

**Power and Policy in the large  
Metropolitan areas of Europe**

**Paris, Rome, Madrid and London  
in a comparative perspective**

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## **Governing a Metropolis**

- 1) To produce policies aiming at addressing the problems and issues of the metropolitan area
- 2) To orient Economic and social development through strategic action

## **Modes of Governance**

Fragmentation is presented as being the major issue to be dealt with in order to govern the metropolis

Modes of governance are the systems of instruments, structures, mechanisms, arrangements at the metropolitan level established to deal with fragmentation and produce the relevant policies and strategic action

**Paris:** A metropolitan area without a strong actor

**Rome:** A strong central city unable to control its metropolitan area

**Madrid:** A strong regional authority

**London:** A loose mode of metropolitan governance

## Main elements of analysis of modes of governance

- **The system of public actors:** number, levels, degree of fragmentation
- **The system of private actors:** number, degree of fragmentation,
- **The infra-metropolitan system:** number of infra-metropolitan structures of a strategic nature, degree of coordination or fragmentation,
- **The metropolitan system:** existence of structures of regulation/relations between actors at the metropolitan level, degree of coordination or fragmentation,

## Four metropolitan areas

	<b>ROME</b>	<b>LONDON</b>	<b>MADRID</b>	<b>PARIS</b>
<b>Metropolitan area (in sq km)</b>	5 400 Province	1 500 (GLA)	8 000 (CAM)	12 000 (RIF)
<b>Population of metropolitan area (millions)</b>	3,6	7,4 (GLA) 18, 1 (South East)	5,6 (CAM)	11 (RIF)
<b>Regional Domestic Product (millions €)</b> <b>Per capita (PPS)</b>	130 26471	331 40058	122 27153	432 37283
<b>Number of municipalities</b>	119	32	179	1 281
<b>Population of central city (millions)</b>	2,5	Not relevant	2,9	2,1
<b>Central city /metropolitan area (%)</b>	69	Not relevant	54	19
<b>Relevance of an institution/metropolitan area</b>	Yes (Province)	YES (GLA) No (south-East)	Yes (CAM)	Yes (RIF)
<b>Number of governmental levels</b>	3	2	2	3
<b>Nature of the State</b>	federalization	Unitary	Quasi federal	Unitary
<b>Budget of the Metropolitan level (billions €)</b>	0,8	7,5	12,5	3,3
<b>Budget of the central city (billions €)</b>	3,2		2,4	7

# PARIS-ILE DE FRANCE: A fragmented metropolis

## Public Actors

- State
- Local State (1 region and 7 départements)
- Regional council
- 8 départements
- 1300 municipalities
- City of Paris (+ 20 districts)

**Very fragmented  
No leader**

## Private Actors

- 4 Chambers of Commerce
- Medef RIF
- Territorial structures of firms
- sectoral structures of firms

**Very fragmented**

## Infra-metropolitan structures

- 94 EPCI (inter-Municipal Authorities)
- 7 EPA (Public development companies)
- 4 development agencies

