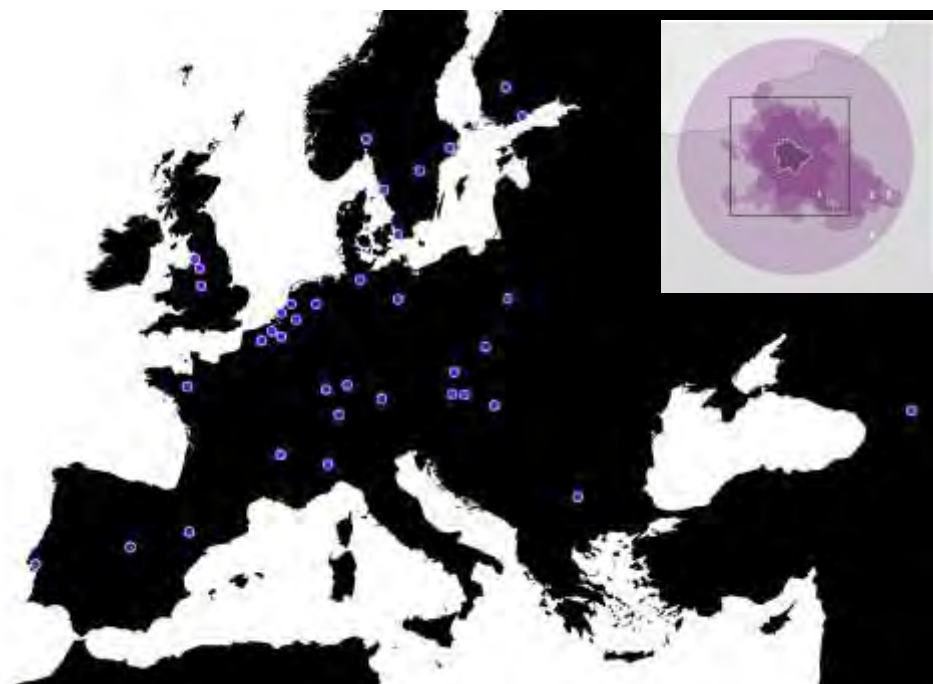




Metropolitan areas in action Concluding report



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Note on graphics used in this report:

The illustration on the front cover is a composite of maps produced for the project by the city of Amsterdam. The European map shows all the cities that participated in the MAIA study, and the inset shows the multi-layered structure of collaborations centred on Budapest.

The maps in the report that are reproduced as 'standardised maps', have been produced by the city of Amsterdam for use in the MAIA study. All other maps were acquired through the contact persons in the respective cities or metropolitan areas, or their respective websites, and are reproduced here on the understanding that they are officially approved material for the purposes of this report.

Acknowledgments

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- members of the EUROCITIES working group on metropolitan areas
- members of METREX
- University of Ghent
- city of Amsterdam physical planning department
- Metropolitan Research Institute, Budapest
- European Metropolitan Research Institute, The Hague

The study was coordinated by a steering group made up of Thierry Baert (Lille Metropole), Rene Miesen (BrabantStad), André van der Meer (The Hague), Juliane Kürschner (Amsterdam, vice president of METREX), Peter Austin (Oslo, co-chair) and Linda Peltzer (BrabantStad, co-chair). Dorthe Nielsen took part as an observer for the EUROCITIES secretariat.

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METROPOLITAN AREAS IN ACTION

Introduction

1. Metropolitan areas - better evidence on the why and how

This report draws on evidence from the 'Metropolitan areas in action' (MAIA) study by the University of Ghent, standardised maps developed by the city of Amsterdam and a supplementary note from the Metropolitan Research Institute (MRI), Budapest. It presents the main conclusions of this material together with the activities of the EUROCITIES metropolitan areas working group over the past three years.

The empirical evidence for the MAIA study has been provided by a large number of professional staff, most of whom have shared their direct experience of developing and managing collaborations in metropolitan areas from a practitioner's perspective. The study is based on detailed surveys of 31 cities covering 88 examples of metropolitan area cooperation, thoroughly documenting the extent and content of these. Background information was provided by a further seven cities. These 38 cities are important references for this report and are listed on the map on page seven.

The study gives evidence of what has been happening over recent years in terms of metropolitan area collaboration. It looks at how joint work is organised and carried out at metropolitan area and city-region level, and identifies possible success factors.

The evidence shows that:

1. metropolitan areas are established in many places, in all parts of Europe and in various types of cities
2. metropolitan areas address a wide range of different issues of common interest
3. in the majority of cases, local authorities and especially core cities are the initial players, though national and regional authorities may also be decisive stakeholders or catalysts by providing legal frameworks and/or incentives
4. the decision to work in partnership is motivated by (i) a shared sense of urgency to tackle complex challenges at the level of the functional area, and by (ii) the increasing mismatch between administrative boundaries and the reality of development on the ground.

2. Cities increasingly need to cooperate beyond their boundaries

The administrative borders of most European cities are outdated. Urbanisation has happened unevenly, driven by different forces at different times and in different cities. As a result, the urban fabric has developed beyond the formal borders of most cities. For cities that have grown, this has often happened through urban sprawl, increasingly polycentric structures and higher densities in the urban core. For cities that have shrunk in population, this has been caused by industrial decline, but also by newly developed markets in outer areas. In many city-regions this has also led to urban sprawl.

In reality, the total population in continuous urban areas in Europe is on average 70% higher than the population within the administrative boundaries of the city itself, while functional urban areas (based on travel-to-work relationships) are even larger, with an average of 2.3 times the population of the core city¹. Similar ratios exist between the populations in the core cities, morphological and functional urban areas of the cities participating in the MAIA study.

Urban areas face a complex mix of challenges, e.g. demographic, economic, environmental and social. This requires integrated responses. Without this, measures for tackling any one of these issues risk creating major problems (externalities) regarding other challenges. The risk of unmanageable side-effects can also lead to a lack of action on strategically crucial issues.

To develop joined-up policies, that integrate strategically essential sectors and issues, a territorial base is required which must be large enough to cover the reality on the ground as well as to deal with the externalities of each of the policy domains. The functional urban area (metropolitan area) of the city fulfils this criterion in most cases. Collaboration in metropolitan areas also enables economies of scale and a balanced territorial development where this is possible.

3. Metropolitan areas have a vital role in strengthening territorial cohesion

With the Lisbon Treaty (2007), territorial cohesion was introduced as a basic goal for the EU alongside social and economic cohesion. To achieve this, EU cohesion policy is increasingly recognising the importance of integrated working throughout functional urban geographies.

Certain elements of the new structural and investment funds aim to avoid the negative impact of previous instruments that unintentionally prevented cooperation across administrative boundaries and different types of territories. New instruments such as Integrated Territorial Investments (ITIs) seek instead to promote urban-rural partnerships and could speed up development, stimulating metropolitan area collaboration.

This should be seen in the wider context of delivering the Europe 2020 objectives. Metropolitan areas provide economies of scale to help deliver smart, sustainable and inclusive growth for the EU.

¹ ESPON, 2007: Study on Urban Functions. ESPON Study 1.4.3 IGEAT, Brussels. Final report March 2007: www.espon.eu, combined with city population data from: www.citypopulation.de

4. Adapting to and working across regional and national boundaries

Regional levels of government² are established in many countries to provide services and to strengthen regional development as a whole. A number of cases have been documented where the boundaries of regional government do not match the functional urban area. Efforts to establish or strengthen metropolitan areas have to be resolved in relation to the existing regional government. Examples of this can be found in Hamburg, Berlin and Brussels, where the regional level of government is smaller than the functional area, or in Brno and Turin where the regional level of government is substantially larger than the functional area.

There are also a number of cities where international cross-border collaboration has become increasingly important as a result of integration within Europe. These cases have challenges in trying to work across boundaries with different legislative frameworks, such as land use planning. Significant differences between housing and labour markets on either side of the border strongly influence territorial dynamics.

