Policies and strategies in the metropolitan region of Milan

How to enhance the city’s competitiveness
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# Table of contents

**Executive summary** .......................................................................................................................... 1

1 **Introduction** .................................................................................................................................. 3  
1.1 ACRE: General overview ............................................................................................................... 3  
1.2 Overview and methodology .......................................................................................................... 4  
1.3 Structure of the report .................................................................................................................... 5  

2 **Theoretical background and methodology** ............................................................................... 7  
2.1 Refinement of ACRE theoretical framework .............................................................................. 8  
2.1.1 Revisiting Florida’s thesis on the mobility of the creative class and the role of ‘soft factors’ ........................................................................................................................................... 8  
2.1.2 Some elements for the debate on urban competitiveness ...................................................... 10  
2.2 Governance approaches ............................................................................................................ 12  
2.2.1 The diversity of governance concepts and theoretical approaches ...................................... 12  
2.2.2 Governance in creative and knowledge industries ............................................................... 13  
2.2.3 The difficulty of conducting comparative studies .................................................................. 13  
2.2.4 Defining a common ground for comparative work ................................................................. 15  

3 **Analysis of current institutional and economic contexts** ......................................................... 17  
3.1 Creative and knowledge based economy of the Metropolitan Region ...................................... 17  
3.1.1 Strengths and weaknesses of the Milan Metropolitan Regions ........................................... 19  
3.2 Analysis of economic strategies and policies ............................................................................. 21  
3.2.1 Political structure and governance of the region ................................................................. 21  
3.2.2 Formulated strategies ........................................................................................................... 23  
3.2.3 Existing policies .................................................................................................................... 25  
3.3 Comments and critics .................................................................................................................... 34  

4 **Discussion on institutional structure and governance arrangements** ...................................... 35  
4.1 Identification of key stakeholders in economic development policies at different levels .... 35  
4.1.1 The Milanese Chamber of Commerce and the Italian Chamber of Fashion ..................... 38  
4.1.2 Fondazione Cariplo and private-public partnership .......................................................... 40  
4.2 Types of interactions between stakeholders .............................................................................. 42  

5 **Critical evaluation of strategies and policies** ............................................................................. 47  
5.1 Debates and public controversies surrounding current policies and strategies .................... 47  
5.2 Confrontation with the results of the surveys ............................................................................ 50  

6 **Conclusion** .................................................................................................................................. 55  

References ........................................................................................................................................... 59  

Appendix ............................................................................................................................................. 61
The present report aims at describing policies and actions carried out in the Milanese Metropolitan Area in order to foster the creative and knowledge-based economy. After a brief introduction to the ACRE project, a theoretical framework is presented, by illustrating the features of the governance approaches and the methodology used in the report.

In the following chapter the Milanese Metropolitan Area is presented as the Italian leading region in terms of innovation and technological research, and as an important hub for creative and knowledge industry, with internationally known brands and a huge concentration of economic activities. Despite high economic performances, the region is not able to attract large numbers of foreign talents, and, worst, it suffers from an endemic brain drain of young brilliant workers. The so called hard factors (labour market, concentration of economic activities, infrastructures, path dependency) are main reasons underlying the economic high performances of the region; on the other hand, soft factors play an important role when impeding/expelling processes of workers are taken into account. The quality of social and physical environment, for example, is very low in the region. What could be considered as a very important soft factor is the image linked to the city itself. Another positive factor, which is worth mentioning, is the strong capacity of the city to build networks and relations, which enable to find solutions to problems and to develop business projects. However, personal trajectories (e.g. the family presence) seem to play a very important role in workers’ location strategies.

The core of the report focuses on the political structure and actions: the governance of the region is characterised by a multilevel system based on three tiers of subnational governments: regions, provinces and municipalities. Since all of them have statutory autonomy, allocation of political responsibilities creates many problems when political actions and policies are needed and implemented. Indeed, as far as policies of innovation are concerned, the debate still focuses on which political level should take responsibility and tackle a certain issue.

Trying to classify tasks and spheres of action, we can therefore see that the sectors of cultural industry involved in the programme by the Lombardy Region are mainly five: biotechnology, fashion, design, new material and ICT. The Province of Milan is focusing more on a strategic policy for the governance of the future of the area. Up to now it has delivered three strategic plans (1999-2001, 2002-2004, and 2005-2007), which are a strategic and political reflection on institutions’ role, on sustainable progress and competitiveness of the metropolitan area. Finally, at the Municipal level, new projects are principally related to the availability of new spaces left vacant by dismissed manufacturing and traditional industries, but they also concern the last important challenge the City of Milan has accomplished: the organisation and implementation of Expo 2015. Moreover, the Municipality of Milan has very recently presented a new strategic plan for the government of the territory, focusing on the city of Milan and its future.
The problems that weaken the governance system, and the real possibility to govern the area, have been classified in three main issues:

1. The decentralisation process has answered the needs of the Milan area in an uneven manner. Although the three levels gained new responsibilities and power, those are not distributed according to real needs.
2. Overlapping responsibilities persist across levels of government and it is not always clear who is responsible for what.
3. The inadequacy of the metropolitan organisation (at least from the institutional point of view) stands as a major obstacle on the way to becoming a high-level service hub.

Looking at the creative and knowledge economy, new strategies are needed, and the necessity of a more strategic approach to the involvement and the coordination of different stakeholders emerges clearly. According to professionals, stakeholders and actors that we interviewed for the research, politics at the all levels is not trenchant enough to serve as a real sustain to the economy. In particular, three elements are indicated as characterising the present and past situations: elitism, centrism and event policy.

The first element, elitism, beyond the absence of meritocracy, has to do with conservatism, with the difficulties to innovate, and with the lack of a strategic approach. As a consequence, also culture and creativity remain in the same closed and self-referential circuits and have little to do with the wider population.

The concept of centrism describes the approach of Milanese policy to culture. The attention is more on the institutions, which -partially- represent the cultural life, but most of all, the heritage, of the city. Although only partially, this approach, has always characterised the cultural policy making of the city. There is a scarce attention to the underground culture and to what arises from non-institutional and less organised circles.

The third element, event policy, can be associated with the fact that Milan has increasingly been focussing on the creation of big events (Expo 2015), the realisation of huge interventions (Citylife) and the resolution of particular emergencies (Ecopass) which have rarely been interrelated and have hardly communicated to one another. Sectoriality and separation are the main characteristics of these actions.
1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 ACRE: General overview

Economic regions and cities or urban units are highly unstable entities. Changes and transformations for them are normal. Economic regions change in terms of their structure: they either grow or shrink; and urban units follow the same path. In this way, their dynamics are tightly linked to particular forms of urban development. In the 19th century it was the Industrial Revolution that gave birth to the typical factory town. In the 20th century, the rise of Fordist mass production was associated with the growth of large industrial metropolis. Recently, urban economic structure has been undergoing another market shift, away from Fordist mass production regimes. The shift implied more flexible forms of production as well as the new principle of “just-in-time” and “production-on-demand” delivery of products (Harvey, 1987).

The ACRE project – acronym for Accommodating Creative Knowledge – Competitiveness of European Metropolitan Regions within the Enlarged Union– aims to assess the impact of the emerging ‘creative class’ and the rise of ‘creative industries’ on the competitiveness of EU metropolitan regions. While traditional ‘hard’ location factors, that firms use, remain important for international competitiveness, new ‘soft’ location factors, that are mainly related to attracting the required ‘talent pool’, deserve increasing attention.

The research central question is: what are the conditions required in order to create or stimulate ‘creative knowledge regions’ in the context of the extended European Union? We will compare the recent socio-economic development trends and strategies in several metropolitan regions across Europe to get a better idea of the extent to which creativity, innovation and knowledge are indeed the keys to a successful long-term economic development.

The study draws on city-regions in twelve European countries: Bulgaria, France, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain and the United Kingdom. The metropolitan regions taken into consideration are Amsterdam, Barcelona, Birmingham, Budapest, Dublin, Helsinki, Leipzig, Milan, Munich, Poznan, Riga, Sofia and Toulouse.

The main topic to explore is which metropolitan regions might develop as ‘creative knowledge regions’, and which regions might not. With the results of this study the EU might seriously consider strengthening the profile of metropolitan regions within the EU area as regards to creative knowledge branches and activities, in the face of increasing competition with other developing regions in the world.
The Acre project focuses on six dimensions, investigating:

- The (potential) effectiveness of regional competitiveness policies that focus on a creativity- and knowledge-based metropolitan economy;
- The role of path dependency: do traditions in certain economic branches and certain local and regional historic spatial structures contribute to a more favourable starting point when trying to develop a ‘creative knowledge region’?
- The extent to which policies for competitive ‘creative knowledge regions’ not only aim to attract certain types of economic activities, but also to provide ‘soft location factors’ like an attractive residential environment, public spaces, and ‘meeting places’ for the ‘talent pool’ needed for these economic activities.
- The question as to why regional geographic and administrative scales are more relevant for regional competitiveness when aiming at ‘creative knowledge regions’.
- The differences and similarities between metropolitan regions in West, Central and Eastern Europe in their potentiality to become competitive centres of creativity, knowledge and innovation.
- The role of transnational migration of skilled labour towards centres of creativity and knowledge: to which extent are these trans–national migrants attracted by ‘soft’ location factors like an attractive residential environment, a diverse population and a tolerant atmosphere in the metropolitan regions they migrate to? How important are such factors when compared to job or career opportunities and costs of living? To what an extent are migrants moving to ‘creative knowledge cities’ different from migrants that move to ‘global’ or ‘world cities’ in their reasons to migrate?

1.2 Overview and methodology

The present report aims at describing policies and actions carried out in the Milanese Metropolitan Area in order to foster the creative and knowledge-based economy. In particular, it focuses on indentifying and confronting policies, strategies and actions implemented both locally and centrally in order to sustain and attract the creative and knowledge industry in the area. The role of cognitive-cultural economy, as Scott recently named it (2008) is undoubtedly a strong engine for local economy. The relevant literature shows that both traditional economic local elements (labour force, infrastructures, path dependency, etc) and post-Fordist factors (quality of life, local culture, social mix, etc) are extremely important in accommodating such economy on the territory and allowing the economy to rise.

The present report is also based on previous works carried out in the past year within the ACRE framework: after a presentation of the economic condition and history featuring the local and national economy (WP2.12), the ACRE research focused on workers and professionals of the creative and knowledge industry of the Metropolitan Area and on their opinions, life styles and views about the local context, as well as the economic situation and their future plans (WP5.12, WP6.12, WP7.12). A section of the research was devoted to talented foreigners working in the region, in order to assess the context from the perspective of people who decided to move there, and in order to understand paths and trajectories of
creative and knowledge expatriates. Finally a wider and more general evaluation of the urban region has been performed in WP8.12.

This knowledge has also been used in this research step, with the intent to understand how efficiently and effectively the local (and also national) politics is able to respond to professionals and workers’ needs, and to compare it with other international situations.

In order to carry out our study, we have used different kinds of data and working material: we interviewed local administrators, stakeholders and experts in order to assess both the role of politics and the expectation of a number of actors; specifically we interviewed the following actors:

- L. M. responsible for marketing planning and development of one of the biggest scientific park in the Region
- R. M. director of an association that represents textile producers in the Region
- A. B. director of a master course in a artistic school
- G. C. regional councillor from the main opposition party

Moreover we analysed a number of official documents, such as strategic plans and guidelines for the local governance; finally we organised a roundtable where we invited professionals, stakeholders and local administrators to confront each other about local policies for culture and economy (see appendix for the list of workshop participants).

1.3 Structure of the report

The report is structured in 6 chapters: after this introductory one, the second chapter presents the theoretical framework by illustrating the features of the governance approaches the report is based on.

In the following chapter the economy of the Milanese Metropolitan Area is examined focussing in particular on the creative and knowledge-based industry. Strengths and weaknesses of the local context are discussed, also on the basis of previous works. In the second part of the third chapter, we focus on political structure and actions and we present the governance of the region. Existing policies are presented and organised on the basis of the political level responsible for the action. Chapters 4 and 5 represent the core of the report. Chapter 4 presents the institutional structure and governance arrangements, identification of a number of stakeholders that are particularly crucial in the local policy focused on the creative and knowledge industry. The multifaceted interaction among stakeholders is moreover discussed and a critical assessment of the local situation closes the chapter. Chapter 5 offers a critical evaluation of strategies and policies, organised in two steps: the first one is a presentation of debates and public controversies surrounding current policies and strategies, the second step is a critical comparison with the results of previous research reports. Conclusions are reported in Chapter 6.
The fieldwork has been carried out by Marianna d’Ovidio, Silvia Mugnano, Carla Sedini, Vera Astolfoni and Lucia Parrino. The report has been written by Marianna d’Ovidio (chapter 1, §3.1, §3.2, §4.1, §4.1.1 and § 5.2), Carla Sedini (§3.2, §3.3, §5.1, §6) and Lucia Parrino (§4.1.2 and § 4.2). Chapter 2 has been provided by the ACRE WP10 team coordinator.

The research was carried out under the supervision of the Scientific Committee, composed by Enzo Mingione, Francesca Zajczyk, Elena Dell’Agnese and Silvia Mugnano.

A special thank-you to Vera Astolfoni and Chiara Labadini, whose work has been key to the accomplishment of this report.
The conceptual and theoretical framework underlying the ACRE programme has been presented at length in ACRE Report 1 (Musterd et al., 2007). It is based on a critical review of literature on the role of creativity and knowledge in present and future economic development and the conditions for the successful development of a ‘creative knowledge region’. This review of literature, which has also pointed at gaps in knowledge, has framed the analysis of each case study in the following ACRE reports, and has been refined over the course of the project.

A number of key questions have been raised in relation with this conceptual and analytical framework. They are addressed throughout this report and will, in particular, guide the analysis of policies and strategies, which include the analysis of policy documents and interviews with stakeholders. Key questions to be taken into consideration in the analysis of policies and strategies include the following ones:

- What is the role of creativity, innovation and knowledge in the metropolitan economic development strategies and visions in each case study?
- To what extent do local and regional governments in the case study regions want to build on existing regional strengths, and to what extent do they look for new strengths with regard to economic specialisations?
- What are the different types of policy approaches adopted in different cities (e.g. promoting cultural quarters/infrastructures in the physical sense; or promoting creative industries in their industrial sector sense)?
- What is the role of ‘soft’ location factors in metropolitan economic development strategies when compared to the more traditional, ‘hard’ location factors?
- Do the metropolitan economic development strategies specifically address the conditions for attracting an international skilled labour force?
- Which regional geographic and administrative scale is the most relevant for regional competitiveness when aiming for ‘creative knowledge regions’? Should there be a focus on core city development or on the metropolitan regional level?
- To what extent can we speak of an integrated regional strategy, and on what geographic and administrative scale level?
- To what extent are the economic development strategies and visions embedded in broader urban development strategies and visions? Are economic development policies connected to regional spatial development policies, housing market policies and/or policies to attract and cater for the desired ‘talent pool’?

1 This section has been written by the ACRE Toulouse team (Hélène Martin-Brelot, Elisabeth Peyroux, Denis Eckert, University of Toulouse), with help from the Leipzig team (Bastian Lange, Leibniz Institute of Regional Geography). The section is common to all ACRE reports within Work Package 10.
How and to what extent do existing policies and strategies take into consideration issues of social cohesion and social integration?

The answers to these questions are informed by the refinement of the ACRE theoretical framework.

2.1 Refinement of ACRE theoretical framework

The first ACRE report (Musterd et al., 2007 p.6) acknowledged that many authors have come to the conclusion that ‘creativity plays an outstanding role in urban and regional development’ and recognised ‘the increasing coming together and co-mingling of technological innovation, cultural creativity and governance as the driving force of urban development in the 21st century’. In relation to urban competitiveness theories, at least two important interrelated ideas – mostly supported by Florida - have been explored. The first one suggests that policies should concentrate on their attractiveness towards individuals rather than towards companies. As a consequence, cities should strive to improve urban atmosphere – e.g. increase openness, tolerance – and pay much less attention to hard classical location factors.

