



Inspire Policy Making with Territorial Evidence

TARGETED ANALYSIS //

IMAGINE

Developing a metropolitan-regional imaginary in
Milano-Bologna urban region

Synthesis report // May 2021

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Abbreviations

AD	Amministratore Delegato (Chief Executive Officer)
AdE	Agenzia delle Entrate (Revenue Agency)
AGCOM	Autorità per le Garanzie nelle Comunicazioni (Authority for Communications Guarantees)
AIM	Associazione Interessi Metropolitan
ANCI	Associazione Nazionale Comuni Italiani (National Association of Italian Municipalities)
ASIA	Archivio Statistico delle Imprese Attive (Statistical Archive of Active Firms)
BO	Bologna
CCIAA	Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e Agricoltura (Chamber of Commerce)
CEMAT	Conference of Ministers responsible for Spatial/Regional Planning
CENSIS	Centro Studi Investimenti Sociali
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CLLD	Community Led Local Development
CNAO	Centro Nazionale di Adroterapia Oncologica (National Center of Oncologic Androtherapy)
CNCC	Consiglio Nazionale dei Centri Commerciali (Shopping Centers National Council)
COR	Committee of Regions
COVID-19	Coronavirus disease 2019
CRPE	Comitato Regionale per la Programmazione Economica
DASTU	Department of Architecture and Urban Studies, Politecnico di Milano
DEGURBA	Eurostat Degree of Urbanisation
DG REGIO	Directorate General for Regional and Urban Policy
EC	European Commission
EEN	Enterprise Europe Network
EGTC	European Grouping of Territorial Cooperation
ESPON	European Territorial Observatory Network
ESRI	Environmental System Research Institute
EU 13	European Union countries that joined after 2004
EU 15	European Union countries that were member states prior to 2004 (incl. UK)
EU	European Union
Eurostat	European Statistic Office
FR	France
FUA	Functional Urban Area
G&L	Globus & Locus
GVA	Gross Value Added
HSR	High Speed Railway
ID	Industrial District
IFAB	Big Data and Artificial Intelligence for Human Development Foundation
ISTAT	Istituto Nazionale di Statistica (Italian National Institute of Statistics)
ISUD	Integrated Sustainable development
IT	Italy
ITI	Integrated Territorial Investment
JRC/EC	Joint Research Centre of the European Commission
KIBS	Knowledge intensive business services
LAs	Local Authorities
LAU	Local Administrative Units
LMA	Labour Market Areas
MC	Monitoring Committee
MEF	Italian National Ministry of Economy and Finance
METREX	Network of European metropolitan regions and areas
MI	Milano
MIT	Italian National Ministry for Infrastructures
MNE	Multi National Enterprises
MR	Metropolitan Regions

NeWSps	New Working Spaces
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OMI	Osservatorio del Mercato Immobiliare (Real Estate Market Observatory)ù
PC	Piacenza
PIC	Piano Intercomunale Bolognese
PIM	Piano Intercomunale Milanese
PL	Poland
PNRR	Piano Nazionale di Ripresa e Resilienza (National Recovery and Resilience Plan)
POLIMI	Politecnico di Milano
PON	National Operational Program Metro
METRO	
POPSU	Observatory platform for urban projects and strategies
PRIN	Progetti di ricerca di Rilevante Interesse Nazionale (Research projects of significant national interest)
PTR	Piano Territoriale Regionale
PUMS	Piano Urbano della Mobilità Sostenibile (Urban Sustainable Mobility Plan)
PV	Pavia
RLM	Regione Logistica Milanese (Milan Logistic Region)
RP	Regional Portrait
SC	Synthetic Control
SI	Spatial Imaginaries
SLL	Sistema Locale del Lavoro (Local commuting area)
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SNAI	Strategia Nazionale Aree Interne (National Strategy for inner areas)
TPL	Trasporto Pubblico Locale (Local Public Transport system)
VP	Visual Platform
WP	Work Package

1 Context and purposes of IMAGINE

Today's era might be defined as one of **regional urbanization**, one in which urban regions are substituting cities on the international economic scene and in their roles in the world economy. New hierarchies are emerging calling in to play apparently distant territories, facing unprecedented and unexpected roles in the spatial reorganisation of capitalism. This fact concurs with the transcending production of the urban and the emergence of new power relations between places. In this context, "**Infrastructural Corridors**" like the one between Milano and Bologna, capable of compressing time-space distances and directly influencing social and economic uses of large scales of space, are at the centre of new attention as the catalyst of territorial development at the regional scale.

