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## Torino: policies and actions at a metropolitan level

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## Index

Introduction	<i>page</i> 3
1. The national context: the relationship between central and local government in Italy	3
2. Torino: its economic, political and social context	5
3. Government in the metropolitan area	8
3.1 The Municipality of Torino	10
3.2 Metropolitan policies and forms of public-private cooperation in the area around Torino	12
4. Local policies concerning participation, leadership and urban transformation	16
4.1 A look at the major urban transformation projects	17
4.2 The Strategic Plan	18
4.3 Policies for urban regeneration and environmental sustainability	20
4.4 Policies for internationalizing and promoting the city	22
Conclusions	23

## Introduction

Throughout the world, cities have seen a growth in their role as essential political territories in the transformation of contemporary society. They have become actors on the international stage; they are less hampered by national economic policies and are connected more directly to the global economy. They are able to act with a certain degree of autonomy, to compete and collaborate with other cities, and to structure themselves as junctions of complex networks. At the same time, there have been numerous efforts in Europe and throughout the world to reform the way cities and metropolitan areas are governed and their decision-making structures. Flexibility and a decrease in the distinction between public and private are accompanied by a move toward stability and the institutionalization of public action. All this can be translated as an attempt to give cities new decision-making structures, above all at the level of the metropolitan areas. In different ways, every city has dealt with and set in motion reforms regarding its metropolitan governing system, according to political will and the local context.

In Torino's case, although there is no true metropolitan-type institution, over the past decade the city has experienced major transformation which has led to the activation of innovative policies and a systematic reflection on the best way to coordinate and manage the metropolis. Various experiments have been undertaken to improve the city's competitiveness and to coordinate the decisions regarding this vast territory, which is characterized by economic and social integration between the centers that make up the metropolis and its different political identities.

This paper will attempt to shed light on the evolution of the inter-governmental relations in the area of Torino, pinpointing the articulation of the various policies and decision-making processes associated with actions involving the metropolis. The paper is divided into three parts: a brief presentation of the organization of the governing system and the local departments within the national context and the main reforms enacted over the past decade; a description of Torino's metropolitan area, institutional trends and the organization of policies on a metropolitan level; and various indications concerning its governance that have been enacted to promote metropolitan development and improve the dialog between local parties.

### **1. The national context: the relationship between central and local government in Italy**

The country is divided into 20 regions, five of which have particular forms and types of independence. The regions, constituted in the 1970's, govern the exercise of local administrative functions through provinces and municipalities which have autonomous constitutions, regulations, organizations and administrations, and laws for coordinating public sector funding.<sup>1</sup> The municipalities and provinces<sup>2</sup> have three governing bodies: the council (a political body which decides policies and has administrative control; it has a series of fundamental responsibilities, including the adoption of urban plans), the executive (executive body) and the president (or the mayor, in the case of municipalities). Municipalities have their own constitutions, which establish and specify their basic organizational regulations, the powers of bodies and forms of guarantee and participation for minorities, how a municipality is legally represented, forms of cooperation between

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<sup>1</sup> As specified in the «Single Text on the organization of local authorities» (Legislative Decree No. 267 of 8<sup>th</sup> August 2000). The «Single Text» disciplines the organization, duties and functions of local authorities according to the principles dictated by the constitution.

<sup>2</sup> Italy has 8.101 municipalities and 103 provinces.

municipalities and provinces, participation by the public, decentralization, public access to information and administrative procedures.

Regions, and not only the central government, have had legislative powers since the changes in the Italian Constitution at the end of the 1990's. There are areas (defense, foreign policy, economics, electoral laws, courts and justice, general legislation governing education, conservation of the environment and cultural heritage) in which power is held exclusively by the central government and areas of "concurrent legislation," in which regions legislate while the central government lays down general principles (foreign trade, international relations, education, planning and the environment, major transport networks, the production and distribution of energy). The regions legislate exclusively in all those areas not explicitly listed. Provinces are responsible for administrative functions that concern vast inter-municipal areas or the entire province, involving protection of the environment, use of resources and cultural heritage, waste disposal, sanitary services and secondary education. Municipalities are responsible for all those administrative functions that concern its residents (services for individuals and the community, land use and economic development). The municipality implements forms of decentralization and cooperation with other municipalities and with the province to perform functions in certain geographical areas.

Table 1 - Italian municipalities by population

<i>Population group</i>	<i>No. of municipalities</i>
1 municipalities with less than 1,000 inhabitants	1,969
2 municipalities from 1,000 to 4,999	3,859
3 municipalities from 5,000 to 19,999	1,794
4 municipalities from 20,000 to 99,999	438
5 municipalities from 100,000 to 249,999	28
6 municipalities from 250,000 to 499,999	7
7 municipalities with 500,000 or more	6

The relationship between local and central government in Italy has changed to a large extent in recent years, thanks to important legislative reforms. Until 1990, Local Authorities had operated in a strongly centralized system without a clear and specific attribution of competence.

First of all, the introduction of the direct election of mayors. Mayors are responsible for the administration of the municipalities. They are elected for a five-year term and cannot serve more than twice. The executive consists of aldermen appointed by mayors: they assist the mayor in the government of the municipality. The Municipal Council is responsible for strategy and political and administrative control of the municipality and governs fundamental actions of the municipality (including the adoption of urban plans). The party or coalition of parties that supports the mayor who is elected receives 60% of the seats on the council. Municipalities with a population of more than 15,000 inhabitants can appoint a City Manager, who is responsible for implementing strategies and objectives identified by the mayor.

The reform had a series of effects on local governance and helped to strengthen processes that were already in progress. Local authorities gained greater legitimation and decision-making capacity (after years in which the inability to make decisions was one of the greatest problems of local administrations) and relations between citizens and the municipality became closer. Mayors also gained a certain amount of freedom from the power of political parties to lay down guidelines, with local politics becoming highly personalized. The powers of municipal councils were reduced. The reform had important effects on the exercise of local leadership. Today, mayors enjoy national media coverage and are under the spotlight

on a local level because they are directly responsible for the good or bad administration of towns and cities. The importance citizens attribute to municipalities is demonstrated by the turnout at local elections, which for municipal elections remains normally quite high, around 70%, even though it is not a compulsory vote.

The tight reins political parties had on mayors were loosened in the very first years of the reform, although more recently there has been a general return of party political control over the action of mayors. They are now appointed more on a party political basis rather than a locally representative basis, with strong pressure on the appointment of local government aldermen, which must reflect the strength of parties in the ruling coalition, etc. But aside from this, the power of political parties to represent and channel social demand has waned considerably in recent years. This puts mayors in direct contact with the demands of the citizens, organized groups and those with specific interests, with no intermediate filtering by party organizations. The growing demand to broaden and amplify the opportunities for the involvement of local participants in urban policies also responds to the need for better ways of listening to, interpreting and processing the demands of the citizens.

The financial autonomy of local authorities is based on the certainty of its own and transferred resources. One of the most important forms of income for local authorities and provinces are central government transfers based on the size of the population. In 1992, another important reform was introduced with the municipal tax on property (ICI), which now accounts for a sizeable portion of municipal budgets. This tax is levied directly by municipalities and may vary within a range decided upon by the central government.

