

THE METROPOLITAN CHALLENGE IN EUROPE

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Structure of the presentation

1. Benefits of metropolitan cooperation and the main bottlenecks
2. Recent policy trends in metropolitan cooperation in the EU countries
3. Good practices of metropolitan coordination: planning and governance solutions
4. EU policies and tools for metropolitan areas: lessons from the present and ideas for the future

1. BENEFITS OF METROPOLITAN COOPERATION

Coordination between neighbouring municipalities in **functional urban areas** is crucial to

- avoid the **negative effects of competition** (investments, services, taxes) between local authorities
- help to **integrate policies** – economic, environmental and social challenges can best be addressed **at once** on broader urban level
- reach the **economy of scale** – size matters in economic terms and in services

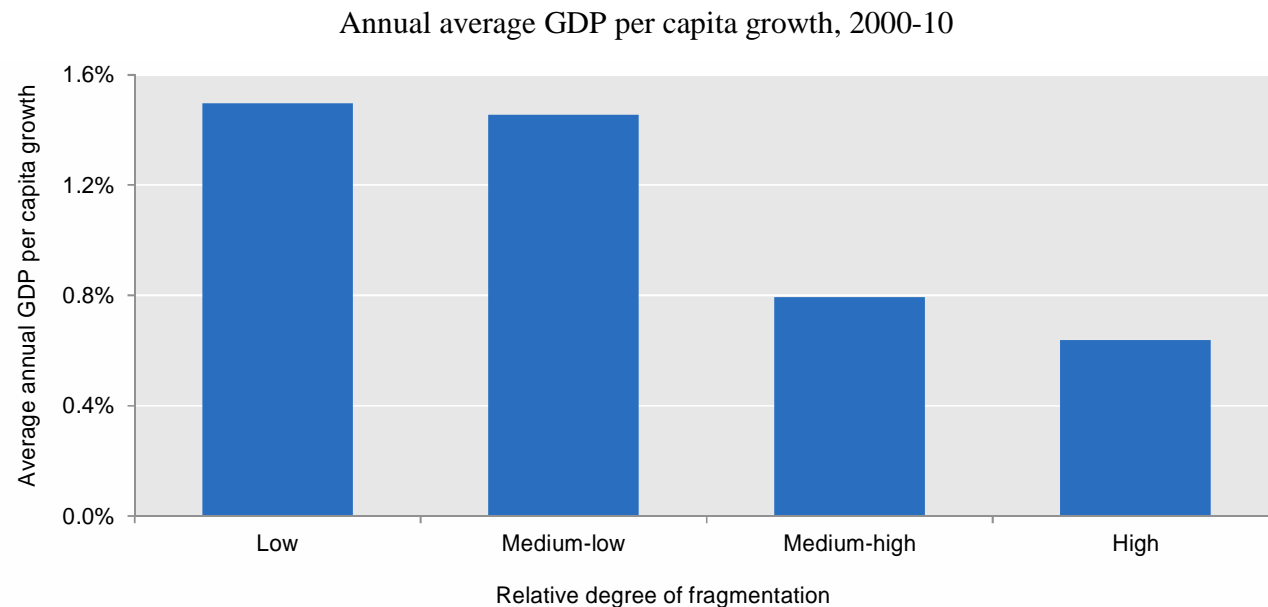
The metropolitan area is the appropriate spatial level for **effective integrated approaches to sustainable development**, helping to bridge **urban-rural issues** and achieve more **balanced development**.

Opportunity costs of ignoring metropolitan dynamics

If not organised on the metropolitan space, problems may emerge:

- **lack of scale** and critical mass needed to succeed
- co-ordination and capacity problems
- **internal competition and waste**
- incoherent messages
- missed opportunities

Figure 2.7. **Less fragmented metropolitan areas have experienced higher growth**



