World Forum of Regional and Sub-National Legislative Assemblies

Regional and Local Representation for a True Global Democracy

Milan, 23 – 24 October 2015

Foreword

On 23 and 24 October 2015 the Regional Council of Lombardy hosted the "World Forum of regional and sub-national Legislative Assemblies", the first major event devoted to the debate among regional and local parliaments focused on issues such as sovereignty and democratic representation.

This initiative, which was started and promoted by Calre, Conference of European regional Legislative Assemblies, involved Members of Parliaments and academics from the five continents exchanging views for two days on the role of subnational assemblies intended as guardians of the democratic representativeness closer to territories and their needs.

We wondered how we could fight the overwhelming distrust of people all over the world who often can't see the positive link between democratic institutions and daily life.

We have been working supported by strong and shared values discussing issues which we still consider essential for the institutional, political and administrative activity of regional and sub-national Parliaments: competitiveness and growth, energy, welfare, immigration, social rights, sustainable development for territories, political finance, evaluation of public policies, subsidiarity and multilevel governance.

The proceedings in this volume are the different speeches delivered during those two days, a kaleidoscope of experiences, ambitions and hopes of great interest and depth.

The ideas and hopes behind the Forum have found their place in the "Manifesto of regional, sub-national and national Legislative Assemblies in Federal States for a true global democracy", a summary of clear indications for a possible future.

It is our belief that by reinforcing the role of regional and sub-national parliaments, democracy can receive new sustenance, increasing the faith of those represented in the representatives. We believe that a key for a possible solution to the question asked by globalisation and the crisis of confidence of public opinion will be a new relationship between local and global, which at the institutional level should become a multilevel governance able to put regional and sub-national parliaments at the centre of a new season of democracy, freedom and prosperity.

Raffaele Cattaneo
President of the Regional Council of Lombardy
President of the Conference of European regional Legislative Assemblies (Calre)

Introduction

The Forum is an international meeting of regional and sub-national Legislative Assemblies sponsored by CALRE (the Conference of European Regional Legislative Assemblies) for the purpose of offering our colleagues from other continents a space where they can share ideas and jointly assess the issues of sovereignty and representation, not with a view to analysing academic theory on institutional principles, but in order to investigate how the Legislative Assemblies reinterpret those principles today at the service of their communities.

The Forum will provide a setting for discussion and debate among sub-national legislators from Europe and around the world on possible ways and means of satisfactorily promoting and fostering regional dynamics, interests and identities, in terms of institutional structures and concrete policies.

The guests invited to the Forum comprise not only Associations of European and extra-European Legislative Assemblies from around the world, but also individual regional MPs as well as representatives from national, European and international Institutions.

The proceedings will close with the approval of a concluding document ("Manifesto of Regional, Sub-national and National Legislative Assemblies in the Federal States for a True Democracy"), to be drawn up jointly by the international participants.

Theme and objectives of the Forum

The federalist approach lay for many years at the heart of every formula for political and institutional reform and for social and economic modernisation. It has been seen as a universal response to a raft of problems: the complex-ities of modern government; the distance between decision-making centres and the social and economic grass-roots; and the difficult relationships within institutions between represented and representatives.

The dramatic and widespread social consequences of the economic and financial crisis have, in little more than five years, cast doubt on those old certainties, particularly in Europe, at the same time disrupting the system of horizontal and vertical relationships that had up to then been the accepted norm. Local and Regional Authorities do still exist and continue to work for the benefit of their citizens and their areas of jurisdiction; however, in their inter-institutional networks and communication lines, those Authorities now seem to lack representative and representational powers, particularly when it comes to determining supranational policies.

Now that states increasingly concede sovereignty to supranational forms of government, is there any sense in continuing to talk of grass-roots democracy, the representation and defence of regional and local interests, and social control over political decisions?

The apparent weakness of regional and sub-national systems of representation is manifested differently in different national contexts, including in relation to how deeply-rooted or otherwise federal traditions are. It seems, however, that the regionalist and federalist drive which had flourished to varying degrees particularly in Europe is now waning, undermined by a vision that is no longer rooted in the concept of regional and local representation. Can a renewed relationship between local areas and politics, between society, institutions, and representation, counter today's supranational forms of governance, which seem remote and over-centralized, with a tendency to

level out differences rather than foster and support them?

Are the dynamics of the worlds of finance and communication compatible with those that drive the lives of individuals in their local context, now that policies tend increasingly to be dictated from an economic and financial point of view rather than with any regard for their local or regional impact?

At the same time, however, the phenomena of globalisation and devolution of sovereignty to supranational and international institutions are today widely challenged, at least in Europe. It is arguably appropriate, therefore, to explore ways and means through which regional dynamics, interests and identities may be revitalized in the short to medium term, with concrete proposals and actions for institutions and policies.

These are the questions and key ideas that have prompted the European regional legislators of the Conference of European Regional Legislative Assemblies (CALRE) to propose to their colleagues from other continents a moment of reflection and an opportunity to explore together the meaning of representation and possible forms of relationship between citizens, their regions, and intermediate levels of government. To hear the experiences of the distinguished attendees and to learn about the evolution of their political and institutional systems in the past, present and future will undoubtedly help to make that reflection as comprehensive as possible.

PROGRAMME

Regional and Local Representation for a True Global Democracy

Friday 23 October 2015

Marco Biagi Conference Room – Palazzo Lombardia – Nucleo 4
via Melchiorre Gioia, 37 Milan

3.00 p.m. Opening Session
Roberto Maroni | *President of the Lombardy Region*
Regions, Representation, Subsidiarity – What prospect for Regional
Governments?
Raffaele Cattaneo | *President of the Lombardy Regional Council
and President of CALRE*

3.30 p.m. Local Representations for a True Global Democracy
Speeches and institutional contributions to the debate

Markku Markkula | *President CoR – Committee of the Regions (Europe)*
Franco Iacop | *President of the Conference of the Presidents
of the Legislative Assemblies of Regions and Autonomous Provinces*
Curt Bramble | *President NCSL – National Conference of State
Legislatures (USA.)*
Clemens Lammerskitten | *Vice-President of the Congress
of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe*
Lin Chin-Chang | *President TCF – Taiwan Local Councils Representatives
(Taiwan)*

Karl Heinz Lambertz | *President AEBR – Association of European Border Regions*
Yoshiaki Matsuda | *President JLC – Japanese Local Councillors Alliance
(Japan)*
François Ouimet | *Vice-President of the National Assembly of Quebec*
Magnus Berntsson | *Vice-President Treasurer of the Assembly
of European Regions (AER)*
Sandro Locutor | *President UNALE – National Union of Legislators and
States with Legislative Powers (Brazil)*
Maria Leobeth Deslate-Delicana | *Councilor – Philippine Councilors
League PCL (Philippines)*

Keynote speeches

5.00 p.m. The future of sovereignty
Piero Bassetti | *President of Globus et Locus and President
of Giannino Bassetti Foundation*
Power of nation states, regional authorities and supranational governance.
Where is sovereignty headed, who really wields it and with what
legitimacy?