The ACRE analytical framework has been refined over the course of the work. In light of the ACRE empirical results, we are now able to revisit Florida’s thesis on the mobility of people composing the ‘creative class’ and on the drivers that lie behind their decision to live in a city (Section 2.1.1). Statements about the difference between hard and soft factors, creative and knowledge workers and, above all, the relatively trivial expectations of the respondents are used as first elements to fulfil the debate about urban competitiveness and governance (Section 2.1.2).

2.1.1 Revisiting Florida’s thesis on the mobility of the creative class and the role of ‘soft factors’

One objective of the ACRE programme was to test R. Florida’s hypotheses on the mobility of highly skilled creative knowledge workers. According Florida, in the book ‘The Rise of the creative class’ (2002), these people would be increasingly attracted by places combining high levels of technology, talent and tolerance. In other words, the classical ‘hard’ location factors would lose importance compared to the increasingly prized ‘soft’ location factors. The latter relate to the atmosphere of the city such as the openness and cultural and ethnic diversity.

Each of the three surveys conducted from 2007 to 2009 among the target groups of employees, managers and transnational migrants aimed at answering the following questions:

- What are the main drivers behind their decision to locate in the city where they currently live?
- What is the relative weight of hard and soft location factors in their decision-making process?
Theoretical Background and Methodology

It appeared quickly that reasons related to what we called the ‘personal trajectory’ and reasons linked to classical factors such as employment or studies opportunities were highly significant in respondents choices to settle at a particular place. Soft factors seemed to weakly influence their decision.

By compiling the results of the first quantitative survey conducted among employees in the 13 participant cities, we indeed found out that 55 per cent of the respondents were born in the city or metropolitan region where they currently live. The place where higher education has been achieved seems to play an even more important role in their location choice, as 63.6 per cent of the sampled employees obtained their highest degree locally, ie., in the city or metropolitan region where they now reside.

Taking into account this ‘personal trajectory factor’ – measured by the places of birth and studies of the surveyed – allowed us to give more insight to the issue of the attractiveness of a city. We could indeed differentiate the people who already had an anterior link with the city and those who had none. Considered as ‘creative migrants’, the latter only represent 25 per cent of the sample. For them as for the rest of the sample, the job-related hard factors, play the most dominant role in the selection of a place of residence.

Soft factors only play a very marginal role in attracting creative knowledge workers to a city, as only nine per cent of the people coming from outside the region cite this type of reason in a first position. They seem however important to retain these workers on a long term basis. Indeed soft factors tend to have more importance if respondents are living in the city for more than one year. As an opposite, the role of hard factors is continuously decreasing with the time spent in the city. This result implies that hard factors work more as a reason for mobility (why coming to a city), whereas soft factors are more the reason to stay (why not leaving the city).

Qualitative surveys among managers and employers in creative and knowledge industries confirmed the major role of hard factors, especially the availability of a skilled labour pool, which is often correlated to the presence of higher education institutions in the region. Access to clients and supporting services is also crucial and depends on the size of the city as well as on an efficient transport system. Entrepreneurs also insisted on the quality of the working environment and their professional networks for succeeding in their business.

The presence of universities and higher education institutions constitutes the major attraction factor for transnational migrants. Employment opportunities come up as an important reason to settle in the city. The drivers behind the decision to stay also relate to personal links (friends, family). We could also notice the relative importance of a strong image of the city as centre of creativity (Milan, Barcelona…) or centre of technology (Toulouse, Helsinki…).

These first outcomes thus do not confirm Florida’s hypothesis of a highly mobile ‘creative class’. On the contrary, the highly skilled creative and knowledge workers surveyed within the ACRE programme tend to have a rather sedentary way of life. And, whenever they move, their mobility is rather driven by classical hard factor, most of the time related to employment. Our results rather confirm those of Storper and Scott (2009: 161): ‘most migrants – unless they enjoy a private income or are able to capitalize on some purely personal talent that can be practiced anywhere – are unlikely to be able to significant
numbers from one location to another unless relevant employment opportunities are actually or potentially available.’

2.1.2 Some elements for the debate on urban competitiveness

According to our results, the size of the city, the quantity and quality of transport infrastructures, and, above all, job opportunities, and third-level studies (university) act as a significant driver behind the decision to settle in a certain region. The respondents are also heavily tied to their native and family environment or to the place where they have studied and built their social networks. On the other hand, soft factors are clearly not directly influential in directly attracting creative and knowledge individuals - employees, entrepreneurs and transnational migrants - in a city. However this does not mean that they have no importance at all for the surveyed, especially to retain them on the long term. Several observations related to the ‘quality of life’ can be drawn from the empirical results and put into relation with current debates on urban competitiveness.

- Evaluating hard and soft factors…

First attempts of comparison between the 13 cities show a strong heterogeneity of the results, which can be explained by the differences of local conditions. In general, dissatisfactions are clearly expressed on what refers to material aspects of the city such as dwelling, transports, cleanliness of the streets etc. This can be put into relation with the crucial issue of the development pathway of each city, which is one of the dimensions to be taken into account for a typology. Conditions for success seem different in cities with a strong or a discontinued path. We could indeed notice a lower satisfaction with facilities and urban infrastructures in general among people living in ex-socialist cities of Sofia, Riga, Budapest and Poznan. But the situation also differs according to the level of infrastructure and the position of the city as a national or regional capital. The size of the city also has to be thoroughly considered in the way that it might offer more potential personal relations. Along this line, the presence of strong universities well integrated into the city’s life appears to play a major role as precondition to the formation of further social networks. It is also important to mention that a positive evaluation on one or several aspect of the city’s environment does not necessary mean that those surveyed are not worried about the evolution of the city. In Munich for instance, the transport system and a large number of urban facilities and services are judged to be very efficient but those surveyed tended to be pessimistic on the city’s future in general. Soft factors seem to be much more difficult to evaluate than hard factors. Here it is important to distinguish between different types of soft factors. On the one hand there are conditions which policies cannot do anything, which relates to the natural assets of the city such as its location in a favourable natural environment or the sunny climate it enjoys or not. On the other hand, factors like openness and tolerance can be easily promoted through political decisions.
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND METHODOLOGY

- No specific expectations of the ‘creative class’?

The fact that the respondents concerns do not differ much than those of the rest of the population is one important statement that we can draw from the empirical results. This contradicts again R. Florida’s on the idea of the specific needs of a ‘creative class’. For instance, worries about the availability of jobs and affordable housing are pregnant in most of the surveyed cities. Concerns about the efficiency of the urban transport system and the related issues of traffic congestion and air pollution, but also safety issues are important for a large part of the respondents. Moreover the above underlined role of soft factors as retention factors tend to confirm that policies should not only focus on the attractiveness of the city for a ‘creative class’ coming from outside but should be oriented towards inhabitants who already live and work in the city.

This leads to consider the complex issue of urban governance and the integration of various, often contradictory objectives such as the need to increase competitiveness, tackle social exclusion and preserve environmental resources. The risks associated to policies focusing on economic excellence relate to the growth of social and spatial disparities within urban areas. This is one of the criticisms of Florida’s theory (Malanga, 2004; Peck, 2005; Scott, 2006). The elitism associated with the concept of ‘creative class’ also tends to play down the debate about social polarisation associated with economic restructuring. For instance, Thanki and Jefferys (2007) describe the informal labour market of the media industries in London and show how the need for personal contacts to find work and the precariousness of the workforce have reinforced the dominance of the industry by a white middle-class elite.

- The issue of scale

The ‘competitiveness-cohesion’ binary, which is at the heart of the current debates about governance, has been scrutinised in a recent book in relation with a European research project running between 2004 and 2007 (COST Action A26). The authors insist on the rescaling process that has gone hand in hand with globalisation – characterised by open markets, removal of barriers for trade, investments and migration of labour. Cities have become ‘key territory for current capitalism’ and ‘place competition has become a key driver of spatial and urban policy’. At the same time, cities and regions are forced to redefine their objectives, their means, their institutions and their positions as socio-political units (Ache et al., 2008:7).

The new meanings of the local and regional systems have been pointed out in a context of globalisation and it has been concluded that this should not be regarded as separated from global processes (Musterd et al., 2007). The analysis highlights the need to take into account the city, the city-region and the wider regional scale, both in geographic and in political-administrative terms, as well as the need to consider ‘smaller areas (sometimes neighbourhoods with specific characteristics) which either do or do not fit the requirements of residents and firms and thus demonstrate dynamic economic transformation or fail to do so’ (ibid: 30).
The new importance of cities and regions in the global economy and the re-scaling process it entails let the neighbourhood appear as a new object of attention. One of our results points to the idea that if soft factors do not influence people’s choice to settle in a particular city, they might determine why they choose a certain district within an urban area (Martin-Brelot et al., 2010). This points to the differences we found between creative and knowledge workers. While creative workers seem to be more demanding in terms of cultural offer and social environment, the knowledge workers are more sensitive to hard factors. This has implications for policy makers who wish to favour a certain type of industries or individuals. Particularly in terms of scale, interventions in neighbourhoods might be more adapted to the needs of creative people, whereas strategies at the metropolitan and/or regional level suits more a strategy targeting the development of knowledge intensive activities. However, as will be discussed in further detail at a later point in this chapter, policies targeted at specific groups are in danger of missing out on the broader needs of the population of cities, or city-regions.

On the basis of the outcomes of this analysis and the surveys that have been carried out in the previous Work Packages, as well as on the basis of the synthesis reports, which have been written, current policies and strategies will be confronted with actual dynamics in the regions involved. Attention will be paid in particular to the institutional dimension and the role of organisations (governments, trade associations, large companies, universities, citizen movements etc.) and the mode of governance in a comparative perspective.

2.2 Governance approaches

The purpose of this sub-section is not to review, in detail, the different governance approaches and methods but to highlight key issues regarding comparative studies and identify a common ground for a comparative analysis of case studies.

The nature and scope of this research phase should be taken into consideration: it primarily involves an analysis of policy documents, a study of governance arrangements in the field of economic development as well as interviews with stakeholders. The research mainly relies on existing knowledge and expertise of the topic under consideration and on previous research conducted by the researchers on every case study.

2.2.1 The diversity of governance concepts and theoretical approaches

Over the past decades a number of theories and approaches have been developed within what has been referred to as a shift of paradigm from government to governance. Prominent urban governance approaches include the American ‘growth-machine’ and ‘urban regime’ theories (and the related notion of ‘urban growth coalitions’) (Stone, 1993; Stone, 1989; Elkin, 1987; Stoker, 1995). Those approaches rely on the notion of ‘policy networks’ which is based on the (contentious) assumption that political processes are not controlled by state actors alone and that governing increasingly depends on the interaction of public and private actors (Davies, 2002). Policy network analysis has been described as ‘attempts to explain policy development by examining networks of actors concerned with a given policy problem, across the public and private sectors and throughout different levels of governance’ (Mikkelsen, 2006, p.17-
18). Whilst all analyses use the network as a unit of analysis, several approaches have been developed (Ibid.). The term ‘policy network’ can also be understood as ‘as a generic label that embraces different forms of relations between state actors and private actors’ (Kriesi et al., 2006 p.341).

2.2.2 Governance in creative and knowledge industries

Despite their very different production conditions and marketing structures, the cultural and creative industries display characteristic features that are reflected in specific forms of governance. Micro-companies and/or project-based structures with a large portion of freelancers dominate. Some rare sub-areas are heavily dependent on state funds (theatres, even film industry). As a whole, the cultural economy is a high-risk area with extreme fluctuations in market success. Besides, creative industries lack an organisational basis and industry associations that could serve as negotiation partners. In these particular conditions, traditional ‘top-down’ governance approaches seem hardly adequate. Establishing leadership in structurally unstable situations require a more flexible, less hierarchical approach. Attention should be paid to intermediaries such as ‘culturepreneurs’ (Lange, 2007) or ‘creativity brokers’ (Bilton and Leary, 2002) that can mediate between agencies and creative industries.

The knowledge industries are far more institutionalised and rely on growth coalitions that often associate public agencies, big businesses and industry associations. Furthermore, long established policies and structures are critical (Hall, 2004). These sectors are less flexible, characterised by a strong inertia. Emerging spin-off companies and spillover effects are far from exceptional. The importance of educational assets in a given city for the progressive development of knowledge-intensive industries make them more dependent on the support of public structures; top-down governance approaches are much more frequent (and might be more relevant) in that area than in that of the creative and cultural industries.

2.2.3 The difficulty of conducting comparative studies

The comparative study of policies and strategies raises a number of theoretical and methodological issues that have been summarised as follow within the context of a study of two German and two U.S. cities²: ‘an over-dominance of deductive approaches, the lack of explicit methodological guidelines and the less than rigorous application of what has become a multitude of overlapping theoretical concepts’ (Gissendanner, 2003:3).

Whereas it is acknowledged that deductive studies make a valuable contribution to theory building, it is also pointed out that the use of different concepts for qualitative descriptions inhibits case comparisons. In addition prominent urban governance approaches such as the ‘growth-machine’ and ‘urban regime’ theories in particular are said to provide few explicit methodological guidelines and the authors that applied them do not usually specify the

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² This study aimed at analysing the different ways in which cities responded to de-industrialisation and at exploring why some would respond in a relatively more strategic fashion.
methodology they use, which also makes the comparison difficult. Finally, the concepts used by the researchers may differ from the one originally defined in the source texts (Ibid.).

According to some scholars the dominant urban governance approaches present some shortcomings as well. The urban regime theory has been criticised in a number of aspects: its focus on political management and arrangements of internal governance coalitions and its failure to move beyond ‘middle-level abstractions’; its tendency to overlook the role of higher level governments; a rigid and static conceptualisation of the division of labour between state and the market and the subsequent underestimation of the potential role played by the local state and community-based organisation in capital accumulation; as well as a narrow vision of the private sector that does not take into consideration small businesses as increasingly vital actors in the post-industrial era (Imbroscio, 1998; Gissendanner, 2003). Other criticisms of the urban regime theory underline the fact that it does not take into consideration the discursive dimension of partnerships and the power relationships (this is particularly relevant in urban regeneration policies, see Atkinson, 1999). The ‘growth machine’ approach has been criticised for its emphasis on the business communities and land use decision-making. Scholars also argue that the efficacy of local political structures and formal politics is not adequately considered and that the connections between the local state and the national state are neglected (Fox Gotham, 2000). Both approaches have been criticised for their under-estimation of local political conflicts.

The relevance of approaches in term of ‘policy networks’ in the context of European cities has also been critically explored (see Davies for an analysis of the inadequacy of the term ‘governing by networks’ to describe the politics of urban regeneration in the UK). The debates revolve around the role and influence of public actors, in particular the national state, in sub-national affairs. The relative prevalence and power of ‘autonomous governing networks’ in different political systems is also put into question (Davies, 2002).

Following these shortcomings some authors have called for a more inductive approach that requires qualitative methods ‘that better uncover structural details of governance networks in ways that are less dependent on particular general concepts or on a logic of data selection that is independent from particular cases. Case study data must also be presented in ways that ease comparison’ (Gissendanner, 2003:6).

We propose to adopt such an inductive approach in order to describe and analyse simple structural aspects of networks through a set of common questions.

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3 In addition to the fact that these theories are based on the U.S experience and context and do not necessarily fit the European ones.
2.2.4 Defining a common ground for comparative work

Again, we have chosen to present a set of common questions to be answered in every case study rather than a single theoretical approach (see Appendix: Elements to address the types of interactions between stakeholders). A broad definition of ‘policy network’ is proposed (see the same appendix). This set of common questions builds on various analyses of networks that have been developed to analyse European policies (Kriesi et al., 2006; Peterson and Bomberg, 1999; Peterson, 2003; Rhodes, 1990, 1997).

