

Inspire policy making by territorial evidence

SPIMA – Spatial dynamics and strategic planning in metropolitan areas

Targeted Analysis

Annex 1 to Final Report Guidelines for metropolitan planning approach

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Abbreviations

EC	European Commission
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
EU	European Union
FUA	Functional Urban Area
MUA	Morphological Urban Area
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
MDA	Metropolitan Development Area
LUZ	Large Urban Zone
MA	Metropolitan Area

1 Introduction

1.1 Structure of the guidelines

This annex presents concise guidelines for a metropolitan planning approach with a set of recommendations for the establishment of a more effective metropolitan governance and spatial planning process. The guidelines aim to support the national, regional and local authorities in addressing challenges in metropolitan development and developing comprehensive metropolitan planning policies. On the one hand the recommendations are tailored for the ten stakeholders that participated in the project. On the other hand, a set of general recommendations are provided for applying a metropolitan planning approach in the context of the wider scope of the European territorial cohesion policy.

The guidelines are structured in six chapters. Chapter one provides a general context of the guidelines and introduces the key concept behind the metropolitan planning approach and the principle of shared metropolitan governance. Chapter two describes the action areas, part of the metropolitan planning approach and provides directions on their implementation. Chapter three identifies relevant policy tools for the implementation of metropolitan planning approach. Chapter four provides recommendations for the implementation of the metropolitan planning approach for each stakeholder area. Chapter five summarise key policy principles for metropolitan governance, followed by the conclusions presented in chapter six.

1.2 Methodology

The guidelines are based on the results of the comparative case-study analysis across the ten stakeholder areas and on the carried literature study of metropolitan governance and spatial planning. A compilation of data collected during the analysis is used and extrapolated, including specific data, experiences and perceptions of actors in the stakeholder areas about metropolitan governance and spatial planning processes in their area and in Europe as a whole.

The guidelines provide a direction in both the different action areas that need to be implemented in order to apply a metropolitan planning approach and the institutional capacities that are needed to support this process. The guidelines as well exemplify the progress of the different stakeholder areas in implementing a metropolitan planning approach and provide recommendations on the most relevant policy tools per stakeholder area.

1.3 The background of the metropolitan planning approach

This SPIMA study has helped to bridge current knowledge gaps in metropolitan governance and planning and delivered a number of valuable findings and conclusions about the potential responses of governments to the challenges of metropolitan development. In line with previous studies, the project indicates that competitiveness, attractiveness, social welfare and the environment are some of the key areas where policy intervention is needed at the metropolitan scale (Urbact Metrogov).

The metropolitan planning approach embeds the principle of an integrated spatial planning process that can be implemented in each metropolitan area. While the scope of spatial planning differs per country, in most cases it is a distinct sector of government activity which embeds multiple sectoral developments in the field of transport, social welfare, housing, public services etc. The *EU Compendium of Spatial Planning Systems and Policies* (CEC, 1997) and the successive *European Spatial Development Perspective* (CEC, 1999), have both addressed the need for balanced territorial development in Europe via integrated spatial planning. Since these key documents, spatial planning has been more widely perceived as a cross-cutting and coordinating policy tool in its own right, rather than a set of formal procedures to control land-uses. The role of spatial planning policy is currently increasing in developing comprehensive strategic visions. Such visions aim at combining sectoral developments in such a way that urban territory is seen as an interconnected area with functions beyond separate administrative units and borders (CEC, 1999; Stead & Meijer, 2009; Vigar, 2009; Simeonova & van der Valk,

2009; CEC, 2011). This is an essential principle that needs to be embedded in the future spatial development and governance at the metropolitan scale.

The effective implementation of a metropolitan planning approach depends on a combination of *strategic, statutory* and *collaborative* planning processes (see also Chapter 1). This process should ensure a *spatial fit* between the spatial scales of metropolitan developments and the institutional structures at place. This process, however, is often impeded by predominantly formal governmental systems (e.g. spatial planning systems) which in most cases are rather rigid and fragmented across many local authorities in the metropolitan areas. These systems are based on a conventional division of jurisdictions and power at each level of government and within isolated departments in policy sectors. This often does not allow for smooth coordination efforts to be taken by the competent authorities concerning cross-cutting territorial developments that go beyond one administrative level.

As indicated by the experiences of the ten stakeholder areas, a more effective metropolitan governance process is needed to implement a metropolitan planning approach. Such a process will be possible if there is an effective coordination and collaboration established between the formal levels of governance (vertically) and across the policy sectors (horizontally). Such a governance process will allow shifts from solely procedural and hierarchical decision-making to a more flexible mode of governance based on a *shared governance mode* (Box 1).

Box 1 Definition of the shared governance principle (co-governance)

Shared governance or co-governance implies that interacting actors (groups of stakeholders) have something in common to pursue. Interrelations among the actors are based on recognition of their interdependencies. Shared governance is implemented by utilizing organized forms of interplays for governing purposes, based on collaboration and cooperation. Governing actors will cooperate under conditions involving mutual interests about the future (Kooiman, 2003).

The effectiveness of shared governance depends on the level of cooperation different actors bring to the process, their willingness to cooperation and commitment to reach a shared understanding. Shared governance refers to a governmental interplay with a strong horizontal character, where actors communicate, collaborate or cooperate without a single central dominating governing actor. Such interplay aims to reach goals by engaging actors' in collective, rather than independent action and on a generally equal basis. Shared governance bridges fragmented institutional structures and helps addressing complex policy challenges in a dynamic societal situations.

In the context of metropolitan development shared governance can be seen as the expression of major societal challenges arising in urban areas and the growing interdependency between local governmental actors. These challenges relate to the increasing dynamics in territorial developments and the governance issues these tendencies bring about in decision making about the future of the territories.

Shared metropolitan governance requires sufficient capacities to reach agreements across differences as to what the challenges are, the purpose of the strategic spatial plans and the way consequences, the costs and benefits of policy interventions should be addressed. Shared metropolitan governance is a key in developing metropolitan strategies and collaborative actions between large number of municipalities, regional authorities and federal/national governments (Figure 1.1.). The involvement of business and civil society is part of this process.

This relates to selecting from among opportunities, and sharpening up the selected strategies and actions, so that they "make sense", both operationally in relation to resource allocation and regulatory power and in terms of general understanding on shaping metropolitan areas. The first is necessary to meet the criteria of effectiveness, the second of legitimacy (Healey, 2003). Shared metropolitan governance represents the modern discourse towards an inclusionary spatial strategy making.

(source: adopted from Kooiman, 2003; Healey, 2003)

Shared metropolitan governance is seen as the way forward in coping with the fact that decision-making processes and democratic power may not reflect the reality of current actual spatial developments. 'Real life' may already have gone beyond the formal spatial planning governmental structures. There is a need to move from these formal structures alone to a shared-governance modes, which allow collaboration about the actual urban functional developments in the metropolitan areas (e.g. addressing *de facto* versus *de jure* urban area).

Such shared governance is already on the way in many of the stakeholder areas. However its effectiveness in the long term depends on the specific local context in each area, including the institutional frameworks and structures in place, the spatial planning practices and the available capacity for building durable and trust-based collaboration between different actors. The advantages of such shared governance is that it is oriented towards addressing the needs of different actors across levels of governance and across policy sectors. While spatial planning processes are highly complex and dynamic, a shared governance mode for metropolitan spatial planning is needed to ensure better adaptability to changing local situations and actors in the urban policy-making arena. (Simeonova & van der Valk, 2009). More continuous and structured multi-level interplay between governmental institutions should be the key outcome of such shared metropolitan governance leading to joint vision, spatial strategies and plans. Figure 1.1. Illustrates a model for shared metropolitan governance, exemplifying the potentially relevant interplays between the vertical and horizontal level of governmental structures and new forms of inter-governmental interactions between traditional levels of planning (national, regional and local). The SPIMA metropolitan areas exemplify the diversity of governmental levels and spatial scales at which a metropolitan governance can be taking place, differently from these traditional levels. While some areas require cross-border governance, other have a focus on inter-regional and inter-municipal level, and yet other areas need a multilevel governance interplay.



Figure 1.1 Shared governance between traditional governmental levels (vertical) and across policy issues (horizontal)

Source: adapted from Jacquier, 2010 and based on SPIMA cases

2 Key action areas in the metropolitan planning approach

The experiences of the stakeholders show that there is a high need for replacing the traditional sector-oriented urban spatial planning and governance with an integrated spatial planning approach that fosters cost-effectiveness and sustainability in urban growth. In this regard, the metropolitan planning approach may bring a number of benefits, including:

- Achieving synergy and complementarity between sectoral developments and policy issues (e.g. transport, housing, public services, the environment, urban sprawl etc.).
- Preventing duplication of planning efforts by different authorities, including financial resources, in the preparation of individual spatial development (land-use) plans.
- Optimizing organizational structures and enforcement of planning procedures by strengthening coordination between different administrative levels of planning and between fragmented specialized departments.
- Achieving greater understanding among multiple actors, including political bodies, of the potential mutual benefits and (win-win) solutions.
- Strengthening the institutional capacities and knowledge-based decision-making.

The metropolitan planning approach consists of eight key action areas (figure 2.2). Each action area implies different measures and activities that have to be realized by the regional and local authorities. Taken together, the action areas represent a dynamic and iterative process of metropolitan planning. Each action area can take place at different moments in time and several actions can be implemented simultaneously. However, it is essential that all eight action areas are addressed if the approach is to be fully and effectively applied. The action areas embed strategic (A), statutory (B) and collaborative (C) planning processes and all together aim to establish a comprehensive metropolitan planning processes.





2.1 Action area: Defining the spatial scale of the metropolitan area

Delineation of the metropolitan area is needed in order to specify the spatial scale of the urban developments that will be considered. This includes a review of the territory and the administrative jurisdictions (number of municipalities) within the area.

A delineation of the metropolitan area can provide a better understanding about the specific territory and its functions. It can as well better support the decision-making and the joint governance efforts needed across the multiple number of municipalities and/or regions. Adequate delineation methods should be used to define the area based on more than one or a mix of socio-economic or environmental indicators and based on assessment of the most appropriate scale for managing spatial developments (i.e. see FUA, MUA or MDA).

The delineation process should be supported by the assessment of the spatial dynamics of the area and by expert-based judgment of planners and other professionals on the most relevant scale to undertake spatial planning actions. The selection of the spatial scale should ensure a "spatial fit" of the current developments and be linked to the statutory spatial planning.

As the delineation process initiates the strategic debate among the relevant authorities on the area's characteristics, both strategic and coordinating policy tools will be relevant to implement this action area. Box 2 shows and example of this action area in Prague MA.