5.45 p.m. A quiet revolution: multilevel governance since 1950

Gary Marks | *Professor of Political Science at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Vrije Universiteit VU di Amsterdam*
Does regional power still make sense? Globalisation and bottom up representation. Regions and regional areas in the age of financial,

economic and information networks.
Pilar Rojo Noguera | *Vice-President of CALRE*
Presentation of Panel Sessions: topics, objectives and working methods

6.30 p.m. Conclusions

Saturday 24 October 2015

Pirelli Building
Via Fabio Filzi, 22 Milan

9.00 – 11.00 a.m. Panel Sessions

Issues and policies

Competitiveness and new paradigms of growth
From growth economy to sharing economy. Regions embracing the new services and new competitive infrastructures as factors of attraction.
Technical support to the panel: Michael Kitson | Judge Business School - Cambridge

Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life
Food, energy, equity. Milan's charter speaks to the world: sustainable agriculture and balanced distribution without waste. Cities and regions between modern locally regulated consumption and post-colonial globalisation. Zero food-miles as a new opportunity for local development
Technical support to the panel: Nunzia Borelli | Università degli Studi di Milano Bicocca - Fondazione Giangiacomo Feltrinelli – Laboratorio Expo

Regional Welfare: Immigration, social rights and institutional opportunities
Education, work, health from the 20th to the 21st century. Demographics, new needs, sustainability. Local communities, regions and areas called upon to offer new responses.
Technical support to the panel: Paolo Graziano | Università Bocconi

Sustainable development and regions
New policies integrating environment and region, from respect for the needs of the present to the obligation not to jeopardise the future
Technical support to the panel: Roberto Zoboli | Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

Life and dynamics of parliamentary institutions: experiences and benchmarks

Multilevel Government and Need for Partnership
Shared authority, competition and interdependence: issue-shaping, decision-making, implementing. Comparing EU policy and law-making experience with actual and experimental practices of sub-state extra-

European parliaments.

Technical support to the panel: Sarah Ayres | Bristol University – School for Policy Studies

Fiscal and financial policies

No taxation without representation: models and rationales of local government systems. An open debate between centre and periphery.

Technical support to the panel: José María Durán Cabré | Department of Public Economy – University of Barcelona

Policy making and policy assessment

How to set up a virtuous circle of policy-making and of public policy assessment, in terms of impact, effectiveness and learning.

Technical support to the panel: Giliberto Capano | Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences – Scuola Normale Superiore

Value of the norm: subsidiarity and rights

The relationships between citizen and State, between civil and political society are changing. Traditional forms of political representation and direct action by citizens on problems of general interest. The political challenge of the relationship between legal principles and concrete solutions.

Technical support to the panel: Nicola Pasini | Università degli Studi di Milano

11.00 - 11.30 a.m.

Transfer of the delegations from the Pirelli Building to Palazzo Lombardia (by shuttle)

12.00 - 12.30 p.m. Palazzo Lombardia – Biagi Conference Room

Introduction to the visit to Expo (video)
Fabrizio Sala (Councillor for Social Housing, Expo 2015 and Internationalisation)

12.30 - 1.30 p.m. Closing session

Presentation of the results of the Panel Sessions
Moderator Pilar Rojo Noguera

Reading and endorsement
Manifesto of Regional, Sub-national and National Legislative Assemblies in the Federal States for a True Democracy

Regional and Local Representation for a True Global Democracy

Roberto Maroni
Raffaele Cattaneo

Opening session

WORLD FORUM 2015
OF REGIONAL AND SUB-NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES
MILAN, 23-24 October

Roberto Maroni
President of the Lombardy Region

I would like to extend a very warm welcome to all of you, and in particular to the President of the Regional Council and of CALRE, Raffaele Cattaneo. As the President of Lombardy, the most important and most developed region in Italy, I am delighted to host this Forum, which is an opportunity for exchange between representatives of Legislative Assemblies from around the world, intellectuals and stakeholders from the world of local and territorial representations.

We are currently in a decisive phase in the relations between State, supranational organizations and local autonomies. In all countries – both in Europe and outside Europe – the relations between these institutions are changing, following the popular demand for decision-making processes with a wider participation from "the grassroots". Federalism, as well as the principle of subsidiarity recognised by the Italian Constitution and in European Treaties, are increasingly becoming political models and models of governance appreciated and agreed with internationally.

This is not the case of Italy, however, as it is a country which can boast of having a great tradition of pro-federalism and pro-autonomy politicians and intellectuals. The Law on the reform the Senate and of Chapter V of the

Constitution which has recently been passed removes legislative power from the Regions – all the Italian Regions, including the most virtuous ones such as Lombardy – making the central State more and more mammoth-like and invasive, and less and less accountable.

This reform not only is negative for us, but it is also anti-historical compared to what is happening elsewhere in our continent. On 27th September, the Catalonian people voted in elections for their Generalitat, also expressing a clear vote on the question of independence from Madrid. Even in the United Kingdom, where the central State has always been strong, the hypothesis of a further devolution of Scotland (and Wales and Northern Ireland), a little more than a year after the vote on independence for Scotland, when the "No" side won by a very small minority, is progressing. The British Prime Minister himself, David Cameron, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Osborne, announced wanting to give more powers to town and county councils to give back to the people greater involvement in the decisions that have to be made by politics. Lastly, Germany. The German state is the one which is currently working the best in Europe and it is a federal state, with a Chamber of States – the Bundesrat – competent for the subjects that concern the individual Länder that form the Republic. In Italy, on the other hand, we have seen nothing of this. On the contrary the Renzi-Boschi reform is going in the opposite direction.

With the reform of the Prime Minister Renzi and the Minister Boschi, the regional body is losing almost all its competences in areas such as energy,

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strategic infrastructures and the major networks of transport, centralising all powers and including the "supremacy clause", i.e. sovereignty exercised by the State – through the Government – in an anti-regional function, including in areas not of its specific competence, when required by the "protection of the juridical or economic unity of the Republic or the protection of the national interest" as the law says.

Today, at this Forum, we have to ask some questions: what purpose do Regions have in the present-day globalised world? What functions could they have? How can they fit into the picture of the evolution of the governance of the European Union? There are sectors that show that regionalism, even in an increasingly globalised economic and social context, if well implemented and applied seriously and responsibly, is a great resource where performances are positive. This is the case of health here in Lombardy for example, the quality of which is acknowledged at every national and international level. In the same way, management of the financial resources that leaves virtuous Regions the power to decide how – and where – to allocate the money at their disposal is one of the principles on which the good governance of a community and a virtuous relationship between the centre and the periphery is based.

The context in which we – regional and subnational executives – and you, representatives of Legislative Assemblies, have to move, is necessarily international. Europe is experiencing a phase of great transformation to make up its democratic deficit. I am proud to be able to say that Lombardy is one of the lead Regions in the Alpine Macroregion Project (EUSALP) which

will be operative from January 2016, also thanks to the recognition of the European Commission. It is a first, fundamental step towards the Europe of Peoples and of Regions. It is an aggregation of 48 Regions in 7 different countries, which unites areas which are socially, economically and culturally similar, to act in a coordinated way in sectors such as the protection of the environment, mobility and economic development. We are comforted by the Commission's position as it reflects a given fact: Europe with its Institutions is too "far" from the problems of the communities that make it up and in the same way the national States are too small to be able to exercise their power over areas that are dissimilar from one another and to be able to take up the global challenges of modernity. It is my conviction that, whilst distinguishing the functions between the regional and sub-national executives and legislative assemblies, and thanks also to the ideas that will come out from the Forum in these two days, local Autonomies will be able to obtain an important role even in this phase of their history.

I wish the Forum every success.

Raffaele Cattaneo

President of the Lombardy Regional Council and President of CALRE

It gives me great satisfaction to see gathered here so many friends and colleagues who come from regions all over the world! Welcome to everybody! Thank you for being here, thank you for accepting the invitation of the CALRE and of the Legislative Assembly of Lombardy.

I thank President Roberto Maroni, governor of Lombardy, with whom I have a personal friendship in a spirit of active cooperation, for his participation and his greeting. I extend my greetings and my thanks to each of you. I want to address a special thought to those who come from far and represent important associations of regional and sub- national parliaments.

