

ADDRESSING THE METROPOLITAN CHALLENGE IN BARCELONA METROPOLITAN AREA

Appendix. Case studies of five metropolitan areas: Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Greater Manchester, Stuttgart and Zürich



Case Studies of Five Metropolitan Areas: Amsterdam, Copenhagen, Greater Manchester, Stuttgart and Zürich is part of the study *Addressing Metropolitan Challenges in Barcelona Metropolitan Area*, which was drafted by the Metropolitan Research Institute of Budapest for the Barcelona Metropolitan Area (AMB). The views expressed herein are those of the authors alone, and the AMB cannot be held responsible for any use that may be made of the information contained in this document.

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Table of contents

| | |
|---------------------------------|-----------|
| Amsterdam | 29 |
| Copenhagen | 36 |
| Greater Manchester | 42 |
| Stuttgart | 52 |
| Zürich | 60 |

AMSTERDAM

(Netherlands)



1. National level framework

1.1. Formal government system

The Netherlands is a constitutional monarchy with a representative parliamentary democracy and a decentralised unitary state, characterised by a strong political tradition of broad consensus seeking in policy making. This tradition is also reflected in the institutional framework of local territorial administrative levels, including the various levels of metropolitan governance. Four formal territorial administrative tiers operate in the country:

- The central state.
- Four landen, consisting of the mainland Netherlands and three overseas territories.
- Twelve provinces (in the mainland Netherlands only).
- Around 400 municipalities (again, in the mainland Netherlands only, with three additional “public bodies” in the Kingdom’s Caribbean territories).

Both the country’s current structure of territorial administration¹ and its spatial planning system are the outcome of a comprehensive process of government reform that started in 2008 in response to the global financial crisis and its massive impact on the economy (Delsen 2012:4). The reform was aimed at decreasing the number of administrative units and at shifting competencies to lower administrative levels, striving for greater efficiency in policy areas that could be better addressed at a more local level. As a result, the decentralized unitary nature of the country was reinforced, with the central government in large part retaining exclusive responsibility only for tasks that can only be effectively implemented on a state-wide level (like national legislation and courts, police and military force, foreign affairs etc.). The state does develop comprehensive strategies in all policy fields, including spatial planning. However, zoning and land-use strategies developed at any administrative tier are self-binding;

that is, only binding to the administrative unit which has developed them (OECD 2017a:21). Aside from establishing the general legal framework and setting a strategic course, the state defined 13 areas of national interest for which the central government takes direct responsibility, including such policy matters as the Mainport Rotterdam Development projects, the Wadden sea, the coast (including flood defences), world heritage sites, reserved lands, waterway safety (Ministry of Infrastructure and the Environment 2013:20).

The twelve provinces have relatively limited competencies, mostly with regard to matters of regional importance or to subnational issues which cannot be effectively managed on the municipal level. Most of their budgets are provided by central state funding, although they do have a limited capacity to levy taxes and collect administrative fees (e.g. for environmental permits). They have a complex tripartite government structure of elected executives and a Commissioner appointed by the Crown. The Association of Provinces of the Netherlands (Interprovinciaal Overleg; IPO) monitors and supports the interests of provinces, also functioning as a knowledge exchange platform and an initiator of proposed reforms.

The core tasks of the provinces are:

- Province-level coordination of spatial development and water management, including coordinating land management and zoning regulations, as well as environmental, energy and climate issues.
- Transport infrastructure, especially regional public transport and accessibility.
- Regional economic and rural development.

¹ The current overview only focuses on the European mainland.

- Cultural infrastructure.
- Improving the quality of public services.

Notably, all of these tasks involve close cooperation with, and coordination between, the municipalities in their respective territories, as towns and cities also have extensive power over these matters. In the end, the provinces are essentially soft governance platforms with a guidance and coordination role.

Municipal tasks are wide ranging, and they include administrative functions, social support measures, cultural institutions, public schools and youth care, permits for businesses, etc. However, many of the areas that clearly fall under local authority are deeply intertwined with land use and planning: land-use plans for residential, industrial and green areas are defined by municipalities; the supervision of housing construction in cooperation with housing associations; local transport infrastructure and accessibility of various planning zones, including pavements and cycle paths, and so forth. Municipalities get most of their financing from the state, ensured from the municipal fund, for which part of the state tax income is allocated. Municipalities also levy their own taxes for local functions (like home and building ownership, tourism etc.), although the amount

raised is very limited in comparison to state funding. In recent years, the Dutch government has been striving to devolve an increasing share of tasks to the municipal level, an effort that had begun even prior to the 2008 administrative reform. The Social Support Act of 2007 delegated an increased number of social support and employment and activation tasks to the municipal level. This legislation also authorised municipalities to offer a greater number of local benefits and support measures (Delsen 2012:14, 17-18). Mergers of municipalities (in part a result of receiving more and more tasks from the national government without full funding) have also been numerous, so sources regarding the exact number of municipalities vary, although the website of the Government of the Netherlands currently counts 390.²



Figure 3: Provinces of the Netherlands.

² <https://www.government.nl/topics/municipalities/municipalities-tasks> as of 8 December 2017

2. Metropolitan collaborations

2.1. From a City Region to a Transport Region

The population of Amsterdam (the city proper) is currently around 850,000. In 2010, the city population was 790,000, and it is expected to reach 925,000 by 2040. The City Region, consisting of Amsterdam and fifteen surrounding municipalities in the province of North Holland, is home to 1,350,000 people.

From January 2006 to December 2016, the Amsterdam City Region (Stadsregio Amsterdam) operated as a metropolitan grouping of 15 municipalities, exercising competences in the fields of traffic and transport, economy and tourism, regional housing and youth welfare. Over this period, the previously informal practices of cooperation in the Metropolitan Region body became more consolidated, and in January 2015 the Amsterdam City Region entity began a 2-year transition period that would end in its transformation into its current form, the Amsterdam Transport Region (Vervoerregio Amsterdam). Economic cooperation was transferred entirely to the Metropolitan Region in January 2017; housing policy cooperation, on the other hand, was devolved to a lower administrative tier of the sub-region. Starting January 1, 2015 youth welfare tasks were devolved to local municipalities.

Although this action might be viewed as a downgrading of the city region, in practice the entity held onto the biggest share of its competencies by maintaining control of the integrated transport system (which has an annual budget of €450 million, in excess of the budget of North Holland province). (It is also important to note that the territory of the Amsterdam City Region is significantly smaller than the metropolitan area, and thus metropolitan competencies are more reasonably attributed to an organisation that operates on the right scale. This is what is currently happening via the empowerment of the newly created Amsterdam Metropolitan Area.)

The Amsterdam Transport Region (ATR) connects 15 municipalities and operates public transport by bus, tram and metro. The Transport Region organisation grants concessions to transport companies and subsidies for operating public transport services, invests in the development of the existing tram and subway networks and finances the development of regional transport infrastructure for freight transport, public transport and bicycles. It pays particular attention to P+R connections (adequate bicycle storage at every stop for cyclists wishing

to transfer to public transport). Besides strengthening efficiency, sustainability is also a key ATR goal.

ATR drafts policies and connects local stakeholders to improve the utilisation of the existing infrastructure and transport networks, including railways. The Transport Region staff supports transport and mobility related municipal decision making, drafts regional policy proposals, initiates and implements projects, and facilitates cooperation between stakeholders. Decision making and consultation take place at the Regional Council, which includes 56 seats occupied by the representatives of the 15 municipalities (a city's number of delegates is determined by population).

The Transport Region not only facilitates regional transport, but also communicates and cooperates with federal authorities to improve interregional and international connections. Regularly consulted stakeholders also include education and research institutions, civil society organisations, and business and trade representatives within the region.



Source: OECD 2017a:35

Figure 4: The Amsterdam Transport Region

2.2. Amsterdam Metropolitan Area³

Metropolitan governance structures have been continuously evolving and developing over the past few decades to meet the challenges of a growing economy and population.

In the mid-1990s, when Amsterdam began to see a re-emergence of economic and population growth, the process of city-region cooperation was launched. The Metropolitan Region was formally created in 2007, after formalising its precursor, a Randstad “North Wing” cooperation. Currently, the MRA is governed by an informal coordination body, with representatives from 34 municipalities, 2 provinces, and the regional transport authority (Amsterdam Transport Region), a body whose members include 15 municipalities. Despite the multi-layered cooperation, the body has a limited budget and no legally binding authority.

In summary, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Region (Metropoolregio Amsterdam) can be considered an in-between layer of the various statistical and functional metropolitan entities centred on, and surrounding, Amsterdam.

The Metropolitan Area is currently a framework for bi- and multi-lateral project-based cooperation. While it can hardly be said that the whole region acts together as unified metropolitan area, some major stakeholders are eager to create coalitions. The construction of new housing is an example: according to estimates, about 250,000 housing units need to be built in the metropolitan area by 2040. Negotiations on this issue have begun, coordinated by the province of North Holland (the province that includes Amsterdam). It seems obvious that five cities will have the territory required to build new housing, and thus

Table 3. Key dates in the evaluation of Amsterdam’s metropolitan governance

| Key dates | Institution | Form of collaboration |
|----------------------------|--|--|
| Early 1970s | Informal Consultation Amsterdam Agglomeration – regular consultation among Amsterdam and neighbouring municipalities | Voluntary and informal bottom-up coordination with Amsterdam and 25 surrounding municipalities |
| 1986 | Regional Consultation Amsterdam | Voluntary and informal bottom-up co-ordination of 23 municipalities |
| 1992 | Regional Organisation Amsterdam (ROA) | Voluntary and informal cooperation, evolution of the Regional Consultation Amsterdam with new name |
| 1992 | Regional Cooperation Amsterdam | Regional informal body and evolution of the ROA |
| Late 1990s | Noordvleugeloverleg | A cooperative network of municipalities and provinces |
| 1995 (new mandate in 2015) | City-region of Amsterdam (Stadregio) | A formal consortium of 15 municipalities comprised of a Regional Council and Executive Board, responsible for deliberation and commissions. Policy and grant-funding powers. |
| 2000 | North wing talks (Noordvleugeloverleg), precursor to the MRA | Co-operative network in the field of spatial planning, economic development and infrastructure among municipalities and provinces in the northern part of the Randstad |
| 2007 | Amsterdam Metropolitan Area | An informal, bottom-up partnership of 34 municipalities, the provinces of North Holland and Flevoland, and the city-region of Amsterdam. Grown organically over time. |
| 2015 (new mandate) | The city region of Amsterdam became a transport authority, retaining statutory powers and resources for this competency. | A formal consortium of 15 municipalities comprised of a Regional Council and Executive Board, responsible for deliberation and commissions. Policy and grant-funding powers. |
| 2017 | The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is formalised | The 33 municipalities, 2 provinces and the transport authority sign a covenant and a common bureau (the MRA Bureau) is established. |

³ Based on OECD 2017a



Source: OECD 2017a:35

Figure 5: the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area

these local governments have started to cooperate to this end. There are also examples of temporary and shifting coalitions, e.g. when the four biggest cities in the region came together to lobby the national government on social housing and refugee issues.

The Metropolitan Area is a platform and network in which the members inform each other, but this does not mean that they all cooperate at all times. However, when the Metropolitan Area was partially formalised in 2017 and a common bureau was set up, new hope emerged that the network could be strengthened. Currently, the Metropolitan Area is a platform for projects viewed by participants as win-win.

Meanwhile, steps are already being taken toward a strategic vision and action plan. The first policy areas selected for collaboration were the economy, traffic, the environment, and housing, issues that tend to lend themselves to somewhat easier compromises. As a first result, an action programme consisting of 59 measures was passed, first gaining approval in each of the 33 municipalities, then in a meeting of all the area's 800 local politicians. Each city's mayor has some roles on the metropolitan level, and action groups are formed on the political and bureaucratic levels. Thus, while it is true that the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is a forum for voluntary cooperation, there is hope of moving forward and handling more difficult issues (presentation of Jeroen van Spijk, Deputy Mayor of Haarlem at the Warsaw conference of European Metropolitan Authorities, 20 October 2017).

The Metropolitan Area is divided into five sub-regions. One of them is around Amsterdam, one is the coastal area, one includes Schiphol airport, and one contains the wealthiest residential areas. Two of these sub-regions have offices for cooperation. In sub-regions (which are voluntary cooperation platforms) where no offices exist, the province is the guiding actor for cooperation.

Metropolitan cooperation occurs primarily between municipalities and provinces, and under the auspices of the transport region. However, it is worth pointing out that governments, businesses and centres of knowledge also work together on the Amsterdam Economic Board in a Triple Helix configuration.

2.3. Wider urban networks

The OECD (2014) defines the Functional Urban Area of Amsterdam as a conglomerate of over 57 municipalities and over 2.4 million inhabitants. This would indicate that the functional urban area according to OECD (which is in general smaller than the FUAs defined by ESPON) is substantially bigger and more polycentric than the metropolitan area of Amsterdam. It does not have any formal bodies or informal cooperative institutions, as it is a spatial concept rather than an administrative one.

Finally, all these entities are located on the “North Wing” of the Randstad megalopolis (a major European conurbation with about 7 million inhabitants). Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam, Utrecht, and their surrounding functional urban areas comprise the Randstad. The report “Randstad towards 2040” (or “Randstad 2040”), published in September 2008 by the Ministry of Housing, Spatial Planning and



the Environment, laid out a structural vision for the region's future. The document is soon to give way to a Structural Vision on Infrastructure and Space (currently in development). Recently, a new development concept, the so-called Regional Economic Development Strategy (Regional, Economische Ontwikkelings Strategie), has emerged as an initiative of the central government. It includes not only the four Randstad cities, but Eindhoven as well. This has helped shape a metropolitan agenda above the Randstad level. That agenda is now going to be implemented by an informal cooperation between state, provinces and the five cities.