Indeed, these processes of **regional reorganization are not neutral**: they produce uneven and unprecedented **geographies of differentiation** that contribute to new space of conflicts and unbalances, but also to new territorial protagonism and political dynamics. Cities and metropolitan areas are experiencing relevant processes of economic restructuring whose scale and nature are so consistent and unique that their governing authorities are hardly able to deal with both the premises and consequences of such a change. There is indeed a **growing gap between consolidated forms of governance and the nature, rhythm, and dimension of socio-spatial economic change**: which is the cause of a lack of both strategic visions and governance framework for policymakers, who are, therefore, unable to react to and deal with the growing economic differentiation between places and the emergence of, along with new competitiveness patterns, new forms of marginalization and peripheralization.

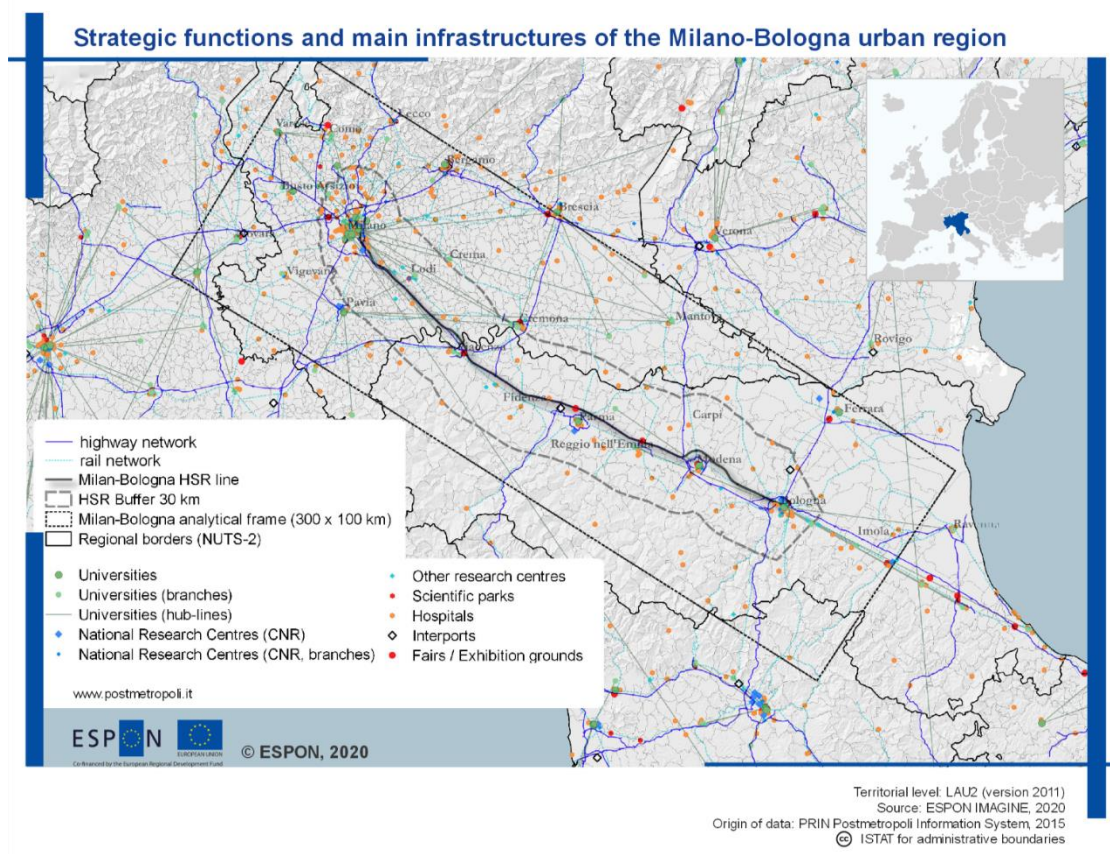


Figure 1 – Strategic functions and main infrastructures of the Milano-Bologna urban region

As it is evident, these processes of ungoverned regionalization can **seriously threaten territorial cohesion**. Moved by this concern, expressed by stakeholders, **ESPON promoted the IMAGINE targeted analysis to**

explore the regionalization processes ongoing in the territory between Milano and Bologna, focusing on the influence of the HSR corridor on social and economic dynamics.

