

TOWN

Small and medium sized towns in their functional territorial context

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1. NATIONAL CONTEXT

Italy has no official system to classify and define small, medium or large towns. The prevailing criterion refers both to Municipality (the lowest level of Italian administrative structure, under the State and the Region) and the size of its population. Thus the combination of the administrative and statistical criteria (identifying small, medium and large municipalities) is the most common way to define Italian towns, as it will be explained afterwards.

Against the lack of official definitions, it is worth summarising the main points of view concerning towns' definitions, notably the semantic, institutional-administrative and statistical perspectives.

1.1 SEMANTIC POINT OF VIEW

According to Cammelli (2010), the only definition extending the administrative and statistical criteria is that of Georges (1978). According to him, SMSTs are characterized by the traditional urban functions (related to residence, leisure activities, working, public service and trade) and by inter-urban relation flows aiming at improving the quality of life of its inhabitants and their families.

Currently scholars involved in territorial matters (economists, planners and so on) consider the latter aspect as a very important issue.

1.2 INSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE POINT OF VIEW

From the administrative point of view, as already stated, the reference dimension is the Municipality. According to the art. 14 of the Italian Constitution, it is one of the autonomous institutional bodies (together with Provinces, Regions, and Metropolitan Cities), with an individual status, authoritative power, and self-governing functions.

Neither the surface area nor demographic thresholds are specified, thus there is not an official difference between large, medium, small and very small municipalities.

However, some institutions associated demographic thresholds to the administrative patterns identifying, in this way, some classes.

The National Association of Italian Municipalities (Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani-ANCI), for example, recognizes the 'very small municipalities' (with a population of less than 1,000 inhabitants) and the 'small municipalities' (with a population from 1,001 to 5,000 inhabitants). The ANCI has recently been paying particular attention to these two categories because they represent 70% of Italian municipalities (5,702 out of 8,092).

The National Institute of Statistics (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica- ISTAT) instead defines a 'large municipality' as having a population greater than or equal to 250,000 inhabitants (Rome, Milan, Naples, Turin, Palermo, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Bari, Catania, Venice, and Verona, as of 2011).

1.3 STATISTICAL POINT OF VIEW

From a statistical point of view, the National Institute of Statistics (Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, ISTAT) deals with urban matter by referring mainly to two concepts: the 'inhabited locality' (località abitata) and the 'Local Labour System' (Sistema Locale del Lavoro, SLL).

The inhabited locality is an area, without any big interruptions, with its own name, one or more houses (either grouped or scattered). These areas are, in their turn, made up of villages, hamlets and scattered houses.

The second statistical unit defined by ISTAT is the SLL1, i.e. groupings of municipalities identified on the basis of a self-restrained flow of daily commuting between place of residence and place of work. The whole Italian territory is covered by SLLs (Figure 1.1 and 1.2). Their territorial configuration changes over time, since they reflect the territorial organization of the society and the economy of the country: in 1981 there were 955 SLLs; in 1991, 784 and in 2001, 686. SLLs have been considered, even among scholars, an appropriate tool to analyse the socio-economic structure of Italy according to a territorial perspective. In fact, they are the basic unit for studying the urban structure of its national settlement.

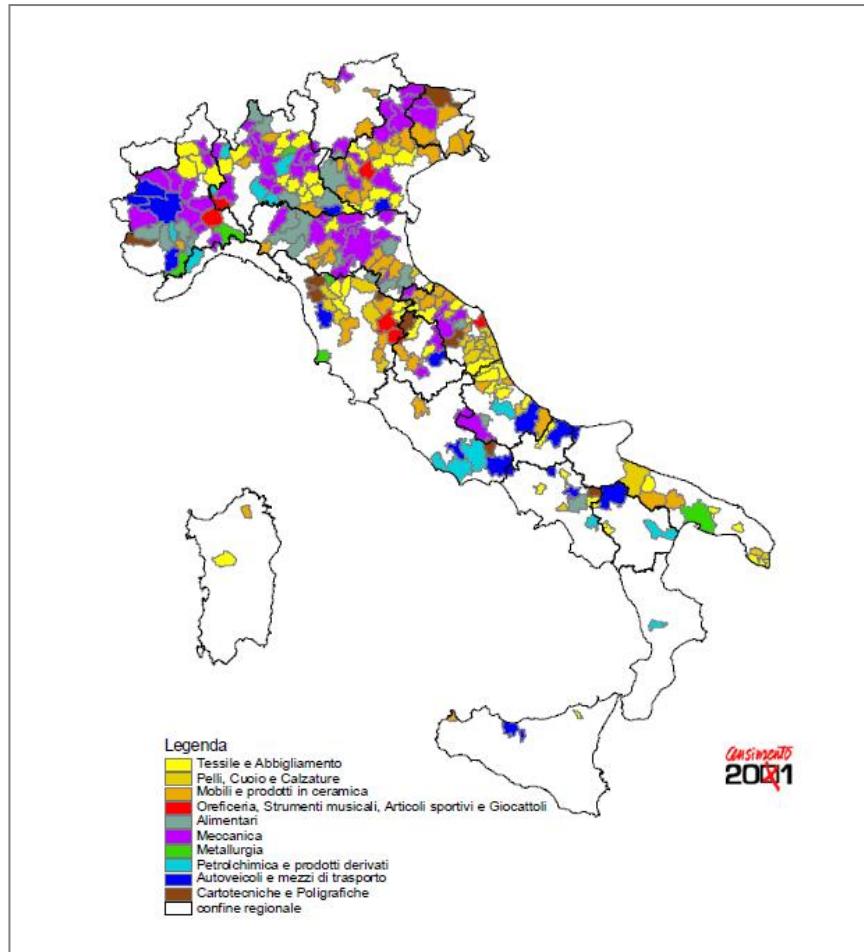


Figure 1.1. Manufacturing Local Labor Systems (2001). (Source: ISTAT XIV Census of population and housing, 2001)

¹ 1. The methodology and procedure for the identification of Local Labor Systems is described in ISTAT, the National Institute of Statistics 1991, Rome, 1997.

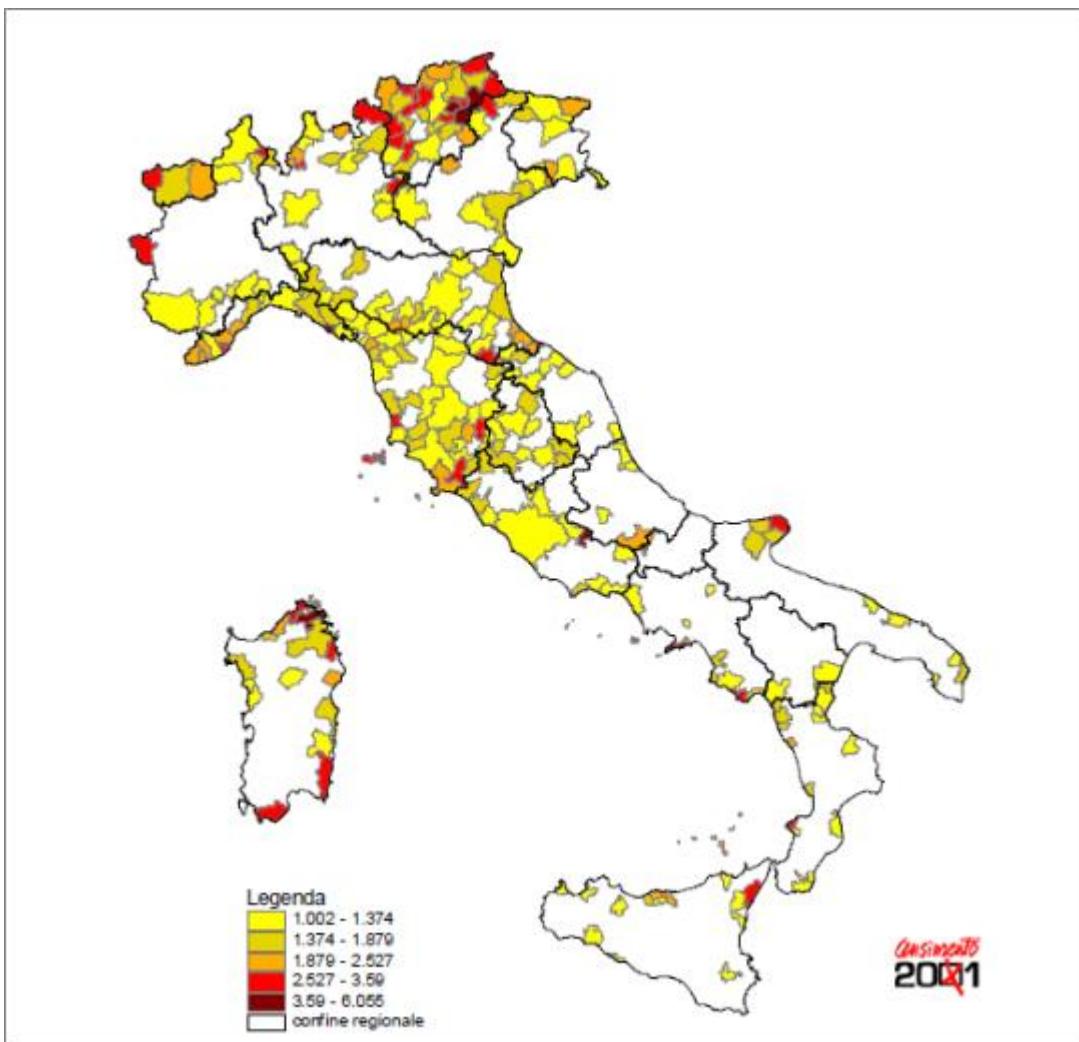


Figure 1.2. Touristic Local Labor Systems (2001). (Source: ISTAT XIV Census of population and housing, 2001)

1.4 SMALL AND MEDIUM SIZED TOWNS (SMSTS) IN NATIONAL/REGIONAL SETTLEMENT SYSTEM: LITERARY OVERVIEW

Even if as of 2001 47% of the Italian population lived in Municipalities with a population between 5,000 and 50,000 inhabitants (see Table 1.1) and 26% of the Italian Municipalities is a SMSTs (see Table 1.2) there is not any definition of SMSTs, as already stated. One of the reasons of the lack of official definitions is linked to the Italian urban structure. It has historically been characterized by a multiplicity of small and very small municipalities but although administratively autonomous always gravitating towards major cities.

Area	Lower than 5.000	From 5.000 To 50.000	From 50.000 To 100.000	From 100.000 To 250.000	From 250.000 To 500.000	Beyond 500.000
North West Italy	3.826.493	10.531.052	1.153.905	521.824	0	2.731.781
North East Italy	2.052.493	7.389.411	738.238	1.611.673	895.498	0
Centre Italy	1.282.211	5.963.495	1.248.888	791.321	356.118	2.546.804
South Italy	2.378.871	9.284.121	2.517.649	792.063	316.532	1.004.500
Insular Italy	1.050.660	4.209.044	73.1334	408.635	565.136	686.722
Italy	10.590.728	37.377.123	6.390.014	4.125.516	2.133.284	6.969.807
	(19%)	(47%)	(11%)	(7%)	(4%)	(12%)

Table 1.1. Inhabitants in Italian Municipalities by population size class. (Source: data from the ISTAT XIV Census of population and housing, 2001)

Areas	Lower than 5000	From 5.000 To 50.000	From 50.000 To 250.000	From 250.000 To 500.000	Over 500.000	Total
North West Italy	2.486	551	21	0	3	3.061
North East Italy	968	488	21	3	0	1.480
Centre Italy	642	334	25	1	1	1.003
South Italy	1.225	520	43	1	1	1.790
Insular Italy	515	234	15	2	1	767
Italy	5.836	2.127	125	7	6	8.101
	(72,35%)	(26%)	(1,5%)	(0,08%)	(0,07%)	

Table 1.2. Italian Municipalities by population size class. (Source: data from the ISTAT XIV Census of population and housing, 2001)

Focuses on SMST, even though occasional, have been conducted within the analysis on the national urban system where SMSTs have been dealt with taking into account the demographic thresholds and the lack of rare local functions. Furthermore, differences among SMSTs have been quite ignored.

Moreover, the only demographic thresholds and the absence of qualified services, would not explain why in recent years such a great number of families and firms chose to move to SMSTs. As suggested by Bagnasco in 1994, it would be appropriate to deal with a path of sociological analysis on SMSTs to better understand the differences between them and the large cities (Savino, 2000) and the attractiveness that they exert.

Despite this general vagueness, some considerations may be deduced from the main academic urban researches on the national settlement system, here broadly traced. The diachronic overview allows seeing if and how SMSTs are taken into account. If in the shade up to the beginning of the 1970s, dynamic and specialized systems of medium-sized cities began to emerge in the 1970s, above all in the northern-centre regions (particularly in the so-called 'Third Italy'). Small and especially medium sized towns were the included, albeit not in the foreground, into the urban networks, in the 1980s and in the wider European context since the 1990s.

1.4.1 The Italian urban system from the 1960s to the 1970s: the polarized structure

The first phase of the national urban system's transformation took place from 1950 to the early 1970s, as asserted by many authors (Cori, 1983; Campos Venuti, 1993; Dematteis, 1995). It was characterized by a strong concentration in the polarization of settlements, due to the attraction of people from the countryside and from southern Italy towards the big industrial cities in the northwest, Rome and the Central Italy.

In 1963 the National Institute of Statistics (ISTAT) attempt, for the first time, to classify Municipalities. The categorization dealt with urban and rural characteristics basing on five indicators (including economic activities, educational level etc.). Municipalities were thus divided into urban, semi-urban, rural and semi-rural types. This investigation did not lead to very good results (Bartaletti, 2006), especially because the countryside was not adequately analysed and was understood *tout court* as an underdeveloped area (Barberis, 2009). Actually, in those years the socio-economic underdevelopment was deeply investigated by academic researchers because the country began to be characterized by a huge divide between North and South and between strong metropolitan systems and the rest of the country.

Despite the limited result, the study represents the first attempt to gather the differences among Municipalities.

This analysis was the basis of several following studies, among which the so-called '*Progetto 80*' ('80s Project) in 1969². In this study, the national settlement was understood as one of the reasons of lack of territorial balance of the productive structure and the living conditions of population. The project identified 11 metropolitan systems, including the 5 most populous (Turin, Milan, West of Veneto, Rome, and Naples) with a population of 23 million inhabitants (i.e. nearly half of the whole Italian population). This structure obviously generated a serious imbalanced condition.

The strategy planned in order to face it was an intervention based on the strengthening of 'secondary metropolitan area' and their infrastructure connections. These secondary poles had to include more connected cities within regional or sub-regional levels, in order to allow a general redistribution of population, services, manufacturing activities and wealth (Dematteis, 1997).

The '*Progetto 80*' tried to connect the economic socio-economic patterns with the territorial and urban planning and for the first time recognised the strategic role of 'secondary poles' understood as opposed to the major metropolitan system. Actually, it wan never realised actually and remained a territorial development strategy only on paper.

In those years several geographical studies were conducted aiming at classifying and interpreting the national urban system. Dematteis (1974) dealt with the Alpine cities covering the northern Italian regions (from East to West). In this research an 'urban threshold' was detected, basing on the number of employees in central services (trade, banking etc.). On the basis of these criteria an urban hierarchy was articulated on 10 different levels. For the first time the problem of a size threshold was scientifically justified.

Mainardi (1973) instead proposed an 'index of urban centrality' assigning a score to each service centre, including market, credit, education, health, and administration, each one based on the intensity and or quality of service. Consequently, a classification was set up into three hierarchical levels.

In 1973 the Applied Mathematics and Economics Company (*Società per la matematica e l'economia applicata*, SOMEA) drew up another classification basing on the presence of 149 business and services activities. Fifteen classes were then identified.

² *Progetto '80* is a preliminary report to the National Economic Program between the years 1971 and 1975, of the Ministry of Budget and Economic Planning (1969).

1.4.2 The Italian urban system in the 1970s: the rise of medium towns

Since the mid-70s a new phase for the national urban system begun. This period was characterized by shrinkage of large urban towns and the progressive development of surrounding areas and smaller towns. The balance suggested by '*Progetto 80*' was taking place (Dematteis, 1997). In fact from 1975 to 1985, despite the decline in the growth rate of population, 55% of the municipalities saw a positive trend, reversing the previous decline (Cencini, Dematteis and Menegatti, 1983). This recovery was in partly due to a further expansion of the metropolitan areas, but especially to the growth of SMSTs, that the polarisation of the 1950s and '60s had been heavily penalized. In these years, new and dynamic models of modern industrialization, with the development of small and medium enterprise, took place in the so called 'urban districts' of the North-Eastern Italy (the so-called 'Third Italy) that characterised the central and northeast of the country (Bagnasco 1977, Becattini 1975). Furthermore, the SMSTs began to put out some small forms of metropolitan growth by extending the demographic dynamism towards the surrounding municipalities. In this way, extensive urban systems developed began to grow more than the central nucleus.

Bellucci (1983) underlined the important of SMSTs' networks. Analysing the presence of specific functions (in administration, health, education, credit, and services) she set up a classification including 168 towns, 352 small towns and some very small centres, which did not have a functioning budget sufficient enough to be called a city. The important role of SMSTs was highlighted in order to face the massive urban congestion and to reduce existing regional imbalances.

1.4.3 The Italian urban system in the 1980s: urban sprawl and the initial network analysis

The '80s was a turning point for social, economic, and settlements' transformations and consequently for the approaches of academic researches.

Nearly all municipalities with 50,000 inhabitants began to lose population in favour of surrounding areas. Due to this shift in population (Bonifazi and Cantalini, 1988, De Santis, 1991), large urban areas developed, reaching even supra-regional extensions.

Some signs of these changes had already emerged in the '70s, when the first forms of urban sprawls occurred. Terms as 'exploded city' (*città esplosa*) (Dematteis et al., 1986), 'widespread city' (*città diffusa*) (Guess, 1990) and 'networked city' (*città reticolare*) (Gambino, 1990) tried to describe this new trend.

A 'network model' approach was then adopted, after having pointed out that the hierarchical-gravitational model of Christaller (1933) and Losh (1954) was no more able to explain the settlement patterns that were consolidating. The network model seemed more appropriate to interpret a reality where the Taylorist-Fordist industrial system was giving way to post-Fordism. At the same time urban relationships based on gravitation were replaced by horizontal (among cities at the same level) and vertical (between cities belonging to different regional systems) connections (Dematteis, 1997). Studies undertaken in this direction focused on the phenomena of local economic development occurring in many SMSTs, especially in the North-East Italy (Becattini 1975, Bagnasco 1977).

However, interpretations of these phenomena were not unique. Two different approaches, not necessarily alternative, dealt with this subject. On the one hand, Camagni (1990) adopted an economic approach and underlined that a high level of hierarchical dependency between metropolitan cities of different levels still persisted. On the other hand Dematteis (1986; see also: Emanuel 1989 and 1990; Dematteis, 1990; Dematteis and Guerrasi, 1995; Clementi, Dematteis and Palermo, 1996; Dematteis and Dansero, 1996) followed a geographical/territorial

approach, taking into account also qualitative aspects that could and should guide the local analysis and projects.

According to this vision, the most relationships among cities of different levels were due to the 'local milieu', produced by long processes of historical stratification and identity (Dematteis 1986). In this case, networks led to 'multipolar' relationships where the role of a centre is not necessarily dependent upon its size, but also on its ability to fit into the channels of trade (not only economic), by improving their specific environmental and cultural specificities.

1.4.4 From the Nineties up to now: the national urban system within the European context and the current trends

At the end of Nineties, several studies have been then conducted considering the role of national urban system within the wider European context. One of them (Dematteis and Bonavero, 1997) although not very recent, still reflects the current functional geography of the major Italian urban systems thus contributing to outline some important features (Dematteis, 2008).

The concept behind this research was that urban areas moved from their original nuclear forms in larger more extensive distribution areas (Dematteis, 1985; Boatti, 2008) and, more recently, in networked structures at different scales. Sizes and physical forms of settlements changed together with the structure of flows and connecting relations. From this perspective, basing on the ISTAT's 1981 and 1991 SLLs, the Italian urban structure was analysed taking into account a number of significant data concerning demographic, territorial, economic, and functional aspects. Finally, the integration of these individual classifications showed 148 large, medium-large, and medium sized local systems, involved in network interactions (see Figure 1.3).



Figure 1.3. Regional structure of the major Italian urban systems. (Source: Dematteis e Bonavero, 1997, p. 359)

Figure 1.3 shows different types of cities, according to their role as nodes of global networks and actors of territorial cohesion:

- 12 metropolitan systems, of which 7 are stronger (Milan, Rome, Turin, Naples, Bologna and Florence) and other 5 functionally weaker, although of considerable size (Palermo, Genoa, Venice, Cagliari and Catania);
- 9 para-metropolitan systems, corresponding to large urban centers (Trieste, Padua, Verona, Brescia, Bergamo, Vicenza, Udine, Parma and Modena);
- 41 integrated urban systems: 32 cities, all of the Center-North, which are part of metropolitan crowns. Or, such as Perugia and Bolzano, cities that are central poles of relatively peripheral regions.
- 53 medium-integrated urban systems, of which 8 with territorial functions weaker than those of the network;
- 35 weakly-integrated urban systems, of which 15 (all in the South of Italy, except Rovigo) have weak or no network interactions and the role of territorial cohesion is very limited.

The resulting picture confirms some important issues: the polycentric urban structure at all levels; and the persistence of the North-South dualism. However, it also highlighted some important trends and opportunities such as the Southern Italy's potentiality that could be exploited in order to gain ground within the Mediterranean region.

The importance of this study lies in its current validity. Its main results can be integrated and compared with the other ones emerging from more recent studies, in order to reconstruct a detailed picture the national settlement system.

Salone (2008) updated the analysis conducted by Dematteis and Bonavero (1997) taking into account the ISTAT Annual Report (2006). Towns are understood as the place where human activities and social, economic and cultural relationships are interrelated. The analysis is based on the definition introduced by ISTAT of 'morphological urban agglomerations', i.e. areas with more than 2,000 inhabitants and where residential buildings are no more than 200 metres distant.

Starting from this definition 2,705 'morphological urban agglomerations' were identified (see Table 1.3), occupying less than 5% of the whole national territory and where live 80% of the Italian population (i.e. about 47 million people). In general, the sizes of these agglomerations are rather small, with an average of around 17,000 residents. In particular, those very small (between 2,000 and 5,000 inhabitants) are numerous (1,500 areas or 55.5% of the total), but this is only 10% of the population. The largest urban agglomerations are Milan (4.4 million inhabitants), Naples (3.4 million inhabitants), Rome (2.5 million inhabitants), and Turin (1.3 million inhabitants). Overall, in the first ten morphological agglomerations (i.e. the four already mentioned and Padua, Florence, Palermo, Genoa, Catania, and Bergamo) lives 34.4% of the national population. If including the agglomerations with more than 100,000 inhabitants, the quota arrives at nearly 50% of the population.

Population size classes	No. of urban areas		Population		Average size
	Absolute value	Percentage value	Absolute value	Percentage value	
2,000-5,000	1,500	55.5	4,677,429	10.0	3,118.3
5,001-15,000	802	29.6	6,655,334	14.3	8,298.4
15,000-50,000	291	10.8	7,695,306	16.5	26,444.4
50,000-100,000	63	2.3	4,304,377	9.3	68,323.4
> 100,000	49	1.8	23,251,595	49.9	474,522.3
Italy	2,705	100.0	46,584,041	100.0	17,221.5

Table 1.3. Italian urban areas by population size class. (Source: data from the ISTAT XIV Census of population and housing, 2001).

This work (ISTAT, 2006) focused at municipal level too in order to classify urban municipalities and draw the main urban development tracks (see Image 4). The two initial criteria at the base of the analysis were: the resident population and the surface of built-up area. Both of them have to be higher than the national average.

The first interesting element is that out of 8.101 municipalities analysed, 4.632 (i.e. 57% and the 17% of the population) did not show any significant urbanization process: that is that the concentrations of population and surface built-up area were below the national average (the white areas in Figure 1.4).

As for the classification:

- The first typology includes 717 urbanized municipalities, defined in relation to their demographic criterion (which consists of about 10% of the total population). These are the municipalities with large populations occupying relatively small portions of territory. They are concentrated in the South (especially in Puglia and Sicily) where historical events and the limited distribution of services, and connection networks led to this type of settlement (the yellow areas in Figure 4).
- The second typology instead includes 610 urbanized municipalities (i.e. the 7.5% of the total where live 9.5% of the population), defined in relation to the area. In these municipalities there is a high utilization of the land, but a low population density characterizes its urbanization. This form of urban sprawl is most prevalent in the central north, especially in the Veneto and Friuli-Venezia Giulia regions (the green areas in Figure 4).
- Finally, the urbanized municipalities based on two criteria (i.e. characterized for both population and surface area higher than the national average) are the most important centres. The weight of these areas is important, since they represent 26.4% of municipalities and almost 64% of the residential population. This typology is prevalent in the north (for example, in Lombardy, 85.3% of the population live in this type of urbanized municipalities), but is also relevant in regions where there are large cities, such as Piedmont, Liguria, Lazio, and Campania (the blue areas in Figure 1.4).

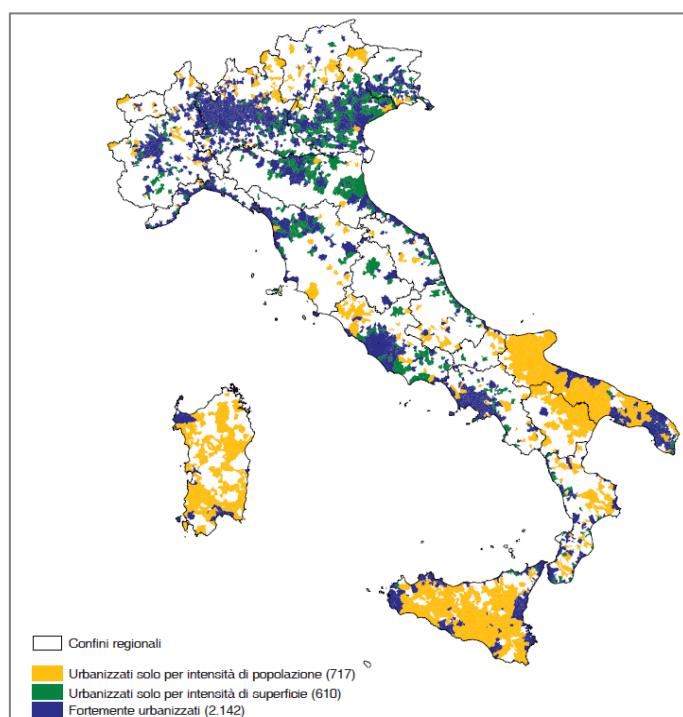


Figure 1. 4. Italian Municipalities according to urbanization typology. (Source: Istat 2006, p.137).

The geographical distribution of this third category draws upon the territory some important tracks:

- From the Lombardy conurbation two axes branch off: the first one, to the east, concerns the cities of Bergamo, Brescia, Verona, and Venice then divides towards Padua and Venice and along the foothills through the Friuli region to Trieste; the second one, to the southeast, reaches Ancona through the Emilia Romagna region. The urban area of Turin, although important in itself, results as isolated from Milan, which instead is close connected to the Liguria urban conurbation.
- Another track, without substantial interruptions, concerns Florence, Prato, Pisa, Livorno, Lucca (and beyond, up to Liguria region) along the coastal highway of Florence.
- The area of Rome is compact and quite isolated, except for the historic expansion towards Castelli Romani, Anzio and Nettuno.
- In the South too there are wide urban sprawls such as: the one concerning Naples-Caserta-Salerno, that is nearly an urban-region very different from the inland; the urbanized areas of Bari (including Barletta and Trani) and of Salento in Apulia; and finally the urbanized areas of Catania and Siracusa, on the east coast of Sicily.

1.5 TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

In the 1990's a series of reforms within the institutional framework took place in Italy. They converged into the constitutional amendment of 2001. These transformations redefined the framework of responsibilities between the State and the local authorities. More in details, this framework set up some significant innovations in the territorial governing issues. In particular, the reform of Title V of the Constitution introduced the broad concept of 'territorial governing' instead of 'planning' as a matter of concurrent legislative powers between State and Regions (Governa, 2008).

The Local Authorities Act (Legislative Decree 267/2000) identifies and regulates the following institutional administrative entities: Regions, Provinces, Municipalities, Metropolitan Cities, Mountain Communities, and Unions of Municipalities. Specific normative tools regulate the territorial planning responsibilities of each administrative level.

Regions adopt their own territorial planning law and Territorial Regional Plan (*Piano Territoriale Regionale*, PTR). In order to implement the plan, Regions set objectives and strategies, in accordance with the principles of subsidiarity.

Provinces elaborate the Provincial Territorial Coordination Plan (*Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento*, PTCP) that determines the general disposals of land use and, in particular, indicates: the permitted uses of land; the major infrastructures' and major lines of communication's location; and the lines of action for the water, hydrogeological, hydraulic-forestry and land conservation systems.

Municipalities have responsibilities in planning and construction matters though in a very opaque context, since it does not exist a legislative framework, at national level, defining instruments and tools.

Until the early '90s the only provided instrument was the Municipal Master Plan (*Piano Regolatore Generale*, PRG). With the new regional territorial planning laws, many disposals were set up within a complex scenario constantly evolving. Over the last decade it has been gradually asserting a new model of municipal planning on two levels: the Structural Plan (*Piano Strutturale*) that is not executive and the Operational Plan (*Piano Esecutivo*) i.e. the executive tool operating for a five year period.

The other institutional administrative entities are: Mountain Communities, Unions of Municipalities and Metropolitan Cities. Each of them was introduced, at different times, in order

to promote and manage territorial integration processes at different levels. In some cases, their constitution was problematic since they overlapped with the jurisdiction of Regions, Provinces and Municipalities.

Mountain Communities, established in the '70s³, are set up by Regions and concern mountain and foothill municipalities, even belonging to different provinces. The participation of municipalities was not voluntary, since the Region decides it. Their goal was to promote and protect mountain areas through the implementation of a set of policies capable of transforming marginality into developmental opportunities. Mountain Communities have both their own functions (fixed by Regions) and associated functions acting as representative body of involved municipalities. They have to make long-term plans for the territorial socio-economic development. Plans have to be compatible with the Provincial Territorial Coordination Plan. As of January 1, 2011, there were 264 Mountain Communities, the most (94) located in the South.

The law 142 in 1990 introduced the Unions of Municipalities in order to promote the inter-municipality joint management of several functions in the fields of culture, education, social service etc. In very small municipalities, this solution is the only possible, in order to reduce costs and improve the efficiency of management.

There are no size limits to join a Union. However, statistics show that the average population of municipalities in Unions is less than 5,000 residents. However there are also SMSTs (consisting of about one-fifth of the Municipalities involved) but only 0.7% includes Municipalities between 25,000 and 50,000 inhabitants.

In general terms, the Unions of Municipalities are composed mainly by small and very small Municipalities, as it can be seen in Piedmont and Lombardy regions characterized by a high number of very small municipalities. Nevertheless, in Emilia Romagna region, the number of small municipalities is equal to that of SMSTs (respectively 163 and 165 in 2001).

As for the number of residents, every Union has almost 20,000 inhabitants. It is a significant aspect, considering that this data corresponds to the value of a SMST.

In May 2012, the number of Unions of Municipalities was 367, for a total of 1,851 Municipalities. The total number of residents was 7,215,746 inhabitants. On average, the number of municipalities participating in Unions is little more than one-fifth of the total.

The most Unions are concentrated in the northern regions (170) and in particular in the North West (109). In the South there are 62 Union, and only 54 in the Centre Italy.

The island regions contain 48 Municipalities in Sicily and 33 in Sardinia. The Aosta Valley is actually the only Italian region that does not provide this type of formalized association.

At the metropolitan level, planning reforms are still fragmentary: the most important concerns Metropolitan City. It was launched in the '90s but is not yet realized. Metropolitan cities were created by the reform of local authorities (Law 142/1990), later amended by 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999 and 2009 provisions.

As defined by law, the metropolitan city includes a large core city and the smaller surrounding towns that are closely related to it with regard to economic activities and essential public services, as well as to cultural relations and to territorial features that form its metropolitan area. The metropolitan city is therefore, by all means, a metropolitan area.

The original 1990 law individuated as metropolitan areas the communes of: Turin, Milan, Venice, Genoa, Bologna, Florence, Rome, Bari, Naples and their respective hinterlands. As of 2013, none of these administrative authorities has been activated. The reasons for this delay have been various: firstly, because of the lack of clear indications to define the legal extent of the areas; secondly, because of the several levels involved (Municipalities, Provinces and Region), which struggle to come to an agreement

³ In accordance with Law 3/12/71 no 1102 "New regulations for the development of the mountain."

The main aim of the reform was to give metropolitan areas the administrative powers of a province. In fact, metropolitan cities should assume the functions that at present are under the Provinces' responsibilities in the following matters:

- Planning and infrastructure networks;
- Public services, mobility and traffic;
- Economic and social development.

As easily presbable, the most conflicts to the constitution of metropolitan cities come just from Provinces.

One of the most complex circumstances, which is raising a huge local debate, concerns the constitution of the Metropolitan City of Turin. Under the current law, it should be composed by 315 Municipalities covering an area of over 6,800 km². The whole area is characterized by an extreme multiplicity from the urban, economic, environmental points of view, showing, as a consequences, very different problems and needs.

Public Authority	Tools	Area
Region	Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento Regionale	Regional area
Province	Piano Territoriale di Coordinamento Regionale	Provincial area
Municipality	Piano Regolatore Generale	Municipality area
Metropolitan City	//	Metropolitan City area
Mountain Community	Piani degli interventi e delle opere	Municipalities' area
Union of Municipality	Programma di sviluppo socio-economico //	Municipalities' area

Table 1.4. Local government system and planning tools.

Finally, it is worth mentioning a recent decision of spending review⁴, which constraints Municipality not exceeding 1,000 residents to set up associated exercises of administrative functions and public services (through Unions of Municipalities or specific agreements). As defined by a central government's disposal, Regions have to establish how to define and implement this measure (being able even to change the minimum number of residents). For example, Piedmont Region established⁵ that Municipalities belonging to the same homogeneous area (mountain, hill or plain) are in charge of proposing the association typology (Unions of Municipalities or Consortium). The minimum demographic threshold was increased to 3,000 residents for hill and plain Municipalities and to 5,000 for the mountain Municipalities.

In conclusion, although almost 30% of Italian population lives in SMSTs normative reform is not addressed specifically to them. Nevertheless, SMSTs are considered a milestone of urban system, since they play a key role in the social-cultural and economic organization of the Country. Thus, what can be underline is the inability at the state level to develop a global, coherent and diversified urban strategy.

