



COMPARATIVE DOMESTIC POLICY PAPER SERIES 09

## TORINO AS A LEARNING CITY

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# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

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This report reflects the results of a month-long field study of learning by the city of Torino, Italy.<sup>1</sup> Previous work on this topic has suggested that cities deliberately learn, that other cities are preferred outside sources of knowledge, and that more or less informal networks of public, private, and civic-minded persons are central to the processes of learning and innovation in successful cities.

The fieldwork revealed that, over the past three decades, the city of Torino reached out to multiple sources of learning, identifying and capturing important insights, many from other cities. Much of the knowledge acquired was later translated into benefits for Torino. A signal feature of the city's learning were fresh openings and new recruits in the circles of city thinkers, especially participants

in the strategic planning process. Two distinct openings took place, one in the mid 1990s and a second during the first half decade of 2000. Persons whose skills and creativity had not been previously tapped were brought into the strategic planning process without regard to political affiliation, family background, or industrial sector.

The study also finds that Torino has not sustained a concentrated focus on learning that it once generated around the strategic plans. In recent years, it has diffused its focus, making it more difficult for the city to meet the new challenges now emerging, such as how governance will be organized to cover the wider metropolitan area, how the transformational impacts of the European high speed rail connections can be managed, what path to take to exploit the new promise and requirements for regional development, how to attract and integrate young global talent, and how to prepare for the oncoming globalization of Fiat as a world player in mobility.

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<sup>1</sup> The field work, conducted in Barcelona and Torino in June and July 2009, was supported by a grant from the Comparative Domestic Policy Program of the German Marshall Fund of the United States. For purposes of this report, and at the request of the city, the term "Torino" will be used in place of the standard English "Turin."

# 1 CITY LEARNING—EXTERNAL VIEWS AND INTERNAL NETWORKS

In the face of new global competition and increasing regional competition, cities and regions, increasingly supported by national policy, are redoubling efforts to attract investment and promote local economic development. Political and economic transformations place new emphasis on good and better practice in achieving a local distinctiveness, attracting pools of talent, improving environmental quality, and building on endogenous qualities as well as exogenous sources of growth.

Much of the literature on regional competitiveness and clusters alludes to the importance of underlying, “soft” infrastructure that is largely external to firms and companies. Camagni invokes Aydalot’s term “innovative milieu” to describe an atmosphere of trust, collaboration, and creativity in a locality or region. (Aydalot 1986; Camagni 1991; Camagni 1995) Kitson reviews these and many complementary concepts of regional competitiveness, framing them in terms of various kinds of capital, noting that local knowledge, learning, and creativity are accepted parts of the soft infrastructure of city regions. (Kitson, Martin, and Tyler 2004) Other scholars have explored ideas of trust, networks, and the conversion of “tacit” to “explicit” knowledge by means of close working relationships (Polenske 2004) and networks (Grabher and Ibert 2005), and other intangible qualities such as leadership and governance. (Belligni, Ravazzi, and Salerno 2008; Dente and Coletti 2009)

Growing evidence suggests that some cities learn deliberately, that particular cities—for instance, Barcelona, London and Seattle—are preferred outside sources of knowledge, and that more or less informal networks of public, private, and civic-minded persons are central to the processes of learning and innovation in successful cities. (Campbell 2009; Keiner and Kim 2007)

A striking example is provided by the city of Seattle. On the one hand, the city has sent an outbound mission of as many as 100 business and civic leaders to study a benchmark city—usually abroad—each year since 1991. Hundreds of city elites have taken part in these missions, building a knowledge base and bonding with each other. At the same time, Blanco and Campbell documented more than 150 technical delegations in one year alone (2002) visited Seattle from other cities. (Blanco and Campbell 2006) Anecdotal evidence from other cities—among them Baltimore, Barcelona, London, Stockholm, Toronto, and Vancouver—corroborates the phenomenon of horizontal exchange. These cities each report visiting delegations numbering in the 50s or 60s per year.