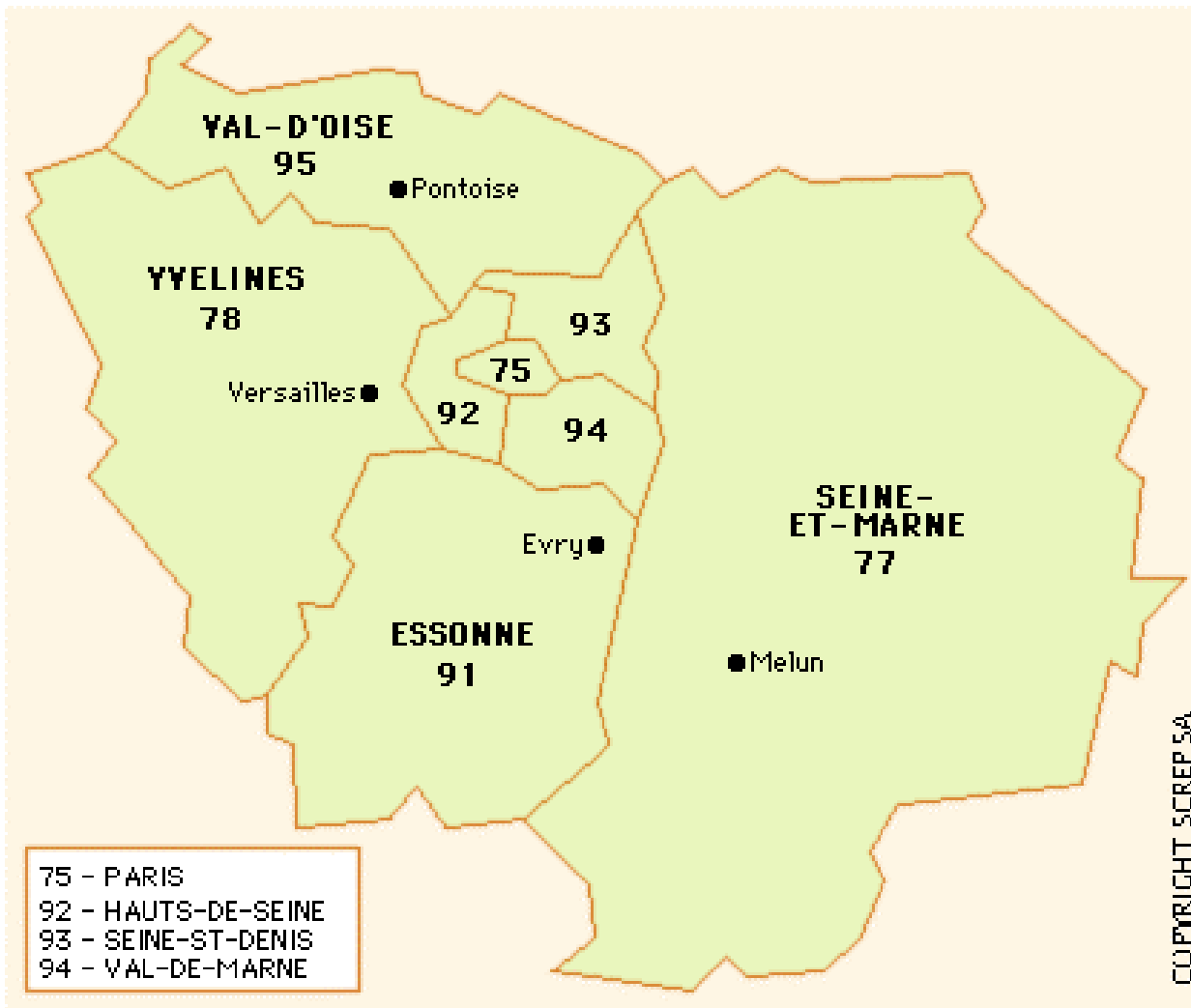
**Significant  
infra-metropolitan  
Integration or structuring**

## Metropolitan structures

- Regional Development Agency (ARD)
- socio-economic regional council (CESR)
- Regional Planning Institute (IAURIF)
- Public Transport Syndicate (STIF)