I therefore welcome President Curt Bramble, of the NCSL, National Conference of State Legislatures of USA; Mr. Lin Chin-Chang, TCF President - Taiwan Local Councils Representatives from Taiwan, China; Mr. Yoshiaki Matsuda, JLC President - Japanese Local Councillors Alliance from Japan; Mr. François Ouimet, Vice-President of the National Assembly of Quebec, from Canada; Mr. Sandro Locutor, UNALE President, National Union of Legislators and states with legislative power from Brazil and Mrs. Maria Leobeth Deslate-Delicana, Councilor to the PCL, Philippine Councilors League, from the Philippines. With them I greet their delegations and all the participants who

come from other continents. I would like to greet all the European colleagues beginning with Mr. Markku Markkula, President of the COR, the Committee of the Regions, the institution that officially represents Regions and local governments at the European Union and of which I am proud to be a member; Mr. Karl Heinz Lambertz, President of AEBR - Association of European Border Regions, and first Vice-President of the CoR; Mr. Clemens Lammerskitten, Vice-President of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe; Mr. Magnus Berntsson, Vice-President Treasurer of the Assembly of European Regions (AER).

Special thanks to the colleagues of CALRE and in particular to the Vice-President Mrs. Pilar Rojo Noguera, to the members of the Steering Committee and to the Presidents of the Working Groups. I welcome Mr. Franco Iacop, President of the Conference of Presidents of the Legislative Assemblies of the Regions and Italian Autonomous Provinces. The century behind us gave history extraordinary goals, such as incredible technological development, the conquest of the moon, space travel and widespread wealth and growth, although still unevenly distributed. Similarly, the twentieth century was marked by tragic events, from enormous dramas, previously unknown to humanity, such as the two world wars and the unimaginable consequences of totalitarian regimes.

However, the twentieth century, I believe, will be remembered as the century of democracy. People around the world fought for it, often with unspeakable sacrifices, and many of them achieved it.

For the first time in history in fact, democracy has asserted itself on the world stage becoming a global standard, recognized by the international community as a model of legitimacy for state and especially desired and loved by people throughout the world as a guarantee of freedom, participation and leadership from below.

In practice, we are still very far from the idea of a true global democracy. But it is undeniable that "government by the people", with its formal rules and ethos, represents a goal to which most of humanity looks with hope, as the best model of possible government.

The 21st century began in the name of globalisation. It is a complex phenomenon that has generated a major boost towards integration between countries, not only at economic levels. The ease of communication and exchange between individuals and people, in fact, brings with it the demand for greater pluralism and more freedom. Therefore it asks for more democracy.

The force of globalisation had a disruptive effect in several areas, political and institutional ones included. It triggered or otherwise accentuated processes of great political transformation, with the strengthening of supranational institutions – starting from international Organizations to political unions as the EU - and a simultaneous weakening of nation states and their systems. We have known democracy as a form of government closely connected to the birth or to the development of Nations and nation States. Democracy has grown within the borders of States; borders represent its limits and its guarantees: by crossing national borders – manned by police and armies – one could enter or leave a democratic state. How many men and women lost their lives in this effort, in search of that freedom to which, by nature, the heart of every single man aspires, and of which democracy is the custodian and guarantor!

> *Government by the people, with its formal rules and ethos, represents a goal to which most of humanity looks with hope, as the best model of possible government.*

Today, with globalisation, state borders and boundaries of citizenship are becoming less rigid, less defined, more permeable. The same sense of belonging to a territory is changing: with the tools of global communication we can talk, stay in touch and see each other in real time although living thousands of kilometers apart, all over the world even in very remote places. To move physically has become easier and less expensive, not only for goods but also for people, although the mass migration that we are witnessing in the world, reminds us that unfortunately it is not so easy and safe for all of us. In Europe, with the application of the Schengen Treaty, we are used to going from one state to another without borders, barriers or police checks. The borders have fallen, democracy seems to be asserting itself globally.

But in this context democracy, as we have traditionally known it, has more difficulties to deal with the complex relationships that characterise social, economic and political life. The relationship between the territory and institutions is changing radically and not always for the better.

The traditional democratic institutions, parliaments and national governments, are suffering from erosion of state sovereignty, in a context where power moves upwards towards supranational levels. Not only political power but also economic, financial and media power. The consequence is that it is more difficult to support the demand that comes from our citizens, it is more difficult to give them concrete answers and manage real power through the instrument of law, as a result of democratic debate in parliaments. It is difficult to do so without compromising the expectations of citizens and the very nature of democracy.

How many times, when facing global problems such as climate change, the government of speculative finance, the fight against hunger, the relaunch of the growth, have national and regional parliaments felt invested with a power that is more formal than real? Citizens perceive these difficulties and react by losing their trust in institutions. Yes, the outcome of this change is a major crisis of confidence. Our citizens, all over the world, are sending out signals of distrust in the traditional democratic institutions. They feel that supranational and global institutions are too far away from them, from their problems and from their daily lives. These institutions are often governed by impersonal bureaucracies and out of direct democratic control. At the same time they feel that local and national democratic institutions are inadequate to solve their problems.

This is shown by international studies that confirm that in the world citizens' confidence in national parliaments is extremely low. Most of the time parliaments rank last among the different institutions tested for the degree of public confidence. This is combined with an overall declining trend of citizen participation in elections, which is another warning sign. This framework is probably also determined by bureaucratic and administrative inadequacies, as well as by phenomena of patronage and corruption, which undermine the universalist promises of democracy.

We cannot ignore what is happening! We need to understand the change and have to propose appropriate solutions. Understanding this change means first of all recognizing that today the parliamentary democracy of the nation state is not sufficient in itself. In my opinion the issue seems deeper than it may appear to be today and the malaise of democracy appears more radical. In these two days we have to think about how to clean up this distrust before it becomes a democratic deficit. When so many people in so many parts of the world are no longer able to grasp the positive relationship between democratic institutions and their daily lives, the future becomes more uncertain and worrying. I believe, but I'm sure that I can state that we all believe that strengthening the role of sub-state parliaments can breathe new life into democracy, increasing the confidence of those represented in their representatives. From where could a process of trust in democracy and in institutions start if not from below? Will our citizens be able to find adequate reasons to trust in the ability of democratic institutions to give voice to their interests and their aspirations if we can offer them a future "new world

order" based only on a single or on few global institutions? No, they will not! I hope I will be dead the day when the sun rises over a single planetary Parliament, which replaces all other forms of democratic representation!

Democracy will regain impetus and vitality only by restarting from local communities and from the territory, from the level that citizens know to be closest to them and that they can control more directly.

For these reasons the level of sub-state sovereignty today acquires strategic importance at all latitudes. Each local community feels a constitutive bond with its own land. Each of us is bonded from the soul, in the deepest chords of our being with the place where we were born and grew up, where our loved ones are buried, where our roots, our families and closest friends are. The bond with our village or city, as well as the one with our region, county, lander or state, is original and constitutive, it is deeper than the sense of belonging to a nation-state or a supranational community.

I am Italian and European, but I am and I will always be first and foremost Lombard, because being Lombard best describes the tradition, the culture I feel I belong to: a specific way of thinking, of eating, of conceiving work, relationships with reality and with others. Who among us cannot say the same of his state in the US or in Brazil, of his land in Germany or his autonomous Comunidad in Spain or of his province or region in Japan, China or in the Philippines? We can and must have the world as our horizon, but we are always born in a particular place, where our roots are firmly planted and where the varied traits and cultural codes of each community manifest themselves.