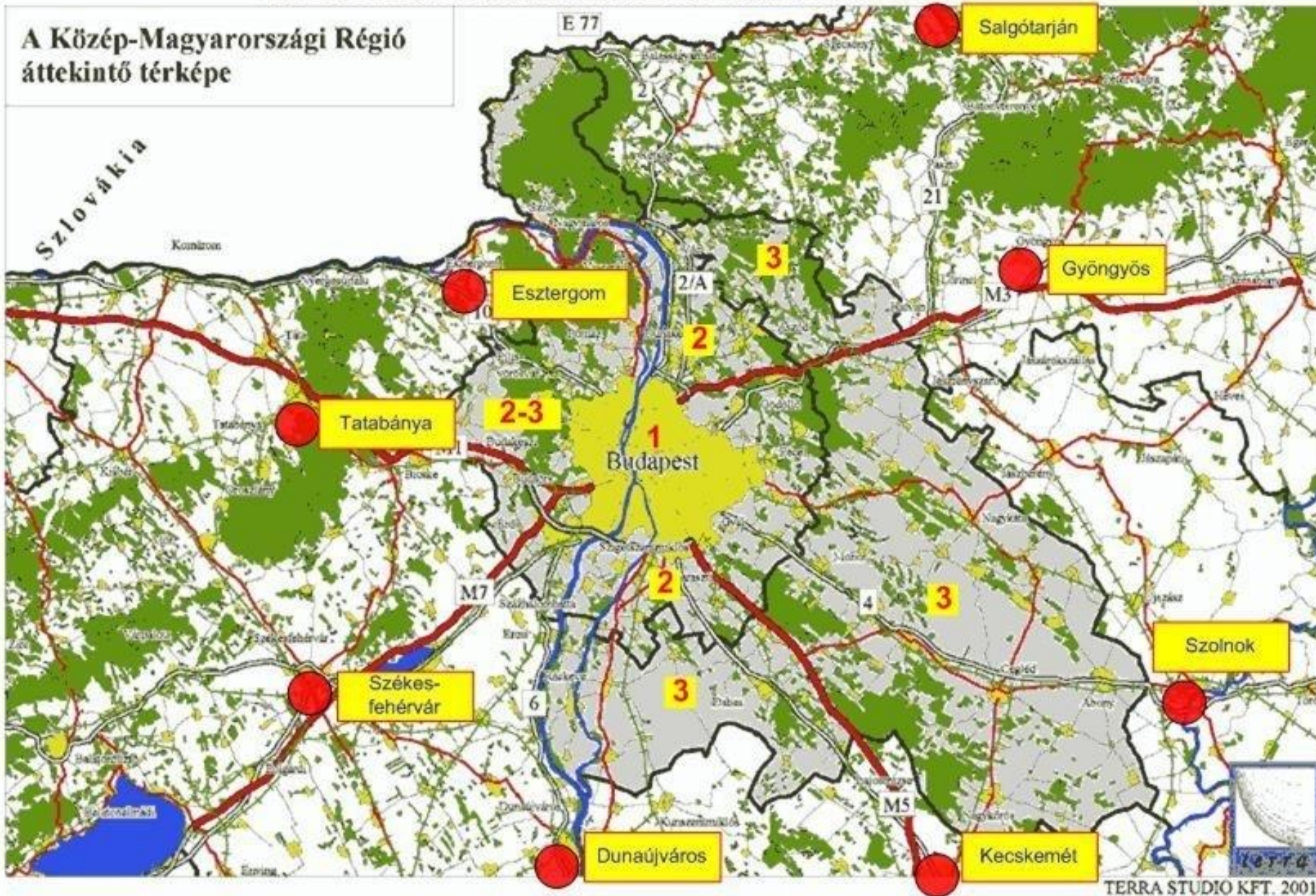
Source: Ahrend, R. and A.C. Lembcke (2015b), “Economic and demographic trends in cities”, *OECD Regional Development Working Papers*, OECD Publishing, Paris, forthcoming.

Different areas around cities

- **Administrative area:** the present constituency of the mayor
- **Morphologic area (MUA):** built up continuously – *this should be the minimum definition of the city*
- **Functional Urban Area (FUA):** day-to-day connections – *territory of ,zero-sum game' functions*
- **Larger economic area:** territory which can be reached within one hour from the airport – *territory for ,win-win' types of cooperation*
- **Visionary cooperation area:** agreements on territorial basis to increase international competitiveness – *innovative, mostly cross-border initiatives (Öresund, Oslo-Göteborg...)*

KÖZÉP-MAGYARORSZÁGI RÉGIÓ STRATÉGIAI TERV

A Közép-Magyarországi Régió áttekintő térképe



CITIES	Admin city (million)	MUA/city	FUA/city
London	7,43	1,1	1,8
Berlin	3,44	1,1	1,2
Madrid	3,26	1,5	1,6
Paris	2,18	4,4	5,1
Budapest	1,70	1,2	1,5
Vienna	1,60	1,0	1,6
Lisbon	0,53	4,4	4,9
Manchester	0,44	5,0	5,8
Liverpool	0,44	2,7	5,1
Katowice	0,32	7,1	9,5
Lille	0,23	4,1	11,3
...			
AVERAGE (40 cities)	42.63 mill	1,7	2,3

Sources: ESPON, 2007: Study on Urban Functions. ESPON Study 1.4.3 IGEAT, Brussels. Final Report March 2007 www.espon.eu City population: <http://www.citypopulation.de>



Rdzeń vs. obszar metropolitalny

METROPOLITAN AREA	No. of inhabitants (th.)	
	Total	CORE CITY (%)
West Midlands	2 600	Birmingham 1 006 (39%)
Region of Stuttgart	2 664	Stuttgart 591 (22%)
Greater Manchester	2 548	Manchester 452 (18%)
Region Frankfurt / Rhein–Man	2 185	Frankfurt 653 (30%)
Region of Copenhagen	1 594	Copenhagen 504 (32%)
Gdańsk Metropolitan Area	1 507*	Gdańsk 457 (30%) 3-City* 742 (49%)
Région urbaine de Lyon	1 218	Lyon 470 (39%)
Region of Rotterdam	1 153	Rotterdam 595 (52%)
Region of Hanover	1 128	Hanower 516 (46%)
Helsinki MA	998	Helsinki 565 (57%)