**No integration or  
Metropolitan  
Structuring except  
In public transport**

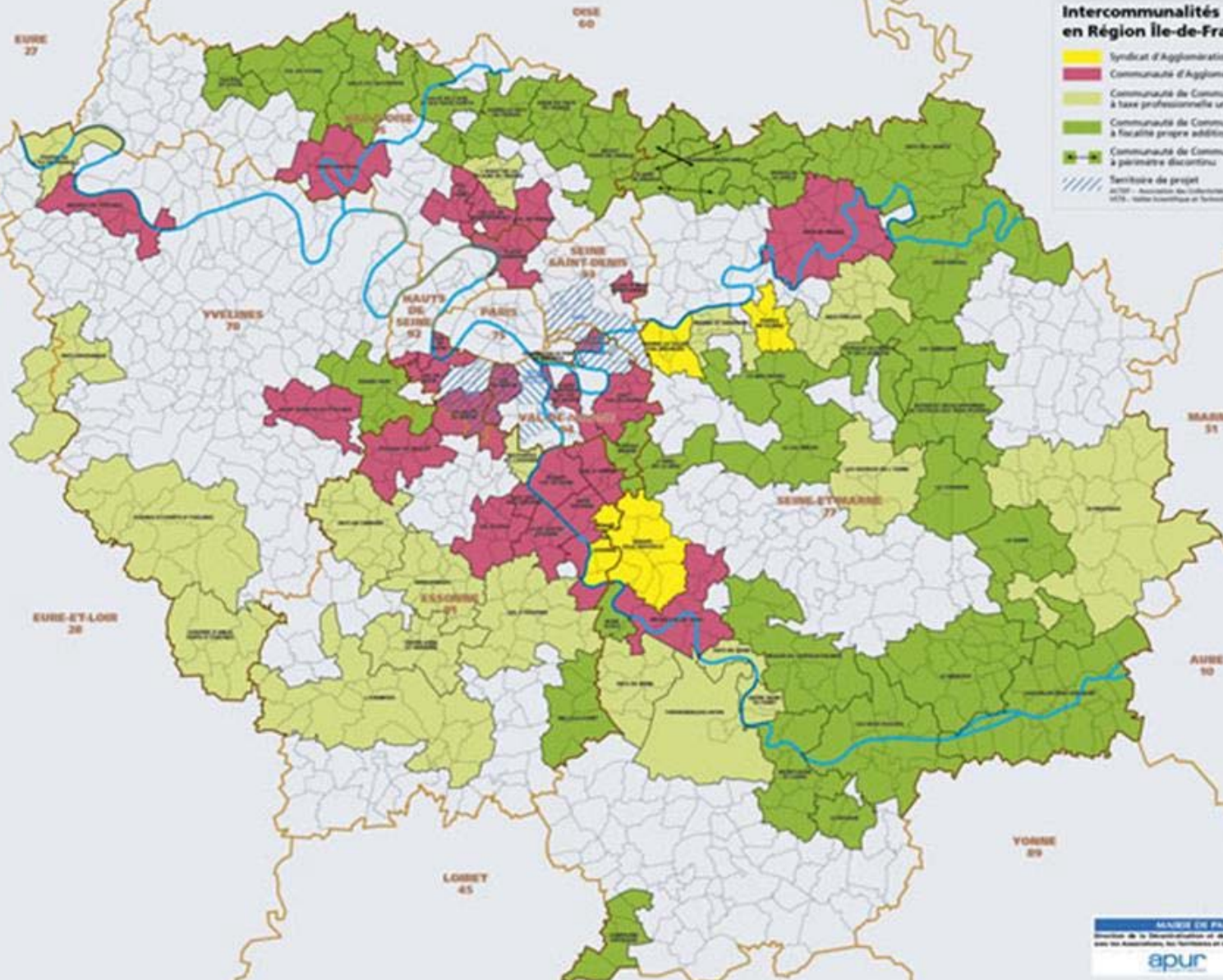
**Fragmented metropolis + No metropolitan integration = a blocked metropolis**



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## Intercommunalités en Région Île-de-France en 2004

- Syndicat d'Agglomération Nouvelle (SAN)
  - Communauté d'Agglomération (CA)
  - Communauté de Communes (CC) à taxe professionnelle unique
  - Communauté de Communes (CC) à fiscalité propre additionnelle aux quatre taxes
  - Communauté de Communes (CC) à périmètre discontinu
  - Territoire de projet
- ACTI - Association des Collectivités Territoriales de l'Ile de France  
ACTI - Institut Interdisciplinaire et Technologique de la Région



# ROME: The contested central city

## Public Actors

- State
- Region (Lazio)
- Province
- 119 municipalities
- City of Rome (+ 19 districts)

**Fragmented  
Contested leader**

## Private Actors

- 1 Chamber of Commerce
- Many provincial Organisations of firms (sectoral)
- 2 big business Associations (Federlazio and UIR)

**Fragmented**

## Infra-metropolitan structures

- 4 Territorial pacts (light)