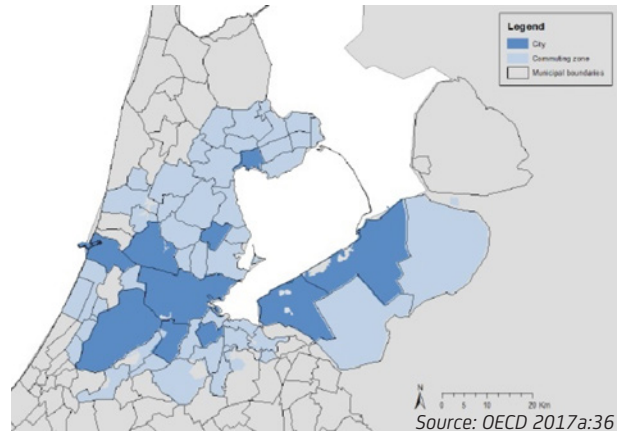


Figure 6: Functional Urban Area of Amsterdam by OECD

3. Evaluation and summary

There are metropolitan formations with different spatial scales around Amsterdam. None of them fit precisely with the OECD-defined functional urban area: one is smaller but has strong competencies in public transportation (Transport Region), another a bit smaller and still weak in fostering negotiations (Metropolitan Area), while one is substantially larger and concentrates on economic cooperation (Randstad). Even so, the Amsterdam Metropolitan Area is closest to the FUA.

The structure of metropolitan governance is in constant change in the Netherlands, in terms of both its spatial scale and its competencies. The biggest area of relative stability is tied to transportation functions (which traditionally belong to the provinces, but in case of Amsterdam and Rotterdam/Hague belong to metropolitan agglomerations).

Amsterdam's metropolitan-level coordination can be regarded as weak, as it takes the form of voluntary cooperation based on bi- or multi-lateral negotiations between the municipalities and the provinces, featuring only a very loose institutional structure (coordination team and bureaus). No competencies are reserved for the metropolitan level, and the strongest power (e.g. spatial planning, housing) is delegated to the municipal and provincial levels. Thus, the metropolitan level remains not much more than a forum to share information and generate projects, with a scope that is largely limited to win-win situations and a lack of ability to handle the most controversial topics, such as social housing and the location of big infrastructure projects.

Local experts, political actors and government level decision makers see the deficiencies of the current situation, and thus there are constant efforts to organise regional governance in a more efficient way. Three years ago, the government was nearly able to implement a dramatic reduction in the number of provinces but, as the reform proposal did not grant the remaining provinces the enhanced powers they sought, the provinces ultimately rejected it. Spatial coordination on the metropolitan level is expected to further evolve – provided that policy makers on the national level are committed enough to achieving this. In addition, as developments since the year of 2017 prove, new energies are being channelled into metropolitan cooperation: housing, transport and economic issues were selected to elaborate action plans and formulate action groups. The ideas were accepted by 33 municipalities and 800 politicians in spring 2017. This fact prompts hope for further interactions and coordinated planning.



Table 4: Different levels of metropolitan cooperation around Amsterdam

| Cooperation form | Scale | Functions |
|--|---|---|
| Transport Authority Amsterdam (Vervorregio Amsterdam) | 15 municipalities 1 498 791 inhabitants (2016) | Regional Transportation authority, regional council formed by delegated members from municipalities |
| Amsterdam Metropolitan Area (Metropoolregio Amsterdam) | 33 municipalities, representatives of North Holland and Flevoland provinces, and Amsterdam City Region 2 388 318 inhabitants (2015) | Informal partnership based around three committees: Planning, Accessibility and Economic Structure |
| Randstad | Collection of small and large cities in North Holland and South Holland, Utrecht and Flevoland, 7.1 million inhabitants (2016, estimated) | No formal or informal governance body and no official boundary |
| Randstad + Eindhoven | 4 major cities of Randstad + Eindhoven | Regional Economic Development Strategy is under implementation |

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Interview with Marjolein Stamschnijder (city of Amsterdam), drs. O. (Olga) Prins (Ministry of Interior and Kingdom relations) and written input from Leo van 't Hof (MIRT-coordinator Noordwest Nederland) and Joost Schrijnen (KP Rotterdam).

COPENHAGEN

(Denmark)



1. National level framework

1.1. Formal government system

The territorial administrative levels in Denmark are shaped by the 2007 Local Government Reform law (Strukturreformen, effective as of January 1 2007). Under this reform, the number of municipalities was cut from 271 to 98, and the previously existing 13 counties were merged into 5 regions – one of which is the Capital region (Region Hovedstaden). The reform was undertaken to manage the previous territorial administrative structure's weaknesses, particularly the small size of municipalities and the inefficient distribution of tasks among different levels of government, which both gave rise to parallel tasks and functions and left certain "grey areas" unaddressed (Ministry of the Interior and Health, 2005:7). By means of mergers, many towns and their nearby suburbs became single entities.

An important redistribution of tasks took place in parallel with the spatial restructuring. As the counties were abolished, some of their tasks were transferred to state level. However, the majority of county competencies (including most spatial planning functions) were delegated to the municipalities. Currently, municipal tasks include:

- Town and country land use planning and environmental protection issues (which in Denmark are very closely intertwined with all other aspects of land use planning).
- Business services and tourism promotion (closely intertwined with zoning and land-use planning).
- Collective transport and roads inside the boundaries of the municipalities, and also managing the participation in regional transport networks.
- Local and preventive health care and out-patient care.
- Social services, including child care and elderly care, primary school, special education for adults, integration and language education for immigrants.

- Culture, libraries, cultural facilities.
- Employment activation measures and employment projects, carried out jointly with the state.
- Citizen administrative service centres: one-stop-shops with public authority case handling for documents (IDs, passports etc.) and taxation.

Part of the reason for the local government reform was that the previously existing parish and borough system of smaller traditional localities was more appropriate for an era when rural and urban areas were more clearly distinct. With the rise of a network of residential and business areas and the associated challenge of urban sprawl in various peri-urban locations, this system was deemed obsolete. Thus, the new, larger municipalities were tasked with most town and country (urban and rural) land-use planning functions. It must be noted that municipalities have traditionally been the major sub-national administrative tiers and held the majority of public functions: Denmark's 1953 Constitution (§82) provides for their right to "manage their own affairs independently, under State supervision".

The newly established regions' main responsibility is hospital administration: an efficient pooling and management of health care funding, in-patient care management, general and specialized practitioners, and health insurance. These services are funded via the central government budget through block grants, a state funding pool, and a relatively minor (about 10%) contribution from local municipalities. They also undertake planning activities and serve as coordination platforms for municipalities. In addition, they are recipients of EU funds, meaning that they have some fund distribution tasks. Establishing regional transport networks and supporting municipalities in channelling

their transport activities on the regional level are also among their tasks.

Both municipalities and regions are led by councils, whose members are elected directly to four-year terms. Municipalities can levy taxes and have a wide range of competencies, ranging from employment, education and social care to most planning tasks. Regions, meanwhile, do not levy taxes, and aside from health care administration, most of their actions are limited to coordination and informal guidance for municipal cooperation (Galland & Enemark 2012:2).

Finally, the state is responsible for large-scale tasks which cannot be efficiently carried out at a lower level of government, including police forces, defence, the judicial system and foreign policy. The state also funds and coordinates both higher education and research, development and innovation (RDI) in cooperation with municipal business development efforts. Similarly to much of health care provision, this could not be efficiently managed on the local level.



Source: www.nordregio.se

Figure 7. Regions of Denmark (excluding Bornholm)

2. Metropolitan collaborations

2.1. The Capital Region of Denmark (Region Hovedstaden)

The population of Denmark in 2012 was about 5.6 million, in an area of 42,900 square kilometres, excluding Greenland and the Faroe Islands (the 2017 population of mainland Denmark is estimated at 5.7 million). Urban residents accounted for almost 88 per cent of the total population. The capital Region (*Region Hovedstaden*) consists of 29 municipalities after the *Strukturreform*. In 2012, its population was 1.7 million people, residing in a territory of 2,546 square kilometres. Thus the capital region is home to about a third of the country's population. Copenhagen is the largest municipality in the region, with approximately 550,000 inhabitants.

A Greater Copenhagen Authority existed from 2000 to 2007, partly to manage the complex coordination and development challenges faced by the Øresund area during and after the opening of the Øresund Bridge in July 2000. It functioned similarly to a county prior to the Municipal Reform, managing public transport, business development, tourism and industry, and other functions usually assigned to counties. However, this entity was abolished in the 2007 reform, and no formal organisation



Source: https://wikivisually.com/wiki/Region_Hovedstaden

Figure 8. The 29 municipalities of the Region Hovedstaden (without Bornholm)

has replaced it since. The dissolution of the Greater Copenhagen Authority upon the entry into force of the 2007 Local Government Reform may be understood as an equalizing step, counteracting an imbalance of power between the Øresund region and other Danish regions. However, a gradual “neoliberal” turn, giving increasingly more room to spatial positioning, did eventually enter Danish policy making (Galland & Eremark 2012:23-24).

As highlighted above, the Capital Region’s legal competences became quite limited after the 2007 reform: aside from being the largest player in health care, its planning and business development capacities are limited to “soft” governance tools. Notably, in 2008 only 2.6% of the Capital Region’s budget was allocated to regional development; the remainder of its budget was spent largely on health care administration and services, and to a smaller extent on other social services (OECD 2009:2010).

With the dissolution of the Greater Copenhagen Authority in 2007, the Capital Region became the most suitable remaining entity to coordinate of metropolitan

cooperation in the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area, even though its scale is too limited to do so effectively. The Capital Region has a directly elected council, composed of 41 politicians elected to four-year terms. The Regional Council also has an Executive Committee. However, due to its limited capacity and budget specifically for regional development or metropolitan cooperation, its role remains part informal institution, part forum for soft coordination mechanisms between autonomously operating municipalities, with these latter institutions remaining the most potent players in metropolitan cooperation and decision making.

There is no common service provision – besides the hospitals – on the level of the Capital Region. Public transportation, which is the most commonly integrated service organised on metropolitan level in other countries, is operated by decentralised state agencies, most of which operate on a regional level. The organisation that deals with the public transportation around Copenhagen (Movia) covers two regions: the Capital region and Zealand. In this area, there is a single ticketing system with coordinated timetables and integrated transport lines.

2.2. The Metropolitan Area of Copenhagen

At the same time, the Capital Region’s coordination capacity is undermined by the prominent role of the largely overlapping Copenhagen Metropolitan Area (slightly larger than the Capital Region itself, home to about 2 million people and consisting of 34 municipalities), whose role is underpinned by its distinct statutory position under the Planning Act. The Copenhagen Metropolitan Area encompasses 28 municipalities (all in the Capital Region, except Bornholm Island) and six additional municipalities from neighbouring Danish regions. Therefore, they do not constitute a single statistical or governmental unit. The Copenhagen Metropolitan Area is a spatial phenomenon and not an organisational entity. This is the area where the metropolitan spatial plan (the new version of the Finger Plan) was elaborated by the Ministry of the Environment.

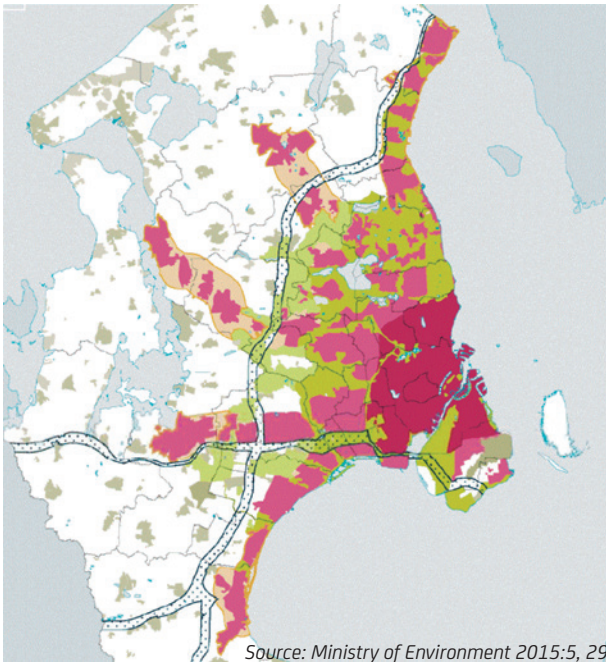
Between 2000 and 2007, the Greater Copenhagen Region had spatial planning competencies and a special institution devoted to this purpose (HUR). The government reform in 2007 delegated spatial planning competencies to the municipalities, which had become much bigger than before. Meanwhile, the five regions were not given planning rights, and although there was a very strong case to make for the capital region’s

need for this authority, it was a wise decision not to make exceptions and to grant all five regions the same competencies. That is why the new version of the Finger Plan was elaborated by the central government on a spatial scale that goes beyond just the Capital Region.

The Finger Plan

The spatial planning of the Capital Region is based on the 1947 Finger Plan: urban residential and business zones are organised along the five transport “fingers” set up around the railway system, which are divided by green wedges. As the Plan embodies the concept of a liveable city with mixed areas, accessibly to both political decision makers and citizens, it enjoys wide understanding and acceptance, and the affected municipalities have been motivated to stick to it over the decades. Through revision, the Plan came to include the Metropolitan area of Copenhagen; its most recent versions were the 2007 and the 2013 editions.

The Finger Plan was the result of a voluntary cooperation agreement between three counties and 22 municipalities in the then-forming metropolitan area in 1947. Aside from some state involvement, metropolitan planning and development in the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area has



Source: Ministry of Environment 2015:5, 29

Figure 9. A sketch of the Finger Plan (1947); current area classification

remained based on voluntary inter-municipal cooperation to the present day. In 1958, the Danish state set up a Regional Planning Secretariat, a body that was replaced in 1967 by a Regional Planning Council, set up by the municipalities of Copenhagen, Fredriksberg and Roskilde. The Council remained in place from some time, and it was renamed the Greater Copenhagen Council in 1974. This entity was responsible for drafting Regional Plans until its closure in 1989. The three counties in the region, together with Copenhagen and Fredriksberg municipalities, continued their collaboration on regional planning through the 1990s. Then, in 2000, a Capital Development

Council was set up, running until 2007. It was formed with the launch of the Øresund regional cooperation, and it was later discontinued when the Strukturreform took effect on January 1, 2007. Planning in the Capital Regions has since been undertaken as a cooperative effort of the municipalities in the two neighbouring regions (the Capital Region and the six affected municipalities in Zealand) and the Ministry of the Environment (Ministry of Environment 2015:5-6). The number of municipalities covered by the Finger Plan was reduced from 52 to 35 after the reform, which may help fuel greater inter-municipal cooperation in the area (2009:2011).