The aim of this analysis is to identify and describe networks structures and functioning, including:

- The stakeholders involved in the definition and implementation of economic development policy, including identifying who is the most influential
- The nature of their interactions
- How and to what extent the structure and functioning of coalitions and networks ‘may explain policy choice, democraticness, strategicness, openness to new policy ideas, effectiveness, and so on’ (Gissendanner, 2003:15).
The Milan metropolitan area is part of the Lombardy region, in the Northern of Italy. It coincides with the administrative boundaries of the Province of Milan, and it has 3,906,726 inhabitants, which comprise citizens from the city of Milan (1,299,633 inhabitants) and from 188 municipalities. The Milan metropolitan region is the Italian area with the highest per capita income (30,468 Euros, against an average value for Lombardy of 27,371 Euros), and the Lombardy Region is one of the leading pole of Italian economy, employing 20 per cent of the Italian workforce and producing more than 23 per cent of the Italian Gross Domestic Product.

For a long time Milan has been one of the main economic engines of the country: the history of the region’s industrialisation is rather ancient, but the city has became the symbol of the national industrial progress quite quickly. Besides being a central place for the economic development of the country, the city of Milan was also an important cultural hub (in the broader meaning). Even if the centre of the political life is set in Rome, the capital city of Italy, Milan has always played a focal role in the intellectual and cultural life of the country: many newspapers have been established in the city, as well as many cultural and political movements.

Milan was deeply affected by WWII, but the years after were an age of renewal for the Milanese industry: the infrastructural developments put Milan in the position to lead the economic boom of the following decade.

Today, the city is the core of one of the richest Italian regions and the first one in terms of absolute values of employees in the creative and knowledge economy.

3.1 Creative and knowledge based economy of the Metropolitan Region

The industrial legacy of the Milanese Metropolitan Region has been radically transformed during the post-Fordist era, but its heritage is still visible in its strong industrial and economic power. In particular, Milan’s productive system is in transformation, in line with the principal post-Fordist transitions that are occurring in the main European capitals: crisis in the heavy manufacturing division, and growth in technical jobs with high intellectual content.

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1 Demo Istat data, 1° January 2008.
2 Istat, Census of industries and commerce
3 Eurostat 2005
4 For more information see Mingione et al. 2008
HOW TO ENHANCE THE CITY’S COMPETITIVENESS

The Milanese economic system is gearing towards the development of innovative and technologically advanced activities, for which it finds labour force and a good market, both nationally and internationally.

In the metropolitan area 553,969 workers are employed in 130,022 local units. 31 per cent of the working population are employed in the creative knowledge sector; more than 9 per cent of the Italian employees converge in this area.

Milan proves to be the Italian technological leader (OECD, 2006): the Metropolitan Region alone hosts at least 12 per cent of Italian businesses with a high level of technology, and 11 per cent of Italian services classified as knowledge intensive (ibid). This data also reflects the high position of the Milan Metropolitan Region among Italian cities regarding the educational level and the number of researchers (Florida and Tinagli, 2005).

As for the creative and knowledge economy, about 12 per cent of the Italian employees from these sectors are concentrated in the city (on the whole, the area concentrates about 9 per cent of the Italian working population). Table 3.1 specifically shows that the Milanese economy employs about 30 per cent of the working population in the creative and knowledge sector, out of which 14 per cent in the creative industries, 6 per cent in the law sector, 5 per cent both in finance and internet and communication technology, and 1 per cent in the research and development industry.

Table 3.1 - Milan, employment in five sub-sectors, average number of employees by local units (percentages of total working population and of creative knowledge economy)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MILAN METROPOLITAN AREA</th>
<th>Employees</th>
<th>Local units</th>
<th>Employees of total economy</th>
<th>Local units of total economy</th>
<th>Employees of creative economy</th>
<th>Local units of creative economy</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Advertising</td>
<td>16,559</td>
<td>3,921</td>
<td>0.93%</td>
<td>1.05%</td>
<td>2.99%</td>
<td>3.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Architecture</td>
<td>30,863</td>
<td>17,705</td>
<td>1.72%</td>
<td>4.74%</td>
<td>5.57%</td>
<td>13.62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arts/antiques trade</td>
<td>54,449</td>
<td>21,557</td>
<td>3.04%</td>
<td>5.77%</td>
<td>9.83%</td>
<td>16.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Craft</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designer fashion</td>
<td>39,147</td>
<td>5,775</td>
<td>2.19%</td>
<td>1.55%</td>
<td>7.07%</td>
<td>4.44%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video, film, music and photography</td>
<td>38,542</td>
<td>16,357</td>
<td>2.15%</td>
<td>4.38%</td>
<td>6.96%</td>
<td>12.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music and the visual and performing art</td>
<td>9,647</td>
<td>4,807</td>
<td>0.54%</td>
<td>1.29%</td>
<td>1.74%</td>
<td>3.70%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publishing</td>
<td>16,540</td>
<td>2,495</td>
<td>0.92%</td>
<td>0.67%</td>
<td>2.99%</td>
<td>1.92%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computer games, software, electronic publishing</td>
<td>40,094</td>
<td>6,465</td>
<td>2.24%</td>
<td>1.73%</td>
<td>7.24%</td>
<td>4.97%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio and TV</td>
<td>5,055</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>0.28%</td>
<td>0.08%</td>
<td>0.91%</td>
<td>0.22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Creative industries</td>
<td>250,896</td>
<td>79,368</td>
<td>14.02%</td>
<td>21.25%</td>
<td>45.29%</td>
<td>61.04%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICT</td>
<td>88,863</td>
<td>9,093</td>
<td>4.96%</td>
<td>2.43%</td>
<td>16.04%</td>
<td>6.99%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finances</td>
<td>89,494</td>
<td>10,408</td>
<td>5.00%</td>
<td>2.79%</td>
<td>16.16%</td>
<td>8.00%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Law</td>
<td>108,707</td>
<td>29,706</td>
<td>6.07%</td>
<td>7.95%</td>
<td>19.62%</td>
<td>22.85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R&amp;D</td>
<td>16,009</td>
<td>1,447</td>
<td>0.89%</td>
<td>0.39%</td>
<td>2.89%</td>
<td>1.11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge-based industries</td>
<td>303,073</td>
<td>50,654</td>
<td>16.93%</td>
<td>13.56%</td>
<td>54.71%</td>
<td>38.96%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ISTAT Censimento dell’Industria e dei Servizi, 2001
The Milan Metropolitan Area performs very well internationally, although it is not able to attract a large amount of highly skilled foreigners. Many indicators show that the city’s economy has a good position in the global economy. Global network junction, gatekeeper, and many other definitions for the city tell us that Milan is well connected to other international cities, and that it also connects Italy to the rest of the world (see for instance Magatti 2005 for a broad discussion about the global arena of the city).

Milan has a mature international market, with export volume of more than 35 billion Euro, and import volume of more than 66 billion, and where all the most relevant international economies exchange with the local economy. In terms of the service sector, around 30 per cent of all the internationally traded services are exchanged in Milan, and this is growing both in import and in export trading (CCIAA di Milano, 2008).

3.1.1 Strengths and weaknesses of the Milan Metropolitan Regions

In previous researches within the ACRE project (see WP5.12; WP6.12; WP7.12 and WP8.12) we focused on hard and soft factors and personal trajectories in order to evaluate those elements that are behind the success of the creative and knowledge economy. Table 7.2 in appendix shows what are the elements that impact talented people’s decision to stay in the Milan metropolitan region. Table 7.3 clarifies the weight each element holds in this decision. Summarising, the strong role played by the employment sphere is emerging: the fact that Milan is such a rich city in terms of economic activities, makes the region very attractive for professional and workers. One of the biggest effects of such a high concentration of economic activities in the region, which is strongly related to the past of this area, is the presence of a widespread transport infrastructure.

A second important hard factor is partially related to the first one, and it is represented by the educational offer of the region. This is particularly relevant for two elements: first of all it serves as a magnet for people in the surrounding regions, that came to the city to study, and have then decided to stay and work there; secondly it attracts foreigners, that may decide to settle (for long or not) in the metropolitan area. Moreover, other two aspects are related to the educational environment: firstly the connections between the educational world and the labour market (unfortunately just for few sectors); secondly, schools and kindergartens are very appreciated by foreigners and represent an important retaining factor.

Among the hard elements characterising the area, two of them are discouraging creative and knowledge operators from living and working in Milan. Firstly, the bad working conditions (in terms of contracts and job stabilities) which often cause the drain of talented people and which do not permit young generations to complete their transition to the adult life and to plan personal paths for the future; secondly, the high cost of houses and of life in general, which is another important pushing aspect that forces mainly (but not only) young generations to move outside the city, or to leave the country in search of a better quality of life.

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5 Economic conditions for highly skilled knowledge workers are usually good. This can somehow compensate for the inconvenient forms of contract they often have to deal with.
As far as the soft factors are concerned, they are more connected with impeding elements rather than with enabling ones. In the graduates’ and workers’ opinion, as well as in Italian managers’ and professionals’, the quality of the environment, both social and physical, is very poor in the region. Intolerance, narrow-mindedness, and a general negative behaviour are also perceived by foreigners as problems of the Milan metropolitan area. Italian and foreign professionals disagree about the cultural offer in the city: the first ones consider it as scarce and very poor, the latter appreciate it quite a lot.

On the contrary, a positive soft aspect that works as a magnet for talented workers, is the image of the city: essentially it is one of the main reasons that the interviewed talented expats identified as to why they had come to the Milan Metropolitan Area. The city, actually, has a very positive image linked mainly to its glorious past, when, in the 60s and the 70s, it was a real European cultural capital. Also, the city is home of very important and internationally known fashion maison and design companies. For professionals from some particular sectors (fashion, design, etc), Milan is a very good “brand” to be written on their CV.

The second positive soft element is the strong capacity of the city to build networks and relations: the city working attitude is that of solving practically everything through the word-of-mouth, and it functions as a tool to increase working performances and quality. Moreover, foreigners also appreciate the particular working culture of the Milanese environment, which is characterised by the strong reliability and working ethics of the professionals.

Third, the geography of the city is also appreciated, since it is located near to a long list of nice environments: seaside, mountains, lakes and so on are all relatively close to Milan, and workers tend to enjoy them during the weekends (with the negative side effect that the city tends to be empty from Friday evening to Sunday night).

Finally, personal trajectories revealed to be more important than the literature about this issue claims: the vast majority of workers and graduates are in the city either because they were born there or because they have their family there. Also friendship networks play an important role in the decision to stay in the region. In this regard, one of the element that arose from the interviews with talented expatriates in Milan, is that the presence (or the absence) of a family, and of children in particular, can have a significant impact on their mobility towards the region: firstly, family has a profound impact in the perception of the city, in the use of the urban spaces and the residential choices; secondly, more importantly, the presence of a family influences strongly the mobility itself of people.

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6 It must be said that, among foreigners, the cultural operators are much more critical than the knowledge-based workers.
Summarising: positive and negative factors in the Milan Metropolitan area

**Positive:**
- Path dependency and concentration of economic activities; labour market
- Educational offer; connection between working and educational worlds; first and second levels of schools are appreciated by foreigners
- Image of the city
- Working culture
- Geography

**Negative:**
- Working conditions
- Cost of life
- Quality of the environment (both physical and social)
- Cultural offer (although a number of foreigners appreciate it)

### 3.2 Analysis of economic strategies and policies

#### 3.2.1 Political structure and governance of the region

Since the 1990s a significant decentralisation process (*devoluzione*) characterises Italian institutional architecture: it has a multilevel system based on three tiers of subnational governments with 20 regions, 107 provinces and 8 100 municipalities (Figure 3.1). All of them have statutory autonomy.

The executive branch of each subnational level was reformed in order to be directly elected (mayors and provincial presidents since 1993, regional presidents since 2000).

Following the “Bassanini Laws” (1997) and successive implementation decrees, subnational governments have progressively received new responsibilities:

- *regions* play the most important role and they are mainly in charge of health services, urban planning, vocational training, culture and tourism, regional public transportation, environment, housing;
- *provinces* are the weakest level and they are mainly responsible for education and environmental preservation;
- *municipalities* mostly provide local public services (*e.g.*, social housing and social services, local public transportation, municipal roads, building and maintenance of primary schools, kindergarten services).
Many scholars and observers refer to the political and institutional life of the city as stagnant and most of them locate the reasons of lack of actions in the governance of the city, which is very problematic (see, just to quote a few: Alfieri 2009, Bonomi 2008, Pasqui 2005, Foot 2001). In particular, the city failed to build a broader governance framework able to meet its metropolitan challenges. On an institutional level, in the country there is no “metropolitan actor”, although many times the central government tried to implement such political bodies.

### Box 3.1 Strategic planning in a larger Milan: the experience of the Piano Intercomunale Milanese (PIM)

Measures were proposed to better manage Milan’s urban sprawl as early as 1948, with the city’s suggestion to draw up a spatial plan applying to an area larger than its own administrative surface. Milan ran into glaring resistance from neighbouring municipalities, which dreaded the supremacy of the central city over their own prerogatives and rejected the plan. The conflict was further fuelled by political discrepancies as Milan was governed by the Christian Democrat Party and the Socialist Party, while many neighbouring municipalities were ruled by the Communist Party.

A pragmatic solution was devised in 1961 when Milan and 34 other municipalities created the Piano Intercomunale Milanese (PIM), a voluntary consortium in charge of strategic planning. The city of Milan was brought back to the status of *primus inter pares* in the decision-making structure. The PIM requested economists, architects, sociologists and various urban technicians to design spatial development plans for the larger area of Milan, using the expertise of a research institute (ILSES-Istituto Lombardo per gli Studi Economici e Sociali) which had been established in 1960 by the City, the Province, the Chamber of Commerce of Milan and a local bank called Cariplo. The PIM experienced a promising debut. It attracted new members very
ANALYSIS OF CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXTS

rapidly (94 municipalities and the Province of Milan adhered by 1967) and put forward many innovative and high-quality ideas.

However, two problems eroded its mandate.

First, the projects were often strikingly ambitious and stepped closer to a cultural ideal than to a pragmatic scheme.

Second, technicians entertained close relationships with the two antagonist political parties (Christian Democrat Party and Communist Party), which led to frequent deadlocks when their projects were put to vote.

A glaring example of standstill came to light when two alternative urban development projects were presented in 1963: the so-called “Turbine model”, prepared by technicians close to the Communist Party, and the “Linear model”, set up by Democrat technicians. Both projects were rejected by the assembly as each party voted for its own plan and the attempt for a shared vision waned. The rule of unanimous vote further paralysed the decision-making process. The PIM progressively shifted towards a technical support body and a research centre rather than a proper inter-municipal consortium, the city of Milan quit during the 1990s and the PIM’s institutional capacity has remained weak.

OECD 2006: 131

3.2.2 Formulated strategies

The allocation of political responsibilities is one of the main problems of Italy and, as a consequence, of the Milan Metropolitan Area as well. Indeed, when it comes to policies of innovation among the metropolitan area, the debate is still focused on who has to face this task among the different governmental levels: Regional, Provincial, and Municipal.

At the Regional level, policies pursued by the Lombardy Region are now focused on the creation of strong relationships between research institutes, universities and industry.

Goals and policies have changed over the years. It is possible to organise Regional politics on competitiveness and innovation in three main periods of time. 1. 1995-2001: the main objective was that of fostering the industrial districts; 2. 2001-2003: 16 specialised productive districts were identified; 3. the promotion of a Meta-districts model was pursued during the third period (2003-2006). The sectors of the cultural industry involved in the programme by the Lombardy Regions are mainly four: biotechnology, fashion, design, new material and ICT.