The Eurocities MAIA survey

Eurocities „Metropolitan Areas In Action” research (appr. 40 European cities) on territorial collaboration forms around large European cities

- **spatial dimension** of collaboration compared to FUA
- types of **content/functions of cooperation**: from loose talks through single or more functions till strong joint multi-functional planning
- types of **institutional form of cooperation**: from no form or statistical unit through weak delegated council till strong (elected or delegated) council

City and size	Areas around the city	Functions of the diff. areas	Legal background	Note
Birmingham (1,04 mill)	1. Greater Birmingham and Solihull LEP (1,9 million) Birmingham, Solihull + 7 settl.	1. Not clearly decided yet: may contain strategic planning, economic development, transport, culture and the creative industries, tourism and inward investment, business support, skills, the green economy and housing. Finance comes from business oriented public measures. 2. No functions 3. County: Integrated Transport authority (crosses several LEPs, containing only some part of the Birmingham LEP) under geographical reorganisation. 4. Non 5. Non	1. LED system introduced in 2010. (local governments had the right which LED to choose) Voluntary partnership. It has boards and working groups, members are mixture of political leaders and business leaders.	The new British Government that was elected early in 2010 announced that it was abolishing the English regions. The Government announced that the regions would be replaced by "Local Enterprise Partnerships" (LEPs). These would be at the sub-regional level and were expected to reflect functional economic areas - metropolitan areas but also some non-metropolitan areas. The regions have now been abolished, and 99% of England is now covered by LEPs.
	2. Birmingham agglo (2,3 mill) Physically built area + 10 km. Green belt.		2. No organisation	
	3. West Midland Metropolitan County (2,55 mil). (two main parts: Birmingham – Black Country)		3. The County was established by national law in 1974, and originally had a council. The council was abolished in 1986 and replaced by the current governance by the political leaders of the 7 districts.	
	4. Birmingham Metropolitan Area (3,6 million): County + towns with 30-60.th inhabitants including rural areas		4. There has never been any governance arrangements at the Birmingham Metropolitan Area level	
	5. West Midlands Region (5,3 mil)		5. The Region was just abolished in 2010.	

MAIA data on the FUA level

Combining the OECD and Eurocities-MAIA approach and results

- From OECD: which is the **territorial level closest to the functional urban area** (enough large for territorial integration)
- From EUROCITIES-MAIA: **what kind of collaboration forms** (functions, institutional form) exist on this territorial level

Size of the collaboration	1. Statistical unit	2. Networking, weak strategic planning	3. Single function	4. Multiple functions	5. Strong strategic, spatial planning of binding nature
A) Smaller than FUA	Budapest, Brussels	Ghent, Malmö , Vienna, Zurich.	Frankfurt , Helsinki, Katowice , Warsaw	Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Milan (Metropolitan City)	Lille, Lyon, Rennes, Strasbourg
B) FUA	Berlin, Ghent, Linköpping, Lisbon, Strasbourg , Vienna, Warsaw	Amsterdam, Birmingham LEP, Bratislava (Region) , Brno, Brussels, Göteborg , Katowice, Lyon, Malmö , Sofia, Terrassa,		Helsinki, Madrid (Region), Munich, Manchester, Oslo, Preston, Stockholm (county), Tampere (region)	
C) Somewhat larger than FUA	Sofia	BrabantStad, Zurich	Brussels	The Hague, Torino (Province), Helsinki (Region)	Stuttgart
D) Much larger than FUA (larger economic zone)	Birmingham Budapest	Amsterdam, Bratislava, Frankfurt, Ghent, Göteborg, Hamburg, Katowice, Lille, Linköpping, Lyon, Malmö, Oslo, Rennes, Stockholm, Strasbourg, Stuttgart, Tampere, Vienna, Zurich	Rotterdam – The Hague	Katowice (Region), Lisbon (Region),	Berlin, Malmö (region)

Cities in **bold**: some type of metropolitan organization exists

Functions and organizations on (or close to) metropolitan level: examples

Functions	Networking	Some functions	Strong planning
Institution			
No organization	Brno	Vienna	
Delegated organization	Bratislava	Amsterdam	French cities
Elected organization			Stuttgart

Some conclusions of the MAIA research

- there are big variations regarding the types of collaborations on the MUA/**FUA**/Business zone levels around European cities
- on FUA level: most often **only informal collaborations** exist; the strong collaborations usually **do not cover the full FUA** territory


Thus there is a „**metropolitan area mismatch**” which is a serious problem, making difficult to handle in integrated way the basic challenges of sustainable urban development

Options for change

It is difficult to establish a **new general administrative level for metropolitan areas**; it would be difficult for this new level of governance fit the already overcrowded system of administrative levels.

There are **two options** to create stronger, more binding forms of cooperation on FUA level:

- to **give more power and functions** to the existing weak collaborations on FUA level (moving from B-2, B-3, B-4 towards B-5)
- to expand in **territorial sense** the existing strong collaborations to better cover the whole area of the FUA (moving from A-5 towards B-5)

Size of the collaboration	1. Statistical unit	2. Networking, weak strategic planning	3. Single function	4. Multiple functions	5. Strong strategic, spatial planning of binding nature
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How to do it in practice?

