

**CITY FUTURES. An international conference on globalism and urban change**

8-10 July 2004, Chicago

**Turin. Where territorial governance and politics of scale become keystones for the city development strategy**

Nunzia Borrelli and Marco Santangelo

EU-POLIS *sistemi urbani europei*

Dipartimento Interateneo Territorio

Politecnico e Università di Torino

Viale Mattioli, 39

10125 – Torino – Italy

Tel.: +39 011 5647402

Fax: +39 011 5647499

marco.santangelo@polito.it

nunziaborrelli@hotmail.com

# 1. Introduction

In the wider European framework globalisations, the European Union (EU) integration process, the redefinition of the role of the State and the strengthening of infra-national levels of government allow room for new forms of territorial organisations, shaped by territorial collective actors, based on territorialisation processes. It is possible to analyse such processes as urban and territorial governance ones, defined by a more or less explicit politics of scale.

The city of Turin can be considered as an interesting case to investigate territorial re-definition and territorial governance processes. The deep car industry (FIAT) crisis needed huge efforts to imagine a different future for the city, and this led to the search of a strategy for economic and industrial diversification and for the implementation of urban policies able to internationalise the city and (re-) create a European capital (the chance to organise the 2006 Olympic Winter Games being only the most known result of this strategy). The city development strategy is based on an active role played by local networks of actors and in the exploitation of place-specific capacities and resources whose collective definition and/or recognition has been considered as an important part of the process. In Turin territorial governance processes can be explicitly analysed, and, in the same way, can be studied the search for a new territorial framework/level of government for the changing and internationalising city (§ 5).

In this paper the main objective is to analyse territorial governance processes in relation to local development ones and to the parallel processes of territorial redefinition and re-scaling.

Governance is defined as a co-ordination process in which single actors, social groups, institutions, co-operate to reach common goals whose definition has been achieved collectively, though often in fragmented contexts. It is characterized by the changing role of the public actor and by the emergence of new actors able to enter in decision-making processes and able to contribute to define objectives and strategies for territorial development. In cities, this interaction can bring to new forms of urban leadership, strictly connected with local political/cultural specificities that can lead to a wider or narrower community involvement, thus promoting/supporting collective territorialized development strategies. The territory then plays an important role: it is not seen as a passive support for actors, but, in a complex and integrated view, as an interactive system where the natural environment, the built environment and the society coexist and contribute to shape a local milieu, that is to say a set of *place-specific conditions, resources, ties, capacities* (§ 3).

Territorial governance processes can thus be interpreted as the construction of shared strategies that a local network of actors develops referring to a territory that not necessarily corresponds to its institutionally defined space (e.g. a municipality). It is possible, instead, that the “pertinent” territory resulting from the process is re-composed at a different territorial scale or imply strong and explicit connections with other levels, since different scalar rationales are expressed in the governance process. Then, the space of interaction among actors and of resources recognition can be re-scaled too, thus implying the re-definition of the place itself, of its territoriality, of its milieu (§ 4).

It is possible, then, to see politics of scale and territorial governance as keystones in interpreting the impact of globalisation on cities, and as useful instruments in a comparative urban governance analytical perspective (§ 6).

## 2. Why Turin is our case study

Three facts can explain why Turin is a case to analyse:

1. after a long period of uncertainty, the crisis of the FIAT Company and the need to think about a post-industrial future for the city become clear at the beginning of the 90s;

2. in the same period the national “Clean Hands” scandal for bribes completely changed the political scenery at the national, regional and local levels. Thus, in Turin too a new political class was needed and this class had to face one of the city main economic crisis;
3. the city has been one of the first big Italian cities to directly elect its mayor after the 1993 national reform. The mayor and its majority had to manage both the local economic crisis and the need to give Turin another chance, trying to involve all the citizens in a sort of new renaissance process.

### *1. Something about the city*

Turin is located in the Piedmont region in the northwestern corner of Italy. Despite its semi-peripheral position, its historic influence has been mainly directed towards the Italian peninsula (first Italian capital in the 19<sup>th</sup> century). Turin now turns towards Europe, as the latest studies place the city and its surrounding territory in a strategic position across the main structural frameworks of the European Union: the “blue banana”, axis that stretches from the London area to the North of Italy (Brunet, 1989); the “Latin arc”, the emerging axis starting from Catalunya, in the Iberian peninsula, passing through Southern France and Northern Italy and extending to the routes leading to the East (ibidem).

The city of Turin is Italy’s fourth largest, with a total population of 898.202 inhabitants (2003). Turin covers an area of 130 square kilometres, while its metropolitan area (statistically defined) comprises 53 municipalities and has about 1.700.000 inhabitants in 1.350 square kilometres. As a result of suburbanisation, the overall population of the city has decreased in recent years, with an increase in the proportion of elderly people. In the last decade, there have also been important waves of immigration, from Eastern Europe and Northern Africa countries (Rumania and Morocco above all). The legal foreign population is of 46.393 inhabitants (5.2% of the population; 2003).

Turin has been known as a typical “one company town” (the “Italian Detroit”) because of the presence of FIAT headquarters and main factories, and, despite major job losses due to restructuring in the 1980s, its economy is still strongly linked to the car and car components industries. Major car companies currently located in the city include FIAT, SKF, Bertone and Italdesign. Indeed, 30% of the sector’s national employment is concentrated in the area. Other important industrial sectors in the city include industrial automation, aeronautics and aerospace, satellite systems development and information and communication technologies. The food and drinks industry (Ferrero, Martini & Rossi, Lavazza), textiles, insurance and banking (San Paolo Bank), design and publishing are also important. A relevant indicator of the effort to sustain innovation in local economy is the presence of about 90 R&D centres, while Piedmont has the highest share of national R&D private spending.

