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ESPON

EUROPEAN UNION

Co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund

Inspire Policy Making with Territorial Evidence

TARGETED ANALYSIS //

METRO

The role and future perspectives of Cohesion Policy in the planning of Metropolitan Areas and Cities

Annex III // Metropolitan City of Turin case study

TORINO METROPOLI

Città metropolitana di Torino

This Targeted Analysis is conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

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Abbreviations

ALCOTRA	Latin Alps Cross-border Cooperation
ANCI	National Association of Italian Municipalities
CBC	Cross-border Cooperation
CF	Cohesion Fund
CIAE	European Affairs Inter-ministerial Committee
CLLD	Community led local development
CMTo	Metropolitan City of Turin
CNR	National Research Council
CPN	National Public Counterpart
CREA	Council for Agricultural Research and Economics
DUP	Single programming document
EC	European Commission
EAFRD	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
ESIF	European Structural and Investment Funds
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
ETC	European Territorial Cooperation
EU	European Union
FUA	Functional Urban Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IB	Intermediate Body
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IIT	Italian Institute of Technology
IRES	Economic and Social Research Institute
ISTAT	National Institute of Statistics
INFN	National Institute for Nuclear Physics
INRIM	National Metrology Institute
ITI	Integrated Territorial Investment
LAG	Local Action Group
MC	Metropolitan City
NOP	National Operational Programme
NUTS	Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OP	Operational Programme
PAI	Hydrogeological Management Plan
PEG	Executive Management Plan
PGRA	Flood Risk Management Plan
PPR	Regional Landscape Plan
PRG	General Spatial Plan
PSM	Metropolitan Strategic Plan
PTA	Water Protection Plan
PTCP	Provincial Coordination Spatial Plan
PTGM	Metropolitan General and Coordination Spatial Plan
PTR	Regional Territorial Plan
RDP	Rural Development Programme
RRF	Recovery and Resilience Facility
ROP	Regional Operational Programme
SEA	Strategic environmental assessment
SMEs	Small and medium-sized enterprises
SNAI	National Strategy for Inner Areas
SO	Atrategic Objective
SUMP	Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan

Foreword by Stefano Lo Russo

The European academic world is observing the phenomenon of territorial metropolitanization and of its inhabitants for several years now, in order to examine its economic and social reasons coming from the new lifestyles, the new mechanisms of interrelation and integration and the concept of dispersion in relation to the concepts of connection and interdependence.

Many studies and researches are now focusing on the models of governance of the metropolitan phenomenon, which adopts features and dynamics that are different according to each European territory and even within the single Member States, each one with its own legal system looking for its peculiar solution.

One thing seems certain: the territorial and social development dynamics have blurred the administrative boundaries of cities everywhere. With the diversification of the centres of production and of services, the growth of people mobility, the urbanisation within densely populated centres has lost some of its advantages.

The phenomenon of metropolitanization led to new challenges throughout every metropolitan territory of Europe, both in the redefinition of their spheres of action and both in the adaption to a new integrated territorial vision, in order to create their own fair and collective methods of development towards fragmented administrative realities. This is particularly relevant for the Metropolitan City of Turin, which has the goal of increasing the integration of multilevel governance throughout all its extensive and polycentric territory, mostly rural and mountain, to address the feeling of lack of belonging and lack of involvement in the processes guided by the metropolitan institution.

These new phenomena of metropolitanization and re-territorialization led to a new vision, where Metropolitan areas represent a place where strategic and spatial planning are tools to transform the phenomena of fragmentation and dispersion towards a path of collective and well-balanced growth, with the goal of providing the same liveability to all its communities.

This is the framework in which the ESPON METRO analysis was born: many metropolitan areas of Europe felt the need to empirically investigate if and how the main European policy of rebalancing economic, social and territorial development – the so called Cohesion Policy – is addressing these challenges. The same need was felt indeed, to different extents, throughout almost every Metropolitan areas of Europe, therefore in the preliminary phases of the project a selection of stakeholders was needed. The study, conducted by different research institutions in cooperation with nine European metropolitan areas and cities, sets a clear sample of the metropolitan joint work potential and opens the way for further collaboration.

According to METRO findings, all nine Metropolitan areas involved started initiatives, investments and strategies to connect places and people with the final objective of increasing their life conditions. As for the Metropolitan area of Turin, to think about the development strategies of its territories, means reflecting on how to build a polycentric metropolitan area functionally integrated and no longer based only on a centre-periphery approach, liveable and accessible in all its places, with different solutions according to specific needs, in order to contain territorial and social marginalization.

The COVID-19 pandemic experience was emblematic: it empirically showed how Metropolitan Areas, and the functions they express, have played a key role in mitigating the impact of the virus on their territories.

Cities and Metropolitan areas are indeed in the front-line and have a key role in the mitigation of the impact of present and future challenges, such as climate change and commodity crisis, as also stated by the European Commission. Indeed, the European cohesion policy 2021-2027 programming period includes for the first time a Strategic Objectives (SO) specifically dedicated to territorial development strategies, the SO5 "a Europe closer to citizens, by supporting locally-led development strategies and sustainable urban development across the EU".

The METRO research investigate the potential of the Metropolitan institutions as drivers of development at territorial level, having the right dimension and potential for strengthening the impact and inclusion capacity of the EU cohesion policy. It also shows how the institutional architecture of Cohesion Policy leaves little room for Metropolitan level in the planning phase of the EU Cohesion Policy instruments, although its demonstrated capacity of connecting communities and territories. The ESPON METRO analysis represents a unique example on how the metropolitan perspective can contribute with an important added value to the European integration and its policies.

It seems more and more appropriate to recognize the potential and to strengthen the role of Metropolitan areas – such as Turin – within the European cohesion policy context, in order for them to act as relevant players in the multilevel governance system. In order to better face present and future challenges, we hope for a better coordination among all levels of governance and therefore the increase of the importance of the Metropolitan Cities as protagonists of territorial development.



Stefano Lo Russo,
Mayor of the Metropolitan City of Turin and the City of Turin

1 Introduction

The Metropolitan City of Turin (CMTo) is a wide area, second level local authority which replaced the former Province of Turin from January 1st, 2015. Metropolitan Cities (MC) are administrative units formally established in Italy by the reform of local authorities (National Law 56/2014), replacing the respective Province authorities. Before that law, there have been in Turin since the 1950s several attempts to introduce forms of metropolitan cooperation. According to law 56/2014, the President of metropolitan cities is the mayor of the main city, therefore for the Metropolitan City of Turin is the mayor of the City of Turin, and the council is elected among the mayors and city councilors of the municipalities. The metropolitan institution works in a very fragmented environment, where the power and competences are distributed among different (public and private) bodies. Therefore, it is not easy to develop integrated policies. Furthermore, a number of other institutionalized forms of cooperation exist, concerning portions of the metropolitan city territory: 3 Local Action Groups; 16 Unions of Mountain Municipalities; 8 Unions of Municipalities; 8 Territorial Pacts.

The metropolitan institution brings together 312 municipalities, covering a very large and heterogeneous territory, from dense urban areas to small towns and villages, much larger than the functional urban area of Turin. It is the largest metropolitan city in Italy, fourth in population size (2.2Mln inhabitants) and seventh in population density (330 inh/km^2). Around 40% of the population resides in Turin, and 73% of the population resides in the municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants, which are only 33 on 312 and occupy the 16% of the metropolitan area. In the last decade, the population increased by 0.7%, but with a significant difference between mountain municipalities, which lost population and urban cores which increase by more than 1,5%. Moreover, population has moved from the core city to the metropolitan belt.

In terms of economic production, the Metropolitan City is located in the wider urban region of northern Italy, extending from Venice to Milan and reaching the port of Genoa. The local economy has been centred on automotive sector for decades, and prospered around the FIAT industry until the 1970s, when a process of economic and socio-demographic decline, and the reorganization of the automotive industry, has led to the redefinition of its very vocation, especially since the Winter Olympics held in 2006 that opened up the possibility and ambition to become also a city of arts and tourist destination. In recent years, the metropolitan city has focused on a knowledge-based and innovation-oriented and diversified ecosystem as a driving force for its economic revival. The strength of the metropolitan area remains its competitive export-oriented economy and a productive fabric with a strong specialization in the manufacturing sector.

The Italian Metropolitan cities still perform all the functions of the previous Province authorities. Moreover, according to Law 56/2014, metropolitan cities have additional functions, such as strategic, spatial and mobility planning, organization of coordinated systems for the management of public services, mobility and transport, promotion and coordination of digitalization and economic and social development. Despite the high level of institutionalization and competences of the Metropolitan city, which is formally acknowledged as an entity also enjoying a supranational relevance when it comes to access EU funds, it presently does not have relevant role and competences in the elaboration of key policy and programming documents of the EU cohesion policy and in their management and implementation, while the Region and the national level are the main actors.

In this case study report, the potential and actual role of the Metropolitan City of Turin in the implementation of the cohesion policy, and the impact of the cohesion policy on metropolitan development and governance are analysed. After a territorial and socio-economic contextualization of the area, the metropolitan governance and cooperation activities are presented. Then, the cohesion policy institutional architecture and policy instruments are presented, and the role of the metropolitan actors in the planning and implementation of the cohesion policy is examined, as well as its coordination with metropolitan governance. The cohesion policy impact on metropolitan development and governance is then presented, analyzing the coherence and synergies of its instruments and goals with metropolitan ones, the funding magnitude and the related impact. Issues related to the response to the COVID-19 emergency are presented in each of the three core sections of the report. Finally, the last section of the report summarizes the main challenges and recommendations.

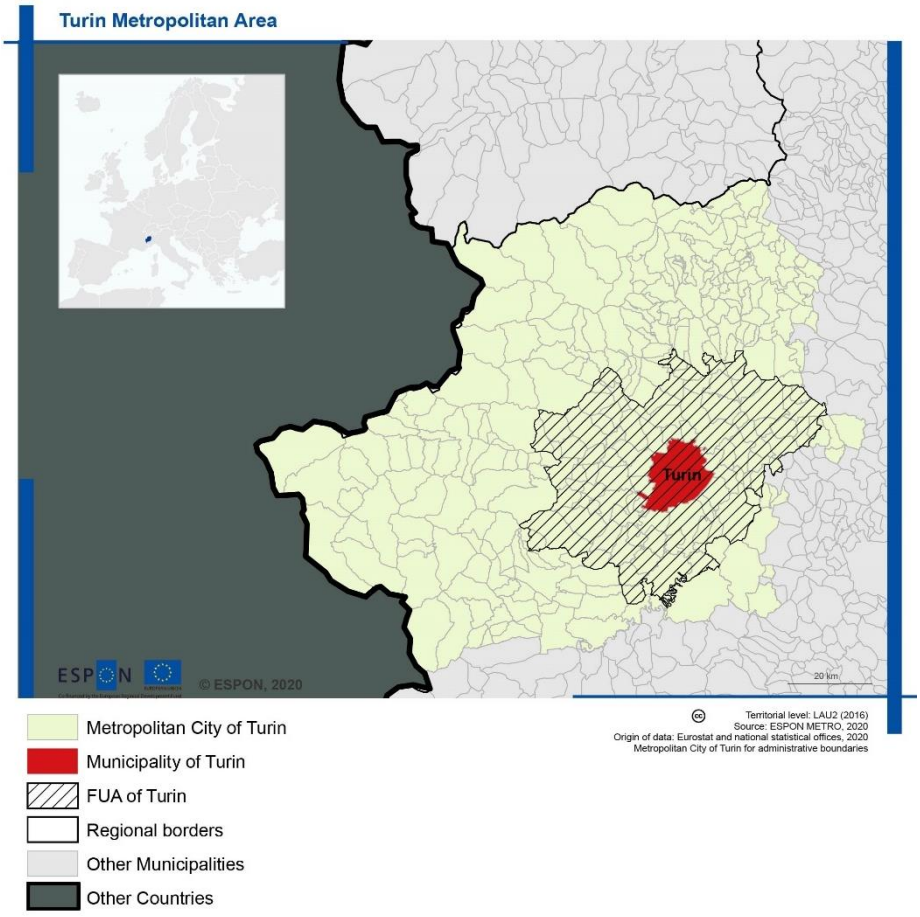
Besides desk analysis, 25 engagement activities have contributed to gain insights on the issues under scrutiny, including the of the policy event “The role of European metropolitan areas and cities in the 2021-2027 EU cohesion policy and presentation of the new EU programming period to local territorial actors", held in Turin on 18 April 2021, interviews with relevant stakeholders, participation to policy processes as observers, organization of meetings with more than one actor and participation to workshops.

2 Case study area contextualisation

The Metropolitan City of Turin is a NUTS3 institution in the Piedmont Region. It brings together 312 municipalities, covering a very large and heterogeneous territory, from dense urban areas to small towns and villages, much larger than the functional urban area of Turin (Maps 2.1 and 2.2).

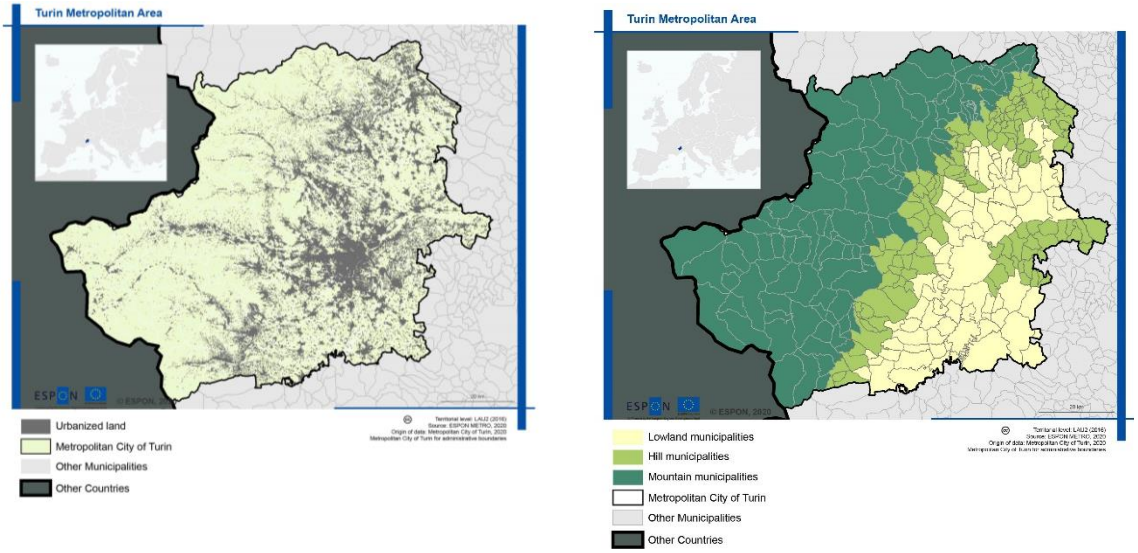
It is the largest metropolitan city in Italy, covering a territory of 6.827 km^2, fourth in population size (2.2 Mln inhabitants) and seventh in population density (330 inh/km^2) (Italian National Institute of Statistics - ISTAT, 2019). It is surrounded on the western and the northern fronts by the Alps and on the eastern front by the hills of Monferrato; 52% of the territory consists of mountain ridges (Map 2.2).

Map 2.1
Metropolitan city of Turin



Source: authors' own elaboration

Map 2.2
Urbanised land and typology of municipalities



Source: authors' elaboration

With regard to population distribution, 40% of the population resides in the capital city; the percentage rises to 73% if the other 32 municipalities with more than 10,000 inhabitants are considered, which together with Turin occupy just over 16% of the entire metropolitan area.

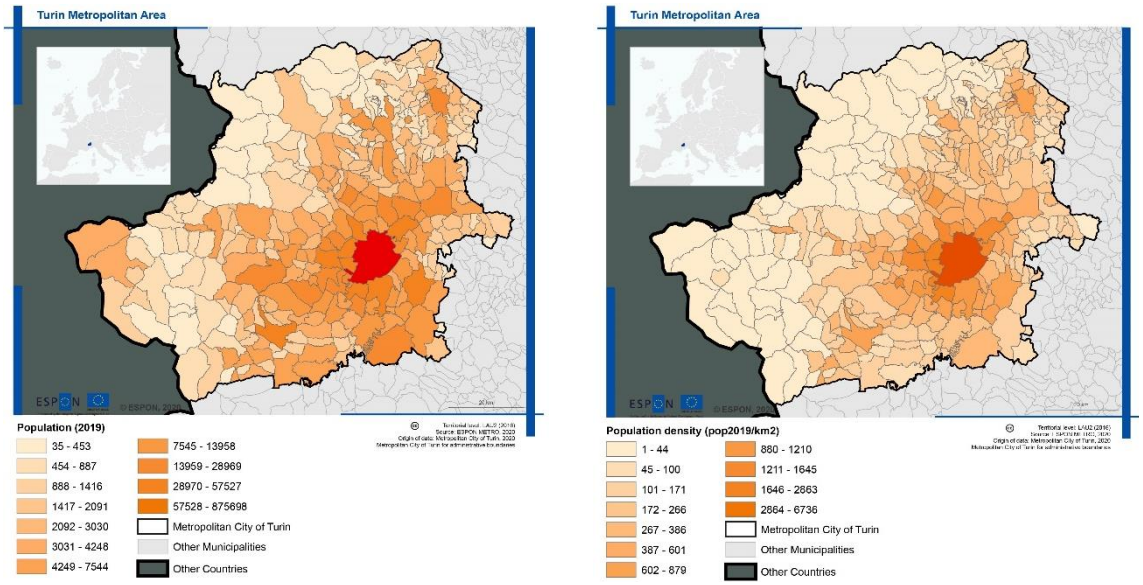
This situation clearly leads to challenges for municipalities, especially small ones, in providing services and meeting citizens' needs. For this reason, Unions have been used: to date, the metropolitan city has 16 Mountain Unions (an institutional association of mountain municipalities provided by the art.32 of the Legislative Decree n.267/2000 and identified by the Region as suitable for implementing, in harmony with its own specific sectoral policies, measures for the promotion of economic development, and for the protection and enhancement of mountain territories), and 8 Unions of Municipalities (compulsory for municipalities with less than 3000 inhabitants for hilly areas and less than 5000 inhabitants for lowland areas).

Aware of the complexity of its territory, in the transition from Province to Metropolitan City, Turin immediately took the opportunity given by Law 56/14 to identify a configuration in homogeneous zones, as possible areas for the implementation of the general development vision. The 11 homogeneous zones have been identified taking into account many factors, including the polycentrism of settlements, the presence of consolidated areas of cooperation and co-design, unions of municipalities and forms of association of active functions, optimal territorial areas, geomorphological, natural and socio-cultural elements.

Between 2010 and 2019, the population of the Metropolitan City (Map 2.3) decreased by 3.1% in total (-71,407 inhabitants) to 2,230,946 as of 31st December 2019. However, this decrease was not evenly distributed: mountain municipalities lost 6.42% of their residents (about 9,400 inhabitants), while hilly and lowland municipalities recorded a decrease of 1.81% (about 8,300 inhabitants) and 3.17% respectively (about 53,600).

The population data of the Metropolitan City (Table 2.1) show that in the same decade, from 2010 to 2019, the foreign population increased by 1.67%. This growth was especially relevant in the areas surrounding the capital of Piedmont, while in the mountain areas a slight decrease was recorded. The analysis of the population structure confirms that the population is ageing, as shown by the data on the average age and the old age index of 200.7 in 2019, as well as the structural dependency and elderly dependency indices whose values are even above the national average.

Map 2.3
Population and population density



Source: authors' elaboration

The metropolitan city of Turin, in terms of economic production, is located in a wider urban region, distributed from Venice to Milan and reaching the port city of Genoa, partially reinforced by the high-speed railway line. Well known in the literature as 'the capital of the automobile', the city of Turin steadily prospered in the 1950s and 1960s with the automotive sector, being largely organised around the presence of Italy's most important automotive industry, FIAT (now Stellantis). However, the reorganisation of the automotive industry and the economic crisis of the early 1970s and the subsequent crisis of 2007 have led to a rather disruptive process of change and the whole area has been heavily affected, both in economic and socio-demographic trends. Its very vocation has diversified over several decades, most notably since the Winter Olympics held in 2006, to become also a city of art and a destination for tourists from all over the world. In particular, this phase of change was characterised by a progressive relocation of the population from the city of Turin to the municipalities of the first, second and third belt with, from the social point of view, a general shift of the upper middle classes towards the hills and mountains with, on the other hand, the working classes settling in the working-class districts of the city.

Nowadays, the metropolitan city stands out as an area that in recent years has focused strongly on innovation as a driving force for the revival of its economy and as an essential factor in ensuring territorial attractiveness. Increasing competitive pressure and diversification of economic vocations have been a further incentive for innovation.

Indeed, the promotion of a knowledge-based economy has led to an increasingly innovation-oriented and diversified ecosystem that includes:

- two public universities (University of Turin, Polytechnic of Turin) and a private university, the University of Gastronomic Sciences, as well as some prestigious locations of national research institutes (IIT, CNR, INRIM, INFN, Zooprophylactic Institute, CREA);
- the University Incubators I3p, 2i3t;
- the City of Sciences, which will bring together in a single physical location the departments of Chemistry, Life Sciences and Systems Biology, Earth Sciences, Agricultural Sciences, Forest and Food Sciences and Veterinary Sciences of the University of Turin;
- the citadel of Aerospace, as part of the broader initiative of the National Space Economy Plan;
- the Health Research and Innovation Park of Turin;

- five out of the seven Piedmont's innovation poles established in 2009 and restructured in 2015 to accompany the implementation of the S3 2014-2020 (Mesap – Smart products and manufacturing; Clever – Energy and Clean Tech; Biopmed – Salute; ICT);
- the Science and Technology Parks such as Environment Park and BioIndustry Park, and other centers such as the Proplast Consortium, the Torino Wireless Foundation (all also managers of the Innovation Centers);
- the Industry Manufacturing 4.0 Competence Center (CIM4.0), one of the eight Competence Centers activated nationally as part of the 4.0 Business Plan.

In this line, within the framework of the Employment and Social Innovation Programme (EaSI), the European Union has awarded the Seed project - Social Innovation Ecosystem Development, for the Centre of Competence for Social Innovation, which will be established in Turin as the first and so far only Italian centre for social innovation. It will be a sort of incubator dedicated to realities operating in the third sector and social economy.

The strengths of the metropolitan area remain its competitive export-oriented economy (being the second metropolitan area contributing to 4% of the national export share) and the presence of a productive fabric with a strong specialisation in the manufacturing sector (the manufacturing share is around 8-9% with an added value of 35%). In terms of distribution of employees, industry still manages to attract a substantial workforce (28% of the total number of employees) (ISTAT, 2019). Today, the hinterland of Turin and the neighbouring municipalities are characterised by a marked concentration of industrial spaces. In particular, most requests for industrial space are concentrated in the municipalities of the first two belts such as Moncalieri, Rivalta, Grugliasco, Collegno, Borgaro Torinese and Settimo Torinese (the latter, in particular, is characterised by relatively low rental prices). From the third belt, a lowest concentration of industrial sites can be observed, while residential urbanisation is higher mainly due to the high levels of environmental quality and the agricultural vocation of the area. Therefore, the territorial dimension and the extension of manufacturing activities are highly concentrated with respect to the administrative boundaries of the metropolitan area.

Table 2.1
Main territorial indicators

Theme	Indicator	FUA			CMTo
		Core	Suburb	Total	
Institutional	Municipalities	1	88	89	312
	Area (km²)	130,5	1674,0	1804,5	6827
Demography	Population (2019)	875698	876603	1752301	2230946
	Population (2010)	877359	856092	1733451	2302353
Population by age groups (2018)	0-14	107794	118401	226195	275826
	15-24	74248	80337	154585	200878
	25-44	218542	202704	421246	501911
	45-64	256265	264654	520919	680432
	65+	225674	211466	437140	571899
Population density (2019)		6709	523	971	326
Employment (2017)	Activity rate	51	-.	49	71,8
	Economically active population, total	390198	-.	755815	1432821
	Persons unemployed, total	38154	-.	83290	1301000
	Unemployment rate	10	-.	11	9,4
	Economically active population, (20-64)	377774	-.	586349	-

Theme	Indicator			FUA	CMTo
	Persons employed, (20-64)	341824	-.	656352	1310064
	- Mining, manufacturing, energy	48288	-.	142492	197800
	Total employment/jobs (work place based)	348330	-.	34231	-.
	- trade, transport, hotels, restaurants	102421	-.	172422	232700
	- information and communication	35368	-.	39074	48000
	- financial and insurance activities	24031	-.	27775	187700
	- real estate activities	8488	-.	12322	8000
	- professional, scientific and technical activities; administrative and support service activities	78189	-.	102769	145000
	- public administration, defence, education, human health and social work activities	59680	-.	87401	176000
	- arts, entertainment and recreation; other service activities; activities of household and extra-territorial organizations and bodies	38239	-.	-	99000

Source: authors' elaboration on OECD, Eurostat and Census data

3 Metropolitan governance structure and cooperation activities

3.1 Institutional framework

The Metropolitan City of Turin (CMTo) is a wide area, second level local authority which replaced the former Province of Turin from January 1st, 2015. Metropolitan Cities are administrative units formally established in Italy by the reform of local authorities (National Law 56/2014), replacing the respective Province authorities.

The establishment of Metropolitan Cities has been under discussion since the post-war period in Italy.

The first studies on the metropolitan phenomenon began in the early 1960s. The processes of urban gravitation, the formation of city-regions (Toschi, 1962; Archibugi,1966) and the formation of metropolitan areas were investigated (Aquarone, 1962).

These phenomena, together with widespread conurbation processes in the Italian settlement system, characterized by the presence of many small municipalities, were investigated by Cafiero and Busca (1970) for Svimez (*Associazione per lo Sviluppo dell'Industria nel Mezzogiorno*, private non-profit association created to promote the study of the economic conditions of Southern Italy). This research work represents the first attempt to delimit metropolitan areas on the basis of census data of 1951 and 1961, identifying 32 metropolitan structures defined as: "system of interrelated functions, even discontinuously distributed in space" (Cafiero, Busca, 1970, p.5).

In the second half of the 1960s, the discussion led to a strategic document by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Programming called *Progetto '80* (MBPE, 1969). The document, drawn up between 1969 and 1971, was commissioned as a preliminary report that accompanied the 1971-1975 National Economic Programme and was a ten-year projection of Italian territorial development.

Progetto '80 raised the question of metropolitan areas in the political debate and is recognized as: "[...] the only national attempt at spatial planning that identified cities and metropolitan areas as the backbones of economic and social development of the republican Italy" (De Luca, Moccia, 2017, p. 6). The document, however, never brought about direct political action and remained a mere indication of strategy without operativity (Renzoni, 2012).

Over time, the phenomena of metropolisation has affected the entire European context, producing significant changes for local governments. As highlighted by Brenner (2004), political rescaling processes are underway defined as: "a search for a new institutional fix characterized by the proliferation of political strategies intended to manage the disruptive supranational, national, regional and local consequences of geoeconomic restructuring" (Brenner, 2004, p. 174).

These phenomena are interpreted as processes of: "[...] reterritorialization of state institutions and rescaling of political relations on the basis of socio-economic determinants" (Tortorella, Allulli, 2014, p. 9). The processes of metropolisation have led to implications on the governance system and repercussions on the administrative practices of local government, such as having induced the national legislator to adapt the regulatory apparatus in order to manage territorial dynamics in a more functional and effective way.

In Italy, a first proposal to identify the metropolitan level of government is put forward with the bill of the Council of Ministers of 8 July 1982, within a broader reform of local autonomies. This bill recognized as metropolitan areas the conurbations with more than 1,000,000 inhabitants, aggregated around a municipality of 400,000 inhabitants; these areas had to be characterized by urban centres with economic and social relations. However, the first real political action to establish metropolitan cities in Italy as an institutional body occurred with Law 142/1990 on local self-government. This law revised the organization of local autonomies by introducing the institutes of metropolitan cities and metropolitan areas, that included the capital municipalities and the settlements in close integration relationships regarding economic activities, essential services for social life, as well as cultural relations and territorial characteristics. The metropolitan city was recognized as having provincial functions, as well as functions normally entrusted to municipalities when they have a primary supra-municipal character or must, for reasons of economy and efficiency, be carried

out in a coordinated form in the metropolitan area. The task of recognizing the boundaries of the metropolitan areas was given to the Regions, but none of them succeeded in institutionalizing them.