Three primary lines of actions explain the purposes of ESPON IMAGINE.

1. First, IMAGINE created a relevant base of **spatial knowledge and identified territorial narratives** and common analytical frameworks regarding the regional urbanization processes in one of the most economically and socially dynamic urban regions in Italy, the Milano-Bologna urban area. This wide urbanised area is only limitedly recognised and managed as a functional integrated urban region, despite supported by an historical infrastructural corridor, enhanced by the recent completion of an HSR offer. The research identified patterns of regional integration, positive trends, threats, and challenges to regional governance and planning.
2. Second, IMAGINE **developed and tested new territorial narratives and governance frameworks**, new visions, and imaginaries for the urban region Milano-Bologna through the active engagement of institutional stakeholders and territorial actors. These are expected to enable **new opportunities for territorial alliances between places**, based upon new integrated approaches that could include metropolitan cities, together with in-between provincial authorities, exploring the potentialities of informal coordination and moving toward more formalized, strategic cooperation.
3. Finally, IMAGINE elaborated and generated scenarios of regionalization for the Milano-Bologna urban region to foster a **co-design process of policy recommendations with stakeholders**. In this perspective, the project explored the **potential of Integrated Territorial Initiatives** as a governance tool for regionalization processes and proposed specific key lessons to be applied in context as well as general policy recommendations that could be eventually replicated in other European urban regions or in other territories characterized by the presence of infrastructural corridors. The European dimension has been researched considering the broader EU policy context shaped by strategic documents as the EU Cohesion policy 2021-2027, the Territorial Agenda 2030, the EU Green Deal, the Resilience and Recovery Plans, and the New Leipzig Charter.

2 Key Findings

The research generated several in-depth findings that could be grouped in three main categories.

2.1 Findings from the Regional Portrait

IMAGINE developed an **extensive territorial analysis of the urban region Milano Bologna**, identifying together with the local stakeholders the relevant spatial data to be collected and analysed. The emerging picture is somehow contrasted and contradictory, where social and economic processes that scaled up and integrate at a regional scale are associated with governance mechanisms and traditional visions that go against this hypothesis.

2.1.1 Reinforcing regionalization

An historical polycentric urban region, dense and rich in strategic regional and national functions, characterized by a specific urban-rural relationship

The exceptional interaction between a fertile plain, the Pianura Padana (the most fertile agricultural plain in Italy) and two mountain systems (the Alps and the Apennines), and a densely urbanized space makes it a peculiar urban region, with high proximities and connections between different settlement patterns and an assortment of natural and anthropic landscapes. The whole urban area is densely populated and interconnected, organized in a polycentric structure that can count on an offer of highly qualified urban and regional infrastructures. On the one hand, the urban region has been shaped. Today, it is supported by a historical infrastructural corridor, moving from the north to the south, coupling the historical state road via Emilia, the XIX century railway lines, and the XX century highway A1, recently consolidated by the HSR offer. On the other hand, a series of regional and urban strategic functions (universities, research and development poles, airports, exhibition areas) makes it a clear example of a polycentric urban region, based upon the interaction between the Milanese urban region and the polycentric system of mid-size cities of the via Emilia corridor and as such part of the wider megaregion that covers the north of Italy. The Po river course, located between the two urban macro-regions Torino-Milano-Venezia and Milano-Bologna, marks an apparent, evident break in urban continuity, but shall also be read for its specific nature of the Pianura Padana as an "operational landscape" as one of the most historical cultivated and anthropized planes in the country. Nonetheless, this agricultural and naturalistic territory works as a cultural and landscape resource for the entire northern Italy macro-region. In this respect, it cannot be read as a simple void or rupture rather than an integrated and complex anthropized natural landscape.