Box 2 The case of the metropolitan area delineation of Prague

The Prague metropolitan area has been delineated several times in the last few decades. The most recent delineation was made in 2014 for the purpose of defining the area that is eligible for the Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) programme financed by the European Union. The smaller unit from which the metropolitan area was built up was the district of municipalities with extended power (MEP). The strategic debate about the definition of the Prague MA, addressed the question whether a certain district belongs to the Prague metropolitan area or not. To answer this question a combination of three key indicators was applied in the delineation of the area:

- Commuting to work or school indicators (Census 2011)
- Residential suburbanisation zones defined by a previous research project (2012)
- The intensity of cross-MEP movements regarding Prague (2014 mobile phone data)
- The percentage of municipalities whose residents (the ones that spend their nights there) spend on average at least 1 hour (2 hours) in Prague a day (2014 mobile phone data)

There were thresholds defined of how many of the municipalities in a certain district must reach a critical value in order to belong to Prague MA. The combined evaluation method indicated the inner and the outer perimeter of the metropolitan area. This has also triggered strategic discussions about the MA and has spurred coordinating actions among the experts and management body of the ITI.

Strengths: the combined methodology allows a careful investigation and use of different datasets.

Challenge: The datasets are expensive to obtain. In addition the delineation is based on MEP districts, which means that certain municipalities further away from Prague may belong to the metropolitan area even if they have no close

2.2 Action area: Assessing the spatial dynamics and key urban trends

This action area implies a comprehensive analysis of key urban development. This assessment is need to better understand the spatial dynamics of the areas and to support the decision-making about urban growth and designation of urban functions.

Key trends to be assessed include the degree of urbanization and urban sprawl, the planning and extent of the transport infrastructure, the demographic trends, employment trends and commuting patterns. Issues such as environmental conditions and land use are also essential for understanding the spatial dynamics of metropolitan development. The assessment needs to be based on most recent EU and local data and statistical evidence. The assessments aims to illustrate the actual functional developments and the spatial scales to be considered in the spatial planning process. It can also support the initiation of a comprehensive discussion with policy-makers, planners and politicians about the most relevant scale of specific sectoral developments e.g. transport, housing, pubic services etc. To effective implementation of this action area can be supported by strategic and coordinating policy tools that ensure strategic debate about the results of the assessment on urban trends and coordination efforts to mobilize the relevant authorities. Box 3 shows an example of this process in Zurich MA. Box 3 The assessment of key spatial development trends in Zurich

The strategic spatial perspective of Zurich MA (METRO-ROK-ZH) developed with the support of the inter-cantonal association presents a solid basis for understanding the spatial development trends. The spatial perspective is based on an assessment of key spatial development trends in the area and defines *specific action spaces* for which specific spatial qualities and challenges are identified. The definition of the action areas is based on the expected future development trends such as the ratio of built-up and open spaces. Key land use changes are identified for different types of landscapes, e.g. urban landscape, transitional landscape, cultural landscape and natural landscape. The degree of densification of urban functions is used as criteria to define the developments allowed in these actions spaces i.e. densified, moderately densified and low density areas.

Strengths: the spatial structure proposed by the METRO-ROK-ZH serves as a basis for understanding the current spatial dynamics of the area, its borders, scales and types of developments.

Challenge: The identified spatial trends and patterns have to be addressed in the structural plans of each of the cantons and be operationalized in their specific planning and decision-making process.

2.3 Action area: Defining the formalization status for metropolitan area

Many of the metropolitan areas currently do not have a clear status. Defining the formalization status of the area, however, is needed in order to establish its identity and recognition as a shared territory where different spatial developments take place. Among the different metropolitan areas three types of statuses have be identified, namely: *formal, informal* and *semiformal* (see Chapter 4 of the main report). The choice of the most appropriate status of the area depends on the specific institutional context of the spatial planning system and the competences assigned to different governmental levels. For some areas, a formal status defined by law would be the most suitable approach of legitimization. In other areas more informal, flexible or semi-formal agreements between different actors and levels of government are more relevant and feasible. In more hierarchically organized states, legalization of the MA can be based on a commonly agreed strategic plan or inter-regional or inter-municipal agreements between the governmental authorities and relevant actors. Box 4 shows an example of the formal status of the Turin MA.

Box 4 The formal status of the Turin metropolitan area

The Turin metropolitan area was established in 2015 as a formal metropolitan area by a National Act which formulates the fourteen metropolitan areas in Italy. The area is the largest in Italy, the fifth in population size and seventh in population density. The national law provides the framework for the formulation of the formal status of the areas and assigns the formal metropolitan authority of Turin, replacing the former provincial authorities. As a result of the resolution by the metropolitan Council of the City of Turin, the spatial structure of the area has been approved as consisting of eleven homogenous zones.

Strengths: The formal status of the metropolitan area of Turin and the assignment of the formal metropolitan authority provides a strong basis for developing the metropolitan strategic plan of Turin.

Challenge: The formal status of the area still needs to be recognized by all actors in the area. The strategic planning process has to be realized by the metropolitan authority which needs to first build up its administrative and financial capacity. The strategic plan of the metropolitan area has to be implemented by all municipalities in the area. The formal status of the area does not always imply effective collaboration between all municipalities.

2.4 Action area: Identifying key challenges in metropolitan development

This action area aims to gain better understanding on the current situation in the metropolitan area. The identification of the key challenges may include formulation of issues, impediments and new opportunities. These may concern demographic changes, spatial planning processes, specific developments such as in transport and housing, welfare, environmental quality, social and cultural integration, finances and institutional issues. All these issues may present specific challenges for the metropolitan areas which need to be addressed in the planning and governance process. Dealing with the different challenges may require different types of policy interventions, depending on the type of metropolitan area and its institutional context. The identification of key challenges needs to be supported by the assessment of the key urban trends in order to visualise not only the problems but as well the opportunities and potentials of

the area. This also involves a consultation with relevant actors with regard to what is to be considered a challenge for the area and why. For this, the perceptions of different authorities, businesses, academics, non-governmental organizations as well as the local community need to be considered. Prioritizing key challenges can be part of this consultation process. This action area can be supported by strategic and collaborative policy tools. Box 5 provides an example of the Vienna's key challenges identification.

Box 5 The identification of key challenges in the Vienna metropolitan area

The key challenges of the Vienna area have been addressed in a number of strategic and spatial plans. The strategic plan of Lower Austria and the strategic plan of Vienna (STEPP 2025) indicate the targeted spatial structure of the area based on a desired future polycentric development. Based on these strategic plans, the key trends and challenges for the spatial development of the area have been identified.

At the same time the collaborative initiatives of the platform for spatial planning activities (PGO) and the platform for dialogue between municipalities Stadt-Umland Management (SUM) attempt to achieve a better understanding about more specific challenges, such as how to support the joint development and implementation of metropolitan projects and how to identify the common interests in the developments taking place at a metropolitan scale.

Strengths: The strategic and spatial plans of Lower Austria and Vienna provide a framework for understanding the key challenges of the metropolitan developments, including its spatial structure, demographics and housing, growth areas etc.

Challenges: The current plans do not provide an insight into the group of institutional challenges for the management of the metropolitan area such as its governance process and structure. These challenges still need to become part of the agenda of the local authorities and the local politicians.

2.5 Action area: Establishing governance process and institutional structure

The most appropriate governance model and structure for a particular metropolitan planning process depends on the national as well as the local institutional context (i.e. legal framework, local government responsibilities, particular development issues and opportunities for the area, institutional capacity, history and culture, etc.).

There is no single perfect arrangement for metropolitan governance. Bearing in mind the highly political nature of institutions, the most appropriate (and feasible to accomplish) structure for a particular area needs to be designed based on both the national and the local context. In a national context the following factors may influence the selection of the suitable institutional arrangements for metropolitan planning:

- The constitution and legal framework at the state level
- The degree of decentralization and division of administrative responsibilities for urban and regional spatial planning among various government levels
- The inter-governmental fiscal system (national resource allocation) and tax system
- The interaction between local and higher-level governments in spatial planning

In a local context, the following factors may influence the selection of the suitable governance model:

- The size of the envisaged arrangement and the size of the area (e.g. number of municipalities and territorial scope)
- The political system of the local administration (e.g. elected or appointed local bodies)
- The particular current local governance structure and decision-making
- Local political setting, commitment and support
- The access by residents to their local governments and accountability mechanisms
- Revenue sources available to the local governments

Table 2.1 presents a number of governance models and possible institutional structures for metropolitan governance with their pros and cons. These are based on currently defined by OECD and UN Habitat, existing institutional models.

Institutional structure	Characteristics	Pros	Cons
Informal-soft structures	Voluntary cooperation among regional and local governments for information sharing and consultation. Can be based on case by case joint initiatives across municipalities or specific policy sectors.	Flexible structures with dynamic context and participation process. Usually covers small number of local authorities. Can have both a thematic and territorial scope and play a role in consultations about spatial developments.	Lack of enforcement tools and decision- making power. Usually limited in scope of activities. It has no direct involvement in the spatial planning process and no direct responsibilities in service provisions.
Semi-formal inter- municipal/interregional structures (associations, consortiums, strategic partnerships, consultative platforms, metropolitan boards.	By means of formal agreements or strategic plans, formalized relationships between governmental authorities (federal regions, regions, cantons, cross-municipal associations etc.). These bodies can be temporary or permanent and aim to support coordination processes among a larger number of local authorities and/or across regions. Sometimes with the representation of sectoral actors and other levels of government.	Formalized process of sharing information, consultation or preparation of strategic plans. Agreements can be made about the relation with other governmental levels. Can address multiple topics of metropolitan development, guide collaboration and advise on strategic issues for spatial development.	Requires continuous motivation and commitment of actors to participate and contribute. Needs to be based on clear win-win scenario to share resources and responsibilities. It can take part of discussions about spatial plans. Has no direct responsibility for service provisions.
Formal supra-national structures	Additional authority (metropolitan body) above municipalities (region or province) with directly elected metropolitan government through lower-level government or a non- elected structure appointed by upper governmental layer.	A more permanent structure with responsibilities and resources to carry out metropolitan planning. Can perform leadership function and influence decision-making about strategic plans and in some cases about spatial master plans of the regional territory. It can be responsible for regional (metropolitan) spatial plans (general land- use plans), implemented by the local authorities. Can have some responsibilities and competences for regional service provision.	Mainly a top-down process-based structure. It can have limited connection with local authorities and the local communities. Can encounter risks with regard to its accountability and the effectiveness of the collaboration and consultation process locally. Needs clear process for communication and involvement of local authorities.
Formal metropolitan structure	Establishment of a formal metropolitan area and an authority (by regulation) as a separate level of government with broad competences for strategic and spatial planning at metropolitan scale. Can also be formed as a consolidated authority of local governments.	Can facilitate planning of metropolitan development and the harmonization of spatial plans and service provisions across the local authorities and the regions.	Possible issues with regard to accountability, the effectiveness of collaboration and consultation process. Can increase complexity in division of jurisdictions. Needs clear enforcement tools.