It was necessary to wait until the constitutional changes that followed the amendment of the 5th Title of the Italian Constitution in 2001 when, for the first time, the Metropolitan City was constitutionally recognized as an autonomous institution constituting the Italian Republic.

In point of fact, metropolitan cities were only established in 2014 within the framework of the "Delrio law" (Law 56/2014). This law sought to transform all Italian provinces into second level institutions with indirectly-elected assemblies (through second-level elective bodies) and to reduce their jurisdiction, while provinces that incorporated major regional capital cities were abolished and replaced with "metropolitan cities" (actually 14 and among them, Florence and Turin) in charge to adopt two territorial governance instruments: the Metropolitan Strategic Plan and the Metropolitan Territorial Plan.

According to the 2014 "Delrio" law, the metropolitan city is defined as a regional institution with the aim of: managing the strategic development of the metropolitan area, promoting and managing the services, infra-structures and communication networks of interest to the metropolitan city in an integrated way, and taking care of institutional relations pertaining to its own level, including those with the cities and metropolitan areas of Europe.

The scope of powers and functions of metropolitan cities is designed by the legislature drawing upon the example of the Provinces they had de jure superseded.

The Metropolitan City has the following fundamental functions:

- adoption and annual updating of a triennial strategic plan for the metropolitan area, conceived as a guideline for both the metropolitan city and the municipalities and unions of municipalities;
- general territorial planning, including mobility infrastructures and service networks under the competence of the metropolitan city;
- organization of coordinated systems for the management of public services for the municipalities of the Metropolitan City (preparing tender documents, acting as contracting authority, monitoring of service contracts, organizing competitions and selection procedures);
- mobility and transport, also ensuring the compatibility and consistency of municipal land use planning within the provisions of the metropolitan city;
- promotion and coordination of economic and social development, also ensuring support for innovative economic and research activities that are consistent with the vocation of the metropolitan city as outlined in the strategic plan (see letter a);
- promotion and coordination of digitalization in the metropolitan area.

The fundamental functions of the provinces are also attributed to the metropolitan city:

- territorial, environmental and landscape planning, for the aspects of competence;
- planning of transport services in the provincial area, authorization and control of private transport, in line with regional planning, as well as construction and management of provincial roads and regulation of the road traffic inherent to them;
- provincial planning of the school network, in compliance with regional planning;
- collection and processing of data, technical-administrative assistance to local authorities;
- management of upper secondary school buildings;
- control of discriminatory phenomena in the employment field and promotion of equal opportunities in the metropolitan territory.

This new institutional dimension also required the creation of an architecture of strategic and administrative government tasked with predicting and implementing the development and competitiveness of the territory as it pertains to the metropolitan city.

According to Law 56/2014, the metropolitan governance has a formal structure headed by the President of the metropolitan city (also called "metropolitan mayor", as he is the mayor of the capital city), assisted by a guiding and controlling body, the metropolitan council (*consiglio metropolitano*), and by a consultative and proposing body, the metropolitan conference (co*nferenza metropolitana*).

The Metropolitan Council is the policy-making and controlling body. It proposes the statute and its amendments to the conference, approves regulations, plans and programmes, approves and adopts any other act submitted to it by the metropolitan mayor and exercises the other functions assigned by the statute. On the Mayor's proposal, the Council adopts the budget schemes to be submitted to the metropolitan conference

for its opinion and approves them. It is made up of 18 councilors (plus the mayor) and lasts 5 years, but is dissolved when the municipal council of the capital city is renewed. It must be re-elected within 60 days from the proclamation of the new mayor of the capital city. It has an indirect democratic representation obtained through second-level elections by an electoral body represented by the mayors and municipal councilors.

The metropolitan conference deliberates with a "double majority" for approval and amendments to the statute, and gives an opinion in the process of budget approval. It is the ultimate approving body of the city's budget. Actions in the conference require votes of at least two-thirds of communes in the metropolitan city and the majority of the overall resident population. The conference is composed of all mayors of the communes within the metropolitan city.

Under law 56/2014, the President of the metropolitan city is the mayor of the capital city. The President acts as executive and administrative officer of the metropolitan city and represents, convenes and chairs meetings of the metropolitan council, supervises city offices, supervises the functioning of city services, and prepares the metropolitan city's budget.

In order to link the metropolitan government to the local dimension, the statutes recognize homogeneous areas in which to decline metropolitan development strategies. These are locally defined by each metropolitan city, considering particular aggregation parameters: administrative limits of the Unions of municipalities, management of supra-local services, delimitation of hydrographic basins, consolidated local identities. The division into homogeneous zones has not been defined by all the Metropolitan Cities and some have adopted specific forms of interaction with the intermediate levels. For example, in the Metropolitan City of Bologna no homogeneous areas are identified but the role played by these is delegated to the Unions of Municipalities.

With the introduction of the Metropolitan Cities as institutional entities, a differentiation between Italian territorial systems is recognized, affirming peculiarities and strengths to those of greater entity on the basis of the demographic component. However, the delimitation of metropolitan cities on the borders of the former provinces has affected a clear territorial demarcation. In some cases, metropolitan perimeters do not identify real metropolises - on a morphological, economic and social level - and have led to the construction of large-area local entities that govern territories with very different characteristics and which often do not feel to be “part” of the metropolitan system. In smaller municipalities, the fear of losing space of autonomy in the management of some functions or services can lead to the rise of "parochialisms" that oppose the integration and implementation processes of a large area: "the same smaller municipalities falling within the metropolitan area have often seen with distrust the possible centralization in the chief town of the powers of the entire metropolitan area" (The European House, Ambrosetti, 2016, p. 13).

The mismatch between institutional boundaries and metropolitan (functional) areas is also recognized by the ministerial dossiers on the subject, highlighting how: "[...] the province does not appear in any of the cities affected by the reform an adequate territorial area, nor from the point of view of the conurbation "Narrow" (with respect to which it appears almost everywhere too large) or with respect to the "wide" one of the so-called "functional urban region" (which, conversely, has almost everywhere a wider dimension and often in fact also transregional) "(Presidency of Council of Ministers, 2017, p. 10).

Metropolitan cities, in fact, are constructed in this way: "[...] with similar municipalities and territories that become" metropolitan by law "and not due to the structure and services present and which retain their administrative and managerial prerogatives [...] in territorial areas that are often narrower than the reference context of metropolitan visions" (De Luca, Moccia, 2017, p. 5). By choosing to conform the metropolitan institutional territory to the provincial one, the economic and social relations built in tandem with the expansion of the city-regions are often lost. These situations of relational and territorial contiguity require a supra-local government, which still does not correspond to the perimeters of the current metropolitan cities.

In view of its heterogeneity and wideness, that ranges from the urbanised area of Turin and its surrounding municipalities to rural plain and hill areas, up to the mountain areas bordering with France and Valle d’Aosta, the Metropolitan City of Turin is divided in 11 “homogeneous zones” defined by functionality and territorial criteria, as a result of a complex analytical process which considered a number of different existing structures and boundaries. These zones do not comply with the OECD typology of Functional Urban Areas (Map 3.1).

Map 3.1
The 11 homogeneous zones of the Metropolitan City of Turin



Soruce: Authors' elaboration

Whereas the governance system is core-town oriented, in the metropolitan strategic and spatial planning process all the local administrations of the metropolitan area are involved, through thematic and territorial working groups, the latter based on the "homogenous zones". Effective and successful processes rely on the commitment of the persons involved. Local administrations, especially small ones in rural and mountain areas, are not often feeling as very engaged in the processes led by the metropolitan institution - don't see the advantage of cooperation: proximity matters. The main need is to support the engagement of local administrations and systematize units and processes of metropolitan government in an integrated governance system.

3.1.1 Other forms of cooperation

A number of other metropolitan cooperation activities exists, that concerns portions of the metropolitan city territory[1] that operate independently from the metropolitan institution:

- 3 Local Action Groups
- 16 Unions of Mountain Municipalities
- 8 Unions of Municipalities
- 8 Territorial Pacts

Local Action Groups (LAG) (Map 3.2) are consortia set up by public bodies, trade associations, professionals, private companies, foundations, tourism promotion agencies, etc. They work to exploit the local potential and promote the consolidation or establishment of networks of operators within the CLLD-Leader of Measure 19 of the 2014-2020 Rural Development Programme (RDP). The Local Action Groups also aim to involve the economic and social actors in the definition of the development strategies, which constitute the backbone

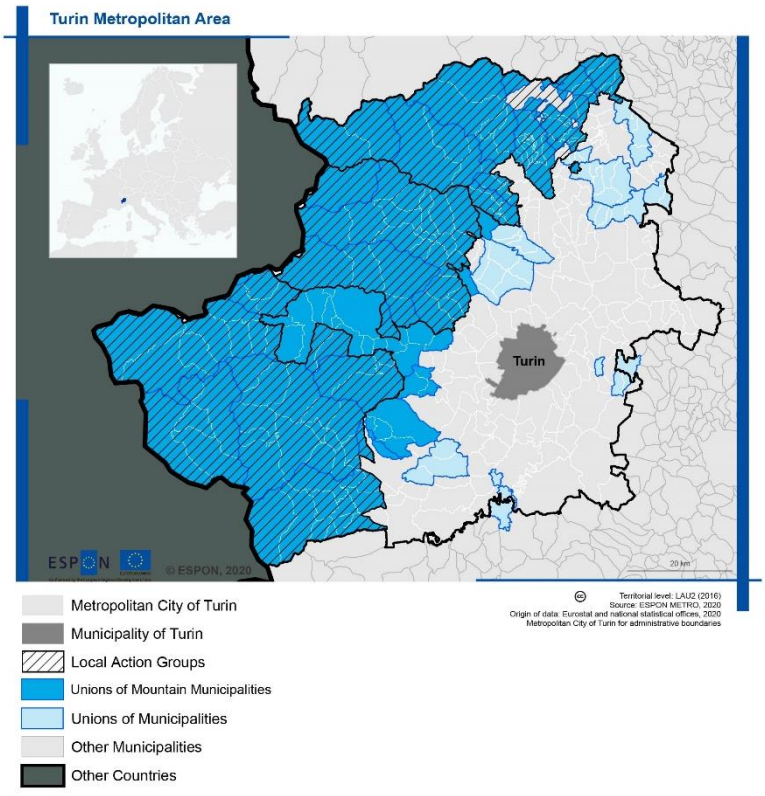
[1] A number of other institutional or policy-based supra-municipal cooperation initiatives exists, that are more or less related to the cohesion policy: Irrigation and waste consortia, Territorial Pacts, River Agreements, Corona Verde, Interreg ALCOTRA projects, etc. However, they are not addressed in this overview.

of the Local Development Programmes, the programming documents approved by the Region that allow each LAG area to use resources of the RDP through the publication of calls for proposals for businesses and other public and private bodies (see §4.2).

The Mountain Unions of the Metropolitan City of Turin (Map 3.2) have replaced the former Mountain Communities. They were created to protect and promote the development of mountain areas, as well as to carry out municipal functions and services in associated form. Mountain Unions are made up of municipalities classified as mountainous (or partially mountainous), with fewer than 3,000 inhabitants. Non-mountain municipalities that used to be part of mountain communities can also be part of mountain unions. The issue of mountain areas was the subject of an ad hoc law, approved by the Piedmont Region in 2019 (regional law 14/2019 on the protection, valorisation and development of mountains[2]. Article 10 of the law states that: "[…] in order to ensure coherence between the local and wide area strategies, the optimisation of resources and the enhancement of relations between the mountain territory and urban areas, the metropolitan city of Turin is consulted, with a non-binding opinion, in the preparation of the project proposals of the mountain unions in its territory, taking into account their supra-local elements, in the process of drawing up and updating the metropolitan strategic plan and the general territorial plan.

In addition to the Unions of Mountain Municipalities, there are also other Unions of Municipalities, formed by municipalities located on hill or plain areas with fewer than 3000 inhabitants (for hill areas) or 5000 (for plain areas) and which manage municipal functions and services in an associated form. The process of setting up Unions of Municipalities in the territory of the metropolitan city of Turin is still in progress, so their number is bound to grow. As in the case of Unions of Mountain Municipalities, also Unions of Municipalities are aimed at the associated planning and management of municipal services.

Map 3.2
Local Action Groups and Unions of Municipalities in the Metropolitan City of Turin



Source: Authors' elaboration

[2] http://www.regione.piemonte.it/governo/bollettino/abbonati/2019/15/attach/aa_aa_regione%20piemonte%20-%20legge%20regionale_2019-04-08_67882.pdf

Territorial Pacts (§3.4.1) are instruments pertaining to the Negotiated Programming system, born in the 1990s in response to administrative decentralization and the need to coordinate the European Union, the State and the Regions in the field of financial support to depressed areas, through targeted territorial projects to local development and based on territorial coordination.

Challenges and critical elements

- The reform of local authorities has contributed to saving on the costs of politics, to the detriment of territories and territorial governance, in particular at the NUTS3 level.
- Since 2015, the Metropolitan City of Turin is a second level institution whose representatives are indirectly elected by local administrators (no longer by citizens). The President of the metropolitan city is the mayor of the capital city, and this leads to a centralization of power in the capital centre and a "feeling" of greater peripherality for the smaller municipalities.
- The election of mayors and municipal councillors as metropolitan councillors (*Consigliere Metropolitano*) requires each elector to cast a weighted vote on the basis of an index determined in relation to the overall population of the demographic bracket of the municipality of which he is Mayor or Councillor. The indirect election and the weighting mechanism brought about several critical issues related to representativeness and territorial disparities.
- The Metropolitan City works in a very fragmented environment, with very diverse geographic and socio-economic contexts, and within the metropolitan area there are other forms of cooperation that are independent from the metropolitan institution. Therefore, it is not easy to develop integrated policies at the metropolitan level.
- Effective and successful processes often rely on the commitment and competences of the persons involved. People matter, but inadequate management of turnover, divestment, precariousness, poor training and updating, etc. have led to a general feeling of disillusionment and to the lack of a system of competences that is essential for metropolitan governance and development.
- Small administrations in rural and mountain areas are often not feeling metropolitan nor very engaged in the processes led by the metropolitan institution - don’t see the advantage of cooperation: proximity matters. The main need is to support the engagement of local administrations and systematize units and processes of metropolitan government in an integrated governance system.

3.2 Evolution of metropolitan cooperation

The first attempts to introduce tools of urban planning at a metropolitan scale date back to the 1950s, when national decrees promoted intermunicipal territorial plans for the urban areas of Turin and Milan. These plans were never implemented; in particular, in the case of Turin the plan elaborated in 1954 lacked sufficient legal power to be accepted by most of the 23 municipalities included together with the chief town (figure 3.1a) (Corsico 2005).

At the end of the 1960s, the national *Project ‘80* (preliminary text for the National Economic Programme 1971-1975) proposed metropolitan areas as new starting points for national economic and infrastructural planning. In this context, in 1972 a Decree by the President of Piedmont Regional Council introduced the so-called “Comprensori” (districts) as a new intermediate level of government between the Region and the Municipalities; one of them - defined as 'metropolitan area' - included 53 municipalities divided into two 'belts' around Turin (figure 3.1b). This reform achieved few concrete results.

It was only in the 1990s that the constitution of the so-called Metropolitan city - as a territorial government body having its own statutory powers – was proposed. In particular Law 142/1990 indicated a period of one year within which the Regions had to establish the delimitations of these new metropolitan cities (while no deadline was set for the re-distribution of functions from municipalities to metropolitan cities). As a consequence, in 1991 Piedmont Region presented a draft law (n. 151/91), that contained a proposal for the delimitation of the Metropolitan city (which was composed of a total of 33 municipalities – figure 3.1c)) and a

first indication of its competencies; however, this draft was never converted in law, also because at the national Law 436/1993 made the act of defining the areas of Metropolitan cities optional, and no longer compulsory, for the Regions.

At the end of the century, Law 265/1999 relaunch the establishment of Metropolitan cities, entrusting it to the municipalities and provinces (which were supposed to adopt their statute, indicate their internal structure and functions, organisation, etc.), while the Regions were to define their perimeter within 180 days. In 2001, the reform of Title V of the Constitution elevated the Metropolitan cities to the rank of autonomous bodies, on a par with regions, provinces and municipalities. Despite this, Metropolitan cities remained on paper, on the one side because of the opposition by most Regions, Provinces and Municipalities which feared a reduction in their political and institutional roles and/or the loss of their identity; on the other hand, the solution of carving out a metropolitan area involved the 'doughnut' dilemma: what to do with the portions of the provincial territory that remained outside the metropolitan area?

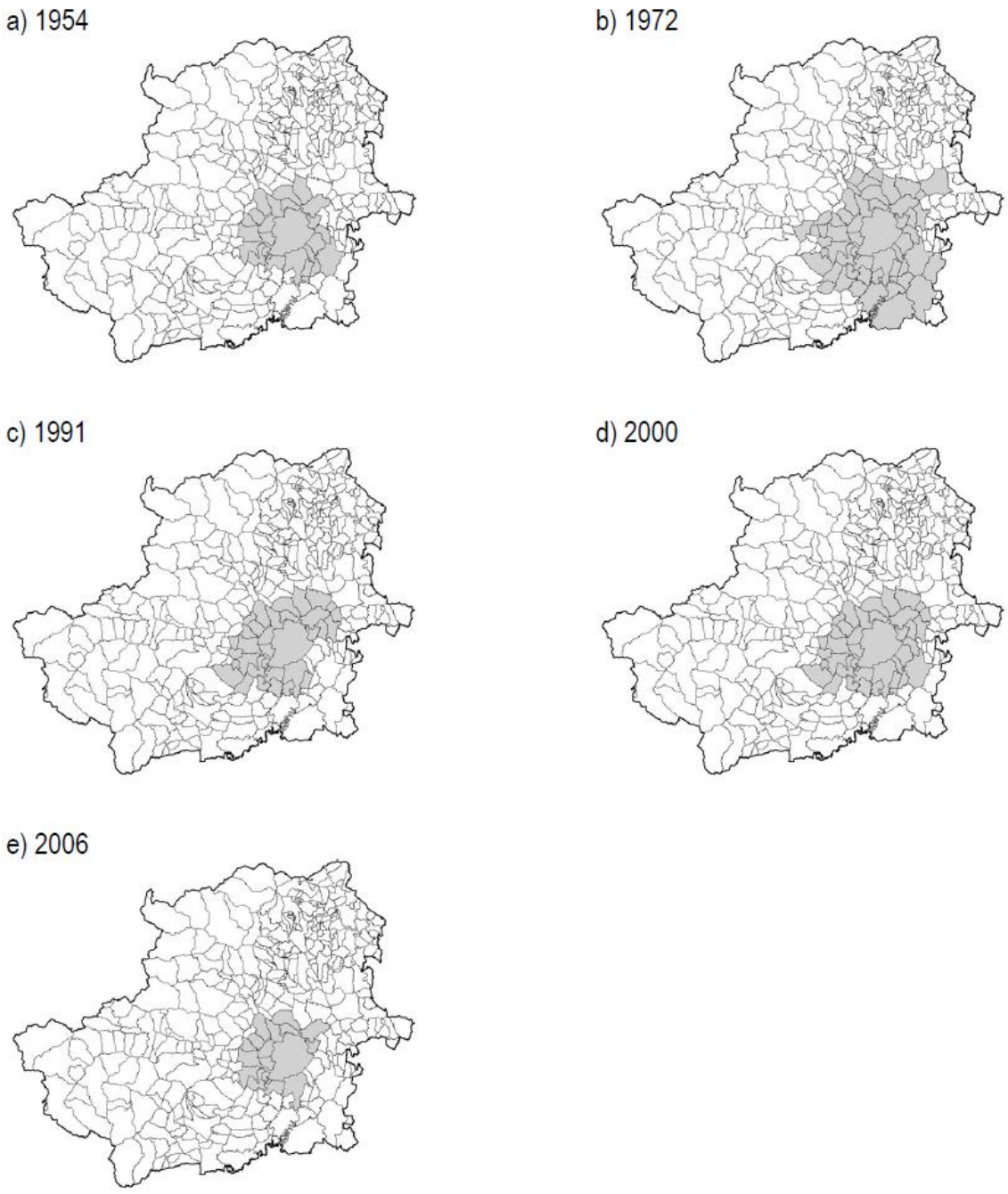
In the case of Turin, anyway, the issue of “soft” metropolitan governance re-emerged just in the first 2000s thanks to the first strategic plan approved in 2000. One of the six strategies of this plan was exactly "Building metropolitan government"; the plan proposed to establish the Metropolitan Conference, a stable forum for discussion and development based on the voluntary participation of 38 municipalities (including Turin – figure 3.1d). This Conference, active between 2000 and 2004, brought to the creation of the Metropolitan mobility authority and to a number of intermunicipal collaborations.

In 2006, the City of Turin set up a Department for the metropolitan area and in 2007 a memorandum of understanding was signed between the mayors of the 17 municipalities involved (figure 3.1e) in the so-called "Tavolo metropolitano", with the objective of: promoting new opportunities for inter-municipal planning and cooperation, also through mutual structures and initiatives; supporting and monitoring existing inter-municipal cooperation agreements and initiatives; enhancing the role of existing bodies, authorities and agencies that coordinated public policies at the metropolitan level".

Turin's third strategic plan, launched in June 2012 and adopted in April 2014, in the construction of its "Torino Metropoli 2025" vision, explicitly took the 38 municipalities of the Metropolitan Conference of the first plan as the territorial reference area.

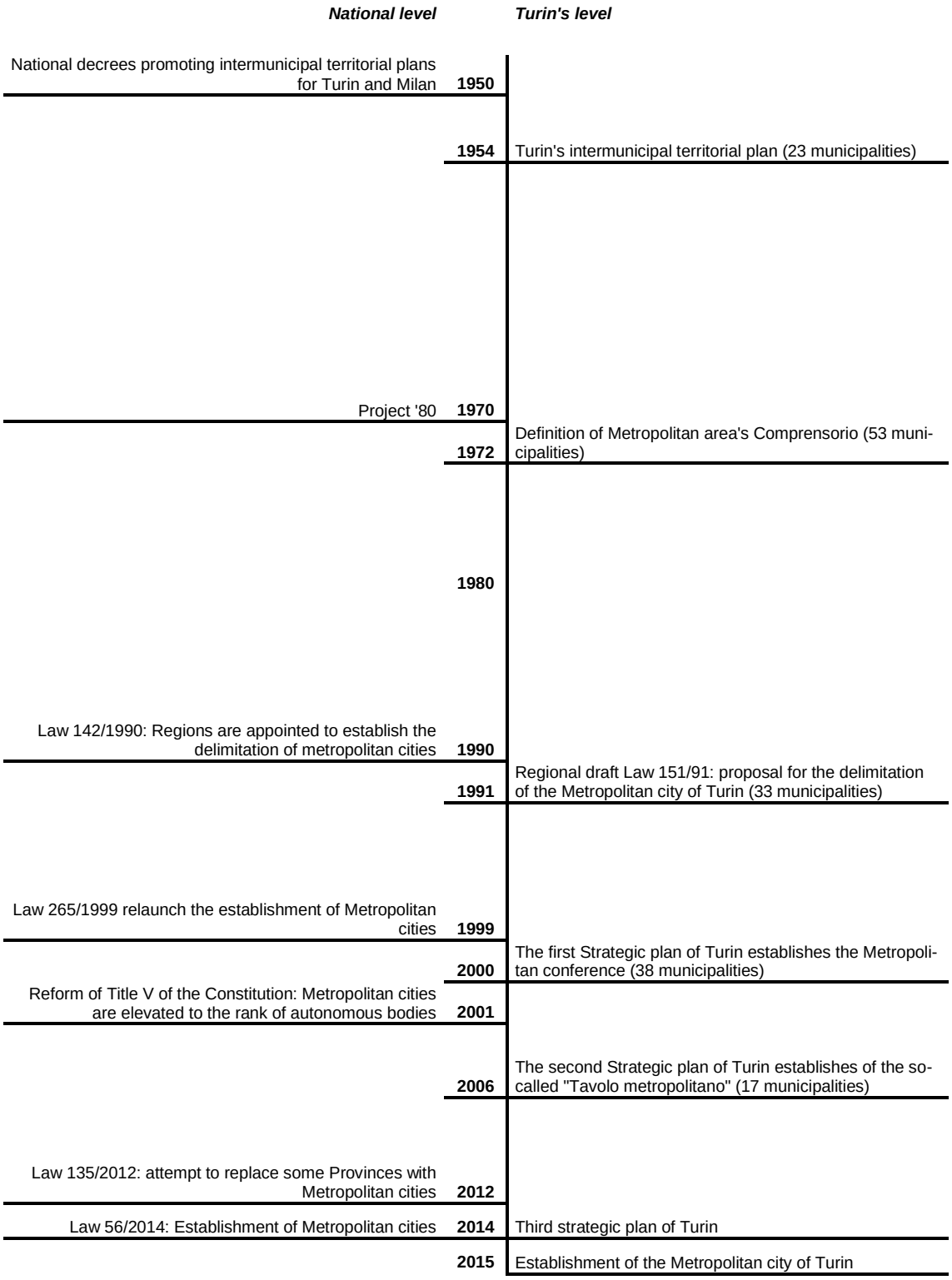
In 2012, at the national level a new attempt to introduce Metropolitan cities as “hard” government body was made through Law 135, which tried to overcome previous difficulties by identifying the boundaries of these Cities with those of the existing Provinces of Turin, Milan, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Naples, Bari and Reggio Calabria. However, it was Law 56/2014 that succeeded in this approach: on January 1st 2015 the Metropolitan city of Turin was born.

Figure 3.1
Evolution of metropolitan cooperation in the Metropolitan City of Turin



Source: Crivello, 2015

Figure 3.2
Timeline of metropolitan cooperation



Source: authors' elaboration

Challenges and critical elements

- The establishment of the Metropolitan city of Turin according to Law 56/2014, obtained by simply replacing the Province without modifying its borders, has determined a “metropolitan” institution whose extension is much broader than the functional urban area;
- as a consequence, the Metropolitan city has to plan and manage a territory which is extremely heterogeneous (both from a geographic, morphological and socio-economic views) and administratively articulated (312 municipalities);
- the long process of institutionalisation of the Metropolitan city, with its forwards and backwards steps, has led to the emergence of informal and soft patterns of collaboration between Municipalities (in particular between those surrounding the chief town), which have now to be framed in the government processes lead by the Metropolitan city.

3.3 Metropolitan development goals

The Metropolitan development goals are made explicit in the Metropolitan Strategic Plan, in the Metropolitan General Spatial Plan (PTGM) and in the Metropolitan Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (SUMP) (see section 3.4) and in the Metropolitan agenda 2030 for sustainable development, that is currently being finalised[3].

The Metropolitan City of Turin, unique in terms of the number of municipalities it comprises (312) and its extensive and, above all, varied territory (see section 2), has polycentrism as one of its main objectives. There is the Turin capital city, there are large cities bordering on Turin and others located many kilometres away, there are countryside, Alpine valleys and mountains. A social and economic system that cannot be found in other metropolitan cities in Italy. This makes it essential to govern the Metropolitan City of Turin through a polycentric approach, i.e. considering several points on which to reason and intervene, without making the mistake of starting from Turin and considering the other municipalities as peripheral. Also Turin itself would benefit from this polycentric approach, since it would contribute to rethink the role of the capital city, renew it culturally and economically by transforming the variety and complexity of its metropolitan territory into an added value. To this respect, the main elements to take into consideration are:

- Functions and competences of the metropolitan institution:
    - the changes introduced by the reform of local authorities (see section 3.1), which turned Provinces (and introduced Metropolitan cities) from being directly elected intermediate-level bodies between the Region and the municipalities to being second-level bodies;
    - the new purposes and functions assigned to the Metropolitan Cities, especially as regards the care of territorial development, integrated management of services, infrastructures and communication networks, and relations with other cities and metropolitan areas;
- Superordinate policies and planning instruments:
    - the National Strategy and Plan for Sustainable Development, the European Territorial Agenda 2030, the Urban Agenda, the Metropolitan Agenda for Sustainable Development;
    - the National Strategy (SNAC) and Plan for Adaptation to Climate Change (PNAC);
    - the new territorial and strategic dimension of post-2020 cohesion policy (promotion of integrated social, economic and environmental development of urban and rural areas; focus on low-carbon issues, circular economy, climate change adaptation, safety and risk prevention, mobility and connectivity);

[3] http://www.cittametropolitana.torino.it/cms/ambiente/agenda-metro-svil-sostenibile/percorso-cmto

- regional and sectoral spatial planning tools which have to be taken into account and integrated with (PTR, PPR, PTA, PAI, PGRA, SUMP);
- the Metropolitan Strategic Plan;
- the experience and legacy of provincial spatial planning and the Provincial Coordinating Territorial Plans (PTC1 and PTC2).