Unemployment rate has been decreasing since 1998, going from more than 10%, a much higher rate than the Piedmont and Northern average, to less than 8%. The GDP per capita, assuming 100 as national average, was of 119,7 in 1999 in Turin and of 124,8 in the North-west of Italy.

The policies created to face the crisis in the last decade have been developed with the main idea to *internationalise the city* through the redefinition of the city place in the global scenario and the *redefinition of its image*. This re-elaboration should not be seen as a common/trivial marketing operation, since internationalisation has been interpreted as the only way to be able to represent the city interests in the proper arena, i.e. the EU. The economic, and then social, crisis lead to the search of allies in a broader framework than the Italian one, since the exchange of experiences and a networking attitude with cities facing the same problems have been considered fundamental to foster a local development process.

The internationalisation policies set to overcome the difficult period will be analysed in the § 5, but two observations should be made on the actors and on the territory of the process. First, in a local development process the issues of actors involvement is crucial but internationalisation could be seen as a process built for external actors, and only in a second phase maybe useful for citizens; the same could be said for policies dealing with the remaking of the city image. Secondly, does an internationalisation process change the pertinent territory for local actors’ action?

These are not problems that regard only the case of Turin, but urban transformation in general. Many actors, public and private, single and collective, local and supra-local, are involved in these processes: is the concept of governance “flexible” enough to help us in understanding how their interaction works? Many territorial levels interact too, since actors are localised and act in different levels: do this change/redefine the local territory too?

### 3. Actors, territories, governance

In recent debates on urban transformations much attention has been placed on cities capacity to become quasi-autonomous actors able to play an active role in the global arena (or, at least, to influence to a certain extent its development trajectories). Much of the analysis deals with cities where some actors are able to forge urban politics through *collective actions* (Olson, 1965). This is the case of the urban regime or the growth machine theories, based on local coalitions able to develop collective strategies, yet the focus is on the strength of the élite and on its capacity to built policies whose main aim is to represent and satisfy the coalition’s collective interest (Stoker and Mossberger, 1994; Hall and Hubbard, 1996; Harding, 2000).

Other theories refer to a *collective actor*, whose definition is a difficult task, notwithstanding the widespread use of this concept in academic literature (Bagnasco and Le Galès, 1997; Daher, 2004). A collective actor can be defined through the set of interactions, co-operative and/or conflictual, among its different actors, its organising and mobilising capacities, the definition of a common objective that represent the reason to work together, the capacity to express a leadership, the capacity to be clearly recognised by external subjects and to interact in a public arena.

Yet, another perspective is possible if this collective actor is considered as a *territorial collective actors*, i.e. a collective actor whose reason to co-operate is based not only on a common localisation (a "this is my space" position) but on a common identity and a common territorial framework (a "this is my place" position). The idea of a territorial collective actor refers to a co-evolutionary relation between actors and the materiality of places and to the idea that, somehow, actors *produce* territory. It is possible to find, in academic literature, interesting contributions on the definition of a territorial collective actor. Cox and Mair (1991), for instance, write on the difference between localities as a localised social structure and localities as agents, but in their contribution territory is mainly considered as a set for the actors. Other academics explicitly link the possibility that a territory acts as a collective actor to the interactions between local actors and the *local milieu*, i.e. the set of place-specific conditions and resources (Dematteis, 1995; 2001). In this case there is a specific attention to the influence that the local milieu has on local actors and vice-versa (Governa, 1997). It is possible to say that local actors produce territory since all their (collective and single) actions are territorialised, i.e. are inclusive actions referred to, and for, a specific territory (Raffestin, 1981; Magnaghi, 2000). In the analysis of urban transformations in contemporary Europe, Bagnasco and Le Galès (1997) recognise that a territory acts as an actor when it is able to internally regulate its interests and to represent them on the external scene. Their analytical perspective is, then, particularly interesting, since urban policies are often good examples of territorial policies based on local, specific, resources recognised by local, specific, networks of actors.

A territorial definition of a collective actor imply the need that a proper number of actors involved are localised in the same place and that their actions are characterised by an active *territoriality*, i.e. a positive relation between the territory, considered as a complex system, and the social system (Raffestin, 1981; Turco, 1988; Dematteis, 2001). Thus, the definition of a territorial collective actor helps to put development processes in a specific territorial framework, but leaves unanswered all the questions dealing with the composition of this actor: who is in and who is out of the process? The territory to which we refer is a complex one, a territorial system made up through

the interactions of local actors and a local milieu, but does all the actors get involved in the territorial system development process? Is it a close system? How “local” are the actors involved?

To try to answer to these questions it is necessary to refer to the concept of *governance*, especially since literature on urban and territorial governance can contribute to the analysis of cities and territories as actors (Le Galés, 1995; Healey, 1997).

The concept of governance has been mainly developed by political scientists and has been increasingly adopted since new modes of government emerged, based on inter-institutional partnerships and public-private co-operation, implying the shift from the traditional modes of government to governance ones. It must be said that the widespread use of governance to define any new or unclear mode of relation among actors has contributed to its ambiguity, thus making simpler to recognise governance in opposition to government. They both refers to actions and processes developed to govern, but the latter mainly, or completely, refers to institutional policies and to institutional organisational structures. Governance processes instead deals with public and private actors, institutions and private bodies, quangos, formal and informal agreements, etc. (Painter and Goodwin, 1995; Rhodes, 1997). It is then interesting to trace in two theories the origins of the governance discourse: the regulation theory and institutionalism.