## **2. Torino: its economic, political and social context**

Torino is located in the Piemonte Region in the north-eastern corner of Italy, on the plain of the river Po, south of the western Alps. It is a relatively wide-spread metropolitan area, and can be considered in the medium range on a European scale. The city of Torino is Italy's fourth largest, with a total population of 896,918 inhabitants (429,822 male and 467,096 female) (ISTAT, 2002). Torino covers an area of 130 square kilometers and has a density of population of less than 7,000 persons per square kilometer. Its metropolitan area comprises 53 municipalities and has about 1,700,000 inhabitants in 1,350 square kilometers (ISTAT, 1997).

Torino was the first capital of Italy and after leading the process of national unification, it became Italy's main industrial city, known as the "Italian Detroit." Over the past century, Torino's society and its economy were clearly concentrated in industry, mechanics and, in particular, automotive construction: a system oriented toward the mass production of standardized goods and based on great industrial concentration and a strict separation of work activities. This system offers a great capacity for planning and organization, but it also results in a high level of unqualified work, carried out by a large, migratory, industrial workforce which has considerably increased the population.

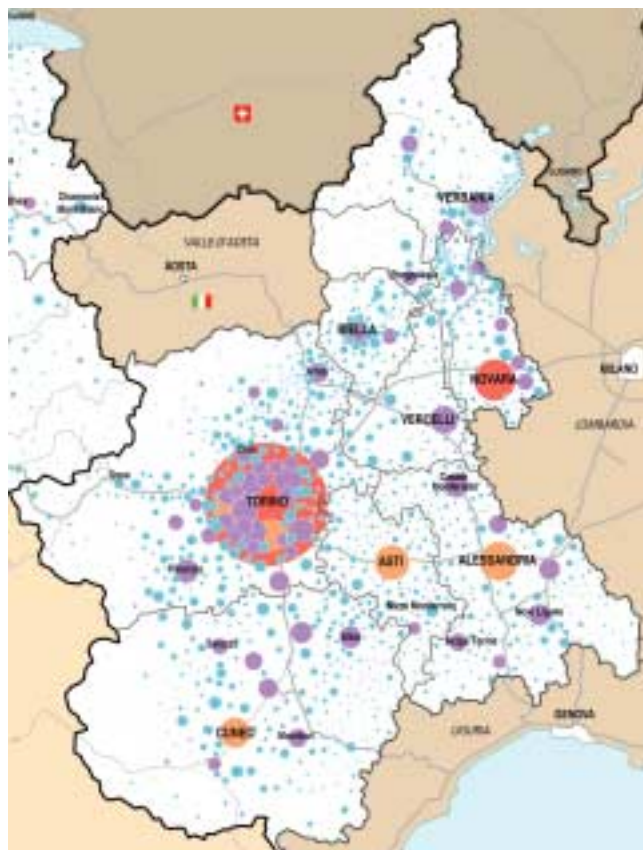
From Torino's 700,000 inhabitants at the end of the 1940's, the municipality of Torino grew to a population of 1,205,000 people in 1974, on the threshold of the crisis involving Fiat, the area's largest industry. It then decreased to its actual population of 890,000 inhabitants, the same number it registered in 1957, when the city's population grew to more than one million inhabitants<sup>3</sup> and maintained that number for exactly thirty years (1961-1991). The demographic and economic evolution of Torino over the past 30 years reflects the processes of urban development in industrialized countries: urbanization, suburbanization, dis-

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<sup>3</sup> Source: Municipality of Torino, Bureau of Statistics

urbanization and re-urbanization. As a result of suburbanization, the overall population of the city has decreased in recent years, with an increase in the proportion of elderly people. During the 1970's, the population of the central city began to decrease, while the population in the suburban and outlying communities began to grow, resulting in the expansion of residential areas and activities. Starting in 1981, growth in the outlying communities stopped balancing the decrease in the city center and the metropolitan area on the whole began to lose inhabitants to communities in the rest of the metropolitan region (third and fourth urban belts). In the last decade, there have also been important waves of immigration, from Northern African countries and from Eastern Europe. The foreign population numbers roughly 46,393 inhabitants (Municipality of Torino, 2003). This demographic process has changed the metropolis from a basically mono-centric to a polycentric structure, in which secondary poles have gained in importance, favored in part by the de-localization of numerous industries toward the suburbs.

Fig. 1. The population of the Piemonte Region



During the early 1970's, the industrial structure of the area offered a high level of productive specialization, accentuated by large territorial concentration and the dimensions of the local productive units, which were higher than those of other Italian regions. In 1981, metal workers represented 63% of industrial workers; while the workers in the automotive sector represented 42% of the metal workers.<sup>4</sup> In 1980, the manufacturing industry in Torino employed almost 47% of the workforce, supplying 51% of the added value.<sup>5</sup> But the importance of Fiat goes well beyond the numbers quoted for the sector: one must take into account linked production, the system of suppliers and the company's direct influence on other sectors, the service industry, and the very evolution of the urban fabric. For this

<sup>4</sup> Bagnasco, A. *Torino. Un Profilo Sociologico*, Torino: Einaudi, 1986, pg. 18

<sup>5</sup> Source: Eau Vive-Comitato Giorgio Rota, *Countdown 2003. Quarto rapporto annuale sulla grande Torino*, Milan: Guerini e Associati, 2003.

reason, Torino is called a “one company town,” a city characterized by a close correlation between the dynamics of urban and economic development, and between urbanization, industrialization and demographic growth.

Over the past ten or fifteen years, the area has undergone great transformation, involving both its economic and productive apparatus, and its urbanistic and social fabric. Like in other European or North American metropolises, the large Fordist industry has been re-dimensioned and the local system has had to deal with a major economic and identity crisis caused by this de-industrialization and the need to find new ways to develop the region and to restructure Torino’s role on the national and international level. This transition toward a post-Fordist economy has forced the city to undergo an exceptional process of restructuring: the large industry has become more elastic and decentralized, complex networks of large and small companies have located their headquarters in the area and have begun working outside the area, and even the organization of factory work has changed. Between 1981 and 1991, the metropolitan area lost roughly 100,000 industry jobs and Fiat’s economic weight has been greatly reduced. According to an estimate by IRES, the Institute for Regional Research, between 1986 and 1996 the number of jobs generated by the Fiat Group fell from 92,000 to 47,000, a decrease in total industrial employment from 25% to 15%. During the same period, there was an upswing in the number of jobs generated by small and medium-sized enterprises and in innovative segments of the services sector.

Despite major job losses due to restructuring in the 1980’s, Torino’s economy is still strongly linked to the car and car components industries. Indeed, 30% of the sector’s national employment is concentrated in the region. Other important industrial sectors in the city include industrial automation, aeronautical parts, information technology and satellite systems. The food and drinks industry, textiles, banking and insurance, design and publishing are also important. The region’s industry is highly international, and the unemployment rate has been decreasing since 1998, falling from more than 10%, a much higher rate than the average for Piemonte and Northern Italy, to less than 7%. The per capita GDP (Gross Domestic Product), assuming 100 as the national average, was 119.7 in 1999 in Torino and 124.8 in the North-west of Italy.