Although both the Region and the municipality of Milan are the main actors as far as the financial power is concerned, the province of Milan is focusing on a strategic policy for the governance of the future of the area. In recent years, the Province of Milan has promoted a philosophy of policy which is more sensitive and more alert to the local and global transformation and it has been promoting policies and intervention in favour of innovation. It has delivered up to now three strategic plans (1999-2001, 2002-2004, and 2005-2007), which are a strategic and political reflexion on the institutional role, on the sustainable progress and on the competitiveness of the metropolitan area. The philosophy of these documents is to
bring the local context into the EU discourse on innovation and to give Milan that place again in the international hierarchy, place which has been recently lost. The first strategic plan has been mainly focused on the economic development, while the second and the third are more related to promote a strategy for the competitiveness of Milan metropolitan area. The first strategic plan, promoted and designed by the Province of Milan together with the European Union, and co-funded by the Region, aimed at fostering innovation and knowledge economy in Milan. It also intended to promote a governance of economic development throughout the creation of the forum of innovation (a new network of relations between economic, social and institutional actors, able to promote discussion and elaboration of strategies within a large group of private and public stakeholders).

The second strategic programme (2002-2004) focused on territorial competitiveness, and **incubator** is the key-word: thanks to the collaboration with the Public University of Milan a number of projects have been implemented in order to foster the creation of start-up companies in the field of high-technology.

Finally, in the third strategic plan a new elaboration of **innovation** as a concept takes place. Innovation then is something which has to do with people, enterprises, competences which have to be nurtured by the intervention of the local government. The four pillars of the third strategic plans are:

1. Innovation as a complex and global market of technologies, competences and solutions;
2. Innovation as entrepreneurship, in the sense of an open culture towards risk and experimentation as fundamental elements of any business;
3. Innovation as a sum of specific approaches;
4. Innovation as a responsibility of the local government.

At the Municipal level, a strong opportunity is represented by the spaces left vacant by the dismissing of the manufacturing and traditional industries, but also by the last important challenge the City of Milan is facing: the Expo 2015. It is very important to mention it, not only for the positive (although controversial) effects it is likely to have on the city-region, but also because it is the first project for which the local government is trying to use strategic and forward-looking approaches. Moreover, the Municipality of Milan has very recently presented a new strategic plan for the government of the territory, focusing on the city of Milan and its future. The plan is still to be approved, and the process risks to be a very long time, nevertheless it has been presented to the city at the end of 2009. The name of the plan is “Milano per scelta” (**Milan by choice**). A portal http://www.milanoperscelta.it/index.php allows citizens to play and express their preferences for the decisions the Municipalities would take. The PGT declares to have three main goals:

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7 A call for support to innovation, quality and certification process of SMEs in Provincia of Milan (13 million Euros) Woman Creates Enterprise Public tender to finance and facilitate long-term cost investment(3 million Euros); Promotion of European thematic network and active system in the field of technological innovation (PANEL-PRAXIS, IRE, Metropolis, RINNO Network).
According to the council for the local development, the new PGT is an instrument to share, and thanks to which the city has a strategy of development until 2030. The manifesto of the PGT states that the focus is on the scarcity of public land, and for this reason the intention is not to sprawl the city anymore. On the contrary the attention would be on the urban agriculture (PGT refers in particular about Parco Sud), activity considered as very important for Milan both for economic and social reasons. As far as the public services are concerned, the goal is to allow the citizens to reach all the services they need in 10 minutes, and this would be possible also thanks to the increase of the frequency of suburban trains and metro lines to 10. The manifesto of the PGT proposes a cultural reform in how the city is administrated, which would be possible thanks to four central rules:

- freedom: this rule is mainly based on the relationship between public and private interests;
- equity: each area of the city will have the same possibility to be built and developed
- simplification of rules and bureaucracy;
- subsidiarity: in order to include private sectors in public services.

3.2.3 Existing policies

After this overview about governance and government of the Milan Metropolitan Area, let us focus on specific existing policies, implemented towards culture and creativity.

It is necessary to investigate into multi-level strategies and policy implications: therefore we will start the presentation from EU level policies to the very local ones (Municipality, or even smaller units, like neighbourhoods).

EU level

The EU strategy in culture and creativity is that of drawing the line of national and local policy and to give strategic guidelines to member states. In particular, there are two kinds of political actions fostering culture and creativity. The first one is based on the promotion of positive actions, such as the collaboration among the EU States, which could be translated into brains and ideas circulations, and also the promotion at a local government level of protection policies of products. The programmes CULTURE (2007-2013) and MEDIA, for example, encourage artistic and creative activities (the second on focuses mainly on audio-visual industry). The second type of action looks at economic interventions to support creative industries. The program FESR gives economic support to the construction of cultural infrastructures.
The European Capital of Culture (part of the CULTURE programme) is one of the main projects within EU policies for creativity and culture development. While initially (1985) the city was chosen on the basis of the importance of its cultural history, after 2004, thanks to a study conducted by the European Commission by Robert Palmer, it was decided that disadvantaged cities should profit massively from this programme. Therefore, the title became a real catalyst for cultural development and for the city transformation. (Kunzmann, 2000). In Italy three cities have been awarded by the title of Capitals of culture: Florence (in 1986), Bologna (in 2000), Genoa (in 2004).

Other more specific actions are implemented in order to support PMIs through the promotion of creativity and innovation. These actions follow two main directions. The first is devoted to the promotion of the so-called Information Society and is more focused on digital contents and on the systematisation of laws about electronic telecommunication; the second focuses on copyrights and on the issue of protection of intellectual contents. Although very important in term of image, these actions are therefore to be acknowledged by National laws.

**National level**

Notwithstanding the great importance of culture, art, creativity and innovation in the Italian economy, Italy has never put any effort in building a clear definition of creative industry (as for instance the UK did). Only recently, a research committed by the Ministry of culture and directed by Santagata (2009), tried to systematise this field and to build a definition. Several sectors are thus identified as representing Italian creative and cultural industry: design; fashion; taste; film; television, radio and publishing; software, computer and ICT; communication, advertising and branding; architecture; performing arts; contemporary arts.

| Table 3.2 - Classification of cultural and creative industries according to the White Paper on Creativity |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| Material culture | Fashion |
| | Design |
| | Food and wine |
| Content industries | Film |
| | Software |
| | Publishing |
| | Advertising |
| | TV & Radio |
| Historic and artistic heritage | Cultural |
| | Heritage |
| | Architecture |
| | Music and |
| | Performing arts |
| | Contemporary art |

*Source: Santagata et al. 2009*

One of the main features of the National policies towards culture and creative is undoubtedly the fact that the concept of culture is more linked to conservation than it is to innovation or promotion, and in the legislation there are prevalent references to the protectionism practices.
Santagata identifies three main policies of cultural planning\(^8\). The first one is the policy of destruction (he brought as a drastic example the case of the Bamiyan Buddha in Afghanistan). The second is the conservation policy, which is opposed to the third kind of policy: the production one. In Italy conserving seems to be more important than producing. The reason of this preference is due to the fact that conservation is supposed to nurture the group of consumers (Sedini, 2009).

Keeping this is mind, national actions will be presented in the following pages, divided into six main areas of interest (IRER, 2008):

- **Cultural goods.** As mentioned before, in Italy, one of the main legislative activities in terms of culture has been devoted to the conservation and the restoration of the cultural estate. Because of the huge amount of cultural and artistic goods on the Italian territory, culture has mainly been identified with something we have inherited from the past and that we have to preserve. In 1975 the Ministry for cultural and environmental goods has been established and in 1998 it changed its name into “Ministry for cultural goods and activities”. Looking at its competences it is possible to notice its orientation towards preservation, indeed the Ministry has responsibilities on the cultural estate, antiques, academies and fine arts. In July 2009 the Directorate- General for the Landscape, Fine Arts, Architecture and Contemporary Arts has been constituted.

- **Contemporary arts.** Italy is not very well known for contemporary arts, also due to the stance in regard to culture, which we have previously explained. One case we can refer to is the MAXXI - Museo nazionale delle arti del XXI secolo\(^9\) in Rome. The idea of a national contemporary arts museum was launched by the Minister for cultural goods and activities and it was approved in 1999. The realisation of the new building where the museum would be sited took ten years, and the inauguration was in November 2009, although it will be officially opened on the 30\(^{th}\) of May, 2010. The architectural project of the museum is from Zaha Hadid, an Iraqi architect.

- **Performing arts, TV, radio.** This area regards mainly production, even if one of the main issues is copyright and protection of national and European cinematic productions from American productions. Unfortunately, there is no specific strategy directed to theatres and performing arts, which indistinctly receive funds also thanks to the Fondo Unico per lo Spettacolo (Unique Fund for Performing Arts).

- **Innovation and Information Society.** Italy is behind other European countries concerning these issues. The Ministry for innovation and technologies was founded only in 2001. It is mainly aimed at innovating the public administrations and promoting the e-government. It calls attention to digital innovation inside the enterprises through the creation of calls to support the use of new technologies. However, these interventions have not had a big success.

- **Gastronomy industry.** This area is very much focused on the regulation of geographical collective brands, in order to preserve the quality of products. For example the brand DOC (the acronym stands for denominazione di origine controllata\(^10\), namely controlled origin

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\(^8\) Conference *Creativity, Innovation and Territorial Competition* (28\(^{th}\) October, 2007. Festival della Creatività, Florence).

\(^9\) National Museum of arts from XXI century.

\(^10\) Italy has a very advanced legislation in this regard, with many different institutions delegated to the valorisation and protection of wine and gastronomy products.
denomination) used for wines. However, the risk is that this extreme protection might have a negative influence on the possibility to innovate.

- Fashion and design. In this area the focus is very much on the copyright issue and the problems related to forgery.

As we have seen, the national policies on creativity, culture and innovation are characterised by a closer attention to conservative and protective measures rather than focusing on incentives for innovation and creativity. What has been changed in the last years is the raise of partnerships between public and private actors in the management of cultural events and activities, mostly due to the lack of public money, and to a radical ideological shift from a managerial approach towards a more entrepreneurial one.

**Regional level**

Due to the administrative decentralisation at the end of the 90's, the intervention area in terms of innovation, R&D, technology, valorisation of cultural goods and promotion of cultural activities, is at present under the regional competence.

Three are the main cultural areas the Lombardy Region has focused on: the musical sector, the theatre sector and the activities of cultural promotion (IRER, 2009). In order to explore how the Lombardy Region deals with calls, funding and norms about cultural policies we will use three spheres of reflection: 1. creativity, 2. innovation, 3. culture. The first two dimensions have been proposed by the European Commission in the document *Creative and innovative regions* (2009), and refer to both creative industry, such as design, fashion, architecture and so on, and to knowledge-based industry, such as Research & Development, ICT, biotechnology and so forth. The third area, that of culture, focuses on art and culture.

The actions promoted within these three areas of interest will be then observed according to their goal, identified as mainly focused on supporting either of the creative/innovative/cultural capital, or the economic capital, or the relational capital according to a scheme proposed in a previous work (d’Ovidio, 2009). Indeed, a cultural object can be analysed and defined on the basis of: its aspects of innovation and creativity; the kind of economic circuit it is located in; the network of people involved in it and the knowledge those actors share. Therefore, it could be said that a product of cultural economy is a good mix between creative, economic and social capitals (*Ibid.*).

We are going to introduce several policies and practices promoted in 2009 by the Lombardy Region according to the three areas of interest. We Aim at presenting the whole range of institutional actions focused on creativity, culture and innovation. In the following pages both small programmes and more complex policies will be shown.
ANALYSIS OF CURRENT INSTITUTIONAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXTS

CREATIVITY

- **Bando Moda** (Fashion Call). It was a regional call, which focused on three main areas of interest: two of them concerned the realisation of new products and the modernisation of processes of production, the third one focused on providing funds to help participate in international fairs and build local networks. It was addressed to small and medium industries, which operated in the fashion sector.

- **Bando Decò - design è competitività** (Call Decò-design is competitiveness). It collects and selects innovative ideas for the products design. The call is both for young designers and enterprises. In both cases they would receive funds to realise the project.

- **Artigiana 2009** (Craft 2009). It is a call which aims to help enlarge the network and the social capital for people and enterprises which work in art crafts. It comprises of several promotional events during the whole year.

- **Pianeta Giovani - Creatività e opportunità** (Young people Planet – Creativity and opportunities). It has been co-financed by the Program Nuova Generazione di Idee. Le politiche e le linee di intervento per i giovani di Regione Lombardia (“New Generation Ideas. Policies and interventions for young people of the Lombardy region”). The project was developed around seven topics: 1. Sustainment to young creativity and development of young people’s entrepreneurial capacity; 2. Youth participation; 3. Networks development; 4. Study/work orientation; 5. Access to work; 6. Training, information and communication; 7. Promotion of sport and of its values. The activities lasted 18 months and were focused on two main fields: music and orientation. The project involved youths from 14 to 30 years of age, living in two medium-size provinces within the Region.

- **Lombardy Region Gift**. It implies two kinds of “gifts”, one called training gift and the other called job gift. It consists of funding unemployed people who live in Lombardy and are under 64. Thanks to these funding people can attend several courses of which a very large part is devoted to creativity (video, photography, web development, etc.). People are obliged to attend at least 80 per cent of the course in order to receive the funding.

- Lombardy Region will finance with 50.000 Euros the University Foundation IULM, to realise the “Forum on the development strategies of creativity in Lombardy”. The event is supposed to be held in the Villa Reale of Monza in February 2010 (however there has not been any announcement by now, 19th February, 2010). This event will naturally follow the first Unesco World Forum on Culture and Creative Industries, which was also held at the Villa Reale of Monza in September 2009.

INNOVATION

- **Meta-districts**. Lombardy Region aims to identify excellent areas which could represent development poles with high technological potential. These are new areas for the development of industries, with high levels of technological collaboration between companies and research centres. They have been created by applying policies for the success in competitiveness both on national and international markets (Sedini, 2009). “Meta-districts are becoming more and more important in the economic life of the metropolitan area of Milan. They can face new mechanisms of international competition, linking together specialised enterprises and research centres on thematic basis, producing networks able to work on high-technology training and production” (Mingione et al., 2007:47). The specialisation and the number of projects financed, from 2003 to 2008 (with the exception of 2006), by the Lombardy meta-districts
HOW TO ENHANCE THE CITY’S COMPETITIVENESS

are: Biotechnologies (20 projects), Food biotechnologies (10 projects), Fashion (40 projects), Design (18 projects), New materials (13 projects), Information and Communication Technology (22 projects).

- Lombardy Region participated at the WORLD CREATIVITY FORUM (Stoccarda, 30th November-2nd December, 2009). The Padano Technological Park and the San Raffaele Hospital (ICT Direction) have been involved in the event as best practices of meta-districts.

- QuESTIO (Quality Evaluation in Science and Technology for Innovation Opportunity). It is a portal about Centres of Research and Technological Transfer (CRTT). Collecting all the available data, QuESTIO provides information about who the protagonists of the research field are, about technological transfer, and innovation. In fact, QuESTIO seems to be particularly helpful when it comes to buy R&T&T services, and to bridge between different centres which intend to meet to exchange information and experience. Also, it is very useful to support the Lombardy Region to elaborate precise policies addressed to the funding of innovation and research.

CULTURE

- Twister. In collaboration with Fondazione Cariplo (see infra), the Lombardy Region aims to create a network of regional museums. The project’s purpose is to carry out 10 artistic interventions, site specific site related (one for each museum) plus one network artistic intervention, that will be open at the same time in each museum which is part of the project. The intervention aims to motivate both artistic production and museums fruition at a regional level and therefore to favour the local cultural capital. The network of the several museums wants to improve the social and relational capitals.

- Pole for the valorisation of cultural goods. The partnership between the region, and the Public University of Milan, Public University of Pavia, Milan Polytechnic, Public University of Milan-Bicocca and the CNR (National Research Council) was officially launched in 2007. Three goals have been identified: 1. to represent a permanent site for developing and sharing programs and research practices; 2. to experiment new methodologies and intervention techniques; 3. technological transfer to the enterprises system and cultural institutions. The Pole represents an institutional action which will favour the rise of social capital. This will be pursued through the partnership between different actors, and after an initial money transfer, which will serve for its flywheel effect.