Examples of cross-border cooperation in northern Europe include Oresund, where Malmo and Copenhagen are now linked by a rail and road bridge; and Lille, Kortrijk and Tournai, which straddle the border between northern France and Flanders and Wallonia in Belgium. Strasbourg and Basel are themselves cross-border cities, which have developed their own unique ways of working across their respective systems. The Centroepe region that includes Vienna and Bratislava, as well as Brno and Gyor, is an opportunity to strengthen the core cities of younger democracies through collaboration with wealthier regions (see map below).

² This can also include federal states or cantons, depending on how each country is organised at the sub-national level.

Understanding metropolitan areas

The MAIA study shows that collaboration in metropolitan areas is already taking place across Europe. The extent of cooperation is increasing, as are the number of themes worked on at each level, particularly since 2000.

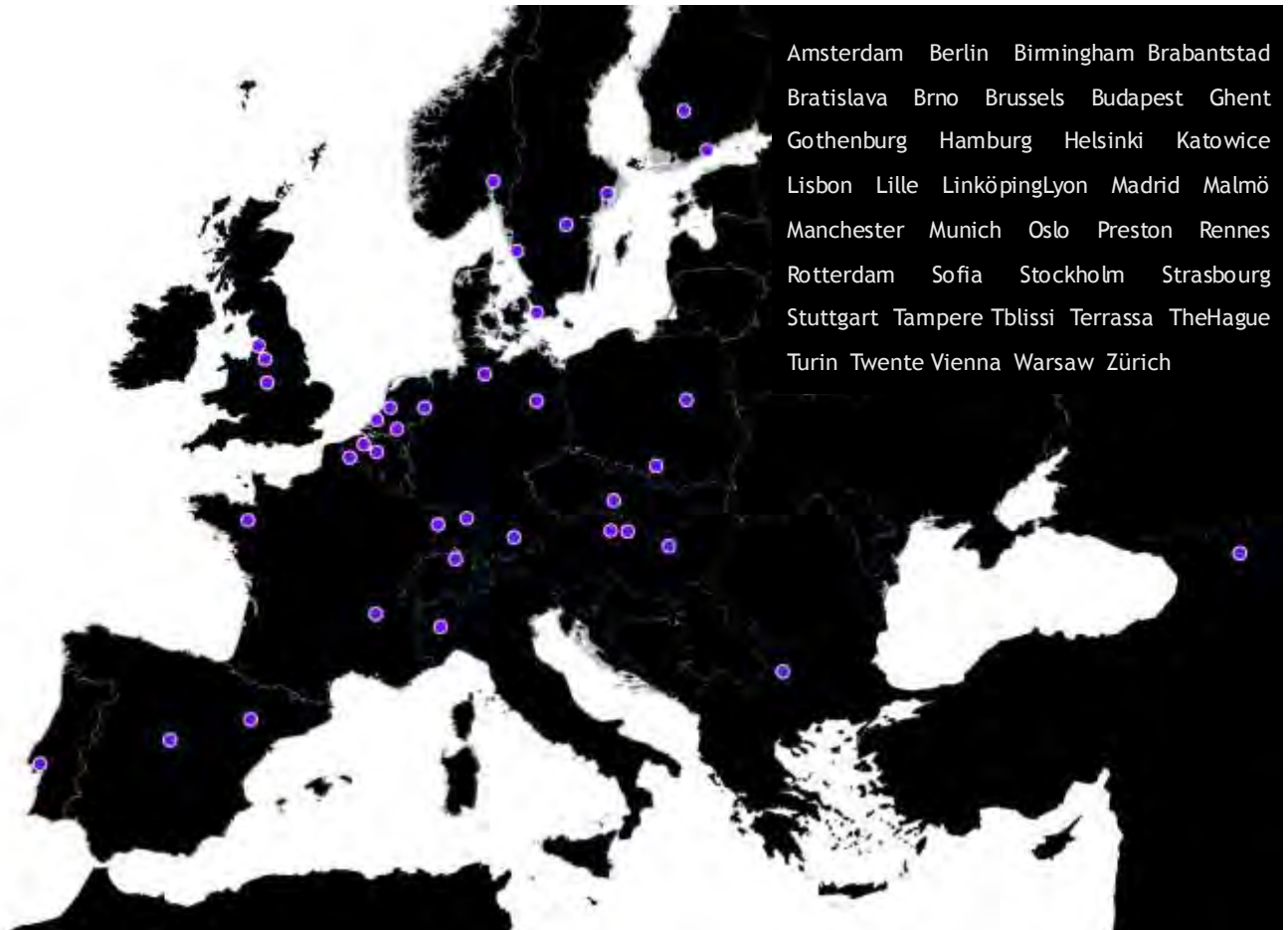


Figure 1³: overview of the cities and city-regions that contributed to the MAIA study

³ Produced by the city of Amsterdam for the MAIA study

The study highlights the importance of six main parameters in understanding metropolitan areas, which have some impact on the level of success.

1. Partnerships vary in geographical scale

Generally speaking, territorial size ranges from <100km to 400km from the core city (see maps below). Geographical scales appear to be strongly associated with the subjects of collaboration. At the same time, different partnerships are commonly developed on different scales based on the same core city.

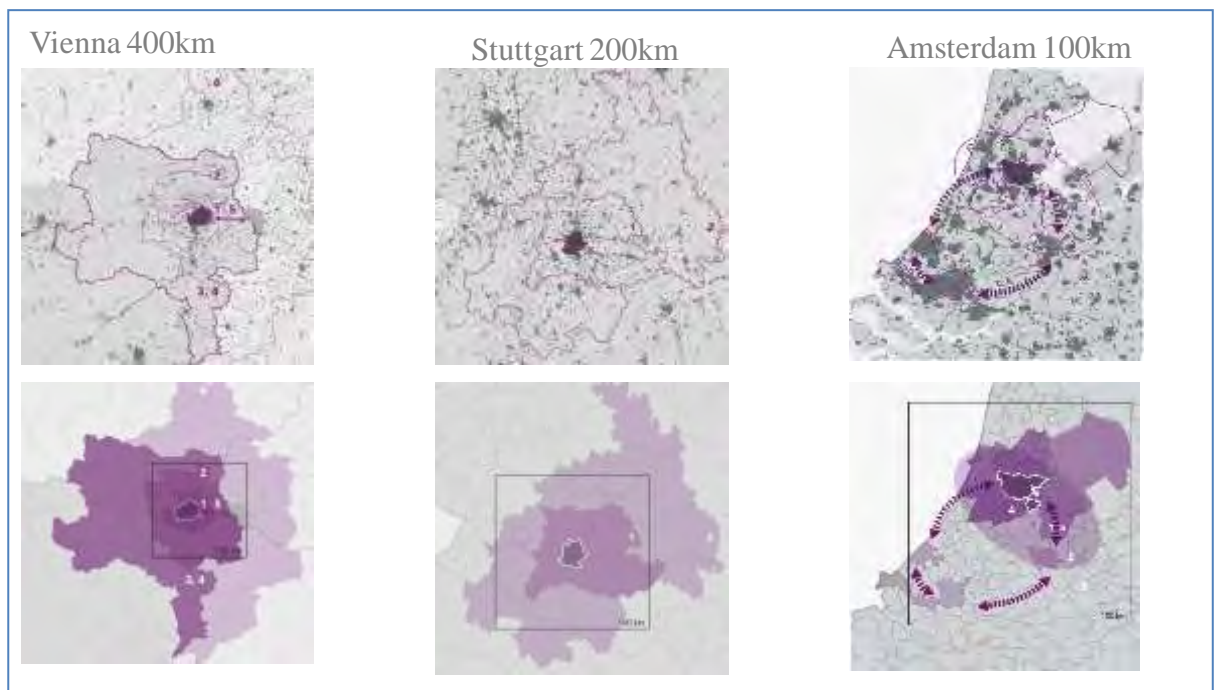


Figure 2: standardised maps - varying geographical scale of metropolitan areas

2. Funding levels vary considerably

The metropolitan area examples documented in the MAIA study have different levels of funding (see figure below). Their budgets give an indication of the levels of commitment and ambition, as well as how much the collaboration is actually involved in the joint realisation of projects. Budgets vary from no dedicated joint budget up to several hundreds of million Euros. In some cases, the cooperation is realised within local authorities' existing capacities, in others with a lean secretariat. In the larger cases we find examples of a joint secretariat and shared office, or even a joint implementation body. The larger budgets appear frequently to be linked to joint public transport services and infrastructures and can even lead to the creation of quasi autonomous metropolitan authorities.