The post-Fordist transition has strongly affected public debate over the past few decades. In the early 1990’s, the city viewed itself, and was viewed from the outside, as a metropolis in steep industrial decline and the dominant feeling was one of pessimism regarding the future, combined with a wide-spread feeling impending crisis. The local system was faced with the need to elaborate a development project and today Torino is proposing itself as one of the regional capital cities of Europe. It is undergoing transformation from an economic, urbanistic, cultural and social point of view. Following a lengthy reflection about the city’s identity, and thanks to the efforts of the local managerial class, various interventions have been set in motion involving investments in innovative sectors, the reorganization of urban space, and the startup of important infrastructural works. The crisis has offered the city of Torino and the regional institutions an opportunity to take part in Community projects involving areas experiencing industrial decline, offering financial resources and technical know-how through various programs of cooperation.<sup>6</sup> National reform movements and local efforts have resulted in an elite political autonomy, as opposed to party representation, and the formation of a stronger urban leadership has transformed political regulations and governance.

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<sup>6</sup> In particular, from the Obiettivo 2 programs, to recuperate former industrialized zones.

### 3. Government in the metropolitan area

The government of Torino's metropolitan area is divided between the duties of the Municipality of Torino, the smaller Municipalities in the area, the Province of Torino and the Piemonte Region. Although it is widely recognized that a coherent scheme for interaction and government among the metropolitan areas is needed, the problem - in Piemonte like in the rest of Italy - is still unresolved. The metropolitan area could be described as a territorial unit with functional interdependence between the various centers; the spatial configuration of its conurbation is dense and compact, due to the constant addition of new productive and residential areas around the existing ones and along the main traffic arteries. The City of Torino has no institutional competence over this metropolitan dimension, but it does have great influence over it; territorial development has been only partially guided by shared planning criteria, and it has taken on the form and character of a wide-spread urban suburb. Dialog between the municipalities of this area and the regional capital has always been difficult because of the great socio-economic and political influence the central city has had over the decades.

Recently, though, prospects seem more favorable for creating institutional and operative cooperation between the smaller municipalities and Torino, and between the municipalities and the Province. The reduction of regional influence in metropolitan coordination has helped, as has the creation of new competences, giving the Province duties and a role in territorial planning, above all with regard to the metropolitan area. The smaller municipalities have developed a greater awareness of the need to conduct themselves like the metropolitan area, and the municipalities have grown as autonomous political subjects, and are able to express plans, strategies and visions for the development of the area.

Since there is no definitive administrative entity for the metropolitan area, the very delimitation of the area is still open to debate. Discussions concerning the government of the metropolitan area of Torino began following WWII: initially, the area that was taken into consideration included 23 municipalities, the so-called "first urban belt" of the Torino area; it was then widened to a second group, the "second urban belt" composed of another 29 municipalities. In 1972, a decree by the Piemonte Region recognized the Metropolitan Area of Torino as the territory formed by the first and the second belts, for a total of 53 municipalities, with a population of roughly 1,800,000 inhabitants. From the 1970's to the 1990's, the area went through various phases of planning and criteria, according to whether the metropolitan area was considered a *big city*, an extension of the urbanization of the regional capital, or whether it was an *urban region*, in which there were not only processes of functional interdependence, but also of suburbanization.

Metropolitan cities were not officially recognized in legislation until 1990 and no metropolitan city has yet been formed. Metropolitan cities can be formed in metropolitan areas or areas that include the municipalities of Torino, Milan, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Bari, Naples, Palermo and Cagliari and other municipalities that are connected with them geographically, economically, socially and culturally. The Regions were given the responsibility of delimitating the metropolitan areas in the nine urban centers defined by the law, but difficulties arose throughout Italy in identifying the confines of the areas. The debate centered on whether to opt for the structural hypothesis - the creation of a new level of government destined to manage the metropolitan functions - or the functional solution, which called for the possibility of creating various administrative solutions according to the problems at hand. The law opted for the structural layout, defining metropolitan cities as an alternative level of government to that of the provinces, which are top-level institutions formed by the aggregation of metropolitan municipalities. The constitutional process requires that the mayors of the municipalities form a Metropolitan Conference, which must elaborate the constitution of the Metropolitan City. The constitution of the Metropolitan City must then be decided on by a referendum held in

every municipality involved. In order to guarantee an equal territorial distribution within the Metropolitan City, the capital municipality must be divided into a certain number of smaller municipalities. These smaller municipalities are given duties closely regarding the citizens, while the Metropolitan City, under this constitution, has the functions of planning and programming for the vaster area.

In Torino, as in many other Italian metropolitan areas, the debate centered on the two prospects which had already clashed before, between supporters of a restricted metropolitan area, based on the model of a *big city* and the supporters of a wider area, similar to the idea of an *integrated urban region*.<sup>7</sup> In the first case, the metropolitan area would have been large enough to guarantee an optimal management of the services; in the second, it would lend itself more to functions regarding territorial planning. During the industrialization and urbanization phase, until the 1970's, structural hypotheses based on cooperative models prevailed in the debate, especially on the territorial planning level. The birth of the Region in 1970 shifted attention to this new subject and its competences. During the first regional legislature, from 1975 to 1980, the Region initiated an important planning process to organize local communities and introduced new intermediary levels of government, the *districts*, which remained active until 1985. During the process of affirmation of the Region, the creation of a level of metropolitan government was historically considered by the regional authorities as a threat to their local politics, an attitude which still persists today.

The following years were marked by political instability and activism within the Municipality of Torino, in absence of a strategic vision concerning the metropolitan area and accords with the other municipalities of the region. In 1991, the regional council presented the draft of a law which followed the hypothesis of the *big city*, configuring a metropolitan area restricted to 33 municipalities, including Torino, but the draft never became operative.

In 2000, the Province of Torino, encouraged by the Strategic Plan consultations, began creating a seat of voluntary consultation on a metropolitan level, the Metropolitan Conference. This was a process of general institutional construction, and was aided by agreements within the Strategic Plan (in which 22 municipalities of the metropolitan area participated). Co-chaired by the President of the Province and the Mayor of Torino, the Metropolitan Conference involves 37 municipalities of the first and second urban belts, besides the Municipality and the Province of Torino. It represents a juncture for the supervision of urban development strategies and the creation of urban scale agreements. The Conference is an experimental instrument, with an open and flexible approach, and is an effort to provide a missing level of government of the metropolitan area and an organized form of coordination in its policy making. The Conference has dealt with the coordination of urbanistic policies and territorial planning, viability and transportation, and health and educational policies. It met for roughly three years, until 2003. The changing of the Council of the Province of Torino in June 2004 could re-launch the Conference as a seat for debate on a metropolitan level.

And yet, "light" institutional forms of this type suffer from great fragility because of the lack of technical structures, the necessary willingness to participate on the part of the mayors, and the distance between the decision-making process and the instruments for carrying them out. In Torino's case, until now the Province has promoted the processes of metropolitan consultation, but this is not a configuration that lends itself to the long term. As an institution that governs a vaster area than just the metropolitan conurbation, it cannot allow itself to concentrate its efforts and its financial obligations on the metropolitan area.