As regards the *regulation theory*, some authors consider more correct to refer to a regulationist approach instead (Hull and Hubbard, 1996), since the use of the theory in geographical or political sciences has, in part, diluted its original meaning. The regulation theory, directed towards the social regulation of the economy, was born in the 70s to interpret the global changes in the work organisation (the passage from a fordist to a post-fordist way of production) and in the welfare system (Harvey, 1990; Hobsbawm, 1994; Mingione, 1997). The shift from social regulation to local regulation has been proposed to explain how different modes of regulations are articulated in local development processes (Le Galès, 1995), and in neo-local regulation has been recognised the origin of local governance (Bagnasco, 2004). The feature that acts as a *trait d'union* between regulationist approach and governance is the idea of politics as mobilising and organising interests to define new rules for a collective project, instead than politics as a way to control and dominate.

*Institutionalism* refers to structuring formal or informal relational networks, not explicitly institutional organisations. There is, then, an interesting relation between the institutional approach and the governance of places: its contribution has been considered very important in territorial planning, since the analysis of relational networks and of the interaction modes of local actors is fundamental in community planning processes (Cars et al., 2002). New modes of territorial planning are based on actors' interrelations, and their images, ideas, thoughts of places where they live. These processes, whether we refer to them as community planning processes or not, imply governance processes. In this case, governance is meant as a way to focus on local actors, private or public, on their interaction modes, on their capacity to define a collective and concerted strategy and to be represented externally.

In the regulationist and institutionalist approaches the analysis of local actors interactions modes has been widely studied, since it is clear that cities and territories can be characterised by stable networks of actors and institutions able to define a common development model that integrate different local and external interests in a shared strategy (Le Galès, 1995). It is necessary to stress, though, local specificities role in these strategies, since effectiveness and efficiency of a governance process are influenced by the value attributed to the local milieu. Attention should be paid to the global sense of milieu, that is its material and immaterial, social and physical parts.

The regulationist and the institutional approaches, through the definition of local governance, stress the importance of the territory that should be considered as a governance analytical unit (especially in a period of redefinition of the role of the State and of new roles of supra- and infra-national levels of government). Territorialisation then becomes a term of reference for any governance process, and this imply attention to local actors' presence in strategies definition, on the number of local subjects involved (to consider the strategy really representative of the territory), on the inclusive characteristics of the strategies. Territorialisation imply, moreover,

attention to define a strategy that takes into account local, specific, resources (material and immaterial), in order to eventually provide development processes with a long term definition and “rooted” in a specific place.

#### 4. Place in space: a matter of scales

Governance has been declined as local and territorial, in the previous paragraph, but in current literature there is a wide debate on the proper level for governance processes. The problem seems to be in the unclear definition of the level where actors interact: is it still correct to separate a local arena from a supra-local one? Do local actors can be considered “just” local? The answer is probably negative, and the only doubt lies in the possibility that, maybe, some process could still be considered as prevalently localised. Otherwise, governance implies a multi-level character of the networks of actors involved, since the interdependence among territorial scales has grown in the globalisation era (Brenner, 1998). Territorial policies nowadays imply involvement of actors belonging to different territorial levels (and then scales). This is particularly clear in the EU, since this supra-national authority, without any formal power to implement policies for urban and territorial transformations (powers that are still of the State), has completely changed the way to formulate and implement urban regeneration policies and programmes (e.g. the URBAN Community Initiative), has created trans-border integration programmes (e.g. the INTERREG Community Initiative), has defined development axis for an economic, social and territorial cohesion in Europe (EU, 2004; Territorial Development Committee, 1999.). If the State is somehow “hollowed out” (Jessop, 1994) and the EU is providing modes and funds for local territories to co-operate and compete in the global economy, then local territories has to understand that transcalar interactions are necessary to play an active role.

A major field of analysis regards *multi-level governance*, whose main interest lies in the “contingent outcome” of the interrelations among actors at different territorial levels, rather than in the results of the process in itself (Stoker, 2000). The concept has been developed in relation to institutional change and State restructuring (again, the EU provides a very good example for this analysis; Gualini, 2004). Yet, another perspective relates governance with the problematic global/local relation, as in the *glocalisation of governance* process (Swyngedouw, 2000), where governance is rescaled often in an authoritative way, with undemocratic procedures. The problem seems to lie in the relation between the global and the local levels, seen as a zero sum process (one of the player wins, the other loses). This “glocalisation” results from the de-territorialisation processes of globalisation and the territorial re-configuration that determines (Swyngedouw, 1992). Another point of view sees glocalisation as a bottom up globalisation process, where local development builds co-operative and non-hierarchical relations among scales (Magnaghi, 2000), thus referring to active and resisting fragments, able to design their development (Pile and Keith, 1997).