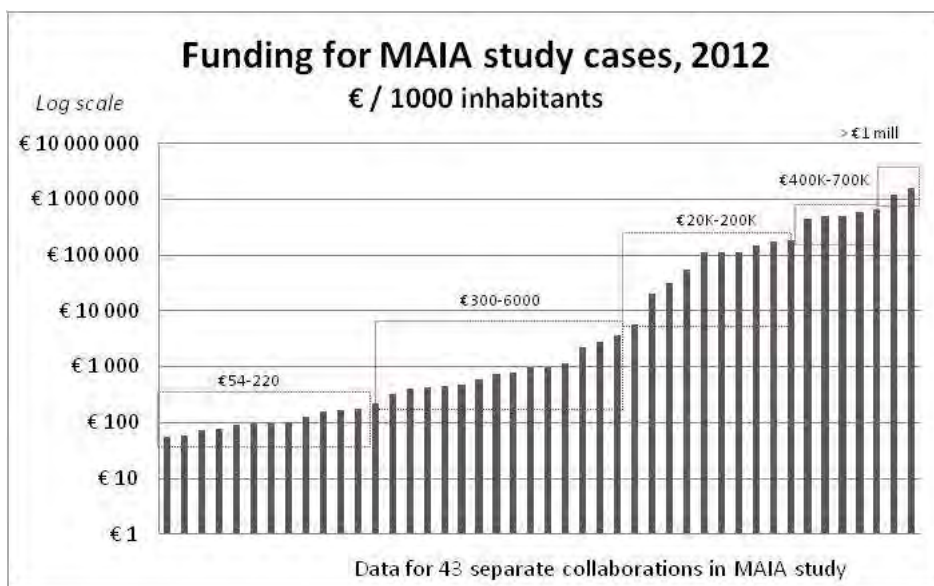


Figure 3⁴: funding for metropolitan area partnerships per 1,000 inhabitants - survey results⁵

3. Three main themes are in focus in metropolitan areas

Most of the respondents are working with topics in the field of transport/mobility, strategic spatial planning or economic development, or combinations of these. Many of these multipurpose partnerships also deal with health/educational services. For the few collaborating networks that focus on only one field, economic development and transport/mobility is referred to in a number of cases.

⁴ Produced by Peter Austin, city of Oslo, on the basis of data compiled for the MAIA study by the University of Ghent

⁵ The results of the MAIA survey are not statistically representative of European cities or the respondents of the survey. However, the survey findings show such strong differences in levels of funding that this is considered to be worth visualising for the purposes of further discussion.

4. Metropolitan areas must relate clearly to their constituent government bodies

A central issue for metropolitan areas is how to relate to existing elected bodies within the functional urban area. These elected bodies are usually linked to formal territories within clearly defined administrative boundaries (municipalities, provinces/regions, etc.). Common themes emerge that cut across these boundaries and new solutions should be sought at the functional level. This will in turn influence decisions that are taken within the constituent bodies. It is therefore crucial that partners define how the constituent elected bodies will take part in and influence the level of joint collaboration.

5. Metropolitan areas can be driven by cities, regional or national bodies

Another important parameter can be described as the ‘driving tier’ of the partnership. This addresses questions of the level of government that initiates and pushes forward collaboration at metropolitan area or regional level. Sometimes it is mostly top-down from central or regional government, but more often partnerships are initiated bottom-up, by local authorities themselves or civil society organisations. Central governments in some cases act as catalysts by improving legal frameworks or giving incentives.

The results of the MAIA study show that in most cases there is a combination of both top-down and bottom-up initiatives. The responses to a specific question in the study regarding the ‘degree of leadership’ provided by cities illustrate the role that core cities are currently playing within existing collaborations (see figure below). Most contributors to the study reported that the core cities are taking the lead, either partially (score 5-7) or strongly (score 8 or more). The large number of responses stating that the city is taking only a partially leading role shows the importance of participation from and close consultation with other partners, often referred to as ‘eye-level dialogue’, and trust.

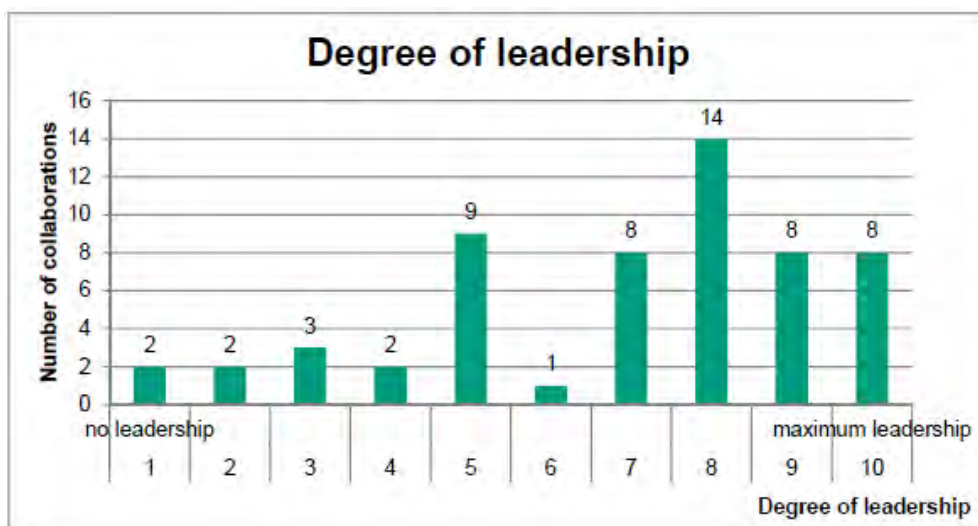


Figure 4⁶: responses to the degree of city leadership within each collaboration⁷ (N=57 collaborations)

⁶ Reproduced from the MAIA study Voets et al, 2013, University of Ghent

6. Involvement of private and non-government bodies can generate commitment

Partnerships vary according to the extent to which public, private or non-profit organisations are involved. The majority of cases in this study involved only public administrations. A substantial number of partnerships also count on private partners (NGOs, private companies, business associations, chambers of commerce etc.), who are either involved in strategic business development or in providing public transport or other services. The results of the MAIA survey indicate that by involving the private sector, metropolitan areas are more likely to go beyond joint policy agreement so that partners commit themselves to implementing joint policy.

⁷ The results of the MAIA study are not statistically representative of European cities or of members of the respondents to the survey. However, the survey findings show such strong patterns for reported 'degree of city leadership' that this is considered to be worth visualising for the purposes of further discussion.

Examples of metropolitan area collaborations

The cases presented below are selected from the 38 participating cities, with a view to illustrating the central parameters presented in the previous section. They demonstrate that interesting and important examples of metropolitan areas can be found throughout Europe. As far as possible, the examples are arranged in order of their top-down/bottom-up approaches.