Turin is the Italian metropolitan city which includes within its boundaries the greatest variety of territories: it is a metropolitan city of the plain, a metropolitan city of the hills and a metropolitan city of the mountains. This territorial diversity gives rise to a potential, which the Metropolitan Strategic Plan 2021-2023 aims to exploit, systematise and implement. In particular, the objective of Plan is to put in place actions and interventions aimed at overcoming the social, economic and territorial marginalities in the metropolitan area, through the support to the digitalisation, innovation and competitiveness of the production system, with particular attention to micro and small enterprises; the support to the green revolution and to the ecological transition; the strengthening of infrastructures for a sustainable mobility; the support to the education, training and research system; the enhancement of the cultural heritage and of the tourist opportunities; and the rethinking and strengthening of the territorial health system.

The Strategic Plan, made up of data, directions, political choices and visions, must be anchored to the economic aspect, i.e. it must be concrete and the territories must be given the tools and financial means to implement the policies of a new development along lines that must be able to really come to fruition. Municipalities and stakeholders, although involved in initiatives and projects, are facing a particular historical period and the axes and strategies of this Plan need to be continuously updated, but also implemented and it is important to involve in the drafting, but also to share the choices of resources distribution so as not to leave otherwise the local administrations with a document that cannot be implemented.

The Metropolitan Strategic Plan (PSM) 2021-2023[4] proposes a substantial paradigm shift, presenting a vision of Turin as an “augmented metropolis”. The most relevant objective of the PSM is to guarantee equal rights and equal opportunities of citizenship for all its inhabitants in every point of the metropolitan city. The vision of Turin as an augmented metropolis is structured with reference to the six programmatic points of the Next Generation EU, in coherence with the objectives defined by the National Recovery and Resilience Plan. The PSM pragmatically organises its objectives on the structure of the funding that will make it possible to achieve them; in this sense, it also identifies the objectives of the European cohesion policy and the sectoral programmes that can contribute to the realisation of individual actions. It is thus organised in six axes/visions:

1. a Metropolitan City that is more productive and innovative;
2. a Metropolitan City that is more green and ecological;
3. a Metropolitan City that is more mobile, accessible and connected;
4. a Metropolitan City that learns more;
5. a Metropolitan City that is more attractive, fair and equal;
6. a Metropolitan City that is healthier.

While the PSM is more anchored in the economic sphere, the Metropolitan spatial plan (PTGM) is closer to the sphere of spatial planning. The Metropolitan City, through the new PTGM, sets itself important objectives, always with a view to collaboration and coherence with the other available instruments. The objectives outlined in the spatial plan are:

- Resilience of the territory with respect to the negative impacts of natural and anthropogenic phenomena, integrating strategies and actions for maintaining and securing the territory, adapting to climate change, preparing the territory for the challenges faced by future generations;
- Widespread, high-quality development, by reducing the gap between peripheral/disadvantaged areas and better served areas, recognising the role of minor urban poles, improving infrastructure

[4] The Metropolitan Strategic Plan 2021-2023 is the second strategic plan that the Metropolitan City has developed since its institution.

connectivity, enhancing local vocations and cultural, environmental and landscape resources in a network project;

- Social, economic and environmental sustainability as a condition for planning, design and implementation of urban, infrastructural and environmental territorial transformations;
- Conscious use of resources, directing urban planning choices to the priority recovery and reuse of disused built-up areas and degraded areas that cannot be restored to their natural original condition, and to the reorganisation and efficiency of urbanised areas;
- Increasing biodiversity and the quality of environmental and landscape resources, by supporting the implementation of urban and territorial regeneration projects, the rehabilitation of compromised areas, with priority given to natural uses, the management and extension of the system of protected areas and the declination of the "green infrastructure" to the metropolitan scale;
- Integrated metropolitan planning and territorial cohesion, seeking dialogue and coherence between the different positions and requirements of territorial and economic planning and programming, and identifying homogeneous areas as possible testing grounds for supra-local and participatory planning actions, in order to tackle complex problems at different scales (local, metropolitan and global).

3.3.1 Coherence with national and regional goals

At the national level, Law 56/14[5], assigns to the Metropolitan Cities the fundamental function of general territorial planning, including communication structures, service networks and infrastructures belonging to the competence of the metropolitan community, also setting constraints and objectives to the activity and exercise of the functions of the municipalities included in the metropolitan territory. In assigning to the Metropolitan Cities also the functions pertaining to the Provinces, the legislator has left to them the functions of planning coordination[6].

Another regulatory reference at national level is Article 20 of Legislative Decree No 267/2000, the Consolidated Law on Local Authorities, which assigns the provinces the task of determining the general guidelines for land use planning, with particular reference to:

- Different destinations of the territory in relation to the prevailing vocation of its parts. (In this regard, it should be noted that Law 56/14 provides that the vocation of the metropolitan city is to be outlined in the Metropolitan Strategic Plan[7];
- Broad location of major infrastructures and lines of communication;
- Lines of action for water, hydrogeological and hydraulic-forestry development and in general for soil consolidation and water regulation;
- Areas where it is appropriate to establish parks or nature reserves.

The metropolitan territorial planning needs the adaptation to the superordinate planning, both general and sectoral, regional and basin. The Regional Territorial Plan (PTR) and the Regional Landscape Plan (PPR) are complementary acts of a single planning process aimed at the recognition, safeguard, management and enhancement and requalification of the territories of the Piedmont Region, whose coordination took place through the definition of a system of common general strategies and objectives, then articulated in specific objectives relevant to the aims of each Plan.

The Metropolitan General Spatial Plan (PTGM) implements the Regional Territorial Plan and defines the structural framework within which the actions of the municipalities must find coherence and/or must implement the PTGM at the local scale, in accordance with the principles of subsidiarity and competence. The PTGM adapts to the Regional Landscape Plan, approved in 2017 on the basis of the agreement between the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities and the Piedmont Region, for the protection and promotion

[5] Letter b, paragraph 44, article 1.
[6] Letter a, paragraph 85 of the same Law.
[7] Letter e, paragraph 44, art. 1.

of the Piedmont landscape, based on the principles of sustainable development, conscious use of the territory, less consumption of agro-natural land, safeguarding of landscape features, and aimed at regulating its transformations and ensuring that the landscape is adequately known, protected and enhanced.

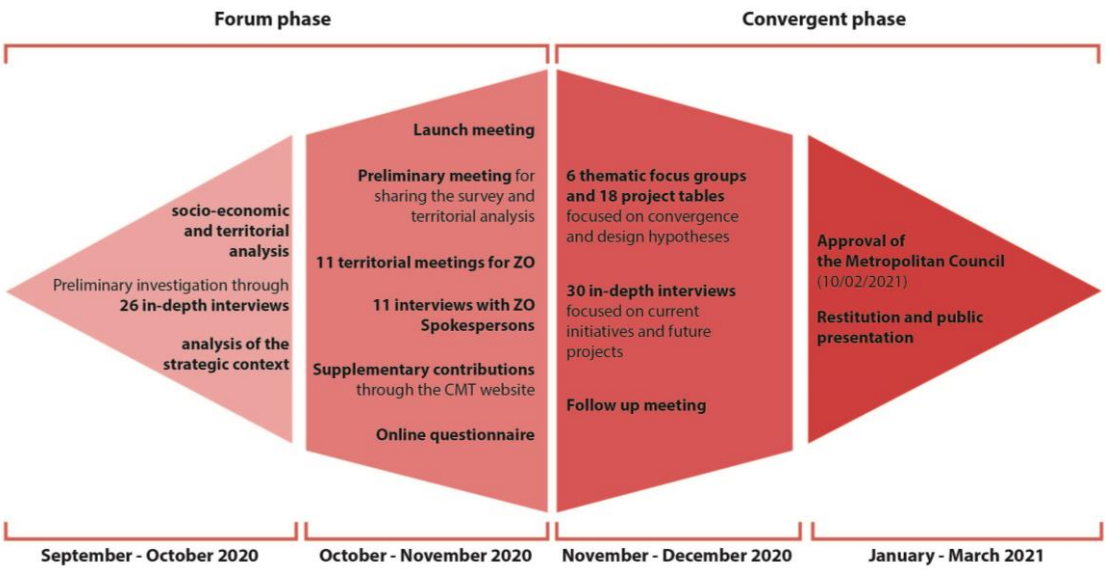
The Regional Territorial Plan is rooted in the European Spatial Development Perspective and cohesion policies, and recognises the regional polycentric system, its potential and the principles of subsidiarity and co-planning. The Metropolitan general spatial plan adapts to the Regional plan by preparing the Structural Reference Framework on the metropolitan scale, taking on, specifying and integrating where necessary, the regional objectives, guidelines and directives. In fact, the drafting of the Metropolitan spatial plan is an opportunity to verify and bring coherence to the structure of the metropolitan territory with respect to the regional vision, with particular attention to the five strategies outlined by the Regional territorial and landscape plans (PPR and PTR): territorial requalification; landscape protection and enhancement; environmental sustainability; energy efficiency, territorial integration of mobility, communication and logistics infrastructures; research, innovation and productive transition; enhancement of human resources and institutional capacities (Art. 8, c. 1).

Finally, it is interesting to define how the metropolitan territorial planning is in line with the eight goals set out in the Bologna Charter for the Environment (2017). Axes, strategies and actions already recall the cardinal principles of sustainable development, declined at a global level in the UN Agenda 2030 (the 17 objectives resulting from the Agreement between 193 countries in 2015), and support the Metropolitan City of Turin that, like all other Italian metropolitan cities, will be called upon, in the coming year, to work on the drafting of an "Agenda for the Sustainable Development of the Metropolitan City of Turin and its territory". This Agenda has the aim of strengthening and qualifying the attention towards sustainable development within the metropolitan planning, programming and management tools, with a view to a full integration of all the dimensions of sustainability. It is not a new and additional planning tool, but an integration device for the promotion, in agreement with local institutions and actors in the metropolitan territory, of integrated strategies and actions for sustainable development, in implementation of the National Strategy for Sustainable Development (under revision) and the Regional Strategy for Sustainable Development of Piedmont (under definition).

3.3.2 Coherence with municipal goals

In the Metropolitan City's strategic, spatial and mobility planning processes all the local administrations of the metropolitan area are involved, through thematic and/or territorial working groups, the latter based on the "homogenous zones" (see for example Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3
Process of involvement of metropolitan actors in the Metropolitan Strategic Plan



Source: authors' translation from the Metropolitan Strategic Plan

However, as reported in section 3.1, the metropolitan governance is strongly centred on Turin, for which it is easier to have their specific goals represented in the metropolitan development ones; on the contrary, the small municipalities, and especially those of rural and mountain areas, are feeling that their goals are not always fully represented in metropolitan governance processes. At the same time, while between 2000 and 2014 the City of Turin declared its main goals in three Strategic plans, at present there is no document which explicitly states its current objectives; in the revision of its land use regulatory plan, six main issues have been identified: environment as a resource, identity and beauty, welfare and life quality, youth and the city, employment production and trade, simplifying the rules, beyond the borders.

The other way around, municipalities should develop their spatial development tools in compliance with the metropolitan ones, but spatial development plans do not have a predefined duration and municipalities are not obliged to develop a new plan or to update their plans in view of the directions of metropolitan planning instruments.

Challenges and critical elements

- Metropolitan development objectives are consistent with European, national and regional objectives, also by virtue of coordination mechanisms. But as regards the coherence with municipal goals two main challenges emerge: on the one side, although municipal objectives, which are expressed in their planning instruments, should be consistent with the metropolitan objectives, since municipal plans do not have a predefined duration, the coordination mechanism is not ensured. On the other side, given the wideness and heterogeneity of the Metropolitan City, the goals of its 312 municipalities, and especially those of rural and mountain municipalities, cannot be easily represented by the metropolitan plan.

3.4 Metropolitan development and planning instruments

According to the law 56/14, metropolitan cities are in charge of four very important instruments: the Metropolitan Strategic Plan, the Metropolitan General Spatial Plan, the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan and the Metropolitan Agenda for Sustainable Development[8].

The Metropolitan Strategic Plan, that is valid for three years and updated annually, is the guidance and programming document for the social, economic and environmental development of the metropolitan area. It defines the general, sectorial and cross-cutting development objectives for the metropolitan area and identifies the priorities for intervention, the resources needed to pursue them, the timing and way of implementation.

The spatial planning process is embedded within the overall national and regional spatial governance and planning system. According to the latter, the regional authorities, the provinces, the metropolitan authority (where existing) and the municipal authorities perform different spatial governance and planning functions and are responsible for the preparation of the following instruments:

- Regional level: Regional Territorial Plan and Regional Landscape Plan, which focus on the whole regional territory;
- Metropolitan and provincial level: Metropolitan General Spatial Plan developed by the metropolitan authority and the Provincial Coordination Spatial Plan developed by the province authority.
- Municipal level: General Spatial Plan developed by each of the 312 municipalities (including the Municipality of Turin), either autonomously or in inter-municipal association.

[8] Which is currently under development and will be developed through a participatory process by the end of December 2021.

According to a ministerial decree, issued on 4 August 2017 by the Italian Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport, which set out the guidelines for Sustainable Urban Mobility Plans (SUMPs), it is compulsory for all the Italian metropolitan cities to produce the SUMP, a strategic planning tool including a long-term vision for the urban mobility system that aims to achieve a set of environmental, economic and social objectives.

The **Regional Territorial Plan** (PTR), approved by the Regional Council[9], represents the instrument that connects the indications deriving from the regional planning system and the recognition of the vocations of the territory; it is rooted in the principles defined by the European Development Perspective and social cohesion policies and is therefore centred on the recognition of the regional polycentric system and its potential, on the principles of subsidiarity and co-planning. The plan is divided into three different components that interact with each other:

- a reference framework (the plan's cognitive-structural component), having as its object the critical reading of the regional territory (settlement, socio-economic, morphological, landscape-environmental and ecological aspects), the web of networks and local territorial systems that structure Piedmont;
- a strategic part (the component coordinating policies and projects of different institutional levels, different spatial scales, different sectors), on the basis of which the interests to be protected a priori and the major strategic development axes can be identified;
- a statutory part (the regulatory component of the plan), aimed at defining the roles and functions of the various spheres of territorial government on the basis of the principles of local autonomy and subsidiarity.

The Regional Territorial Plan contains not only coherence with the European Spatial Development Perspective, but also strategic paths defined by geographical areas, actions aimed at improving the institutional system and the integration of sectoral policies. It pursues three objectives:

- territorial cohesion, which is its strategic component, to be found in the territorial dimension of sustainability;
- the polycentric scenario, understood as the recognition of urban systems within networks;
- co-planning, which introduces new governance tools.

The **Regional Landscape Plan** (PPR), approved by the Regional Council[10] on the basis of the Agreement signed in Rome on 14 March 2017 between the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities and the Region of Piedmont, is an instrument for the protection and promotion of the Piedmont landscape, aimed at regulating its transformations and supporting its strategic role for the sustainable development of the territory. The Regional Landscape Plan came into force on the day following the publication of the approval resolution in the Regional Official Gazette[11]. Within 24 months from the date of approval, all the urban or territorial planning instruments are required to adapt to the Landscape Plan; pending adaptation, any variant made to the planning instruments, limited to the areas affected by it, must be consistent with and comply with the rules of the Regional Plan. From the date of its entry into force, it is therefore not possible to proceed with the adoption of general variants or revisions to urban planning instruments that do not include the adaptation to the Landscape Plan. Moreover, for lower-ranking variants, the project documentation must demonstrate compliance with the contents of the Landscape Plan.

The Plan was drawn up in agreement with the Piedmont Provinces (2008 agreement) for the definition of a common knowledge base and through the signing, also in 2008, of a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Cultural Heritage and Tourism with which the contents of the Plan itself were shared.

In the spirit of the European Convention, the Regional Landscape Plan does not limit itself to recognising and protecting areas of exceptional value and beauty, but addresses the entire regional territory, including

[9] DCR no. 122-29783 of 21 July 2011.
[10] D.C.R. no. 233-35836 of 3 October 2017, on the basis of the Agreement signed in Rome on 14 March 2017 between the Ministry for Cultural Heritage and Activities and the Region of Piedmont.
[11] B.U.R. no. 42 of 19 October 2017, Ordinary Supplement no. 1.

everyday landscapes, which represent people's living and working contexts and help determine their quality and which must therefore be defended against uncontrolled transformations, and compromised or degraded landscapes, which it promotes the recovery and redevelopment of.

The Regional Territorial Plan and the Regional Landscape Plan are complementary acts of a single planning process aimed at the recognition, management, protection, enhancement and requalification of the Region's territories; coordination between the Territorial and the Landscape plans took place through the definition of a system of common general strategies and objectives, then articulated in specific objectives relevant to the specific aims of each plan. The strategic environmental assessment process, carried out in a complementary manner from a methodological point of view, has guaranteed the correlation between these objectives and the connection between the regulatory systems of the two instruments. The five strategies are:

1. Spatial redevelopment, landscape protection and enhancement
2. Environmental sustainability, energy efficiency
3. Spatial integration of mobility, communication and logistics infrastructures
4. Research, innovation and economic-productive transition
5. Development of human resources, institutional capacities and social policies

The **Metropolitan Strategic Plan 2021-2023, *'Torino Metropoli Aumentata'*,** approved by the Metropolitan Council on 2 February 2021**,** is divided into 6 priority axes (see section 3.3). Each axis comprises a sequence of strategies, and each strategy unfolds into a series of actions to be implemented. In total, the PSM proposes 24 strategies and 111 actions. These six axes are in close connection with the Next Generation EU objectives, and in particular with those of the National Recovery and Resilience Plan, which are also of crucial importance for the future of the metropolitan city of Turin.

The drafting of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan has been supported by a "relay" process oriented towards the construction of a shared and reasoned vision of the metropolitan city's priority development lines.

The process took place over a period of three months, between September and December 2020, and involved several hundred people: politicians, civil servants and public managers, entrepreneurs, representatives of cooperatives, spokespersons of trade associations, trade union representatives, managers and civil servants of non-profit foundations, representatives of associations and ordinary citizens (see also section 3.6). Two main phases structured the different stages:

- the first phase - known as the *forum phase* - aimed at framing the main problems of the metropolitan territory and, on the basis of these, some priority lines of development consistent with the interests of the different actors and areas that make up the metropolitan territory;
- the second phase - known as the *convergent phase* - aimed at formulating project ideas that would take into account the results of the forum phase, in order to structure the contents of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan.

The **Metropolitan General Spatial Plan** (PTGM) outlines the structure of the territory of the metropolitan city as a whole, and sets the criteria for regulating transformations, in accordance with the guidelines of regional planning, starting from the comparison with the municipalities and the associative forms that perform functions in urban planning. The Plan also fits into the European and national framework of territorial development strategies, also with reference to integrated environmental sustainability objectives (environmental, social and economic). The main reference document for the formation of the Metropolitan General Spatial Plan is the Metropolitan Strategic Plan.

The Plan declines, develops and "territorialises" the strategies and actions outlined in the Metropolitan Strategic Plan (taking into account the priorities selected in the Annual Operational Agendas and the contents of the Metropolitan Agenda for Sustainable Development); it verifies and, where necessary, updates, integrates or reworks the contents of the Provincial Coordination Territorial Plan (PTC2, 2011) also in consideration of the new institutional aims and functions of the Metropolitan City. The spatial plan is implemented through the integration of sectoral policies, in particular those aimed at economic and social development and those for the protection of natural capital, and through the cooperation of the various public and private stakeholders operating in the territory.

The guiding principle of the Metropolitan General Spatial Plan will be to support the process of integrated and sustainable development of the entire territory under its jurisdiction by working on 5 general strategic objectives. These general objectives are in turn translated into operational objectives, priority strategies and finally into operational strategies. The technical proposal of the preliminary project was adopted by decree of the Mayor on 2.4.2021 and is now being published for acquisition of comments and SEA scoping.

The first task of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan is to define a vision for the Metropolitan City and, on the basis of this vision, to outline and conceptualise an integrated set of overall strategies. The Metropolitan General Spatial Plan and the **Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan (SUMP)**, which are being drafted at the same time, actively govern the transformation of the Metropolitan City, in continuity with the premises defined by the strategic plan. The spatial plan gives concrete form to actions aimed at transforming its spaces, while the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan gives form to actions linked to the reorganisation of its flows. The three documents form a coherent whole that brings together vision, strategy, action and project. The Spatial plan emphasises differences, densifying or thinning each spatial context according to the TOR (Transit Oriented Regeneration) model. New density is concentrated around existing high-capacity infrastructure. The spatial plan also recognises the supra-municipal nature of environmental, social and economic challenges. It therefore frames and regulates the exchange of ecosystem services, urban standards, development benefits and maintenance costs between different parts of the territory in a wide area perspective. The Mobility plan reduces the differences through a MaaS (Mobility as a Service) model. Connectivity is the common goal pursued throughout the metropolitan city, but the techniques used to achieve it are different: gridded and off-grid, manned and un-manned. The spatial plan and the mobility plan are declined according to the specificities of each territory, but contribute to the improvement of the location and mobility conditions of the metropolitan city as a whole.

At the municipal level, each of the 312 metropolitan municipalities develops a **Municipal General Regulatory Plan** (PRG) (small municipalities can develop their plans in associated form, PRGI). These plans must be in compliance with the Metropolitan General Spatial Plan. These plans are the main pivotal tool in the framework of the Italian spatial governance and planning system, as it provides land-use rights and is used to provide development and building permits, hence setting the framework which makes physical transformations may occur, and within which private developers as well as other agencies must operate. Turin's General Regulatory Plan, approved in 1995 (36 years after the last one), drove physical renewal through land use and infrastructure planning. The local administration saw the General Regulatory Plan as a way of achieving physical regeneration by re-zoning industrial land and thus encouraging private developers to revitalize these areas. To ensure the support and cooperation of the private and public sector bodies needed to deliver the transformation, the development of the plan was accompanied by extensive public relations work and consultation. In the 2017, the new political administration has started a general, extensive revision of the Regulatory Plan.

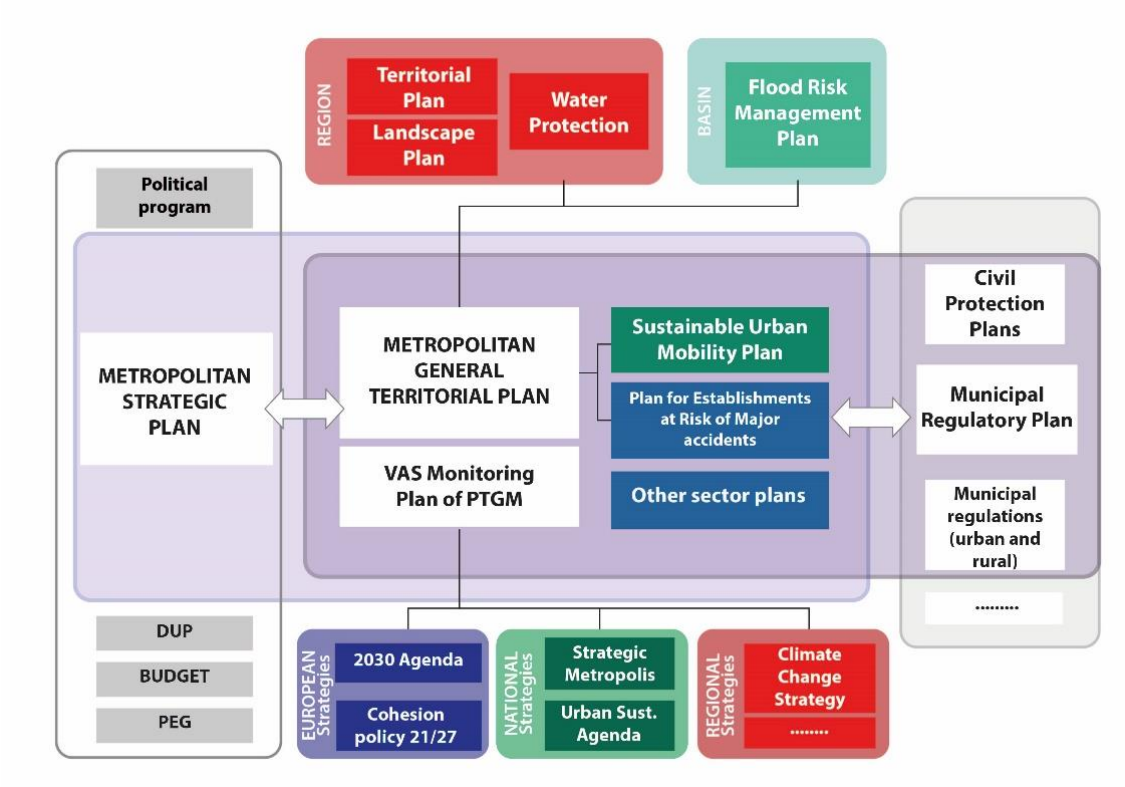
Table 3.1
Main instruments at regional, metropolitan and local level

Plan/Programme	Level	Responsible	Focus	Time frame
Regional Territorial Plan	Regional	Region	Spatial planning	-
Regional Landscape Plan	Regional	Region	Landscape planning	-
Metropolitan Strategic Plan	Metropolitan	CMTo	Comprehensive - strategic	2021-2023
Metropolitan General Spatial Plan	Metropolitan	CMTo	Spatial planning	2021-2031
Metropolitan Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan	Metropolitan	CMTo	Mobility	2021-2031
General Urban Plan	Municipal	Municipalities / Unions of municipalities	Spatial planning	-

Source: authors' elaboration

Figure 3.4 shows the coordination mechanism between the metropolitan development goals and the framework of national, regional and municipal goals and planning instruments.

Figure 3.4
Coordination mechanisms between the metropolitan development goals and the framework of national, regional and municipal goals and planning instruments



Source: authors' elaboration on Metropolitan City of Turin diagram

3.4.1 Instruments in the framework of other cooperation initiatives

The most relevant cooperation initiatives at the sub-regional level (Table 3.2) are the Local Development Programmes by the Local Action Groups, the National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI, see section 4.2) in the Valli di Lanzo and the river agreements, two of which were coordinated by the Metropolitan City (Sangone and Stura di Lanzo), and the Territorial Pacts.

The SNAI project area in Valli di Lanzo covers an area of 694.73 km^2 and comprises 19 municipalities, which belong to two Unions of Municipalities:

- Unione Montana di Comuni delle Valli di Lanzo, Ceronda e Casternone: municipalities of Ala di Stura, Balangero, Balme, Cafasse, Cantoira, Chialamberto, Coassolo Torinese, Corio, Germagnano, Lanzo Torinese, Mezzenile, Monastero di Lanzo, Pessinetto and Traves;
- Unione Montana Alpi Graie: municipalities of di Ceres, Groscavallo, Lemie, Usseglio and Viù.