⁴ Under Decree Law no. 138/2011, entitled "Reduction of costs related to political representation in Municipalities and rationalization exercise of municipal functions."

⁵ LR 11/2012 of 28.09.2012

2. TERRITORIAL IDENTIFICATION OF SMSTs

2.1 REGIONAL STRUCTURE AND POPULATION IN NORTH WESTERN ITALY

In North Western case we have to consider four NUTS2 Regions, structurally different from each other in terms of size and density (see Figure 2.1, 2.2 and 2.3):

- *Aosta Valley* a typical mountain region, the smallest in Italy with about 3,000 km² and 127,000 inhabitants. To make a comparison: total population of the Aosta Valley is similar to the population of a district of the city of Turin, Piedmont regional capital. One centre of regional importance: Aosta.
- *Piedmont*, a region with about 4.5 million inhabitants, settled on different lands (plains, hills, lowlands and mountain), a metropolitan city (Turin) and 6 others regional cities hierarchically lower but economically differentiated. All of these are considerable medium-sized cities as well representative for the Italian case;
- *Liguria*, a region morphologically forced between sea and mountains, characterized by the limited availability of land, with a higher density of buildings and housing in the area of Genoa (coastal Regional capital) and Savona. Urbanization is particularly high in coastal areas and nearby medium and large centres, often conurbations of the neighbouring territories;
- *Lombardia*, the most densely populated Italian region with nearly 10 million people, a fifth of whom gravitated over the metropolis of Milan, the Italian economic capital. The other Lombardy cities are considered: “international functional urban areas” (Bergamo and Brescia), while other regional centres can be considered “important local towns”, specializing in highly diverse sectors. We distinguish the NUTS3 of Sondrio, typically alpine mountain, with a population density much lower than the other provinces and rather isolated (3 hour of time spending to access Milan in the middle valley).

From the urban perspective, metropolitan cities of Turin, Milan and Genoa are a triple pole of economic development at international level, although with substantial differences between them. The levels of interconnection of Milan are substantially higher than those of the other cities, with a gravitational area of reference for accessibility calculated (from other ESPON projects) up to 12 million inhabitants. This aspect is directly represented by data and the development of spatial HDHC: that of Milan is clearly more extended, overlapping 5 provinces (NUTS3). A reading of population density helps in this regard, underlining that the most densely populated North Western provinces are those that surround Milan (see Figure 2.3), with the exception of Pavia (which however has a vast land area).

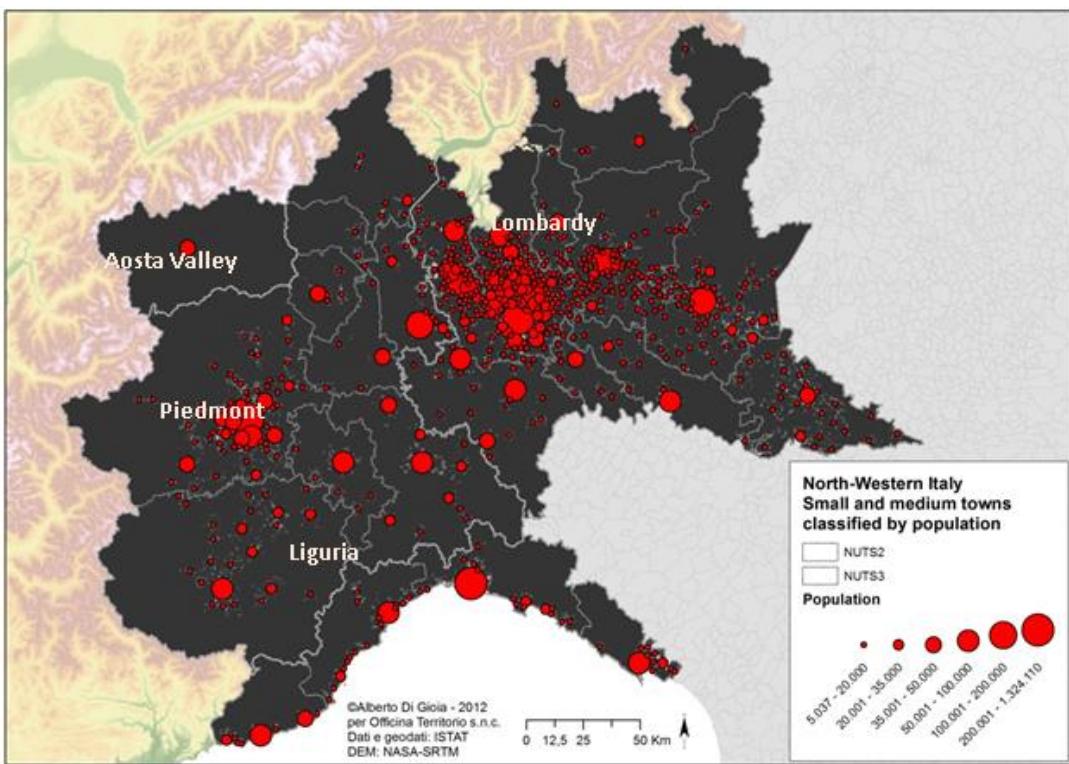


Figure 2.1. North Western Italy. Small and medium towns classified by population. (Source: Own elaboration, based on 2011 census data).

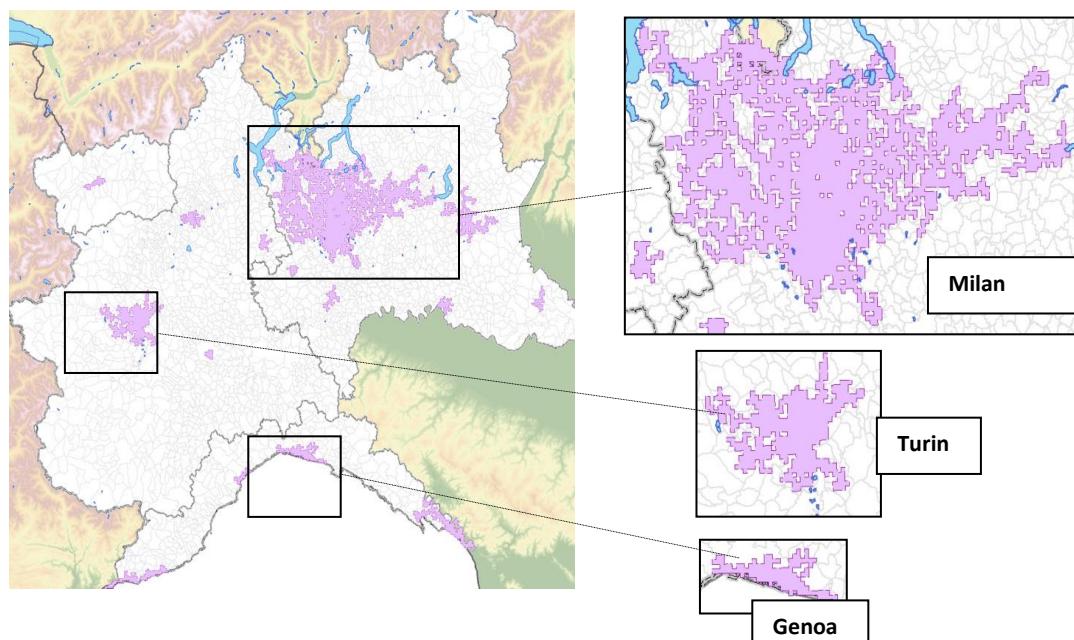


Figure 2.2. Main HDHC in North Western Italy: Milan, Turin and Genoa. (Source: Own elaboration, based on 2011 census data).

Considering the population to NUTS3 level, areas characterized by a majority of rural territory and low population density are the Aosta Valley, Cuneo, Vercelli, Verbania and Sondrio (it is not by chance that on these areas there is a significant presence of mountain lands). However, those data compared to the NUTS 3 surface are not really representative, since the surface of the various provinces of the Italian North West is very different. Different is the level of urbanization too. For example, the Province of Cuneo is much more urbanized than the Province of Vercelli, but it also has much more mountainous area with very low density. Similarly, the territory of Turin is deeply characterized by mountain lands while Milan is entirely on plains. Moreover Milan has very small province when compared to the extension of its real urbanization.

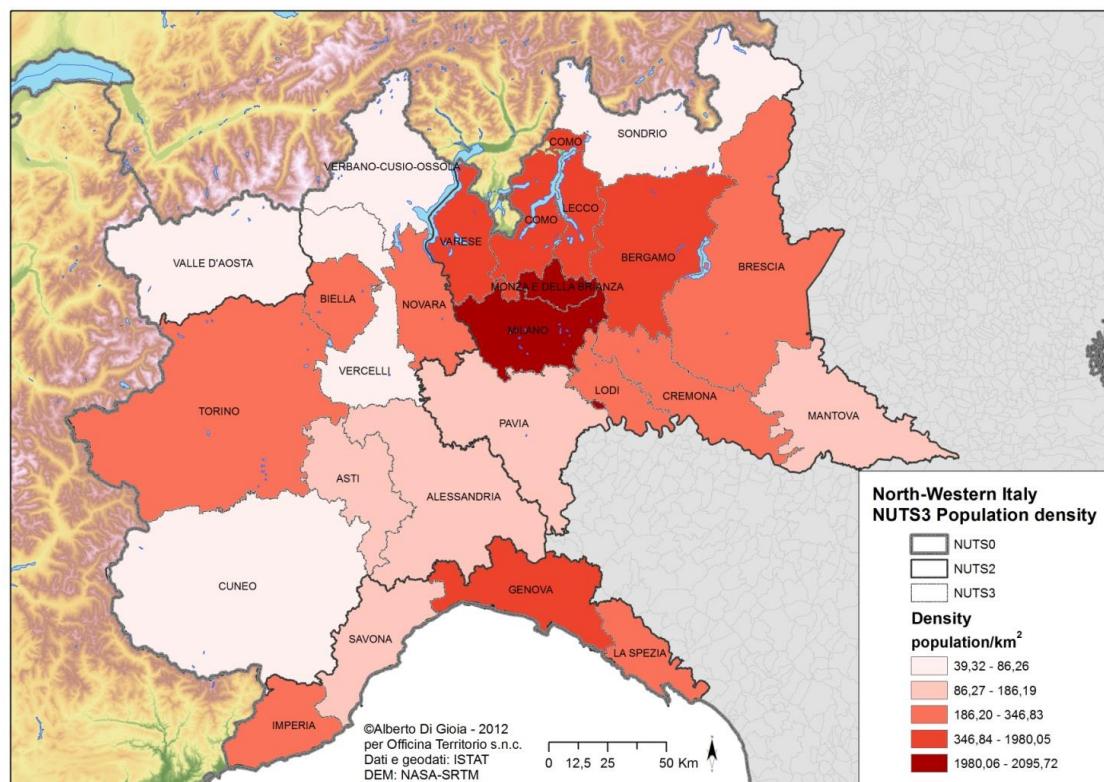


Figure 2.3. NUTS 3 Population density. (Source: Own elaboration, based on 2011 census data).

For these reasons, it is worth evaluating characters of the morphological distribution of urban areas (see Figure 2.4), as well as observing the differences among them. First of all, we can highlight the presence of a pattern of particularly widespread urban areas in the Po Valley, in relation to Milan, Turin and Genoa. On the contrary, remote areas are constraints by physical morphology. This morphological characteristic is typical of the whole of North Italy (and not only in the North West) and responds clearly to the descriptions of the “Padana Megalopolis” (considering urbanization of the Po Valley as urban continuity among bigger cities) conducted since the past few decades.

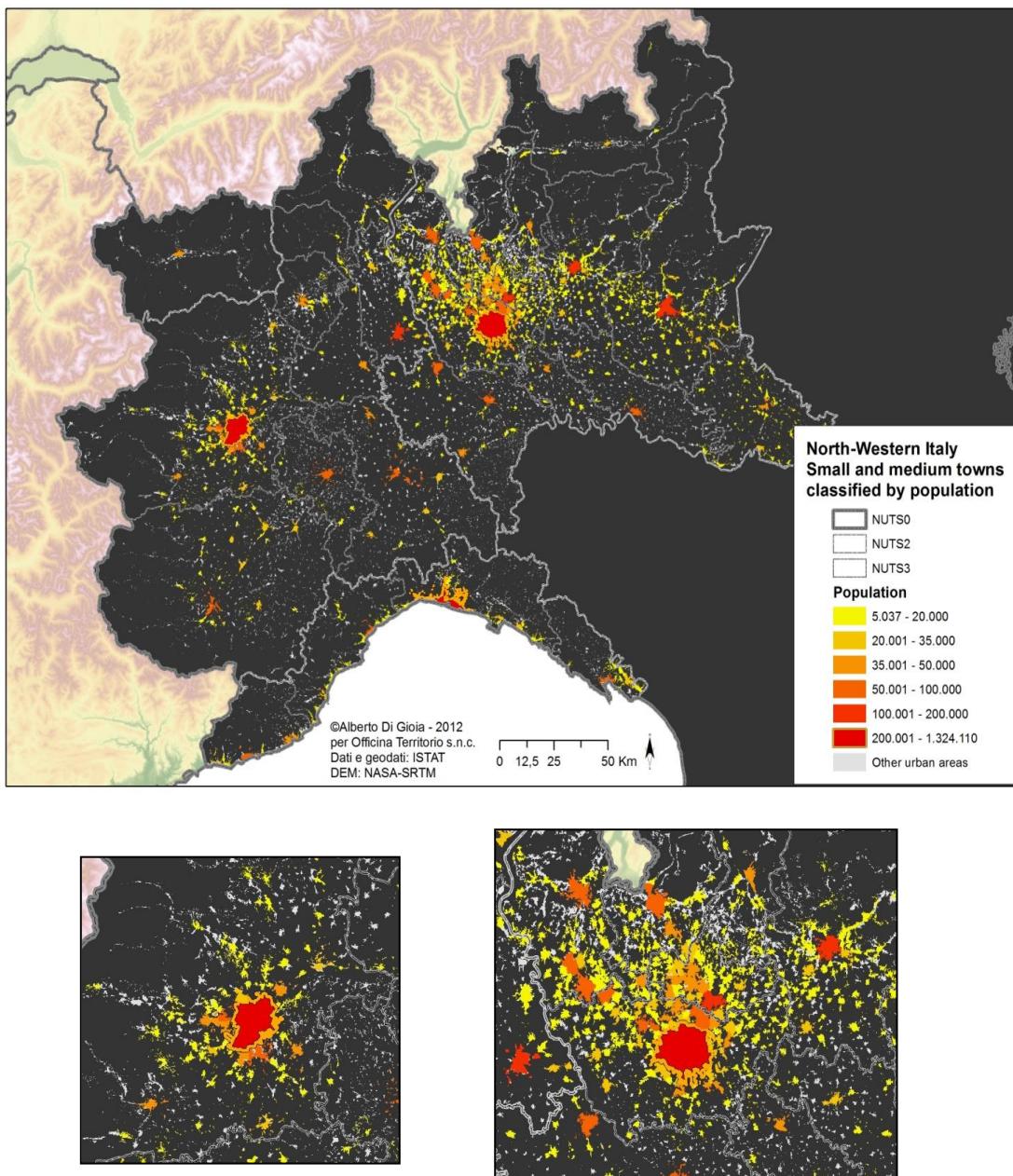


Figure 2.4. Urban structure and population for HDHC, SMTs and VST.(Source: Own elaboration, based on 2011 census data).

Zooms represent the higher densified urban structure for Turin and Milan, with considerable urban influence overlapping many Counties. Visually we see how the Liguria region is even more constraint by the physical morphology, urbanized substantially along the sea coast, with a density comparable to the Po Valley only in Genoa metropolitan area.

2.2 MUNICIPALITIES, POPULATION, TOWNS AND WORKFORCE

In the four Regions there are 3,058 municipalities (to 2011) with a significant differentiation in terms of population and land surfaces. This characteristic matters the planning governance. Often the administrative boundaries are irrelevant to describe housing and work dynamics, so it is useful to reason in terms of connection between urban centres of various levels. From the statistical point of view we have to consider that the diversity of territorial surfaces poses some problems in reading data (especially referring to percentage changes), since the excessive fragmentation of local level (NUTS3 of Como is the more fragmented in Italy) determines problems of areal dependency and difficulties to make comparisons.

In relation to the resident population by municipalities (see Figure 2.5) 646 municipalities have more than 20,000 inhabitants. The class 5-10,000 inhabitants constitutes a minority (360 municipalities), while the majority is below the threshold of 5,000 inhabitants (2,412 municipalities comply with the criterion). Among them, 1,065 municipalities have less than 1,000 inhabitants.

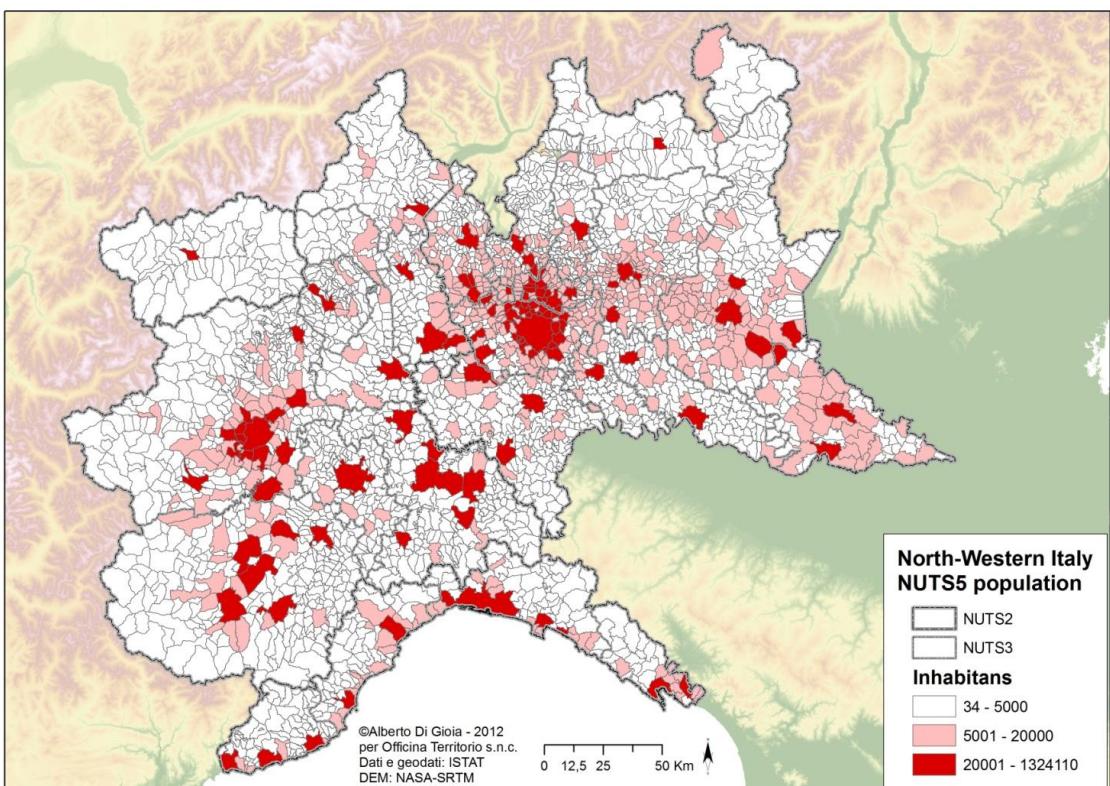


Figure 2.5. NUTS5 population. (Source: Own elaboration, based on 2011 census data).

It is worth comparing territorial systems in terms of population and workforce (see Figure 2.6). The employment at municipal level is closely correlated with the urban dimension, with a level of attractiveness of the major cities directly linked to the activities and rare higher specializations. However, if we consider the ratio of employed population, we observe that there are substantial differences between the considered territories. The Aosta Valley Region has the best ratio between employees and residents, taking into account the regional attractiveness to the outside of the region (as proved by data concerning the foreign resident population). Lombardy has high ratios of employed population (with the exception of peripheral mountain areas such as the Province of Sondrio), with some municipalities much more attractive than others (Milan retains its character of attractiveness for employment and residence).

Piedmont is characterized by different situations depending on the provinces. Turin is a rather strong source of employment for the provincial territories more accessible to the core area, describing the character of primatiality at regional level. The most remote mountainous areas or those with lower levels of population density are also reflected in lower levels of local employment. The Province of Alessandria shows the lowest levels of the link population and workforce, thus is more similar to the Liguria Region than to Piedmont. The Province of Cuneo instead shows high levels, with the exception of the more remote areas with lower levels of population density.

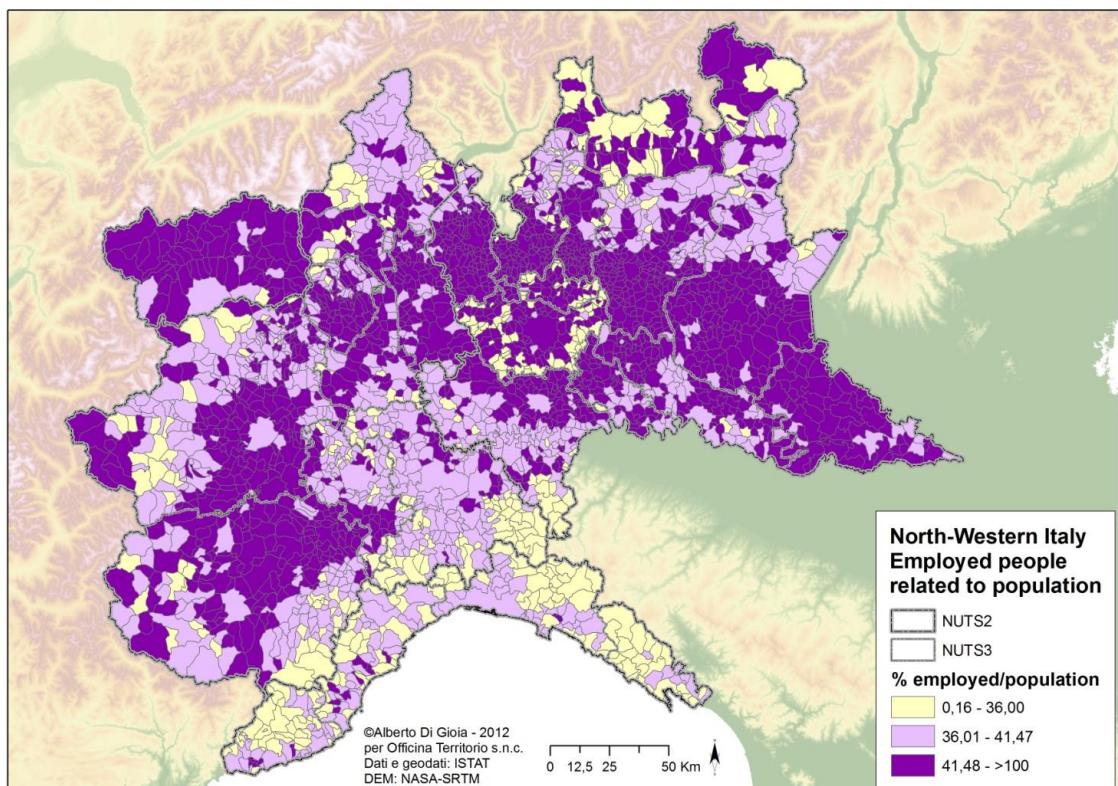


Figure 2.6. Employed people related to population. (Source: Own elaboration, based on 2011 census data).

The data (employed people related to population) is also connected to the trend of the population growth. Areas with high occupational performances are characterized by a positive trend of population growth. This also is true for remote areas, with the exception of a few groups of small municipalities characterized by very low densities, and with statistical deviations related to areal dependency. It is significant that all major cities are quite stable or losing population in the last decade. Metropolitan areas are involved in periurbanisation processes.

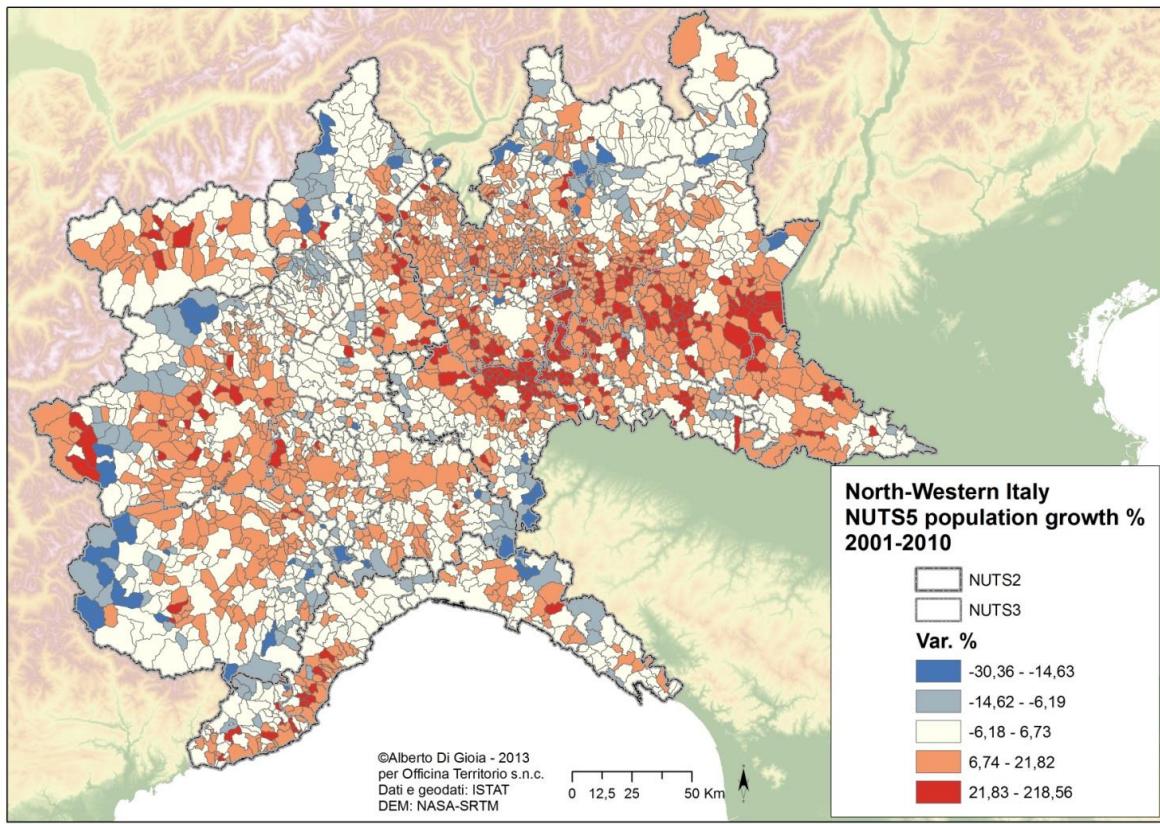


Figure 2.7. Population growth 2001-2010. (Source: Own elaboration, based on 2011 census data).

2.3 FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS – STEP 1

In a first step the functional analysis has led to the identification of urban centres, centres of employment and related gravitational microregions.

Since for the Italian case, there is a problem of availability of data for matrix OD, the functional analysis needed alternative methodologies shown below. These methodologies are designed to make possible the comparison with other international cases, thus classifications and descriptions are consistent with the general requirements.

From the perspective of functional analysis in general terms the urban centres - in different sizes - are centres that hold different levels of centrality, in relation to the mass function (population and employment, in relation to other Espon projects) and interconnection. Precisely the first step of Functional analysis has aimed:

- the identification of large cities and SMSTs by functional analysis using the concept of urban centres;
- the identification of large cities and SMSTs urban regions by core-hinterland analysis;
- the distinction between lower and upper tiers of urban hierarchy (between SMSTs and large cities) by functional analysis of relations between urban centres;
- the analysis of the intensity and directionality of flows among identified SMSTs and their urban regions;
- the identification of SMSTs territorial arrangements: autonomous, networked or agglomerated.

In relation to the lack of data cited above, the Italian case has been mainly referred to the construction of Microregions on the basis of official data already calculated and available. These data are consistent with the methodology proposed by the project.

The supra-local level of aggregation (NUTS4, inter-municipal) in Italy is based on the labour systems, more precisely on the Local Labour Systems (LLS) officially adopted by ISTAT (the Italian National Institute of Statistics). The methodology to identify the LLS uses a function that maximizes flows of work commuting, detected on population Census of 1991, in order to determine areas in which the index of self-containment is maximized compared to alternative partitions. These areas were considered to be good for the identification of Microregions. Within these areas have been identified:

- *Job centres* (see Figure 2.8), defined as LAU2 (or smaller spatial units corresponding to town settlements) with at least 1000 jobs;
- *Urban centres* (see Figure 2.9), considered as cores of Microregions characterized by certain population thresholds, usually correlated to employment. In these areas there could be some LAU2 of medium-superior level of hierarchy, local centres for basic services and employment. Usually these variables are related to parameters of discrete or good accessibility. This aspect can be seen from the level of relationship with the boundaries of Microregions. It is considered good as that relative population threshold to 10 thousand inhabitants. However you should consider the fact that in mountain areas and peripheral LAU2 there are some centres considerable good for services, that we can name local centres for services and activities, not categorized as urban centres according to the predefined criteria. For these reasons, these centres will be characterized on the basis of the character of the occupation (job centres) and calculations of self-containment of flows.

Therefore:

- the main urban centres, which are considered as the hub of the systems of self-containment, are the microregional centres (next step);
- in the peripheral and mountain areas, the job centres that are self-contained basins for workflows are characterized as micoregional centres although with different

levels of performance with regard to indicators of population density and inhabitants.

- *Microregional centres* (see Figure 2.10), considered as the centres of origin of the flows of self-containment for work. For each Microregion is then identified a microregional centre considered as the origin of the system. Around it, a gravitational area is drawn, constituting the real representation of Voronoi polygons: they are first calculated spatially, then uploaded with function of maximization of the flows of commuting to work, finally sized on the basis of other indicators - population and more.
- *Microregions* (see Figure 2.11), considered as local systems calculated on the maximization of commuting flows to work. It is sure that threshold of internal migration to work is highest within the boundary, consolidated from the microregional centre.

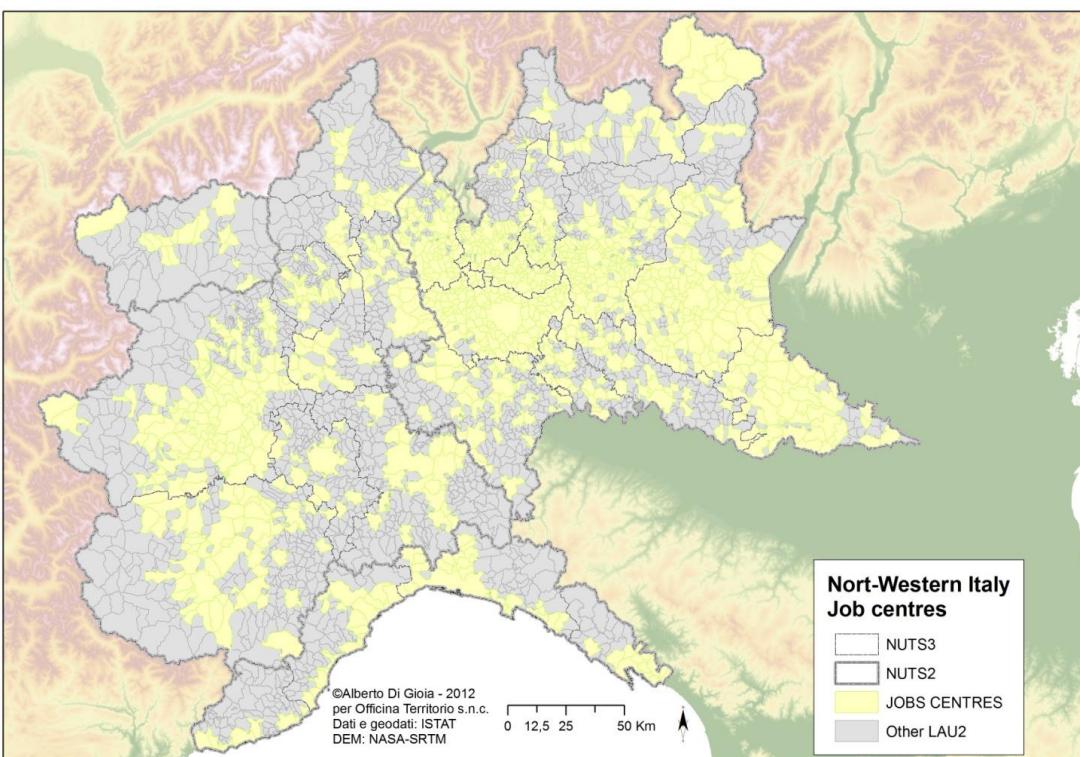


Figure 2.8 - North Western Italy. Job Centres. (Source)

The job centres' arrangements in the four Italian regions follows, ultimately, the territorial conditions described in the first paragraphs. The two main cities (Turin and Milan) generate the functional regions of which they represent the core and that overlap - broadly - the HDHC. The main centres of these regions are directly interconnected with the regional capitals. Rural and peripheral areas are characterized by a lower proportion of job centres. However there are exceptions focused in some areas. In the Aosta Valley these exceptions correspond to the tourist centres or centres interconnected with the regional capital. In Piedmont, they correspond to the tourist districts or most polycentric areas (such as the Province of Cuneo). In Lombardy they correspond to remote areas (such as the High Valtellina in the Province of Sondrio) but characterized by specific economic activities and particular functional autonomy.

There are 1,173 job centres, subdivided as follows:

- 282 in Piedmont Region;
- 15 in Aosta Valley Region;
- 802 in Lombardy Region;
- 74 in Liguria Region.

The location of urban centres follows that of the job centres. In the peripheral regions they coincide with the NUTS3 centres of reference or with regional capitals. The Aosta Valley is a special case: it includes only one urban centre for the whole region (taking into account the peculiar characteristics, which have been already described previously). It is interesting to consider as in less polycentric territories, such as the Province of Turin, urban centres are more agglomerated. These agglomerations are also physical and morphological, as described in the section on urban structure. The Lombardy region emerges as a more polycentric, while Liguria and Piedmont are aligned.

Thus, there are 286 urban centres, subdivided as follows:

- 69 in Piedmont Region;
- 1 in Aosta Valley Region (Aosta city);
- 192 in Lombardy Region;
- 24 in Liguria Region.

Finally we detect 112 Microregional centres according to the criteria specified above, with its Microregions of gravitation at the NUTS4 level.