Figure 5⁹: Contrasting urban-rural environments⁸

⁸ Courtesy of Iván Tosics, MRI, Budapest

Stockholm: Integrated regional planning

Stockholm County Council, the county's 26 municipalities and the County Administrative Board (CAB), as well as several national authorities, work together on integrated strategic planning and development issues through the Regional Development Plan for the Stockholm region and the Regional Transport Plan. This is a de jure government at metropolitan area level, covering a region with 2.1 million inhabitants. The work is carried out in accordance with specific legislation for the region, and is mainly led by the county council on the basis of dialogue with regional networks. Areas of major regional cooperation include housing provision, transport infrastructure, green areas, higher education and innovation systems.

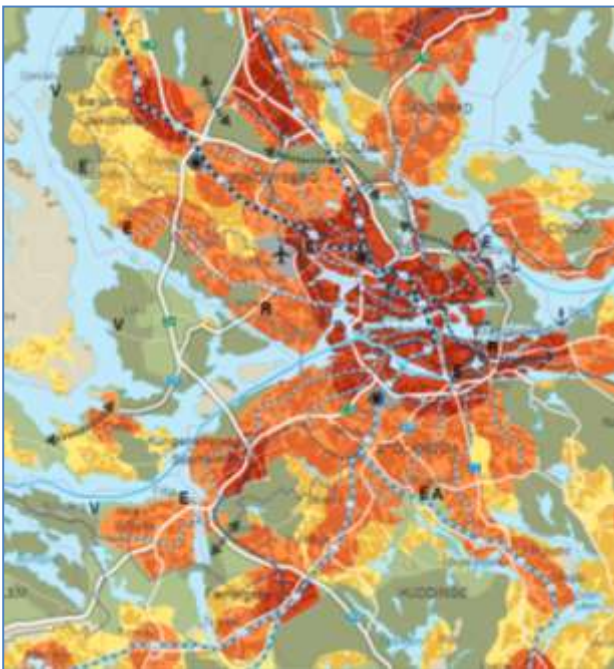


Figure 6: excerpt from land use strategy map for Stockholm county



Figure 7: standardised map - illustration of Stockholm city, Stockholm county and Mälaren region

Stuttgart: integrated regional planning

In the Stuttgart region, 179 municipalities work together on regional planning, transport, landscape projects, and promoting the economy. A top-down organisation with its own parliament is responsible for commissioning the work following specific legislation from the state of Baden-Württemberg in 1994. This can be described as a de facto metropolitan government, with a large budget to finance its own administration and measures that are agreed at that level.

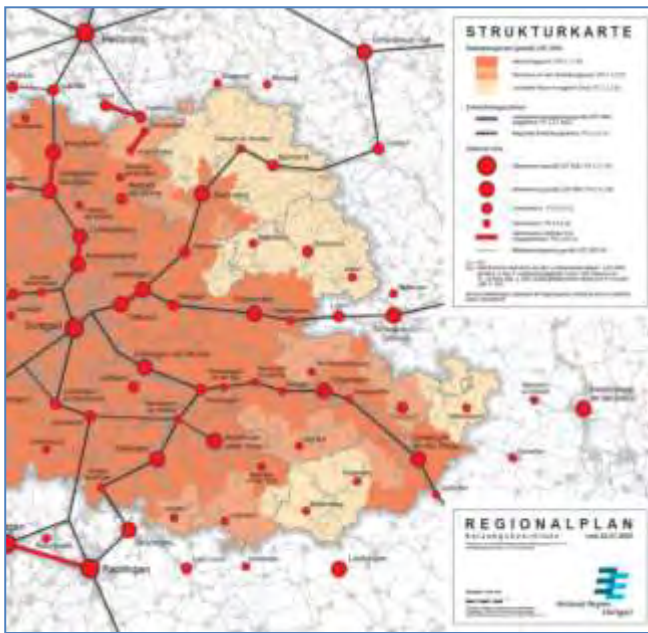


Figure 8: excerpt from land use strategy map for Stuttgart region

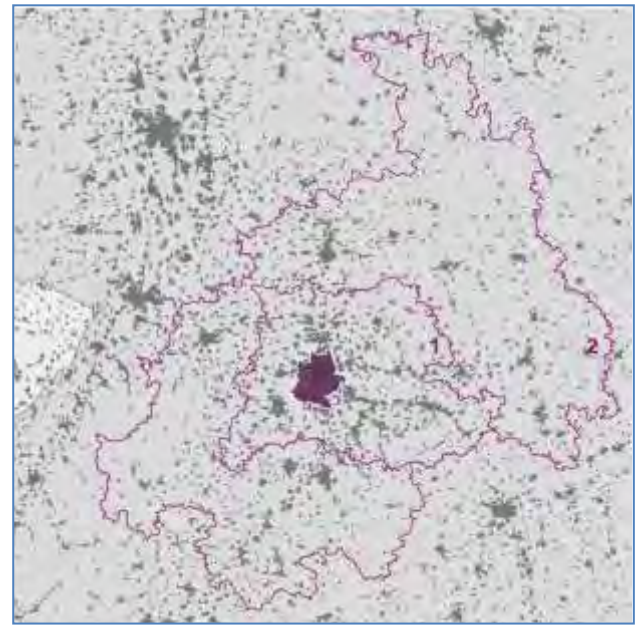


Figure 9: standardised map - illustration of Stuttgart region and Stuttgart metropolitan region

Madrid: regional public transport

The Autonomous Regional Authority of Madrid is an autonomous regional body responsible for coordinating transport issues. This is a top-down metropolitan area, established by specific legislation, and is thus a form of de facto metropolitan area government. This covers an area with 179 municipalities and a total population of 6.4 million. Its main tasks are to coordinate urban and regional transport services and ensure the accessibility of low density areas

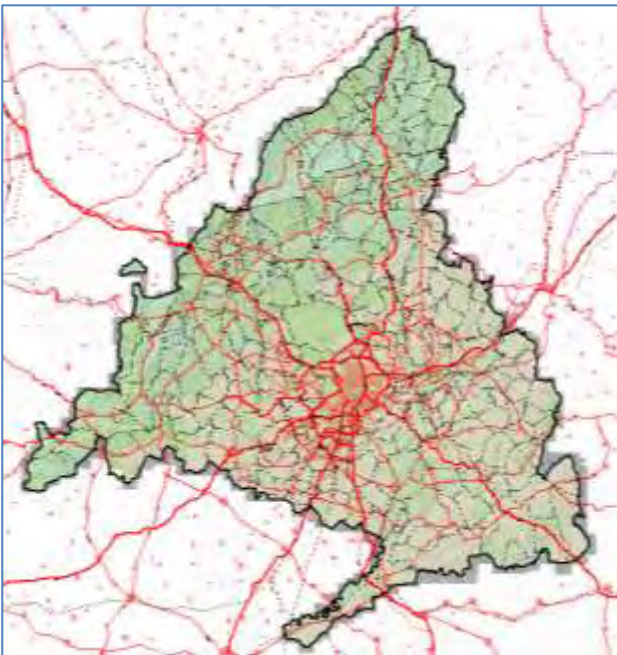


Figure 10: the region covered by the Autonomous Regional Authority of Madrid

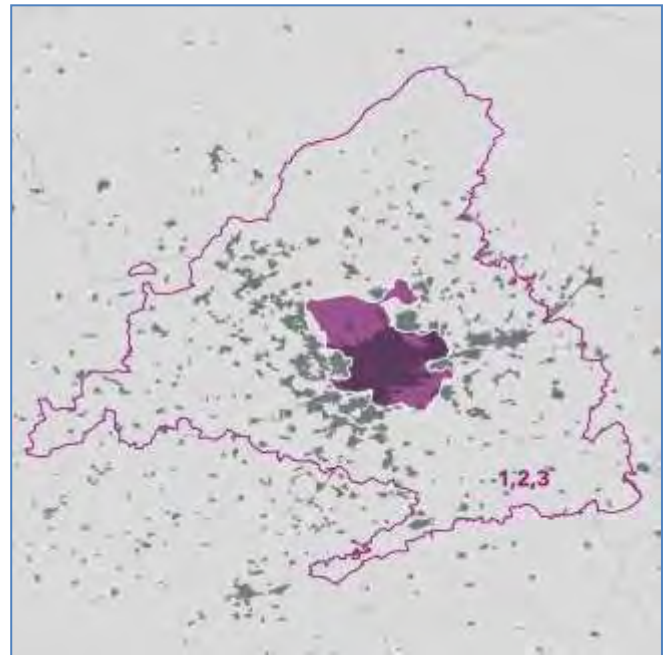


Figure 11: standardised map - illustration of the city of Madrid and the Autonomous Regional Authority

Hamburg: metropolitan region working on clean energy and landscape

Hamburg metropolitan region has over five million inhabitants. Within this partnership, four federal states and 19 districts work together on trade, business development and leisure projects to present at national and international level. They have a formal structure with a regional council and thematic working groups. Other important themes for the Hamburg metropolitan region include sustainable energy, strategic transport development and innovation.