The total budget is € 11.260.000, and it is funded with is divided into macro areas of activity:

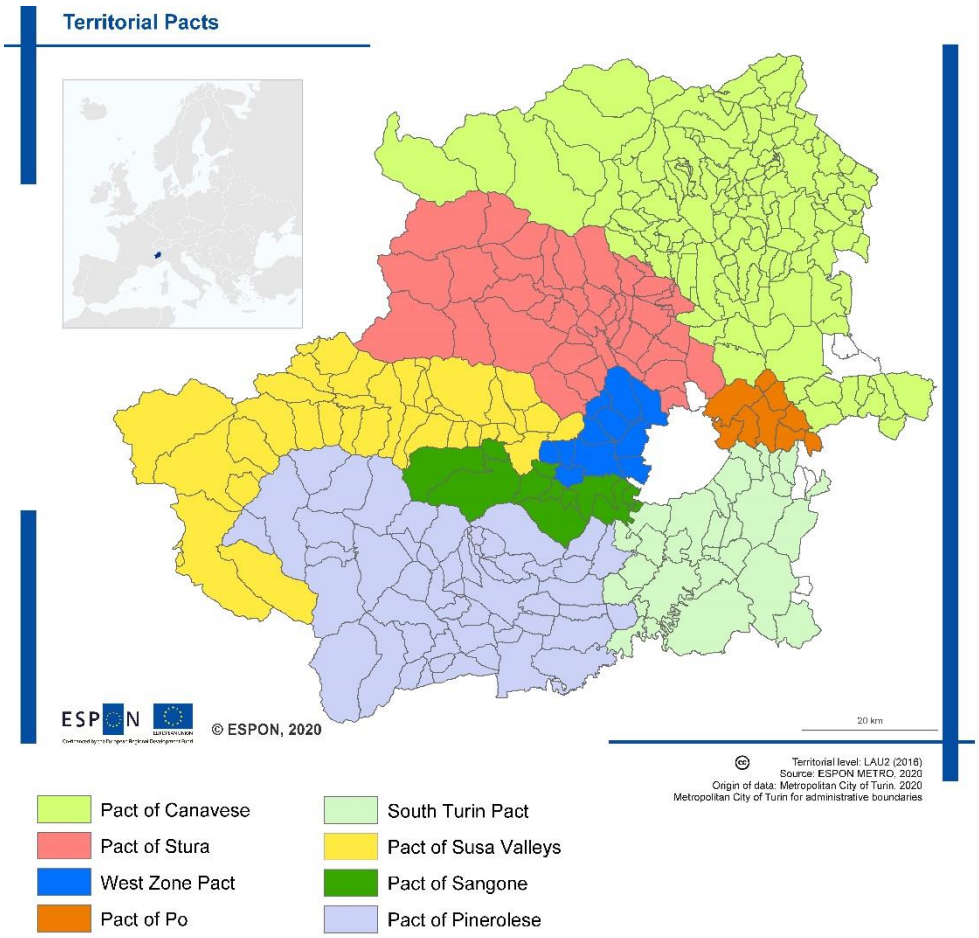
- Pre-conditions: Health € 1.802.790; Education and Training € 987.410; Mobility € 782.800;
- Local development: € 6.500.000.

The total budget is financed with national resources for € 3.760.000 and regional resources related to ERDF for € 4.000.000, and EAFRD fund for € 2.500.000.

The river agreements were introduced in Italy based on Law 125/2006, as voluntary tools for territorial and place-based governance. They promote vertical and horizontal subsidiarity, interactive local development, the safety of the riverside and sustainability. The process of river agreements is flexible and negotiated, coordinated by local stakeholders. All relevant public and private local stakeholders are involved in the multilevel governance and participatory process. Unlike the SNAI, there is no specific funding to implement the territorial scenarios defined by the river agreements (Cotella et al. 2020, Voghera 2020). In the Metropolitan City of Turin there are two river agreements: Sangone and Stura di Lanzo.

The territorial pacts are configured as agreements of consultation between the various social actors (representatives of social forces, local authorities and individual economic operators) aimed at drawing up concrete local development projects. In this sense, the pacts introduce a system of productive and promotional interventions, to which are added infrastructural interventions that are functional to the former. Furthermore, the pacts activate integrated intervention programs in the sectors of industry, services and infrastructure. The Territorial Pacts have shown that they are able to respond on the one hand to the complex control and supply procedures and on the other to the difficulties due to the serious crisis in the local economy. Since 2003, the Metropolitan City of Turin has assumed full responsibility for the planning and management of the seven of the eight Territorial Pacts of the metropolitan area (Map 3.3): the pact of Pinerolese, the pact of Susa Valleys, the pact of Sangone, the Agriculture and Fishery pact of Canavese, the pact of Stura, the pact of Po river and the pact of South Turin Area. The pact of the Turin West Zone is excluded because it has a different responsible subject: the development agency "*Zona Ovest di Torino srl*", a wholly public owned company, paid up by 11 municipalities and made up of local authorities and representatives of the social and economic partners. It is aimed at promoting an integrated local development in which all the social partners are represented.

Map 3.3
Territorial Pacts



Source: authors' elaboration.

In the experience of the Metropolitan City of Turin (formerly the Province of Turin), the Territorial Pacts have played an important role in financial support to businesses and in the construction of infrastructural works. As far as businesses are concerned, the concessions granted to the businesses of all the Territorial Pacts amounted to approximately €90 million, which contributed to investments for over €520 million, encouraging more than 500 companies in the metropolitan area. As regards infrastructures, 70 interventions aimed at development had been carried out, which benefited from a state contribution of approximately €40 million, making investments of approximately €70 million. The interventions concerned the following macro-areas: territorial redevelopment; enhancement of industrial areas; construction of buildings of public interest; strengthening of road, aqueduct and connectivity networks for the development of broadband; infrastructure for higher technical education. In July 2021, the Ministry for Economic Development relaunched the Territorial Pacts through a directorial decree and call for pilot projects[12] which is currently ongoing. Overall, 105 million € will be dedicated to Territorial Pacts, but at the time of writing it is not clear the amount of resources that will be allocated in the Metropolitan City of Turin.

[12] *Decreto direttoriale 30 luglio 2021 - Bando per la realizzazione di progetti pilota.*

Other relevant initiatives have been the Operational Territorial Projects (introduced by the regional law 56/77) and the Integrated Territorial Programs (included in the Regional Implementation Programme of the Development and Cohesion Fund 2007 - 2013 (Axis III). However, these two instrument are no more operative.

Table 3.2
Other instruments

Instrument	Level	Type	Type (2)	Main Goals	Budget (if any)
National Strategy for Inner Areas – project area Valli di Lanzo	National / Local	Strategy, programme	Policy-based	• Pre-conditions for development (healt, education, mobility • Local development • Place-based multi-level governance	11.260.000 €
River agreements Sangone and Stura di Lanzo	Local	Strategy, plan	Voluntary	• Management and valorisation of rivers' territories and landscape; • Enhance socio-economic development and community well-being	No budget
Territorial Pacts (8 pacts)	Local	Program	Policy-based	• Local development	130.000.000 €

Source: authors' elaboration.

3.4.2 Instrument and initiatives related to COVID-19

The response to the health emergency caused by the COVID-19 pandemic, starting from the first Decree of the President of the Council of Ministers "Urgent measures for the containment and management of the epidemiological emergency from COVID-19" of 23 February 2020 was based, in the first instance, on measures aimed at guaranteeing adequate care for all sick people by containing the contagion. The *Cura Italia Decree*, approved by the Government on March 17, 2020, therefore introduced a series of interventions at national level aimed at mitigating the social effects due to the blocking of activities to deal with the health emergency, with the introduction of approximately 25 billion euros to support businesses and families. The challenge for municipalities, and especially for those in metropolitan areas, which are denser and in which serious phenomena of marginalization are concentrated, is to provide the population, especially the most vulnerable, with effective tools and services for overcoming the crisis. The Metropolitan city of Turin had a coordinating role with civil protection at the beginning of the pandemic emergency, which quickly became a regional responsibility. In particular, the Metropolitan city acted as a coordinating and organizing body with respect to the emergency in the residential care homes. Moreover, it provided support with information material (sent to mayors) and with some expertise on the issue of mobility and transport related to schools.

See also sections 4.4 and 5.4.

Challenges and critical elements

- Metropolitan strategic and spatial planning has to deal with a large territory with 312 very diverse municipalities, which instruments should comply with metropolitan ones but have different scope, goals (see section 3.3) and timing.
- Other instruments have been developed in the framework of subregional cooperation initiatives, but they are framed and controlled by the Region.

3.5 Metropolitan financing and budgeting

Today, Italian Metropolitan Cities can count on the taxation inherited from the former provinces, such as the tax on third-party liability insurances, the so-called environmental tax, the solid waste tax, the provincial quote on personal income taxes (IRPEF), etc. Altogether, the Metropolitan Cities can count on tax resources ranging from 50 to 100 euros per capita, depending on the area. The margins of manoeuvrability are really tight (Agnoletti et al., 2016; Servizio Studi Camera dei Deputati, 2020). In this respect, financial autonomy appears to be a highly relevant issue, given that metropolitan cities, as the Italian Constitutional Court puts it, are 'entities also enjoying a supranational relevance when it comes to access EU funds' and are provided with own powers and functions, distinct from those of the municipalities (Boggero, 2016). Moreover, they can also receive delegated tasks from municipalities, 'which are likely to be funded not only via State or regional transfers but also by means of local taxes and charges, but in any case not by compulsory contributions of municipalities as it happens in other jurisdictions for second-tier local authorities (in Germany, for instance)' (ibid: 8).

The substantial spending review measures imposed on provinces and metropolitan cities have deeply affected the financial arrangements of these entities. Over the last few years, in order to overcome the financial difficulties that had arisen, the necessary resources have been allocated for the exercise of the basic functions of provinces and metropolitan cities as well as to support investments (Servizio Studi Camera dei Deputati, 2020). Since 2019, an experimental fund for rebalancing the provinces (*Fondo sperimentale di riequilibiro delle province*) has been finally introduced[13].

In 2020, the yearly budget for the Metropolitan city of Turin consisted of:

- current expenditure (public administration financing) of approximately 215 million €;
- capital expenditure (investments) of approximately 43 million €.

Challenges and critical elements

- The strengthening of the metropolitan body must also be linked to greater investment capacity and greater attractiveness of available resources.

3.6 Role of social groups and the business community in metropolitan governance

A voluntary governance structure (*Torino Internazionale*) developed in 2015 a Strategic Plan for the Metropolitan Area (Turin + 37 surrounding municipalities) "*Piano Strategico Torino 2025*", fostering metropolitan

[13] The fund was set by law in 2012, but its application has then been delayed from year to year by means of specific legal provisions and confirmed in full as from 2019 by Article 1(896) of the Budget Law for 2019 (Law No 145/2018).

governance and socio-economic development of Turin Metropolitan Area. The members of the Association were the Municipality of Turin, Chamber of Commerce of Turin, Fondazione Compagnia di San Paolo (a bank foundation), Politecnico and Università degli Studi di Torino. This is the result of a metropolitan cooperation activity that has started in the second half of the 1990s, and that through time has led to the approval of two previous strategic plans for the metropolitan area (the first one in 1999, the second one in 2006). However, this plan has not been implemented, also due to the establishment, in 2015, of the Metropolitan City, and *Torino Internazionale* is no more operative. The Metropolitan City's strategic plans are statutory plans that de facto led to the abandonment of the document produced under *Torino Internazionale*.

Institutions and local stakeholders have been involved in the strategic plan developed by the Metropolitan City for 2018- 2020, and in the definition of the strategic plan 2021-2023. In particular, the first stage of the participatory process (see figure 3.3) consisted of a preliminary survey aimed at defining a general profile of the critical issues of the territory. 37 in-depth interviews were carried out involving the 11 representatives of the homogeneous zones and 26 stakeholders representing the main points of view of social groups and the business community. Subsequently, the results of this preliminary survey, which were summarised in a document called "Discussion guide", were discussed in 11 territorial meetings by homogeneous zones, open to all the people interested in having a voice in the process (368 people attended the meetings). The meetings were structured and moderated by facilitators in order to help participants to articulate territorially the critical metropolitan issues identified in the preliminary survey and to update the list of development priorities in light of the different needs of the areas that make up the metropolitan territory. The detailed report of the 11 territorial meetings has been sent to all the participants. In parallel with the local meetings, two additional channels were set up to collect contributions and opinions from local citizens. An online form for the collection of written contributions was set up on the Metropolitan City of Turin's website, in order to allow those who had not been able to participate in the local meetings to make their voices heard. 32 written contributions were received through this channel. In addition, an online questionnaire was launched to sound out some general perceptions on the main critical issues in the area and to collect suggestions for the design and implementation of the Plan. 409 answers were collected, obtaining a heterogeneous range of opinions.

The second stage was developed through 24 thematic focus groups (15 participants on average) and 30 in-depth interviews on specific topics. The discussion in the focus groups was set up starting from a document - called Position paper - which reported the results of the forum phase and the summaries of the two socio-economic and territorial surveys. The aim of the focus groups was to elaborate project ideas consistent with the insights that emerged in the forum phase. The in-depth interviews were carried out in order to articulate some specific aspects that emerged in the focus groups, also in relation to activities already in place in the metropolitan area. The restitution of what emerged in the focus groups, the results of the questionnaire, the integrations collected with the in-depth interviews and the framework provided by the scientific surveys constitute the sources from which the contents of the Strategic Plan have been elaborated.

In the case of the Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan, participation processes (according to the Italian guidelines to the elaboration of this plans) have been activated through meetings with the public administrators of the Municipalities (articulated according to Homogeneous zones) and Forums (with over 120 participants from the different zones of the metropolitan cities, in order to identify the mail objectives of the plan and the actions considered as prior in each zone).

Challenges and critical elements

- No critical issues have been highlighted with regard to the involvement of social groups and business society in metropolitan planning processes.

3.7 Participation to policy networks

The Metropolitan City of Turin participates to several international and national policy networks.

International:

- METREX - The Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas, which provides a platform for the exchange of knowledge, expertise and experience on metropolitan affairs, and joint action on issues of common interest.METREX contributes the metropolitan dimension to policies, programmes and projects on a European scale.
- EUROMONTANA - European association of mountain areas, a multi-sectoral association for cooperation, which aims to promote integrated and sustainable development and quality of life in mountain areas.
- Metropolis - the global network of major cities and metropolitan areas. It is a hub and platform for 141 metropolises to connect, share experiences, and mobilize on a wide range of local and global issues, as well as a focal point of worldwide experience and expertise on metropolitan governance.
- WFLED – World Forum of Local Economic Development. WFLED brings together a multi stakeholder coalition of engaged governments, national and international organizations, who acknowledge the potential of the local economic development approach and jointly work to advance the debate and strengthen a global partnership for concrete actions. It aims to enable concrete cooperation and joint actions that can help landing the new 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development at the local level.
- EMA FORUM - European Metropolitan Authorities. It is an initiative creating spaces for political debate among European metropolitan authorities aimed at sharing experiences, fostering joint projects as well as positioning themselves and defending their interests in front of the European Union and states.

National:

- ANCI – National Association of Italian Municipalities, whose fundamental aim is to represent and safeguard the Italian municipalities' interests, lobbying parliament, the government, regions, and Italian public administration and EU bodies.
- INU – National Institute of Urban Planning, which promotes the research on town planning and the dissemination of a social culture about the issues of the city, the territory, the environment and the cultural heritage.
- UNCEM - National Association of Mountain Municipalities, which represents the interests of Italian mountain municipalities, communities and bodies and promotes the socio-economic development and environmental protection of the country's mountain regions.
- UPI – National Association of Italian Provinces, that represents all Italian Provinces, excluding the Autonomous Provinces of Trento, Bolzano and Aosta. It carries out tasks of technical and political support, valorisation and promotion of the Provinces and promotes local instances at the Government and Parliament, economic and social players, media.
- *Metropoli Strategiche* – Network of Metropolitan Cities, a project funded by the NOP Governance 2014-2020 (see section 4.2) for supporting the Italian Metropolitan Cities in the process of institutional innovation, organisational change and skill development for the full implementation of integrated policies on a metropolitan scale.

Challenges and critical elements

- The Metropolitan City of Turin participates to several national and international networks, that contribute to increase its influence and activate collaborations. However, Italian Metropolitan Cities are not associated in a formal network, that would allow them to strengthen their position and capacity for dialogue with the state and the EU acting as a category rather than single metropolitan cities. The *Metropoli Strategiche* project is moving in this direction but to date the network has not been established and metropolitan cities are represented either by ANCI or individually.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Balance the Turin-centred attitude, by strengthening the link with the suburban, rural and mountain areas.
- Reinvent the identity and role of the metropolitan institution within and beyond the boundaries of its competences (institutional, strategic, financial, etc.), to regain the trust of the territories and lead effective governance processes, also in relation to EU funds (see sections 4 and 5).
- Consolidate the system of competences investing on people, qualitatively and quantitatively, on hard and soft skills.
- Join forces with other metropolitan cities to strengthen Metropolitan Cities as a category (advocacy, lobbying, mutual learning, etc.).

4 Cohesion policy governance

4.1 EU cohesion policy institutional architecture and competences

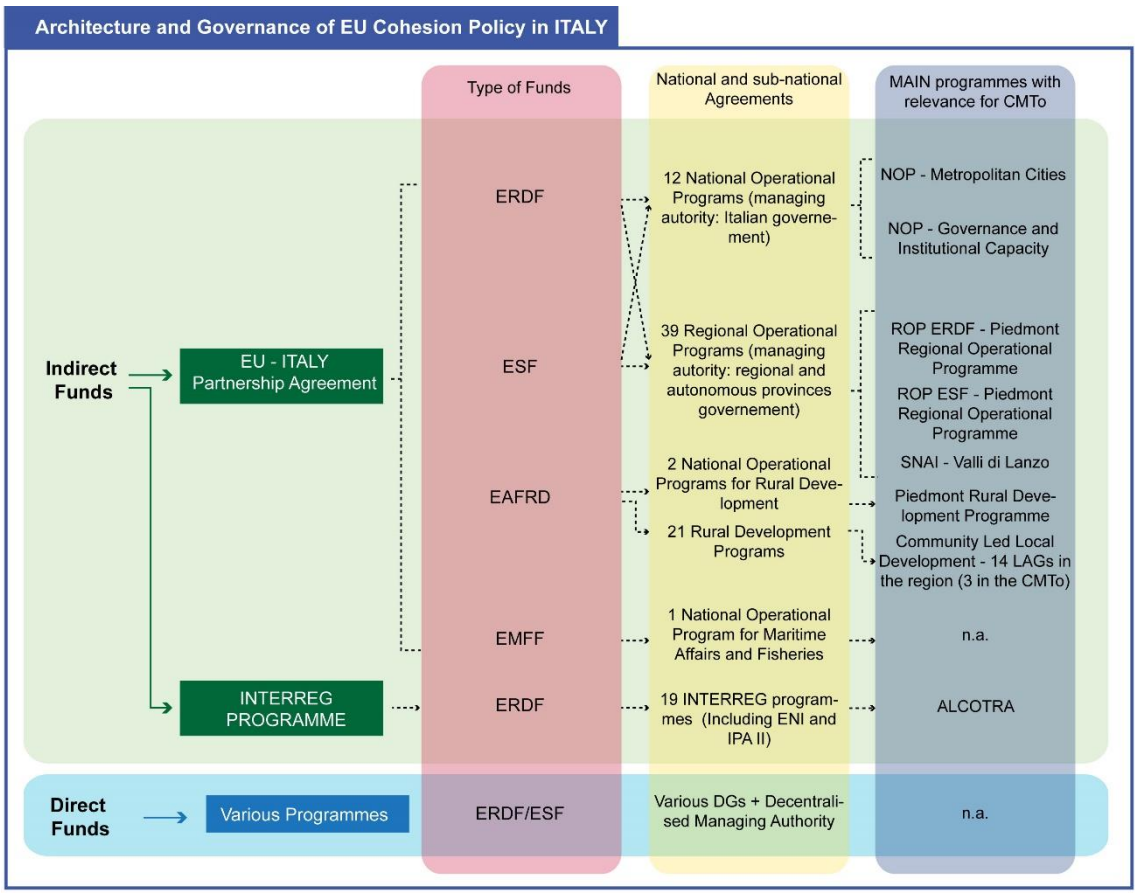
The cohesion policy is implemented in Italy through 75 European National (NOP) and Regional (ROP) Operational Programs:

- 12 National Operational Programs (NOPs): the NOPs are managed at the national level and cover the entire territory[14]. Each of them has a thematic scope of particular relevance for the country. They are related to specific competencies of the national level, not shared with the regions or in relation to investments to be made at supra regional level. The themes identified by the Italian NOPs for the 2014-2020 programming period are: infrastructure, culture, legality, business, research, urban policies, governance, social inclusion, youth, employment, school, rural development and fisheries. In principle, the NOP "Metropolitan Cities" and the NOP "Governance and Institutional Capacity" are the most relevant to metropolitan cooperation and governance.
- 39 Regional Operational Programs (ROPs): are owned by a local Administration (Region or Autonomous Province), concern the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD), depending on the types of funds made available to the Regions in relation to regional specific competencies. Most of them are monofund, some are multifund (ERDF-ESF).
- 21 Rural Development Programs (EAFRD): one for each of the 21 Italian regions and autonomous province.
- 2 National Operational Programs for Rural Development (EAFRD).
- 1 National Operational Program for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries (EMFF).

To reinforce the institutional governance and administrative capacity for managing the cohesion policy funds, the programming, coordination, monitoring and accompanying action of the cohesion policy have been assigned to the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and the Agency for Territorial Cohesion.

[14] Except for the NOP Culture and Development, which is only targeted to five Southern Regions (Basilicata, Calabria, Campania, Apulia and Sicily).

Figure 4.1
The governance of the EU Cohesion policy in Italy



Source: authors' elaboration

4.1.1 The role of metropolitan actors

Despite the high level of institutionalization, the Metropolitan City of Turin presently does not have relevant role and competences in the elaboration of key policy and programming documents of the EU cohesion policy and in their management and implementation, while the Region and the national level are the main actors, as the institutional architecture of the EU cohesion policies entails.

The management of the Operational Programmes is entrusted to the Managing Authorities. The State may, for some specific NOPs, exercise this function. The Managing Authority may choose to delegate the execution of certain tasks to Intermediate Bodies. The latter, that can be public or private, are appointed to the development of certain tasks or for the management of part of an operational programme on behalf of the managing authority with regard to beneficiaries implementing operations.

Metropolitan actors are involved to a different extent in each Programme and Region, according to the rules of each programme and regional legislation. As regards the Metropolitan City of Turin, its role in the institutional architecture of the EU cohesion policy has been rather limited in the 2014-2020 period, and seems to be further limited in the 2021-2027 programming period.

With regard to the instruments described in section 4.2, which are the most relevant to the implementation of the cohesion policy in the metropolitan area, the Metropolitan City of Turin is involved to varying degrees.

In the NOP METRO 2014-2020, capital cities of Metropolitan Cities are identified as Urban Authorities[15] and are Intermediate Bodies appointed by the Agency for Territorial Cohesion, which is the Managing Authority. Metropolitan institutions were not appointed as Intermediate Bodies for a number of reasons, among which the fact that at the time of beginning of the programming period their institution was at an embryonic stage, and that the EU required for the appointment of Urban Authorities past experience and performance in the implementation of interventions and effectively certifiable expenditure, i.e. the effective compliance of the local governance and organisational structure with the obligations imposed by the regulation.[16] The City of Turin is Intermediate Body for the NOP METRO in the Metropolitan city of Turin, and is the beneficiary for all the funded projects, which are located in the capital city. In the NOP Metro Plus, a more relevant metropolitan dimension is envisaged, although the Intermediate Bodies will still be the capital cities.

In the NOP Governance and Institutional Capacity, the Metropolitan City is not directly involved in the institutional governance of the programme, but it is involved by the national association of Italian municipalities (ANCI) in the "*Metropoli Strategiche*" initiative (see section 4.2), and by the Ministry of Ecological Transition (former Ministry for the Environment and Land and Sea Protection) in the *CReIAMO PA* project, which has provided a specific line of support to the Metropolitan Cities for the definition and implementation of Metropolitan Agendas for Sustainable Development.

As regards programmes managed at the regional level, the Region is the Managing Authority in the ROPs for the Social Fund and Regional Development Fund, and in the Rural Development Program (EAFRD). The Region involves in the design of the programmes a partnership composed of all the regional public authorities, economic, social and institutional actors relevant for the implementation such as provinces, municipalities, chambers of commerce, trade unions, universities, bank foundations[17]. The metropolitan city is involved in this partnership, but as a sort of formal way of engagement, without much room for action. In July 2020, the Region established a permanent working group in charge of the governance of the programming process of EU cohesion funds for the 2021-2027 programming period[18]. To this aim, it established a working group in charge of the definition of the "*Documento Strategico Unitario*", a strategic document regarding the programming of the ESF+, ERDF, and EAFRD and EAGF (even if the latter are not included in the cohesion policy 2021-2027). The working group, which is also in charge of the organisation of forms of consultation of the above-mentioned partnership, is coordinated by the Direction "Coordination of European Policies and Funds", and comprises the Regional Directions that are managing authorities of the ESF+, ERDF and EAFRD funds, and by the Regional Environmental Authority.

According to the regulation of the European Social and Regional funds, Metropolitan Cities can be appointed by Regions as Intermediate Bodies for the ROPs ESF or ERDF. In the 2014-2020 programming period, the Metropolitan City of Turin has been appointed by the Region as Intermediate Body in relation to some activities of the Piedmont's ROP ESF. Two sectors have been responsible for this fund: Education and Welfare; Productive Activities. However, in July 2020[19], the Region has reduced the competences of the Metropolitan City on education and welfare and took over the function as intermediate body in the ESF, with a significant impact on the scope for action of the metropolitan institution.

As regards the ROP ERDF and the Rural Development Programme (EAFRD), beside the formal involvement in the inter-institutional partnership, the Metropolitan City has no room for action in the programming, implementation and managing of funds.

[15] Art. 7 EU regulation 1301/2013.

[16] As it is stated in the Partnership Agreement for Italy 2014-2020, and in the Comments of the European Commission on the draft Partnership Agreement.

[17] DGR n. 2-5739, 6 May 2013, http://www.regione.piemonte.it/governo/bollettino/abbonati/2013/22/attach/dgr_05739_750_06052013.pdf

[18] DGR n. 41-1814, 31 July 2020, http://www.regione.piemonte.it/governo/bollettino/abbonati/2020/36/attach/dgr_01814_1050_31072020.pdf

[19] With the regional law n. 15/2020, http://www.regione.piemonte.it/governo/bollettino/abbonati/2020/28/attach/aa_aa_regione%20piemonte%20-%20legge%20regionale_2020-07-09_73213.pdf

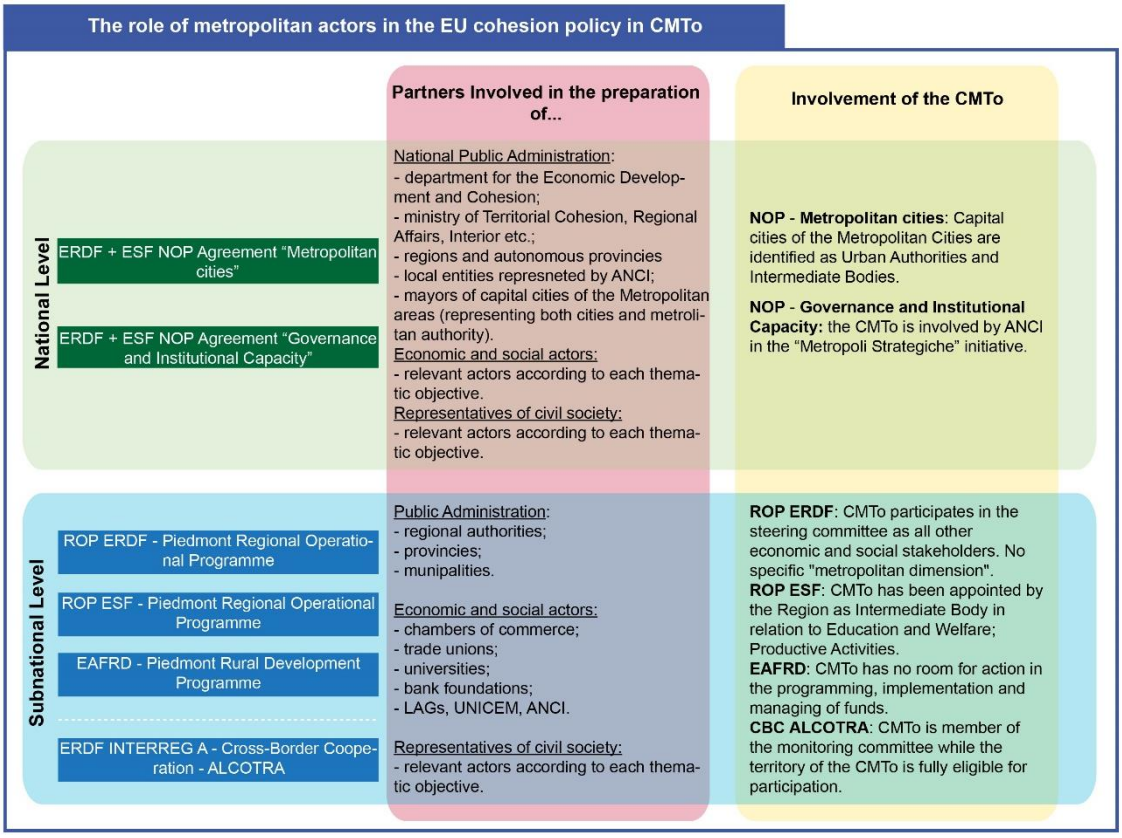
A number of other initiatives exist, that use European Structural Investment funds to promote local development, such as the CLLD-Leader and the SNAI Valli di Lanzo (see next section). However, the Metropolitan City is not playing a relevant role in their programming and implementation. The CLLD-Leader is coordinated by the Region within the Rural Development Programme and implemented by the Local Action Groups. The SNAI is governed by a Technical Committee which is coordinated by the Department for the Cohesion Policy of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, and involves a number of sectoral ministries. Moreover, in each project area regional, provincial and local authorities and stakeholders are involved in the technical committee. In the SNAI process for Valli di Lanzo, the Metropolitan City, which is the provincial authority, is not involved.