The revised Finger Plan of 2007, in line with the Strukturreform, gave greater discretion to municipalities than previous Capital Region plans, which had still relied on the coordination role of the various regional councils. Since 2012, the Planning Act has specified that the Minister for the Environment must prepare a national planning directive for the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area.

Accordingly, the Finger Plan is now a national directive issued pursuant to the national Planning Act, and it defines the planning principles for the Copenhagen Metropolitan Area to which the included municipalities must adhere. The zones for urban planning and regeneration are set out here, as well as the green wedges, which must not be converted into urban zones. Four types of geographical areas are defined in the Plan:

- The core urban region (the palm of the hand), encompassing the central urban municipalities of Copenhagen, Frederiksberg and Gentofte, as well as some of the nearby suburban districts and the island of Amager (with the airport and Ørestad development area).
- The peripheral urban region (the fingers).
- The green wedges in between the fingers (to be preserved as green recreational zones, also to prevent urban sprawl).
- The rest of the Greater Copenhagen Area, with a mix of urban and rural areas; urban development is concentrated around local municipal centres.

Not only were the four types of geographical areas defined, but also planning principles were set out, standards that the municipalities must meet when elaborating their local land-use plans:

- Transport must be planned in line with the Finger Plan.
- There is a maximum growth allowed for each municipality (green areas are protected).
- High-rises, new business developments and dense urban areas should be kept within a 600-1200 metre radius of

train stations (thus in walking distance).

- Large shops and residential services have to be located in the centre municipalities and in additional municipal town and district centres.

Special regulations apply in the Finger Plan for municipal planning in all four geographical areas, as well as to “cross-cutting themes”, like transport corridors and airport areas (Ministry of Environment 2015:18-28).

The Plan does not explicitly say what type of development should be placed where (e.g. where offices or shopping centres must be physically built), but instead says that anything can be built as long as it adheres to the principles. Naturally, not all municipalities were happy with this solution. The municipalities further away from the Copenhagen centre were subject to strong limitations in growth, as they did not have major railway lines, only side lines, which are not eligible to be built around. In addition, 11 municipalities were also dissatisfied with their possibilities under this plan, and they are now lobbying for state funds to develop a light rail system, stations of which can then be counted as growth poles. (These 11 municipalities make up the Loop-city coalition.)

There was strong opposition from regional actors to the intervention of the central government in the creation of the metropolitan spatial plan, but there were some reasons for this: 1) it affected two regions, 2) there was a shortage of time in 2007 to reach planning results as soon as possible. The experiences of the past 10 years show that the metropolitan plan was quite effective in regulating growth tied strictly to high capacity public transportation and, even if this led to disadvantaged situations for several settlements, it also led to proposals for new public transportation lines where they appeared to be necessary.

The competencies regarding the Finger Plan were moved from the Ministry of Environment to the Ministry of

Business after the last elections in 2015. This is not only an organisational shift, as it also reflects a changing planning approach: the implementation of the Finger Plan is intended to give more freedom to businesses and local stakeholders, as it was often argued that the Plan had been too rigid and unable to react on the ever-changing business environment. This change in the planning approach, however, has also been the subject of debate, as it weakens the tools higher-level authorities have to overcome local interests. There are constant negotiations between the Ministry of Business and local stakeholders on how to protect the environment – this is the priority of the Ministry – versus how to create more opportunities for housing and the economy –the local aim. (50% of personal income tax is redistributed to the local level, which is why it is in the interest of the local municipalities to lure as many affluent residents as possible.)

As was mentioned before, the Metropolitan Area of Copenhagen is a spatial phenomenon that forms the basis of the metropolitan spatial plan. The area does not have an official organisational structure, but is rather a network in which project-based and service-based cooperation takes place. However, the Association of Municipalities does have a committee on the Greater Copenhagen area, in which the 28 municipalities from the Capital Region (and occasionally the six others from the neighbouring areas) coordinate their development ideas.

In addition, smaller municipalities (even if after the government reform of 2007 a municipality must have at least 30.000 inhabitants) cooperate to provide certain services in order to make them economically viable (e.g. in case of waste management or psychiatric services). In addition, groups of municipalities cooperate with each other and with the nation state in order to implement certain projects, like the 11 municipalities collaborating to build a new light rail line, or in the case of large brown-field development or the creation of new urban areas around new railway stations.

2.3. The Greater Copenhagen Area (Øresund Region)

The term “Greater Copenhagen” is used for different spatial phenomena: sometimes the Metropolitan Area of Copenhagen is called Greater Copenhagen even in official documents, while sometimes the area composed of the Metropolitan Area of Copenhagen, Bornholm, and Scania in Sweden (sometimes together referred to as the Øresund region) is the territorial basis of Greater Copenhagen. This area covers a cross-border cooperation

between the Capital Region of Denmark and Region Zealand on the Danish side and Scania on the Swedish side. The two areas are connected via the Øresund Bridge and a ferry line.

This large-scale area is a basis for economic development, cooperation and branding, and its importance is emerging.

3. Evaluation and summary

There are at least 3 different types of cooperation around Copenhagen, as the following table displays:

Table 5: Metropolitan cooperation around Copenhagen

| Cooperation form | Scale | Functions |
|---------------------------------|--|---|
| Copenhagen Region | Copenhagen + 27 municipalities; directly elected assembly | Hospital service and soft tools in economic development and regional planning |
| Metropolitan Area of Copenhagen | Copenhagen and 33 municipalities (6 outside the borders of Capital Region). It does not have an organisational structure | Binding spatial plan (Finger Plan) |
| Greater Copenhagen area | Area of Copenhagen, Bornholm, and Scania in Sweden | Economic cooperation, branding |

Still, there is no formal metropolitan level organisation around Copenhagen (Copenhagen Region is smaller than the metropolitan area and its competencies are practically limited to health care). After the government reform of 2007, there seems not even to be a wish to establish such an organisation. The coordination of metropolitan development is based on a very strong spatial plan, elaborated by the central government, and this plan provides binding guidelines for local land-use plans. This plan is largely to protect the natural landscape and has succeeded in promoting growth in areas where public transportation is well developed. Metropolitan level cooperation happens under the auspices of the metropolitan spatial plan, relying on bi- or multi-lateral

cooperation that aims at implementing larger scale development projects or common service provision between small groupings of municipalities.

This solution, however, has some flaws, to which different local stakeholders react differently: the externalities of development (like socially vulnerable households migrating to Copenhagen in need of social housing) may not be properly distributed among the settlements. In addition, there are no compensation methods developed for areas that have less growth potential, just as there are no tools to accelerate growth in areas where it would be feasible but the settlements are reluctant to implement it.

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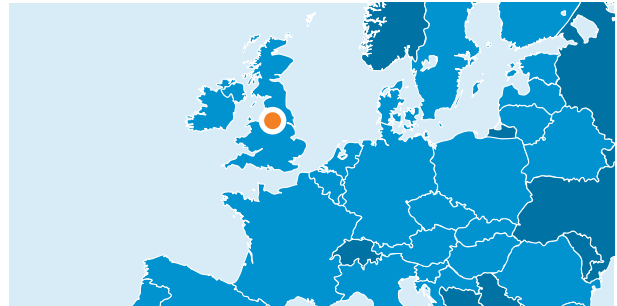
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GREATER MANCHESTER

(United Kingdom)



1. National level framework

1.1. Formal government system

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK) is governed within the framework of a parliamentary democracy under a constitutional monarchy. It has a unitary system of government, where power is held in the centre, although some powers have been decentralised to the accountable governments of Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

The current overview focuses on England, where Greater Manchester is located. Many parts of England have two tiers of local government:

- County councils.
- District (borough) or city councils.

In some parts of the country, there is just one tier of local government carrying out all the functions, known as a 'unitary authority'. This can be a city, borough or county council – or it may just be called a 'council'. Many areas also have parish or town councils, which operate at a level below district and borough councils and in some cases, unitary authorities.

There are a total of 353 councils in England:

- 36 Metropolitan districts, part of six metropolitan counties, including Greater Manchester.
- 32 London boroughs, plus the City of London.
- 55 unitary authorities, plus the Isles of Scilly.
- 27 Non-metropolitan county councils.
- 201 Non-metropolitan district councils.¹

The non-metropolitan arrangements

Most of the geographical area of England has a two-tier non-metropolitan arrangement. The two-tier arrangement

consists of 27 non-metropolitan counties and 201 district councils. Non-metropolitan districts can additionally have the status of borough or city, although this has no effect on their powers or functions.

Non-metropolitan counties provide a large number of services such as: education, transport, planning, social care, trading standards, and waste management.

Non-metropolitan district councils have a more limited role and are usually responsible for services such as: housing, planning applications, waste collection, recycling, and council tax collections.²

Unitary authorities

The 55 unitary authorities of England have the powers and functions that non-metropolitan government layers have. They are responsible for the provision of all local government services (which are shared between council and district councils in the two-tier system, see above). Unitary authorities do not cover all of England, just the areas with only one council. Most were established during the 1990s, and a further group were created in 2009.

The main types of unitary authorities are:

- Unitary authorities in shire areas.
- London boroughs (32).
- Metropolitan districts.

Greater London Authority has a distinct legal status as a metropolitan *authority* and is responsible for the spatial

1 Source: Gov.uk: List of councils in England

2 Source: Gov.uk: Understand how your council works

development plan, which is a cross-sectoral plan that focuses on transport, economic development, housing and culture.

Parish, community and town councils operate at a level below district and borough councils and in some cases, unitary authorities. They are elected and can act on a number of local issues, like providing allotments, public clocks, consultation on neighbourhood planning, etc. They also have the power to issue fixed fines for things like graffiti, flyer posting and dog offences.

Metropolitan counties and districts (borough)

Six large conurbations in England have the legal status of metropolitan counties (Greater Manchester, Merseyside, South Yorkshire, Tyne and Wear, West Midlands and West Yorkshire). Each metropolitan county had a county council providing limited strategic services, such as public transport and planning, from 1974 to 1986. In 1986, the metropolitan councils were abolished and the metropolitan cooperation remained as a voluntary process, but metropolitan counties still exist as legal entities.

A metropolitan borough is a type of local government district in England, more specifically a subdivision of a metropolitan county. Created in 1974 by the Local Government Act of 1972, metropolitan boroughs are

defined in English law as metropolitan districts. Since 1986 the 36 metropolitan districts have functioned and operated effectively as unitary authorities and provide the majority of services, including transport, education and social services. However, metropolitan districts pool much of their authority and exercise functions such as public transport in joint boards and other arrangements that cover whole metropolitan counties, such as combined authorities (see below).

Combined Authorities

A combined authority is a type of local government institution introduced in England outside Greater London by the Local Democracy, Economic Development and Construction Act (2009). There are currently nine such authorities, with the Greater Manchester Combined Authority established on April 1, 2011, four others established in April 2014, two in 2016 and two more in 2017. They are created on a voluntary basis and are indirectly elected legal entities. Six out of the nine authorities implemented a system of direct election of the metropolitan mayor in 2017. They allow a group of local authorities to pool appropriate responsibility and receive certain delegated functions from the central government in order to deliver transport, economic development and regeneration more effectively over a wider area.³

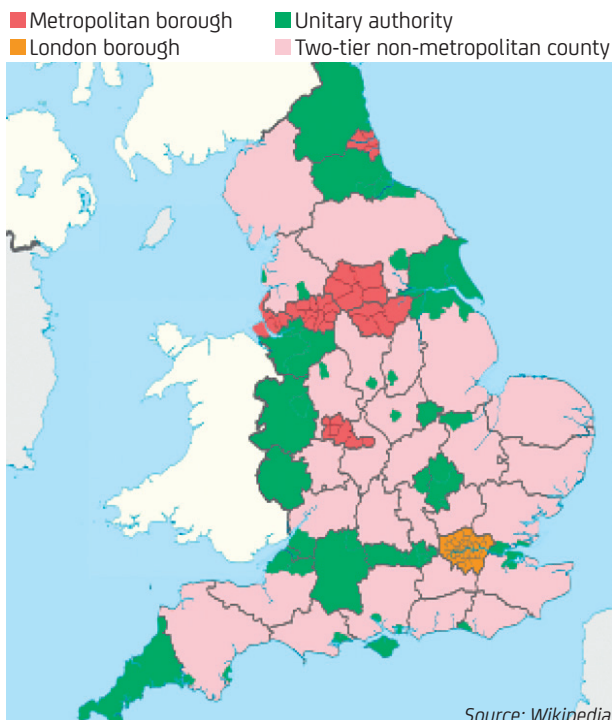


Figure 10: Different types of authorities in England

³ Source: Wikipedia.org: Combined Authority



2. Metropolitan collaborations

2.1. Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA)

Basic information

The number of inhabitants of the Greater Manchester area steadily decreased from 1970 to 2000, but it has started to grow significantly since. In 2011, the population was 2,682,500,⁴ and has continued to increase since then. It is the third biggest county in England, and consists of ten metropolitan boroughs, one of which is Manchester itself.

The area's territory is 1277 km², and it consists of mostly urbanised areas, where some of the metropolitan boroughs practically belong to Manchester's urban texture (part of the morphological area), like Salford, Trafford, and Stockport; while others are located 20-25 kilometres from Manchester like Bury, Bolton, Rochdale, and Wigan. The size of the population in the core of the area (Manchester) is 530,300 (2015), and most of the core cities of the boroughs also have nearly 100,000 inhabitants.⁵

According to the OECD the functional urban area of Manchester is home to 1,935,559 inhabitants (as of 2014), while according to the ESPON definition the FUA has 2,556,000 residents (2006). Thus, the Greater Manchester area practically has the same number of residents as the functional urban area according to ESPON.

History of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority

Greater Manchester was a metropolitan county with a two tier government system between 1974 and 1986. (Plans for the establishment of the county existed as far back as 1965.) In 1969, the Redcliffe-Maud Report suggested the abolition the urban and rural districts approach, suggesting that cooperation should instead be based on commuting and service provision. The report thus proposed a somewhat larger territory for Greater Manchester than it has today (called SELNEC: South East Lancashire, North East and Central Cheshire).