The key to a possible solution to the questions posed by globalisation and by the crisis of trust is therefore the relationship between local and global. Localism alone is not able to meet the challenges of our time and closes itself in an unproductive self-centredness.

Globalisation, if it loses connection with the territory, generates standardisation, creates models without cultural roots that are rejected by the communities that will feel they are distant and the fruit of a prevailing mentality.

We need to think about new models that will give substance to the idea of a "glocal" democracy, that is global and local at the same time.

In response to this situation, common in different countries, with different forms and to different degrees, what role do local legislative assemblies have to play? What are the problems to be solved and the tools to be used? Where can a new claim of sovereignty find a new foundation?

This is also the subject that Piero Bassetti, President of the Globus et Locus think tank, President of the Giannino Bassetti Foundation, who works on innovation issues and its impact on society – addresses in his Keynote Speech on the future of sovereignty. Piero, as well as being a great friend, teacher and great intellectual is a connoisseur of politics and administration, especially at regional levels. He was one of the fathers of Italian regionalism and the first president of the Region of Lombardy after its birth in the early 70s.

The discussion about democracy today echoes the debate on freedom of the ancients and the moderns in the first half of the 19th century, when Benjamin Constant (1 The freedom of the ancients compared to the freedom of modern, speech of 1819 at the University of Paris. From Constant. Anthology of political writings, Il Mulino, Bologna 1982) theorized the centrality of the representative system as the most suitable to govern the society of the time, getting bigger and more complex. He argued that the people's delegation of the defence of their freedom to their representatives was the condition to ensure both. In the Greece of Pericles, man, on the contrary, found in direct political activity, in participation in the *Agorà*, the confirmation of belonging to the polis and therefore freedom. Today the debate, as we are all very well aware, can no longer be between representative democracy or direct democracy. In the great "agora" of global society, different levels of participation and representation have to co-exist, able to talk to each other in a harmonious relationship, just as in an orchestra different instruments, each with its own timbre, play a common theme.

Thinking about the ways in which local identities and regional representatives can find new strength is an important step to begin to outline a "global" democracy suitable for this century of globalisation and major changes.

How can we tackle a democracy that has to be rethought in a different relationship between local, national and supranational levels, with the redistribution of shares of sovereignty at more institutional levels, but also the involvement of social players, in a collective effort to take advantage of the great opportunities of this century of transition? In this process, the work of professor Gary Marks, who teaches at Chapel Hill University of North Carolina and also at the University of Amsterdam, comes to our aid. He, a truly distinguished guest, coined the term Multilevel governance to describe a method of decision-making that is not necessarily institutionalised. He will give the second Keynote Speech. The Theory of Multilevel Governance is today perhaps the most significant scientific instrument we have for our reflections, in an attempt to answer the political questions we have asked. It is a theoretical approach of great significance that enables us to illuminate the processes by which decisions are made, which cannot be simply identified as an implementation of the greatest will, but will have to take account of various interests and of the different levels of government.

Dear colleagues, members of our regional and sub-national parliaments, Dear guests, Ladies and gentlemen, we need to rescue our parliaments! We need a renaissance of democracy! We need women and men who feel the responsibility to attempt the difficult re-legitimization of regional parliaments and more generally of parliamentary democracy.

To paraphrase the great Karl Popper, voters and citizens are particularly disoriented because they cannot identify the face of the current "enemy of democracy", which leads to a weakening, in practice, of representation. This creates distrust and disillusionment. The feeling, that we often feel, of exercising power in many ways which are marginal, of being reduced to mere "administrative province" of decisions taken elsewhere, maybe predominantly out of politics, is a feeling that is amplified and projected in the public mind as a formless mosaic of a "headless" democracy to which, in different contexts, elected but authoritarian forms of government are opposed. At the same time, however, our daily experience tells us that without the contribution of our parliaments and our regional and local communities we cannot really address or solve the great issues of our time.

Themes such as those that we will face tomorrow in the work groups: the competitiveness of our territories and the new paradigms of growth; the fight against extreme poverty and the goal of zero hunger; the building of networks of welfare that are really effective even when facing historic challenges such as the migration of entire peoples; the sustainability of global development as indicated in the Millennium Goals of the United Nations; resources to fund policies that are truly effective and measurable in their results; the rethinking of the value of rule and policies. These are surely issues that we cannot solve on our own, but at the same time they cannot be addressed and solved without our contribution. So how can we start this venture? On what ships can we embark to challenge the unknown sea of the future of democracy? We must start from the territory. Our meetings are the most effective interpreters of our communities. First of all, our parliaments are the expression of the territories and of local communities with which they maintain a direct relationship and in which power is emerging more clearly, not clouded by screens of supranational systems. These are our real strengths that allow us to aim for a more active role on the political scene, which also nourishes that precious commodity that is the responsible participation of citizens in political life, which our authority comes from.

We can also start from some shared values and principles. They are the ones we wrote in the Manifesto of Milan that we will approve at the end of our work. We all believe in the centrality of the person, with his rights and his dignity, but also as a subject capable of positive action, the real protagonist of social life, able to join others with confidence in the will to

cooperate in order to respond to individual and community needs. We believe that citizens are able to do their work because they convey an ethos that consists with the values of democracy. We believe in the power of the Principle of Subsidiarity. It has its roots in the assumption that society, with its creativity and initiative capacity was born and comes before the State, just as local institutions come before the global ones. So it is not permissible that the institutions of higher levels take the place of the lower level ones, such as those representative of local communities, if the latter can better meet, in the exercise of their functions, the needs of their communities. It is an idea that asserts the responsibility of the different levels of government and requires both the trust in our societies and in the individuals who form them. We all firmly believe in parliamentary democracy as a more mature form of expression of the popular will, and we aspire to a full and complete global democracy because we are aware of the importance that Parliaments have as places where collective decisions are taken and disputes are settled among men, communities and peoples through the use of speech and dialogue instead of violence. Finally, we all recognize the essential role of a policy pursued with a strong sense of responsibility, dignity and honor, to serve the community, in order to make decisions that meet the needs of the community, respecting liberties at stake and exercising political activities in the pursuit of the common good and the public interest. These are the tools of our profession. With them we can deal with the political perspective, high politics, that questions us; this first Forum aims to be an opportunity to give life to a substantial reflection on these issues and the beginning of a path to establish an international network of regional and sub-state parliaments, able to make a real contribution to the global consolidation of democracy. This is why I hope that it will not remain a single, isolated event but that someone will take up this heritage and will re-organise it.

Colleagues, Members of our Parliaments, we are the ants of democracy! Every day, ants do their small but significant work. They care about land, with humility and sacrifice. They do not rise up presumptuously towards infinite spaces. They are often burdened by weights greater than themselves to serve and to be truly useful to their communities. They are tireless and they never stop working. There are very many of them and they work together for the common good. If one gets crushed the others take its place. We, like ants, must be tireless in building up the home of democracy together, day after day. It is always a fragile building, because it is exposed to the wind of freedom, but where everyone can find their own place to live in peace and harmony with everybody. So we want to make our contribution in order to build up true global democracy or rather a local one.

Thank you all. I wish our World Forum of regional and sub-national Legislative Assemblies every success.