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<sup>7</sup> Ires Piemonte, *Uscire dal Labirinto: Studi per l'Attuazione della Riforma delle Autonomie in Piemonte*, Torino: Rosenberg & Sellier, 1993 (Collana Piemonte; 21)

International experience shows that the success of a metropolitan government depends on the mobilization of the political resources of the central municipality and, above all, of its mayor. Traditionally, relations between central municipalities and municipalities of the hinterland are not good in Italy, but it is hard to understand why this attitude tends to persist in a situation that has changed so much, in which the complementarity between the metropolitan center and its outskirts is growing and in which the problems of international competition are becoming more acute. International examples of the institutionalization of metropolitan cooperation show how important it is for the Region to intervene, in its role as an institution dedicated to the planning of the development of the entire territory. In Italy, and similarly in Torino, the Regions have balked in assuming this role and have not favored the birth of metropolitan institutions. There is wide-spread debate on the national level, above all in the headquarters of A.N.C.I., the Association of the Municipalities, concerning metropolitan cities and how these municipalities can be guaranteed the means to deal with metropolitan problems (environmental, economic and social), but legislative intervention to this effect appears problematic. At the moment, the municipalities of the large metropolitan areas have the same competences and status as the smaller ones.

On the whole, metropolitan problems of the area around Torino have been formulated differently over the course of the past decades, with often contradictory institutional effects. The following table, which was elaborated by the Research Institute of Piemonte, illustrates the ties between the type of urban government, urbanization and the economic evolution of the city.

Table 2. Economic growth, urban growth and institutional change in Torino

<i>period</i>	<i>Economic evolution</i>	<i>Urbanization</i>	<i>Institutional change</i>	<i>Image of the metropolitan problems</i>
1955-75	Industrialization	Urbanization/ suburbanization	Weak inter-governmental cooperation (vertical and horizontal regionalization)	Problems of a «big village»
1975-85	De-industrialization	Suburbanization	Regionalization	Problems of an «urban region»
1985-95	Service sector expansion	Suburbanization/ Dis-urbanization	Strong intergovernmental cooperation (horizontal, functional, indirect)	Problems of a «capital city» and a «big village»
After 1995	Post-Fordism	Re-urbanization	Strong regionalism and an increase in flexible metropolitan governance	Problems of a «capital city»

Source: Piperno S., Maggi M., "Torino: la quête vaine de Gargantua," Jouve B., Lefèvre C., *Villes, métropoles. Les nouveaux territoires du politique*, Paris: Anthropos, 1999, pg. 262.

### 3.1 The Municipality of Torino

Torino was one of the first major Italian cities to directly elect its Mayor, following the 1993 national reform on the direct election of mayors. According to this reform, the Mayor and the Council are renewed every 5 years by popular election, based on a majority system with a second ballot.

The budget of the Municipality of Torino is partitioned as follows:

- a. 1.1 billion € total revenues, of which 37% from local income tax, 25% from fees, franchises, public areas tenancy, refectories, authorizations and fines, 4% from companies' profits, 34% from transfers of State, Region and other authorities' funds;

b. 1.1 billion € costs, of which 31% for staff, 10% for purchases (equipment, chattels and real estate), information system enhancement/development, culture, transport and town planning interventions, 29% for goods and services, 30% for investments in public works (railway links, parking spaces, extraordinary school repairs, etc.).

The Municipality of Torino manages 4.13 billion € of real estate. The municipal staff numbers approximately 12,800 people.

The City Manager is in charge of the Municipal administrative structure, supervising the city management/authority management. He is nominated by the Mayor and can be selected outside the organic endowment, on the basis of professional experience in executive management. Another relevant role is that of the General Secretary, who provides legal-administrative assistance and performs secretarial tasks for the Authority organs.

The Municipality is organized in Central Services or Technical Divisions, each one with its own Director who, in fulfilling the Division's assigned objectives, performs programming, coordination and control tasks. The Directors are organized in a Directive Committee chaired by the City Manager. It carries out propositional activities, collaborating with the Mayor and the City Council in setting up the general planning and programming instruments.

The City Board is the real "governing body" of the city, collaborating with the Mayor in managing the Municipal government and in carrying out programs and policies. It operates by collective resolutions. The Board performs all acts included in government functions that are not reserved to the Council and that are outside the Mayor's authority or that of the decentralized Bodies. The City Board includes the Deputy Mayor and is made up of a maximum of 14 members, "Assessors," designated by the Mayor together with the majority parties. It reports its activities to the Council.

The Council is the political-administrative control body and it has functional and organizational autonomy. It is composed of 55 councilors, elected by proportional representation. Within the Council are instituted: Council Committees, Council Groups and the Group Leaders Conference. The role of the Council is restricted to operation control and approval of the main projects.

The Municipality is structured in different Districts with organizational and functional autonomy. They are decentralized, participating, and advisory Bodies running basic services and carrying out the tasks the Municipality assigns them.

The City of Torino is divided into 10 Districts, each with a District Council, that is renewed every 5 years, together with the other Municipal Bodies. There are 25 representatives for the District Councils and the District staff numbers about 1,600 people. Funds amount to a total of 7.13 million €, mainly intended to cover services and facilities for children, leisure and assistance for the elderly, under-aged and disabled people. Districts also run registry services and sports facilities and promote commercial activities. Reforms have been taken into consideration in order to give these Councils a more defined institutional role, turning them into real means of public participation, bringing citizens closer to the local institutions.

In this regard, the Municipality is trying out new forms of citizen consultation on strategic projects, particularly in relation to the main town planning transformation (e.g. the railway link). Citizens are involved in meetings and work groups for district planning within the various procedures of urban regeneration of the suburban areas (e.g. the Neighborhood Special Project, see below).

### 3.2 Metropolitan policies and forms of public-private cooperation in the Torino area

For the administration of the Torino area, the Municipality cooperates with the Piemonte Region (Regional Department), which has legislative authority, particularly on a financial and economic level, and with the Province of Torino (Province Department), which is invested with regulatory tasks mainly concerning employment, education, and natural resources.

The various Municipalities throughout the Torino area also participate in different types of aggregations for integrated management of the services, with a “variable geometry” setup, constructed in different ways according to the specific functions. These aggregations are often flexible or voluntary, with few restrictions on participation or withdrawal, and are based on the management of a common service. The various types of policy in the metropolitan area can be divided between supra-metropolitan policy, policy involving forms of metropolitan coordination, policy whose gatherings divide the metropolitan area and policy in which metropolitan coordination is particularly difficult. Since there is no institution on a metropolitan level, policies are often enacted through accords between the administrations or through the creation of subjects to manage services, like the Agencies, under the responsibility of the various institutions, as part of a process of privatization of public services. If, on the one hand, this method overcomes the rigidity of norms concerning metropolitan matters, on the other, it creates problems of coordination and institutional fragmentation and tends to deprive local governments of direct control over key sectors in urban development.

Table. 3 - Metropolitan policies in Torino

Supra-metropolitan policy	Water cycles Attracting investments and promotion
Policy involving forms of metropolitan coordination	Tourism Culture Transport and mobility Commerce Strategic planning
Inter-municipal policy that divides the metropolitan area Policy which is difficult to coordinate	Territorial agreements Trash disposal Urbanism and territorial planning

#### Policy on a supra-metropolitan scale

The main policy of this group regards water cycles. In application of a national law, the Province of Torino has been defined as a single, optimal environment, and the reorganization of the water companies has resulted in a subject (the Società Metropolitana Acque Torino) which is able to manage the entire water cycle for the whole area and which is shared in by the various institutions.