Other tools are potentially available, such as the Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI), but not adopted in the Region.

Finally, the Metropolitan City is beneficiary of several EU projects (direct funds or ERDF coming from territorial cooperation programs), through which it has the possibility to make up for the limited involvement in the management of the cohesion policy funds and to try to catalyse EU funds on their territorial development priorities.

Overall, despite its institutional role and competences, and geographical relevance as intermediate level between the Region and municipalities, the Metropolitan City of Turin has very limited room for action in the programming, management and implementation of the EU cohesion policy, if not as beneficiary of projects, mainly within the ESF and territorial cooperation programmes.

Figure 4.2
The role of metropolitan actors in the EU cohesion policy



Source: authors' elaboration

Challenges and critical elements

- The Metropolitan City of Turin does not have relevant role and competences in the programming, management and implementation of EU cohesion policy funds:
- The metropolitan dimension is not clearly represented in the ROP ERDF and in the Rural Development Program
- NOP Metro is mostly focused on capital cities20. The Municipality of Turin is the Intermediate Body and beneficiary, and the investment is concentrated in Turin
- Not involved in CLLD-Leader developed by the three LAGs that lay within the Metropolitan City's institutional boundaries
- Not involved in the National Strategy for Inner Areas
- Finds it hard to have a real impact despite the formal role it plays in the system of governance of the Interreg ALCOTRA programme
- The Metropolitan City of Turin formally has the competences, but there is a mismatch between such competence and the conditions enabling their exercise

4.2 EU cohesion policy instruments at the metropolitan level

The operational programmes and tools for the implementation of the EU cohesion policy that are most relevant to the Metropolitan City of Turin (Table 4.1) are:

- National operational programme "Metropolitan cities 2014-2020" – NOP METRO
- National operational programme "Governance and Institutional Capacity" – NOP Governance
- Regional Operational Programme ESF 2014-2020
- Regional Operational Programme ERDF 2014-2020
- Rural Development Plan 2014-2020 (EAFRD fund)
- Community Led Local Development – Leader: Local Development Programmes defined by Local Action groups, funded by the Rural Development Plan
- National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI) – Valli di Lanzo
- Interreg ALCOTRA

The **National operational programme "Metropolitan cities 2014-2020" - NOP METRO** is a multifund programme (ERDF, ESF) aimed at strengthening the role of the metropolitan cities and their territories. The program aims to improve the quality of services and to promote social inclusion in the 14 Italian Metropolitan Cities (Turin, Genoa, Milan, Bologna, Venice, Florence, Rome, Bari, Naples, Reggio Calabria, Cagliari, Catania, Messina and Palermo). The activation of a national program dedicated to the 14 metropolitan cities is aimed to jointly deal with the challenges that are common to Italian metropolitan areas. The interventions are proposed by the capital cities, which are appointed as Intermediate Bodies of the programme, within an overall strategic framework and on the basis of a series of criteria defined by the National Managing Authority, which is the National Agency for Territorial Cohesion.

The program is focused on five main axes (four priority issues and one axis for technical assistance): Digital Metropolitan Agenda, Sustainability of Services and of Urban Mobility, Services for Social Inclusion, Infrastructures for Social Inclusion, and Technical Assistance. NOP Metro is based on two strategic drivers:

[20] The territorial area of reference for the Programme is the metropolitan city only for intangible actions linked to the Digital Agenda and to social inclusion actions of the European Social Fund (ESF). Interventions not linked to the Digital Agenda or to the ESF must be concentrated exclusively in the territory of the capital city. In Turin, also intangible actions are mostly limited to the capital city.

putting the “Smart City” paradigm in practice (for the redesign and modernization of public services through the digital agenda and a more efficient and sustainable mobility) and promoting social innovation (for the inclusion of the most fragile population segments and areas and for disadvantaged neighborhoods through services and infrastructure).

The National Agency for Territorial Cohesion is the Managing and Certifying Authority responsible for implementing and managing the Operational Programme, and the 14 capital municipalities of the metropolitan cities are the intermediate bodies that manage the programme locally. NOP Metro has the same strategy for the 14 metropolitan cities (the above mentioned ones), but each city is responsible for creating its own Operational Plan. This plan contains both the list of actions and the involved actors for each project/intervention and the expected impact through indicators.

Despite its name, however, as a matter of fact this NOP has been conceived more for the big chief towns, and less for the other municipalities of their surrounding metropolitan areas. On the one side, the budget available for each city was too limited for adopting metropolitan measures. In the case of Turin, it was barely enough to put in place actions effective in the capital city, while it would have been too fragmented if distributed on the whole metropolitan area. On the other hand, also the kind of investments and actions of the project were nationally conceived for big cities, and not for medium or small municipalities of metropolitan areas (except for the first axis – digital agenda –, which in theory could allow to replicate digital solutions applied in Turin for other municipalities such as Rivoli etc., but in reality this was not possible because of the low available budget). Moreover, the EU regulations imply that the fund assigned to Turin cannot be used for structural intervention outside the municipal boundaries. For these reasons, it would have been quite difficult for the Metropolitan city to play a direct role in the NOP Metro. In the NOP Metro Plus (2021-2027), a more relevant metropolitan dimension is envisaged. In addition to digital services, the areas of intervention in the metropolitan area will be expanded, increasing the number of municipalities involved, and mobilising the Metropolitan City authorities to support the programme's objectives, albeit through the capital cities as Intermediate Bodies. Moreover, the current NOP Metro has incorporated part of React EU, as an anticipation of additional funds for the Cohesion Policy 2014-2020, pending the full operation of the full operation of the 2021-27 European Structural Funds programming and the National Recovery and Resilience Plan. These funds are to be spent by 2023; in Italy they are around 14 billion €, which must be included in existing national operational programmes, and 1 billion € has been assigned to NOP Metro. Therefore, the resources assigned to this programme are practically doubled, with different allocation criteria, implying to spend a very high amount by 2023. Within this framework, an agreement has been made between the City and the Metropolitan City, to assign to the latter the funds for intervention on some secondary schools (located in Turin) that are under the institutional responsibility of the Metropolitan City.

The **NOP Governance and Institutional capacity**, managed by the Agency for Territorial Cohesion, with delegated powers to the Department of Public Administration and the Ministry of Justice, is the main instrument for implementing the strategic priorities for strengthening and innovating the Public Administration agreed between Italy and the European Commission and contained in the 2014-2020 Partnership Agreement. The NOP Governance is aimed at public administrations throughout the country, finances interventions that accompany and implement the PA reform measures set at national level and, through its intervention strategy, contributes to achieving the objectives of smart, sustainable and inclusive growth defined by Europe 2020. The Programme has a budget of more than 805 million euros, from the European Social Fund (ESF) and the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and national public resources. The actions financed concern skills, organisational methods and the provision of services, methods and procedures, technological tools and solutions, and forms of institutional cooperation, with the aim of moving towards a more efficient and effective Public Administration that is closer to territories, citizens and businesses.

The management of the Programme is assigned to different public entities with different responsibilities for management, implementation, monitoring, audit and control. The Managing Authority and the Certifying Authority are located in specific offices of the Agency for Territorial Cohesion, while the functions of the Audit Authority are entrusted to the Ministry of Economy and Finance. The Programme foresees two Intermediate Bodies to which some functions related to the management and implementation of part of the Programme are delegated by the Managing Authority: the Department of Public Administration of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Justice. Within the framework of the projects, the Beneficiaries are identified, who are responsible for the implementation of the interventions for the projects managed by the Managing Authority and the Intermediate Bodies, while for some projects the Beneficiaries are the Managing Authority or the Intermediate Bodies.

Two municipalities of the Metropolitan City are involved in the NOP as beneficiaries (Turin and Banchette, a small municipality involved in a project with other small municipalities in other Regions), but the most relevant project having an impact on metropolitan governance is the "*Metropoli Strategiche*" project[21], which beneficiary is ANCI (the national association of Italian municipalities). The project, with a 3,6M€ budget, aims to accompany organisational changes and the development of competencies related to institutional innovation in the Metropolitan Cities. The project is based on the direct, continuous and active involvement of the political and administrative structures of the Metropolitan Cities, on the contribution of the Coordination of Metropolitan Mayors set up within ANCI and on the integration of capacity building actions that the Department for Public Administration, the Department for Regional Affairs, the Agency for Territorial Cohesion and the Agency for Digital Italy will develop through the NOP Governance and NOP Metropolitan Cities on the same territories. The main objective of the project is to accompany the Metropolitan Cities in the process of institutional innovation, supporting them in organisational changes and in the development of the skills necessary for the full implementation of integrated policies on a metropolitan scale, in three specific areas:

- Administrative simplification for economic development;
- Strategic metropolitan planning;
- Associated management of services and institutional and organisational reorganisation plans.

The intervention method is based on three levers:

- construction of a national network and a local one for each Metropolitan City;
- field experimentation of innovative organisational models;
- coaching and training of officials and administrators to develop their skills and competencies.

Moreover, as mentioned above, the Metropolitan City is involved by Ministry of Ecological Transition (former Ministry for the Environment and Land and Sea Protection) in the *CReIAMO PA* project[22], which was aimed at improving knowledge and core elements of the environmental policy, enhancing the assessment procedures, and improving the environmental integration and coherence of policy, both within the framework of the environmental policy itself and also between the environmental policy and other related policies. To this end the project proposes innovative patterns to strengthen the environmental, technical and administrative skills of the staff of public administrations and other public bodies.

The **Regional Operational Programme ESF 2014-2020** is focused on improving training, promoting social inclusion and finding a better work-life balance. The Region is the Managing, Certification and Audit Authority of the ROP ESF.

The overall objective of the programme is to contribute to smart, sustainable and inclusive growth and to strengthening corporate social responsibility in the labour market, social policies, education and administrative capacity.

The main targets of the program are:

- The unemployed, in particular those who have been out of work for a long period, will be encouraged to learn new skills and adapt to the changing needs of the labour market. By upgrading the training of socio-educational operators, improved childcare services and a better work-life balance can be achieved which should help women into employment. The programme is expected to reach out almost 50,400 unemployed and inactive people.
- To tackle the problem of early school leavers and unemployed youth, the OP will assign resources either to develop new methods or better apply those already in use to keep students at school or in vocational training. Better qualifications and technical training, alongside funded apprenticeships and help for the self-employed are designed to ease the transition from education into the workplace. Planned measures are expected to involve 27,500 inactive people, of which most with little qualifications.

[21] https://metropolistrategiche.it/

[22] https://creiamopa.minambiente.it/index.php/en/

- Around 20% of the total OP budget of over 872 million € has been allocated to promoting social inclusion through labour market participation by the most disadvantaged in society, targeting the participation of around 22,300 persons. Overall, the social economy will be strengthened by giving access to work for the most vulnerable, promoting actions to reduce poverty, and increasing socio-educational services in childcare and support for the elderly.

The ESF is the fund in which the Metropolitan City has had more room for action (intermediate body until July 2020, see section 4.1.1). In particular, the metropolitan institution is managing as intermediate body, on behalf of the Region, the *Mettersi in Proprio* (MiP) programme on the metropolitan territory. Since more than 20 years the MiP is the main instrument, activated by the Province of Turin and continued by the Metropolitan City, for the support of business creation and self-employment in the territory. The Business Creation Points, set up within the framework of both the ROP ESF 2000-2006 and then confirmed in the next programming periods, met, throughout the Piedmont region, more than 23,000 people, enabling the creation of about two thousand five hundred new economic activities. More than half of the aspiring entrepreneurs were in the territory of the metropolitan city of Turin. The collaboration is framed by a Memorandum of Understanding, usually lasting for the whole programming period. In addition to the MiP programme, the Metropolitan City of Turin has been involved in the programming and implementation of several projects, mainly within the ROP ESF but also within the NOP for youth employment (Youth Guarantee).

However, as mentioned in section 4.1.1, in July 2020 the Region took over the functions on education and vocational training that were assigned to the Metropolitan City as intermediate body, and in the 2021-2027 it will not be intermediate body. This will have a significant impact on the involvement of the metropolitan level in the governance of the programme and in its implementation.

For the **Regional Operational Programme ERDF 2014-2020**, in view of the regional challenges and the national and European scenario, the Piedmont Region has adopted the principle of concentration: by selecting only a limited number of priorities of intervention, specific objectives and expected results, they aim at increasing their critical mass. The Region decided to combine concentration with specialisation of the different financial sources available, a crucial principle in the unified programming approach, focusing on the thematic objectives and on the interventions that could most contribute to provide added value in relation to the EU strategy on intelligent, sustainable and inclusive growth. This approach has led to the decision to intervene in the following thematic areas, that are linked to 7 Priority Axes and 5 of the 11 Thematic Objectives, as per art. 9 of the EU Reg. 1303/2013 (see section 5):

- business system;
- research and development;
- competitiveness and employment;
- application of information and communication technologies;
- energy policies;
- sustainable urban development.

The Piedmont Region is the managing authority of the ROP, and chairs the monitoring committee, which is composed by several representatives of trade unions, employers' organisations, public administrations and institutions, universities, innovation poles, professional associations, managers of public services, third sector, civil society and associations.

The Region has outlined the development strategy of the ROP ERDF in line with the regional Smart Specialisation Strategy (S3), which is mandatory to get access to funding, focusing on the thematic objectives and interventions that could guarantee the greatest added value in relation to the EU strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. In particular, the innovation areas on which it funnelled resources are: industrial innovation, research, health innovation, digital society and territorial development.

The approach of the Region to the territorial reach of the lines of action acknowledges the importance of a place-based approach, and to cope with the most urgent regional challenges, the Region adheres to the Urban Agenda and to the National Strategy for Inner Areas. The territorialisation of the lines of action finds expression especially in the "sustainable urban development" axis (5% of the budget). To this respect, the region acknowledges the key role of main urban nodes, identified in the provincial capitals (all but Turin, which is not taken into consideration since it is already involved in the NOP Metro), by virtue of their ability to carry out functions and provide services within the "development quadrants" recognised by the regional

plan. To ensure an effective implementation of the interventions, the Region opted for a multipurpose axis (axis 6 of the ROP, see section 5). In parallel to sustainable urban development, the ROP acts on the development of inner areas, in which, in principle, it promotes the activation of ITIs.

The **Rural Development Programme** (RDP – EAFRD fund) for the Piedmont Region identifies the needs of Piedmont's agriculture and rural development and the initiatives to address them using approximately 1 billion euro of public funding (43% EAFRD; 40% national funds; 17% regional funds). The EC Regulation n.1305/2013 provides that rural development shall contribute to the achievement of 3 macro-objectives:

- stimulating the competitiveness of the agricultural sector;
- ensuring the sustainable management of natural resources;
- achieving a balanced territorial development of rural economies and communities;

through 6 Priorities:

- training and innovation;
- competitiveness and income;
- agri-food chain and risk management;
- ecosystems;
- resource efficiency and climate change;
- economic and social development of rural areas.

These priorities are pursued through 15 intervention measures, in turn divided into 67 types of operations, which constitute the specific objectives of the Programme, resulting from a long territorial consultation, and to each of which the Region has allocated a budget and established a contact person. Different types of beneficiaries are eligible for support under the 2014-2020 RDP, including private entities and public entities, both individual and associated, entities gathered in partnerships and aggregations, whose specific characteristics are detailed in the individual calls for proposals.

The Piedmont Region is the managing authority of the RDP, and chairs the monitoring committee, which is composed by several representatives of: relevant regional directions; the managing authorities of the other operational programmes managed at the regional level (ESF, ERDF); the DG Agri; ministries of Economy and finance and of Agriculture, food and forestry; the paying agency; ANCI and UNCEM; Provinces and the Metropolitan City; Local Action Groups; trading, farmers, forestry, craftsmanship, industrial and consumers' associations; university; trade unions; professional associations in the sectors of agriculture, forestry and veterinary; third sector associations, etc.

Since the rural development programme is a monofund programme EAFRD, its scope is mostly agricultural, and it is mostly targeted to rural and mountain areas. Within the RDP, the CMTo's role is limited and should remain so, given the strong regional leadership (and expertise) and the strong influence of farmers' associations in the programme's governance. In the past, there has been the intention to introduce a periurban agriculture plan, which would have implied a major involvement of the Metropolitan City, but then the idea had weak political support and was not brought forward.

The **CLLD-Leader** is implemented through the **Local Development Programmes** defined by Local Action Groups (LAGs), which are selected and funded by the Region under the rules of the RDP. The LAGs support local development in rural and mountain territories acting on various sectors (tourism, agriculture, craftsmanship, cultural heritage, services). They are key actors in rural development, operating in between public and private logics, hence ensuring both reliability and flexibility. The measure 19 of the RDP co-funds the 14 LAGs of Piedmont and the implementation of their Local Development Programmes with around 65M euros, corresponding to the 6% of the whole budget of the RDP (EAFRD fund) for the 2014-2020 programming period. Local Action Groups are responsible for the implementation of CLLD, deciding through their Local Development Programs on which sectors and interventions to invest the resources of the EAFRD. The Region assigns the funds to LAGs, which then manage selection procedures and the distribution of investment. The Local Development Programmes are defined by local actors according to the local needs and potentialities, involving local communities, and are targeted to a maximum of three of the four sectors defined by the Region:

- the development and innovation of supply chains,

- sustainable tourism,
- enhancement of the architectural and landscape heritage,
- access to essential public services.

As mentioned in section 3.1, in the Metropolitan City's territory there are three LAGs: LAG Escartons e Valli Valdesi (56 municipalities); LAG Valli del Canavese (53 municipalities), LAG Valli di Lanzo, Ceronda e Casternone (27 municipalities).

Initially, the Leader programme was inherently multifund, and independent from the Rural Development Programme (RDP); then it was reduced to a measure of the RDP (measure 19) and has lost its multifund nature. The reduction of Leader to the EAFRD first occurred by decision of the EU; then, when in the 2014-2020 programming period the EU has launched the CLLD, the Italian Regions generally preferred to keep Leader within the RDPs (path dependency, lack of competences and willingness to innovate, …). Within the RDP, Leader is constrained by several limits. It would be much more effective if it is multifund, since rural development (and more in general the Leader approach) involves many more sectors than just agriculture. But today's operationalisation of multifund logic is very different from the original one. Pursuing the multifund is very difficult, implying the need to follow the rules of different funds and to bring together sectors that are not accustomed to co-define programmes. Without compulsory mechanisms set by the EU (e.g. access to funding subject to the creation of an ITI), it would be very difficult to have a multifund programme. Either it is imposed, or it will encounter the same administrative and "cultural" resistances it has encountered so far.

As regards the role of the Metropolitan City and its relation with LAGs, it has been subject to the general process that affected NUTS3 institutions after the Delrio reform (see section 3.1). Most of the Metropolitan City's officers that have established contact with LAGs lasting from several years, have been re-absorbed by the Region and moved to other sectors, hence the representativeness and reliability of the metropolitan institution has somehow faded. And since the Metropolitan City is not Managing Authority (and not Intermediate Body), it is not a very relevant actor for the LAGs to dialogue with. Notwithstanding, there are still some effective relationships, especially as regards the MiP programme supporting entrepreneurship, which is managed by the metropolitan institution, and within Interreg ALCOTRA projects.

The MiP, which is managed by the Metropolitan City, works very well and has strong linkages with rural development, and the LAGs have had a good and continuous dialogue with the Metropolitan City to this respect, which is formally framed by a memorandum of understanding[23], that allows new entrepreneurs starting a business in the LAG territories through this programme to access ERDF funds.

Another policy instrument that addresses rural development issues is the **National Strategy for Inner Areas** (SNAI). Unlike the Rural Development Programme, the SNAI is aimed to address rural development challenges with a holistic, multilevel and multifund approach. The SNAI was launched in 2012, as a national testbed for the place-based approach to regional development promoted by the EU cohesion policy (Barca et al., 2012; Cotella and Vitale Brovarone, 2020). According to the SNAI, inner areas are those territories that are at a significant distance from centres offering essential services (Barca et al., 2014). Inner areas typically feature low territorial density, with small rural and mountainous towns and villages, and are suffering from depopulation and socio-cultural impoverishment. At the same time, they are often repositories of significant environmental and cultural resources. The SNAI is aimed at reversing demographic and socioeconomic processes that have led to the marginalisation of these areas, acting on the structural prerequisites for territorial development, to secure and preserve the territory, to promote natural and cultural resources and to exploit the potential of underutilised resources (Barca et al., 2014). To these aims, the strategy acts both on the prerequisites for development – namely health, education and mobility – and on the reinforcement and activation of local development processes. Access to services is considered as an essential precondition for development and territorial development imbalances are no more analysed at the regional level, but at a lower scale, catching intraregional disparities. In so doing, the SNAI clearly expresses the conceptual link between welfare services and development (Carrosio, 2016).

The governance of the SNAI is entrusted to a Technical Committee, coordinated by the Department for Cohesion Policies of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, and is composed of the Agency for Territorial

[23] http://www.cittametropolitana.torino.it/cms/risorse/attivitaprod/dwd/mip/proroga_protocollo_gal.pdf

Cohesion as well as a number of sectoral ministries (agricultural policies, cultural activities and tourism, education, infrastructure and transport, employment and social policy, health, environment). Although in CMTo's territory there is one of the areas selected for the implementation of the strategy (Valli di Lanzo), CMTo is not involved in the process.

In the framework of European territorial cooperation programmes, the most relevant[24] to the Metropolitan City of Turin is **Interreg ALCOTRA** (*Alpi Latine Cooperazione TRAnsfrontaliera*), the-border cooperation programme, that covers the Alpine territory between France and Italy, financed by the ERDF. The 2014-2020 period has been the fifth ALCOTRA programming period. Since 1990, the programme has financed almost 600 projects for about €550 million in EU grants. The main goal of the programme is to improve the people's quality of life, the sustainable development of the territories and the cross-border economic and social systems through cooperation on the economy, the environment and the services to citizens. The programme focuses on four themes:

- Applied Innovation;
- Better controlled environment;
- Attractiveness of the Territory;
- Social Inclusion and European citizenship.

The beneficiaries are public administrations, SMEs, lifelong learning centres, universities and research centres, associations, natural parks, chambers of commerce, innovation centres and business networks. The territory of the Metropolitan City of Turin is fully eligible for participation in the European programme of cross-border cooperation between France and Italy. In the 2014-2020 programming period many authorities have submitted project proposals and 71 projects with at least one partner belonging to the metropolitan territory have been financed. In 16 of them the Metropolitan City was involved as partner, being lead partner in 7; one project is currently under evaluation to be funded with residual resources of the 2014-2020 programming period. The Metropolitan City is member of the monitoring committee, that is composed of representatives of the French and Italian Member States, the five Regions (Liguria, Piedmont and Valle d'Aosta, Auvergne-Rhone-Alps, Provence-Alps-Côte d'Azur) and the Departments (Haute-Savoie, Haute-Alpes, Alpes de Haute-Provence and Alpes-Maritimes), the Provinces of Cuneo and Imperia and the Metropolitan City of Turin. The nature of cross-border cooperation programmes in general, and of ALCOTRA in particular, in terms of their territorial scope, impacts on the areas involved, as well as the subjects dealt with by the individual projects according to the thematic axes and specific objectives, should lead to a strong involvement of those subjects that are located at an intermediate level between the Regions. The proximity of the Metropolitan City to the municipalities makes it preferable, in its ability to manage certain activities with a supra-municipal scope, both to the regions, which are institutionally called upon to commit themselves to very large territories, and to aggregations of municipalities. In the 2021-2027 programming period the role of metropolitan institutions (which, in the ALCOTRA territory are Turin in Italy and Nice in France) should be reinforced.

Table 4.1
EU cohesion policy programmes and instruments in the Metropolitan City of Turin

Instrument	Level (geographical scope)	Type	Programming	Management	Implementation	Role of metropolitan actors
NOP Metro	National	National Operational Programme	Agency for Territorial Cohesion	City of Turin	City of Turin / social cooperative or third sector associations located in Turin	Very limited role in 2014-2020. More involvement is foreseen for the NOP Metro Plus (2021-2027)

[24] Interreg ALCOTRA is the most relevant to the Metropolitan City of Turin among the Interreg programmes, since it is a NUTS3 programme that includes the Metropolitan City as partner authority in the management of the programme.

Instrument	Level (geographical scope)	Type	Programming	Management	Implementation	Role of metropolitan actors
NOP Governance	National	National Operational Programme	Agency for Territorial Cohesion	Agency for Territorial Cohesion	National, regional and local administrations, universities, judicial offices, other public bodies	Involved in the *Metropoli Strategiche* project, and in the *CReIAMO PA* project
ROP ESF	Regional	Regional Operational Programme	Piedmont Region	Piedmont Region, CMTo, Finpiemonte	Public administrations, enterprises, professionals, third sector associations	Intermediate body for some activities, formal member of the monitoring committee
ROP ERDF	Regional	Regional Operational Programme	Piedmont Region	Piedmont Region	Enterprises, public administrations, third sector associations	Formal member of the monitoring committee
Rural Development Programme (EAFRD)	Regional	Rural Development Programme	Piedmont Region	Piedmont Region	Agricultural and forestry enterprises, farmers, LAGs, municipalities, research institutions …	Formal member of the monitoring committee
Local Development Programmes	Regional	CLLD-Leader	Piedmont Region	LAGs	Enterprises, municipalities, third sector associations	Partial involvement through the MiP programme
National Strategy for Inner Areas – Valli di Lanzo	National (Strategy) / Local (project area)	Inter-institutional, multi-fund coordination	Agency for Territorial Cohesion	Agency for Territorial Cohesion	Municipalities of the selected project areas	No role
Interreg ALCOTRA	Cross-border France-Italy	Territorial cooperation programme	Regione Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes	Monitoring committee	Public administrations, SMEs, lifelong learning centres, universities and research centres, associations, natural parks, chambers of commerce, innovation centres and business networks	Formal member of the monitoring committee

Source: authors' elaboration.

Challenges and critical elements

- The Metropolitan City of Turin has a very limited role in the programming and implementation of the EU cohesion policy instruments that are relevant to the metropolitan level and have a significant impact on its territory. Measures and actions are implemented through regional calls, and the regional level has often some difficulties to intercept metropolitan issues. An intermediate actor, closer the territory, would be appropriate and the Metropolitan City would fit this role perfectly, but its limited scope for action seems destined to be further restricted.

4.3 Involvement of social groups and the business community in the EU cohesion policy

Relevant social groups and actors from the business community are involved in the development and implementation of the approaches and instruments presented in sections 4.2 in various ways, depending on the type of actor and instrument, and either as members of the monitoring committee (hence involved in the programming and/or management) or as beneficiaries of funds (hence involved in the implementation), or in the case of CLLD, as responsibles for the management of a specific measure of the implementation.