Policymakers and scholars have paid little attention to the mechanics of transformation of soft infrastructure in urban economies and particularly to the question of how trust is formed, how cities become cohesive, and how learning is translated into innovation and reform.

A key objective in the present study is to view Torino from the perspective of learning and to explore mechanisms of trust and knowledge exchange. This paper explores the extent to which a learning perspective and particularly networks help to inform policy and management in the city during the mayoral administrations of Valentino Castellani (1993–2000) and Sergio Chiamparino (2001 to present). Torino can be seen as representative of many cities in Europe and beyond as they rise in prominence on a world stage filled with global challenges like climate change, sustainability, migration, and economic development.

# 2 TORINO'S LEARNING APPARATUS

Torino has at least two classes of learning mechanisms. One is exposure to outside sources of information; the other is internal networks of exchange. The external exposures include the following: 1) other cities; 2) methods and practices in the European Union (EU); 3) global practice through industries in a growing knowledge economy; 4) global practice assimilated through the successful bid for and hosting of the Winter Olympics in 2006; 5) the international business practice of Fiat. The internal mechanism is the network of connections between and among players taking part in one or more of the previous five realms. We look next at both internal and external mechanisms.

## Exposure to outside influences

Torino has made good use of a wide variety of connections with other cities as important sources of new knowledge. In particular, Torino made specific and well-targeted connections to key cities undergoing strategic planning and used these connections to help guide its own work. During each of two strategic plans, guest presentations were made by visiting delegations from European cities. For instance, during the first plan when the idea of a strategic plan was novel in Torino, five cities (Barcelona, Bilbao, Glasgow, Lyon, and Stockholm) were invited to present their experience. The audience included Torino's political leadership, its technical professionals, as well as the broader public. In succeeding years, when a second, knowledge-intensive strategic plan and preparations for the Olympic Game were underway, similar references were made to European counterparts where knowledge economies were being built and, as in the case of Barcelona, where Olympic Games had been hosted.

Torino also drew on ties with EuroCities and on relationships with such associations as the French non-governmental organization Quartiers en Crise

(Neighborhoods in Crisis). With the help of local firms, this last contact was essential to framing an approach to social issues on the periphery of Torino during the first strategic plan.

The city's international affairs department runs an active program of inbound and outbound visits, but is not geared to build and maintain a knowledge base. A growing sector of knowledge-based industries, along with the supporting educational and research infrastructure of the Politecnico of Torino, has played an important but less direct role in the institutional capacity of the city to conduct programmatic long term learning.

## Internal networks

To explore Torino's internal networks, a survey of key actors was conducted. A preliminary list of interviewees was identified and recommended by a panel of present and former public, private, and civic participants in planning for the city. The nomination criteria included a) persons who have a reputation for civic-mindedness; b) have played visible role(s) in public choice-making, whether representing themselves or their organization. From these nominations, a list of interviewees was selected to represent the business community, public sector, civil society, and universities in proportions shown in Table 1.

The author interviewed each of 17 persons in semi-structured format. Topics covered the interviewee's role in the community, their perspective on innovation and change, the sources of good ideas and innovations, and names of others whom the interviewee regards as a) trustworthy and b) active like himself or herself. "Sources" in the Table refer to interviewees; "references" refer to those persons named by interviewees.

Table 1. Sources by Sector		
Sector	Source	Reference
Public	6	31
Private	6	40
Civic	1	4
University	2	19
Foundation	2	6
Unknown	0	4
	17	104

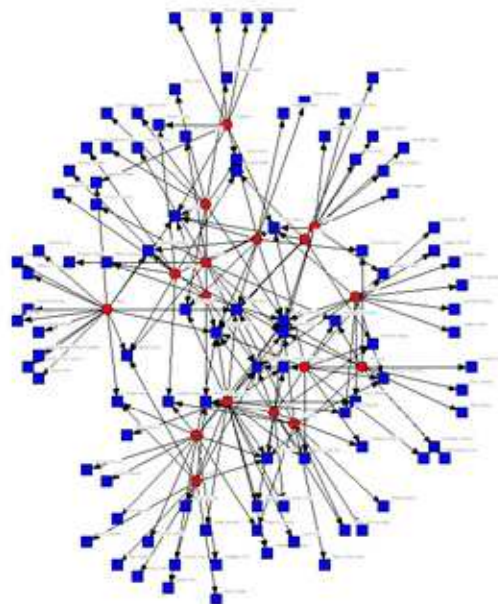
Table 2. Frequencies of Named	
No Times Named	No. Persons
1	97
2	12
3	5
4	5
5	1
6	2
7	2
8	2