In 1969, the SELNEC Passenger Transport Executive (an authority to coordinate and operate public transport in the region) was set up, covering an area smaller than the proposed SELNEC, and different again from the eventual Greater Manchester. Even though the report was rejected by the government, the topic of metropolitanisation

became important in 1970 after the elections. The Local Government Act (1972) reformed the local government system in England by creating a system of two-tier metropolitan and non-metropolitan counties and districts throughout the country. As a result, Greater Manchester County was established with nine metropolitan districts plus Manchester on April 1, 1974. It had extensive competencies in areas such as service provision like public transportation, waste management, emergency services and strategic planning, but was criticized by some members for being too Manchester-centric.

The metropolitan councils in the country in general tended to be left leaning, while the ruling party of England at the time was right wing, which created several conflicts. It was commonly said that this led to the abolishment of the metropolitan councils in March 1986. They continued to exist as statistical units (NUTS 2), with a Lord Lieutenant and a High Sheriff. Most of their competencies were transferred to the county districts. However, several county-wide services were co-ordinated through the Association of Greater Manchester Authorities until April 2011. It was a framework for voluntary cooperation of boroughs, on issues like transportation, waste management and the labour market.

In 2011, the Greater Manchester Combined Authority was established to place the functions of the formerly voluntary organisation under the umbrella of a single combined authority. In addition, on 4 May 2017 the first mayoral elections were held, resulting in the election of a Labour party representative. (Six different combined authority areas held mayoral elections in 2017: Greater Manchester, Cambridge and Peterborough, the Liverpool city region, Tees Valley, West of England, West Midlands.)

This was the result of a gradual process starting in the late 1990s, when several studies were published on metropolitan cooperation options. The Treasury also published a report recommending that the government allow city regions that wished to work together to form a statutory framework for city regional activity, possibly exercising powers over transport, skills, planning and economic development. The issue of congestion charging also underlined the need to establish metropolitan authorities (in December 2008 the inhabitants of the Greater Manchester Area voted against congestion charging). On July 14, 2008, the ten local authorities in

⁴ Source: Wikipedia.org: Greater Manchester

⁵ Source: Wikipedia.org: Greater Manchester

Greater Manchester agreed on a strategic and integrated cross-county Multi-Area Agreement: a voluntary initiative that aimed at making district councils “work together to challenge the artificial limits of boundaries”. The topics of the agreement were transport, regeneration, and attracting investment.⁶

In 2009, Greater Manchester and the Leeds City Region were granted the possibility to gain pilot status as Statutory City Regions (if they wished to do so) for their constituent district councils to pool resources and become statutory Combined Authorities with powers comparable to the Greater London Authority. The 10 metropolitan boroughs had to accept the concept. The ten district councils of Greater Manchester approved the creation of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority (GMCA) on 29 March 2010, and they submitted final recommendations for a constitution to the national government. The new authority came into being on April 1, 2011. On the same day, the Transport for Greater Manchester Committee was also formed from a pool of 33 councillors allocated by council population (roughly one councillor per 75,000 residents) to scrutinise the running of Greater Manchester’s transport bodies and their finances, approve the decisions and policies of said bodies and make strategic policy recommendations or suggest projects for the approval of the Combined Authority.⁷

In March 2012, the Greater Manchester City Deal was also signed between the combined authority and the central government. It consisted of:

- A “Revolving Infrastructure Fund”, allowing the GMCA to earn back up to £30 million per year from its spending on infrastructure projects.

- The formation of a “Greater Manchester Investment Framework” allowing Greater Manchester to make better use of central government and EU funding.
- The establishment of a “Greater Manchester Housing Investment Board” to build new housing in the area.
- The creation of a “City Apprenticeship and Skills Hub” to increase the number of apprenticeships available in the area.
- The formation of a “Low Carbon Hub” to integrate multiple carbon reduction measures.

Since then, several other city deals have been signed in 2014, 2015 and 2016, dealing with the decentralisation of different national tasks and the election of the mayor.

Organisational form/representation

Greater Manchester is currently a geographic and ceremonial county without administrative authority. The Authority’s constitution is set out in an Operating Agreement, which has been approved by all 10 constituent councils: Bolton, Bury, Manchester, Oldham, Rochdale, Salford, Stockport, Tameside, Trafford and Wigan.

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority replaced the single function bodies that existed from 1986 to 2011. Nonetheless, large scale functional bodies still exist within the organisation, including Transport for Greater Manchester, Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Service, and the Waste Disposal Authority. There is a common police service as well, and the ten boroughs jointly own the Manchester Airport Group.

The Combined Authority’s council, which also serves as the mayor’s cabinet, consists of 10 indirectly elected members, each of whom is directly elected council member from one of the 10 boroughs. Each member has one vote. The authority decides with a simple majority vote in most cases, although there are some issues that require at least 7 votes out of the 11, like the adoption of certain strategies, plans, the annual budget, or the acceptance of any functions delegated by the state.

In May 2017, the first election for the mayor of Greater Manchester was held. The next elections will take place in 3 years, together with the local elections, and the next mayoral term will thus last 5 years. The mayor is also supported by a Deputy Mayor for Policing and Crime and a Deputy Mayor for Economic Growth and Business. The mayor is the single point of accountability, representing the whole of Greater Manchester.

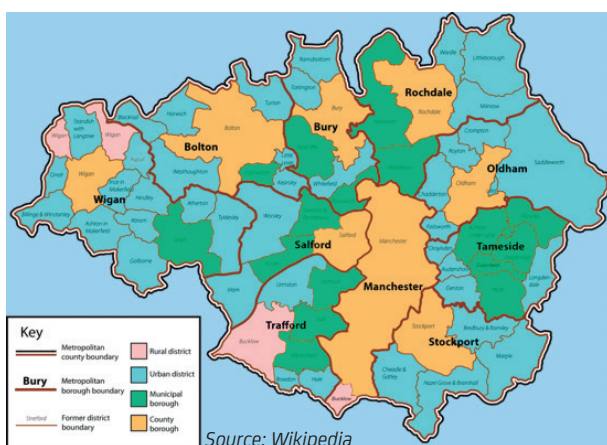


Figure 11: the boroughs of Greater Manchester

6 Source: Wikipedia.org: Greater Manchester

7 Source: Wikipedia.org: Greater Manchester

The idea of a directly elected mayor came from the central government, but originally not all the boroughs supported it. The elected mayor eventually received several competencies, although the most important decisions must be approved by a two-thirds majority in the mayor's cabinet, or via a consensus in the GMCA (for instance in the case of the spatial framework).

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority's "council" (the 10 borough leaders and the mayor) meets monthly at varying locations across Greater Manchester. The meetings are open to the public and are broadcast.

The authority has boards, panels and committees covering areas like transport, health and social care, planning and housing. They usually seek to build wide-ranging among the stakeholders in the given area. For example, the Greater Manchester Infrastructure Advisory Group was established in June 2014, featuring representatives from United Utilities, BT, Electricity North West, National Grid UK Gas Distribution, Environment Agency, Highways England and Transport for Greater Manchester, the Homes and Community Agency, and the GMCA Planning and Housing Team.⁸

The Combined Authority has a staff of approximately 200 employees. Instead of typical authority issues, they primarily conduct research, elaborate strategies, and provide training.

Common functions

In late 2016, the Combined Authority had gained direct competencies in service provision in certain fields (like transportation, policing, and waste management) and had at its disposal the necessary tools (strategies, funds, networking, database development, guidance) to intervene in other sectors like housing, culture, and economic development.

However, it is important to note that even if the Combined Authority is responsible for service provision in many fields, the organisations that provide these services are in practical terms independent from the Combined Authority in their everyday operation. Rather than overseeing them directly, the Combined Authority provides strategic guidance to these entities through the 10 Authority members, each of whom is responsible for certain fields. As one of the interviewees put it, "there is a dotted line between the Combined Authority and the service provision body". Truly falling under the responsibility of

the Combined Authority's own staff are areas like strategic planning, strategic thinking and strategic decision making.

Transport

The transport organisation was set up as SELNEC PTE in 1969, and it was renamed the Greater Manchester Passenger Transport Executive (GMPTE) in 1974. The county at that time was responsible for planning, public transportation and highways as well. GMPTE continued to be responsible for public transportation after 1986, when the metropolitan council was abolished. It was again renamed in 2011 as Transport for Greater Manchester (TfGM), and the organisation was given additional competencies by the central government.

The organisation manages the integrated transportation service, and it is also the owner of certain parts of the infrastructure, like the light rail system servicing 7 of the 9 boroughs of Manchester. It also owns bus stops, stations, and junctions. The operation itself is implemented by private contractors for the light rail system, the trains, and buses. TfGM is also responsible for the cycling infrastructure. Besides public transportation, TfGM also manages 360 miles of the highway network, referred to as the "key route network".

Based on these responsibilities, TfGM is a more powerful organisation than other integrated public transportation organisations in other metropolitan areas, as it not only coordinates the service but also implements significant investments and owns part of the infrastructure; moreover, beyond public transportation it is also responsible for highways.

Decisions on new infrastructure projects result from long-term negotiations. For example, there are always debates on whether new tram connections should connect the better-off or the less affluent part of the metropolitan area with the centre. In the past, the better-off suburbs were connected, but now the poorer areas are demanding better service after being neglected because their purchasing power was lower. Sooner or later, each area should be connected.

The Combined Authority implements its power in the field of transportation through the Transport for Greater Manchester Committee (TfGMC) and its sub-committees made up of a pool of 33 councillors nominated to manage the TfGM and make transport policy on behalf of the GMCA. These councillors have voting rights on most transport issues despite not being members of the GMCA. However, some decisions still require approval from the

⁸ Source: Website of Greater Manchester

GMCA. This committee decides on most of the issues regarding TfGM (e.g. transportation plans and funding), so in practice the Committee is the client, while the Transport for Greater Manchester is the implementing body. The company has decision making power only with regard to road safety and traffic management.

In addition, the mayor of Greater Manchester is the “council member” officially responsible for transportation issues, which underlines the importance of transportation.

Environment

Greater Manchester has a common Waste Disposal Authority that is responsible for traditional waste disposal as well as waste recycling. The Authority covers 9 out of the 10 boroughs (Wigan has its own waste disposal system).

In addition to waste management, the Combined Authority has the Climate Change and Low Emission Implementation Plan 2016-2020, which complements the Greater Manchester Low Emission Strategy and the GM Air Quality Action Plan. Based on the strategic plan, several pilot projects have been defined in the field of energy efficiency, and plans have been made for the introduction of new heating systems.

Policing and safety

The Mayor of Greater Manchester is also personally responsible for the governance and budgets of the Greater Manchester Police and the Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Service. The Fire and Rescue service operates 41 stations with 2,100 employees, making it one of the largest fire departments in the country after London.

The police service also covers the territory of the 10 boroughs, with local branches in each of these areas.

Spatial planning

The Combined Authority is currently elaborating the Greater Manchester Spatial Framework, for which the first round of public debate was recently closed, and the second draft is slated to be published in June 2018, finishing in the autumn. As the Greater Manchester Combined Authority home page states, “being produced by all 10 councils working together in partnership, [the spatial framework] will ensure that we have the right land available in the right places to deliver the homes and jobs we need up to 2035, and will identify the new infrastructure such as transport, schools, health centres

and utility networks required to achieve this”.

The framework is intended to allocate more sites for housing and employment in order to drive the ongoing economic and population growth. However, many of the 27,000 comments received in the first phase of public debate expressed unease about sacrificing green areas in order to accommodate growth. This issue of development areas versus green areas is a crucial one which the plan tries to confront by accommodating growth in close-to-centre areas in each borough by using brownfield as much as possible. The implementation of the spatial plan requires the cooperation of each borough: even if the mayor theoretically has the right to expropriate lands, the councils of the boroughs can effectively assert objections, so negotiations are needed in each case. Of the 10 boroughs, six have already agreed to the spatial framework and accepted the plans for how growth should be handled around their central areas.

Housing and homelessness

The Combined Authority has no direct competencies in housing, and it does not have its own housing stock, but is able to accelerate housing development through indirect measures:

- The Authority administers the Greater Manchester Housing Fund, which, in combination with government resources, takes £300 million and provides short term loans for developers to kick-start construction or revitalisation projects.
- The Authority developed the Housing Market Monitor, which is an online database on housing prices and rent levels, and also provides statistics on construction processes.
- The Authority acts as an agent to connect empty homes with customers looking for affordable housing. “With a huge demand for affordable housing, it’s vital that we work with property owners to get empty homes back into use.” (Home page of GMCA).
- The mayor has a fund to support NGOs working in the field of homelessness. This competency may be further strengthened should a direct tax be introduced in 2018 as proposed. This tax would provide direct income to the Combined Authority under the auspices of the mayor, who intends to devote most of the funds to combatting homelessness.

Economic growth and business

The GMCA also provides support to facilitate business activities by various means:

Greater Manchester

- Greater Manchester has a Works and Skills Strategy and Priorities for 2016-2019. The Authority uses – among other sources of financing – EU funds for education and skills to implement these projects (either as intermediaries or information providers).
- The GM authority provides services to facilitate business activities like its Business Growth Hub programme that offers expert one-to-one and peer-to-peer business support, events, specialist programmes and access to financial advice.
- The Authority established the Business Advisory Panel that supports the Mayor personally.
- The Authority set up a Greater Manchester Local Enterprise partnership.
- The Authority established the Greater Manchester Investment Fund, which provides flexible loans of £500,000 to £5 million, for up to 5 years, to help higher than average risk businesses obtain funding. In addition, “Our Core Investment Fund” offers flexible loans and equity investments of between £0.5m and £5m at commercial rates; and the Authority operates a Skills capital Fund that has already secured £71 million for 2017-2020.

The Greater Manchester scale is also on the mental map of the business stakeholders, as even the Chamber of Commerce operates on the Greater Manchester level.

Sports and culture

In the field of sports and culture, the Authority operates different programmes, manages facilities (like the Water Adventure Centre in Droylsden), and supports the

operation of theatres. In addition, it operates the Northern Cultural Regeneration Fund (£15 million).