(adapted from OECD, 2015 and GIZ & UN Habitat, 2016)

Box 6 describes the experience of Brussels in developing the Metropolitan Community Initiative as an example of a new metropolitan governance collaboration structure.

Box 6 The establishment of the inter-regional Metropolitan Community of Brussels

The Metropolitan Community of Brussels (MCB) was established on the basis of a federal regulation. The community is envisaged as a governance mode that can ensure the collaboration between the three federal regions: Flanders, Wallonia and Brussels. In order for the MCB to be established the three regions need to sign a cooperation agreement. The process involves complex dialogue between the regions. Their task is to define the specific context and the framework for the collaboration agreement. This includes definition of the status of the community, its key jurisdictions and priority areas which it will address. The MCB is seen as a potential formal agreement between the regions but not as an additional administrative level of spatial planning. It is potentially a body that will have a coordinating function across the planning activities of the three regions. It is a unique example of a metropolitan collaborative body.

Strengths: The MCB offers an opportunity based on mutual agreements for continuous consultation between the three regions about the strategic issues and challenges of metropolitan development. It can promote the recognition of the metropolitan area and facilitate the involvement of other relevant actors in the process.

Challenges: The MCB has yet to be operationalized. Arrangements need to be made with regard to its functions and continuous activities, capacities and resources. As the MCB is based on administrative borders it will need to consider how the relevant spatial scale of the Metropolitan areas will be addressed among which the MDA and FUA spatial scales.

2.6 Action area: Involving relevant actors in planning and decisionmaking

Effective metropolitan governance requires the engagement of relevant actors from different target groups. The involvement of a large number of municipalities in a coordinated planning process is one of the key challenges in this process and requires targeted actions, collaborative initiative and leadership. A wider range of actors' needs to be involved in this process from businesses, the academia, NGOs and branch organizations. The wider involvement of actors is often realized via series of consultation and negotiation processes initiated by the regional or local authorities. Actors' involvement at the beginning of any planning process is an essential factor in preventing resistance and conflicts about urban developments. The most relevant policy tools for actors' involvement are the collaborative tools. These may include a number of actions varying from broad consultation, negotiation and consensus-building processes to specific networking and lobby actions.

Box 7 presents an example of inter-regional cooperation and involvement of businesses in the Oslo-Akershus MA.

Box 7 Involving relevant actors in the metropolitan planning of Oslo-Akershus

The core city of Oslo has a long tradition of cooperating with its surrounding municipalities and the neighbouring county municipality in the metropolitan area. For example, Oslo and Akershus established a joint public company for public transport in the 1970s. In 2005 the "Oslo Region Alliance" was established, comprising of Oslo and Akershus and 46 municipalities (now five county municipalities and 78 municipalities). This Alliance of actors stimulated the start of a strategic planning process for the whole metropolitan area.

Strengths: This cooperation has been important for coordinating spatial planning activities in the region in specific areas such as transport. The *surrounding municipalities* were identified as the most important key= actors, responsible for the primary land-use authorities in Norway. The planning process took about 6 years, and during these years, the whole city's councils in 22 municipalities were informed and involved. As a result, the regional plan has relatively high legitimacy, including among the surrounding municipalities.

Challenges: The plan still needs to be operationalized in the local planning processes of the municipalities.

2.7 Action area: Ensuring key success factors, triggers and incentives

There is no unified approach to initiating a metropolitan governance process and to smoothly embedding it in the current spatial planning practices of the regional land local authorities. In different areas, different entry points and triggers are used to launch metropolitan planning initiatives.

Experiences of the stakeholders show that in each case, a particular local issue or group of actors has usually triggered the start of a metropolitan planning initiative. In some cases

initiatives have been taken by the local governments (bottom-up) while in the other cases by the higher level of government (top-down).

The most commonly observed triggers to initiate this transformation process are summarized in Table 2.2. Box 8 exemplifies the financial incentives used for metropolitan planning in Brno.

Triggers	Description	Examples of the SPIMA stakeholders
Motivation to initiate collaboration for starting up	Identifying <i>"window of opportunity</i> " to join	Oslo's inter-regional planning process.
metropolitan projects	forces in: creating economies of scale in investments and service provision, saving costs and delivering better quality of life, making new investments for economic	Brussels projects on landscape development and cross-regional indicatives (Noord rand etc.).
	prosperity or achieving political aims. Collaborative initiatives around tangible projects on large-scale strategic developments (transport, environment, public services, housing).	Terrassa initiative for protection of the national park to ensure better quality of life ir the urban area.
Access to funding	Applying for subsidies or receiving financial compensation and privileges.	Motivation to obtain EU funds through ITI in Brno and Prague.
Joining forces in influencing policy-making	Building a lobby by the regional and local authorities to influence national-level policies (e.g. in the case of large infrastructure projects with a high impact at regional and local level).	Zürich metropolitan area inter-cantonal association contributes to federal debates on metropolitan development.
Involvement of new groups of actors in planning	Interaction with private and business sector to initiate new developments and develop win-	Oslo's involvement of businesses helped achieve political balance.
	win solutions.	Brussels' collaboration initiative launched by Brussels Metropolitan: an Association created by employers unions and the chamber of commerce of the three federal regions to support metropolitan cooperation.
		Turin's involvement of the tourist development association in metropolitan developments in the Piedmont region.
Fiscal inequality in the region (due to different tax bases)	A key issue that triggers metropolitan development is the fact that tax systems often do not correspond to the current development of the core city and suburban areas. Different tax bases between municipalities create constraints for large-scale developments and municipalities often seek joint solutions via tax- sharing scenarios.	In many cities the tax-sharing mechanisms have provoked dialogue at the metropolitan scale.
Strong leadership by municipal authorities	In cases where local authorities, usually the core city, have a strong position in the region in initiating strategic process at MA level.	Oslo, Prague, Brno, Turin, Zurich, Brussels, Vienna
	In other cases, clusters of municipalities can join forces in strategic planning at the MA level and take a lead together with the core city.	Terrassa, Lille, Lyon, Vienna
National government support	National governments can play a crucial role in triggering metropolitan governance and spatial planning. In some cases the national	In Lille and Lyon the national governments provide a framework for metropolitan spatial planning and coherence.
	governments can provide the incentives via policies and financial stimuli. In other cases they can have more structural intervention in	In Turin the metropolitan planning is a part of the national and regional legislation.
	the establishment of metropolitan planning institutions and framework legislation.	The Zürich metropolitan planning process was stimulated by the federal spatial planning law
		In Oslo-Akershus the national governmen supported the development of a joint regiona plan for transport.
		Organizations for cooperation around Vienna (VOR, PGO, SUM) were initiated/financially supported by the federal government.

Table 2.2 Triggers for metropolitan governance and spatial planning

		The development of the inter-regional metropolitan community of Brussels was triggered by federal regulation.
Awareness of actors of the joint "problem ownership" and responsibility for spatial planning of the metropolitan area	Advocacy and understanding among actors of the benefits of a shared responsibility in metropolitan planning can be a key driver. A relevant institution or group of actors at the regional or local level can draw the attention of other actors to the need to address specific land-use developments beyond the formal administrative borders of the urban areas.	In some cities the concept of "shared spaces" has been used to encourage joining forces and sharing the responsibilities in planning for metropolitan developments (e.g. Oslo, Lyon, and Zurich). In some cases shared- governance structures are established to deal with specific metropolitan developments.
Emergence of an issue for specific sectoral development	In many cities it is common for crucial issues of urban development such as environment, transport, housing etc. to trigger dialogue between local governments and sectoral actors.	As many of the public services are in the jurisdiction of the local authorities, some local authorities (e.g. some groups of municipalities around Vienna) initiate discussions about a specific land-use plan or a specific development project. These are bottom-up and problem-oriented initiatives or top-down initiated integrated services, like transport organizations.

Source: authors based on SPIMA cases, and adapted from GIZ & UN Habitat, 2016

Box 8 The financial incentives for defining the metropolitan area of Brno

There were attempts to accelerate metropolitan cooperation around Brno (Czech Republic) for some years but it never became successful on a voluntary basis. However in the 2014-2020 period the Czech government offered a substantial amount of money for the seven biggest urban agglomerations of the country (among them Brno) as long as they use the resources on the metropolitan scale rather than the municipal scale. In order to do that each of these metropolitan areas had to define themselves spatially (this was done in 2015 around Brno) and an administrative structure had to be set up on the metropolitan level (managing authority, secretariat, steering groups). Brno metropolitan area is entitled to obtain approximately €200 million to be used for well-defined purposes: transport, environment, social cohesion and competitiveness.

Strengths: Thanks to the European funds that were used on the metropolitan level, metropolitan cooperation accelerated significantly. A new organizational structure was set up and new way of communication has started.

Challenges: The metropolitan cooperation is fuelled by the European funds but it is still unclear whether the metropolitan cooperation will be sustainable after the funding period is over.

2.8 Action area: Building administrative capacity and knowledge base

The implementation of the metropolitan planning approach requires adequate administrative capacities in the local and regional authorities. Different capacities might be needed for each governmental level and/or for different groups of actors. SPIMA project formulates six key categories of administrative capacities related to the use of strategic, coordinative, structural, procedural, financial and collaborative policy tools. These are described in more detail below.

a) Capacities for carrying out strategic processes

Elaboration of visionary strategic plans

Next to existing formal land-use plans, local and regional authorities need to broaden their views on urban development as a strategic process towards achieving benefits at a regional scale. This way they can capitalize on inter-dependencies and possible synergies across sectors and address spill overs across local jurisdictions and many local administrative units. Development of joint strategic plans and visions, as well as master plans at metropolitan scale needs to become more common practice for the regions and the local authorities.