Figure 12: overview of the Moro-Nord with Hamburg metropolitan region

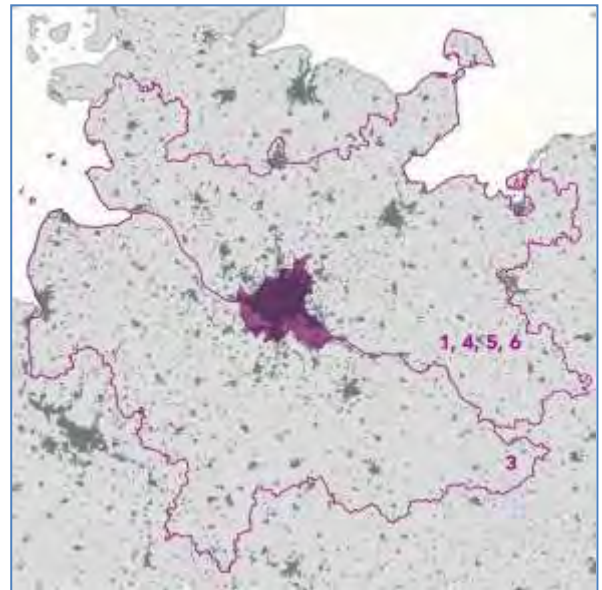


Figure 13: standardised map - all levels of collaboration and urbanisation structure

Lille: strong cross-border and metropolitan area collaboration

The European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation (EGTC) Eurometropolis Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai brings together all levels of French and Belgian government via 14 institutions, from the states to the inter-communal authorities, covering 147 municipalities and 2.1 million inhabitants. This is an important cross-border region in both France and Belgium, which extends beyond the legally required 'Eurodistrict', 'pôle métropolitain' or 'métropole'. The goal of the EGTC is to eliminate the 'border effect' and make it easier for its inhabitants to study, work, innovate, travel, enjoy cultural and leisure activities, etc. Relying on the competences of its members and of other partners, Eurometropolis is a hub for all cross-border information, activities and services, supporting their joint development. Institutions, companies, and organisations, are all invited to coordinate and pool their projects, allowing them to speak with one voice.

The EGTC is a formal structure with a strong will to incorporate representatives from civil society within a consultative assembly: the forum.

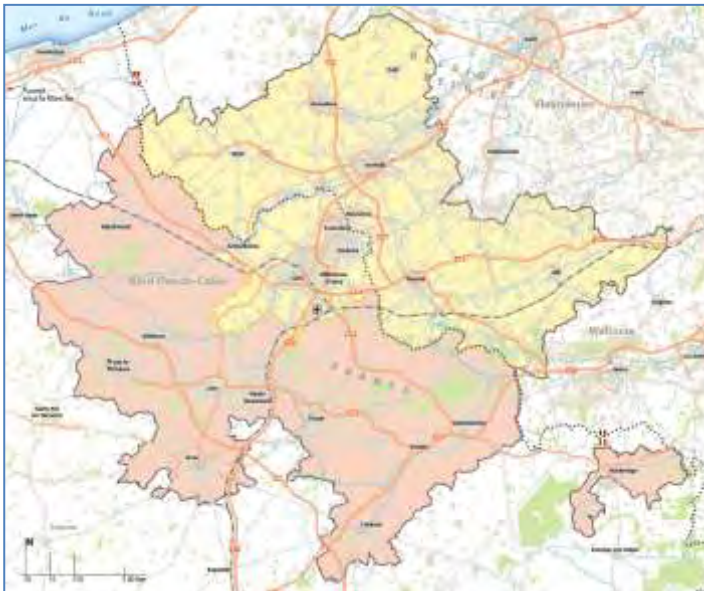


Figure 14: overview of the cross-border EGTC region of Lille-Kortrijk-Tournai (in yellow) and the cross-border metropolitan area (yellow and pink)

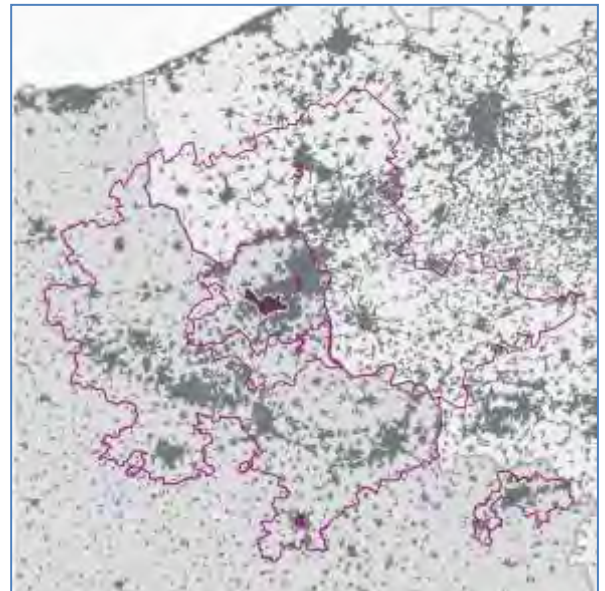


Figure 15: standardised map - all levels of collaboration and urbanisation structure

Rennes Metropole: good rural-urban linkages

Rennes Metropole is working with an independent intermunicipal council including 38 municipalities with 400,000 inhabitants, established under French legislation for regional governance. Rennes Metropole has a set of decentralised tasks, such as housing, transport, urban policy and economic development. There is a high level of solidarity, and a joint budget coming from fiscal revenues with which the city's transport lines and food production urban-rural policy is financed, for example.



Figure 16: the SCoT regional planning area for Rennes, showing Rennes Metropole with 38 municipalities and potential new partner regions

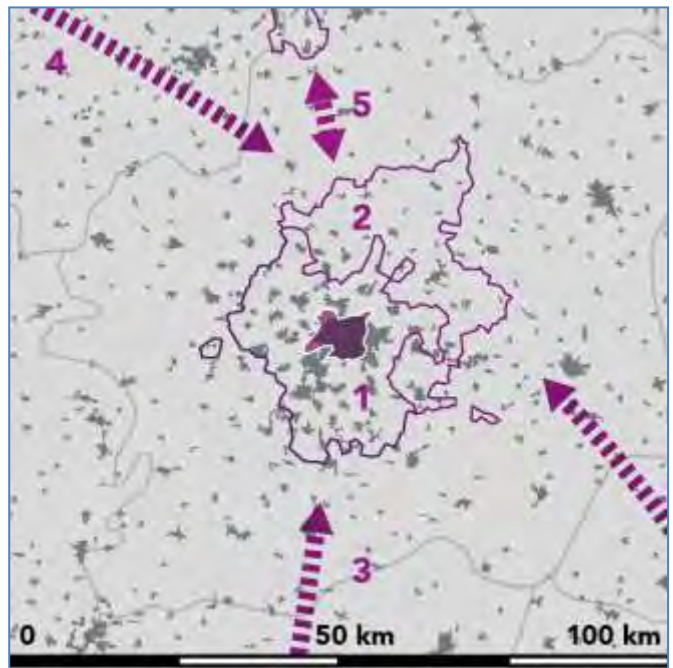


Figure 17: standardised map - regional collaboration structures and urbanisation

Turin: parallel collaborations on different issues and geographic coverage - transport

The city of Turin works on an impressive number of partnerships, which can be generally grouped as network services (transport, water cycle and energy) and development projects (industrial, cultural heritage, tourism), forming the most effective network and partners for each. The metropolitan area of Turin does not fit into the formal structure of provinces, so collaborations have been established bottom-up for different issues.