WORLD FORUM 2015
OF REGIONAL AND SUB-NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES
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Regional and Local Representation for a True Global Democracy

Markku Markkula
Franco Iacop
Curt Bramble
Clemens Lammerskitten
Lin Chin-Chang
Karl Heinz Lambertz
Yoshiaki Matsuda
François Ouimet
Magnus Berntsson
Sandro Locutor
Maria Leobeth Deslate-Delicana

Speeches and institutional contributions to the debate

Markku Markkula

President CoR – Commitee for the Regions (Europe)

It is a great pleasure for me to contribute to this CALRE Forum on behalf of the European Committee of the Regions. Global challenges need solid democratic structures and smooth processes enabling all levels of governance to shape and implement good legislation as well as to target global challenges. The European Committee of the Regions plays an essential role in this context at the EU level. As the EU's Assembly of local and regional representatives, we bring the voice of regional and local representatives to the very heart of the EU decision-making progress. We are an active and official partner of the European Commission during the pre-legislative phase and consultation process in order to assure better law-making in the EU.

Indeed, we are active at all stages of the making and shaping of European decisions, from the scrutiny of the subsidiarity principle, to the territorial impact assessment (current and future), and the implementation phase. Only through strong involvement and empowerment of regional parliaments in the subsidiarity scrutiny, alongside national parliaments, are these goals reachable. In this context, I am pleased to work with and invite CALRE support to further cooperate. What are the activities of CoR beyond our borders? From cross-border cooperation to a neighbourhood and global vision, the CoR

is active in promoting European values such as: local democracy, Multi-Level governance, decentralisation and territorial development. We work towards more international cooperation to better address common challenges, such as development, climate change, migration flows, security and stability.

Within the context of the European Neighbourhood Policy, for instance, we work to create the best conditions for enhancing the institutional capacity of local and regional authorities in the neighbouring partner countries.

In this context, we have set up two joint bodies for each one of the external dimensions of the EU, Eastern and Southern Mediterranean, which represent a "unique" tool within the international organisations due to its proximity to citizens and potentiality in terms of city diplomacy, local democracy and delivery on the ground. Allow me now to envisage tackling this question from an even broader perspective. As you may know, the United Nations adopted last month the Sustainable Development Goals which replaced not only the Millennium goals, but which will also drive our policies during the coming 15 years. These goals are universal and have to be achieved everywhere in the world, at all levels of governance. Furthermore, the Sustainable Development Goals cannot be separated from the coming Paris COP 21 commitments, as our achievements and successes in these areas are closely interlinked: the CoR, will be presented at the negotiations in Paris within the EU delegation.

In this international context, we have to explain and affirm the need to fully involve local and regional authorities in policy shaping and decision making. "Localising" policies is essential if we wish to successfully implement the Sustainable Development Goals. In this sense, we need to pursue our efforts in exchange for good practices, coordination and cooperation in order to create synergies and propose harmonised or united positions within international negotiations. As an example of CoR's commitment to global partnership, I would like to stress that I am currently having extensive dialogue with Chinese mayors who are seeking sustainable models for urbanization and are interested in exchanging our experiences and commitment in the field where we could imagine new tools - similar to the Covenant of Mayors - strengthening the partnership between European and Chinese cities.

For this reason, local authorities and regional legislative assemblies around the world must work in global partnerships, possibly within the context of the United Nations where civil society has already been fully recognised, but where the sub-national level of governance is not yet structured on a permanent basis, as it is within the EU through the CoR.

Despite several very good initiatives - such as the Milan Charter on food adopted last week or the Turin initiative on Development and, again, the involvement of local authorities in the COP 21- we still work on a case by case basis with the risk of remaining isolated on a specific event, rather than permanently establishing more structured working methods. Ladies and Gentlemen, there is more unifying us than dividing us albeit our different roles and different circumstances, our bodies act within our respective countries. Let's use our common ground - local democracy and good governance - to join forces and achieve concrete results.

Franco Iacop

President of the Regional Council of Friuli Venezia Giulia and Coordinator of the Conference of Presidents of the Legislative Assemblies of the Regions and Italian Autonomous Provinces

I would like to thank President Cattaneo for the work carried out this year as President of CALRE and for arranging today's meeting which brings together colleagues from different continents debating on sovereignty and representation as well as on "whether and how, depending on different roots" these two concepts should be re-considered in a way that is, at the same time, globalized and fragmented. Some call it "neo-tribalism era" in order to define the natural response of social cohesion to both the progressive decay of traditional organization forms and the perceived distance of institutions.

Challenges are global but often regional and local levels stand at the forefront. Everybody understands that no level is self-sufficient. "Think big, broker regional and act local" means being aware that we are moving towards a new global order. We need to make this journey cooperatively rather than competitively: global powers and regional organizations should stand together; we will not succeed if we overlook the importance of the local dimension in programming and implementing policies.

The example we are witnessing on a daily basis is the migration crisis. In this context, "think big" means that we are not allowed to consider the current migration and refugee crisis as a transitional phenomenon. Rather, it is a new

chapter of planet history that has witnessed the rise and fall of many civilizations on the wave of great migration flows; therefore, it should be considered in perspective. Perspective is the "broker regional", mediation and negotiation from states and regional organizations, as the European Union, which have to elaborate new policies and coordinate with one another, involving and planning together with the institutions that rule territories, those who are responsible both for "act(ing) local" and for the impact on the lives of people and migrants. Another example is represented by climate change. Here, the role of territorial representation is fundamental since only in cities where the majority of European citizens live and work, using almost 80% of the overall energy produced in Europe, the challenge of climate change could be won through adopting sustainable territorial, landscape and transport policies, pushing governments to make commitments in favour of sustainable development.

Therefore, it is rather clear that the response to global challenges can't be the mere concentration of power in a few centres and that territorial democratic representation is necessary, since it allows obtaining a greater involvement at local level, bringing the decision making process closer to people and adapting policy implementation to territorial specificities.

However, we should recognize that local and regional mobilization takes different forms: through national governments, cross-border groupings, direct relations with European institutions, and it carries out its mission in several political contexts which do not involve only government actors but also representatives of several interest groups, profit or non profit.

This new reticular governance on different levels brings new ideas, competences, dynamism and innovation to politics and policies. However, we should think that, from a democratic point of view, it should guarantee more transparency and democracy in comparison to a hierarchical and traditional government, since the decision making process takes shape through free flowing networks, on many levels and with several actors involved, making it more difficult to isolate who is responsible for a single action. In this way, within this complex system of governance, decisions are progressively torn from formal institutions where democratic responsibility is exercised. The risk is that an informal governance, not institutional and not codified, will substitute a formal and institutional one.

Hence, the challenge for territorial representation and for regional parliaments with legislative power is reinterpreting representation at the service of local communities, promoting and developing sustainable policies respecting their peculiarities. Regional parliaments could offer the space to deepen and widen the debate between stakeholders isolating those governance tools that are more integrated and able to adapt policies to territories. We need to understand the potential impact on the regional level of policies and to assure, with the contribution of horizontal cooperation (local communities-regions-civil society) that the evaluation of policies will nourish the pre-legislative phase.

The European Commission (EC) is showing its inability to interpret this kind of needs. In fact, in the communication on better regulation the EC does not distinguish between regional (and local) institutions representing territories – an integral part of multilevel governance and democratic synthesis of peoples' needs – and private lobbies, including both categories in the same group of stakeholders. At the same time, the EC does not recognize the Committee of the Regions as the European representative of regional and local voices. The EC should not only be, as its President recently stated "bigger and more ambitious on important issues and more humble on less relevant aspects" but should rather commit to respect and involve territories where the issues faced are relevant for them. Without this *paradigm thinking*, the democratic vacuum will not be easily overcome and will be based on weak consensus bases. The meeting between democratic representatives of territories and cultures, even very distant from one another, with the objective of debating and knowing the several responses that cultural democracies give to common challenges to modern governance around the world, thus becomes very important.