Addressing a specific sectoral issue as a strategy

Local authorities need to be able to further utilize metropolitan arrangements that build on existing successful practices in a certain sector, usually related to service or infrastructure management. When the focus is on a specific sector (e.g. transport, water supply, waste management) often a specific plan is developed with regard to that sector. Such plans can be regional or even national. Institutional arrangements can be formed for the metropolitan scope

of these plans and can trigger broader strategic debate about the inter-connectives between the issues and scales of planning at the metropolitan level. This is particularly with regard to cross-sectoral issues (transport, water resource management, housing, etc.) with a cityregional impact.

b) Capacities for carrying out coordination

4 Coordination process by acquiring support from the national government

Local and regional authorities need a better coordination process in order to plan for metropolitan areas. Local and regional authorises may acquire support for such a coordination process from the national government. Such support may be related to issues such as:

- State recognition of the metropolitan area and its legitimacy
- Tip-down stimuli to enhance existing cooperation in formulating joint strategies
- Financial incentives to support the cooperation of municipalities in spatial planning (land funds, subsidies for housing, tax sharing methods, land acquisition and compensation subsidies)
- Legal instruments that enable authorities to engage with relevant actors, such as rules for compliance of municipal land-use plans with regional/inter-regional plans, or tools for land consolidation and conservation for green spaces, recreation and agriculture

Start the cooperation with bottom-up small-scale initiatives

Local authorities may first build their governance capacities by starting with easy policy fields (public transport) and then expand (biodiversity, land use etc.). This means that the cooperation should allow new policy fields to be included.

c) Capacities for carrying out collaborative processes

4 Motivating actors to collaborate in metropolitan projects

Local and regional authorities need to endeavour the achievement of the necessary degree of motivation to initiate a metropolitan planning process. This process may depend on the specific actors' perceptions of metropolitan development (e.g. ministry, a city administration, a local government association, businesses, etc.). Motivation is often achieved in relation to the key concerns or interests of specific actors and their willingness and commitment (administrative or political) to be involved in metropolitan governance. Personal capacities of actors to collaborate and communicate with other actors in such governance processes play an important role and often this cannot be foreseen in advance.

Political leadership and commitment

Political leadership is a key issue for establishing solid collaboration process between municipalities and regions. In many cases there is a need to ensure an anchorage among the local elected councils (politicians) and current initiatives for metropolitan cooperation. This is also necessary to prevent a dominant local government (often a core city), viewing cooperation with smaller, less affluent satellite local governments as of no interest.

A larger local authority with a stronger human and financial capacity may often provide the initial political leadership in engaging with other groups of local political bodies in metropolitan planning. Often the metropolitan collaboration efforts are formalized by the engagement of an external actor (hired director), a mayor, a regional planning executive or a board taking a leading role. These leaders/bodies can help link a collaboration process to the formal decision-making process. There is also a need for administrative coordinators (often planning executives) to ensure coordinated planning processes and decisions on spatial developments between different scales (the region, municipality). They also need to ensure the necessary degree of commitment among elected politicians and councils across different governmental levels.

Involving businesses in local economic development

Businesses tend to allocate their activities in urban or semi-urban areas where operating costs are low, and where they can be connected to suppliers and markets. Stimulating economic growth and employment, and attracting firms is usually best done on a city-region basis (while the reason of their allocation may be related to the local service provision). Regardless of the

local administrative unit in which a business is located, residents across the area tend to benefit from the jobs created, including indirect effects on other businesses. This requires that the local governments in the area collaborate rather than compete for allocation of different business on their territories. The cooperation can take the form of a "regional economic council" with participants from both the public and private sector. Examples of such cooperation are "destination management organizations", aiming at joint promotion of the area (e.g. touristic services and regional branding).

Awareness raising among actors of the joint "problem ownership" and responsibility While most planning professionals are well aware of the merits of city-regional and territorialbased planning, bottlenecks tend to become apparent once plans are made and submitted for approval. Vested interests can be varied and strong, and while land-use plans tend to aim for a balance of different interests, they inevitably reflect potential "winners and losers" and may rise the need for conflict-resolution.

Land-use planning is taking place at local and regional level, however there is no level of spatial planning at metropolitan scale. Planners in the municipalities and regional authorities need to build additional capacity in setting a link between the different land use plans as a joint responsibility. Furthermore, the implementation mechanisms for these spatial plans need to be clearly developed, including the process of early assessment of potential conflicts of interests. Identifying common benefits across different political and sectoral interests is needed to identify common benefits, design win-win solutions and prevent future conflicts.

• Changing attitudes

Among many local governments there is still certain resistance to the idea of the metropolitan area. This resistance for some local governments is based on the fear of losing their autonomy in decision-making about their territory. Changing these attitudes requires creating a favourable arena for dialogue in order to understand and consider the common interests and benefits of a shared governance process for metropolitan planning. These discussion arenas must be characterized by trust and mutual recognition of the legitimate roles of the actors.

• Sharing knowledge

A strong professional and knowledge-based support is needed for the local and regional authorities in order to implement metropolitan planning approach. This requires interdisciplinary input from different professionals in order to develop an integrated vision on the territory's development. Knowledge sharing is also an important decision-support mechanism for political bodies. The knowledge capacity is currently increasing locally and regionally. The provision of extended data-bases and best practices by European and national institutions plays essential role. However, these knowledge need to be yet optimally utilized and adopted to the needs of the local authorities. The role of the local professionals need to be enhanced on this process.

d) Financial capacities

• Joint service delivery to save costs (due to economies of scale)

Local and regional authorities need to have at their disposal a thorough cost-benefit analyses, determining the current cost structure (baseline) and what the likely costs would be in a joint, region-wide arrangement (be it related to transport, housing, public services etc.). Questions of sustainable and secured financing should be clearly addressed in the metropolitan planning strategies and spatial plans, including the financing mechanisms for service users, both current and prospective ones and the contribution of the taxation systems to a single metropolitan plan.

• Fiscal inequality in the region (due to different tax bases)

This is usually related to the need to improve service coverage in under-served areas and/or harmonize the service quality across the region, and thereby sometimes closely related to service delivery or related cost-sharing questions. In addition to usually being politically sensitive topics, any local tax or revenue sharing for equalization purposes tend to require higher level government decisions. The most practical approach, and sometimes the only legally feasible one, may in many countries be to revisit the distribution mechanisms in the current inter-governmental fiscal transfer system, and determine what adjustments would achieve the intended objectives of enhancing the financial capacity of low-income or lagging

areas. On a more limited scale, compensation arrangements may be worked out at a local level, by the richer municipalities compensating the poor ones if strong rationale and arguments can be found; for example, exploring if any "win-win" type of solution exists.

e) <u>Capacities for structural organizational changes</u>

• Developing cooperation structures early in the planning process

The collaboration must ensure "spatial fit" between the functional (problem) area and the administrative levels. These cooperation structures must have a built-in flexibility to meet the spatial dynamics of metropolitan developments and to adjust to changing institutional factors. Such structures may embed changes in the current organizational structure of the municipalities and or the regions, with merged or dedicated departments and inter-institutional networking bodies. The aim is to provide a better horizontal collaboration between specialized departments on sectoral policy issues and across the planners in different municipalities.

f) <u>Capacities for implementing procedural processes</u>

Implementation tools: agreements, restrictions on land use

The spatial planning process for a metropolitan development implies the implementation of different planning procedures. These include the development of master plans and zoning plans for land-use developments. For a metropolitan level of planning specific considerations will be needed by planners of the implications of the different spatial planning procedures, or new procedures need to be developed across the current spatial plans. Moreover, specific formalized agreements might be needed about important spatial developments where more actors are affected e.g. in creating public-private partnerships (PPPs). These agreements can be initiated by one or more of the planning authorities in collaboration with local actors' from public and private sectors. Local authorities need to build upon best practices in creating such PPPs while being able to engage in negotiations process with multiple actors.

3 Identifying policy tools for metropolitan planning

The effective implementation of a metropolitan planning approach requires a set of policy tools. While there is no unified framework for such policy tools, recent studies by the OECD on landuse planning typologies (Silva & Acheampong, 2015) identify three groups of planning tools: legislative, financial and incentive-based policy instruments. In addition, planning scholars identify a number of governance tools aiming to improve collaboration in the spatial planning processes, including strategic, coordinative, structural and communicative planning tools (Healey, 1997; Hertin, & Berkhout, 2003; Simeonova & van der Valk, 2009).

For the purpose of this study, we have adapted five key categories of policy tools that combine the above-mentioned types of planning tools. These include *strategic, coordinative, structural, procedural, financial and collaborative* tools.

While the regulatory tools have a top-down restrictive and controlling function for urban growth (e.g. land allocation and zoning regulations, land acquisition, land expropriation etc.), the financial tools regulate developments e.g. through taxation, fiscal or subsidy systems, (e.g. property or land use tax, local taxes, compensation measures for landowners etc.).

The strategic tools aim at developing joint strategies for the future development of the areas. Coordinative tools refer to establishment of dedicated coordination bodies for joint preparation of plans and strategies. Structural policy tools imply enhancing collaboration between competent authorities, by restructuring planning departments to be able to coordinate efforts more effectively with other departments. Collaborative tools aim at establishing specific collaboration efforts with equal participation of all affected stakeholders that lead to agreements about a specific plan. Table 3.1 describes the background of each category of policy tools.

Poncy tools for metropolitan planning					
Key characteristics	Strategic	Coordinative	Structural	Procedural/Financial	Collaborative
Principle	Devising and employing a set of multiple policy objectives and long - term measures in such a way that these reinforce each other in different policy issues and administrative levels of planning.	Establishment of coordinating bodies to coordinate metropolitan developments across political and administrative layers of government.	Formalization of relationships, competences, responsibilities across sectoral governmental structures.	Setting legal, mandatory mechanisms for metropolitan planning (e.g. regulations for establishment of metropolitan areas, statutory land-use regulations, tax-based regulations, etc.).	Establishment of collaborative processes between a wide range of actors with the ultimate aim to meet metropolitan development challenges.
Process	Raising political awareness and achieving commitment between different groups of decision- makers via strategic visioning of metropolitan development.	Implementing coordinated decision-making: centralized/ decentralized or multilevel coordination.	Adapting new organizational structures (departments, expert teams) to address metropolitan development in the administrative practices of the regional and local governments.	Enforcement of specific legal procedures by the regional and local governments based on top-down regulations and a compliance process.	Involvement of multiple actors in a metropolitan planning process (across levels of government and policy sectors). Consultation, communication and negotiation between actors.
Products	Integrated policy documents: strategic plans for metropolitan development, strategic territorial cohesion plans at regional and local level.	Supervision authorities e.g., metropolitan body, inter-organizational committees or management bodies.	Merged organizational structures and/or effective distribution of responsibilities among various organizations/ units of regional and local authorities and other relevant institutions.	Environmental assessment, strategic impact assessment, economic interventions such as charges and taxes for use of natural resources and land.	Collaborative establishments with participation of multiple actors (e.g. inter-organizational networks between administrations, associations, operational groups and/or ad hoc teams).
Challenges	To link strategic plans to problem- driven governance and translate them into a set of specific actions and outcomes in the planning processes.	To achieve efficient coordination between institutions that leads to shared planning practices between specialized departments and levels of government.	To choose suitable and effective structural change in the regional and local administrations that can provide the capacities needed for metropolitan planning.	To develop an effective regulatory framework that can ensure compliance between the different spatial (land use) plans of different authorities and support the decision-making process.	To ensure effective and continuous communication and consensus-building between multiple actors in ever- changing institutional settings and in decision- making processes.

