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DEMOCRATIC METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE

POLICY ADVICE

EUROPEAN UNION – COUNCIL OF EUROPE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE PROJECT ON INSTITUTIONAL ENHANCEMENT FOR LOCAL GOVERNANCE, GREECE

The present document was prepared by the Centre of Expertise for Local Government Reform of the Council of Europe in co-operation with Mr Paul Hildreth and Mr Yannis Psycharis, Council of Europe Experts



**CENTRE OF EXPERTISE
FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT REFORM**



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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	4
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
1. Introduction	8
1.1 Purpose.....	8
1.2 Defining the governance of metropolitan areas.....	8
1.3 Presentation of study findings.....	10
2. National models to govern metropolitan areas and capital cities in Europe	11
2.1 Introduction.....	11
2.2 Identifying different national models to govern metropolitan areas.....	11
2.3 The national trend toward metropolitan governance is underpinned by a strong economic case	15
2.4 Metropolitan challenges should be addressed at the appropriate spatial level	17
2.5 It is essential that roles between regions and metropolitan areas and clearly defined	18
2.6 Conclusions.....	19
3. Governing metropolitan areas and capital cities in Europe	20
3.1 Introduction to case study results	20
3.2 There are different governance structures for metropolitan governance	21
3.3 Many metropolitan governance structures are relatively new.....	29
3.4 Responsibilities are allocated to metropolitan areas	29
3.5 Participatory democracy is critical to effective metropolitan governance.....	30
3.6 Understanding urban structure is essential to recognising spatial differences and inequality in the metropolitan area	32
3.7 Conclusions.....	36
4. Issues and challenges in metropolitan governance for Greece	37
4.1 Introduction.....	37
4.2 Metropolitan governance is a relatively new issue for the majority of case studies	37
4.3 Metropolitan areas are not just dots on a map, but concentrations of people living in proximity.....	38

4.4 Administration of Athens and Thessaloniki	39
4.5 Metropolitan governance is not a technical issue; people need to know, participate and co-create the added value of public institutions	40
4.6 Effective metropolitan governance requires human resources.....	40
4.7 Metropolitan governance requires identification of appropriate financial resources....	41
4.8 Academic involvement in metropolitan governance	41
4.9 Conclusions.....	41
5. Conclusions and recommendations	43
5.1 Conclusions.....	43
5.2 Recommendations.....	44
REFERENCES	46
Appendix 1 - Seminar on Democratic Governance of Metropolitan Areas	48
Appendix 2 - Questionnaire for presenters of metropolitan case studies	53
Appendix 3 – Metropolitan and capital city case studies.....	55

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CC	Capital city
CDDG	European Committee on Democracy and Governance
CELGR	Centre of Expertise for Local Government Reform of the Council of Europe
CoE	Council of Europe
EDSNA	Organisation for the Solid Waste Management of Attica
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
MA	Metropolitan Area
METREX	Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas
Moi	Ministry of Interior
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OASA	Athens Urban Transportation Organisation
OASTH	Thessaloniki Urban Transport Organisation
OECD	Organisation for the Economic Cooperation and Development
ORSA	Organisation for the Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens
ORTHE	Organisation for the Planning and Environmental Protection of Thessaloniki
PEDA	Regional Union of Municipalities of Attica

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report analyses the application of theory and principles on democratic metropolitan governance across Europe. This study involved setting up a forum for peer exchange of European experience and good practices in Thessaloniki on 17 and 18 October 2017 and takes into account the feedbacks provided by Council of Europe member states through a pre-conference survey.

More precisely, the seminar in Thessaloniki provided the Hellenic Ministry of Interior (Mol) and participating CDDG delegations with a comprehensive overview of governance of metropolitan areas and capital cities, structured around four major areas:

- 1) Legislation for capital and metropolitan cities, including the distribution and exercise of competences in capital cities and metropolitan areas;
- 2) Democratic participation, including mechanisms and structures to strengthen citizen involvement and civil participation.
- 3) Functional structure and the allocation of responsibilities to metropolitan governance.
- 4) Good governance, including focus on implementation of the European 12 Principles in metropolitan areas.

The report concludes with recommendations to the Ministry of Interior that draw from both European and Greek experience, in view of a possible reform of Local and Metropolitan Governance in Greece.

Key issues arising from national case studies were:

- *Definition of a metropolitan area* - The OECD defines a metropolitan area as a functional urban area, usually with at least 500,000 inhabitants. There are over 100 cities within Council of Europe member states with populations of over 500,000 (including the whole of Russia). A minority of larger European countries that have more than one metropolitan area with a population of over 500,000 i.e. France, Greece, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Turkey, Ukraine and UK. A far larger number have capital cities with populations of over 500,000.
- *Metropolitan area governance structures are becoming more common* – European countries increasingly recognise the economic rationale for the effective governance of metropolitan areas. The trend in the past 10 years for the spread of metropolitan governance arrangements in European countries.
- *Economic case for metropolitan governance* – There is a clear economic rationale for metropolitan governance, with a positive association of city size with higher productivity. At the same time, such productivity benefits from size may be offset by fragmentation of governance (measured by number of local municipalities within the metropolitan area), reinforced as cities outgrow their historical boundaries. The establishment of a governance body at the metropolitan level may mitigate this effect by half.

- *Metropolitan areas are usually set up through national action* - National law established nearly all the metropolitan area and capital city structures analysed during this study. The only exception is Stuttgart in Germany, where devolved responsibility for metropolitan government lies with the federal (or regional) authority.
- *There are different national models for metropolitan governance* – The case studies presented four national models of governance: A. Metropolitan area, within a regional structure; B. Metropolitan area, without a regional structure; C. Capital city-region; and D. Capital city as a single municipality. Larger European countries are more likely to have Model A e.g. Greece, France and Germany – except for the UK, which has model B. Even within these models, there is considerable variation in metropolitan governance arrangements, even within national contexts.
- *Clear definition of roles between regions and metropolitan areas* – Clearly defining and agreeing roles between regions and metropolitan areas is challenging but critically important. Doing so is a multi-level governance task between national, regional and metropolitan governance players together with local municipal actors, taking into account Council of Europe guidelines and standards.

Key issues from metropolitan area and capital city case studies were:

- *Survey results and OECD research* - There are similarities between the case study areas and results from a larger OECD research sample. The survey reflects similar patterns of population, from 500,000 and 3.8 million, trends in when established and in the allocation of responsible strategic functions.
- *Intermediate governance structures are most common* - All but three of the case study areas have intermediate governance structures – with an inter-municipal authority/body established to manage inter-municipal cooperation. Only one case study has a soft structure – informal collaborative arrangements that are subject to local agreement between local partners. Two have strong – a supra municipal authority established as an additional layer of government created above existing municipalities. This pattern is slightly different to results of a larger survey of OECD countries, which found the soft structure was most common, followed by the intermediate model.
- *The Metropolitan Region of Attica and Metropolitan Unit of Thessaloniki come within the intermediate group.* This involves the establishment of a joint-body accountable to member authorities to manage cooperation and share decision making and responsibilities. Their effectiveness requires clear definition of accountabilities in roles and responsibilities between the metropolitan area and the region and local municipalities.
- *Metropolitan governance is strategic* - The purpose of metropolitan areas is to provide strategic coordination to enhance the well-being and sustainable development of the city and its hinterland. This involves coordinating the strategic development of the metropolitan area, with the most common functions devolved to metropolitan areas being economic development, transportation and spatial planning. Other functions regularly delegated to metropolitan areas

are housing policy, environmental policy, tourism, emergency services and power supply management.

- *Many metropolitan governance structures are recent, but require long-term persistence* - Many of the metropolitan areas are relatively recently formed, most since 2005, including Attica and Thessaloniki. However, experience from longer standing metropolitan areas, such as Brussels-Capital City Region, is that given the complexities of metropolitan governance, building effective collaboration is a long-term process, requiring consistency of commitment and process.
- *Providing effective mechanisms for participatory democracy* – Council of Europe Guidelines for civil participation in political decision making¹ and the additional protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority² emphasise the importance of effective mechanisms for citizen involvement and participation, both within and across the metropolitan area.
- *Understanding urban structure is vital* - It is critically important for any metropolitan area to understand implications of their urban structure for the social, environmental and economic development of the area. Metropolitan areas are not dots on a map or mere physical spaces. They are social constructions of people living in proximity in different physical conditions, wide income disparities and unequal opportunities to access employment. The urban structure will influence patterns of inequality and unequal growth in different parts of the city. This in turn may impact political commitment to metropolitan governance from within its different municipalities. It is therefore important that metropolitan strategic planning takes account of implications of urban structure for uneven development and unequal opportunity within the metropolis.

¹ CM(2017)83-final, Guidelines for civil participation in political decision making. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 27 September 2017 at the 1295th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies. See https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016807509dd

² CETS 207 - Additional Protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority. Not signed by Greece as of February 2018. Available at <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/rms/090000168008482a>

1. Introduction

1.1 Purpose

This report aims at presenting different European approaches to metropolitan governance and provides policy advice to the Hellenic Ministry of Interior according to a number of Council of Europe standards mentioned throughout the report.³

This policy advice report along with the seminar held in Thessaloniki on 17-18 October 2017 is part of the “European Union – Council of Europe Technical Assistance Project on Institutional Enhancement for Local Governance in Greece”.

The Greek Minister of Interior, Mr Panagiotis Skourletis contributed to this study by issuing an invitation to host the European Committee on Democracy and Governance of the Council of Europe (CDDG) seminar on the governance of metropolitan areas in Thessaloniki.

Greek Government representatives and regional, metropolitan and local government’s delegates attended the seminar, together with participants from other European national states and metropolitan areas, the OECD and the Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas (METREX). The programme of the seminar is available in Appendix 1.

A pre-seminar survey of European metropolitan areas and capital cities was prepared and distributed by the Centre of Expertise. Survey results and seminar contributions from Greece and other CoE member states have informed this report. The CDDG received a preliminary report of the Thessaloniki seminar on 5 December 2017, followed by a final report. Seminar discussions addressed two interrelated dimensions of metropolitan governance: first, governance structures and second, participatory democracy.

1.2 Defining the governance of metropolitan areas

National states and regional governments in Europe are increasingly recognising the significance of metropolitan areas as key sites to boost national economic growth, sustainable development, good governance and service delivery.⁴ Effective governance of metropolitan areas will reduce fragmentation in the management of the city and its immediate hinterland. The growth of metropolitan areas in recent decades is a striking feature, with variations in patterns of urbanisation between the relatively settled urban structure of Western Europe compared with expanding urban populations of capital cities in Central and Eastern Europe.^{5 6}

³ An exhaustive list of Council of Europe standards on local and regional democracy is presented at <https://www.coe.int/en/web/good-governance/standards>

⁴ OECD, 2015b. *The Metropolitan Century: Understanding Urbanisation and its Consequences*, Paris: OECD Publishing. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264228733-en>

⁵ Dijkstra, L., Garcilazo, E. and McCann, P., 2013. The economic performance of European cities and city regions: Myths and realities. *European Planning Studies*, 21(3), pp.334-354.

As presented to the seminar, the OECD defines a metropolitan area as a functional urban area, usually with at least 500,000 inhabitants.⁷ An OECD survey indicates that there are approximately 280 metropolitan areas with more than 500,000 inhabitants across OECD countries. Two thirds of these have some form of metropolitan authority, although they vary in tasks and competencies. It is therefore not surprising that structures for metropolitan governance are increasingly common across European nations, although precise data on the spread of such arrangements across the 100 plus metropolitan areas in CoE countries⁸ is not presently available. In larger European countries, as in Greece, metropolitan governance usually operates within a regional governance framework.

A functional urban area is, in turn, an urban agglomeration with a continuously built-up urban core and surrounding area, where the share of inhabitants that commute into the urban core determines its limits.^{9 10} The OECD suggests that a metropolitan area governance body should meet four criteria:¹¹

- It should cover the central city and a large share of the remaining parts of the metropolitan area;
- National and regional governments should be important actors within the organisation of metropolitan area governance, or its organisation should have the status of sub-national governance;
- The organisation should primarily focus on the governance of the whole of the metropolitan area e.g. strategic land use planning and transportation; and
- It should have a mandate that enables it to work on more than one issue relating to metropolitan area governance.

The key objective for the governance of metropolitan areas is to provide effective strategic co-ordination to enhance the well-being and sustainable development of the city and its hinterland.¹² Within a metropolitan area, there are many challenges to address, at different spatial and governance levels, for which the latter two come within the function of metropolitan governance:

- Meeting the service needs of individuals and communities in neighbourhoods (e.g. personal and operational services) from social care, education to waste disposal;
- Coordinating the strategic development of the whole metropolitan area (e.g. spatial planning, transportation, infrastructure investment, waste management, economic and sustainable development); and

⁶ OECD, 2015b op cit.

⁷ Ahrend, R., Gamper, C., and Schuman, A., 2014a. *The OECD metropolitan governance survey. A quantitative description of governance structures in large urban agglomerations.* OECD Regional Development Working Papers, 2014/04. Paris: OECD publishing. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/5jz43zldh08p-en>

⁸ See City Mayors website at: <http://www.citymayors.com/statistics/largest-cities-mayors-1.html>. Figure of over 100, includes all cities over 500,000 population in Russia.

⁹ Ahrend et al. 2014a op cit.

¹⁰ Methodology described in: OECD, 2012. *Redefining urban. A new way to measure metropolitan areas.* Paris: OECD publishing. Available at: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264174108-en>

¹¹ Ahrend et al. 2014 op cit.

¹² OECD, 2015b. *Governing the city.* Paris: OECD publishing. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/publications/governing-the-city-9789264226500-en.htm>

- Contributing to national and regional policy aims for promoting economic and sustainable development.

To undertake this effectively, requires:

- ‘Working across boundaries’ – to achieve collaboration between neighbouring municipalities and with state and regional institutions;
- ‘Working across sectors’ – to work effectively across the public, private and 3rd sectors;
- ‘Working across communities’ – to work inclusively with the citizens, neighbourhoods and stakeholders that collectively make up the metropolitan area; and
- Having clearly defined structures, roles and responsibilities for metropolitan governance within national, regional and local governance frameworks.

1.3 Presentation of study findings

The findings of this policy review are presented in five sections. Section 2 considers national models to govern metropolitan areas and capital cities. Section 3 reviews metropolitan area and capital city case studies. Section 4 addresses issues and challenges in metropolitan governance in Greece. Section 5 presents conclusions and makes recommendations to the Ministry of Interior.

