

TARGETED ANALYSIS //

METRO

The role and future perspectives of Cohesion Policy in the planning of Metropolitan Areas and Cities

Annex V // Lisbon Metropolitan Area case study

a. . .
. . m. área metropolitana
. l. . de lisboa

This Targeted Analysis is conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

The ESPON EGTC is the Single Beneficiary of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. The Single Operation within the programme is implemented by the ESPON EGTC and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the EU Member States, the United Kingdom and the Partner States, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

This delivery does not necessarily reflect the opinions of members of the ESPON 2020 Monitoring Committee.

Authors

Mário Vale, Eduarda M. Costa, Margarida Queirós, Nuno M. Costa, André Ribeiro, Kelli Silver, Daniela Ferreira, Instituto de Geografia e Ordenamento do Território - ULisboa (Portugal).

Advisory group

Stakeholders: Francesca Cattaneo, Claudia Fassero, Mario Lupo, Irene Mortari, Valeria Sparano, Metropolitan City of Turin (IT) | Clémentine Dubois, Odile Huiban, Lyon Metropolitan Area (FR) | Agata Blacharska, Joanna Bogdziewicz-Wrblewska, Aleksandra Fijałkowska, Joanna Jaworska-Soral, Metropolitan Area of Gdańsk-Gdynia-Sopot (PL) | Filipe Ferreira, Lisbon Metropolitan Area (PT) | Alfredo Corbalan, Sandrine De Meyer, perspective.brussels (BE) | Katrīna Sudare, Jānis Ušča, Riga City Council (LV) | Soňa Raszková, Brno City Municipality (CZ) | Alessandra Barbieri, Manuela Taverniti, Municipality of Florence (IT) | Xavier Estruch Bosch, Xavier Tiana Casablanca, Carlota Roses, Barcelona Metropolitan Area (ES) | Dorthe Nielsen, Pietro Reviglio, EUROCITIES | Guillaume Berret, Metropolis.

ESPON EGTC: Senior Project Expert: Piera Petruzzi, Financial Expert: Stefania Rigillo

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the interviewed institutions and to the local stakeholder, Dr. Filipe Ferreira (LMA) for his support.

Information on ESPON and its projects can be found at www.espon.eu.

The website provides the possibility to download and examine the most recent documents produced by finalised and ongoing ESPON projects.

ISBN: 978-2-919795-65-9

© **ESPON, 2021**

Published in December 2021

Graphic design by BGRAPHIC, Denmark

Printing, reproduction or quotation is authorised provided the source is acknowledged and a copy is forwarded to the ESPON EGTC in Luxembourg.

Contact: info@espon.eu

TARGETED ANALYSIS //

METRO

The role and future perspectives of Cohesion Policy in the planning of Metropolitan Areas and Cities

Annex V // Lisbon Metropolitan Area case study

a. . .
. . m. área metropolitana
. l. . de lisboa

Table of contents

Abbreviations	7
Foreword by Carlos Humberto de Carvalho	8
1 Introduction	9
2 Case study area contextualisation	11
3 Metropolitan governance structure and cooperation activities	17
3.1 Institutional framework	17
3.1.1 Other forms of cooperation	19
3.2 Evolution of metropolitan cooperation	20
3.3 Metropolitan development goals	24
3.3.1 Coherence with national and regional goals	25
3.3.2 Coherence with municipal goals	25
3.4 Metropolitan development and planning instruments	26
3.4.1 Instruments in the framework of other cooperation initiatives	27
3.4.2 Instrument and initiatives related to COVID-19	28
3.5 Metropolitan financing and budgeting	28
3.6 Role of social groups and the business community in metropolitan governance	29
3.6.1 Social groups and the civil society	29
3.6.2 Business community	29
3.7 Participation to policy networks	29
4 Cohesion policy governance	31
4.1 EU cohesion policy institutional architecture and competences	31
4.1.1 The role of metropolitan actors	32
4.2 EU cohesion policy instruments at the metropolitan level	34
4.3 Involvement of social groups and the business community in the EU cohesion policy	37
4.4 The governance of EU cohesion policy in the COVID-19 emergency	37
4.5 Coordinating metropolitan governance and EU cohesion policy	39
5 Cohesion policy impact	45
5.1 EU cohesion policy objectives and actions	45
5.1.1 Funded measures: main sectors and spatial distribution	47
5.2 Coherence and synergies with metropolitan objectives and instruments	52
5.2.1 Alignment with the goals defined in metropolitan instruments	52
5.2.2 Thematic priorities	52
5.2.3 Funding magnitude	53
5.3 Outcomes	54
5.4 The impact of the EU cohesion policy in the COVID-19 emergency	55
5.5 The impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation	55
6 Main challenges and recommendations	57
6.1 The role of metropolitan areas in the EU cohesion policy governance	57
6.2 Impact of the EU cohesion policy on (the achievement of) metropolitan goals	58
6.3 Impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation	59
References	61

List of maps, figures, charts and tables

List of maps

Map 2.1	Lisbon Metropolitan Area.....	11
Map 2.2	Lisbon Metropolitan Area and FUA	12
Map 4.1	GAL in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area funded by Lisbon ROP	36
Map 5.1	ITI approved funding (Euro) per inhabitant, 2014-2020.....	51

List of figures and charts

Chart 2.1	Population distribution in the Lisbon Functional Urban Area, 2019	13
Chart 2.2	Population change in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, FUA and Lisbon city, 2011-2019	13
Chart 2.3	Distribution of population by age groups in Lisbon Metropolitan Area and in Lisbon city, 2019	14
Chart 2.4	Employment structure, by sectors, in Lisbon Metropolitan Area and in Lisbon city, 2011	15
Figure 3.1	Institutional Framework for Metropolitan Cooperation in Lisbon Region.....	17
Figure 3.2	Timeline of metropolitan cooperation.....	22
Figure 4.1	The governance of the EU Cohesion policy in Portugal	32
Figure 4.2	The role of metropolitan actors in the EU cohesion policy	33
Figure 4.3	The governance of the EU recovery fund in Portugal	39
Figure 4.4	The metropolitan governance network	41
Chart 5.1	Approved investment by Fund in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (2014-2020)	48
Chart 5.2	Breakdown of EUCP actions implemented in the metropolitan area by type of Fund by Lisbon Regional Operational Programme and LMA ITI (approved actions).....	50

List of tables

Table 2.1	Main territorial indicators	16
Table 3.1	Legal framework of regional and subnational decentralization	23
Table 3.2	Legal framework of local decentralization.....	23
Table 3.3	Main instruments at national, regional to the local level	26
Table 4.1	EU cohesion policy programmes and instruments in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area	34
Table 4.2	Coordination of the EU Cohesion policy in Portugal	35
Table 5.1	Objectives of the EU cohesion policy in the metropolitan area	46
Table 5.2	Localisation, sector and resources of the main EUCP actions to be or implemented in the metropolitan area.....	49
Table 5.3	EUCP actions implemented in the metropolitan area by type of Fund, by Lisbon Regional Operational Programme and LMA ITI (approved actions)	50
Table 5.4	Amount of planned EU funds compared to the overall metropolitan budget.....	53

Abbreviations

A2S	Association for Sustainable Development of “Saloia” Region
AD&C	Agency for Development and Cohesion
ADREPES	Association for Regional Development of Setúbal Peninsula
AERLIS	Lisbon Region Business Association
AMRS	Association of Municipalities of the Setúbal Region
AMT	Mobility and Transportation Authority
ARSLVT	Regional Health Administration of Lisbon and Tagus Valley
CCDR	Regional Coordination and Development Commissions
CCDR-LVT	Lisbon Regional Coordination and Development Commission
CF	Cohesion Fund
CLLD	Community-Led Local Development
DGEstE-	Education Services Department of Lisbon and Tagus Valley Region
LVT	
DGT	General Directorate of the Territory
EAFRD	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development
EMFF	European Maritime and Fisheries Fund
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
ESIF	European Structural and Investment Funds
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
FUA	Functional Urban Area
ITI	Integrated Territorial Investment
LAG	Local Action Group
LMA	Lisbon Metropolitan Area Institution
NOP	National Operational Programme
NUTS	Nomenclature of territorial units for statistics
PAMU	Sustainable Urban Mobility Action Plan
PART	Fare Reduction Support Program in Public Transport
PDM	Municipal Land Use plan
PEDU	Sustainable Urban Development Strategic Plan
PMAAC	Metropolitan Plan for Adaptation to Climate Change
PROT	Regional Land Planning Scheme
ROP	Regional Operational Programme
RRP	Recovery and Resilience Plan
TML	Metropolitan Transports of Lisbon

Foreword by Carlos Humberto de Carvalho

In the European Union, more than 70% of its population currently lives in urban areas and it is likely to reach 80% by 2050. According to EUROSTAT (2016), in 2012/2013 metropolitan regions with more than 1,000,000 inhabitants generated about 47% of European GDP, whereas taking into consideration all metropolitan regions the figure reached around 68%. These urban realities represent a plurality of challenges that must be addressed by the countries but also by the regions, metropolitan areas and cities.

In a policy context of a decentralization approach of the programming, management, and implementation functions to the metropolitan authorities it is very important to pinpoint why the metropolitan scale is particularly well positioned to solve some complex policy problems. Regarding these issues, it is very important to stress that institutionalize metropolitan cooperation must have an important role in the development of a place-sensitive approach and in the mobilization of territorial stakeholders.

In Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA), the last years witnessed a new legal framework regarding metropolitan areas in Portugal (Law 75/2013) and the awakening of many policy problems that changed the territorial landscape in Portugal but also in EU. We are addressing these challenges by an integrated policy approach that enhances the role of territorial stakeholders. Regarding this, LMA mission is to contribute to the promotion of sustainable and integral development, territorial and socio-economic cohesion, the improvement of quality of life in the municipalities that integrate it. The political decision regarding Metropolitan Areas in Portugal as Transport Metropolitan Authorities is a good example of a decentralization framework and provide a stabilized example that can shape other policy solutions and is a sharp testimony towards metropolitan level ability to respond to a very specific urban complex problem.

It is for us is very important to demand that the new EU Cohesion Policy for the 21-27 programming cycle address the empowerment of metropolitan authorities to assure that locally led development strategies could benefit everybody.

This ESPON targeted analysis is pivotal to Metropolitan Areas and Cities effort to enhance their role in the decision-making process related to the post-2020 programming period, the Recovery and Resilience Facility and the framework regarding EU Urban Agenda. ESPON METRO targeted analysis has proved to bring added value to metropolitan reflection process within EU policy making and provide hard evidence regarding metropolitan level relevance. It is for us of paramount importance to reflect the role of Cohesion Policy in the process of planning and implementation of metropolitan policies within very specific national and regional contexts.

A final word to thank ESPON staff, the stakeholders, the scientific team, and everybody that contributed to the success of this joint effort. A special word to Lisbon University's Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning (IGOT) team that worked with Lisbon Metropolitan Area. Their professional knowledge and scientific know-how have brought added value to us and to ESPON METRO targeted analysis.

ESPON METRO results are the final argument regarding the relevance of Metropolitan Areas in the EU and that relevance must have correspondence within EU's Cohesion Policy. After this targeted analysis, there is no turning back.



Carlos Humberto de Carvalho
Lisbon Metropolitan Area First Secretary

1 Introduction

The Lisbon metropolitan area is made up of 18 municipalities and overlaps with Lisbon region NUTS2 level. The country capital, Lisbon, has a development trajectory invariably linked to its geographical position at the confluence of the Tagus River and the Atlantic Ocean. After World War II Lisbon underwent a period of rapid industrialization and infrastructure development, which expanded the city into the surrounding areas. Due to decolonization of Portugal's African colonies in the 1970s, more than half a million people returned to Portugal, quickly changing the demographic dynamics of the metropolitan area. The influx of residents to the contributed to the metropolization of the area and further urban spread to the south bank.

The late 1980s marked a new stage in Lisbon's development trajectory. Portugal joined the European Community in 1986, which started a period of public and private investment in various sectors. Since then, advanced services and global city functions have spurred subsequent cycles of economic growth. Today, the region boasts a specialization in knowledge-intensive services, the concentration of R&D activities, and the presence of national economic decision-making centres, subsidiaries with foreign capital, and public employment functions inherent to the role of city-capital.

The Portuguese sub-national administrative structure is composed of three administrative levels: parishes [*freguesia*], municipalities [*município*] and administrative regions [*região*]. Municipalities have assumed the status of effective local authorities, providing services such as transportation, education, culture, leisure and sports, health, social action, housing, urban planning, and civil protection to their communities. The regional administrative level in Portugal's mainland is controlled by the central government through five Regional Coordination and Development Commissions [*Comissões de Coordenação e Desenvolvimento Regional*] (CCDR). These are the main authorities responsible for implementing Cohesion Policy at the subnational level.

Administrative reforms of 2013 aggregated local authorities to create 21 new Intermunicipal Communities and confirming the previous 2 metropolitan areas, the Lisbon metropolitan area being one of them (the other is Oporto). The devolution of powers to local authorities after the 1974 April Revolution and the formation of intermunicipal entities was intended to deepen the administrative decentralization process in Portugal. However, it has also had the effect of creating a more complex governance framework in the Lisbon metropolitan area, due to overlapping scope of intervention and a multitude of actors without a common forum to discuss and articulate strategies.

Despite institutional complexity, there are important areas of cooperation between the local authorities and the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution (LMA), such as transport and mobility, primary health care, education, waste management, and water supply services.

The 2013 law reforming the Lisbon metropolitan area also established new competencies, legal attributes, and a mission for the entity. Despite having its own strategic development objectives, the LMA pays particular attention to the goals and strategies of the National Investment Program 2030 and the Portugal Strategy 2030. The Recovery and Resilience Facility and the Partnership Agreement with the European Union are other key policy instruments since they will frame the future investment in the Lisbon metropolitan area.

Although the LMA has a very limited role in setting policy agendas for these national strategies, they do share an active and collaborative role with the regional authority, the Lisbon Regional Coordination and Development Commission (CCDR-LVT). The LMA actively collaborated in the preparation of the Lisbon Regional Strategy 2030 policy document, which will shape the new Lisbon Regional Operational Programme (ROP). This positive relationship can be traced back to the preparation of Lisbon's current Regional Operational Programme 2013-2020, in which LMA acted as an intermediate body.

Although the LMA and the CCDR-LVT are two separate entities with distinctive mandates, the former emerging "from below" (local authorities) and the latter originating from a "top-down" initiative (State), both are acting in the same territory and have started a fruitful collaboration in the preparation of the Lisbon Strategy 2030 that will inform the next EU programming cycle in the region.

The institutional architecture of EU Cohesion Policy in Portugal separates the national from the regional level, adopting noticeable top-down coordination. Despite the EU stance for a more decentralized Cohesion Policy governance model, the governance model of Portugal 2020 is very centralized. However, the period from 2013-2020 brought changes in favour of decentralization, most notably the introduction of Integrated

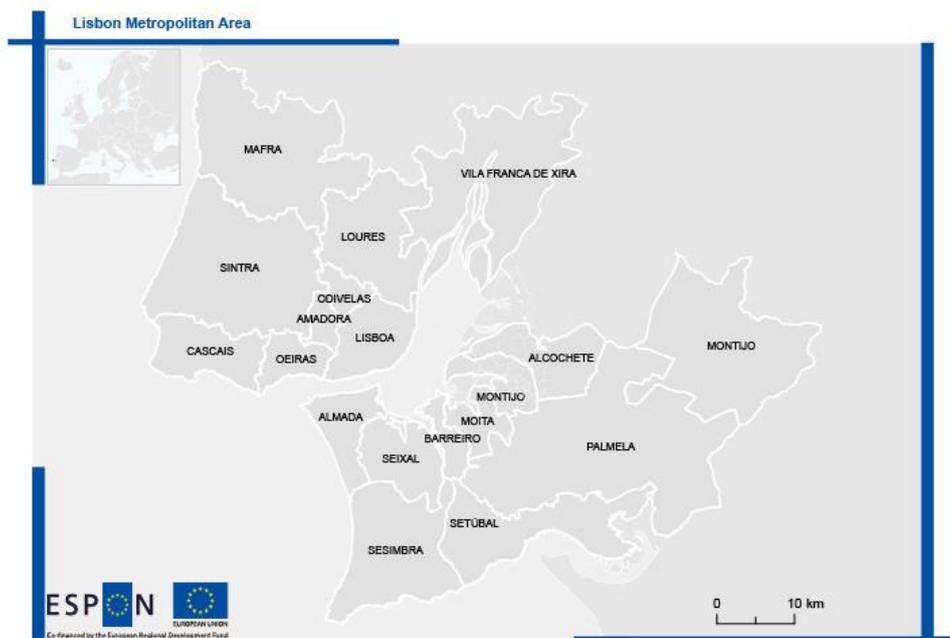
Territorial Investments (ITI). In Lisbon, these investments are managed by the LMA. The LMA's status of Intermediate Body for the management of Cohesion Funds is given by the European Union's Cohesion Policy and not from any national regulations. This stems from the multi-level governance logic of the Cohesion Policy. More than that, it comes from the very logic of implementing territorial instruments, in this case from the ITI.

Although the LMA acts in other policy domains in the metropolitan area, in a formal or informal way, aiming at articulating strategies and actions, coordination of variegated stakeholders in the Lisbon metropolitan area is still challenging.

2 Case study area contextualisation

The Lisbon metropolitan area comprises 18 municipalities, which are split by the Tagus river, with 9 municipalities located on each the north and south banks. However, the division is not only geographical. Municipalities located on the northern bank have, in general, a higher socio-economic status. Lisbon, the national capital of Portugal, occupies a central location on the northern bank and in the metropolitan area more broadly (Map 2.1).

Map 2.1
Lisbon Metropolitan Area



Source: Authors' own elaboration

Lisbon's development has invariably been linked to its geographical position at the confluence of the Tagus River and the Atlantic Ocean and at the junction of sea routes North-South and East-West.

Lisbon's expansion to the surrounding areas after World War II was underpinned by rapid industrialization and infrastructure development, principally railroads and roads. With the electrification of railroad lines (Cascais line in 1926, Sintra line in 1956, and Northern line in 1966), rail became an important suburban transport mode capable of responding to increasing commuter movements with almost all destinations in the city of Lisbon.