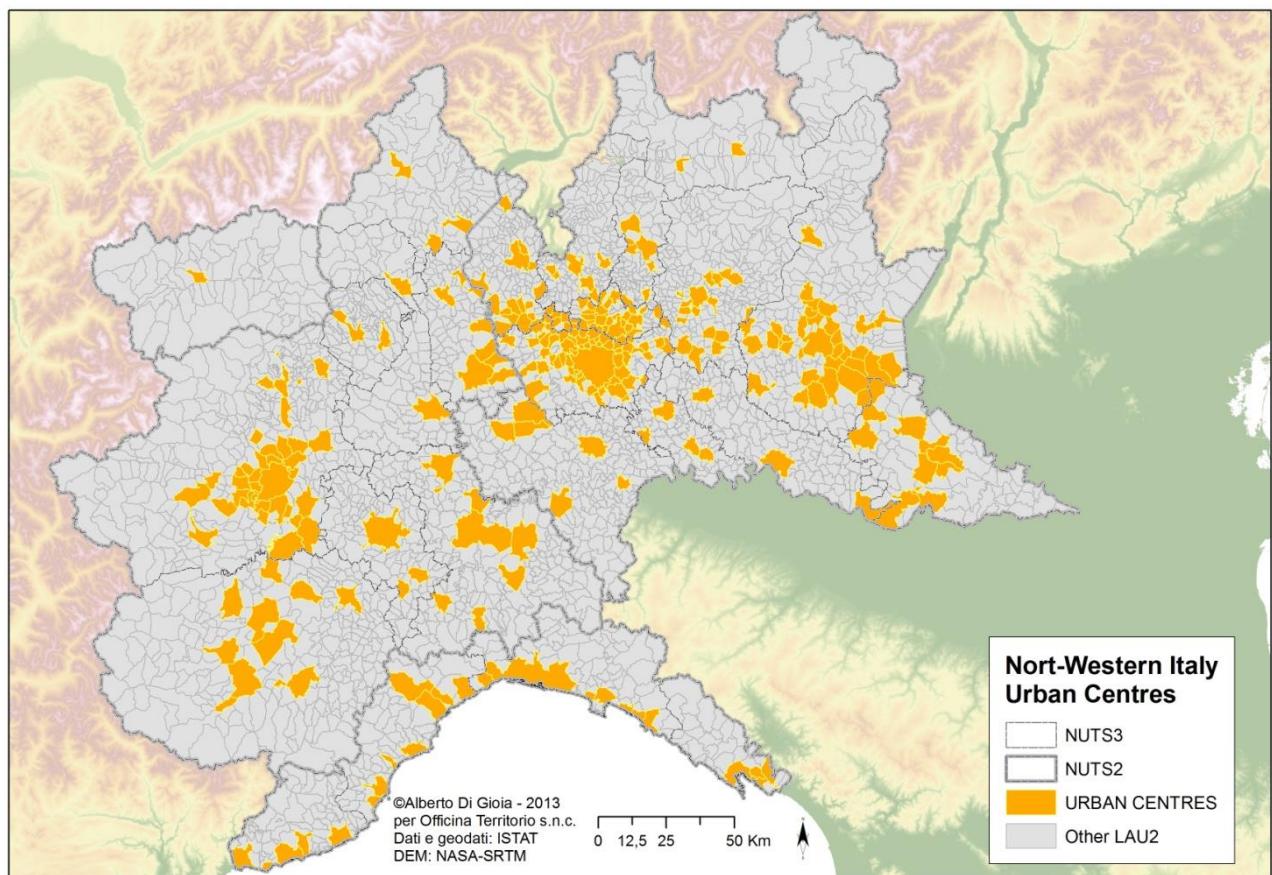


Figure 2.9 - North Western Italy. Urban Centres. (Source)

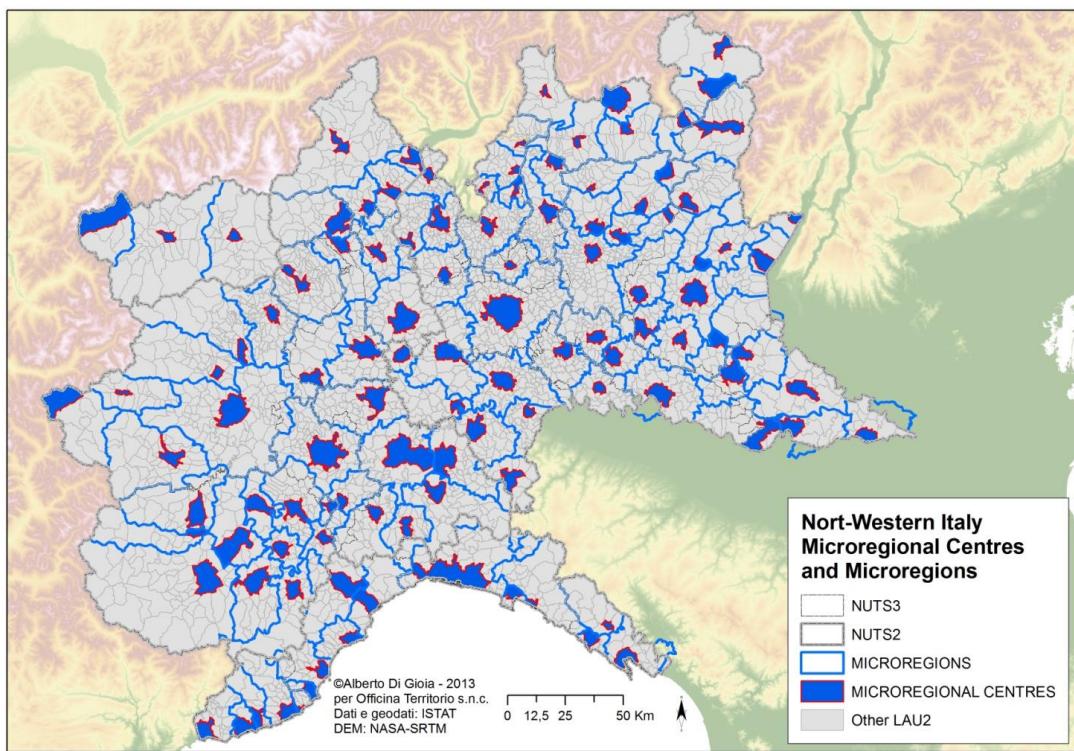


Figure 2.10. North Western Italy. Microregional centres and Microregions

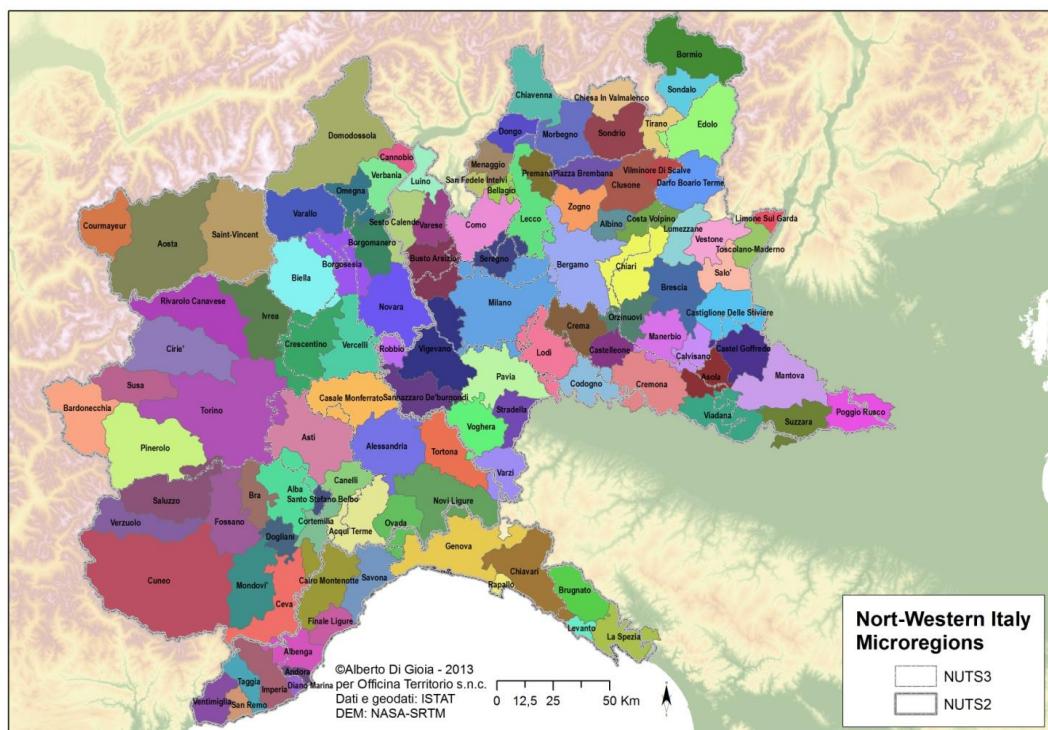


Figure 2.11. North Western Italy. Microregions pattern

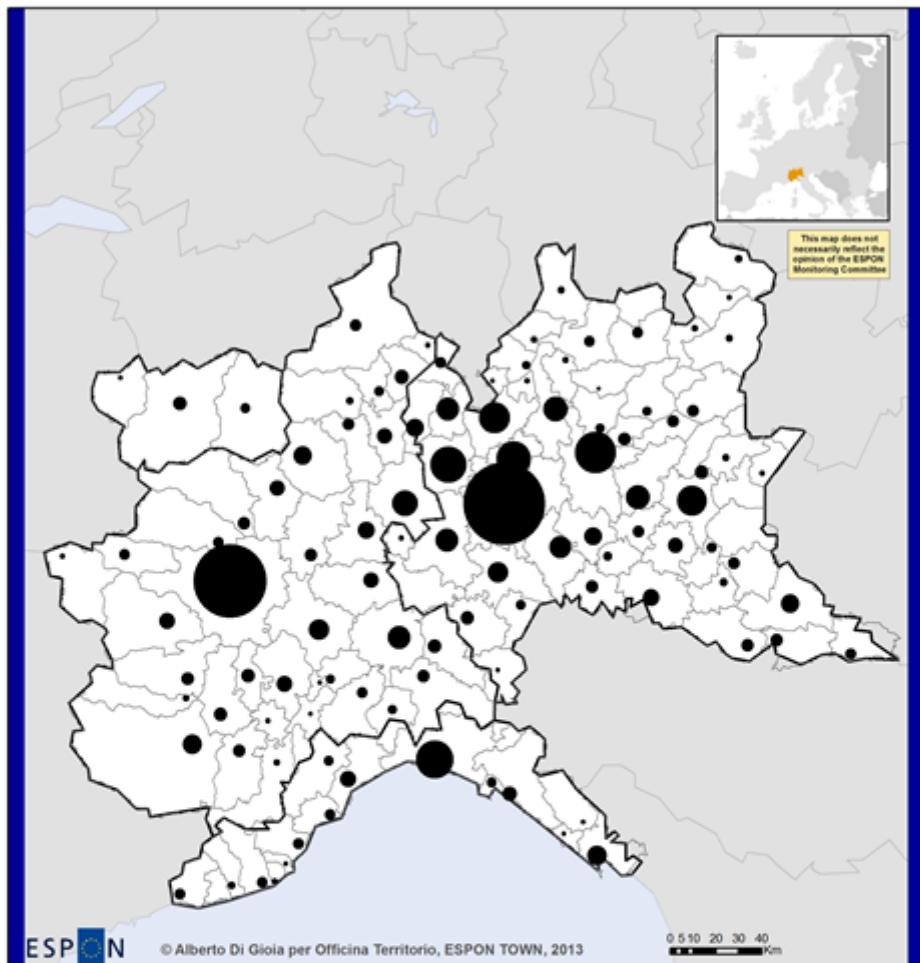
Table 2.1. Data for each Microregional Centres and related Microregions

COD_REG	COD_PRO	PRO_COM	Name Microregional Centre	Population Microregional Centre		Population Microregion	Employed Active Population
				2001	2010		
1	6	6001	Acqui Terme	19184	20552	43899	44,60
1	4	4003	Alba	29910	31341	100898	53,84
7	9	9002	Albenga	22690	24378	51316	45,60
3	16	16004	Albino	16394	18186	70072	49,50
1	6	6003	Alessandria	85438	94974	144717	47,74
7	9	9006	Andora	6767	7657	7721	45,04
2	7	7003	Aosta	34062	35049	72201	52,82
3	20	20002	Asola	9470	10127	31203	49,27
1	5	5005	Asti	71276	76534	139365	48,35
1	1	1022	Bardonecchia	3038	3273	10224	51,83
3	13	13019	Bellagio	2949	3078	9965	48,58
3	16	16024	Bergamo	113143	119551	705872	51,89
1	96	96004	Biella	45740	45589	171969	47,84
1	3	3024	Borgomanero	19315	21518	95445	48,69
1	2	2016	Borgosesia	13926	13336	68905	47,22
3	14	14009	Bormio	4096	4084	19032	53,49
1	4	4029	Bra	27988	29871	54651	53,25
3	17	17029	Brescia	187567	193879	407887	49,37
7	11	11007	Brugnato	1191	1276	9324	39,66
3	12	12026	Busto Arsizio	75916	81760	565262	49,67
7	9	9015	Cairo Montenotte	13419	13695	44393	44,73
3	17	17034	Calvisano	7416	8726	35607	51,00
1	5	5017	Canelli	10230	10722	36208	48,78
1	103	103017	Cannobio	4977	5181	7256	47,67
1	6	6039	Casale Monferrato	35244	36069	79606	46,60
3	20	20015	Castel Goffredo	9829	12094	54789	53,58
3	19	19025	Castelleone	8934	9603	31475	48,26
1	4	4066	Ceva	5729	5862	20099	46,95
3	17	17052	Chiari	17393	18887	233572	51,14
7	10	10015	Chiavari	27476	27815	103082	44,98
3	14	14018	Chiavenna	7239	7358	23021	50,43
3	14	14019	Chiesa in Valmalenco	2755	2626	6673	49,93
1	1	1086	Ciriè	18188	18973	100543	48,71
3	16	16077	Clusone	8259	8793	37684	49,73
3	98	98019	Codogno	14408	15765	71725	48,87
3	13	13075	Como	78680	85263	408746	51,50
1	4	4073	Cortemilia	2544	2454	9098	45,93
3	16	16086	Costa Volpino	8460	9333	55628	49,00
2	7	7022	Courmayeur	2790	2877	8257	53,22
3	19	19035	Crema	32981	34144	124995	50,38
3	19	19036	Cremona	70887	72147	129654	48,43
1	2	2049	Crescentino	7609	8086	70772	49,13
1	4	4078	Cuneo	52334	55714	154657	53,39
3	17	17065	Darfo Boario Terme	13590	15751	58790	50,58
7	8	8027	Diano Marina	6159	6285	14266	42,51
1	4	4081	Dogliani	4554	4868	13507	50,99
1	103	103028	Domodossola	18466	18475	62466	46,76
3	13	13090	Dongo	3468	3491	17534	47,33
3	17	17068	Edolo	4291	4558	24061	47,78
7	9	9029	Finale Ligure	11845	11638	50134	43,88

COD_REG	COD_PRO	PRO_COM	Name Microregional Centre	Population Micreregional Centre		Population Microregion	Employed Active Population
				2001	2010		
1	4	4089	Fossano	23865	24854	79259	52,65
7	10	10025	Genova	610307	607906	723633	46,18
7	8	8031	Imperia	39458	42667	54091	44,93
1	1	1125	Ivrea	23536	24196	109782	47,13
7	11	11015	La Spezia	91391	95378	190515	43,49
3	97	97042	Lecco	45501	48114	269308	51,61
7	11	11017	Levanto	5641	5592	9920	41,82
3	17	17089	Limone sul Garda	1033	1164	2956	49,96
3	98	98031	Lodi	40805	44401	190928	51,66
3	12	12092	Luino	14234	14471	53034	49,25
3	17	17096	Lumezzane	23712	23828	73647	50,57
3	17	17103	Manerbio	12611	13273	88579	51,64
3	20	20030	Mantova	47790	48612	148999	50,83
3	13	13145	Menaggio	3121	3273	26378	49,01
3	15	15146	Milano	1256211	1324110	2975754	51,70
1	4	4130	Mondovì	21880	22605	52775	50,85
3	14	14045	Morbegno	11087	12071	51147	51,32
1	3	3106	Novara	100910	105024	201341	49,15
1	6	6114	Novi Ligure	27223	28744	74876	46,13
1	103	103050	Omegna	15373	15991	41206	48,87
3	17	17125	Orzinuovi	11175	12549	51407	52,84
1	6	6121	Ovada	11677	11965	32021	45,09
3	18	18110	Pavia	71214	71142	166449	51,31
3	16	16164	Piazza Brembana	1182	1256	7644	44,98
1	1	1191	Pinerolo	33494	36158	121386	47,13
3	20	20042	Poggio Rusco	6297	6649	49794	46,69
3	97	97069	Premana	2256	2312	14930	51,58
7	10	10046	Rapallo	29159	30785	48030	44,42
1	1	1217	Rivarolo Canavese	11976	12370	71938	47,37
3	18	18123	Robbio	6159	6156	12378	47,04
2	7	7065	Saint-Vincent	4687	4787	40940	50,79
1	4	4203	Saluzzo	15647	17067	67429	52,05
3	13	13205	San Fedele Intelvi	1491	1778	9077	50,35
			Sannazzaro de' Burgondi				
3	18	18138	Burgondi	5802	5869	55542	42,55
7	8	8055	Sanremo	50608	56962	34809	46,86
1	4	4213	Santo Stefano Belbo	4037	4109	6414	49,83
7	9	9056	Savona	59907	62553	124218	43,54
3	108	108039	Seregno	39206	43163	504250	51,43
3	12	12120	Sesto Calende	9806	10830	137064	49,99
3	14	14060	Sondalo	4499	4281	12865	48,40
3	14	14061	Sondrio	21642	22365	49678	49,09
3	18	18153	Stradella	10763	11674	42096	46,33
1	1	1270	Susa	6577	6727	48183	46,85
3	20	20065	Suzzara	17643	20648	64812	50,52
7	8	8059	Taggia	12908	14502	22757	44,63
3	14	14066	Tirano	9044	9238	19109	48,43
1	1	1272	Torino	865263	907563	1684336	46,60
1	6	6174	Tortona	25227	27706	57034	47,12
3	17	17187	Toscolano-Maderno	7006	8111	14032	45,81
1	2	2156	Varallo	7397	7593	16118	47,99
3	12	12133	Varese	80511	81579	238662	49,83
3	18	18171	Varzi	3539	3420	11264	39,22

COD_REG	COD_PRO	PRO_COM	Name Microregional Centre	Population Micoregional Centre		Population Microregion	Employed Active Population
				2001	2010		
7	8	8065	Ventimiglia	24665	25675	56919	44,22
1	103	103072	Verbania	30128	31243	52435	47,68
1	2	2158	Vercelli	45132	46979	73966	48,75
1	4	4240	Verzuolo	6196	6507	18336	51,07
3	17	17197	Vestone	4225	4509	22310	50,41
3	20	20066	Viadana	16933	19785	64839	49,53
3	18	18177	Vigevano	57450	63700	230912	49,53
3	16	16243	Vilminore di Scalve	1547	1532	4482	47,82
3	18	18182	Voghera	38183	39937	77048	46,00
3	16	16246	Zogno	9015	9097	38197	48,87

Microregions and their centres



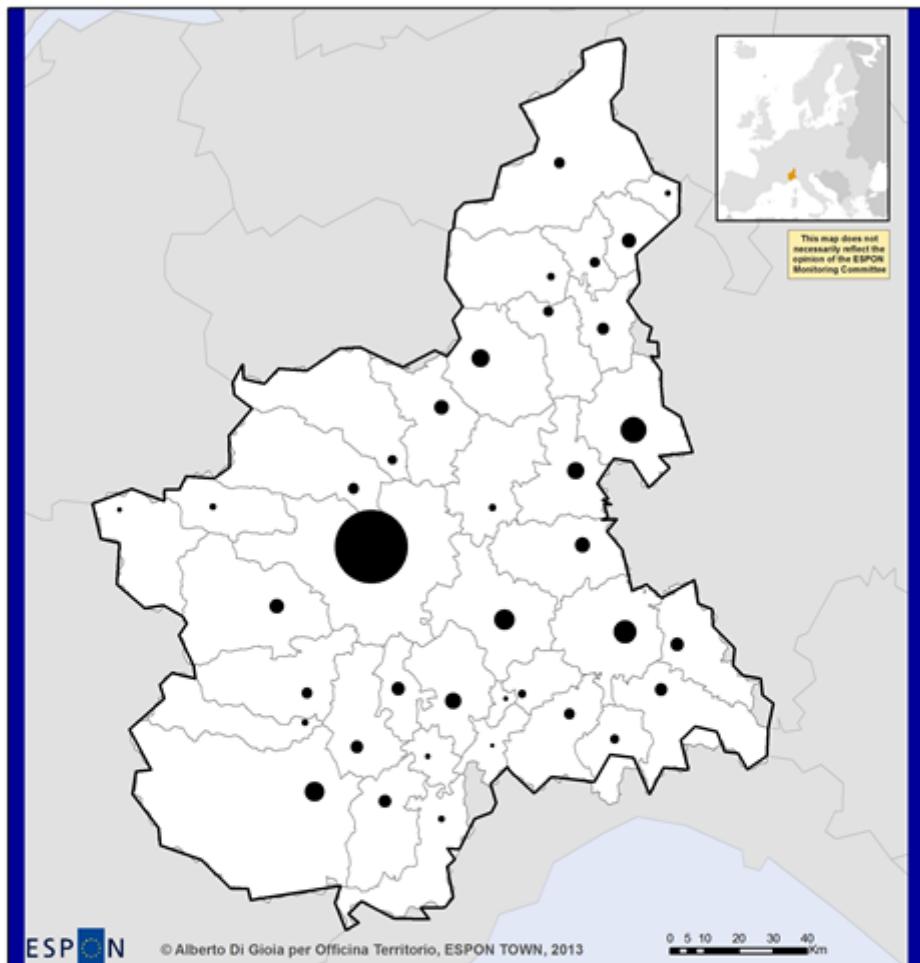
Employees

- 1.000
- 10.000

1.000.000

Maps 2.1. Italian North West Microregions and their centres

Microregions and their centres



EUROPEAN UNION
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Local level: LAU2

Source: TOWN, 2013

Origin of data: ISTAT, 2001-2011

© EuroGeographics Association for administrative boundaries

Jobs

- 1.000
- 10.000
- 1.000.000

Maps 2.2. Piedmont Microregions and their centres

2.4 FUNCTIONAL ANALYSIS – STEP 2

In the first phase the analysis recognized:

- Microregional areas, based on the surfaces of the local labour systems;
- Microregional centres, defined as the centres of origin of self-containment work flows for employment,
- Urban centres, considered as the cores of the Microregions, characterized by certain population thresholds (10 thousand inhabitants), usually correlated to employment.
- job centres, referred to centres with more than 1000 jobs.

The aims of 2nd phase of functional analysis are:

- distinguish between lower and upper tiers of urban hierarchy, i.e. between SMSTs and large cities;
- identify SMSTs territorial arrangements (autonomous, networked, agglomerated).

We start with the matrix of flows between LAU2 delimited as urban centres of microregions (one of the outputs of the 1st phase). In the further analysis, we want to work only with significant flows – functional connections between urban centres. Thus we will not work with all the flows in the matrix, but with selection of “significant flows” based on Van Nuffel methodology (Van Nuffel, 2007) based on selection of main 5 highest outgoing flows from each microregional centre. Final selection is made representing them in relative way as a share on the total sum of 5 identified highest flows (in %), then correlating these values (representing real distribution) with five ideal types (Ideal Types 1-5) to determine the number of significant flows. In this way, highest level of correlation could be found in first level (first flow is significance) or in the fifth one (no case for Italy) with all 5 flows significant for the relative MC.

Data from O/D matrix of the commuting to work available for the Piedmont Region has been used to apply the Van Nuffel methodology.

It was then a case study characterized by:

- the presence of 37 Microregions and respectively Microregional Centres. The whole case study represents a NUTS2 level (Piedmont Region), which qualifies a differentiated area gravitating mainly on Turin (Regional capital) then on other NUTS 3 centres differentiated by local economies and territorial structure;
- a capital city (Turin) really differentiated from other local centres for inhabitants and jobs: it describes the typical structure of a post-fordist centre, surrounded by core of metropolitan areas, then areas of dependency spread also in rather far towns and centres, due to factors of specializations for jobs and strong attractivity of the main centre;
- many small and medium towns characterized by strong economical specializations often recognized in economical districts, spread and diversified in many economical sectors. Some provinces are characterized by great presence of rural areas and specialization in primary sector (Province of Cuneo) and mountain regions, rather related to medium-low density indexes and strong dependency from the local micro-regions.

In a first step, commuting data of the Microregional Centres were collected. Calculating relations with Van Nuffel methodology, we obtain 144 main flows, generated by the Microregional Centres, with many cases with only 1,2,3,4 flows to other Microregional Centres.

In other cases, we have a distribution between 1 and 1,291, with the maximum origin value in the city of Asti, followed by Pinerolo, Ciriè (> 1000) then Novi Ligure, Bra, Tortona, Alessandria (>500).

This reveals a rather mono-centric region, focused on Turin, but differentiated for sub-areas, with the Province of Cuneo more polycentric, Biella and Verbano Cusio Ossola quite isolated (Verbania, Domodossola, Omegna, Varallo and Borgosesia are not isolated MC, but peripheral in the global regional context).

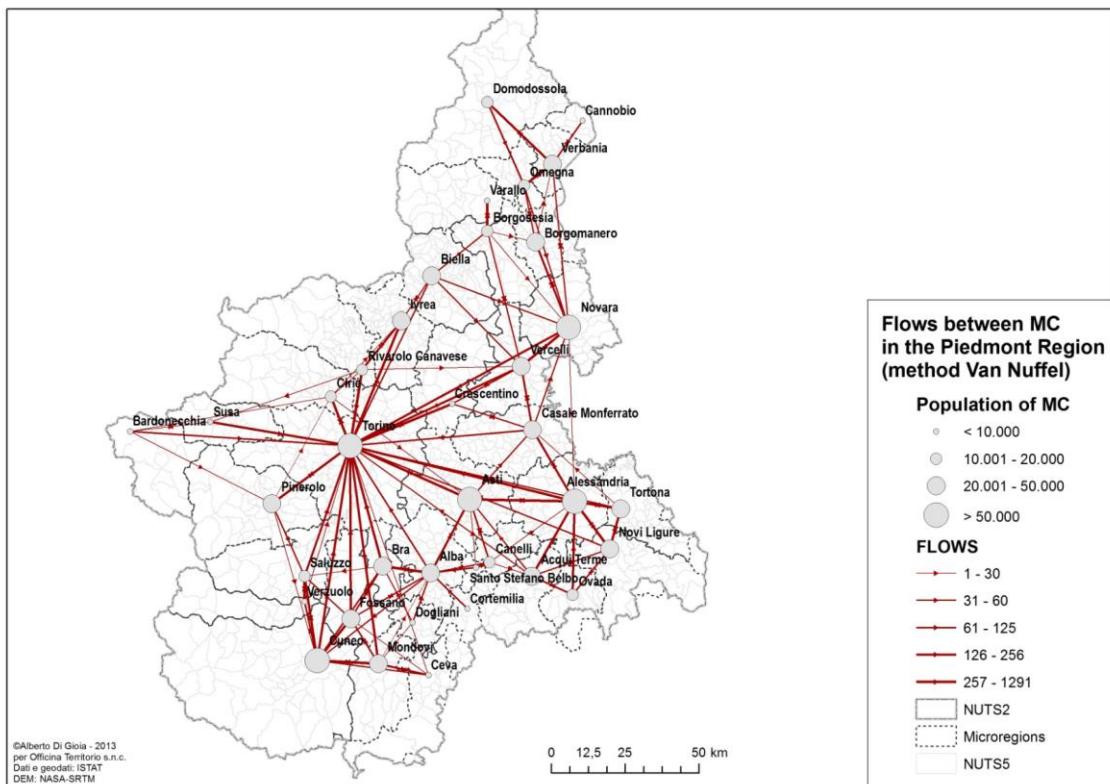


Figure 2.12 - Flows between MC in the Piedmont Region (method Van Nuffel)

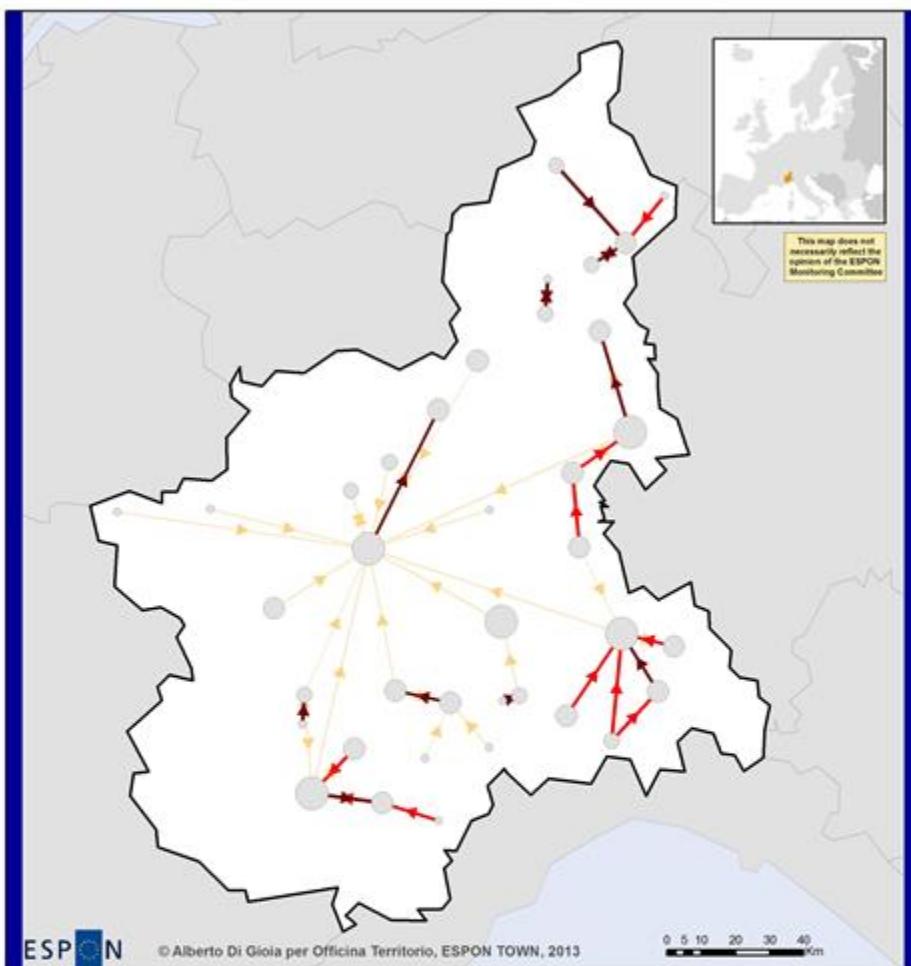
Table 2.2. Significant flows

Origin	Destination	Flows	Name origin	Sum Flows	% flows on tot.
1022	1272	63	Bardonechchia	83	75,903614
1086	1272	1071	Ciriè	1093	97,987191
1125	1272	349	Ivrea	430	81,162791
1191	1272	1131	Pinerolo	1174	96,337308
1217	1272	425	Rivarolo Canavese	616	68,993506
1270	1272	229	Susa	249	91,967871
1272	1125	414	Torino	1650	25,090909
2016	2156	258	Borgosesia	330	78,181818
2049	1272	201	Crescentino	315	63,809524
2156	2016	430	Varallo	430	100,000000
2158	3106	466	Vercelli	998	46,693387
3024	3106	150	Borgomanero	195	76,923077
3106	3024	182	Novara	729	24,965706
4003	4029	256	Alba	462	55,411255
4029	1272	362	Bra	1145	31,615721
4066	4130	153	Ceva	251	60,956175
4073	4003	79	Cortemilia	79	100,000000
4078	4130	182	Cuneo	825	22,060606
4081	4003	57	Dogliani	114	50,000000
4089	4078	385	Fossano	854	45,081967
4130	4078	334	Mondovi	710	47,042254
4203	1272	146	Saluzzo	532	27,443609
4213	5017	169	Santo Stefano Belbo	268	63,059701
4240	4203	374	Verzuolo	495	75,555556
5005	1272	1291	Asti	1928	66,960581
5017	4213	108	Canelli	326	33,128834
6001	6003	427	Acqui Terme	626	68,210863
6003	1272	397	Alessandria	1539	25,795971

6039	2158	161	Casale Monferrato	593	27,150084
6114	6003	733	Novi Ligure	1162	63,080895
6121	6114	122	Ovada	344	35,465116
6174	6003	534	Tortona	713	74,894811
96004	1272	116	Biella	292	39,726027
103017	103072	109	Cannobio	109	100,000000
103028	103072	233	Domodossola	320	72,812500
103050	103072	322	Omegna	424	75,943396
103072	103050	252	Verbania	451	55,875831
1272	1086	426	Torino	1650	25,818182
3106	2158	286	Novara	729	39,231824
3106	1272	206	Novara	729	28,257888
4029	4003	582	Bra	1145	50,829694
4078	4089	254	Cuneo	825	30,787879
4078	1272	251	Cuneo	825	30,424242
4203	4078	175	Saluzzo	532	32,894737
4203	4240	158	Saluzzo	532	29,699248
5017	5005	117	Canelli	326	35,889571
6003	6174	506	Alessandria	1539	32,878493
6039	6003	243	Casale Monferrato	593	40,978078
6121	6003	154	Ovada	344	44,767442

Proceeding with the selection of significant flows (see Maps 2.3), we see that in almost all cases, the significant flows are in the first level of selection. The only exceptions are the cases of Turin, Bra, Cuneo, Saluzzo, Canelli, Alessandria, Casale Monferrato and Ovada, where there are two or three significant flows when compared to the idealtypes. There are not other significant flows upper to the third level, meaning that in this context there are preferred destinations, due to proximity and polycentric displacement of services and activities. The most attractive city is Turin, followed by Novara and Cuneo.