Similarly, the policy for territorial marketing and attracting investments is managed on a regional scale by the agency ITP (Investimenti Torino Piemonte), a public-private subject shared in by the Piemonte Region, the Municipality of Torino and entrepreneurial association.

### Policy on a metropolitan scale

The two sectors in which the process of metropolitan coordination has made most progress are viability and transportation, crucial policies for the lay-out of the metropolitan area. In 2000, a General Urban Traffic Plan was approved and signed by 26 municipalities of Torino's metropolitan area. In 2003, it applied a regional law from 2000 and created the Agency for Metropolitan Mobility, to which the Municipality of Torino, the Piemonte Region, the Province of Torino and 16 other centers of Torino's outskirts all belong. The Agency has all the functions of local Boards regarding public transport in the metropolitan area. Its objectives are to promote sustainable mobility in Torino's metropolitan area; to optimize local public transport services by planning and programming the development of the infrastructures, transportation vehicles and control technology; and to improve the quantity and the quality of the service.

Regarding transportation, an important tariff integration has been passed, thanks to an agreement between the Piemonte Region, the Province of Torino, the Municipality of Torino and 30 public and private transportation companies. It is now possible to travel within the area using an integrated pass whose price only depends on the areas of origin and destination, and not on the company that manages the service.

Policy regarding tourism is also on a metropolitan scale. Piemonte is divided into twelve areas of tourist programming, each of which is headed by a Local Tourist Agency. The agency for the area around Torino, Turismo Torino, covers a territory that includes 90 municipalities and guarantees a unified service promoting tourism and hospitality services for tourists throughout the entire metropolitan area. Various programs participating in *youth-oriented and cultural policies* are also on a metropolitan scale: the project *Giovani e idee a Torino* ("Young people and ideas in Torino"), that has involved various municipalities in the area in projects to stimulate young entrepreneurship; the program PASS 15, which lets fifteen-year-olds take part in a series of cultural and sports services throughout the area for free; and the museum pass, a one-year pass that is valid in 120 museums in Torino and Piemonte.

Among the various metropolitan-wide policies, it is worth remembering strategic planning which, although it doesn't refer to one specific metropolitan service, has defined a long-range development plan that is shared by the municipalities of Torino, all the municipalities of the first urban belt and several of the second. The Assembly of the Strategic Plan also guarantees periodic encounters between the administrators and representatives of economic, social and cultural organizations.

### Inter-municipal policy that divides the metropolitan area

There are a few policy sectors with strong inter-municipal cooperation, and various supra-municipal institutions have been created, even though their distribution divides the metropolitan area.

The first of these sectors is policy regarding *trash* (its collection and disposal). The province is subdivided into three programming areas, which are managed autonomously, and which are self-sufficient regarding the collection and disposal of trash. The municipalities within the metropolitan area are part of two different programming areas. The city of Torino (which produces the majority of the trash, and where the leading trash collection company has its headquarters) is only partially aggregated to them and is also aggregated to others that are decidedly outside the metropolitan area. This means that collecting trash produced by the city of Torino affects only part of the metropolitan area, a factor which weakens the development of a cooperative attitude in such a delicate matter. Recently, the need to decide upon the location of several trash disposal installations has fed the on-going debate within the area and the Province might decide to modify the actual organization, in order to increase responsibility and solidarity within the metropolitan area.

The second sector is policy regarding *territorial pacts*, forms of agreements promoted on a national level to support local development policy. There are eight active pacts in the province of Torino, alliances between metropolitan and non-metropolitan municipalities which cover the entire provincial territory, except for the municipality of Torino. Even if it is within the logic of the pacts that the central municipality not be a participant, the locations in which the Pacts are debated tend to establish themselves and be configured as concentration points, and a metropolitan vision is lacking.

#### Policy in which metropolitan coordination appears to be particularly difficult

This sector regards one of the most relevant policies for the metropolitan area: urbanistic policy and territorial planning. In this sector, coordination between regulatory plans adopted by the single municipalities has always been difficult. In recent years, the Province has gone to great efforts in this regard, defining a Territorial Plan of Coordination (PTC), which provides reference points for the Municipal Regulatory Plans regarding the coordination of wide-spread territorial interrelations. Regarding the coordination of urbanistic interrelations, the PTC requires that special agreement protocols be developed between the local institutions of the single areas, according to the needs that might arise. In fact, there are many urbanistic-territorial nodes that need to be resolved in the metropolitan area, and adequate political/technical headquarters must be found for these discussions.

If it is difficult to find a specific logic in each of these aggregations, the overall logic resulting from the whole is fairly clear, since the participation of the municipalities in the metropolitan aggregations thins out as we move further away from the center. There is a small number of municipalities which participate at all the aggregations, representing the municipalities of the first urban belt and Torino, numbering 1.2 million inhabitants. If we include the second group of municipalities (which are present in 7 out of 8 aggregations), the overall number of the municipalities increases to 21 and the number of inhabitants increases to 1.3 million, and so on (fig. 1). This flexibility of the territorial aggregations could even constitute a long-term advantage for the relations of variable geography. Forms of coordination of a more general character, like the Metropolitan Conference and the Strategic Plan Assembly, must also be kept in mind.



Para-Olympic Games - the Film Commission, to promote the film industry - six Territorial Agreements among the neighboring Municipalities - various Technological Parks, in order to create firms in innovative fields: the Environmental Park and the Virtual Reality Multimedia Park - Fondazione Torino Wireless, created to promote investments in the information and communications technology sectors	<a href="http://www.filmcommtorinopiemonte.it">www.filmcommtorinopiemonte.it</a> <a href="http://www.provincia.torino.it">www.provincia.torino.it</a> <a href="http://www.envipark.com">www.envipark.com</a> <a href="http://www.vrmmp.it">www.vrmmp.it</a> <a href="http://www.torinowireless.it">www.torinowireless.it</a>
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Other important participants involved in programming development initiatives in the Torino area are the Industrial Union, which has taken on a leading role in dialoguing with local institutions, and the Chamber of Commerce, whose objective is to promote local economic development. Other institutions on the public-private borderline should also be remembered, like banking foundations, which participate in the non-territorial governmental system and which play a crucial role in the system of governance, thanks to the contributions they earmark to support local development projects.

#### 4 Local policies between participation, leadership and urban transformations.

Local policies have been set up in the last ten years to develop partnerships that can implement programs which could be considered as part of an integrated and long-term strategy. This is certainly due to the strengthening of the powers assigned to the Mayor after the 1993 national reform, but local specificities must be taken into account as well.