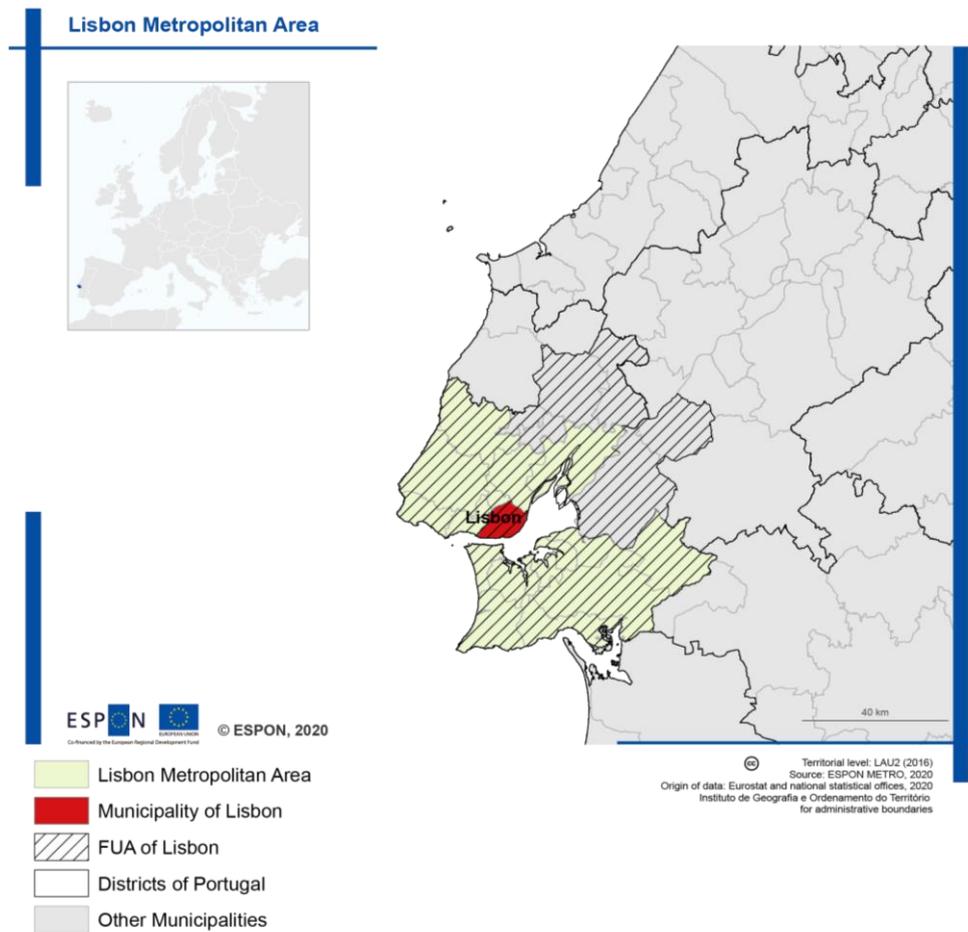
Until the 1970s, the metropolitan area corresponded in great part to "dormitory suburbs," or suburbs occupied mainly by the homes of commuters that travel to other areas to work. These dormitory suburbs were primarily occupied by workers in the commerce and service sectors, but also included those that worked in several industrial centers spread across the metropolitan area (Barreiro, Seixal, Montijo and Setúbal on the south bank; Vila Franca de Xira, Alverca, Alhandra, Amadora, Cacém on the north bank). The manufacturing restructuring process of the 1970s and 1980s led to the demise of manufacturing and massive job losses (Gaspar et al, 1998). The Estoril Coast – from Lisbon to Cascais – was an exception due to its development since the 19th century. It also boasted tourist and leisure activities that the natural conditions and the proximity of Lisbon provided (André & Vale, 2018).

With the decolonization of Portugal's African Colonies in the mid-1970s, more than half a million people returned to Portugal, most of whom settled in the Lisbon metropolitan area. The large and rapid return of

Portuguese changed the demographic dynamics of the metropolitan area and contributed to the deepening process of metropolitanization, notably with urban spread on the south bank.

Portugal's accession to the European Community in 1986, and the start of a period of public and private investment in various economic, social and environmental sectors in 1989, marked a new period in Lisbon's development (Gaspar et al., 1998). Since then, advanced services and global city functions, such as financial and producer services, spurred a cycle of economic growth in the Lisbon region. As a result of this development process, Lisbon overcame the status of an "underdeveloped" region in 2008 for purposes of regional development policy.

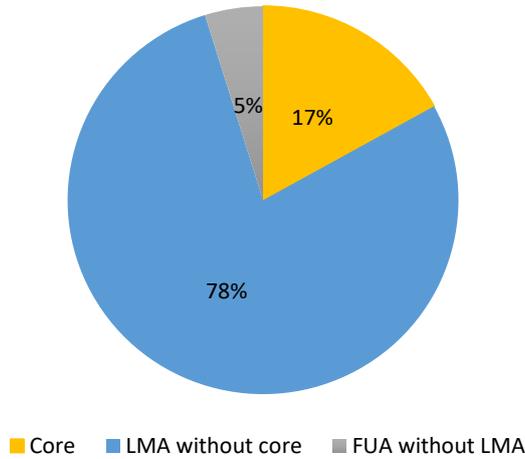
Map 2.2 Lisbon Metropolitan Area and FUA



Source: Authors' own elaboration

Almost 3 million people live in the Lisbon Functional Urban Area (FUA), which is slightly larger than the metropolitan area. The core-city of Lisbon accounts for roughly 17% of the Lisbon FUA (Map 2.2 and Chart 2.1).

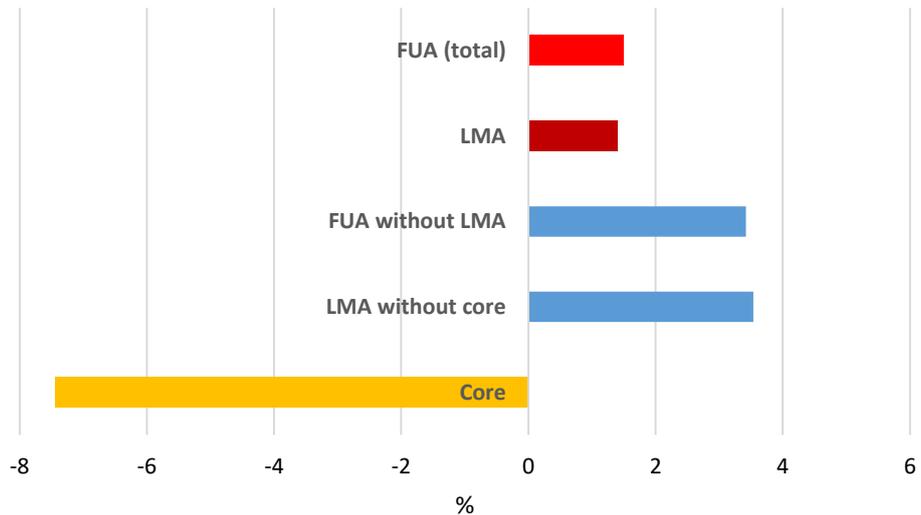
Chart 2.1
Population distribution in the Lisbon Functional Urban Area, 2019



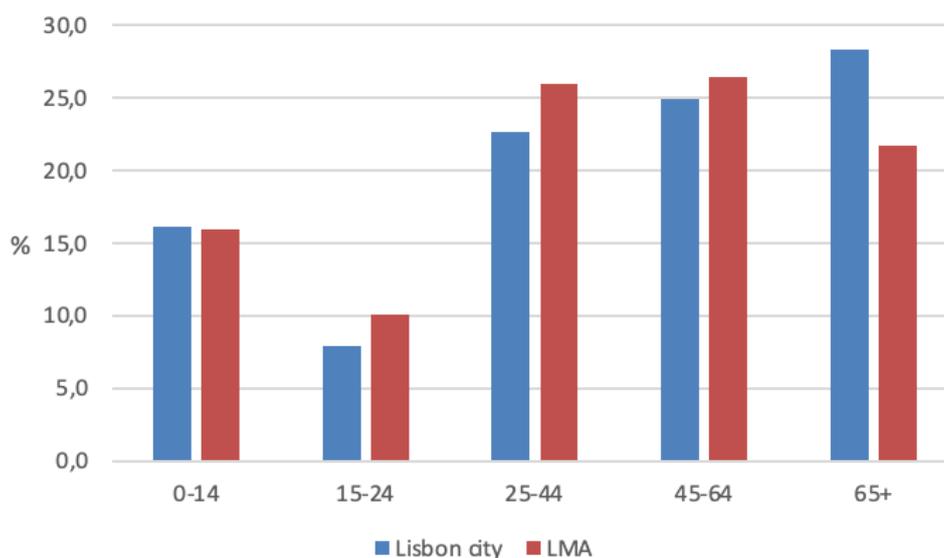
Source: INE (2011)

The Lisbon metropolitan area continues to experience significant demographic growth, with a population increase of 6% between 2001 and 2011 and a 1.4% increase between 2011 and 2019. Despite overall growth, the Lisbon municipality is losing population (-7.5% from 2011 to 2019), rendering a continued sub-urban growth in the metropolitan area (Chart 2.2). As a result of new road accessibility, urban pressures, the increasing importance of the real estate sector, and the financialization of the economy, the last few decades have been marked by an extensive growth of the metropolitan area.

Chart 2.2
Population change in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, FUA and Lisbon city, 2011-2019



Source: INE (2011, 2019)

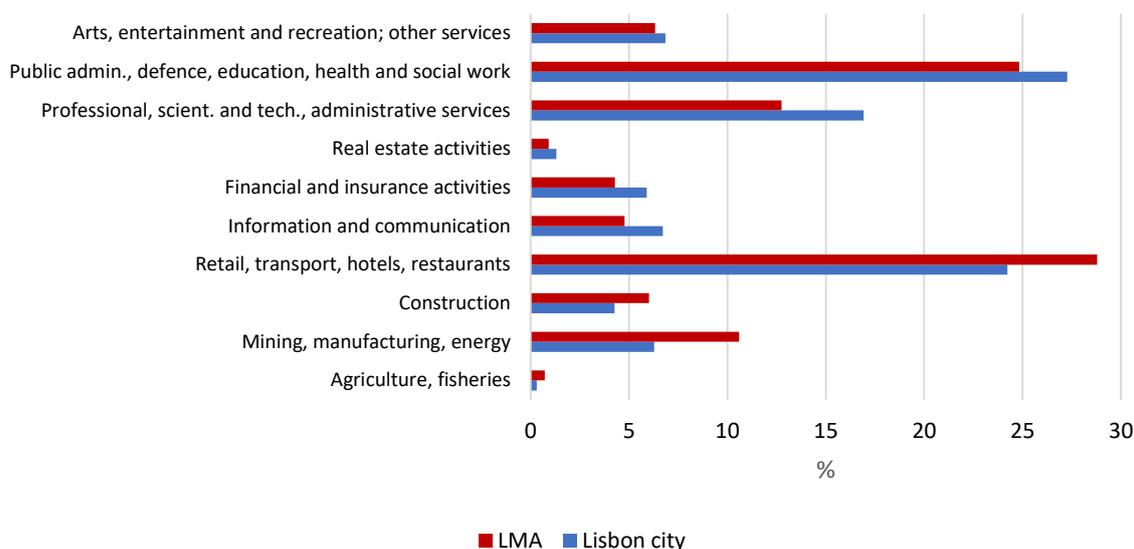
Chart 2.3**Distribution of population by age groups in Lisbon Metropolitan Area and in Lisbon city, 2019**

Source: INE (2019)

The population distribution by age group shows a clear distinction between the Lisbon core city and the Lisbon metropolitan area (Chart 2.3). The population of the city of Lisbon is older, with the 65+ age group representing 28% of the total population. The data reveals a more positive demographic dynamic in the metropolitan area. The working-age population tends to leave the core city and move to the suburbs due to problems of access to housing in the core. In accordance, the activity rate is 11% higher in the metropolitan area than in the core city.

After a period of economic restructuring and reconversion to industrial activity of the 1970s and 1980s, employment growth in the Lisbon region was higher than that in the rest of Portugal. Industries demanding qualified labour and those that benefit from the development of the science and technology system have remained in the region, as have companies dedicated to the national and international markets. Also noteworthy is the consolidation of the automobile cluster, induced by the installation of Autoeuropa and direct suppliers in the Setúbal Peninsula (Vale, 1998).

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the region's economy is reflected in the strengthening of the tertiary sector. The region boasts a specialization in knowledge-intensive services, the concentration of R&D activities, and the presence of national economic decision-making centers, subsidiaries with foreign capital and public employment functions inherent to the role of city-capital. The Lisbon metropolitan area's specialization in advanced services as part of its economic base stands out from the other Portuguese regions. At the same time, it is the main pillar of the national innovation system, bringing together several technological infrastructures (science and technology parks, technological centers, etc.) and R&D (high number of public laboratories aimed at technological scientific development).

Chart 2.4**Employment structure, by sectors, in Lisbon Metropolitan Area and in Lisbon city, 2011**

Source: INE (2011)

However, the employment structure shows a clear difference between the Lisbon metropolitan area and the Lisbon core city (Chart 2.4 and Table 2.1). The latter is more specialized in service activities, namely public administration (since it is the capital), education and health services, and in advanced producer services such as information and communication, finance, insurance and real estate activities. This typical core city economic structure contrasts with the rest of the metropolitan area, namely by the concentration of manufacturing, construction, retail, transport, and hospitality activities.

Considering mobility, 5.4 million trips are made daily, corresponding to 2.6 daily trips per capita. Excluding return home trips, 30.8% are work-related trips and 10.5% study-related. Almost half of work-related trips are between municipalities (49.7%) and a quarter are study-related trips (26.5%). Those values are more expressive in the municipalities surrounding Lisbon, most of them directed to Lisbon. The city continues to be the major attraction core in the metropolitan area and the only one that has a positive balance between the incoming and outgoing trips. Nevertheless, since 2001 the weight of commuting trips centered in Lisbon has been decreasing. The demographic changes over the last three decades largely explain the changes in commuting patterns. The decline and aging of the population in the city of Lisbon, in contrast to the growth of the rest of the Lisbon metropolitan area, has significantly changed the patterns of residence and employment location. Although Lisbon remains the main metropolitan attraction pole, the commuting pattern is now much more complex, supported in the use of the car (65% of modal share). With the desire to commute for work or study becoming less and less radial to Lisbon, there has been an increase in interactions between the municipalities on each bank of the metropolitan area, directed to Oeiras and Loures on the north bank and Almada on the south bank.

Table 2.1
Main territorial indicators

Indicators	Functional Urban area			Institutional metropolitan area
	Core	Suburbs	Total	
Number of municipalities	1	23	24	18
Area (km ²)	100	4 221	4 321	3 015
Population (2019) (000's)	510	2 466	2 976	2 863
Population (2010) (000's)	548	2 407	2 955	2 823
Pop Density (2019) (hab/km ²)	5 100	584	689	950
Activity rate	48	61	59	50
Economically active population, total	260 405	1 473 422	1 733 827	1 405 058
Persons unemployed, total	30 839	159 217	190 056	181 782
Unemployment rate	12	11	11	13
Economically active population, 20-64, total	250 229	1 146 108	1 396 337	1 362 165
Persons employed, 20-64, total	220 829	1 028 353	1 249 182	1 190 505
Employment Structure (NACE Rev. 2) (2011)				
Agriculture, fishery (A)	685	11 305	11 990	8 810
Mining, manufacturing, energy (B-E)	14 403	140 564	154 967	129 650
Construction (F)	9 792	77 953	87 745	73 491
Trade, transport, hotels, restaurants (G to I)	55 608	372 914	428 522	352 217
Information and communication (J)	15 424	59 525	74 949	58 301
Financial and insurance activities (K)	13 525	53 595	67 120	52 381
Real estate activities (L)	2 974	11 477	14 451	11 185
Professional, scientific and technical activities; administrative and support service activities (M and N)	38 826	16 042	54 868	156 033
Public administration, defence, education, human health and social work activities (O to Q)	62 597	315 478	378 075	303 811
Arts, entertainment and recreation; other service activities; activities of household and extra-territorial organizations and bodies (R to T)	15 732	80 013	95 745	77 397

Source: INE (several years)

3 Metropolitan governance structure and cooperation activities

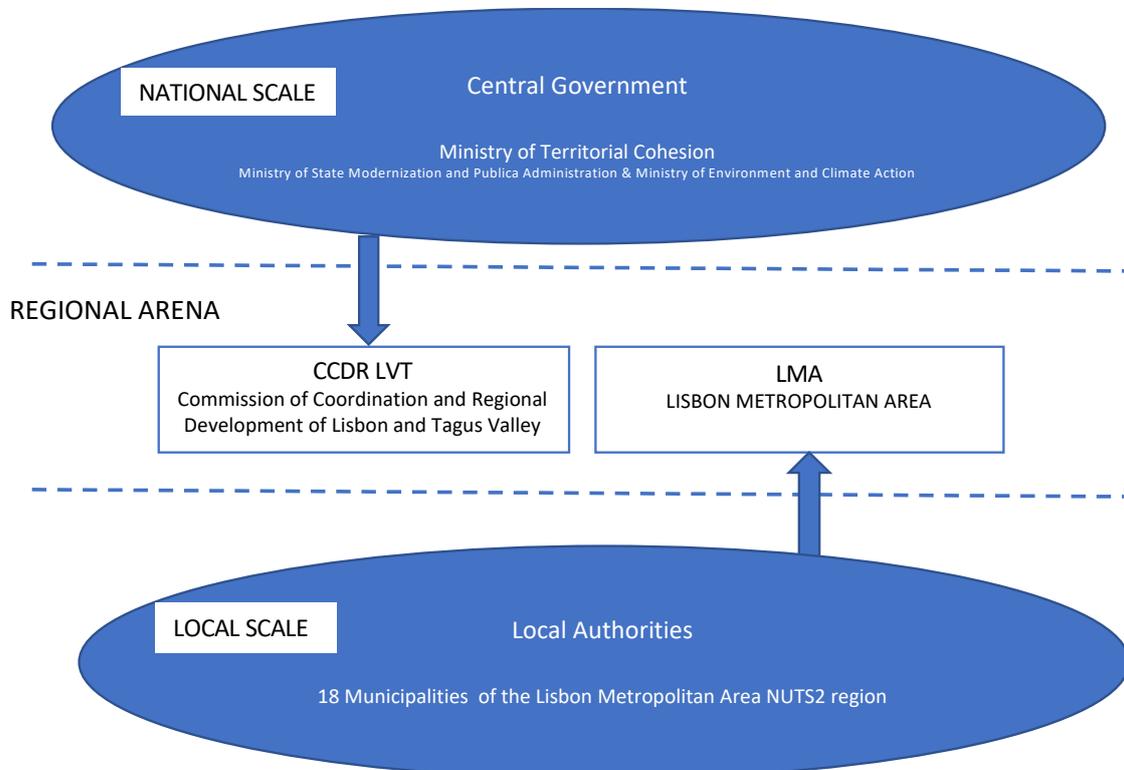
3.1 Institutional framework

The Portuguese sub-national administrative structure is composed of three administrative levels: parishes [*freguesia*], municipalities [*município*] and administrative regions [*região*]. Over time, municipalities have assumed the status of effective local authorities, given that the regional level lacks autonomy from the central government (exceptions for the Madeira and Azores regions), and that parishes lack the capacity and scale to intervene in development effectively.

Local authorities are the cornerstone of administrative decentralization in the country. The process of decentralization goes back to the 1974 April Revolution, when 48 years of political dictatorship came to an end. By that time, *Poder Local* (Local Power as it was and still is known as local authority power) was established in the country. Since then, local authorities have strengthened their capabilities, providing services to local communities; namely transportation, education, culture, leisure and sports, health, social action, housing, urban planning, civil protection.

The regional administrative level in Portugal’s mainland is controlled by the central government through five Regional Coordination and Development Commissions (CCDR). They are the main authorities responsible for implementing Cohesion Policy at the NUTS2 regional level and for statutory spatial plans at the regional level. Overall, the Portuguese state administrative model follows the tradition of a Napoleonic and Jacobean matrix of public administration (Fadigas, 2015).

