minister, and, as expected, has passed the presidency of the metropolitan pole to the Métropole of Saint Etienne (since Jan 2018 the second largest in the region) with concrete consequences on the existing territorial alliances.

In addition, the elections in 2014 have seen changing the mayors of the municipalities (approximately 2/3 have changed) and consequently, also did the presidents of the agglomerations. And since the pole is a federation of agglomerations, the elected members of the Mixte Syndicat have also changed.

The overall geography of the metropolitan area is today under great transformation and it is complicated at present to define a clear system of governance. On the large scale of the metropolitan area of Lyon (3 million inhabitants), two predominant governance settings already co-exist.

The first one is **the metropolitan pole** which embraces six EPCs, brings together the political powers with a council formed by 88 elected members and manages a budget. It wants to boost the metropolitan governance, lead the decision-making system and therefore have the power to act.

While a second is **the Inter-Scot**: a system of cooperation between the 13 Scots of the metropolitan area when it comes to urban and territorial planning and development. The Inter-Scot is an informal system of governance, which doesn't have rules nor a

structural setting and representative bodies.

In this scenario where roles and goals need to be re framed, the new presidency of the Metropolitan pole (Saint Etienne) has invited its members to make a reflection: what kind of tool the pole wants to be? And which role wants to play in the region?

Is it a stage for exchange, dialogue and construction of a political vision lobbying for a shared strategy in dialogue with other actors (region, state.)? Or is it an operational tool to design a metropolitan action, main goal of the poles when they were created by the territorial law of 2010?

What is the right scale for the metropolitan governance?

All the stakeholders are aware that there are plenty of issues that should be addressed at the metropolitan level, but with which model of governance remains the open question.

A first issue is the competition between the territories, especially on the economic level.

The impression of Agnès Goux, Adjoint Director at the Metropolitan Pole, is that the primary mission of the Metropolitan Pole is, above all, to organize the dialogue of the elected officials on their own projects, more than a tool with an operational dimension as it could have been the leitmotif of the political command at the creation of the pole.

The question is how to be operational in such a complex framework (also from a legislative point of view) and realize very concrete actions based on the cooperation between the six members?

No doubt that the institutional changes at the national level, concerning the distribution of competences, the transformations taking place in the territories, make difficult to implement concrete actions at the scale of the six EPCs. Nothing is well stabilized yet.

This is a political theme first and foremost. There are issues that are important for all, an agenda that needs to be made. So far, it is not really clear who does what, who acts. Everything is still moving.

The metropolitan dimension is difficult to build. Frictions are emerging today where there have been processes of renewal of elected officials at all levels and where territories are being transformed in the attempt to consolidate their own regions first of all. **Suddenly this metropolitan vision which connects the territories with the inhabitants who practice them on a daily basis, raises issues of metropolitan life, to begin with commuting and transport systems. Nevertheless, it goes to the 2nd rank of the priorities being difficult to convince the territories to think together about concrete answers.**

“It is necessary to raise the awareness of the elected officials about what is at the stakes, on the reality of these relations between territories and the necessity of cooperation, by putting in dialogue the urban, the rural and the suburban areas”, says Agnès Goux.

There are potential issues on transport, but also related to the access to resources, such as food, which will require bilateral or multilateral cooperation, which may, of course, take different forms. It is where the Metropolitan Pole can play a role. **“It will be necessary to raise the awareness of the actors, at the different scales, to treat subjects of metropolitan interest and to promote a dynamic of equal development between territories”.** But it requires a political sign.

The real question is then, is Lyon Métropole “the right scale” (to address certain type of issues)?

Its neighboring territories do not wish to “enter” in the Métropole and that is why a territory like the CCEL was interested to join the Pole: to be able to exchange and discuss with the Métropole without becoming part of it. It is likely that in the long run this situation will evolve.

One of the reasons behind the creation of the Metropolitan Pole was that the Métropole insisted on a territory that was way too small but its neighboring territories did not want to be absorbed by it, hence this desire to find a form of cooperation to give answers to residents and businesses.

Then there is the “opposition” Lyon and Saint Etienne, which can also be considered a “non-sense”, so much the intensity of the relations between the two is important. But all this raises political questions

and may require institutional changes towards more integrated forms of government. (In Stuttgart there is a parliament at the level of the region for example).

The economic world requires concrete responses at the territorial level of the Pole. Large companies need an institutional reference for the productive dimension. **Currently the economic world is not associated with the governance of the Pole as it can be at the scale of the Métropole which associates them already in the construction and implementation of its own economic strategy.**

At the scale of the Pole there was an attempt to create a forum for consultation and a metropolitan economic conference was also there to associate the economic world and listen to their expectations. But the result was not positive: **make coexist 2 systems, that of the Pole and that of the Métropole of Lyon has proven to be difficult,** even though it is well recognized that the Pole is the good scale for managing economic issues. The Métropole is present in Brussels, it does its own lobbying, as does Saint-Etienne, each seeking their own resources individually.

Today, at the national level, the theme of the alliance of the territories is emerging. According to the law Notre, metropolises must work with their hinterlands and their neighboring territories in order to be able to have more sustainable developments (the law wants to encourage the cooperation between regions and cities). The idea of the government is to let the territories organize themselves using the tools of governance and negotiation that are already available. It is clear that the reality of these alliances depends very much on the local political will and the choices of the elected representatives.

This also suggests a link with the European Union policy framework where there are many programs that ask to work on a larger scale. Perhaps a motivation to look at these new widening territories. And thus formalize this type of cooperation (metropolitan pole), stimulating new dynamics at the level of the Metropolitan Pole.

Do we still need rules?

Today, it seems that the Métropole of Lyon is well aware of this interdependence with its neighbouring territories and wants to organize it in its own way also through the tool of the “Metropolitan Pole” (but not only that).

Lyon Métropole wants to create cooperation in different formats (for example it is interested in the dialogue with the other big cities and agglomerations of the Auvergne Rhône-Alpes region), depending on the challenges and the scales.

However, this is something that questions the system of the Pole, the Metropolitan tool that is built on a 6-member operating system.

Today there are six members which are of extremely heterogeneous nature: some are wealthy, some other less, there is the big and the small, different political visions, etc. And Lyon is really too strong compared to the rest of the territory, even too big and strong for the pole, whose balance has been shaken.

As Esther Agricola, Director of Spatial and Sustainable Development at the City of Amsterdam, says it, the urban and territorial question demands a systemic change and new ideas to give answers for innovative governance.

But, what governance and how to put it in place remains an open question.

Prague metropolitan area

Integrated territorial investment (ITI) as driver of metropolitan governance?

Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) is a new tool introduced within the European Union's structural policy for the 2014-2020 programming period to boost the implementation of territorial integrated strategies on the ground. "ITI allows Member States to implement Operational Programmes in a cross-cutting way and to draw on funding from several priority axes [...] to ensure the implementation of an integrated strategy for a specific territory".

Integrated Territorial Investment, European Commission, March 2014

Surrounded by the Central Bohemian region, Prague is a region and the Capital City of Czech Republic. Like many metropolitan areas in Europe, Prague faces a significant population growth and an increasing land use demand to accommodate the emerging needs for new homes, businesses, infrastructures and services mainly outside its borders, in the suburban areas.

Prague is a city and a region at the same time. Today's population counts 1.26 million people, figure that will increase of the 20% (1.49mln) by 2050.

The city has a single elected self-government as well as 57 self-governing municipal boroughs of different and unbalanced sizes (from 300 to 130.000 inhabitants) which have been further grouped in 22 administrative districts. Boroughs – local municipalities - have an elected council with a Mayor. They are the level of government closest to the people. They have their own council, yet they have no binding force and no autonomous revenue sources. In terms of multi-level governance, the City of Prague cooperates with the Central Bohemia region (1200 municipalities) as well as with the municipalities of the functional Urban Area (435 municipalities) on transportation issues. A recent OECD study analyzing *The Governance of Land Use in the case of Prague*¹, points out at the existence of several projects which aim to pursue coordinated development. However, at present, **there is no metropolitan governance body and there is no legal or regulatory mechanism to achieve coordination on spatial and metropolitan development**. In order to manage pressing rapid urbanization and secure a coherent governance of the future spatial development across administrative boundaries, it is stated in the report, new institutional mechanisms and incentives for municipal coordination are a top priority.

As concerns transport infrastructures, the region of Prague is under tremendous pressure due to peri-urbanization trends challenging the city in finding compact and sustainable long-term development solutions. The elaboration of the **Sustainable Mobility Plan for Prague and its metropolitan region** (embracing Prague's neighboring areas in Central Bohemia) is currently being elaborated. The plan, which will be submitted to the local and regional authorities in September 2018², wants to define a medium term conceptual and strategic solution for the traffic system until 2030 in line with the principles of the EU guidelines on sustainable mobility.

What is also under discussion is **the city's new Land Use Plan or Metropolitan Plan**, which despite its name, is a

1 - OECD 2017, *The Governance of Land Use in the Czech Republic: the case of Prague*, OECD Publishing, Paris <http://bit.ly/2AV0oYv>

2 - 'A new Sustainable Mobility Plan for Prague and its suburbs', IPR website <http://en.iprpraha.cz/mobilityplan>

plan for the city of Prague only.

It aims at intensifying the use of the existing areas and develop brown-fields, adopting an inclusive planning process. In this context of fertile planning action, since 2016 the **EU funded Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI) strategy for Prague metropolitan area is promoting a coordinated metropolitan approach in transportation, education and flood prevention**, which involves projects in coordination with the region of Central Bohemia and other partners.

Question: *In a context of highly fragmented administrative structure and a pressing need for a strategic and comprehensive metropolitan planning and development vision based on cooperation and inter-communal alliances, what is the role of the new EU (ITIs) tool and its success in terms of facilitating effective metropolitan governance systems?*

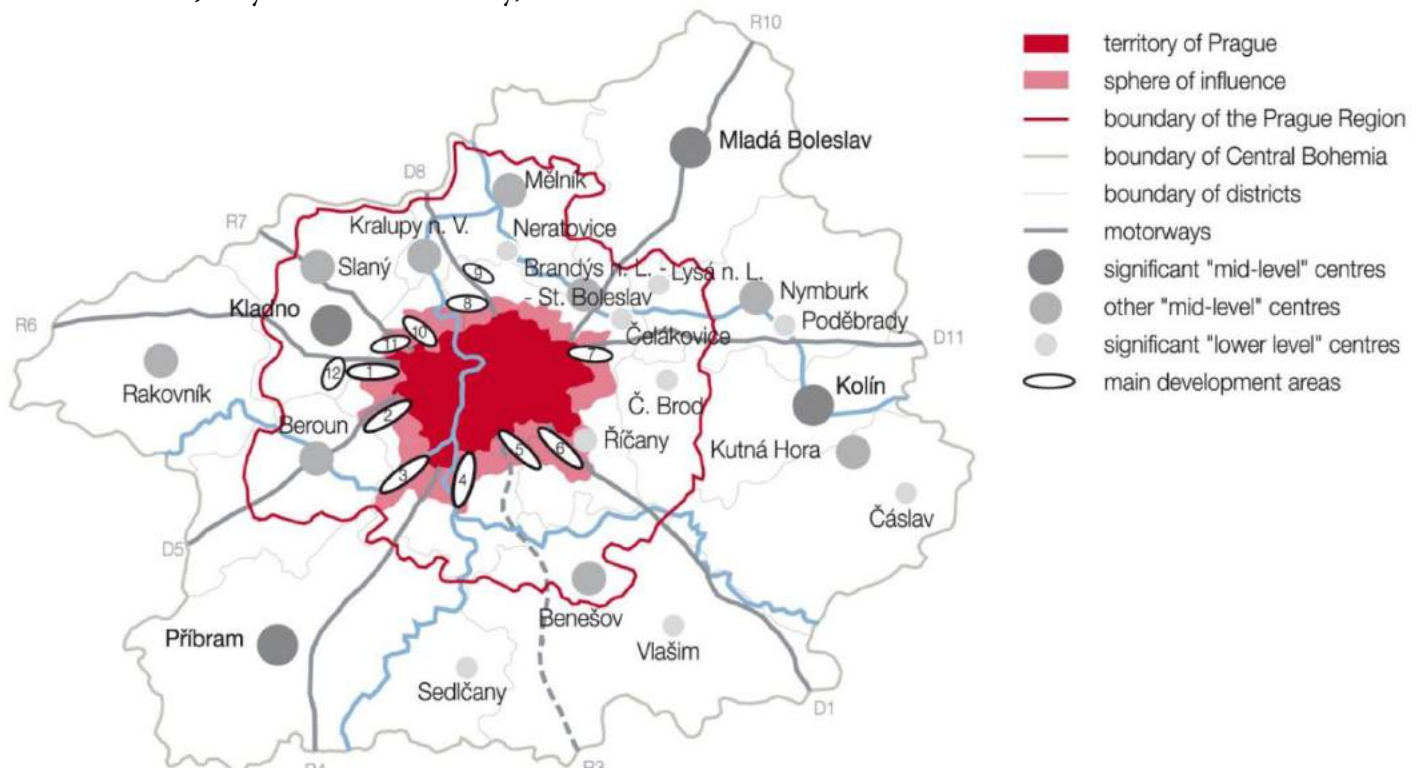
Dialogue and interviews with:

Jaromir Hainc, Ph.D. & Urban Planning Section Secretary, IPR Prague

Kristina Kleinwächterová, ITI manager, IPR Praha

Ondřej Kubíček, ITI assistant, , IPR Praha

Věslav Michalik, Mayor of Dolní Břežany, Prague ITI area



Source: presentation of Hon Turba, MRTPI, Metrex conference 2015

Key facts

Prague City and Region – 57 boroughs

Inhabitants: 1.260.000

12% of the population of the country

Area: 496 sq.km

Density: 2 535 ab/sq.km

Population growth of the 20% by 2050

Prague FUA – 435 municipalities

Inhabitants: 2,156,097

Area: 6 977 sq.km

Density: 309 ab/sq.km

Central Bohemian Region: 1200 municipalities

ITI Prague metropolitan Area: 515 municipalities

What governance?