The example given here is the Agenzia per la Mobilità Metropolitana e Regionale. This consortium involves the Piemonte region, the city of Turin, the province of Turin and 32 municipalities in the metropolitan area, covering a total population of 1.5 million. Its goal is to promote sustainable mobility in the metropolitan area through strategic management and development and by improving local public transport services.

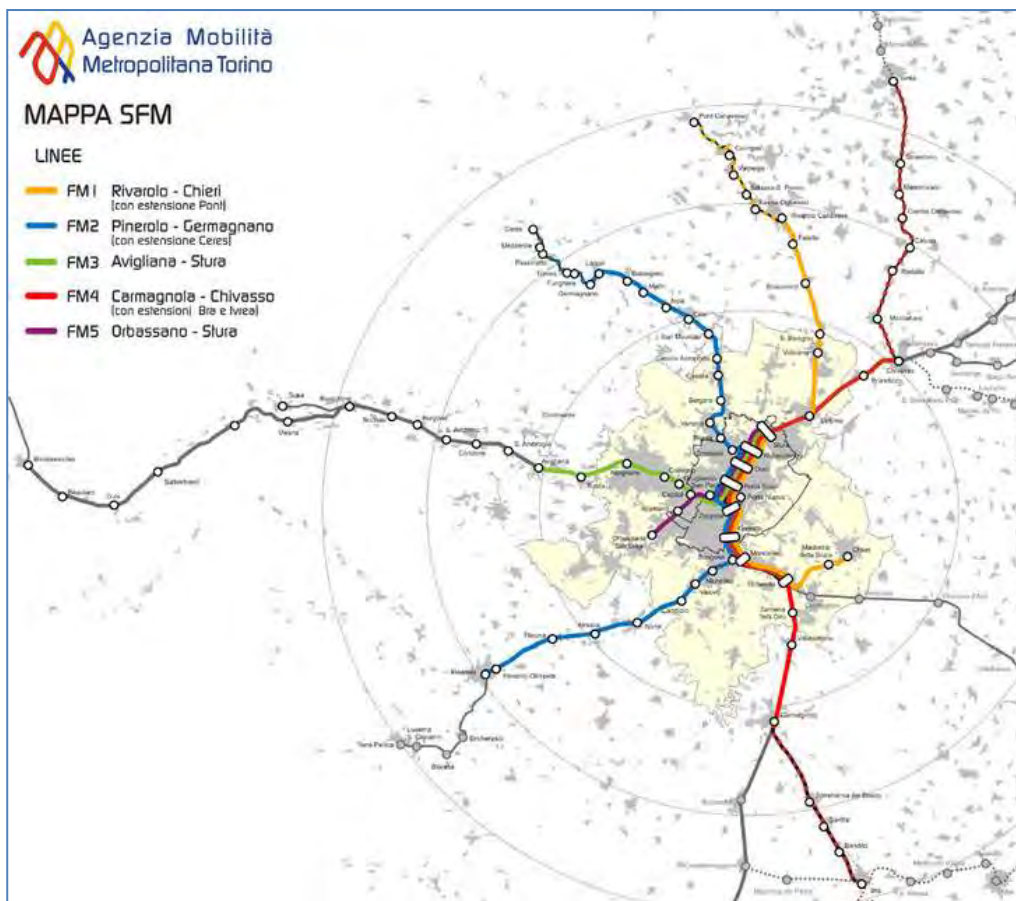


Figure 18: strategic overview of the Metropolitan and Regional Transport Agency, Turin

Sofia: strategic regional development

The Regional Association of Municipalities Centre (RAMC) comprises Sofia plus ten municipalities, covering two agglomeration areas - Sofia and Pernik - with overall population of 1.6 million inhabitants. RAMC is covering the territory the FUA of Sofia.

RAMC is responsible for strategic planning and technical infrastructure. Sofia is using Trans-European Transport Networks (TEN-Ts) to strengthen its transport corridors with neighbouring countries and regions, connecting axes in south-eastern Europe.

The mayors of the 11 municipalities, including the capital, agreed to establish a regional association of municipalities in 2010. The aim of this non-statutory body is to work together on planning and technical infrastructure projects and set up a common strategy for polycentric development on the territory of the associated municipalities.

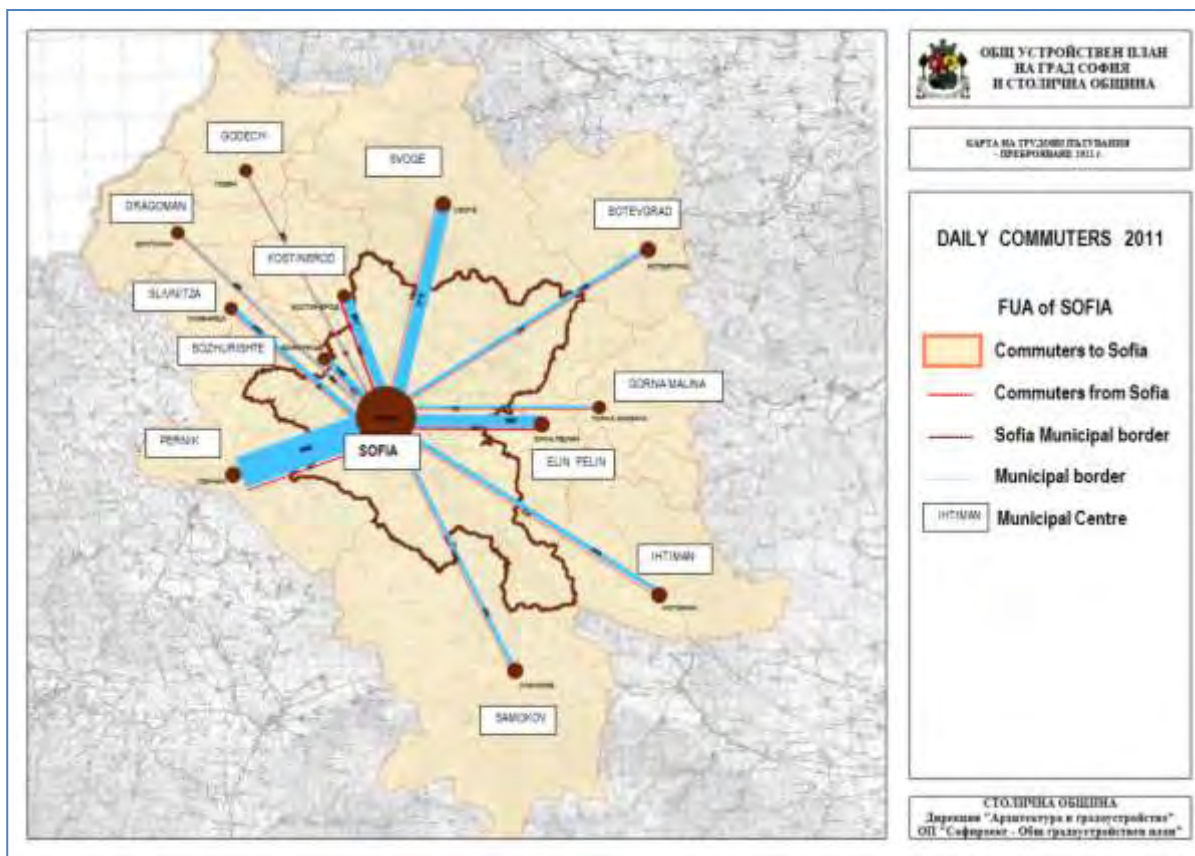


Figure 19: the Sofia Agglomeration, defined in the national Operational Program for Regional Development 2007-2013