**No Infra-metropolitan  
Integration or  
structuring**

## Metropolitan structures

- None but...
- Progetto Roma
  - Piano Regolatore Generale (PRG)

**No integration or  
Metropolitan  
structuring**

**Contested city + no metropolitan integration = a blocked metropolis**





# MADRID: a strong regional authority

## Public Actors

- State
- Comunidad Autonoma de Madrid (CAM)
- 179 municipalities
- City of Madrid

**Not too much  
Fragmented  
Strong leader**

## Private Actors

- 1 Chamber of Commerce
- 1 big umbrella Organization of firms (CEIM)
- 2 major unions

**No  
fragmentation**

## Infra-metropolitan structures

None

**No Infra-metropolitan  
Integration or  
structuring**

## Metropolitan structures

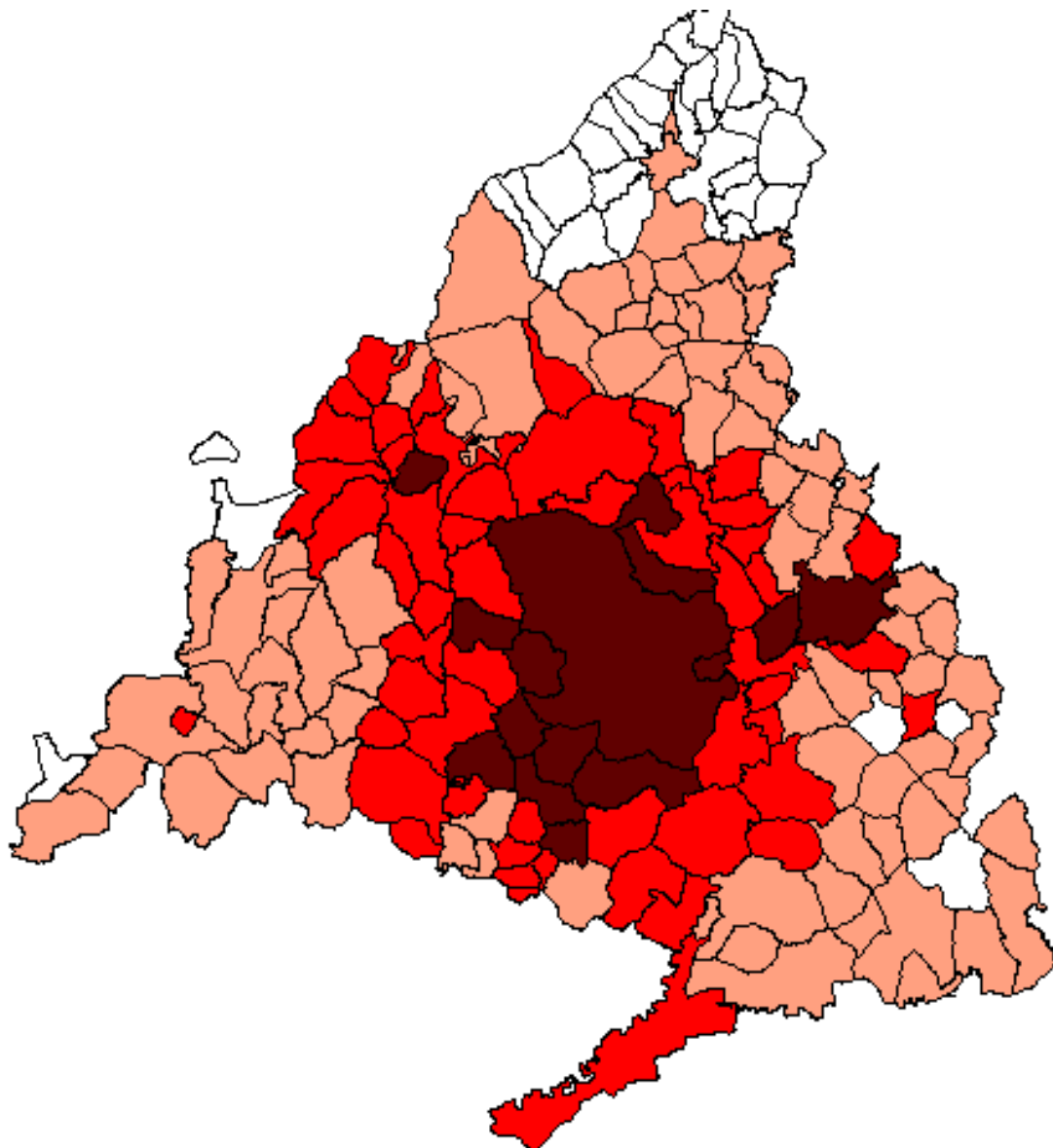
- Socio-economic council
- Tens of region wide public-private structures with CAM, CEIM, CCIM and unions