2. National models to govern metropolitan areas and capital cities in Europe

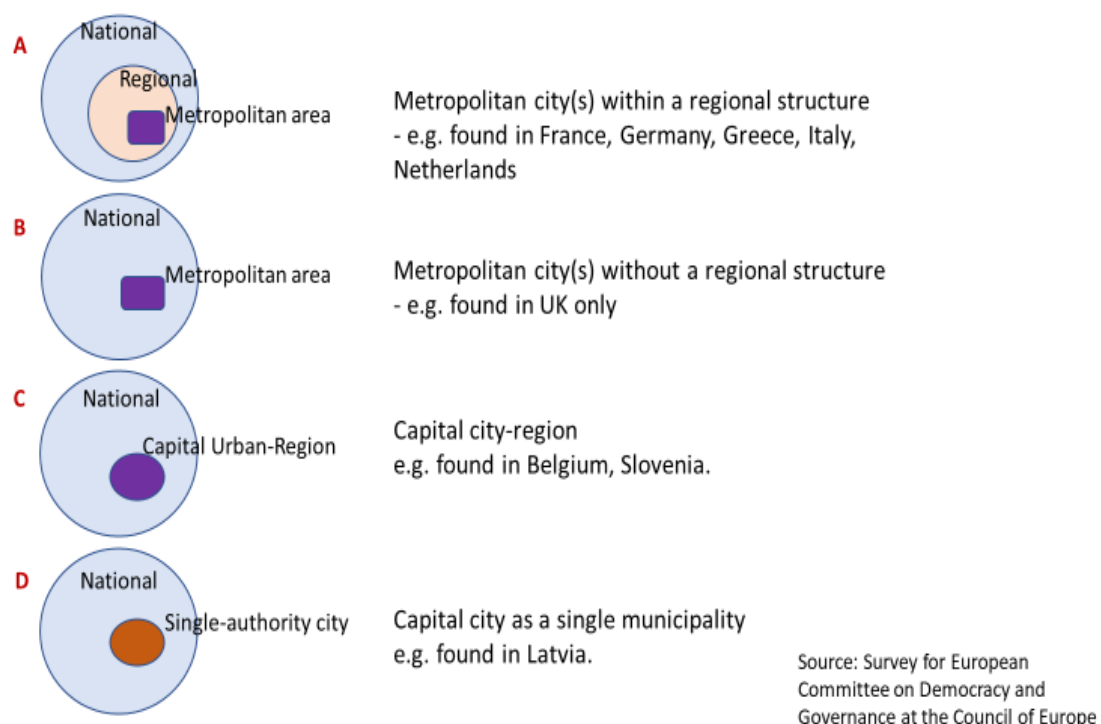
2.1 Introduction

This section highlights the national perspective on different models of metropolitan governance presented at the seminar through the experiences of France, Greece, Germany and the United Kingdom. Likewise, it introduces the European context provided by METREX and OECD.

2.2 Identifying different national models to govern metropolitan areas

There are different national models for metropolitan governance. Only a minority of CoE member countries have more than one metropolitan area with a population of more than 500,000 i.e. France, Greece, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Turkey, Ukraine and UK.

Figure 1 – Four national structures for the governance of metropolitan areas



There are many European countries for whom consideration of metropolitan governance arrangements will only be appropriate for the capital city e.g. Azerbaijan, Armenia, Austria, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Georgia, Hungary, Ireland, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Norway, Romania, Serbia, Slovenia, Sweden. The seminar received three capital city illustrations on Brussels-Capital Region (Belgium), Ljubljana (Slovenia) and Riga (Latvia).

Larger European countries have different national models that reflect their own political, geographical, cultural, historical, economic and social contexts. Furthermore, there are countries, such as France, Greece, Italy and the UK which define a national policy framework towards metropolitan areas.

Case studies presented at the Thessaloniki seminar suggest four different national models for the governance of metropolitan areas within a national context. As illustrated in Figure 1, with examples in figure 2, these are:

- A. Metropolitan area, within a regional structure;
- B. Metropolitan area, without a regional structure;
- C. Capital city-region;
- D. Capital city as a single municipality.

France fits the national regional model A. It was shared that France had 15 metropolitan areas on 1st January 2017, with a combined population of 17 million inhabitants, covered by 785 local municipalities.¹³ On 1st January 2018, this grew to 22 metropolitan areas, with 19 million inhabitants and 963 municipalities. The structure for metropolitan governance in France was established by national law in 2010, with several modifications since, although in practice, metropolitan areas may only be formed by municipalities' agreement. Metropolitan areas come within a three-tier structure of municipalities (35,000), which can work together within a metropolitan area, departments (101) and regions (12). Only one metropolitan area (Lyon) has strong governance arrangements as defined below. Its assembly will be elected from 2020 directly by citizens among 14 constituencies. Since the metropolitan area has 59 municipalities, some will not have a representative on the assembly. In Lyon, the municipalities have fewer responsibilities than other French municipalities and the metropolitan area performs the responsibilities of a department within its area. Elsewhere, metropolitan areas have intermediate governance arrangements; citizens vote for their assembly among the same candidates and on the same day as they vote for the municipalities. A municipal mayor may lead the metropolitan area assembly and its mandate is strictly attached to the municipal mandate. In this sense, metropolitan areas are only inter-municipal cooperation organisations in which national law defines which responsibilities are given to the metropolitan level, although the municipalities may transfer more. These functions normally cover economic development, transportation, tourism, housing (policy) and water management functions.

¹³ Troupel, 2017, presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

Figure 2 – Four national structures and case study illustrations

National structure of metropolitan governance	Country examples	Metropolitan areas example
A. National-regional-metropolitan	France	Lyon
	Germany	Stuttgart
	Greece	Metropolitan areas of Attica and Thessalonica
	Italy	Metropolitan areas of Bologna and Messina
	The Netherlands	Metropolitan areas of Amsterdam, and Rotterdam and The Hague
	Spain (potentially)	Metropolitan area of Zaragoza (potentially)
B. National-metropolitan	United Kingdom	Greater Manchester, Liverpool City Region
C. Capital-urban (or city) region	Belgium	Brussels-Capital Region
	Slovenia	Ljubljana Urban Region
D. Capital city	Latvia	Riga

Germany also reflects the national-regional model. But metropolitan areas in Germany are established within a federal (or regional) government framework.¹⁴ Another difference is that there is no dominant city, like London (UK) and Paris (France). German cities are comparatively smaller, with Berlin being the largest with 3.5 million inhabitants. The purpose of metropolitan areas in Germany is to seek to develop effective cooperation across the urban and urban/rural areas that come within functional metropolitan areas. In doing so, they strive for both economic and sustainable development goals. Each of the metropolitan areas has been built bottom-upwards, often with cooperation going back as far as the 1950s or even earlier. However, Berlin/Brandenburg, Frankfurt/Rhein Main, Hamburg, Munich, Rhein-Ruhr, Mittel-deutschland and Stuttgart were formerly established in 1995/7.¹⁵ Others, Bremen-Oldenburg, Hannover/Braunschweig/Göttingen/Wolfsburg and Rhein-Neckar were established in 2005.¹⁶

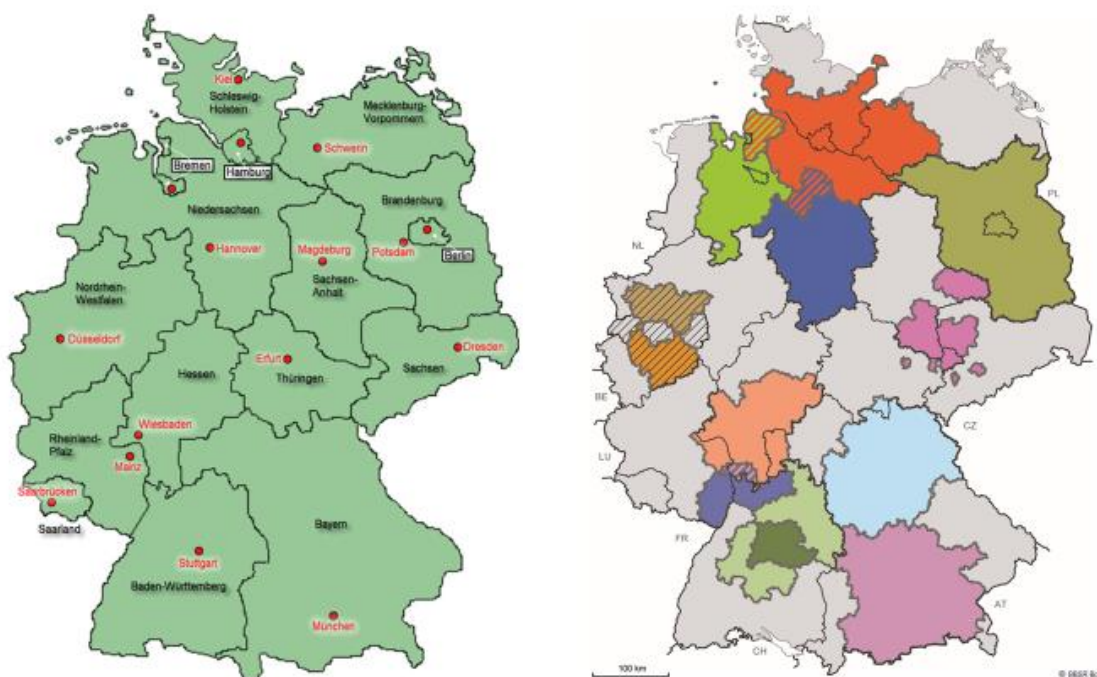
¹⁴ Blätter, T., 2017, presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

¹⁵ Established by the Standing Conference of Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning (MKRO).

¹⁶ Established by the Standing Conference of Ministers responsible for Spatial Planning (MKRO).

Because of the federal structure in Germany and the bottom-up processes in their formation, there are wide differences between metropolitan regions in Germany in land area, number of inhabitants and density, economic structure, urban structure, breakdown of urban and rural space and areas of responsibility. Each structure reflects its specific metropolitan conditions. As a result, no two models are the same. For example, Berlin-Brandenburg has no governance structures at the metropolitan level, but does have a joint spatial planning department. By contrast, Stuttgart Region has received responsibilities and competencies transferred to the metropolitan area by the federal state parliament. In Germany, metropolitan areas do not constitute additional administrative units, but are platforms for regional cooperation. They also determine their own boundaries, which may overlap more than one federal state, as indicated in figure 3.

Figure 3 – The overlapping geographies of federal states and metropolitan areas in Germany



Source: Blätter, T., 2017 - Presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

From 2010, the UK has moved to becoming the only large European country with a metropolitan governance structure without regions. The UK is both one of the most centralised advanced countries in the world and is relatively spatially imbalanced towards London and the South East economy.¹⁷ Recent progress towards metropolitan governance is part of deliberate government policy to seek to empower more local levels to respond to this dual challenge. The Greater London Authority and Mayor, established earlier in 2000, fits the strong model with a directly elected assembly and mayor. Elsewhere in England, there has been progress towards metropolitan governance arrangements since at least 2010. This has led to the direct election of metropolitan mayors to work with Combined Authorities in Greater Manchester, Liverpool City Region, West Midlands, West of England and Teesside in May 2017. In total, these areas have over 6.8 million people eligible to vote, which is 17 per cent of the total electorate in England. The functions of the mayor vary across the metropolitan areas, depending on a funding and devolution agreement

¹⁷ Ewbank, M., 2017, presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

between the local authority partners, reflected in the Combined Authority, and the government. There are notable metropolitan areas still to reach such an agreement e.g. Leeds City Region and Nottingham. Overall, these arrangements more closely reflect the intermediate rather than the strong model, with the mayors exercising stronger 'soft' rather than 'hard' power.

There were illustrations of the other two models, C - the capital city-region – Belgium and Slovenia; and D - the capital city as a single municipality – Latvia. Descriptions of each of these are provided in the case studies in Appendix 3. Each of these reflect principles from recommendation 219(2007) on the status of capital cities.¹⁸

2.3 The national trend toward metropolitan governance is underpinned by a strong economic case

There is a strong economic case for spread of metropolitan governance. As presented to the Thessaloniki seminar on behalf of the OECD,¹⁹ the spread of metropolitan governance centres on the interaction of two key propositions.

First, there is a positive association between city-size with higher productivity. The productivity benefits of larger cities are explained through operation of the three agglomeration mechanisms of sharing, matching and learning operating within an urban context.²⁰ Sharing is the ability of firms to use in common inputs, suppliers and infrastructure across the city. These include public goods, such as ports, airports and universities, as well as the potential opportunities for accessing suppliers through local concentrations of firms. Matching is the ability for firms to access a large pool and wide range of labour market skills to improve the chances and quality of matches, benefiting both firms and people. Learning is the opportunity to learn from others and from within the surrounding urban environment, through knowledge exchange and by the diffusion of knowledge.

Consequently, studies have suggested that a doubling of population size is associated with 2 to 5 per cent higher productivity. This implies, for example, that 'labour productivity in urban agglomerations the size of Paris, London or Chicago would – on average – be in the order of 20% higher than in an urban agglomeration of 50,000 inhabitants'.²¹ Further, there may be productivity spill over benefits from large to nearby cities, suggesting that smaller cities can 'borrow' agglomeration benefits from their larger neighbours.^{22 23} Whilst large urban agglomerations account for over 50 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of OECD countries, they only take up less than 5 per cent of total surface area.²⁴ And urban areas with more than 500,000 inhabitants are home to over half the population of

¹⁸ Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2007. *Recommendation 219(2007) Status of capital cities*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

¹⁹ Machado, D., 2017. Presentation to the Thessaloniki Seminar.

²⁰ Duranton, G. and Puga, D., 2004. Micro-foundations of urban agglomeration economies. *Handbook of regional and urban economics*, 4, pp.2063-2117.

²¹ Ahrend, R., Frachy, E., Kaplanis, I. and Lembcke, A. C., 2014b. *What Makes Cities More Productive? Evidence on the Role of Urban Governance from Five OECD Countries*. OECD Regional Development Working Papers, No. 2014/05. Paris: OECD Publishing:

http://www.oecd-ilibrary.org/urban-rural-and-regional-development/what-makes-cities-more-productive-evidence-on-the-role-of-urban-governance-from-five-oecd-countries_5jz432cf2d8p-en

²² Ahrend et al., 2014b op cit.

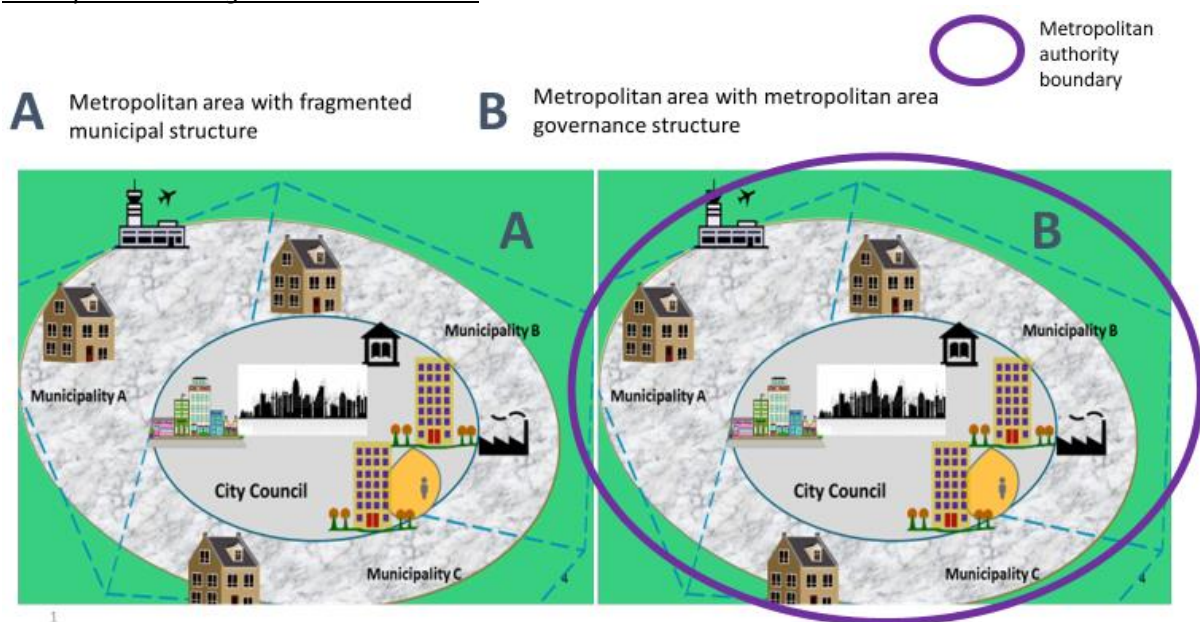
²³ Machado, 2017 op cit.