Figure 3.1
Institutional Framework for Metropolitan Cooperation in Lisbon Region



Source: Authors’ own elaboration

Figure 3.1 depicts the Portuguese institutional setup where the spatial scale has a major role in what concerns administration levels (national, regional, local). Dependency is direct between government and regional entities (planning regions - spatially deconcentrated bodies). The Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) and municipalities (political decentralised bodies) are more cooperative. It is clear from this structure that the central state is on the top of the hierarchy.

Recent administrative reforms resulted in the formation of a sub-national level by aggregation of local authorities, resulting in new intermunicipal bodies. With the passing of the National Law no. 75/2013, on September 12th, 21 new Intermunicipal Communities [*Comunidade Intermunicipal*] were created based on NUTS3 level divisions of the country and two Metropolitan Areas [*Área Metropolitana*]: Lisbon metropolitan area and Oporto metropolitan area. This was undoubtedly an institutionalisation milestone for metropolitan areas in the country.

The Lisbon metropolitan area is formed by 18 local authorities, which also correspond to the NUTS2 Lisbon region. The constitutive bodies of the metropolitan area are the Metropolitan Council [*Conselho Metropolitano*], the Metropolitan Executive Committee [*Comissão Executiva Metropolitana*], and the Strategic Council for Metropolitan Development [*Conselho Estratégico para o Desenvolvimento Metropolitano*]. The Metropolitan Council is the deliberative organ of the metropolitan area and is formed by the mayors of the local authorities in the region. In the case of the Lisbon metropolitan area, mayors from each of the 18 municipalities sit on the Council and elect the President and two Vice-Presidents among them. Currently, the mayor from Lisbon is the body's President, but this position can be filled by any of the 18 mayors.

The Metropolitan Executive Committee is the executive body of the metropolitan area of Lisbon and is formed by a first secretary and four metropolitan secretaries. The ordered list of candidates for members of this body is approved by the Metropolitan Council and is submitted to a vote in each of the municipal assemblies in the metropolitan area.

The Strategic Council for Metropolitan Development is an advisory body that supports the decision-making process of the remaining bodies in the metropolitan area. It is composed of representatives of institutions, entities and organizations in the metropolitan area. These institutions represent the region's business community, universities, non-governmental agencies, infrastructure operators (airport and ports), and public administration bodies.

The Metropolitan Areas have significant assignments across a variety of domains devolved by the State (Law n. 75/2013):

- Participate in the preparation of public investment plans and programs with an impact on the metropolitan area;
- Promote the planning and management of the economic, social and environmental development strategy of the territory covered;
- Articulate municipal investments of a metropolitan scope;
- Participate in the management of programs to support regional development, namely within the scope of the European funding programming cycles;
- Participate in the definition of metropolitan services and facilities networks;
- Participate in public entities of a metropolitan scope, namely in the field of transport, water, energy and solid waste treatment;
- Plan the actions of metropolitan public entities.

Additionally, Metropolitan Areas articulate local authorities with central administration services in the following fields:

- Utilities infrastructures and urban waste treatment;
- Health facilities network;
- Educational and professional training network;
- Spatial planning, nature conservation and natural resources;
- Security and civil protection;

- Mobility and transport;
- Public equipment networks;
- Promotion of economic and social development;
- Network of cultural, sports and leisure facilities.

From 2015 on, after the termination of the Lisbon Metropolitan Transport Authority, the LMA became responsible for public passenger transport in the region (Law no. 52/2015, June 9th). This makes the transport sector a special case in the governance of the Lisbon metropolitan area. By default, municipalities are the transport authority for services that operate exclusively in the municipality (even if it is possible to delegate or share this competence with the metropolitan area), whereas the LMA becomes the transport authority for intermunicipal transport services, that is for the whole metropolitan transportation system (except rail and metro). Within this legal framework, the government establishes in 2018 the general rules regarding the creation and availability of tickets for public collective passenger transport services.

In order to respond to new competences in the transport and mobility sector in the metropolitan area, the LMA created Metropolitan Transports of Lisbon [*Transportes Metropolitanos de Lisboa*] (TML), which is responsible for coordinating and planning all public intermunicipal transport in the metropolitan area. In this sense, LMA concerns the strategic level of decision, TML the tactical level and the operators the operational level.

Finally, it is worthwhile to mention the collaboration between municipalities of the Lisbon metropolitan area with regional-directorates from Central Administration in the domains of primary health care - Regional Health Administration of Lisbon and Tagus Valley [*Administração Regional de Saúde de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo*] (ARSLVT) and education – Education Services Department of Lisbon and Tagus Valley Region – [*Direção de Serviços da Região de Lisboa e Vale do Tejo*] (DGEstE-LVT). One of the main challenges is the articulation between LMA and regional directorates since the latter emanate from national sectoral organism and are not always able to make decisions and agree formal strategic agendas. Moreover, the geographical coverage of regional directorates does not coincide with Lisbon metropolitan area territory introducing some degree of fuzziness in the governance structure.

Summing-up, the devolution of powers to local authorities and the formation of inter-municipal entities was intended to deepen the administrative decentralization process in Portugal, observing the principles of subsidiarity, complementarity, the pursuit of the public interest and the protection of the rights and interests of citizens and the intangibility of the powers of the State. However, the particular case of LMA and CCDR-LVT creates some perplexity because of the division between regional planning and cohesion policy. Concretely, CCDR-LVT has responsibilities for regional planning in four NUTS3 (Lisbon metropolitan area, Oeste, Médio Tejo and Lezíria do Tejo), whereas only controls regional funding in Lisbon metropolitan area, creating dys-functionalities in the governance structure and render more difficult full articulation of spatial planning with regional development. It has to be noticed also the strong role of big local authorities of the Lisbon metropolitan area, which are able to influence political agendas and policy strategies even at national level. Naturally, this is another element to be considered in the study of the Lisbon metropolitan area's governance structure.

3.1.1 Other forms of cooperation

There are other important forms of cooperation between the local authorities of the Lisbon metropolitan area. Besides transports and mobility, which is now a formal competence of the LMA, local authorities have formal collaboration partnerships in waste management and water supply sectors.

There are three formal entities in the Lisbon metropolitan area that are responsible for waste management: Valorsul (Lisboa, Loures, Amadora, Vila Franca de Xira, and Odivelas), Tratolixo (Cascais, Mafra, Oeiras and Sintra), and Amarsul (all the municipalities of south Bank). These three entities are part of the waste treatment and recovery systems established after the national government put forth a policy initiative in 2009. The legal framework (Decree-Law 194/2009) allowed for local authorities' voluntary association aiming at the entrepreneurial waste treatment and recovery activity. The Lisbon metropolitan area ended up with three entities, two in the north bank and the other in the south bank.

The municipalities of the south bank established a formal association - Association of Municipalities of Setúbal Region [*Associação de Municípios da Região de Setúbal*] (AMRS) - aiming at the development of the Setubal Peninsula region i.e., the south bank of the Lisbon metropolitan area. On the one hand, this is a

legacy of the former NUTS3 *Península de Setúbal*, now incorporated in the NUTS3 Lisbon, which overlaps with the NUTS2 Lisbon region. On the other hand, it reflects the political and strategic divergences of NUTS3 Setúbal abolishment, as well as the demise of *Setúbal distrito*, an administrative division inspired by the French *départements* going back to the 19th century, condemned by the implementation of the European NUTS system. Still, the Association of Municipalities of Setúbal Region is enrolled in collaboration with the municipalities on programmes for administrative modernization, strategic development and planning, digital transition, and cultural initiatives.

Local Action Groups (LAGs) are consortia formed by a variety of public, private or non-profit organizations. The overall aim of LAGs is to promote local development through partnerships of local stakeholders benefiting from Community-Led Local Development (CLLD) instruments in the 2014-2020 EU Cohesion Policy. In the Lisbon metropolitan area, 10 Local Action Groups established protocols of functional articulation with the Lisbon Regional Operational Programme (ROP) 2020, although two have inter-municipal aims and involve collaboration across two or more municipalities. These are A2S – Association for Sustainable Development of “Saloia” Region, at the heart of the North LMA countryside, and ADREPES – Association for Regional Development of Setúbal Peninsula, covering the South LMA.

These cooperation arrangements are not directly related to the main metropolitan institution, making the governance framework of the Lisbon metropolitan area more complex. Many actors intervene in the metropolitan area and make it more difficult to design and implement a comprehensive development strategy and plan.

Challenges and critical elements

- Several institutions intervene in the Lisbon metropolitan area, including the Lisbon Regional Coordination and Development Commission (CCDR-LVT) (regional decentralised body of central administration) and municipalities, with important competences at local level. The Lisbon metropolitan area institution (LMA) is an intermunicipal body, institutionalized by the central government with specific competences. Recently, the LMA gained responsibility in the transport and mobility systems in the area. Also, important regional directorates (health care and education), intermunicipal partnerships (waste and water), and associations (local development) take part and influence the Lisbon metropolitan development strategies and plans.
 - The overlapping scope of intervention and the multitude of actors without a common forum to discuss and articulate strategies in the Lisbon metropolitan area render governance structure more difficult and complex. Thus, coordination is a relevant challenge for the metropolitan area.
-

3.2 Evolution of metropolitan cooperation

The restoration of local power in Portugal after April 25, 1974 had a profound impact on the lives of communities. Administrative decentralization of the State brings together a strong consensus in Portuguese society, although the objectives of political actors are not always convergent. Right after the April 1974 revolution, the democratic constitution inscribed the creation of administrative regions, an intermediate level of administration between local and central administration. However, until today it has not been possible to establish this level of intermediate government in mainland Portugal.

Political decentralization has emphasized municipalism via strengthening local authorities, which has enlarged their range of competences and financing. They are democratic institutions that are respected by society and exercise power in a context of close proximity to local communities. Figure 3.2 and Tables 3.1 and 3.2 depict the milestones of subnational administrative reorganization and of local authorities' refinements. Subnational administrative reforms can be traced back to the end of the 1960s when Regional Planning Commissions (RPC) were established in the country. RPCs were the embryo of regional planning in the country. At the beginning of the 21st century, Regional Directorates for Environment and Spatial Planning

were established, but they were soon merged with the Regional Planning Commissions to create the current Regional Coordination and Development Commissions (CCDR) in 2003.

The rapid urban growth and the complexity and scale of the problems (e.g. transports, environment, planning) in Lisbon and Porto and their suburbs, did not find an effective answer in the resolution of the problems by the central and local administrations, which led to the creation of the metropolitan areas of the two main Portuguese cities in 1991. However, it took a long time to establish their legal regime and they eventually faded away. A striking episode of the history of political decentralization occurred in 1998 when a national referendum on the establishment of regional administrative level on mainland Portugal was poorly participated and the opponent side received most votes. The regionalization political agenda was buried for a long time and only in 2018 a commission to study the decentralization process was put in place. Regrettably, its conclusions were not properly considered, and the subject has yet again been put away.

Overcoming this debacle, the country has witnessed a series of events in favour of local decentralization and new forms of inter-municipal cooperation. This is a kind of “regionalization from below,” in the sense that local authorities are cooperating with each other to create an effective subnational political level. As a corollary of this tendency, the Lisbon metropolitan area was established in 2013 with new competences and structures, involving all the municipalities in the region of Lisbon (both region and metropolitan area of Lisbon overlap). In 2015, Lisbon metropolitan area institution (LMA) gained new political powers and became responsible for transportation and mobility in the metropolitan area.

Recently, CCDR’s organic changed and Presidents of these decentralized bodies of the central administration became also elected by local authorities representatives, narrowing the gap between central and local authorities. In the case of CCDR-LVT and LMA, the cooperation is visible and positive, materialized for instance in the collaboration of the Lisbon Strategy 2030, a fundamental policy document to inform the new Regional Operational Programme (ROP).

As one stakeholder pointed out “...the regional scale in Portugal does not exist and has no direct political legitimacy. At this time, the regional scale is occupied by two types of entities, one that emanates from the Central Administration, called CCDR, but that now has some local legitimacy due to the election of the President, and another that is occupied by intermunicipal entities that emanate from the municipalities, hence the name. The LMA cannot impose anything on the Municipalities, its will is the will of 18 stakeholders. This is important because it immediately determines a clash of legitimacy.”

Law no. 75/2013 stabilized the intermediate territorial organization between the local and the national level in Portugal. According to one interviewed, “this diploma defines how the Metropolitan Areas and the Intermunicipal Communities are organized for the fulfillment of their attributions and competences, which are expressed and defined there.” She maintains that “the legal framework consolidated the role of the Metropolitan Areas, and in the case of Lisbon, it reinforced the new bodies. Many of the decisions are dependent on the Metropolitan Council, but there is room for the Executive Committee to have room for maneuver to think and even to have some level of decision and make proposals to the Government.”

In October 2020 CCDRs Presidents were elected by local authorities’ Mayors and municipal assemblies’ members of the NUTS2 region, and one of the CCDR’ Vice-Presidents was elected by the Mayors of local authorities of the region, reinforcing the ties between CCDRs and local authorities, i.e. between a deconcentrated entity of the Central Administration (CCDR-LVT) and the decentralized political entities (local authorities). This process results in a complex institutional governance structure in the metropolitan area of Lisbon but hopefully paving the way for a more complete devolution process that may culminate in the creation of administrative regions in Portugal mainland.

Figure 3.2
Timeline of metropolitan cooperation

CCDR and sub-national level	Local authorities /metro areas
Creation of the Regional Planning Commissions (CPR) 1969	
Establishment of the local democratic power 1974	
	1976 Local authorities' structure, competence and financing
	1977 Local Authority Law
Establishment of the Technical Support Offices (GAT) Creation of Regional Coordination Committees (CCR) 1979	Local Finance Law
	1984 Local and central administrations coordination and delimitation; Municipal service's modernization
New CCR competences 1986	
New CCR organic structure	
Establishment of the Regional Directorates for Environment and Natural Resources (DRARN) 1989	
	1990
	1991 Establishment of Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas
Portuguese regionalisation referendum 1998	
Establishment of the Regional Directorates for Environment and Spatial Planning (DRAOT) 2000	
CCR's and DRAOT's fuse and become Commissions of Coordination and Regional Development (CCDR) 2003	Reformulation of metropolitan areas
Approval of the CCRD's organic	
	2007
GAT dissolved 2008	Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas legal regime
Approval of CCDR's organic structure 2012	
	2013 Financial and legal regime for local and inter-municipal entities
Amendment to the CCDR's organic structure 2014	
	2015 Transfer of metropolitan transport system management to the LMA
Creation of the Independent Commission for Decentralization 2018	Amendment to the local finance law
Amendment to the organic structure of CCDR 2020	Establishment of the company Metropolitan Transports of Lisbon (TML)

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Table 3.1
Legal framework of regional and subnational decentralization

Law/Decree Law	Description
Decree Law no. 48905, March 11th, 1969	Defines the administrative organic structures for regional planning purposes, creating the Regional Planning Commissions
Decree Law no. 58/79, March 29th	Creates the Technical Support Offices
Decree Law no. 130/86, June 7th	Approves the Ministry of Territory Planning and Administration's Organic Law
Decree Law no. 260/89, August 17th	Organic Law of the Regional Coordination Committees
Decree Law no. 120/2000, July 4th	Approves the Ministry of Environment and Spatial Planning organic
Decree Law no. 127/2001, April 17th	Approves the Regional Directorate for Environment and Spatial Planning organic
Decree Law no. 104/2003, May 23rd	Extinguishes the Regional Coordination Committees and the Regional Directorates for Environment and Spatial Planning and creates the Commissions of Coordination and Regional Development (CCDR)
Decree Law no. 134/2007, April 27th	Approves the CCDR's organic
Decree Law no. 201/2008, October 9th	Extinguishes the Technical Support Offices
Decree Law no. 228/2012, October 25th	Approves the CCDR's organic
Decree Law no. 68/2014, May 8th	Changes the Decree Law no. 228/2012, from October 25th and approves a new organic
Decree Law no. 24/2015, February 6th	Extinguishes the Office for the Media and transfer its assignments to the CCDR and other entities
Law no. 58/2018, August 21st	Creates the Independent Commission for Decentralization
Decree Law no. 27/2020, June 17th	Changes the CCDR's organic

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Table 3.2
Legal framework of local decentralization

Law/Decree Law number	Description
Decree Law no. 701-A/76, September 29 th	Establishes the norms for the structure, competences and competence of the municipalities and parishes
Law no. 79/77, October 25th	Define the attributions of the autarchies and the competences of the competent bodies
Law no. 1/79, January 2nd	Establishes the local finances law
Decree Law no. 77/84, March 8th	Establishes the regime for the delimitation and coordination of the actions of the central and local administration in terms of public investments
Law no. 44/91, August 2nd	Creates the Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas
Law no. 10/2003, May 13th	Reformulation of metropolitan areas (Great Metropolitan Areas and Urban Communities)
Law no. 46/2008, August 27th	Establishes a new legal regime of the Lisbon and Oporto Metropolitan Areas

Law/Decree Law number	Description
Law no. 73/2013, September 3rd	Establishes the financial regime for the local authorities and intermunicipal entities
Law no. 75/2013, September 12th	Establishes the legal regime of the local authorities, intermunicipal status and State decentralization
Law no. 52/2015, June 9th	Transfer metropolitan transports management and planning to the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution
Law no. 51/2018, August 16th	Changes the local finances law

Source: Authors' own elaboration

Considering the LMA, it seems that for a long period indecisiveness and conjunctural factors have been central in the construction of the institutional architecture of the metropolitan area. Several authors point out precisely the winding road of metropolitan governance in Lisbon (Pereira & Carranca, 2009; Crespo & Cabral, 2010; Seixas & Albet, 2012; Ferrão, 2013; Vale & Queirós, 2015).

Hence, until recently, the inexistence of a clear and overarching model of institutional relations reflects tensions, indecisions, and political divergence. It is only more recently that the institution has been gaining competences and visibility in the metropolitan area. Still, there is a long road yet to go.

Challenges and critical elements

- The regional space is occupied by two entities, which is a particularity of the Portuguese model (CCDR and intermunicipal entities). However, neither of them has direct political and electoral legitimacy. Therefore, the metropolitan governance framework is seen as a top-down structure. The regional scale has too many actors for little legitimacy. Having said this, the decentralization effort in favour of the metropolitan area institution and its increasing relevance in the fate of the Lisbon metropolitan area is significant.

3.3 Metropolitan development goals

The development objectives are derived from the entity's legal attributes and mission (Law no. 75/2013). The strategic development objectives are reflected in the institution's action plan.

Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution (LMA) set 7 strategic development goals:

1. Increase territorial management capacity, underpinned by a sustainable development strategy;
2. Improve the metropolitan mobility and transport system;
3. Promote the cohesion of the region;
4. Promote education, culture and social inclusion in the metropolitan area;
5. Support innovation, modernization and institutional capacity building at municipal level;
6. Bring the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution (LMA) closer to citizens;
7. Valuing human resources and promoting the quality of services.