**Strong integration or  
Metropolitan  
structuring**

**Weak fragmentation, strong leadership and strong metropolitan integration  
= Metropolitan Government**

**Habitantes/Km2**

- Menor de 9,9
- 10,0-99,9
- 100,0-999,9
- 1.000,0 y más



# PARIS-ILE DE FRANCE: increasing conflictuality

## Public Actors

- A weakening State (EPA, conflicts between Local and National State, decentralisation)
- Regional council: institutionally and politically weak
- Départements: stronger after the decentralisation. Some are controlled by strong political leaders
- City of Paris (very strong: a municipality-département, rich city, strong leader)
- EPCI: Getting stronger with the new laws: own taxes, own Responsibilities, etc.)

**Increasing political and Institutional conflictuality**

## Private Actors

- Failure of the establishment of a regional chamber of commerce
- A strong CCIP (Paris chamber of commerce)
- A weak regional Medef
- Strong functional/sectoral Medef branches

**A persisting fragmentation**

## Metropolitan structuring

- A weak ARD (conflicts regarding its strategic role between the region, the départements and the chambers of commerce)
- a weak CESR because of its status and its dependence upon a weak institution
- IAURIF: a weak planning agency because of its dependence upon a weak institution

**Very weak metropolitan Structuring processes**

# ROME: a blocked metropolis

## Public Actors

- Rome is legitimate to run the metropolitan area because
  - economic (gruppo di Roma), demographic and territorial importance/metropolitan area
  - a politically strong city vs a weak province and a myriad of small municipalities

but

- Strong regional government
- a confusing and conflictual federalization process
- local governments fear the central city
- Rome has unstable resources
- an unreliable State which does not support the city

**Central city is legitimate but strongly contested**

## Private Actors

- Although structured at the metropolitan/provincial level, private actors are largely absent in the debate on metropolitan governance

**Weak involvement**

## Metropolitan structuring

- Progetto di Roma is limited to the city of Rome
- PRG is limited to the city of Rome and is blocked by the region
- Conference of the Autonomies: the mayor of Rome does not sit in it

**Very weak and blocked**

# MADRID: a de facto metropolitan government

## Public Actors

- The Spanish federalization has favored strong regional powers
- CAM is a mono-provincial region
- Strong political leadership at the regional level until 2003
- Weak Mayor in the central city until 2003

## Private Actors

- Firms and Unions are traditionally structured at the provincial level (CAM= province)
- Economic actors are not fragmented but well integrated in the CEIM and CCIM
- CAM has kept good and close relationships with the business sector and unions whatever the political party in power

## Metropolitan structuring

- CAM's territory is the metropolitan area of Madrid
- CES is a successful structure because it is widely used
- Strong integration of the various metropolitan bodies (same membership)

**Power concentrated in the CAM**

**Strong integration**

**Meso-corporatism at the regional/metropolitan level**

# PARIS-ILE DE France: Regional coordination of Metropolitan split-up ?

## Regional coordination

- A regional council legitimate because RIF = metropolitan area
- Regions have increased powers in the Decentralisation 2 process (+ coordinating powers)
- The State has transferred specific powers (planning and transport) to the RIF
- Some economic actors (Medef) tend to favor the regional level
- Since 2005, the Region chairs the STIF
- The elaboration of the Regional Master Plan (SDRIF) is an opportunity for the region to play a more significant role