- **Replacement:** dissolve the existing administrative level around the large cities and merge them with the city into a metropolitan unit, while keep this level unchanged in other areas (Italy, potentially France).
- **Create new, informal level:** collect some competencies down from the upper regional level and some competencies up from below, from the municipalities (Poland, Romania).

Conditions to achieve changes

Stronger metropolitan collaboration requires :

A) the spreading out of **bottom-up initiatives**, in the form of cooperation agreements between political leaders of settlements belonging to the same functional urban area.

- **Larger cities** have to initiate FUA level cooperation in their surrounding areas.

B) the existence of **top-down framework** that initiates (in some cases obliges) the formation of cooperation across the administrative boundaries.

- Both the **national government** and the **EU** can and should initiate and support changes towards stronger metropolitan collaboration.

2. Recent policy trends in metropolitan cooperation in the EU countries

Country	Initiative	Top-down or Bottom-up?	Gate-keeper level
FR	Municipal associations: series of laws since 1999 Regional reform (2015); future of departements?	TD – BU TD	(Regions)
IT	Metropolitan cities initiative: 1990, 2000, 2012, 2014; thinking about the future of provinces	TD	Regions
DE	Metropolitan regions initiative: starting from the late 1990s	BU	Lander
PL	Regional reform in 1990s. Metropolization of regional seats since 2007, based on EU money (ITI)	TD – BU	Regions
RO	Municipal associations since 2004, Growth Poles to allocate EU resources since 2007	TD	

What can be understood on metropolitan areas?

- **Metropolis**: areas above 1 million people. **OECD**: areas above 0,5 million people.
- **Residents/people** understand metro area as the MUA or the area of services, e.g. transport associations and road charging
- **EMA** historically was an initiative to highlight the importance of large secondary metropolitan cities, like Barcelona, Lyon, Milan, Torino.
- Now the focus is on metropolitan areas which are **drivers of development via their functional relations**. They represent economic and social flows and exchanges with bigger and smaller towns, which are in functional relations with rural and peripheral areas.
- Thus metropolitan areas should be defined **not only on the basis of the population number** of the core city and not even of the total population of the area, but taking also the **geo-political aspects** into account.

Politically and financially motivated approaches to metropolitan areas

Political considerations: interventions of higher levels of government

- Positive metropolitan agenda: France and Italy
- Interventions without proper discussions with the affected municipalities: Norway/Oslo and Greece/Thessaloniki

Financial considerations to form metropolitan areas

- Merging the largest cities with their provinces to save money: Italy
- Implementing the EU proposition on integrated development: Poland decision to use Article 7 money in FUA settings in regional centers

Debates with all stakeholders, involving also the **civil society** and **private entrepreneurs** are needed to prepare any solution. It is important what citizens think, otherwise council members will not support any metropolitan development idea.

Decision-makers and gate-keepers

Legal circumstances and the role of the higher administrative level (national, regional) are very different across countries

National visionary metropolitan ideas exist only in a few countries and can be objected in many ways: **gate keeping power of intermediate administrative regions** is very strong in some countries

- Italy: the example of Rome vs Milan and Torino
- Germany: to allow bottom-up metropolitan cooperation only till not hurting the interests of the Lander

Forms of metropolitan coordination

Metropolitan coordination is an urgent challenge from many **different perspectives**

- strategic and land use planning
- mobility regulation: transport associations and road charging are crucial topics on metropolitan level
- infrastructure and housing development in growing cities can not be solved without metropolitan cooperation (Vienna)

How to proceed:

- **metropolitan governance or sectoral cooperation projects?**
- **Planning coordination?**