From 2018, the Authority plans to establish a Culture and Social Impact Fund to support non-profit cultural projects.

Health and social care

In a deal with the central government in 2015, the Authority was endowed with the responsibility for coordinating national government resources for health services and disease prevention. This was mainly decided so to use the national resources in a more efficient way to avoid undue redundancies in spending. The entities involved in service provision remained the same, but this shift allowed for a more efficient coordination of resources and tasks. A new partnership, with the participation of the relevant actors in this field, was established, and a strategic plan was formulated. The plan is currently being implemented at a different pace in all boroughs.

The same process has started in a special segment of education, where several small service providers offer vocational education to students over the age of 19. GMCA gained the competency via a city deal to coordinate these service providers.

Financing mechanisms

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority has different sources of income:



- Levy on council tax (£71.86 per person) to contribute to the finance of public transportation.
- There are also other levies on council tax for the direct services GMCA provides, like the police or waste management. (For the police, an annual amount of £135.56/taxpayer is proposed for 2018/2019, while for the fire protection service the amount is £46.62/taxpayer.) The council tax is based on the value of the private property, and thus this average amount covers different tax burdens on different properties.
- The Authority receives transfers from the national government according to individual city deals, using different funds (e.g. Greater Manchester Transport Fund); One of the main reasons for city deals is the decrease in the amount of funds made available for public services, meaning that the central government is eager to devolve competencies to coordinate funds to lower levels in the hope that they will be spent more efficiently and in a more coordinated way.
- GMCA participates in different calls for funding, e.g. in 2017 it received nearly £1.5 million from the Arts Council of England.
- Finally, GMCA also uses EU funds directly.

Since 2017, the Mayor has had the right to apply a Community Infrastructure Levy to support development and regeneration, including services for the children and young people. Moreover, the mayor (subject to the enactment of primary legislation) has powers to levy an infrastructure supplement of up to 2p in the pound on the standard business rate multiplier. There is a requirement to consult with prospective business rate payers before imposing the supplement. 2018 will be

3. Evaluation and summary

Greater Manchester as a spatial concept has its own tradition. The area's inhabitants, the business stakeholders and local organisations identify themselves as being part of this area. Most of the area belongs to the same urban texture, as if it were a single city. Starting in the early 1970s, the area operated as a single entity. Even when the county council was abolished after 1986, the voluntary service cooperation remained close-knit. Organisational innovation remained limited in metropolitan cooperation, as much of the innovation in the recent years was manifested in the elected mayor, and the way the Authority is expanding its competency over various new fields and competencies through city deals with the national government. By

the first time when the direct taxation competency of the Mayor may become a reality: according to the proposals (that are under debate now) an annual amount of £6.22 would be levied on each taxpayer in Greater Manchester to serve mayoral priorities. (These priorities may include “congestion, rough-sleeping and the major rewrite of a homes and jobs plan to reduce the amount of green space taken for development” – according to GMCA homepage.)

Consequently, while the vast majority of the funds are tied directly to services (transport, police, fire protection), the next most relevant amount stems from the devolution process (funds granted by the state through city deals), and the third package comes from participation in calls. Meanwhile, the Mayor's Office is about to gain some fiscal room to manoeuvre by levying its own individual tax. This division of funds also reflects the competencies the combined authority has: vast majority of its tasks are directly linked to service provision.

The total budget of GMCA was around £300 million in the financial year 2015/2016 (of which up to £290 million was allocated to transportation alone⁹). However, we have to be careful with these numbers, even if they are published on the official website of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority as the balance sheet, as they do not contain the income and expenses of several services like police, fire protection, waste management (with these services the budget would be about four times bigger). In addition, the GMCA has the authority to control certain spending (like the budget of the National Health Service in the area) that is not part of its official budget.

now, the Greater Manchester metropolitan cooperation has become the strongest combined authority after Greater London. Besides strategic control over service provision organisations in the area in transportation, waste management, police and fire protection, it operates funds, creates strategies, and collects and disseminates information. It is also becoming a clearinghouse and coordinator of financial resources in the sphere of health services and disease prevention.

⁹ It is important to note that public transportation is based on concessions and operates on a commercial basis. TfGM provides support for certain purposes (e.g. for school buses), and thus the budget it has for transportation is not for running the service but for contributing to it.

The Combined Authority is a hybrid model in terms of governance representation: 1) the leaders of the 10 boroughs in the Authority represent their local interests on the one hand, but each of them also has a sectoral responsibility on the metropolitan level, which ties them to the interests of the area as a whole (it seems to be a personal matter whether a councillor represents the interests of his or her borough or the interests of the metropolitan area overall); and 2) the Authority has a directly elected mayor who acts on behalf of the area as a whole. The direct election of the representatives of the combined authority has not been on the political agenda, and the idea of local leaders being present in the decision-making body is still out of question. They consider these bodies the key to local democracy, and they do not want to create a new government layer, instead viewing the metropolitan level as a layer of governance. However, the directly elected mayor has substantial power in the Authority and is able to represent metropolitan interests. Additionally, as the interviewees highlighted, the mayor is able to represent Greater Manchester in the media and help its external projection. This soft power of the mayor is sometimes considered more significant than the authority the office has over different budgets and sectors in GM.



The Combined Authority can be considered a continuation of the past in that it engages in strategic guidance and coordination of service provision organisations (which already existed before the Combined Authority was set up). However, it has gained new power in a devolution process via city deals, starting to play the role of an intermediary government layer by coordinating services (e.g. health services, special types of education) as competencies are devolved from the state. In addition, the Authority has sought out intermediary roles that had not been played by any other actors before: these include spatial planning on the metropolitan level and information provision on the housing market, as well as combatting homelessness. Notable absent, however, has been the delegation of competencies from the 10 boroughs to the Combined Authority.

The Greater Manchester Combined Authority is strong not only in terms of formal competencies, but also in its connections with external actors (NGOs, businesses, state organisations, research bodies and service providers). This is manifested in, among other aspects, the partnerships the institution has forged in many areas, and in the boards and committees they have created, on which non-GMCA members are present. (It is, however, important to note that the culture of creating NGOs and different interest groups and negotiating decisions in advance is exceptionally strong in the UK.) In addition, the meetings of GMCA and the organisation's plans and decisions are all publicly available, and the most important decisions are taken after public debate (e.g. the first draft of the spatial plan has already received more than 27,000 comments.)

While it is true that the Combined Authority has certain competencies, its decisions are made based on negotiations, with the organisation always looking for compromises and trying to provide benefits to a range of actors over a reasonable period of time (as the examples of the spatial framework and the transport development projects show.)

The Combined Authority concentrates on the territory of Greater Manchester. Cooperation beyond these borders is rather loose. In UK terms, the "North of England" is still an existing mental phenomenon (which was a cooperation of three, already abolished, regions) that has some consequences in the present. Bilateral cooperation (like between the Liverpool and Manchester areas) happens in the field of economic development, and sometimes multi-party cooperation agreements are established (like in the case of 29 local authorities to lobby for future rail services).

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Interview with Alan Harding, Chief Economic Adviser to GMCA and Andrew Lightfoot, GMCA Deputy Chief Executive

STUTTGART

(Germany)



1. National level framework

With a population of more than 82 million, Germany is the most populous and the fifth most densely populated country (225 people/km²) in the European Union. It is a highly developed and urbanised country, the leading economic force of Europe, with a GDP of 48.989 USD/capita, and with 75.1% of the population living in cities. Income inequality, measured by the Gini co-efficient (0.289), is relatively low when compared to other OECD members (OECD: IDD).

Germany is a federal, parliamentary, representative republic, and it has four levels of elected public administration: national, state (in German, *Länder*), county and local (municipal). Power sharing between the federal and the state levels is governed in large part by the Basic Law. The reform of 2006 (*Föderalismusreform I*) further clarified responsibilities and transferred new ones to the states (OECD 2016).

National level

Federal government

The Federal Government is made up of the Chancellor and 15 Ministers. The head of state is the President (*Bundespräsident*), but this role is more ceremonial, as the actual head of government and the nation's leading political figure is the Chancellor.

Authority is divided between the federal government and the states. The exclusive legislative jurisdiction of the federal government extends to defence, foreign affairs, immigration, transportation, communications, and currency standards. Federal and state governments share concurrent powers in several areas, including civil law, refugee and expellee matters, public welfare, land management, consumer protection, public health, and the collection of vital statistics. In the areas of mass media,

nature conservation, regional planning, and public service regulations, framework legislation limits the federal government's role to offering general policy guidelines, which the states then act upon by means of detailed legislation. (Wikipedia: Federalism in Germany).

States

There are sixteen federal states in Germany. The cities of Berlin, Bremen and Hamburg are states in their own right and are called city states. They have a special status as federal states with a territory "restricted" to an individual large city, thus their governments combine state and municipal functions.

The states are responsible for areas such as:

- culture
- education
- regional economic development
- public welfare and health
- the environment
- policing

Each state elects a regional parliament (*Landtag*) for a four-year term, and this body in turn appoints a government (*Landsregierung*) headed by a prime minister (*Ministerpräsident*) (CEMR 2011:21).

Intermediate level: *Kreise* (counties/districts)

There are 402 counties (called *Kreise* in German, the translation into English is either district or county, depending on the document consulted) which represent the intermediary tier in the German administration. Each county has a directly-elected assembly (*Kreistag*), with a term that can vary from four to six years, depending on the Land (State). The president (*Landrat*) can be either directly elected by the people or chosen by the

county assembly. That very much depends on the state regulation (CEMR 2011:21).

Mandatory county functions include:

- public transport
- spatial planning (only building permits)
- fire protection
- nature and landscape (consultation/protection)
- hospitals
- secondary roads
- education (secondary schools) (Gosciniak and Stevens 2006)

Local level: municipalities

Germany has 11,500 municipalities, which are governed by local councils. According to the council system,

the local council is elected for five years. The mayor (*Bürgermeister*) is also elected, and the mayoral mandate can vary from four to nine years (CEMR 2011).

Importantly, the exact roles and responsibilities of municipalities vary, depending on the federal state, where they are situated.

Mandatory tasks of municipalities include:

- town planning
- housing
- local roads.
- sewerage and waterways
- education (primary schools)
- recreational areas
- social issues and welfare (Gosciniak and Stevens 2006)

2. Metropolitan collaborations

There are eleven metropolitan regions in Germany. They comprise major German cities and their surrounding urban-rural areas (Wikipedia: Metropolitan Regions in Germany). These Metropolitan Regions are basically institutionalised platforms for regional cooperation, the

exchange of ideas and projects. Importantly, they do not constitute additional administrative units.

These collaborations were established following the drafting of the spatial document entitled “European metropolitan regions in Germany” in 1995, which was followed by a political decision in 1997, when the Standing Conference of Ministers responsible for spatial planning adopted a new strategy, establishing eleven German metropolitan regions. Since then, metropolitan regions have become stakeholders of growing importance (Göddecke-Stellmann et al. 2011).

The eleven metropolitan regions are dispersed around the country, evidence of the multi-centre and highly urbanised character of Germany. They are the following (and the figure below shows their locations):

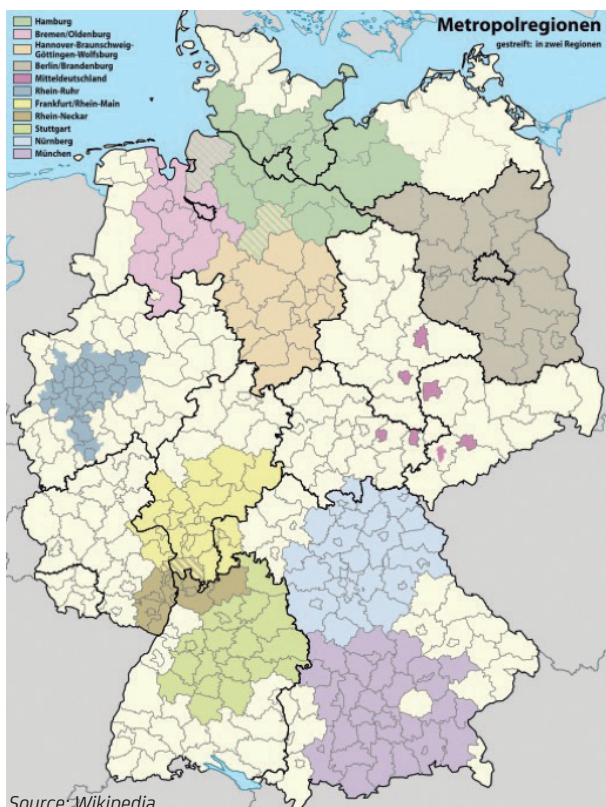


Figure 12. The 11 Metropolitan regions of Germany

1. Berlin Metropolitan Region
2. Bremen/Oldenburg Metropolitan Region
3. Central German Metropolitan Region
4. Frankfurt/Rhine-Main Metropolitan Region
5. Hamburg Metropolitan Region
6. Hannover-Braunschweig-Göttingen-Wolfsburg Metropolitan Region
7. Munich Metropolitan Region
8. Nuremberg Metropolitan Region
9. Rhine-Neckar Metropolitan Region
10. Rhine-Ruhr Metropolitan Region (also covers the Cologne Bonn Region)
11. Stuttgart Metropolitan Region

Several factors drove the creation of broader concept of metropolitan regions. Firstly, there was a need to reassess the German urban system as a consequence of the German reunification. Secondly, there was a desire to better integrate the German cities into the European urban system as a consequence of the political and, more importantly, the economic unification of Europe. And finally, the economic challenges brought by the changing environment made clear the need for flexible specialisation in the economy and importantly for a flexible geometry in the shape of a ‘network economy’ (Jurczek 2008).

2.1. Metropolitan Region Stuttgart

The Metropolitan Region of Stuttgart is one of the 11 German metropolitan collaborations described above. It has a population of 5.3 million, its largest city is by far Stuttgart, while among the other important ones are Heilbronn and Tübingen.