Regions, municipalities, city districts and boroughs

The national territory of Czech Republic is characterized by a large number of small municipalities leading to a high degree of administrative fragmentation and often, lack of effective planning across functional territories. Municipal fragmentation was encouraged by law says OECD Study (2017), while there have been few incentives to merge and form larger administrative units across functional territories. In particular, after the fall of the regime in 1989, between 1990 and 1992, the number of municipalities has increased of the 50% (OECD, 2001).

Prague is surrounded by the Central Bohemian region, meaning 1200 municipalities.

Prague is the capital City of Czech Republic, a city and a Region. The City of Prague is divided in 57 boroughs – local municipalities. They are the level of government closest to the people. They have their own directed council. Yet, they have no binding force and no autonomous revenue sources. The 57 boroughs have been further grouped in 22 administrative districts.

Municipalities were given significant authority for local administration and planning in the early '90s. Districts were also established as intermediate administrative layers for the implementation of the national policies.

Regions were only created in 1997 becoming fully autonomous and stronger in power in 2000 when the administrative functions of the districts were abolished and moved to the regions. **Since then, regions have legislative powers and play as another intermediate layer of the government.**

In the process of territorial and governance reform that has taken place throughout the '90s, **the city of**

Summary of the key factors

Multi-level governance structure: Prague is the capital City of Czech Republic, divided in 57 boroughs then grouped in 22 districts. However, Prague is also a Region, surrounded by the Central Bohemian region (counting 1200 municipalities). Prague functional Area encompasses 435 municipalities, while the ITI EU funded tool adopted for the region has imposed the creation of a functional metropolitan area of 515 municipalities.

Tools: New Land Use Plan or Metropolitan Plan and the revision of the Strategic Plan at the city scale; A new Sustainable Mobility Plan for Prague and its suburbs.

Since 2016 the EU funded Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI) strategy for Prague metropolitan area is promoting a co-ordinated metropolitan approach in transportation, education and flood prevention, which involves projects in coordination with the region of Central Bohemia and other partners.

Challenge: No Metropolitan governance tools in place. NO political commitment from the national government, neither from the Prague region and the Central Bohemian region to build a truly coordinated metropolitan strategy. This is a unique coordination challenge. A Memorandum on cooperation between Prague with Central Bohemia region has been signed in June 2013 on Transportation, Environment and regional system of education however it hasn't been translated into policies to steer the metropolitan dimension. **No legal space for that in a highly fragmented territory.**

Prague stands out as a very peculiar case: under the decision of the central government, the hinterlands around Prague (the so-called Prague West and Prague East) became part of the Central Bohemian region along with other ten districts, while the City of Prague became a singular district and also an urban region on its own. The result was **two regions intertwined: The Central Bohemian region and Prague having same status, same size in terms of population and same weight, meaning same power in the relation with the State.**

As explained in the OECD report, in the turn of the XXI century, suburban growth was increasing the complexities and the issues in the region of Prague. Between 2001 and 2011, more than 150.000 people moved from Prague to the Central Bohemian region. Mainly young families and seniors in search of affordable and bigger housing, contributing to the loss of high quality agricultural land and giving form to what have been defined the “bedroom communities”, from where around 200.000 people every day commute to Prague for work reasons. The peak of suburban growth was reached between 2004 and 2009 but pressure remains high still today: mainly in the commuting zones around Prague, where new residential, businesses and commercial developments have spread.

The small municipalities are the key decision-making actors on local development and highly interested in the local urban development taking place in their territories (mainly suburban region of Prague) which, in practical terms, means young families, new generations of inhabitants (which cannot afford to buy in Prague but work in the city) and consequently, new tax revenues for the local budgets.

However this process is also implying a growing demand for local services, such as kinder gardens, schools and healthcare services and an increasing pressure on the infrastructure interconnecting the two territories (core area and suburban areas around Prague). Common challenges for both the regions and all the municipalities formerly called Prague West and Prague East, which should enable the creation of new alliances and cooperation. However, decision making on land use and planning remains in the hands of the local municipalities which are often reluctant towards cooperation. Both regions have set different

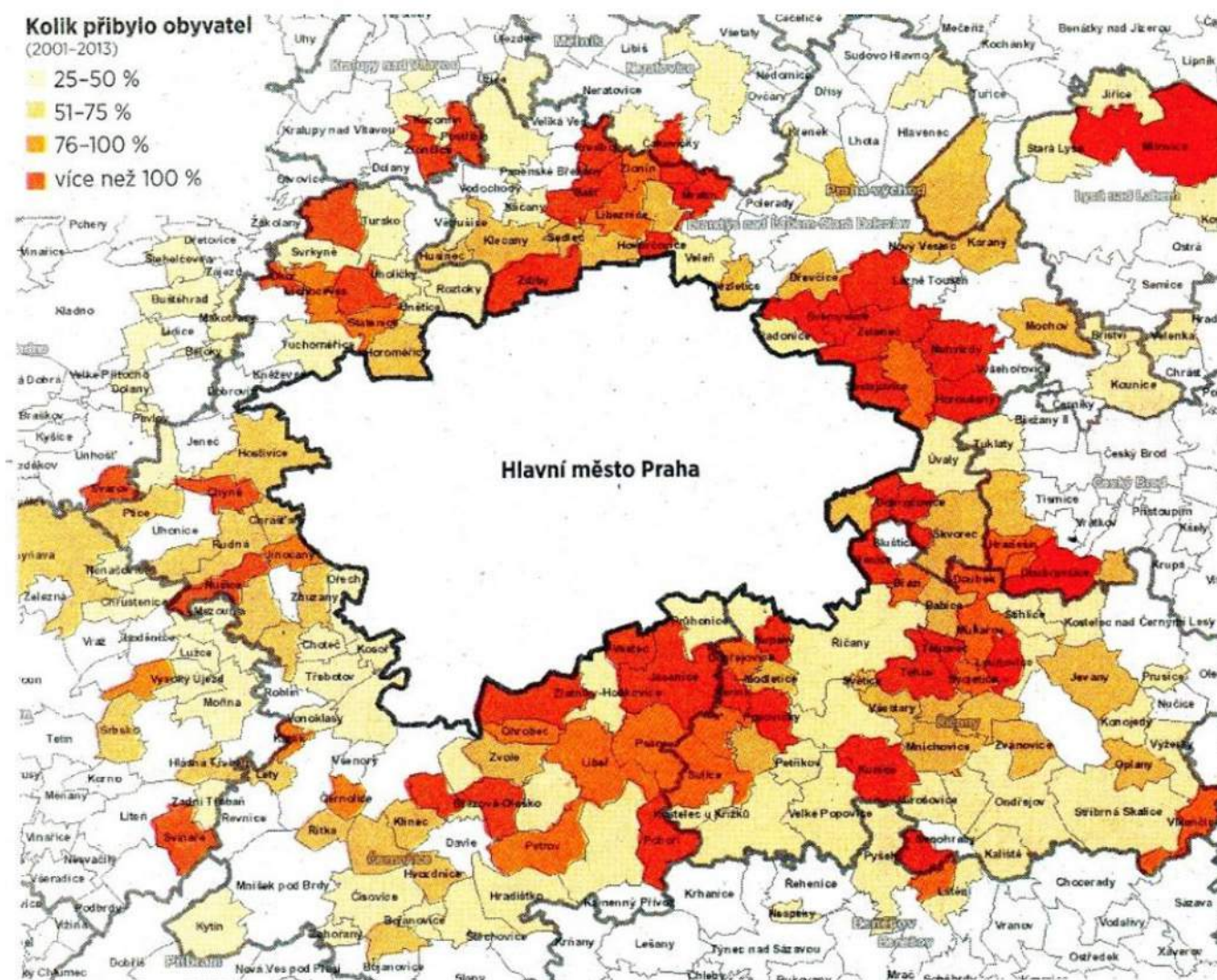
conditions for achieving urban density and discourage urban sprawl, and different requirements for co-financing activities, determining a quite complex framework to work with when trying to build alliance and coordinated approaches.

Given all these conditions, by the turn of the new century, it was already clear that keeping the boundaries of Prague unchanged would have led to major issues for a sustainable and coordinated urban development.

Effective cooperation role of the region is very limited, and especially for the case of Prague, whose administrative borders do not correspond to the functional area and the superposition of governmental layers (capital city, urban region) intensifies the complexity of the issues. Despite all this, the national government didn't take any action and the boundaries of the Prague urban region didn't change, neither the administrative structure at the regional level with the aim to maintain the conditions required by the EU to funding accessibility. At that time, with changes applied to the regional borders, Prague would have not qualified for EU Objective 2 Funds. Consequences are evident today when increasing pressure on urban expansions being an ongoing challenge, a governance structure made of two different governments, one responsible for the city (Prague region) and the other for the hinterland (central Bohemian region), make coordination and coherent spatial planning a major challenge.

According to the OECD report, a possible solution in mastering this potential conflict is the negotiation of agreements between the two regional governments that could provide a structure for managing future spatial development and governance issues in a coordinated way.

The report also points out at the choice made by the national government in 2000, which didn't really help the formation of the coordinated approach and probably contributed to miss the basis for a metropolitan governance approach. The case of Prague is very unique and so are the circumstances of creation of the regional government, in which Prague stands as a region, with restricted boundaries and limited ability to shape the spatial development of the territory beyond its borders. It has the same power of



Municipalities in Prague hinterland with the highest growth of inhabitants in 2001–2013. Source: presentation of Hon Turba, MRTPI, Metrex conference 2015

its hinterland territories which belong to the central Bohemian region.

Developing negotiated agreements remain the only option to succeed in resolving conflicts of suburbanization which certainly claim for a metropolitan governance system to tackle them: intensive residential and commercial suburbanization around Prague, no planning coordination, landscape fragmentation¹, pressure on the transport infrastructure, increase of the individual transport, increasing pollution and floods risks. Such agreements become easier to achieve when boosted by the opportunity of funding. Among these, the new EU tool that we are exploring in this case: ITI – Integrated territorial investments, which create incentives for such collaborations encouraging integrated planning across functional urban areas.

“Through ITI, municipalities are required to form collaborative bodies (municipal association agreements) in order to promote projects of metropolitan relevance and access investments”, however, this is the concern put forward by the EOCED study, “with ITI, there is a risk that when such collaborative planning is driven by voluntary local government associations, only certain types of issues – in particular those less contentious and mutually beneficial – will be addressed”², leaving the urgent and more substantial issues outside the negotiations.

1 - Metrex Lombardia Spring conference, contribution by Hon Turba, MNTPI (2015)

2 - The governance of Land use in Czech Republic – the case of Prague, OECD Study 2017

Besides the difficulty of making agreements with the 'unity', which is represented by the local government, the OECD insists on “the need for a coordinated metropolitan spatial development strategy examining the options available for Prague to engage nearby municipalities in coordinated spatial development” and it also states that “because Prague cannot compel these local authorities to collaborate, and it is unlikely that the national government will provide this supervisory authority, Prague must find a way to negotiate agreements with multiple autonomous counterparts”.

What is the ITI tool? And how the ITI implementation is working in the so called metropolitan area of Prague?

Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) has been introduced within the European Union's structural policy for the 2014-2020 programming period to boost

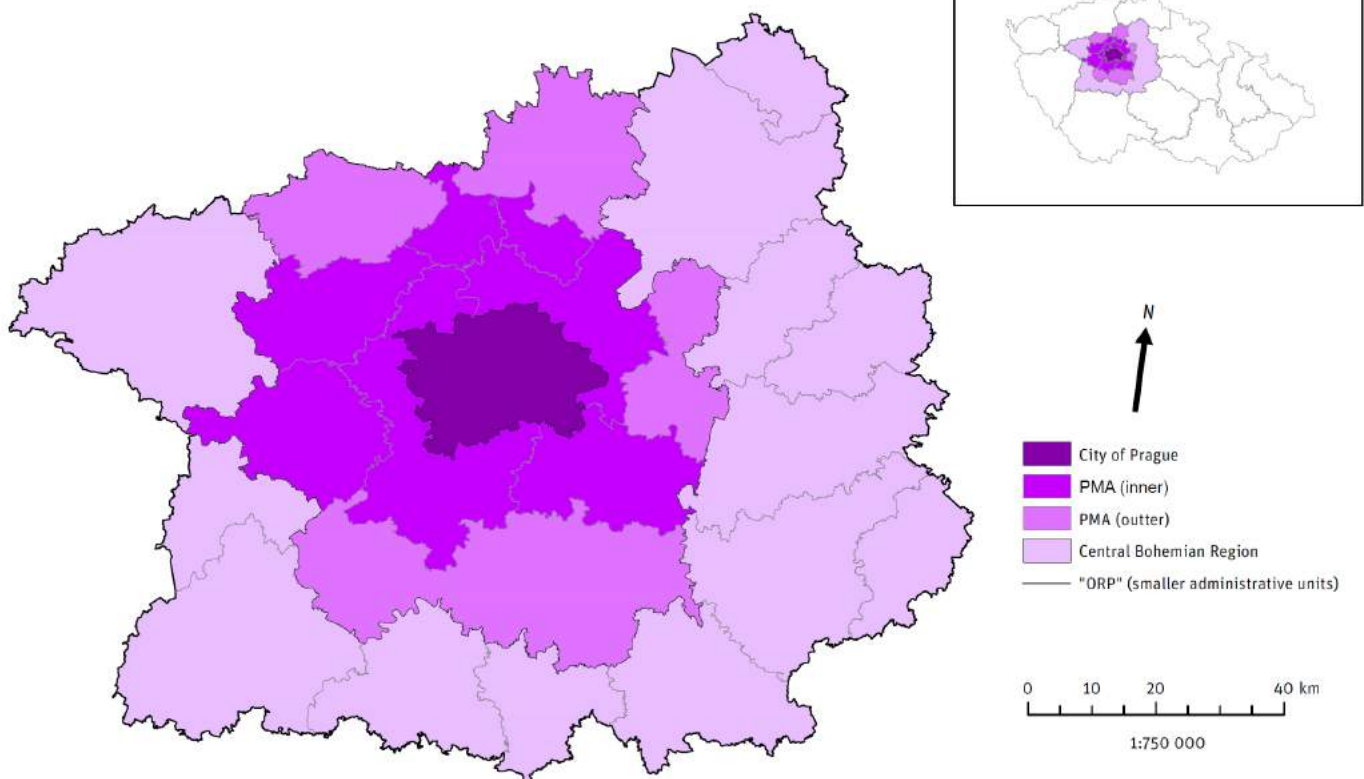
the implementation of territorial integrated strategies on the ground. “ITI allows Member States to implement Operational Programmes in a cross-cutting way and to draw on funding from several priority axes [...] to ensure the implementation of an integrated strategy for a specific territory”.³

Key characters of this tool include the existence of a designated territory, an integrated territorial development strategy, a package of actions to be implemented and governance arrangements to manage the ITI which implies the designation of intermediary bodies (local authorities, regional development bodies or non-governmental organizations) to carry out some or all of the management and implementation tasks.