3. Good practices of metropolitan coordination: governance and planning solutions

3.1 Successful metropolitan organizations

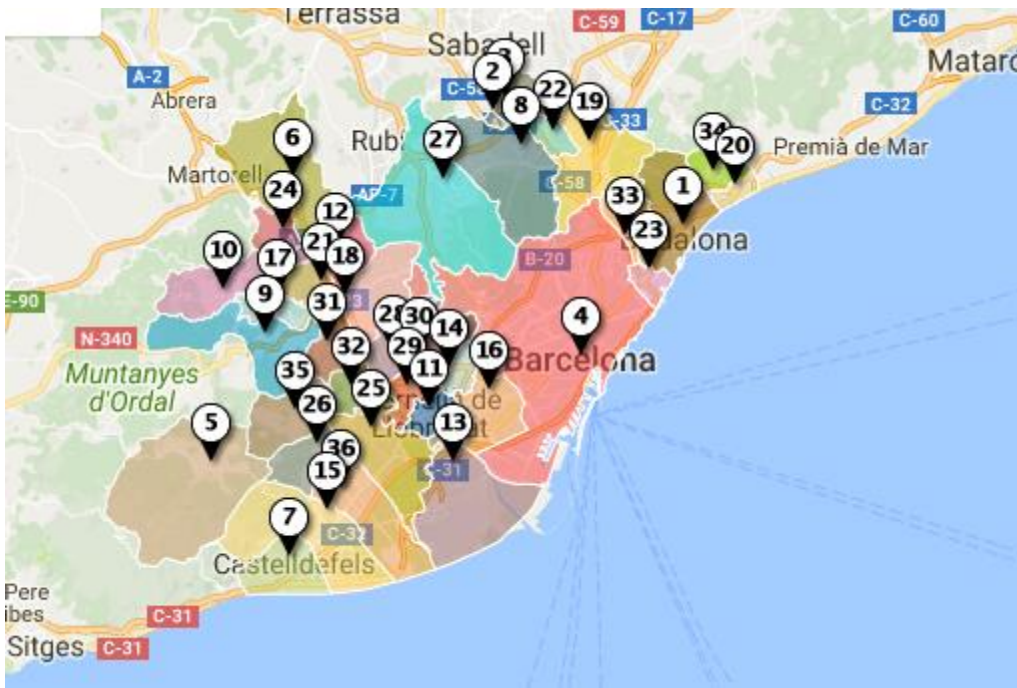
- New Metropolitan City (2014) gets EU funding: **Bari**. Pact signed with government on €230 mill, plus another €40 mill in the Open peripheries project. New ringroad, metropolitan platform on jobs, public transport development.
- Metropolitan area formed and gets funding: **AMB around Barcelona**. Third largest budget after Catalunya and Barcelona city. €30 mill ERDF project was signed between AMB and Catalunya. This was success as there were many enemies and also the MA and Brussels had to be convinced.
- Cohesion Policy ITI measure initiates metropolitan cooperation in **PL, CZ, RO**

Barcelona Metropolitan Area

Population: Barcelona 1,6 mill, First Zone 1,6 mill, Second Zone 1,5 mill
BMA was created by a **law of Catalan Parliament in 2010**. BMA has 36 municipalities, 3,2 million population.

BMA gets its **€1,5 bn budget** from the municipalities and not from national or regional level.

Functions: providing **public services** in the metropolitan area, promoting **affordable housing**, approving the **Metropolitan Urban Mobility Plan**, preparing **Metropolitan Urban Master Plan**.



Metropolitan Council: 90 metropolitan councillors, each of the 36 municipalities represented proportionally to their demographic weight.

Governing Board: the AMB president (mayor of Barcelona) and the metropolitan councillors appointed by the president at the proposal of the Metropolitan Council. Meets at least twice a month.

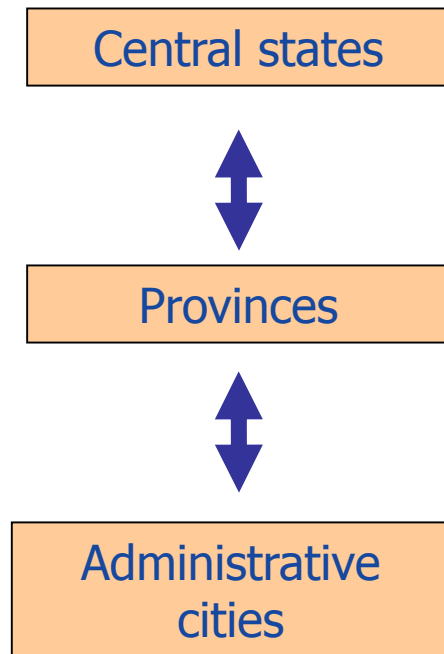
Warsaw ITI (ZIT)



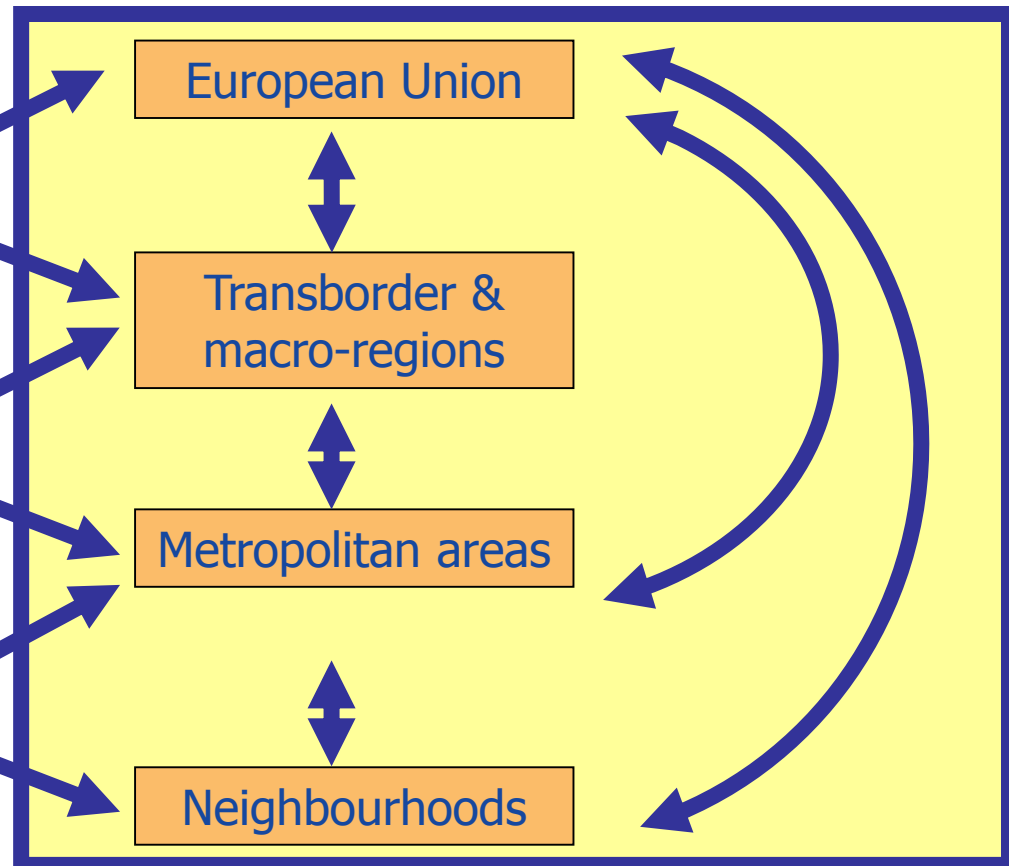
- a voluntary cooperation of **40** communes (incl. Warsaw)
- ca. 2.650.000 inhabitants – **50,3%** of the population of the region
- cooperation in the field of joint application for the EU funds