Table 3.1 Types of policy tools for applying a metropolitan planning approach Policy tools for metropolitan planning

3.1 Benefits of using different policy tools

Each category of policy tools contributes to specific intervention in the spatial planning and governance process of the metropolitan areas. There is no one fits-all policy tool and each category may be associated with specific benefits for the metropolitan governance process. This section identifies the key benefits for the different policy tools.

Benefits of strategic policy tools

 Ensuring institutional support at a higher level of government by developing joint strategies and visions regarding metropolitan territorial development.

- ✓ Mobilization of various actors that have a high impact on the pursuit of metropolitan collaboration, i.e. the strongest 'pressure groups', including the European Union and the national state.
- Developing policy frameworks: policy agendas for urban sustainability, formation of joint strategies and plans.
- ✓ Supporting strategic decision of national importance in addition to the decentralization process and development of economies of scale.
- ✓ Dealing with competing claims in land-use planning at the local level. Relieving the tension between municipal land-use planning and higher level land-use planning by strategic planning. Gaining political support in addressing trade-offs and facilitating negotiation between landowners, businesses and local governments to maximize the public benefits of urban developments.

4 Benefits of coordinative policy tools

- ✓ Establishment of coordinating bodies to guide the process of metropolitan development by mobilization of various levels of governance to coordinate actions or strategies.
- ✓ While municipalities remain independent with their own mayors, those functions which require more expertise and collaboration can be transferred to a coordinating body, with local leaders represented. The French model for planning by coordinating municipal agglomerations is an innovative example that combines top-down and bottom-up elements: the national level creates the legal framework for strategic intermunicipal cooperation. Joining such bodies remains a voluntary decision by municipalities.
- ✓ By means of coordination mobilizing and organizing relevant actors' in the development of land-use plans, initiating negotiation between landowners, businesses and local governments.

Benefits of structural policy tools

- ✓ Establishment of an adequate institutional structure that will support the shift from a rigid (hierarchical) governmental system to a horizontal shared governance.
- ✓ Establishment of clear institutional structures such as consolidated bodies (departments, councils etc.) for metropolitan governance may allow for better coordination, collaboration and communication among relevant institutions and actors.

Benefits of procedural policy tools

- ✓ Development of legislation or regulatory mechanisms by national or regional government dedicated to metropolitan planning can serve as the basis for legitimization of the status of the metropolitan areas. In some cases a top-down legislative approach may be the necessary precondition for setting up clear competences in metropolitan planning (e.g. Turin).
- ✓ Even if there are visionary spatial plans or strategies at the metropolitan level, the implementation of these plans can be weak. Specific regulatory mechanisms can be used to enhance the implementation process at local level. These include different categories of spatial plans, specific land-use arrangements, land acquisition tools, tax-sharing mechanisms, fiscal bonus systems, funding for major infrastructure investment, pilot projects (cross-border) etc.

Benefits of financial policy tools

- ✓ Dedicated funding for metropolitan cooperation, with the conditionality that regional and local authorities support metropolitan planning, can play a crucial role in initiating metropolitan spatial planning approach.
- ✓ The example of Prague and Brno show how the national regulations recognized the potential of the Cohesion Policy and directed the EU funds towards metropolitan-level ITI projects. This financial framework initiated for first time a cooperation process among the municipalities in these areas.
- ✓ Establishing a win-win economic stimuli for initiating metropolitan planning approach. Acquiring sufficient financing to support metropolitan planning initiatives and engagement of actors' more extensive negotiations and consultation processes.
- ✓ Introducing a balanced taxation system to reduce tax competition. If local governments within the metropolitan area are entitled to levy a certain type of local tax, and can also determine by themselves the parameters of this tax (within the limits allowed by the tax law), the result is usually tax competition: some municipalities will lower their rates in order to become more attractive to mobile actors, such as developers of offices, industry or commerce.

4 Benefits of collaborative policy tools

- ✓ These policy tools aim at the mobilization of actors that need to be involved in the metropolitan planning process. Metropolitan-level collaboration is usually based on ad hoc voluntary initiatives and is often not legislated. Collaborative policy tools support involvement, participation and communication between actors across fragmented administrative structures of governance. They aim at strengthening actors' interaction and their empowerment to engage in shared-governance networks in the strategic envisioning, planning and implementing of metropolitan developments.
- ✓ Mobilizing existing collaboration efforts: Metropolitan collaboration is easier to establish in functional collaboration efforts that are already operating, for example in the fields of transportation, waste management or environment protection. In most stakeholder areas, transportation issues scaled beyond the city borders initiated cooperation in other policy issues.
- ✓ Creating top-down and bottom up impetus for collaboration: Strong and efficient forms of collaboration can be developed with the support of the different governmental levels, either by a formal recognition, financial support or collaborative agreements set by the governmental actors'. In case where there are complex conflicts of interest complex that may have an impact on a larger territories the role of the national government in initiating collaboration is more important. On the other hand, groups of smaller municipalities, including communities and businesses can be mobilized in a bottom-up approach around a policy issue or an area which can as well be scale up to other actors' and governmental levels.

3.2 Relevant policy tools for each action area in MPA

This section describes the different types of policy tools relevant for the implementation of the individual action areas of metropolitan planning approach (see table 3.2).

Among the five categories of policy tools, the most relevant types of policy tools refer to the *strategic* and *collaborative* tools. Strategic tools are key to the establishment of a shared governance process, triggering the initiation of political debates and consultation among different actors in setting priorities.

Collaborative policy tools are relevant for most of the action areas and particularly for the involvement of relevant actors in the entire process of metropolitan planning and for the selection of the suitable governance model.

The structural and coordinating tools play an important role in building solid coordination and establishing of institutional structures to embed metropolitan planning within the traditional spatial planning practices.

The procedural tools are relevant with a view to the establishment of a guiding framework from the EU and national governments to legitimize the status of the metropolitan areas. These include, where necessary, the provision of obligatory mechanisms for managing land use (e.g. restrictive mechanisms to land use, directing urban growth and protecting the environment etc.) and financial mechanisms (tax sharing mechanisms, subsidies and financial incentives to change behaviour of local citizens, property taxes and local taxes, compensation mechanism for land uses etc.).

The following section elaborates in more detail about these relevant policy tools per action area.

Action area	Description of the action area	Most relevant policy tools
Defining the spatial scale of the MA	A definition of a metropolitan area should be agreed by reviewing the most relevant scenarios for delineation of the MA in order to meet current	Strategic and coordinating -Assess and explore the most relevant
	challenges. Different delineation methods are possible such as functional or administrative: FUA (based on commuting patterns) or MDA (area- specific based on variable parameters). MDA is based on compilation of selected spatial scales and urban developments (e.g. transport, urban sprawl etc.) and/or an area constituting a single economy, and/or a community with common interests (metropolitan collaborations).	scenarios for delineation of the MA. -Consider the different scales and extent of the metropolitan developments and the use of suitable methods.
		-Apply the most recent datasets and mapping tools to develop an integrated visualization of the MDA.
	Based on a strategic visioning of the metropolitan	-Coordinate the input of different actors and experts in developing the delineation scenarios.
	area, deciding on the most feasible scale at which metropolitan planning shall be addressed. This can vary between cross-border, inter-regional, regional or inter-municipal levels etc. The decision about the	-Embed the delineation discussion in the strategic consultation between planners and politicians.
	scale is highly dependent on the agreements made about its strategic development. The aim is identifying the best possible spatial fit to address different metropolitan developments.	-Initiate strategic discussion among relevant authorities (national, regional, local) for reviewing and selecting the relevant scale of MA
Assessing spatial	Review of relevant data (illustrative statistics) to	Strategic and coordinating
dynamics and key urban trends	identify key trends and drivers of metropolitan development, including urban sprawl, accessibility, mobility, housing, environment, institutional aspects. Availability of harmonized and up to date recent data is necessary for assessing the key trends (e.g. European, national and local data)	-Develop a comprehensive socio-economic profile of the urban area with information about key trends and drivers of metropolitan development.
		-Coordinate the efforts of planners, statistical agencies at the national and EU levels in applying the most recent database at the LAU2 level.
		-Develop comprehensive mapping of the MAs, reviewing the relation between trends and different special scales of planning of the MDA.
Defining the formalization status for	A dedicated policy agenda on metropolitan areas	Strategic, procedural and collaborative
metropolitan areas	development is needed in order to plan for the MAs. The recognition of the existence of the MAs, commitment by political actors is essential to identify the status of the area. The legitimacy of the MA is needed in order to organize the representation of the	-Engaging all relevant actors in the preparation of a joint MA strategy can enhance the recognition of the mutual interdependence between them and the mutual benefits.
	interests of the different authorities in the MAs planning. The status of the MA needs to be made clear to all actors and may vary between informal, formal or semi-formal arrangements of planning activities at the MA scale.	-Regulative mechanisms that address the emergence of the MAs can serve as a "change driver" and a reference for initiating a metropolitan planning process. However, creating rigid-top down regulations alone is not sufficient to achieve change in practice.
		-Collaborative practices that improve communication and exchange of information about planning activities across regional and local authorities, enhance the understanding of the MA.