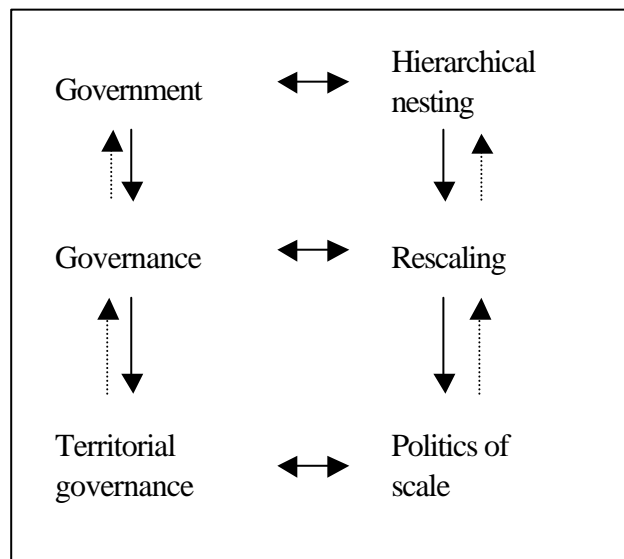
With different perspectives, the importance of transcalar interactions has been widely recognized. Multi-level relations need to be confronted with scalar rationales that redefine the territory: is the “place” constantly defined through the process or does it change? If some actors that act locally are not local actors, do they influence the definition of the local territory? If cities act as territorial collective actors in a multi-level arena, what happens to their territorial identity?

Different territorial levels can be hierarchically organised and share, in the same time, a co-operative strategy (Brenner, 1999), while, with a quite different perspective, it is possible to examine territories that can explicitly use *politics of scale*, politics that refer to territorial scales as spaces for action and, in the same time, as the stake for the territorialisation of the collective action (Smith, 1993). In the first case territorial collective actors are conscious that they can play at different levels jumping scales, that is to say avoiding any, or some, established hierarchy (as in the case of the direct link between the local level and the EU level in urban policies) (Smith, 1993). In

the second case it is explicit that actors and resources involved in a local development process can belong to different territorial scales, and the territory is itself part of the process and, in the same time, its main result. This imply that the territory can be recomposed at a different level, since territorial actors can jump scales, can redefine their position in the scalar organisation, can contest existing government and governance scales, can mediate (resist, adapt) its status in relation with other territorial scales through a filtering process of characteristics belonging to different scales (Beauregard, 1995). Local actors explicitly acts at different levels in the same time and have a different geographic reach according to the process, but they still are local actors since their development strategies are territorialized. Politics of scale then regards a process of “forging alliances across space”, that is a process of involvement of actors, and use of resources, that can belong to other territorial scales, to enhance local development strategies or to define new spaces for action (Swyngedouw, 2000).

Whether we consider a hierarchical nesting of scales or a more flexible scalar organisation, changes in the modes of interaction among actors should be taken into account. If it is somehow possible to “trace” the shift from government to governance rationales, in relation to the changes of the actors’ governing activities and capacities and the broadening of their interaction arenas, then it could be interesting to relate these transformations to those occurring in scalar organisations (fig. 1). Since hierarchical nesting of scales mainly refers to a fordist capitalist phase (a sort of “pre-globalisation” period), it could be correct to hypothesize that government is related to this phase, while governance is related to a change of scalar perspective.

*Fig. 1 – Hypothesis on the relation between actors governing activities and scalar organisation.*



Governance, has been defined as an interactive process among different actors, public and private, collective and single, aimed at defining development trajectories in different ways from those usually proposed by government modes, institutions and organisations. Governance can thus produce rescaling processes, that is the reconfiguration of the scalar organisation of the observed phenomena (Brenner, 1998), in a sort of implicit process. The presence of the territory as a stake for the development process changes instead the relation between the two rationales: governance becomes territorially defined, then there is an explicit production of scales (a new pertinent territory for collective action) according to the strategies developed, that is according to politics of scale (Swyngedouw, 2000).

Of course, these relations should be confronted with a deep empirical research, especially since it is not so convincing that the downward movement (from government to territorial governance, from nesting to politics of scale) is the only possible. It is not so clear that governance

modes imply a substitution of the government ones, maybe they should be seen as coexisting. And it is not obvious that scalar politics will not result in another hierarchical organisation.

It is interesting, though, that in some cases, as in Turin, traces of these relations can be found. Signs of a territorial governance process that is related with the production of politics of scale are evident and the city development strategy can be analysed referring to a relatively short period, i.e. a decade.

## **5. Turin in the making: the right framework for co-operation + the right territorial level for competition**

In the last ten years, local policies in Turin have been directed towards the development of partnerships able to implement programmes of an integrated and long-term strategy for the internationalisation of the city and the redefinition of its image. This is certainly due to the strengthening of the powers assigned to the Mayor after the 1993 national reform on the direct elections of mayors, but local specificities must be taken into account too<sup>1</sup>. The search for an active internationalisation can be seen as a movement towards a leading role as a regional capital in a Europe of the Regions and thus towards a leading role as a city at European level. This objective brought urban leaders (mayors but also city councillors and key economic and cultural actors) to develop innovative initiatives, though explicitly inspired by European experience acquired through an active networking policy (Prof. Castellani, the former mayor, was said to have better relations with Bruxelles than with Rome). Once the initiatives were locally designed and programmed, their implementations were made possible thanks to local (public and private), regional and state funding, and, where possible, EU funding. Thus can be said that active internationalisation was considered as the strengthening of a “collective urban actor”, i.e. a strong network of local actors acting with a shared vision of development instead of actors acting separately to reach single goals in a global framework. To stress the importance of a collective action, one of the favourite metaphor used by local elected and non-elected leaders refers to the capacity of “acting as a team”, because only a local cohesive team can be able to recognize and use local specific resources (i.e. to turn a collective action into a territorial collective action).