The first strategic development goal includes 5 measures/actions. Foremost, the LMA aims to actively participate and influence policies across different sectors with an impact in the Lisbon metropolitan area, namely contributing to the national and regional strategic 2030 plan that will shape the next EU Cohesion programming cycle. Since successfully concluding the elaboration of the Lisbon Regional Strategy 2030 [*Estratégia Regional de Lisboa AML 2030*], in close cooperation with Lisbon Regional Coordination and Development Commission (CCDR-LVT), the LMA is deeply committed to the new Lisbon Regional Operational Programme (ROP) elaboration process led by the CCDR-LVT and expects to continue as an intermediate body

of the ROP in 2021-2027. A matter of importance to the LMA concerns the sectoral and territorial integration and coherence of projects. A relevant action includes the cooperation with CCDR-LVT in the review process of the Lisbon Regional Land Planning Scheme [*Plano Regional de Ordenamento do Território*] (PROT), which wholly overlaps the Lisbon metropolitan area. Finally, the institution is prioritizing housing and social inclusion, and climate change adaptation and mitigation.

The second strategic development goal addresses the transport and mobility system. After 2015, the LMA gained new competences by integrating transport and mobility responsibilities in the metropolitan area. Naturally, this is an important task. The institution undertook actions to implement a metropolitan public transportation system and to establish a common ticketing system which reduces fare prices and improves public transportation, thus contributing to the climate change adaptation agenda.

The third strategic development goal stems from the implementation of the Pact for Cohesion and Territorial Development [*Pacto para o Desenvolvimento e Coesão Territorial*], contractualized with the managing authorities of the Lisbon Regional Operational Programme (ROP) and the Operational Programme for Sustainability and Efficient Use of Resources (OP SEUR). Considering this, it's an objective completely in line with European Cohesion Policy and its metropolitan expression.

The fourth strategic development goal focuses on education, cultural and social inclusion, including several common projects in the metropolitan area.

The fifth objective is devoted to the metropolitan innovation strategy, plan and implementation in close articulation with the Lisbon Regional Strategy 2030 and with Lisbon RIS3 2021-2027. It also targets municipal capacity and modernization across several innovative agendas (environment and sustainability, transports and mobility, European Structural Investment funds opportunities and management).

The sixth development goal is devoted to the visibility of the LMA among the citizens aiming at recognition of the institution by the metropolitan inhabitants, through a sharp communication plan and a more efficient communication of LMA initiatives. Definitely, the metropolitan transport systems will contribute to this goal, since new metropolitan buses will circulate soon with LMA logo colours.

The seventh objective aims at improving the quality of the LMA human resource services and skills.

3.3.1 Coherence with national and regional goals

Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution (LMA) pays particular attention to the goals and strategies of the National Investment Program 2030 [*Programa Nacional de Investimentos 2030*] (PNI) and the Portugal Strategy 2030 [*Estratégia Portugal 2030*]. Both are high-level policy documents and establish the overall national and european funding investment for the current decade in Portugal. Due to the pandemic crisis, the Recovery and Resilience Plan [*Plano de Recuperação e Resiliência 2030*] (RRP) is of crucial importance to overcome the economic and social crisis in the Lisbon region. The Partnership Agreement with the European Union and the member-states is naturally another key policy instrument, since it will define the strategy and funding for the period 2021-2027 in Portugal. These programmes, strategies and plans frame the future investment in the Lisbon metropolitan area, so they exert a powerful force on every subnational and local strategy, but the opposite is not true, i.e., regional, metropolitan, and local levels do not have the same influence on the national strategies. To be more specific, the centralization of these high-level instruments is unquestionable, which limited the LMA's role in the policy agenda setting.

A different story can be told about the LMA's relation with administrative regional bodies, namely with Lisbon Regional Coordination and Development Commission (CCDR-LVT). As mentioned above, the LMA actively collaborated in the preparation of the policy document Lisbon Regional Strategy 2030, which will shape the new Lisbon Regional Operational Programme (ROP). This positive relationship can be traced back to the preparation of the current Lisbon ROP 2013-2020, in which LMA acted as an intermediate body.

It is also relevant to mention the spatial planning policy domain, where typically local authorities, regional and national administrative levels have statutory powers. Nevertheless, the LMA is progressively more active in this domain and may influence the revision of the Lisbon Regional Land Planning Scheme (PROT).

3.3.2 Coherence with municipal goals

There is no significant misalignment between the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution and local development goals, since the former is formed by the 18 local authorities of the region. Should misalignment arise, the Metropolitan Council is the appropriate body to resolve any problems.

Challenges and critical elements

- A matter of importance to the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution concerns the sectoral and territorial integration and coherence of projects so as effectively addressing the opportunities and challenges that the metropolitan area is facing. Due to several strategies across sectors and in different administrative levels, formal and informal, statutory, and non-statutory, the conjunction and coordination of actors are demanding.
- The typical centralization of political power in the country tends to neglect the value of subnational entities in the policy design. Although measures have been taken to alleviate this, there is still a long way to go before subnational levels adequately participate in high-level policy-making processes with a strong territorial impact.

3.4 Metropolitan development and planning instruments

There are a number of development and planning instruments relevant to the Lisbon metropolitan area. These range from regional to local administrative levels with a statutory or non-statutory nature and focusing on distinct domains, as well as adopting different forms (Programmes, Strategies, Plans). Table 3.3 itemizes the most relevant development and planning instruments in the metropolitan area, though national level instruments also quite relevant for development purposes are not included in it, mainly because the regional instruments are emanating from the national administrative level.

Recently, the LMA took an important step towards policy design through the co-elaboration with CCDR-LVT of the Lisbon Regional Strategy 2030, which will shape the next Lisbon Regional Operational Programme (ROP). Naturally, the LMA is looking forward to maintaining its intermediate management body status in the new ROP.

Table 3.3
Main instruments at national, regional to the local level

Instrument	Level	Responsible	Main Goals
Lisbon Regional Strategy 2030	Regional and Metropolitan	CCDR-LVT and LMA	Innovation and competitiveness Sustainability Social Cohesion Sustainable mobility
Lisbon Regional Land Planning Scheme (PROT)	Regional	CCDR-LVT	Land use regulation Strategic regional development
Metropolitan Plan for Adaptation to Climate Change (PMAAC)	Metropolitan	LMA	Reduce climate risks Increase adaptive capacity Climate change knowledge
Sustainable Urban Development Strategic Plan (PEDU)	Local/ Metropolitan	Local authorities	Restructuring of urban network
Sustainable Urban Mobility Action Plan (PAMUS)	Local/ Metropolitan	LMA/ Local authorities	Sustainable mobility

Fare Reduction Support Program in Public Transport (PART)	Regional and Metropolitan	LMA	Sustainable mobility
Municipal Land Use plan (PDM)	Municipal	Local authorities	Land use regulation Strategic local development
Urbanization plans (UP)	Municipal	Local authorities	Land use regulation at sub-local scale

Source: Authors' own elaboration

One major initiative was the implementation of The Fare Reduction Support Program in Public Transport (PART), created by the Ministry Dispatch n.º 1234-A/2019, 4th February. This support program aims to reduce the negative externalities associated with mobility, namely social exclusion, greenhouse gas emissions, air pollution, congestion, noise, and energy consumption. Thus, PART aims to attract passengers to public transport, supporting the transport authorities with an annual sum that allows them to operate a careful adjustment of fares and supply, within the framework of the powers conferred on them by Law No. 52/2015 of June 9, as amended. It is financed by the Environmental Fund, created by Decree-Law no. 42-A/2016, of 12 August, as amended. PART is a national programme aimed to finance the transport authorities in order to promote public transport tariff reduction and to increase level of service and expansion of public transport networks. The annual value in 2019 to the LMA was 73 million euros from the Environmental Fund and 1.8 million euros from municipal budgets.

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution (LMA) has a clear mandate on transportation and mobility. In accordance with this strategy, the municipalities of the metropolitan area elaborated Sustainable Urban Development Strategic Plans (PEDU), and the LMA developed the Sustainable Urban Mobility Action Plan (PAMUS) to frame investments funded by EU aiming at the promotion of low carbon measures in the transport system in the metropolitan area.

Besides this strong link with the EU programming framework, the LMA has prompted the Metropolitan Plan for Adaptation to Climate Change (PMAAC), a flagship initiative of the entity which mobilizes local and regional authorities, as well as civil society organizations and academia.

The Portuguese spatial planning is partly aligned with the regional economic approach pursuing social and economic objectives (ReSSI, 2017). Statutory spatial planning is allocated to CCDR-LVT and to local authorities (local plans, namely Master plans and Urbanization plans). The LMA has no authority in this field but operates as a relevant stakeholder and influences overall regional strategies.

The spatial planning statutory instruments are put in place by local authorities (PDM - Municipal Land Use plan) and by CCDR-LVT (PROT - Lisbon Regional Land Planning Scheme). Concerning the PROT, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution is deeply committed to its revision and is preparing to have a prominent role, though CCDR-LVT holds final responsibility in the plan design and implementation. The Municipal Land Use plans are elaborated by each of the 18 local authorities of the Lisbon metropolitan area and are approved by CCDR-LVT, which checks alignment with regional spatial plan schemes and ensures inter-municipality plan articulation.

3.4.1 Instruments in the framework of other cooperation initiatives

The cooperation initiatives and associated instruments involving the LMA are listed and commented in the section 4 of the report and relate with the EUCP, namely the Lisbon Regional Strategy 2030 (co-authored with CCDR-LVT), the Integrated Territorial Investment (funded by Lisbon ROP) and the Metropolitan Plan for Adaptation to Climate Change (PMAAC).

There are municipalities association from the formerly Setúbal *distrito* which cooperate at a sub-regional level in the following domains: culture and heritage, environment, information society, administrative modernization, accessibility and mobility. It also drafts the Strategic and Development Plan of Setúbal Peninsula (covering the 9 municipalities integrated in the Lisbon metropolitan area).

It is relevant to mention LMA is cooperating in the domain of transports and mobility with other municipalities that belong to the FUA but are not integrated in the Lisbon metropolitan area, ensuring coherence in the overall transport planning in the FUA.

3.4.2 Instrument and initiatives related to COVID-19

The COVID-19 pandemic crisis put under scrutiny the metropolitan administration's capacity to deal with the new challenges this global threat has placed on all local and regional authorities (Gonçalves, 2020). The negative economic and social impacts are evident and the response from the metropolitan authorities' is not only necessary but also desirable for the population and to all different stakeholders.

Four main issues can be pinpointed from the LMA's COVID-19 reaction and experience. The first arises from the need of a multi-sectoral policy coordination on COVID-19 reactions, that metropolitan administration can and should assume in order to more effectively respond to the problems. Policy coordination is only possible in a context of an enhanced role of metropolitan areas. If this role is not legally framed and is not institutional embedded in policy making it is very difficult to put in place effective policy coordination regarding territorial stakeholders.

Relatedly, a gap between the institutional legal competence framework of metropolitan regional administration and the stakeholders' expectations emerged. The mismatch between the expectations and the metropolitan authority intervention is generated by the restrictions of the legal framework, the definition of what the metropolitan administration could do and what they could not do, that caused frustration among different stakeholders.

On other hand, the capacity for more direct access to EU funding was another limitation that the pandemic crisis put on the table. The development of a more comprehensive approach of the legal framework on EU funding access becomes crucial, namely to react to an emergency where opportunity and time are critical. A new European framework became a need that must be discussed.

Finally, the communication exchange network among metropolitan authorities is a positive initiative to a more effective field intervention on COVID-19. But it must be maintained beyond the actual emergency state to discuss and exchange experiences on the attributions and competences that metropolitan authorities in Europe must have.

Challenges and critical elements

- Transport and mobility policy instruments are under control of Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA). The remaining domains of LMA intervention do not have specific instruments, despite being clearly defined and established in the Law n.º.75/2013. This is a potential weakness that has been partially overcome through cooperation and negotiation of LMA with other local, regional and national stakeholders.
-

3.5 Metropolitan financing and budgeting

The LMA funding mechanism is based on transfers from the Central Administration to cover transportation costs and investment, and from the 18 local authorities of the region.

The LMA budget has its own legal framework and is somewhat mixed. About half of the regular budget originates from the Central Administration and the other half is from contributions from the municipalities. The Law itself states that Metropolitan Areas are a form of non-voluntary association of municipalities in which the government obliges stakeholders to pay 50% of the budget. In other words, the 18 Municipalities

that make up the Lisbon metropolitan area are obliged to be part of the institution and contribute to the budget of the entity.

The regular budget is Euro 2 million but the overall mean annual revenue of the LMA was around Euro 4 million until 2018. Since then, the revenue increased tremendously due to the integration of transports and mobility competences with corresponding transfers from the national government, reaching more than Euro 100 million.

The other relevant part of the LMA budget originates from the European Cohesion policy (analysis in the section 5 of this report).

Challenges and critical elements

- The formal budget cannot respond effectively to the metropolitan area challenges, despite the increase after the integration of transport and mobility competences for the metropolitan area.
-

3.6 Role of social groups and the business community in metropolitan governance

The involvement of social groups and the business community in metropolitan governance is modest. Participation is mostly limited to consultancy. No decision-making powers or real power to change policy, strategies, and programmes are allocated to these stakeholders.

3.6.1 Social groups and the civil society

The involvement of social groups in metropolitan governance is fairly modest. Civil society is occasionally invited to collaborate in the discussion of relevant projects and programmes, but with limited scope to change them. Nevertheless, statutory instruments incorporate time for a participation process, in general towards the end of the plan or programme design, rendering relevant changes more difficult, if not impossible.

3.6.2 Business community

Participation is primarily limited to consultancy and no decision powers or real power to change policy, strategies and programmes is allocated to these stakeholders. Nevertheless, several business organizations sit on the Lisbon Strategic Council for Metropolitan Development (agriculture organizations, manufacturing and entrepreneurial associations, retail and services representatives, tourism regional body, labour unions, among others).

Challenges and critical elements

- There is a modest participation level of civil society organizations in Lisbon metropolitan area affairs and a tokenism participation-style of private and non-profit organisations.
-

3.7 Participation to policy networks

The Lisbon ROP Monitoring Committee is seen as a policy network between the LMA and the remaining Intermediate Bodies, the CCDR-LVT and the European Commission. Another policy network pointed out by the LMA revolves around Lisbon Regional Land Planning Scheme (PROT), again with CCDR-LVT and other participant organizations.

At the international level, the LMA is involved in policy networks, namely in the following fields:

- Metropolitan transportation;
- EMTA - European Metropolitan Transport Authorities;
- UITP - International Association of Public Transport;
- Urban and metropolitan affairs;
- METREX - The Network of European Metropolitan Regions and Areas.

To a certain extent, METRO-ESPON acts as a policy network for the LMA institution.

Challenges and critical elements

- The Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) is not participating in many policy networks eventually because of budget and human resources constraints, although LMA participate in a few international networks.
-

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Improve coordination of distinct actors intervening in the metropolitan area across several jurisdictions and sectors;
- Articulate efforts with other sub-national bodies (e.g. metropolitan areas and large urban communities) calling for delegation of powers from the central government;
- Seek alternative strategies to ensure adequate budgeting (contracting, municipalities contribution, political lobbying, etc.);
- Improve and expand public participation of business, academia, and third sector organizations in policy coordination, management, and implementation, as well promote collaboration with national, regional and local public bodies to tackle COVID-19 pandemics;
- Increase active and diversify participation in national and international policy networks.

4 Cohesion policy governance

4.1 EU cohesion policy institutional architecture and competences

The EU cohesion policy institutional architecture in Portugal clearly separates the national from the regional level, adopting noticeable top-down coordination. There is direct dependency between government and NUTS2 regional entities (CCDR). The central government is on the top of the hierarchy.

The cohesion policy is implemented in Portugal through 21 European National Operational Programmes (NOP) and Regional Operational Programs (ROP), organized as follows (Figure 4.1):

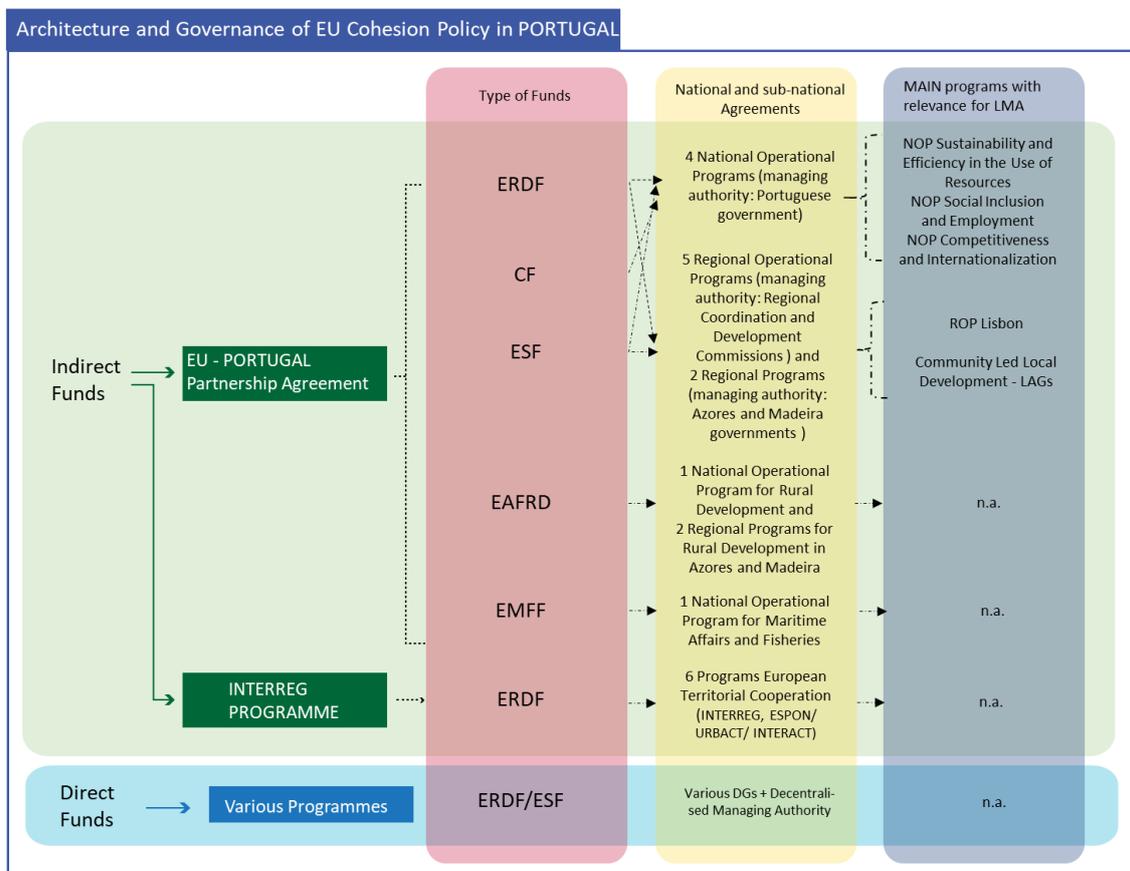
- 4 National Operational Programs (NOPs): the NOPs are managed at the national level and each of them has a thematic scope relevant for the country. In the period 2014-2020, NOPs address Competitiveness and Internationalization (through a multi-fund programme: ERDF, ESF and Cohesion Fund), Social Inclusion and Employment (ESF), Human Capital (ESF), and Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources (Cohesion Fund). Lisbon region is not eligible to the Human Capital NOP and has limited funding access in the remaining NOPs since it is a developed region for EU funding purposes. Nevertheless, no restrictions apply in Lisbon in accessing the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources NOP because it is funded by the Cohesion Fund;
- 5 Regional Operational Programs (ROPs) in Portugal mainland at NUTS2 level each managed by the Regional Coordination and Development Commissions (CCDR), the regional body in charge of regional development, planning and environmental coordination. ROPs are funded by ERDF and ESF;
- 2 Regional Programmes in Azores and Madeira, funded by ERDF and ESF, each managed by the regional government¹;
- 1 national programme for Rural Development funded by EARDF;
- 2 regional programmes for Rural Development in Azores and Madeira funded by EARDF;
- 1 national programme for Maritime Affairs and Fisheries funded by EMFF;
- 6 Operational Programmes for European Territorial Cooperation (Spain-Portugal; Madeira, Azores and Canary Islands; Atlantic Area; SUDOE; Mediterranean; and Interreg Europe).