A rich, competitive, and dynamic urban region

The Milano-Bologna axis's productivity is very high, and this acts as an activator of other heterogenous spill-overs for the interested areas. A clear corridor emerges, except for Pavia, Lodi, and Piacenza, as far as the added-value per employee is concerned when compared to the other HSR corridors in northern Italy, such as Torino-Milano, Milano-Venezia, or Bologna-Venezia. **These regionalization dynamics are also partially confirmed by the localization quotient of business services**, where intermediate territories have a strong interaction with the provincial capitals and contribute to generate urbanity and quality of life for its inhabitants.

An interconnected urban region

We are in the presence of a model of everyday life organisation based on strong local and regional mobility and less hierarchic and polarised mobility patterns than in other urban areas. More in detail, we recognise the corridor, made of highly mobile and interconnected cities surrounded by similarly performing territories. The corridor looks almost continuous, not just made of city cores. Here lays the real difference with similar corridors in Northern Italy, the Milano – Venezia, where mobility ratios are comparable but much more local, i.e., more confined in the respective commuting areas.

A mix of centrality and networked attitude is mobilized at the institutional level: the whole area is characterized by the diffusion of different kinds of polarities, playing the role of service providers under other conditions (metropolitan, territorial). At the same time, some of them have developed several experiences at sovra-

municipal scales to address societal challenges. Metropolitan governance is trying to support territorial cohesion, while new functional actors are emerging with supralocal functional geography that could generate some innovative spatial imaginaries.

An environment crossed by common challenges.

The urban region also seems to be identified by sharing common environmental challenges of internal and external origins. The intense urbanization of this territory, the high level of air pollutants, and the hydrogeological risks that natively characterize the region sketch the picture of a territory under ecological threat. Even with internal differentiations, it is evident that common environmental challenges cross the entire macro-region, posing a claim for transcalar strategies of ecological transition that could tackle them.

2.1.2 Hinderling regionalisation

Growing regional differentiation

From the socio-demographic point of view, **not all municipalities are experiencing positive growth** and economic development trends along the corridor, with a general tendency to concentrate significant change closer to the corridor itself. This fact is also reflected in the degree of competitiveness where the polycentric competitiveness of the Milano metropolitan area and the neighbouring provinces emerges. In contrast, at the other side of the corridor, higher degrees of competitiveness are visible within the linear axis of Emilia Romagna's provincial capitals of Bologna, Modena, Reggio Emilia, and Parma.

Erosion of the commons

The urbanization and anthropization dynamics, favoured by the accessibility and the economic potentials of the area, have progressively eroded the mountain areas' environmental potential and plans. Although this area works as a "de facto" bioregion along the Po-river hydrological basin, its environmental role is consistently challenged by the pressure of urbanization dynamics and economic ones.

Conflictual relationship between local and sovralocal connectivity

The introduction of the HSR has powered the accessibility only in those cities directly served by HSR stations while reducing the direct national connectivity of towns that HSR stations do not serve. This condition is particularly true along the corridor in the border contexts between the two regions and the regional capitals not supported directly by the corridor.

Fragmentation and lack of coordination and vision at the urban-region scale

A consistent number of small municipalities are locked in and poorly networked, especially in the mountain areas in-between Milano and Bologna. Cities are more reluctant to cooperate. New functional actors are emerging on a regional scale, with limited visibility but a growing strategic role in promoting a sovralocal imaginary. At the same time, smaller municipalities have generated or have been attracted by participation in sovralocal public utilities to provide services and facilities. The whole area is characterized by the coexistence of a condition of density and centrality of municipalities localized along the main corridor (and a certain degree of propension/need to cooperate) and one of peripherality and dispersion municipalities, which are often not even supported by a sovralocal governance framework.