Though the process is ongoing, it is possible to define two themes around which the city has developed its strategies: the need for a right framework for co-operation; the search for a right level for competition.

Co-operation has been considered very important in the city strategy, since the political leadership alone had no chance to succeed in promoting local development. All over Italy, in the first part of the 90s, it was possible to see that the “civil society” was taking the place of traditional parties in the government of the major cities, but in Turin this civil society was peculiarly formed by an informal coalition of academics and intellectuals strongly supported by the economic and entrepreneurial world (Pinson, 2002)<sup>2</sup>. In 1993, in fact, Mr. Valentino Castellani, professor at the Turin Polytechnic was elected mayor, supported by a civic coalition and by a narrow Centre-Left majority. Prof. Castellani was not a member of the traditional political élite and the decision to take

---

• This paragraph is based on the results of the PLUS Research in the framework of the VFP of the EU. Turin has been selected as one of the Italian case studies. The authors took part to the research, together with other members of the EU-POLIS research centre of the Dipartimento Interateneo Territorio of Turin’s Polytechnic and University.

<sup>1</sup> Until then Local Authorities operated in a strongly centralised system, without a clear and specific attribution of competence. The past 10 years have witnessed a significant transformation phase, thanks to an ongoing massive decentralisation system devolving State tasks to Local Authorities.

<sup>2</sup> In the past the city government has been strongly influenced by economic leaders, representing big companies’ interests. The deep socio-economic transformations of the last decades have radically changed this situation, although some enterprises (e.g. FIAT) and companies (e.g. San Paolo Bank) remain leader at a local level and, in some cases, they are able to influence the national and supra-national levels.

part to the local elections has been taken following the general loss of support to national political parties and to the widespread dissatisfaction with the political system after the “Clean Hands” period, regarding national bribery scandals in the early 1990s.

Reappointed in 1997, Prof. Castellani had success in achieving a concrete collaboration with the supra-local level of government, the Piedmont Region, run by a Centre-Right coalition, and the Centre-Left run Province of Turin (whose President, Mrs. Mercedes Bresso, is also professor at the Polytechnic). This collaboration has been based on the common understanding that to programme the area development and planning investments in many fields (economic, tourism, city promotion, urban regeneration and infrastructures) a joint work had to be implemented<sup>3</sup>.

In 2001, Mr. Sergio Chiamparino was elected Mayor of Turin for the same Centre-Left coalition. His programme was based on the full awareness of the significant structural and economic transformations that the city of Turin 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 has started. But, while Prof. Castellani has favoured relations with the European Union and has tried to enhance Turin’s visibility in Europe, Mr. Chiamparino, who had a political career in a national political party, the Democrats of the Left Party, tends to relate to the national political élite to enhance Turin’s visibility and weight in Italy. Mr. Chiamparino is also trying to establish a stronger link with the citizens, investing on direct communication (meetings, citizen-relations offices, weekly participation in local radio and television programmes). This should not be seen as a stepping back from what the previous administration has done, but a widening strategy that realize that the national level still “matter”.

The changes occurred in Turin since the beginning of the '90, within a broader framework of deep changes in the whole country, both from the political and the economic point of views, have been used by the Municipality to reshape the city, and “useful” partners were involved every time. The adoption of the Master Plan in 1995, the creation of a Strategic Plan in 2000, the 2006 Winter Olympic Games can be considered as examples of great importance to understand the changes, yet they represents only the best results of a decade of hard efforts. The previously cited Strategic Plan can be analysed to show how the city has tried to promote co-operative policies.

Promoted by the Municipality of Turin, the *Strategic Plan* aimed at developing a strategic vision for the future of the city at least for a decade (<http://www.torino-internazionale.org/En>). In 1998 Prof. Castellani, taking as example what had been done in other European cities (Barcelona above all), gathered together the leading social, economic, cultural and political private and public actors of the city with the objective to give a new international identity/image to the city. The Strategic Plan was mean “to name, to direct” the processes of change *already* taking place in the city, in order to have a common framework and shared axis of development. Three committees in the development of the Plan have supported the Municipality: the Development Forum, the Scientific Committee and the Co-ordination Committee. The first one, was made of representatives of the economic, social and cultural local élite; the second was made of Italian and foreign experts to ensure that methodology and procedures were effective and correct; the third committee was made of two agencies, Investments in Turin and Piedmont (ITP) and Turismo Torino, which carried out the operational tasks. By the end of July 1999, after a diagnostic phase, the second final draft of the Plan was drawn. The following months were useful to improve and share the Plan and on the 29<sup>th</sup> February 2000 the Strategic Plan was presented and signed by 57 public and private, political and non-political, leaders of the territory. The content of the final Strategic Plan mirrored the intention of giving the city the international role it deserved through three strategic visions, six strategic lines, twenty objectives and 84 actions to be carried out before 2011<sup>4</sup>. To implement the

---

<sup>3</sup> For the administration of the Turin area, the Municipality co-operates with: the Piedmont Region, which has legislative authority especially on a financial and economic level; the Province of Torino, invested with regulatory tasks mainly for what concerns employment, education, and natural resources.

<sup>4</sup> The three strategic visions regards the idea of Turin as a European metropolis, the idea of the *savoir faire* city, the idea of a the city of the future and of quality of life.