In a nutshell, Portugal 2020 - the Portuguese Partnership Agreement for the period 2013-2020 - was designed according to the guidelines of the Europe 2020 strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth. It adopted four intervention priorities that best suited Portugal development goals: competitiveness and internationalization; social inclusion and employment; human capital; sustainability and efficiency in the use of resources. These four priorities materialized in the four National (or Thematic) Operational Programs (NOP) managed at the central level.

As in previous EU programming cycles, each NUTS2 region has a Regional Operational Programme (ROP) managed by the respective CCDR. The Azores and Madeira are special cases since they are both autonomous regions with elected governments and parliaments. Besides rural development programmes at national and regional level, one programme is targeting Maritime Affairs and Fisheries.

¹ Azores and Madeira regions have political autonomy, which is not the case of Portugal mainland's regions.

Figure 4.1
The governance of the EU Cohesion policy in Portugal



Source: Authors' own elaboration

4.1.1 The role of metropolitan actors

The governance model of Portugal 2020, like previous EU programming cycles in Portugal, proves to be a very centralized one, despite the EU stance for a more decentralized Cohesion policy governance model.

The period 2013-20 brought a few changes in favour of decentralization with the introduction of Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI), Community-Led Local Development (Local Development) and ERDF's Article 7 (Urban Development). This EU effort can be understood as one step ahead on the Europeanization of planning and development policies across EU member-states and regions and makes all the difference for metropolitan areas, intermunicipal entities and even local authorities.

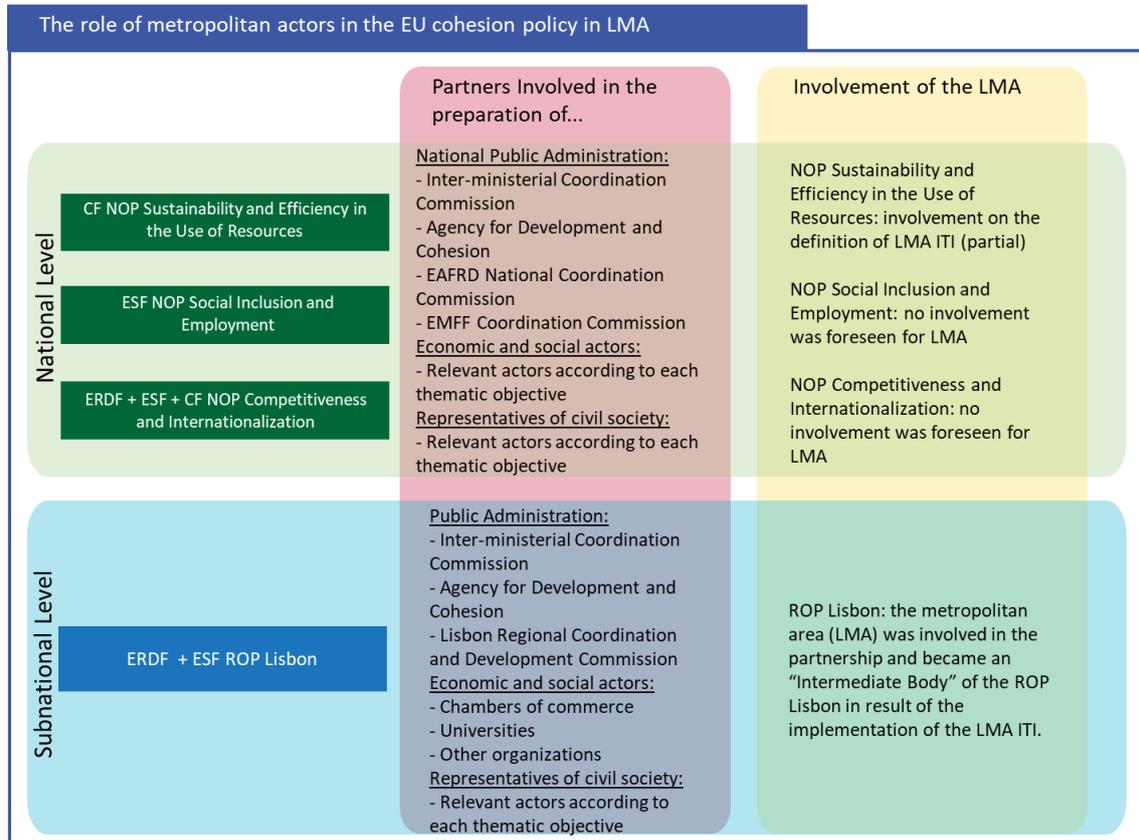
The LMA has no statutory or even informal role in the national/thematic operational programmes funding several interventions in the metropolitan area, mostly in economic and business and in training areas. However, LMA benefits from an ITI that is partially funded by the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources NOP (Cohesion Fund) (Figure 4.2).

Regional authorities are responsible for the management, monitoring, and evaluation process for the ROPs. However, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution (LMA) is a management intermediate body of Lisbon ROP programme which is coordinated by CCDR-LVT. Moreover, the LMA directed the Pact for Development and Territorial Cohesion and is responsible for the Integrated Territorial Investment in the metropolitan area, implementing the strategy, defining priorities, approving projects and investments.

Although the LMA and the CCDR-LVT are two separate entities with distinctive mandates, the former emerging "from below" (local authorities) and the latter originating from a "top-down" initiative (State), both are acting in the same territory and have started a fruitful collaboration in the preparation of the Lisbon Strategy

2030 that will inform the next EU programming cycle in the region. This close cooperation has a strong potential to respond to some important challenges of the metropolitan area.

Figure 4.2
The role of metropolitan actors in the EU cohesion policy



Source: Authors' own elaboration

Challenges and critical elements

- The governance model of Portugal 2020 proves to be a very centralized one, despite the EU stance for a more decentralized governance model of the Cohesion Policy.
- Lisbon Metropolitan Area is not an urban or local authority, which hamper a more active role in the programming, management and implementation of EU cohesion policy funds. Nevertheless, LMA coordinates a specific ITI in the metropolitan area supported by the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources NOP and by the Lisbon ROP, having the intermediate body status in the latter programme.
- The LMA has initiated a close cooperation with the regional authority CCDR-LVT for the preparation of the next Lisbon ROP, but this is a result of good relations between the two institutions rather than a formalized collaboration process.

4.2 EU cohesion policy instruments at the metropolitan level

Table 4.1 summarizes the Operational Programme interventions in the current Portugal 2020. Overall, there are 3 NOPs contributing to the Lisbon Metropolitan Area development, whereas one of them - Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources NOP - is articulated with the LMA institution via the ITI.

Table 4.1
EU cohesion policy programmes and instruments in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Instrument	Level (geographical scope)	Type	Role of metropolitan actors	ESIF in the metropolitan area
Competitiveness and Internationalization (POCI)	National	National Programme	No role	Cohesion Fund
Social Inclusion and Employment (POISE)	National	National Programme	No role	European Social Fund
Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources (POSEUR)	National	National Programme	ITI	Cohesion Fund
Lisbon ROP (PORA)	Regional	Regional Programme	ITI and Intermediate Body	European Regional Development Fund European Social Fund
LAG/ CLLD (several)	Municipal and intermunicipal	Regional Programme	No role	Funded by Lisbon ROP

Source: Authors' own elaboration based on Portugal 2020

The EU Cohesion Policy instruments are highly centralized in Portugal. The political coordination of the EU Cohesion Policy situates in a specific inter-ministerial coordination commission (Table 4.2). This high-level coordination is complemented by the technical coordination assigned to the Agency for Development and Cohesion (AD&C), for ERDF, ESF and CF funding, and to two specific commission dealing with EAFRD and EMFF funds at national level. Auditing and certification are both exerted at national level by AD&C and by the Agriculture and Fishing Financing Institute. Subnational entities are involved only at the management level of regional programmes. All other involved entities, including but not limited to metropolitan areas bodies, have a minor role as intermediate bodies of operational programmes.

As mentioned above, three NOP support interventions in the Lisbon metropolitan area. The NOP Competitiveness and Internationalization is a multi-fund programme, financed by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), European Social Fund (ESF) and the Cohesion Fund (CF), mainly targeting structural change of less development regions in Portugal. Nevertheless, Lisbon metropolitan area is eligible for actions funded by this programme through the CF, as its application is not conditioned by the level of development of the regions, thus supporting interventions mainly in transports and logistics domains in the metropolitan area.

Table 4.2
Coordination of the EU Cohesion policy in Portugal

Level of political coordination	Inter-ministerial Coordination Commission		
Level of technical coordination	Agency for Development and Cohesion (ERDF+ESF+CF)	EAFRD National Coordination Commission EMFF Coordination Commission	
Audit Authority	General Finance Inspection		
Management Authorities	Regional OP	Thematic OP	EAFRD Programmes
	Autonomous Regions' OP	Technical Assistance OP	EMFF Programmes
	Intermediate Bodies		Intermediate Bodies
Certification Authority	Agency for Development and Cohesion, P.I.	Agriculture and Fishing Financing Institute	
Monitoring	Monitoring Committees		

Source: AD&C

The NOP Social Inclusion and Employment only funds Youth Employment initiatives in the Lisbon region through the ESF, since the remaining axis only include less developed regions. For the same reason, the NOP Human Capital do not fund any action in the Lisbon region.

The NOP Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources, financed by the CF, aims at supporting the transition for a low carbon economy, to promote climate change adaptation and risk management, as well as environmental protection and resource efficiency. This programme supports Lisbon metropolitan ITI (see below).

The Lisbon ROP is obviously a key instrument, not only because the geographical scope coincides with the Lisbon metropolitan area, but also because part of the ROP is related with the Lisbon ITI. It is managed by the regional authority CCDR-LVT.

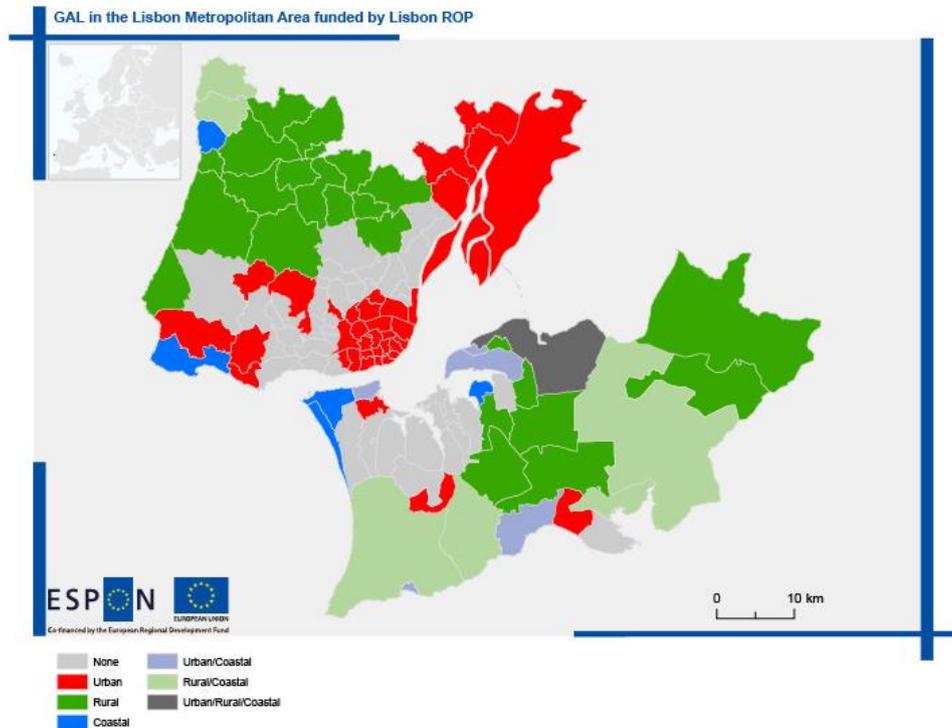
The Lisbon ITI instrument is managed by the LMA institution. It brings together 8 investment priorities from the Lisbon ROP (PORL), funded by ERDF and ESF, and another 2 from the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources NOP (POSEUR), funded by the Cohesion Fund. This new instrument in the current EU financing framework aims to strengthen place-based approaches to development, as well integrating ERDF, ESF and CF. Although ITIs have a functional logic, they are framed with a NUTS3 logic in Portugal. Having said this, the Lisbon metropolitan area constitutes Lisbon region NUTS3 level and FUA is only marginally larger than metropolitan area, so as it's fair to say that ITI denotes a high functional level content. ITI is materialized through Pact for Cohesion and Territorial Development, which stems from Integrated Strategies for Territorial Development (EIDT).

Under the ITI, investment priorities contracting with the Lisbon ROP focus on energy efficiency, natural and cultural heritage, social inclusion, ageing, and education, whereas investment priorities associated with the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources NOP target climate change adaptation plan, and tsunami and fire risk warning systems.

Regarding Community-Led Local Development (CLLD), according to the Portugal 2020 Partnership Agreement, the Metropolitan Area's powers were reduced to one step in the process: the Metropolitan Area was obliged to give a binding opinion to Local Development Strategies of each Local Action Group.

Map 4.1

GAL in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area funded by Lisbon ROP



Source: Authors' own elaboration based on Lisbon ROP 2020

The current programming cycle created opportunities for decentralized cooperation for local associations. The Local Action Groups cooperate with each other, benefiting from CLLD investments to promote local development in specific sub-regional areas. Currently, 10 Local Action Groups have signed collaboration protocols with the Lisbon ROP's management authority, covering 14 municipalities of the Lisbon metropolitan area (Figure 4.2). Besides municipal GALs, Setúbal peninsula municipalities (south bank of the LMA) have three CLLDs led by ADREPES for urban, rural and coastal development. The rural sub-region of the NW of the LMA is also benefiting from A2S intervention for rural development. Other intermunicipal collaboration Ericeira-Cascais (Sintra and Cascais municipalities) aims at coastal development. At the same time, there is collaboration among associations based at the parish level in the city of Lisbon (Lisbon CLLD Network).

It's worthwhile to mention that due to EUCP regulation, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area couldn't coordinate a metropolitan-wide Sustainable Urban Development Strategic Plan (PEDU) because it's not recognised as an urban authority. Hence, there are 18 PEDUS in the LMA, one per each local authority, rendering a rather fragmented context of the metropolitan area.

Challenges and critical elements

- Only a fraction of the meaningful development measures funded by the EU cohesion policy for the metropolitan area are directly controlled by the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution. Nevertheless, ITI instruments contribute to bolster collaboration with local authorities and LMA.
 - As a result of EU non-recognition of metropolitan areas as urban authorities, LMA was impeded to coordinate a metropolitan-wide Sustainable Urban Development Strategic Plan (PEDU), to the detriment of coherence across metropolitan area.
-

4.3 Involvement of social groups and the business community in the EU cohesion policy

Overall, the involvement of social groups and business communities in the EU cohesion policy is fairly limited in Portugal. In fact, social groups and business community are mobilized especially during the consultation phase aiming at preparing a new programme.

In general, active participation is limited to the monitoring committees, where associations (environment, gender inclusion), mutuality and social solidarity organizations, and several entrepreneurial and sectoral entities follow the management of the NOP or ROP.

Besides, and depending on the type of actor and instrument, some entities are direct beneficiaries of funding, hence are involved in the implementation of EUCP. The case of CLLD depicts an active role mostly of public and non-profit organisations in the management and implementation of specific measures.

Challenges and critical elements

- There is a modest and rather variable participation level of civil society organizations and business communities in the EU Cohesion Policy management;
 - Nevertheless, social groups and the business community are extensively involved in the implementation of the EU cohesion policy as beneficiaries of projects.
-

4.4 The governance of EU cohesion policy in the COVID-19 emergency

The COVID-19 crisis has an acute impact on the economy and society. The Lisbon metropolitan area is no exception, and unemployment and economic problems are mounting. Some specific adjustments were made by the Lisbon Metropolitan Area in the transport sector. Moreover, the Lisbon ROP was able to fund health care facilities' adaptation to respond to the COVID-19 pandemic.

However, it is the Recovery and Resilience Plan (RRP) that is expected to give a substantial answer to COVID-19 problems. The RRP is organized around three structural dimensions (<https://recuperarportugal.gov.pt/plano-de-recuperacao-e-resiliencia/>):

- Resilience: improving economic recovery and increasing the capacity to react and overcome future crises and associated challenges, in a transformative, lasting, fair, sustainable and inclusive way;
- Climate Transition: better and more sustainable use of resources, increased production of renewable energy and decarbonisation of the economy and society;

- Digital Transition: increasing skills so that the Portuguese can take advantage of the technological tools available, arising from the growing digitization of economic activity, maximizing the efficiency of their work and promoting participation in a more inclusive market.

The RRP funding envelope is 16,644 million euros, of which 13,944 million euros in grants (84%) and 2,700 million in loans (16%).

The RRP is seen as a last opportunity to make heavier investments and change the paradigm in the transport and mobility domain in the metropolitan area. The health sector, digital transition, and housing are other key areas of investment and may partially compensate for the EU funding decrease in the next Lisbon ROP.

The RRP will focus on 6 pillars which are relevant to the EUCP:

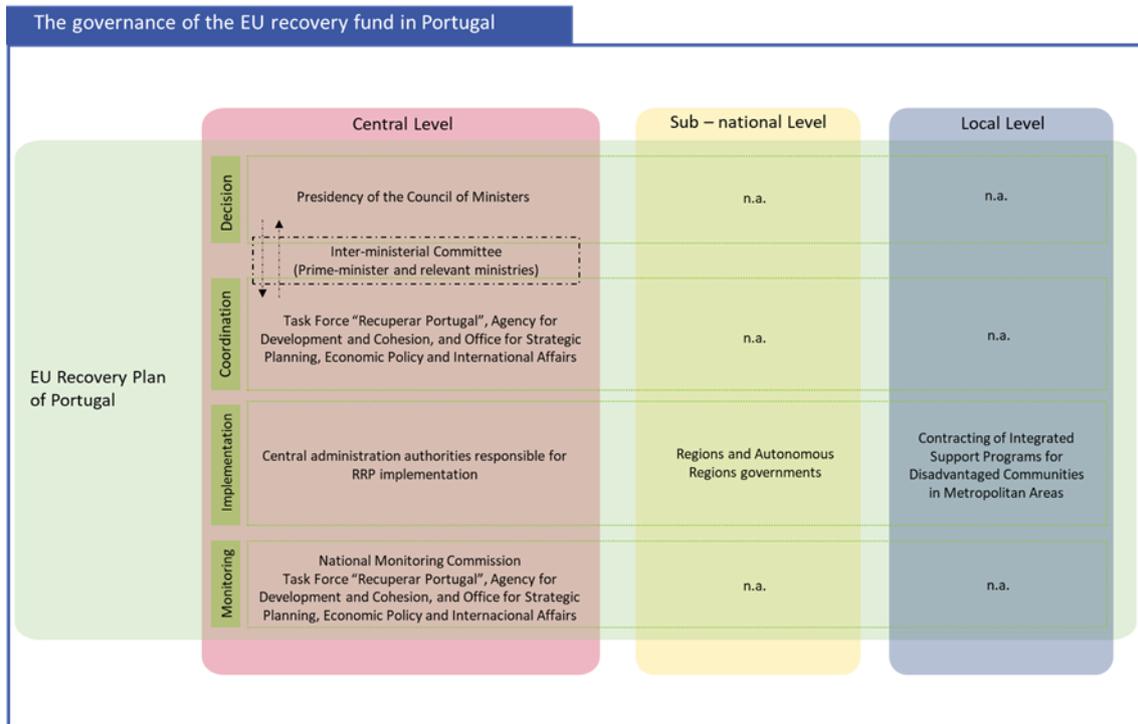
- Green transition;
- Digital transformation;
- Smart, sustainable and inclusive growth;
- Social and territorial cohesion;
- Economic, social and institutional health and resilience;
- Policies for the next generation, children and youth (education and qualifications).