Table 2 displays the raw frequencies of names disclosed by the interviewees. A total of 104 unique individuals were named as trusted ties, seven persons were named more than once, and six were named more than three times, forming the nodes in the resulting network of ties. Several persons were named eight times. The raw data are represented as a network clusters in Figures 1 and 2.

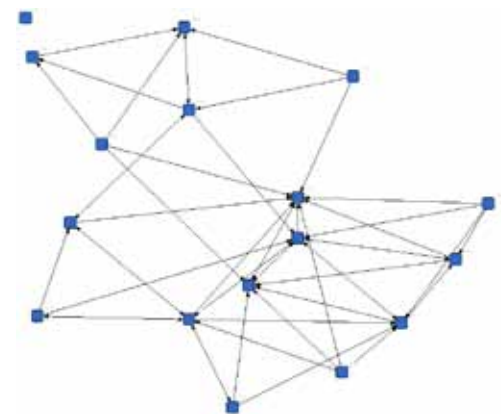
In Figure 1, interviewees are represented as circles, trusted ties as squares. The overall structure of the network shows that several interviewees function as bridges, connecting separate clusters (left center and lower left), much as Belligni found in his study, cited earlier. At the same time, the Figure shows a central cluster of nodes, persons named by multiple interviewees (as reflected in Table 2). Further research is needed to explore the importance of central nodes in these clusters, for instance, whether they might be instrumental in mobilizing opinion.

Figure 2 focuses only on the interviewees (in this figure, squares represent those interviewees that were named by their peers).

**Figure 1. Interviewees (circles) and Trusted Relationships (squares)**



**Figure 2. Cross References Among Interviewees**





Interviewees had many common ties among themselves, revealing a very cohesive structure. Standard measures (density .23, compactness .92), mean that nearly a quarter of all possible connections is present in the network, but that the “distance” between any two persons in the network is just a bit more (1.17) than only one link away. High cohesiveness of this kind is normally interpreted as meaning that actors are able to respond quickly and effectively to stimuli. Again, a few persons are key nodes in the network. Overall, this tightness may be one of the factors thought to be important in the magic sauce that plays a role in city innovation, responsiveness, and competitiveness.

Another key finding uncovered in the interviews and reflected only weakly in the data is that new members were imported into networks during the planning process. According to participants involved, this new mixing was both unexpected and unprecedented. Two distinct episodes of opening took place, one in the first strategic plan in the mid 1990s, and a second during the second strategic plan in early 2000s. Particularly in the first strategic plan, persons whose skills and creativity had not been previously tapped were brought into deliberations without regard to political affiliation, family background, or industrial sector.

Several interviewees explained that they had not anticipated nor could they have expected to be a part of the deliberative efforts in city planning. For instance, interviewees told of having been invited to take part in meetings and discussion around strategic planning without having a family, industrial, or social “patron.” They described having received calls “out of the blue” by persons whose names they recognized by position or title, but with whom they had no previous relationship.

Age differences are a partial reflection of this mixing, as suggested in Table 3. Many of the newly

invited individuals were separated in age by a decade or more from most of their “peers” at the meetings they were invited to attend. The network data related to age of persons appear to corroborate these anecdotal stories. Table 3 shows a mild bimodal distribution with soft peaks of age in the 60s and 40s.