Strategic Plan an authority was created, the “Torino Internazionale Association”, whose members are, besides the signers of the previous pact, actors of the area concerned: mayors, representatives of banking foundations, members of public-private agencies, etc. The president of the Association is the Mayor of Turin. Today the Association has 124 members. The Strategic Plan can be seen as the keystone for the reshaping of the City. It gave a common framework for great plans of urban regeneration and renewal, for the re-urbanisation of old industrial areas, and also for minor projects, though very innovative at local and national level<sup>5</sup>.

The political leadership maintained a crucial role in defining local policies, but resourceful private actors have been involved: some of them in the decision making phase (the cultural, economic, social élite), to be sure that the strategy was “grounded” to a certain extent; some other actors were involved in the implementation phase of the different programmes and projects, especially those resourceful actors that prefers to be involved when political leaders have decided and have gained the necessary citizens consensus, so that they only have to “act”.

It may seem quite strange, but in Turin community involvement can be divided in two arenas: in the first there are those actors that contribute to take decisions and/or make things work once they have been decided; in the second there are those subjects that, whether they agree with the strategy or not, have no direct involvement in the construction of the policies. Resourceful actors can thus be seen as the proper collective actor to implement projects (a partnership), while citizens are the proper collective actor to give or deny consensus, to use what has been produced, to be involved once that the risk has been taken by other, more resourceful, actors (a very weak participation, then). The political leadership promote development processes and then steps back in favour of the first, and then the second, collective actor, often leaving the leadership to technical leaders while keeping the legitimacy and controlling roles. What assured, and still assures, that this system works is the fact that the Strategic Plan, and all the strategies implemented, have been based on territorial specificities, i.e. every vision, line, objective and action has been promoted on the basis of resources, capabilities, peculiarities already available in Turin. No internationalisation or image redefinition could have been possible without a concrete reference to existing potentialities. A perfect example is the 5<sup>th</sup> strategic line that refers to Turin as a city of culture, tourism, trade and sport (see box 2).

How can a dull, grey, industrial city become a tourism place? How can Turin compete for the Olympic bid? Simply by telling to the world, and to its citizens, that what is needed is already there but very few were able to recognize, and use, those specificities.

## *2. Something about the new cultural image of the city*

In recent years there have been some successful experience in Turin that helped to redefine the image of a modern and international (“global”, in short) city. These experiences have not necessarily started in the last decade, but all of them have been enhanced, promoted, marketed, developed in this period. Cultural events and facilities, for instance, have been important for the city administrations through the past decades and in the Seventies Turin was known as an “experimental city” for modern art and public cultural policies. These experiences though have always been shadowed by the image of the grey, industrial city. Long term investments have produced their effects at the end, since some of the most innovative and active museums in Italy are in Turin or in its outskirts: the Modern Art Museum in the Rivoli Castle, the GAM (the city modern art gallery), the Cinema Museum (hosted in the city symbol, the Mole Antonelliana), the Fondazione Sandretto Re Rebaudengo, the Fondazione Palazzo Bricherasio, to name few of the public or private institutions that attract thousands of visitors and host exhibitions that are often reviewed in the main European newspapers and magazine (and often ignored by the Italian ones). In Turin there is also the second Egyptian Museum in the world for number of works exposed, the car museum with one of the biggest collection, several other smaller museums, modern art and antiquities fairs and exhibitions, private galleries and ateliers. The city hosts the most important and trend-setter independent movie festival in Europe (Torino Film Festival) and four other thematic movie festivals, a national symphonic orchestra, several theatres. Culture is considered as an important factor to reshape the image of the city, both towards external actors and

<sup>5</sup> An example is the Torino Wireless project, whose main objective is to strengthen the city ICT sector.

towards its citizens that, though still astonished sometimes, begin to recognize that tourists can choose to visit their city.

*Urban regeneration policies* well explain the specific model of interaction in Turin between local and supra-local levels of government (being not only the national level important, but also the provincial, the regional and the European levels). Specific programmes set to tackle urban regeneration problems were available throughout the last decade of the past century, either designed at the regional, national or European level. Local political leaders decided to link the greater number of local initiatives to the programmes available (i.e. to available funding), but created in the same time a local co-ordination instrument that could give a common framework to the whole range of initiatives, devolving competencies and power to this new body: the Neighbourhood Special Project (NSP). The NSP can be seen as a strategic plan for urban regeneration policies, created by political leaders, re-allocating personnel from the Municipality and employing skilled personnel. After the first four years of activity (since 1997), in coincidence with local elections, the NSP turned into a permanent unit within the Municipality, the Neighbourhood Sector.

This experience can be seen as a process of jumping scales to obtain the necessary resources to regenerate urban areas, but other experiences goes more in the direction of a production of politics of scale. The first example regards the *Metropolitan Conference*, created, in 2000, in the framework of the Strategic Plan by the Province and the Municipality of Turin, with the voluntary adhesion of 38 municipalities of the City area. The Conference has been thought as a flexible connecting place for the supervision of urban development strategies and the making of metropolitan scale agreements. It was an authority with no formal powers and all its decisions had to be approved by the members. It seemed that the Conference could have been the proper answer to the need of a metropolitan authority, but its excessive flexibility and the lack of any possibility to decide on important issues like territorial planning brought to the decision to “frozen” the Conference while searching for less informal instruments. The real problem was that both the Province and the City were in search of the right framework for competition, but a metropolitan level authority can directly compete with the Province (it should have formally the same role of the Province). From the point of view of the city of Turin, instead, the Conference was a too weak compromise in the process of institutionalisation of a metropolitan authority. The city has a Strategic Plan that regards the metropolitan area, programmes policies that goes beyond the municipal borders, needs a metropolitan dimension (see box 3).