It is in the Social and Territorial Cohesion Pillar and in particular in the Resilience dimension that the most significant interventions with a territorial character are concentrated. Interventions will target the health sector (services digitization and the strengthening of the continuous health care). This pillar also responds to structural deficiencies in access to housing, intervening unworthy and inadequate housing as well as promoting accommodation to cope with the Covid-19 emergency. RRP will invest in the public transport network improving connectivity and accessibility in metropolitan areas, as well contributing to clean public transportation.

Figure 4.3 depicts the governance of the Recovery and Resilient Plan. Basically, this is a central government plan stemming from the Presidency of the Council of Ministers. An inter-ministerial committee was established to articulate coordination between the Council of Ministers and the task force “Recuperar Portugal”, specifically founded to coordinate the RRP with the AD&C – a central institution in the EUCP – and the Office for Strategic Planning, Economic Policy and International Affairs. At the monitoring level, the government set-up a National Monitoring Commission constituted by nine independent members from business, academia, and research communities.

The central government determined RRP will be implemented by the central administration authorities. Despite being a national plan, RRP addresses various competences of sub-national authorities, such as housing, primary health care, and transport and mobility. Therefore, regions are also involved in the implementation of RRP specific measures. It is unclear what concrete role the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution will play, but so far LMA expects to be involved in the implementation of Integrated Support Programs for Disadvantaged Communities in Metropolitan Areas through direct contractualisation with RRP management body.

Figure 4.3
The governance of the EU recovery fund in Portugal



Source: Authors' own elaboration

Challenges and critical elements

- The Recovery and Resilience Plan (RRP) is an instrument coordinated by the national government and is yet to be clearly defined what, how and who will have a role in the RRP implementation at sub-national level. Still, housing, primary health care and transport and mobility are competences of local authorities and metropolitan level collaboration is certainly needed for an efficient policy delivery.

4.5 Coordinating metropolitan governance and EU cohesion policy

The coordination and integration of objectives, priorities and targets of metropolitan governance and cooperation activities that occurs within and outside the EU cohesion policy framework involves a network of various public and private “nodes”. Naturally, many actors intervene in the metropolitan area but only the 11 institutions listed in table 4.3 were interviewed by the research team, including Lisbon Metropolitan Area, the regional authority CCDR-LVT in charge of the Lisbon ROP, and public sectoral institutions (health, mobility and transports, planning, EU funding) and non-profit organizations (business, municipalities association, Local Action Groups).

Table 4.3**List of nodes of the metropolitan governance and EU cohesion policy network**

Institution's name	Status	Scale	Sector
A2S - Association for the Sustainable Development of the "Saloia" Region	Non-profit organisation	Inter-municipal	Rural Development
AD&C - Agency for Development & Cohesion	Public	National	Territorial Development
ADREPES - Association for Rural Development of the Setúbal Peninsula	Non-profit organisation	Inter-municipal	Rural Development
AERLIS - Lisbon Region Business Association	Non-profit organisation	Metropolitan	Business
AMT - Mobility and Transportation Authority	Public	National	Transports
ARSLVT - Regional Health Administration of Lisbon and Tagus Valley	Public	Regional	Health
AMRS - Association of Municipalities of the Setúbal Region	Non-profit organisation	Inter-municipal	Other
CCDR-LVT - Lisbon Regional Coordination and Development Commission	Public	Regional	Territorial development and spatial planning
DGT - General Directorate of the Territory	Public	National	Territorial development and spatial planning
LMA - Lisbon Metropolitan Area	Public	Metropolitan	Economic development
TML - Metropolitan Transports of Lisbon	Public	Metropolitan	Transports

Source: Authors' own elaboration based on Portugal 2020

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution (LMA) collaborates with CCDR-LVT in the Lisbon ROP. It is an Intermediate Body of this instrument. In addition, the LMA has a notion and a voice of EU Cohesion policy in the metropolitan area. However, the LMA does not have the same capacity or voice on other OPs, since it is not part of any Monitoring Committee nor an institutional stakeholder.

The status of Intermediate Body for the management of Cohesion Funds is given by the European Union's Cohesion Policy and not from any national regulations. This stems from the multi-level governance logic of the Cohesion Policy. And more than that, it comes from the very logic of implementing territorial instruments, in this case from the ITI.

The identified actors establish relations with many other actors in the metropolitan area for EUCP and non-EUCP purposes. They were asked fill in a roster questionnaire, specifying the main actors with which they establish relations and what is its purpose (EUCP or non-EUCP relations).

To ensure the maximum comparability across case-studies, the team decided to apply the following procedures:

- No consideration of roster questionnaire answers from local authorities, except if they are the city that originated the metropolitan area, as it may unbalance /bias comparative analysis across case studies;
- No consideration of intensity of relations because it is difficult to ensure all organisations have a common criteria /understanding on different levels;
- No analysis of intra-organization relations in each institution.

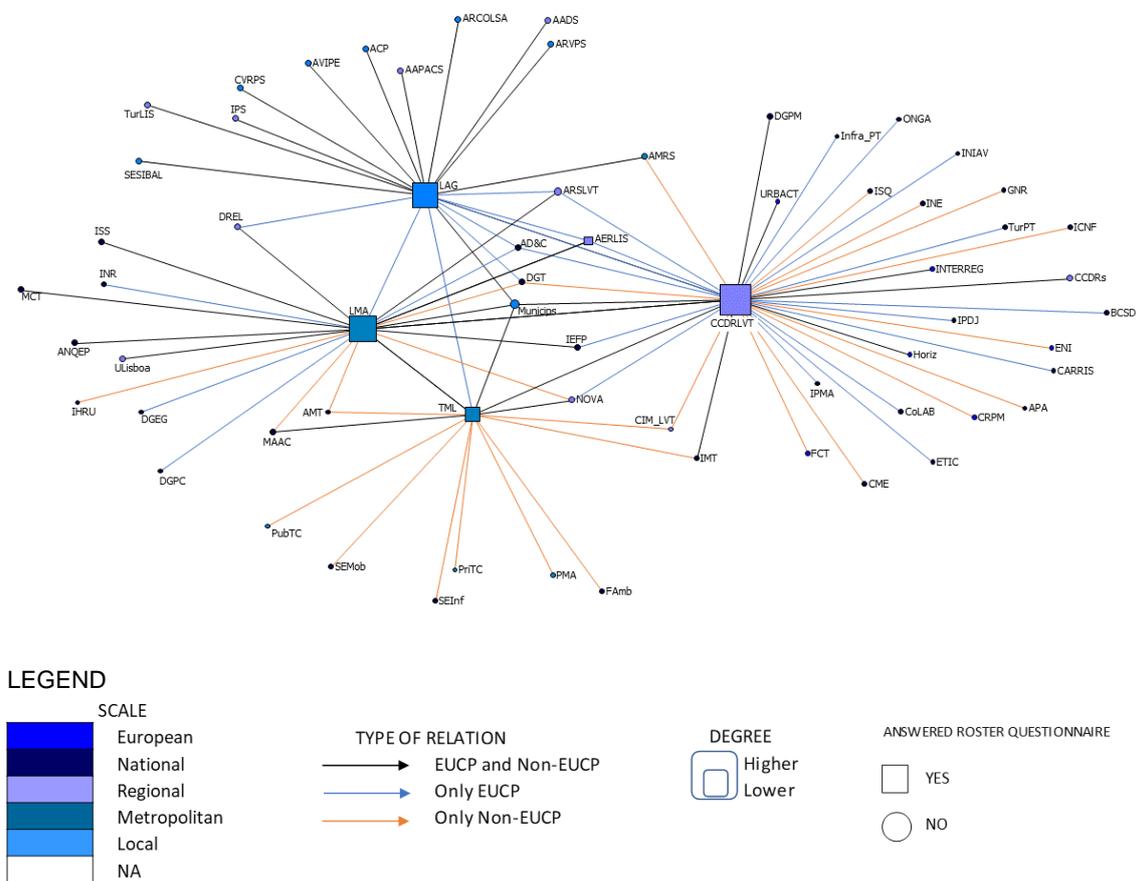
We use the UCINET software package (Borgatti et al., 2002) to elaborate the matrices of dichotomous relationships between the actors and we use the NetDraw module to draw the networks of relationships. The following steps were applied:

- Dataset consolidation;

- Computation of binary symmetrical matrixes (UCINET);
- Elaboration of one network per case study (NetDraw);
- Networks include the type of relation (EUCP, non-EUCP), scale of intervention of actors (European, National, Regional, Metropolitan, Local), and the degree of each node (calculated according to the number and type of connections, where both EUCP and non-EUCP equals 3 points, only EUCP equals 2 points and only non-EUCP equals 1 point).

In the case of Lisbon metropolitan area, the team received and validated 6 answers from the selected actors: LMA, CCDR-LVT, TML, ADREPES, A2S, and AERLIS (see Table 4.3). For analysis purposes, ADREPES and AERIS answers were aggregated in a new node labelled LAG (Local Action Groups). Figure 4.4 depicts the metropolitan governance network in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area.

Figure 4.4
The metropolitan governance network



ID	ID_name
AADS	Setúbal District Farmers Association
AAPACS	Ass. Artisanal Fishing Shipowners of the Center and South
ACP	Palmela Cooperative Winery
AD&C	Agency for Development and Cohesion
AERLIS	Business Association of Lisbon Region
AMRS	Assoc. of Municipalities of the Setúbal Region
AMT	Mobility and Transport Authority
ANQEP	National Agency for Qualification and Vocational Education
APA	Portuguese Environment Agency
ARCOLSA	Regional Ass. of Sheep Breeders of Serra da Arrábida
ARSLVT	Regional Health Administration Lisbon and Tagus Valley
ARVPS	Ass. Wine Route of Setúbal Peninsula
AVIPE	Ass. of Palmela Winegrowers
BCSD	Business Council for Sustainable Development Portugal
CARRIS	Carris de Ferro de Lisboa /Tramway company
CCDRLVT	Lisbon and Tagus Valley Regional Authority
CCDRs	Remaining CCDRs
CIM_LVT	CIM Lisbon and other adjacent regions
CME	Municipal Councils of Education
CRPM	CRPM/CAA
CVRPS	Viticulture Commission of Setúbal Peninsula
CoLAB	CoLAB-Atlantic
DGEG	Directorate General for Energy and Geology
DGPC	Directorate General for Cultural Heritage
DGPM	Directorate General for Sea Policy
DGT	Directorate General of the Territory
DREL	Regional Directorate of Education of Lisbon
ENI	ENI CBC MED
ETIC	School of Innovation and Creation Technologies
FAmb	Environmental Fund
FCT	Foundation for Science and Technology
GNR	Republican National Guard
Horiz	HORIZON EUROPE
ICNF	Nature and Forest Conservation Institute
IEFP	Institute of Employment and Vocational Training
IHRU	Housing and Urban Rehabilitation Institute
IMT	Institute of Mobility and Transport
INE	Statistics Portugal
INIAV	National Institute of Agrarian and Veterinary Research
INR	National Institute for Rehabilitation
INTERREG	Interreg
IPDJ	Portuguese Institute of Sport and Youth
IPMA	Portuguese Institute of the Sea and Atmosphere
IPS	Polytechnic Institute of Setúbal
ISQ	Welding and Quality Institute
ISS	Social Security Institute
Infra_PT	Infrastructures of Portugal
LAG	LAG (Local Action Groups)
LMA	Lisbon Metropolitan Area
MAAC	Ministry of Environment and Climate Action
MCT	Ministry of Territorial Cohesion
Municips	Local authorities from the Lisbon region
NOVA	University Nova Lisboa
ONGA	NGO Environment
PMA	Porto Metropolitan Area
PriTC	Private Transport Companies
PubTC	Public Transport Companies
SEInf	State Department of Infrastructure
SEMob	State Mobility Secretariat
SESIBAL	Fisheries Cooperative of Setúbal, Sesimbra and Sines
TML	Lisbon Metropolitan Transports
TurLIS	Tourism of the Lisbon Region
TurPT	Tourism of Portugal
ULisboa	University of Lisboa
URBACT	URBACT

Source: Authors' own elaboration

This exercise requires caution in its analysis due to the small number of actors who responded to the roster questionnaire, although relevant institutions such as the LMA and the CCDR-LVT responded to it. Bearing this in mind, it is obvious that LMA relates with variegated stakeholders in the metropolitan area, in a formal or informal way, aiming at articulating strategies and actions in several policy domains. This is quite clear in the transport and mobility systems, and increasingly so in housing, planning and urbanism, health care, education facilities and cultural heritage. In each process, the LMA looks for “a methodology” that aggregates synergies, seeking to incorporate the contribution of other entities. Currently, the LMA can communicate more easily and has a higher-level profile in the metropolitan area. It is, in fact, a key stakeholder in the Lisbon metropolitan area.

The importance of the CCDR-LVT in the region is equally evident and expected, especially because of its role in coordinating the Lisbon ROP, as well as because of the responsibilities it has in planning and environmental matters in the region. Naturally, it has the highest degree among the “nodes” of the network. It is a key-player in the metropolitan area also because the metropolitan area coincides with the NUTS2 region and CCDR-LVT is the official public body responsible for planning and development.

TML is the metropolitan transport company holding a high degree in the network. Its role stems from the attribution of coordinating the transport and mobility policy in the metropolitan area to the LMA, which for this purpose created and exclusively owns this company.

A2S and ADREPES, aggregated as LAG for analysis purposes, are similarly very central in the metropolitan area's governance network, articulating both with central nodes and with local and sectoral organizations (agriculture, fisheries, culture, etc.). A diverse range of sectoral institutions also emerge in the network, such as AD&C (community funds), DGT (spatial planning and territorial development), ARSLVT (health) and AERLIS (business).

Local authorities were not surveyed, but there is no doubt they are essential institutions in the Lisbon metropolitan area, operating in many policy domains at local scale. The institutions surveyed precisely confirm the relevance of the municipalities, aggregated in the Municipals node in the governance network of the metropolitan area.

It is evident that the EUCP has effectively contributed to the strengthening of the governance network in the metropolitan area through, on the one hand, increased inter-institutional relations and, on the other, the emergence of new actors with clear affiliation to cohesion policies.

Overall, the results can be summarized in the following bullet points:

- LMA institutionalized metropolitan area has a stronger role in the institutional structures at play in the metropolitan area, although regional authorities are pivotal;
- EUCP boosted institutional relations at metropolitan areas and articulate more metro/regional actors;
- Multi-level governance is a distinctive trait in the metropolitan governance network.

Challenges and critical elements

- Coordination of variegated stakeholders in the Lisbon metropolitan area is still challenging due to the fragmented nature of the institutional map of the LMA region.
 - LMA has increasingly participated in the governance network of metropolitan area, where the regional body and local authorities are dominant, even as recent competences in the domain of transport and mobility make the LMA increasingly prominent.
 - EUCP is bolstering actors' relationships rendering a denser governance network of the Lisbon metropolitan area.
-

RECOMMENDATIONS

- The LMA has increased competences and the conditions to bolster its involvement on the EU cohesion policy in the metropolitan area;
- Lobbying for recognition of institutionalized metropolitan areas as equivalent to urban authorities for EUCP purposes, including ESIF funding managing;
- Enabling the Lisbon metropolitan area to engage in more dialogue with local, metropolitan and regional stakeholders;
- RRP is an opportunity for further recognition of LMA as a central and pivotal institution in the metropolitan governance structure;
- Explore further opportunities derived from EUCP framework to reinforce the metropolitan level as an effective spatial scale to deliver development policies.

5 Cohesion policy impact

5.1 EU cohesion policy objectives and actions

Cohesion Policy priorities in the Lisbon metropolitan area are manifold and are supported by different Operational Programmes (OP). In this section we focus on the Lisbon Regional Operational Programme (ROP) and the Lisbon Metropolitan Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI), as both have a clear territorial focus on the Lisbon region/metropolitan area. It should be noted that other OPs support initiatives in the Lisbon metropolitan area, namely the Competitiveness and Internationalization OP (POCI), the Social Inclusion and Employment OP (POISE), and the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources OP (POSEUR).

The objectives of national and thematic operational programmes are not analysed in the report because they are not specific to the metropolitan area or to the Lisbon region. Having said this, they are relevant for cohesion and development purposes, but they are outside of the statutory perimeter of regional and metropolitan stakeholders.

The objectives of Lisbon ROP target several priorities. Research, technological development and innovation, SME competitiveness and internationalization, transition to a low carbon economy, environmental protection and energy efficiency, employment, social integration and fight against poverty and discrimination, education and training, and territorial development and spatial planning (Table 5.1). The reinforcement of research, technological development and innovation and the strengthen of SMEs competitiveness stand out as the more relevant priorities of the Lisbon ROP.

The social dimension of the ROP comprehends several priorities addressing unemployment, labour market integration and mobility, skills integration, social inclusion, poverty, migration, health care, education. This reflects the critical situation of some parts of the metropolitan area, particularly those going through a crisis brought about by COVID-19. Sustainable urban development addresses the built-up environment regeneration in conjunction with economic and social development interventions.

The Lisbon Metropolitan Area ITI has two streams of funding, the Lisbon ROP and the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources OP (POSEUR), and priorities are aligned with the two OPs. ITI (Lisbon ROP) is clearly more relevant for the metropolitan area. This ITI component mirrors practically all priorities of the Lisbon ROP to the exception of research, technological development and innovation, the strengthen of SMEs competitiveness and the employment and job quality priorities, which are exclusive of the Lisbon ROP.

The thematic priorities of Lisbon Metropolitan Area ITI include the transition to a low carbon economy, environmental protection and energy efficiency, and social integration and fight poverty and discrimination. These priorities of LMA are spread across the Lisbon ROP axis 3 and 4, both managed exclusively by the LMA, plus axis 5 and 7.