**Table 3. Age Distribution**

Age	Source	Name
0*	0	6
70	2	7
60	3	32
50	6	24
40	4	28
30	2	6
20	0	1
Totals	17	104

\* Unknown or deceased

The work of Belligni and his colleagues is confined to the period 2001–2006 and focuses on “milieus,” i.e., sub-networks, each of which has distinct characteristics in terms of religious, political, or business affiliations as well as in terms of composition and interconnectedness. The present analysis suggests a dynamic quality in the functioning of the networks in Torino, as newcomers crossed over socio-economic lines.

Some interviewees reflecting on the process found it entirely innovative, and in several cases, persons making these “cross-overs” progressed to new and important institutional positions. These findings add a new dimension to recent works on governance networks in Torino by Belligni and colleagues (Belligni, Ravazzi, and Salerno 2008) at the University of Torino. The significance of this finding is that mobilizing new generations of activists might draw lessons from the recent past.

# 3 LESSONS OF SUBSTANCE AND STYLE

The content of Torino's learning can be characterized both as substantive—lessons about “what” to do—as well as stylistic—lessons about how to do it. Concrete substantive lessons include such things as understanding the meaning of strategic planning itself, as opposed to master planning, which had been the sole requirement of and long-time practice in Italian cities before 1993. For example, guest presentations were made by visiting delegations from five cities chosen for the similarity of circumstances and experience with strategic planning. The audience for these presentations included Torino's technical professionals as well as the broader public.

In succeeding years, Sergio Chiamparino, successor to Castellani, launched a second strategic plan organized in terms of knowledge-intensiveness. It was undertaken to address the “soft” side of Torino's competitiveness, i.e., knowledge-based industries and educational institutions, as opposed to the “hard” infrastructure planned and started under Castellani's administration. Both hard and soft investments were being implemented as Torino was preparing to stage the 2006 Winter Olympic Games. Outreach efforts similar to those in the previous mayoral administration were made, except in Chiamparino's case, European counterparts were identified where knowledge economies were being built and, as in the case of Barcelona, where Olympic Games had been hosted. These presentations and deliberative meetings were also occasions during which previously uninvolved individuals were recruited by mayoral administrations to take part in the planning process.

Barcelona was an important source of knowledge in both strategic plans. Barcelona had developed a method to frame the overall scope of strategic planning as well as in the mechanics and process of putting a plan together. Mayor Castellani spent time in Barcelona in the 1980s and, after his election, visited again with one of his deputies; consequently

he was aware of that city's planning process. Castellani appointed a former mayor of Barcelona, Pasqual Maragall, to be head of Torino's scientific committee, a group of advisors for the first strategic plan. Additionally, one of Maragall's deputies made repeated visits to Torino and, according to one former deputy mayor of Torino, “tutored the city” in the methodology of strategic planning. Torino became the first Italian city to adopt and publish a strategic plan and subsequently a founding member of the Italian Network of Strategic Cities.<sup>2</sup>

Castellani visited many cities during his tenure and sat on the Committee of the Regions for the European Union. These experiences enabled him to see how other cities set objectives, and he observed how cities developed methods to solve their problems. The former mayor and several interviewees mentioned the realization that things “can be done” and that as cities (and mayors) “we are not alone.” These insights were articulated both by the former mayor as well as by other cities that had engaged in new challenges and accomplished new things. Several interviewees spoke of the psychological value of seeing that “others have done it,” referring often to Glasgow, but often also to Barcelona, particularly in connection with the Olympic Games.

Mayor Chiamparino's shift to a focus on building a knowledge economy raised many questions of institutional standards and practice. In the first place, the concept of knowledge economies was beginning to take hold throughout Europe in the 1990s. One consequence was that new standards needed to be observed in the competitive allocation of resources in university departments, research programs, and private sector proposals in order to be competitive for EU research and cohesiveness funds. Second, Europe was growing more tightly connected as prospects for high speed rail grew

<sup>2</sup> Today, 55 Italian cities are members of the network.

closer to reality, leading to tighter interregional connections to Genoa and Milan on the one hand, and on the other, toward Lyon and Barcelona. This implied a greater understanding of regional markets and trade and strategic alliances in knowledge-intensive industries. Also, Torino was getting acquainted with global standards in connection with the 2006 Winter Olympic Games, for which high international levels of quality—for instance in hotel and food services—needed to be met and monitored.