Curt Bramble

President NCSL – National Conference of State Legislatures (USA)

I am Senator Curt Bramble and I serve as the President Pro Tempore of the Senate for the State of Utah in the United States. I also have the pleasure to serve as President of the National Conference of State Legislatures, also known as NCSL. I am grateful to President Raffaele Cattaneo, President of CALRE and the Lombardia Regional Council, for the invitation to participate in the Forum of World Regional and Sub-national Legislative Assemblies and for being such gracious hosts. I also appreciate the opportunity to join with so many of my colleagues from across the globe to briefly address you this afternoon about NCSL and our role in ensuring the sovereignty of our 50 states and representation in the American federal system.

NCSL is still rather a young organization having just celebrated our 40th Anniversary. Since 1975, NCSL has worked in support of the belief that legislative service is one of democracy's worthiest pursuits. Representing the citizens of a district and the people of a state is the very essence of free government.

NCSL is a source for research, publications, consulting services, meetings and seminars. It is the national conduit for lawmakers to communicate and network with one another and share ideas. NCSL prides itself on being an effective and respected voice for the states in the nation's capital, repre-

senting their interests before Congress, the administration and the federal courts. NCSL is committed to the success of all legislators and staff. Our mission is to:
• Improve the quality and effectiveness of state legislatures.
• Promote policy innovation and communication among state legislatures.
• Ensure state legislatures a strong, cohesive voice in the federal system.
NCSL represents more than 7,300 state legislators and over 33,000 legislative staff. As lawmakers, we play a vital role in developing NCSL's States' Agenda and use this to shape NCSL's advocacy work in Washington, D.C. The States' Agenda is the driving force of NCSL's efforts to support state sovereignty and state flexibility and fight unwarranted federal preemption of state laws and unfunded federal mandates.

The strength of NCSL is our bipartisanship and our commitment to serving both Republican and Democratic legislators. Since NCSL does not advocate for any specific policy positions in the individual states, our resources and analyses are based on fact, not politics. NCSL is the only legislative organization that advocates solely for states' interests in Washington, D.C. with participation from lawmakers from both sides of the aisle. NCSL is vigilant in leading the effort to forestall the federal government's attempts to shift program costs from Washington to the states. Currently, all but one of the 50 states have balanced budget requirements, and unlike our federal government, states cannot run up trillions of dollars in debt. As the federal government in Washington seeks to reduce its federal budget deficit, NCSL leads the fight to ensure that Washington does not pass the costs of deficit reduction onto the states. NCSL frequently arranges for state legislators to testify before Congress on a variety of issues, and schedules regular meetings with lawmakers and members of Congress and the administration to voice states' concerns about federal legislation and regulations. As I mentioned, sovereignty, and protecting the sovereignty of the states is something we as state legislators and NCSL are very concerned.

Unlike many regional governments that may have been established by their central or federal governments, in the United States, state delegates representing the original thirteen sovereign states drafted our nation's constitution in 1787 and established our federal government. Those delegates while recognizing the need for a unified national government also ensured the sovereign authority of states to govern within their borders. A few years later, state sovereignty was once again reaffirmed in what we refer to as "the Bill of Rights" or the first ten amendments to the U.S. Constitution. The 10th Amendment to the Constitution declares, "*The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are preserved to the States respectively, or to the people.*" This powerful amendment has served during our country's history to be a bulwark against federal intrusion in the affairs of state governments. If we cannot win in Congress, states can and will challenge federal laws and regulations in the federal courts and ultimately in the United States Supreme Court seeking to overturn laws that we believe violate the 10th Amendment.

While state sovereignty is proscribed in the U.S. Constitution, this has not meant that the Congress or the federal administration has not tried to limit the power of the states or place mandates on the states. Through our nation's 239 year history, ensuring a balance between states and the federal government has been an ongoing battle.

The latest threat to state sovereignty and representation in the political system is the growth of the global economy and the power of the Internet. Thirty or even twenty years ago, states were able to regulate most activities within their state borders. Today, in the United States, some interstate and global companies complain that our state borders are becoming barriers to competition, they ignore our state regulations and taxes because they claim they do not have physical presence in our states.

The Internet allows people to buy products around the world and use services that may have been previously regulated and taxed by state and local

governments. Representatives of the global marketplace are lobbying Congress to eliminate the ability of states to regulate or require the payment of taxes to states, rather arguing that they should only be required to comply with federal laws and maybe federal taxes.

NCSL is the first line of defense against such intrusion. While we recognize that it can be difficult to understand and comply with 50 state laws and regulations, those laws and regulations are in place to protect our constituents.

Besides fighting preemption of these laws and regulations in Congress, NCSL has been successful in bringing the states together to review existing state laws, to develop options for states to consider in making state laws and regulations more uniform so as to maintain state sovereignty and taxing authority and thwart federal preemption. This Forum will allow us as representatives of sub-national governments to discuss our similar concerns and how

we can work together to ensure our voice and representation in protecting the general welfare of our citizens.

In conclusion, on behalf of the NCSL delegation attending this Forum, we are honored to have the opportunity to learn from you and to exchange experiences and best practices. Connecting with counterparts of distinct nations and backgrounds is exceedingly valuable to elected officials, staff, and legislatures of sub-national governments globally.

These connections provide diverse perspectives and solutions to common issues. In this ever-changing environment and more globalized, connected world, these experiences are becoming increasingly valuable and it is very fortunate that NCSL has continued to be included in these important exchanges. Thank you for your time and for this amazing opportunity. I look forward to our discussions and successful conclusion of our efforts.

Clemens Lammerskitten

Vice-President of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe

My name is Clemens Lammerskitten, I have been a Member of the Niedersachsen Parliament in my home country, Germany, since 2008 and I am here to represent the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, in my capacity of Vice-President of the Congress.

The Congress is a political assembly, composed of 648 elected politicians, representing the 200,000 local and regional authorities of the 47 Council of Europe member states. As an institutional body of the Council of Europe, the Congress focuses on the local and regional dimension of democracy, rule of law and human rights. Its main objective is to promote decentralisation through the transfer of political powers and financial resources to the municipalities and regions, and to ensure that policy decisions are made at the closest possible level to the citizens.

The institutional core mission of the Congress is the monitoring of the situation of local and regional democracy in member states, which is carried out via the assessment of the application of the European Charter of Local Self-Government, opened for signature 30 years ago, on 15 October 1985. This Charter, which is now ratified by all 47 Council of Europe member States, is the only legally binding international instrument of its kind.

The Congress has actually two very important reports in preparation: Mrs. Mialot Muller from France will present "Trends in regionalisation in Europe". This report will analyse challenges and common developments in the field of regional self government. And M. Lambertz from Belgium will tackle the topic: "Autonomy and borders in an evolving Europe". Having in mind the Ukrainian crisis, this topic deals with, among other questions, procedures, how to organise rational, fair and transparent interaction between the levels of government, if there might be need to change borders. I am convinced, that these reports will be of particular interest for the CALRE members too and we will report back to you at your next meeting about the outcome of these drafts. Building on the success of the Local Charter, the Congress had striven to create a similar Charter for regional autonomy.

Unfortunately, the political environment has proven to be unfavourable to pushing through such an ambitious project at the ministerial level. This common will and work, however, has led to the adoption in 2009 of the "Reference Framework for Regional Democracy" by the European ministers responsible for local and regional affairs, and subsequently endorsed by the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe. This collection of rights and duties of regional entities is designed to give recommendations on what regional structures should be like in Europe, and to inspire countries seeking to introduce or reform their regional cleavage.