In the NOP Metro, third sector actors of the Metropolitan City based in the capital city are involved in the implementation as beneficiaries of funds. In the ROP ESF and ERDF and in the RDP some stakeholders from the third sector and the business community are involved in the monitoring committee and many of them are beneficiaries of funds. As regards CLLD, the authorities that are responsible for its implementation are the Local Action Groups, which are public-private bodies (private in majority, public bodies cannot represent more than 49% of the decision-making body), governed by both private and public laws and involving to a great extent social groups and the business community in the definition of their Local Development Programmes. In the SNAI social groups and the business community have been involved in the definition of the strategy and actions. In the Interreg ALCOTRA some actors from the third sector and the business community are involved as beneficiaries of projects, and some of them are also part of the Monitoring Committee as auditors.

The interviews let emerge that in some programmes the role of some actors is significant. In particular, in the ROP ESF social player have extensive rights of participation, and in the governance of the RDP farmers' associations have a very strong influence. Next interviews will provide further insights on the involvement of social groups and the business community in the programming and implementation of EU cohesion policy instruments, that will be inserted in the final report.

Challenges and critical elements

- Social groups and the business community are involved to different extent in the programming of EU cohesion policy instruments, depending on the specific instrument. In some cases, relevant actors from social partners or business associations have a much stronger influence on the programming of funds than the Metropolitan City of Turin.
- Social groups and the business community are extensively involved in the implementation of the EU cohesion policy, as beneficiaries of projects.

4.4 The governance of EU cohesion policy in the COVID-19 emergency

Relevant changes that will occur in the programming period 2021-2027 are affected by the actual situation due to the pandemic in course. The drafts of the new programming period had already defined the challenges

(which are in any case confirmed by the post-pandemic crisis, see green new deal) but the operating procedures and the principle of partnership that is still in the signing phase, remain to be defined. If for the next programming period the budget is not approved, the so called “Next Generation EU” programme (recovery fund) has represented the real novelty in this phase. The programme will count on 750 billion euro of which the most important part is for the Recovery and Resilience Plans (€ 672,5 billion). The rest of the subsidies will be channeled through other "pillars" of the anti-crisis operation including:

- React EU (€ 47,5 billion);
- Rural development (€ 7,5 billion);
- Horizon EU (€ 5 billion), InvestEU (€ 5,6 billion) ;
- Just transition fund - JTF (€ 10 billion);
- RescEU (€ 1,9 billion).

In Italy, the **National Recovery and Resilience Plan** was drawn up, with the aim of completing objectives, reforms and investments to mitigate the economic and social impact of the pandemic. The "*Italia Domani*" plan, approved in July 2021, will have a total value of 235 billion euros between European and national resources. The Plan is divided into 6 Missions, which represent the structural "thematic" areas of intervention:

- Digitization, innovation, competitiveness, culture and tourism
- Green revolution and ecological transition
- Infrastructure for sustainable mobility
- Education and Research
- Inclusion and Cohesion
- Health

In addition, an Execution document is attached to the plan which defines, in relation to each investment and reform, precise objectives and targets, timed in time, the achievement of which is linked to the allocation of resources on a six-monthly basis.

Concerning the management architecture of the Recovery fund (Figure 4.3), the governance of the recovery and resilience plan was defined in May 2021 by a national decree[25]. Italy was an example because it immediately identified in the European Affairs Inter-ministerial Committee – CIAE (in which also attend the Conference of the Regions, the National Association of Italian Municipalities and the Union of Province) the natural place in which to manage the recovery fund and to elaborate the Recovery and Resilience Plan. The Minister of European Affairs has then chosen operating methods that do not have to interface with all the cities but with an interlocutor capable of representing them: the National Association of Italian Municipalities (Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani – ANCI) that, as part of the CIAE has been chosen as the referent able to receive requests or needs from territories and cities. Within ANCI, a sub-section is dedicated to metropolitan cities, leaded by the Mayor of Florence, Dario Nardella.

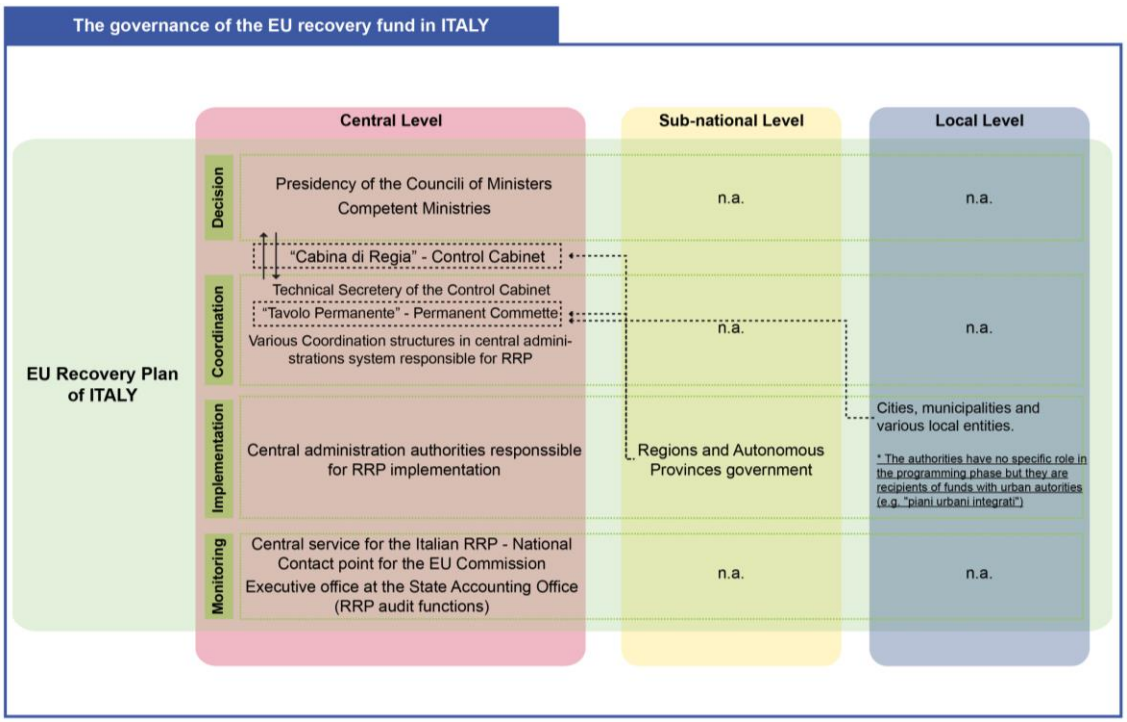
The Metropolitan City of Turin is, to some extent, involved in managing the emergency, due to a partial competence of civil protection. However, as regards the recovery fund, the EU dialogues with member states, and in Italy the Plan has been defined at central level, following consultations with various stakeholders, including the regions (which, however, do not seem to have played a major role). The dialogue is State-Regions, also involving representatives from the business community (Confindustria) and the National Association of Italian Municipalities (ANCI). The Metropolitan City is involved by the latter in third place, to propose projects and priorities for action. In September 2020 ANCI asked the Metropolitan Cities, at the request of the Ministry, to collect projects for the drafting of the National Recovery and Resilience Plan.

[25] D.L. 31 maggio 2021, n. 77, *Governance del Piano nazionale di ripresa e resilienza e prime misure di rafforzamento delle strutture amministrative e di accelerazione e snellimento delle procedure*.

Subsequently, in spring 2021, the Region, on its own initiative, collected and systematised these proposals, trying to integrate proposals developed by local institutions into their broader projects. Unlike the other Provinces, the Metropolitan City of Turin has taken action to this respect, and unlike the municipality it has proposed far-reaching actions. The metropolitan city has proposed 20 projects, referred to four macro-sectors:

- Green revolution and ecological transition: 8 projects (999M €);
- Digitalisation, Innovation, competitiveness and Culture: 7 projects (153M €);
- Mobility: 3 projects (387M €), on cycling infrastructures, road infrastructure, street lighting, reducing noise pollution, water works;
- Education and research: 1 projects (98M €);
- Inclusion and cohesion: 1 project (7M €).

Figure 4.3
The governance of the EU recovery fund in Italy



Source: authors' elaboration

Challenges and critical elements

- Although the importance of the metropolitan dimension in the reaction to the COVID-19 emergency has been widely acknowledged, the CMTo has a very limited role in the governance of the EU cohesion policy in the COVID-19 emergency.

4.5 Coordinating metropolitan governance and EU cohesion policy

The coordination and integration of objectives, priorities and targets of metropolitan governance and cooperation activities that occurs within and outside the EU cohesion policy framework involves a network of various public and private "nodes". A preliminary list of nodes of the metropolitan governance was defined by the research team and fine-tuned with the help of the stakeholder (table 4.2). This list was presented to the 18 actors belonging to the 8 institutions highlighted in bold in table 4.2, which were interviewed by the research team, including different sectors of the Metropolitan City of Turin and the Piedmont Region, the City of Turin, the 3 Local Action Groups which areas lay in the metropolitan institution, the Piedmont mobility authority, the Regional institute for economic and social research, and the Polytechnic interdepartmental center which has been in charge of the elaboration of the Metropolitan Strategic Plan.

Table 4.2
Nodes of the metropolitan governance and EU cohesion policy network[26]

Institution's name	Subsection of the institution	Status	Scale	Sector
Italian Agency for Territorial Cohesion	**NOP METRO, NOP Governance**	**Public**	**National**	**Territorial development and spatial planning**
	SNAI	**Public**	**National**	**Rural development**
Piedmont Region	Direction Coordination of EU Policies and Funds – Sector ESI and cross-border funds	Public	Regional	Other
	Direction Competitiveness – Sector sustainable development and qualification of the production system	**Public**	**Regional**	**Economic development**
	Direction agriculture and Food – sector programming and coordination of rural development	**Public**	**Regional**	**Rural Development**
	Direction Environment, Energy and Territory – Sector Territory and landscape	**Public**	**Regional**	**Territorial development and spatial planning**
	Direction Education, Lifelong Learning, Work – sector administration and control of ESF-co-funded activities	**Public**	**Regional**	**Social cohesion**
Piedmont Mobility Authority	**Area Planning and Control**	**Public**	**Regional**	**Infrastructure, transports, communication**
Metropolitan City of Turin	**Department land, construction and roads**	**Public**	**Metropolitan**	**Territorial development and spatial planning**

[26] In bold, the interviewed institutions.

Institution's name	Subsection of the institution	Status	Scale	Sector
	Direction Economic Development – sector strategic planning	**Public**	**Metropolitan**	**Economic development**
	Program MiP (open a business)	**Public**	**Metropolitan**	**Economic development**
	Direction Education, equal opportunities and welfare	Public	Metropolitan	Education
	Direction Economic Development – Sector EU and International projects and programmes	**Public**	**Metropolitan**	**Territorial development and spatial planning**
Homogeneous Zones	-	Public	Local	Territorial development and spatial planning
Unions of (Mountain) Municipalities	-	Public	Local	Territorial development and spatial planning
Local Action Groups (3)	**-**	**Public**	**Local**	**Rural Development**
City of Turin	**Area European Funds, Innovation and Smart City**	**Public**	**Local**	**Territorial development and spatial planning**
ANCI	Piedmont Section	Public	Regional	Territorial development and spatial planning
	Area Studies and Research	**Public**	**National**	**Territorial development and spatial planning**
UNCEM	Piedmont	Public	Regional	Territorial development and spatial planning
IRES Piemonte	**-**	**Public**	**Regional**	**University, research**
Chamber of Commerce	-	Public	Metropolitan	Business
Trade associations	-	Private	Regional	Business
Professional associations	-	Public	Regional / Metropolitan	Business
Trade unions	-	Public	Regional	NGO, civil society
Permanent Conference for relations between the State, the Regions and the Autonomous Provinces of Trento and Bolzano	CINSEDO – Interregional centre studies and documentation	Public	National	University, research
	Commission transport infrastructures and spatial planning	Public	National	Territorial development and spatial planning
Universities, Polytechnic	**Various departments**	**Public**	**Metropolitan**	**University, research**

Institution's name	Subsection of the institution	Status	Scale	Sector
Provincial Education Office	-	Public	Metropolitan	Education
DG Agri	-	Public	European	Rural Development
DG Regio	-	Public	European	Territorial development and spatial planning
DG Employment, Social Affairs and Inclusion	-	Public	European	Social cohesion

Source: authors' elaboration

The identified actors establish relations with many other actors in the metropolitan area for EUCP and non-EUCP purposes. The interviewees were asked fill in a roster questionnaire, specifying the main actors with which they establish relations and what is its purpose (EUCP or non-EUCP relations).

To ensure the maximum comparability across case-studies, the team decided to apply the following procedures:

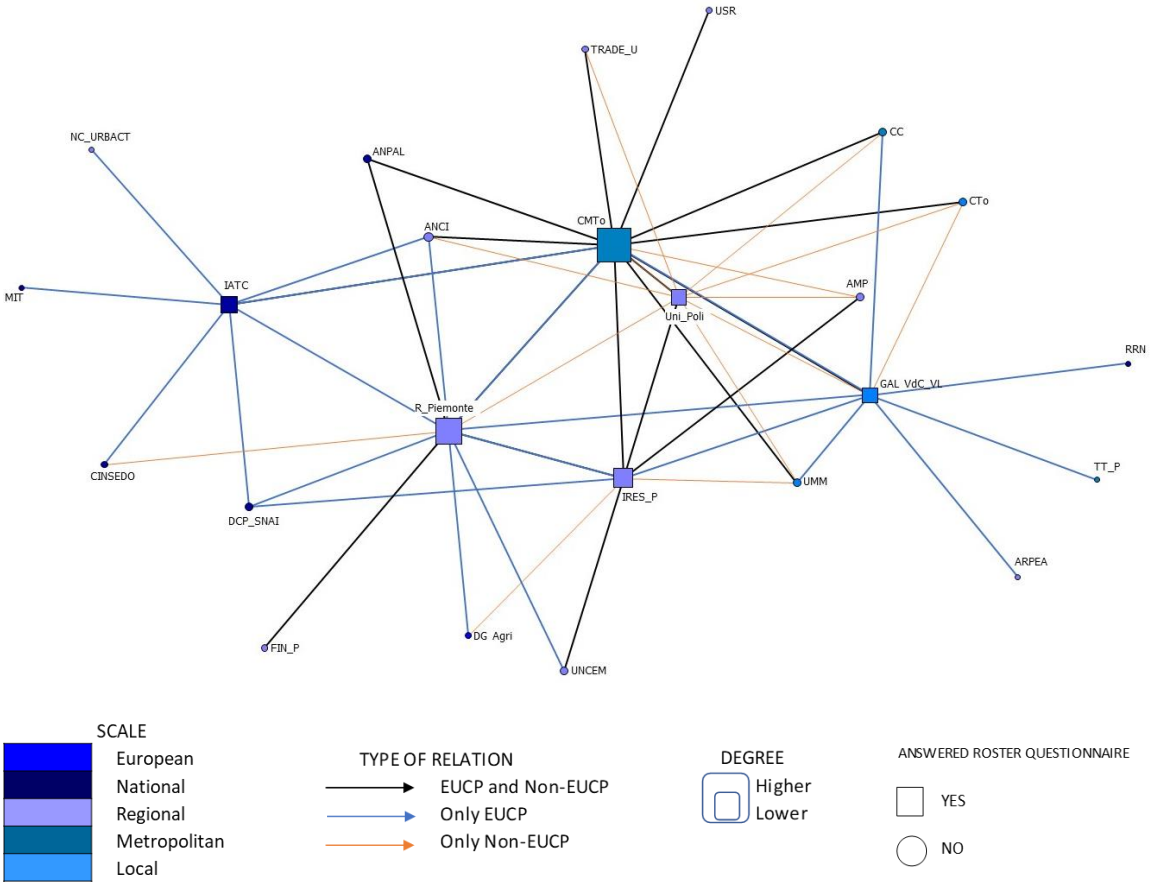
- No consideration of roster questionnaire answers from local authorities, except if they are the city that originated the metropolitan area, as it may unbalance / bias comparative analysis across case studies;
- No consideration of intensity of relations because it is difficult to ensure all organisations have a common criteria /understanding on different levels;
- No analysis of intra-organization relations in each institution.

We use the UCINET software package (Borgatti *et al.*, 2002) to elaborate the matrices of dichotomous relationships between the actors and we use the NetDraw module to draw the networks of relationships. The following steps were applied:

- Dataset consolidation;
- Computation of binary symmetrical matrixes (UCINET);
- Elaboration of one network per case study (NetDraw);
- Networks include the type of relation (EUCP, non-EUCP), scale of intervention of actors (European, National, Regional, Metropolitan, Local), and the degree of each node (calculated according to the number and type of connections, where both EUCP and non-EUCP equals 3 points, only EUCP equals 2 points and only non-EUCP equals 1 point.

In the case of Turin metropolitan area, the team received and validated 13 answers from the selected institutions (see Table 4.2). Figure 4.4 depicts the metropolitan governance network in the Metropolitan City of Turin.

Figure 4.4
The metropolitan governance network



LEGEND

ID	ID_name
AMP	Agenzia della Mobilità Piemontese
ANCI	ANCI
ANPAL	Agenzia Nazionale Politiche del Lavoro
ARPEA	ARPEA – Agenzia Regionale per le Erogazioni in Agricoltura
CC	Chamber of Commerce
CINSEDO	Permanent Conference for Relations between the State, Regions and Autonomous Provinces
CMTo	Metropolitan City of Torino
CTo	City of Torino
DCP_SNAI	Department for Cohesion Policies
DG Agri	DG Agri
FIN_P	Finpiemonte
GAL VdC_VL	Local Action Group
IATC	Italian Agency for Territorial Cohesion
IRES_P	IRES Piemonte
MIT	Ministry of Infrastructures and Transport
NC_URBACT	Regione Molise_Copresident National Committee URBACT
R_Piemonte	Regione Piemonte
RRN	Rete rurale nazionale/National rural network
TRADE_U	Trade Unions
TT_P	Turismo Torino e Provincia
UMM	Unions of Mountain Municipalities

UNCEM	UNCEM
Uni_Poli	University - Polytechnic

Source: authors' elaboration

This exercise requires caution in its analysis due to the limited number of actors who responded to the roster questionnaire, although relevant institutions such as the Metropolitan City, Piedmont Region and National Agency for Territorial Cohesion responded to it. Bearing this in mind, the analysis confirmed that the Metropolitan City of Turin relates with various stakeholders in the metropolitan area, in a formal or informal way, aiming at articulating strategies and actions in several policy domains. Although the metropolitan institution is obviously a key stakeholder in metropolitan planning and governance processes, its influence is more relevant outside the EUCP, due to its limited involvement in EUCP institutional architecture.

The other most relevant actors in the metropolitan governance processes related to the EUCP are the Piedmont Region, which is the managing authority of the ROPs for the Social, Regional and Rural Development, the Italian National Agency for Territorial Cohesion (and as far as the SNAI is concerned, also the Department for Territorial Cohesion), the Local Action Groups and IRES Piemonte[27]. Moreover, the University and Polytechnic are relevant actors in metropolitan governance, being involved to various extents and providing expert knowledge in metropolitan planning processes, especially outside the EUCP instruments. The national association of Italian municipalities (ANCI) is another relevant player, both at the national level (coordinating the *Metropoli Strategiche* project and representing metropolitan interests in policy arenas at the national and European level) and through its regional delegation.

A number of other nodes emerge from the network analysis, such as representatives from social groups and the business society (trade associations and unions, the chamber of commerce, Finpiemonte, *Turismo Torino e Provincia*[28]), sub-metropolitan aggregations of municipalities such as the homogeneous zones and the Unions of Mountain Municipalities (§ 3.1), the Piedmont Mobility Authority. Finally, some actors that are related to specific sectors or activities within and outside the EUCP were mentioned by the interviewees, such as ARPEA[29], the Ministry of Infrastructures and Transport, the National rural network, the National agency for employment policies, the URBACT National committee, the Permanent Conference for Relations between the State, Regions and Autonomous Provinces (CINSEDO), and at the European level the DG Agri.

Local authorities were not surveyed, but there is no doubt they are essential institutions in Metropolitan City of Turin, operating in many policy domains at the local scale, and as mentioned in section 3, they are extensively involved in metropolitan strategic and planning processes.

Although the selected interviewees were mostly related to the EUCP, the predominant relevance of the metropolitan institution in metropolitan governance processes outside the EUCP clearly emerged from the roster questionnaires.

Overall, the results can be summarized in the following bullet points:

- The Metropolitan City of Turin has a stronger role in the institutional structures at play in the metropolitan area outside the EUCP, while the Regional authority and the National agency for territorial cohesion are pivotal in the EUCP institutional architecture;
- The LAGs play a relevant role in the institutional architecture of the EUCP (as far as their territory is concerned), independently from the Metropolitan City;
- Various actors at different levels are involved in metropolitan governance processes, both within and outside the EUCP;

[27] IRES Piemonte is a public regional agency charged with research activities to assist the Region's planning responsibilities in cooperation with the local government.

[28] Convention & Visitors Bureau for the city of Turin and its province.

[29] ARPEA is an instrumental body of the Piedmont Region which disburses aid, contributions and premiums for the agricultural sector.

- Multi-level governance is a distinctive trait in the metropolitan governance network.

The Metropolitan Strategic Plan is bringing forward a significant contribution to the coordination and integration of the constellation of metropolitan objectives, targets, instruments and funding opportunities. Further to the involvement of a wide range of relevant stakeholders in the definition of the objectives and actions, as already mentioned in section 3, the Strategic Plan is structured around the six axes of Next Generation EU and in coherence with the objectives of the National Recovery and Resilence Plan, so to maximise synergies and funnelling the funds in the desired directions. Moreover, the Strategic Plan tries to identify, for each action, the possible interactions and synergies with the tools and policies already in place and under development in the Metropolitan City, with the objectives of the EU cohesion policy and with its funding instruments.

To support the coordination of initiatives related to the EU cohesion policy (and more in general of the initiatives related to international projects and programs), the Metropolitan City of Turin has established in 2019 the "European and International Projects and Programs" Specialized Unit within its Economic Development Department. The activation of this unit took place in a particularly relevant moment: for the first time, the European cohesion policy 2021-2027 programming period includes a Strategic Objective (SO) specifically dedicated to territorial development strategies: the SO5, i.e. "a Europe closer to citizens, by supporting locally-led development strategies and sustainable urban development across the EU".

Two specific objectives are assigned to the Specialized Unit:

- Promotion and coordination of projects to be funded with supranational resources, ensuring the consistency with the Metropolitan fundamental functions and the strategic plan;
- Positioning of the Metropolitan City of Turin strategies with respect to European programming.

The Unit will certainly contribute to produce an added value in relation to both metropolitan development and reaching the EU cohesion policy goals.

Challenges and critical elements

- Various actors at different levels intervene in the metropolitan governance and in the programming, management and implementation of EU cohesion policy at the metropolitan level.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Strengthen the role of the Metropolitan City of Turin in the governance of EU cohesion policy instruments, e.g. as Intermediate Body in the ROP ESF and with a stronger relation with the City of Turin in the NOP Metro Plus, and with a more effective involvement in the other programmes and initiatives that have a significant impact on its territory (ROP ERDF, NOP Governance, RDP, CLLD-Leader, SNAI).
- Promote governance systems that enable the metropolitan city to engage in more dialogue with the municipality and increase its capacity to manage and spend European funds.
- Claim the importance of metropolitan areas in the European Territorial Cooperation Programmes (especially Interreg ALCOTRA).
- Strengthen collaboration with other Italian Metropolitan Cities and define a Position paper to advocate their role in the EU cohesion policy.

EU level

- Regulate/reward mechanisms for interinstitutional managing authorities (involving metropolitan cities) also in relation to Next Generation Europe.
- Reinforce the use of multifund / multisector tools (e.g.: conditional access to funding subject to the creation of ITIs).

5 Cohesion policy impact

5.1 EU cohesion policy objectives and actions

The most relevant tools to programme and implement cohesion policy at the metropolitan level in the Metropolitan City of Turin are the National operational programmes (NOPs), the Regional Operational Programmes ESF and ERDF (ROPs), the National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI) – Valli di Lanzo, and Interreg ALCOTRA.

Putting aside the thematic differences between the various NOPs, it can be seen that the recurring themes influencing the metropolitan level are related to (Table 5.1):

- Metropolitan Digital Agenda;
- Sustainability of public services and urban mobility;
- Services and Infrastructure for social inclusion;
- Development of administrative and institutional capacity to modernise public administration;
- Strengthening multi-level governance in public investment programmes;
- Support for people in extreme poverty and marginalisation;
- Infrastructure for education;
- Institutional and administrative capability.

In particular, in the ICT field, the 14 metropolitan cities have common characteristics in terms of the size of their users and the complexity of the resulting technological solutions to be tackled jointly and in a coordinated manner, within the framework of the National Strategy for Digital Growth, without prejudice to the principle that individual project choices will be made on the basis of the specific needs and intervention rules applied to each category of regions. The Metropolitan Cities are affected by common challenges in the field of sustainability, energy saving and urban mobility, which require the adoption of a joint and coordinated approach also because of the objective of adopting common innovative solutions. This concerns in particular the Municipalities, the nerve centres of the Metropolitan Cities, which constitute the main target area in which the Programme concentrates the Axis interventions, with benefits that extend to the users of the cities coming also from the belt municipalities. At same time, for all the areas of the Metropolitan Cities involved in the Programme, the need has been identified for a significant intervention on the themes of social inclusion of disadvantaged groups and individuals, in conditions of serious marginality or material deprivation, and of significant risk of exclusion, also with reference to vulnerability, discomfort and deprivation connected to housing. Regarding the process of modernisation of the PA, the NOPs supports the modernisation trough the implementation of reforms related to management and organisational aspects and through the simplification of processes, for the reduction of costs and time of procedures. They invest in the development of e-skills to increase transparency and access to public data and services within the framework of open-government policies. They envisage actions for the efficiency of the judicial system and to promote a higher level of legality in the actions of the PA. Furthermore, they are aimed at strengthening the capacity of public administrations to implement development policies - and to improve their capacity to manage programmes financed by EU funds - through actions to make the coordination system between the various levels of government more efficient. They also finance actions that derive from the strengthening needs contained in the Administrative Strengthening Plans, as well as actions to improve the quality of statistical information and evaluation, as tools to support the ability to plan and implement investments. Regarding the social field, the objective is to support the implementation throughout the national territory of the measures to combat absolute poverty aimed at families in extreme economic/occupational distress (Inclusion income, Support for active inclusion, Basic income). These measures are characterised by the provision of an economic, work and social activation pathway for beneficiaries. These measures represent a national measure with a universal vocation in application of the principle that income support for those who find themselves in poverty should be guaranteed to all and in the same way, regardless of where they reside in Italy. About education, the measures promoted in the NOP aimed at combating early school leaving and strengthening the skills of young people and adults, including through the professional development of school staff, are of national importance, contributing to the unified strategy of the education sector that aims to strengthen and raise the

quality of services throughout the country. Finally, last theme related to Institutional and administrative capability, the NOPs aimed at increasing the institutional capacity and efficiency of the public administration with a view to improving overall governance in the education sector, involve the entire national territory. In fact, there are actions that, by their very nature, have a systemic value or a function of coordination, implementation and evaluation of interventions.

Moving more specifically to regional operational programmes (ROPs), these are mainly focused on:

- Research, technological development and innovation;
- Digital agenda;
- Competitiveness of production systems;
- Sustainable energy and quality of life;
- Environmental protection and enhancement of cultural and environmental resources;
- Sustainable urban development;
- Employment. Promoting sustainable, quality employment and supporting worker mobility;
- Social inclusion and combating poverty. Promote social inclusion and combat poverty and all forms of discrimination;
- Education and training;
- Institutional and administrative capacity.