Stylistically, the accomplishment of the Olympic Games taught Torino that it could meet world class deadlines, a lesson that could only have come with a commitment to undertake a world class event. One of the most enduring stylistic lessons was the public-private way of doing business. Many interviewees spoke of the mutual distrust that once characterized relations between the public and private realms in Torino. Spirited and often ideological discord divided public-private sector relations in the early 1990s. A bitter legacy of the

decades-long struggles between labor unions and management at Fiat had shaped the identities of these institutions and engendered deep mistrust and ill-feeling.

The strategic planning processes and the Olympic Games created working arrangements of high pressure and intense collaboration. These circumstances seemed to dissolve the mistrust of the past and, by the time Chiamparino was completing his first term, fundamentally changed attitudes about working together. One of the interviewees in the present study stated that today not even a small proposal would be presented without an open and deliberate round of consultations between the private sector and the public sector—including commune, province, and region. Several observers stated that the new working style is a matter of “mutual respect.” This stylistic change was a milestone in the city’s learning process and set the stage for a new phase of learning.

# 4 OLD LESSONS, NEW CHALLENGES

The city's leadership successfully addressed key challenges of the past in the first and second strategic plans and in the Olympic Games. But while the decisions of past learning experiences are still being implemented, new challenges, some of them considered earlier but postponed, are still relevant or increasing in importance. Areas mentioned by interviewees include the following:

- **Developing metropolitan governance.** The widening scope of the city-regional economy and the growing interrelationship in large scale physical infrastructure makes it even more plain now than it was during the previous planning that Torino is probably now paying a price (a kind of self-imposed tax) on its gross regional product by not capturing economies of scale in the development of services like regional transport, solid waste, and environmental management and protection. The growing scope of economic linkages (below) will increase the prospects of reduced competitiveness in the future. Torino could be preparing the knowledge groundwork by studying the policy and practice of cities elsewhere in Europe and the United States. Lyon, Pittsburgh, and Portland, for instance, have already engaged these problems and are implementing solutions.
- **Building a regional economy/Milan and the high speed train.** Hand in glove with area-wide governance is the prospect for Torino-Milan urban fusion. With the decrease in transaction costs, trade will increase between the two nodes, meaning greater movement of goods, professional skill, and tourists in the Torino-Milan economic corridor. Increased rail service between similar nodes in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries—Lyon, Toulouse, and central Europe, and south to Barcelona and Valencia, as well as numerous cities in the

United States and Japan—all offer many examples of living laboratories from which Torino could learn lessons and prepare for inevitable change.

- **Nurturing young global talent.** Torino accomplished more than an impressive turnaround with new ideas and an open approach to planning that sought lessons from cities in Europe. The city also found ways to integrate new and younger elites in the governance and planning process. Much like Barcelona but on a smaller scale, Torino is making its bid for global talent that is critical to success in knowledge-based economies. But in addition to attracting talent, cities must find ways to integrate young talent in leadership circles. This requires accommodating a different life and work style. In the words of one quipster in Barcelona, the new global talent “is in love with the Blackberry, not the car.” Besides spending a lot of time in the virtual world, the newcomers are also entrepreneurs and see their social scene and business life on a flatter, less hierarchical, and more decentralized landscape.
- **Building on a global Fiat.** The resurgence of Fiat as a global player can have many far-reaching implications for the city—for instance, the growing demand for mobility components not centered on the internal combustion engine, including renewable power sources, lightweight materials, and the design and development of alternative modes of transport to complement or replace the automobile as we know it. These few examples will be linked to professional and engineering skills drawn from global markets where customer preferences and local circumstances are decisive in product success. As the home of one of the world's preeminent mobility corporations, the city and region will face once

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again the prospects of a large single driver of its economy, though probably not with the narrow industrial-manufacturing interests that Fiat once imposed on the city. A key learning area for Torino is in exploring the meaning of these changes for the city in the coming decades.