The ambition of the Council of the European Union, when introducing the new integrated tools to implement territorial strategies, was to promote the integrated use of funds (potentially leading to a better aggregated outcome for the same amount of public investment), to steer

3 - Integrated Territorial Investment, European Commission, March 2014

ITI - PRAGUE METROPOLITAN AREA



Source: IPR Prague, 2018

the empowerment of sub-regional actors (encouraging the delegation of the ITI management to local/urban stakeholders), and finally encourage a place-based approach to unlock the under-utilized potential contained at the local and regional levels.

The precondition for receiving the ITI is the creation of a metropolitan area establishing cooperation between the capital city and the neighboring territories and the definition of a strategy. Czech Republic has been using Integrated Territorial Investment (ITIs) as a tool for territorial development. There are 7 ITIs and they are all designed for metropolitan/urban areas.

It is in this context that a Prague ITI metropolitan region (operational period set to 2023) has been formed 'forcing' people from different agendas and fields of action to seat around a table a work together to a common strategy (Municipality of Prague, IPR institute, regional administration and the neighboring municipalities, environmental agencies of the governmental level).

On the one hand people were pushed to think about planning and metropolitan governance working together from different perspectives, on the other hand, through the ITI programme, municipalities

could develop projects they had already on they agenda in relation to:

- Mobility and Transport networks improvement
- Environmental issues
- Education

ITI Prague Metropolitan Area (PMO): the metropolitan area of Prague created for the ITI tool encompasses a total of 515 municipalities, covering an area of approximately 5,000 sq. km inhabited by nearly 2 million inhabitants.

The territory of the ITI Prague Metropolitan Area is divided into three parts:

The Capital city of Prague (core city)

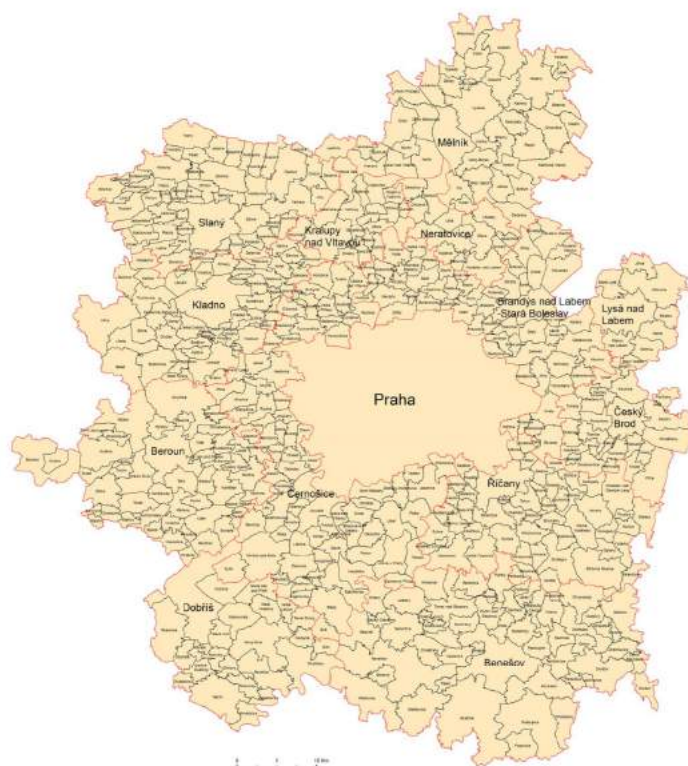
The inner metropolitan area: Černošice, Beroun, Brandýs nad Labem – Stará Boleslav, Kladno, Kralupy nad Vltavou, Neratovice, Říčany

The outer metropolitan area: Benešov, Český Brod, Dobříš, Lysá nad Labem, Mělník, Slaný

Representing the 6% of the territory of the Czech Republic and counting 1/5 of its total population, the Prague metropolitan area is not a homogeneous and integrated area. On the contrary, it is the combination of a dense core center corresponding to the City of Prague, well served and economically lively, yet stifled by a number of environmental issues, surrounded by suburbans residential rings where a dynamic growing population is displacing.

The vision of the ITI PMO strategy is 'CLOSE TO SCHOOL, COMFORTABLE, SAFE AT HOME!' aiming at connecting the core and the hinterlands of Prague agglomeration to form a single functional unit served with an efficient distribution of public services, protected against natural risks, while respecting a healthy environment.

Vymezení Pražské metropolitní oblasti v hranicích obcí



Definition of Prague metropolitan area within the boundaries of the 515 municipalities

Source: Integrated Strategy for ITI Prague Metropolitan Area, April 2018 - website IPR Prague <http://itipraha.eu/strategicky-dokument>

In the area of Prague, the territorial integrated approach aims at promoting integrated projects with proven supra-regional impact and it **is conceived as a tool for the development of hinterlands of Prague**; in fact the 90% of the investment will be realized not in Prague but in the Central Bohemia Region. In this perspective ITI plays the role of a "pilot project" for testing and improving cooperation between Prague and the Central Bohemian Region.¹

The specific objectives of the ITI PMO

Priority Area 1: Intelligent transport, speed and improved passengers transport within the PMO, stronger preference for mass transit, increase regional mobility by linking the network infrastructure, reduce the negative effects of the transport system on the environment.

Priority area 2: Protection against natural risks and floods

Priority Area 3: Affordable and quality education, increasing the capacity of pre-school education, and the capacity and the quality of educational facilities in line with the labor market requirements.

Who are the decision-making players?

The **Managing Authority for the ITI** in Prague is the Institute for Planning and Development of the City of Prague (IPR Prague) - The Institute represents the City of Prague and its Director is appointed by the City Council of the Capital City.

ITI Steering Committee of the Prague Metropolitan Area is a platform without legal authority that assesses project plans that contribute to the objectives of the ITI Strategy. The Steering Committee is in charge of formulating an opinion on the compliance / non-compliance of the project plan, providing recommendations for the implementation of the project for the Managing Authority.

The members of the Steering Committee include: the capital city of Prague (with the Mayor and IPR Institute), the representatives of the Central Bohemian Region, of the towns and villages in the agglomeration of Prague, of Transport Department of the Central Bohemia Region, of thematic area environment, of

thematic area of regional education and of the Non-profit Organizations in the Czech Republic, Prague and Central Bohemia, of the Smart Cities and, as permanent guests: the Director of the Department of European Funds, the Director of the Strategy and Policy Section (IPR Prague) and the Director of the Regional Grant Office, ITI Manager.

Financial Allocation ITI Strategy

The Integrated ITI Strategy of the Prague Metropolitan Area will be implemented from the following sources:

- IROP (Integrated Regional Operational Program) per ca.148m€
- OPPPR (Operational Program Prague - Pole of Growth of the Czech Republic) per ca 5m€
- OP Environment (Operational Program Environment) per ca 17mln €

For a total amount of 4,6 billion of Czech Crowns which correspond to ca 180m€

¹ - Integrated Strategy for ITI Prague Metropolitan Area, April 2018.
Source: website IPR Prague <http://itipraha.eu/strategicky-dokument>

Talks with officers responsible of the ITI strategy at IPR Prague

How ITI tool has been applied and what results has produced?

According to the IPR offices, the main results of the ITI tool in Prague Metropolitan Area („PMA“) has been the creation of a platform gathering various relevant actors. Main goal of this platform has been to identify what the needs and the problems are, discuss them and work together to a strategic document addressing those issues.

The setting up of the platform has been a complicated procedure though, because the activities, identified as enablers of the problem-solving process, needed to meet the range of activities that could qualify for the EU funds.

The ITI tool has encouraged the representatives of the main actors – the city of Prague and of the Central Bohemian Region – as well as the representatives of the smaller municipalities, to cooperate and adopt a positive approach to metropolitan planning, looking beyond their own administrative boundaries. The ITI has pushed them to think on a broader scale while addressing problematics which cannot be tackled at the municipal level such as transportation and mobility problems.

Even more importantly, the administrative structure which enables the implementation of the „ITI Strategy in the Metropolitan area of Prague was settled. Thanks to this administrative structure, as well as to the financial motivation in itself, processes of communication, cooperation and coordination among the various actors in the PMA are facilitated and supported.

The implementation of ITI Strategy has been launched in March 2017, therefore there is no significant and concrete results yet (such as new school or P+R parking

lot already built).

In addition, the process of implementation of the ITI Strategy is very demanding in administrative terms, because the projects applying for the EU financial subsidies must be controlled and evaluated at several stages before the subsidy gets approved, this causing delays in the realizations. Some projects will be finished by the end of 2018: few new kindergartens in the hinterland of Prague and some roads reconstruction. Later in 2019, many more projects, regarding different fields of action (education, transportation, flood prevention), shall be finalized.

How do partners cooperate; city of Prague, Bohemian region and neighbouring municipalities?

From the point of view of the IPR offices in charge of the ITI strategy, the level of cooperation is not as high as it would be appropriate. However, ITI is a tool, which could help change the current context.

Created as a tool to simplify cooperation and motivate actors to work together, the current implementation of the ITI Strategy mostly consists in the realization of projects where integration is achieved by thematic and spatial concentration. There are also some sets of projects, which will specifically require a process of coordination – for example a bicycle path crossing four different municipalities which has been designed, planned and realized as one unique path from the start to the very end in Prague. Another example is the creation of an integrated public transport system consisting of the same elements of smart solutions in telecommunication used in both the area of Prague (where it is implemented by Prague, financed from Operational Programme Prague – Growth Pole of the Czech Republic) as well as in the area of the Central Bohemian Region (where it is implemented by the Regional Authority of Central Bohemian Region, financed by the Integrated Regional Operational Programme).

The third example where a metropolitan approach would be very effective is the topic of flood protection in the region of Prague: there are some investments planned in hinterland areas of Prague where upper flows of Vltava River's effluents are located in order to reduce and slow down the potential flood waves affecting Prague.

The administrative structure made for easing the

communication and coordination between the relevant actors at the different levels of governance includes, among others, the Municipal Authorities, Regional Authority and Officials of the Ministry of Regional Development and consists of National and regional Conferences and the Steering Committee especially appointed for the ITI management.

Which other tools/ strategies regulate the cooperation?

According to the IPR officers, there are no other tools or strategies to regulate or stimulate the metropolitan cooperation. There are some thematic strategies, like the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan focusing on Prague as well as its hinterland. One of the major issue to deal with when talking about Czech metropolitan planning is the complete absence of the concept of „Metropolitan Area“ in the legal terminology. Legally (and traditionally) each municipality has developed inside its own territory without having to care about what was happening beyond its boundaries. Of course, this approach is changing, there are some partnerships between municipalities, many Local Action Groups (to implement the Community-Led Local Development) established to support a cooperation, but none of these relate to the metropolitan scale (including Prague and its hinterland). That is something completely new brought in by the ITI.

On which aspects / themes do they build cooperation?

Transport and mobility are the themes where was indeed more obvious the need for a metropolitan approach, especially when it comes to Park & Ride parking lots. The investments made in the hinterland can encourage people to change the means of transport from the private cars to the public transport, positively affecting the current traffic situation in Prague. In terms of mobility and transport, except P+R parking lots, there are smart solutions in transportation, building and reconstructions of roads, building of bicycle paths, all supported via the ITI tool.

The second main topic is education, meaning increasing the provision of new kindergartens, modernization of existing Primary, Secondary and High School buildings and equipments.

The third topic of the ITI Strategy is the above-mentioned

flood protection in terms of building new „hardware – infrastructure“ for anti-flood prevention (like polders, meanders, regeneration of natural river basins etc.) as well as „soft“ flood solutions (like forecasting and reporting systems, digital flood mapping).

What kind of processes/successful results or struggles are emerging?

The main successful result is the stimulation of a new thinking outside the administrative boundaries, the awareness of a more complex, coordinated metropolitan development. As the administrative structure has been created, communication and cooperation are indeed simplified.

Although, there are some struggles emerging. First, the entire application process is very demanding, which is both, disheartening for the applicants as well as for the management, and making hard to keep pace and track on it.

Secondly, a conflicting financial situation where the Central Bohemian region is allowed to draw financial support from the Integrated Regional Operational Programme (IROP), while Prague is not allowed. Prague has its own Operational Programme Prague – Growth Pole of the Czech Republic, which has only a small amount of finances included in the financial plan for the ITI Strategy. The finances from IROP makes ca 85 % of financial coverage of ITI Strategy whose consequence is that a significant majority of resources flows outside Prague. Consequence number two is that the Prague Authorities are not that much interested in the implementation of ITI Strategy, even if Prague is the core of the metropolitan area.