Table 3.2 Relevant policy tools per key action area in the metropolitan planning approach

Identifying key challenges in metropolitan development	Through a comprehensive analysis of socio- economic trends and the experiences of the regional and local administrations, actors and planners need to identify and prioritise key spatial development and challenges, including institutional challenges.	Strategic and collaborative -Based on identifying key challenges in the MA development, develop comprehensive strategic plans that set the key strategic priorities for the areas' spatial development. -Establish a consultation process with key actors about the key challenges of the areas and the course of action for the strategic planning process. Collaborative
in MA planning and decision-making	all relevant (and affected) actors are involved. The first step is to identify the relevant actors and engage these in a join consultation process. The involvement of actors can support more active participation in the preparation of strategies and specific spatial plans for metropolitan developments as well as in identifying and prioritising key challenges to be met in the area.	 -Initiating leadership and initiative by politicians or specific groups of actors (branch or local authorities) -Organize better facilitation and consultation in soliciting actors' opinions regarding strategic plans or spatial plans -Promote the need for MA planning as a best practice scenario
Establishing governance process and institutional structure	Explore possible scenarios for establishing a suitable governance process with strategic, statutory and collaborative planning mechanisms. Establishment of shared governance process and a structure should aim at engaging different and most appropriate governmental levels in the spatial planning process (multi-level governance), depending on the spatial scale of the MA (e.g. cross-border, inter-regional inter-municipal etc.) The institutionalization of a separate administrative metropolitan level of planning is one of the possible ways towards establishment of a "spatial fit" between the metropolitan scale and the formal administrative levels of planning. This process, however, depends on the degree of decentralization of competences in spatial planning. In more hierarchical planning cultures, a top-down installed metropolitan body or a formalized area can be relevant. However, additional formal level of planning might increase the complexity of decision-making. In fully decentralized planning systems with more competences within the local authorities, flexible and collaborative institutional structure is more suitable. Such structure is based on shared-governance with joint metropolitan strategies, ensuring commitment among relevant authorities and actors with joint decision-making. The long-term operation of such structures, however, need political and financial support of the national, regional and local authorities.	Coordinating, structural, procedural, collaborative -Assess the appropriateness of a more centralized or decentralized governance process -Assess the need for and the appropriateness of a formal or informal administrative structure e.g. informal/soft coordination structure, inter- municipal authorities or a dedicated metropolitan authority (e.g. supra-municipal consolidated metropolitan body). -Establish a shared governance process across administrative units of spatial planning (planning departments and agencies). - Support decision makers and the setting of a strong political agenda on the need for a "spatial fit" between spatial plans and functional urban developments that go beyond formal administrative borders. -Initiate a shared governance process based on best practices e.g. coordinated actions in specific metropolitan developments (transport) that can show how immediate benefits and win- win solutions can be achieved by all actors. -Establish a consensus-building process for a long-term metropolitan planning process where the net total benefit over time is positive for all parties, rather than all parties gaining in every negotiation round. -Establishment of inter-organizational structures across fragmented administrative units/departments (cross-cutting teams). -Involvement of multiple actors in specific planning agreements.
Ensuring the presence of key success factors, triggers and incentives	Assessing the presence of key success factors, creating new incentives and building capacities for dealing with metropolitan development issues. Key success factors include political commitment and leadership, availability of financial means to stimulate actors in metropolitan planning activities, existence of a policy framework, collaboration and regulations. Key incentives include support from EU policies and regulations and funding, support from national governments, drivers for sustainable and win-win-solutions and economic stimuli.	Strategic, structural, procedural and collaborative -Set triggers for metropolitan governance. Strengthen the motivation of actors: by shared concerns on an issue (e.g. efficient transportation services, affordable housing, environment, etc.), shared spaces development, stimuli from businesses, and initiatives from suburban municipalities instead of core cities.

		-Prior and during the development of metropolitan strategies, consider the necessary factors for success and develop incentives
		-Mobilize current administrative capacities of local authorities and regional agencies, ensuring the necessary knowledge and expertise.
		Strengthening the existing forms of MA collaboration, their strategies and status.
		-Enhance consultation between relevant agencies and stakeholders for shared decisions.
		-Acquire support from the national government and political bodies.
		-Assess the use of current regulations in supporting metropolitan planning and identify relevant land-use planning regulations. If necessary, develop obligatory policy mechanisms for sector-related spatial planning activities at the metropolitan scale (transport, housing, and businesses).
		-Identify financial incentives such as shared taxation between the core cities and suburban local authorities, property taxes for housing, arrangements for national subsidizing of local authorities to meet local expenditure and generate economic gains for local communities.
Building administrative capacity and expert- based knowledge	Metropolitan governance requires building up the administrative capacities of the local authorities. Applying up-to-date knowledge in assessing the extent of the metropolitan development. Support decision-making processes with a solid basis of factual data about trends, scenarios and challenges. Decentralization of the competences to local authorities demands more specific technical and administrative skills and knowledge to be able to conduct a metropolitan planning and engage in collaborative process and dialogue with other actors.	Structural and collaborative
		Establishing regular occasions for consultation and brain-storming among professionals and policy-makers (ad-hoc, inter-departmental, inter- municipal advisory meetings etc.)
		-Establishing inter-organizational networks for exchange of knowledge (metropolitan knowledge observatory). -Investing more time and efforts in communication between different planning authorities/departments in preparation of strategies and spatial plans.

4 Recommendations for implementation of MPA in the stakeholder areas

4.1 Fitness check of metropolitan planning in the stakeholder areas

This section indicates the current progress made by the stakeholder areas in spatial planning process to support metropolitan development. The fitness check envisages the degree to which different types of spatial plans and strategies embed metropolitan developments.

The progress is views with regard to three important foci in spatial planning, as defined by SPIMA i.e. *strategic, statutory and collaborative planning* in each stakeholder area (Table 4.1).

Stakeholder area (city)	Degree to which the metropolitan development agenda is embedded in planning				
	Strategic: Presence of MA strategic plan or process	Statutory: Integration of MA issues in spatial plans	Collaborative: Presence of MA collaborative arrangements	Degree of implementation of MA plans and strategies	
Vienna	~	~	(•)	-	
Zurich	~	~ ~	¥	~ ~	
Prague	¥	-	¥	<u>у</u>	
Brussels	(•)	-	(•)	-	
Brno	×	-	(•)	<u>у</u>	
Oslo/Akershus	(•)	~	¥	 ✓ 	
Turin	¥	✓	(✔)	✓	
Terrassa	-	~	(•)	-	
Lille	¥	~ ~	~	~ ~	
Lyon	¥	~ ~	~	~ ~	

Table 4.1 Fitness check matrix

Legend "Presence of MA strategy or process" and "Presence of MA collaborative arrangements":

= present

 (\checkmark) = in development

= not present

Legend "Degree of integration of MA issues in spatial plans":

- = not integrated;
- weak integration,
- moderate integration,

Legend "Progress with implementation of MA plans and strategies":

- = No implementation yet
- Implementation in early stages
- Implementation in advanced stages

As illustrated in Table 4.1 most of the cities have currently initiated a strategic planning process which addresses to one degree or another the issue of metropolitan development. While in some areas the strategic planning process for establishing joint strategy has been initiated more recently and is still under development (e.g. Brussels, Oslo/Akershus), in other cities there is a outlined strategic vision (Vienna, Prague, Brno, Zurich) or even a more elaborated and approved strategic plan (e.g. Turin, Lille, Lyon). In the city of Terrassa there is not yet a clear strategic process established.

In the integration of metropolitan development issues in statutory spatial planning is rather weak and there is yet further progress needed by the stakeholder areas. While in Zurich, Lille and Lyon there is a moderate progress achieved with linking strategic metropolitan issues to the statutory land use plans, in Vienna, Turin, Terrassa and Oslo/Akershus these are partly addressed. In Prague, Brno and Brussels the spatial plans do not directly address metropolitan issues. With regard to collaborative arrangements in many of the areas there are currently present collaboration initiatives about metropolitan development and in other such arrangements are currently in development.

The overall implementation of strategic and spatial plans at metropolitan scale is lagging behind in many of the areas. Lion, Lille and Zurich slightly more advanced in the process.

4.2 Implementation of the action areas in MPA in the stakeholder areas

This section reviews the progress of the stakeholder areas with regard to the implementation of the action areas in the metropolitan planning approach.

The fitness check is based on the results of the institutional analysis, the expert-based evaluation and the results of the interviews with actors in the stakeholder areas. The degree of implementation of each action area for each stakeholder was scored on a six-point scale as follows: not initiated (0), discussions ongoing (2); in progress but temporary or incomplete results; finalized or established (6).

While many of the stakeholders have already initiated a number of the actions, there are significant differences observed between the stakeholders in the degree of progress achieved within individual action areas. Among all areas there is relative progress in the action areas related to the understanding of the current urban trends, assessing the spatial dynamics and understanding of the current challenges in the areas. This is especially the case for Zurich, Vienna, Lille and Lyon. On the contrary the action areas addressed most weakly across all stakeholder areas concern ensuring the success factors, incentives and triggers, the establishment of a shared governance model and a structure. Where more progress is also needed in most of the areas is in the involvement of relevant actors in the planning process.

This section elaborates further on the progress and the recommendations or each stakeholder area with regard to the actions areas.

Vienna

In Vienna there has been progress in the assessment of the current spatial dynamics and trends and in identifying the key challenges in the development of the area. Planners at the local authorities and the current informal collaborative structures in Vienna have developed some spatial planning tools and knowledge base that can provide direction about the future urban developments and management of urban growth within the metropolitan area (i.e. the Stadregion+ planning concept) (see Figure 4.1).

Recommendations: Where more efforts are still needed is in the areas of actors' involvement, establishment of a shared governance and a clear institutional structure and in ensuring key success factors, triggers and incentives. The potential of the currently existing collaborations within the area need to be better utilized and used to build awareness and trust among the local authorities. Bottom-up approach based on best practices in parts of the area can be essential motivation trigger. Essential part of this process is setting up a joint strategy and a planning process. Such process should be based on reaching a common understanding among all actors and the local municipalities on the common benefits of a metropolitan planning approach that may bring about new future opportunities and better quality of life in the area and provide winwin solution in managing the expected urban growth in and around Vienna. In order to move forward in this process the most relevant policy tools for Vienna MA will be a combination of strategic, coordinative and collaborative policy tools.



Zurich

In Zurich the MP approach is rather advanced with achievements in the areas of delineation of the spatial planning scale of the MA, as well as within the existing inter-cantonal operational structure for collaboration (inter-cantonal association). This structure provides the basis for shared-governance process between the cantons. The MA has a semi-formal status that is recognized by policy makers and is based on the agreement achieved by the eight cantons in the Zurich MA (see Figure 4.2).

Recommendations: The further progress needed for the implementation of the MPA in Zurich is providing support in involvement of the relevant actors in the planning process, developing most suitable solutions to meet the challenges of the population growth and to accommodate expected changes in the demographic trends. These challenges should be reflected in the spatial structure and spatial planning tools of the municipalities. Furthermore, it will be important to ensure the presence of success factors for the MPA in a long-term, including motivation triggers and sufficient administrative capacity within the municipalities of the eight cantons. Key relevant policy tools for Zurich MA would be a combination on first place collaborative policy and coordinating tools. Secondly employing structural and strategic policy tools can be beneficial as well, particularly with regard the identified challenges in terms of the need for multifunctional land use approaches and more effective integrated spatial planning tools for addressing sustainable landscape functions.



Prague

Prague's current achievements are in the areas of assessment of the spatial dynamics and urban trends, understanding the current challenges and identifying the status that the area needs (see figure 4.3). Prague also has to a certain extent the administrative capacity available for introducing a metropolitan planning approach with the presence of a well-developed knowledge base and planning professionals. The implementation of the ITI-based project for strategic metropolitan development has supported this capacity building process.