The objectives are:

- Energy efficiency on public infrastructures and the utilization of renewable energy;
- Conservation, protection, and promotion and development of natural and cultural heritage;
- Promotion of equal opportunities and active participation and improving employability;
- Improvement of the access to sustainable services, namely health care and social services of general interest;
- Investment on health and on social infrastructures, reducing health inequalities and promoting social inclusion;
- Reducing and preventing school failure and early abandonment and promote equal access to all school levels with good quality;
- Investment on education and professional training to acquire skills and learning throughout life through the development of educative and training infrastructures;

Table 5.1
Objectives of the EU cohesion policy in the metropolitan area

Instrument	Type of Fund(s)	Axis	Objective
Lisbon ROP	ERDF ESF	Axis 1: Reinforce research, technological development and innovation	Increase quality scientific production and reinforce business investment in innovation
		Axis 2: Reinforce SMEs competitiveness	Promote entrepreneurship and strengthen business training for internationalization and support entrepreneurial capacity of SMEs
		Axis 3: Support the transition to a low carbon economy across all sectors	Increase energy efficiency in companies, public infrastructures and the housing sector
		Axis 4: Preserve and protect the environment and promoting an efficient resource utilization	Promote the enhancement of cultural and natural heritage
		Axis 5: Promote sustainability and job quality and supporting worker's mobility	Integrate unemployed people in the labour market, increase new firms formation and self-employment; Improve the conditions for family and professional life reconciliation; Develop new skills and integrate highly qualified human resources in companies
		Axis 6: Promote social inclusion and fighting poverty and discrimination	Increase integrated continuous care facilities, day-care centres, local health services; Increase the responsiveness to new epidemiological and demographic challenges; Increase the number of locally based socio-economic development strategies in rural and coastal territories and in disadvantaged urban areas; Reduce poverty, social exclusion and unemployment in problematic urban areas; Reduce the levels of social and economic exclusion of immigrants and individuals of ethnic minorities.
		Axis 7: Invest on education, on formation and professional formation for acquiring competences and lifelong learning	Requalify the infrastructures of Vocational and Pre-school, Basic and Secondary Education and strengthen the capacities of Higher Education; Improve school success and participation in pre-school, basic and secondary education; Increase the level of qualification of the active adult population and the number of young graduates in vocational education and training
		Axis 8: Sustainable urban development	Promote ecological and low-carbon mobility; Promote urban and landscape environmental quality; Regenerate physically, socially and economically areas with disadvantaged communities
		Axis 9: Technical assistance	Implement, streamline, manage, control and disseminate the Operational Program effectively and efficiently
ITI (PURL)	ERDF ESF	04.3: Energy Efficiency	Support energy efficiency on public infrastructures, the smart management of energy and the utilization of renewable energy

Instrument	Type of Fund(s)	Axis	Objective
ITI (POSEUR)	CF	06.3: Natural and Cultural patrimony	Conserve, protect, promote and develop natural and cultural heritage
		09.1: Active inclusion, including promoting equal opportunities and active participation	Active inclusion, including promoting equal opportunities and active participation and improving employability
		08.3	
		09.4: Improved access to sustainable services	Improve the access to sustainable services, of great quality and affordable prices, including health care and social services of general interest
		09.7: Social equipment	Investment on health and on social infrastructures that contribute to national, regional and local development, to reduce health inequalities, to promote social inclusion
		10.1: Plans to fight school failure	Reduce and prevent school failure and early abandonment and promote equal access to all school levels with good quality, including formal, non-formal and informal learning paths for reintegration into teaching and learning
		10.5: Upgrade scholar infrastructures at the various levels	Investment on education, formation and professional training to acquire skills and learning throughout life through the development of educative and training infrastructures
		05.1: Elaboration and monitoring the climate change adaptation plan	Support the investment to the adaptation of climate change, including approaches based on ecosystems
		05.2: Implementing a tsunami warning and alert system on Tagus River's estuary; Implementing a vigilance system against fires on Parque Natural da Arrábida and Parque Natural Sintra-Cascais	Promote investments to approach specific risks, secure the capacity to resist catastrophes and develop catastrophes management systems

Source: Authors' own elaboration based on Portugal 2020

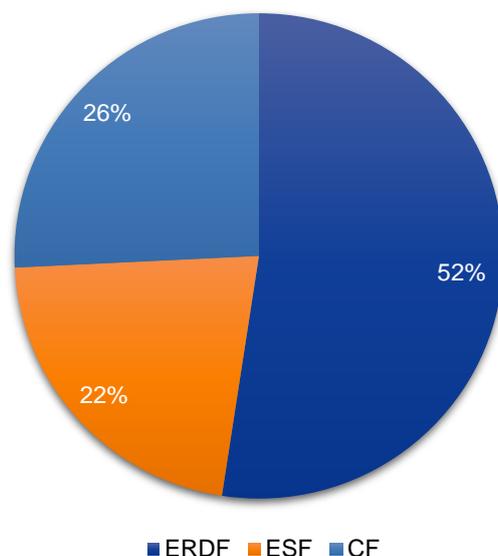
The other component of the ITI managed by LMA is associated with the thematic /national Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources OP and prioritizes the elaboration of the metropolitan climate change adaptation plan and the implementation of the tsunami warning and alert system on Tagus River's estuary and the vigilance system against fires on Arrábida Natural Park and Sintra-Cascais Natural Park.

5.1.1 Funded measures: main sectors and spatial distribution

The total EU funding approved by the OPs in the Lisbon metropolitan area reaches Euro 1,529 million (dec 31st 2020). The largest share originates from the Lisbon ROP (57%), trailed by the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources NOP (POSEUR) (24%). The remaining OPs have modest shares in the total investment in the metropolitan area. ERDF contributions amount to more than 50% of total EU funding in the Lisbon metropolitan area, and the remaining amount is divided into almost identical parts between the Cohesion Fund (26%) and the European Social Fund (22%) (Chart 5.1).

Chart 5.1

Approved investment by Fund in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (2014-2020)



Source: Authors' own elaboration based on Portugal 2020

As mentioned above, Lisbon ROP and the ITI have closer relation with Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution's goals. Hence, these EU interventions contribute to the development of the metropolitan area. Considering the Lisbon ROP and the Lisbon metropolitan area ITI, the approved funding amounts to Euro 810 million. There are three important sectors of funding concentration: research, technological development and innovation (Axis 1) and SME competitiveness and internationalization (Axis 2), and social domains (social cohesion, health, and education (Axis #5, 6 and 7) as well urban sustainable development (Table 5.2). Environmental interventions have less funding by the ROP (Axis #3 and 4) but adding funding on sustainable urban development (Axis #8), which has a clear environmental mark. Overall, the Lisbon ROP and the ITI balance the three central priorities of the Europe 2020 agenda: smart, inclusive and sustainable development.

The ITI intervention totals Euro 93.4 million. It prioritizes social integration and fight poverty and discrimination and education sector investments. Environment is also a relevant sector of funding concentration. It is noticed no funding for business or innovation and technological development in the ITI.

In conclusion, the thematic priorities of Lisbon ROP and LMA ITI focus research, technological development and innovation and SME's competitiveness, trailed by social integration and fight against poverty and discrimination, education and training, and urban sustainable development (Chart 5.2). All other thematic priorities have much less funding provision.

The ERDF is by far the largest European Structural Investment Funds in these instruments (Lisbon ROP and LMA ITI), followed at a long distance by ESF (Table 5.3). Cohesion Fund has a modest share and is allocated to LMA ITI related with the Sustainability and Efficiency in the Use of Resources OP (POSEUR).

Table 5.2

Localisation, sector and resources of the main EUCP actions to be or implemented in the metropolitan area

Instrument	Axis	Thematic Objective	ESIF		
			Approved (000's Euro)	Core	Non-core or LMA indivisible
Lisbon ROP (PORK) (executed)	Axis 1: Reinforce research, technological development and innovation	Research, technological development and innovation	215 163	69 353	145 810
	Axis 2: Strengthen SMEs competitiveness	SME competitiveness	190 494	69 925	120 569
	Axis 3: Support the transition to a low carbon economy across all sectors	Low carbon economy	ITI (see below)		
	Axis 4: Preserve and protect the environment and promoting an efficient resource utilization	Environmental Protection and energy efficiency	ITI (see below)		
	Axis 5: Promote sustainability and job quality and supporting worker's mobility	Promote sustainability and job quality and supporting worker's mobility	51 840	7 258	44 582
	Axis 6: Promote social inclusion and fight poverty and discrimination (part ITI / see below)	Social integration and fight poverty and discrimination	5 934	505	5 429
	Axis 7: Invest on education, on training and professional formation for acquiring capabilities and lifelong learning (part ITI/ see below)	Education and training	35 057	14 248	20 809
	Axis 8: Urban sustainable development	Low carbon economy Environmental Protection and Energy Efficiency Social integration and fight poverty and discrimination	92 340	28 187	64 153
	Axis 9: Technical assistance	Other	11 366	9 031	2 335
ITI (PORK) (planned)	04.03: Energy efficiency	Low Carbon Economy	11 991	1 486	10 505
	06.03: Natural and cultural heritage	Environmental Protection and Energy Efficiency	14 900	1 424	13 476
	08.3: Self-employment creation, entrepreneurship and business creation	Promote sustainability and job quality and supporting worker's mobility	5 030	589	4 441
	09.1: Active inclusion, including promoting equal opportunities and active participation	Social integration and fight poverty and discrimination	7 213	1 237	5 976
	09.4: Improved access to sustainable services		8 477	1 367	7 110
	09.7: Social equipment (health and care)		2 393	629	1 764
	10.1: Fight school failure	Education and training	7 876	1 242	6 634
10.5: Upgrading scholar infrastructures at the various levels	21 040		2 949	18 091	
ITI (PO-SEUR) (planned)	05.1: Elaboration and monitoring the climate change adaptation plan	Environmental Protection and Energy Efficiency	1 491	0	1 491
	05.2: Implementing a tsunami warning and alert system on Tagus' estuary; Implementing a vigilance system against fires on Parque Natural da Arrábida and Parque Natural Sintra Cascais		12 979	1 573	11 406

Source: Authors' own elaboration and Lisbon ROP 2020

Table 5.3

EUCP actions implemented in the metropolitan area by type of Fund, by Lisbon Regional Operational Programme and LMA ITI (approved actions)

Thematic Objective	ERDF (000's Euro)	ESF (000's Euro)	FC (000's Euro)	TOTAL (000's Euro)
Research, technological development and innovation	213 227			213 227
SME competitiveness	214 453			214 453
Low carbon economy	5 947			5 947
Environmental protection and energy efficiency	18 830		1 300	20 130
Promote sustainability and job quality and supporting worker's mobility		47 057		47 057
Social integration and fight poverty and discrimination	67 549	47 592		115 141
Education and training	46 186	43 037		89 223
Urban sustainable development	94 142			94 142
Technical assistance	11 042			11 042
TOTAL	671 376	137 686	1 300	810 362

Source: Authors' own elaboration and Lisbon ROP 2020

Chart 5.2

Breakdown of EUCP actions implemented in the metropolitan area by type of Fund by Lisbon Regional Operational Programme and LMA ITI (approved actions)



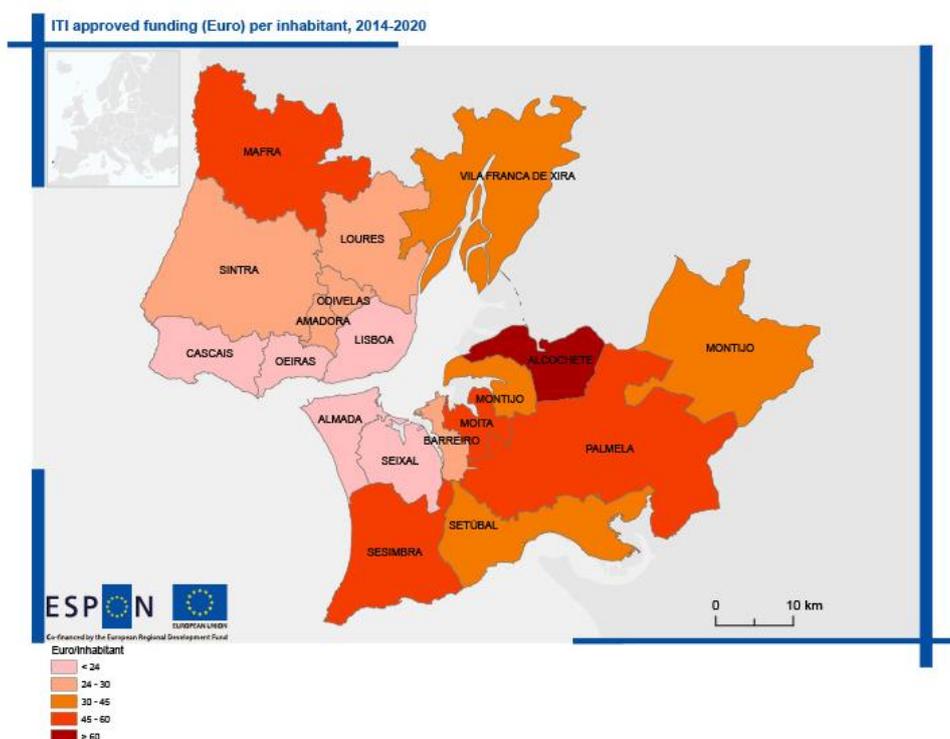
Source: Authors' own elaboration and Lisbon ROP 2020

The spatial distribution of funding shows that the core of Lisbon metropolitan area is recipient of around 30% of total EU funding from Lisbon ROP and LMA ITI. This is mostly derived from the funding of actions of the following axis from the Lisbon ROP:

- Reinforce research, technological development and innovation;
- Strengthen SMEs competitiveness;
- Invest on education, on training and professional formation for acquiring capabilities and lifelong learning;
- Sustainable urban development.

Observing the spatial distribution of LMA ITI, the main priority of funding concentration in the core city is on social equipment, supporting investment on health and on social infrastructures to reduce health inequalities and to promote social inclusion, as well as the investment on education, particularly in vulnerable places of the metropolitan area with poor quality of education infrastructures.

Map 5.1 ITI approved funding (Euro) per inhabitant, 2014-2020



Source: Authors' own elaboration and Lisbon ROP 2020

The spatial distribution of the ITI approved funding in the metropolitan area by municipality is depicted in the map 5.1. Considering ITI funding per capita is clear that municipalities with higher income - Lisbon, Oeiras and Cascais, in the north bank, are getting less support when compared to other municipalities, especially in the south bank.

Despite the slight differentiation of funding spatial allocation, the ITI spatial funding distribution has a strong correlation with the population distribution of the metropolitan area, so as the Spearman correlation coefficient indicates 0,8. This indicates that LMA is trying to support in a balanced way the municipalities projects, but it can also be understood LMA is not making use of a spatial selective criteria in the ITI management, in which LMA collective goals or critical domains would require a selective and spatial concentration intervention focus.

Challenges and critical elements

- Although EU Cohesion policy addresses critical issues in the metropolitan area, both ITI and Lisbon ROP have budgetary constraints;
 - The concentration of funding in thematic priorities on research, technology and innovation and SME's support does not involve LMA decisions. On the contrary, social and environmental priorities rely on the LMA's involvement through ITI management;
 - With such small amounts of European investment support funds, it has not been easy to favour more differentiated and selective strategies at the metropolitan scale.
-

5.2 Coherence and synergies with metropolitan objectives and instruments

Coherence and synergies of EU Cohesion policy with metropolitan objectives and instruments are evident to the point that metropolitan and regional strategies are regularly reviewed according to the EUCP strategic objectives. This confirms the positive and strong impact of the EUCP in the Lisbon metropolitan area. Nevertheless, the LMA has a restricted intervention on the EUCP implementation, in general limited to the ITI. Most significantly, the LMA holds full responsibility in transport and mobility at metropolitan level but do not have the power to decide EU funding on this sector.

Under the preparation of the next EUCP programming cycle, the regional authority and the Lisbon Metropolitan area decided to collaborate in drafting a common strategy for the Lisbon metropolitan area. This is expected to boost coherence and enhance the impacts of funds.

5.2.1 Alignment with the goals defined in metropolitan instruments

Coherence and synergies of EU Cohesion policy with metropolitan instruments are evident and meaningful for Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution's strategy. The analysis confirms a strong alignment of EUCP thematic priorities and LMA goals. As the EU funding has a high relevance for public investment, despite the reduced amount, the goals of LMA are carefully established in tandem with EUCP goals in each programming cycle.

For instance, the preparation of the next programming cycle has resulted in a thorough revision of Lisbon metropolitan goals by LMA in articulation with the regional authority (CCDR-LVT), aiming at bolstering the impact of funds in the metropolitan area.

Coherence and synergies of EU Cohesion policy with metropolitan objectives and instruments are ensured through the timely revision of both metropolitan and regional strategies in accordance with the EU strategic agenda for each EUCP programming cycle.

Nevertheless, the regional authority and the Lisbon metropolitan managing body The LMA has little influence on many sectoral policies with a spatial impact on the metropolitan area funded by the EUCP.

5.2.2 Thematic priorities

Very good alignment with environmental and social thematic priorities. However, in general metropolitan areas are recipient of many of the 11 thematic priorities, but the metropolitan area institutions do not intervene in many all of them, especially in those directly related with economic development, research, technology and innovation and labour market.

The absence of European funding for transport infrastructure under the implementation and management responsibility of the region or the LMA is particularly intriguing, especially considering that the latter is responsible for the management of transport and mobility in the metropolitan area.

In general, the serious problem of access to housing in the metropolitan area by the young population and the most disadvantaged social groups is not able to be financed by the EUCP, thus limiting its social impact. The Recovery and Resilience Plan aims to address this critical problem that clearly should be a thematic priority supported by the EUCP.

5.2.3 Funding magnitude

Public funding in the metropolitan area combines the municipalities revenues and the Lisbon Metropolitan Area institution budget. Additionally, the LMA receives EU Funds from two large streams. The first is the Technical Assistance money, as an Intermediate Body of the Lisbon ROP. They manage a Territorial Instrument, ITI (Integrated Territorial Investment), which is framed by the Pact for Development and Territorial Cohesion. The LMA is Lisbon PORL intermediary body and receives funding from Technical Assistance to manage it.

Within the Community Funds there is another source of financing, which is the funding from LMA applications to the OPs. Albeit EU funding relevance, until now LMA main source of income has been transport transfers, which amount for a large bulk of LMA budget.

Table 5.4
Amount of planned EU funds compared to the overall metropolitan budget

	Million Euro	%
Local Authorities and LMA institution budget (without EUCP funding)	14 943.4	
Regional OP Lisbon and ITI funding	810.4	5.4%
	Million Euro	%
LMA institution budget (without EUCP funding)	228.5	
ITI funding	93.4	40.9

Source: DGO/MF, Lisbon ROP and authors' own elaboration

The magnitude of Lisbon ROP in the budget of LMA and the local municipalities of the metropolitan area is estimated to reach and additional 5.4% funding in the period 2014-2020 (Table 5.4). If considering the total EU funding originating from other OPs, this amount could be roughly in the region of 10%. According to our estimates, the ITI funding represents an increase of nearly 41% of the total LMA budget, due to the somewhat modest budget of LMA institution².