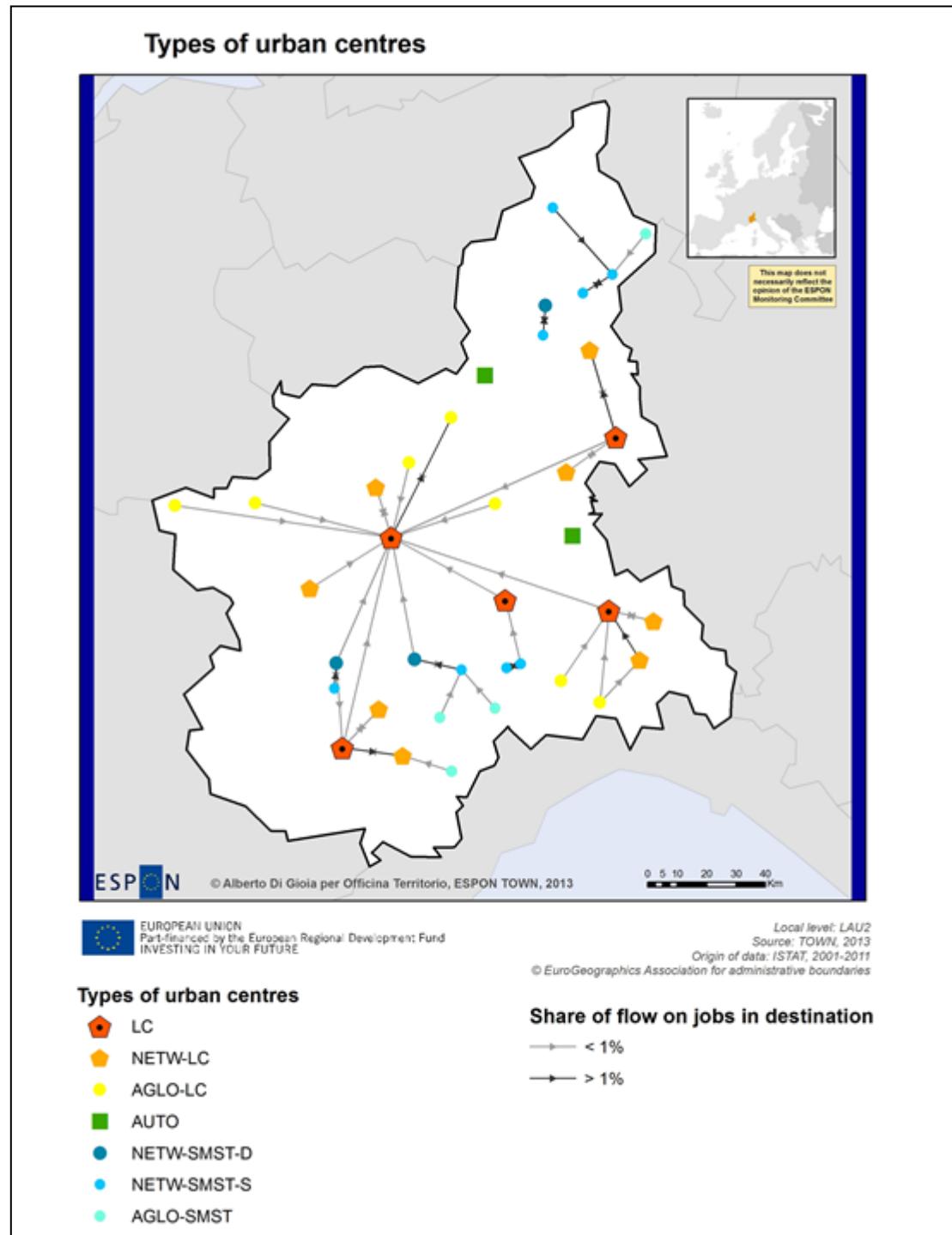
Significant Flows between MRCs



Maps 2.3. Significant flows between MRCs

Applying the next steps of the filtering procedure (which consider only flows that are significant in terms of the working population of the centre originating the flows and in terms of the working population at the place of destination), we have respected the proposed thresholds (respectively 5% and 1% considering share flows in origin and share flows in destination for jobs). Performance of these thresholds, however, is best in medium-small towns rather than in the metropolitan area of Turin, where local jobs (and population) are proportionate 1-100 with other regional centres and town. So, despite many flows focused on Turin, none of them has a great relative importance for local jobs of metropolitan area if considered disaggregated. Different situations emerge for other centres (such as Cuneo, Alessandria, Novara-Vercelli and Verbania), where all incoming flows are most significant.

With the used values, we get the result shown in the Maps 2.4 in line with the territorial structure of the case study and comparable to the other pilot areas.



Maps 2.4. Types of urban centres

Analyzing the types of urban centres according to territorial arrangements in the Piedmont Region, we obtain:

- 5 Local Centres, derived from the presence of five centres with more than 50,000 inhabitants (Turin, Cuneo, Asti, Alessandria, Novara). All of them have good performances in sharing flows, with exception of Asti and Alessandria: it occurs ad they share the most

- significant flows with the metropolitan area of Turin, with the problem described before. Generally we can consider all of them as well integrated in regional territorial structure.
- 8 Networked to Local Centres (Mondovì, Ciriè, Fossano, Tortona, Pinerolo, Vercelli, Borgomanero, Novi Ligure), derived from the interconnection with Local Centres. Above all Mondovì, Novi Ligure and Tortona are the most interconnected in the relative local systems, while Pinerolo, Fossano, Borgomanero, Vercelli gravitating especially on the LC.
 - 7 Agglomerated to Local Centres (Bardonecchia, Ivrea, Rivarolo Canavese, Susa, Crescentino, Acqui Terme, Ovada), represented by local-peripheral areas or mountainous towns, strictly dependent from Local Centres;
 - 4 Agglomerated to SMST (Ceva, Cortemilia, Dogliani, Cannobio), small towns with high dependency from external SMST represented by flows;
 - 2 Autonomous centres, represented by Biella and Casale Monferrato;
 - 3 networked SMST-D (Saluzzo, Varallo, Bra), interconnected with other SMSTs and with higher significant values on incoming flows;
 - 8 networked SMST-S (Santo Stefano Belbo, Verzuolo, Canelli, Borgosesia, Alba, Domodossola, Omegna, Verbania), interconnected with other SMSTs with significant outgoing flows also for destination centre.

Relating these centres with data of the previous paragraphs, almost all MC are increasing population since 2001, with exception of Cortemilia, Borgosesia and Biella (negative trend with -3% -4%, Biella is quite stable with -0,03%). Population distribution has range 2,454 (Cortemilia) – 907,563 (Turin), with an average of 49,751 with Turin and 25,923 without Turin (2010). Considering classification, generally the largest average population size has SMSTs networked with large cities, and SMSTs networked with other SMSTs as the destination centres. For other cases we have some contextual differentiation related to accessibility parameters (far towns remain interlinked with Turin, as already stated) (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3 - Microregional Centres data and types of urban centres

MC	Employed (2001)	Active pop. (2001)	Unempl. (2001)	Population			Jobs	Class
				2001	2010	growth.% 01-10		
Bardonecchia	1369	2116	108	3038	3273	7,73	2037	AGLO-LC
Ciriè	7734	12526	605	18188	18973	4,31	11844	NETW-LC
Ivrea	9362	15300	556	23536	24196	2,80	21607	AGLO-LC
Pinerolo	13243	21906	1001	33494	36158	7,95	21056	NETW-LC
Rivarolo Can.	4872	8136	399	11976	12370	3,28	7797	AGLO-LC
Susa	2534	4294	195	6577	6727	2,28	4418	AGLO-LC
	34971	57696		86526	90756			
Torino	9	4	32252	3	3	4,8	610920	LC
Borgosesia	5993	9071	260	13926	13336	-4,23	10388	NETW-SMST-S
Crescentino	3180	5145	258	7609	8086	6,26	5726	AGLO-LC
Varallo	3174	4862	176	7397	7593	2,64	4719	NETW-SMST-D
Vercelli	18449	29412	1398	45132	46979	4,09	29878	NETW-LC
Borgomanero	8533	12973	449	19315	21518	11,40	13445	NETW-LC
				10502				
Novara	42238	67589	3334	100910	4	4,07	68876	LC
Alba	13385	19780	492	29910	31341	4,78	25740	NETW-SMST-S
Bra	12017	18741	682	27988	29871	6,72	17696	NETW-SMST-D
Ceva	2194	3705	153	5729	5862	2,32	3821	AGLO-SMST
Cortemilia	1000	1528	57	2544	2454	-3,53	1497	AGLO-SMST
Cuneo	21569	34209	1031	52334	55714	6,45	42163	LC
Dogliani	1981	2839	63	4554	4868	6,89	2683	AGLO-SMST
Fossano	10646	16109	448	23865	24854	4,14	16253	NETW-LC
Mondovì	8840	14019	436	21880	22605	3,31	15670	NETW-LC
Saluzzo	6484	10058	266	15647	17067	9,07	11163	NETW-SMST-D

St. Stef. Belbo	1885	2588	98	4037	4109	1,78	2252	NETW-SMST-S
Verzuolo	2590	4081	117	6196	6507	5,01	3883	NETW-SMST-S
Asti	29132	47256	2364	71276	76534	7,37	46168	LC
Canelli	4262	6609	235	10230	10722	4,80	6774	NETW-SMST-S
Acqui Terme	7082	12213	552	19184	20552	7,13	12157	AGLO-LC
Alessandria	34385	56700	2388	85438	94974	11,16	59209	LC
Casale Monf.	14299	22974	995	35244	36069	2,34	23005	AUTO
Novi Ligure	10220	17525	731	27223	28744	5,58	17298	NETW-LC
Ovada	4321	7538	326	11677	11965	2,46	7647	AGLO-LC
Tortona	10169	16646	675	25227	27706	9,82	18358	NETW-LC
Biella	19055	29473	1148	45740	45589	-0,33	34906	AUTO
Cannobio	2098	3365	138	4977	5181	4,09	3333	AGLO-SMST
Domodossola	7318	12492	597	18466	18475	0,04	12907	NETW-SMST-S
Omegna	6876	10340	394	15373	15991	4,02	10560	NETW-SMST-S
Verbania	12062	19694	985	30128	31243	3,70	21249	NETW-SMST-S

3. SMSTs ANALYSIS

3.1 ALBA

According to Functional Analysis, Alba is a networked SMST-S. The SMST of Alba, including the Municipality of Alba and Diano D'Alba, is located in a big flat basin on the right bank of the river Tanaro in the Province of Cuneo (in the South of Piedmont Region). To all intents and purposes, the two municipalities are a single urban agglomeration.

3.1.1 Socio-economic characteristics

The Microregion of Alba SMST consists of 46 Municipalities; this area has a surface of 610 km², 108.116 inhabitants and an average population density of 177 inh/km² (see. Table 3.1).

Table 3.1. The Microregion of Alba in 2011. (Source: Own elaboration based on www.demo.istat.it).

Province of	Municipalities	Surface	Population	Population density
Asti	Castagnole delle Lanze	21,37	3.786	177,2
Asti	Cisterna d'Asti	10,65	1.291	121,2
Asti	Coazzolo	4,12	317	76,9
Asti	Ferrere	13,93	1.598	114,7
Asti	San Damiano d'Asti	48,02	8.385	174,6
Asti	San Martino Alfieri	7,36	713	96,9
Cuneo	Alba	54,01	30.780	569,9
Cuneo	Albaretto della Torre	4,34	261	60,1
Cuneo	Arguello	5,04	202	40,1
Cuneo	Baldissero d'Alba	15,02	1.084	72,2
Cuneo	Barbaresco	7,57	675	89,2
Cuneo	Barolo	5,59	706	126,3
Cuneo	Benevello	5,44	464	85,3
Cuneo	Canale	18	5.625	312,5
Cuneo	Castagnito	7,09	2.118	298,7
Cuneo	Castellinaldo	7,89	890	112,8
Cuneo	Castiglione Falletto	4,72	698	147,9
Cuneo	Cerretto Langhe	10,12	453	44,8
Cuneo	Corneliano d'Alba	10,27	2.028	197,5
Cuneo	Diano d'Alba	17,75	3.455	194,6
Cuneo	Govone	18,8	2.147	114,2
Cuneo	Grinzane Cavour	3,68	1.944	528,3
Cuneo	Guarene	13,38	3.439	257
Cuneo	La Morra	24,34	2.706	111,2
Cuneo	Lequio Berria	11,88	491	41,3
Cuneo	Magliano Alfieri	9,53	2.031	213,1
Cuneo	Mango	19,94	1.336	67
Cuneo	Montà	26,7	4.694	175,8
Cuneo	Montaldo Roero	11,96	874	73,1
Cuneo	Montelupo Albese	6,39	528	82,6
Cuneo	Monteu Roero	24,45	1.662	68
Cuneo	Monticello d'Alba	10,13	2.216	218,8
Cuneo	Neive	21,2	3.336	157,4
Cuneo	Neviglie	8,05	426	52,9
Cuneo	Piobesi d'Alba	3,95	1.255	317,7
Cuneo	Priocca	9,05	2.006	221,7

Cuneo	Roddi	9,43	1.543	163,6
Cuneo	Rodello	8,84	1.006	113,8
Cuneo	Santo Stefano Roero	13,37	1.400	104,7
Cuneo	Serralunga d'Alba	8,44	523	62
Cuneo	Serravalle Langhe	9,09	324	35,6
Cuneo	Sinio	8,46	511	60,4
Cuneo	Sommariva Perno	17,39	2.817	162
Cuneo	Treiso	9,53	820	86
Cuneo	Trezzo Tinella	10,43	342	32,8
Cuneo	Vezza d'Alba	14,11	2.210	156,6
Total of Microregion		610,82	108116	177

The town of Alba is traditionally the gravitational centre of a much bigger area normally known as "Langhe e Roero". Despite their differences the territory can be defined as homogeneous since they have several features in common, especially their landscape. Nevertheless, since it is difficult to establish its boundaries, the area is defined as a 'variable geometry' region, and its municipal composition changes according to the issue in question. For example, the five Local Labour Systems (Alba, Bra, Cortemila, Dogliani, and Santo Stefano Belbo, see Figure 3.1), or the territory covered by the Local Health Authority (Asl Cuneo 2), or the Employment Centre, or the Alba Bra Langhe Roero Tourist Board.

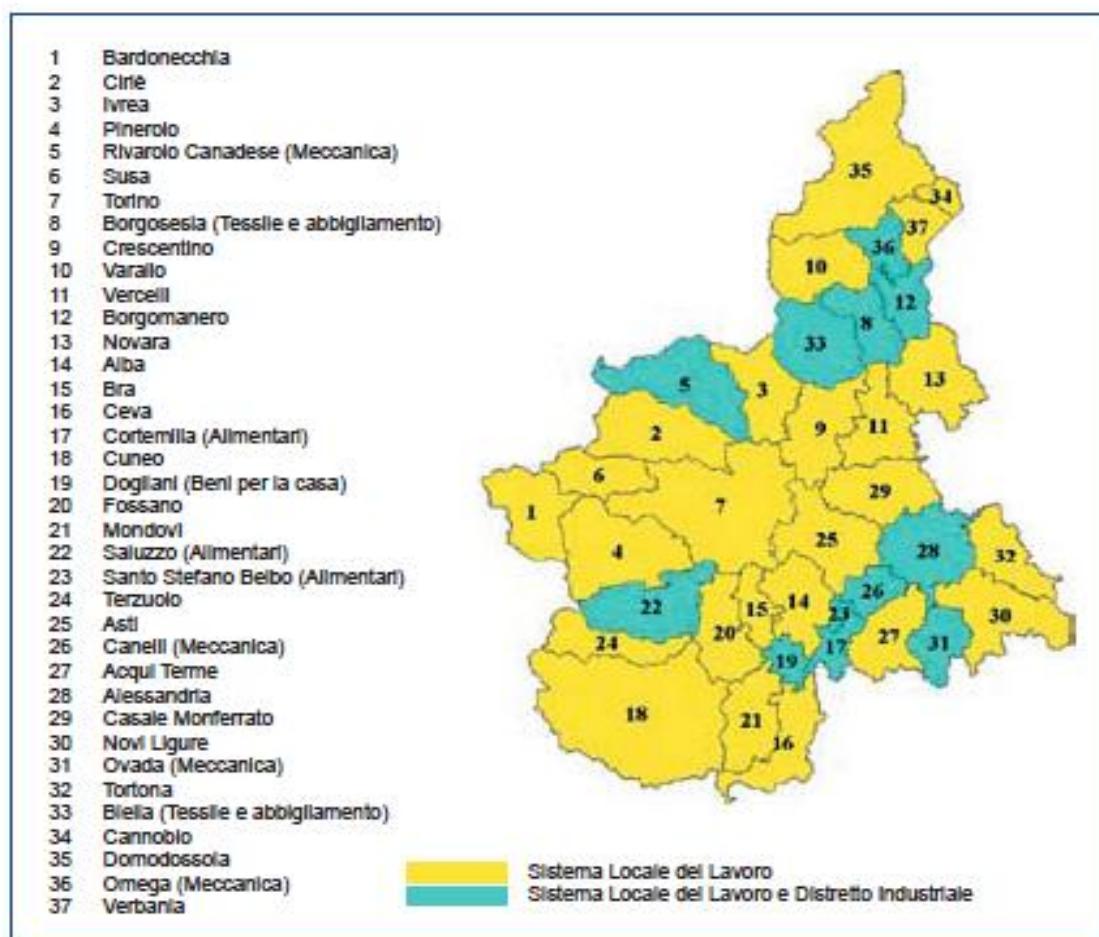


Figure 3.1. Local Labour Systems in Piedmont. (Source: Unioncamere, 2001).

Further divisions were identified during recent territorial geography studies and inserted in the two main strategic planning and programming tools of the Regione Piemonte: the Regional Territorial Plan - RTP and the Regional Landscape Plan - RLP.⁶ The former divides the entire Region into Areas of Territorial Integration – AIT (see. Figure 3.2); nearly all the Langhe and Roero regions⁷ are part of the Alba TIS; instead the division proposed by the RLP envisages a further subdivision into three separate landscape areas: Alta Langa, Bassa Langa (where Alba is located) and Roero areas (see Figure 3.3).

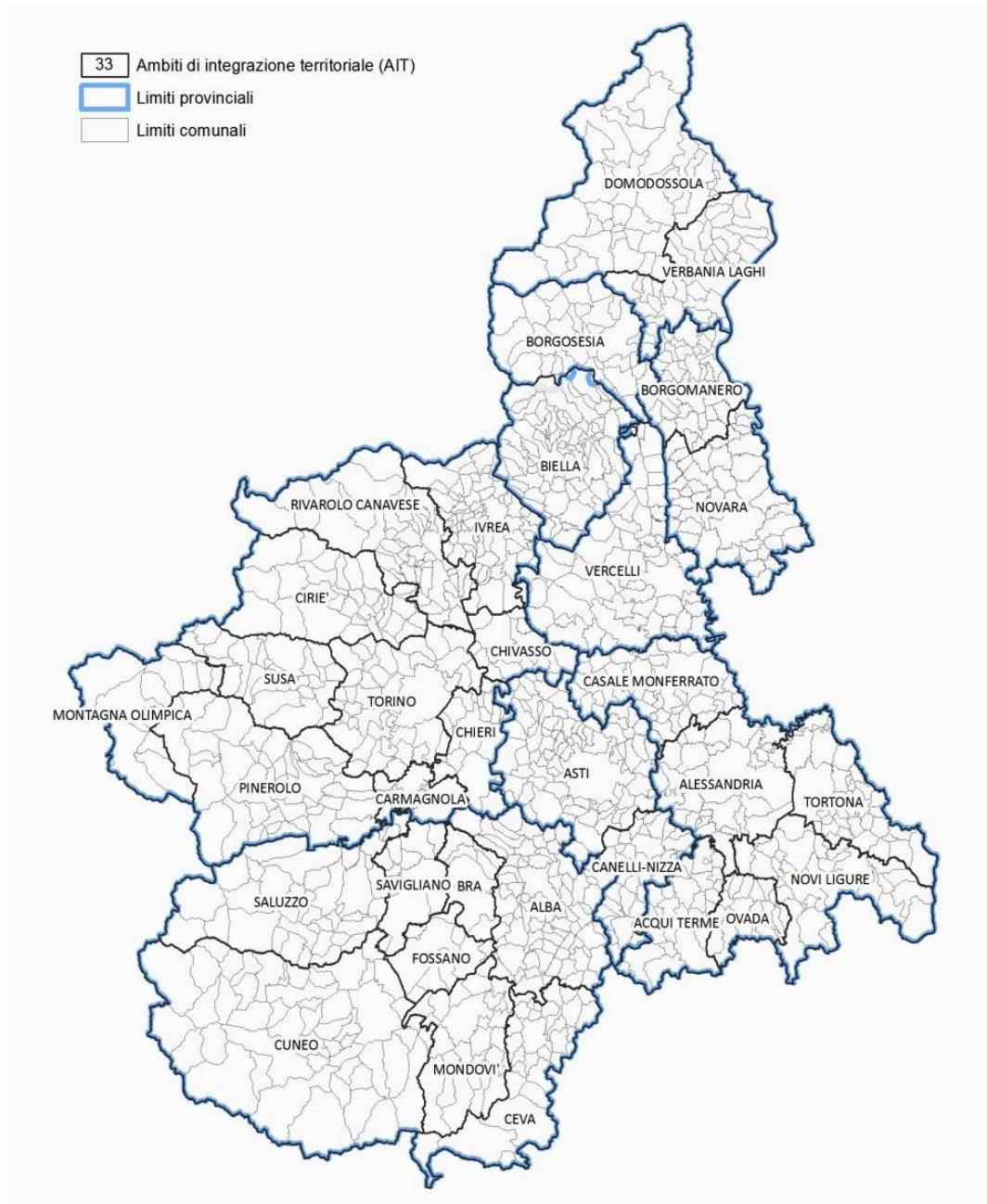


Figure 3.2. Areas of Territorial Integration (AIT). (Source: Regione Piemonte, 2011).

⁶ The Regional Territorial Plan (RTP) was approved by DCR 122-29783 dated 21.7.2011. The Regional Landscape Plan (RLP) was approved by the Regional Council by DGR 53-11975 dated 4.8.2009.

⁷ The rest of the Roero area (the municipalities of Pocapaglia, Sommariva del Bosco and Sommariva Perno) are part of the Bra AIT, while some municipalities of the Alta Langa (Camerana, Igliano, Marsaglia, Mombarcaro, Monesiglio, Paroldo, and Saliceto) are part of the Ceva AIT; Doglani is part of the Mondovì AIT.

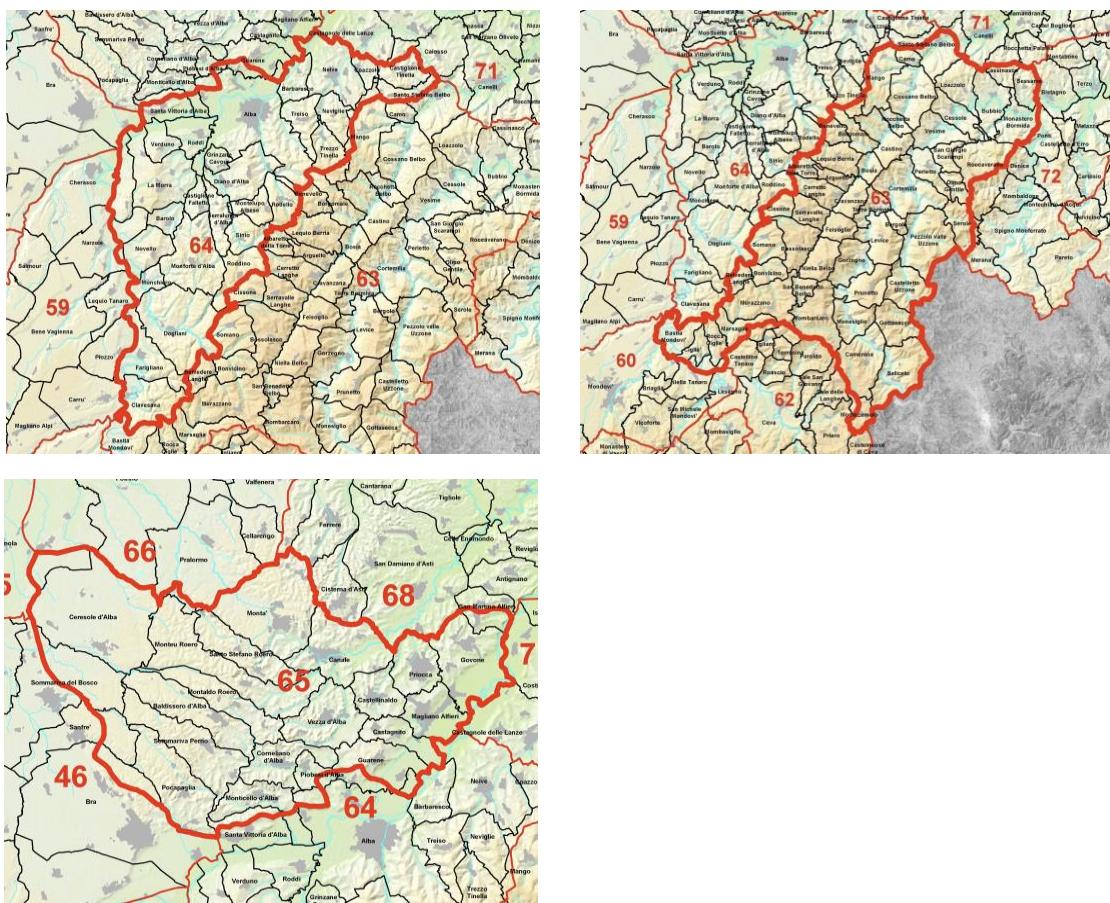


Figure 3.3. Landscape Areas: Alte Langhe, Basse Langhe e Roero. (Source: Regione Piemonte, 2009).

Interestingly enough, the studies carried out for the RTP regarding Alba's gravitational attraction in relation to the surrounding territory show that the town has increased its influence over nearby urban centres by offering not only more 'difficult-to-find' services, but also much better quality urban facilities compared to the level normally offered by a town of this size. The fact Alba is so central compared to a much larger area has been noticeable since the sixties. In fact, until the nineties the town was the twentieth biggest town in Piedmont (Ires, 1996). This is important because it proves that this SMST resisted the polarisation processes and, above all, the sub-polarisation process generated by the regional capital during that period. Alba continues to be fairly stable as regards size and is now listed eighteenth in the region.

3.1.1.1 Demography

In fact, with its 477 inhabitants/km² (on 31 December 2011), Alba has the highest population density in the Province (which has a very low density: 84 inhabitants/km²). The analysis of the demographic structure show, at 2011, 34.235 inhabitants, or 31.7% of the population of the microregion and 5.8% of the provincial population (see Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Population, Annual natural change and Annual migration in 2011, Alba (Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

Area	Population	Annual natural change	Annual migration
Alba	30.780	-38	+4
Diano d'Alba	3.455	-5	+9
Alba SMST	34.235	-5	+13
Province of Cuneo	568.113	-399	+4.434
Piedmont Region	4.357.663	-13.440	-3.443

The demographic performance analysis shows, between 1991 and 2011, an increase of more than 30% of the resident population in the SMSTS, which especially helps the growth of Diano d'Alba (+26.4%).

Table 3.3. Population and change in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Alba (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011	Change 91-01	Change 01-11	Change 91-11
Alba	29.382	29910	30.780	1,8	2,8	4,8
Diano d'Alba	2.734	2980	3.455	9,0	13,7	26,4
Alba SMST	32.116	32890	34.235	10,8	16,6	31,1
Province of Cuneo	547.234	556330	568.113	1,7	5,1	7,1
Piedmont Region	4.302.565	4.214.677	4.357.663	-2,0	3,3	1,3

In the same period the Annual natural change shows negative trends with strong decrease and positive trend concerning Annual migration.

Table 3.4. Annual natural change in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Alba. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011
Alba	-15	-28	-38
Diano d'Alba	-10	-7	-5
Alba SMST	-25	-35	-43
Province of Cuneo	-1945	-1217	-399
Piedmont Region	-15.068	-10.000	-13.440

Table 3.5. Annual migration in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Alba. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011
Alba	-213	+144	+4
Diano d'Alba	+53	+7	+9
Alba SMST	-160	+151	+13
Province of Cuneo	+2.643	+2.416	+4.434
Piedmont Region	+4.302	+5.256	-3.443

The analysis of population structure by age and sex shows a strong thickening of the older segments of the population (especially women) as compared to values significantly lower in very young bands and young people (see Figure 3.4).

Finally, the Figure 3.5 shows a gradual aging of the population, with a variation of 54% of older people, to a decline of 14% of the younger age groups and a relatively stable (+1.3%) of those in the center, potentially more active .

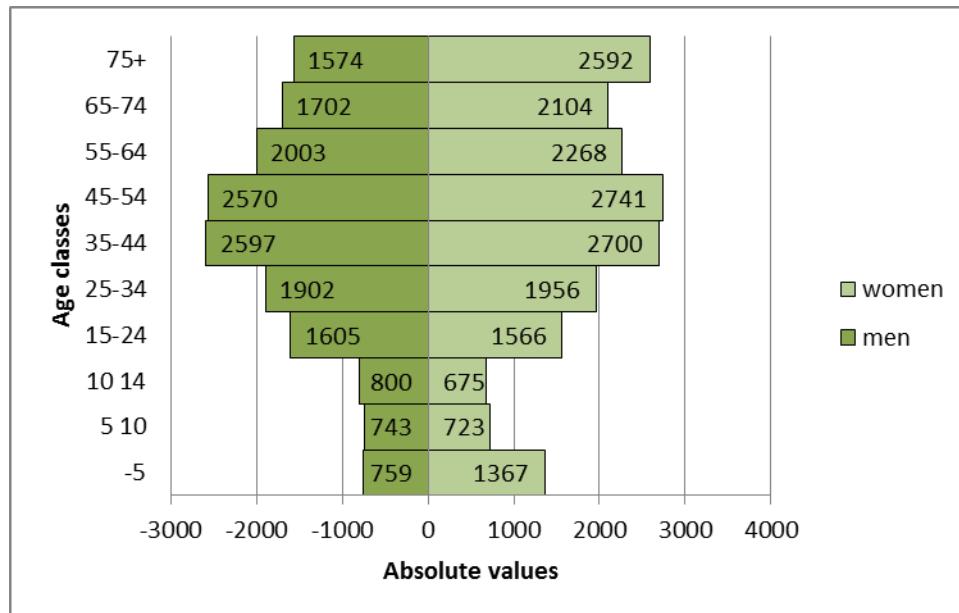


Figure 3.4. Age structure of resident population by sex in 2011, Alba (Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

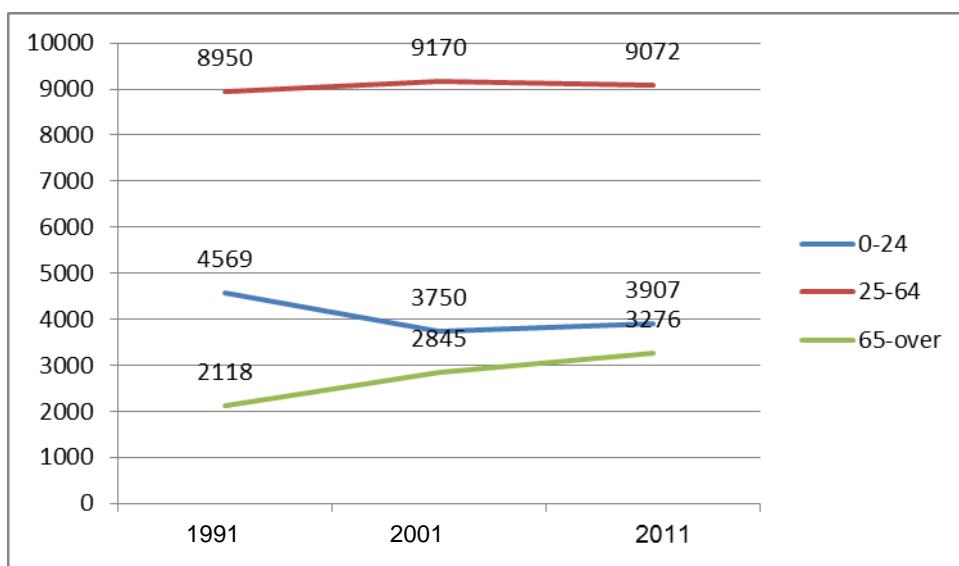


Figure 3.5. People by age in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Alba. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Data about education is available up to 2001; it shows a significant increase in university graduates (almost 98%), much higher than the province and other larger supralocal subdivisions.

Table 3.6. Graduates and illiterates in 1991 and 2001, Alba. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001)

Area	University graduates				Leaver graduates			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Alba	1.079	3,9	2.086	7,4	5.603	20,0	2.086	26,0
Diano d'Alba	34	1,3	120	4,3	443	17,0	120	24,9
Alba SMST	1.113	3,6	2.206	7,1	6.046	19,8	8.071	25,9
Province of Cuneo	12.644	2,4	28.064	5,3	80.170	15,4	118.835	22,6

In 2001, inspired by the area's agricultural production, the Faculty of Agriculture in Alba initiated a three-year graduate course in Viticulture and Wine and Cellar Management, and a specialist course in Viticulture and Oenological Sciences. The biggest group of students attending the three-year course come from Langhe municipalities administrated by Alba (almost 9%); however attendance is very fragmented and most students come from towns in the Langhe plain and hills close to the border with the province of Asti. A graduate course in Nursing Sciences has also been implemented. These courses are part of the decentralisation process – implemented in the late nineties – to free up the main university venues in Turin, and also to reinforce the local development dynamics of intermediate centres through investments in higher education.

A diachronic analysis of second level secondary education has shown a bigger variation in Alba compared to the province and other geographical units. In particular, Alba has ten second level secondary institutes,⁸ and a total of fourteen venues and 3.866 students for the Academic Year 2011-2012. A diachronic analysis of the figures available for each type of school (high schools and secondary schools, technical and professional institutes) showed that more students enrolled in high school than in the other schools; this indicates that students wished to continue their education at university. However, the fact young people decide not to attend professional schools – which train people for a career in tourism and agriculture – might become a problem in the near future because these sectors might be unable to find properly trained personnel.

As regards the labour market, between 1991 and 2001 the active population remained more or less steady, and so did the percentage of employed persons (referred to the active population) which rose from 94% to 96.4%.

Table 3.7. Economically active and not active population in 1991 and 2001, Alba. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001).

Area	Active population				Not active population			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Alba	13.922	47,3	13.877	53,1	15.460	52,7	12.212	46,9
Diano d'Alba	1.373	50,2	1.550	60,8	1.361	49,8	998	39,2
Alba SMST	15.295	47,6	15.427	53,8	16.821	52,4	13.210	46,2
Province of Cuneo	241.499	44	247.635	51	305.735	49	234.393	49
Piedmont Region	1.849.470	49,8	1.871.549	50,4	1.865.464	50,2	1.834.510	49,6

Table 3.8. Employed and Unemployed in 1991 and 2001, Alba. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001).