## Metropolitan split-up

- No political leadership in the region
- Failure of regional mobilization of business and civil society
- Increasing strength and autonomy of départements
- Increasing strength and autonomy of some EPCI (communities of agglomeration)
- The city of Paris is trying to create its own territorial leadership (the 'high density area' with the metropolitan conference project)

# ROME: central city leadership or continuing paralysis ?

## Central city leadership

- The city of Rome represents the large majority of the metropolitan area
- The mayor of Rome is a strong leader
- The 'progetto di Roma' is successful and could be extended to the metropolitan level
- There is a political opportunity since all local government tiers belong to the same political coalition
- A special status for Rome has been recently introduced in the Italian constitution
- The city of Rome has an 'institutional project' ready for the whole metropolitan area

## Continuing paralysis

- The uncertainty of the State behaviour
- The uncertain position of the Region
- The opposition of the Province, future 'metropolitan city'?
- The lack of support of economic and social actors
- The increasing autonomy of 'municipi' which erodes the powers of the Mayor
- The absence of a significant crisis

# MADRID: Conflict or cooperation under the CAM umbrella ?

## The contested leadership of the CAM

- Conflicts between the CAM and municipalities (FMM) about the decentralisation process (Pacto Local)
- Conflict between the CAM and Madrid about the 'capital status' (ley de capitalidad) of the central city
- the 2003 Act on Big Cities gives more powers to the executives of central cities: stronger leadership
- Strong leader in the city of Madrid since 2003 (the former President of the CAM)
- Networking between social and economical actors and the city since 2003
- Weak leader at the CAM since 2003

## Cooperation

- The CAM is still the strongest actor, by far
- The city of Madrid is still weak (financially and politically)
- The cooperation between the central city and economic and social actors is accepted only as it is supplementary to the cooperation with the CAM
- Cooperation between the city and the region is important and works well in many strategic sectors (Olympic Games candidacy, extension of the airport, etc.)

# LONDON: An unstable system

## Public Actors

**Not fragmented but a 'sandwich authority'**

- State (national and local)
- 32 boroughs
- GLA

But

- GLA: few resources on its own
- GLA: strongly controlled by the State
- Boroughs are still strong authorities (+ Association of London Governments (ALG))

## Private Actors

**Not fragmented and involved At the GLA level**

- 3 large business associations (Chamber of Commerce, London First and the City Corporation)
- The London Business Board
- Apparent support to the GLA

## Metropolitan structuring

**Between territorial fragmentation And sectoral coordination**

- light metropolitan structuring (the GLA strategies)
- infra-metropolitan structuring with public-private partnerships
- Sectoral coordination through GLA agencies

# LONDON: Restoring Gargantua ?

## The strengthening of the GLA

- Strong leadership of the Mayor
- Success of the Olympic bid
- The control of TfL and the success of congestion charges
- An accepted process of reform

## Status quo

- The GLA does not represent the whole metropolis (South East)
- Reluctance of the National government to reduce its role and the issue of GOL
- Boroughs are uncertain regarding giving more powers to the GLA
- The logic of PPP and of fragmentation remains high

# Conclusion

1. **The domination of the Public sector** (State, Region or central city) in the governance of metropolitan area is the rule
2. **Fragmentation is not the main problem** as long as there are structures and instruments of metropolitan regulation (RIF with the State)
3. The danger is today **the 'autonomization' process of infra-metropolitan territories** (RIF with *départements* and *EPCI*, London with *PPP?*)
4. **The withdrawal of the State (or its diminishing presence) poses serious questions regarding the governing of the metropolis** (post colonial syndrome of RIF, successful substitution in Madrid)
5. **The political work of a leader or a leadership** at the metropolitan level is crucial for metropolitan governing (London with the Mayor, CAM with The Presidents, RIF a contrario)
6. **Belonging to the same political party** is not a guarantee for better cooperation because institutional and territorial stakes may be more important (Paris and the regional council, Rome with other local governments, Madrid with the CAM)
7. **The scale issue for London:** Linking the reform of the GLA system with the South East issue