²⁴ Machado, 2017 op cit.

OECD countries and account for an even higher share of GDP. It is therefore not surprising that ‘a country’s productivity is, in large part, determined by the productivity of its cities’ and so for a country to raise its potential for long-term growth it is crucial to understand how to enhance the productivity of its metropolitan areas.²⁵

Second, consequences of fragmented governance of the metropolitan area (measured by number of local municipalities within the metropolitan area) will offset these benefits. Figure 4 illustrates this. This is a common issue as cities outgrow their historic boundaries and governance structures. OECD evidence suggests that this outgrowing of the metropolitan area beyond its governance boundaries maybe as much as by 10 municipalities in 75 per cent of OECD metropolitan areas and more than 100 in 22 per cent of cases. Consequences of such fragmented governance structures are observed from a study of five OECD countries (Germany, Mexico, Spain, UK and USA) in lowering levels of productivity. As a result: ‘for a given population size, a metropolitan area with twice the number of municipalities is associated with around 6 per cent lower productivity; an effect that is mitigated by half by the existence of a governance body at the metropolitan level’.²⁶ This is because administrative fragmentation can, for example, obstruct transport investments and effective land-use planning across the metropolitan area and in doing so increase congestion and reduce the city’s attractiveness to individuals and businesses.²⁷

Figure 4 – A simplified illustration of a shift from a more fragmented municipal structure to a metropolitan area governance structure



Evidence that the scale of governance matters is also provided by Cheshire and Magrini, through a European study across 122 functional urban regions.²⁸ This suggests that there exists a positive

²⁵ Ahrend et al., 2014b: 5

²⁶ Ahrend et al., 2014b : 2

²⁷ Ahrend et al, 2014 a, b

²⁸ Cheshire, P.C. and Magrini, S., 2009. Urban growth drivers and spatial inequalities: Europe—a case with geographically sticky people. *Journal of Economic Geography*, 9(1), pp85-115.

relationship between the extension of the metropolitan area's administrative boundaries and its functional urban region. Thus, if metropolitan areas can operate across the whole of their spatial economy, they are more likely to design economic policies which will in turn translate into economic growth:

Administrative and government arrangements for cities systematically influence their economic growth performance. Where there is a jurisdiction approximating the boundaries of an economically self-contained city-region, growth is stronger, other things being equal.²⁹

Affirmation for metropolitan governance is not just about economics. It is also about addressing the coordination of a wider set of challenges that encompass spatial and land use planning, transportation and other infrastructure projects, quality of life and climate change. This may include social security and social protection, social policy, the refugee crises, as well as natural and technological disasters.³⁰ It is also about the effective implementation of article 10 of the Charter of Local Self-Government, together with a number of CoE Principles of Good Governance, namely Principle 2 (Responsiveness), Principle 4 (Openness and Transparency), Principle 8 (innovation and Openness to Change) and Principle 9 (Sustainability and Long-term Orientation) in the design of effective cross-municipal collaboration.

2.4 Metropolitan challenges should be addressed at the appropriate spatial level

The appropriate assignment of responsibilities among levels of government is a critical factor for the effectiveness and efficiency of public policy. In the case of metropolitan governance, the sharing/allocation of competences among different tiers of government should be in accordance with the principle of the higher effectiveness of public policy.

Typical to this case is the sharing of responsibilities over public investment. Public investment is not only a major strategic responsibility for governments but also a shared one: sub-national governments undertake almost two-thirds of public investment and major projects tend to involve more than one government level.³¹ The more appropriate the allocation of responsibility over the public investment across levels of government the more efficient and effective use of existing resources to the fulfilment of economic goals and social needs. Following this report, the OECD has published a set of recommendations for the allocation of responsibilities over public investment across levels of government.³² Pillar A, among the three pillars of the recommendations focuses on the importance of seeking and creating complementarities in policies and programmes across policy sectors, vertically across levels of government, and horizontally among sub-national governments to increase the effectiveness of public investment.

²⁹ Cheshire and Magrini, 2009 op cit.: 107

³⁰ Kiwitt, 2017, presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

³¹ OECD, 2013a. *Investing Together: Working Effectively across Levels of Government*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

³² OECD, 2014. *Recommendation of the Council on Effective Public Investment across Levels of Government*. 12 March 2014, C(2014)32. Paris: OECD Publishing.

2.5 It is essential that roles between regions and metropolitan areas and clearly defined

Working through the challenges of clearly defining and agreeing roles between regions and metropolitan areas is challenging as illustrated by Greece. Metropolitan areas form part of a multi-level structure of governance. In smaller European countries, the region and capital city may be combined in a capital city urban region, or the capital city may be the only metropolitan area within the state. Elsewhere, in larger European countries, metropolitan areas may be part of a multi-level governance structure involving the national government, regions, metropolitan areas and local municipalities. Furthermore, as illustrated by the example of Germany, metropolitan areas may not correspond with historical regional boundaries. For example, the metropolitan area of Hamburg spans four federal states. In other instances, regional and metropolitan area patterns are not fully reflected. The UK is developing metropolitan areas without regions and the evolution of metropolitan governance is still at an early stage in Spain.

Metropolitan administration requires the involvement and participation of both tiers of local government. Multi-tier collaboration is very important. The metropolitan committees of the Region of Attica meet on an ad hoc basis for deliberative purposes, but they do not hold any decision-making power and municipalities are not systematically represented.³³ In addition, metropolitan government arrangements should incorporate all the stakeholders and institutions with a metropolitan perspective. In Attica, these institutions include among others:

- (1) The Organisation for the Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens (ORSA) which was set up in 1985 and absorbed into the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change in 2014;
- (2) The Athens Urban Transportation Organization (OASA) which covers 52 Municipalities;
- (3) The Regional Union of Municipalities of Attica (PEDA) which covers all 66 Municipalities of the Region of Attica; and
- (4) The special inter-tier association of Attica prefecture for the solid waste management (EDSNA), which was set up 2011, constitute another metropolitan government arrangement in Attica.

For Thessaloniki, these should include:

- (1) The Organisation for the Planning and Environmental Protection of Thessaloniki (ORTHE) which was set up in 1985 and absorbed into the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change in 2014;
- (2) Thessaloniki Urban Transport Organisation (OASTH) that was set up in 1957 and transformed many times (1979, 2010, and 2017) but still in operation.

Given the complexity as described above, it is essential that there is multi-level agreement regarding the allocation of roles and responsibilities between national government, the region, local municipalities and metropolitan governance institutions.

³³ OECD, 2015a. 'Athens-Attica Greece' in *Governing the City*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

2.6 Conclusions

This section highlights a national perspective of metropolitan governance, together with a European context from METREX and insights from OECD research. It describes a strong case for metropolitan governance as 'indispensable economic actors'.³⁴ At the same time, there are different models for metropolitan governance, reflecting different national, regional and metropolitan social, economic and political settings. In larger countries, a model with both regions and metropolitan areas is most common. Successful implementation requires clearly defining the different accountabilities, roles and responsibilities within a multi-level structure of governance.

³⁴ Congress of Local and Regional Authorities Resolution 407 (216) *Good governance in metropolitan areas*.

3. Governing metropolitan areas and capital cities in Europe

3.1 Introduction to case study results

This section presents the results of case studies on metropolitan governance from written survey responses and seminar presentations.

Eleven governance case studies are summarised in Appendix 3 and listed in Figures 5 and 6. These came from Belgium (1), Germany (1), Greece (2), Italy (2), Latvia (1), the Netherlands (2), Spain (1) and Slovenia (1). In addition, two participatory democracy case studies were given at the seminar on Riga (Latvia) and Reykjavik (Iceland).

Figure 5 - Metropolitan area case studies

Metropolitan Area	Country
Amsterdam Metropolitan Area (AMA)	The Netherlands
Metropolitan City of Bologna	Italy
Messina, Scilly	Italy
Metropolitan Area Rotterdam and The Hague (MRDH)	The Netherlands
Stuttgart Region	Germany
Metropolitan Unit of Thessaloniki of the Region of Central Macedonia	Greece
Zaragoza (as a potential metropolitan area)	Spain

Figure 6 - Capital city case studies

Capital City	Country
Metropolitan region of Attica	Greece
Brussels-Capital Region	Belgium
Ljubljana Urban Region	Slovenia
Riga	Latvia

The governance case studies addressed the following topics:

- The type of metropolitan area governance arrangements (soft, intermediate or hard);
- The history of metropolitan governance arrangements;
- How the metropolitan governance arrangements were set up; by national law or by regional/local actions;
- How many municipalities came within the metropolitan area and what was the population covered;
- The spatial nature of the metropolitan area; sprawl, polycentric, monocentric or multipolar;
- Illustrations of participatory democracy in metropolitan areas;
- Examples of lessons of what has worked, challenges and problems and the case employed for establishing a metropolitan area.

As indicated in Figures 7-9 below, the population within the surveyed metropolitan areas vary considerably. For capital cities it goes from 0.5 million for Ljubljana to 3.8 million for Attica. While other metropolitan areas cover from 0.6 million in Messina to 2.5 million in Amsterdam.

There are wide variations in the number of local municipalities that fall within a single metropolitan area, from lowest – Riga as a single citywide authority, to highest – Stuttgart with 179. Nevertheless, there is no discernible pattern from the sample in relation to governance structure. Municipal structures reflect national patterns for local governance.

In nearly all cases, metropolitan area structures were set up through national law. As discussed in section 2, Germany, where metropolitan governance is solely a federal (regional) matter, is an exception.

3.2 There are different governance structures for metropolitan governance

A framework for analysis of governance structures is provided by a OECD survey conducted across 263 metropolitan areas in 21 member countries of at least 500,000 inhabitants (with an average below 2 million and median slightly above 1 million).³⁵ This reported that two-thirds of OECD metropolitan areas have a metropolitan area body. These may be distinguished within four types of structure: a) informal/self-coordination; b) inter-municipal authorities; c) supra-municipal authorities and d) special status 'metropolitan cities'. Of these, there are no illustrations in Europe of type d), which is where a city within wider metropolitan area is upgraded and given a 'special status' of being put on a higher footing by the government in relation to other municipalities within the metropolitan area. It is found in eight per cent of cases, for example in Japan.

³⁵ Ahrend et al., 2014a op cit.

The first three OECD definitions were adapted slightly for the survey to ensure consistency with a 2016 report on metropolitan governance to the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, as:³⁶

- a) Soft – Informal collaborative arrangements subject to local agreement between participating municipalities (and other local partners) – These usually lack means of enforcement and provide no direct relations with citizens or with other levels of government and are unlikely to be involved in direct service delivery. Legally, they are subject only to local agreement between participating municipalities and other local partners. They are relatively straightforward to set up and undo. The OECD survey found this category to be the most common, in 52 per cent of cases.
- b) Intermediate – An inter-municipal authority/body or committee(s) established to manage inter-municipal cooperation and decision making across a single or range of responsibilities - The most common responsibilities include economic development, spatial planning, transportation and waste management. Responsibilities and costs across participating municipalities may be shared through institutional agreements, which may involve other tiers of government and other sectorial organisations (e.g. business organisations). A joint body is established that is accountable to member authorities to manage cooperation and share decision making and responsibilities. This form of arrangement was found in 24 per cent of cases.
- c) Strong – Supra-municipal authority established as an additional layer of government created above existing municipalities – This may include a directly elected Mayor and assembly, or a non-elected metropolitan tier. This is established by central government statute. Collaboration is reinforced by legally defined differentiated roles and responsibilities for upper tier and lower tier authorities. This form of arrangement was found in 16 per cent of cases.

There are no right or wrong solutions. Nor is it the case that strong is necessarily better than intermediate or soft. It is more important that institutional structures should be designed in geographical and historical context. This should address the enabling of metropolitan areas to cooperate effectively on issues of common interest with local authorities both within the metropolis and with neighbouring areas.³⁷ In addition, whilst all the principles of good democratic governance apply to the situation of metropolitan governance, special consideration is needed to address how the principles of responsiveness, openness and transparency, competence and capacity, innovation and openness to change and sustainability and long-term orientation might be adapted to the particular circumstances of inter-municipal and multi-level collaboration required for democratic metropolitan governance.³⁸

³⁶ Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, 2016: *Good governance in metropolitan areas*. Governance Committee, CG31(2016)17. 21 October 2016.

³⁷ European Charter of Local Self-Government, Article 6 and 10.

³⁸ Centre for expertise for local government reform. 12 principles of good democratic governance. Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/good-governance/12-principles-and-elope>

In seminar case studies, intermediate – inter-municipal bodies were clearly the most common governance arrangements across case study metropolitan areas. With a small sample size, it is not possible to ascertain trends between population and governance structure. Yet, it is worth noticing that the smaller metropolitan areas come within the intermediate model.

Figure 7 – Distribution of seminar and survey case study metropolitan areas by governance model

Governance model	Metropolitan area (country)	Key characteristic
a) Soft – Informal collaboration	Amsterdam Metropolitan Area (The Netherlands)	Collaborative network supported by small executive office
b) Intermediate – Inter-municipal body (or regional body, as in the case of Attica, Greece).	Metropolitan City of Bologna (Italy)	Metropolitan council, elected by municipal Mayors and councillors of the metropolitan city. Metropolitan mayor is mayor of city council.
	Messina (Italy)	A supra-municipality model, but with commissioner currently undertaking executive functions of council.
	Ljubljana Urban Region (Slovenia)	The Urban Region's is formed from its 26 municipalities supported by the Office for the Ljubljana Urban Region.
	Metropolitan Area Rotterdam and The Hague (The Netherlands)	Metropolitan body established to for transport and economic development responsibilities.
	Metropolitan Region of Attica	Established by law within Attica Region for the execution of four Metropolitan competences: transport and networks, environment and the quality of life, civil protection and security, spatial planning and urban regeneration. Municipalities are not represented.
	Metropolitan Unit of Thessaloniki	Established by law for the execution of four Metropolitan competences: transport and networks, environment and the quality of life, civil protection and security, spatial planning and urban regeneration. Municipalities

		are not legally represented. However, there exists ad-hoc cooperation between the two tiers of local government.
c)Strong – Supra-municipal authority	Stuttgart Region	Directly elected regional assembly.
	Brussels Capital-Region	Has its own Parliament of 89 members and constitutes one of three federated regions of Belgium.