Area	Employed population				Unemployed population			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Alba	13.085	94	13.385	96,4	837	6	492	3,6
Diano d'Alba	1.311	95,4	1.500	96,7	62	4,6	50	3,3
Alba SMST	14.396	94,1	14.885	96,4	899	5,9	542	3,6
Province of Cuneo	225.838	94	238.109	96	15.661	6	9.526	4
Piedmont Region	1.718.645	93	1.753.586	93,7	130.824	7	117.963	6,3

The figures for each economic sector showed that manufacturing activities accounted for approximately one third of the total (more than 30% in 1991 and 2001), followed by the retail sector (roughly 15% in both years), while tourism showed a small increase (2.5% in 1991 and

⁸ A high school specialising in sciences, another specialising in the arts, another in humanities and another in languages, three technical institutes, two professional institutes and a private high school specialising in humanities.

3.4% in 2001). Since the figures for 2011 are not available, it is impossible to verify whether or not there was a further increase in the tourism sector between 2001 and 2011, or whether the recent economic crisis in the West, and in particular Italy, has taken its toll.

Nevertheless, the 2011 figures regarding Local Labour Systems show that the Alba district (where the SMST of Alba is the biggest town) has the highest regional employment rate (one of the highest in Italy) and a low unemployment rate, although the latter is slightly worse than it was in 2004.

3.1.1.2 Territory and accessibility

Quality landscape is one of Alba's characteristic features, together with the agri-food industry in general and the wine sector in particular. The enormous influx of tourists (especially from abroad) testifies to their international fame; this is also corroborated by the recent candidature of the area to be included in the Unesco World Heritage list. The candidature, entitled "The Wine-producing landscape of Piedmont: Langhe-Roero and Monferrato", covers part of the Bassa Langa, Alta Langa and Roero, and stretches to the provinces of Asti and Alessandria. The candidature was presented due to the importance of these territories, not only for their undisputed social and economic role in contemporary wine making, but also and above all due to their landscape which over the centuries have developed based on their wine culture, economics, and heritage of knowledge and skills. The Unesco candidature is also intended to help the region work towards greater protection and sustainable development of the territory which, against all odds, has an overall environmental quality which is not as good as its landscape. For example indicators regarding water and the air are medium to low, the production of waste is very high (even if separate waste collection is graining ground), and renewable energy sources (e.g., photovoltaic panels) are still not widespread. Furthermore, the territory is marked by hydrogeological instability (floods, landslides and instability), which is further compromised by an increase in land use (Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Cuneo, 2013).

Indeed, the orography of the flood plain especially in the Alba region and, more in general, the Bassa Langa, is characterised by an urban sprawl that developed in the eighties: small tree-shaped lots and factories/production sites located chiefly along the main roads (see Figure 3.6 and 3.7).

For a long time accessibility was one of the main weaknesses of the town and territory due to its very marginal position in relation to the main road and rail networks. In fact, the new Asti-Cuneo motorway⁹ is very recent, and although the Alba to Cherasco stretch is still not completed, the motorway connects these regions to the main motorways in northwest Italy. Before it was built, traffic travelled chiefly on state highways (including the Alba highway) which were always congested with cars and heavy vehicles (Provincia di Cuneo, 2003). In particular, car congestion along the roads to Alba depends mostly on the systematic mobility flows created within the town's basin.

⁹ The Asti-Cuneo motorway is part of the Strategic Infrastructure Programme of the Ministry of Transport. This 90 km section of road is divided into 15 lots linked by a short stretch of the A6 Turin-Savona motorway. To date (May 2013) the Asti to Bra-Marene and the Fossano to Cuneo stretch have been completed; The Ministry has now approved (executive order n.6916 of 6 August 2012) the lot between Alba and Cherasco; work is to start shortly.



Figure 3.6. Settlement types, with construction on the ridges and on the main Alba-Asti. (Source: Pictures by Andrea Delpiano).



Figure 3.7. Settlement types, with construction on the ridges of the hills and the valley of the Tanaro. (Source: Pictures by Andrea Delpiano).

In fact, tourists who visit the area still prefer to come by road, since there have no other alternatives. A recent survey found that a whopping 65% of tourists used the car to reach Langhe and Roero; only 18% used a plane, a marginal 7% came by coach, and 5% took the train (Omero, Sviluppo Piemonte Turismo, 2010). In fact, the town and territory are difficult to access because there is no railway: large parts of Langhe and Roero are served by just one railway line between Alba and Bra. There is no direct railway link to the regional capital (Turin) which can be reached only by changing trains in other towns such as Bra or Cavallermaggiore. This means that Alba seems “remote” and isolated not only from Turin, but above all from Milan: compared to other cities located as far away as Alba from Milan and Turin, not only is travel time much longer (and even longer for Milan), but trains also run infrequently.

Up to now this situation has not compromised the economic growth of the area, but in the future it could severely limit its competitiveness (Ires, 2008). For two main reasons: the first is that territories, both near and further away, are working to promote more food and wine tourism (Monferrato, Franciacorta in Lombardy, and Trentino): greater accessibility could be an important added value for other regions competing against Alba. The second is that from the nineties onwards Alba’s economic profile has become increasingly residential, and therefore accessibility is, and will be, crucial.

3.1.1.3 *Economic system*

A qualitative and quantitative survey of Alba’s economic profile showed that in the last twenty years the territory has changed its production model and maintained diversification (but less than in the past); it has strengthened mostly its agri-food and wine sector and used it to develop a robust, high-quality tourist system. One of the region’s major characteristics has always been (and still is, despite moderate downsizing) diversification of production, influenced by a very unique growth matrix. In fact, Alba has maintained its traditional agricultural vocation and added large-scale manufacturing which is competitive on the international market and active in several different sectors. This differentiation has boosted territorial development, not only because has it helped the system to grow, but it has also “protected” it and steadied it during recessions. From the sixties to the mid-nineties, when the rest of the province was still socially and economically backward, the entrepreneurial models implemented by three leading enterprises in locally successful sectors (the agri-food with Ferrero Spa, clothing-textile with Miroglio Spa, and rubber-plastic industry with Mondo Spa¹⁰) have helped to create a solid and competitive industrial and productive fabric as well as generate well-being and widespread wealth: the latter continue to this day.

In fact, these three enterprises, which provided employment to the majority of local workers, in the early eighties began to reinvest their surplus income primarily in the wine-growing sector. This was the start of a process which turned Alba into a specialised centre for top quality wines (Barolo and Barbaresco); together with a landscape which is just as superb, this led to the creation of a brand for the entire territory. It not only ensured economic competitiveness but also became a foolproof tourist attraction. From the late nineties onwards, this top quality food and wine hospitality system went from strength to strength together with an agri-food sector which also developed very rapidly. Both sectors owe their success to their local roots and the way in which they exploit the territory’s natural resources, agricultural products, and production processes (wine and hazelnuts used in the confectionary industry, Ires, 1991).

The entire agri-food sector is what drives both the residential economy and production. Proof comes from the figures regarding tourism and export. The first three products in the list of exports of the Alba Local Labour System (LLS) are: foodstuffs (33%), beverages (11%) and oven products (7.7%). Furthermore, the agri-food production system in the Alba district is fourth (after

¹⁰ Even if less important in terms of number of employees, another sector is metal carpentry (Ires, 1988; Ires 1996).

Turin, Alessandria and Novara) as regards total exports, and has the highest export quota (70%) compared to total production. Apart from the agri-food sector, the area also has a rather diversified industrial and productive fabric: the first three large enterprises in Alba (as regards size and turnover) are active not only in the agri-food sector, but also in the textile-clothing sector and the energy¹¹ and water sector; instead the fourth is active in the retail sector. The rubber industry (which was very successful up until the nineties) is currently going through a crisis¹² (Ires, 1996; Regione Piemonte, 2010). Alba also has many small and medium-sized companies active in successful sectors such as the *Made in Italy* sector: agri-foodstuffs, fashion/clothing, interior design and mechanical automation (Banca d'Alba, 2007).

As regards innovative enterprises, the fifteen enterprises located in the Langhe and Roero – out of the fifty in the province of Cuneo censored in 2011 by Unioncamere Piemonte – are mainly small enterprises active primarily in the agri-food sector; they are followed by mechanical enterprises, construction material companies, and ICT enterprises. The two large innovative enterprises located in Alba (Eataly and Vitale Robaldo), are active respectively in the agri-food sector and in the cleaning business.

As regards the entrepreneurial system, in 2011 six percent of all the enterprises in the Cuneo region were located in Alba. This is the highest percentage after the municipal capital (8,21%), followed by Bra (4.25%), Fossano (3.78%) and Savigliano (3.19%).

Instead as regards entrepreneurship, i.e., the ratio between enterprises and the population, Alba no longer tops the bills and lags behind other regions (for example, Alta Langa) due to the many small or micro agricultural holdings. However, with its seventeen local units per 100 inhabitants Alba ranks higher than the provincial and regional average.

Compared to recent decades, the diachronic analysis shows a competitive economic system; although it has slowed slightly – especially as regards new start-ups – figures are on the rise - proof of its solidity even during the current economic downturn.

Most businesses are small and micro-enterprises: only three of the approximately 300 enterprises censored had more than 1,000 workers; sixty-six are medium-sized enterprises and 215 are small enterprises. Overall the area is characterised by medium and large enterprises; although the figures for micro-enterprises are significant, they are nonetheless lower than the figures for many local labour systems in the northeast or in central Italy.

The number of workers and the number of enterprises for each economic sector (2001, 2011) were considered in order to establish the main economic profiles of these enterprises and how they changed over a period of time.

As regards enterprises, both censuses showed the residential economy to be the largest.

Between 2001 and 2011, productive enterprises dropped from 15% to 12.8%, and so did residential enterprises (67.4% to 65.4%), while there was an increase in knowledge-based enterprises (from 17.5% to 21.8%). Also with regard to the employees the prevailing profile is residential. However, in this case, the difference between the two profiles is less marked.

¹¹ Two more companies in the energy sector are among the first 20 companies with the highest turnover in this area.

¹² In April 2013, the Mondo Spa company deposited a composition without prejudice with the Courts in Alba under the bankruptcy law. This allows the company to restructure in order to pay its current debts and yet continue production.

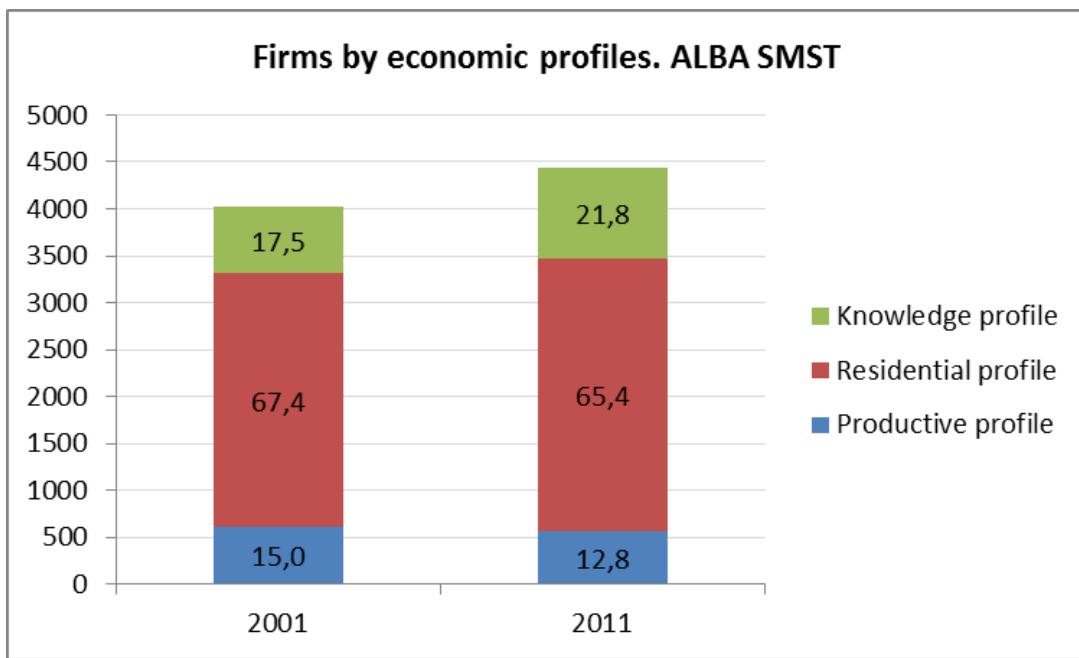


Figure 3.8. Number of firms by economic profile, Alba. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 2001 and 2011).

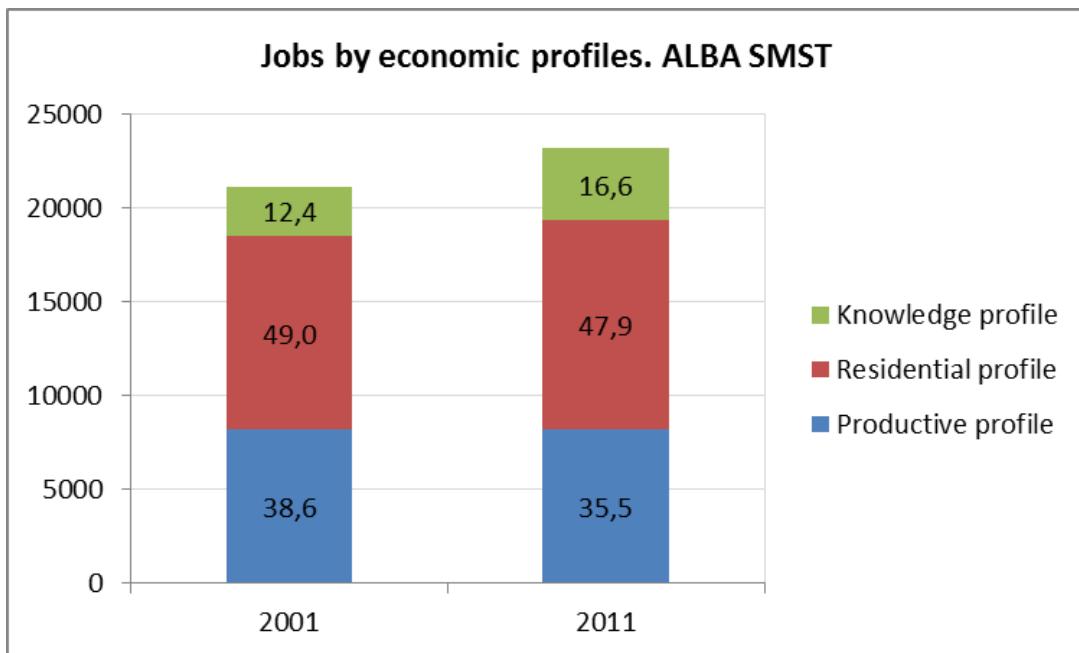


Figure 3.9. Number of jobs by economic profile, Alba. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 2001 and 2011).

The fact that these two profiles differ depending on the indicator is not surprising: in fact, the industrial sector in Alba used to have very few large industries (three in particular) which by themselves provided jobs for almost the entire region. In particular, in 2011, 55.5% of the productive economy are manufacturing industries and they occupy almost all of the employees (91%).

Table 3.9. Number of firms and jobs by productive profile, Alba. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 2001 and 2011).

Productive profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
A - Agriculture, forestry and fishing	11,9	4,7	1,5	0,4
B - Mining and quarrying	0,7	0,2	0,3	0,0
C - Manufacturing	58,1	55,5	91,7	91,2
D - Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	0,5	3,7	1,3	1,4
E - Water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	1,5	2,8	1,0	1,6
H - Transport and storage (freight)	12,9	11,2	3,2	4,3
S - Other services activities (business)	14,4	21,8	1,1	1,1
TOTAL	604	569	8169	8216

As regards the manufacturing industry, the lion's share is taken by the food and beverage industry (26% in 2001 and almost 29% in 2011), followed by mechanical and textile industry.

As regards the residential economy, the lion's share is taken by the wholesale and retail trade (38% in 2001 and 35% in 2001), followed by construction (16.5 % both in 2001 and 2011).

Table 3.10. Number of firms and jobs by residential profile, Alba. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 2001 and 2011).

Residential profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
F - Construction	16,5	16,5	12,9	12,4
G - Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	38,7	35,2	29,9	31,8
H - Transport (passenger) and postal activities	1,1	1,0	2,1	2,5
I - Accommodation and food service activities	6,1	7,9	5,7	7,6
K - Financial and insurance activities	5,4	5,6	6,1	6,6
L - Real estate activities	9,3	11,5	4,0	4,1
N - Administrative and support service activities	5,0	5,8	11,5	9,1
O - Public administration and defence, compulsory social security	0,7	0,6	6,9	3,3
Q - Human health and social work activities	7,0	9,2	16,1	18,8
S - Other services activities (repair and personal service)	10,2	6,7	4,8	3,8
T - Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods – and services – producing activities of households for own use	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
U – Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
TOTAL	2708	2897	10356	11097

As regards the knowledge economy, the lion's share is obviously taken by the professional, scientific and technical activities (68.8% in 2001 and 65.3% in 2001), followed by the activities connected to arts, entertainment and recreation in a strong growth (12.8% in 2001 and 18% in 2011).

Table 3.11. Number of firms and jobs by knowledge profile, Alba. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 2001 and 2011).

Knowledge profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
J – Information and communication	10,1	8,3	14,8	11,7

M – Professional, scientific and technical activities	68,8	65,3	42,2	50,7
P - Education	8,4	8,5	39,0	34,3
R – Arts, entertainment and recreation	12,8	18,0	4,0	3,2
TOTAL KNOWLEDGE	704	967	2616	3853

3.1.2 Socio-economic and demographic performance of SMST's based on local respondent

While the stakeholders tend to confirm several considerations about the characteristic features of the city that emerge from the qualitative and quantitative analysis, they disagree with others.

3.1.2.1 Strengths and weakness

For example, none of the respondents considered the *social sector* as problematic: in fact, the diffuse wealth in the region was perceived as being one of the main reasons for social cohesion because it guarantees a certain well-being, as well as avoiding awkward situations and pockets of deprivation. In addition, despite the rather low level of education of the respondents, only one cited this as a weakness due to the growing dependence of the area on scientific and technological know-how brought in from outside the region (Milan and Turin Polytechnics and Universities), and the risk that this might not catch on locally. Other respondents noted that the current generation change is made up mainly of young entrepreneurs with higher levels of education, even in the agri-food sector thanks to the new faculties specialising in regional issues (primarily Alba and Pollenzo).

This new generation of culturally informed young people with higher levels of education than their nineties counterparts is boosting Alba's culture and economy. Furthermore, several respondents emphasised that despite Alba's peripheral position the town has worked hard to offer a dynamic cultural context by organising national events and exhibitions. Although cultural amenities initially focused on the food and wine and wine-growing sectors (the truffle fair in Alba is the second most important in Piedmont), they have gradually been extended and diversified to include other sectors. In addition, culture is no longer the responsibility of the public sector, but is increasingly managed by the private sector, bank foundations, and other foundations (CRC Foundation, Ferrero Foundation, Miroglia Foundation and Banca d'Alba).

When asked about the environment all the respondents replied that the landscape and natural resources were one of the area's strong points. All the interviewees said that the promotion and enhancement of the environment was a golden opportunity to increase tourism, and that the protection and safeguard of the area was also linked to the Unesco candidature. The latter was considered as an opportunity to make the issue of the environment and sustainable resources a key issue for the town. For example, despite the fact that more and more tourists visit the area, there are no common traffic management policies; furthermore, population growth has led to widespread construction, but has ignored sustainability. Several respondents also identified another issue as not only a potential opportunity, but also a weakness: the Tanaro river system. The latter is considered as the perfect opportunity to develop a large-scale integrated environmental project,¹³ including the creation of a river park and a project to solve the problem of the hydrogeological instability of the area. However, the Tanaro river is not included in common policies and population sees it chiefly as a source of danger, especially after the huge floods in 1984 and 1994.

As regards the *territory* in general, all respondents considered the transport system and accessibility to be two weak points; however they added that the situation is improving slightly thanks to the construction of the Cuneo-Asti motorway. Some interviewees also said that this link (which does not impact positively on Alba's isolation from the regional capital) is making it easier to reach Lombardy and Emilia-Romagna from the city by shifting the barycentre of its potential commercial ties and opening the region to trade with the North-East.

As regards the *economy*, the respondents agreed with the results of the statistical analysis and the research reports which showed the quality of the regionally manufactured food and wine

¹³ Up to Cherasco and the confluence with the Stura, upriver, and up to the confluence of the Po, downriver.

products to be one of the town's strong points. All the respondents emphasised how this sector manufactured most of the products destined for export, and was responsible for almost all national and international tourism. However some respondents also considered this growing specialisation as a potential weakness because it might damage one of the main features to which Alba owes its competitiveness: its very varied economic and productive diversification. In fact, the other strong point of the area was considered to be the presence of large-scale industries, some of which are worldwide leaders in their field.

Apart from the multinational agri-food company, all the other enterprises are beginning to be affected by the crisis. Several respondents are afraid that an even greater focus on the food and wine sector will influence development programmes which will no longer provide economic and financial support and backing to other kinds of production. Another weakness (even if this is being tackled) is the fact that large-scale industries, especially in the agri-food sector, are incapable of working together as a team and implementing online marketing as a collective brand which, as a result, would make them more competitive in the territory.

3.1.2.2 Specific characteristics of SMST of Alba

Respondents are aware that macro/micro and global/local are adjectives which characterise the *special features of the territory compared to other SMST and big cities*. In fact, Alba is considered as a town which has large-scale industries, but also an increasing number of small and very small enterprises. Likewise the town is famous for being a centre of culture and well-being, for famous productive activities such as Barolo wine and truffles, and for its excellent hospitality system; and yet the town has an almost 'family' air about it thanks to its rural tourist facilities where visitors can learn about the quality, traditions, history, and production methods of each individual food product.

The metaphor used to explain this situation was that Alba symbolically and functionally represents the 'head' of the Langhe thanks to certain urban functions associated, for example, with a university education or the health system; so even if Alba maintains its distinctive trait as a town, its features are greatly appreciated by a certain kind of tourist. In addition, small and very small tourist facilities (in Alba a fifty-room hotel is considered big) are more flexible and can optimise costs even during an economic downturn. Furthermore, these enterprises have been very clever in choosing the niche end of the market, because this guarantees great quality control – a characteristic much appreciated by foreign tourists.

When all the respondents were informed about the three urban economy typologies, they all agreed that a traditional balance existed between productive and residential economy (thereby validating the results of the statistical analysis). However, they also added they saw a gradual shift towards a residential economy. In fact, on this issue regional growth is very clear and noticeable. The boom in the tourist sector in the last twenty years, and the partial downsizing of several leading enterprises in the textile, rubber-plastic, and metal carpentry sectors underline a major shift in growth processes. However, it's interesting to note that not all respondents thought that, in absolute terms, this change might not be advantageous for Alba.

As mentioned earlier, this was due not only to the fact that several respondents were concerned that excessive specialisation in the agri-food sector might damage other sectors and make Alba vulnerable to outside competition because other territories were gearing up to promote their own food and wine tourist sector.¹⁴ But also because tourism was not considered by all respondents as a safe and reliable; some respondents thought that the figures provided for this sector (which have in actual fact increased enormously in recent years) were not real indicators

¹⁴ Not only neighbouring regions, such as Roero and Monferrato, but also territories further away and, in some cases, much more accessible (Trentino, Franciacorta in the Tortonese district, ...).

of a solid economy. For example, one respondent was afraid that tourism figures were really not reliable, because many jobs were only part-time or seasonal. Other respondents who worked in this sector emphasised how this kind of tourism is seasonal and depends on the products; as a result it is unable to ensure a constant annual flow of resources.¹⁵ So on this point the statistical analysis and the qualitative analysis based on the answers by the interviewees painted the same picture: a territory that has changed and is still changing.

3.1.2.3 Functional role

When asked to *identify Alba's functional role* at different territorial levels, all the respondents agreed that it was the town's traditional industrial role (with the diversified production mentioned earlier) that had helped the town emerge from the widespread social and economic backwardness of the province (especially between the sixties and nineties). This economic leadership role acted as a driving force for Alba's entire micro-region (Local Labour System). Over the past twenty years tourism has gradually developed and become as important as industry; compared to the gravitational area of industry, tourism has a much bigger catchment area extending to the province and, to a certain extent, to the region. In fact, several respondents said that Alba had contributed enormously to the worldwide promotion of the entire territory around Cuneo which is now a global brand that can also be exploited at regional level.

However, since this extension of Alba's area of influence is a spontaneous bottom-up process it has not been taken into account by local authorities, nor is it managed (so far) as a homogeneous territory which, while respecting its diversity, could benefit from a common development strategy.

3.1.2.4 Policies, plans and projects

The respondents who were sufficiently knowledgeable about these issues agreed that people had very individualistic ideas about the lack of a large-scale strategic vision, especially regarding general and sectorial *programming and planning*. They mentioned several emblematic examples of the lack of a common approach and ensuing intervention strategies regarding transport, accessibility, and the Tanaro river system. Even in economic and productive sectors such as the agri-food and tourism sectors, accessing the market as a collective network would be very important. Only the Unesco candidature of the Langhe, Roero and Monferrato territory was cited by all respondents as the only example of shared planning, the first time public and private operators were all involved in the concertation process.

So generally speaking local authorities are not focusing on active large-scale policies or projects (micro-regional area, province) involving urban growth, landscape and environmental enhancement, and the promotion of tourism. Nevertheless, documentary evidence and the answers provided by respondents show that many associations and community organisations have (perhaps unconsciously) sparked a bottom-up process that has raised issues, identified topics, and launched initiatives which may bring tangible results and perhaps help overcome the individualistic approach of public authorities. For example:

- establishing 'circuits' for the interprovincial exploitation (Turin and Cuneo) of tourist facilities in the area thanks to the "Le terre dei Savoia" association;
- landscape and environmental safeguard projects thanks to the "Stop al consumo di territorio" movement which began in the Langhe and has now spread nationwide;

¹⁵ The reader should note that most of the interviewees were part of a generation of citizens who saw Alba emerge from the social and economic backwardness of the Cuneo region thanks to large-scale industries, and so in some ways they are still wary about the benefits of different growth models.

- the enhancement and protection of natural resources by several environmental associations.

It's interesting to note that when asked about local projects none of the respondents referred to the European territorial cooperation programmes – albeit few in number - currently implemented in this area.

3.1.3 SWOT analysis by data and local respondents

Table 3.12 – SWOT analysis ALBA SMST

STRENGTH	WEAKNESS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Quality and excellence of local food and wine (Barolo, truffles, hazelnut) - Culture and knowledge wine and food - High quality of the landscape - Dense network of small and medium touristic firms - Productive diversification - Multination corporations related to local productions (eg Ferrero) - Dense network of small and medium touristic related to made in Italy - High allocations of health and social services - Good cultural offerings (events, fairs) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Environmental quality (traffic congestion, hydrogeological instability,...); - Urban sprawl and land use - Low infrastructural facilities, lack of accessibility - Low levels of education - External dependence on technical skills to high scientific and innovation
OPPORTUNITY	THREAT
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Expo 2015 in Milan; - 2014-2020 Eu Structural Funds; - National Smart Cities policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Increased competitiveness of wine and food tourism in other territories (adjacent and not). - Financial and economic crisis; - Decrease in public funding; - Lack of policies for SMSTs.

3.2 CEVA SMST

According to Functional Analysis, Ceva is a SMST agglomerated to another SMST (Mondovì).

The Microregion of Ceva consists of 26 Municipalities, of which 1 in the Province of Savona (Liguria Region). It has an area of 647 km², 19.445 inhabitants and a population density of 30 inh/km² (see Table 3.13).

Table 3.13. The Microregion of Ceva. (Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

Province of	Municipalities	Area	Population	Population density
Savona	Massimino	7,73	119	15,4
Cuneo	Bagnasco	31,1	1.038	33,4
Cuneo	Battifollo	11,14	239	21,5
Cuneo	Briga Alta	53,52	47	0,9
Cuneo	Castellino Tanaro	11,62	337	29
Cuneo	Castelnuovo di Ceva	6,23	139	22,3
Cuneo	Ceva	42,96	5.737	133,5
Cuneo	Garessio	131,22	3.356	25,6
Cuneo	Lesegno	14,38	851	59,2
Cuneo	Lisio	8,65	214	24,7
Cuneo	Marsaglia	13	263	20,2
Cuneo	Mombarcaro	20,38	274	13,4
Cuneo	Mombasiglio	17,15	616	35,9
Cuneo	Niella Tanaro	15,57	1.037	66,6
Cuneo	Nucetto	7,64	433	56,7
Cuneo	Ormea	124,19	1.717	13,8
Cuneo	Paroldo	12,55	226	18
Cuneo	Perlo	11,56	126	10,9
Cuneo	Priero	20,2	489	24,2
Cuneo	Priola	27,06	716	26,5
Cuneo	Roascio	6,54	81	12,4
Cuneo	Sale delle Langhe	10,93	522	47,8
Cuneo	Sale San Giovanni	8,1	176	21,7
Cuneo	Scagnello	8,98	202	22,5
Cuneo	Torresina	3,78	69	18,3
Cuneo	Viola	21,06	421	20
Total of Microregion of Ceva		647	19.445	30

Ceva is located in the high valley basin of the Tanaro river on the Po valley side of the Ligurian Alps, acts as a sort of ‘buffer district’ between the Province of Cuneo and the Provinces of Savona and Imperia. Although strategically located near the main infrastructure networks between Piedmont and Liguria (the Torino-Savona motorway), its position is, nevertheless, the reason of the traditional marginality in relation to the Province of Cuneo.

3.2.1 Socio-economic characteristics

3.2.1.1 Demography

As regards its demographic characteristics, the town of Ceva has a low dwelling density (134 persons/km²). On December 31, 2011 the overall population in a rather small territorial area of 43 km² was 5.737 inhabitants (2.804 males and 2.833 females), or 30% of the population in the microregion and 0.6% of the population in the Province of Cuneo. The natural change is negative (-6), partly offset by Total immigration change (14). In particular, the resident foreign population in Ceva in 2011 is 840 inhabitants (411 males and 429 females) or 15% of the total number of inhabitants (see. Table 3.14).

Table 3.14. Population, Annual natural change and Annual immigration in 2011, Ceva. (Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

Area	Population	Natural change	Total immigration change
Ceva	5.737	-6	14
Province of Cuneo	568.113	-399	134
Piedmont Region	4.357.663	-13.440	-3.443

The analysis of population structure shows a strong thickening of the older segments of the population (especially women) as compared to values significantly lower in very young age, and especially young people (see. Figure 3.10).

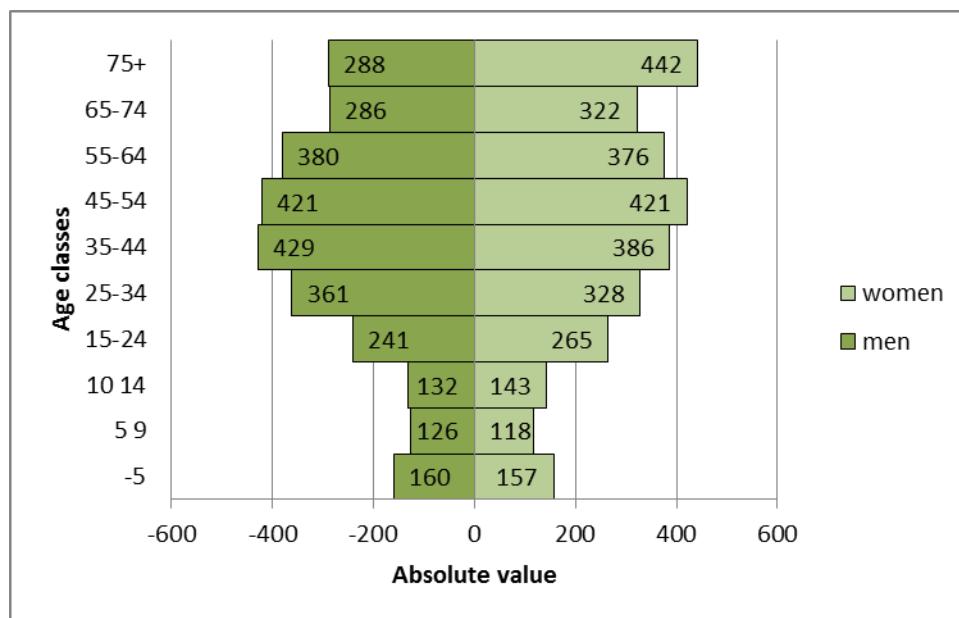


Figure 3.10. Age structure of resident population by sex in 2011 in Ceva. ((Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

The analysis of demographic performance shows that, although this is a positive trend, there have been only very slight increases and, in the last ten years, a significant drop: between 1991 and 2011 the population increased by 161 inhabitants (an overall variation of 2.9%), while between 2001 and 2011, the increase was a mere 8 persons (0.1%).

Table 3.15. Population and Change in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Ceva. (Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011	Change 91-01	Change 01-11	Change 91-11
Ceva	5.568	5.729	5.737	2,9	0,1	3,0
Province of Cuneo	547.234	556.330	568.113	1,7	5,1	7,1
Piedmont Region	4.302.565	4.214.677	4.357.663	-2,0	3,3	1,3

In line with the provincial and regional trends, the town registered a negative Natural change in all three surveys.

Table 3.16. Annual natural change in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Ceva. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011
Ceva	-28	-15	-6
Province of Cuneo	-1945	-1217	-399
Piedmont Region	-15.068	-10.000	-13.440

Table 3.17. Annual migration in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Ceva. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011
Ceva	30	38	-14
Province of Cuneo	2.643	2.416	4.434
Piedmont Region	4.302	5.256	-3.443

This was accompanied (see Figure 3.11) by a considerable increase in the older age group of the population which increased by 22% between 1991 and 2011, compared to a drop of 10% in the younger population. On the whole, the middle-aged group remained stable (+4.6%). Part of this drastic reduction in the younger population was balanced by the arrival of immigrants: 19 of the 29 persons (70%) recorded in the municipal register were foreigners.