In addition, the whole process of implementation of the ITI Strategy is delayed due to:

- 1/ the complicated process of inception of the tool on the national level (building the administrative structure, preparation of the ITI Strategies for every metropolitan area, approval of these Strategies etc.);
- 2/ the preparation phase of large and difficult infrastructure projects – which went to a slow pace (like building and reconstructing of roads, P+R parking, creating the smart solutions in public transport etc.);
- 3/ and finally the slow pace of the process of evaluation of the projects' quality (making rating/ranking of the projects in order to select the best projects to be realized).

This delay becomes problematic for both the applicants, for whom is difficult to plan their following investments, and the ITI managers who are asked to meet the requirements given by the upper level authorities (responsible officials of the Ministry of Regional Development, as well as the European Commission).

What is the challenge today?

ITI tool is a successful tool to promote integrated territorial strategies, but what about steering the foundation of a metropolitan governance?

Largely applied across the Member States countries, the ITI tool has proven to be an effective *"step change in the ability of local stakeholders to combine funding streams and plan well-targeted local initiatives"*. This is the acknowledgment of the EU Parliament whose resolution of 10 May 2016 on new territorial development tools in cohesion policy 2014-2020 *"stresses that stakeholders continue to find the integration of multiple funds a challenge, particularly with regard to [...] ITI, and highlights the need for simplification to facilitate implementation of these tools"*. The report encourages Commission and Member States to provide extra assistance and guidance for smaller authorities with limited resources, urging the creation of training courses on ITI for local and regional actors. It also insists on the appropriateness of ITIs for addressing metropolitan areas, urban-rural, sub-regional or cross-border areas and emphasizes that *"the key to future ownership is to ensure greater delegation of responsibilities to local authorities and stakeholders, including civil society, and their early participation in the territorial development strategy"*.¹

Despite the ambitions, these first years (2014 - 2018) of implementation have highlighted a certain number of issues raised by the European observers in several documents and studies (Eurocities², Council of

European Municipalities and Regions³, European Commission study⁴, European Committee of the Regions and the European Parliament) regarding the importance of addressing the complexity of this instrument and improve its application.

Challenges include the lack of resources and technical know-how to prepare and implement projects involving multi-fund financing in the local/regional actors called to manage the ITIs; but also the low level of involvement of the local partner and the limited room for them to be active players in the implementation of the ITI strategies but also the need for a greater simplification of the bureaucratic structure, causing stressful delays both for the applicants and the managing body responsible for the implementation procedure, all reasons also well expressed by the IPR representatives in Prague interviewee in this research.

If the above-mentioned issues relate to the implementation of the EU ITI financial tools, when it comes to their role in boosting collaboration and create the pre-conditions for metropolitan governance models, the answer seems to be negative. According to the IPR representatives in Prague, the main successful result is the stimulation of a new thinking outside the administrative boundaries, the awareness of a more complex, coordinated metropolitan development. But nothing more than that, lacking an effective political will to set up a metropolitan strategy for the functional area.

Věslav Michalik, Mayor of Dolní Břežany, municipality in the Central Bohemia region, admits that he doesn't see ITI as a nucleus for some metropolitan governance systems (even not for informal bodies) in that area. The main role of ITI tool is to motivate actors of local and regional development to start thinking more in terms of cooperation, communication and partnership in general. Thanks to the financial resources provided and administrative structure created by ITI tool, this principals are supported and stimulated. The positive aspects of this new approach is that the projects financed by ITI, when realised, will make visible the benefits of a strategic inter-municipal cooperation. Hopefully

1 - EPRS | European Parliamentary Research Service. Author: Christiaan Van Lierop // Members' Research Service, March 2018

2 - EUROCITIES policy paper on cohesion policy post-2020 June 2017

3 - A simplified and integrated territorial approach CEMR position paper June 2017

4 - Integrated territorial and urban strategies: how are ESIF adding value in 2014- 2020? A Final Report, European Union, 2017

ITI might be helpful with setting some basis for these principals, so relevant actors will understand that partnership and bigger scale metropolitan planning approach is worth using in several areas (thematic as well as geographic). In saying so, he confirms the opinion expressed by one of the respondents of the SPIMA research report⁵, published in September 2017, *“formal [metropolitan] body is not feasible and workable in the current institutional context. Regional authorities will be resistant. Possible options are agglomeration-based council as a consensus-making body, which may be a result of the ITI programme”*.

Věslav Michalik also admits that ITI is working but not yet in the sense of being a driver for metropolitan governance, making him skeptical about the possibility of ITI developing into a metropolitan governance tool. At present there are two regions with physical borders and basically no coordination (even informal) body. Therefore, there is no governance system in place. The Mayor was also quite actively involved in the early phases of the ITI preparation in 2014. At that time, the mayors of the municipalities around Prague, have started to gather together making pressure on Prague and on the Central Bohemian region. Paradoxically, already then, it was clear that both authorities were not interested in building a long-term cooperation strategy, in spite of Prague having the major responsibility (as concerns the distribution of funds), by being the ITI leading partner; nevertheless, politically, it didn't commit to it.

In order to build a Metropolitan region, both partners should have set the ground, defined the fields of common interest (health care, social care, public transport, environment protection, water supply..) and agree on a shared political agenda. A political choice.

Milan Vacha, mayor of the Municipal Authority of Psáry, in the ITI Prague Metropolitan area, responded to my request of interview: “I do not want to express myself, believing that the expectations were much greater than the real impacts and benefits. At the beginning, we tried to work together to identify

possible cooperation. Priority was given to education and co-ordination of transport in a broader sense. The result is that ITI solves, through the EU subsidies, the absolute minimum originally expected.”

His disappointed is due to the lack of cooperation between the two main actors, Prague and the Central Bohemian region, something that, in his view, is compromising the quality of life of the local inhabitants. “The benefits of this activity are quite minimal” he insists.

Why it doesn't work?

Věslav Michalik notices that the amount of money distributed with the ITI programme is not enough to solve the problems that the small municipalities, at the scale of the metropolitan region, have. The region has been developing very fast, with families and young people escaping the city center (Prague) and moving into the suburban areas of Prague, which, means into the Central Bohemian region. This new demographics increase the demand for social services provision (mainly kindergarten, health-care), and the pressure on infrastructure (mobility system) which the individual municipalities cannot tackle all alone. That is where the big expectations towards ITI, as a tool to master these present challenges, come from. However, the amount of money concretely made available is really too little (10 projects for new kindergarten could be funded instead of 45 projects, which was the actual demand).

Expectation were deceived also in relation to the governance model set into motion at the national level to manage the EU funding. People have the feeling that this has become an extra bureaucratic layer adding burdens to the procedure and report the lack of clarity in the decision-making process of the projects' selection. Observations indicate the lack of a framework that makes clear what are the needs at the metropolitan scale, and what projects are suited to respond to the metropolitan strategy for the region. According to the programme, Prague should be the leading partner. Yet, politically, nobody is interested because the capital city of the region is not the center of the territorial investment. But then, how to change that ?

5 - SPIMA - Spatial dynamics and Strategic Planning in metropolitan areas, Draft Final Report, Sept 2017: <https://www.espon.eu/metropolitan-areas>

The Council of European Municipalities and Regions in its review dated 2015 on ‘The implementation of the Integrated Territorial Investments (ITIs) by Member States’⁶ affirmed that “the ambition behind setting up ITIs were diverse, but one of the main purpose was to recognize the challenges posed in some specific territories and give them more power of decision-making over their development strategy”. On a general level, the study reported that ITIs approach requires both **the willingness from the Managing Authorities to trust and delegate responsibilities to the local level**, but also **the need for local partners to be more proactive supporting the local bodies in charge of developing ITI**.

The local actors were willing to pro-actively participate to the creation of a metropolitan strategy and use ITI as a first attempt to design a common regional cooperation. The same document, already in 2015, indicated some emerging challenges which could jeopardize the success of the ITIs implementation strategies, **with particular reference to Czech Republic**. Among the emerging problematics, was noted **the necessity of having Managing Authorities strongly convinced of the importance of this instrument for the development of local areas**, together with the need to secure ITIs support with concrete financial framework.

Also the OECD Study dedicated to Spatial development strategies in the region of Prague (2017) noted the importance of the ITI tool as “*a step towards ongoing partnerships*”. Having established working relationships between the communities and the actors of the functional area, ITI has set the condition that was needed for creating a long-term and solid coordinated approach to metropolitan spatial and socio-economic development.

The OECD report also insists on the crucial role played by the national government. “*Prague and its neighbouring region need regular and long term mechanisms to prioritize investment decisions and encourage integration, synergies and interactions between separate urban jurisdictions*”. Advocating for financial incentives to encourage alliances and spatial coordination reducing the existent territorial

fragmentation, and calling for a true commitment of the national government in addressing the negative impact of peri-urbanization, the OECD Study raises the attention on the need for the development of metropolitan coordination strategies for the entire functional area.

However, if the regional authorities oppose bottom-up aspirations and avoid addressing the real challenges posed by an institutional setting that is outdated, preventing an effective and sustainable response to the ongoing territorial and socio-economic dynamics, it means that more efforts are needed. In particular, a sub-national regional level should foster regional economic development by promoting territorial cohesion and the inter-municipal cooperation with an emphasis on the urban-rural linkages. With the region of Prague predominantly urban and the Central Bohemian region predominantly rural, but affected by the rapid peri-urbanization process giving form to “bedroom communities” and a dispersed industrial and commercial landscape, a common and coordinated metropolitan strategy, going beyond the juridical distinction of the two regions and encompassing the functional area is, with no doubt, urgent.

6 - CEMR Overview, The implementation of the Integrated Territorial Investments (ITIs) by Member States, Oct 2015

Conclusions

An attempt to
Reflect on the research's
Results

This research was a journey across Europe.

It was a unique chance to informally meet and talk to city-makers, professionals, politicians and public officers who are called today to master the complexity of the territorial dynamics and tackle the metropolitan challenge with a long-term perspective.

This work was certainly an opportunity to register the impressions and the feelings of those who are directly involved in the process of institutional reform taking place in many European countries. France, Italy, Finland are carrying out major territorial and institutional reforms which require cultural changes, understanding, adaption and a lot of vision. Metropolitan areas are territorial facts, they exist as “territories in search of metropolitan governments”. The acknowledgment of the present dynamics and the understanding of how the existing territorial and spatial reality can be aligned with a governance structure capable of making the system effectively work and set the guidelines for the future generations’ sustainable growth, is the goal of the many efforts undertaken so far.

How? With which forms of governance?

The picture outlined by this collection of cases provides an overview of the many medium-size metropolitan areas around Europe, reporting them as described by the actors involved. It tells about a model of metropolisation that poses significant challenges ahead: face the social and territorial inequalities and unlock the potential of a metropolitan cohesive systems to enhance sustainable and sound regional development.

In 2014, at the dawn of the creation of the French Metropolises, Jean Frébault, former president of the Development Commission of the Grand Lyon, acknowledged that the challenge at that time was “*bâtir une métropole qui soit à la fois compétitive, solidaire et inclusive*”¹ emphasizing the risk of exacerbation of the territorial disparities and inequalities, phenomena of gentrification and segregation which the Metropolises are called to master.

It is true that all cases are very different one another, because of cultural aspects, planning tradition

and approaches, different stages of maturity of the metropolitan consciousness, however they seem very similar in terms of struggles and problematics. I have noticed that there is a common awareness of the policy-makers and the metropolitan actors about the emerging issues, and comparable are the ambitions as well. “The Metropolitan City is the right level of governance for territorial policies that are meant to foster the economic and social development [...] (To work at the scale of the Metropolitan City) means acting at the heart of the citizens’ demand”, said the Vice Mayor of Milan Metropolitan City Arianna Censi, during an interview released in 2017.

“Metropolitan Cities must become increasingly ‘light’ and cost-effective entities, free from active administrative tasks (such as schools and roads management, which can be shifted to Municipalities and state-run agencies) and entirely focused on Strategic Planning, including urban planning and socio-economic promotion” is the opinion of Dario Nardella, Mayor of Florence and ANCI Coordinator for the Metropolitan Cities² (2016).

“The Metropolitan City is an opportunity for a more effective reorganization and sound management of shared public services (transport, waste, water, schools...). By being part of the Metropolitan City, the individual municipalities gain negotiation power towards the central government. By being one voice, instead of 92, the territory will become stronger; no one will be left behind. Planning and programming will include the entire metropolitan area and the European funds will be evenly distributed”³ is the vision of Luigi De Magistris in 2014, current metropolitan mayor in Naples.

“The importance of the metropolitan areas as drivers of economic growth is expected to increase”, reminds Jan Vapaavuori, the Mayor of Helsinki” (2017).

I think we can say that the red-thread of this exploration is the dichotomy between the pressing and challenging question of how to govern the

2 - Corriere della Sera on 20.05.2016 and ANCI website: <http://www.anci.it/index.cfm?layout=dettaglio&IdDett=56035>

3 - The future metropolitan mayor talks about the opportunities of Naples Metropolitan City/ On Metro Napoli TV, Feb 2014: <https://bit.ly/2m570gn>

1 -Entretien a Jean Frébault, “Histoire de la costruction métropolitaine lyonnaise » Urbanisme, hors-série n. 49- aout 2014

complexity of the contemporary dynamics and, on the other side, the potential that everybody sees in the metropolitan dimension as the right scale to address such a complexity.

Forward-looking and optimistic approaches can be found in several Italian cases of metropolitan cities, where proactive public actors start to think differently and become enablers of change rather than regulators. They are acting along innovative paths in seeking participatory democracy and fostering the citizens' co-ownership and co-responsibility in the actions which can shape the future metropolitan territories.