Given that the government model adopted is a key factor, a comparison with other issues covered by the survey is shown in figures 8, 9 and 10. Riga is not listed in tables 8 to 10, because it is a single municipality local authority and Zaragoza, as it aspires to, rather than has existing metropolitan governance arrangements.

Figure 8 – Comparative characteristics of metropolitan and capital areas by governance model – Soft

Metropolitan area (MA)/capital city (CC)	When established	Population (millions)	Number of municipalities	Set up by national, regional or local decision	Is there regional government?	Key responsible functions	Urban structure
Amsterdam	Informally since around 2007	2.3m.	33	Local/regional action, although transport authority by statute	Yes, two provinces involved	Economic development, Transportation, Land-use planning, Tourism, Housing policy.	Polycentric

Figure 9 – Comparative characteristics of metropolitan and capital areas by governance model – Medium

Metropolitan area (MA)/capital city (CC)	When established	Population (millions)	Number of municipalities	Set up by national, regional or local decision	Is there regional government?	Key responsible functions	Urban structure
Bologna (MA)	Voluntary collaboration since 1990. Formally since 2015.	1.01m.	55 (grouped in 7 municipal unions).	National law, followed by complementary regional law.	Yes.	Economic and social development, territorial, transportation and strategic planning.	Polycentric.
Messina (MA)	2015.	0.64m.	108.	National law.	Yes.	Part responsibility for transportation, tourism, emergency services and education.	Polycentric.
Ljubljana (CC)	2006.	0.54m.	26.	National.	No.	Transportation, tourism, emergency services and power supply.	Multi-polar.
Rotterdam and The Hague (MA)	2015.	2.3m.	23.	Local/regional action.	Yes,	Economic development and transportation.	Polycentric.
Attica (CC)	2010	3.83m.	66.	National.	Yes.	Transport and networks, environment and the quality of life, civil protection and security, spatial planning and urban regeneration	Polycentric
Thessaloniki (MA)	2010.	1.11m.	14.	National.	Yes.	Transport and networks, environment and the quality of life, civil protection and security, spatial planning and urban regeneration	Monocentric, with urban sprawl trends

Figure 10 – Comparative characteristics of metropolitan and capital areas by governance model – Strong

Metropolitan area (MA) /capital city (CC)	When established	Population (millions)	Number of municipalities	Set up by national, regional or local decision	Is there regional government?	Key responsible functions	Urban structure
Stuttgart (MA)	1995	2.7m.	179.	Region.	Yes.	Economic development, transportation, land-use and sites planning, housing policy, power supply.	Polycentric
Brussels (CC)	1989, but collaboration goes back to 19 th century.	1.2m	19	National.	Is a region, alongside Flanders and Wallonia.	Spatial planning, economic development, housing policy, tourism, emergency services (with shared responsibilities with 19 municipalities).	Monocentric.

Figure 11 – Comparison of responsible functions across case study metropolitan areas

	Economic (and social) development	Transportation	Spatial planning	Housing policy	Tourism	Power supply (energy)	Environment and quality of life	Emergency services
Amsterdam	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	•	•	•
Bologna	Yes	Yes	Yes	•	•	•	•	•
Messina³⁹	•	Yes	•	•	Yes	Yes	•	Yes
Ljubljana	•	Yes	•	•	Yes	•	•	•
Rotterdam and The Hague	Yes	Yes	•	•	•	•	•	•
Attica	Yes	•	Yes	•	•	•	Yes	•
Thessalonica	Yes	•	Yes	•	•	•	Yes	•
Stuttgart	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	•	Yes	•	Yes
Brussels	Yes	•	Yes	Yes	Yes	•	•	•

Source: the list of responsible functions is based on the survey feedback.

³⁹ Responsibilities shared with other authorities.

3.3 Many metropolitan governance structures are relatively new

Building successful metropolitan governance structures is a long-term and bottom-up process. This is even through, as shown in Figures 4-6, seven of the nine metropolitan governance structures were formerly adopted from 2005. This reflects the pattern in Europe towards increasing metropolitan governance.

An OECD survey of 56 metropolitan governance bodies indicated that 37 per cent were formed since 2000 and 57 per cent since 1990.⁴⁰ A small minority (2 per cent) had origins going back to the 1920s. An active period of establishment of metropolitan governance bodies also occurred from the 1950s to 1970s that tailed off in the 1980s.⁴¹ This pattern reflects the picture shared at the seminar that the foundations for cooperation may have started much earlier, with examples going back to the 1950s. In the case of Brussels-Capital-Region, the origins of intra-regional cooperation go back as far as the late nineteenth century.⁴² It is necessary to achieve a long-term and consistent focus on developing strong collaborative arrangements for working across spatial, administrative and organisational boundaries, with a focus on sustainability and long-term orientation⁴³

Metropolitan governance in Greece is quite new. However, the introduction of Metropolitan functions and competences was an important step forward. The assessment of the implementation and the functioning of Metropolitan competences in Attica and Thessaloniki constitute a prerequisite for the prospects and the designing of metropolitan administration reforms in the country.

3.4 Responsibilities are allocated to metropolitan areas

Metropolitan governance is about the coordination of the strategic development of the whole metropolitan area. It should translate the functional economy of people and their movements – to work, to housing, to education, to shop and to culture – into the governance of geographical space. In doing so, it may combine both urban and neighbouring rural areas. Therefore, the emphasis is on strategic functions that require coordination across this space.⁴⁴

The allocation of responsibilities across the survey metropolitan areas is summarised in figure 11. As showed in the table, the most common metropolitan roles are: economic development (7 out of 9); transportation (6 out of 9) and spatial planning (6 out of 9). This is consistent with findings of OECD research,⁴⁵ which identified economic development, spatial planning and transportation as the most common functions to be found across a larger sample of metropolitan areas. The survey also identified responsibilities for: tourism (4 out of 9); housing policy (3 out of 9); emergency services (2 out of 9) and power supply (2 out of 9).

⁴⁰ Ahrend et al., 2014 op cit.

⁴¹ Machado, 2017. Presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

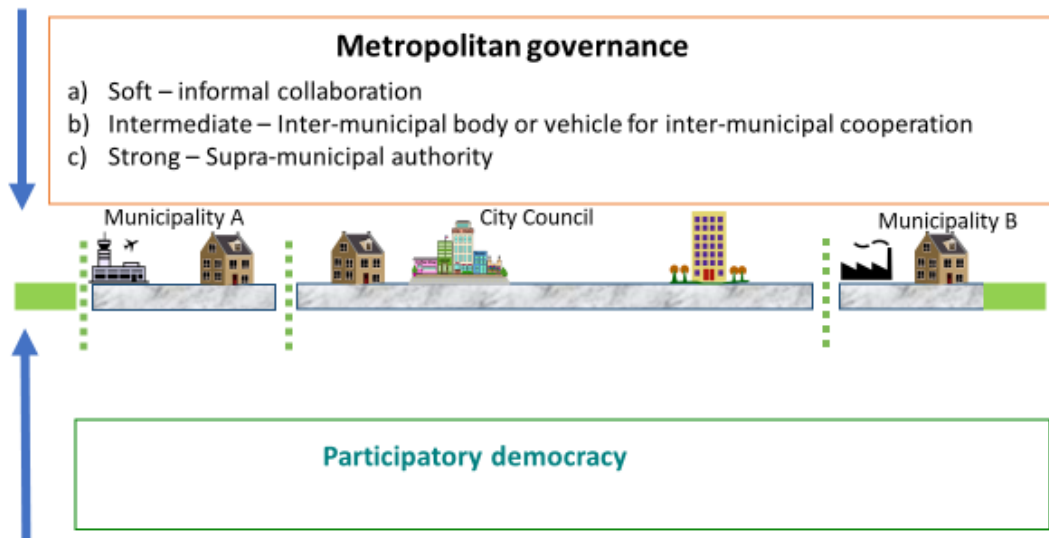
⁴² Filot, O., 2017. Presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

⁴³ Centre of Expertise for Local Government Reform, 12 Principles of Good Democratic Governance.

⁴⁴ Kiwitt, T., 2017. Presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

⁴⁵ OECD, 2015a op cit.

Figure 12 – Metropolitan governance involves both governance structures and participatory democracy



3.5 Participatory democracy is critical to effective metropolitan governance

Metropolitan governance is not just about governance structures (see figure 12) It also involves the challenge of developing effective mechanisms for participatory democracy, including the right to prior consultation on changing local authority boundaries,^{46 47} as well as the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority.⁴⁸ Citizen participation is processes in which ordinary people are able to influence a decision(s) that will affect their community.^{49 50} This may involve participation at different spatial levels from the neighbourhood to the whole metropolitan area.

Riga and Reykjavik provided two innovative illustrations of principles for civil participation. Whilst both cities are not large by European standards, they provide valuable good practice lessons. They show how effective leadership and securing the trust of citizens in structures of governance are critically important, but also challenging to achieve. To address this, key principles for civil participation in decision making⁵¹ should be applied to the particular challenges of working across spatial, sectorial and organisational boundaries in the context of democratic metropolitan governance.

⁴⁶ Article 4, European charter of Local Self-Government.

⁴⁷ Council of Europe, 2004. On the processes of reform of boundaries and/or structures of local and regional authorities. Adopted by Committee of Ministers, 20 October 2004. Rec(2004)12. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

⁴⁸ Council of Europe, 2009. Additional protocol to the European charter of local self-government on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority. Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/conventions/full-list/-/conventions/treaty/207>

⁴⁹ André. P. *Citizen participation*. Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Public Administration.

⁵⁰ Council of Europe, 2017. *Guidelines for civil participation in political decision making*. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers, 27 September 2017. CM(2017)83. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

⁵¹ CM(2017)83-final, Guidelines for civil participation in political decision making. Adopted by the Committee of Ministers on 27 September 2017 at the 1295th meeting of the Ministers' Deputies. See https://search.coe.int/cm/Pages/result_details.aspx?ObjectId=09000016807509dd

The presentation on Riga⁵² focussed on opportunities for citizen involvement and participation in the city. There are consultative bodies with objectives to encourage the participation of citizens in solving topical challenges. These include: Advisory Board of NGOs for persons with disability (active since 2007); Christian Congregations Board of Riga City (founded in 2009); Advisory Board on Society Integration issues of Riga City Council (founded 3020) and the Working Group on Promoting Civic Participation and Sense of Belonging (established 2016). In addition, a Citizen Forum has met annually since 2010, with around 200 participants each year. The presentation provided illustrations of practical projects that had been chosen by open competition and implemented through these consultative mechanisms. This system of open competition has operated under the themes of promoting integration of society in Riga, neighbourhood initiatives to promote participation and sense of belonging and for young people 'united in diversity'. In 2015, a NGO House was opened as a platform for cooperation between non-government organisations and the City Council. These initiatives have led Riga to be recognised as an URBACT good practice city.

By contrast, Reykjavik,⁵³ which is a relatively smaller capital city with a population of around 120,000, focussed on its innovative policy of information, ratified by the City Council in 2015. The emphasis is on open government in promoting transparency and easy access by citizens to information to enable improvements in operational efficiency. Data behind City Council decisions is made available on the City's website. The intention is to ensure information is factual, trustworthy and in accordance with law, ethics and human rights policy. There is extensive user testing for the design of standards for accessibility, with news about decisions being published widely on the web and through social media to reach as many people as possible. In addition, the City encourages citizens to participate in democratic processes and communicate through social media and other media, in order that citizen opinions are heard and responded to. One example of this approach is My Neighbourhood, a citizen participation project started in 2012, created by the Citizen's Foundation and adopted by the City of Reykjavik. A slice of its city's development budget in each neighbourhood is managed by residents. In 2016, 9.4 per cent of all city residents voted on their local budget. There is a review system for all ideas submitted and the top 25 proposals in each neighbourhood are put forward for voting within the neighbourhood at stake. The top four ideas are then implemented.

⁵² Radzevics, J., 2017. Presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

⁵³ Svansson, H. A., 2017. Presentation to the Thessaloniki seminar.

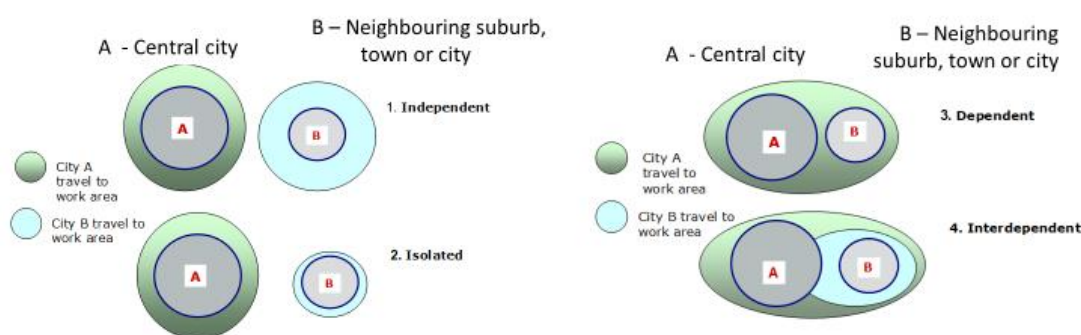
3.6 Understanding urban structure is essential to recognising spatial differences and inequality in the metropolitan area

Considering that:

- Local and regional services contribute to social cohesion, to sustainable development and to the equitable and rational distribution of the resources available within the area covered by the local or regional authority (CM/Rec(2007)4);⁵⁴ and
- The responsibility of local and regional authorities to create or restore harmonious living conditions in disadvantaged urban areas through the design and delivery of neighbourhood services, including designing and carrying out research to determine the geographical limits of problem areas (Rec(2003)2).⁵⁵

There are clear strategic reasons for discerning the urban structure of a metropolitan area. First, different places within a metropolitan area may benefit differentially from its growth and development. Usually, the central city is most likely to benefit, with uneven impacts on the rest of the metropolitan area. A UK study across five city-regions across the North of England examined through the operation of labour markets, the economic relationship between city centres and other places in the metropolitan area. Four patterns of relationship were identified, described as interdependent, independent, dependent or isolated (see figure 13).⁵⁶ In terms of mutual benefit, interdependent and independent places outside the central city are more likely to have stronger local economies, while isolated places, weaker ones. Dependent places may vary from strong to weak, depending on the character of economic activity and social profile of the locality.