Often referred to as the European Metropolitan Region of Stuttgart (Europäische Metropolregion Stuttgart – EMS) it consists of the Stuttgart Region (which will be described in the following chapter), and the additional regions of Heilbronn-Franken, Neckar-Alb, Nordschwarzwald und Ostwürttemberg. As a result of the increasing importance of transportation, economic and scientific connections between the aforementioned regions, the State Development Plan (Landesentwicklungsplan) of 2002 created the larger EMS, considering that it increases the region’s overall ability to compete on a European level (Regionstuttgart.org).

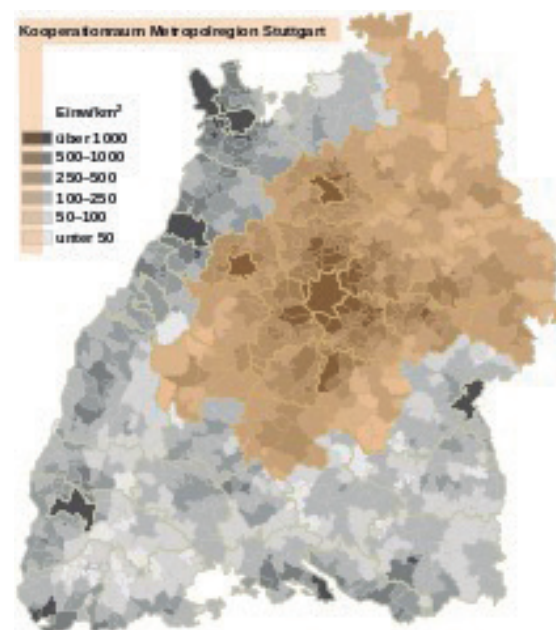
Practically, the Metropolitan Region Stuttgart does not have real functions, nor any organisational structure. It is rather a theoretical concept of urban-rural networks.

2.2. Region Stuttgart

The central and most powerful entity within the European Metropolitan Region of Stuttgart is Stuttgart Region, with its 2.7 million inhabitants. The Association of the Stuttgart Region (Verband Region Stuttgart – VRS) is a public body, which is one of the 12 regional associations in the state of Baden-Württemberg. Formerly called the Middle Neckar Association (Regionalverband Mittlerer Neckar), it was officially established in February 1994 following a long process (Gesetz über die Errichtung des Verbands Region Stuttgart vom 7. Februar 1994).

Metropolitan regions operate with different governance models and have various tasks. Regarding their institutional form, regions can be

- Associations performing sovereign tasks such as planning (only in Rhein-Neckar).
- Cooperative associations based on state treaties (between federal states, regional districts, core city/cities and/or chambers of industry).
- Associations under German law.
- A combination of the three above.
- Informal cooperation agreements (Blatter 2017).



Source: Wikiwand
http://www.wikiwand.com/en/Stuttgart_Metropolitan_Region

Figure 13. The Metropolitan Region of Stuttgart in Baden-Württemberg Land

Basic data and evolution

The Association of the Stuttgart Region (VRS) is made up of 179 local municipalities of highly varying sizes: in its centre lies the city of Stuttgart, which is surrounded by the administrative districts of Ludwigsburg, Esslingen, Böblingen, Rems-Murr and Göppingen. A little less than one-fourth of its inhabitants are residents of Stuttgart itself. The region is one of the most densely populated areas in Germany. (Wikipedia: Stuttgart Region).



Source: European Metropolitan Transport Authorities
<http://www.emta.com/>



Source: Wirtschaftsförderung Region Stuttgart
<http://kreativ.region-stuttgart.de/>

Figure 14: Overview of the Verband Region Stuttgart (VRS)

As the figure above shows, the Stuttgart Region, although not directly lying on a border, is close to Austria, Switzerland and France. Situated in the middle of the state of Baden-Württemberg, the region itself, in terms of its physical size and its population, is very similar to the Functional Urban Area delineated in 2007 by the ESPON project, which focused on the study of urban functions. In case of Stuttgart, after carrying out measurements based on commuter flows around the city core, the study designated an area with a population of 2.65 million. This further underlines the fact that Region Stuttgart is well defined in terms of how inhabitants use the territory, and supports the regional administration's contention that in the region people may live in one town, work in another part of the region and spend their leisure time in yet another part. (Kiwitt 2017)

The creation of Region Stuttgart largely responds to two different factors – that of migration into the city's hinterland, which created a demographic and land use imbalance, and the economic crisis of the 1990s, the latter representing a much more prominent force in shaping and pushing the region to form its current political and physical entity.

The economic decline, which was the most important motivation for the creation of Region Stuttgart, happened rather fast. In the early 1990s, following the unification of Germany and the dramatic changes occurring in the German and European political and economic arena, the region experienced a substantial economic downturn and rising unemployment, mainly prompted by the loss of manufacturing jobs. An intensified debate and a sizable push from the business representatives in and around Stuttgart contributed substantially to the creation of the new VRS with its expanded powers, the Chamber of Commerce playing a particularly prominent role.

Meanwhile, migration processes substantially shaped the region's demographics, and the changes they brought about indirectly contributed to the need to create a strong regional entity with powers to influence development.

Firstly, the strong suburbanisation tendencies in the area meant that without a new entity the city alone would have had to bear the cost of the problems created by higher income families leaving and settling in the surrounding areas. As pointed out by experts, between 1961 and 1999 the city lost 10% of its population (56.300 inhabitants). Among those who left, high income families with children were overrepresented, creating a financial problem for the city of Stuttgart and contributing to changing population density of the region. The latter trend is demonstrated by the fact that the region as a whole registered a substantial population gain of 28.8% (577.600 inhabitants) in the aforementioned period (Heeg 2003:164).

Secondly, the region itself became an important destination for migration, creating new needs and responsibilities. In-migration intensified after the accession of new EU member states in 2004, turning the area into a primary destination for EU migrants whose countries of origin are both the new EU member states and older member countries from the Mediterranean region. Many who came participated in vocational training programmes, took private sector jobs or pursued their university studies (Kiwitt and Lang 2016).

This led to a "disorderly" development of the Stuttgart metropolitan region when it comes to settlement,

transportation and economic infrastructure (Heeg 2003). There was a shift in the balance of power between the different municipalities of the area. New, prosperous municipalities in the suburban ring developed into autonomous cities and communities following the massive migration. Also, the rising tide of car use, increasing utilisation of open space and natural resources were the most obvious direct consequences of this shift. Eventually, the steady influx of qualified people started posing additional challenges, increasing the need for more housing development in the region, but also the need for more commercial space, and space for leisure/recreational activities.

The aim of the creation of this new, more powerful regional entity was to provide a better and more flexible framework for both development, and more importantly, regional planning. The strong regional focus was viewed as a key concept, with officials hoping to create a regional body that could put regional interests before local ones. Also, it was thought that this could be the proper answer to the new demands placed on the area to compete on a European/global scale (Heeg 2003).

The general debate preceding the creation of the institution can be grouped into three distinctive stages:

- A local debate was initiated following the economic crisis, featuring the participation of political, scientific and planning contributors.
- An unprecedented reformulation of political needs was backed by industrial and economic stakeholders, emphasizing the need for both financial and decision-making competences on a regional level.
- The coalition agreement following the elections in 1992 between the CDU and the SPD stipulated the need to find solution to Baden-Württemberg's regional problems, with a particular focus on the urban centres. (Based on the summary of Heeg 2003.)

Eventually, the Stuttgart Region was created in 1994 as a result of a decree passed by the Land Baden-Württemberg. The "Gesetzes über die Errichtung des Verbands Region Stuttgart" (Act of Establishing the Verband Region Stuttgart) was passed on February 7, 1994, creating this new entity that was more political in nature than its predecessor, the Middle Neckar Region (Regionalverband Mittlerer Neckar Stuttgart) which had been more of a planning region in stricter sense of the word.

The new political and administrative level was directly elected and thus more politically accountable to its electorate, and it was entrusted with stronger financial

and planning competencies. This meant that some of the state's competencies were taken away, while others were ceded from the county level.

Organisational form/representation

The Stuttgart Region is the only region in Baden-Württemberg with a directly elected assembly. Voting happens the time of the local and county elections. The electorate votes for a party list, although there is an ongoing debate about the possible introduction of direct voting for candidates. The regional Parliament is elected for five years, with a President (Verbandsvorsitzende) and a Director (Regionaldirektor). The latter is elected to a term of 8 years, and is the head of administration. The Assembly is in Stuttgart, but there is also an office in Brussels for better European representation and increased lobbying power.

From the point of view of the region, the existence of elections is important, as it assures that the assembly can work independently. It also ensures that regional representatives don't merely represent their counties/municipalities but instead take a regional perspective. By regional perspective it is meant that the region is more than the sum of all municipalities, and the regional assembly has to take this view. Furthermore, direct elections bolster the VRS's power and capacity. They need this power to create a unified region, which in the Region's opinion is the path to becoming actors on a European level.

The region as a new entity changed the balance of power in the state, so there is now more emphasis on cooperation. The region has a very intensive dialogue with the various local authorities, and representatives of the region often go to local assemblies to discuss ongoing matters. Also, the local level can make an official statement/problem statement that is discussed in the assembly – as regulated by the national law. Other stakeholders like the Chamber of commerce and different state agencies are involved in the processes of planning as well, which is especially important given that the VRS sees itself as the motor of economic development and planning. Regarding the population, no special measures are employed, but the institution does follow the legally mandated consultation processes for spatial planning and holds public hearings, which are usually well attended.

Despite the region's strong planning competencies, it encounters problems when planning development areas (e.g. wind turbines) or designating areas for large housing developments. The region tries to find ways to persuade

local actors to behave in ways that support the region to the greatest extent possible. But sometimes it has to exercise its powers – again related to its competency over regional planning - to restrict the competencies of the local authorities and force them to carry out interventions that may be against their short-term interests.

Common functions and financing

According to its own political mission statement, the VRS aims to create an area that is competitive both on a European and on a global level, a good place to live that is economically strong, and ecologically sound and sustainable. Having enough space for leisure is regarded as crucial as well - the institution wants to make green areas accessible to everyone, ideally within a 15-minute walk. The VRS also sees itself as a body fostering innovation and development. It takes a pro-active stance when it comes to cooperating and engaging with various economic stakeholders.

To carry out the tasks assigned to it and those it has taken up voluntarily, the VRS had a budget of 389 million EUR in 2016, which was a steep increase from the year before, when they had only 323 million. The money provided to the region to carry out its tasks is taken from county budgets. Additional income comes from EU projects like Interreg or other EU funds. Typically, 90% of the regional income is spent on transportation (which is the costliest of its tasks), and the remaining 10% is divided between all other types of expenditure.

Based on the legal regulations, the region has the following **mandatory tasks**:

- Regional planning
- Landscape framework planning
- Regional transport planning
- Regional business development
- Local public transport of regional importance
- Aspects of waste management
- Regional tourism marketing

And **voluntary tasks**:

- Cultural and sporting events and congresses
- Regionally significant trade fairs
- Tasks under the state planning law: Regional development, and Advice for the local authorities in terms of spatial development (Region-stuttgart.org).

Its transportation tasks are strictly regional – they regard the networks that go beyond the county level. Thus, the entity's transport responsibilities include trains and S-Bahn that cross the county border, as well as some

busses. Regarding the train system, its operation is the responsibility of Deutsche Bahn. The region owns the trains, but not the tracks themselves.

Spatial planning tasks are strictly regulated by national and state laws, which place strong power in the hands of the VRS but also require consultation with various stakeholders: any local planning has to be in line with regional strategies. Importantly, all the regions are equally powerful in this respect, but as the members of other regions are county delegates, they are less likely to exercise a regional perspective and more apt to prioritise local interests. Importantly, the VRS, if needed, has the delegated power to impose sanctions should local municipalities fail to adapt their local land-use plans accordingly.

A voluntary task taken on by VRS and pursued with great interest regards economic development and planning. In this field, one of the regular points of conflict regards the establishment of inter-local industrial areas. These areas are viewed as possible “centres of gravity” that attract investment. By placing the decisions as to their assignment on a regional level, the VRS hopes to avoid local conflicts that create the sorts of blockages bottlenecks that stop development. The existence of such areas demonstrates how spatial and economic planning is very closely done on the regional level, and how the VRS uses its powers to initiate regional development with co-funding, tourism promotion, information dissemination and big research projects. They also support regional businesses in a range of ways, helping them recruit their workforce (by trying to attract new residents) to find appropriate sites for the expansion. Another tool to create this linkage between spatial and economic planning is the region's Economic Development Agency (WRS), established in 1995. The Agency is responsible for attracting investors and businesses, managing the commercial areas and operating foreign trade relations, among other areas.

Finally, the strong spatial planning competences of the region serve it very well in its efforts to protect natural resources and provide a sustainable green environment for all the inhabitants. The region can issue binding regulations – as landscape planning is one of its tasks – and also invest in the area's Landscape Park. The importance of the ecological factors derives from the fact that a large majority of the population prioritises the green landscape of the region.

3. Evaluation and summary

In Germany, local municipalities and counties are very powerful, and states are mostly reluctant to take away rights and privileges from the local level. Even for the VRS, it took a decade and a half for all local and county level stakeholders to make peace with the shift in the power structure. Despite this difficulty, the Stuttgart case is not unprecedented. The Hannover Region has also had a directly elected assembly since its 2001 creation, and in fact is an even stronger case. Due to the merger of city and county, Hanover has all the competences of the counties – which means more competences than the VRS has. Soon, a similar region will be created in the Ruhr area most likely in 2019 with direct election of the whole assembly, which gives power against the city mayors.

In case of the Stuttgart Region the basis of the operation is the realisation that residents use the entire area of the region – albeit for different purposes. They work one place, have a house in another and spend their leisure time in yet another. There is no plan to create a regional identity – residents are quite attached to their hometowns, but instead the regional administration aims to win the “minds” of the residents.

The Region has strong planning competencies, which in case of disagreement can be upheld by the courts. However, this is not complemented by strong financial instruments. The region’s independence would be increased were it able to levy taxes. This step will be necessary in the future if the regional level increases its political influence.