Within the Congress, it is the Chamber of Regions, which has the particular role of following political developments as regards regional autonomy in Europe. In line with its political priorities for the period of 2015-2016, the Chamber of Regions has paid special attention to major recent trends in this area, such as the growing support of extremist populist parties, the rise of nationalist tensions in regions, and the pursuit of regions towards more decentralisation, sometimes going against centralising attempts of national governments. In this connection, the Chamber shall pursue its work in related fields, such as: regionalisation and devolution in Europe, regional and minority languages in Europe; movements for reinforced regional autonomy or independence; promoting public ethics and preventing corruption, and also very importantly, co-operation with European associations of regions.

Most of the European regions with legislative powers are represented in the Congress' Chamber of Regions, which offers a unique framework for dialogue and co-operation between them. The Congress is also open to co-operating with non-European regions, especially in the neighboring countries of the Council of Europe. Apart from the political scope laid down in its priorities, the work of the Chamber of Regions relies on the adoption of different reports with a strong regional dimension.

As a final point, let me just mention two of them: the report on "Trends in regionalisation in Council of Europe member states", which has been debated earlier this week, during the 29th Session of the Chamber of Regions; and the report in preparation on "Autonomy and Borders in an Evolving Europe – Principles, frameworks and procedures for protecting and modifying status, competences and borders of sub-national entities within domestic law", of which the Rapporteur is my colleague Karl Heinz Lambertz, who is also here with us today, as President of the Association of European Border Regions. Lastly, I would like to thank the Organisers for the opportunity to address you today, and wish you a very fruitful conference!

Lin Chin-Chang

President TCF – Taiwan Local Councils Representatives (Taiwan)

I am Lin Chin-chang, the president of Taiwan Local Councils Representatives Community Forum (TCF)". I am extremely honoured to have been invited to participate in this important conference.

For this, I would like to sincerely give thanks to CALRE President Raffaele Cattaneo, to his staff, and to all of you, for giving me the opportunity to engage and exchange ideas and best practices about how we can all cooperate to better help the governance of each of our respective districts.

As we know, elections are the foundation of democracy. In the Chinese-speaking world including Taiwan and Mainland China, election systems did not exist until the ROC Government was forced to move to Taiwan in 1949. In the next year, in 1950, Taiwan held its first ever local elections. However, compared with Europe and the United States, Taiwan's 65 year-old election history is relatively short. The election system in Taiwan is the same as in Japan. In addition to nation level elections for congressmen, the two-tier local elections are designed to elect mayors, councilors and other elected officials. In an area of 36,000 square kilometres with a population of 23 million people, we elected 22 mayors, over 900 councillors for the first tier of the local government and about 2,000 municipal councillors for the second tier.

As a Taipei City Councilor for 25 years, I have been actively taking part throughout over one-third of Taiwan's 65 years of local autonomy. Although the Taiwanese people have been living under a democratic system, there has been a tendency for governments to centralize power over local autonomy. In the Local Government Act, it is easy to see how greatly the councillors' powers have been restricted. The "Taiwan Local Councils Representatives Community Forum (TCF)" not only operates as a platform for exchange between the councillors and the government, but is also designed to protect the councillors' legislative power from the national government. As we know, there is a global organization, the members of which are MPs, like IPU (Inter- Parliamentary Union). To my knowledge, many countries have their own national or regional legislative assemblies like CALRE, the Japanese Local Councilors Alliance, the American NCSL, the Philippines PCL, the South America UNALE, the Canadian FCM and the Australian ALGA. However, it seems that a global organization with members from Local Legislative Assemblies as well as international Institutions from different continents has not yet been established. This is the reason why I am striving to set up the "Global Councils Forum (GCF)". Last year, there was an International Forum at the TCF Annual Meeting. We invited special guests Ms. Noguera from CALRE, Mr. Bruce Starr from America NCSL and Mr. Yoshiaki Matsuda from Japanese Local Councilors Alliance to the conference. This August, we invited President Cattaneo from CALRE, President Matsuda from the Japanese Local Councilors Alliance, and National President Fernandez from the Philippines to the Global Councillors Forum to the 2015 TCF Annual Meeting. We also invited international scholars from France, South Korea and Mainland China to attend the meeting, whose speeches were really remarkable and impressive. Considering that Japan, the Philippines and Taiwan already have their own local councilors alliances, we proposed establishing a regional assembly named "Asia Councils Forum (ACF)", and decided to hold the first ACF meeting in December 2016 in the Philippines. We are expecting Malaysia and South Korea to be our new partners in the ACF. As we know, CALRE and NCSL signed a mutual cooperation agreement this August in Seattle, US. If the ACF can be run successfully in the area of Asia in the future, according to CALRE President Cattaneo's proposal, I think establishing a real Global Councilors Forum will no longer be very far away. In the process of Globalization, it is inevitable that, to a degree, a country has to transfer national sovereignty to a supranational form of government or international institutions. However, in my personal opinion, if giving away national sovereignty means eroding a country's autonomy and ability to make political decisions, I have to voice my objection. Within a country's territorial jurisdiction, a nation's sovereignty is exclusive and absolute. One of the fundamentals of democracy is that the power of an elected representative is legitimized by the people.

In bottom-up politics, the higher powers are derived from the lower level institutions. According to this theory, the power of MEPs comes from the regional voters, and the country then empowers the MEPs when negotiating with supranational institutions. If we adhere to this principle, we are asking how could supranational institutions take away regional and subnational sovereignty? Facing globalization, we agree that, at times States have to transfer parts of their powers to a supranational form of government, for example the EU. However, in a way, I think that could explain the reason why I established the (TCF) in the aspiration of gathering all locally elected representatives to face the plight of unbalanced power distribution and to solve that situation. Personally, I am impressed that the CALRE working group on Subsidiarity has done very well in assessing the balance of powers between the EU and the Member States. I also admire CALRE's democratic deficit efforts to prevent the EU from moving toward an increase in executive power and a decrease in Regional and Sub-national parliamentary control. I am glad to have this opportunity to be here to discuss the topic of "Regional and local representation for true global democracy" with each of you. This is a very meaningful event and I am glad to be here.

Karl Heinz Lambertz

President AEBR – Association of European Border Regions

It is a pleasure for me to contribute to this CALRE Forum taking part in this discussion on regional competitiveness through new paradigms of growth. I will change my hat for this panel and act in my capacity of first Deputy president of the European Union's Committee of the Regions. It's slightly schizophrenic as my position of President of the German-speaking Community of Belgium is at the basis of my appointment with CALRE but also in the Committee of the Regions.

In the light of this, the fact that our meeting is being held in Milan, in Lombardy, is a unique opportunity to highlight an initiative of the Committee of the Regions related to the subject that brings us here together, namely the competitiveness of the regions. The region of Lombardy where we are today has been granted the 2016 EER Label. The main objective of the EER label is to reward the European regions that set up future-oriented entrepreneurial strategies, contributing to implementing the "Small Business Act" at the local and regional level through concrete and measurable actions.

To be competitive, the regions have to be innovating! There is no model of development that can be applied to all territories and, taking into account of their diversity but as Professor Kitson has emphasized (or will emphasize,

I don't know when he is speaking), one of the keys is networking for the different actors on the ground. The EER initiative promotes an approach based on multi-level governance to implement policies favourable to small- and medium-sized enterprises, i.e. it encourages improved cooperation in the same territory between, on the one hand, the political deciders and, on the other hand, all the stakeholders, the universities, the research centres the hospitals, the local entrepreneurs and civil society.

Local and regional authorities have not only an important role to play in giving support to SMEs, but also a special responsibility to them. The "Small Business Act" for Europe provides political deciders at all levels of government a real toolbox that allows them to create environments where entrepreneurs can prosper and where the entrepreneurial spirit is rewarded.