*Figure 13 – City relationships; labour market relationships between the central city with other places within the metropolitan area*⁵⁷



⁵⁴ Council of Europe, 2007. *Recommendation CM/Rec(2007)4 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on local and regional public services*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

⁵⁵ Council of Europe, *Recommendation Rec(2003)2 of the Committee of Ministers to member states on neighbourhood services in disadvantaged urban areas*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

⁵⁶ Work Foundation, Centre for Cities and Salford University, 2009. *City Relationships: economic linkages in Northern city regions*. Newcastle: The Northern Way. Available at:

<http://www.centreforcities.org/publication/city-relationships-economic-linkages-in-northern-city-regions/>

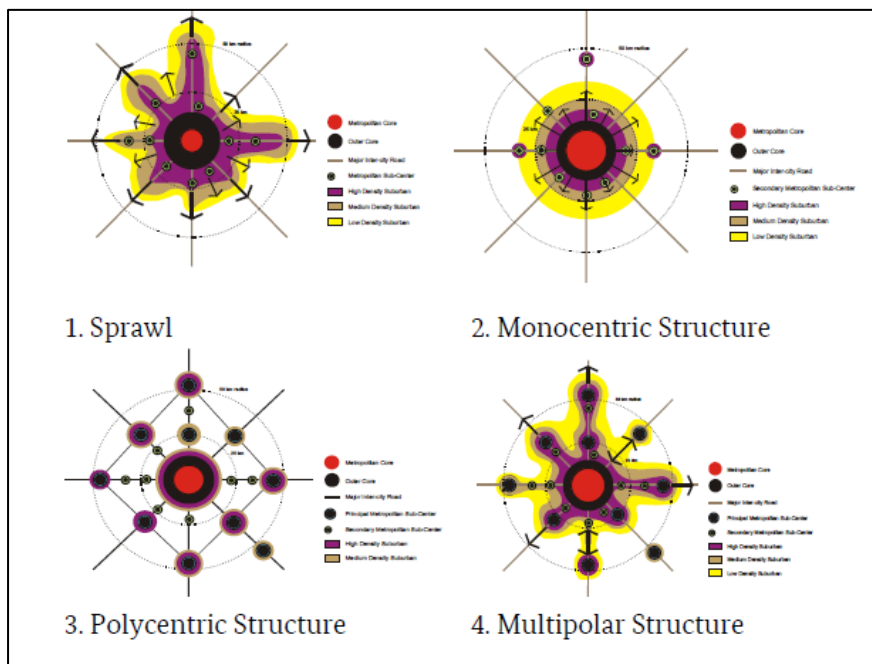
⁵⁷ Source: Work Foundation, Centre for Cities and Salford University, 2009. *City Relationships: economic linkages in Northern city regions*. Newcastle: The Northern Way. Available at:

<http://www.centreforcities.org/publication/city-relationships-economic-linkages-in-northern-city-regions/>

Second, the urban structure of the metropolitan area influences these city relationships. There are four basic types of urban structure, as illustrated below and in figure 14:

- Monocentric – A metropolitan area with a single dominant centre;
- Polycentric – A metropolitan area with more than one centre of different sizes;
- Multipolar – Metropolitan area with no dominant central city; urban centres are of similar size, or bi-polar with two centres.
- Sprawl – Spread of urban development in an uncoordinated form.

Figure 14 – Monocentric, polycentric, multi-polar and sprawl forms of urban development⁵⁸



Third, the nature of urban structure is likely to have consequences for which places within the metropolitan area are more likely to be beneficiaries socially, economically and politically from enhanced formal collaboration. For example, Greater Manchester has a monocentric structure (see figure 15), which reinforces mutual dependent benefits for different places within the metropolitan area from cooperation with the central City of Manchester. This has been helpful to enable local municipal partners reach agreement with the UK government on a devolution agreement with a Combined Authority and directly elected Mayor.

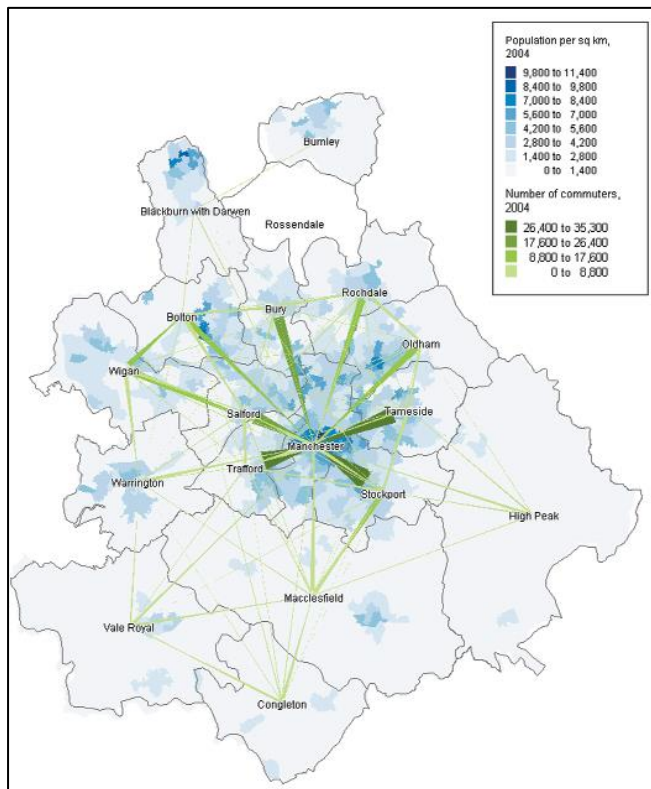
By contrast, the London mega-city-region is highly polycentric (see figure 16), encompassing most of the South East of England. With this structure, the governance of London appropriately covers the area marked Greater London in red on the map, rather than across the wider mega-city-region.

Tyne and Wear in North East England has a bi-polar urban structure, centred on the cities of Newcastle and Sunderland. For complex historical, social and political reasons, Tyne and Wear municipalities have struggled to reach a common position on creating a metropolitan authority to

⁵⁸ Source: Edward Leman, Chreod Ltd, 2001, reproduced in: Pearson, J, 2016. Metropolitan governance: a framework for capacity assessment. DTZ and UNHABITAT.

cover the whole urban area, even though there is an economic rationale for doing so.⁵⁹ Here, the urban structure of the metropolitan area does not enable agreement. Rather it has reinforced the concerns of the constituent municipalities to conceding agreement to a Combined Authority and elected Mayor for the whole urban area.

Figure 15 – Monocentric urban structure of Greater Manchester, UK⁶⁰

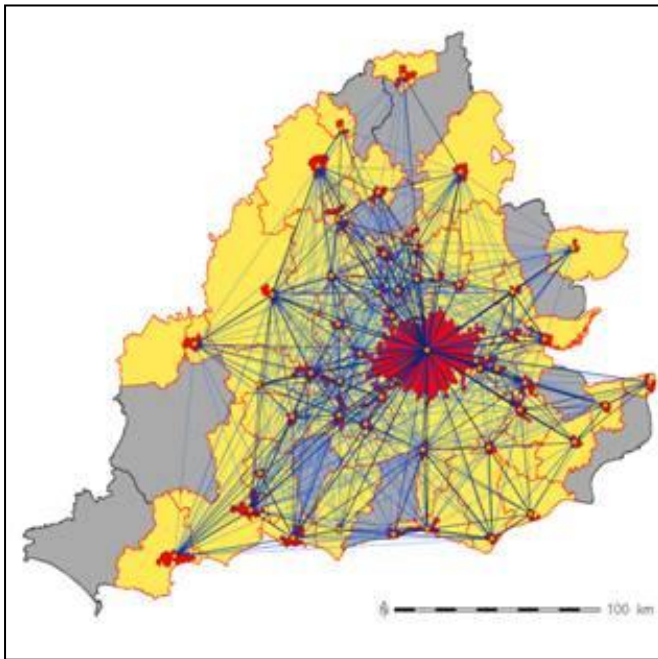


Illustrates the monocentric structure of Greater Manchester, with nearly all commuting journeys (for work reasons) to and from the city centre.

⁵⁹ A 2006 OECD Territorial Review of Newcastle in the North East concluded that the ‘city region needs to take a strategic approach to build critical mass and to compete’. In addition, ‘the weak and fragmented governance structure in the North East suggests that consolidating governance functions of local authorities and strengthening governance capacity at the city-region level may be a good option’. Available at: <http://www.oecd.org/unitedkingdom/oecdterritorialreviewsnewcastleinthenortheasttheunitedkingdom.htm> governance functions of local authorities and strengthening governance capacity at the city-region level may be a good option.

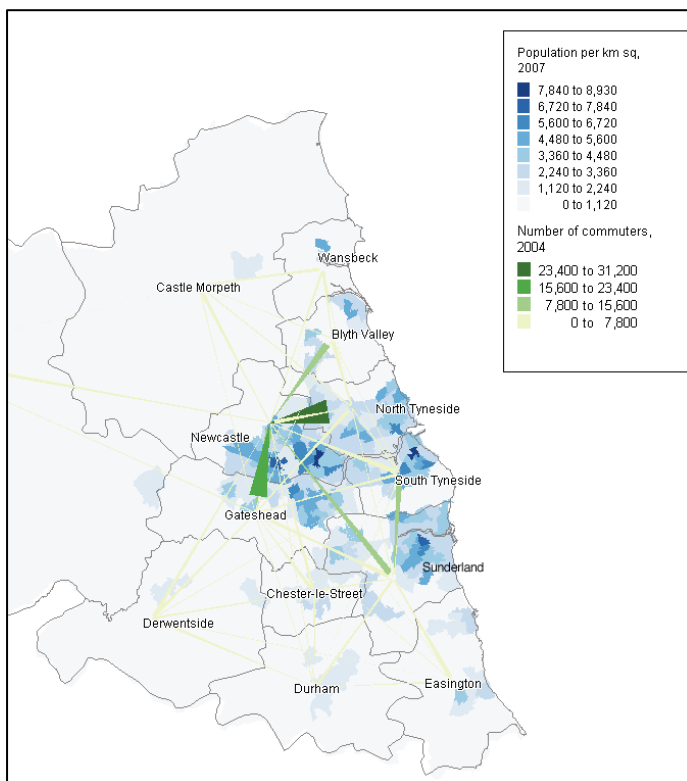
⁶⁰ Source: Work Foundation, Centre for Cities and Salford University, 2009. *City Relationships: economic linkages in Northern city region: Manchester City Region*. Newcastle: The Northern Way: page 17. Available at: <http://www.centreforcities.org/publication/city-relationships-economic-linkages-in-northern-city-regions/>

Figure 16 – The polycentric London mega-city-region⁶¹



Commuting flows across the London mega-city-region, encompassing most of the Greater South East of England, reflecting a strongly polycentric urban pattern.

Figure 17 – The bi-polar Tyne and Wear city-region⁶²



In contrast to Greater Manchester, commuting flows are more localised and relatively weaker. The diagram also illustrates the relative position of Newcastle and Sunderland, as the two principle economic centres in the metropolitan area.

⁶¹ Source: Hall, P and Pain, K., 2006. *The polycentric metropolis: learning from mega-city-regions in Europe*. London: Earthscan, 38.

⁶² Source: Work Foundation, Centre for Cities and Salford University. *City Relationships: economic linkages in Northern city region: Tyne & Wear City Region*. Newcastle: The Northern Way: page 17. Available at: <http://www.centreforcities.org/publication/city-relationships-economic-linkages-in-northern-city-regions/>

Within the case study metropolitan areas, there are a mix of urban structures, with polycentric structures being the most common, followed by monocentric and multi-polar examples. There are no illustrations of an urban sprawl structure, although Thessaloniki may have elements. The key issue arising from the above illustrations and analysis is that it is of critical importance for any metropolitan area to understand their urban structure and any consequences it may have for the social and economic construction of the metropolitan area. This is illustrated in section 4 in relation to Attica and figures 18 and 19.

3.7 Conclusions

This section has addressed issues arising from the metropolitan area case studies. It has observed that whilst there is a variety of possible governance arrangements, most of the countries analysed have established intermediate structures, with an inter-municipal body to manage inter-municipal cooperation. Apart from Stuttgart, in Germany, all the case studies were established by national government. Although mainly relatively new in formation, there is evidence of longer-term cooperation, reinforcing a key message that building effective metropolitan governance requires a long-term process of collaboration. The section provided illustrations of the exercise of participatory democracy in the metropolitan area. Finally, it was shown why interrogating the urban structure is important. This is because perceptions about mutual benefit may encourage or discourage collaboration. This in turn has implications for tackling social divisions and income inequality within the metropolitan area, which is discussed further in section four.

4. Issues and challenges in metropolitan governance for Greece

4.1 Introduction

Whereas the previous section identified key issues and challenges that are pan-European, this section outlines specific issues, that whilst impacting other European metropolitan areas, are especially pertinent to the evolution of metropolitan governance for Greece.

The Metropolitan Region of Attica and Metropolitan Unit of Thessaloniki are the two main urban agglomerations in Greece with populations of 3.830.00 and 1.110.000 inhabitants respectively (census data 2011). Metropolitan Regions in Greece have been introduced by Law 3852/2010 (article 210). The Metropolitan Region of Attica and Metropolitan Unit of Thessaloniki execute additional functions/competences from the other regions of the country. Metropolitan competences fall under four strategic sectors: transport and networks, environment and the quality of life, civil protection and security, spatial planning and urban regeneration. The metropolitan governance structure includes four “metropolitan committees” in the region of Attica and one “Metropolitan committee” of Thessaloniki in the region of Central Macedonia.

In addition, article 211 of Law 3852/2010 establishes a multi-tier collaboration for the collection and management of solid waste disposal in the region of Attica: the Special inter-collective Association of the Prefecture of Attica (ESDNA). This multi-tier association for solid waste management was set up in 2011 and is administrated by the Region of Attica and its municipalities.

Although the establishment of metropolitan governance was an important step in Greece, this attempt is suffering from institutional and operational limits. Competences are not fully executed, there has been a lack of coordination among different metropolitan structures, the inter-municipal and multi-tier cooperation is still weak and not clearly defined. As a result, the existing situation creates administrative fragmentation and discontinuities in the efficient implementation of public policy.

Assessing the functioning of the existing metropolitan governance in Greece is an essential precondition for its future reform⁶³. The seminar in Thessaloniki offered the opportunity to examine the Greek experience vis à vis the experience from other countries.

4.2 Metropolitan governance is a relatively new issue for the majority of case studies

Although there have been cases with a long history in metropolitan governance, most studies show that metropolitan governance has become increasingly popular in recent decades. In addition, each case reflects distinct features and characteristics of different environment and needs. As a result, the structure, competences and relations across levels of government should be the outcome of thorough examination and continuous interpretation and adjustment.