In Torino, the objective of Valentino Castellani, who was mayor from 1993 to 2001, and his government was to develop the city through the reconstruction of a political planning role within a system of intergovernmental relations and with society. In order to overcome the de-industrialization crisis and to promote the city, improving its international position, Castellani concentrated on involving the various local participants, since he believed that it was necessary to aggregate the various economic, social and cultural forces of the city and the metropolitan area in defining these objectives. Castellani, a former professor at the Polytechnic University, was elected by a civic coalition and by a narrow Center-Left majority. He came from outside the traditional political world and his decision to run for office was a personal choice, following the general loss of support for national centralist political parties and a widespread dissatisfaction with the political system. In 2001, Sergio Chiamparino was elected Mayor of Torino for the Center-Left coalition. His program was based on a full awareness of the significant structural and economic transformations that the city of Torino is undergoing and also on the need to take up new opportunities not only in the traditional fields (e.g. the car industry), implementing and improving what the Castellani administration had started. While Castellani favored relations with the European Union and tried to enhance Torino's visibility in Europe, Chiamparino, who had a political career in the Democrats of the Left Party, is availing himself of his relations with the national political elite to enhance Torino's visibility and weight in Italy. Chiamparino is also trying to establish a stronger link with the citizens, investing in direct communication (meetings, citizen-relations offices, weekly participation in local radio and television programs).

Torino is undergoing a phase of intense transformation, in which - besides physical and infrastructural projects to renew the city - the forms of governance and coordination

between groups, institutions, private subjects and citizens are changing. The municipal administration is playing a crucial role in this effort, but it isn't the only subject to recognize the value of horizontal cooperation and to promote it. Among the major governance policies are the formulation of the Strategic Plan and projects regarding the Suburbs, within the Special Suburb Project. Integrated interventions have been made possible thanks to the scope and importance of physical investments and to urban renewal connected to the organization of the Winter Olympic Games in 2006.

#### 4.1 A look at the major urban transformation projects

The Torino area is witnessing the most important process of urban transformation since the end of WWII. Construction sites are everywhere, in the downtown area and in the suburbs. The approval of the General Zoning Plan (PRG) in 1995, 50 years after the prior one, was a determining factor in initiating the phase of urban transformation which the city is experiencing today. The city of Torino's process of urban transformation is articulated in three different types of intervention: the first is the reorganization of mobility within the city, including constructing a railway link and the first line of the subway system, extending and increasing the number of tram lines and improving the parking system. The second is urban transformation and revitalization, with work on the Spina Centrale and the construction of Olympic structures. The third is urban regeneration, with projects to improve the environment and upgrade the suburbs.

Fig. 3 - Investments in the transportation system



The railway link, which will increase the number of tracks fourfold, represents one of the major city infrastructures in the post-war period, and is a fundamental element in the reorganization of urban transportation. Together with the first line of the subway system, the heart of the Zoning Plan is the Spina Centrale, which is based on the underground construction of 7 of the 12 km of the railway link; it is the result of a twenty-year-long

process of cooperation between the City of Torino and the Italian railways. The railway project is flanked by major urban requalification work which includes the above-ground construction of a large boulevard for vehicle traffic and the requalification of various urban areas along the central axis. The Spina Centrale project will heal the present fracture in the urban fabric caused by the railway tracks, which separate the city along a north-south axis. It will also result in a new urban centrality, thanks to investments in the abandoned industrial areas which are located mainly around the railway lines. This is the area in which the greatest urban transformations are planned, roughly two million m<sup>2</sup> of land destined for new houses and services (commercial, cultural and, in part, productive).

The four subdivided areas of the Spina Centrale constitute the most important group of abandoned industrial areas pinpointed by the PRG; it is a strategic area which will integrate the reorganization of the railway system with the renewal of the city on the surface. The four areas of the Spina are involved in urban transformation programs which were approved in December 1998, which call for the combined application of public and private resources. This project involves the realization of a 1,400,000 m<sup>2</sup> surface area, with 53% set aside for residences, 43% for services, advanced productive services, commercial and services activities, and 4% for installations of general interest.

## 4.2 The Strategic Plan

The changes that have taken place in Torino since the beginning of the 1990's, within a broader framework of profound transformation throughout the country both from a political and an economic point of view, have been used by the Municipality to reshape the City. The adoption of the Master Plan in 1995, the creation of a Strategic Plan in 2000 (the first Italian city to adopt a strategic plan), and the 2006 Winter Olympic Games can be considered examples of paramount importance in understanding these changes, yet they represent only the prime results of a decade of hard effort.

Promoted by the Municipality of Torino, the Plan aimed at developing a strategic vision for the future of the city, at least for a decade. In 1998, Mayor Castellani, who now heads the TOROC, the Winter Olympic Games Organizing Committee, took what had been accomplished in other European cities (Barcelona in particular) as an example and gathered together the city's most important social, economic, cultural and political leaders, both public and private. The objective was to give a new international identity to the city in order to compete in the globalized world, where territorial systems are in continuous competition. The Strategic Plan was meant to pinpoint and direct the processes of change already taking place in the city. The Municipality was supported by three committees in the development of the Plan: the Development Forum, the Scientific Committee and the Coordination Committee. The first committee was composed of representatives of the economic, social and cultural local elite; the second was composed of Italian and foreign experts to ensure that the methodology and procedures were effective and correct; and the third was composed of ITP (Investimenti a Torino e in Piemonte, the first Italian local-regional development agency dedicated to attracting enterprises and investments) and Turismo Torino (the official tourist office for the Torino metropolitan area), which carried out the operational tasks. By the end of July 1999, the second final draft of the Plan was drawn. The following months were useful in improving the plan and on February 29, 2000, the Strategic Plan was presented and signed by 57 public and private leaders of the territory.

The Plan is based on a vision - Torino as a European metropolis; Torino, an ingenious city, that gets things done and does it right; Torino that knows how to choose: the intelligence of the future and the quality of life - six strategic lines, 20 objectives and 84 projects. The economic transformations are flanked by various important urbanistic projects that will

physically transform the city, an important project of urban requalification in the suburbs, investments in the promotion and development of tourism, all respecting the principles of sustainable development and with deep-seated attention to improving social cohesion. The key elements of the process for constructing the Plan are the definition of a vision for coherent development and ways to realize the objectives, thanks to the Public Administration's aperture toward the outside and the involvement of various leaders of local society. To implement the Strategic Plan, an authority has been created, the "Associazione Torino Internazionale," whose 120 members are leaders throughout the area: mayors, representatives of banking foundations, members of public-private agencies, directors of educational institutes and research centers, etc. The president of the Association is the Mayor of Torino.

#### a. Reflections on the strategic plan: constructing the agenda

The management of the Strategic Plan brings together the Municipality of Torino and the other metropolitan municipalities, the Province of Torino, and representatives of public and private interests throughout the area. It is a typical instrument of governance which constructs the city as an entity, as it were, and which can define a strategy and external orientation, and coordinate the various interest groups within it. All this requires great effort to maintain and update the Plan.

The Strategic Plan of Torino includes wide-ranging policy objectives. This characteristic has resulted in the formation of a larger coalition, a decrease in conflicts and the participation of a large number of subjects. But the limitations of strategic planning mirror its potential: its horizontal and transversal characteristics, plus the long-range vision of its projects, have created aperture toward civilian participation and recognition of the plan as a shared instrument, but they have also alienated administrative action in a strict sense, decreasing its capacity to face and resolve conflicts of public and private decision-makers that arise during the construction of the agenda.