These issues constitute items in the learning “to-do” list for Torino. To undertake its work and prepare for steady transformations in economy and governance, the city needs to revive the energy it once put into knowledge acquisition. How does its capacity stack up against other cities that have proven to be consistent learners and economic success stories?

# 5 BENCHMARKING AGAINST OTHER LEARNING CITIES

To gauge Torino's status as a learning city, this section compares Torino with cities that have been characterized as learning cities, i.e., cities that have made a commitment, both institutional and financial, to acquiring knowledge. The benchmark cities are Bilbao, Curitiba, and Seattle, all labeled as learning cities in a previous analysis by the author. (Campbell 2009)

Four aspects of acquiring knowledge go into the learning process, namely: motivation, agency, modality, and capacity. Motivation relates to the initial contextual conditions that characterize a place as it launches into a period of learning. Agency is the institutional arrangements—organization and mission—put in place to carry out learning. Modality is the means by which new knowledge is acquired, for instance, study missions, reports, surveys, or conferences and seminars. Capacity refers to the extent to which a city invests in its learning capability and forms institutional tissue to preserve and manage knowledge. Each of these aspects is summarized along with references to Torino and benchmark cities in Tables 4 and 5.

## Motivation

Like Bilbao, Curitiba, and Seattle, Torino had a distinct starting point in its most recent learning cycles. Torino moved into action following a political and financial crisis in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Even earlier, Fiat Motors, long the main economic stalwart on which the city was strongly dependent, was plunged into a crisis of poor management and falling demand which cost tens of thousands of jobs. This catastrophe was exacerbated by a political crisis, a failure of morality in politics in Torino that turned the city into a bastion of corruption so pervasive that the city came to be known as “*tangentopolis*” (roughly “pay-off city”). National political reforms at the beginning of the 1990s led to the direct election of Mayor Castellani.

The new mayor, formerly a professor of engineering at Torino's prestigious Politecnico, campaigned both to diversify the economic base of the city and to reform its political process. Upon winning, as described earlier, he immediately launched a process of fact-finding together with an open and active deliberation involving hundreds of citizens and thousands more taking part in a more passive way, attending presentations made for a wider public about how the economy, the city's infrastructure base, and other neglected needs could be addressed.

These precipitating circumstances are similar to those of the benchmark cities. In all cases, a fresh impetus was found to reform and learn from the outside. International sources were consulted and even imported, new standards and methods were studied, and wholesale changes in city vocation and form were up for reformulation.

## Agency

But while the purpose and scope of learning were similar to its benchmarks, Torino splintered its efforts in several agencies. In the initial years, a single agency, Torino Internazionale (TI), was given the mandate to implement the strategic plans, but over time, TI lost some of its steam for learning and may have suffered from competitive pressure as new investment and economic promotion agencies were created.

Torino, like its benchmark agencies, had strong leadership beginning with its mayors and support from a wide number of stakeholders. More than 50 organizations signed the strategic plan and action steps to be implemented by Torino Internazionale. More than 100 are official supporters today, but the energy level and strength of commitment is, according to several interviewees, much weaker. Also, the stakeholder formulation shifted over time as the mission of the economic development

agencies gradually widened. Community engagement in discovering experiences and new standards, at least up to the Olympic Games, was on par with its benchmark cities, but it too has slowly dissipated and interest waned after the success of the Olympic Games. Also, investments in new infrastructure arising from the first strategic plan and the knowledge economy in the second plan have run beyond the climax point of the Olympics, contributing to a feeling of denouement.

Somewhat in contrast to Torino, active and strong agencies—Curitiba’s IPPUC,<sup>3</sup> Bilbao’s Metropoli 30, and Seattle’s Trade Development Alliance—have been maintained in each of their respective benchmark cities to lead the process of questioning, fact-finding, leading outbound and inbound missions, and programming activities in the future in line with new developments.