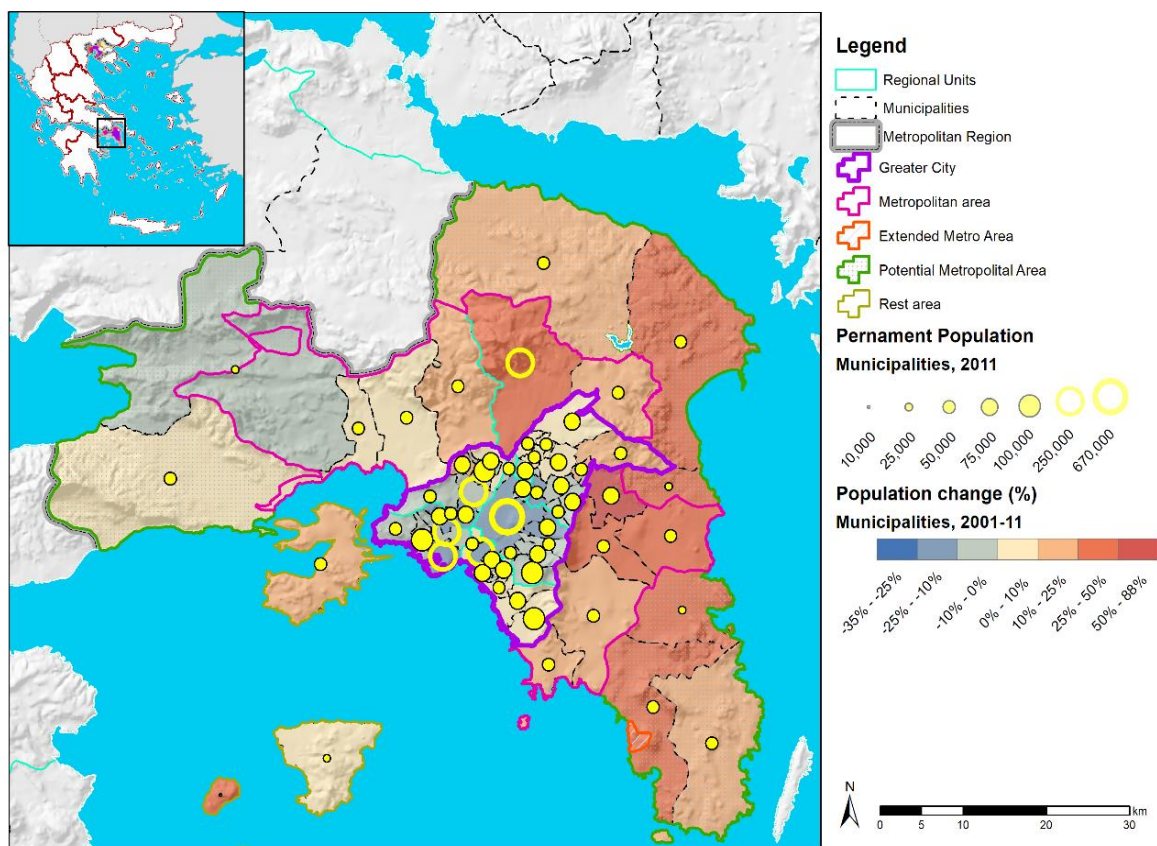
⁶³ See Council of Europe Document 14450 Part 3 (GR) 14 December 2017 and the conclusions of the OECD report (OECD 2015:107-128).

4.3 Metropolitan areas are not just dots on a map, but concentrations of people living in proximity

Metropolitan areas are not just ‘dots on the map’ or mere physical spaces. Above all, they are social agglomeration of people with different needs and standards of living. As illustrated by the maps presented in figures 18 and 19, in Attica, (and figures 13 to 16 in section 3 of the report, regarding urban structure) social and income inequality may be a characteristic of the metropolitan city and raise important issues for the implementation of social policy in metropolitan areas.

Figure 18 illustrates that in the Attica region there is a de-population trend of the city centre of Athens, while the population in the outskirts has been increasing during the last years. In addition, figure 19 provides evidence that there are important differences in income levels across municipalities. These elements should be taken into high consideration in the definition of administrative structures, the planning and implementation of public policies. Furthermore, the above trends should be regularly monitored by the public authorities. Inclusive growth has become one of the most important policy priorities in our times.⁶⁴

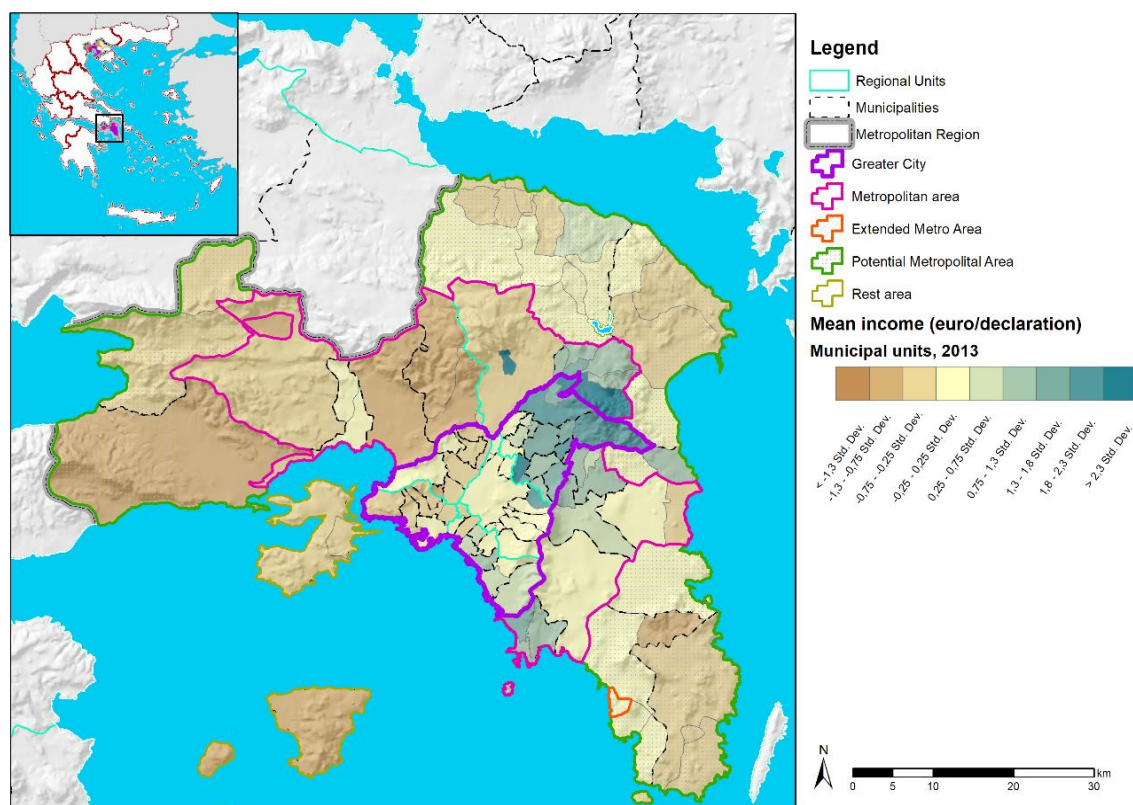
Figure 18 - Metropolitan region of Attica: population dynamics



Source: ELSTAT, Population censuses 2001 and 2011 (authors' elaborations).

⁶⁴ Social cohesion and the integration of disadvantaged areas constitute principle 11, one of the 12 Principles of Good Governance and European Label of Governance Excellence (ELoGE) of the Council of Europe.

Figure 19 - Metropolitan region of Attica: Income inequality



Source: Ministry of Finance (authors' elaborations).

4.4 Administration of Athens and Thessaloniki

The multi-level governance structure in Greece has recently undergone a drastic transformation. The 'Kallikratis reform' (Law 3850/2010) established the Metropolitan Region of Attica and the Metropolitan Unit of Thessaloniki, reduced the number of municipalities from 1023 to 325 and established 13 regions as second tier of local government. In addition, it established the 7 'Decentralised Administrations' of the central government.⁶⁵

These reforms changed substantially the administrative structures of Attica and Thessaloniki. The region of Attica currently comprises 66 municipalities; the regional unit of Thessaloniki includes 14 municipalities - from respectively 124 and 45 under the previous regime. Thessaloniki constitutes one of the 7 regional units of the Central Macedonia region. The region of Attica is composed of 8 regional units.

The administration of Athens and Thessaloniki is still very fragmented. Mechanisms for metropolitan-wide coordination and planning were established but their implementation face

⁶⁵ A concise description of these reforms is offered at Council of Europe, Greece, (Doc. 14450 Part 3 (GR) 14 December 2017, 3.5 "Local self-government" and at the "Local and regional democracy in Greece", CG/2015(28)8 FINAL, 26 March 2015.

specific institutional and operational limits. Responsibilities over floods and natural disasters are very fragmented and include state and both tiers of local government. The garbage collection and the location of landfills is another problem with metropolitan perspective that hasn't been met under the current system of fragmented administration.

4.5 Metropolitan governance is not a technical issue; people need to know, participate and co-create the added value of public institutions

Citizen participation is a critical factor for the implementation of effective reforms.⁶⁶ Public administration, local government, non-governmental organisations and the third sector should be involved in the planning and implementation of public policies at the metropolitan level. Organising public debates and open discussions is key to build a common understanding of metropolitan governance, share ownership of local strategies and ensure their effective implementation.⁶⁷ Policies should adapt to local circumstances and correspond to the needs of the community at stake. As outlined in section 3, case studies for Riga and Reykjavik presented at the seminar, underlined the significance of participation for the effective implementation of metropolitan governance).

The only participatory measure envisaged by the Kallikratis reform consists in the 'Regional Deliberation Committee'. In principle, this participatory platform should be utilised to consult citizens and relevant stakeholder in a number of issues raised at regional level. However, the participation is limited and could be further encouraged.

4.6 Effective metropolitan governance requires human resources

Sufficient and qualified human resources constitute the foundation for effective metropolitan governance⁶⁸. At present, staff involved in metropolitan committees is engaged by the regions. These employees are permanent and metropolitan activities constitute a share of their tasks. The majority of metropolitan competences are executed through the region. Yet, in the metropolitan unit of Thessaloniki there are some services explicitly engaged in the metropolitan administration.

⁶⁶ CoE [Recommandation CM\(2017\)83-final](#), [Recommendation CM/Rec\(2001\)19E](#))

⁶⁷ See the European Charter of Local Self-Government & Additional Protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority, CETS No.207.

⁶⁸ This has been also inspired by the Principle 7 of Good Governance and European Label of Governance Excellence (ELoGE) which highlights that the professional skills of those who deliver governance are continuously maintained and strengthened 'to improve their output and impact (and thus) public officials should be motivated to continuously improve their performance.

4.7 Metropolitan governance requires identification of appropriate financial resources

Financial resources constitute another important factor to ensure effective implementation of administrative reforms in general and in metropolitan administration.⁶⁹ Fiscal decentralisation in Greece is very limited.⁷⁰ Although the fiscal capacity in large agglomerations is higher than the rest of the country the local financial autonomy of local government in Greece remains much lower than the OECD and EU average. Tax authority remains at the central level only. As a result, local government is highly dependent upon state transfers. According to estimations, 49.8% of total local government for 2015 comes from state transfers.⁷¹ Metropolitan administration requires well defined sources of revenues such as own revenues, transfers, etc.⁷²

4.8 Academic involvement in metropolitan governance

Academic and research Institutions could provide expertise and serve as links for conveying information, academic knowledge and good practices. International expertise is also an important factor. The collaboration of national and regional authorities with research institutes would enhance the knowledge and understanding of urban spatial processes and support planning and implementation of effective policies. There are a number of research institutes that operate in the country and could provide expertise for metropolitan government.

4.9 Conclusions

Metropolitan governance constitutes one of the key challenges in this century.⁷³ Most OECD countries have implemented a type of metropolitan administration among the different types that have been met in international experience. Greece has a short history in the implementation of metropolitan governance. However, the assessment of the existing system constitutes a necessary step to inform the administrative reforms. Some conclusions that are derived from the analysis could be summarised as follows:

- a) The implementation of metropolitan governance in Greece seems to have become a necessity which could improve the delivery of public policy, boost the economic growth and competitiveness in large cities. The periodic review of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (Doc. 14450 Part 3 (GR) 14 December 2017, underlines the need to confer

⁶⁹ OECD, 2013 *Fiscal Federalism 2014: Making Decentralization Work*. Paris: OECD Publishing.

⁷⁰ Council of Europe, 2016. «Intergovernmental fiscal relations and local financial management in Greece». Centre of Expertise for Local Government Reform of the Council of Europe, in co-operation with Mr. Gabor Peteri and Mr. Yannis Psycharis, Council of Europe Experts and, Psycharis, Y., Zoi, M. and Iliopoulou, S., 2016. Decentralization and local government fiscal autonomy: evidence from the Greek municipalities. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 34(2), pp.262-280.

⁷¹ITA, 2017. *Fiscal decentralization and enhancement of local financial autonomy in Greece*. Athens

⁷² Rec(2005)1 refers to the financial resources of local and regional authorities while. 'Local and regional democracy in Greece' states that 'legislation for regional metropolitan areas is not implemented, as far as institutions, competences, finances, and relationship with the State are concerned' (CG/2015(28)8 FINAL).

⁷³ OECD, 2015b op cit.

special status as capital city to Athens municipality and to introduce special provisions for the metropolitan municipalities of Athens and Thessaloniki⁷⁴.

- b) Metropolitan governance is a new pattern for Greece. The assessment of the existing European systems is key to learn from best practices and identify the most suitable governance framework for Greek metropolitan areas.⁷⁵
- c) Metropolitan governance in Greece shows fragmentation and lack of involvement of main stakeholders. Metropolitan committees have not taken full responsibility while other metropolitan organisations such as those for public transport (OASA), urban planning (ORSA), waste collection (EDSNA) and local government (PEDA) are not fully integrated in a single metropolitan administration structure.
- d) There has been a lack of coordination between the state and local government, as well as between the two tiers of local government. The same applies to the engagement of other stakeholders and the civil society.
- e) In addition to the current competences, metropolitan areas could be responsible for economic development, social policy and inclusive growth.
- f) The participatory mechanisms envisaged by the Kallikratis reform could be strengthened to enhance citizen participation in the decision-making process and in the implementation of the reforms. Key standards for the establishment of participatory measures can be drawn from the Additional Protocol to the European Charter of Local Self-Government on the right to participate in the affairs of a local authority (CETS No.207)⁷⁶, Council of Europe Guidelines for Civil Participation in political decision making (CM (2017)83 –final) and Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers on participation of citizen in public life (Rec(2001)19).
- g) Financial and human resources are important factors for metropolitan administration. Under the existing system neither financial resources nor necessary staff has been assigned for the metropolitan administration.⁷⁷

Summing up, it could be stated that metropolitan governance has an added value for the functioning of cities in Greece, and there is a wealth of experience and tools for the implementation of more efficient policies.

⁷⁴ Council of Europe, The progress of the Assembly's monitoring procedure (January-December 2017) and the periodic review of the honouring of obligations by Estonia, Greece, Hungary and Ireland, Periodic review: Greece, (Doc. 14450 Part 3 (GR) 14 December 2017, 3.5 “Local self-government”.

⁷⁵ A OECD survey of 56 metropolitan governance bodies indicated that 37 per cent were formed since 2000 and 57 per cent since 1990 (see section 3.3).

⁷⁶ The Hellenic Government might consider signing and ratifying the Additional Protocol (CETS No.207).