3.2 Planning in flexible space for implementing in fixed space

Old: fixed action space

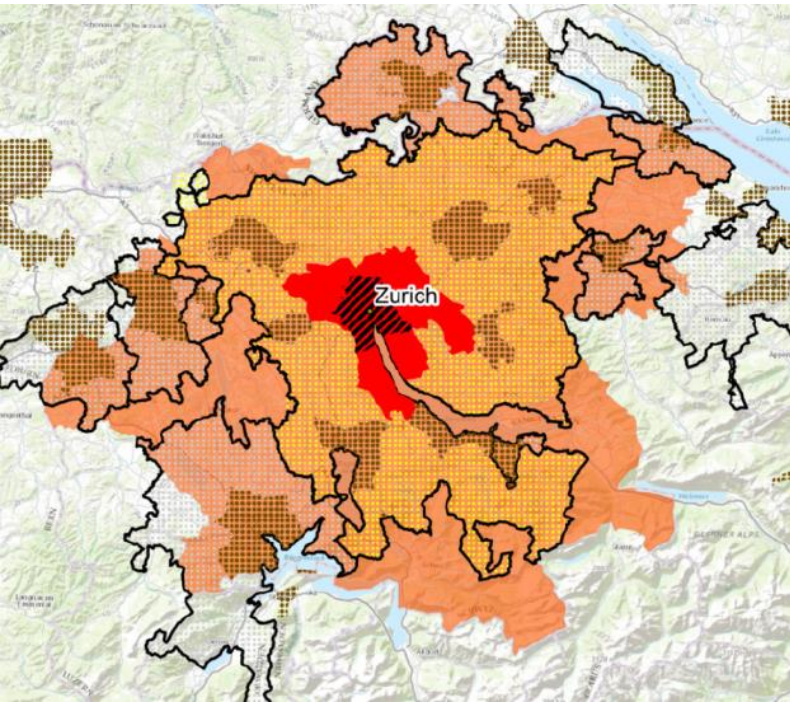


New: flexible action space



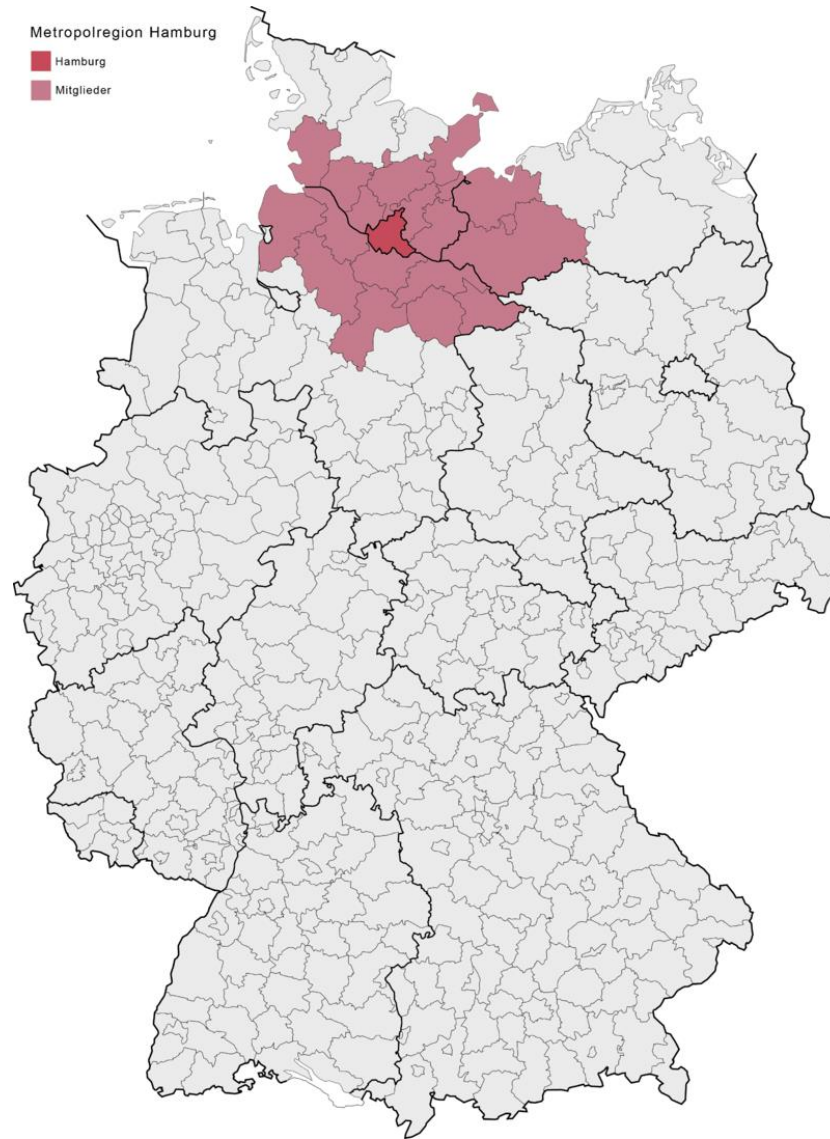
Planning cooperation to implement cooperation ideas on elected government level: ZÜRICH