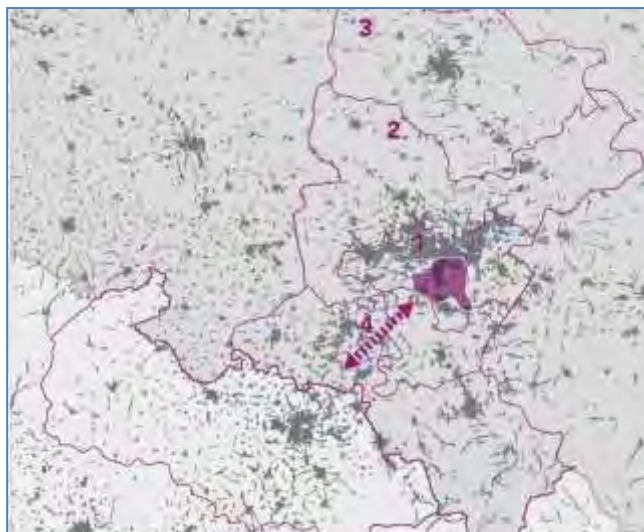
Katowice: post-industrial regeneration

A bottom-up development, 14 municipalities in the young democracy of the Metropolitan Association of Upper Silesia work together on cultural issues and transport networks. This is a voluntary association of 14 municipalities with nearly two million inhabitants that manages joint functions such as the common public transportation system. The goal of the association is to create a dynamic 'Silesia' metropolis, which can effectively compete with other metropolitan areas in Poland and abroad. It has recently developed a Strategy of Development of Upper Silesian Metropolis, with a perspective until 2025.

Figure 20: map of Upper Silesia Metropolis



Figure 21: standardised map - all levels of collaboration and urban structure



Greater Manchester: economic development, regeneration and transport

The current arrangements for cooperation in Greater Manchester are a result of a bottom-up initiative. The Association of Greater Manchester Authorities (AGMA) was established as a voluntary association in 1986 with all ten Greater Manchester local authorities as members. The partners recognise that Greater Manchester is a highly functional economic area. An independent economic review of the city-region in 2009, commissioned by AGMA, underpins the Greater Manchester Strategy.

In 2011, Greater Manchester established a combined authority through statute⁹. The Greater Manchester Combined Authority is led by the leaders of the ten local authorities and has statutory responsibilities relating to economic development, regeneration and transport. It is a unique model of governance in the UK and is currently the only combined authority in the country.

Private sector involvement is also strong, with Greater Manchester Local Enterprise Partnership providing private sector leadership on economic strategy, and the combined authority serving as the delivery body. The total population of Greater Manchester is 2.7 million.

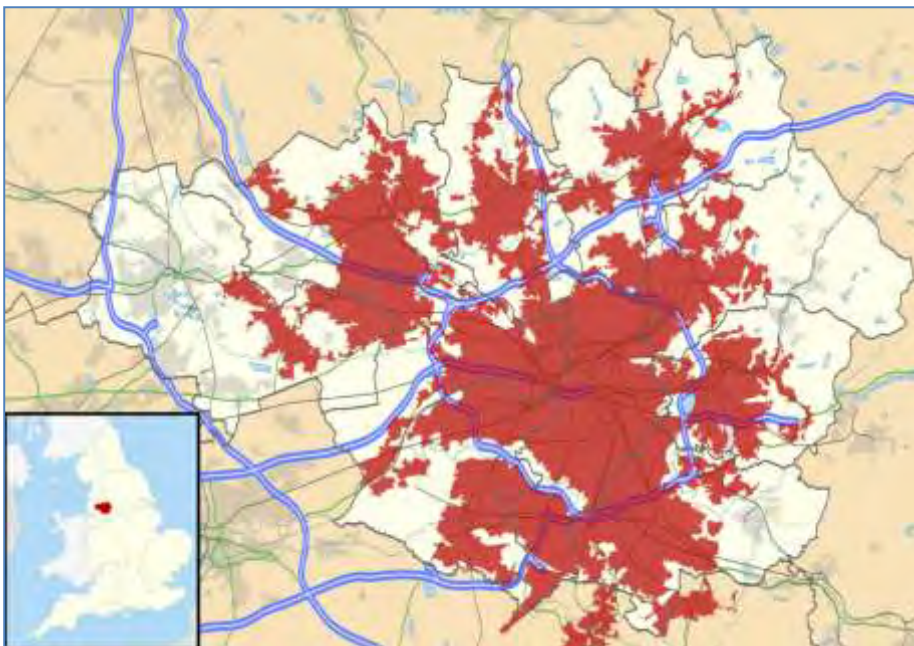


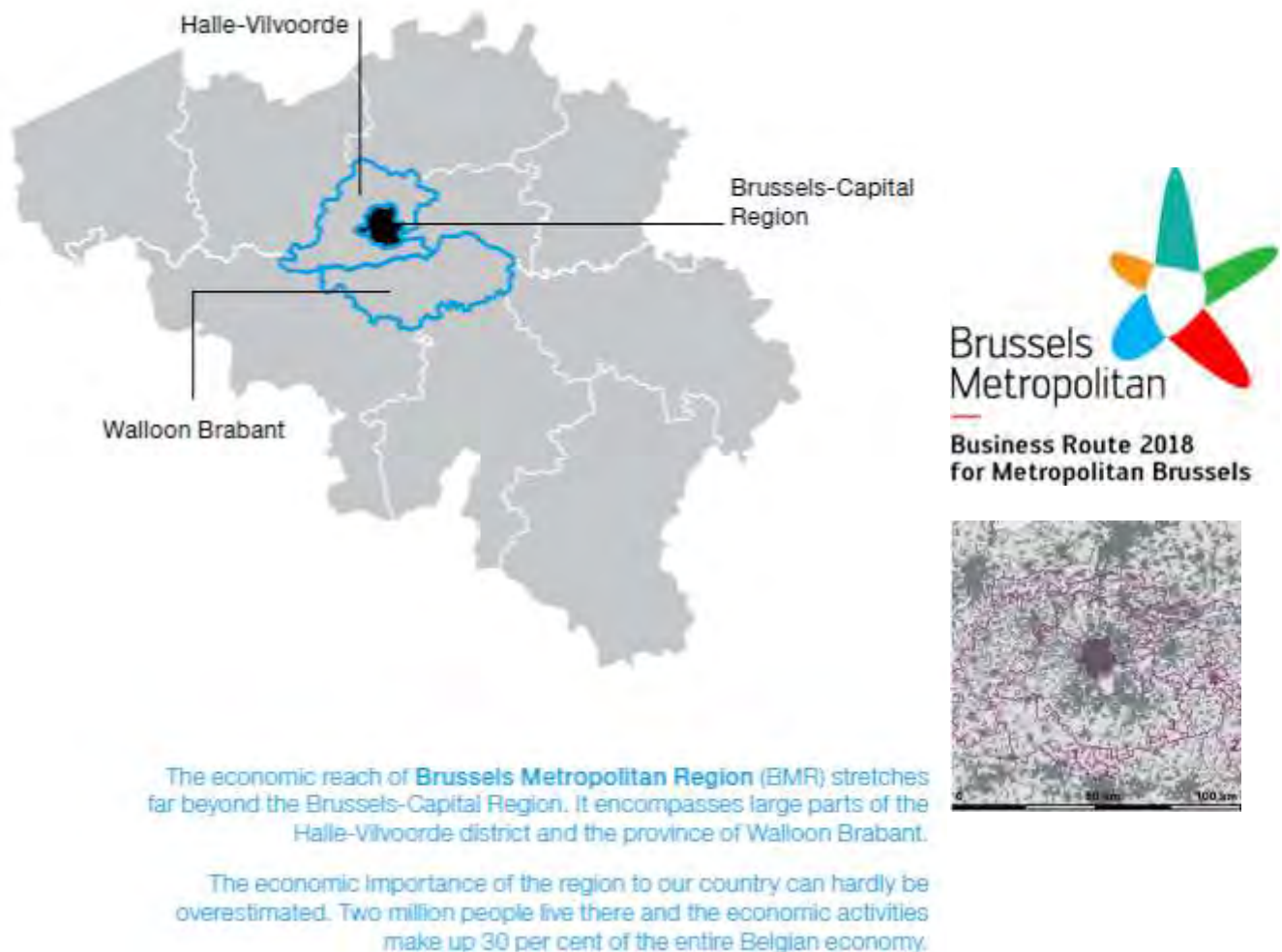
Figure 22: overview of Greater Manchester, showing ten municipalities and the built area