We have seen some attempts in this sense in the Metropolitan Cities of Milan, Bologna and Florence, which all remind us that the Italian Metropolitan City is a fact and therefore it is extremely important to change the process of institutionalization of the new metropolitan authorities. The new entities are appointed to govern problems that arise at geographical scales characterized by a great territorial fragmentation and interdependence. "Territories in search of metropolitan government" as been said, describing the opportunity offered by the Italian national law to realign the "territorial fact" with a coherent institutional reality.

What I believe is important is that this research is looking at the attempts and the efforts to respond to these answers exploring a moment of transition, which is the main character of many urban regions in Europe.

By not being a scientific investigation, not using figures and data to picture the current trends, this research wanted to describe a moment in time in the European metropolisation process. It is a collection of tales resulted from the dialogue and talks with the local actors reporting their enthusiasm, dynamism and the excitement of making something good for a promising real change, but also their disappointment of being powerless or forced to immobility (most of the time due to the lack of political will or because of inter-institutional frictions).

The work has focused its attention on four Italian cases (Bologna, Florence, Naples and Milan) and three European metropolitan contexts (Helsinki metropolitan region, Lyon Métropole and Prague metropolitan area).

The predominant presence of Italy is due to the primary interest of the research to see more in depth

how the Italian reform translates into practice and what mechanisms has inspired and put into actions. The three international cases have been suggested by the Metrex members.

By looking at the mechanisms and the models that are set in place to create functioning metropolitan governance systems, this work sought what the policy questions are and what is the impact of these attempts (when measurable).

Also the actors involved were not homogeneous across the different cases: I have tried to keep the logic of transversally looking across the different scales of authorities (national government, regional, metropolitan/provincial, inter-municipal, municipal) and tried to listen to all the layers to understand how they do interconnect and relate, with a particular preference for the higher personalities with strategic responsibility, but it turned out to be very complicated and in most cases impossible.

Finally, these cases are not best practices, besides I think we can say, that they represent the average situation shared by many medium-size European metropolitan contexts ranging from 1.2 m to 3 m inhabitants.

Outlining the variety and the complexity of the metropolitan forms and governance arrangements adopted (or currently being adopted), what makes these cases very interesting is that they show what is the scenario to which the National States, the European institutions, research associations and professional networks have to refer to.

Territorial reforms are currently being implemented in several countries in Europe, changing their institutional geographies. Consequently the metropolitan governance forms are, in this very moment, under transformation and need time to consolidate, as shown in this collection of cases. Differences lie in the intertwining of various elements: the context of territorial reform in which the metropolitan level performs, the type of authority (when in place) and what are the leverages for effective inter-institutional and inter-territorial cooperation, what the competences, meaning the policy capacity at the metropolitan level, the autonomy, meaning the financial capacity of this level of government, and, finally, its legitimation.

This is a transitional moment which is probably crucial for the definition of the metropolitan dimension. Powers are shaking in contexts where reforms are in progress

Lyon, besides a robust and mature experience of inter-municipal cooperation, is today dealing with a crucial question around the effectiveness of the Métropole being “the right scale” to address certain type of issues; became extremely powerful and competitive, Lyon Métropole is shaking the territorial interdependencies within the Metropolitan Pole, questioning its governance system and raising issues of responsible and sound cooperation. What is the territorial dimension for actual metropolitan governance and how to find the right balance in the current political arena? Who is responsible for the metropolitan political agenda, at which scale and on which terms? In this very moment, **that metropolitan vision which connects and creates links (physical and immaterial) between the territories addressing the issues of a day-to-day metropolitan life (to begin with commuting and transport systems) is put on hold.** Agnès Goux, adjoint director of the Metropolitan Pole of Lyon, sounds a warning “**it is necessary to raise the awareness of the elected officials about what is at the stake, on the reality of the relations between territories and the necessity of a sound cooperation, through synergies between the urban, the rural and the suburban regions**”.

The overall geography of the metropolitan area of Lyon

is in fact under great transformation and it is complicated at present to define a clear system of governance. On the one hand, Lyon Métropole is consolidating its new organizational system and its leadership, having acquired a special status (*Maptam* Law 2014), and having received the social competences of the department (meaning new costs, additional administrative and management duties, new competences to be acquired and organizational challenges). On the other hand, the recent territorial reforms and the institutional changes at the national level (2016, Law *Notre*) have shaken the overall governance system and obliged a process of reconfiguration: a new (bigger) region with massive planning and development powers which are mandatory and prescriptive for all the other authorities, new metropolises which saw the light this year (Saint-Etienne within the Lyon Metropolitan Pole, plus Grenoble and Clermont-Ferrand), and finally a change in the political representation due to last administrative (2014) and presidential (2017) elections. All this has raised new issues and political challenges.

Encompassing 6 agglomerations, 2m people, 1m jobs, 191 municipalities and a 67% of its territory devoted to agriculture, wood and green lands, the Metropolitan Pole of Lyon frames a scale where is possible to set the conditions for a dialogue between the rural and the peri-urban areas especially when it comes to transport and resources (climate change and territorial resilience, circular economy), addressing the urgent question (common to all the cases discussed in this research) “how can urban regions work in collaboration with rural areas?”.

In the Lyon metropolitan area, according to the opinion of Bruno Coudret⁴, there is too little reflection on the cooperation with the neighboring territories, especially on the cohesive and inclusive role that the Métropole could play. There’s no relations with the Department of Rhone on the way the department wishes to develop, and around which complementaries could be crafted. Especially, there is no strategic thinking within the inter-territorial dimension of the Metropolitan Pole of Lyon and, on a regional scale, between the newly formed metropolitan poles of Grenoble and Clermont-Ferrand and the region itself. How can the metropolitan dimension play a role in building territorial cooperation and complementaries

4 - Bruno Coudret, chargé de mission Grand Lyon

with the neighbouring territories and finally foster a reflection on what happens on the interstices, rural and peri-urban areas, in-between the metropolitan poles? How to maintain and provide a future perspective for the rural dimension? How to cope with the emerging phenomenon of impoverishment, sense of abandonment which associates these territories all over Europe making the observers talk about “the desertification of the rural areas”? With severe environmental impacts by the way, as it is evident in Prague where the EU funded ITI tool has been used to create awareness on the need to develop coordination strategies going beyond the current jurisdictional organizations when coping with the negative effects of peri-urbanisation, land consumption and consequent lost of fertile agricultural lands in its functional metropolitan area. The situation is tricky: at present, the metropolitan area encompasses the central Bohemian region, the region of Prague and the City of Prague which, each on their own, manage different resources, funding systems, planning policies and tools.

“The return of regional inequality”⁵ is the tendency described by the paper of Professors Joan Rosés (LSE) and Nikolaus Wolf (CEPR), which explores the widening wealth gap between regions and across states in Europe. *“It shows that regional convergence ended around 1980 and the gap has been growing since then, with capital regions and declining industrial regions at the two extremes, with the rise in regional inequality; this combined with a rising personal inequality, has played a significant role in the recent populist backlash”*⁶ Not only, knowledge economy and globalization, entirely concentrated in the urban centers, are creating vulnerable post-industrial areas, segregated rural regions, with no economic perspectives, left without healthcare and education system, disconnected and difficult to reach.

The problem is how to reduce the inequalities within the metropolitan areas, that gap between the urban poles concentrating resources and human capital and the neighboring territories. A gap which is worryingly

growing.

Italy is, together with France, among the countries most affected by this phenomenon of widespread impoverishment. “So much that it is no longer possible to speak of a rich North and a poor South, but it happens that the poorest municipalities are not too far from the richest city of Milan” is the analysis of the Italian magazine *l'Espresso*⁷.

In Italy, the territorial reform has imposed the creation of 14 metropolitan cities: metropolitan authorities which are top-down established, public entities with the goal of promoting the socio-economic development of their own territory, yet setting a broader horizon and contribute simultaneously to the socio-economic and territorial development of the entire country. ‘Because they concentrate the main factors of competitiveness and innovation, they are the drivers of development.’⁸ Today the 14 Metropolitan Cities represent the 16% of the national surface and the 17% of the total Italian municipalities (7.954), hosting the 36% of the population, and generating the 39% of GDP. What about the rest of the country, that articulated territorial system formed by the big agglomerations (like Bergamo, Padua, Como), but also the suburban towns, small villages and mountain municipalities which revolve around the 14 poles?

The new metropolitan bodies should provide these areas with innovative and more effective tools to further increase their contribution to the regional and inter-regional development, however, the challenge is gigantic: issues regard the growing of the social and territorial inequalities between the center and the peripheries. We need to reverse the direction and start from the understanding of what are the needs locally rooted and make “caring and sharing, the new terms which will affect from now on the way we govern”, was John Worthington's⁹ advice during the last Metrex Spring conference in San Sebastian, Spain.

A metropolitan governance able to safeguard the territorial development built through a comprehensive

7 - The source is the article “L'economia della conoscenza sta uccidendo la nostra provincia”, 15 May 2018

8 - ‘Crescita, vento a favore?’ Secondo rapporto «Giorgio Rota» su Napoli, 2016

9 - Cit. John Worthington at the last Spring Metrex conference in San Sebastian on June 2018. John Worthington is former director of the Academy of Urbanism and long-standing Academician awarded MBE in 2016

5 - The authors are Joan Rosés, Professor in Economic History, London School of Economics and Nikolaus Wolf, Chair of Economics and Economic History, Humboldt University Berlin; Research Affiliate, CEPR
6 - <https://voxeu.org/article/return-regional-inequality-eu-rope-1900-today>

multi-level “cross-sectoral and multi-actors” approach (path taken by Milan and Florence so far) and ask for a greater effort from each of the parties to define its own peculiar role in making this to happen.

In Finland the national government is discussing the regional reform which implies the creation of a new elected level of government (18) mainly responsible for the healthcare and social services, received from the municipalities, making it a system with two levels of sub-national government: autonomous regions and municipalities. Since the new government took the office (2015), the reform has been highly debated. The opposition is between a **formal/institutionalized autonomous region** versus an **informal/pragmatic inter-metropolitan cooperation** whose concrete glue is the awareness of being powerful with the capacity to generate money and finance investments and strategic growth. Therefore, the opposition to the reform is solid. The Mayors of the metropolitan area are united and advocate for a primary role for the cities and the metropolitan cooperation as drivers of sustainable, effective and inclusive urban development. If the reform will be approved, the regions will be legitimated by direct election; much more powerful and autonomous from the municipal level, they will replace the cities in the negotiation with the State in the definition of the 4-year agenda.

The ones who are critical and oppose the package of the reforms, strongly believe that it is at the metropolitan scale that major challenges shall be faced soon. Cities will keep growing and the countryside will keep losing population. Only urban agglomerations are truly equipped to address these challenges. The municipalities of the Helsinki region claim their driving power: with a very unique concentration of innovation, economy and human capital, counting the 26,6% of the whole country population, the Helsinki region aggregates the economic and population growth of the overall country.

The missing link with the citizens and the civil society – getting closer to the citizens in the process of elaboration of the metropolitan strategy. Democratic metropolitan representation will come later (2020).

Common to all the examples is the question around the place given to the metropolitan citizen, which many observers note is a crucial aspect if we want our society to become metropolitan. In France, the metropolitan citizen will have a say in 2020. A metropolitan awareness is vital in making the necessary change. As a starting point of this reflection, none of the cases explored include (yet) the direct election of the metropolitan representatives among the instruments of metropolitan governance.

In Finland the national reform wants to apply the direct election of the council at the regional scale without addressing the participation of the civil society (business and citizens, university and third sector) in the process of decision-making at the metropolitan level. There is an urgency to change mind-set and position the metropolitan citizen at the centre of the metropolitan debate starting from a new ‘listening attitude’. But how to do that?

“It is necessary to make clear and understood that being together is a form of convenience. The benefits of cooperation must be appreciated, then perhaps

the trust will be consolidated. Only then it would be possible to build boxes (territorial entities) which are more institutionalized, permanent, true pillars for the construction of the metropolitan system” says Isabella Susi Botto, Head of Planning at the MC of Milan. She is in line with Franco Sacchi, Director of PIM whose reflection is that **“create and nurture a metropolitan culture in the administrative levels requires time and efforts”**, pointing out that a very positive achievement is “to have made the process start” applying a “listening attitude” from the very first phases of the elaboration of the three year-binding tool which is the metropolitan Strategic Plan.

The Italian law of reform n.56/2014 leaves room for individual decision to express in the Statute of the *Città Metropolitana* if to apply or not the direct election of the metropolitan organs (Mayor and Metropolitan Council). Milan, Genoa, Rome, Naples, Venice and Cagliari have chosen for this option, however the steps to be taken towards this change are quite demanding and imply several administrative changes like the division of the metropolitan territory in “homogeneous zone” and in all cases, requiring the national legislative approval. However, except for Milan, none of the Metropolitan Cities have moved in this direction so far.

The City of Florence has also given a great attention to this aspect: the strategic vision for the Metropolitan City embraces a wide variety of initiatives and concrete projects and it is built on an effective process of collective participation. As a follow up of these last two year, the metropolitan authority recognizes that there has been a good involvement of local institutions and actors and a recognition by the municipalities of the strong and effective role of the metropolitan entity thanks to the tactical implementation of the Strategic Plan. A Strategic Plan that plays a decisive role and proves to be one of the driving elements of the Metropolitan City Government.

In Bologna, the Unions (of municipalities) represent the reference framework for the territorial articulation of the metropolitan level. They are the administrative territorial units (represented by the President of the Union), the primary entities for the associated implementation of the municipal functions and the scale of reference to negotiate the territorial governance. The approval of the Strategic

Metropolitan Plan on July 11th, 2018 is the result of a long process of dialogue with the territory launched in 2016. Started with a programme of meetings in each of the Unions to discuss ideas and proposals called “The voice of the Unions”, then the process has continued with the approval of the strategic guidelines, followed by a consultation phase involving the institutions (Unions, Municipality of Bologna and the Emilia-Romagna region), the economic and social actors and finally ended with the preparation, the elaboration and the approval of the Strategic Plan 2.0.