### 3. *Examples of metropolitan level bodies*

National and local laws have recognised the value of horizontal co-operation and have institutionalised co-operation thus inviting cities to implement their policies through agreements among various actors. Territorial Pacts, Development Agreements, the institution of Service Agencies that cover the entire metropolitan area are examples of these institutionalised partnerships. In many of these agreements, large co-operation networks between public and private actors, particularly leading companies, have been set up in the Turin area. Following there is a list of some of the main bodies created thanks to public-private agreements:

1. *Turismo Torino*, the metropolitan tourist agency created to promote and welcome tourists in the Turin Area;
2. *ITP – Invest in Turin and Piedmont*, the first Italian agency set by local authorities to attract foreign investments;
3. *Torino Internazionale Association*, set to implement the Strategic Plan for the promotion of the City. Made up of 124 representatives of the economic, cultural and social institutions of the metropolitan area;
4. *Convention Bureau*, created to promote Congress activity;
5. *TOROC*, the Organising Committee of the XX Olympic Winter Games in Torino. A no-profit private foundation established to organise the Turin 2006 Olympic and Para-Olympic Games;
6. *Film Commission*, to promote the film industry and the region as a location;

7. *Six Territorial Pacts*, regrouping all the municipalities of the Province of Turin (the City of Turin and few others excluded) to promote local development strategies;
8. *Technological Parks*, established to create firms in innovative field. Among these, in the City of Turin there are the Environment Park and the Virtual Reality and Multimedia Park.

Then Turin is in the making. Many ongoing processes are rapidly changing physically the city and slowly its image: the underground, the railway link, the Olympic buildings, new facilities, new parks are challenging everyone's memory everyday. Governance processes have substituted in many cases traditional decision processes. The city has established co-operation networks with other cities all over Europe and in the world. The result is far to be known and yet, what can be observed right now is that at the centre of the strategy there is the territory and the strategy itself is territorialized, though the territory to which local actors refer is not the city anymore.

## **6. Conclusion(s): a city in the world**

Many cities face the challenge to reinvent their future after a period of deep crisis, especially those cities that based their economy on the industrial sector. Local actors, usually prompted by public authorities, tend to develop differentiation strategies to compete in the global scenario, but these strategies are developed in a framework where some cities compete to become local nodes of global networks (Sassen, 1991 and 1998), while others seem to compete to "survive". This is, of course, an extreme simplification, but, according to local differences, specificities and capacities, cities act in the global scenario to reconfigure their role (and place) in the world and to redefine their images. It is then correct to say that cities are collective actors (Bagnasco and Le Galès, 1997), but it is interesting to see how cities re-act to global stimuli and how "rooted" is their answer and, in the same time, to take into account the broadening of the actors arenas – upwards, downwards, other than at the city level – and the need to develop long term and inclusive strategies.

These phenomena ask for a confrontation with the issues of governance, territoriality and scalar redefinition. Moreover, it is useful to see these concepts in a common theoretical system, since they tackle different but interrelated sides of the urban phenomenon. The concept of governance helps to analyse actors behaviour in public or semi-public arenas, in their interaction and in relation with local resources and constraints. This attention to local specificities (or, as reported above, to the local milieu) send to territorial governance, as an interaction mode based, and centred, on place history, strategies, peculiarities. Finally, globalisations effects and opportunities drive to consider the reticular nature of actors interactions, the co-presence in local level development strategies design and implementation of actors and resources belonging to different territorial levels, the potential or actual different geographical reach that local actors have. It is important, in this last case, to understand how manifest are the scalar rationales of the single or collective actors to define more or less explicit politics of scale through the value added to local development strategies by interactions among different territorial levels.

Efforts aimed at the theoretical integration of the issues of governance, territoriality and scalar redefinition prove to be interesting especially when related to real cases: Turin's case can be seen as a typical case of post-fordist city striving for a diversification in its economy to strengthen a long term development perspective, but what is interesting is that economic issues are considered just as a part of a far more complex strategy. The city evolution in the last decade has been marked by the shift from a government system dealing with urban affairs to a governance mode designing new development trajectories. The Strategic Plan (1999) can be considered as the proper tool set up to the purpose. According to the Plan strategies, the city redefine its role and position in the European framework bringing out its local resources and know how, i.e. its territorial specificities. The Plan itself has been built through a participative process, even if with an elitist policy that allowed the involvement of resourceful actors in the different stages of the Plan design and

implementation. The resulting governance process can be labelled as territorial, since the local collective actor bet on the city milieu and on locally targeted development trajectories. It is interesting to see that the presence of a collective actor with a territorial strategy can be witnessed in other territorial policies, e.g. in the urban regeneration policies tackled through the Neighbourhood Special Project. Furthermore, the territorial collective actor shaped in the last decade has re-positioned the city in the European arena through an active networking, while experimenting policies for a wider territory than that of the municipality. It can be said that Turin's territorial system has been re-composed at a different level, since many of the policies and strategies have now a metropolitan framework, and opportunities, resources and new partners can be found at this level.

Turin's case is then useful to stress the importance of territorial governance and an explicit politics of scale in analysing cities future development and, most important, to consider their complementarity in the analysis and the central role that the territory has in local development strategies definition.