⁹ A parliamentary order was required to set up the combined authority in Greater Manchester based on the 2009 Local Democracy and Economic Development and Construction Act.

Brussels Metropolitan: an initiative from the business sector

Brussels Metropolitan is a local bottom-up initiative by the three Belgian regional business associations and the federal business association. These four associations worked with business managers across the metropolitan area to develop a shared vision of the 'Business Route 2018 for Metropolitan Brussels'. They also created a not-for-profit organisation, 'Brussels Metropolitan', to implement a number of concrete actions.

This is a concrete collaboration initiated by non-governmental organisations and conducted in a metropolitan area with a complex administrative geography.



Sources: *Business Route 2018 for Metropolitan Brussels*

Figure 23: *Brussels Metropolitan - an illustration of the potential geographical scale covered by the network*

Making metropolitan collaboration happen

There is no one-size fits all when it comes to metropolitan collaboration. However, certain key elements appear to be essential in most cases to make it happen and to strengthen it. Generally, two structural approaches can be considered:

1. to strengthen (give more power or functions) to existing weak cooperations at functional urban area level
2. to expand the existing strong partnerships territorially to better cover the whole area of the FUA

Regarding the first approach, there are practical examples (e.g. Zurich) where the existing metropolitan area aims to acquire functions and power from both the surrounding municipalities and from the region. Regarding the second approach, many cities aim to merge with the administrative level which best covers the FUA area. Current efforts in Italy to merge the ten largest cities with their surrounding provinces are examples of this. Another example is the French discussions to merge the ‘départements’ with the largest urban communities.

Both approaches create metropolitan governance around the largest cities, while avoiding the creation of new layers of government¹⁰.

In addition, the following elements must be taken into account:

Strong political will and long term trust

Strong political will to cooperate, based on recognition of common interests, can lead to trust and mutual respect between participating bodies. This is a prerequisite for successful partnerships. Even where there is a strong legislative and financial framework to support metropolitan areas, it is less likely that joint working will succeed without positive dynamics between political actors.

Recognise boundaries and resource issues and deal with them

Neither existing administrative boundaries, nor frameworks for local authority financing, were designed with the purpose of promoting collaboration in territorial functional areas. Examples from the MAIA cases show how helpful it can be to develop alternative ways to collect or distribute revenue between partners. In Lille Metropole, for example, legislation allows for a ‘transport tax’ on employers, and Oslo collaborates with Akershus County to raise funds for transport investments through a toll. Frameworks for resolving conflicts across territorial or sector boundaries would also help achieve solutions for the functional urban area as a whole.

Balanced governance

Working across the functional urban areas is a challenge for locally elected bodies. It is important for partners to find the right balance and to move from making decisions independently towards a model of commitment to joint policies and strategies. This can have a real influence on the policy choices made by each participating authority. To attain the right balance, issues such as

¹⁰ Tosics, Supplementary note to MAIA project, 2013

representation, transparency, and determining who does what in the regional context should be clarified early on. Strong links between the collaboration network and the elected bodies are therefore essential to build up and maintain trust and legitimacy between partners.

The balance between local independence and regional commitment will vary between countries, between city regions within the same country, and even between issues within the same city region.

Broad involvement and participation

Citizen participation and cooperation with the private sector and NGOs are both important facets of modern democracy. This is no less important in the case of city-regional collaboration. The extent and methods of participation and external involvement should be considered in view of the balance between regional governance and local independence, described above. Locally elected authorities will usually be obliged to organise public participation, while collaboration bodies will need to organise participatory processes to keep local authorities and sectors involved in joint issues. Working with the private sector and NGO bodies may help facilitate this involvement and participation at the territorial functional area. As indicated in the section 'nature of the partnership' on page 11, private sector and NGO involvement also helps the concrete implementation of decisions, guaranteeing a certain level of outcome.

Joining forces rather than changing boundaries

Experience has shown that, even where there is a favourable consensus, it normally takes a very long time to change administrative boundaries. The most effective option is usually therefore to develop a collaborative approach to resolving the most urgent and strategic issues.

In some cases, clear decisions at metropolitan area level may be necessary to act effectively. Starting metropolitan areas with a project-based approach may also help to deliver concrete results, as well as experience of working together and building trust between partners.

Recognition and support: from national and international bodies

National and international bodies must recognise the need for coordinated action at metropolitan area level. This is already happening in parts of the EU and many member states. National governments could consider preparing legal or financial support to help develop metropolitan area collaboration.

The new ITI tool under the EU structural and investment funds has potential to incentivise metropolitan level cooperation. Time will tell how effective it will be for this purpose.

Invest in relationships - getting the groundwork started

Partnerships take time. While a sense of urgency reinforces the need to change established ways of relating to administrative boundaries, patience and diplomacy are needed to get to the stage of making decisions at metropolitan area level. The important message is to start right away working on long term trust-based relationships between authorities within the functional urban area.

Concluding remarks

This report outlines the benefits of developing strong partnerships in metropolitan areas, as well as some of the prerequisites and potential pitfalls. This review of the state of play in European cities and metropolitan areas shows that many cities recognise the need to seek collaborative arrangements with their surrounding areas, but still often lack supportive frameworks, proven methods and ways forward. In other cases, where cooperation at metropolitan area level already exists and seems well established, there is still a need for continued support and recognition of the added value that this gives.

We need continued attention from all levels of government towards the further development of metropolitan area governance. While there will be no one-size-fits-all solution, exchange of knowledge of what works and how it works in different contexts should be further applied and developed.

On the basis of the survey material we can take this a step further and suggest ways to define and categorise collaboration in metropolitan areas. One option would be to consider two key parameters:

- a) the territorial scale in relation to the objectively defined functional urban area (FUA) (smaller than, same as or bigger than the FUA)
- b) the thematic focus and capacity for strategic planning and development decisions¹¹

By using this or a similar method, some of the more notable metropolitan areas should be selected for further analysis of potential success criteria.

The information developed for the MAIA study provides a basis for categorising metropolitan area cooperation as well as in depth studies of success criteria. Using the parameters of relative scale in relation to functional urban areas and a thematic focus would be a good starting point. There is a need to know more about critical factors for success in metropolitan areas, and how these factors can be applied in different situations. European programmes such as ESPON and URBACT must ensure resources for this purpose as part of the overall territorial cohesion agenda.

Also, further development and implementation of relevant new EU instruments (ITIs) and their success in terms of facilitating metropolitan cooperation and urban-rural partnerships must be carefully monitored.

In EUROCITIES, as well as in other networks such as METREX, exchanges between cities and city-regions will continue. We will work to widen the documentation of what has actually been achieved as a result of working across metropolitan areas to improve understanding of the tangible difference they make.

¹¹ Tosics, supplementary note, 2013, table 2