2.2 Findings from the in-depth analysis on the infrastructural corridor

IMAGINE analysed the role of the **infrastructural corridor and the impact of HSR**, emphasizing a consistent process of regionalisation of mobility dynamics, which makes this urban region peculiar and challenging for the sake of the design of mobility policies. HSR introduction between Milano and Bologna generated direct and visible effects of connectivity among the two regional capitals and the rest of the country, producing the expected results, even in terms of competitiveness of the HSR to the air-based offer. Unfortunately, the same cannot be said regarding the national connections (and consequently the national-scale accessibility) of intermediate cities between Milano and Bologna that have been reduced due to the shift of most long-distance relationships to the HS line. A minor exception is found concerning the external intermediate station of Reggio Emilia Mediopadana AV, which is by far the most successful between extra-urban and intermediate HSR stations in Italy.

Every line and corridor is different from the others. The transferability of our findings must be considered in light of the case's peculiarities; however, the following takeaways could be extended and generalised to similar situations.

- 1) **Territory matters.** The characteristics of the territory crossed are crucial a lot in explaining successes and failures. The main lesson learned from the Milano – Bologna case is that the trade-off between higher speed and loss of connection for intermediate cities must be carefully weighted. A flexible (but more expensive) solution made of a more porous line with interconnections could be considered here and in similar conditions.
- 2) **The tunnel/pipe effect can be superseded with an integrated mobility offer** HSR shall be part of a more extensive train mobility offer. If the conventional line is underused, the switch to the HS line of fast services will benefit the extremities. Still, few or no benefits (or even losses under some circumstances) will occur in the intermediate territories.
- 3) **Intermediate cities can be integrated into the HSR offer.** Extra-urban HSR stations have been used extensively in Europe for various reasons. Reggio Emilia AV is a success story for patronage because it serves a populated and economically very lively territory and is well accessible by motorway. This success is, however, limited by the lack of really effective interconnections with the enlarged area. In particular, it is not served by regional trains (except a very secondary line), so travellers less use it to/from the neighbouring cities that prefer to remain on conventional service. In a broader perspective, HSR corridors can benefit from intermediate stations when part of more comprehensive mobility policies, offering the opportunity to diversify the offer and the service.
- 4) **Long-term commuting can be a resource or a threat to labour market.** Under some conditions, the phenomenon of HS commuting could become relevant, reaching shares of 10-20% of total travellers or more. The rise of such mobility patterns should be assessed carefully: if involving weak cities and territories, this could become a severe threat for them, exacerbating the already existing territorial disparities. On the contrary, in corridors characterised by a balanced profile of economic competitiveness, it represents a healthy way to extend labour markets, benefiting the enterprises. This is especially important in some sectors, like creativity and cultural activities, which can benefit from the reduction of the costs of distance while capturing the value of quality of life.

2.3 Findings from the stakeholder engagement

IMAGINE engaged institutional stakeholders and functional actors from the region in an intense knowledge exchange aimed to develop and test on the one hand possible **territorial narratives and scenarios of urban development** for the Milano-Bologna region, and on the other hand to discuss possible governance mechanisms that could be deployed to support the co-design and implementation of regional planning strategies. The stakeholders actively involved in IMAGINE are: Metropolitan City of Milan (IT), Metropolitan City of Bologna (IT), Province of Pavia (IT), Province of Piacenza (IT), Associazione Interessi Metropolitan (IT), City of Warsaw (PL), METREX - Network of European metropolitan regions and areas (BE), POPSU- Observatory platform for urban projects and strategies (FR). In addition, several territorial actors have been engaged during IMAGINE, including municipalities, metropolitan cities, provinces and regions, associations of municipalities, river authorities, universities, technopoles and research centers, chambers of commerce, industrial associations, logistic actors, and bank foundations.

The dialogue with stakeholders and functional actors was carried out along the data-based research activity, with the purpose to integrate the stakeholder's perspective in the same formulation of research questions and hypotheses that have indeed been oriented to respond to explicit and implicit requests and needs.

From the governance point of view:

- There is a clear need to govern the strong interdependencies between territories along the corridor; however, **administrative fragmentation** makes it very difficult to produce effective governance and policies for this trans-territorial system. Despite the recent reforms, the original boundaries that have shaped territorial systems' regulations have remained the same. Fragmentation of governance also affects economic functions, producing competition and duplications in the offer of local collective competition goods and impacting the competitiveness of companies in international markets. In particular, a critical area is the innovation sector: the research networks of Lombardia and Emilia-

Romagna are not exchanging information and data, limiting their capacity to produce alliances that can compete in the European scenario.