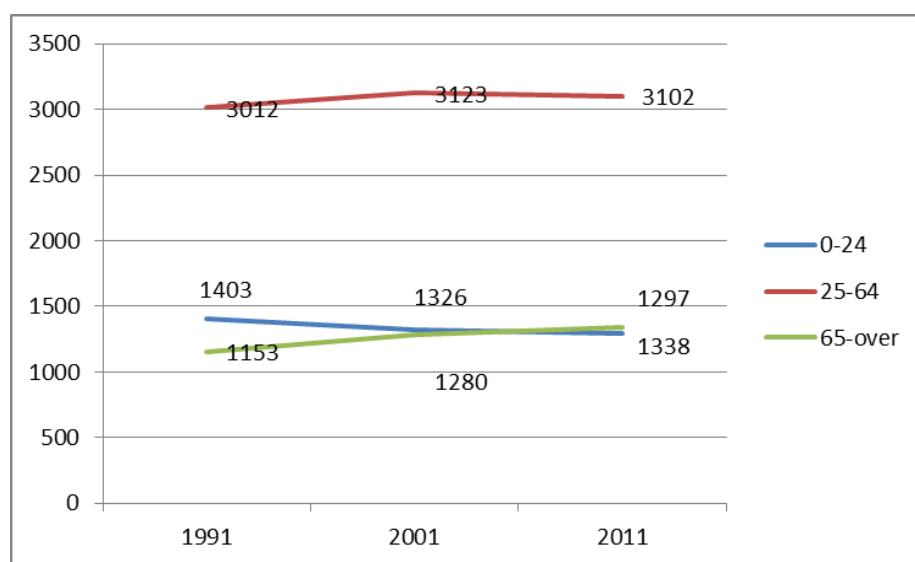


Figure 3.11. People by age in 1991, 2001 and 2011 in Ceva SMST. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Data regarding educational levels (up to 2001) show an increase in terminal leavers and university graduates, again in line with provincial and regional data. However, the number of illiterate increased and in 2001 only 5% of the population had a university degree, while 18% had a second level secondary school diploma (see Table 3.18). Ceva has a second level college of science, two technical institutes and one professional institute.

Table 3.18. Graduates and illiterates in 1991 and 2001, Ceva. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001).

Area	University graduates				Leaver graduates			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Ceva	143	2,7	294	5,4	925	17,5	1371	25,3
Province of Cuneo	12644	2,4	28064	5,3	80170	15,4	118835	22,6

A structure labour market survey showed that the active population dropped by 2.2% between 1991 and 2001 (due to the afore-mentioned demographic dynamics). During the same period the number of employed persons dropped by 3.3% and the number of unemployed rose by 18.6% (cfr. Tables 3.19 and 3.20).

Table 3.19. Economically active and not active population in 1991 and 2001, Ceva. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001).

Area	Active population				Not active population			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Ceva	2400	43	2.347	47	3168	57	2.638	53
Province of Cuneo	241.499	44	247.635	51	305.735	49	234.393	49
Piedmont Region	1.849.470	49,8	1.871.549	50,4	1.865.464	50,2	1.834.510	49,6

Table 3.20. Employed and Unemployed in 1991 and 2001, Ceva. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001).

Area	Employed population				Unemployed population			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Ceva	2271	94	2.194	93	129	6	153	7
Province of Cuneo	225.838	94	238.109	96	15.661	6	9.526	4
Piedmont Region	1.718.645	93	1.753.586	93,7	130.824	7	117.963	6,3

Both surveys showed that roughly a fourth of the population was employed in the manufacturing industry which, however, registered a drop of 13% in the number of employed persons between 1991 and 2001.

3.2.1.2 Economic system

The town of Ceva can be classified as a “pure” residential economy, with almost 68% of the labour force working and 68% of the companies in the sectors aggregated in this profile.

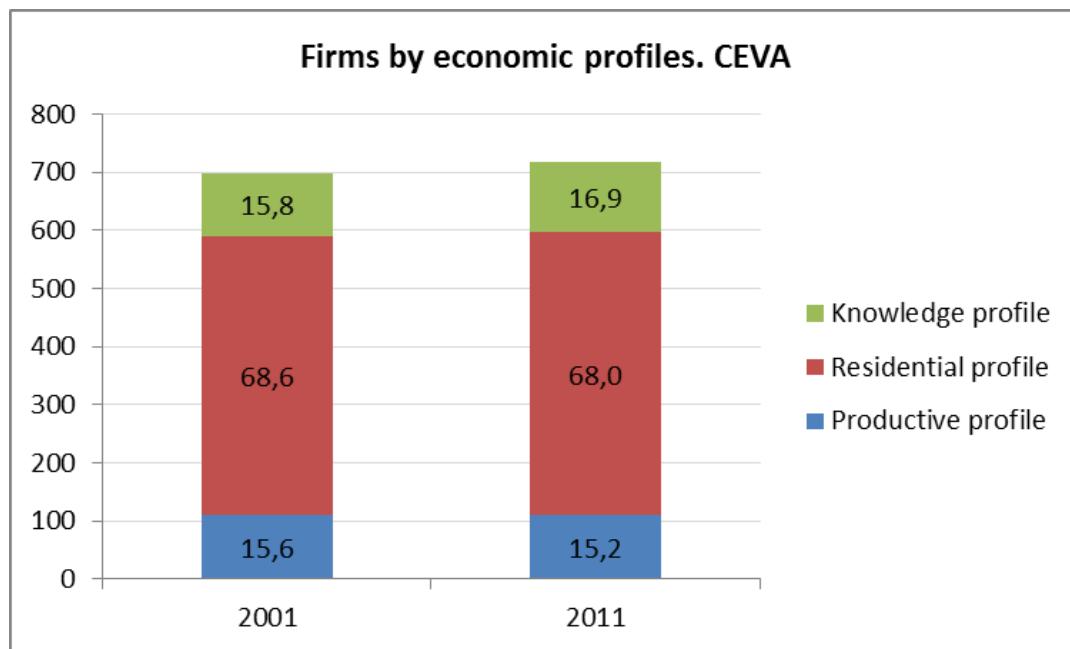


Figure 3.12 Number of firms by economic profiles, Ceva. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 1991 and 2001)

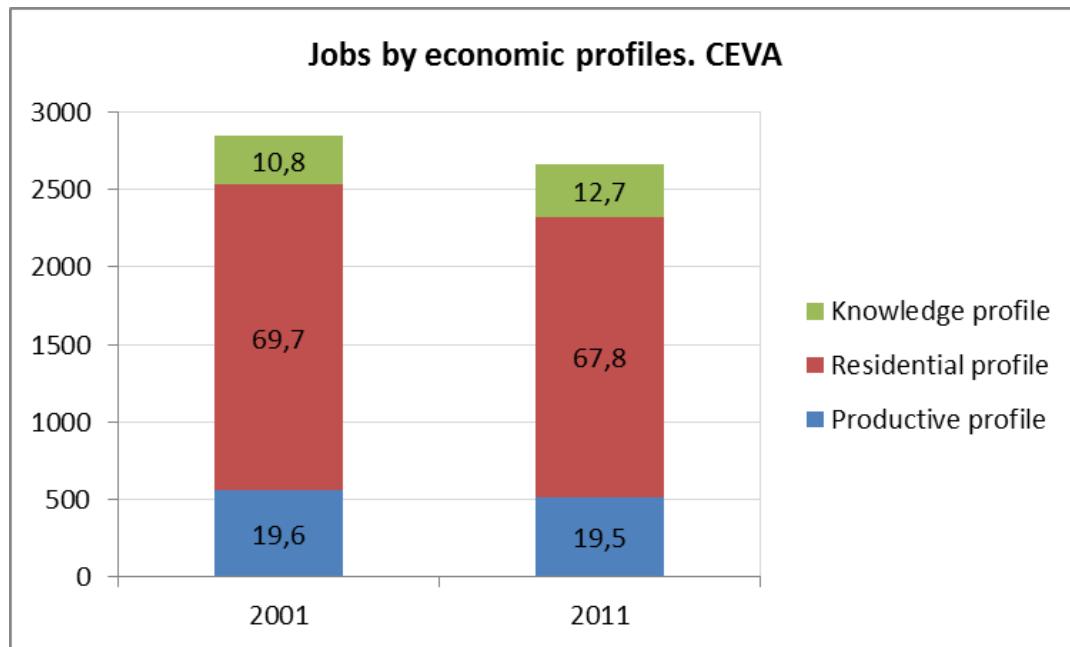


Figure 3.13. Number of jobs by economic profiles, Ceva. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 1991 and 2001)

In particular, both in 2001 and in 2011 almost 70 % of the productive economy involved the manufacturing industry, followed by transport-related activities, in line with the traditional development path in the area. As regards the manufacturing industry, the lion's share is taken by the agri-food industry followed by the production of electric machines and companies involved

in the wood processing chain.

Table 3.21. Number of firms and jobs by manufacturing profile, Ceva. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 2001 and 2011).

Productive profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
A - Agriculture, forestry and fishing	2,7	1,8	1,8	0,4
B - Mining and quarrying	0,9	0,0	0,2	0,0
C - Manufacturing	62,7	63,3	78,5	83,6
D - Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	2,7	6,4	6,8	2,3
E - Water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	1,8	0,9	0,7	0,0
H - Transport and storage (freight)	16,4	11,9	11,7	11,6
S - Other services activities (business)	12,7	15,6	0,4	2,1
TOTAL	110	109	557	519

As regards the residential economy, the lion's share is taken by the wholesale and retail trade (38% in 2001 and 33.2% in 2011), followed by construction (25.5% in 2001 and 26.2% in 2011).

Table 3.22. Number of firms and jobs by residential profile; Ceva. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 2001 and 2011)

Residential profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
F - Construction	25,5	26,2	27,0	21,3
G - Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	38,0	33,2	21,2	23,1
H - Transport (passenger) and postal activities	1,3	1,6	5,2	4,5
I - Accommodation and food service activities	6,7	7,8	3,6	6,1
K - Financial and insurance activities	4,0	3,9	5,6	5,7
L - Real estate activities	3,5	5,9	1,2	2,2
N - Administrative and support service activities	3,5	3,3	4,5	8,2
O - Public administration and defence, compulsory social security	1,7	1,2	4,8	3,5
Q - Human health and social work activities	7,9	9,8	24,5	22,5
S - Other services activities (repair and personal service)	7,9	7,0	2,5	2,9
T - Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods – and services – producing activities of households for own use	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
U – Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
TOTAL	479	488	1981	1807

As regards the knowledge economy, the lion's share is obviously taken by the professional, scientific and technical activities (67.9% in 2001 and 71.1% in 2001), followed by the activities connected to arts, entertainment and recreation (21.1% in 2001 and 16.5% in 2011).

Table 3.23. Number of firms and jobs by knowledge profile, Ceva. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 2001 and 2011).

Knowledge profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011		2001
J – Information and communication	3,7	3,3	4,6	7,1
M – Professional, scientific and technical activities	67,9	71,1	40,5	41,6
P - Education	7,3	9,1	53,3	51,0
R – Arts, entertainment and recreation	21,1	16,5	1,6	0,3
TOTAL KNOWLEDGE	109	121	306	339

3.2.2 Socio-economic and demographic performance of the SMST of Ceva based on local respondents

Compared to statistics, respondents acknowledged that one of the town's strong points was its geographical position as a 'buffer district' between Piedmont and Liguria, and the possibility of opening new routes with southern France. However, its position is one of the reasons behind its increasingly marginal position vis-à-vis the district of Cuneo on which Ceva depends from an administrative point of view. The town's geographical position was considered one of its strong points, not least because it was close to several infrastructures (especially the Torino-Savona motorway), and despite the fact that the Ceva-Bra railway link has recently been shut down. As regards the environment, all the respondents declared the quality of the landscape and natural resources (mountains, the Tanaro river system) to be a strong point due to its extremely pristine nature – a sure-fire tourist attraction. Nevertheless, like all the other territories along the Tanaro, hydrogeological instability was indicated as detrimental to its usability/enjoyment. Like the other SMST, respondents had differing views about the social sector, especially the increase in the number of younger immigrants. Several respondents talked about a good level of integration; others, instead, expressed their concern about growing social tensions and the new generation in Ceva, which chiefly means citizens from other countries. As regards social services, all the respondents considered the health and educational services (even highly specialist services) one of Ceva's strong points compared to the town's population size. Indeed, since the area is relatively isolated from the nearest urban centres, services in Ceva are tailored to meet the needs of the population in the town's greater urban area, including the municipalities of the Alta Val Tanaro. However, extreme depopulation in these areas (much higher than depopulation in the Ceva Municipality alone) is jeopardising continuance of certain services, in particular due to an increase in the population threshold established by national spending review measures. Ceva runs the risk of becoming less **competitive**, of loosing its **specific characteristics** (compared to urban areas of similar size), and above all, its **functional role** as a service centre for its gravitational area.

As regards the economy and production, the respondents agreed that a declining industry is another weak point; although industry in general was not really affected by the crisis, in this area it did involve the long-standing sector of the wood industry, now more active in the Mondovì district. This partial decline was acknowledged by all the respondents who considered a further weak point to be the absence of multilevel territorial governance and, above all, very little integration between the public and private sectors – a sine qua non condition in order to draft and implement the important, explicit, and common policies needed to relaunch the town.

The fact there are no strategies to attract businesses from outside the area, or keep the ones still in the area, was commonly thought to be one of the reasons behind the vulnerability of the local production sector. The agricultural sector appeared to be just as vulnerable, and one of the sectors most affected by the crisis. However, a few initial and timid signs of recovery are present in the sector, including the enhancement of good quality typical products (for example, thanks to the involvement of GAL Mongioie in community projects); the aim is to make local agriculture more competitive and turn it into a niche market which may also attract tourists.

As regards **policies, plans, and programmes**, the respondents pointed to a general weakness in the ability to draft and execute urban development initiatives. In fact, respondents usually referred to a defensive and non pro-active approach which has not been very successful. The agricultural policies sponsored by the Rural Development Plan implemented by the Regione Piemonte were moderately successful because they propped up the agricultural sector during a period of severe stagnation; however respondents could not identify any other far-reaching or wide-ranging policies, plans, or programmes, which could revive an area in decline.

Two of the initiatives mentioned by the respondents were:

- the completion of the first school for forest rangers in Italy; the school, which is obviously expected to be profitable, will help enhance the town's prestige and its image within the mountain community;
- the regeneration and enhancement of the old town centre to limit development (and avoid using too much land) and the revitalisation of the area to attract new residents or, at the very least, avoid further depopulation. Apart from making the town a better place to live, this initiative is intended to make the town more attractive to day trippers and, as a result, benefit the retail trade sector.

It's significant that only one female interviewee in Ceva mentioned the complex programmes (Local Development Plan – LDP and Territorial Integrated Programme - TIP), and community programmes (part of the implemented initiatives); this proves that interested parties working in the region are incapable of understanding certain trends and the resources present in this area which should, instead, be enhanced and exploited.

The policies and programmes mentioned by the interviewees are, by and large, financed by the public sector: private resources come mainly from Bank Foundations and are employed, first and foremost, to revive and enhance old town centres.

3.2.3 SWOT analysis by data and local respondents

Table 3.24. SWOT analysis CEVA SMST

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategic location between the Provinces of Turin and Cuneo, also in relation to Southern France; - Infrastructural system and accessibility - Good quality landscape and environment; - Strong local identity - High allocations of social and health services and training (eg State Forestry School); 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - traditional marginality in relation to the Province of Cuneo; - Historical weakness of the industrial sector; - Hydrogeological instability - Weak integration between public and private sector
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - European Structural Funds 2014-2020; 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Closure railroad bra-ceva - Depopulation Municipalities of Microregion - Financial and economic crisis - Decrease in public funding - Lack of policies for SMSTs and marginal areas.

3.3 FOSSANO SMST

According to the functional analysis Fossano is a SMST networked with LC. Its Microregion consists of 16 Municipalities: this area has a surface of 603 km², 84.263 inhabitants and an average population density of 109 inh/km² (see Table 3.25).

Table 3.25. The Microregion of Fossano (Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

Province of	Municipalities	Surface	Population	Population density
Cuneo	Bene Vagienna	48,95	3.664	74,9
Cuneo	Caramagna Piemonte	26,26	3.037	115,7
Cuneo	Cavallerleone	16,49	657	39,8
Cuneo	Cavallermaggiore	51,57	5.466	106
Cuneo	Cerere	18,94	2.153	113,7
Cuneo	Fossano	130,72	24.701	189
Cuneo	Genola	13,74	2.604	189,5
Cuneo	Marene	28,98	3.048	105,2
Cuneo	Monasterolo di Savigliano	15,06	1.361	90,4
Cuneo	Murello	17,2	969	56,3
Cuneo	Racconigi	48,03	10.031	208,8
Cuneo	Ruffia	7,61	352	46,3
Cuneo	Salmour	12,55	719	57,3
Cuneo	Sant'Albano Stura	28,13	2.383	84,7
Cuneo	Savigliano	110,73	20.926	189
Cuneo	Trinità	28,23	2.192	77
Total of Microregion of Fossano		603,19	84.263	109

The SMST of Fossano is located on the left bank of the River Stura in the agricultural plain of the Cuneo Region (the so-called half-moon of the valley line); its barycentric position in relation to the rest of the Province makes it a sort of 'buffer zone' between the Cuneo foothills and Turin.

Situated as it is at the crossroads of the two main ridge transport systems (Turin-Fossano-Mondovi-Savona and Turin-Fossano-Cuneo-Nice) and the Asti-Cuneo motorway, the town already acts as an important link, but if the Liguria port system is revived and the links with southern France are boosted then Fossano is expected to become even more important. In addition, the proximity of the nearby Cuneo Le Valdigi Airport increases the town's accessibility, making it the perfect location for an interregional logistic centre.

The gravitational pull of the town affects all the Municipalities in the plain, so much so that its jurisdictional micro-region – similar to a Local Labour System – also includes medium-sized towns, for example Savigliano.

The urban nucleus of Fossano is well-defined and the boundaries between the town and the countryside are very clear-cut. Unlike other towns, Alba for example, there is no real sprawl: the area around Fossano – traditionally agricultural in nature – has a low dwelling density and urbanisation is relatively concentrated.

Nevertheless, in the last twenty years the building boom (reflected in the statistical analysis of the production sector) basically caused a sort of 'fraying' along the roads parallel to the Stura, and this has led to a situation of environmental risk and degradation of the river system.

3.3.1 Socio-economic characteristics

3.3.1.1 Demography

Demographically speaking, the town has a low population density (189 persons/km²). On December 31, 2011 the overall population in a relatively large area of 130 km² was 24.701 (12.276 males and 12.425 females), or 4% of the population in the Province. The Annual natural change is positive (+3), while the Annual migration is negative (-13), in contrast to trend of the Province.

Table 3.26. Population, Annual natural change and Annual migration in 2011, Fossano. (Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

Area	Population	Annual natural change	Annual migration
Fossano	24.701	3	-13
Province of Cuneo	568.113	-399	+134
Piedmont Region	4.357.663	-13.440	-3.443

Although this is a positive trend, in the last ten years there have been only very slight increases: from 1991 to 2011 the population increased by 1.265 persons with an overall variation of 5.4% (higher than the regional figure, but lower than the 7.1% registered in the province).

Table 3.27. Population and Change in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Fossano. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011	Change 91-01	Change 01-11	Change 91-11
Fossano	23.436	23.865	24.701	1,8	3,4	5,4
Province of Cuneo	547.234	556.330	568.113	1,7	5,1	7,1
Piedmont Region	4.302.565	4.214.677	4.357.663	-2,0	3,3	1,3

Despite these slight increases, the town recorded positive natural trends during the last two censuses (15 in 2001 and 3 in 2011), in contrast compared to provincial and regional trends. In 2011 the foreign population was 10% of the total, and 69 (40%) of the 170 newly registered inhabitants were foreigners.

Table 3.28. Annual natural change in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Fossano. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011
Fossano	-33	15	3
Province of Cuneo	-1945	-1217	-399
Piedmont Region	-15.068	-10.000	-13.440

Table 3.29. Annual migration in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Fossano. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Area	1991	2001	2011
Fossano	127	78	-13
Province of Cuneo	2.643	2.416	4.434
Piedmont Region	4.302	5.256	-3.443

Respondents had differing views about this trend: some of them attributed the rise in social problems to the town's marginal economic status, while others were not only unaware of the problem, but mentioned good levels of integration especially as regards the labour situation.

Figures for Fossano's demographics show that in 2011, 24.3% of the population was less than 24 years of age, 55% accounted for the middle age group (from 25 to 64), and 21.4% for the over 65s.

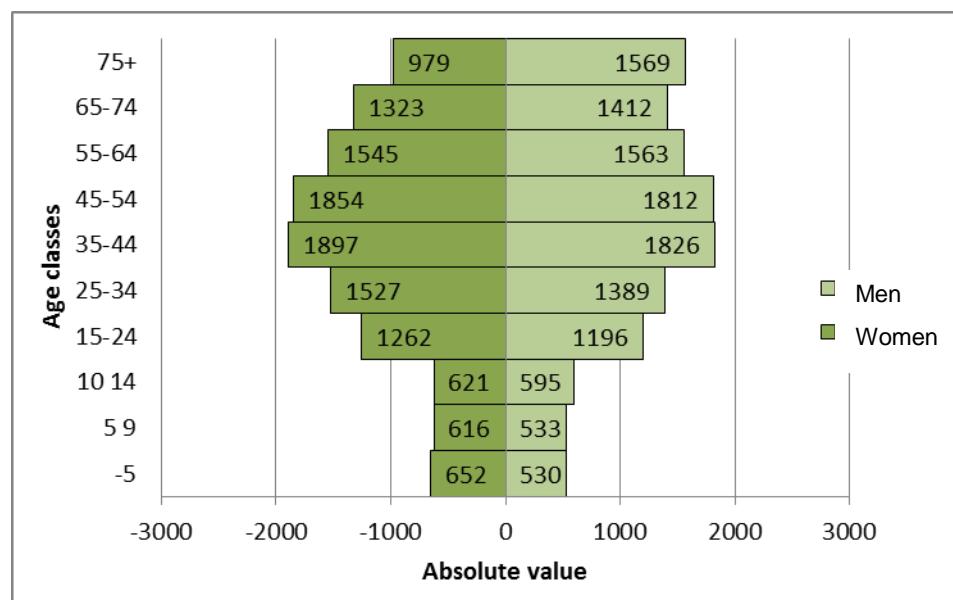


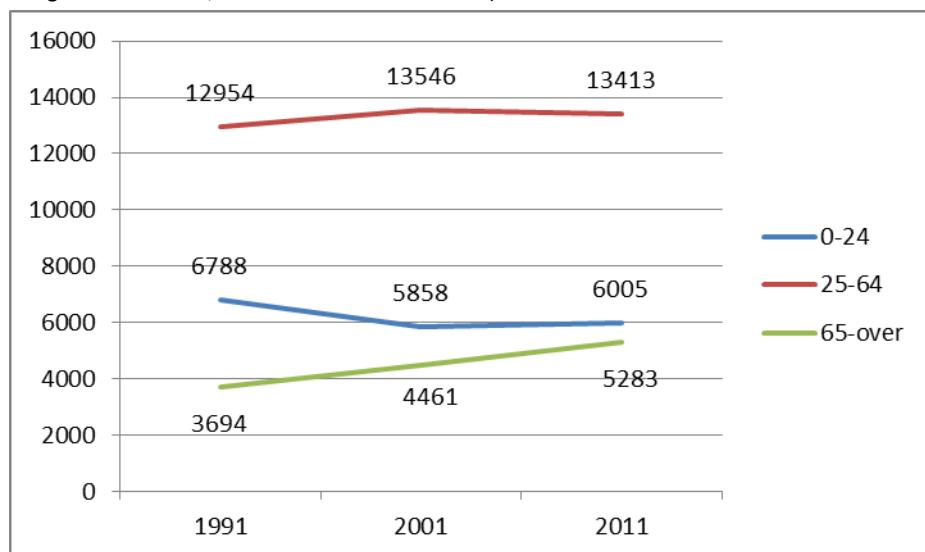
Figure 3.14. Age structure of resident population by sex in 2011, Fossano. (Source: Data from www.demo.istat.it).

A diachronic analysis of the past twenty years showed an increase in the older age group, in line with provincial and regional dynamics; in fact, between 1991 and 2011 there was a 40% increase in this age group. During the same period there was a drop of almost 12 percentage points in the younger age group, while the middle age group – potentially more active – rose by 3.5%

Table 3.30 – People by age in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Fossano. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).

Age classes	1991	2001	2011	1991-2001	2001-2011	1991-2011
0-24	6788	5858	6005	-13,7	2,5	-11,5
25-64	12954	13546	13413	4,6	-1,0	3,5
65-over	3694	4461	5283	20,8	18,4	43,0

Figure 3.15 – People by age in 1991, 2001 and 2011, Fossano. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001, and from www.demo.ista.it).



Data regarding educational levels (available up to 2001) show a substantial increase in university graduates in line with provincial and regional data.

Table 3.31 – Graduates and illiterates in 1991 and 2001, Fossano. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001).

Area	University graduates				Leaver graduates			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Fossano	701	3,1	1513	6,7	3790	17	5319	23,6
Province of Cuneo	12.644	2,4	28.064	5,3	80.170	15,4	118.835	22,6

Fossano currently provides a three-year graduate course in Physiotherapy sponsored by the Municipality in collaboration with the local health authority (ASL 1) in Cuneo and the Faculty of Medicine of Eastern Piedmont and the University of Novara.¹⁶ However it's a very small course (roughly 50 students for all three years) while most university students from Fossano study at the Turin Polytechnic or University which is easily accessed thanks to the excellent location of the town vis-à-vis the main transport networks. Diachronic analysis of second level secondary education has shown a 40% variation, in line with the figures for the Province. Fossano currently has three second level secondary institutes (two second level colleges of science and a technical institute) which in 2007/2008 increased their establishments from 6 to 10 causing the number of enrolled students to increase from 1.816 to 2.181. These technical and technical/economic schools teach skills very similar to the ones needed by the specialised manufacturing industries in the area associated with agricultural industry and the engineering sector.

An analysis of the labour market showed that the active population grew by 5.2% between 1991 and 2001, while the percentage of employed persons (referred to the active population) was 6.6%, rising from 94,7% to 96%. Unemployment dropped by almost 20%, from 5.3% to 4%. There was also a drop in the number of employed workers of 6% in the

¹⁶ Also thanks to a contribution by the Association for University Settlements in the province of Cuneo, the Province of Cuneo and the Cassa di Risparmio di Fossano Foundation.

manufacturing industry (which however had the most workers – 30% in 1991 and 27,6% in 2001), followed by the retail sector (roughly 15% for both years). There was an increase – albeit very limited - in the tourism sector (2.5% in 1991 and 3.4% in 2001).

Table 3.32 – Economically active and not active population in 1991 and 2001, Fossano. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001).

Area	Active population				Not active population			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Fossano	10.550	45	11.094	54	12.886	55	9476	46
Province of Cuneo	241.499	44	247.635	51	305.735	49	234.393	49
Piedmont Region	1.849.470	49,8	1.871.549	50,4	1.865.464	50,2	1.834.510	49,6

Table 3.33 – Employed and Unemployed in 1991 and 2001, Fossano. (Source: data from the ISTAT Census of population and housing 1991 and 2001).

Area	Employed population				Unemployed population			
	1991		2001		1991		2001	
	av	%	av	%	av	%	av	%
Fossano	9.991	94,7	10.646	96	559	5,3	448	4
Province of Cuneo	225.838	94	238.109	96	15.661	6	9.526	4
Piedmont Region	1.718.645	93	1.753.586	93,7	130.824	7	117.963	6,3

Since data from the latest census is still not available, we are unable to tell how the trend evolved during the period 2001-2011; above all, it is difficult to understand how the town is reacting to the recent economic crisis in western economies, and in Italy in particular. However, ISTAT figures show that the Local Labour System in the Fossano area appears to have withstood the crisis: in 2011 there was a 55.1% activity rate, one of the highest in the region (the highest is Alba with 56%), an employment rate of 53% (the third highest in the region after Alba and Cuneo), and a 3.9% unemployment rate, one of the lowest in the Region.

3.3.1.2 *Economic system*

The town of Fossano can be classified as a residential economy, with a 63,2% of the firms and a 58,3% of the labour force working in the sectors aggregated in this profile (see Fig. 34 and 35). The first weight is above the average of Province of Cuneo (64,5%), while the second is greater (54%). However, while production remained more or less stable and the total number of residential enterprises dropped by 1,7%, in the ten year period knowledge-based businesses rose from 362 to 457, a variation of 2,7 percentage points.

In the same period declines the number of employees in the productive economy, increase the number of employees in the residential economy (by 7.2 percentage points) and in the knowledge economy (by 2.6 percentage points).

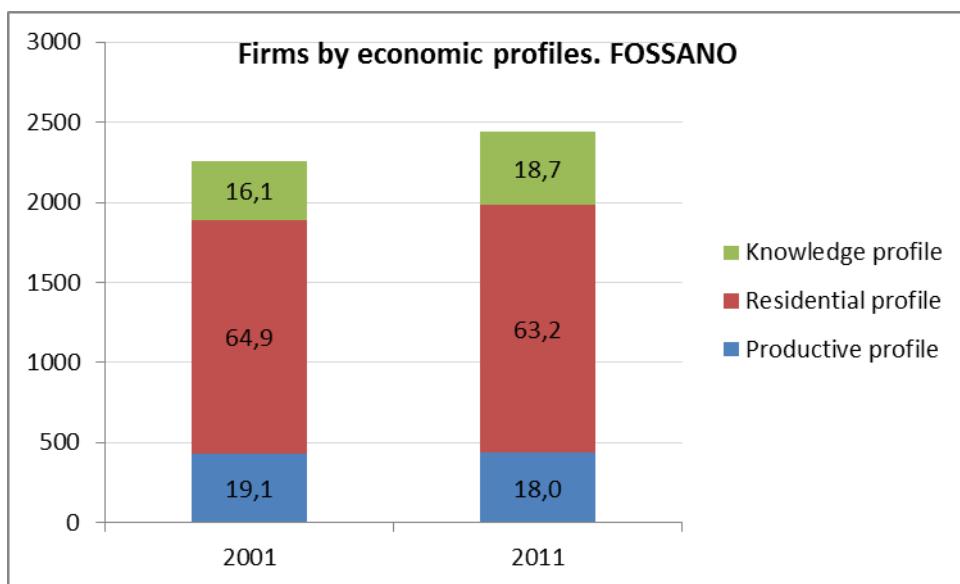


Figure 3.16. Number of firms by economic profiles, Fossano. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 1991 and 2001).

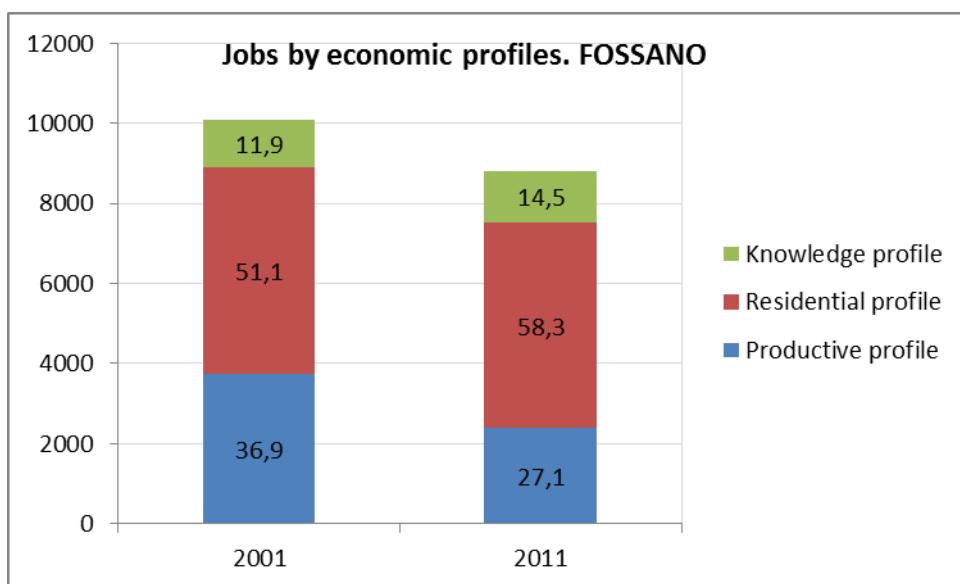


Figure 3.17. Number of jobs by economic profiles, Fossano. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 1991 and 2001).

In particular, in 2011, almost 50% of the productive economy is based on the manufacturing industry, especially the agri-food and engineering industry. This sector has been declining: in the last 10 years the number of companies has fallen by 10 percentage points and the employees by 6 percentage points.

Although the agri-food and engineering industry were severely affected by competition and structural changes in the market, not many enterprises were lost. In fact, most losses were registered in the rubber and plastics industries, but also in the textile and tanning industries, sectors not as well-established in this region as the food industry (associated with the agricultural vocation of the Fossano district) and the engineering sector (partly associated with the allied industries working with FIAT in Turin). However, the number of employees in the food and beverage industry is halved in the last 10 years.

Table 3.34. Number of firms and jobs by manufacturing profile, Fossano. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 1991 and 2001).

Productive profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
A - Agriculture, forestry and fishing	5,1	4,5	1,2	2,1
B - Mining and quarrying	0,5	0,0	0,1	0,0
C - Manufacturing	57,9	48,0	89,7	83,6
D - Electricity, gas, steam and air conditioning supply	0,5	2,0	0,5	0,1
E - Water supply, sewerage, waste management and remediation activities	1,6	12,0	1,2	3,1
H - Transport and storage (freight)	18,1	14,1	6,3	9,8
S - Other services activities (business)	16,3	19,3	1,0	1,3
TOTAL	430	440	3730	2390

Instead almost than 50% of the residential economy is based on the retail sector. In the last ten years the number of companies decreased by 3 percentage points, but the number of employees increases by 4%. In particular, the most affected were small retail businesses which began to loose out vis-à-vis the competition of large-scale distributors (which during that period had begun to spring up everywhere).

Table 3.35. Number of firms and jobs by residential profile, Fossano. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 1991 and 2001).

Residential profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011	2001	2011
F - Construction	20,0	21,5	15,7	16,3
G - Wholesale and retail trade, repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	43,6	40,3	34,8	38,5
H - Transport (passenger) and postal activities	0,8	0,9	3,0	1,9
I - Accommodation and food service activities	6,2	6,9	5,6	7,7
K - Financial and insurance activities	4,3	3,8	5,9	5,6
L - Real estate activities	4,2	6,1	1,9	2,6
N - Administrative and support service activities	3,4	3,9	7,3	5,7
O - Public administration and defence, compulsory social security	1,0	0,8	6,6	3,8
Q - Human health and social work activities	7,5	8,8	14,5	13,6
S - Other services activities (repair and personal service)	9,0	7,1	4,7	4,3
T - Activities of households as employers; undifferentiated goods – and services – producing activities of households for own use	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
U – Activities of extraterritorial organizations and bodies	0,0	0,0	0,0	0,0
TOTAL	1462	1542	5162	5134

In the knowledge profile drop all sectors with the exception of professional, scientific and technical activities. In this sectors the number of firms increase by 4% and the number of jobs by almost than 5%.