Remaining in the Italian context, one of the main constraints for the Metropolitan City of Naples to emerge and get to the operational level is the lack of acknowledgment of the metropolitan dimension which is undermining the programmatic capacity and the cooperation between the various institutions which are called to contribute to the launch of the metropolitan project. It is worth noting the various forms adopted by a wide range of actors to comment and voice their opinion on the creation of the Metropolitan Cities showing the real interest of the society to this historic change. Just to name a few, the *Osservatorio sulle Città Metropolitane* coordinated by the research network of Urban@it, the so called *Tavoli Metropolitani*, regular meetings organized by ANCI gathering the Italian Metropolitan Mayors, the *Osservatorio metropolitano of the City of Naples*, the *Council of the Big Companies in Florence* but also some specific actions like the *Manifesto delle Città Metropolitane* edited by the Italian network of the Metropolitan Industrial Associations listing the key themes the metropolitan reform should address.

Citizens should be the real players of the metropolitan reform and should be included in the elaboration of the metropolitan agenda. Yet, there is a long way to go this will happen.

What types of metropolitan authorities are in place?

With which role?

Metropolitan governance forms are very diverse and show how many possibilities one can find to better fit its own situation.

The metropolitan government, several observers have voiced out, should play as enabler of a metropolitan multi-level and multi-actors governance system. "In relation to the metropolitan construction, there would be never a fully satisfactory institutional solution. It would be an illusion to imagine a great authority that could control everything on a territory with a relevant and stabilized perimeter, and with this make the citizens happy [...] I (am) in favor of an inter-territorial model based on the interactive and dynamic cooperation of the actors serving a shared project supported by a strong mechanism of incentives. However, I think that we need a higher public authority that ensures the absence of flaws between the different forms of territorial governance" (Jean Frébault, 2014)¹⁰

Recognized by law, Lyon is, since 2015, a Métropole of special status having to cope with organizational, territorial and institutional challenges. Financially autonomous (resources come from tax revenue, transfer from the state and from the services management), the Métropole has become an extremely powerful player, but also quite a heavy machine which has doubled the number of employees (from 4700 to 8700 when it was established in 2015) and has acquired new administrative functions, with the risk of losing its original strengths: **agility, flexibility and innovation.**

Moreover, the radical process of institutionalisation is threatening the territorial balance and the founding principles on which inter-territorial cooperation of the Metropolitan Pole has been fostered in the last decade. With around 1.3m inhabitants Lyon needed to expand its territory of reference and that is why the Metropolitan Pole was born.

Launched in 2012 as a cooperative space between four agglomerations that have become six in January 2016, the Metropolitan Pole (MP) has been conceived as an area of implementation and promotion of sustainable development models with the aim to "achieve" the critical territorial mass necessary to attain the status of European Metropolis.

It means to respond to challenges of attractiveness and regulation, create a territorial cooperation able to welcome companies and generate economic development and improve the living environment, quality of life and well-being of the inhabitants who practice the territory at this scale.

Looking at how territories work today, the Pole is the right scale for a critical dimension for being competitive.

The pole is a voluntary political entity which embraces six EPCI¹¹s, manages a budget and wants to boost the metropolitan governance, lead the decision-making system and therefore have the power to act. In a context where a growing number of EU incentives encourage to work on a larger scale, and given the convergence of local constraints to reach consensus and build metropolitan cooperation, a question emerge: **is it a solution to further formalize the pole stabilizing the system of governance with a real "government"?**

The metropolitan organization in **Helsinki metropolitan region** is, since 2009, **an informal cooperation between 14 municipalities and two formal authorities** (the Helsinki Region Environmental Services Authority and the Helsinki Metropolitan Transport Authority). We are talking about an urban agglomeration counting around 1.5m inhabitants and 656.000 jobs, facing an increasing growth's pressure. Alliances are based on cooperation between civil servants and the mayors and the elected persons with no direct participation of the society in the decision making at the metropolitan level.

Power and money bring them together. Financially speaking the organization is not autonomous but depends on the signature of the letter of intent signed with the government in office which represents the

10 - Former president of the development council of Grand Lyon, Interview with the magazine "Urbanisme", n.49

11 - Public inter-communal cooperation authority (EPCI - établissement public de coopération intercommunale)

essential tool for shaping long terms development plans. The agreement with the government includes measures in the fields of land-use, housing and transport. There is no legislation on how to make this letter of intents and alliances are based on the cooperation between civil servants and elected persons (mayors). **The question here is: do they need a more structural form?**

Frictions and competition between local authority is also the **mainstream in Prague, even though a unique case being an ad hoc metropolitan cooperation which responds to the Eu ITI tools requirements.** In Prague ITI has been applied on the level of the Functional Urban Area, an area gathering 515 municipalities, something more than 2m inhabitants, resulting in a temporary cooperation for the elaboration of inter-municipal projects. However, no metropolitan cooperation policies exist today. Though the ITI tool is a successful instrument to promote integrated territorial strategies and encourage the representatives of the main actors – the city of Prague and of the Central Bohemian Region – as well as the representatives of the smaller municipalities, to cooperate and adopt a positive approach to metropolitan planning looking beyond their own administrative boundaries, what about steering the foundation of a metropolitan governance? The answer of several observers seems to be negative. Interviews with the local representatives highlight the struggles related to the complexity of this instrument and its application. ITI can support and sustain the implementation of a metropolitan strategy only when the political agenda is clear: observers say that in order to build an actual metropolitan region, partners should have first set the ground, defined the fields of common interest (health care, social care, public transport, environment protection, water supply..) and agree on a shared political agenda. A political choice is necessary. It didn't happen yet.

Going South towards the Mediterranean Sea, in the Italian context, it is agreed and commonly accepted that problems can no longer be solved at the level of the core city of the agglomeration, because they concern the larger scale. Hence some observers urge a radical change “if we want to increase the effectiveness of policies with respect to the citizens' daily life, a stronger and faster process of institutionalization of

the metropolitan areas is a fundamental step for the modernization of the local government system”. And it is on the basis of these premises that the national legislation was received by many as an “*opportunity to build a more effective territorial organization, more oriented to strategic behaviors, more consistent with current network paradigms and more diversified depending on the concrete problems in a country characterized by a great variety of morphological, economic, social and cultural conditions. However, it requires a coordination effort, both vertical and horizontal, arising from the awareness of the multilevel nature of the main local development policies. Without an active role of the central government, this opportunity of modernization is likely to be lost.*’ (G. Vetritto, 2017).

As explained in the opening of this work, the law 56/2014 ha introduced a second-tier metropolitan entity, a formal body with political organs, whose goal is to steer socio-economic development and reconcile the administrative and institutional dimension with the geographic realities. Made clear that **the law** is a positive step forward, yet incomplete and perfectible, what emerges from the stories collected in this little exploration, is that it **remains a first reference framework offering room for a plurality of solutions and interpretations to the local governments which become responsible for their own choices.** It also opens to new opportunities for the development of the local systems, through actions of innovation and differentiation according to the ambitions of each territory.

Each territory has the freedom – and the responsibility – to decide the depth and breadth of the inter-municipal coordination. The law also envisages the possibility of changing the provincial boundaries and gives the newly formed metropolitan organs the possibility to decide (through the founding document, which is the Statute), if to apply or not the direct election on the metropolitan territory.

Each Metropolitan City is different and the trajectory of implementation can change consistently from one case to another. **The Metropolitan City of Bologna is a federation of Municipalities and Unions** which is adopting a model of shared inter-municipal administration that has already a long history in this territory. First significant experience of metropolitan

conference (though informal) created in 1994 with the agreement between 49 mayors of the metropolitan area and the President of the Province of that time. **The Provincial Territorial Coordination Plan approved in 2004 was the founding tool for territorial policy steering cooperation to achieve solidarity and cohesive territorial development.** Given these premises, the binding tool of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan fosters processes of territorial and institutional integration and steers the action of the Metropolitan City. The territory is organized as a federation of Municipalities and Unions, supported by a proactive and collaborative regional legislative framework, which includes financial support to the creation of the Unions and the shared management of functions related to territorial and socio-economic policies. A model which makes possible to aggregate the territories around a common metropolitan interest.

Florence is the only case where there is a significant contraction in the scope of the Metropolitan City compared to the former Province, **thanks to a fruitful inter-institutional cooperation** between the Region, the Metropolitan City and the provinces. Capable of offering a broad-minded strategy, **the Metropolitan City's Strategic Plan has sought to free itself from the constraints of the former province's territorial perimeter and has opened up to the "external" polarities.**

Again in the name of the autonomous choice, the metropolitan mayor has decided to create a three-head governance structure: Politics, Strategic Board and Administration.

The Strategic Board was created ad hoc to manage the inception phase and it is in charge of the strategic guidelines. The Board is in fact a Management and Control Team that can informally and quickly provide guidelines (to the Politics) for the management and organization of activities related to the revision and updating of the Strategic Plan and its tactical implementation. When politically approved, the implementation is managed by the administration. The Board is composed of five people only and chaired by the Metropolitan Mayor.

In relation to the adoption of a binding three-year spending plan that is to be renewed annually and will

likely be developed directly by the administration itself, the Metropolitan City of Florence has chosen for a longer time-span. Applying the same approach, the Metropolitan decision-making structure has decided to turn the problem into an opportunity and has envisaged an annual monitoring and evaluation of the implementation action and a three-year strategies review, framed in the context of a 13-year vision.

In terms of inter-metropolitan cooperations, the two Metropolitan Cities of Bologna and Florence, by the way, have recently signed the very first and only case of inter-metropolitan cooperation, explicitly created to master the emerging challenges which they both share along the Apennines Tosco-Emiliano, a mountainous region mainly covered by terrific environmental values, forests and woodlands, yet having to cope with aging population trends, unemployment and youth dispersion. A formal Pact has been signed by the two metropolitan mayors in November last year (2017), a memorandum of understanding seeking for shared socio-economic development, culture, sustainable tourism, Strategic Planning and urban innovation actions. **"The two metropolitan areas don't need administrative limits but opportunities for reunification, creating mutual knowledge and understanding",** are the words of Mr. Nardella (Mayor of Florence).

Factors enabling The Implementation of Metropolitan Reforms

Structuring projects/agendas

Among the enabling factors I think we can definitely place the structuring projects carried out at the metropolitan scale as agents able to reinforce the metropolitan identity. This has happened in Lyon thanks to large public investments in the urban and economic fields in the years '90 and around the turn of the century. When came into power in 2001, the Socialist Senator-Mayor and President of the Grand Lyon, Gerard Collomb made possible the federation of

the political and economic world of the agglomeration around a new agenda based on the combination between research and economic development and a strategy built around the support of start-ups and businesses sectors heading to the definition of Lyon as “a model of economic governance”.

In Finland, the metropolitan region of Helsinki is based on the loyal and committed participation of the 14 municipalities. Their achievements as a metropolitan entity are only possible because of a structural and concrete tool (the MAL agreement, a regional land use, housing and transport plan), a letter of intents that they sign with the national government. This instrument sets the guidelines for the metropolitan agenda.

The Strategic Plan

Today the Italian cases show that the enabling factor is indeed the Strategic Plan. In Bologna, Florence and Milan, this three-year binding metropolitan tool has been the leverage for activating processes of “territorial listening, dialogue e confrontation”. It was the first significant opportunity offered to local institutions and actors to give substance to the changes indicated as necessary by the law of reform of the local autonomies, helping them to realize the transition from the former Province to the Metropolitan City. The Strategic Plan played as enabler of multilevel and multi-actor strategic actions: useful tool to define the role of the new institution, intended as a body that solicits and creates the conditions for territorial projects and activities, the Strategic Plan has allowed to start multi-actor and multilevel processes for the construction of integrated policies that want to be inclusive. The preparatory work saw the Metropolitan Cities in confrontation with the municipalities, the socio-economic representatives and the civil society also through public meetings and debates aiming at experimenting different forms of involvement, no longer in terms of formal representation, but also through the active participation in the definition of the processes and in terms of concrete realization of the projects.

Economic incentives

Another factor which is relevant is the role of the economic incentives in support to the metropolitan projects. In Italy the opportunity was offered by the

national tender for the urban regeneration of the suburbs, specifically addressed to metropolitan and provincial bodies in 2016. As already mentioned the budget amounted to 500m euro.

On that occasion, all the Metropolitan Cities in Italy have mobilized their territories to respond to the call (“Extraordinary program of intervention for urban regeneration and the security of the suburbs”, DPCM of 25 May 2016), and design projects and actions to enhance the urban regeneration of the metropolitan outskirts. The project presented by the MC of Milan is particularly significant because it represented the chance, fully taken by the Metropolitan City, to test its role as strategic leader and curator of the metropolitan dynamics. The project designed by the Metropolitan City was divided into six programs of intervention, each related to an aggregation of municipalities in the metropolitan area, coinciding with the division of the Metropolitan City into Homogeneous Zones.

In this framework, the total picture of the investments in the MC of Milan accounted to 50 million of euro: 51 urban regeneration projects and the redevelopment of buildings and public spaces within the 7 Homogeneous areas. The project was built with the partnership of over 31 municipalities and numerous other institutional actors and representatives of the civil society. The time-span of the national funded project is three years (2016-2019). In this context, the tender has created the occasion to turn a one-time project into the ground on which the Metropolitan City is currently building a model for urban regeneration policies and tools at the metropolitan scale becoming an agency for the promotion of the urban and territorial regeneration with a co-operative, inter-sectoral and inter-institutional approach of highly innovative character.

In Emilia-Romagna, the Metropolitan City of Bologna has indicated in the Strategic Plan that the Municipal Unions are the reference framework for building a development strategy. The Region agrees with this choice because it is evident that the Region cannot talk to the individual municipality and there is an urgency for the system to evolve towards another level of governance with the aim to create a federation of Unions.