The wide-spread definition of strategic planning focuses on two main aspects, its vision for the future (its perspective nature) and interaction between the actors (its capacity to construct governance, create a network of cooperation and intensify relations), rather than on the selective nature of the projects. The conflicts, on the other hand, regard the ways in which the public leaders, the government and politics can interact and negotiate. The objective is to create a network and arenas of strategic planning that can be truly utilized to orient the parties involved in the construction of decision-making processes, to consider wide-ranging options and a greater number of interests, and to highlight "the best solution" and then apply it using the customary administrative instruments. In order to be efficient, the Plan must venture onto delicate terrain, and not limit itself to legitimizing projects and proposals that have already been identified by the relevant participants. It must construct true means for listening to, and participating and interacting with government structures. The final goal is the transformation of the forms of public action and the integration between governance and government. This will result in successful development policy, thanks to well-informed institutional agencies that are structured to carry out innovative policies.

#### b. Leadership and the process

The guidance of strong institutional figures, such as the mayor, is of fundamental importance in operations of governance. It is also necessary in ensuring the democratic capacity of the processes involving special interests and which are held outside elected assemblies.

Ten years after the reform regarding the direct election of the mayor, different effects can be noticed: giving the mayor greater power has strengthened the institutional role and has made the mayor more independent of political parties and the coalition supporting him, relieving him of the need for visibility that had characterized political alliances during the phase prior to the reform. The dependence of the executive branch on the political-electoral cycle has brought about the need to keep public opinion in mind when making decisions; it must orient itself more toward solutions that can guarantee short-term effects and visibility, running the risk of neglecting choices that are unpopular or that manifest long-term advantages. After an initial phase of strong independence on the part of the mayors, observers have noticed that the parties are gaining in influence, a fact which is particularly evident in the choice of the assessors. This configuration has also had an effect on the Strategic Plan, an instrument that is less dependent on consensus and tends to be more oriented toward searching for solutions and agreement between the participants. In the near future, greater involvement will be necessary on the part of the Municipal Council and the elected Assemblies of the various districts, which until now have been only marginally involved.

The activity of the Associazione Torino Internazionale, which is carried out in work groups, discussion panels, and the study of significant subjects, has an effect on the process variables, rather than directly on the realization of the projects. The Association doesn't directly carry out the projects, but rather it creates the necessary conditions for their realization, utilizing instruments of communication and participation to support strategic vision, highlighting the state of realization of the most important projects, intervening in delicate matters, and stimulating reflection and agreement.

### c. Evaluating and monitoring the Plan

Five years after its approval, Torino's Strategic Plan is now undergoing revision to evaluate lapses in planning, to identify new prospects for the city and the metropolitan area, and to renew the commitment of the various economic, political and cultural subjects involved. Evaluating and monitoring the effects of a Strategic Plan is as complex as it is necessary. The Plans are constructed around processes whose results are deferred, they indicate different policy objectives and involve the participants in highly complex inter-institutional and inter-organizational efforts. Coherence between the various projects is expected, but it is not always adequately analyzed, since technical documents aren't involved, but rather operations with far-ranging prospects and scope. The efficacy of a Plan can be evaluated on the basis of its main elements: its effect on the system of governance, on the relations and the ability to cooperate between the subjects, and on the realization of the proposed actions and projects. On a theoretical level, a Plan can be successful even if only a small part of the projects it proposes are carried out, and if the benefits to the system of relations, the densification of the networks and interaction between the participants are high. Actually, the two effects are combined, and a Plan is more likely to obtain results concerning process if it can legitimize and bring "products," hypotheses, projects or activities to a successful conclusion. One thing is certain, strategic planning is not oriented solely toward achieving results, it must have adequate forms for involving the players and the interests, including participating, listening and networking.

The revision of Torino's Plan is being carried out by an autonomous and interdependent panel: the Strategic Plan is being analyzed as an instrument of governance which can encourage innovation and relations between its participants; as a prospective achievement, involving local researchers, involved in elaborating thematic photographs that can help shed light on hypotheses, contributions and scenarios regarding development in the metropolitan area; and as a synthetic reckoning of the realization of the Plan's projects, with the help of the people in charge of each project. The entire operation is being conducted with the

interaction of the participants, the Scientific Committee, the Coordinating Committee of the Plan, and the people in charge of the projects. It will lead to a public discussion about the Plan and the launching of a second Strategic Plan.

#### 4.3 Policies regarding urban regeneration and environmental sustainability

*Urban regeneration policies* describe the specific model of interaction in Torino between local and supra-local levels of government (since the provincial, the regional and the European levels are just as important as the national level). Specific programs set to tackle urban regeneration problems were available throughout the 1990's, and were designed at the regional, national or European level. Local political leaders decided to link the greater number of local initiatives to the programs available (i.e. to available funding), but at the same time, they created a local coordination instrument that could give a common framework to the whole range of initiatives, devolving competencies and power to this new body: the **Neighborhood Special Project** (NSP). It can be viewed as a strategic plan for urban regeneration policies, created by political leaders, re-allocating personnel from the Municipality and employing skilled personnel.

The Suburban Special Project (PSP) was created in December 1997 by the Councillorship for Decentralization and Urban Integration. It creates policies for urban regeneration to counter the risk of environmental and social decay and to promote vocations and resources in the suburbs. It is based on an integrated approach, promotes collaboration between the various sectors of the public administration and encourages the participation of the citizens. The PSP initiatives promote involvement of the inhabitants and the organizations throughout the territory to construct local development policies and encourage active intervention on the part of the social subjects.

The Suburb Project, which has now become a stable Division of the Municipality of Torino, makes use of local, national and European financing through various programs. The following programs are now active: the Community Initiative Program Urban2, three Programs for Urban Recovery (national), nine local participatory development actions (local financing) and four neighborhood contracts in four area suburbs (physical and social) of the city. The startup of the program has resulted in 450 million euros in investments for the various projects, including 347 million euros for the Programs for Urban Recovery, flanked by the Plans for Social Accompaniment, 16 million euros for the neighborhood contracts and 36 million euros for Urban2.

Since the Project is based on the participation of the citizens and the Associations of each given territory, the methods of intervention differ from one area to another. The intervention of the Suburb Project in the neighborhoods tends to be organized by the Districts and is activated according to a protocol of collaboration, beginning with either programs for complex requalification or the needs of the citizens to recover an area or re-appropriate vacant areas. A nucleus of participants with various competences constitutes a work table that includes the most important members of the territory (associations, economic agencies, specialists in community services, volunteer groups, individual citizens willing to offer their time, etc.). The Table, a true Laboratory, gathers the requests, needs and suggestions, and delineates proposals for intervention and projects for the city administration and becomes the location in which the projects regarding the territory can be discussed. The Administration promises to take into consideration the suggestions that emerge from the neighborhoods and the citizens promise to participate in a process of local development and planning in a constructive manner. The Laboratory, along with the administration, then follows the requalification projects as they are carried out, even those that physically regard the neighborhood.