- Switzerland defined metro areas and **prescribed mandatory cooperation** within these
- Zürich (415 th) is center of the metro area (1,9 mill), including 8 cantons and 122 settlements
- It took 7 years to build up cooperation, with **regulation of growth** and working out how to compensate those whose growth is limited.



- The agreement was achieved in the **informal level of planning conference**, the resolution of which is not binding but **will be gradually taken over by the 8 cantons** which make binding decisions. Strategic spatial planning as **meta-governance tool**.

Planning cooperation to implement cooperation ideas on elected government level: HAMBURG



Planning cooperation to implement cooperation ideas on elected government level: HAMBURG

- Hamburg Metropolitan Region: 4 federal states (Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Niedersachsen, Schleswig-Holstein and the city state of Hamburg), 17 districts ("Landkreise") and 3 cities **share the belief in urban-urban and urban-rural cooperation** within the metropolitan region.
- The **4 federal states** run first **cluster policies** jointly. The next big challenge will be that each actor does not invest into **digital transition** just for himself, but that governments understand that they can only be successful, if they cooperate with their neighbours.

4. EU policies and tools for metropolitan areas

Lessons from the present (2014-2020) period

- Novelty: requiring **integrated urban development**.
- The Sustainable Urban Development requirements (**Article 7 of ERDF**) created potential for strategies towards integrated place-based approaches, **especially if ITI** has been applied.
- This has been particularly the case in **Less-Developed Regions** where strategies have larger budgets. **ITI** has been applied in some of these countries on **FUA level**, resulting in **new bodies for metropolitan cooperation**.
- However, metropolitan (FUA) cooperation is only one of the options in the regulation, and **in many of the countries no metropolitan cooperation exists at all**.

Emerging problems in the use of EU means for metropolitan cooperation

- the required **thematic concentration** on sectoral priorities limit the integration on territorial level (priority axes are often not considered flexible enough to take into account local needs and challenges)
- national level might **misuse the metropolitan dimension** if planning it without sufficient inclusion of the metropolitan and local stakeholders
- national level might **slow down decision making** (e.g. Croatia), so that large urban areas (IB-s) will not have enough time to finish their ITI projects by 2022
- metropolitan planning might lead to **loss of democracy** if no citizen input is required. There are a few good examples to fight that: Milan organizing referendum, Gdansk giving up majority in decision



**Post-2020: what
kind of EU it will be?**

Cohesion policy post 2020

- **Unfortunate external conditions** from Brexit till re-nationalizing efforts; **less money** (also) for Cohesion Policy.
- After Brexit **the whole architecture of Cohesion Policy has to be revisited** in order to stay effective.
- A **fresh look** would be needed, but this is difficult, as each programmes and institutions want to keep/maximize their money.

One of the potential ways to go: apply **stronger territorial dimension** and simplification in the form of **less thematic priorities**, allowing larger choices for metropolitan areas.

Towards a stronger metropolitan dimension post 2020

1. EU should introduce a Metropolitan Agenda

- EU should **increase the territorial dimension** (SUD)
- EU should support the idea that **metropolitan authorities and organized agglomerations** (represented by a politico-administrative institution with at least delegated competences) **are eligible to bid directly for EU CohPol money**
- More weight should be given for **integrated metropolitan development** (block grant), less on thematic concentration
- EU should give some **financial incentives to metropolitan level programmes and projects** creating initiative for the **national level** to consider it

Towards a stronger metropolitan dimension post 2020

2. EU should support metropolitan level planning

- **metropolitan areas** should be suggested not just as final beneficiaries but as **real partners**, in the strategic planning, designing, managing and evaluating programmes for their development (including the possible topics and projects within an ITI)
- EU should develop **tools and guidance to support planning on metropolitan level**, with the aim for acceptance on administrative levels above (Hamburg) and/or below (Zurich)

How far the EU can go?