Challenges and critical elements

- Regional and metropolitan objectives and instruments are regularly reviewed according to the EUCP strategic objectives, showing a strong articulation but also a certain dependence of the EU strategic agenda;
 - ITI funding increases by almost 41% the total LMA budget, but EU funding is quite modest when considered the total budget of LMA local authorities and metropolitan institution budgets (increase of 5.4%). A main issue is the lack of influence on many sectoral policies with a spatial impact on the metropolitan area funded by the EUCP.
-

² Recently, the overall funding envelope of LMA ITI was revised and the total amount of ERDF and ESF funding is now Euro 109 million.

5.3 Outcomes

The Lisbon metropolitan area was funded by almost 600 projects under the LMA ITI, therefore it is not an easy task to select and showcase only a few. But if we need to identify successful outcomes, we'd point out two among them (Table 5.5).

Table 5.5
Successful outcomes

Action	Field	Outcome	Added value	Role of the metropolitan institution
Elaboration and monitoring the climate change adaptation plan	Environmental Protection and Energy Efficiency	Metropolitan Plan for Adaptation to Climate Change (PMAAC).	Drafting of a plan to coordinate intervention of metropolitan and local stakeholders in the adaptation to climate change	LMA lead the initiative under the ITI
Educational territories of priority intervention	Education and training	Support of 45 actions across the metropolitan area	Reducing school abandonment	Select interventions under the LMA ITI

Source: Authors' own elaboration

The elaboration of the Metropolitan Plan for Adaptation to Climate Change (PMAAC) must be underlined as it involved all local authorities of the Lisbon metropolitan area under the coordination of LMA. This is an integrated project funded by the Cohesion Fund benefiting all the metropolitan area and creating room for active cooperation in new policy domains that are critical for metropolitan development and cohesion. It's success is resulting in the creation of "clima.AML", a monitoring network and metropolitan weather alert. A critical success factor was the lack of climate adaptation strategies at the regional level and their near non-existence at the local level. Thus, the LMA is not conflicting with ongoing regional or local agendas and has assumed leadership for the metropolitan area. No critical barriers to LMA successful PMAAC elaboration were identified by the research team.

The interventions on education targeting school abandonment must be highlighted for its impact on vulnerable communities of the Lisbon metropolitan area. LMA ITI has funded 45 actions across the metropolitan area in educational territories of priority intervention supported by the European Social Fund aiming at overcoming failure, abandonment, absenteeism, and indiscipline rates. These territories are marked by poverty and social exclusion, indiscipline, dropout and school failure. The main objective is to prevent and reduce early school dropout and absenteeism, as well as the reduction of indiscipline and the promotion of educational success for all students. The LMA's capacity for collaboration and inter-institutional articulation with local authorities and with education services in the region has been the cornerstone of the success of this initiative.

Challenges and critical elements

- Despite very positive experiences, integrating policy actions while involving local and regional stakeholders has room for expansion in the Lisbon metropolitan area.
-

5.4 The impact of the EU cohesion policy in the COVID-19 emergency

COVID-19 has aggravated socio-spatial fragmentation. It was already known that something must be done, but the pandemic has highlighted these problems. At the same time, it was an accelerator of positive issues. In fact, sustainable mobility and the digital transition were also accelerated, which requires an efficient management of resources in the metropolitan area.

As outlined above, COVID-19 emergency was tackled by LMA and CCDR-LVT through the adjustment of certain priorities of the Lisbon ROP. In August 2020, the Minister of Planning decided to reprogram the national and regional operational programmes as a response to the Covid-19 crisis. The main changes include increased support for public investment, particularly in social areas, support to the digital schools' programme, and the increased support for employment and economic stabilization. The social measures package focused the education and health sectors and include the acquisition of Covid-19 tests and individual protection equipment for health staff. Amid the Covid-19 crisis, the decision to bolster the strategic programme of school digitization was welcomed by national and regional and local stakeholders. The programme includes three types of actions:

- support to the acquisition of computers, software and connectivity services for every school.
- Digital training programme targeting school teachers.
- Production of new digital educational resources.

However, growing economic and social problems are difficult to be addressed with a Lisbon ROP because of its reduced funding envelope and lower co-financing rate. Concomitantly, the degree of uncertainty increased. In the framework of the execution of the 2014-2020 PORL the rate of commitment that results from approved projects does not have no longer the same degree of certainty, mainly because firms are facing serious problems derived from the pandemic crisis. According to the regional authority, CCDR-LVR, within the framework of Lisbon ROP, the challenge is to make a close management follow-up, to adjust priorities, and to resort whenever possible to comprehensive planning models.

The Recovery and Resilience Plan (RRP), already mentioned above, will concentrate the largest bulk of funding to address the Covid-19 crisis and is of paramount importance to the metropolitan area since the EUCP funding of the future Lisbon ROP is expected to have a lower financial endowment. As stated above, the critical element resides in the real involvement of regional and metropolitan institutions in the decision of measures to combat the pandemic, as the RRP is a very centralized plan at the government level.

Challenges and critical elements

- COVID-19 has aggravated socio-spatial fragmentation and economic uncertainty may can compromise the Lisbon ROP execution rate as many firms are going through very difficult times. The challenge is to guarantee the involvement of regional and metropolitan institutions in the decision of RRP measures to combat the pandemic.
-

5.5 The impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation

It is visible the increasing relevance of the LMA in the metropolitan region. EU Cohesion Policy spurred the institution role. In many ways, ITI is a strategic intervention, not necessarily for the funding envelope, which is a very small budget to meet the needs of the metropolitan area.

Rather, LMA ability to use the funding and influence metropolitan-wide strategies and policies must be noted. Concretely, the joint CCDR-LVT and LMA preparation of Lisbon-LMA strategy 2030 showcases LMA rising profile in the metropolitan area. This is a direct outcome of the EUCP. The Intermediate Body role in the Lisbon ROP also allow LMA to have a voice in the regional development affairs, sharing ideas and coordinating strategies.

Albeit recent competences on transportation systems, there is a long road ahead for LMA coordination of metropolitan policies, but it's beyond question that EU Cohesion policy contributes a lot to this endeavor.

Challenges and critical elements

- Lisbon Metropolitan Area has increasing relevance on the cohesion policy governance of the metropolitan area, becoming a pivotal actor underpinned by the 18 local authorities. Nevertheless, the complex institutional governance structure of EUCP result in difficulties to increase cooperation and the challenge is to build a more efficient metropolitan governance structure where aims and goals are better articulated and also important in correspondence to the budget envelope.
-

RECOMMENDATIONS

- Strengthen the role of the LMA in the governance of EU cohesion policy instruments, e.g. as Intermediate Body in the Lisbon ROP and ITI coordinating body;
- Support selective projects strategically aligned with Lisbon metropolitan area development and policy planning, focusing on supra-local and innovative actions;
- Seek and find new funding opportunities to respond to transport sector, mobility, environment and social agendas;
- Learning achievements in the mobilization of local stakeholders might be scaled-up by LMA to deliver integrated policy actions;
- Involvement of LMA in the decision of RRP measures to combat the pandemics.

6 Main challenges and recommendations

Understanding the challenges of metropolitan areas in globalization context as generators of economic, social, and sustainable development across different arrays of geographical settings entangled in a myriad of actors is not an easy task, despite being an enduring effort among scholars, planners, and policy makers (Moore-Cherry et al., 2021). Such concerns have been acknowledged by many institutions, such as OECD that refers to the current era as the 'Metropolitan Century' (OECD, 2015).

At the same time, it become clear metropolitan areas are essential to achieve ever-demanding economic, social, and environmental policy goals, since they are the most appropriate and effective scale to act in the global and interconnected economy. Such view is labelled by Waite and Morgan (2019) as 'metrophilia' and is underpinned by the idea of the importance of dense agglomerations to ensure competitiveness, growth, job creation.

In global and dynamic economy, spatial configurations evolve and expand beyond administrative metropolitan limits, raising enormous problems to the governance structure of metropolitan areas, and making hard to cope with planning and infrastructures development. In other words, metropolitan institutionalization has the potential to deliver effective policies at this scale but must keep a relational approach to cover the evolving metropolitan space and in accordance deal with several and new actors in the process. Metropolitan governance approaches focus precisely upon such large and fragmented urban areas shaped by strong interdependencies and cluttered governance architectures (Storper 2014). These actors are from different spatial scales, e.g. State, regions and municipalities, and diverse types, e.g. public, private, non-profit organizations.

In Europe, the European Union Cohesion Policy also focuses the urban dimension, including metropolitan areas. The efforts to decentralize part of the EUCP are aligned with the emergence of metropolitan areas as relevant actors in the process of sustainable development. The governance architecture of metropolitan areas has also evolved with the participation of new actors dealing with EUCP matters.

In such context, the metropolitan area institutions are pivotal for the coordination of the local, regional, national and European development policies and planning. To this end, the State and the EU should in conjunction work to bolster the performance of these institutions in the coordination of metropolitan policies, for instance recognizing its capacity within ESIF programming and managing. However, paving the way forward requires decisive actions to overcome major challenges that will be presented in the following paragraphs in relation to the three policy questions of the METRO project: the role of Metropolitan Areas in the EU cohesion policy governance; the impact of the EU cohesion policy on the achievement of metropolitan goals; the impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation.

6.1 The role of metropolitan areas in the EU cohesion policy governance

Challenges on the role of the Metropolitan City of Turin in metropolitan governance

- The Lisbon Metropolitan Area is directly involved in the EU cohesion policy governance. The regional authority (CCDRLVT) has statutory power concerning EU cohesion policy at NUTS 2 Lisbon region (that totally overlaps with the metropolitan area) and delegates power through an ITI to LMA (Lisbon Metropolitan Area governing institution). Nevertheless, **LMA has a subsidiary role in the EU cohesion policy governance and its intervention is limited to a few thematic priorities.**
- Sectoral and territorial policies coordination is critical for inclusive and sustainable development in metropolitan areas, but **institutional capacity challenges LMA ability to intervene** due to increasing complexity of the EU cohesion policy, demanding and time-consuming coordination of sectoral and territorial actors, especially after new policy area responsibilities (transport and mobility).



Recommendations for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (metropolitan level)

- Improve institutional capacity by enlarging and upskilling human resources of LMA, searching for funding in EU, national and regional policy instruments;
- Increase participation in national and international policy networks aiming at exchange ideas and improve mutual learning;
- Organize metropolitan-wide policy forum including all relevant institutions and improve participation of civil society, business sector, academia, and other sectoral organizations;
- Strengthen the network character of LMA to effectively act at FUA level (which is not possible for pure administrative-based institutions);
- Establish close cooperation with Porto Metropolitan Area and lobbying for power devolution and increasing national transfers to metropolitan scale.



Recommendations for the regional and national level

- Pursue the decentralization administrative reform strengthening the metropolitan area level through budget bolstering and increasing policy responsibility;
- Co-create (with European Union) an instrument to reinforce metropolitan area institutional capacity.



Recommendations for the EU level

- Co-create (with member-states) an instrument to reinforce metropolitan area institutional capacity, involving relevant EU-wide policy networks and organizations.

6.2 Impact of the EU cohesion policy on (the achievement of) metropolitan goals

Challenges on the impact of the EU cohesion policy on the achievement of metropolitan goals

- Despite limited funding, the EUCP has been fundamental to achieve metropolitan goals. Through ITI (2014-2020), LMA achieved highly relevant goals in planning, development, and cohesion of the metropolitan area. From 2015 onwards, with the attribution of new policy responsibilities in transport and mobility, the LMA expanded its goals and began to have access to other sources of financing. The metropolitan goals are fully aligned with the EUCP ones, to the point where **the policy cycle and agenda setting are designed to get the most out of the EUCP funds**, whereas other relevant policy areas not covered by EUCP (e.g. housing) have not been addressed by LMA.
- Metropolitan areas face complex social and economic problems and often lack the necessary powers and financial resources to efficiently address them. At the same time, their scale and density make them an ideal scale for cohesion policy intervention. Acknowledging EUCP crucial role for the metropolitan area, **the challenge is to broaden the scope of metropolitan intervention in articulation with EUCP** to efficiently respond to increasing complexity of metropolitan problems.



Recommendations for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (metropolitan level)

- Establish comprehensive metropolitan goals in accordance with EUCP and other national policy instruments;
- Explore and integrate new policy areas with potential metropolitan-wide impact and EUCP relevance (e.g. transports and climate change; housing and social inclusion; environment and health, innovation, firms and universities...).



Recommendations for the regional and national level

- Reinforce the articulation of Regional Operational Programme in Lisbon with LMA metropolitan goals, while expanding Lisbon Metropolitan Area ITI;
- Seek and find ways to improve sector and territorial policies goals coordination at the metropolitan level, emphasizing LMA pivotal role.



Recommendations for the EU level

- Bolstering impact of EUCP at metropolitan level requires a stronger involvement of the metropolitan areas through the policy cycle, in the design, implementation, and management of EU cohesion policy, possible by assigning them an equivalent status of NUTS2 regions for EUCP purposes;
- Study the opportunity to create at the EU level a new programme for the metropolitan areas in innovative policy areas (e.g. articulated with the European Green Deal) with a specific funding envelope and fixed co-funding rate.

6.3 Impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation

Challenges on the impact of the EU cohesion policy on metropolitan governance and cooperation

- EU cohesion policy is the umbrella for metropolitan governance and cooperation in Lisbon since the Monitoring Commission of the Regional Operational Programme acts as a platform for EUCP delivery in the metropolitan area. It is also the main mechanism by which local authorities through LMA participate in the EUCP. Nevertheless, **LMA participation is bounded by strict EU regulations, which hinders a more active and coherent governance structure and cooperation in the metropolitan area** (e.g. LAGs are approved only by the regional authority; transports and mobility policies in the metropolitan area are the sole responsibility of the LMA).
- The EU increasingly recognize the aptitude of metropolitan governance (EMA, 2020), emphasizing the functional urban area scale as an appropriate scale for EU Cohesion policy, but **many obstacles restrain an effective intervention of metropolitan areas (e.g. funding, delegated powers, capacity)**.



Recommendations for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (metropolitan level)

- Establish network relations and cooperation agreements with local authorities integrated in the Functional Urban Area but outside of the metropolitan area, namely in the transport and mobility sector;
- Launch cooperation initiatives with potential beneficiaries of EUCP in the metropolitan area - namely civil society, business sector, academia, and other sectoral organizations - aiming at articulating policy agendas;
- Intensify Cohesion Policy discussion with and among local authorities of the metropolitan area.



Recommendations for the regional and national level

- Create an inter-regional cooperation program in Portugal, specifically focusing FUA governance in planning, development, and cohesion domains;
- Ensure that metropolitan areas have a larger role in implementing the Recovery and Resilient Facility.



Recommendations for the EU level

- Review EU regulations aiming at a more active metropolitan area involvement as a corollary of EUCP decentralization path;
- Metropolitan areas are driving critical EU policy agendas for what is recommended for a heightened role of metropolitan institutions in EUCP policy delivery;
- Metropolitan areas have been hit hardest by the pandemic and economic crisis and they should play a larger role in implementing the Recovery and Resilient Facility.

References

- AD&C (2016). Portuguese Regional Policy within EU Regional Policy. Paper presented by Duarte Rodrigues, Bogota. [<https://www.oecd.org/effective-public-investment-toolkit/Portuguese-regionalpolicy.pdf>]
- André, I., & Vale, M. (2018). Lisboa-Região: desafios para um vasto território. In J. Seixas (Ed.), *Projeções de Lisboa: utopias e estratégias para uma cidade em movimento perpétuo* (pp. 280–301). Caleidoscópio.
- Borgatti, S.P., Everett, M.G., & Freeman, L.C. (2002). *Ucinet for Windows: Software for Social Network Analysis*. Harvard, MA: Analytic Technologies.
- Crespo, J., & Cabral, J. (2016). The institutional dimension to urban governance and territorial management in the Lisbon metropolitan area. *Análise Social*, 45(197), 639–662.
- EIDT-AML (2015). *Estratégia Integrada de Desenvolvimento Territorial para a Área Metropolitana de Lisboa*. AML, Jan. 2015.
- Fadigas, L. (2015). *Urbanismo e território: as políticas públicas*. Lisboa: Sílabo.
- Ferrão, J. (2013). Governança, governo e ordenamento do território em contextos metropolitanos. In A. Ferreira, J. Rua, G. J. Marafon, & Silva, A. C. P. (Eds.), *Metropolização do espaço: gestão territorial e relações urbano-rurais* (pp. 255–282). Consequência.
- Gaspar, J., Brito-Henriques, E., & Vale, M. (1998). Economic restructuring, social re-composition and recent urban changes in Portugal. *GeoJournal*, 46(1), 63–76.
- Gonçalves, J. M. (2021). A ferida exposta A governança metropolitana em Lisboa em tempo de Covid-19. *Finisterra – Revista Portuguesa de Geografia*, LV(115), 229–235.
- Moore-Cherry, N., Pike, A., & Tomaney, J. (2021). City-regional and metropolitan governance. In M. Callanan & J. Loughlin (Eds.), *A Research Agenda for Regional and Local Government* (Vol. 11, Issue 3, pp. 409–419). Edward Elgar Publishing.
- OECD. (2015). *The Metropolitan Century: Understanding Urbanisation and Its Consequences*. Paris: OECD Publishing.
- Pereira, M., & Carranca, M. A. (2009). Governance in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area: between the ambition of reinforcing the international rank and the will for deeper internal territorial cohesion. In *Conference Papers City Futures* (Vol. 9, pp. 4-6).
- PRR. (2021). *Plano e Recuperação e Resiliência. Recuperar Portugal, Construindo o Futuro*. Lisboa: Ministério do Planeamento. [<https://www.portugal.gov.pt/pt/gc22/comunicacao/documento?i=plano-de-recuperacao-e-resiliencia-recuperar-portugal-2021-2026-plano-preliminar>].
- ReSSI. (2017). *Regional Strategies for Sustainable and Inclusive Territorial Development: Regional Interplay and EU Dialogue*. ESPON. [<https://www.espon.eu/ressi>].
- Seixas, J., & Albet, A. I. (Eds.). (2012). *Urban Governance in Southern Europe*. Ashgate.
- Storper, M. (2014). Governing the Large Metropolis, *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 2(2), 115–134.
- Vale, M. (1998). Industrial restructuring in Lisbon Metropolitan Area: Towards a new map of production? In T. Unwin (Ed.), *A European Geography* (pp. 178–181). Longman.
- Vale, M. & Queirós, M. 2015. Cidades e política de coesão territorial na EU, In P. Neto & M. M. Serrano (Eds.) *Políticas Públicas, Economia e Sociedade. Contributos para a definição de Políticas no Período 2014-2020*. Alcochete: Nexo Literário, pp. 223–238
- Websites: Área Metropolitana de Lisboa [<https://www.aml.pt/index.php>]



Co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund

Inspire Policy Making with Territorial Evidence

espon.eu



ESPON 2020

ESPON EGTC

4 rue Erasme, L-1468 Luxembourg

Grand Duchy of Luxembourg

Phone: +352 20 600 280

Email: info@espon.eu

www.espon.eu

The ESPON EGTC is the Single Beneficiary of the ESPON 2020 Cooperation Programme. The Single Operation within the programme is implemented by the ESPON EGTC and co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund, the EU Member States, the United Kingdom and the Partner States, Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland.

Disclaimer

This delivery does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the members of the ESPON 2020 Monitoring Committee.

ISBN: 978-2-919795-65-9