The operation of Verband Region Stuttgart shows clearly that:

- Direct elections are indispensable to attaining regional independence on the one hand, and to providing the institution with political weight on the other. Thus, having an elected leader is an important first step, but having a directly elected assembly means even more strength.
- Another important aspect would be to raise the region’s revenue at least partly from an independent source, instead of taking it away from the upper or lower administrative levels.
- Regardless of elections, cooperation and compromise are the nuts and bolts of a well-functioning regional system.
- Cooperation means the inclusion of all the big stakeholders from higher education to big enterprises, also including churches, associations and NGOs.
- Compromise means that parties can reach an agreement within the assembly.
- Although the overwhelming majority of resources goes to transportation and only a minority is focused on other issues, the lack of appropriate finances does not hinder the operation of a region.
- The strong planning competency allows the VRS to really influence how the region develops and to try to create balanced development for the entire area.

The case of Stuttgart and the VRS shows the reasons that might drive regions to strengthen regional cooperation: economic decline and/or the threat to of losing economic competitiveness. Thus, the willingness/openness to cooperation depends largely on the economic situation, and in times of a booming economy it is more difficult to argue for more cooperation than in times of economic difficulties. It is not easy to introduce national and regional initiatives for binding cooperation at times where the need for them is not clearly seen.

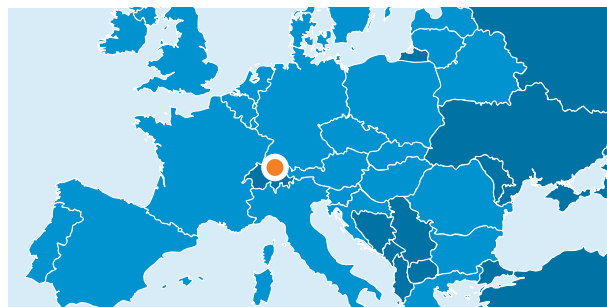


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ZÜRICH

(Switzerland)



1. National level framework

1.1. Formal government system

The Swiss Confederation is a federal republic with no de jure capital city, but Bern functions as a de facto capital, accommodating the country's federal authorities. Switzerland consists of 26 cantons, or in more precise legal terms of 20 cantons and 6 "half-cantons", which have the same constitutional status as cantons, but half the number of votes in the Senate, the legislative branch institution representing the cantons. The smallest sub-national unit is the municipality. As of March 2017, 2,240 municipalities existed in Switzerland. There were nearly 2,500 municipalities in 2010; their number decreased due to mergers as part of ongoing gradual territorial administration reform efforts (Swissinfo, n.d.; CoE 2017:17). Cantons usually offer financial incentives for municipalities to merge in the form of tax reductions or grants. The Canton of Zurich, for instance, supports this by providing guidelines for merger procedures, as well as financial incentives (CoE 2017:18).

Cantons enjoy very broad autonomy. Each defines its own internal political organisation; accordingly, the sub-national governmental levels between cantons and municipalities vary from place to place, with some unitary, some divided into districts, and others that once had districts but no longer do. The Federal Constitution grants sovereignty to the cantons to the extent their sovereignty is not limited by federal law. Each canton (including half-cantons) therefore has a high degree of autonomy and broad decision-making powers. They have their own constitutions (approved by the federal state), their own legislatures (typically a unicameral parliament) and their own individual legal frameworks, has although they have to be compatible with federal legislation. Cantonal parliaments vary greatly in size, as do their territories and populations, with legislatures ranging from 50 to 180 elected members (the largest

being that of Zurich canton). They have their own governments, with 5-7 directly elected members, and their own cantonal court systems. Cantons have their own education systems, and aside from public education they are also responsible for health care, social provision, and law enforcement. Cantons also set up their own taxation systems and levy taxes. Districts, where they exist, typically only provide administration and court organisation.

Local municipalities (communes) implement the decisions of higher level governments, while cantonal constitutions define the tasks and responsibilities of municipalities, as well as the degree of autonomy they have. Local administrations often enjoy large autonomy; around 20% have their own local parliaments and pass legislation relating to local matters (e.g. public space use; utility prices; school buildings). Smaller communes have an annual assembly, where citizens can vote directly on the issues presented, while in larger towns and cities decisions are made solely by the local parliament and municipal council, although citizens still vote by ballot or by post on major questions, such as the municipal budget. Communes have the right to levy taxes, and the municipal level is responsible for collecting taxes for all territorial administrative tiers.

Cantons may give municipalities the right to legislate on all matters that are not regulated on the cantonal or federal state level. In general, local decision makers regulate education, health care services, transport, and public security. Certain areas of law enforcement, such as the traffic police, combating noise pollution and the regulation of trade and commerce, are coordinated on the commune level. They have some competencies in managing public spaces and administrative assets.

Municipalities in the Canton of Zurich, for instance, have broad powers regarding the use of public spaces. Regulating construction projects (building features) and ensuring utility supply to construction sites (water, electricity) are also often commune tasks. They exercise

responsibilities for certain public works (like sports and cultural facilities) and various industrial and commercial public services (utility grids, transport infrastructure maintenance, and so forth) (CoE 2017:14).

1.2. Urban development and spatial planning

In terms of spatial planning, the Confederation has two major roles: it enacts the framework laws that shape planning processes on lower levels (although this legislation is further refined by the cantons), and it prepares sectoral plans and concepts on issues whose relevance extends beyond the cantonal level. Cantons take a wide range of approaches to preparing individual Structure Plans describing their spatial development goals. Municipalities are often the most important actors in binding land-use and spatial development decision making. When this authority is delegated from the cantonal level, municipalities are able to prepare Local Land Use Plans, and they are also typically responsible for issuing building permits for constructions inside their building zones. Cantons issue the building permits outside the building zones and have to approve the spatial plans of the local communes. Although local municipalities usually enjoy a high degree of autonomy, their plans nonetheless have to conform to higher-level concepts and objectives (OECD 2017:203-204). However, the case is somewhat different in the 8 cantons that are partially covered by the Metropolitan Area of Zürich, as these eight cantons kept the responsibility for spatial planning and issuing building permits.

In the Swiss Spatial Concept (Raumkonzept Schweiz 2011, revised in 2012), three main metropolitan areas are identified in addition to the Capital region of Bern (the latter not being large enough to qualify as an MA): Zurich, Geneva-Lausanne, and Basel. The metropolitan

areas (MAs) are statistically defined, primarily based on commuting patterns and economic coherence (SPIMA 2017). In the case of Zürich, this area coincides with the Metropolitan Association that was established in 2009 (also called European Metropolitan Region of Zurich, or Greater Zurich Area). The Concept is a strategic document. It is essentially a guide and decision-making support tool for spatial development actors in administrative government tiers. The Concept defines twelve supranational planning action areas, among which the Zurich metropolitan area alongside five small and medium-sized towns and three alpine areas. It also provides specific strategic directions for spatial development (SPIMA 2017:15). The Concept emphasizes the importance of metropolitan areas in spatial development.

The Federal Assembly partially revised the Spatial Planning Act in 2012, imposing strict requirements for the designation of development zones and assigning a larger role to the cantonal structure plan. The revised Spatial Concept is included in the Act as an available development instrument (SPIMA 2017:16). An amendment to the Swiss Spatial Planning Act to introduce mandatory planning in functional urban areas, in line with the Swiss Spatial Concept, is also currently under consideration (SPIMA 2017:15). Metropolitan cooperation and spatial development therefore receive strong support from the federal level.

2. Metropolitan cooperation

The OECD defines Functional Urban Areas based on commuting flows, and it has called attention to the discrepancy between FUAs and administrative levels in Switzerland (OECD 2011:12). Zurich is a case in point: the country's largest city's population has been steadily declining, and now the core municipality is home to only 30% of the greater urban area's citizens, the rest of whom are spread out across what is increasingly a functional

urban area. The Zurich urban area's policy fragmentation is further underlined by the fact that it spreads over eight cantons and over 100 municipalities, without fully overlapping with any of the cantons it includes. The area's excellent transport networks succeed in connecting commuters over metropolitan regions despite their fragmentation and polycentricity, and while this in itself does contribute to the expansion of the FUA, high

functional interdependence clearly clashes with the high degree of political independence of administrative units (van der Heiden 2010:2).

The Council of Europe's analysis of the Swiss territorial government system commends the active role of the associations of municipalities, particularly the Association of Swiss Municipalities and the Union of Swiss Towns, which help local governments actively shape decision making at the cantonal and federal levels. The fragmentation of administrative tiers, on the other

hand, is listed among the system's weaknesses, limiting the possibilities of smaller municipalities (CoE 2017:3). One particular challenge in Switzerland is the fact that some municipalities prefer to retain their rural image or identity and do not perceive themselves as parts of larger functional territorial units. Moreover, the democratic legitimacy of inter-cantonal cooperation bodies is considered weaker than that of legal administrative units (OECD 2011:15-16), which is further underlined by the country's strong participatory democratic tradition.

2.1. Metropolitan Association of Zürich

Basic data

The City of Zurich had 394,000 inhabitants in 2012 (SSZ 2013) and 380,500 in 2016 (Swiss Statistical Office). Thus, its population has been constantly decreasing, with people continuing to move to surrounding municipalities. The Zurich agglomeration was home to about 1.2 million people in 2012. About 30% of the Zurich urban area's population lives in Zurich itself, making strong metropolitan cooperation all the more legitimate and necessary. The Canton of Zurich has 1.48 million inhabitants, which makes it the most populous Swiss canton (CoE 2017:27). The canton's population grew by over 200,000 between 2005 and 2015, and according to the forecasts of Zurich statistics service, is expected to reach 1.8 million by 2040 (SPIMA 2017:12).

The Functional Urban Area defined by the OECD was home to 1,246,968 inhabitants in 2014 (OECD 2016:3), while the ESPON defined a Functional Urban Area around Zurich with 1,731,531 inhabitants in 2006. It covers most (but not all) of Zurich canton, and parts of seven other cantons as well (Schaffhausen, Lucerne, Zug, Schwyz, Saint Gallen, Thurgau and Aargau). According to the national delineation of the metropolitan area, it spreads over 6,252 km², and together with the roughly 200,000 inhabitants of the Lucerne agglomeration, accommodates around 1.9 million people and 238 municipalities. Around 60% of both the population and jobs in the metropolitan area are situated in the core agglomeration of Zurich (SPIMA 2017:12). As the figure below shows, there is not much difference between the number of inhabitants in case of the FUA (defined by ESPON) and the MDA (Metropolitan Development Area, which is both the metropolitan area defined by the Swiss Spatial Concept and the area of the Metropolitan Association at the same time) regarding the number of inhabitants. However, there is a big difference regarding their spatial scale, as the latter category

includes dozens of smaller local municipalities that are further away from the city of Zürich.

It is important to note, however, that the scope of the metropolitan area is not an officially fixed one. Although the Swiss Spatial Concept defines it as a territory including 238 municipalities, a report issued after research on immigration and population (*Fachbericht Immigration und Bevölkerungswachstum im Metropolitanraum Zürich*, 2013) regards the metropolitan area as a territory of 563 municipalities, still in 8 cantons, where 2.85 million inhabitants lived in 2010.

In 2007, the city and the canton of Zurich, together with the city of Winterthur and the Association of Mayors of Zurich canton, launched a series of so-called Metropolitan Conferences to strengthen and deepen the cooperation of cantons and municipalities within the functional economic and commuting region in the Zurich area. In July 2009, at the 5th such Conference, the eight participating cantons (Zurich, Aargau, Thurgau, Schaffhausen, Schwyz, St. Gallen, Zug and Lucerne) and 65 municipalities in these cantons decided to establish the Zurich Metropolitan Area Association (stadt-zuerich.ch, n.d.).

Although there are more than 200 municipalities in the functional urban area (it can be even said that more than 500, depending on the different spatial approaches to the metropolitan area), approximately 120 are currently members of the Metropolitan Association. Smaller settlements in particular do not see the direct impact of the Association's activities on their territory, as it concentrates mainly on large-scale concepts and infrastructure and development issues with a more salient impact on the metropolitan scale. However, the Association staff aims to attract more members and to provide evidence that a developing metropolitan area provides benefits for the smaller-scale local level as well.

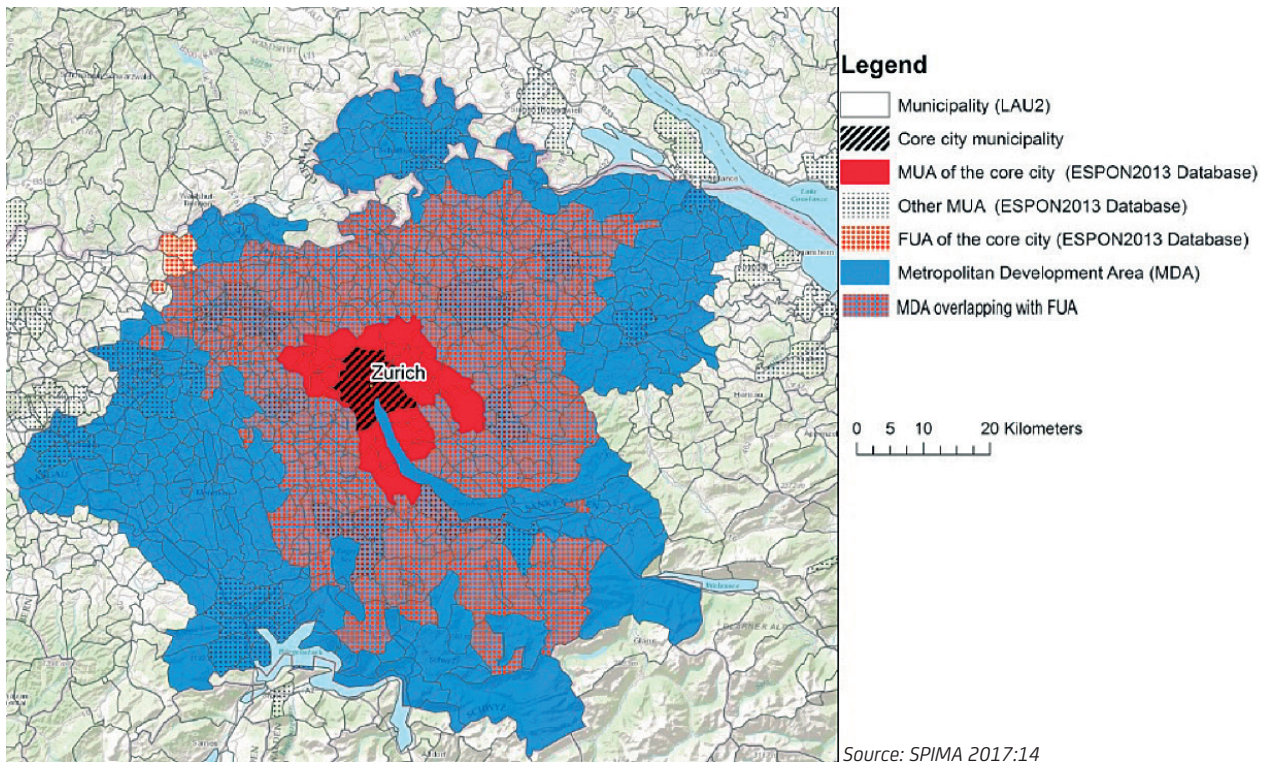


Figure 15. Urban and metropolitan scales of Zurich

Organisational form/representation

The decision-making body of the Metropolitan Association is the Metropolitan Conference, which holds sessions twice a year. It is a private law body, with a board and two chambers, one chamber for the municipalities and one for the cantons. The conference represents shared interests, and it can initiate joint projects in the fields of transport, the environment and social and economic development, initiatives which can be implemented if approved by the authorities concerned (CoE 2017:24). Each of the cantons and each of the municipalities is individually represented in the Conference. A simple majority is sufficient to make a decision in the Conference, although most decisions are accepted with a near consensus, as the debates are usually already carried out during the preparation process. Meanwhile, as the manager of the Association emphasized, if a decision is made without a fairly large majority, it is taken back to the Council and the project groups for further elaboration. The voting system itself is therefore less important than the adequate preparation of a decision.