### **Learning Modalities**

All the cities took a proactive stance toward learning, aggressively seeking out cities of like character or experience to harvest lessons. Torino and its counterparts brought experience into the community as well as sent emissaries outbound, to look for useful knowledge, for instance in Barcelona, Bilbao, Glasgow, and Lyon. But Torino limited its scope to focus in the first decade on “must haves,” i.e., the most pertinent lessons from cities such as Barcelona. Later, the focus widened, and the program fell back on a more comfortable routine of topical seminars and conferences. These have been numerous, useful, and necessary, but are not programmed with a long term vision to meet the emerging knowledge needs of the city.

The strongest contrast between Torino and the benchmark cities is in the rhythm of learning and internal network of learning. Each of the

benchmark cities runs regular programs that have long-term outlooks and regular events with followup. Torino’s program has high quality professionals, but limited staff and budget. More importantly, none of the main knowledge agencies—the city’s own international department, TI, CEIP, even the Chamber of Commerce—has a long term programmatic vision of learning. TI has had flagging participation by the private sector, whose energies appear to be diffused in a number of different directions.

Cultivation of an internal network of stakeholders is also less of a focus now in Torino than it was in the 1990s and not the subject of specific program activities, as it is in Bilbao and Seattle, where regular events aim to build and strengthen this social capital.

Few if any of the Torino events appear to be designed to forge a cohesive framework and interaction, even though there is no evidence that internal bonding is not taking place. Compared to its counterparts, there is also no emphasis on the forging of a community of thought and practice. The development of internal “learning milieu” is thought to be one of the ingredients of competitiveness. (Kitson, Martin, and Tyler 2004) The difference is that in the benchmark cities the learning process has come to be a collective affair with strong internal interactions promoted and facilitated by the agencies of those cities.

### **Capacity Building**

Strengthening and maintaining a driving force in learning is also an area of contrast between Torino and its benchmark places. Each of the benchmark cities has a central agency which is continually refreshed in budget and mandate and has grown to be institutionalized in the city. Bilbao’s Metropoli 30 has moved from learning in the 1980s and 1990s to a teaching institution for other cities in this

<sup>3</sup> Instituto de Pesquisa y Planajamento Urbano de Curitiba—Curitiba Institute for Urban Planning and Research.

century. Similarly, Curitiba's IPPUC enjoys a staff numbering in the hundreds and longevity of more than 40 years. Seattle's Trade Development Alliance is skeletal in size, but is tightly linked to the chamber of commerce and is an institutionalized learning mechanism for the greater metropolitan area. The Seattle study missions have been called by the head of the National League of Cities "arguably the best study tours of any U.S. city." Each agency is a preeminent or respected source of learning and policy advice and each enjoys a semi-independent source of finance.

Political and institutional changes, together with the blurring focus on present and prospective developments, have weakened Torino's key agencies. TI has not benefited from sustained investment in institutional strength and renewed mission, and the broad missions of others—the city's international affairs department, the chamber of commerce, CEIP—tends to marginalize knowledge generation and retention and are not geared to build social capital among key stakeholders.



# 6 CONCLUSIONS

By focusing on the learning and knowledge dimensions of the city's development and comparing Torino with benchmark cities, this analysis suggests that Torino launched a unique and highly productive process of learning that lasted for more than two decades, but is now dissipating. The process not only yielded fresh approaches and successful innovations, it also expanded the social capital in the city. This analysis also suggests that the city increasingly needs a learning strategy—a strengthened mission and investment in learning—to restore its focus on new and emerging forces that will drive change in the city's development. Some of the key areas driving future change—for instance, metro regional governance, regional development

and the high speed train, attracting and keeping global talent, and global mobility led by Fiat—have been encountered and addressed in many parts of the world.

Preparing for the future requires a clear focus with a programmatic mandate. If Torino Internazionale did not exist, something like it would have to be invented. But a learning agency, whatever its eventual form, needs new focus, a long-term strategy, more energetic buy-in and support from the private sector (in return for high value intelligence), as well as long term investment in knowledge acquisition.

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