In line with this thinking, the ER Region is devoting financial resources to achieve this goal and

investing in policies of “political and administrative reconstruction” with around 8 million euro (per year) in addition to an equal national transfer (another 8m), for a total of 16m per year to support, via a quite complex system of reward, the processes of creation of the Unions. The strong choice was to look for solid forms of consultation with a President and a political and organizational legitimization. Financial incentives are resources that the Unions can spend on administrative management, organizational improvement projects and the enhancement of its governance system.

Mobilize the territories through co-design and action-led planning

Projects’ implementation is “crucial for the strategic role that we want to give to the Metropolitan City. If there are projects and these become part of local strategic vision then the resources to realize them can be found” says Isabella Susi Botto, Head of Planning for Territorial Policies at the MC of Milan. The institutional and territorial reorganization won’t happen without the realization of concrete actions locally rooted. The Homogeneous Zones in Milan have been identified but also they must be functional to projects in order to take off. They must become territorial areas with homogeneous vocations, shared projects and visions on which it is possible to work together in a cooperative way through strategic alliances; only then, the Homogeneous Areas can become true laboratories able to enhance and develop forms of political representation and organizational articulations of the Metropolitan City providing effective local support.

Leadership and political agenda are essential

Lack of political will and difficult inter-institutional coordination may damage the success of the metropolitan process.

When we look at the case of the Metropolitan City of Milan, we register this present times (2017-2018) as of “institutional impasse”, interviewees say.

A condition of institutional absence, a gap created by the conventional institutional players (Region, Capital City and Metropolitan City) due to a lack coordination in the strategic vision and political will, which has let new and “unconventional” actors to enter in the picture. This is the case of Assolombarda,

the association of the industrial sector, an actor raising a policy question and registering the need for a factual alliance between the Capital City, the Metropolitan City and the Region. In this attempt this actor has decided to stimulate the mutual understanding between the institutions. Partnering with other metropolitan players (such as the PIM), Assolombarda is looking for a clear institutional actor with whom to open a dialogue and negotiate favorable conditions for the growth of businesses and the economic system in the metropolitan region.

Similar case is Naples where the Metropolitan City endures “the lack of implementation of the regional law for the reorganization of the administrative functions undermining any attempt to reorganize the governance system”. The current regional planning legislation (16/2004) doesn't make any reference to the Metropolitan City while the most recent regional law n.12/2017 on Civil Protection wants to concentrate all the programming and the coordination functions within the Regional Level, leaving the operational and administrative functions to the provinces, depriving the Metropolitan City of the role of strategic player within its territory competence.”

In Prague, interviewees have noticed how “in order to build a Metropolitan region, both partners should have set the ground, defined the fields of common interest (health care, social care, public transport, environment protection, water supply..) and then agree on a shared political agenda”. This is first and foremost a political choice.

In the Metropolitan Pole of Lyon there is “no doubt that the institutional changes at the national level, concerning the distribution of competences, the transformations taking place in the territories, make difficult to implement concrete actions at the scale of the six EPCIs”. Nothing is well stabilized yet. There are issues that are of political nature, an agenda that need to be made. So far, it is not really clear who does what, who acts. Everything is still moving” [...] “It will be necessary to raise the awareness of the actors, at the different scales, to treat subjects of metropolitan interest and to promote a dynamic of equal development between territories”. But, in order to happen, it requires a political sign.”

Success examples show a completely different scenario. In the Metropolitan City of Florence the political agreement has made possible the achievement of a metropolitan authority which sees strengthened its role as a 'metropolitan government for the municipalities coordination'.

The Tuscany Regional Law no. 22/2015, Art. 5, indicates the participation of the Metropolitan City in the scope of important regional programming functions in the form of binding agreement or mandatory advice. "The Tuscany Region, the Metropolitan City and the provinces have done an important work in regard to the reorganization of the provincial functions. Apart from the roads and management of the secondary school buildings, this MC has been relieved from the burden of the old province, with a clear effort to allow the metropolitan government to go into the direction indicated by the Delrio Law (55/2014).

Partially, the merit goes to the Region which "has created the ideal legislative framework to allow the Metropolitan City to take off."

Part of the success in Florence is probably also due to the role of the metropolitan mayor in the context of the metropolitan reform. In fact he is also the coordinator of the Metropolitan Cities in ANCI, the national association of the Italian municipalities. The Association, since Jan 2015 is running round tables and meetings entirely dedicated to support the organizational changes that the former administrations had to face when transformed into entities for strategic development.

Context which happens to be very fertile in terms of policy papers and actions initiated by the Italian Metropolitan Mayors. The "Environmental Agreement of Bologna (*La Carta di Bologna per l'Ambiente*, June 2017)¹² is of particular relevance. Signed by all the Metropolitan Mayors is the paper which wants to position Italy in line with the UN Sustainable Development Goals (2030) and within the framework of the elaboration for the New Urban Agenda for the EU (Quito, Oct 2016), starting from the assumption that Metropolitan governments have a great responsibility in leading the future development and achieve the sustainability goals.

These kind of inter-institutional synergies have also produced visible results in Bologna where the favorable cooperation between the Region and the Metropolitan City and the Capital City fruitfully contributes at building the metropolitan narrative (the former province had started the process already in 1994) in support to the definition of the new institutional and administrative setting.

In Helsinki, the leadership of the Helsinki Mayor and the alliances built with the civil servants and the other mayors of the metropolitan area keep strong the role of the cities. They wish to achieve more power and responsibilities for the cities and the metropolitan organization and they concretely see the impact of their choices.

The limiting factors

In Italy, the relationships with the capital city and with the Region remain two weak nodes in the process of building a guiding role for the Metropolitan City. The region seeks the intermediation with the municipalities in particular with the Homogeneous Zones to build a privileged dialogue and maintains a distressed attitude towards the take-off of the Metropolitan City. The region is an extremely powerful body that controls all the most significant areas of governance: transport, urban planning, environment, agriculture, tertiary sector, labor market management, etc.

Within the national legislative framework given, each Metropolitan City in agreement with the regional authority, can choose its character and which approach and instruments can better fit to govern its territory of reference. However, the binding relation with the regional authority is one of the most troublesome factors of this attempt of reform.

In particular as concerns the Italian context, there is also an ambiguous position of the municipal mayors, mainly those of the capital cities which suffer from overloading local issues which are limiting their

12 - Comune di Bologna: <https://bit.ly/2Obi9bV>

capacity to take the lead at the metropolitan scale. Metropolitan mayors are completely absorbed by the local urgencies and priorities concerning their local basin of election – the city which they have been called to govern, that is not the metropolitan territory, and find themselves overburdened between the responsibilities and the powers received by being “metropolitan mayors”. Metropolitan mayors claim that they need the tools and the conditions to exercise such a power in an effective way. What emerges is their aloof enthusiasm about the reform mainly due to the perception that the metropolitan question is exclusively related to a shared services management, rather than spatial planning and socio-economic challenges.

The continuous search of the political consensus is another factor that can distract from the real objectives. Also in the French case of Lyon, the political structure of the Metropolitan Pole makes it a very flexible and agile entity, on the other hand, it also gives it a certain weakness. In fact, the process of decision-making (identify, build and agree on the level of ambition), becomes rather heavy, especially because of this almost systematic search for unanimity and consensus.

New skills to manage the metropolitan dimension

The problem of skills and adequate competences within the metropolitan structure is crucial. In Lyon Métropole, there is new staff who will need to interpret its own new role within the existing administrative hierarchy. The new social dimension of the Metropolitan body needs to be addressed urgently.

In the Italian new metropolitan organizations, observers highlight the importance of encouraging the functional and strategic action of the Metropolitan City with the activation of a process of coaching that allows the construction of a metropolitan culture.

New skills and new competences seem to be useful to integrate the existent resources. What I have noticed is that Bologna and Naples have counted on in-house resources, while both Florence and Milan have invested in external resources to elaborate the Strategic documents.

The financing side of the metropolitan project in Italy is indeed a limiting factor of the metropolitan implementation.

Italian Metropolitan Cities are not autonomous entities and concretely suffer the inability to make long term strategic programmes without clear budgets to count on.

It was July 2017 when the Metropolitan Mayor of Bologna, Virginio Merola appeared on the news sending a warning “Without resources, this new governance system is likely to be a castle of paper ready to collapse” and asks the government for a “Strategic Plan which let (the Metropolitan Cities) to gain momentum”. Few months later also his colleague on the other side of the Apennines, Dario Nardella, Mayor of the Metropolitan City of Florence launched a message to the National Government.

The Institutional Reform must be completed: “The Delrio Law has been a good law, but it is imperative to integrate it” reinforcing the fiscal autonomy and the functions of the 14 metropolitan cities, enabling Metropolitan Cities to have an organizational and financial model in real discontinuity with the earlier provinces. What is happening today is that Metropolitan Cities drag the burden of the legacy of the provinces from which they originate. The ability to review their functions increasingly distinguishes them from municipalities and regions and allows them to be Strategic Planning bodies, promoting the territory, with less active administrative tasks and a new coordination role.” (ANSA) - Florence, 31 August 2017.

In Milan, the economic struggles that the Metropolitan City has experienced since its creation up to the profound crisis of 2017, have provoked a deep anxiety and frustration concerning its role, the possibilities and the ways the Metropolitan authority could implement its mandate in carrying out the metropolitan project.

The metropolitan projects are mainly supported by European, national and regional funding such as PON Metro resources, created for metropolitan areas (but currently transferred to the main capital city only),

the resources of the Structural Funds allocated to the Region, those of the national PONs to which the territory can apply.

Receiving a great response, in 2016, the National government has made available 500m euro entirely dedicated for the first time to the Metropolitan Cities and provincial bodies for physical and social actions aimed at the urban regeneration of the metropolitan outskirts.

The tender was a success, all the Metropolitan Cities have applied and in particular Florence, Bologna and Milan have explicitly used the tender as a medium to implement and test on the ground the metropolitan dimension of their territories.

Another aspect to be highlighted is that new forms of partnerships with foundations and investors in the world of the social and sustainable finance have emerged.

The Strategic Plan of Milan Metropolitan City has created the basis for the launch of multi-actor processes of cooperation, which has seen the protagonist of the association of the industrial sector to become an active player both in the elaboration phases of the Strategic Plan but also as sponsor of the projects implementation.

The actions of the City of Florence is made possible by national, regional and private resources, with the involvement of a Bank Foundation which usually reserves some funding for territorial enhancement in the metropolitan area. In 2018, the foundation will devote resources to the tactical implementation of the Strategic Plan.

Challenges ahead and conclusive remarks

So how does the metropolitan dimension take form in the metropolitan regional structures? We saw different forms of authorities, adopting diverse tools and composite schemes of alliances. However, common to all the cases, the voice of the metropolitan mayors raise today as one say.

On top of the European metropolitan agendas there

is the **territorial and urban cohesion** "[...] *La création de la métropole nous confère une meilleure capacité à innover, à décloisonner les politiques publiques, à renouveler nos pratiques au profit d'une plus grande solidarité*" has recently declared David Kimelfeld, current President of Lyon Métropole (15.05.2018)¹³. On the same level of priority, **the role of the cities and urban areas as engines of growth, well-being and sustainable development** was emphasized by the Mayor of Helsinki Jan Vapaavuori (31.10.2017), finding himself in line with the declaration of Virginio Merola, Mayor of the MC of Bologna appointed national coordinator for the Sustainable Development and the Urban Agenda for the Metropolitan Cities (01.02.2018)¹⁴. Early in February this year he has publicly asked the new Italian Parliament to be strongly committed and continue the efforts undertaken to let the metropolitan entities to take off.

Challenges and ambitions are widely shared by all the metropolitan territories explored in this research and can be effectively summarized in the words of Arianna Censi, vice-Mayor of the MC of Milan: "in these months as a vice-mayor I have fought every day and everywhere with the aim to explain, and to convince, that the future of the territories goes through an institution like the metropolitan city. Only the Metropolitan City can formulate answers and govern processes which increasingly exceed the boundaries of the individual municipalities" (13 June 2017)¹⁵.

In addition, all the cases also give evidence to the reasons for the creation of a metropolitan cooperation:

- Rethink the inter-institutional cooperation model and bridge the gap between the institutional and administrative system and the existing territorial structure
- Encourage the integration of policy action
- Make more rational the public costs and increase public action efficiency
- Foster the definition of wider territorial areas for the management of shared functions

13 - http://www.lepoint.fr/chroniques/tribune-kimelfeld-la-cohesion-urbaine-le-grand-defi-de-demain-15-05-2018-2218584_2.php

14 - <https://www.renonews.it/citta-metropolitana/2018/02/01/mero-la-responsabile-nazionale-anci-realizzazione-dellagenda-urbana-della-citta-metropolitane-lo-sviluppo-sostenibile/>

15 - <http://www.arcipelagomilano.org/archives/47172>

- Reach a critical mass in the negotiations with the regional, national and European partners.

All these cases are indeed laboratories of metropolitan governance: whether there is a top-down legislative framework that needs to be adapted and make it fit to the local and place-rooted challenges and strengths (Italian cases), or a special funding programme tailor-made for a target-region (Prague), or a voluntary and pragmatic political interest acting to achieve cooperation and play together (Helsinki region and Lyon Metropolitan Pole), each territory showcases an attempt, a strategy, a way forward, to deal with major territorial questions that call for radical changes.

Talking about Laboratories of metropolitan governance

8 inspiring practices which are worth noting

Strategies and approaches can play as enabler of a metropolitan identity

The MAL is a clear development strategy set up in the **Helsinki metropolitan region** through a cooperation between the 14 municipalities, two formal authorities (Helsinki Environmental Authority and the Transport Authority) and the State.

The players are acquainted with the power and the meaning of their cooperation, which also translates into a solid metropolitan awareness.