Municipalities with up to 2,000 inhabitants receive one vote, above which there is one more vote per 4,000 inhabitants (for example, Zürich municipality has 40 votes). Voting rights can also be delegated, as has happened

in four areas. The mayor of Fraunfelde, for example, has the voting rights of 20 surrounding settlements. It was considered that instead of the individual local municipalities, their association should be a Metropolitan Association member, but this idea was rejected as the current setup has more democratic legitimacy.

The governing body of the Conference is the Council, where each of the eight cantons is represented by one member, with the remaining eight members selected by municipalities, so that cantonal and municipal interests have equal weight. All 16 Metropolitan Councillors are members of a cantonal or municipal executive authority. The Council represents the Association externally, votes on the proposals to be submitted into the Conference, and controls the activities of the Association. It was on the agenda of the latest session of the Conference to enlarge the competencies of the Council to be able to act alone, without the decision of the Conference in certain cases. The leader of the Council is elected by the members of the Metropolitan Conference: one cantonal and one municipal representative is part of the presidency. The Association President and Vice President are alternately from the Cantonal and the Municipal Chamber and change every two to four years.

In addition to the Conference and the Council, there are four pre-defined project teams that work on the details

of the actions to be carried out by the Association. The teams are on: economy, transport, social issues and the built environment.

The Association has a working organisation, which has two part-time employees who are responsible for the operation of the association and the preparation of documents. The elaboration of most scientific work (research and study writing) is outsourced to professional research companies.

Common functions

The Association has no service provision duties or implementation competencies; it focuses on optimising the existing government structure and initiating projects and strategies on a metropolitan scale. The Association has the task of commissioning research and providing evidence-based recommendations for elaborating strategies of metropolitan relevance. As the two most important achievements so far, the interviewees mentioned the spatial plan of the metropolitan area and the Association's influence on the national-level planning of the main highway lines.

Spatial planning

The Zürich metropolitan area faces serious challenges stemming from economic and population growth, and it was therefore vital to create a framework to accommodate and integrate newcomers, provide space for emerging businesses and protect the natural landscape.

In Switzerland, spatial planning is primarily a cantonal competence, although the cantonal plan must be approved on the federal level. Some of the cantons delegate part of their spatial planning competence (land-use on the local level) to the local municipalities, but cantons still must approve the local land use plans. In the area of the Zürich Metropolitan Association, the cantons kept their spatial planning rights, and the cantonal plans are consequently the main drivers of local-level spatial planning.

The planning authorities of the member cantons developed a joint strategic plan called "Raumordnungs-konzept für die Kantone im Metropolitanraum Zürich (2015)" (Spatial planning concept for the cantons in the metropolitan area of Zürich, METRO-ROK-ZH for the next 10 years), inspired by the Metrobild-project of the Zürich Metropolitan Area Association. The plan serves as the key document that guides development in the MA; it is a strategic plan for all the eight cantons and all the communes within it. Individual sub-areas in the Zürich

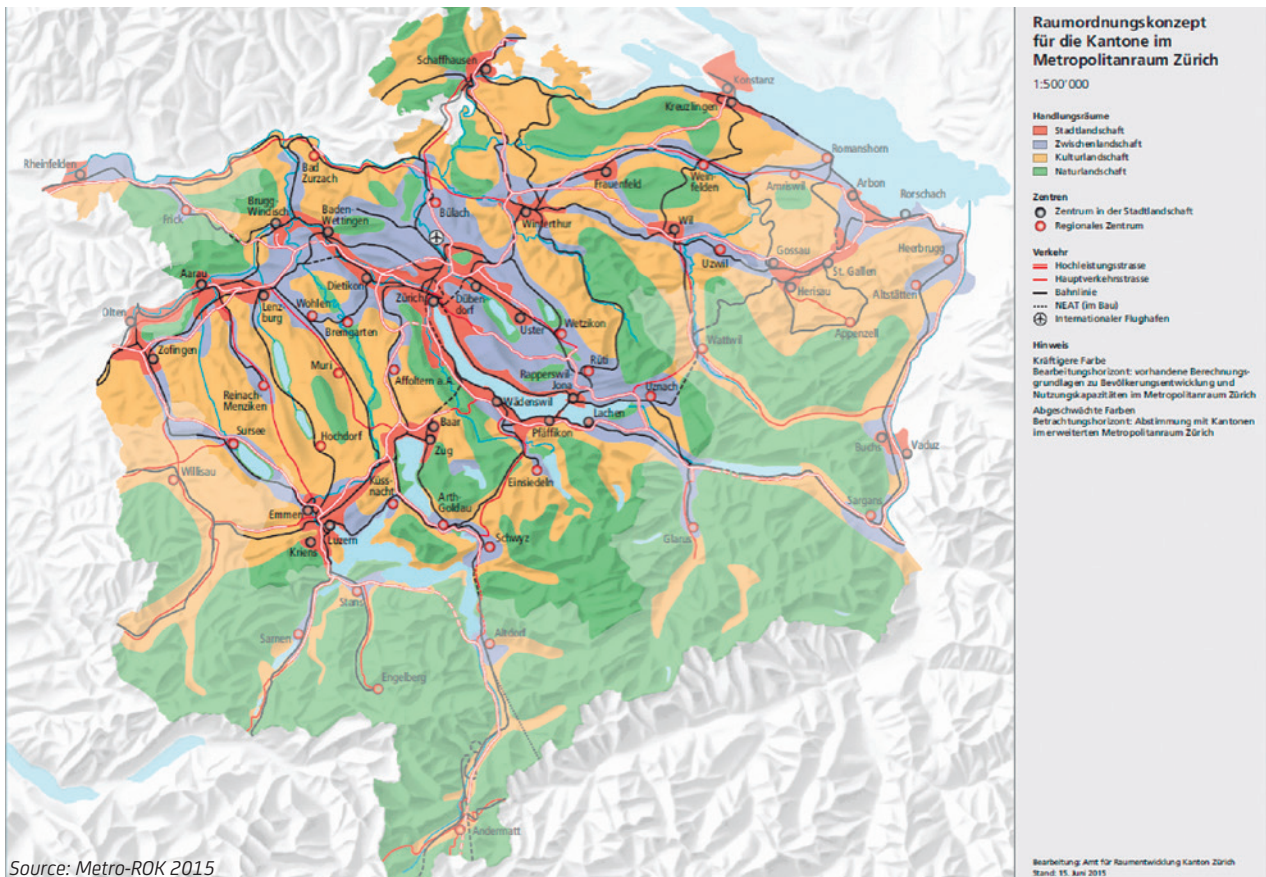
metropolitan area form the core of the spatial planning concept of METRO-ROK-ZH. The strategic plan identified four action spaces with their own specific characteristics and challenges, namely the urban landscape, the transitional landscape, the cultural landscape, and the natural landscape as can be seen in the following map.

The plan takes as a core principle that 80 percent of future population growth must be channelled towards the urban landscape, as well as to regional centres in the transitional and cultural landscapes. The remainder of the transitional and cultural landscape will account for the other 20 percent. These are, however, only target values. The different starting points and potentials of the eight cantons must be taken into account. It is important to note that these "quotas" are defined on the metropolitan level and not on cantonal or on commune level. As a result, a distribution closer to 70/30 percent is also acceptable in the rural cantons, as well as a near 90/10 percent proportion in the urban cantons. However, the target values for the metropolitan area are expected to be kept in mind. In the natural landscape, no quantitative growth is accepted (SPIMA 2017:21).

Besides defining the target areas for growth, the spatial concept covers the main transportation lines and planned developments (transport is connected to areas with the most growth potential), the proposed areas work workplaces, and the areas for protection. The plan, really more of a concept than a spatial plan, does not contain concrete objects like shopping malls or bigger sport facilities. It is up to the cantonal plans to fit these ideas into the greater spatial concept.

The METRO-ROK-ZH strategic plan is intended to eventually be integrated into each of the eight cantonal structure plans in the MA. The strategies and measures, particularly in the spheres of built environment, landscape, and transport, are expected to be consistently oriented on the basis of the overall spatial perspective of the METRO-ROK-ZH (SPIMA 2017:22). So far, only Zürich and Zug cantons have fully adopted the Metro-ROK concept in their own spatial plan, but the other 6 are also on the way, interpreting Metro-ROK either more strictly or more loosely. As was mentioned before, the federal level had to accept the cantonal spatial plans, and as the federal plan (Raumkonzept Schweiz) – already contains the same concept as the Metro-ROK, the control process of cantonal plans also secured the transferability of the metropolitan plan into the cantonal plans.

The strategic plan will result in restrictions regarding some settlements while providing growth potential to



Source: Metro-ROK 2015

Figure 16. The spatial structure of the metropolitan area of Zürich (types of areas, main infrastructure lines)

others. However, this unequal situation is somewhat balanced out by an already existing financial mechanism according to which the settlements with higher business tax income have to compensate the others with lower benefits. (This mechanism is independent of the existence of the metropolitan area, but it is tied to the cantonal financial system.)

The Metro-ROK spatial concept is now being implemented. While in the planning phase the most controversial part was the division of the four types of areas and the potential growth tied to them, the sources of conflict are a bit different in the implementation phase, linked more to the development of main infrastructure lines. Currently, the experiences of the implementation are under review, and this process may lead to slight modifications of the concept in the future.

Strategic projects

The work of the Metropolitan Association is project based, meaning that the association initiates research projects, strategy creation, lobbying activities and cooperation in different sectors. Examples at one of the latest meetings of the Metropolitan Conference included the completion

of projects on the digitalisation of vocational education and a look at the possibilities for revitalising small-scale retail in city centres. There are projects in all four main areas of defined interest (those for which the association operates working groups): economy, transport, built environment and social issues.

Financing mechanisms

The budget is supplied through membership fees. The contributions of the full members depend on their voting power or population. The members of the association pay 420 Swiss francs per vote. The membership fee of the associated cantons and organisations (without voting rights) amounts to CHF 1,000; and that of associated municipalities and municipalities amounts to between CHF 500 and 800, depending on their size (Homepage of the Metropolitan Association). In addition to the membership fee, the cantons, cities and municipalities make contributions to specific projects as well using a similar scale. Via all these means, the Association raises an annual budget of about 1 million Swiss francs (about half of it comes from membership fees, while the other half comes from contributions to specific projects).

2.2. Transport organisation

In the metropolitan area of Zürich, there is a long tradition of cooperation, but only inside the cantonal borders. The canton of Zürich has an integrated transport system managed by the Zürich Transportation Association “Verkehrsverbund Zürich”, which plans, coordinates and finances public transportation, although it does not operate the system. As was mentioned before, the Zürich agglomeration provides more than 60% of the metropolitan population. However, the whole canton does not belong to the metropolitan area, and the Transport Association is thus a somewhat larger area in some directions and somewhat smaller in others than the metropolitan territory.



3. Evaluation and summary

The goal of the Metropolitan Association was not to create an integrated organisation that provides common services, but a platform that accelerates the interaction between the actors and works for common metropolitan goals. As one of the interviewees expressed: “the task is to conduct metropolitan, not local politics. If the whole metropolitan area performs well, then smaller settlements can also benefit”. This approach, however, is not totally accepted by all potential members of the association, as about half of the settlements in the metropolitan area (mostly the smaller ones) are not members of the association. They either never joined the organisation or have left it. The experts also struggle with the fact that many of the metropolitan actions have a measurable impact only in the long run, while politicians are elected for four years, and at the end of their terms the benefits of metropolitan cooperation may not yet be obvious. This impression may have been a potential drawback of the very fragmented local municipal system with more than 2,000 municipalities, potentially each with its own particular interests (in other countries, where municipalities are bigger the cooperation on metropolitan level is smoother). The resistance of the

smaller settlements is rather interesting in light of the fact that there are some equalising mechanisms in local taxation according to which the richer settlements compensate the poor, which means growth can be beneficial to the less developed towns as well.

The visibility of the Metropolitan Association is strong outside the MA area (on the national level) but less successful inside the area. That is why the idea of an elected mayor was also raised among the experts.

This relative weakness is also manifested in the fact that there is a very small working organisation of the association (two people, who have commitments to other workplaces as well). Thus, the operation of the association relies heavily on the administrative capacities of the cantons and the municipalities.

On the other hand, the Metropolitan Association has produced some inspiring results, namely the lobbying force they exerted on the national government and the strategic spatial plan, which will guide the development of the area in the near future.

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Interview with Walter Schenkel, Secretary General of the Metropolitan Area and Daniela Wegner, Zürich Canton, spatial planning department.



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