ROPs intend to direct EU support towards making the region more attractive, both to companies interested in locating their highly innovative activities in Piedmont and to researchers from outside the region interested in developing their research in Piedmont. At the same time, they intend to benefit from EU support in order to achieve the ambitious goals of the Digital Agenda for Europe and contribute to the implementation of the Italian Digital Agenda, ensuring coordination with national strategies. They intend to use the impulse of the EU support in synergy with the leverage effect that will derive from the Strategic Plan for the Internationalisation of Piedmont, a three-year plan co-financed by the Development and Cohesion Fund (PAR 2007-2013). While contributing to the achievement of the national and European energy objectives already set out in the previous specific objective, the ROPs intends to direct EU support to address the main challenges identified in relation to business energy consumption. Cohesion policy support will also be concentrated on the promotion of policies for the "prevention of environmental damage or emergencies" which, at present, represent a significant economic cost to be internalised in the assessment of such policies. The ROP supports - in complementarity with nature conservation and protection - the enhancement of the historical and cultural heritage of the territory. In continuity with the choices outlined in the current regional programming, aimed at financing projects to enhance the complementarities, synergies and specific functions of the individual assets (Royal Residences, including the Venaria Reale Consortium, the La Mandria and Stupinigi Park Authority), it will ensure the completion of the overall territorial strategy and the operation of complexes with a high potential for attractiveness. The intention is to enhance the value of the other UNESCO sites present in the region, through a planning of interventions aimed at favouring the integration of cultural excellences, the landscape and the local economic system. The support of the ROP may represent the preconditions for the relaunch of those sectors, such as tourism, that can contribute to the competitive repositioning and represent an effective driving force for economic and social development. Furthermore, the ROPs intend to promote integrated actions for the Sustainable Urban Development of the 7 Provincial capitals in order to make them, according to the smart cities paradigm, more innovative, efficient and competitive places. EU support will be aimed at (i) improving the provision of digital PA services with benefits for citizens and businesses located in them and with widespread effects on a large scale; (ii) the activation of energy-saving measures in non-residential public buildings, to encourage the reduction of operating costs and greenhouse gas emissions; (iii) the enhancement of cultural centres that can be a driving force for the promotion of tourism in the area. The expected result that the Piedmont Region intends to pursue through the resources that the ESF makes available for the achievement of this specific objective concerns the mitigation, acting, on the one hand, on the improvement of the employment prospects of people who, for reasons of age or fragility of the profiles, are not able to find a job, improving the employment prospects of people who, because of their age or the fragility of their professional profiles, risk being excluded from the labour market of the professional profiles, would risk being excluded from the labour market for a long time and, therefore, feed the demand for welfare services. The new ESF programming cycle imposes demanding

challenges (think, as a paradigm, of the performance framework), as well as a relatively high rate of innovation (annual closure of accounts, ex ante conditionalities, expansion and review of the functions of the Authorities), which suggest to allocate a portion of ROP resources, marginal in relative terms and yet very significant in terms of repercussions that can derive from it, to improve the performance of the Public Administration.

The Regional Rural Development Plan (EAFRD fund) aims to three main objectives:

1. Stimulate the competitiveness of the agricultural, food, non-food and forestry sector;
2. Contribute to the sustainable management of natural resources and climate action;
3. Contributing to the balanced economic, social and territorial development of rural areas.

In particular, the competitiveness of the regional agri-food and forestry system can be supported by technological and organisational innovation actions aimed at favouring production qualification and cost reduction, diversification, better chain integration, generational change, support to market penetration. The large area of agricultural and forestry land in relation to the region as a whole makes it particularly necessary to have actions that direct primary activity towards sustainability and climate adaptation. The Piedmont Region's RDP strategy for rural areas focuses on territories belonging to rural areas classified as intermediate rural areas and rural areas with development problems[30]. First of all, the action is aimed at mountain areas, which share a common territorial fragility and a long decline over the previous decades (although some areas have shown encouraging signs of revitalisation in recent years). These areas have common intervention needs, essentially linked to the need for economic and social revitalisation, on the one hand, and for proper management of the territory and its natural, agricultural and forestry heritage, on the other.

These objectives are pursued through priority lines:

- Promote knowledge transfer and innovation in agriculture and forestry and rural areas;
- Enhance farm profitability and competitiveness in all regions and promote innovative farm technologies and sustainable forest management;
- Promote food chain organisation, including the processing and marketing of agricultural products, animal welfare and risk management in the agricultural sector;
- Preserving, restoring and enhancing ecosystems related to agriculture and forestry;
- Foster resource efficiency and the shift towards a low-carbon and climate-resilient economy in the agricultural sector and climate resilient economy in the agri-food and forestry sector;
- Work towards social inclusion, poverty reduction and economic development in rural areas.

The National Strategy for Inner Areas (SNAI) – Valli di Lanzo is manly focused on four different axes, (i) Health; (ii) Education; (iii) Mobility; (iv) Local development.

These axes are broken down into a series of objectives and actions and measures. In particular, the objectives are:

- Activation of community health services;
- Strengthening the emergency management system;
- Strengthening links between schools and the local area;
- Networking the local education system;
- Reorganisation of the local public transport system and links with the outside world;
- Recovery and development of local production chains;
- Developing tourist, cultural and environmental resources;
- Development of digital services.

[30] Types C and D in Piedmont's Rural Development Programme.

Finally, the programme Interreg ALCOTRA is focused on:

- Applied innovation. Transfer of innovation and enabling technologies;
- Safe environment. Increasing the resilience of the territory;
- Territorial attractiveness. Environmental conservation and enhancement of natural and cultural resources, including through the development of sustainable tourism and the green economy;
- Social inclusion and European citizenship. Promoting the settlement and permanence of families and individuals in mountain and rural areas;
- Technical assistance. To guarantee the effective management of the programme and the quality of the interventions.

The general objective of the first axis is to encourage innovation in cross-border economic and production systems in order to increase competitiveness, especially in the most marginal areas. Economic development will also be stimulated by increasing the level of innovation and research capacity, bringing together businesses and actors operating in the field of innovative services or R&D and involving intermediate bodies, such as innovation poles, trade associations, etc. The overall objective of the second axis is to increase the resilience of the territory. It is therefore necessary to work on several fronts in order to achieve the following specific objectives: (i) increase knowledge of the direct effects of climate change on the environment and stimulate the adoption of adaptation measures in spatial planning and management tools; (ii) continue the action already underway to network skills and actors to improve the area's resilience to natural and technological risks. The general objective of the third axis is to increase the attractiveness of the ALCOTRA area for both the resident population and tourists. The axis is therefore divided into three specific objectives: Natural and cultural heritage: protection and enhancement of the natural and cultural heritage, to encourage the development of sustainable tourism, through: (i) the networking of the areas and sites developed; (ii) improving the skills of operators; (iii) management and promotion of the common natural and cultural heritage. And finally the fourth axis aims to counteract population ageing, the risk of isolation of the weakest sections of the rural and mountain population (elderly, children, women) and the attraction of new settlements. The specific objectives in this axis are aimed at broad sections of the population: (i) young people, who should be more involved in the processes of European cultural integration; (ii) the elderly, who should be guaranteed access to care services at an affordable cost; (iii) the entire population of the area, which should be able to benefit to the maximum from free access to bi-national education and training as well as to cross-border health care. Finally the last axis is aimed at ensuring a unitary management of the programme, guaranteeing and increasing the effectiveness and efficiency of the interventions promoted by the cohesion policy, ensuring the cooperation bodies and the national/regional/local authorities the necessary technical support for the implementation of the programme, carrying out the actions envisaged in the communication plan, as well as strengthening and extending in a targeted and selective manner the animation and technical assistance activities towards the beneficiaries and potential beneficiaries, starting from the preparation of the projects until their conclusion.

Table 5.1
Objectives of the EU cohesion policy in the metropolitan area

Instrument	Type of Fund(s)	Axis
National Operational Programme on Metropolitan Cities	ERDF/ESF	1. Metropolitan Digital Agenda 2. Sustainability of public services and urban mobility 3. Services for social inclusion 4. Infrastructures for social inclusion 5. Technical Assistance

Instrument	Type of Fund(s)	Axis
National Operational Programme on Governance and Institutional Capacity	ERDF/ESF	1. Development of administrative and institutional capacity to modernise public administration 2. Development of e-government, interoperability and support for the implementation of the Digital Agenda 3. Strengthening multi-level governance in public investment programmes 4. Technical Assistance
National Operational Programme on Social Inclusion	ERDF/ESF	1. Support for people in extreme poverty and marginalisation - More developed Regions 2. Support for people in extreme poverty and marginalisation - Less developed and transition Regions 3. Social intervention systems and models 4. Administrative capability 5. Technical Assistance
National Operational Programme on Education	ERDF/ESF	1. Instruction 2. Infrastructure for education 3. Institutional and administrative capability 4. Technical Assistance
Regional Operational Programme	ERDF	1. Research, technological development and innovation 2. Digital agenda 3. Competitiveness of production systems 4. Sustainable energy and quality of life 5. Environmental protection and enhancement of cultural and environmental resources 6. Sustainable urban development 7. Technical assistance
Regional Operational Programme	ESF	1. Employment. Promoting sustainable, quality employment and supporting worker mobility 2. Social inclusion and combating poverty. Promote social inclusion and combat poverty and all forms of discrimination. 3. Education and training 4. Institutional and administrative capacity 5. Technical assistance
Regional Rural Development Plan	EAFRD	1. Stimulate the competitiveness of the agricultural, food, non-food and forestry sector. 2. Contribute to the sustainable management of natural resources and climate action. 3. Contributing to the balanced economic, social and territorial development of rural areas.
National Strategy for Inner Areas - Valli di Lanzo	ERDF/ESF, National funds	1. Health 2. Education 3. Mobility 4. Local development 5. Technical assistance and territorial animation

Instrument	Type of Fund(s)	Axis
Interreg ALCOTRA[31]	ERDF CPN and/or self-funding	1. Applied innovation 2. Safe environment 3. Territorial attractiveness 4. Social inclusion and European citizenship 5. Technical assistance

Source: authors' elaboration

5.1.1 Funded measures: main sectors and spatial distribution

The following tables, figures and maps show the localisation, sector and resources of the main EU cohesion policy actions implemented in the metropolitan area in the 2014-2020 programming period, specifying if they were implemented in the core (Turin) or in the rest of the metropolitan area. Some programmes were implemented only in the core (NOP METRO), others only in rural remote areas (SNAI and CLLD).

Table 5.2
Localisation, sector and resources of the main EUCP actions implemented in the metropolitan area

Instrument	Sector	Core	Suburbs/rural/rural remote
NOP METRO	Digital Agenda	4.000.659 €	-
	Environment and risk prevention	2.767.052 €	-
	Energy and energy efficiency	4.153.036 €	-
	Social Inclusion	2.232.764 €	-
	Public administration capacity building	525.000 €	-
	Transport and network infrastructure	1.050.000 €	-
NOP Research and Innovation	Research and innovation	39.501.020 €	10.097.817 €
ROP ERDF	Digital Agenda	19.242.709 €	24.646.118 €
	Competitiveness for enterprises	47.763.261 €	4.771.897 €
	Energy and energy efficiency	826.599 €	9.309.311 €
	Public administration capacity building	14.340.426 €	8.235 €
	Research and innovation	102.610.515 €	39.867.490 €
	Transport and network infrastructure	-	24.646.118 €

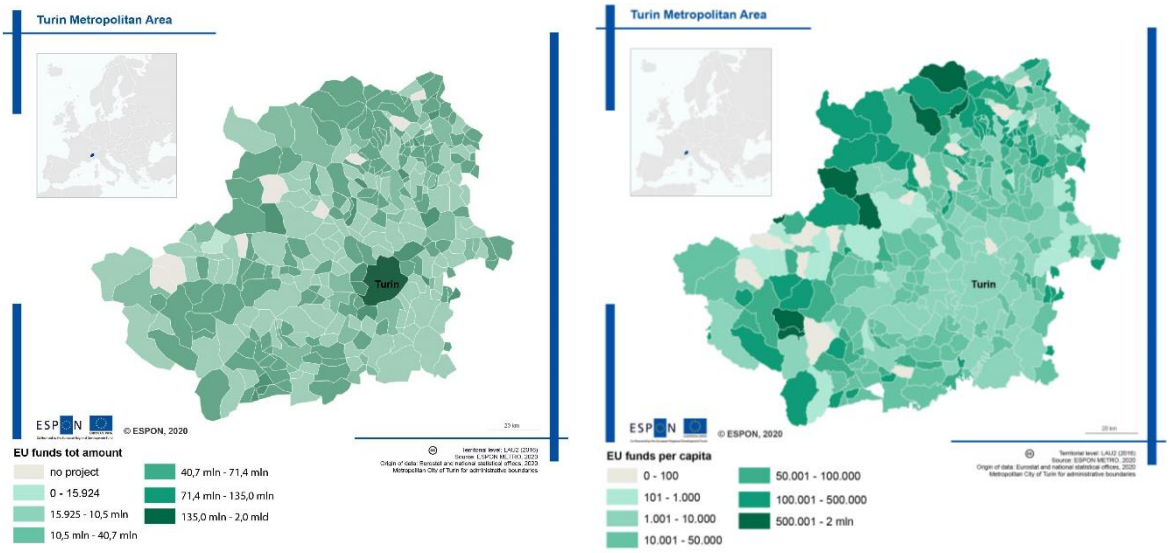
[31] The Metropolitan City of Turin is beneficiary in five territorial cooperation programmes, but the most relevant is Interreg ALCOTRA, in which the metropolitan city is also member of the steering committee (see § 5.3).

Instrument	Sector	Core	Suburbs/rural/rural remote
ROP ESF	Social Inclusion	4.268.432 €	30.835.972 €
	Education	14.067.624 €	67.431.348 €
	Employment and labour mobility	13.855.672 €	64.636.330 €
	Public administration capacity building	11.720.256 €	798 €
NOP Youth Employment Initiative	Employment and labour mobility	10.629.513 €	16.664.784 €
Rural Development Programme (EAFRD)	Investments in tangible fixed assets	-	280.000.000 €
	Agri-environment-climate payments	-	265.000.000 €
	Basic services and village renewal in rural areas	-	87.000.000 €
	CLLD-Leader*	-	65.000.000 €
SNAI (multifund)*	Mobility	-	7.82.800 €**
	Education	-	987.410 €**
	Health	-	1.802.790 €**
	Local Development	-	7.070.500 €***

Source: authors' elaboration on data for Opencoesione, Regione Piemonte and SNAI. Programming period 2014-2020. Except for the SNAI, the budget refers to EU-funding only.
* Rural remote
** National funds
*** Mostly EU cohesion policy funds, with a small local co-funding.

The concentration of funding in the core, and to a lesser extent in the remote areas, and the relatively lower amount of funds in the belt of suburban municipalities surrounding Turin clearly emerges from the data (Table 5.2), and is visible in map 5.1. This is even more true if one takes into account that the map shows only ERDF and ESF funds, and EAFRD funds have a much greater impact on mountain and rural areas than on the suburban belt, and so does the SNAI, which concentrates on inner areas in Valli di Lanzo. The data also let emerge that funds for public administration capacity building are mostly funnelled to Turin. This may exacerbate the inequalities in access to funding, given that local actors often lack the administrative competences and capacities to participate to programmes and benefit from funded projects. And while rural areas have dedicated programmes and measures, and actors as Local Action Groups which facilitate the territorialisation of the EU cohesion policy, this is not the case for suburban municipalities.

Map 5.1
Distribution of funding in the metropolitan area[32]



Source: authors' elaboration on data Opencoesione

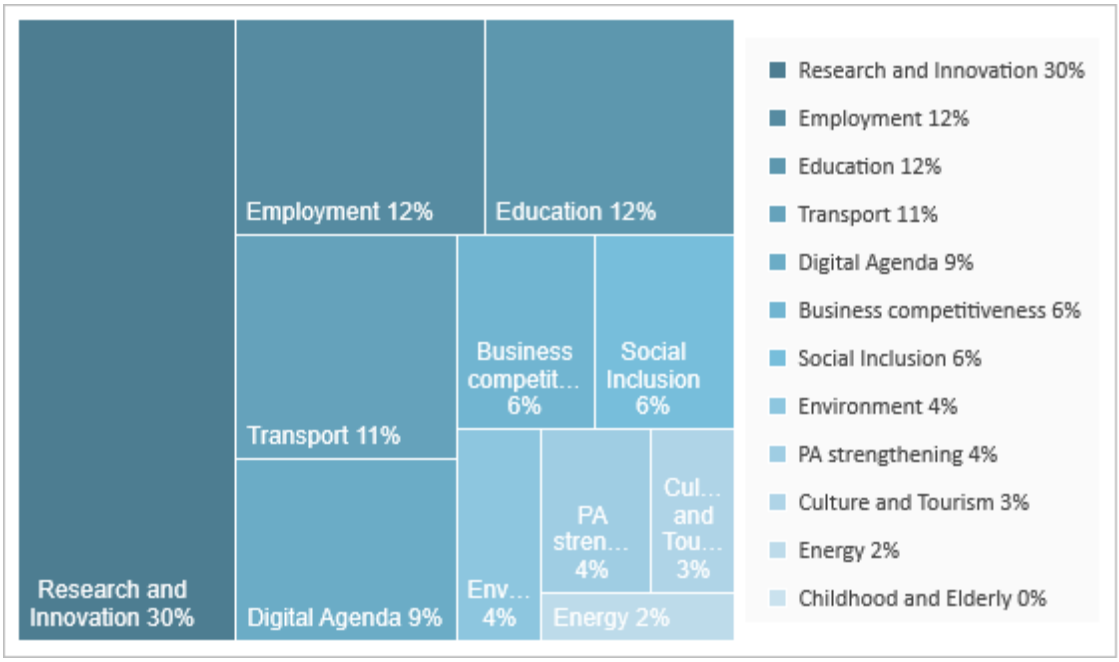
The funding per capita (Map 5.1) let emerge a rather different picture, with a generally lower (relative) impact on the more populated areas, while more remote and scarcely populated areas (see Map 2.3) receive a very high amount of funds per capita. It must be noted that in these areas the funds per capita cannot be compared to those of dense urban areas, since funding targets territorial development and cohesion issues, which have a different dimension in marginal areas. Moreover, very low population[33] can bias the analysis. Nevertheless, the impact of the cohesion policy funds in the rural and mountain part of the territory, combined with the very limited role of the Metropolitan City in the programming and management of the cohesion policy instruments, contributes to limiting the recognition of the metropolitan city as the reference body for rural and mountain municipalities, thus challenging effective metropolitan governance.

As regards the source and sectors of funded projects in the area of the Metropolitan City (Table 5.3), the ERDF and ESF have a significant impact, with around 366M € and 240M € respectively. The third most relevant source is the Youth Employment Initiative, with 27M€. The ERDF operates in several sectors; the ones to which the majority of resources are allocated are research and innovation (199M €), digital agenda (62M €) and competitiveness for enterprises (54M €). The ESF concentrates on education (102M €), employment and labour mobility (79M €), social inclusion (47M €) and public administration capacity building (12M €).

[32] The map does not include the EAFRD fund and the SNAI.

[33] The most striking case is Moncenisio, a small mountain municipality in the metropolitan city which has only 40 inhabitants (ISTAT, 2021).

Figure 5.1
Areas of intervention



Source: authors' elaboration on data Opencoesione, programming period 2014-2020.

Table 5.3
Sectors and resources of the ERDF, ESF and Youth Employment Initiative funded projects in the Metropolitan City of Turin

Sector	ERDF	ESF	Youth Employment Initiative	Total
Digital Agenda	61.820.775 €	-	-	61.820.775 €
Environment and risk prevention	7.405.387 €	-	-	7.405.387 €
Cultural, natural and tourist attraction	3.023.340 €	-	-	3.023.340 €
Competitiveness for enterprises	53.859.685 €	-	-	53.859.685 €
Energy and energy efficiency	14.288.946 €	-	-	14.288.946 €
Social Inclusion	4.450.291 €	46.852.154 €	-	51.302.445 €
Education	-	101.893.305 €	-	101.893.305 €
Employment and labour mobility	-	79.279.794 €	27.294.297 €	106.574.091 €
Public administration capacity building	19.979.118 €	11.721.053 €	-	31.700.171 €

Sector	ERDF	ESF	Youth Employment Initiative	Total
Research and innovation	198.629.608 €	-	-	198.629.608 €
Transport and network infrastructure	2.476.010 €	-	-	2.476.010 €
TOTAL	**365.933.159 €**	**239.746.307 €**	**27.294.297 €**	**632.973.763 €**

Source: authors' elaboration on data Opencoesione. The data refer to EU funding in the programming period 2014-2020.

In the overall amount of funded project, the Metropolitan City as an institution has been involved mainly in the ROP ESF, in which it has mostly had the role of Intermediate Body. In the Youth Employment Initiative, it has been both programming and implementing body, for a total amount of around 5,5M €, and in the ROP ERDF it has been mostly beneficiary of one project in the ESF as both beneficiary or implementing body, and programming body (Table 5.4).

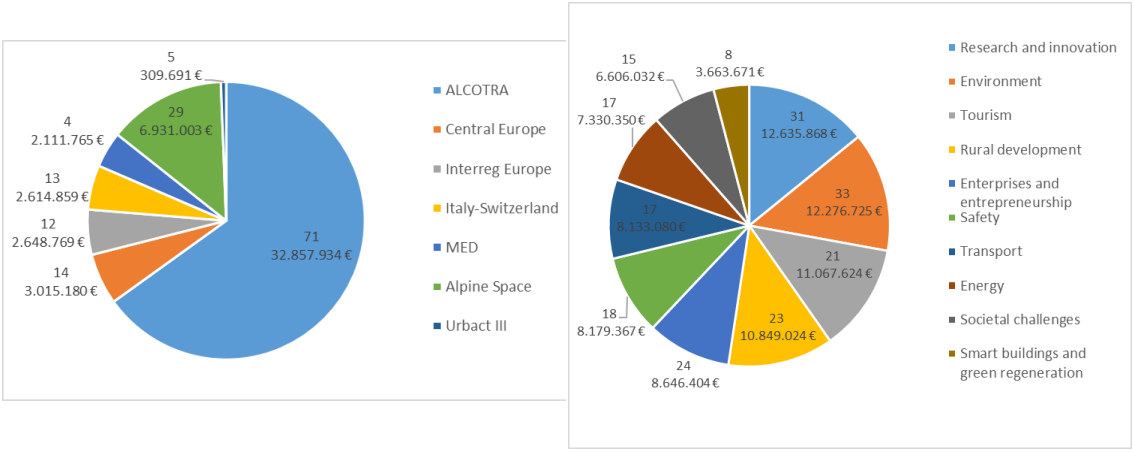
Table 5.4
Projects programmed or implemented by the Metropolitan City of Turin

Program	Funded projects (n.)	Role of CMTo	Budget
ROP ESF	1.316	Programming body (Intermediate body)	163.212.932 €
ROP ESF	6	Beneficiary or implementing body	6.094.254 €
ROP ERDF	1	Beneficiary	826.598 €
Youth Employment Initiative	11	Programming body	2.488.976 €
Youth Employment Initiative	10	Implementing body	3.143.135 €

Source: authors' elaboration on data Opencoesione. The budget refers to EU funding, programming period 2014-2020.

The territory of the Metropolitan City also benefits from a rather significant amount of ERDF funds from European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) programmes, with 237 participations of 81 public and private beneficiaries in 148 projects, for a total amount of 59,7M € of ERDF funds. Interreg ALCOTRA is by far the most relevant programme (Figure 5.2), with 71 projects and more than 32M €. More generally, cross-border programmes account for 70% of funding, due to the key value of territorial proximity. The distribution of funding among sectors is more homogeneous, with four sectors receiving more than 10M € - Research and innovation, Environment, Tourism, and Rural development, and the others following with gradually less funding.

Figure 5.2
Programmes and sectors of ERDF funding through European Territorial Cooperation in the Metropolitan City of Turin



Source: authors' elaboration on data Smart CTE. Programming period 2014-2020.

Challenges and critical elements

- The EU cohesion policy instruments' have a differential impact on the metropolitan territory, depending on the type of fund, governance of the instrument and capacity of local actors to participate to programmes and benefit from funded projects. In particular, Turin is attracting the largest amount of funds, and a belt of suburban municipalities surrounding Turin (with the exception of some neighbouring municipalities) appear to receive a lower amount of funds.
- The impact of the NOP Metro programme is limited to Turin, not only because Turin is the Intemediate Body but also because the EU regulation implies that structural intervention must be limited to the administrative boundary of the beneficiary, which is Turin. Digital and social interventions could have impacted a wider area but due to budget constraints they have been limited to Turin.
- Funds for public administration capacity building are mostly funnelled to Turin. This may exacerbate the inequalities in access to funding, given that local actors often lack the administrative competences and capacities to participate to programmes and benefit from funded projects.

5.2 Coherence and synergies with metropolitan objectives and instruments

This section reports on the coherence between the EU cohesion policy objectives, thematic priorities and actions and the main goals of metropolitan cooperation. To this aim, it considers to what extent the EU cohesion policy funding addresses the main development issues of the metropolitan area, and how its goals are aligned with the metropolitan area needs and strategies.

5.2.1 Alignment with the goals defined in metropolitan instruments

The EU cohesion policy objectives are coherent with the main goals of metropolitan cooperation. However, the actions only partially respond to the territorial development goals, due to a number of factors among which the limited role of the Metropolitan City in the governance of EU cohesion policy instruments.

The Metropolitan Strategic Plan aims to favour a more direct relation between the EU cohesion policy objectives and the Metropolitan ones, by shaping the plan so that it is coherent with EU priorities and instruments also in relation to the National Recovery and Resilience Plan (see section 3.4). That is, the Plan adapts to the EU priorities and for each action the coherence with priorities and possible sources of funding are specified. But the other way round, metropolitan goals are not directly considered by the EU instruments, and should be better represented ex ante.

5.2.2 Thematic priorities

The Metropolitan City's thematic priorities for metropolitan development (see sections 3.3 and 3.4) resonate the EU and national cohesion policy priorities in relation to different fields (infrastructure, transportation, social inequalities and territorial disparities, economic development, education etc.). The objectives and priorities of the main metropolitan plans and programmes (section 3.4) have been defined in relation to national and European objectives and priorities, which in turn are consistent with the EU cohesion policy priorities.

As reported in section 4.5, the Metropolitan Strategic Plan makes explicit reference to the axes of the Next Generation EU, and for each action identifies the coherence and possibility of funding under cohesion policy instruments.

5.2.3 Funding magnitude

As mentioned in section 3.5, the Metropolitan City has a yearly budget of around 260 million € (final budget 2020). Therefore, although significant, the amount of EU cohesion policy funds that the institution either manages or receives as beneficiary (section 5.1.1) is significantly lower than the metropolitan budget. To give an idea, in the final budget of the Metropolitan City for 2020, the transfers from UE (and rest of the world, that in not separated in the official document) amount to 1,79 million €, which is less than 1% of the whole yearly budget.

Challenges and critical elements

- In principle, it is rather easy to plug the Metropolitan City of Turin's territorial development goals into the CP goals, as the latter are rather broad. In this light, the main issue concerns to open channels of influence on the development and management of CP funds.

5.3 Outcomes

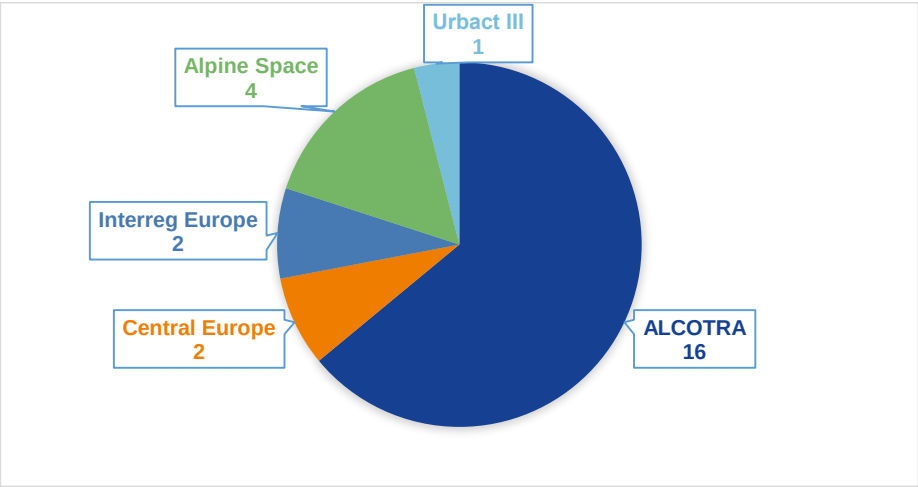
The EU cohesion policy has contributed to metropolitan development to various extents, as reported in the previous sections. Within the body of projects that have been programmed or implemented by the Metropolitan City of Turin, or have impacted its territory being implemented by public or private beneficiaries, it is possible to identify some outcomes that have been particularly relevant, either as success stories or as missed opportunities due to barriers and impediments.