⁷⁷ Financial (European Charter of Local Self-Government, article 9, Recommendation Rec(2005)1, CM/Rec(2011)11) and human resources are important factors for the effective implementation of metropolitan governance. Council of Europe underlines the importance of capacity building of local government to deliver high quality local public services (Recommendations CM/Rec(2007)12, CM/Rec(2007), CM/Rec(2007)12E).

5. Conclusions and recommendations

5.1 Conclusions

As recognised by the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, the growth of metropolitan areas is a consistent characteristic of urbanisation in recent decades across Europe.⁷⁸ The growth of urban centres has been accompanied by development in the rural hinterlands of cities, as people move in search of more affordable housing and better quality of life. This in turn leads to longer commuting distances to and from work. At the same time, there are contrasts between the more settled urban structure of Western Europe and the continuing expansion of populations of large metropolitan areas, particularly to capital cities, in Central and Eastern Europe.

As presented in OECD evidence to the seminar and by the Congress, there is a strong case for metropolitan government 'as indispensable economic actors'.⁷⁹ Metropolitan areas contribute to national economic growth and development, through the productivity benefits of larger cities. However, these benefits may be undermined by fragmentation of metropolitan area governance, where fragmentation is measured by the number of municipalities within a metropolitan area. Yet, there is no single solution to democratic metropolitan governance. Indeed, case studies provided a wide variety of solutions in different spatial contexts. These varied from soft – informal collaboration arrangements, to intermediate – an inter-municipal authority/body to strong – supra-municipal body as an additional layer of government created above existing municipalities. In the case studies presented to the seminar, the intermediate model was most common. It is also the case that only larger European countries have more than one functional metropolitan area of population of 500,000 or more i.e. France, Greece, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Turkey, Ukraine and UK. For most European countries, the concern for metropolitan governance is associated with arrangements for the capital city.

Recommendations in this report have considered the strategic guidelines and recommendations of the Council of Europe and relative studies of the OECD, as well as other practices that applied internationally, and especially to cities and countries that have much in common with the cases under consideration. Overall, the establishment of appropriate democratic metropolitan governance presents challenges for national governments, as well as for regional, metropolitan and local actors. Democratic metropolitan governance is by its nature complex and multi-layered.

There has been a consensus in Greece on the necessity and the benefit of metropolitan governance. The necessary reforms for the accomplishment of this goal are still an open issue. Despite the relatively short history of Metropolitan governance implementation in Greece, the institutional setting and its functioning has already produced considerable knowledge and experience that could serve as a starting point to evaluate its application and draw new directions for future reform.

Reports from international organisations such as the Council of Europe and the OECD, as well as scientific findings urge towards the establishment of Metropolitan functions especially in large cities.

⁷⁸ Congress of Local and Regional Authorities, 2016. Resolution 407 (2016).

⁷⁹ Idem

Political momentum seems to have become more in favour of the enhancement of implementing new forms of governance/administration in the Greek metropolitan context.

Stakeholders, including central government, local government, public interest companies with a metropolitan perspective and civil society are aware about the added value of metropolitan governance.

Greece should seek to learn from best practice experience of metropolitan governance of other European countries, whilst recognising, as this report has demonstrated, that it needs to be situated within the geographical, cultural, political, social and economic context of the Region of Attica and Regional Unit of Thessaloniki.

5.2 Recommendations

Therefore, for the further evolution of organisation, design and implementation of metropolitan governance in Greece it is recommended that:

- a) Necessary measures should be taken to provide special status to metropolitan areas (e.g. Constitutional amendments) to allow metropolitan administration to execute competences that belong to the state and the local government.
- b) The establishment of metropolitan structures in other large cities above a certain number of inhabitants should be reviewed. Metropolitan structures could be legislated for cities above a population threshold or cities with certain functions such the biggest city and administrative centres of the Greek regions.
- c) Competences should be clearly defined by Law. In addition to the existing ones, metropolitan competences could expand by including the promotion of inclusive growth and the implementation of public investment projects.⁸⁰
- d) The adequate human and financial resources are allocated to metropolitan areas. Part of the state expenditures, and first and second tier expenditures should be transferred to metropolitan government for the execution of competences. Metropolitan areas could have access to additional resources through the EU co-financed projects, or through the participation in projects financed from the European Investment Bank or inter-municipal cooperation.
- e) Good metropolitan governance requires capacity-building for local/metropolitan authorities. The relevant authorities should consider implementing tools developed by the Centre of Expertise, in particular the ones on Inter-Municipal Cooperation, Strategic Municipal Planning, Performance Management Programme, Leadership Academy Programme, Human Resource Management, and European Label of Governance Excellence.⁸¹

⁸⁰ The European practices show that the most common strategic functions devolved to metropolitan areas are economic development, transportation and land-use planning, followed by housing policy, tourism, emergency planning and power services.

⁸¹ Full list of Council of Europe toolkit available at: <https://www.coe.int/en/web/good-governance/toolkits>

- f) Metropolitan governance arrangements are designed to provide effective coordination of the strategic development of the whole metropolitan area. Ensure clarity in the demarcation of roles, responsibilities and accountabilities while bringing together both tiers of local government and state authorities which are relevant for the execution of assigned competences in the metropolitan administration. Furthermore, metropolitan governance should include institutions and associations with metropolitan functions/perspectives such as ORSA, OASA, EDSNA and PEDDA.
- g) Implications of urban structure for the social, environmental and economic development of the area are thoroughly considered. Metropolitan areas are not dots on a map or mere physical spaces. They are social constructions of people living in proximity in different physical conditions, wide income disparities and unequal opportunities to access employment. It is therefore important that metropolitan strategic planning takes account of implications of urban structure for uneven development and unequal opportunity within the metropolis.
- h) Action is taken to build ownership among key stakeholders during the reform of the metropolitan governance framework. This should ensure civil participation and collaboration between national, regional and metropolitan levels of governance.
- i) It is acknowledged that building effective democratic metropolitan governance is a long-term process, particularly when it is founded on voluntary and informal collaborative arrangements. The building of trust both within the metropolitan area and across multi-level layers of government is crucial to this process.
- j) Effective dialogue with municipal partners, NGOs and other metropolitan area stakeholders in the design and implementation of metropolitan area governance arrangements is prioritised. Building consensus is a necessary step for the implementation of democratic metropolitan governance. Opening a public dialogue could facilitate the discussion and promote the enhancement and successful implementation of metropolitan governance arrangement in Greece.
- k) A long-term process of evaluation and monitoring of the evolution of metropolitan governance, be initiated, underpinned with appropriate independent research to provide an evaluation and supporting evidence base.

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Appendix 1 - Seminar on Democratic Governance of Metropolitan Areas

17-18 October 2017, Thessaloniki
PROGRAMME

Monday, 16th October 2017 - Arrival

Accommodation at *Porto Palace Hotel*

Address: 65, 26th Octovriou Avenue, 54628, Thessaloniki

Tel. +30 2310504504 & 2310504500, email: info@portopalace.gr

Tuesday, 17th October 2017

09.30 – 10.00	Registration
10.00 – 11.00	Opening Session
11.00 – 11.30	Coffee break
11.30 – 13.00	Session 1: Metropolitan governance and current trends Overview of the content of the seminar. Presentation of contemporary research and knowledge about the adoption of governance frameworks by metropolitan areas in OECD and European countries.
13.00 – 14.30	Lunch
14.30 – 17.30	Session 2: Practices in Metropolitan governance in member States Sharing thinking about how national states are reviewing different options for the organisation of metropolitan governance structures in their own countries.

Wednesday, 18th October 2017

09.00 – 12.30	Session 3: Practices in Metropolitan and Capital cities Providing illustrations of how and why different models have been adopted for organising metropolitan governance in capital cities and other metropolitan areas.
12.30 – 14.00	Lunch
14.00 – 16.00	Session 4: Participatory democracy in metropolitan cities Exploring case studies of how metropolitan areas and capital cities have addressed the bottom-up participation in governance by their citizens.
16.00 – 17.00	Closing Session: Conclusions and lessons learnt Reviewing what has been learnt from the different contributions. Identifying best practice lessons and principles that should be addressed in recommendations for action.

Departure

Tuesday, 17 October 2017

10.00 – 11.00

Opening session: Welcome and introduction

Mr Nikos Fotiou, Vice-Mayor of Administrative Reform and Civil Society, Municipality of Thessaloniki

Mr Demosthenis Papastamopoulos, Head of Cabinet, Hellenic Ministry of Interior (Moi)

Mr Daniele Dotto, Head of Unit - Governance and public administration, Structural Reform Support Service (SRSS), European Commission

Mr Daniel Popescu, Head of the Democratic Governance Department, Council of Europe (CoE)

Mr Georgios Patoulis, President of the Central Union of Municipalities of Greece (KEDE) and the Institute of Local Administration (ITA)

11.00 – 11.30

Coffee break

11.30 – 13.00

Session 1: Metropolitan governance and current trends

Mr Diogo Machado, Centre for Entrepreneurship, SMEs, Local Development and Tourism, Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

Mr Thomas Kiwitt, Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas (METREX)

Mr Dimitrios Kalogeropoulos, President of the Hellenic Agency for Local Development and Local Government (EETAA) and Member of the European Committee of Regions (CoR)

Mr Ioannis Psycharis, Council of Europe expert, Greece

Mr Paul Hildreth, Council of Europe expert, United Kingdom

13.00 – 14.30 ***Lunch***

14.30 – 17.30

Session 2: Practices on Metropolitan governance in member States

Moderated by Mr Daniel Popescu, Head of the Democratic Governance Department, CoE

Mr Jurij Mezek, Senior Adviser, Office for Local Self-Government, Ministry of Public Administration, Slovenia

Dr Mark Ewbank, Senior Policy Advisor, Governance Reform & Democracy, Department for Communities and Local Government, United Kingdom

Ms Christine Troupel, Deputy Head of the Territorial Structures Office, Ministry of Interior, France

Mr Diarmuid O'Leary, Principal Officer, Department of Housing, Planning, Community and Local Government, Ireland

Ms Paraskevi Patoulidou, Deputy Governor of the Region of Central Macedonia, Metropolitan sector of Thessaloniki, Greece

Wednesday, 18 October 2017

9.30 – 12.30

Session 3: Practices in Metropolitan and Capital cities

Moderated by Mr Diogo Machado, Centre for Entrepreneurship, SMEs, Local Development and Tourism, OECD

Ms Tanja Blätter, Association of German Metropolitan Regions, Germany

Mr Olivier Filot, First assistant, Staff of the General Director, Brussels Local Authorities, Brussels Regional Public Service, Belgium

Mr Miguel Angel Abadia Iguacen, General Coordinator, Department of Urbanism and Sustainability of the City Council of Zaragoza, Spain

Ms Fatma Fridenberga, Deputy Director of the Legal Office, Riga City Council, Latvia

Mr Giuseppe De Biasi, Head of Cabinet, Metropolitan City of Bologna, Italy

12.30 – 14.00

Lunch

14.00 – 16.00

Session 4: Participatory democracy in metropolitan cities

Moderated by Mr Paul Hildreth, Council of Europe expert, UK

Mr Juris Radzevics, Executive Director, City of Riga, Latvia

Mr Halldór Auðar Svansson, Member of the Reykjavik City Council, Chairman of the Committee on Administration and Democracy, Iceland

Mr Daniel Popescu, Head of the Democratic Governance Department, Council of Europe

16.00 – 17.00

Closing session: Conclusions and lessons learnt

Mr Paul Hildreth, Council of Europe expert, United Kingdom

Mr Ioannis Psycharis, Council of Europe expert, Greece

Mr Demosthenis Papastamopoulos, Head of Cabinet, Mol

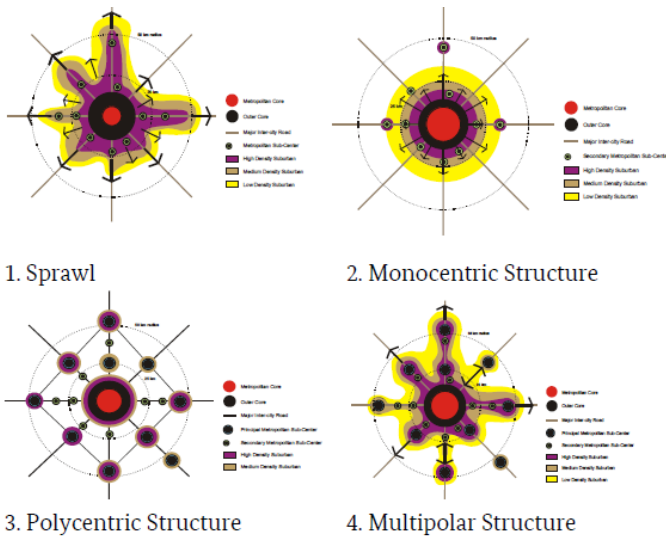
Mr Georgios Patoulis, President of KEDE and ITA

Mr Daniel Popescu, Head of the Democratic Governance Department, Council of Europe

Please note that coffee and tea will be made available during the sessions.

Appendix 2 - Questionnaire for presenters of metropolitan case studies

1. Do the metropolitan area governance arrangements you are describing or that are envisaged come most closely to:
 - a. Soft – Informal collaborative arrangements subject to local agreement between participating municipalities (and other local partners)?
 - b. Intermediate – An inter-municipal authority/body or committee(s) established to manage inter-municipal cooperation and decision making across a single or range of responsibilities e.g. transportation, spatial planning.
 - c. Strong – Supra-municipal authority established as an additional layer of government created above existing municipalities, likely to be directly or indirectly elected (mayor and/or political body)?
 2. When were the metropolitan governance arrangements you are describing established, or when do you expect this to be the case?
 3. What is the approximate population of the existing or envisaged metropolitan area?
 4. How many municipalities (will) come within the metropolitan area?
 5. Is there a regional tier of government between the national and metropolitan area?
 6. Was the metropolitan area and its governance arrangements established or are these likely to be established by:
 - a. National law?
 - b. Local action by local municipalities/regional government?
- Source: “Governing the City”, OECD, 2015 and “Good Governance in metropolitan areas”, Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe (CG31(2016)17Final), 21 October 2016.
7. Please explain and provide more detailed descriptions and/or illustrations for your selection of a. b. or c. to question 6?
 8. Which of the following diagrammatic representations of a metropolitan area, does the case study you are describing best fit: a) sprawl; b) polycentric; c) monocentric; d) multipolar?



Source: Edward Leman, Chreod Ltd, 2001, reproduced in: Pearson, J, 2016. Metropolitan governance: a framework for capacity assessment. DTZ and UNHABITAT.

9. From the following list, what functions are managed at the metropolitan area level:

- a. Economic development;
- b. Transportation;
- c. Land-use planning;
- d. Tourism;
- e. Housing (policy);
- f. Emergency services (e.g. fire, police, rescue services);
- g. Education;
- h. Health;
- i. Power supply;
- j. Other (please specify)

10. Can you provide illustrations of bottom-up (or informal) approaches being taken towards metropolitan governance to engage residents and other stakeholders and/or to encourage their participation in consultation/decision-making processes?