Table 3.36. Number of firms and jobs by knowledge profile, Fossano. (Source: Data from the ISTAT Census of Industries and Services 1991 and 2001).

Knowledge profile	Number of firms (%)		Number of jobs (%)	
	2001	2011		2001
J – Information and communication	10,5	7,7	7,0	6,8
M – Professional, scientific and technical activities	56,1	60,4	29,3	34,8
P - Education	9,7	8,8	59,5	55,1
R – Arts, entertainment and recreation	23,8	23,2	4,2	3,4
TOTAL KNOWLEDGE	362	457	1206	1280

Despite the traditionally agricultural vocation of this area, there was a considerable drop in the number of people employed in the food industry, while the number of employees increased in the engineering sector associated with agriculture. The study by the Cassa di Risparmio di Cuneo Foundation shows that the Fossano district became relatively less important in the agri-food cluster while other competitors, for example the Langhe region, benefited from this situation; nevertheless the agricultural engineering and logistics cluster in Fossano did become increasingly specialised.

3.3.2 Socio-economic and demographic performance of the SMST of Fossano based on local respondents

3.3.2.1 *Strengths and weakness*

Unlike a statistical survey which photographs an ‘old’ situation, stakeholder interviews confirm whether or not the overall system works, above all as regards diversification of production based on traditional agricultural vocations, the agriculture industry and the engineering sector. However the latter is beginning to show signs of weakness due to the crisis – a reflection of the overall situation in Italy. Nevertheless, all respondents agreed that the situation in the Fossano district is less serious compared to other regions; this perception is confirmed by the figures provided by ISTAT about the Local Labour Systems in 2011. The reasons given as to why the crisis is less acute than elsewhere include the strategic position of the district (as a link between the production system of the regional capital and the Cuneo region, close to the main road and rail routes), and issues involving human capital and the social fabric. However, some contradictions emerged regarding immigration.

Instead, according to the respondents the slump in the retail sector (already noticeable in the last ten years) has recently worsened due to a drop in the population and the ensuing contraction of demand which in turn causes shops and commercial activities to close (in addition to the afore-mentioned negative impact on the capacity to provide certain social and health services). A similar scenario is seemingly emerging in the building sector: the construction boom of the last twenty years has not been ‘absorbed’ by market demand. Apart from the fact that many units have been left unsold, this is also causing a crisis in the building sector and associated handicraft industry (a trend not yet reflected in the 1991-2001 censuses).

As regards the other strong and weak points associated more with social and environmental aspects of the Fossano district, we identified:

- a rather good environmental-landscape system associated mainly with the river course of the Stura and the midway position of Fossano compared to its growth from the river mouth to its confluence with the Tanaro near Cherasco. In fact the Stura is one of the potential (and most promising) assets which can be used to create large scale integrated projects. Even so, while Municipalities upriver are working jointly to extend the Cuneo River Park along the whole course of the river (and also implement a River Contract), Fossano appears uninterested in enhancing this resource as part of an integrated, large-scale governance system. This is a lost opportunity. Even more so if one considers that this threatens the quality of the landscape and ecosystem of part of the Stura – precisely in the Fossano district – due to the urban ‘fraying’ caused by the sprawl which has invaded this area in recent decades. This urban ‘fraying’, concentrated along the main axes parallel to the river, is causing a high risk situation and environmental degradation;
- a low population density which makes it difficult to continue to provide certain social and health services, above all during this period of widespread financial crisis which is gradually forcing the country to raise the minimum population threshold for certain services;
- contradictions regarding social cohesion, which emerged during the interviews, especially as concerns the increasing number of immigrants. Some respondents said that the integration of foreigners is a good thing, especially as regards the labour situation. The Mayor of Fossano, for example, said that the low level of labour unrest coupled with a qualified workforce (local expertise quickly learnt by immigrant

- labourers) is just one of the reasons why the biggest engineering company has remained in the area (with 30% foreign labour) after it was about to relocate production. Nevertheless, many respondents disagreed with the Mayor, citing increasingly severe social tensions due to the recent economic crisis and an overall drop in opportunities and individual well-being;
- a situation where respondents cited a lack of synergy between public bodies and institutions, voluntary associations and private individuals, despite the fact that Fossano has a particularly important artistic and cultural heritage (a prestigious old town centre, a strong musical tradition, etc.). This situation makes communication, collaboration, and also bureaucracy difficult;

3.3.2.2 *Functional role*

Diversified production was cited as a characteristic trait of a similarly diversified functional role of the town: in fact Fossano is perceived not only as the industrial centre of large, small and medium-sized engineering and agricultural industries (especially agricultural machines), but also as the organisational centre of the entire agricultural chain, from production to distribution. In fact, the town's livestock market as well as its subsidiary market selling forage and cereals for the cattle industry is the most important in Piedmont after the one in Turin. Furthermore, Fossano plays an important role in the province vis-à-vis projects to improve agricultural techniques and productions, which includes shifting to bio-production and implementing a short supply chain.

3.3.2.3 *Specific characteristics of SMST of Fossano*

Respondents raised two main issues regarding the town's features compared to settlements similar or bigger in size. As regards other SMST (especially provincial competitors), respondents considered as an added value not only Fossano's strategic position, situated as it is between two territorial systems (Turin and Cuneo) but also its main infrastructures in the province (renowned for being difficult to access) and the fact that in the future it could develop as a logistics centre. This characteristic was also mentioned vis-à-vis the town's relationship with big cities: according to the respondents, the fact Turin and Savona can be reached in less than an hour from Fossano makes the town a highly competitive residential solution because it offers a better quality of life, lower environmental pollution, and moderately good cultural amenities. Typical regional products are another of Fossano's distinctive traits compared to other SMST; these products are now available nationwide thanks to companies (especially the confectionary industry) which are medium/large-sized compared to the town's population. Although Fossano cannot compete with the Ferrero company in Alba, it has several companies which ensure a competitive and stable economic and social fabric. Furthermore, compared to similar-sized towns, Fossano offers rather dynamic and versatile cultural events.

3.3.2.4 *Competitiveness*

The respondents agreed with the results of the statistical survey which showed the Fossano production system to be solid. The sectors where the town seems to have become more competitive are the ones associated with culture, and this in turn has had an indirect fallout on the economy. For example the Fossano Musica Foundation created to enhance and diversify the cultural events organised by the town to make it part of the local and national network of events to promote the territory. This initiative appears to be directly supported by the town's entrepreneurs who, in collaboration with the Cassa di Risparmio di Fossano Foundation, pooled their resources to create the "Architectural and Cultural Heritage Committee in order to recover and enhance the town's artistic and architectural heritage. In

fact, the generation change is gradually creating a younger group of managers who not only consider local resources as a possible growth factor, but are more discerning when it comes to culture. In this context, increased urban competitiveness is linked primarily to a strong sense of identity and belonging, to the ability to understand and enhance its distinctive traits and the endogenous resources which can be used to spark unique local development projects.

Instead the areas in which the town is most vulnerable vis-à-vis non-endemic changes are identified as follows:

- as regards the economy and production, the engineering sector is the most vulnerable since it is a well-known fact that this industry is exposed to the ups and downs of the global market: in fact it has been affected by the recent economic downturn, albeit only slightly. However, the Mayor pointed out that the town reacted quickly and pulled together to find unusual solutions to offset the damages caused by the country's severe recession. He cited the project implemented by the PPP between the public administration and a multi-utility company in Alba to achieve energy efficiency in the industrial sector. The testing ground was the leading company in this field which, although requiring a lot of electricity, also produces an equal amount of thermal energy. The project involves exploiting the heat to fuel urban remote heating and in turn give the company big discounts on its electricity bill (this will also produce positive benefits such as environmental and economic sustainability).
- another of the more vulnerable sectors (and one which has been most affected by the current crisis) is the handicraft sector working for the building industry. In actual fact the problems in this sector are not only endogenous: in the last twenty years too many houses have been built and market demand has been weak due to this surplus of housing units compared to the town's actual requirements. The Town Council has tried to solve the problem by implementing social housing policies, but the financial resources needed for this kind of initiative are either insufficient or not readily available (e.g., the social housing fund).

3.3.2.5 Policies, plans and projects

As regards the policies and projects implemented by Fossano (apart from the aforementioned social policies which were not very successful), respondents chiefly cited energy efficiency measures, cultural heritage enhancement projects, and environmental upgrades: remote heating, Committee projects to revive the old town centre, and projects along the Stura. Several respondents mentioned that tourism is gradually becoming part of territorial enhancement projects: the upgrade of the Stura, for example, has been used as an opportunity to improve exploitation and enjoyment of the area thanks to new cycle routes, footpaths, horse trekking trails, and water sports along the river (canoeing, rowing, rafting...). The intention is to further diversify the area's economic activities, focusing more on day-trippers and local tourists. Bearing this in mind the town is working in four different directions: artistic events including performances, music, plays and street art (after the very successful International Mirabilia Festival and the new proposals by the Fossano Musica Foundation), a historical tour within the old walls and the Acaja Castle, a nature and landscape walk along the Stura river park, and a sacred tour of the Diocesan Museum and the many churches and chapels dotted around the town.

Furthermore, the design of a youth hostel is almost finished; it is intended to be used mainly in conjunction with the events and activities organised by the Fossano Musica Foundation, but also during other initiatives held in the town. The region is also drafting new forms of welfare in order to evaluate and redesign the current systems, adopt new tools, remove any

overlap, work with associations and community sector, improve the management of public bodies, and efficiently and successfully promote social development.

These energy efficiency policies, based on a public private partnership (the Municipality and a multi-utility company), have achieved two goals: on the one hand they have made the town's heating system more efficient and less polluting, on the other they have implemented positive synergy and interaction between the Municipality and the Michelin company, a situation from which both parties have benefitted. Instead the architectural and cultural heritage enhancement projects are the end product of positive interaction between the architectural heritage Committee, the CRF Foundation, and the Municipality. Not only have they been successful and appreciated by the Fossano's inhabitants, but they have also led to a unique relationship between the municipality and local entrepreneurs. On a much bigger scale, the Municipality is part of the "Terre dei Savoia" network, an association promoting synergistic tourist development projects between the municipalities in the province aimed at enhancing the region's historical, artistic and landscape heritage.

Many initiatives involving the Stura (especially EU projects) have been implemented on a bigger scale by involving the Union of Fossanese Municipalities in which Fossano plays the lead role. In actual fact, the municipality has been somewhat short-sighted in this particular project because it works well with some municipalities and not with others, in particular the ones which depend on the municipal capital. As mentioned earlier, the Stura is an excellent opportunity to implement an integrated design project involving the entire river basin. In fact, the municipalities upriver are working jointly to enlarge the Cuneo river park and include the whole course of the river (and at the same time possibly activate a River Contract). Fossano appears uninterested in enhancing this resource as part of an integrated, large-scale governance system which – objectively – seems like a wasted opportunity.

In general, however, to activate these territorial projects Fossano can count on a comprehensive network of good local parties including the Public Administration, main stakeholders (CRF Foundation and the Committee of Entrepreneurs), solidarity associations, community and cultural organisations, as well as very active and dynamic sports associations.

A mix of public and private resources is available for these projects. For example, the architectural and cultural heritage committee is financed by enterprises, private individuals, and resources provided by the CRF Foundation. Thanks to the involvement of the Fossanese Union, the Stura projects have been financed by the EU through the Alcotra Interreg. II programme. Nevertheless, this quota of public funds is gradually coming to an end: only a few regional financial packages for the development of tourism have survived (regional law 4/2000) along with some state and regional funds for the reorganisation of the road network and road safety. On the contrary, the funds required to implement an Integrated Territorial Programme are not available; as a result, although the project was positively evaluated and approved, it will never be implemented. The town is currently working with the Local Tourist Boards in Cuneo and Roero to obtain public funds from the new 2014-2020 programme; they will primarily be used for environmental (along the Stura) and tourism projects so as to fully exploit the opportunities offered by the upcoming International EXPO in Milan in 2015. In fact, the worldwide Expo event will focus on food, and since it is close to Milan, Fossano will attract people who are potentially interested in local production and a food-and-wine tourism, something the town could turn to its advantage.

3.3.3 SWOT analysis by data and local respondents

Table 3.37. SWOT analysis FOSSANO SMST

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Strategic position as a link between the production system of the regional capital and the Cuneo region, close to the main road and rail routes; - Strategic position in relation to system of ligurian ports and southern France - Barycentric position in relation to the rest of the Province of Cuneo; - Transport system and accessibility; - Diversification of production based on traditional agricultural vocations, the agriculture industry and the engineering sector (also linked industries); - Presence of multinational corporation (eg Michelin); - A rather good environmental-landscape system associated mainly with the river course of the Stura and the midway position of Fossano compared to its growth from the river mouth to its confluence with the Tanaro near Cherasco; - Artistic and cultural heritage; - Cultural amenities and events . 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “fraying” along the roads parallel to the Stura, and consequent situation of environmental risk and degradation of the river system; - hydrogeological instability; - slump in the retail sector and building sector; - drop in the population and low population density; - lack of synergy between public bodies and institutions, voluntary associations and private individuals; - lack of territorial integration.
OPPORTUNITIES	THREATS
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Relaunch of the ligurian inner harbours; - Settlement military barracks; - European Structural Funds 2014-2020. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Reshaping in the engineering sector in Turin; - growth of tourism competitiveness in the neighboring areas; - Financial and economic crisis; - Decrease in public funding; - Lack of policies for SMSTs.

4. POLICY ANALYSIS

4.1 THE IMPACT OF EU, NATIONAL AND REGIONAL POLICIES ON SMSTs

4.1.1 European level

In 2007-13 also the Italian cities have benefited in many ways from tools and initiatives of the European cohesion policy, explicitly designed for urban areas. First, issues concerning urban development have been integrated into national and regional programs financed by the Structural Funds and the Cohesion Fund (for example the axis III of the ERDF of the Piedmont Region, see section 4.1.3). Secondly the Urban Pilot Projects (UPPs), but especially the Urban Community Initiative PIC, have settled in the Italian cities a new approach to urban development (more integrated, participative, sustainable, bottom-up) at the base of the so-called season of Complex Urban Programmes (see section 4.1.2.1). Finally, the policy of territorial cooperation has directly involved, in some cases, the cities in developing and implementing joint projects on various topics, with the aim of promoting the balanced and sustainable development in cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation(see section 4.1.3).

4.1.2 National level

As mentioned above, in Italian there is not urban policies for cities, irrespective of their size (Alulli and Tortorella, 2013). The studies in the field have highlighted their general absence from national politics until at least 1990 and the subsequent fragmentation of public initiatives, due to the lack of tools for coordination and governance (Urbani, 1988; Bramezza, 2007; Dematteis, 2012). This does not mean that the urban question has remained completely off the national politics agenda. In the first three decades of the Republic, it has coincided, in essence, with the land use policies. Thereafter, until the end of the 80's were conducted programs of economic or social policy, or processes of institutional innovation that had an impact on the city, without ever explicitly characterized as urban policies. In addition, the tension between centralism and spaces of autonomy of local authorities has manifested itself over time as more dialectical State-Regions as dialectic State-Common:

The establishment in 1987 of the “Ministry for urban areas” (deleted a few years later, in 1993) can be conventionally considered as the moment of a more explicit awareness, by the national level, of the importance and the urgency of dealing with urban issues. Allulli and Tortorella (2013) stress how cities and local government in that period had acquired importance in the political debate within the European Union due to the Delors dynamic, trough which - at the end of the eighties – “the urban question makes its way” on the EU agenda (Le Gales, 2006, p.90).

From the 90s onwards, we are also witnessing the birth of projects, initiatives and laws at the national level that do not qualify as real urban policies, but still oriented to the solution of the problems of the cities. These initiatives will be articulated into 2 main categories, direct and indirect ones: the first are addressed to urban challenges, while the latter aim to create the conditions to realize these challenges. In addition, they may be direct or indirect, that is having or not a spatial urban focus. The possible combinations of these initiatives and their translation practice is summarized in the table below.

Table 4.1 – Typologies of urban initiatives. (Source: Alulli, 2010, p.17).

	EXPLICIT (with focus on urban space)	IMPLICIT (without focus on urban space)
DIRECTED (addressed to urban challenges)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Projects for growth and economic competitiveness; - Complex Urban Programmes (CUP) - Security policies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Law 443/2001 (the so-called Legge Obiettivo) - Social Housing
INDIRECT (addressed to create the conditions for engaging the urban challenges)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Process to create metropolitan cities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Lex 81/1993 - Strumenti di programmazione negoziata (lex 662/1998); Lex 57/1997 sulla Pubblica Amministrazione Riforma del Titolo V della Costituzione

In the category of “*explicit and direct*” initiatives there are, principally:

- programmes aimed at competitiveness and economic growth, such as on the creation of the Urban Enterprise Zones - UEZ); the main features of the programmes is, therefore, that on providing for urban areas which can encourage the development of enterprise through tax and contribution exemptions; the UEZ device is significant since it does not refer generically to run-down areas but does make direct reference to the urban question, directly involving the local authorities in the policy implementation process (Alulli and Tortorella, 2013);
- the complex urban programs promoted by DiCoTer on the basis of similar European instruments (UPPs and Urban Community Initiative PIC); the complex plans are so defined because they integrate different instruments for social, urban planning and economic policy to allow upgrading of urban areas, also drawing on the experience of the Politique de la Ville already operational for a decade in France (*ibidem*);
- the territorial pacts for security promoted by the Ministry of the Internal Affairs.

The “*implicit and direct*” initiatives, so-called mainstream policies, produce territorial effects - and therefore also on urban areas - although they are not designed with this spatial reference. This category includes policy-oriented economic development (such as those introduced by Law 443/2001, so-called Legge Obiettivo), or social policies to achieving the objectives of equity and cohesion (including policies and programs for social housing). Also the infrastructural policies can be considered as part of a wider urban policy, even thought not explicitly formulated as such.

The “*implicit and indirect*” initiatives are those aimed to creating the conditions for the urban challenges are addressed by a multi-level governance that is not limited only to the national government. This set includes a series of measures aimed at defining new institutional arrangements, redistributing roles and responsibilities in terms of:

- relations between different levels of government, such as the reform of Title V of the Constitution¹⁷ (that introduce important innovation such as the equal status of the different levels of local government - Municipalities, Provinces and Regions - and the attribution to regulatory autonomy of local authorities), or the definition of negotiated planning instruments provided by law 662/1996), ...)
- the structure of local government, for example with the law 81/1993 (which substantially modifies the balance of power within local authorities bodies, result in a drastic redistribution in favour of mayors. The law introduces for the first time the direct election of mayors and the adoption of a majority system for the election of the Council members).

¹⁷ Cons2000titutional Law 3/2001

Finally, the “*explicit and indirect*” initiatives are attributable to the still incomplete process of creation of metropolitan governments.

In relation to the study on the three SMSTs is considered appropriate - here - to study only the first category, that of explicit and direct initiatives and, in particular, the Complex Urban Programmes. They, in fact, despite not having relevance as urban policies at a national level, are perhaps one of the few good examples of interventions on urban areas which, starting from the European experience, deposited a new approach.

4.1.2.1 The Italian season of the Complex Urban Programs

Since the early nineties, on the basis of the process of Europeanization of urban policies initiated by the implementation of the Urban Pilot Projects (UPPs) and PIC URBAN Community Initiative, began in Italy what is called “the season of the Complex Urban Programs”. In this context, the activation of the planning community (6 Urban Pilot Projects - UPPs and 16 programs Urban I and Urban II 8) formed the experimental basis for other integrated intervention programs 372 (PII), 72 programs of urban regeneration (PRIU), 283 programs of urban regeneration (URP), 65 district Contracts URLSDP and 78 (a total of around 900 actions for urban regeneration, with an investment of 2.3 billion euro, cf. MLP, 2000, 165 - 182). The scenario has evolved, more recently, through the further financing of projects Urban II thanks to national resources (2002) and with the start of the District Contracts of second generation (2003). The most advanced stage of the integrated planning is represented by the Integrated Territorial Programs (ITP), established for the implementation of interventions within the local Community Support Framework (CSF) 2000-2006 in an attempt to generate synergies between planning instruments negotiated and complex urban programs (Colaizzo, 2000).

Table 4.2. Main Complex Urban Programmes. European and Italian contest

Year	European Union	Italian contest
1989	Urban Pilot Projects I – UPPs Structural Funds 1989-1993.	
1992		Integrated Intervention Programs (Programmi Integrati di Intervento – PII) Law 179/1992. They can be identified “by the presence of a plurality of functions, by the integration of various types of activity including urban regeneration activities, by having a size such as to require urban reorganisation, and by the possible involvement of several operators and various public and private financial resources” (art.16).
1993		Urban Renewal Programmes - URP (Programmi di Recupero Urbano – PRU) Law 493/1993. They are aimed at public housing redevelopment, at expanding public residential housing, and at carrying out works for primary urbanization. URP were particularly important since, for the first time, they integrated housing policy instruments with other kinds of policy tools aimed at the overall redevelopment of urban areas.
1994	Urban Pilot Projects II – UPPs (Structural Funds 1994-1999). PIC Urban I (Structural Funds 1994-1999).	Renewal Urban Programmes - RUP (Programmi di Riqualificazione Urbana – PRIU) Ministerial Decree of 21/12/1994 for the regeneration of historic centers, disused areas, suburbs and neighborhoods, are sponsored by the Municipalities, with the obligation for financial participation by private prescription and that a portion of public works is placed in borne by the private entity.

		Neighborhood Contracts I Contratti di Quartiere I Ministerial Decree of 22/10/1997, These programmes aimed at the upgrading of buildings, urban facilities and social aspects in run-down areas. They provide for carrying out works relative to urbanisation infrastructure and residential development. One of the important features of the Neighborhood Contract is the attention paid to citizen participation in the urban transformation process. Subsequent to the first call for tenders in 1997, the Ministry of Infrastructure issued a decree on 30th December 2002 authorizing an invitation for tenders for "Contratti di Quartiere II".
1997		Territorial Facts (Patti Territoriali) CIPE Resolution 21/03/1997. They are the Agreements promoted by local authorities, social partners, or other public or private entities concerning the implementation of a program of measures characterized by specific objectives of promoting local development.
1998		Urban Renewal and Local Sustainable Development Programs - URLSDP (Programmi di Riqualificazione Urbana e Sviluppo Sostenibile del Territorio – PRUSST) Ministerial Decree 8/10/1998 They were introduced in order to foster an integrated intervention aimed at giving a "facelift" to the planning and economic development policies in urban areas.
2000	PIC Urban I (Structural Funds 2000-2006).	Urban Italy (Urban Italia) Ministerial Decree of 07/07/2000 This program was born on the basis of the consensus originating from the European Community Urban Programme. It funded initiatives planned by 20 local authorities that had applied for European funds without being selected as winners.
2001		Integrated Territorial Programmes (Programmi Territoriali Integrati – PTI) Quadro Comunitario di Sostegno 2000-2006 They promote the development from an economic, environmental, cultural and social. They are the means by which a group of stakeholders in the strategic development of territories elaborate and implement joint projects to harness the potential of local economic systems.

Source: our reworking based on Alulli and Tortorella (2013)

Beyond the results, more or less positive, obtained from individual projects, the legacy of this season mainly concerns the response of the local levels, which showed a good propensity to incorporate and metabolize the innovation introduced by the Community programming, so as to leave foresee the possibility of new paradigms for government action in the area (MIT, 2002). The idea is that these new contexts of urban governance, are in fact those resulting changes, even in the practices of government (such as urban planning) strongly based on the notions of local development, participation and integrated approach. The detection perhaps more symptomatic of the legacy of this season is offered by the case of Strategic Plans: tools really flood in recent years in the Italian medium and large cities, but also between spontaneous aggregations of small municipalities, without the need for any

institutional formalization. The extreme variety of objectives, methods and styles, which characterizes the Strategic Plans in Italy (Pugliese and Spaziante, eds, 2003) offers a measure of efforts, even if the state of wishful thinking, to integrate institutional traditions and cultural planning with innovative dimensions of territorial governance, of Community (Salet and Faludi, 2000).

In the light of this framework, it should be said that from 2000 onwards in the absence of a policy framework and strategic reference, urban areas have been the focus of many interventions, tangible and intangible, and locations of increasing investments.

4.1.2.2 *The current transition phase*

Compared to this framework, Italy is today in a phase of uncertain evolution, even considering the time of political uncertainty that accompanies the deep economic crisis. On the basis of Agenda Urban Community and in order to fill the gaps in the urban governance, in June of 2012 was established the Parliamentary Group for Italian Urban Agenda, who has promoted and supported the establishment of the Interministerial Committee for Urban Policies (ICUP). The Committee aims to achieve a redefinition of the scope of urban policies, based on a number of issues identified as priorities, including:

- the limitation of land use and urban regeneration;
- transport infrastructure and sustainable mobility;
- coherence with the European strategy on climate and energy;
- culture, university and the smart cities strategy;
- labor market and welfare.

Moreover, in parallel with this initiative, the Ministry of Infrastructure and Transport has launched in June of 2012, the so-called "City Plan", directed to the regeneration of deprived urban areas.

The Municipalities have submitted 457 requests to the Ministry. A special control board - including representatives of the various Ministries involved, as well as the Conference of Regions, of ANCI, etc - has classified and evaluated all the proposals submitted, choosing 28. The projects that have passed the selection can take advantage of a national co-financing of 318 million euro which will activate in 'immediate projects and work amounted to 4.4 billion euro in total, including public and private funds.

4.1.3 Regional level

The lack of a strategy for the urban issue on a national level is obviously reflected on the regional scale, which is also devoid of policies explicitly aimed at urban governance. However, something, in terms of strategies and operational recommendation, can be found in the Operational Regional Programme 2007/2013 ORP-ERDF. This Programme is an instrument that regulates the ERDF in the Piedmont Region for the period 2007/2013. The ERDF has a development strategy (also in terms of urban development) elaborated in accordance with the Community Guidelines, the National Strategic Reference Framework (NSRF), the Lisbon Strategy, the Council of Göteborg and national policies and regional development. With regard to the focus on the cities, the centrality of urban and territorial systems as engines of growth and reference areas for cohesion policy is widely recognized within the ERDF, which pursues:

- the implementation of the processes of growth and of development development of entrepreneurial activities with high added value;

- support for the actions aimed to promote sustainability growth and the recovery of social and physical decay;
- the promotion of actions aimed to increase energy efficiency and use of the renewable sources.

The other tool aimed to territorial and urban development is the Territorial Regional Plan (TRP). Given its nature, not prescriptive, the strategies identified by the TRP does not constitute a constraint, but outline a scenario of desirable development for the Region. The TRP constitutes a recommendation for spatial and sectoral planning for an efficient and sustainable territorial development. With regard to the urban theme, it is interesting to take a strategic objective the recognition of the polycentric system of Piedmont, through the enhancement of the different identities and vocations of Piedmont territories (also with reference to their ability to relate to other Italian regions and the broader European context). In this context, the division into 33 AIT, gravitating to a new urban hierarchy, it also aims to promote and support the linking of urban systems of lower and middle level, which generally correspond to SMSTs. It is to this new vision and interpretation of the territory that the planning and programming at different scales refer explicitly to promote sustainable development and at the same time competitive, the entire region.

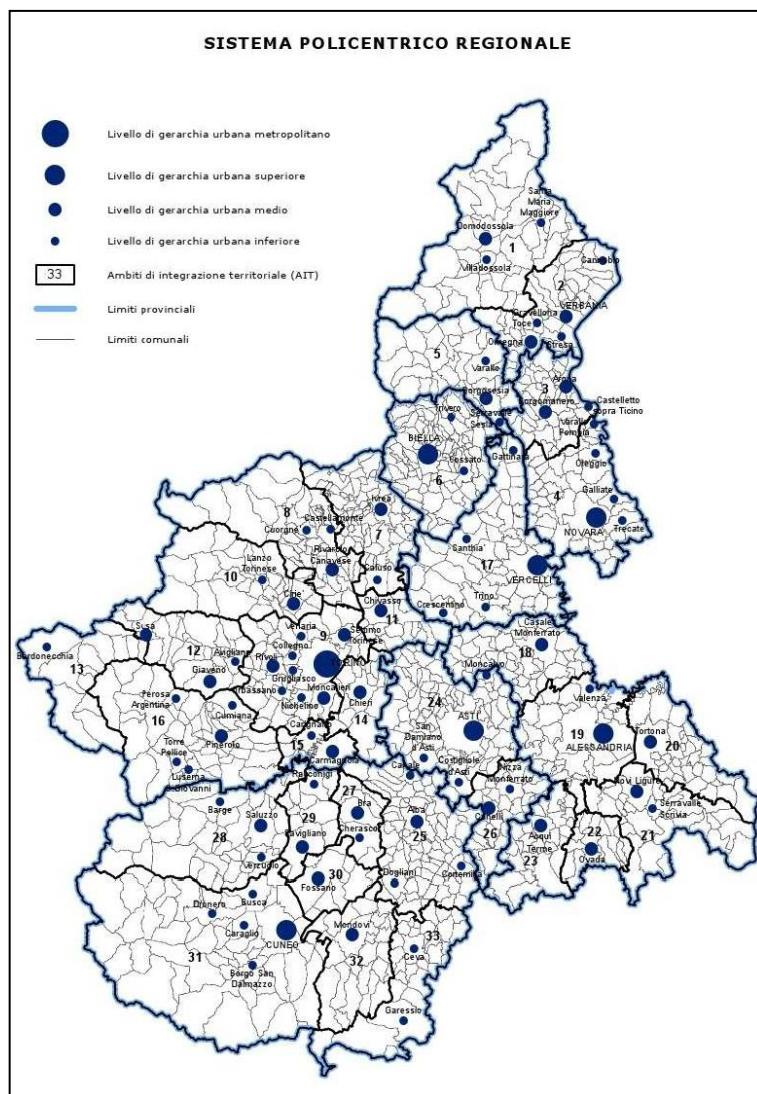


Figure 4.1. AIT of Piedmont Region

The Eu Territorial Cooperation Initiatives conducted in Italy over the past decade have helped to settle an intervention on the cities really significant (with many positive results and some failures) that has reverberated also in the ordinary course of urban dynamics. For example cooperation interventions explicitly aimed at cities have contributed, in the Piedmont context, to make more integrated action on urban areas and to speed up the implementation of the policies and plans (environment, mobility, welfare) with direct and tangible impact on the quality of services provided to citizens and businesses.

- The cities of Piedmont were concerned, in particular, the following Territorial Cooperation Programmes:
- ALCOTRA: cross-border cooperation between Italy and France
- INTERREG cross-border cooperation Italy-Switzerland
- ALPINE SPACE: transnational cooperation in the Alpine areas
- IMMIGRATION: trans-national cooperation between Mediterranean countries
- CENTRAL EUROPE: transnational cooperation for economic development, environmental and social development of Central Europe
- INTERREG IV C: interregional cooperation between local authorities for the exchange and transfer of experiences, strategies and tools that increase the effectiveness of regional development policies and contribute to economic modernization.

4.2 LOCAL DEVELOPMENT and PRACTICES of SMSTs

4.2.1 Alba SMST

Since 2000 Alba has been directly involved in roughly ten European programmes (two of which in the 2000/2006 programme cycle). Generally speaking, these programmes provide territorial funding to enhance agri-food and food-and-wine resources with a view to developing tourism and promoting the area. These projects are therefore in line with the city's recent growth dynamics; in fact, the residential economy, and more specifically the tourist sector, has registered both growth and enhancement. In particular, the following projects were implemented: two projects (Alpine Space and Alcotra) during the former planning period; five Alcotra projects and three Alpine Space projects during the new cycle. The overall objective of three of these projects was to promote sustainable, quality tourism through enhancement of the area as well as local specificities associated not only with excellence in the food-and-wine sector, but also with culture and artistic and architectural heritage. The fourth project, directly implemented by the Local Health Authorities in Cuneo and Bra, focused on the prevention of social unrest among the young generation. The projects implemented under the former programming cycle are particularly interesting: the Alcotra project aimed at increasing the competitiveness of the Italo-French agricultural system in order to fight segmentation of local products, while the Alpine Space project focused on gender policies.

The fact that most proponents were collective entities in the Langhe and Roero (the GAL Langhe and Roero Leader,¹⁸ the Tourist Agency, and the Development Agency) testifies to

¹⁸ The Local Action Groups (GAL), established as companies, implement the Local Development Plans (LDP) by exploiting a wide range of RDP measures (diversification of agricultural activities, development of micro-enterprises, stimulation of tourist activities, services, and enhancement of rural heritage). The GAL and LDP were established thanks to community programmes and, more specifically, LEADER projects (begun in 1989 as Community initiatives and now one of the EU Development priorities in support of rural development). As regards the Piedmont region, "Axis IV – Leader Approach" of the Rural Development Programme 2007-2013 (RDP) promotes the integrated, endogenous and sustainable development of rural areas through the implementation of Local Development Programmes (LDP) presented by the thirteen Local Action Groups (GAL) in the region.

the growing awareness of the importance of a large, integrated and coordinated area, at least for this kind of project.