A successful experience is the *Mettersi in Proprio* (MiP) programme. MiP is a free service to support business creation and self-employment, financed with resources from the European Union, the Italian State and the Piedmont Region. MIP consists of a set of actions aimed at spreading the entrepreneurial culture, stimulating the development of business ideas and encouraging the creation of new activities thanks to the inclusion of users in structured, integrated and flexible support programmes. It was set up in 1994 as an information point for business start-ups in the Province of Turin, and in 1997 it received resources from the European Regional Development Fund. In 2002, it was further developed to become an organic service to

support entrepreneurship, with an articulated path and active throughout Piedmont through a network of "business creation points". Regionalisation coincided with the inclusion of MiP in the European Social Fund 2000-2006, a position that was repeated in the 2007-2013 programming cycle and confirmed in the 2014-2020 and 2021-2027 cycles. The service is promoted and coordinated by the Piedmont Region, which also manages its implementation in the provinces of Piedmont, with the exception of the Metropolitan City of Turin, which is assigned the role of management in its area of competence. The interviews confirmed that the MiP programme is considered as a successful experience by regional, metropolitan and local stakeholders, who acknowledge the competence and capacity of the Metropolitan City in managing the service and dialoguing with actors at different territorial levels. The impact analyses of the MiP service (IRES Piemonte, 2020) have shown positive effects, especially in terms of the survival of enterprises over time. Moreover, MIP is highly appreciated by users. All customer satisfaction surveys showed a high degree of satisfaction regardless of the level of engagement and the contextual economic situation.

The participation or the Metropolitan City of Turin to European Territorial Cooperation (ETC) programmes (Figure 5.3) is another successful outcome: the Metropolitan City stands out as a best practice in Italy having participated in the 2014-2020 period to 26 ETC projects and ranking 14th among the more than 1400 Italian beneficiaries, and by far first among the metropolitan cities (followed by Bologna with 13 projects and Milan and Rome with 3 each). The Metropolitan City of Turin can be then considered as a best practice for several reasons: it is very active and committed to participating in territorial cooperation programmes; it has a particular vocation and sensitivity to participation in cooperation projects, with expertise and know-how consolidated over time. Cross-border cooperation is the most significant one for Turin, and especially the ALCOTRA programme, in which it participated to 16 projects, ranking 4th among the 171 Italian beneficiaries. Some factors make cross-border cooperation particularly relevant to the metropolitan territory: it provides for higher resources, the territory is eligible in various programmes and the territorial proximity is a key aspect, providing a vantage point that in other programmes it is not relevant. As regards ALCOTRA, a significant aspect is that the metropolitan institution is included in the governance of the programme.

Figure 5.3
Participation of the Metropolitan City of Turin to European Territorial Cooperation Programmes



Source: authors' elaboration on Smart CTE data.

Among these projects, a very successful experience is the Interreg Europe ecoRIS3 project[34] (Policies & Measures to Support Local & Regional Innovation Ecosystems). The project aims at improving local policies

[34] https://www.interregeurope.eu/ecoris3/

supporting innovation ecosystems within the framework of regional strategies of intelligent specialisation (RIS3). The objective of the project is twofold: on the one hand, it aims at improving the connection between RIS3 and local policies supporting innovation, highlighting the role of the "territory" as the place where interconnections are created and knowledge flows are generated; on the other hand, the project aims at improving the role of local authorities as intermediaries and coordinators of innovation ecosystems, in order to generate solid interactions between key actors and to foster the transfer of innovation and knowledge produced by universities and research centres to local enterprises. The Metropolitan City of Turin is a partner of the project and, thanks to the support of the Piedmont Region, the eHealth Territorial Lab pilot action has been admitted for funding. The eHealth TLAB is aimed at testing a four-helix horizontal place-based approach, which brings together the public sector, civil society, research and technology organisations, SMEs and industry in order to develop new business models that are more socially and territorially oriented and ultimately improve the lives of people living in territories far from the urban core. The eHealth TLAB pilot is inspired by the good practice presented by Fomento San Sebastian, leader of the ecoRIS3 project. The good practice promotes innovation in public health services to address new challenges related to ageing and improved quality of life, in association with Biodonostia, the first health research institute in the Basque Country. The main key actors involved supporting the pilot action are the Azienda Sanitaria Locale Torino 3, the Consorzio Socio-Assistenziale Valle di Susa -Val Sangone. Technical partner is the Top-IX Consortium. 2i3T also collaborates, for the activities related to the research of the technologies used, Iren and Eolo, which allowed to enhance connectivity. On 1 July 2020 the Action Plan of the Metropolitan City of Turin of the ecoRIS3 project was signed. On the one hand, the Action Plan identifies specific and concrete initiatives that can contribute to the implementation process of the RIS3 at the local level. On the other hand, it may contribute to improving the Regional strategy, thanks to ideas and proposals from local stakeholders.

Table 5.5
Successful outcomes

Action	Field	Outcome	Added value	Role of the metropolitan institution
MiP Programme	Business creation and self-employment	14.600 users, 63% of the total in the Region Good survival rate Higher spending capacity than the rest of the region	Role of CMTo as Intermediate Body in the ROP ESF Institutional capacity of CMTo and of its implementing bodies Consolidated experience of CMTo in the sector	Initiator (in 1994); Management of the Programme in the area of the Metropolitan City; Responsible of "cross-cutting" services for the whole Regional territory (e.g.: website, toll-free number, social communication and corporate identity
NOP Governance	Institutional capacity	Accompany organisational changes and the development of competencies related to institutional innovation in the Metropolitan Cities.	Direct, continuous and active involvement of the political and administrative structures of the Metropolitan Cities	Involved by ANCI in the *Metropoli Strategiche* Project and by the Ministry of Ecological Transition in the *CReIAMO PA* project

Action	Field	Outcome	Added value	Role of the metropolitan institution
EcoRIS3 project - eHealth TLab	Innovation ecosystems – smart specialisation	Testing a four-helix horizontal place-based approach, which brings together the public sector, civil society, research and technology organisations, SMEs and industry	Networking with the other partners, gaining visibility also through collaboration with local and regional actors	Partner and beneficiary of the eHealth Territorial Lab pilot action
Participation to ETC programmes	Various fields	Significant impact on the territory; by far the highest participation to ETC among metropolitan cities	Very active and committed to participating in ETC programmes; particular vocation and sensitivity to participation in cooperation projects; expertise and know-how consolidated over time	Beneficiary

Source: authors' elaboration

Beside the successful experiences, there are also a number of barriers and impediments that limited the added value of the EU cohesion policy to the achievement of metropolitan goals. These are related both to single programmes or projects and to overarching factors. In particular, the following ones should be mentioned as experiences and factors limiting the impact of the EU cohesion policy:

- The NOP METRO, which, as mentioned in § 4.2, has the capitals of Metropolitan Cities as Intermediate Bodies, and in the case of Turin the investment in entirely concentrated in the core, without any impact on the metropolitan area.
- The SNAI Valli di Lanzo, an integrated multiactor, multilevel strategy in which the Metropolitan City of Turin in not involved, constituting a missed opportunity not only for the recognition of the metropolitan city as a territorial entity, but also for strengthening metropolitan governance and urban-rural relations.
- Direct-access programmes, to which the Metropolitan City of Turin has little chance of access, partly because of the absence of supranational contact points: there is ANCI representation in Brussels, but it mainly represents the main municipalities, whereas in the case of the Metropolitan City of Turin, representation expressly geared to the metropolitan dimension and its complexity would be important.
- Objective 5 of the Structural Funds: for 2021-27, as in the previous period, there is the mistake of merging the theme of metropolitan areas with that of urban development, trivializing the complexity of metropolitan areas and again focusing on the urban dimension. This weighs particularly heavily on contexts such as CMTo, which has such a large proportion of areas that are not purely urban.

Challenges and critical elements

- The impact of the NOP Metro programme is limited to Turin, not only because Turin is the Intemediate Body but also because the EU regulation implies that structural intervention must be limited to the municipal boundary. Digital and social interventions could have impacted a wider area but due to budget constraints they have been limited to Turin.
- In the SNAI Valli di Lanzo, the Metropolitan City is not involved.
- The Metropolitan City of Turin does not have a hub in Brussels that could facilitate access to funding and better represent metropolitan development goals at the EU level.
- Also in the 2021-2027 programming period, metropolitan development appears to be coupled with urban development. Objective 5 concentrates on urban development, trivializing the complexity of metropolitan areas.

5.4 The impact of the EU cohesion policy in the COVID-19 emergency

In 2020, several operational programmes underwent an update of their programmes so as to be able to integrate actions and measures to address the COVID-19 emergency. This has, among other things, led to the introduction of numerous restrictions on individual and productive activities, with important consequences on the economy and the population.

The projects envisaged within the various NOPs can all be classified as "system actions" as national strategic actions which, by their nature, are territorially inseparable and produce widespread effectiveness and an impact on the entire national health system. The related financial implementation will therefore follow the percentage breakdown of the categories of regions for the relevant priority axis.

Within the NOP Governance, to respond to epidemiological emergencies starting from the COVID-19 crisis, interventions aimed at strengthening the National Health Service, the territorial assistance network and the functions of the Ministry of Health are integrated, through the increase in human and instrumental resources. This type of intervention takes the form of financing the increase in hospital staff and the staff of other structures involved in containing the spread of the virus, again with reference to the National Health Service and is therefore aimed at public facilities, as well as strengthening their equipment. / additional supplies.

In response to the COVID-19 emergency, the NOP METRO supports the deployment, at municipal administrations, of smart working solutions and the purchase, development and deployment of technological solutions and tools that allow monitoring, prevention and control of the effects of COVID-19. it also adopts Measures in support of Sustainable Mobility to counter the emergency and finally services to support the health emergency aimed at limiting the spread of the virus and limiting the economic and social impact on fragile population targets. In particular, in line with the provisions at national level, to guarantee access to health services for all and to limit the spread of the infection, this action supports interventions aimed at fragile sections of the population to ensure compliance with the indications imposed in support of emergency and reduce the economic impact and social exclusion.

The NOP Inclusion also integrates measures to combat the COVID-19 emergency. In particular, it aims to improve access to accessible, sustainable and quality services, including social services and health care of general interest. Has been discussed the provision of bonuses for the use of baby-sitting services or for access to services for children. The measure therefore provides for the possibility of using alternative services to those usually available, in order to cover the minimum level of service necessary to ensure the continuation by workers of essential public and private activities (in the health sector, the production of primary goods, etc.).

Finally, the ROP also underwent an update to integrate actions related to the COVID-19 emergency. Compared to an original forecast of the ROP ERDF contribution to the "Strategy for Internal Areas", the emergency situation resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic suggested the placement of these interventions, the

relevance of which is more than ever confirmed, based on a different source financial. These interventions are aimed at guaranteeing the investments necessary to strengthen the capacity of the health system as a whole to respond to the crisis caused by the epidemiological emergency COVID-19.

In particular, they aim at strengthening the system of public guarantees for the expansion of credit in synergy between the national system and regional guarantee systems, favouring forms of rationalization that also enhance the role of more efficient and effective bank trust. As part of this action, financial instruments are set up to improve the ability to access credit for SMEs, affected by the recession caused by the ongoing financial crisis and in response to the crisis connected with the COVID-19 emergency. This objective will be pursued through the activation of tools capable of increasing the level of guarantees granted by bank trust to potentially profitable SMEs, such as guarantee funds.

Challenges and critical elements

- The EU cohesion policy instruments that are relevant to the metropolitan area have updated their programmes so as to be able to integrate actions and measures to address the COVID-19 emergency, but the Metropolitan City of Turin has not been involved in any of these processes.

5.5 The impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation

Until now, the EU cohesion policy has not played a significant role in inducing changes in the governance arrangements in the Metropolitan City of Turin, stimulating cooperation, partnerships and joint vision and strategy making.

As described in sections 3 and 4, the Metropolitan City is a NUTS3 institution with a broad territorial scope and several competences, and is responsible of key planning instruments such as the Metropolitan Strategic Plan, the Metropolitan General and Coordination Spatial Plan and the Metropolitan Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan. Notwithstanding, a number of territorial, institutional and relational challenges are limiting its potential, also due to its very limited role in the EU cohesion policy institutional architecture.

To date, the most relevant impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation is related to:

- the *Metropoli Strategiche* project, funded by the NOP governance and managed by ANCI, which is strengthening the role and governance of Italian metropolitan cities (see section 4.2);
- the MiP project, funded by the ROP ESF and managed by the Metropolitan City of Turin, which is seen by stakeholders from the regional to the local level as a good practice, in which the role and competence of the metropolitan institution is fully acknowledged and appreciated;
- the participation to European Territorial Cooperation projects, especially Interreg ALCOTRA integrated territorial projects and integrated thematic projects together with other actors of the metropolitan governance arena (local institutions, universities, etc…).

Challenges and critical elements

- Although some EU cohesion policy instruments has had an impact on metropolitan governance and cooperation, the institutional architecture of the cohesion policy gives to little space to the Metropolitan City of Turin in the programming and management of EU cohesion policy instruments.

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Strengthen the role of the Metropolitan City of Turin in the governance of EU cohesion policy instruments, at least as Intermediate Body in the ROP ESF, and with a more effective involvement in the NOP METRO Plus and in the programmes and initiatives that have a significant impact on its territory (ROP ERDF, NOP Governance, RDP, CLLD-Leader, SNAI).
- Claim the importance of metropolitan areas in the European Territorial Cooperation Programmes (especially Interreg ALCOTRA).
- Strengthen collaboration with other Italian Metropolitan Cities and define a Position paper to advocate their role in the EU cohesion policy.

EU level

- Regulate/reward mechanisms for interinstitutional managing authorities (involving metropolitan cities) also in relation to Next Generation Europe.
- Reinforce the use of multifund / multisector tools (e.g.: conditional access to funding subject to the creation of ITIs).

6 Main challenges and recommendations

The nature of the metropolitan cities, as outlined by the Delrio reform[35], is that of a "systemic institution", more relational than regulatory. Such a nature presupposes that a large part of the body's activity is based on the construction of relations with bodies of different levels (municipalities, Region and State) on the one hand, and with civil society on the other (valorising the contributions of the social community, the public-private partnership, the contribution of the third sector, etc.). In this perspective, the Metropolitan City should be considered as the pivotal coordination body of the local governance system, and needs to be clearly recognised within the ESIF programming. However, this does not occur yet to a full extent, due to a number of challenges. Also in the reaction to the COVID-19 emergency, although the importance of the metropolitan dimension has been widely acknowledged, the Metropolitan City has a very limited role. The main challenges and recommendations will be presented in the following paragraphs with relation to the three policy questions of the METRO project: the role of Metropolitan Areas in the EU cohesion policy governance; the impact of the EU cohesion policy on the achievement of metropolitan goals; the impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation.

6.1 The role of Metropolitan Areas in the EU cohesion policy governance

Challenges on the role of the Metropolitan City of Turin in metropolitan governance

- The fragmentation of the territory that the Metropolitan institution is responsible for and of its governance mechanisms and dynamics. The Metropolitan City works in a very fragmented environment, with very diverse geographic and socio-economic contexts, and within the metropolitan area there are other forms of cooperation – such as, among others, the territorial pacts, the LAGs and the river agreements – that are independent from the metropolitan institution. Therefore, it is not easy to develop integrated policies at the metropolitan level.
- The wideness and diversity of the institutional metropolitan area: local administrations, especially small ones in rural and mountain areas, are not often feeling metropolitan nor very engaged in the processes led by the metropolitan institution - don't see the advantage of cooperation: proximity matters. The main need is to support the engagement of local administrations and systematize units and processes of metropolitan government in an integrated governance system.
- The disruptive impact of the reform of local authorities (National Law 56/2014), saving on the costs of politics to the detriment of territories and territorial governance, in particular at the NUTS3 level;
- The rather weak political representation of the Metropolitan City on its territory. It is a second level institution, the President of the metropolitan city is the mayor of the capital city, and this leads to a centralization of power in the capital center and a "feeling" of greater peripherality for the smaller municipalities.
- The long process of institutionalisation of the Metropolitan City, with its forwards and backwards steps, has led to the emergence of informal and soft patterns of collaboration between Municipalities (in particular between those surrounding the chief town), which have now to be framed in the government processes lead by the Metropolitan city.
- The difficulty in ensuring coordination mechanism between the metropolitan and the municipal level: Metropolitan strategic and spatial planning has to deal with a large territory with 312 very

[35] Law 56/2014, also known as Delrio reform. This law sought to transform all Italian provinces into second level institutions with indirectly-elected assemblies (through second-level elective bodies) and to reduce their jurisdiction, while provinces that incorporated major regional capital cities were abolished and replaced with “metropolitan cities”.

Challenges on the role of the Metropolitan City of Turin in metropolitan governance

diverse municipalities, which instruments should comply with metropolitan ones but have different scope, goals and timing.

- Effective and successful processes often rely on the commitment and competences of the persons involved. People matter, but inadequate management of turnover, divestment, precariousness, poor training and updating, etc. have led to a general feeling of disillusionment and to the lack of a system of competences that is essential for metropolitan governance and development.
- Italian Metropolitan Cities are not associated in a formal network, that would allow them to strengthen their position and capacity for dialogue with the state and the EU acting as a category rather than single metropolitan cities. The *Metropoli Strategiche* project is moving in this direction but to date the network has not been established and metropolitan cities are represented either by ANCI or individually.

Challenges on the role of the Metropolitan City of Turin in the EU cohesion policy governance

- The Metropolitan City of Turin does not have relevant role and competences in the programming, management and implementation of EU cohesion policy funds:
  - Very limited room for action in the ROP ERDF and in the Rural Development Program;
  - NOP Metro is mostly focused on capital cities. The Municipality of Turin is the Intermediate Body and beneficiary, and the investment is concentrated in Turin[36];
  - Not involved in CLLD-Leader developed by the three LAGs that lay within the Metropolitan City's institutional boundaries;
  - Not involved in the National Strategy for Inner Areas;
  - Finds it hard to have a real impact in the programming phase despite the formal role it plays in the system of governance of the Interreg ALCOTRA programme.
- The Metropolitan City of Turin formally has the competences, but the enabling conditions that allow the effective exercise of these competences are lacking.
- The Metropolitan City of Turin has a very limited role in the programming and implementation of the EU cohesion policy instruments that are relevant to the metropolitan level and have a significant impact on its territory, which are mostly managed by the Region. The Metropolitan City is closer to the territory, but its limited scope for action seems destined to be further restricted.
- Various actors at different levels (national, regional, metropolitan, local; public and private) intervene in the metropolitan governance and in the programming, management and implementation of EU cohesion policy at the metropolitan level.

Recommendations for the Metropolitan City of Turin (metropolitan level)

- Strengthen the connection with and representation of the suburban, rural and mountain territories.
- Reinvent the identity and role of the metropolitan institution within and beyond the boundaries of its competences (institutional, strategic, financial…), to consolidate trust of the territories and support and lead intermunicipal governance processes, also in relation to EU funds.

[36] The territorial area of reference for the Programme is the metropolitan city only for intangible actions linked to the Digital Agenda and to social inclusion actions of the European Social Fund (ESF). Interventions not linked to the Digital Agenda or to the ESF must be concentrated exclusively in the territory of the capital city. In Turin, also intangible actions are mostly limited to the capital city.

- Consolidate metropolitan institutional capacity in order to be able to play a concrete role when called upon. Reinforce human resources and staff training, consolidating the system of competences and investing on people, qualitatively and qualitatively, on hard and soft skills.
- Clearly identify those thematic priorities and actions for which the management and implementation of the EU cohesion policy at the metropolitan level would constitute an added value and develop an argument in this concern, supported by concrete proposal with which to address the relevant regional and national authorities (e.g. Intermediate Body in the ROP ESF, and with a more effective involvement in the NOP METRO Plus and in the ROP ERDF).
- Promote governance systems that enable the metropolitan city to engage in more dialogue with the municipality and increase its capacity to manage and spend European funds.
- Strengthen the active participation to policy networks, both nationally and internationally, to favour mutual learning and join forces to claim the importance of metropolitan areas in the implementation of the EU cohesion policy in relevant political arenas at all levels.
- Join forces with other metropolitan cities to strengthen Metropolitan Cities as a category (advocacy, lobbying, mutual learning, …)



Recommendations for the regional and national level

- Acknowledge the potential and strengthen the role of the Metropolitan Cities in the governance of the EU cohesion policy. The Metropolitan City should be enabled to act as a relevant and major actor in the multilevel governance system.
- In the time of systemic transformation accelerated by the pandemic, the metropolitan level should be recognised as the territorial level better representing both the functional urban area and the rural and mountain part of the Metropolitan City, and empowered to play a role in dealing with emerging socio-economic challenges.
- The ability of the metropolitan area and its stakeholders to express "ideas", which are currently taken on board and included in planning instruments (mainly in the Metropolitan Strategic Plan), should be better acknowledged in the cohesion policy instruments.
- Italian Metropolitan Cities should strengthen collaboration and define a Position paper to advocate an active role in the EU cohesion policy in the 2021-2027 programming period.



Recommendations for the EU level

- Support, by means of regulation or rewarding, mechanisms for interinstitutional managing authorities involving metropolitan institutions, also in relation to the Recovery and Resilience Fund.
- Assign a more relevant role to the Metropolitan City in European Territorial Cooperation Programmes, especially in Interreg ALCOTRA, where NUTS3 units on both sides of the border could further cooperate and synergise, acting as the main referent bodies for their respective territories

- Establish a European Metropolitan Policy Observatory, to gain and share evidence-based knowledge on metropolitan institutional structures, governance mechanisms and policies.

6.2 Impact of the EU cohesion policy on (the achievement of) metropolitan goals

Challenges

- In principle, it is rather easy to plug the Metropolitan City's territorial development goals into the CP goals, as the latter are rather broad. In this light, the main issue concerns to open channels of influence on the development and management of CP funds.
- The EU cohesion policy instruments have a differential impact on the metropolitan territory, depending on the type of fund, governance of the instrument and capacity of local actors to participate to programmes and benefit from funded projects. In particular, Turin is attracting the largest amount of funds, and a belt of suburban municipalities surrounding Turin (with the exception of some neighbouring municipalities) appears to receive a lower amount of funds.
- Funds for public administration capacity building are mostly funnelled to Turin. This may exacerbate the inequalities in access to funding, given that local actors often lack the administrative competences and capacities to participate to programmes and benefit from funded projects.
- The impact of the NOP Metro programme is limited to Turin (with the National Recovery and Resilience Plan's additional resources it will be more metropolitan).
- The EU cohesion policy instruments that are relevant to the metropolitan area have updated their programs so as to be able to integrate actions and measures to address the COVID-19 emergency, but the Metropolitan City has not been involved in any of these processes.



Recommendations for the Metropolitan City of Turin (metropolitan level)

- Define an overarching metropolitan development agenda, aligned to the EU programming period, to position metropolitan goals and actions within national and regional development perspectives and to channel more easily EU resources on concrete metropolitan actions. To this respect, the Metropolitan Strategic Plan is a very good starting point.
- Think and act also beyond the institutional boundaries. Strengthen the network nature of the metropolitan institution through any possible mean, to find ways to effectively overcome or bypass existing administrative constrains, e.g. acting at a FUA level to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the implementation of the EU cohesion policy.
- Claim a metropolitan dimension in the NOP METRO Plus and a role in other national territorial development strategies (e.g. SNAI) which are developed in the territory of the Metropolitan City.
- Favour a balanced distribution of funding, reducing the polarization of funds in the core city and avoiding pockets of disadvantage. To this aim, the Metropolitan City should favour interinstitutional dialogue and promote integrated projects.
- Improve metropolitan coordination and governance of the various EU Funds. Fragmented governance structures in metropolitan areas dedicated to the implementation of the EU Cohesion Policy limit the effectiveness of its implementation. In this light, metropolitan authorities should provide local public and private actors with a greater support, both in the presentation of project proposals as well and in the coordination

of their action, in turn ensuring a greater metropolitan added value of the implemented projects.

- Capitalize the added value of the intensive participation to ETC programs, and improve participation to direct funding programmes.

Recommendations for the regional and national level

- Favour a balanced distribution of funding, reducing the polarization of funds in the core city and avoiding pockets of disadvantage. To this aim, the regional and national levels could introduce measures targeted to intermunicipal cooperation in metropolitan cities.
- When possible, try to upload pivotal priorities of the metropolitan strategic development agenda in the contents of the EU cohesion policy instruments during their programming phase, to which metropolitan institutions may be formally involved through consultation rounds.
- Simplify the procedures. More simplification is needed in the management and access to EU funds (and especially in relation to their integration within concrete territorial strategies and actions), to avoid the excess of bureaucratic procedures for the development of projects. In this light, to identify the metropolitan level as the appropriate level to manage resources concerning specific thematic priorities would be a step forward, as in the spirit of subsidiarity they may be better suited to support local authorities in the preparation of proposals presenting a broader metropolitan added value and in their implementation.

Recommendations for the EU level

- Strengthen the use of multifund / multisector tools**.** The logics and mechanisms behind the various EU funds should be further simplified and the possibility to integrate them within territorial development strategies and actions enhanced.
- Instruments that allow for joining and coordinating the action financed by different funds (hence different priorities – as for instance in the case of ESF and ERDF OPs and RDPs) through integrated territorial strategies are particularly important for the metropolitan authorities that have to deal with a highly heterogeneous territory. To this need the use of multi-fund and multi-sector instrument should be strengthened, for instance conditioning the access to dedicated share of funds to the adoption of CLLD approach, the development of ITIs and other similar instruments.
- The EU cohesion policy should be used also as a leverage to catalyse the action of private actors and civil society organization towards metropolitan perspective. The provision of rewards to their action may be used in this direction.

6.3 Impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation

Challenges

- Until now, the EU cohesion policy has not played a significant role in inducing changes in the governance arrangements in the Metropolitan City of Turin
- The Metropolitan City of turin is a NUTS3 institution with a broad territorial scope and several competences, and is responsible of key planning instruments such as the Metropolitan Strategic

Challenges

Plan, the Metropolitan General and Coordination Spatial Plan and the Metropolitan Sustainable Urban Mobility Plan. Notwithstanding, a number of territorial, institutional and relational challenges are limiting its potential, also due to its very limited role in the EU cohesion policy institutional architecture.

- Although some EU cohesion policy instruments has had an impact on metropolitan governance and cooperation, the institutional architecture of gives to little space to the Metropolitan institution in the programming and management of EU cohesion policy instruments.



Recommendations for the Metropolitan City of Turin (metropolitan level)

- Carving a role for the Metropolitan City in the EU cohesion policy instruments architecture (e.g. play a role in the management of a dedicated share of the EU cohesion policy funding) could facilitate the process of involvement of municipalities and local stakeholders in a more effective and efficient way, hence contributing to strengthen the cooperation activities within the territory and consolidate its relational competence.



Recommendations for the regional and national level

- Promote the use of ITIs in metropolitan areas, to trigger and strengthen formal and informal metropolitan cooperation, so that metropolitan thinking and acting become an integral element of decision making at the local, regional and national levels.



Recommendations for the EU level

- A further accent placed by the EU Commission on the metropolitan dimension of European territorial development, and the decoupling of the latter from urban development, would contribute to push metropolitan issues further high within the various countries and regions political agendas.
- The Recovery and Resilience Facility should include specific actions dedicated to metropolitan areas, so that metropolitan authorities can use them to enhance further coordination and cooperation within their territories. To this end, the EU level should explicitly state that the subnational – and especially metropolitan – dimension should play a role in the management of a share of funding.

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