- Annual una tantum funding for artistic production in music, theatre and audiovisual sectors (L.R. 30th July, 2008).

- NEXT. It is a theatre scholarship which intends to promote professional relationships, anticipate new theatre productions through the creation of a 20 minute trailer of the show. Therefore, this project is in between the enrichment of social and cultural capital.

- Etre: esperienze teatrali di residenza (Theatre experience of housing). Together with the Fondazione Cariplo, the Lombardy Region co-finance a series of projects focused on young creative workers or artists, supporting residential projects for young acting companies. Etre has two funding schemes within the artist production, one focusing on the most innovative artistic projects and the other focused on young artists and street art.
Local level

The governmental authorities, which operate at a local level, are Provinces and Municipalities.

As far as the cultural policies per se are concerned, the responsibilities of Provinces are very limited. Often they are responsible for their own cultural institutions, such as libraries and museums, acting most of the time as coordinating actor and network actor in other contexts.

On the contrary, Municipalities are more involved in cultural policies, and their ratio in public expenditure is increasingly growing (Carla Bodo and Simona Bodo, 2008).

In terms of creative and innovative economy, the Province of Milan implements a series of policies aimed at sustaining the network of local creative industries and support them mainly from the point of view of the social or cultural capital. These actions are consistent with the third strategic plan, and its main axes of intervention (see previous paragraph).

- **Imprese Creative (Creative Enterprises).** The portal [www.impresecreative.it](http://www.impresecreative.it) is on-line since 2005, with the purpose of creating networks among enterprises operating in creative sectors, and of favouring the collaboration among the so-called creative people. This community, through the activities of BIC.-La Fucina, promotes heterogeneous experiences giving them the chance to be known on the territory. Through a specific agency called Milano Metropoli, mainly held by the Province of Milan (main partner) and co-founded by the Chamber of Commerce and by the Lombardy Region, a number of actions are implemented, focusing on creative enterprises and professionals: **Incubatore LIB** (an information office for creative enterprises); **CreatiCityGate** (a “creative house” for exhibitions as well as conferences and meetings about creativity and design); **Metrocult** (a social network devoted to creative workers and professionals that can virtually meet and share their working experiences); **ST-ART UP** (a utility desk for students willing to start their own creative job and needing help in the transition from the educational to the professional world). On this concern, the project **Diamo casa a 10 idee creative** (Let’s give home to ten creative ideas) has selected 10 creative ideas coming from young people (outside the professional world, but willing to enter it) and provides them for 7 months both with the physical space where to start their activity and technical or bureaucratic support needed to implement the ideas.

- **MIND-LAB Milano New Design Lab** develops a network among professionals in the design sector in order to share ideas, information and relations.

- **Artigiane Artiste.** A project devoted just to female entrepreneurs, that aims at valorising creative products of small and medium artisanal enterprises (led by women).

- **Milanomadeindesign** promotes at an international level (through fairs and exhibitions) local creative industries.

- A further project held by the Province of Milan and co-funded with third-sector organisations (Centro Come and Arci Milano), is **La Casa delle culture del mondo**[^11], which is the first intercultural centre in the Milan Metropolitan Area. It is a place dedicated to arts and creativity of foreigners who are settled in Milan. The centre was opened in 2009 in response to migrants and foreigners’ need of integration in the city. It represents a space where

[^11]: Literally it means *Home of world cultures.*

http://www.provincia.milano.it/cultura/progetti/la_casa_09/index.html
“different” cultures are promoted and made known to a larger public through the organisation of meetings, discussions, seminars and lectures, educational paths and laboratories, artistic events and so on. (For more information see WP7.12 and http://www.provincia.milano.it/cultura/progetti/la_casa_09/index.html).

Due to the little financial resources of the Province (see also the previous paragraph) actions devoted to the economic support of the creative, cultural and innovative sector are quite limited. Most of them are organised in collaboration with other actors, such as the Region, or the Chamber of Commerce. In particular, three programmes, mainly centred on the economic sphere have been implemented in 2008 by the province of Milan with the Chamber of Commerce. The first one is devoted to the economic support in the creation of innovative and creative enterprises, within a wide range of sectors (such as research and development, publishing, radio and TV, cinema, music, performing arts, design, advertisement, fashion, electronic games, art and so on); the second project is directed towards the implementation of creative projects of audiovisual SMEs, such as experimentation of new productive technology, exploitation of new forms of dissemination (mainly via web), creation of innovative products. Finally money is transferred in order to sustain enterprises (among all sectors) in the patent attainment process.

Finally, we are going to present the main projects organised by the Municipality of Milan in the field of culture and creative/innovative economy. Again, we will start with culture and art and then with the creative and innovative sphere. The Municipality is investing less than 4 per cent of the total expenditure in culture, mainly for financing its main public theatres and museums (la Scala, Brera Pinacoteca, and so on), a portion which is said to be completely inadequate for the needs of the city (see chapter 5 for an extensive discussion). The policies regarding creative, cultural or innovative industries are more complex and differentiated, but they are mainly expressed through specific projects and funds. Within the fashion field several programmes are implemented, as for example the Fashion Incubator project. These programmes are meant to help young professionals and talents enter the system. Both supporting networks and sustaining them with economic financing. There are also projects dealing with offering places and consulting young fashion designers). The Milanese Fashion Incubator, financed by the Municipality of Milan was created by the Training Department of the National Chamber of Italian Fashion. It aims at favouring creation and development of small enterprises, giving support to young talents who would like to start their business in the fashion industry. In particular, the Fashion Incubator provides spaces (close to the city centre) and tools for work, as well as consultancy and training services, promotion and communication activities, participation to Milano Moda Donna (Milan Woman Fashion), participation to events abroad and networks with showrooms and buyers (http://www.cameramoda.it/progetti/fashion_incubator.php). We are now at the third edition of the project. The first edition was held between 2005 and 2007. At that time the laboratories had a different location and were far from the city centre. The selected participants had been ten fashion designers chosen among 150 applicants. The second edition, started in 2008, was characterised by a change of location, and by a reduced number of candidates: six instead of ten. In 2009 the third edition has been started, with the selection of five candidates.
Another project among those promoted within the fashion sector is N-U-DE New Upcoming Designers, which was created in 2005, from an idea of the National Chamber of Italian Fashion, in order to value new and younger designers and brands. The project allows them to show, at favourable conditions, their collections in a common fashion show during the Milano fashion week.

Similarly, a series of projects named Previsioni are aimed at sustaining young people entering the cultural field: they support young graduates from Milan public art schools co-financing their projects and sustaining them through practical supports (namely providing promotional elements, physical space, networks, …). Finally two projects are aimed at sustaining creative young workers: they offer practical help providing both space and support, in a sort of incubator for new projects. The project “Experience. Concreteness to creative ideas” (Experience. Concreteness to creative ideas) focuses on audio-visual projects presented by young creative workers (under 30) within the field of multimedia; the plan called Fare work (literally, Do work) is implemented together with the Province of Milan and it focuses on the creation of new enterprises within the artistic field. It offers an incubator service, in order to ease enterprises’ start-up.

One of the main projects of the Municipality of Milan is the Fabbrica del vapore, started many years ago (21th February, 2001 the inauguration), that saw discontinued success in the past. Fabbrica del vapore used to be a large factory, has now been renewed by the municipality in order to have spaces to be offered to young creative workers for their start-ups. The proximity of many small creative activities should be the strong point of the project, considered the starting point for single small projects’ success. After many years, the renewal
project is still unfinished, although a large part has been restored and used for creative activities, but with much contested results.

### 3.3 Comments and critics

According to Scott (2006) the interdependent relationship between production system (economy) and urban cultural environment (culture and territory) is part of the agenda of policymakers around the world. Having said that, “Milan cannot be considered a best practice in the field of local public policies supporting development” (Pasqui, 2008: 1). While economy has been fairly vital, the political and institutional system has not been able in the last 15 years to support the transition from the Fordist to the Knowledge society (Pasqui, 2008). Also OECD Territorial Review judges the success of Milan in the future as unsure (2006). According to John Foot (2001), who refers to a previous period of the history of Milan, politics have a short-sighted approach to the management of the city, since they are still strongly attached to the glorious past of Milan. Because of this, they refuse the adoption of flexible policies able to respond to the change of the last century. For example, they refuse the fact that Milan is a “diffused city” (Foot, 2001: 205) which is passed by several kinds of populations.

There are three main problems present at different levels in all those policies (Pasqui, 2008):

- **Scarce attention to the “habitability” issue.** Local policies are not very focused on physical and social environment and diversity.
- **Lack of development of social and cultural mixité, which would cause the city to be more attractive for skilled and young people.** Local policies should be more concerned with supporting and promoting cultural exchange and social innovation.
- **The absence of a new urban agenda.** Indeed, the “old” agenda is very much focused on infrastructural interventions, which do not seem to be the real issue of the city, while a focus on liveability issues would be more effective and much needed.

Quoting an interview to Carlo Fontana12 “the relationships between culture and society and therefore between culture and the city are weak and are postponed to the mere market interests” (Alfieri 2009: 154) The percentage of public funding which the Municipality invests in culture is equal to 3.94 per cent of the whole expense. The cultural market in Milan is mainly thought as entertainment more than creation of narratives or construction of the public sphere (*Ibid.*: 156)

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12 Carlo Fontana have been holding many official offices: he was 1990 to 2005 superintendent of the Scala Theatre of Milan and Senator of the XVI legislation (1990-2005), member of the 7° Permanent Commission for the Public Education and Cultural Goods (2006-2008) and also, for the same period, member of the Parliament Commission for the General Direction and the Supervision of radio and television services.
4 DISCUSSION ON INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE AND GOVERNANCE ARRANGEMENTS

4.1 Identification of key stakeholders in economic development policies at different levels

Recently, urban societies have been experiencing a transformation from a model of a city governed by (mainly or solely) central local institutions, towards a model according to which different actors, groups, relational systems are in charge of governing the city. According to this model the capability of leading the local environment depends on the mechanism of negotiation and coordination among different organisations. In this chapter we will focus on how private, collective and public actors are collaborating (or fighting) in the public arena in the pursuing of their interests.

Very briefly, following Dente’s historical recognition (Dente, 2005a) we can identify three main phases of the governance history in the Milanese context; this awareness is surely helpful in to investigating who the main actors are in the Milanese scene.

1. The Moral Italian Capital (1950-1965). During these years big projects of renovation of the city were realised, products innovations occurred, and decisions and realisation processes were very rapid. The groups of actors protagonists of this moment were: the local administrators (principally the Mayor); municipal bureaucracies; economic interests, which represented a shared vision about the growth of the city. To the horizontal governance enlargement (which included economic actors such as the Chambre of Commerce, Cariplo, etc.) did not correspond a vertical openness. For this reason the Province and the Region were completely absent.

2. Towards Tangentopoli (1965-1992). In this period two main changes occurred: a break of the political and social estate, which were very united during the past; and loss of autonomy in the definition of the agenda by a part of the political class. The results were:

- a policy which was not able to prevent problems;
- a common financial crisis;
- growing role of political parties;
- growing importance of central government;
- difficulties in the coordination of other local actors (which, however, had bigger importance)
- fall in the decisional efficiency
- corruption, which arrested the development of the city.
Notwithstanding all these negative consequences, a positive consequence was that a certain
innovative capacity in the proposals for the development of the city was preserved.

“Tangentopoli” did not show as much involvement in politics as it was supposed. Instead,
what resulted from Tangentopoli was reinforcement of a political party which had been
founded before: the Lega Nord (Agnew, 2002). At the local level, the key word was
“administrative”. This stance caused a downsizing of both problems and solutions. The
increased management capacity was also due to several processes of privatisations, which
solved the financial crisis. At the level of the governance, involvement of tertiary sector
increased and, unlike the first period, a verticalisation towards the Region and other
municipalities took place (despite of several competitions with the other local actors,
appeared in consequence of the Bassanini law (1997)). But the models of governance pursued
were not incisive and the project processes were at a stand. Milan has been defined as a low-
institutionalised and low-governed city.

While Milan’s direct attempt to build a broader governance framework which meets its
metropolitan-governance challenges failed, the recent decentralisation process has left it with
some important tools. Italy has progressively moved from a centralised institutional system
towards a decentralised one, and in terms of sub-national expenditures and resources Italy
now appears fairly decentralised compared to other OECD Member countries (OECD, 2006).
However, this fiscal decentralisation not always seems to translate in a real decentralisation
process in terms of governance and institutional capacity. According to OECD (ibid.), three
main problems weaken the governance system of the area. First of all the decentralisation
process has answered the needs of the Milan area in an uneven manner. Although the three
government levels gained new responsibilities and powers, these are not distributed according
to real needs. The functional area of Milan (what we used to call the Milan Metropolitan
Region) coincides very closely with the Province of Milan, which is the weakest actor in
terms of responsibilities and resources, while the Region is the strongest actor.
Secondly, overlapping responsibilities persist across levels of government and it is not always
clear who is responsible for what. For instance, health is a region’s major responsibility, but a
large part of it is still controlled by the National State. Cultural policies also have very blurred
boundaries, with no clear tasks and goals among institutional bodies.
Finally, it has been argued (ibid.) that the Lombardy region’s budget may encounter fiscal
hazards, due mainly to the finance organisation and ratio among parts of the regional budget.

On the economic side, Milan has shown quite remarkable performances (especially if
compared within the national context – see for instance WP7.12) but the inadequacy of the
metropolitan organisation (at least from an institutional point of view) surely stands in the
way of becoming high-level service hub. Actually, in many scholars’ opinion, the city has not
been able to take advantage from the decentralisation process, although local actors have at
least gained more flexibility to pursue their aims: one of the main features of the city, which
undoubtedly represents a strong point of the city itself, is the extraordinary capacity and self-
organisational ability of a large pool of civil-society actors (mainly from the business
community, but also from the third sector, religious bodies, labour unions, academics and
researchers, NGOs, …). They often act in spite of the institutional actors, in order to sustain
their own interests and, often, the city’s ones.
On this concern, the case of the territorial development is particularly meaningful. Although it is usually directed by public-private actors, in Milan it seems to be mainly in the hands of private developers. This type of actions are very important for the city as a whole, since they imply matters like the image of the city, the city marketing field, but also the capacity of the environment to respond to economic transformations. Although in many cases the process of gentrification which resulted in a transformation has occurred spontaneously, in many other cases it has been led by private real estate developers. The example of the Milanese Design District is particularly evocative. The neighbourhood, a former industrial area with many small and some medium factories, hosts today a large number of design companies that have been attracted by the centrality of the area and by the supply of buildings. The process started spontaneously at the beginning of the 1980s when some important design companies relocated in the area. Then many other followed. Some years later, the main private developer of the area understood the importance of territorial marketing, and organised a marketing campaign with a brand and a large street event during the design fair in the city (one of the city’s main trade event attracting a large number of visitors). Suddenly the area turned into a design neighbourhood and experienced a large success, both in terms of economic profit of the firms located in the area (which could profit from the territorial marketing) and in terms of land value.

Figure 4.1 - Image from the Design week

Source: http://www.zonatortona.net/index.html

A different strategy of micro territorial marketing has been applied by local real estate developers (EuroMilano) in another Milanese neighbourhood, called the Bovisa area. The area represents one of the main developing Milanese area, located in the nord-western part of the city. It is a former artisanal and industrial site, now home to the new building of the Polytechnic University (with the design faculty). Notwithstanding the presence of the University and many other offices, the area is still not on the map of the Milanese population, who consider it a periphery of the city rather than a neighbourhood itself. Most of the land has been purchased by a private real estate company who implemented a series of cultural activities in order to attract people to the area and to make it known to the population (in the developers’ eyes, potential buyers of apartments in the area in the future years). In so doing the neighbourhood has been developed also on a cultural level, although with not so clear results. One of the major activities in the area is The Triennale Bovisa, an exhibition centre, hosting also a cinema (an open-air cinema for summer), a restaurant and a bookshop, which is temporary and which will leave space to a large apartment building.
A further type of action implemented in order to market the area is that of providing spaces as incubators for designers, artists and creative and knowledge workers in general: again, with private-private partnership the area is becoming rather known as a home to many design companies, which could also profit from the presence of the design university nearby. These two examples clarify that the necessity of a new identity for Milan’s former industrial areas is a relevant issue for the future of the city as a whole. While undoubtedly recognising the value of these projects, the lack of a public administration agent creates effects of imbalance, and social and territorial inequity (For maps and further information see WP6.12, chapter 3.3).