- There is urgent scope for regulating functions organized at trans-territorial scale: logistics, mobility, utilities, environmental functions. The main obstacles to **the innovation of utilities** are those arising from the fragmentation of territories, which limit efficiency and cause a massive delay in the diffusion of new technologies.

From the territorial point of view:

- **the role of medium-sized cities** in the regional scenario needs to be recognized and enforced. Medium-sized cities are affected by the growing attractiveness of the metropolitan areas: Milano and Bologna have recently experienced significant growth, but at the same time, the intermediate cities along the axis have expressed a slower dynamic. The challenge for the future will be to redistribute development, reducing the imbalance between territories, before competitive advantages still available in the smaller centers are consumed by the competition of the two larger cities.
- **The attractiveness of peripheral and mountain areas** is a critical issue due to the lack of infrastructures and services: the tendency towards concentrating functions in metropolitan areas is perceived as the main threat to peripheral areas. The integration of the marginal regions in the corridor is also affected by the **fragility and limited institutional capacity of small municipalities**.
- An integrated vision of the Milano-Bologna area should consider the system not only as a large metropolitan region but also as a significant bioregion: thus allowing to investigate how the **integration between the natural system** (starting from the Po river, which is the most crucial ecologic corridor in the area, and from rural areas) **and the urban system**, leading in the direction of better sustainability. An issue that became more urgent during the Covid-19 crisis demonstrated the correlation between environmental quality, quality of life, and public health.

From the policy point of view:

- **Mobility is a critical factor for integrating the corridor**: the high-speed railway line seems to have led to drops in terms of accessibility in the areas not covered by its stations due to the lack of interregional trains able to guarantee the connection to the HSR. This already complex situation further suffered from the Covid-19 crisis, which changed the demand for mobility and the pace of commuting.
- Regarding **logistics systems**, the corridor's strategic importance for freight flows brought to congestion, land use, and competition between hubs. There is a need for a more vigorous dialogue between the worlds of logistics and institutions governed by different logics and rhythms: the rigidity of institutional assets does not allow for the upgrades of infrastructure systems necessary to accompany the change of economic geographies.

3 Policy Recommendations

It is possible to summarize two kinds of policy recommendations as a conclusion of IMAGINE. On the one hand, there are those specifically oriented to meet the needs of the territorial stakeholders and provide a possible "agenda" and an innovative governance framework for regional development strategies. On the other hand, several lessons can be generalized and provide insights useful for the update and the renewal of EU cohesion policies in the cycle 2021-2027

3.1 Toward an ITI for the Milano-Bologna urban region

The discussion carried out with economic, functional, and territorial actors within the IMAGINE's programme of focus groups, seminars, and forums expressed **a common interest in the construction of a regional scale imaginary around some key points**: sustainable development, contrasting climate change, reduction of soil consumption, mobility, but also new issues exacerbated by the Covid-19 pandemic, like urban logistics, use of public spaces, changes in residential dynamics.

Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI) have been explored as a possible framework for regional governance, getting inspiration from European best practices. The debate over a possible ITI for the Milano-Bologna region led to some indications and criteria to inspire future cooperative actions, which can provide a solid basis for an incremental process that could lead to an ITI.