Metropolitan areas should be the product of **voluntary efforts**, even if **within top-down national frameworks**.

The higher level – EU initiated and nationally regulated – metropolitan framework, which should be filled up from below, **should avoid the traps:**

- **political use** of national framework
- **unwilling** national and regional regulators

Larger cities have to lobby on EU and national level for the **appropriate** Metropolitan Agenda.

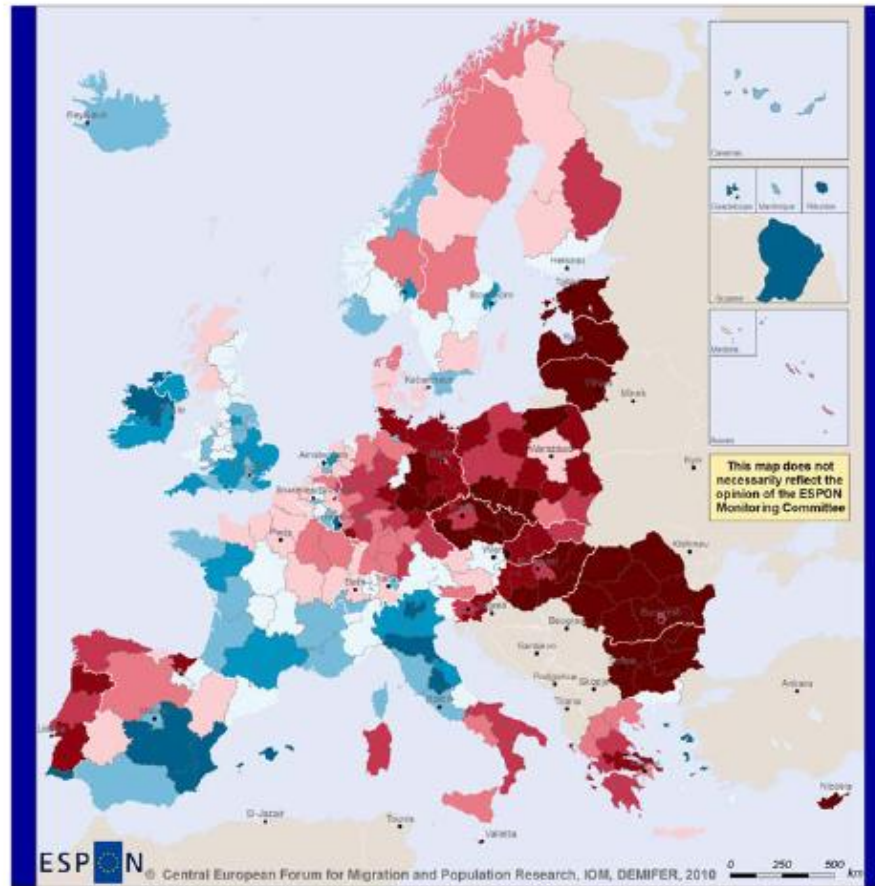
Dilemmas of the post 2020 Cohesion Policy

Difficult dilemma between **flexibility/simplification** and the need for more **ex-ante conditionality**.

- The **Semester** and the **Country Specific Recommendations** should be more binding, from the beginning on the spot, **down to the regions**, defining strength/weaknesses, determine priorities and the funds through these.
- Need for **differentiation between projects** (large-small) and **between countries** (reliable institutional systems and policies or not...).

Population Change 2005-2050, STQ Scenario

HOW REGIONS ARE AFFECTED?



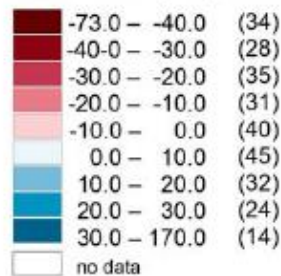
Source: The ESPON 2013 Programme DEMIFER (Demographic and migratory flows affecting European regions and cities) Reference scenarios, 2010:28)

STQ Scenario: Status quo scenario: the demographic trends remain the same as currently

The map below displays an East-West gap in demographic terms

EUROPEAN UNION Part-financed by the European Regional Development Fund
 Regional level: NUTS 2
 Source: ESPON 2013 Database 2010
 Origin of data: Eurostat, NSR, Estimates, 2009-2010
 © EuroGeographics Association for administrative boundaries

Change in regional populations in 2005-2050, in %, 'Status Quo' (STQ) scenario



The need for strong Cohesion Policy with strong Metropolitan dimension

- **Without Cohesion Policy it is not possible to build a common Europe.** Even within a smaller EU budget Cohesion Policy should remain strong, the Juncker plan can not replace it.
- Metropolitan policies should include **secondary cities** and should have strong **urban-rural dimension** (creating collaborative advantages).
- A strong metropolitan dimension within the Cohesion Policy is not only important in the core economies of the EU but **also in the peripheral countries**, strengthening the **more balanced territorial development across the EU.**



Dziękuję za uwagę/Thank You

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