4.1.1 The Milanese Chamber of Commerce and the Italian Chamber of Fashion

In order to draw a map of the main actors defining the local governance, we will first take into consideration dedicated associations that are active on the local policy. Among them, the Chamber of Commerce of Milan has undoubtedly a strong role in the local policy. Created during the Napoleon regime and then confirmed by the Italian State, they had not a strong power in the past, being nothing more than a confirmative actor for the party action. Although with strong local differences, they have been for many years integrated in political networks (Bagnasco and Le Galès, 1997). Only in recent years the CC has been transformed in collective actors. precisely, it was in 1993 that the State cut most of the investment, forcing private enterprises were to become part of the CC. Actually, within the European context, the Italian Chambers of Commerce play a major role, acting both as an institutional and as a representative actor. They hold public-administrative functions (certifications, market regulation and promotion), and represent formally all categories present on the local economy sustaining their interests. Among the European ones the Italian CC are organised as a sort of local market Authority which oversees the competition among actors, the freedom of market and so on. Following Melegari (Melegari, 1999), its twofold function (regulating the market and representing the local economic actors) makes the Italian CC a valid example also for other European Countries.
In the Italian cities, therefore, the CC constitutes very strong network and represent a leading actor within the urban policies and the local development strategies (Le Galès, 2002). Besides the activities mentioned above, the Milanese CC has specific programmes, called *Aziende Speciali*¹, aimed at promoting different sectors or at supporting particular economic needs. Among them, three firms are directly linked with the creative and knowledge local economy: InnovHUB, Formaper and Promos.

**InnovHub**, has been providing information and consultancy services to SMEs on all European issues since 1987, with a special focus on innovation, technology transfer, grants, loans and so on. They aim at providing valuable services such as a technical structure, to support small and medium enterprises as well as public and private actors in accessing funding at European, national, regional and local level. It also aims at providing information on all European related matters. In the words of its director, Attilio Martinetti, the office focuses on creative economy giving “space”, both physical and virtual and organisational, to creative people and to the creative industry in general. The office serves also as a “facilitator” in order to solve problems between creative enterprises (or professionals) and the “real world” in general, supporting in the bureaucratic aspects, and also creating networks.

**Formaper**, founded in 1987, focuses on education (at all levels and in a very wide sense) for enterprises, through vocational guidance, information, education, research and assistance. It also gives simple assistance to small or medium enterprises who need organisational advises. The main goal is “that of operating on the cultural and entrepreneurial environment, by creating a long-lasting interaction between those who are already in the market and those who aim at entering.” (http://www.formaper.it). A special attention is devoted to foreign entrepreneurs, who represent an important proportion of Milanese foreign workers (see WP 7.12): Formaper organises courses and seminars for immigrants who want to become entrepreneurs and independent workers both in Milan and in the province. It organises Italian and English courses as well. The experts of the Punto Imprenditoria (Entrepreneurship Point) office offer their services to foreigners without any charge. Besides that, Formaper also carries out studies and researches on entrepreneurship, with a special attention (but not exclusive) to foreign entrepreneurship.

Finally **Promos** is the special agency of the Milanese CC created for the development of small and medium firms’ international activities. It is aimed at promoting the internationalisation of the Milanese entrepreneurial system by the constitution of a strong network of offices and desks located in the most strategic areas for SME’s competitiveness. Promos is the privileged mouthpiece for enterprises in Lombardy which are interested in international business opportunities.

Moreover the Milanese CC has its own research office, which provides empirical researches on the local economy, and it also acts as a promoter for specific researches together with the city’s main research centres or universities. Among the dedicated institutions, it is worth mentioning the Italian Chamber of Fashion, with its headquarters in Milan, being fashion industry so crucial for the economy of the city (and, not less importantly, for the image of Milan). Its main goals are those of representing the interests of fashion industry in the

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¹ Special Agency
country, and, maybe more importantly, organising the fashion weeks (for the prêt-a-porter) that take place four times a year in the city (twice for woman fashion, and twice for the man one). Its role if often very contested, both by “big” fashion designers and by the youngest ones. Armani, for instance, is not a member of the association, neither is Krizia, who is always very critical of its role. Young fashion designers, moreover, do not feel fully represented by this institution: the Chamber is described as dominated by the big names of the city fashion systems, and as poorly attentive or unresponsive to the demand for innovation and to the interests of innovative young designers. It is exactly in these days (February 2010) that a strong controversy in the world of fashion is taking place in the city: Anne Wintour, the powerful director of Vogue America, declared that she will be attending the Milan Fashion week just for three days, and not for the whole week. Therefore, all the big names (except for Krizia) re-scheduled their show in order to fit Mrs. Wintour’s diktat, and the Chamber of Fashion helped them in this task without any complaint. Krizia’s comment is enough to understand the atmosphere of tension of the Milanese fashion system: “I’m asking what the role of the Italian Chamber of Fashion is. I’m not a member of that organisation, I do not feel that they can represent my interests, but I strongly claim that it needs a strong leader, able to set the rules. But we are at the mercy of the waves”. Krizia 05/02/2010 from Repubblica Newspaper.

4.1.2 Fondazione Cariplo and private-public partnership

Fondazione Cariplo is another main actor involved in the local decision-making process and it plays an important role both at local, metropolitan and regional levels. Banking origin foundations, as Fondazione Cariplo’s, were firstly introduced in the Italian system in 1990 with the so-called law “Amato-Carli” (l.n. 218/1990), and represent a sequel to the Casse di Risparmio. These were private institutions which spread in Italy at the beginning of the 19th Century, with the initial aims of supporting the savings of citizens and exercising philanthropic activities towards the community (Barbetta, 2008).

Fondazione Cariplo was established in 1991 and, according to the Multi-year Framework Plan 2008-2013, it focuses on four main objectives:

1. support the research of innovative responses to needs in fields that public administration and private organisations do not deal with;
2. foster birth and growth of autonomous and efficient social entities which can act in the interest of the community;
3. act as a catalyst of local resources, which brings together different parties interested in satisfying common needs;
4. promote free initiatives which can contribute to the formation of a more responsible and participatory sense of citizenship. (Fondazione Cariplo, 2009b).

The Fondazione Cariplo pursues these aims focusing on four areas of intervention: Environment, Arts and Culture, Research and Social Services.

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2 On the contrary, as an example, the France Chamber of Fashion refused a similar rule and declared that, notwithstanding the Wintour’s programme, the fashion week would go on as already scheduled.
3 Fondazione Cariplo operates in the Lombardy region and in two provinces of Piemonte region: Novara and Verbano-Cusio-Ossola
With regard to its activity in the contest of the local governance, the important concept of subsidiarity must be underlined. Consistently with the philosophy of subsidiarity, the aim of the Fondazione Cariplo is not to replace other subjects, public or private, but to be an “intermediate body” of the society, an entity in between public and private sector (Fondazione Cariplo, 2009a).

We can find this intermediacy in the inner governance of the Fondazione Cariplo as well. Twenty out of the forty members of the Central Commission of Charity, which is the addressing body, represent the subjects which operate on the territory. Commissioners are selected among candidates suggested by the Region Lombardy, the City Council of Milan, the Province of Milan, and other Provinces involved and the Chambers of Commerce.

At the same time, the intermediate position within the banking origin foundations could be seen as an asset: these institutions can potentially play an important role in the definition of the paths of local development, as they are free from political pressures, they can plan long-term interventions and they can manage substantial volumes of resources (Crociata and Sacco, 2008). Actually, during these years the activity of Fondazione Cariplo has been significant. According to the data published in 2008 (Fondazione Cariplo, 2009c), from 1990 it has supported more than 20,000 projects led by no profit subjects, with a total contribution of more than 1,700,000 €: 36 per cent of which to Social Services, 36 per cent to Arts and Culture, 9 per cent to Research, 2 per cent to Environment and other contributes to voluntary service and other areas.

However, in the last years the weight of Research has increased: data of 2006-2008 (Fondazione Cariplo, 2009a) show a more balanced distribution between Arts and Culture (29 per cent), Research (20 per cent) and Social Services (26 per cent).

There are different procedures adopted by the Foundation to award grants: institutional grants, calls for proposal, patronages, Foundation’s projects, and emblematic interventions. Many Action Plans of Fondazione Cariplo are particularly significant for creative and knowledge themes. For example, the Action Plan 2 focuses on the promotion of excellence in human capital training. Regarding to this plan, Fondazione Cariplo has published a call addressed to universities, which aims both to foster training of highly skilled Italian graduates and to attract to Milan and Lombardy the most talented foreign students who want to stay abroad for their academic or postgraduate studies, or while they work on particular researches. In 2008 the Fondazione Cariplo funded fifteen projects (ibid.). Another important plan is the Action Plan 4, which concerns the promotion of the cultural heritage as a driving force for economic and social growth. In this field Fondazione Cariplo has started many interesting interventions: for example the project for the creation of cultural districts in Lombardy. For this project, Fondazione Cariplo is working with local institutions and stakeholders to create territorial systems with a high level of differentiation, quality and integration of cultural and creative services and with a high development of production chains related to cultural supply. These are two examples which show how the Foundation has acted and how it is acting in the context of the local (Milanese) and Regional policies: interfacing with and involving the local stakeholders (public and private) and trying to follow a design approach driven by the Framework Plan and the Action Plans.

In this regard it seems interesting what Crociata and Sacco write about the role of the banking origin foundation in the Post-Fordist economy: in a contest where culture plays a fundamental role in local development, it is important that foundations move beyond charitable and
fragmented interventions toward a more strategic vision organised in operative objectives (Crociata and Sacco, 2008).

4.2 Types of interactions between stakeholders

As we saw in the previous paragraphs, in the Metropolitan Area of Milan there are many and different actors involved in the fields of creativity and knowledge. The concept of “policy network”, proposed to observe the policies related to the creative and knowledge based economy (par. 2.2), underlines that these policies are the outcome of the interaction and the reciprocal influences of different institutional and non institutional figures. One important element in relation to participation and kinds of interaction between various stakeholders may be the presence or absence of shared strategic goals. The multiplicity of actors involved and the complexity which follows, imply two “imperatives” for contemporary public policies: the integration between different programs and sectors toward the achievement of complex social and economic objectives and the adoption of a strategic approach (Donolo, 2005).

However, the possible absence of a strategic approach and vision does not imply a lack of participation by potential actors. In fact some scholars have focused on the lack of rationality in the achievement of common objectives in many interactions between stakeholders (Bobbio, 1990; Lindblom, 1959). This vision seems to be consistent with the pointed out need of new strategies for the creative sectors of Lombardy, especially with reference to the international context (IReR, 2008).

The complexity of the Milanese governance is due to the fact that this system is extended both on the vertical dimension, with different institutional levels, and on the horizontal one, with the participation of many private actors (Dente, 2005b).

For clarity of presentation, and in order understand what kind of relations there are between the different interested actors, we will focus firstly on public institutions, then on private actors and organisation, and finally on public-private interactions.

Public institutions

As we have previously seen, the governance of Milan and of the metropolitan area is characterised by a multilevel system.

In reference to the national dimension, from the 90s there has been a progressive growth of the role of the Region at the expense of that of the National Government (Dente, 2005b). Therefore, in terms of interactions between institutions, the major players involved at local level are the Region, the Province and the City Council.

In relation to these, the first issue concerns the presence of the creative and knowledge economy in the institutional agendas.

Interviewed about these topics, an opposition councillor of the Regional Council of Lombardy underlined that, at all governmental levels, there is a big discrepancy between rhetoric and reality in integrating different policies and in conceiving culture and creativity in the context of strategies of local development:
No, not at all! These are only matters for conventions. On the contrary there is an awful praxis, typical of Italy, which sees culture and all these kinds of considerations as something additional to economy. (Interview G.C.)

Moreover, as previously seen (par. 3.2.2.), there is a general problem of political responsibilities’ allocation among the different governmental levels: Regional, Provincial, and Municipal. The overview about policy and politics already implemented (par. 3.2.3) shows that, even without a line of common action, in some cases there is cooperation between different levels of government.

For example, the project \textit{ST-ART UP} (par. 3.2.3), which includes various measures of support and funding to youth creativity, is co-promoted and funded by the Region and the Province together. As we saw in the previous paragraphs (par. 3.2.3 and 4.1.1), another type of very strong and common interaction is that between public institutions and the Chamber of Commerce, which is an autonomous institution under public law.

\textit{Private actors and organisations}

In relation to private actors, an important form of interaction is that of the strong and dense network of relationships among workers from the creative and knowledge economy: these are based on face-to-face interaction and are crucial to the work of these individuals (\textit{d’Ovidio} 2010 based on previous ACRE reports).

As seen in the other reports (6.12 and 7.12), this system of networks is very selective and represents an obstacle for those who are excluded.

In relation to these networks, what seem to be very important are the opportunities of meeting and exchange among people who work in the creativity and knowledge sectors.

The marketing and planning director of a private incubator of research industries defines their activity of facilitating meetings as “scientific technological marketing”:

\begin{quote}
What I called activity of “scientific technological marketing”. So that we are not a convention centre, but we have many seminars, instructive events and workshops, which we fiercely screen […].(Interview L.M)
\end{quote}

In this context alliances and partnerships for the realisation of certain projects may arise, also by obtaining public and institutional funding. About this, we saw that is very important the role of Fondazione Cariplo, a private entity that interacts with stakeholders both by funding their activities and by involving them in projects, also in collaboration with public institutions (par. 4.1.2). This is consistent with another trend found in the Milanese governance: the growth of the third sector (associations, social enterprises, foundations, which, in some cases, are able to express significant levels of planning, sometimes in collaboration with the institution) (\textit{Dente}, 2005a).
Interaction between private and public stakeholders

As we have seen, we can find forms of interaction between private and public stakeholders in terms of implementation of politics and actions. In facts private actors and organisations can be recipients of funding and/or instrumental support from the institutions.

In this concern, it is also important the participation of other institutions such as the Chamber of Commerce and the Fondazione Cariplo, which work with public institutions and private actors, organisations and associations, providing services, development strategies and projects (par. 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). In the paragraphs treating these two institutions we have seen that both carry out research on local context and issues (par. 4.1.1 and 4.1.2). This activity too can be of potential interest for the definition of public policies. Again focusing on implementation of politics for creative and knowledge workers, we see that public institutions have moved toward the facilitation of meetings and networking among potentially interested stakeholders.

One of the directors of the Chamber of Commerce, talking about the policies and strategies for supporting creativity, insisted on the importance of an informal atmosphere.

Not trying of manage or systematise the presence of creative people in Milan. First of all offering them places, not only physical and institutional places. (Workshop A.M.)

He talked about Meet the media Guru, a project realised with the contribution of the Region Lombardy and the Milanese Chamber of Commerce, the support of the Province of Milan and the patronage of the City Council of Milan.

He underlined that Meet the media Guru is not only a programme for meeting with the international protagonists of the digital culture and innovation\(^4\), but it is also an important point of contact for creative people:

Whether they are single or distributed during the year, these are opportunities, in which we try to make them meet in ways easier for them. (Workshop A.M.)