- I. **Sustainability as the basis for the development of a shared vision for the integration of the Milano-Bologna region** requires the redefinition of objectives and actions about environmental quality, land management, quality of life, the transition from linear to circular economies, as well as the ability to activate an innovative vision of ecosystem services, recognizing the close interaction between urban territories and reserves of naturalness and environmental resources.
- II. **Mobility and logistics are critical factors in the governance** of urban processes and economic competitiveness in the Milano-Bologna area in the new scenario dominated by increased mobility of people, goods, and information; mobility and logistics became crucial issues.
- III. **Research and innovation systems require more robust integration**, encouraging trans-regional innovation programmes, sharing experiences and projects between the two regions, particularly SME innovation. More powerful integration between the innovation networks of Lombardia and Emilia-Romagna could help the research system to face the challenges posed by climate change, circular and foundational economy.
- IV. **Efficiency and innovation of utilities must be pursued to achieve better sustainability and quality of life**. This perspective can provide the premises to regulate the competition and favour the coherence of the offer with the planning objectives.
- V. **New multi-level governance models are needed to regulate the variety and complexity of the macro-region's environmental, socio-technical, and institutional ecosystem**. These new governance models should also work on variable geometries to intervene on the different functions since neither an "optimal size" nor "optimal shape" emerges to govern the Milano-Bologna system. A shared vision of urban development must necessarily allow open territorial aggregations, responsive to specific needs, recognizing the value of differences and variety.

As a first step towards activating an ITI for the Milano-Bologna region, **the project's final event launched the proposal to transform the IMAGINE network into a permanent forum**. Such a forum could foster the production of intellectual capital (information exchange), social capital (creation of trust among the actors), and political capital (alliances for future cooperative actions). The discussion encompassed the opportunity to consider **the EU Green Deal as a framework for new trans-local partnerships to regulate many of these issues**, which require actions organized at the corridor scale to produce good results.

An ITI for the Milano-Bologna region, inspired by the EU Green Deal perspective, could produce a common strategy for the transformation of urban and regional scenarios: local projects, each taking resources from different European and national programmes, could build on it, starting from the identification of a critical

issue to be fronted with a "flagship project" (i.e., the regulation of logistics and mobility systems along the corridor).

3.2 Urban regions and corridors which role and opportunities in the new cohesion policy cycle 2021-2027 and in the EU integration project

In addition to specific recommendations addressing the territory targeted by the IMAGINE analysis and the stakeholders that generated the initial research questions, IMAGINE has also been an opportunity to discuss the role of urban regions and corridors in the EU integration project. The definition of the new cohesion policy cycle, together with the options provided under the Green Deal and the Resilience and Recovery national plans, could provide momentum for more explicit attention on metropolitan regions, which have remained quite in the shadow, in the EU debate, in particular from an operational perspective.

All in all, the **new EU cohesion policy offers urban regions and macro-regions exciting opportunities to take action**; in particular, within the ITI and Interreg initiatives, there is space for supporting the construction of new regional imaginaries. Simplified procedures and regulations can help urban regions. At the same time, EU cohesion policy shall probably support national authorities to provide spaces for urban regions to play a role and invest in them. They have been investing in the part of cities in the Cohesion policy 2014-2020. **Decoupling cities from urban regions can be crucial**, but strong attention shall be made to grasp the interconnected relationship between the urban and regionalised urban scale.

In particular, the **EU Green Deal paves the way for policy challenges crucial to the scale of urban regions and macro-regions**. More clear support to them could be envisaged than the one now evident, at least in the following implementation phase, while asking the Member States to consider the role of urban regions towards the Green Deal objectives.

As the New Leipzig Chart, several strategic documents point out the relevance of a new transcalar approach to the urban. **Functional interdependencies and partnership are the battlegrounds for new policy agendas and governance frameworks to be developed** to adapt urban policies to the needs of European citizens. **An integrated, participative, and co-designed and multilevel governance approach and a place-based approach** shall be adopted to work on the production of public goods. This approach can support an overall reflection on urban regions and corridors, going beyond traditional metropolitan and urban imaginaries and sectoral policy treatment of corridors as infrastructure.

Urban regions and macro-regions shall take the lead and start processes to develop a new awareness of the glocal and transcalar nature of the dynamics and processes restructuring the society-economy nexus, producing significant spatial changes. To do that, they **shall count on the opportunities provided at the EU and national levels to promote such a "regional" turn in policy-making** that can support such an endeavour and challenge. Engaging in scenario-making exercises, both focusing on governance and policy challenges inspired by a regional imaginary, regions, and corridors can create the ground for playing a new role at the local, national and European level. At the same time, they shall build road-maps able to exploit and take the chance of the momentum provided by the EU: regional visionary exercises and soft governance spaces supported by flagship projects can help them in this effort.



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