Recommendations: The progress for the implementation of the MPA in Prague is in the establishment of a clear shared-governance model and a structure, creating preconditions for success among others, incentives and triggers and involving relevant actors in the process of planning at the MA level. Furthermore, based on the drafted strategy for the Prague MA, the key recommendations will be to bridge the implementation gap between the strategic and statutory spatial planning by developing efficient coordination mechanisms and land use planning tools that can be used by the local authorises within the area. The strategic process developed within the ITI-based initiative needs to be firmly embedded in the institutional structure and policy framework of the region and the municipalities with the support of the political bodies at regional and local level. The recommended policy tools for Prague MA are collaborative and coordinating tools.



\rm 🕹 Brno

In Brno, relative progress has been achieved in all action areas (Fig. 4.4). The continuity of the action areas to the next phase of full implementation is needed to sustain this progress (i.e. after the end of the ITI initiative). This will be dependent on anchoring the current achievements in a long-term planning process and on commitment of the local authorities and political bodies.

Recommendations: The most important actions for the Brno MA will be to identify the most suitable mechanisms to maintain the strategic process initiated by the ITI-project for planning at the MA level. This process should be based on a shred-governance principle and be embedded in the institutional structure of the regions and the municipalities. Bridging the implementation gap between the strategic process and the statutory spatial planning is a key step forward. Furthermore, dealing with the accumulated political tensions will be needed by gaining sufficient support from broader range of actors in the area and creating new window of opportunities. The most relevant policy tools for Brno MA to further implement MPA are collaborative and coordinating policy tools followed by strategic policy tools.



Oslo & Akershus

In Oslo & Akershus progress has been achieved in the actions related to the general understanding of the current urban development trends and in the identification of key challenges of the area. Oslo & Akershus have been more active than some of the other stakeholder areas in involving relevant actors in a strategic planning process (Figure 4.5).

Recommendations: Most progress in Oslo & Akershus is needed in terms of defining the spatial scale of the metropolitan area between the two regions and the municipal authorities. In particular an agreement is needed between the regional and local authorities on the various delineation scenarios. Furthermore, it is necessary to identify the relevant status of the MA and strengthen its recognition and legitimisation among all relevant actors. Due to the large impact of the regional economy of the two regions on the national territorial development, the support of the national government is utmost necessary in setting a metropolitan governance process. This support might be in the form of a formal agreement about the metropolitan area Oslo & Akershus, or via political commitment, or via financial incentives for the two regions to further implement a metropolitan planning approach. In addition the suitable governance model and structure needs to be developed based on shared governance principle across the regions and the municipalities. The most relevant policy tools to be employed by Oslo & Akershus will be collaborative and coordinative policy tools, followed by strategic policy tools.



Turin

Turin MA (MCT) has fully implemented the action areas related to the definition of the borders and the scale of the area, and establishment of the status of the area (formal). Relative progress has been made as well as in the assessment of key urban trends in the MA and in identification of its key challenges (Fig. 4.6).

Recommendations: For Turin MA, the most important action areas where more efforts need to be mobilized are the involvement of relevant actors in the planning process, selection of the most suitable governance process and building the administrative capacity of the established metropolitan institution and the municipalities in the area. The most important next step is in finalizing the currently outlined strategic plan of the metropolitan area and setting up a clear governance structure and planning mechanism for its implementation. The recommended relevant policy tools are collaborative and coordinative policy tools.



Brussels

In Brussels the most progress has been achieved in gaining better understanding on the current urban trends and ongoing developments. There is as well a sufficient knowledge capacity established to support a metropolitan planning approach. Currently there is as well an ongoing process with regard to involvement of relevant actors in the establishment of the Metropolitan Community of Brussels (MCB), represented by the three federal regions and other relevant actors. Furthermore there is a growing understanding about the current challenges in the area and why these challenges exist. The formalization status of the area is as well currently debated, under the framework regulation for the formation of the MCB (see Fig. 4.7).

Recommendations: The need for implementing the MPA in Brussels MA is in taking actions in the establishment of a suitable governance model and structure for shared governance among the federal regions and between the regional authorities and the municipalities. Furthermore, defining the formalization status of the MA is still in progress and needs to be decided upon. Another action area where progress sis needed is creating preconditions and incentives for the long-term collaboration and operation at inter-regional institutions, including political commitment of the regions and willingness for broader collaboration in developing and implementing a strategic spatial plan for the Brussels MA. The most relevant policy tools to move forward relate to collaborative policy tools, followed by coordinative and structural policy tools.



Terrassa

Many of the actions areas in Terrassa MA are still in development. There is currently certain progress achieved in the assessment of the key challenges in the area and in involving relevant actors in the discussions about the establishment of the Terrassa MA. The eleven municipalities forming the Terrassa MA association are currently initiating strategic debates about the future of the area. There is as well a moderate progress in assessing the current urban trends and the relevant spatial scales for the delineation of the area and for building its identity (Fig. 4.8).

Recommendations: For Terrassa progress is needed in all action areas, but particularly in the areas of identification of the status of the MA, establishment of a shared-governance process and structure and ensuring success factors, triggers and incentives. An important part of the process is developing a shared vision about the area that is agreed upon the regional and local authorities and the prominent actors from the NGOs, academics and businesses. Considerations could be made for establishment of a coordinating body that may have a facilitating role for the establishment of a MA strategy and for the implementation of the MPA.

The most relevant policy tools for Terrassa in implementing MPA include collaborative, coordinative and strategic policy tools.



\rm 🖌 Lille

In Lille a certain degree of progress has been already achieved in all action areas. The action areas related to the identification of key challenges and urban trends are those that have been implemented to the greatest extent (see Fig. 4.9).

Recommendations: For the Lille MA the most important action areas include ensuring that there is a sufficient capacity for collaboration among the established municipal agglomerations and between the spatial plans of the different municipalities. For this building sufficient administrative capacity and knowledge base is important. Based on the current strong strategic planning process and the existing policy framework for coherent spatial planning at intermunicipal level the important steps for Lille authorities is in making more clear links between the different strategic plans and their role in meeting specific challenges in the entire Lille Metropolitan Area at cross-border level. Furthermore, there is a need to bridge the implementation gap between the strategic plans and the different spatial plans related to a single municipality or to specific sectoral issues. More progress needs to be achieved in involving relevant actors from the private and the non-governmental sectors in order to foster better degree of awareness and recognition on the mutual benefits for joining efforts in metropolitan planning process. While there is an established institutional structure for intermunicipal planning at metropolitan scale, there is yet a need for more enhanced sharedgovernance process with clearer division of competences for MA scale of planning. The relationship between the Metropolitan authorities of MEL and the Region needs to be further enhanced. Moreover the consideration of the cross-border aspects, such as the delineation of the Lille MA at a cross-border spatial scale should be embedded in the strategic planning process in order to gain recognition among the local actors. The local policy implications of this area need to be still identified with regard to the institutional arrangements.



🕹 Lyon

In Lyon most progress was achieved in the assessment of key urban trends and the spatial dynamics of the area together with defining the formalized status of the MA. Other actions areas are partly implemented while the action area related to ensuring success factors, triggers and incentives to maintain a long-term metropolitan planning approach still needs to be implemented.

Recommendations: While there is an advanced understanding about the key urban trends and the spatial dynamics of the metropolitan developments the regional and local authorities of Lyon MA need to further address these in the local spatial plans. There is a need for agreements about key urban indicators to be used in defining how different challenges will be met and which spatial functions should be improved.

Due to the currently existing complex governance structure, Lyon MA needs to find more effective mechanisms for coordination between the formalized MA bodies in order to implement its strategic plan. The established formalized status of the MA which is represented by the organizational structure for strategic planning between 13 municipal communities needs to be made more effective by applying better coordination and collaboration processes. More clear division of competencies among the inter-municipal communities will be a needed step forward.

Furthermore, key success factors, triggers and incentives still need to be ensured to maintain a long-term metropolitan planning approach among which rising awareness among relevant actors and ensuring strong political commitment among local authorities. Achieving a shared understanding among elected officials on the strategic vision for the Lyon MA is a process that needs to be enhanced. Some of the key common benefits to recognize by different actors and political bodies relate to increase the attractiveness of the MA by improving a number of services and functions in the area in the field of transport, education, economy and housing.

The most relevant policy tools for Lyon MA to implement further the MPA are coordinative and collaborative policy tools, followed by structural and strategic policy tools.



4.3 Recommendations about the need to formalize Metropolitan areas

Based on the SPIMA analyses there has not been a strong evidence found about the link between the formally established institutional frameworks based on legislation for planning at metropolitan scale and the degree of progress achieved in the implementation of a metropolitan planning approach. The formalisation of the metropolitan scale of planning based on laws does not present an increased degree of success in metropolitan planning and collaboration. Key reason for this is that implementation of legal provisions in the field of spatial planning often presents cumbersome and heavy procedures and its primary focus is on rigid hierarchical process, rather than on fostering a shared governance process and collaboration between actors across fragmented policy sectors. As spatial planning in many countries is strongly decentralized by assigning more planning competences to the regional and local authorises, hierarchical and legally based process for metropolitan planning set by the national governments is not a feasible scenario in many cases.

However, based on the examples of the ten stakeholder areas there is an evidence that establishment of specific formalization process at national (federal), regional or interregional level, regarding policy framework and legitimization of the metropolitan area as such may serve as an incentive. This is particularly the case in defining the number of metropolitan areas at a national level and in guiding strategic spatial development or territorial initiatives at metropolitan scale. This on its turn may trigger metropolitan cooperation for the specific area which may be further embedded in the local spatial plans. Various examples of such initiatives, including policy guiding frameworks or background regulations about the metropolitan areas can be found in Turin, Brussels Prague and Brno.

The experiences of the stakeholder areas with a formalized status, based on a legitimization by a national or a regional government such as Turin, Lille and Lyon it can be concluded that for these areas there is a more progress achieved in the strategic planning process. These areas have more elaborated strategic plans. There is as well a better understanding on the challenges in the areas and the key urban trends. However, despite their formal status there is still progress needed in these areas in actor's involvement, establishment of shared governance process and in ensuring sufficient administrative capacity among the regions and the municipalities in implementing the MPA. Meanwhile the areas with informal or semiformal status show to have achieved similar and in few cases slightly higher progress in the governance initiatives and assessment of the current situation. In general these areas have more open debates about the delineation of the relevant spatial scales to be considered as a metropolitan area and about the need to trigger collaboration among different actors.