Table 4.3. Eu initiatives Alba

TOOLS	TITLE OF PROJECTS	AREA	OBJECTIVES	RESOURCES	PROMOTER
ALCOTRA 2007-2013	Tourval	Langhe e Roero	Enhancement and promotion - of products on which to build the identity of the territory, - cross-border excellent and sustainable tourism	Food production and sustainable development	GAL Langhe e Roero Leader (private)
ALCOTRA 2007-2013	Peer Education	Langhe e Roero	Prevention of youth problems	Human and social capital	ASL Cuneo 2 Alba-Bra (public)
ALCOTRA 2007-2013	Projections Turistiche	Langhe e Roero	Enhancement of natural and cultural initiatives and exchange of touristic good practices	Cultural and natural heritage, sustainable tourism	Ente Turismo Alba, Bra, Langhe e Roero (public)
ALCOTRA 2007-2013	Itinerari del Patrimonio vivente	Langhe Monferrato e Roero	Improving the attractiveness of the small rural towns to strengthen the identity of the territories and the opportunities for cultural tourism	Human capital and cultural heritage	Società Consortile Langhe Monferrato e Roero (private)
ALCOTRA 2007-2013	Gender Alp	Langhe, Roero, Monferrato	Implementation of gender planning tools	Human and social capital	Agenzia di Sviluppo delle Langhe, Monferrato e Roero (private)
Europa Centrale	CCC	Alba	Promotion of intangible cultural heritage, especially literary (for example of Beppe Fenoglio).	Cultural capital	Società Consortile Langhe Monferrato e Roero (private)
Europa Centrale	UrbSPace	Alba	Regeneration of urban areas	Architectural and artistic heritage	Società Consortile Langhe Monferrato e Roero (private)
Europa Centrale	CrossCultor	Alba/Langhe e Roero	Development of tourist itineraries related to the Romanesque heritage in Europe.	Landscape, natural and cultural heritage	Società Consortile Langhe Monferrato e Roero (private)
ALCOTRA 2000-2006	L'uomo e la terra.	Langhe e Monferrato	Developing the agricultural system to fight the French-Italian segmentation of agricultural products	Local entrepreneurship	Società Consortile Langhe Monferrato e Roero (private)
Spazio Alpino 2000-2006	CapaCities	Alba/Langhe e Roero	Integration of women into the labor market	Social capital	Società Consortile Langhe Monferrato e Roero (private)

The same is true for regional projects in terms of recognition and enhancement of local resources for tourism (in line with the effort to strengthen the area's *residential economy*)

profile). Alba is the focal point of a Local Development Plan (LDP) and an Integrated Territorial Plan (ITP)¹⁹: the former covers the Langhe and Roero and is sponsored by GAL Leader, while the latter, sponsored by the Alba Municipality, focuses more specifically on the cities of Alba and Bra. Alba and the Langhe are the areas which have taken the most advantage from the opportunity offered by Regional Law 18/1999 in support of tourism projects; in fact they have used it to increase their tourist facilities network and consolidate this new development path.

Table 4.4. Regional initiatives Alba

TOOLS	TITLE OF PROJECTS	AREA	OBJECTIVES	RESOURCES	PROMOTER
Piani di Sviluppo Locale (PSL) - GAL	“Colline da vivere: relazioni in Langa e Roero”.	Langhe e Roero	Sviluppare le filiere produttive locali (prodotti tipici) per valorizzare l'offerta turistica	Human and social capital; natural and landscape heritage	GAL Langhe Roero Leader s.r.l. (private)
Programmi Territoriali Integrati (PTI)	Pti Alba – Bra – Langhe e Roero “Programma di sviluppo per un territorio a vocazione agroalimentare e turistica”.	Municipalities of Alba and Bra	Valorizzare e commercializzare i prodotti agroalimentari di eccellenza, di innovazione tecnologica, di tutela ambientale e paesaggistica, di cultura e di turismo.	Food production and sustainable development ; natural and landscape heritage	Municipality of Alba (public)
Legge Regionale 18/1999	Interventi regionali sostegno dell'offerta turistica.	Piedmont Region	Sviluppo turistico, potenziamento e qualificazione offerta turistica	Local entrepreneurship	Piedmont Region (public)

The table 54 shows the most important local initiatives which, generally speaking, focus on using the area's salient features as a promotion tool: the features include landscape resources, local production (e.g., the importance of the Unesco Candidature or the world-famous Truffle Fair in Alba), and initiatives to boost the town as a centre of culture (sponsored not only by the Municipality, but above all by the Ferrero Foundation) or to protect the landscape and environment.

Table 4.5. Local initiatives Alba

TOOLS	AREA	OBJECTIVES	RESOURCES	PROMOTER
World Heritage List of UNESCO	Langhe, Roero, Monferrato	Enhancement and protection of the wine-landscape	Natural and cultural heritage	Municipalities of Langhe, Monferrato e Roero (public)
Terre dei Savoia	Provincia di Torino	Spatially integrated enhancement of the historical, artistic and landscape	Artistic, landscape and architectonic heritage	Associazione “Le Terre dei Savoia (private)
Environmental initiatives (eg reduction of consumption of soil)	Langhe	environmental protection	Social capital	Varie associazioni ambientaliste locali (private)
Cultural Initiatives (Teatro Stabile di Alba, Music	Alba	Promotion of the territory through artistic and cultural events	Cultural and social capital	Municipality of Alba (public) and Ferrero Foundation (private)

¹⁹ Like other ITP, the Regione Piemonte has still not appropriated funds for this project.

Festivals, ...).				
Food fairs and events (most notably the White Truffle Fair)	Alba	Promotion of products and local products, and territory	Produzioni locali, capitale naturale-paesaggistico, capitale umano	Associazione Commercianti Albesi (ACA) e Municipality of Alba (public)
Plan for district heating and creation of local multi-utility	Alba	District heating for better environmental sustainability and create a multi-utility of the city	Local entrepreneurship	Municipality of Alba (public)

4.2.2 Ceva SMST

Despite its geographical location as a “buffer district” and its position vis-à-vis southern France, Ceva implements more local initiatives rather than cross-border projects. In fact, it has implemented a Local Development Plan and an Integrated Territorial Programme²⁰ which also include the area of Cebana: the objective of the plan and programme is to boost tourism as a local development path.

Table 4.6. Regional initiatives Ceva

TOOLS	TITLE of PROJECTS	AREA	OBJECTIVES	RESOURCES	PROMOTER
Local Development Plans ((LDP) GAL	“Turismo come motore di sviluppo del sistema economico locale”.	Area Cebana	- Strengthening the productive potential of traditional excellence; - Increase the quality of the environment; - Strengthen partnerships between businesses and their ability to design a logical system;	Natural and landscape heritage; sustainable tourism; local entrepreneurship	GAL Mongioie
Integrated Territorial Programmes (ITP)	“Sviluppo sostenibile del Monregalese”	Area Cebano-Monregalese	- Innovate the production and management processes of the supply chain relationship - territory- winter Sports; - Food production niche	Landscape, natural, cultural, architectonic heritage	Comunità Montana delle Valli Cebano-Monregalesi

The more important local initiatives focus on promoting tourism (the Mushroom Museum), but above all on urban development issues. They aim to contain depopulation (by revitalising old town centres, an initiative which has involved several local professionals) and at the same time enhance the town’s role as a service centre associated with training facilities for local sectors. The Ceva Municipality has not only worked, but also lobbied long and hard to be able to host the headquarters of the School of the State Forestry Corps as part of a national ad hoc training programme regarding natural and landscape resources in the area.

Table 4.7. Local initiatives Ceva

TOOLS	AREA	OBJECTIVES	RESOURCES	PROMOTER
School of the State Forestry Corps "Galliano"	Ceva	Center for the specialty, updating and training of State forest personnel		Municipality Ceva (public)
Iniziative e manifestazioni per la promozione	Ceva e microregion	Promotion of the territory on a large scale through its typical products	Local productions, landscape and natural heritage	Municipality Ceva (public)

²⁰ So far, no credit line has been activated by the Region, just like all the other ITPs in Piedmont.

delle produzioni e dei prodotti locali (es. Progetto per il Museo del Fungo)				
Initiatives and events for the promotion of production and local products	Ceva	Regeneration of the historic center of Ceva	Architectonic, artistic and historical heritage.	Municipality Ceva (public)

4.2.3 Fossano SMST

Only one Alcotra 2007-2013 project was implemented in Fossano; the project involves the promotion of itinerant tourism based on soft mobility (cycling and horse trekking routes) in line with the development paths the town intends to use to enhance the Stura river system. The project is participated by the Union of Fossanese Municipalities where Fossano – as mentioned earlier – plays a strong leadership role. However, by restricting concertation about the Stura only to the municipalities in the Union, without extending the project to municipalities upriver, limits the opportunities to create basin-wide management - an objective favourably sponsored by the EU (Directive 2000/60/EC) and regional programmes (Territorial Area Plan – TAP).

Table 4.8. Regional initiatives Fossano

TOOLS	TITLE of PROJECTS	AREA	OBJECTIVES	RESOURCES	PROMOTOR
ALCOTRA 2007-2013	Itinerari dei grandi spazi: le attività a contatto con la natura	Province of Cuneo	Create a pool of itinerant tourism based on soft mobility.	Natural heritage and sustainable tourism	Unioni dei Comuni del Fossanese (public)

Instead the main local initiatives involve the promotion of the area's residential economy (for tourists and residents), for example the revitalisation of the old town centre by the Committee of Entrepreneurs, or cultural events mainly to do with the traditional music of this area considered as one of the characteristics of the city. The afore-mentioned public-private partnership is also very important: not only has the heat produced by the Michelin company been exploited to create urban remote heating (and allowed the town to achieve its sustainability objectives), the company has also benefitted from discounts on its energy supply, a benefit that convinced management not to close the factory in Fossano.

Table 4.9. Local initiatives Fossano

TOOLS	AREA	OBJECTIVES	RESOURCES	PROMOTOR
Efficientamento energetico e teleriscaldamento legato alla Michelin	Comune di Fossano	Take advantage of the heat produced by Michelin for district heating (offend discounts on electricity company)	Multinational corporation for sustainable tourism	Municipality of Fossano (public)
Riqualificazione del centro storico	Comune di Fossano	regeneration of the historic center for tourism development	Historical, artistic and architectonic heritage	Consulta degli imprenditori (private)
Terre dei Savoia	Provincia di Torino	Spatially integrated enhancement of the historical, artistic and landscape	Landscape, artistic and architectonic heritage	Associazione le Terre dei Savoia (private)
Fondazione Fossano Musica e Festival Mirabilia	Comune di Fossano	Promote the area through the musical tradition and the Performing Arts	Cultural heritage	Associazione culturale IdeAgorà e Fondazione Fossano Musica (privates)

4.3 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

4.3.1 To the national level

The fact there is no national reference framework or urban policies is inevitably reflected at local level. In fact, cities tend to work by themselves to solve their problems or exploit growth opportunities; but they run the risk of doing all this without considering the context and sometimes without really knowing what their special features or potential really are. This is why the first and more general policy option should undoubtedly be at national level, highlighting the urgent need for a city-oriented policy (and ensuing intervention strategies).

In this context, we believe it is important to reiterate the indications regarding urban governance proposed by the Hon. Barca (2012), the former Minister of Territorial Cohesion; these indications should become the benchmarks of urban policies in Italy.

- cities should not be considered as finite territorial areas or limited administrative districts, but as 'functional cities';
- clear distinction must be made between a large city/metropolitan area, medium-sized cities, and small municipal systems;
- creation of a multilevel governance system to oversee the urban programming of cities and, on the one hand, give them full authority to choose their own development plans and, on the other, provide them with the operative tools they need to achieve successful implementation.

4.3.2 To each SMSTs

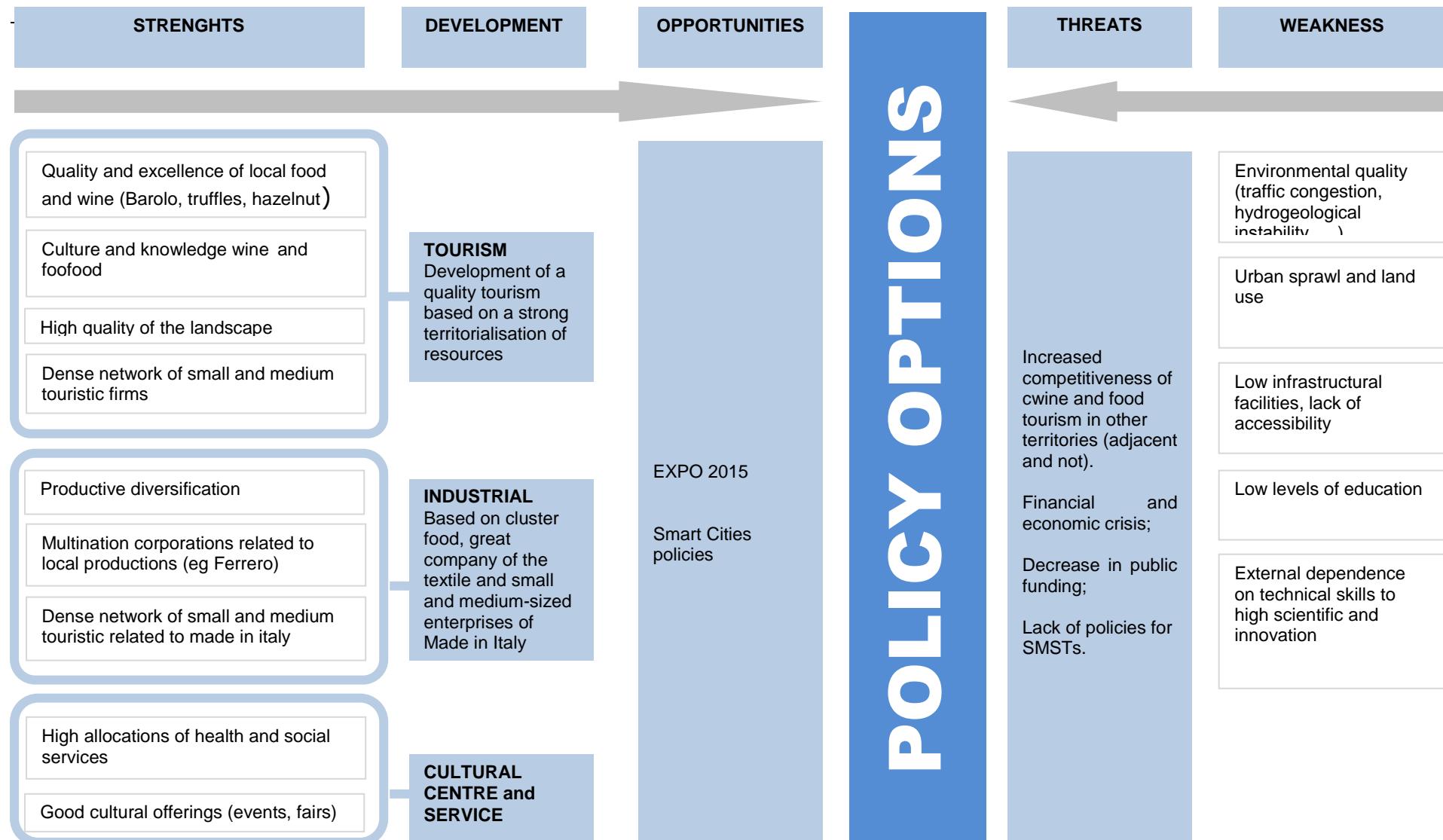
The **policy options** for each case study were elaborated using a **methodology** (previously tested in other researches²¹) which compared the various development paths, boosted by exogenous opportunities, and the weaknesses, hampered by (endogenous) threats. In particular:

- the **development paths** can either be explicit or potential (dotted border). The former (green background) are the ones which the town has recognised as being real territorial paths based on assets which have already been enhanced; the latter (white background and dotted border) are the ones the town would like to develop but does not have enough resources to make them truly competitive at this moment in time. Explicit paths are identified based on **strong points** (all the resources recognised and activated by local players based on statistical analysis, interviews, and studies on local development projects and direct knowledge of these areas); instead potential paths are based on stakeholder indications and activated local projects;
- **elements of weakness or critical areas** were identified based on the methods used for the strong points;
- opportunities and threats, in line with SWOT methodologies, are exogenous.

Policy options are **indications given to local and supralocal administrators to strengthen explicit development paths** based on local specificities and potential; at the same time, they also protect from the risks posed by the exogenous environment, and also verify **potential paths**.

²¹ Support for the territorialisation of regional policies of the Lombardy region – Accompanying measures of the Lombardy Territorial Bodies. Client: IReR Lombardia, 2010-2011.

4.3.2.1 Relationship between SWOT analysis and policy options for ALBA SMST



4.3.2.2 Specific policy options – Alba SMST

The success achieved by Alba is due to a very special mix of growth factors: apart from excellent local assets, local actors have been very enterprising and have ploughed back into the area the wealth generated by diversified production models which, although competitive, also take into account the social conditions of workers. There is a sort of historical pact between big entrepreneurs who have always privileged and supported a strong bond with the territory and its physical and human capital. One example: the family services (nurseries and kindergartens) opened by the two most important enterprises: Ferrero and Miroglio. It's almost possible to say that the most important actors in the economic and social growth of this area have been local enterprises. This production model has created widespread well-being which has remained in the area and laid the groundwork for the development of the viticulture industry (especially small wine growers) which has become internationally renowned and appreciated; in turn it has helped to boost tourism. The characteristic of this virtuous process is the very strong bond with the resources present in the area, resources used as leverage to promote growth based on very solid local relations.

Today however the situation is affected by two different kinds of change: exogenous and endogenous. In the first case because the first really meaningful generation change is currently taking place, and it is not a foregone conclusion that the new managerial class will decide to continue to support the territorial development pact. For example, some enterprises which were very competitive in years gone by have decided to delocalise production and adopt more aggressive policies, a move which has been criticised, especially because of the current crisis. The global economic recession is in fact the biggest exogenous threat faced by the production system in Alba. Compared to the past, this new development path – top quality wine and food tourism – has to tackle this increasingly uncertain situation. This development path is more recent than the agri-food industry and is supported not only by many known and enhanced resources, but also by data proving it is a sector that is growing day by day. Nevertheless, despite the crisis and, above all, despite the increase in competitiveness of other territories near and far (Monferrato, Franciacorta, Trentino Alto Adige –in Italy alone) we believe that Alba should perform an in-depth and serious analysis of where it wants to take its economy and production in the future.

For this reason we believe it is absolutely crucial to continue to support and strengthen the industrial and manufacturing sector, the area's real driving force, and preserve the main characteristic feature of the town and its territory: diversified production highlighted by the co-existence of three explicit, recognised and complementary development paths: industry, tourism, and a service and trade centre for the entire Langhe and Roero districts.

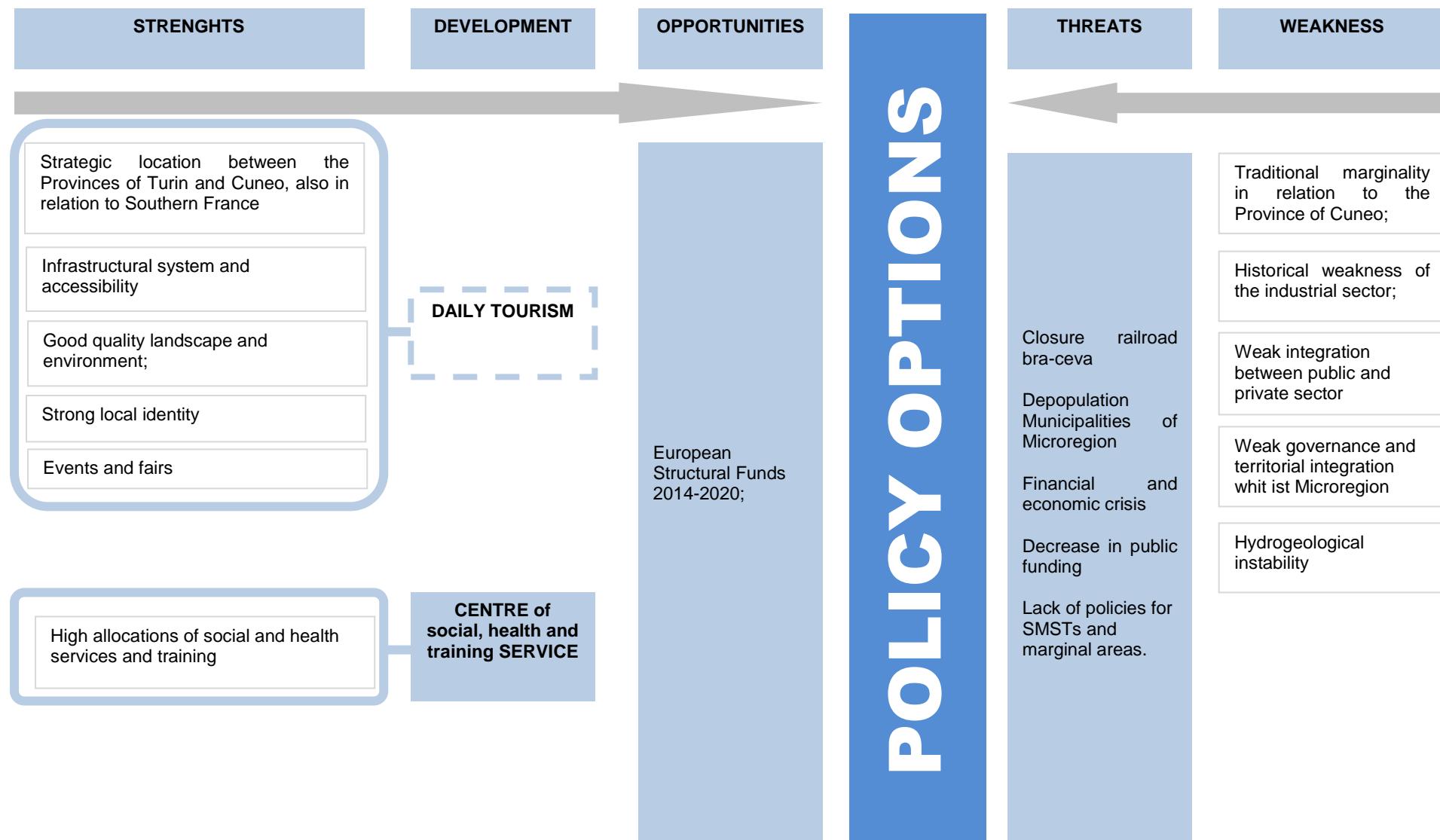
This requires:

- a policy in support of large-scale industry which, apart from a few exceptions, is negatively affected by the recent economic crisis;
- a policy in support of small and medium-sized enterprises. In fact, although competitive due to their flexibility, they are more recent and tend to be more vulnerable to the crisis;
- incentives to develop SMEs associated either with local specificities or representative of the quality and excellence of Made in Italy. In particular, we believe it is important to boost knowledge-based industries, currently a weak point for Alba, and more in general for the entire Province. Establishing and enhancing highly scientific and innovative activities, particularly in support of local production, would reinforce the knowledge base and help to make the entire agri-food system more competitive.

This involves:

- possibly carrying out an in-depth study of the actual growth margins of the sector despite the fact we are dealing with an explicit development path (supported by a good asset and market demand);
- greater internal integration with the larger area of the Langhe and Roero to create not only a brand to promote the territory, but also a real tourist system (including hospitality centres) in order to develop the entire area (for example, the more backward Alta Langa) and thereby extend supply, exploit resources, and avoid creating pockets of marginal areas;
- improving the environmental quality of the area characterised by several ecological problems which in the long run will damage its superb landscape. It is important to maintain the same natural areas, restrict further land use (also considering the urban sprawl) and strengthen the use of renewables, separate waste collection, sustainable mobility, etc.;
- tackling the insufficient accessibility and relative isolation of the area; it is important to develop an integrated sustainable mobility system all over the area (Alba, Langhe and Roero) by creating, for example, a 'hillside' circuit using electric cars, and thereby discourage the use of private cars, solve traffic congestion, and improve air pollution levels.

4.3.2.3 Relationship between SWOT analysis and policy options for CEVA SMST



4.3.2.4 Specific policy options – Ceva SMST

Ceva is an example of a SMST in relative decline, especially industrial decline. Industry here is historically weak and restricted to a few productive sectors (e.g., the wood chain) which have now shifted to nearby areas such as Mondovì. As a result, it's difficult to imagine that Ceva will implement an intense industrial development programme. A policy in support of existing enterprises is much more feasible, and would keep them from moving production elsewhere. Furthermore, synergies could be activated between the use of natural energy-producing resources and raw materials (water, forests) which could be used in short local chains.

Instead it is important to enhance the town's more significant and special features, such as natural capital, in order to increase day-trippers and improve the services (even very specialised services such as the Forest Corps Training Centre) that make Ceva a supralocal point of reference. Nationally-coordinated policies, strategies and projects must be elaborated for marginal/inner areas in order to stop depopulation which in this case involves the micro-regional areas administered by Ceva (and justifies Ceva's excellent social, health and training services).

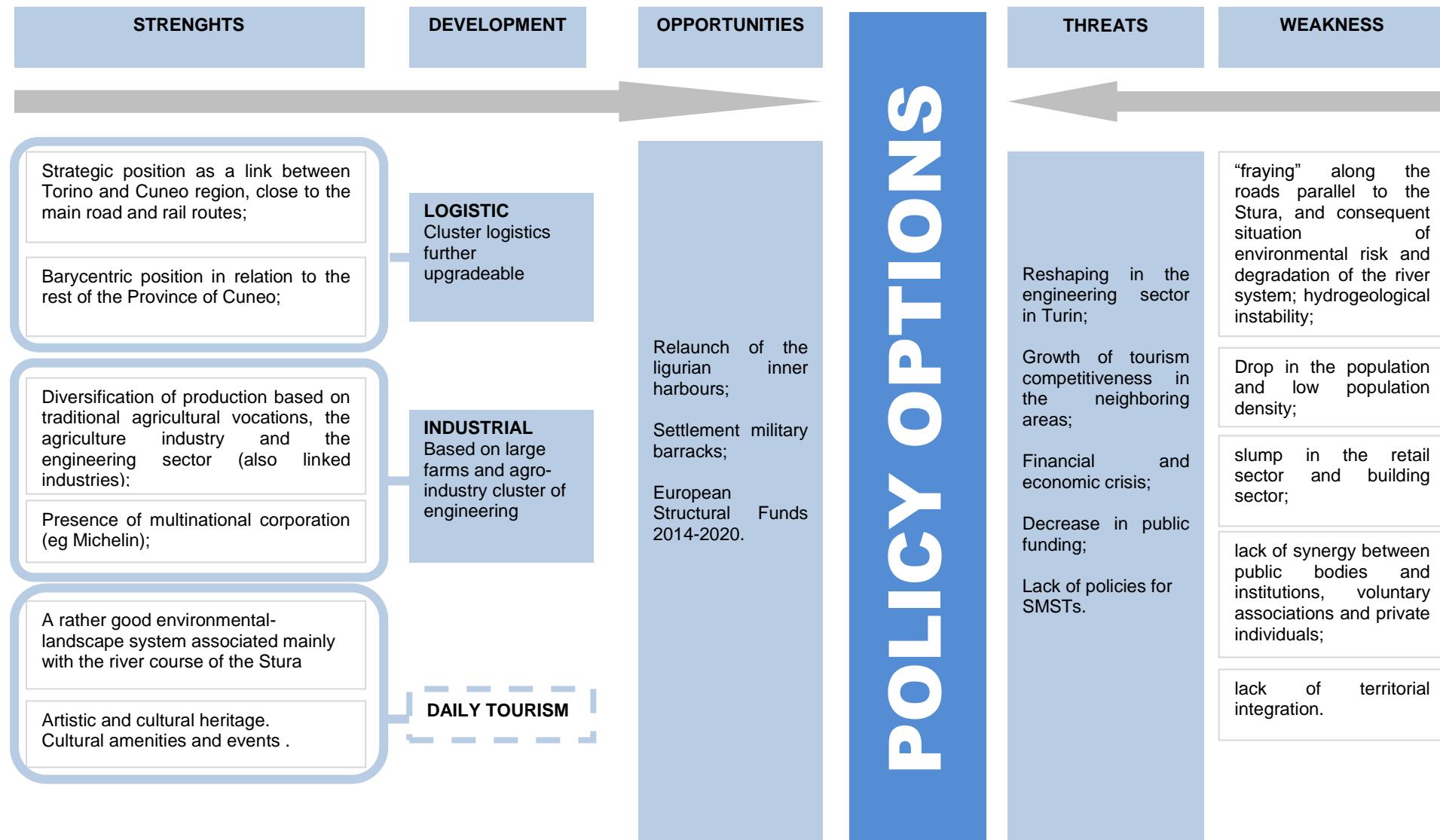
This requires:

- greater integration between Ceva and its reference area;
- environmental and cultural enhancement and protection policies (e.g., old town centre); mitigation of the risks of hydrogeological instability;
- promote tourism further afield towards Liguria, the Langhe and the maritime Alps in the Cuneo area, in order to attract more visitors;

This involves:

- national policies for inner/marginal areas specifically focused on curbing depopulation;
- greater integration between Ceva and its reference area;
- strengthening and promoting training and research activities in the nature/forest sector and associated services (e.g. the Forest Corps Training Centre).

4.3.2.5 Relationship between SWOT analysis and policy options for FOSSANO SMST



POLICY OPTIONS

4.3.2.5 Specific policy options – Fossano SMST

Fossano is a case of SMST in relative success. The production diversification, typical of the whole province of Cuneo, the presence of an agricultural tradition which was accompanied by a specialization in agricultural machinery and mechanics in general have ensured, even in these years of recession, the strength of its economy and manufacturing. In this perspective, an agro-industrial complex looks like real engine of development of this area. However, the city shows a certain difficulty in consolidating its own area of gravitation "dominated" steadily since its role polarizing Fossano does not govern a real Industrial District, which consolidates the presence of an important fabric of SMEs and specializations of success in a cohesive industrial system. In this regard, it becomes important on the one hand to further strengthen the industrial area, on the other hand evaluate further development strategies, such as logistics, although it depends largely on decisions and policies supra, may be initially activated at the provincial level, allowing Fossano to become the logistics hub of the cluster's food Cuneo.

This requires:

to start a process of retraining and upgrading of the industrial environment through greater qualification of settlement patterns, environmental allocations, the presence of production services (and manufacturers), the image offer.

Regarding business services, logistics is a vital issue that, given the geographical centrality of Fossano in Cuneo plain, should result in economic roles and functional recognizable. In this sense it is necessary to overcome the deficit of logistics management is found in both Fossano, more generally, in the whole territory of Cuneo.

In terms of broader territorial strategies need to focus on the positioning of Fossano against the emerging area represented to Albese e Laghe and to their success around to agricultural resources and landscape. How to relate to an initiative by now of so much power and international visibility? What to give of your own and be recognized for contributing to the system offer? Some hypotheses may relate to certain specializations food (such as meat and its quality/traceability), the cultural offerings of the Old Town and the urban system, the supply of sustainable tourism along the Stura to reconnect with the initiatives proposed by other territories riparian (such as the creation of a riverside park from Cuneo to Cherasco).

4.3.2.6 General policy options

An analysis of the three case studies confirmed two of the three strategic options for territorial development identified by former Minister Barca for the next programming period: cities and inner areas.

Regarding **city priorities**, the following is required:

- revision and modernisation of urban services for city residents and users. Cohesion policies should support improved efficiency and effectiveness of network infrastructures and public services in urban areas, as well as provide better services for residents and users in the city. The principles of digital citizenship and new public services associated with the paradigm of *smart cities* and the Italian Digital Agenda 2012 are particularly important: *For SMSTs in general and the case studies in particular, this involves strengthening the knowledge economy since the towns in question seem to be generally rather deficient on this issue. In particular, for SMSTs like Alba and Ceva which consider tourism as leverage towards growth, a crucial and essential objective to increase their attractiveness and accessibility (including immaterial accessibility) would be to provide innovative services and remove the digital divide.*
- reinforcement of social inclusion projects and practices for the more fragile members of the population and the more disadvantaged areas and districts. Continuing the process implemented by the Action Plan for Cohesion, the 2014-2020 programme will have to earmark social inclusion projects involving voluntary organisations and the social economy by exploiting participative local development tools. *This suggestion is valid not only for big cities where social unrest is known and evident. Inclusion is crucial even for the SMSTs (for example Fossano and above all Ceva) often affected by depopulation and which, at the same time, have a significant influx of immigrants (and risk social tensions, especially during a period of economic crisis).*
- reinforcement of the city's capacity to boost prestigious local segments of global production chains. In a select number of cities, cohesion policies should help to attract prestigious segments of local production chains with an urban vocation (creativity, innovative welfare services, corporate governance, public relations, communication, advanced services for industrial and agricultural enterprises). *This suggestion is particularly important for SMSTs like Alba which is not only home to local production facilities of global chains (the agri-food and viticulture sectors) but is also a town with an excellent quality of life - features which make it very attractive and competitive. In addition, increased specialisation in this sector would reinforce its knowledge-based economy and help to augment further production diversification - a strong point in the development of this territory.*

Instead, as regards the **inner area priorities** (like Ceva), many initiatives were implemented as part of the two programming cycles; the initiatives focused mainly on the revival of agricultural activities, the restructuring of old town centres, work on schools and hospitals, digital infrastructures, and cultural and social projects. However, even though the results were moderately interesting, the fact there is no national strategy specifically focused on the development of these areas might nullify the efforts made (often exclusively) by these towns. Any review of national policies, and any new policy for inner areas should have the following objectives:

- to entrust the citizens with their own safety and with the protection of the area in order to reduce depopulation dynamics;

- promote natural, cultural and landscape diversity and polycentrism as a growth model, by opening the area to the outside world;
- stimulate growth and employment using potential resources which have so far been poorly exploited.

For a town like Ceva these three objectives involve working on the dynamics of the territorial system, reinforcing internal relationships and local identity, and a sense of responsibility towards the territory; this would curb depopulation and abandonment and, at the same time, open the area to the outside world in order to enhance the strategic characteristics of its position and resources.

We believe several policy options should be added to these three objectives based on the results of the case studies, but on the whole also valid for all SMSTs.

Improve knowledge of one's own area, above all the specific assets which can be used to activate strategies and growth policies. All too often towns, especially small towns with excellent natural features and a good quality of life focus on development paths (especially tourism) without actually having the necessary resources or sustained market demand. In particular, improving citizens' knowledge of the area where they live should also include improving their knowledge of other towns (e.g., when polycentric systems are in place) because by comparing their assets, growth policies, strategic horizons, etc., they can identify areas where they can cooperate, or even areas of competition, both of which should be studied as part of a **systemic vision** of a larger area.

A systemic vision of the territory, both spatially and functionally, can be achieved only through good **territorial integration** between actors, policies and tools.

In fact, **territorial integration** is behind any governance process which is a weak point for many SMSTs. Territorial integration can be achieved on two levels,

- through the gravitational area of the SMSTs (in this case, a micro-region) to reinforce the mutually dependent relationship between the city and the much bigger area it influences (in terms of commuter flows, services, ...) which is also the area that provides its material and immaterial resources. This is true above all for isolated SMSTs which, without strong links with other towns, can achieve a critical mass with the micro-region (*see Ceva*).
- **with other SMSTs**, above all when polycentric networks are present; this will help to increase the critical mass of each town and achieve a supralocal strategic vision. This is true above all for the SMSTs which on the one hand can increment their competitiveness and critical mass through better cooperation (*see the case of the seven sisters in the Cuneo district, and polycentric cities in Tuscany, Emilia or Umbria*) and, on the other, are forced to appreciate how some issues necessarily have to be tackled through integration with other areas (*see, for example, the lost opportunities of Fossano as regards logistics or integrated river projects, or the need for integrated sustainable transportation between Alba and the Langhe*).

An urban micro-regional or supralocal **strategic vision** (for example, provincial or regional) must be place-based to the greatest extent possible, above all so that it can intercept the very few financing opportunities made available by the European Union for the next 2014-2020 programming period.

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