## References

- Bagnasco A. and Le Galès P. (1997), "Les villes européennes comme sociétés et comme acteurs", in A. Bagnasco and P. Le Galès (eds), *Villes en Europe*, La Découverte, Paris, 7-43.
- Bagnasco A. (2004), *Società fuori squadra. Come cambia l'organizzazione*, il Mulino, Bologna.
- Beauregard R. A. (1995), "Theorizing the global-local collection", in P. L. Knox and P. J. Taylor (eds), *World cities in a world system*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 232-248.
- Brenner N. (1998), "Global cities, glocal states: global city formation and state territorial restructuring in contemporary Europe", *Review of International Political Economy*, 5:1, 1-37.
- Brenner N. (1999), "Globalisation as Reterritorialisation: the Re-scaling of Urban Governance in the European Union", *Urban Studies*, 36:3, 431-451.
- Brunet R. (1989) (ed), *Les villes européennes*, Datar-Reclus, La Documentation Française, Paris.
- Cars, Healey P., Madanipour A. and de Magalhães (2002), *Urban Governance, Institutional capacity and social Milieux*, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Cox K. R. and Mair A. (1991), "From localised social structures to localities as agents", *Environment and Planning A*, 23, 197-213.
- Daher L. (2002), *Azione collettiva. Teorie e problemi*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.
- Dematteis G. (1995), *Progetto implicito. Il contributo della geografia umana alle scienze del territorio*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.
- Dematteis G. (2001), "Per una geografia della territorialità attiva e dei valori territoriali", in P. Bonora (ed), *SLoT quaderno 1*, Baskerville, Bologna, 11-30.
- EU (2004), *A New Partnership for Cohesion. Convergence, Competitiveness, Cooperation. Third Report on Economic and Social Cohesion*, European Commission, Bruxelles.
- Governa F. (1997), *Il milieu urbano. L'identità territoriale nei processi di sviluppo*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.
- Gualini E. (2004), *Multi-level Governance and Institutional Change. The Europeanization of Regional Policy in Italy*, Ashgate, Aldershot.
- Hall T. and Hubbard P. (1996), "The entrepreneurial city: new urban politics, new urban geographies", *Progress in Human Geography*, 20:2, 153-174.
- Harding A. (2000), "Power and Urban Politics Revised: the Uses and Abuses of North American Urban Political Economy", in G. Bridge and S. Warson (eds), *A companion to the city*, Blackwell, Oxford, 581-590.
- Harvey D. (1990), *The condition of postmodernity*, Basil Blackwell, London.
- Healey P. (1997), *Collaborative Planning. Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*, MacMillan Press, London.
- Hobsbawm E. (1994), *Age of extremism-the short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, London.
- Jessop B. (1994), "Post-fordism and the state", in A. Amin (ed), *Post-fordism. A reader*, Blackwell, Oxford, 251-279.

- Le Galés P. (1995), "Du gouvernement des villes à la gouvernance urbaine", *Revue Française de Science Politique*, 1, 16-42.
- Magnaghi A. (2000), *Il progetto locale*, Bollati Boringhieri, Torino.
- Mingione E. (1997), *Sociologia della vita economica*, Nis, Roma.
- Olson M. (1965), *The Logic of Collective Action. Public Goods and the Theory of Group*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge – Mass.
- Painter J. and Goodwin M. (1995), "Local governance and concrete research: investigating the uneven development of regulation", *Economy and Society*, 24:3, 334-356.
- Pile S. and Keith M. (1997) (eds), *Geographies of Resistance*, Routledge, London.
- Pinson G. (2002), *Projets et pouvoirs dans les villes européennes. Une comparaison de Marseille, Venise, Nantes et Turin*, PhD thesis, Université de Rennes I, Rennes.
- Raffestin C. (1981), *Pour une géographie du pouvoir*, Litec, Paris.
- Rhodes R. A. W. (1997), *Understanding governance. Policy networks, governance, reflexivity and accountability*, Open University Press, Buckingham – Philadelphia.
- Sassen S. (1991), *The Global City. New York, London, Tokio*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford-Cambridge (Mass.).
- Sassen S. (1998), *Globalization and its Discontents: Essays on the New Mobility of People and Money*, W. W. Norton & Co. Inc., New York.
- Smith N. (1993), "Homeless/global: Scaling places", in J. Bird, B. Curtis, T. Putnam, G. Robertson and L. Tickner (eds), *Mapping the futures. Local cultures, global change*, Routledge, London-New York, 87-119.
- Stoker G. (2000), "Urban Political Science and the Challenge of Urban Governance", in J. Pierre (ed), *Debating Governance. Authority, Steering, and Democracy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 91-109.
- Stoker G. and Mossberger K. (1994), "Urban regime theory in comparative perspective", *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, 12, 195-212.
- Swyngedouw E. (1992), "The mammon quest; 'Glocalisation', interspatial competition and the monetary order: the construction of new scales", in M. Dunford and G. Kafkalas (eds), *Cities and Regions in the New Europe*, Belhaven Press, London, 39-67.
- Swyngedouw E. (2000), "Authoritarian governance, power, and the politics of rescaling", *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 18:1, 63-76.
- Territorial Development Committee (1999), *European Spatial Development Perspective. Towards a more balanced and sustainable development in the European Union*, Office for the Official Publications of the European Communities, Luxembourg.
- Turco A. (1988), *Verso una teoria geografica della complessità*, Unicopli, Milano.