Many of the projects and actions shown in the paragraph about the existing policies and actions (par. 3.2.3) are finalised to the creation of networks and communities in many field of the creative and knowledge sectors. We mentioned QuESTIO (par. 3.2.3). According to what is written in the presentation of the project\(^5\), for research centres involved, the crediting in QuESTIO is important for the participation to the various regional forms of financing, but it is also important because QuESTIO is a community which allows the interaction between research centres, companies and other organisations. Another Milanese example of institutional boost toward the creation of network between stakeholders concerns the field of education.


\(^5\) http://www.questio.it <Consulted 10/02/2010>
A director of a private academy of visual arts, fashion and design introduced the Milano Accademie during an interview. According to the press release, it is the most important Pole of High Artistic and Musical Education of Southern Europe.\(^6\)

Milano Accademie is based on a memorandum of understanding, signed by six academies and schools of art, and it is supported by the National Government and the City Council of Milan. During the last year the Province of Milan too has moved toward the facilitation of networks between stakeholders. An example of this approach is Metrocult, “the network of the Milanese metropolitan culture”.\(^7\) In 2008 the Province of Milan invited all the public and private organisations and the single actors that work in culture and creativity in the Milanese metropolitan area to take part to the project.\(^8\) The Province didn’t shape the network in terms of objectives and actions to undertake. It created opportunities for meeting and communication of needs, instances and projects of the actors involved. The existence of a social network linking the members of Metrocult, including those involved in institutional politics, further facilitates the communication between different stakeholders.

Barrett and Fudge (1981) underline the existing interrelation between implementation and formulation of policies: the process of policy making is a continuum of policy and action, of interaction between different actors (planners, actuators and recipients of the policies) which leads to a continuous redefinition of the policies themselves. This could be even more true for interventions finalised to establish networks among stakeholders, like those we have just seen. Nevertheless, in many cases, the effectiveness of these networks in shaping policy agendas and decision-making remains an open question.

As far as the Milano Accademie is concerned, that is what the interviewed director has stated:

\[ \text{To be honest, my personal opinion is that there isn’t a clear mission about Milano Accademie yet. I mean yeah, we have developed, but now we need to understand which are our objectives […]}. \text{In short we haven’t move concretely yet. (Interview A. M.)} \]

At the same time, beyond many projects and practices, what emerges from many interviews is the image of an interaction between public institutions and other actors which is sterile in terms of anticipatory and shared policies’ implementation. This is what the interviewed opposition councillor of the Regional Council of Lombardy thinks about the interweaving among public institutions, civil actors and private interests:

\[ \text{Actually it is an extremely sterile interweaving in terms of creation of common policies and reflections [...]} \]

\[ \text{In this case too there isn’t the idea that many social and urban phenomena, and the creativity of course, could become a mission for the public administration. (Interview G.C.)} \]

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\(^7\)http://community.metrocult.it/ <Consulted 11/02/2010>

\(^8\)http://www.provincia.milano.it/cultura/manifestazioni/altesedi/metrocult_2008/appello.html <Consulted 10/2/2010>
A Milanese artist engaged in the field of public art has highlighted the gap between policies, demands and potentialities of local artists and territory:

*I take this opportunity to denounce a real deficit of communication between the world of culture and that of policy. A big part of the art system complains that the importance of this kind of artistic projects aimed at enhancing the territory hasn’t been understood enough.* (Workshop G.C.)

Finally, observing the Milanese context in terms of policy networks, we can detect the presence of different networks and coalitions aimed at addressing specific issues. The interactions between public and private actors seem to be problematic especially in relation to the definition of common policies and projects. The picture of Milan that emerges is that of a city heavily under-institutionalised, in which almost all the excellences (like the systems of fashion and design) have "happened" without a strategy of public policy (Dente, 2005b). In this context many private actors and organisations are more influential than other in shaping local policies.

For example, the cited cases of the Milanese Design District and the Bovisa Area (par. 4.1) show how private real estate developers have been crucial in the urban policies. In the opinion of the interviewed regional opposition councillor, this differences in the degrees of participation and influence of different stakeholders (and the predominance of certain actors) threaten to undermine what could be an important opportunity for Milan: the Expo 2015.

*There isn’t nothing Milanese, nothing global. Nothing... Depressing. Nothing... The theme is food, energy for life, ... even sustainable development. It would be fantastic, but should arise in every neighbourhood associations, research groups, but it should happen spontaneously.*

*Instead everything is designed to take the professional advices here, to build a power group that invents a building done in a certain way, in inverted V-style, but it's really depressing.* (Interview G.C.)

The founding members of Expo 2015 SpA, the Italian company that is dealing with the creation, organisation and management of the International Exposition, are the Economy and Finance Ministry, the City Council of Milan, the Province of Milan, the Region Lombardy and the Milanese Chamber of Commerce, Industry, Crafts and Agriculture⁹.

Actually the latest news show that in these first years of work there have been great difficulties of coordination, primarily among the various levels of institutional government (Alfieri, 2009). Therefore, also in this case those limitations emerge, which have already been identified on other occasions and linked to the absence of a planning approach leading to the creation of stable and sustainable interactions (IReR 2008).

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5 CRITICAL EVALUATION OF STRATEGIES AND POLICIES

5.1 Debates and public controversies surrounding current policies and strategies

The presence of important actors such as industry, finance, workers, bourgeoisie, church, and information has been influencing the development of the city more than what policy parties have been doing (Salvatore Carrubba, quoted in Alfieri, 2009: 28).

Looking at the political phases of the Milanese Metropolitan Region, three main historical phases have been identified (see 4.1):

- 1950-1965
- 1965-1992
- 1993-today

These three phases have been characterised by some differences. However, some similarities emerge in the public policy making, which have been nurtured during the three political moment, so much so that they became as strong and mature as they are nowadays. In particular, we have to bear in mind the sentiment of anti-policy (Alfieri, 2009) provoked after the delusion for Tangentopoli. The left wing has completely forgotten the tradition of the municipal reformism. The right wing proposes only a managerial and fake efficientism, which actually does not give any products. Roberto Mazzotta (quoted in Alfieri, 2009: 27) says that in Milan policy is dead. The elements we are going to present find their “natural” causes in the two previous phases. We can identify three of them: elitism, centrisim and event policy.

Elitism. It is possible to explain this characteristic in several ways. First of all, it can be described as the absence of meritocracy which in some ways ends up awarding always the same actors. By doing so nets become very tight and at the same time entering in some mechanisms becomes more difficult for “newcomers”. This translates to a low level of innovation. Indeed, this kind of governance, very similar also to that of the Golden Period (1950-1965), tends to be very inclusive towards the inside, but very close towards the outside. In this way, there is a very clear and known establishment, which is also well working (Dente, 2005a). Elitism, as we said, is to certain extend present in each period identified as characteristic of the political history of Milan. What differs from one period to the next are the role of parties, of private actors, etc. Also its “bonds” are wider (when the local policy is in contact with the national policy, for example) or smaller according to different periods. For example while in the second “era” (1965-1992) the role of the politis parties was strong, their role was dramatically reduced during the third phase, after the Tangentopoli scandal. Elitism can also be associated with conservatism and again logically it has to do with the difficulties
to innovate. Elitism has to do with the lack of a strategic approach, since it tends to reproduce the same model over and over again.

_It’s a sad thing to think that it’s impossible to do something differently. It’s a new kind of conservatorism (Interview G.C.)_

We can find elitism when it comes to culture, as well. Milan has culture. Milan has creativity. However, they are not diffused and shared. Culture and creativity difficulty have a political (in sense of polis) declination.

_What Milan lacks is the capacity to make this estate (n.d.r. creativity and culture) public, to distribute and diffuse it, and to make it participative for people who do not work in creative and cultural sectors (Interview G.C.)_

Culture and creativity remain within the same closed and self-referential circuits and have little to do with the wider population. Information is difficult to find if one is not part of the circle of “experts” and therefore participation also is always limited to the same actors (Ceruti, 2005). In order to face the problem, the policy should necessarily pay attention to the issues of accessibility (physical and digital) and diversity, as Ceruti suggests (2005). A city which aims to be the capital of innovation in the Mediterranean area and eastern Europe, like Milan does, must have an open and diverse local culture (Magatti, 2005). This topic, which is central in the discussion about politics and Milan, will be deeper treated in the next paragraph.

**Centrism.** This element is closely connected to the previous one. In fact, the concept of centrism describes the approach of the Milanese policy to culture. The attention is more on the institutions, which -partially- represent the cultural life, but most of all, the heritage of the city. This approach has, even if in minor part, always characterised the cultural policy making of the city. There is a scarce attention to the underground culture and to what arises from non-institutional and less organised circles. As one of our interviewees pointed out, this detachment is clear because the administrators of the city do not take as good examples those “popular” and successful actions, which take place in “alternative” scenarios. On the contrary they either do not even know about their existence or they try to contrast them, using power for example to close places where culture is created and fostered (e.g. La Stecca degli Artigiani, Pergola, L’Approdo Caronte, etc.)

_Moreover, erased all the cultural squatted centres, in Milan all the important devices of counter culture have disappeared (Interview A.B.)_

_How many elements, which come from society, politics reinterpret to offer them back to society in a new shape? None. (Interview G.C.)_
The Scala theatre is a perfect example of centrism. It has been defined as omnivore (Alfieri, 2009:147), because the majority of the public resources to invest in culture has been devoted to its renovation and maintenance, even if a very little part of the Milanese population, for example, can afford to go to the Scala.

There’s a politic problem: in the last years the cultural system of the city has forgotten that cultural supplies cannot be independent from demands. What has been done, so far, does not have anything to do with what Milan wants. The Arcimboldi Theatre, for example: what kind of public would have it attracted? What kind of shows would it have to propose? There hasn’t been any kinds of design on the basis of the needs! On the contrary it has been an intervention which answered only to the real estate interests (Workshop F.dC.)

Instead, experiences such as Uovo, are completely ignored by Italian and Milanese institutions and politicians, in such a way that the Mayor, Letizia Moratti, would ignore what it is. Uovo is one of the positive example of self organisation. It is a festival of performing arts which communicate and interrelate with other examples of local (but not only) creativity, such as fashion, design, architecture. The shows are not located in the usual places devoted to performative arts, like theatres, but in vacant and abandoned places, such as reconverted industries. Uovo puts together Italian and foreign talents (the other partners are Paris, Brussels and London) which makes it well-known in other European cities.

*Milan has creative capacities without having a system (Workshop A.C.)*
Another example is the theatre project *Il giro della città* (literally *The city tour*) which was created -paradoxically- thanks to the institutional deafness. Indeed, the company Alma Rosè, which has its origins in Milan, but which is composed of two Italian and one Argentinean actors, decided to perform in non-conventional places due to the difficulties to find a theatre where to perform and to the difficulties to keep up with very rapid change of shows required by theatres. The goal was to involve the population, performing in places such as universities, problematic neighbourhoods and small theatres as well. *Il giro della città* is at its fifth year of life (it started in 2005) and beside Milan it was performed, also in Buenos Aires and Florence with four different shows.

**Event policy.** This element can be easily extended to what can be called emergence and intervention policies (Balducci, 2005). Milan has increasingly been focussing on the creation of big events (Expo 2015), the realisation of huge interventions (Citylife) and the resolution of particular emergencies (Ecopass).

*The epic of Expo 2015 is perfect to tell Milan. Today Milan, and Lombardy too, are all done with smoke and mirrors. Milan represents a whole skyscraper made by mirrors and it’s impossible to understand what’s inside. And, actually, nobody cares!* (Interview G.C.)

All these actions have rarely been interrelated and have hardly communicated with each other. Sectoriality and separation are their main characteristics. They seem to be part of a wider project, while, in most part, they are inherited from different historical periods and put together today with not much sense and according to convenience (Balducci, 2005; Dente 2005a). Milan suffers from a lack of orientation and reference frame. It has been said to be lacking a so-called narrator voice.

*Territory is only the stage for actions which are decided from the high. It’s a logic which can be extraordinarily useful to manage cultural events, but not for the ordinary management (Workshop G.C)*

Change appears to be constituted only of incremental adjustments (Balducci, 2005). Probably this situation was made possible by the managerial capacity acquired during that political period, called the condo administrators period, when Milan was initially thought as an enterprise, and then as a condo to administrate (Dente, 2005a; Foot, 2003). Therefore, the Milanese public policy making has scarce projectuality, and is not based on the development of the metropolitan area. Also, the PGT (see previous chapter) does not have an idea for a city project, in spite of being complex analytical strategy.

### 5.2 Confrontation with the results of the surveys

As presented at the beginning of this report, the ACRE project investigate the city-region also by assessing its attracting and accommodating capacity in the view of a number of workers and professionals in the creative and knowledge-based economy. We can now conclude the evaluation of the city-region by comparing the need of the creative and knowledge workers with the political and institutional actions implemented locally. This will lead to an understanding as to whether or not policy is capable to respond to them.
In previous reports (see for instance WP7.12 or WP8.12) one of the main results consisted in a deeper understanding of what keeps creative and knowledge workers rooted in a territory, which seems to be more important of an understanding of what initially attracts workers to a city, unlike Florida states. It emerged, thus, that a successful territory is able to retain talented people, especially in Europe, where individual mobility is not as high as in the US (see ACRE policy brief) and where personal relations play a very crucial role.

Therefore we can discuss the role of the Milanese policy not only in its attractiveness in terms of creative and knowledge economy, but also, and in particular, in the capacity of its policy to respond to workers and enterprises’ needs to be rooted and retained locally.

First of all it the important role of the Milanese universities emerged: the polytechnic, design and fashion schools, the business school Bocconi and many other have been acknowledged as a good magnet both for foreigners and for people from the region who come to the city. Many interviewees claim that after concluding their studies many graduated are not able to remain in the city, due to different problems: although schools (especially design and fashion schools) have strong ties with the working environment, there is a very common trend to exploit the young labour, offering very bad working conditions; if we connect this logic to the very high life cost and to an inaccessible housing market, we understand why young graduates coming from different contexts tend to escape (literally) from Milan.

Milan cannot offer good wages on the short period. In our experiences our graduates have rather long internship paths, that may become contracts linked to single projects and then again more short contracts. There is no guarantee on the long period. [...] Moreover the other problem is the rent market, that in Milan is very high, and, with the exception of Paris and London, is not comparable with that of many Northern European cities. Therefore our graduates tend to leave the city just after their studies or internships (Interview A. B.)

On this concern the local policy is still rather late, especially in the provision of cheap and social houses for young couples or students. The cost of living is very high, and the government of the city is not working in this direction. What seems worst, is the working condition of young creative workers and graduates, who enter the labour market with very bad contracts (apprenticeship, internship, or even worst) that have no guarantee about future perspectives and that can last in this uncertainty for many years. Very often this causes young workers to search their fortune abroad, and foreigners (come to the city for study purposes) to go back to their home countries or to move somewhere else. The case of the universities, and of the research and development sector, is sadly very well known, and the “brain drain” phenomenon rather common. Again as far as these issues are concerned, politics are feeble. We showed that a (small) number of actions are implemented in order to ease young people to enter the labour market, via calls and grants for young entrepreneurs, we also illustrated how these measures are not insert in a wider strategic vision of the future labour market and represent only a way to distribute a very small amount of resources to few lucky creatives, but they are not able to weight significantly on these problems.

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1 We agree with Attilio Martinetti, director of the InnovHub, special agency of the Milanese Chamber of Commerce, who does not see a real problem in young Italian workers’s brain drain itself.
A second problem, linked to the previous one, and related also to the capacity of the local context to retain talented people (foreigners in particular), is the scarce political effort that the local administration put in the integration of migrants within the local economy. This is true especially when it comes to the bureaucratic steps needed in order to either start a new activity or be recognised as talented (help could be provide through the simplification of measures needed in order to recognise a work career or to validate educational degree). Real integration policies are thus needed, aimed at valorising competences. On this concern, let us mention also cultural policies focused on valorisation of cultural mix, which has been proved to be a real tool for supporting creativity. If cultural policies remain confined in the mainstream domain, with only few exception (the project Casa delle culture del mondo for instance), then the multi-cultural feature of the city will not become a resource, but more often a social problem.