A concerted project to define the Provincial Agenda 21 has been undertaken in the Torino area, starting with the adherence of the Province and the Municipality of Torino to the Aalborg Charter. Created in 2000, the Provincial Forum **Agenda 21** was an instrument with which to discuss the development actions and policies of the territory with regard to the environment, involving the local communities and representatives of territorial interests. After two years of thematic and collegial encounters and in-depth studies, a Plan of Action for the Province's environmental sustainability was drawn up, containing objectives, lines of action and projects for the next decade. The Plan is an instrument of soft governance to carry out objectives of sustainable development. The agreement process is characterized by the constant involvement of the Territorial Pacts that were created by the Province of Torino, which have contributed in defining the Plan's system of objectives by integrating the objectives of the Plan of Action with the programming activities for the development of the single subjects. The Plan of Action was approved by the Provincial Council in October 2002, and its objectives have been assumed as guide lines of action for the Province. The Plan is articulated along 4 thematic lines: the sustainability of the process of production and consumption; the sustainability of settlement models and the territory; the sustainability of the mobility and transport systems; social cohesion as a fundamental element in a process of sustainability. There are on-going projects in all four thematic lines.

#### 4.4 Policy regarding internationalization and promotion of the city

The internationalization policies of the city should be considered as a set of place-specific policies, where the search for active internationalization can be seen as a movement toward a leading role as a regional capital in a "Europe of the Regions" and thus toward a leading role as a city at the European level. This objective encouraged urban leaders (mayors but also city councilors and key economic and cultural figures) to develop innovative initiatives, though they were explicitly inspired by European experience acquired through an active networking policy. Once the initiatives were locally designed and programmed, their implementations was made possible thanks to local (public and private), regional and state funding, and, wherever possible, EU funding. It can thus be said that active internationalization was considered to be the strengthening of a "collective urban figure," a strong network of local figures acting with a shared vision of development, instead of acting separately to reach single goals in a global framework. To stress the importance of a collective action, one of the favorite metaphors used by local elected and non-elected leaders refers to the capacity of "acting as a team," because only a locally cohesive team can recognize and use local specific resources. Without a doubt, one of the priorities of the Strategic Plan of Torino is investment in the external promotion of the city, tourism, culture, communication activities and improvement of the city's image. This priority is strongly tied to the Plan, and was already present in the previous years, but it has found new legitimization and recognition with local leaders in the Strategic Plan. Tourism and communication in the city are a true innovation in the local system's agenda, and it has invested strongly to change the national and international view of Torino as an *industrial city*, within a framework of growing inter-urban competition. The strategy has grown greatly between 2000 and 2004, and positive results are beginning to be perceived, thanks in part to the visibility guaranteed by the Winter Olympics.

The Olympics represent an important motor for the development of Torino, an occasion to stress and accelerate the transformations, to steer resources to the metropolitan area, increase its visibility and encourage a project of integrated development between city and mountains.

In carrying out the projects to develop and transform the territory, major events play a crucial role in catalyzing resources and promoting the city on an international level, but this

mustn't represent the final objective of the development policies. The local leaders must plan the projects as a function of the "post-Olympic" period, because the works and the infrastructural projects that are carried out must be integrated into the urban fabric; rather than isolated elements, they must represent opportunities to transform the areas of the city and the Alpine valleys. The ability to enact forms of governance within a local system is put to the test by efforts like major events, final deadlines, involving many people throughout the territory. It is crucial that the trickle-down effect on the development of the territory be maximized.

## Conclusions

Over the past ten years, the city of Torino has changed its appearance and has invested strongly in changing the way it is governed. In these ten years, the mayor has come to be directly elected, and the distance between the public administration, the citizens and civil society has diminished greatly. Forms of consultation and involvement have been enacted, both by the inhabitants in a process of urban requalification, and by more or less organized interest groups. Industry has lost its centrality, important transformation projects have been set in motion, to a degree that hadn't been seen since the end of WWII, above all in the field of transportation infrastructure. Piazzas and urban areas in the suburbs have been upgraded, as have green areas and cultural heritage in the downtown area. Policies to market the territory and encourage investments have attracted new companies, the city is gaining in interest from a tourist point of view, and preparations are underway to host the 20th Winter Olympic Games, the first time they have ever been assigned to a large city. There is a growing recognition on the part of the local system of the need to act in a coordinated and coherent way, to dialog with the other subjects, to plan the development of the metropolis.

The Strategic Plan, like the other policies of governance that were initiated during the 1990's, represents a precious wealth; it can intervene on the patterns of interaction and behavior of the members of local society and has been developed in Torino thanks to the investment of the public figures. The transformation of the local government that was enacted at the beginning of the past decade has influenced its ability to encourage innovation. It has created the conditions to launch this type of policy and generate important changes within the agenda of the local system, the processes, the products and the forms of external and internal communication. Now it is up to the local decision-makers, above all the public figures, to put this wealth to good use and not dissipate it, to continue to invest in the formation of urban governance, to improve the articulation of the forms of political and social integration and the ability to take action within the territory. These various factors that constitute the capital of society must be improved; they are greatly influenced by the institutional structures, by the degree of territorial and functional fragmentation, the forms of vertical relations between the various degrees of government and the horizontal relations between public and private. But they are also influenced by the organizational instruments of the people involved, the presence of stable centers for debate and relation and the will of the local leadership.

A few topics for reflection emerge from this experience, albeit it in an experimental form, and transforming the forms of government of an urban system is a slow and difficult process. First of all, a greater awareness on a national level is needed of the importance of cities as catalysts for the economic and social development of the country. Relations between city center and suburbs are still rather difficult: in Italy, as opposed to other countries, there is no national political structure for cities, and there are few (and fairly uninfluential) representative structures for local politicians on a national level. In fact, the cities do not intervene in the construction of national economic and financial policy, nor in any other

decision, and their autonomy from a fiscal point of view is still very limited. In recent years, despite a push toward federalism, financing to local institutions has been constantly reduced and cities have seen a decrease in their possibility to take action and an increase in their budgetary constraints. Coordinated initiatives between the mayors of the big cities are still in an embryonic phase and they are struggling to find adequate resonance on a national level.

Secondly, the question of metropolitan government is still unresolved. A national norm calls for the institutionalization of Metropolitan Cities, but in fact this is desired by neither the small municipalities, the province, nor, in some cases, by the area's capital municipality. In 14 years, no metropolitan city has been created and, on the contrary, local territories have oriented themselves toward solutions that, while flexible and open, are very fragile. Besides the question of powers and competences, which the mayors of the big cities would like to increase in tandem with the recognition of specific metropolitan problems, the cities need instruments with which to improve the coordination of vast areas and the integration of various policies. In the case of Torino, the conditions exist to begin the process, and the majority of the mayors are willing to work together and dialog. But in a context of human and economic resources that are occasionally insufficient, the incentives are lacking to venture out on such a complicated and costly path.

On a local level, after a decade of urban policy that was primarily centered on Torino and its metropolitan area, there is now an awareness for the need to invest in order to improve economic competitiveness and that this must take place on a level that is much higher than just the city's; it must happen on a regional or even on a macro-regional scale. An evolution in development policy leads to dialog between Torino and the other centers of the region, and to the recognition of different and complementary roles within the system and with Lyons and Milan, the poles of the Alpine macro-region. This is still missing and it might represent the next evolutionary step, a realization of the difference, within the cities, between strategic roles and those of the management of services. Torino's local administration is still involved too much in the daily management of services (which could be gradually ceded to lower administrative levels) and involved too little in strategic planning and economic development (competences which belong only in part to the administration). The modernization of the city must go hand in hand with the innovation of its administrative structure, with an increase in the federative and coordinating capacity of its public participants, and above all, with the integration of strategies within the ordinary instruments of creation and enactment of public policy.

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