11. What lessons can you share from your case study that other seminar delegates can learn from:

- a. What has worked?
- b. What challenges and problems have you had to overcome?
- c. What are the reasons for establishing metropolitan areas?

Appendix 3 – Metropolitan and capital city case studies

This Appendix provides a summary of the following metropolitan area and capital city case studies, based on responses to the pre-seminar questionnaire and seminar presentations:

Metropolitan area

- A. Amsterdam Metropolitan Area, The Netherlands
- B. Metropolitan City of Bologna, Italy
- C. Messina, Italy
- D. Metropolitan Area Rotterdam and The Hague, The Netherlands
- E. Stuttgart Region, Germany
- F. Metropolitan (sub-region) Unit of Thessaloniki of the Region of Central Macedonia, Greece
- G. Zaragoza, Spain

Capital cities

- H. Metropolitan Region of Attica, Greece
- I. Brussels-Capital Region, Belgium
- J. Ljubljana Urban Region, Slovenia
- K. Riga, Latvia

Metropolitan areas

A. Amsterdam Metropolitan Area (AMA), The Netherlands

Summary of information	
When set up?	Been an informal network for 10 years. The Amsterdam Metropolitan Area covenant signed January 2017.
By national or local or regional action?	The transport authority (part of the AMA area) by statute. The AMA by local/regional action.
Population of metropolitan area?	2.3 million.
Number of municipalities	33.
Is there regional government?	Two provinces involved in constructing and participating in the network.
Responsible functions>	Economic development; transportation; land-use planning; tourism; housing (policy) – but adopted and acted upon by member authorities and other metropolitan parties.
Urban structure?	Polycentric.

The AMA is an example of the soft or informal model. Different partners work collaboratively to agree on policies for the metropolitan area that are then adopted and implemented by different members and other partners. By doing so, it provides a broad and strategic approach to addressing important issues at the metropolitan scale, supported by a small but effective executive office that is funded by network participants. It also cooperates along eight logical and pre-existing sub-regions. However, there are challenges in building a network that has access to financial and executive resources to address significant issues such as energy transition, as well as ensuring effective engagement of municipal and provincial representatives in consultation processes. Resident engagement is carried out through the participant municipalities.

B. Metropolitan City of Bologna

Summary of information	
When set up?	There has been a history of voluntary collaboration by municipalities from at least the 1990s. Implementation of the 'Delrio Law' of 2014 on metropolitan cities (see below) set in process the abolition of the Province of Bologna and its replacement by the Metropolitan City of Bologna on 1 January 2015. However, the position is complicated by the failure of the referendum in Italy in 2016 to abolish the provinces, which has left a degree of institutional vacuum.
By national or local or regional action?	National Law no. 56 dated 7 April 2014 on 'Provision on metropolitan cities, the provinces and the union and merger of municipalities' ('Delrio Law'). This was followed by a complementary law on the metropolitan city and local government system in the region passed by the Region of Emilia-Romagna in 2015.
Population of metropolitan area?	1,009,210 as at 1 January 2017.
Number of municipalities	55, grouped in seven municipal unions plus the city of Bologna.
Is there regional government?	Yes. Region of Emilia-Romagna. See above on regional law on the metropolitan city and local government system.
Responsible functions?	The primary focus is on economic and social development, territorial, transportation and strategic planning. Law no. 56/2014 also attributed responsibilities to metropolitan cities to coordinate digital and E-Systems across the area, as well as coordinate the provision of public services across the area in agreement with the municipalities. To develop its role, the metropolitan city of Bologna has focussed its vision on three lines of action: developing governance tools; evaluating institutional implications and addressing institutional synergies.
Urban structure?	Polycentric

The context for the metropolitan city of Bologna is provided by the 2014 national law on metropolitan cities as summarised in the table above, which was followed by a complementary law passed by the Region of Emilia-Romagna. Following this, there has been a process of development for the metropolitan city of Bologna and transition from the province to the metropolitan city. However, the position has become complicated in view of the failure of the national referendum in 2016 to abolish the provinces in Italy. The present arrangements come closer to the intermediate level, as described above, but with potential, as in the case of Messina, to become strong. The metropolitan mayor is the mayor of the city council of Bologna (although the national law does provide for the direct election of the metropolitan mayor and council in Rome, Milan and Naples). The metropolitan council is elected by mayors and municipal councillors of the municipalities of the metropolitan city.

Messina, Sicily, Italy

Summary of information	
When set up?	2015.
By national or local or regional action?	National law.
Population of metropolitan area?	635,199.
Number of municipalities?	108.
Is there regional government?	Yes, Sicily.
Responsible functions?	Part responsibility for transportation, tourism, emergency services and education.
Urban structure?	Polycentric.

Messina, Sicily is described as a strong model, with a supra-municipality model. In Italy, metropolitan cities replaced the former 'province' of the 14 most major cities. They are governed by a metropolitan mayor (mayor to the principal municipality) and a metropolitan council. However, the governance system in Sicily is slightly different, due to its relative autonomy. At present, a commissioner undertakes the executive functions of the Council. The governance of the metropolitan area is in a process of change and it is likely that in future metropolitan mayors in Sicily will be directly elected.

C. Metropolitan Area Rotterdam and The Hague (MRDH), The Netherlands

Summary of information	
When set up?	Effective from 2015
By national or local or regional action?	The MRDH was set up by local/regional action.
Population of metropolitan area?	2.3 million.
Number of municipalities	23.
Is there regional government?	Yes, the province of South-Holland. The province and the MRDH must work together effectively to coordinate economic, transport and spatial planning.
Responsible functions>	Economic development and transportation.
Urban structure?	A dense, polycentric spatial structure. The MRDH area is formed by the two similarly sized cities of Rotterdam and The Hague and 21 medium and smaller-sized municipalities, which are connected by transport infrastructure but not by a contiguous built-up urban area. This reflects the polycentric spatial structure of the Netherlands at a more localised scale.

The MRDH is an example of the intermediate model, with a metropolitan scale body created in 2015 to manage responsibilities for transport and economic development in the area. The general management is composed of the 23 mayors of the municipalities in the region. Member authorities are also represented by their aldermen in two committees; transport and economic development as well as in two advisory committees made up of two councillors per municipality. The mayors of Rotterdam and The Hague serve as chair and vice-chair of the MRDH. The responsibilities for transportation are transferred responsibilities from central government. The responsibilities for economic development are based on (voluntary) co-operation and do not include any enforcement mechanisms. Its legal competencies and financial resources in this domain are therefore relatively limited. As an 'institution' the MRDH is relatively unknown to residents of the metropolitan area, which is not unusual with this kind of extended municipal governance. The different stakeholders such as the province, municipalities, universities and other parties are involved decision making processes in diverse ways. As an example, in 2016 the 23 municipalities worked together with the province of South-Holland with the neighbouring regions of Drechsteden and Holland-Rijnland to establish a regional investment programme consisting of 150 projects in response to an urgent recommendation following OECD territorial review in 2015 to establish an investment strategy to strengthen the economy with investments in connectivity, economic development, energy transition and city environment. There remain challenges to secure the full agglomeration benefits for the region.

D. Stuttgart Region, Germany

Summary of information	
When set up?	1995
By national or local or regional action?	By law of Federal State of Baden-Württemberg, upheld by regional chambers of commerce.
Population of metropolitan area?	2.7 million.
Number of municipalities	179.
Is there regional government?	Yes. Federal State of Baden-Württemberg.
Responsible functions?	Economic development; transportation; land-use planning through mandatory regional framework; housing policy (on regional scale); power supply, planning of sites within regional plan.
Urban structure?	Polycentric.

The Stuttgart region comes between medium to strong structures. Although it is not formerly a supra-municipal authority, it does have a directly elected regional assembly. This in turn creates a strong political impact in placing regional issues high on the political agenda, leading to all political parties featuring clear programmes goals in aspects of regional development. Stuttgart Region has a long-standing tradition of public outreach and participation in planning procedures. Recent examples include: sites for wind turbines, large scale commercial sites and the regional transportation plan. Whilst there was opposition to the region in the early stages, recognition of the value of regional cooperation and the consequences of failing to do so were increasingly recognised. It came into being out of an economic crisis and a huge majority of support from the Federal State Parliament.

E. Metropolitan Unit of Thessaloniki of the Region of Central Macedonia, Greece

Summary of information	
When set up?	2010-Metropolitan Unit: L.3852/2010 (Kallikratis Reform)
By national or local or regional action?	National government level
Population of metropolitan area?	Metropolitan Unit: 1.110.000 (2011)
Number of municipalities?	Metropolitan Unit: 14 municipalities
Is there regional government?	Yes, Region of Central Macedonia
Responsible functions?	Metropolitan (sub-region) Unit: environment and quality of life; spatial planning and urban regeneration; transport and communications; civil protection and security
Urban structures	Likely Monocentric, with urban sprawl trends

The “Metropolitan committee” of Thessaloniki is also part of the implementation of metropolitan governance in the Region of Central Macedonia. Metropolitan competences have been explicitly arranged for four strategic sectors: transport and networks, environment and the quality of life, civil protection and security, spatial planning and urban regeneration.

Existing metropolitan institutions include: (1) the Organisation for the Planning and Environmental Protection of Thessaloniki (ORTHE) which was set up in 1985 and absorbed into the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change in 2014 (2) Thessaloniki Urban Transport Organisation (OASTH) that was set up in 1957 and transformed many times (1979, 2010, and 2017) but still in operation.

F. Zaragoza (as a potential metropolitan area), Spain

Summary of information	
When set up?	Whilst there is progress in consultations between municipalities, there is no metropolitan governance arrangement in place at present.
By national or local or regional action?	Would involve decision making at Regional (Aragón) and national government levels.
Population of metropolitan area?	City of Zaragoza – 700,000; potential metropolitan area – 800,000,
Number of municipalities?	Potentially 15-21.
Is there regional government?	Yes, Aragón.
Responsible functions?	Unclear at present. Likely to reflect a usual range of strategic functions e.g. strategic planning, transportation, economic development etc.
Urban structures	Polycentric.

Zaragoza is a potential rather than actual metropolitan area governance case study. Structures under consideration are likely to put it somewhere between the soft and medium model. The metropolitan governance outcome would represent a further evolution reflecting the strategic development of the metropolitan area surrounding Zaragoza e.g., the Ebro-Association created in 1994, developing a strategic plan for the city and its surrounding area, which is now being worked on in its third evolution.

Capital cities

G. Metropolitan Region of Attica, Greece

Summary of information	
When set up?	2010-Metropolitan region: L.3852/2010 (Kallikratis Reform)
By national or local or regional action?	National government level
Population of metropolitan area?	Region of Attica 3.830.000 (2011)
Number of municipalities?	Metropolitan region: 66 municipalities
Is there regional government?	Yes, Metropolitan region of Attica – Region of Attica
Responsible functions?	Metropolitan region: environment and quality of life; spatial planning and urban regeneration; transport and communications; civil protection and security
Urban structures	Likely multi-polar, with a sprawling development pattern (2 main poles, Athens and Piraeus and -at least- 10 medium sized inter-municipal centers)

Metropolitan regions were set up by Kallikratis Law 3852/2010. According to this Law metropolitan competences have been explicitly arranged for four strategic sectors: transport and networks, environment and the quality of life, civil protection and security, spatial planning and urban regeneration. The four “metropolitan committees” that operate in the Region of Attica are part of the implementation of metropolitan governance structures.

Existing metropolitan institutions include: (1) the Organisation for the Planning and Environmental Protection of Athens (ORSA) which was set up in 1985 and absorbed into the Ministry of Environment, Energy and Climate Change in 2014 (2) the Athens Urban Transportation Organization (OASA) which covers 52 Municipalities (3) the Regional Union of Municipalities of Attica (PEDA) which covers all 66 Municipalities of the Region of Attica.

H. Brussels-Capital Region, Belgium

Summary of information	
When set up?	1989, but with much earlier history of intra-municipal collaboration, going back as far as the late 19 th century.
By national or local or regional action?	National.
Population of metropolitan area?	Brussels-Capital Region – 1.2 million. (Metropolitan area of Brussels – potentially 1.8-2.6 million).
Number of municipalities?	Brussels-Capital Region – 19 (Metropolitan area of Brussels – potentially up to 35 municipalities).
Is there regional government?	Is a region of Belgium, alongside Flanders and Wallonia.
Responsible functions?	Includes: spatial planning; economic development; housing policy; tourism; emergency services. However, responsibilities area also shared with the 19 municipalities.
Urban structures	Monocentric.

The Brussels-Capital region fits in the strong model. It has its own Parliament of 89 members and constitutes one of the three federated Regions of Belgium. However, some of the subsidiary arrangements present a closer fit with medium- or softer-arrangements such as the Brussels association of municipalities and services, which is active in the distribution of water, gas and electricity and the more historical Brussels Agglomeration (see below). Prior to the creation of the Brussels-Capital region, regional competences for the 19 municipalities were the responsibility of the Brussels Agglomeration, established in 1971 and which retains some competences today. Since 2011, legislation provides for the possibility of a wider metropolitan area for Brussels that would encompass a population of between 1.8 to 2.6 million and up to 35 municipalities. However, issues remain unresolved. A future RER zone – the future express railway that connects the Brussels region – is also being considered, encompassing 135 municipalities with over 3 million inhabitants.

I. Ljubljana Urban Region, Slovenia

Summary of information	
When set up?	2006.
By national or local or regional action?	National Law, with legal decision signed by all 26 Mayors.
Population of metropolitan area?	537,893
Number of municipalities?	26.
Is there regional government?	No.
Responsible functions?	Transportation; Tourism; Emergency services and power supply.
Urban structure?	Multi-polar.

Ljubljana Urban Region illustrates the intermediate model. Its most important members are the 26 municipalities that form the LUR. Their inter-cooperation is important in the preparation of regional development plans and their implementation. This is organised through the Office of the Ljubljana Urban Region. It is important to stress that Ljubljana has status and responsibilities as the capital city of Slovenia, for example in spatial planning and development. The present arrangements were established as part of an ambition for Ljubljana to reinforce its situation as a European metropolis by 2020.

J. Riga, Latvia

Summary of information	
When set up?	Long municipal history, but single-level local government for Riga, enshrined in law in 1994. Status of Riga as the capital city recognised by Parliament in 2005.
By national or local or regional action?	National.
Population of capital city?	701,977
Number of municipalities?	One.
Is there regional government?	No.
Responsible functions?	Full range of municipal responsibilities, in line with other cities in Latvia, together with recognition of capital city functions.
Urban structures	Possibly monocentric.

Riga is differentiated from the other case studies as a city rather than metropolitan area case study and for being governed by a single municipality. In 2003, Riga City Council prepared a draft law 'Law on Riga as the Capital City', proposing to differentiate its role and legal status as the capital city. Whilst these proposals were not at that stage supported by Parliament, particular recognition was given to Riga's special position in 2005 in the 'Law on local governments'. Significance was given to the city's diplomatic, international, historical and communications functions within the national state.