Lyon Métropole is a robust and mature experience of inter-municipal cooperation based on a strong relationship with the territories. The process of urban renewal which took place around the turn of the century has addressed the complexity of the transformations developing new planning tools and approaches. The Lyon urban policies of that time had the capacity to act at different 'scales of action: from the construction of a strategy for the development of the metropolitan area (the Master plan, *Schéma directeur*),

to the arrangement of urban plan and projects for specific parts of the city.'¹⁶

Such a complexity required an overall change inside the administration services which made the *Communauté urbaine du Grand Lyon* and the *Agence d'urbanisme* promoter of a **process of coordination and continuous dialogue with the numerous actors** and committees involved in each operation which has contributed to build a real cultural process of metropolitan identity.

In **Milan**, the approval of the Strategic Plan in March 2016 was only the first step towards a process of consolidation of a working method that is nurturing future policies and projects that in turn will help to qualify the action of the Metropolitan City and form a conscious metropolitan public opinion.

The Strategic Plan is conceived as a process: built around **six project platforms, with a transversal character, it plays as a useful tool** for the construction of a shared vision, a strategic agenda for the Metropolitan City. Three key assets of this approach:

- a long-term perspective of action, beyond the three-year period required by law 56/2014;
- the possibility of building alliances, partnerships and projects beyond the institutional boundaries of the Metropolitan City;
- multi-level and multi-actors approach: organic and structured interaction with a plurality of actors, public and private.

Unions and Homogeneous Zones

In the MC of Milan, the establishment of the Homogeneous Zones represents an important opportunity to create places of representation of the territorial interests. Those territorial zones allow to reorganize and rationalize the existing forms of inter-municipal cooperation and the exercise of decentralized functions within the metropolitan area.

In Bologna, the Unions are the institutional and territorial units, the reference framework for the territorial articulation of the Metropolitan City's policies and actions. The metropolitan system is built

16 - <http://www.planum.net/lyon-1992-2010-strategies-and-urban-projects-for-the-contemporary-city>

together with the Presidents of the Unions.

The Presidency Bureau (metropolitan government)

In the MC of Bologna, with the aim to increase the connection between the various institutional levels and improve the decision-making process at the metropolitan scale, the **Presidency Bureau** (*Ufficio di Presidenza*) was created. **This is the government of the Metropolitan City, where all the Presidents of the Unions are represented.** This body existed in a voluntary form from 1994 to 2014. Today it has the task of connecting the Unions to the Metropolitan City policies and actions, as well as to inform and prepare the works of the metropolitan conference. It is exclusively formed by the Presidents of the Unions.

Tactical implementation and the role of the Strategic Board

The Metropolitan Mayor in Florence has opted for the creation of a Board, a management and control Team that can informally and quickly provide the necessary guidance to the political organs. This Board is in charge for the revision and the update of the Strategic Plan's programme of activities and their implementation.

The Board is formed by the 5 higher positions in charge of the Strategic Plan including the Metropolitan Mayor.

New emerging players in the metropolitan arena:

- **Bank foundations** as strategic investment partners for metropolitan projects. This is the case in Florence, where the Foundation *Cassa di Risparmio di Firenze* partners with the MC of Florence and financially support the projects of urban regeneration in the framework of the implementation of the Strategic Plan.

Something similar is happening in Milan, where the metropolitan government is looking for partnership

with the worlds of the investors in the social and sustainable finance.

- **Industrial sector and entrepreneurial organizations** such as Assolombarda in the MC of Milan are taking the lead in the metropolitan discussion mobilizing the civil society and the economic world around the issues, the challenges and the opportunities offered by this new dimension.

Genuine co-construction of the metropolitan governance

Great investment of the new metropolitan governments in building territorial and inter-institutional synergies and multi-actors cooperation. Bologna and Florence are small metropolitan areas, however they have given a great attention in mobilizing the territories in the construction of the metropolitan strategy.

Territorial representatives became directly responsible for the choices taken and become the main players of the metropolitan action.

Leadership

Though informal and voluntary, the strong cooperation between the elected official of the Helsinki metropolitan region happens to be extremely powerful in the negotiation with the State.

The Mayors of the core cities are leading the scene of the metropolitan development.

Incentives

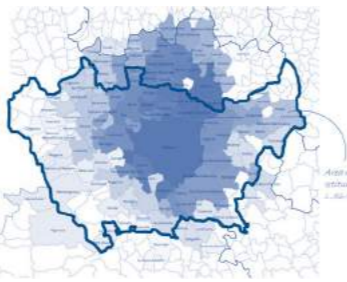
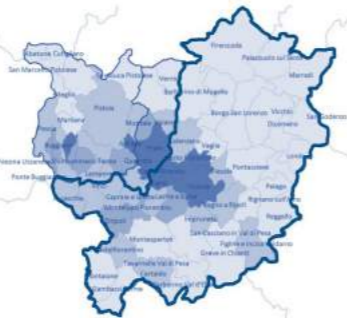

Money and power are strong tools. And they can be used to encourage and enable the territories towards a comprehensive and strategic metropolitan vision. In Florence the metropolitan government has transformed the national tender for the urban regeneration of the peripheries (2016) into an opportunity to aggregate the territories around a common territorial project of urban renewal.



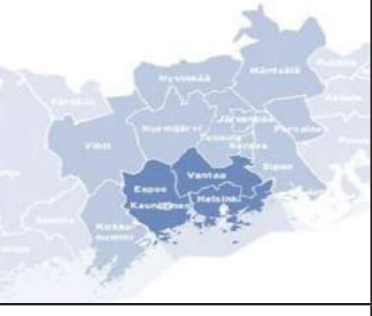
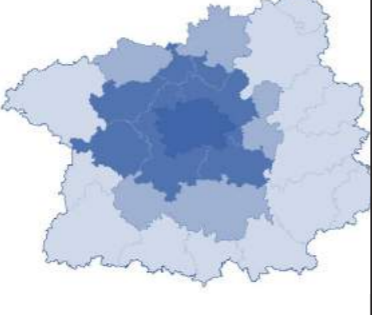
Close by, in Emilia-Romagna, the Region has approved a plan for financial resources in support to the mergers. Financial incentives are resources that the Unions can

spend on administrative management, projects for organizational improvement and enhancement of the governance of the Unions.

At the National level, in the Italian context, the Agency for the Territorial Cohesion, via the PON National Program 2014-2020 funding system and with the coordination of ANCI, mobilizes economic resources, tools and technical competences with the aim to foster the institutional innovation needed.

SYNOPTIC TABLE

Metropolitan Area	type of authority	relation between metro cities and functional areas	legislative and institutional framework	tools for metropolitan governance in use	how the metro area is financed	factors enabling the structuring of a metropolitan dimension	limiting factors
MC of Milan pop. 3,2m area: 1.576 km ² n. municipalities:134	Formal authority with political organs. This MC has chosen for direct elections (not action taken so far in this direction). The Functional Area much bigger, going beyond the provincial borders		National Law 56/2014 A permanent inter-institutional metropolitan City-Region conference has allowed the approval of the 7 homogeneous Zones.	A three-year binding Strategic Plan approved - enabler of multi-level and multi actor strategic actions Statute of the MC - identity card of the MC.	National tender for the urban regeneration at the metropolitan scale European and regional funds Not only public tenders, the MC wants to partner with private actors and investors in the field of the social and sustainable economy	Homogeneous Zones Projects innovation Methodological support from PIM (Center for Urban Studies) New actors on the metro scene Strategic metro cities programme (ANCI), Observatory for metro cities, Urban@it)	Find a balance between responsibility and powers. Find economic resources which can adequately support the policies and actions required; allow some maneuver to be done on the human resources (new competences needed); Introduce innovation (new young managers); Implement a true simplification of the institutional levels; build a constructive cooperation with the capital city and the region
MC of Florence pop. 1,01m area: 3.514 km ² n. municipalities:42	Formal authority with political organs. This MC has chosen for IN-direct elections. The Functional Area is different from the metro city established by law		National Law 56/2014 Regional law n.22/2015 has cleaned the MC from burden of the old province. A permanent inter-institutional metropolitan City-Region conference	A 13-year Strategic Plan approved - enabler of multi-level and multi actor strategic actions The Statute of the MC	National tender for the urban regeneration at the metropolitan scale European, regional and private resources	- Office for the Strategic Plan - Collaboration Metro City, Chamber of Commerce, research/experts, universities, banks - Strategic Board (five members) - Scientific Committee - Bank Foundation as sponsor - Cooperative Strategic Plan as guiding framework - National-Regional-Local political alignment	Municipalities were skeptical. It is important to move fast to the implementation phase to show the concrete effect of the cooperation. The involvement of the citizens is another challenge!
MC of Naples pop. 3,12m area: 1.179 km ² n. municipalities:92	Formal authority with political organs. This MC has chosen for direct elections (not action taken so far in this direction). The Functional Area is bigger, going beyond the provincial borders		National Law 56/2014 Inter-institutional agreement between the Capital City and the MC	The Statute of the MC	National tender for the urban regeneration at the metropolitan scale European PON metro and Complementary City Metro action program) National and regional resources	The agreement between the Capital City and the MC has supported the implementation of the projects (12) under the Axis 1. Digital Agenda. Activism of the Research (university) and business world (<i>Unione Industriali</i>)	No institutional legitimization of the MC from the other level (region in particular). Political and institutional uncertainties preventing the MC from acting.

Metropolitan Area	type of authority	relation between metro cities and functional areas	legislative and institutional framework	tools for metropolitan governance in use	how the metro area is financed	factors enabling the structuring of a metropolitan dimension	limiting factors
MC of Bologna pop. 1m area: 3.702 km2 n. municipalities:55	Metropolitan City is a federation of municipalities and unions.		National Law 56/2014 Regional Law Inter-institutional agreement	Strategic Plan approved after 2 years of cooperative dialogue with the territories. The Statute of the MC	National tender for the urban regeneration at the metropolitan scale European, national and regional resources	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - A collaborative inter-institutional framework - Presidency Bureau of the Metropolitan City - Regional incentives for the Unions - Consultation process for the elaboration of the Strategic Plan involving the institutions (region, unions, metropolitan council and metropolitan conference), the economic actors, the Advisory Board and the Development Council 	Communities still outside the Unions. No clear yet what functions can be performed and carry out in associated form at the level of the Unions.
Lyon Métropole pop. 1,32m area: 534 km2 n. municipalities: 59	Robust and mature experience of inter-municipal cooperation. Strong leadership. Sovra-institutionalization. Major territorial, organizational and political challenges. The metropolitan area encompasses a much wider area		law 1563/2010 - Reform of the Territorial Communities and creation of the <i>pôles métropolitains</i> Law n.58/2014 (Maptam) - creation of the Métropoles Law NOTRe, 7 Aug 2015 - Territorial Reform	DTA: State driven strategy for territorial development Inter-SCOT: voluntary system of coop to build a common territorial vision SRDEII: prescriptive regional plan for economic development SRADETT: prescriptive regional land use planning scheme	The Lyon Métropole is powerful and supported by its own fiscal system, transfers from the state and resources from services management. The metropolitan pole has its own budget (members' contributions).	Strong leadership. Mature experience of inter-municipal cooperation. A metropolitan consciousness which has grown over the decades.	Too complex legislative and institutional framework. Transitional moment. Powerful Métropole in opposition to the one of Saint-Etienne recently created. Unbalanced powers in the metropolitan area.
Helsinki metro region pop. 1,457m area: 3.700 km2 n. municipalities:14	The metro region is an informal and voluntary cooperation between 14 municipalities and two formal authorities (HSL and HSY)		There is no legislative framework which regulates the cooperation and its financing tool	MAL (2015-2019): regional land use, housing and transport plan developed by the 14 municipalities, the transport and environment authorities and the state	National funding according to the MAL through a letter of intent which is signed by the municipalities and the state.	Strong leadership. Money and power keep together the 14 cities and the 2 authorities. This is a pragmatic and action oriented cooperation	There is no legislation on how to make the letter of intents. The cooperation is voluntary and informal. The civil society is not involved.
ITI Prague MA pop. 2 m area: 5.000 km2 n. municipalities: 515	The metro area has been established with the goal of encouraging inter-municipal cooperation and promote projects of metropolitan relevance, and therefore qualify for ITI EU funds.		Difficult cooperation between the Central Bohemian Region and the region of Prague. Jurisdictional overlapping on the ITI metro area.	Integrated ITI strategy for Prague Metropolitan area	The ITI for Prague is built from the integration with the following resources: IROP, OP PPR, OP Environment	ITI wants to play the role of a 'pilot project' for testing the cooperation between the two regions: in fact, the 90% of the investments will be realized in the Central Bohemian region while the managing authority for ITI funds is Prague.	A missing shared political agenda on the metropolitan area. Frictions and lack of cooperation between the two regions. Not enough incentives to cooperate.

The Bernd Steinacher Fellowship

The Bernd Steinacher Fellowship was established in 2010 to sustain the values and interests brought to METREX by the late Bernd Steinacher.

Bernd Steinacher was the Chief Executive Director of the Verband Region Stuttgart and the Regional Assembly, the first metropolitan Parliament of its kind to be set up in Germany. He was also President of METREX from 2004 until 2008, having served for two terms. Through Bernd's leadership, Stuttgart established strong ties with the United States, principally through the partnership between the Verband Region Stuttgart and the Northern Virginia Regional Commission – the first region-to-region partnership between councils in Europe and North America. This enabled METREX to add a truly global dimension to its affairs.

Funded by METREX and the Verband Region Stuttgart, the values and interests that the Fellowship aims to sustain are: the value of a metropolitan dimension to European affairs; the interrelated nature of key issues and requirement for joined-up thinking at the metropolitan level; the value of Europe as an exemplar of international cooperation for a common good; networking as a means of exchanging knowledge and experience; strong personal relationships in international, European and metropolitan affairs.

The Fellowship is awarded every two years with candidates drawn from METREX member regions or areas. For information on how to apply, visit eurometrex.eu.



For further information about the research

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