The third level of problem, which is possible to deduct from the analysis of the previous empirical material, has to do with local networks and personal relation within the professional world. In particular in WP6.12 and WP7.12 it emerged that in Milan almost everything is solved thanks to personal relations and face-to-face communications. These are maximised in Milan, thanks both to a particular working culture and to the symbolic and physical geography of the city. Nevertheless, we also showed that networks are as useful as they can be close, and that it is very hard for those who are outsiders (young people, foreigners, and so on) to enter a network and therefore to have more chances to be successful. The institutional actions and policies, although they seem to promote networks and creation of some sort of creative or innovative systems, are not (again) able to have a real impact on this.

The actions are indeed fragmented and separated from each other, and they are not inserted in a wider vision of the problem. Specifically concerning the problem of foreign professionals, there are very few actions (mainly by the Milanese Chamber of Commerce) aimed at integrating the new and creative forces in the productive fabric of the city, but they are not connected. Also, they are provided with a paternalistic view without a dialogue among the different social actors involved. In the words of the president of the association Impresa Etnica²:

[Talking about a course organised by the Chamber of Commerce for foreign entrepreneurs] "Nobody went to the course, and they asked me why. I said that first they [the Chamber of Commerce] should ask people about their needs, and then organise the needed course. It is useful to involve people at the beginning. [...] there is a large effort on the institutions part but often in the wrong direction. [...] there is no coordination, no direction. (Interview E4 – see WP 7.12)

Therefore target policies are needed in order to open networks to the outsiders, to promote the circulation of the cultural and creative capital among different generations (openness towards young people) and different cultures (openness towards foreigners).

² Ethnic enterprise
We have already referred to the difficulty young people find in having funds for new enterprises and how this difficulty often causes a brain drain towards more accessible markets (the USA in particular): on this concern the policies offered by both the Region and the Municipality are very scarce, and the incubators created in the last years are considered more as an example of policy than an effective targeted action. Besides this, a difficult and not-understandable bureaucracy does not help, and, although it is not a direct responsibility of the local policy, there is no effort, among administrative levels, to promote a simplification of the bureaucratic world.

A last topic emerged from professionals and workers within the creative and knowledge-based economy, is linked to the quality of life in the Milanese Region and to the cultural offer, therefore with soft aspect of the local life. Notwithstanding the large consensus about the importance of the quality of life and soft elements of the local life in attracting and retaining the labour force in a given region, the local administrators fail in implementing real policies that could alleviate the high level of pollution in the air, that could improve the city’s services provision, or that could help conciliate working time with private life time.
In the present report policies and actions fostering the creative and knowledge-based economy, regarding the Milanese Metropolitan Area, have been presented and described. The interest has been on the comparison between previous results - based on the opinion of creative and knowledge workers both Italian and foreigners, living in Milan - and the opinions of experts and stakeholders according to the current and future policies on this matter.

Looking at the data concerning employment in innovative and knowledge research sectors, it is possible to affirm that the Milanese Metropolitan Area is an important hub and occupies a very important role within the Italian creative and knowledge economy. Milan is also well-known at the international level even if the attraction on foreign talents is still poor and the danger of brain drain of local talents is particularly topical. The image of the city still plays an important role in the opinion of old and new citizens. What can be said about Lombardy and Milan is that the influence of the past is both an opportunity and a bond. Indeed, Milan seems to rely more on its heritage than on a future in which to invest. Fashion and design, for example, are still excellent sectors for the image (and the economy) of Milan, even if they seem to have lost their glamour. Therefore the path-dependence theory is very important in explaining the Milanese situation. Indeed, thanks to a successful past, Milan laid the foundation for its present. However, this foundation seems to be unstable for the future (Sedini, 2009). Notwithstanding its under-institutionalisation, Milan still has excellences, which simply ‘happen’ without a strategy of public policy. This is mainly due to face-to-face relationships and to the presence of strong and sometimes informal networks, which work as a catalyst, and are able to foster the implementation of strategies. Nevertheless, Milan is suffering from a lack of structured and long-sight governance in this regard. Thanks to the literature and the comparison between past and new results from the empirical research, we could identify and summarise the causes to the weakness of the public policy making of Milan as follow.

Allocation of political responsibilities

Regions, provinces and municipalities constitute the levels of subnational governments. The three of them have statutory autonomy, which creates problems in deciding who would care of the implementation of specific political actions and policies. As a consequence of the decentralisation process, the three levels gained responsibilities and powers which were not distributed according to real needs. Moreover, overlapping responsibilities in addition to a poor institutional organisation created more confusion. In particular, it is not very clear which political level should manage and deal with the policies of innovation. At the moment, the Region is mainly focused on four areas: biotechnology, fashion, design, new material and ICT. The Province of Milan is focusing more on a strategic policy for the governance of the future of the metropolitan area. At the Municipal level, we can identify two main challenges:
Interactions between actors

The interactions between public and private actors seem to be problematic especially in relation to the definition of common policies and projects. Thanks to the decentralisation process, local actors gained more flexibility and independence. Therefore, business community, third sector, religious bodies, labour unions, academics and researchers, NGOs, and so on, often act in spite of the institutional actors in order to sustain their own interests and also the city’s ones. The Milanese policy has often been associated with the interest of private actors, who gain strong importance in the decision processes. It can be said that private actors and organisations are more influential than others in shaping local policies.

Elitism and Centrism

The absence of meritocracy and the conservatism spread throughout all levels of governments are constraints to innovation and influence the poorness of a strategic approach. Culture and creativity are therefore relegated to the same closed and self-referential circuits and have little to do with the wider population.

The attention of the Milanese cultural policies is more toward heritage and institutions, which -partially- represent the cultural life of the city, than it is on innovation and renovation. There is a scarce attention to the underground culture and to what arises from non-institutional and less organised circles.

Event policy

Milan has increasingly been focussing on the creation of big events, such as the Expo 2015, the realisation of huge interventions, such as the Fashion City Project (Citylife) and the resolution of particular emergencies, such as the - unsuccessful – pollution charge (Ecopass). Those interventions have rarely been interrelated and have hardly communicated with each other. Sectoriality and separation are the main characteristics of these actions. The Milanese public policy making has scarce projectuality, and is not based on the development of the metropolitan area. As we have already discussed, politics have a short-sighted approach to the management of the city, because they are still strongly attached to the glorious past of Milan (Foot, 2001).

Having in mind these elements of weakness - difficulties to allocate political responsibilities, an unequal interaction between actors, problems of elitism and centrism adoption of an event policy strategy - it would be useful to propose some points of reflection and discussion in order to suggest key issues to work on. Those suggestions are not directly focused on culture and creativity because indirect policies still have a direct effect on the twos.

1. Focus on diversity. Diversity in our opinion is something different from tolerance. Indeed, if to be tolerant means merely accept a certain situation, the care for diversity is something more dynamic and involving. Local policies should be more focused on physical and social environment and diversity, looking for the development of social and cultural
mixité, be more concerned about support and promote cultural exchange and social innovation. Two examples, which clearly represent the constraints to diversity, are real estate and immigration policies. First of all, there is a lack of provision of cheap and social houses for young couples or students. The cost of living is very high, especially in certain areas and this has as a consequence processes of gentrification, segregation or even expulsion. Secondly, there are strong difficulties in obtaining the residence permit and there are consequent high numbers of expulsions (according to the law n.94 in Italy clandestine immigration is a crime).

As one will notice, diversity is at the basis of the following issues and in some way it influences and is influenced by them.

2. Focus on (creative) labour market. Also in this case the problem is more related to retention and attraction of young and foreign talents. As we have seen, the image of Milan is still working in this regard but the gap between expectations and reality, experienced by these populations, is often impeding and expelling. A scarce accessibility to the labour market for the youngest and the foreigners is mainly represented by bad contracts (apprenticeship, internship, or even worst) and bureaucracy limits. As to the first limit, there is a need for actions to ease young people the entrance to the labour market, such as calls and grants for young entrepreneurs. Those policies, unlike the present ones, should be inserted in a wider strategic vision of the future labour market. As far as bureaucracy is concerned, the aim would be the simplification of procedures to recognise a work career, to validate educational degree, to accede to grants and funding are needed.

3. Focus on inclusiveness. The role of networks, especially in creative and knowledge sectors, is particularly crucial in Milan. This fact from one side means easiness to solve problems and find solution, but from the other side, when one is not included in these pretty exclusive networks, he or she has to face a scarce support to his/her business. For this reason and this particular characteristic of the Milanese way of doing business, institutional actions and policies should promote the entrance of newcomers in already existing networks or the creation of new ones, in addition to the creation of some sort of creative or innovative systems. Also in this case, the conditio sine qua non, is to acquire a wider and long-sight vision of the issue. Target policies are needed to open networks to the newcomers and the outsiders with the purpose to promote the circulation of the cultural and creative capital among different generations, especially young people, and different cultures.

4. Focus on quality of life. The Milanese agenda has mainly been focused on infrastructural interventions, which do not seem to be the real issue of the city, while a focus on liveability issues would be more effective and needed. The problems of pollution, public spaces and mobility are very urgent according to the opinion of our interviewees. As we noticed, people stay in Milan notwithstanding these problems of poor quality of life, mainly due to reasons linked to what we called personal trajectories. However, the current international competition among cities and the pursuit of satisfaction of diverse populations which gravitate on Milan, ask local administrators to implement real policies that could answer to the desire for a sustainable life in a beautiful and efficient city. It is worth remembering that the best promoters of a city are their citizens because when they are satisfied they will happily communicate their identification with the city.
Policies at national, regional and urban levels could serve to structure and foster culture, creativity and innovation inside a country or a metropolitan area but they do not lack problems when they occur in a vacuum. In fact, those kind of policies, which Scott and Storper (2007) defined as ‘packages’, generally comprise of “subsidies to industry, tax breaks, infrastructure provision, governmental schemes to direct new capital investments to lagging areas retraining programmes, and so on” (2007:199).

Since, in our opinion, culture, creativity and innovation have to do with diversity, labour market, inclusiveness and quality of life, they should be part of a more general strategy which did not take into account only market interests and entertainment goals. On the contrary, culture, creativity and innovation should have a very tight relationship with the wider society and find their expression in all the different fringes which are located in it. Indeed, as Alfieri (2009) stated culture, to which we add creativity and innovation, should produce narratives and be at the basis of the structure of the public sphere.


### Table 7.1 – Workshop participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant</th>
<th>Description</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.B.</td>
<td>Expert in Media Design, Professor at the NABA school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.C.</td>
<td>Scientific Director of IED school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E. dA.</td>
<td>Geographer. Associate Professor at the University of Milano-Bicocca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E.F.</td>
<td>Fashion Stylist</td>
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<tr>
<td>D.R.</td>
<td>Responsible of Slow Food Milan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F.dC.</td>
<td>Compositor. Representant of Sentieri Selvaggi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>G.C.</td>
<td>Founder of the Association for the contemporary Art Reporting System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.G.</td>
<td>Director of the magazine Velvet (Italy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.P.</td>
<td>President and Art Director of Magnolia, an ARCI Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.R.</td>
<td>Journalist and TV writer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.F.</td>
<td>Developer of Zona Tortona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A.M.</td>
<td>Director of InnovHub</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R.M.</td>
<td>Director of the Industrial Italia Federation Tessilivari and Director of the Consortium Dettagli Moda Italia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M.S.</td>
<td>General Director of the Scientific and Technological Park Kilometro Rosso</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L.R.B.</td>
<td>Councillor of Research, Innovation and Human Capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.T.</td>
<td>Regional Counsellor of Lombardy</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hard factors</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Attraction</td>
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<tr>
<td>Intellectual</td>
<td>- Employment</td>
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<tr>
<td>graduates / students</td>
<td>Creative</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Employees</td>
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<td></td>
<td>- Employment</td>
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<td>- Education</td>
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<td>and study</td>
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<td>Employees/manager</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Creative</td>
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<tr>
<td>Knowledge</td>
<td>Creative</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Working conditions - Technical infrastructures - International accessibility - Links between universities and work environment</td>
<td>- Working environment (behaviour/culture) - Image of the city - Glorious past (in art and culture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Social infrastructures - Health and medical facilities - International accessibility</td>
<td>- Working condition - Housing condition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- Working environment (behaviour/culture) - Image of the city - Quality of life (Cultural offer)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WP8. Please note that Employment comprises job offers, career opportunities; education and study refers to universities and higher education; working conditions implies salaries and/or type of contract; housing condition regards mainly price of housing; social infrastructures means kindergartens, schools, international schools; finally quality of the environment relates mainly to geographical dimension and geographical location.
Table 7.3 assesses, for each element, how important (strong, medium or weak importance) is it for the attraction (or retention) of creative and knowledge talents towards the considered region; the faces (happy, neutral or sad) represent the performing evaluation of the factors by the targeted groups: we therefore know whether an element holds a certain degree of importance in attracting/retaining the target groups and how positive/negative it is.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 7.3 - Assessment of location factors</th>
<th>Strong</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Weak</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hard factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment (job offers, career opportunities)</td>
<td>1,2,3:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and study (universities and higher education)</td>
<td>1 ☺</td>
<td>3 ☺</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presence of related activities</td>
<td>2,3: ☺</td>
<td>1 ☺</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical infrastructures</td>
<td>2 ☻</td>
<td>2 ☾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>International accessibility</td>
<td>3,2 ☺</td>
<td>1B ☾</td>
<td>1A, 1C: ☽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Links between universities and work environment</td>
<td>2 ☽</td>
<td>3B ☾</td>
<td>3A ☾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working conditions (salaries and type of contracts)</td>
<td>2 ☽</td>
<td>1 ☾</td>
<td>3 ☽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social infrastructures (kindergartens, schools, …)</td>
<td>3 ☾</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,1: ☾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health and medical facilities</td>
<td>3 ☾</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,1: ☾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing condition (Price of housing)</td>
<td>1, 2A:</td>
<td>☾</td>
<td>3 ☽</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Soft factors</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Image of the city</td>
<td>3 ☾</td>
<td></td>
<td>2A ☾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural offer</td>
<td>3B ☾</td>
<td>2A ☾, 3A ☾, 1C ☾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glorious past (in art and culture)</td>
<td>3A ☾</td>
<td>3B ☾</td>
<td>2A ☾, 3A ☾, 1C ☾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Working environment (behaviour/culture)</td>
<td>2 ☽, 3 ☽</td>
<td>1 ☾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Networking (in the working environment)</td>
<td>2,3: ☽</td>
<td>1 ☾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life (gastronomy)</td>
<td>3B ☾</td>
<td>3A ☾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of the environment (geographical dimension and geographical location)</td>
<td>3,2: ☽</td>
<td>1 ☾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tolerance, acceptance of diversity, openness</td>
<td>1,3: ☾</td>
<td>1,3: ☾</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social cohesion, equality</td>
<td>1,3: ☾</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of life (air pollution)</td>
<td>1,2,3:</td>
<td>☽</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personal trajectories</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Born in the region</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Followed partner</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family reasons (parental family lives in the region)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social network (private sphere)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2,3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family reasons (Family status, current family background)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: 1A (Employees in creative sectors); 1B (Employees in knowledge-based sectors); 1C (Graduates); 2A (Managers/Professionals in creative sectors); 2B (Managers/Professionals in knowledge-based sectors); 3A (International migrants in creative sectors); 3B (International migrants in knowledge-based sectors)

Evaluation of the factor by the respective target group

1,2,3: ☽ means that the factor is positive for all three groups
1,3 ☾ means that the factor is evaluated positive of group 3; for group 1 no evaluation is available

☺ ☾ Very positive
☺ Positive
☺ ☽ Neither positive nor negative
☺ Negative
☺ ☾ Very negative

Source: WP8.12