Considering these observations, it can be recommended that areas with a formal status for implementation of an MPA based on legislation need to enhance the process of implementation of the legal provisions in the spatial plans and foster more effective collaboration between regional and local authorities. They also need to ensure the capacity of the municipalities to implement the legal provisions and define a local structure with clearly defined competences for metropolitan planning.

For the areas with informal status it is essential to gain sufficient and wider recognition among relevant authorities about the area as a common ground of interests. Based on collaborative initiatives of the regional and local governments a shared governance process needs to be established or enhanced in these areas. Generally, these areas need to invest more efforts in coordination and collaboration in developing strategic spatial plans. These strategic plans can than serve as the basis for embedding metropolitan developments in specific spatial plans of the local authorities. Similar process is relevant for the areas with semi-formal status. However in these areas the emphasis is in maintaining the established agreement between actors in a long term, keeping all actors motivated and assuring their ability to guide the planning process.

Establishing a spatial planning process at the metropolitan scale needs to be "tailored" to the specific circumstances and the "rules of the game" of multiple local actors across governmental scales and policy sectors. While metropolitan developments such as suburbanization can proceed at a fast pace, the intuitional transformations to address these developments depend on a complex and time-consuming consensus-building process involving politicians, planners, the private sector and the local community.

Key recommendations for the local authorities for all types of areas on legitimization process of the MA include:

- Acquire support in legitimization of the metropolitan area by national/regional authorities that may provide a stronger basis for strategic planning.
- Establish a dialogue between policy makers at national, regional and local level to create a common understanding on the benefits of metropolitan planning process.
- Acquire development of national/regional incentives for cooperation (e.g. subsidies).

More detailed assessment of the effectiveness of implementation of a metropolitan planning can be made, based on a number of key questions (see Box 9).

Box 9 Questions for assessing the effectiveness of metropolitan governance process

- What *problems* of a similar nature exist among the local jurisdictions in the area that need to be, or might most effectively be, addressed jointly (e.g. transport, housing, services)?
- What opportunities exist for the local governments to be stronger (e.g. financially), or more effective or efficient, by acting jointly?
- Could the local authorities *save public resources* (gain efficiency) by jointly managing some service delivery jointly rather than individually, for example, through economies of scale?
- Could the problems and opportunities be addressed by *a metropolitan agency or not*? If yes, should such an agency be established and directed by the local governments, or by a higher-tier government? If not, why not (what are the constraints)?
- If a regional development agency already exists for certain functions, could their mandate be expanded to address some of the issues? What would be the pros and cons?
- Would the identified problems and opportunities be better addressed through a higher level/metropolitan-level local government or a regional government?
- Would *amalgamation* of some or all of the local governments in the area (or expansion of some jurisdictions) be an option?
- How can it be ensured that the *access by the citizens* to the government, and the government responsiveness and *accountability*, would not be weakened?
- Should *inequality* (in tax, income or service provision) among the local government jurisdictions be addressed by the national government (e.g. equalization element in the transfer system), or as a metropolitan issue by the local governments themselves as well, acting jointly?
- How could *cost sharing* within the metropolitan area be made fair with regard to spill-overs (externalities) across jurisdictions (e.g. air pollution, people living and paying taxes in one jurisdiction but working in another)? Should it be addressed by national government via the transfer system, or as a metropolitan issue by the local governments themselves, acting jointly?

Source: GIZ & UN Habitat, 2016

5 General guiding principles for metropolitan governance

As the experiences of the SPIMA stakeholder areas illustrate, for metropolitan governance and planning to be effective, an extensive process of interaction between multiple actors is required. While the argument of cost saving tends to be attractive to all, other issues such as curtailing urban sprawl, improving urban equity and quality of life, and advancing region-wide economic development tend to require significant efforts to achieve broad political support. Since any change tends to create at least perceived, if not real, "winners and losers", any metropolitan institution whether formal, semiformal or informal should follow a number of key policy principles that may help in shaping the metropolitan area governance and spatial planning process. These principles are embedded in the MPA process and provide the ideological direction of what metropolitan governance aims to achieve.

These principles shall draw attention of the national, regional and local authorities on the different efforts needed to be invested by actors in ensuring a balanced, transparent and dedicated metropolitan governance process. Ten principles for metropolitan governance have been identified, representing lessons learned from the SPIMA project:

Balance ("trade-offs") between efficiency gains and responsiveness

The metropolitan planning process needs to weigh the potentials for economies of scale and service coordination efficiencies, and for addressing spill-overs and equity disparities in the metropolitan area versus the impact on the access of citizens to their local government as well as government's responsiveness and accountability (i.e. the extent to which governance of a local jurisdiction is "in the hands of the local population").

Accountability

New metropolitan institutions, particularly if appointed by a higher level of government rather than elected by local communities, may create a "distance" between the government and the citizens. With a second-tier metropolitan government, it is critical to ensure that the public is well informed about and can easily distinguish what their local government and their metropolitan level government are responsible for, in order to keep them accountable.

• Horizontal (inter-municipal) and vertical (multi-level) coordination

To achieve sustained and enhanced metropolitan planning over time, both a collaborative environment among the local governments and well aligned policies and initiatives between levels of governments are needed. This tends to have both a political and a technical dimension in the spatial planning and decision-making. It requires well established and accepted communication channels to synchronize different strategies and spatial plans. Higher level government plans need to be consistent with local government plans, and metropolitan decisions should also be reflected in local spatial plans, based on close and iterative consultations and a shared governance process.

• Clear division of responsibilities "who does what"

An effective metropolitan institution needs to have clearly defined responsibilities (i.e. not overlapping, easy to understand, etc.). The role of the metropolitan institution should be clearly linked to the activities of other local actors and levels of government.

Stakeholder involvement

Metropolitan planning needs to be based on an understanding of who the main actors and stakeholders are, their relationships, and their views on metropolitan challenges and opportunities. Stakeholder dialogues are required (e.g. with resident groups, businesses, NGOs, environmental groups, research entities, etc.). Stakeholder involvement should start as early as possible, for example through opinion polls and dialogue on the design of the process itself. There may be particular situations when more concerted efforts should be made in seeking views and feedback from the local stakeholders, through various vehicles and media. It is particularly important that any costs or benefits are communicated in clear terms; and that any impact on residents is explained (for example, as public service users, as tax payers, as voters); and how the public will have access to any proposed new metropolitan governance process.

• Sustainable financing arrangements

Any institutional arrangement at the metropolitan level needs to be supported by agreed financial arrangements. This may, for example, include formula-based sharing of service expenditures, coordinated revenue mobilization (e.g. through user charges, property taxes, earmarked taxes, etc.), or joint funding (or joint mobilization of the funding) for investments. This process may require significant analysis and negotiation since the strengths of the revenue sources – available to each local government – may differ significantly. In the case of a new regional authority or metropolitan-level government, it is critical that they have access to sufficient and reliable sources of financing to fulfil its mandates on a sustainable basis.

• Strong support by the local governments

Independently of whether the process is mainly bottom-up or top-down, it is the local constituents who will be most affected by any new metropolitan institutional structure. A prerequisite for effectiveness is that the metropolitan-level structure has the support and commitment of all local governments involved. It may be an option to allow individual local governments the flexibility to participate in agreed metro-level functions, facilitating agreement by all. Cooperation among local governments may be encouraged by incentives or even demanded from a regional or national government through inter-governmental systems, legal frameworks, or specific financial incentives However, cities' experiences show that no governance arrangements become effective and sustainable unless the local governments involved are actively supporting the arrangements.

• Legal and regulatory support

Legal provisions for metropolitan governance can be an important "change driver". By creating an obligatory compliance mechanism, legal provisions may enhance the role of a national or regional government in further cooperation with the local authorises and vice versa. However, legal provisions as a top-down policy tool rea unlikely to be effective on their own and will need to be complemented by soft measures for establishing collaboration between the local authorities.

• Common incentives

Help design incentives for metropolitan governance advances. Encouragement only from the national or regional level is often not sufficient to achieve concrete change. The strongest incentives tend to be linked to financing. Any changes or enhancements to the current policies or frameworks for spatial planning and/or financing of the local government level need to be (or should be) considered at the same time to ensure that such policies are well aligned across the government levels.

Networking and benchmarking

Facilitating exposure to experiences in other countries and/or city to-city networking on metropolitan governance and spatial planning could be a limited stand-alone initiative or part of any institutional structure in charge of metropolitan development. Based on the thorough knowledge and experiences sharing, urban regions can seek best practices and new solutions in planning at the metropolitan level. To effectively meet this demand, efforts may be needed to sharpen the capabilities of both a specialist nucleus of staff and sectorial staff on the subject of metropolitan planning, and create a network of external resources to draw on. Engagement of cities and city networks in comprehensive studies is an important tool to establish benchmarking practices and identify where individual cities stand in dealing with metropolitan development, the challenges they face and the best approaches to meet these challenges. Local authorities need to be effectively informed about the future opportunities to adapt successful examples of sustainable development, service improvements or cost-effective practices. Sufficient resources, time and capacity are needed to conduct benchmarking reviews and develop comprehensive data and indices to measure the course of action of metropolitan development and the effectiveness of metropolitan governance.

6 Conclusions

As metropolitan areas are ever-changing territories, the geographical and administrative metropolitan area must be flexible enough to be able to adapt to the spatial dynamics and urban and regional development trends. A metropolitan planning approach should consider the changes needed in the territorial development in accordance with the "spatial fit" of the problem field. This is needed to allow new geographical areas to be included in the governance process, and to ensure that there is a clear understanding of which actors' collaboration is needed in which policy issues. The metropolitan planning approach may allow the continuous monitoring of the ongoing spatial planning processes with regard to metropolitan development and to identify the most suitable mechanisms of policy intervention. These mechanisms can be different in different contexts of planning and require a tailor-made co-governance (shared) process and a continuous interplay between different institutional structures.

The guidelines present a compilation of recommendations for implementing a metropolitan planning approach. Based on the experiences of the stakeholder areas, relevant lessons could be drawn with regard to the complexity and dynamic changes in the metropolitan areas and about the necessary institutional and political interventions. Metropolitan planning initiatives cannot start if important preconditions and triggers are not ensured, such as actors' motivation and commitment to engaging in a metropolitan planning process. The effectiveness of metropolitan institutional reform and planning cannot be based on a one-size-fits-all framework but it is rather a tailor made process with specific arrangements and actors in each area.

There are eight actions areas that have been identified as indispensable building blocks of the metropolitan planning approach. A mix of policy tools can be applied in the different institutional contexts of the metropolitan areas to implement the different action areas. Usually more than one set of policy tools is needed for each action area. A combination of coordinative, strategic and collaborative tools seem to be suitable for most action areas among which strategic and collaborative tools are utmost needed.

ESPON 2020 – More information

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