The evaluation of the performances by SMEs published each year by the European Commission is an important tool for identifying the main challenges European SMEs have to face: in particular, access to markets, access to funding, the administrative burden on SMEs and the development of entrepreneurial skills are at the top of the list.

Identifying these challenges lays the foundations for the definition of the priorities of the "Small Business Act" 2.0, the publication of which is announced for this year by the European Commissioner for the Internal Market, Industry and SMEs, Ms. Elżbieta Bieńkowska. The "Small Business Act" 2.0 is accompanied by a series of concrete measures to support SMEs and entrepreneurs, of which I would like to mention in particular the mobilization of risk capital funds and guarantees for SMEs through the COSME programme, the development of alternative financing sources in cooperation with the European Investment Bank, the launch of a European campaign of administrative simplification for SMEs, proposed by the European Commission or also the initiatives to support the internationalization of SMEs developed in Asia and in Latin America by the Commission in collaboration with Eurochambres. The question of funding, including of infrastructures, is obviously at the heart of the discussion. Europe has been struggling against the most serious economic and financial crisis that it has ever known for almost six years now and which has put to the test not only our economies, our single currency or even our banking systems, but also the reliability of European governance. Emerging from this crisis is our greatest challenge today.

To move further forward on the path towards renewed prosperity, I believe it is essential to relaunch intelligent investments, in the long term, which can foster growth and the creation of jobs, aligning the European semester in a real perspective of long term investments as part of the Europe 2020 strategy.

Lastly, I would like to end by stressing that the involvement of local and regional governments in designing and implementing the European semester is also of fundamental importance. It is our regions and our cities which are at the origin of two-thirds of public investments in Europe. They are the essential players in the economic development and in the consolidation of jobs and they are also the political level closest to citizens. To make the most of the expertise of our regions and cities, we have to involve them more closely in the coordination of economic and financial policies in the framework of the European semester.

At present, our areas are suffocated by the rules of the pact of stability which no longer allow certain cities and regions to make investments. It is imperative that Europe implements the clause of flexibility allowing local and regional authorities to regain their place as privileged investors.

Measures to stimulate entrepreneurship at local and regional levels – policy of cohesion, benefits of the Juncker plan:

- It is thanks to the tools provided, for example, by the policy of cohesion, or by the mobilization of euro 315 billion as part of the investment plan for Europe set up by Mr. Juncker that the European Union can create the conditions allowing entrepreneurs and SMEs to prosper.
- In implementing the investment plan, it will be essential to provide financial support where the need is felt the most and to finance projects

which contribute the greatest added value and which have a significant impact at local level. Our cities and regions have a key role to play in this respect. It is their knowledge of the local economy and challenges that allow them to identify the best projects and so it is essential to benefit from this expertise in the governance of the fund, so that it can wholly fulfil its potential as a catalyst of creating growth and jobs.

- The European Commission has clearly stated the absence of geographical or thematic pre-allocations. This is a key element for the success of the investment plan, as all the regions have their individual specific needs for investment, and each project has to be assessed on its own merits.

- What I would like to see on the implementation of the investment plan is that particular importance is given to small-scale projects and clusters of projects that can be implemented on a local and regional level. Thanks to their faster implementation, it is very often these projects which best satisfy the needs of citizens and companies and which have the most immediate impact on the creation of jobs and growth.

Yoshiaki Matsuda

President JLC – Japanese Local Councilors Alliance (Japan)

My name is Yoshiaki Matsuda. First, please let me introduce myself. I represent the Japanese Local Councilors Alliance, and I am also a Kanagawa Prefectural Assembly Member. The Kanagawa Prefectural Assembly was established in 1878, and it has a long history of more than 130 years. In May 2007, I was elected the 100th speaker of the Kanagawa Prefectural Assembly, which is a great honour for me.

Today, I will talk to you about our Japanese Local Councilors Alliance. It was established in 1977. To improve our country, local lawmakers, representatives from culture circles, religions, government, local legislators and national legislators, got together and founded this organization. This is not a political organization. It is a civic organization. In 2015, we had 2,000 local lawmakers. Because of the different legislatures, we have had some activities. Because we still have districts and towns, we have different levels of governments. Of course, above all these governments, there is a central government. Since we have all these different organized institutions, local lawmakers and local legislators are very close to the citizens and can better reflect the citizen's voice. That's why we formed this alliance. Our goal is to reflect the voice of our people to central government.

For our organization, we advocate the development of the country, to respect the traditional culture and the members of the royal family. We hope to formulate a new constitution. As an independent country, we also work hard in diplomacy as well as national security, to ensure our national security. Many local lawmakers have reflected the people's voices to the central government, representing their voices and making it heard by the central government.

Our Prime Minister Abe is promoting some policies, such as cultural policies, economic policies and the reforms that he is pushing forward. I believe they are going to be successful and we are in full support of Prime Minister Abe. We also told him that the local governments are willing to help the central government to reform our country. Hopefully in the future, under his leadership, we can build Japan into a better country. Of course, Japan's Congress also works with other congresses around the world.

Lastly, as you all know, in the summer of 2020, Tokyo is playing host to the Olympic and Paralympic Games. Although there are many problems to solve, such as preparing infrastructures or comfortable transportation systems and so on, we are working hard to make the Games successful.

I believe that we can be certain of giving a warm welcome to people from all over the world.

So, everyone, please come to Japan, and get the feel of Japanese hospitality "O-M-O-T-E-N-A-S-H-I".

François Ouimet

Vice-President of the National Assembly of Quebec

It is with great pleasure that I address you today. I would like to take a few minutes on the occasion of this World Forum to speak to you about the role of federated states at international level as well as of the importance that this role represents for Quebec.

As you perhaps know, the National Assembly of Quebec is very active on the international scene and has a wide network of inter-parliamentary relations, in particular with numerous European and American federated states. It is always worth remembering the relevance and the objectives of these diplomatic exercises. I would thus like to take advantage of this opportunity to speak to you about the great importance that we give to inter-parliamentary and international relations but first of all I would like to explain the origin of this importance, as well as how it is expressed.

In Quebec, the 1960s was a decade of intense changes. This period, called the "Quiet Revolution" was marked, amongst other things, by a re-definition of Quebec identity, but above all by reforms which proposed a major reorganization of the apparatus of the state in Quebec. The Quiet Revolution also saw the introduction of the Gérin-Lajoie doctrine which reasserts and renews the activities of the province, in all the fields of competences grant-

ed to it by the Canadian Constitution. This doctrine actually states that the sovereignty of a Canadian province in its fields of competence should also apply in its international relations.

It is based on this principle and being aware of the very profitable character of parliamentary diplomacy that the National Assembly of Quebec has been able to develop a highly dynamic network of relations. The National Assembly has a very wide network of inter-parliamentary relations through its participation in multiple inter-parliamentary and international organizations, such as: the Parliamentary Assembly of the French-speaking world, the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, the Council of State Governments and the National Conference of State Legislatures, in the USA, the Parliamentary Confederation of the Americas, as well as of CALRE, to mention only these few examples of multilateral relations, without counting those at bilateral level.

Parliamentary diplomacy has something natural and innate about it and is not only a right but also a duty. Parliamentarians, although they come from parliaments with very distinct ways of functioning or origins, have similar concerns and common responsibilities, with regard to those they represent or the legislative process. They have a freedom of expression and a certain independence which makes rapprochements between them easier. The deputies wish to be abreast of the international events that have repercussions on the populations they represent. They also want to find out about legislative experiences by other parliaments in order to explore the best practices and the different paths to find solutions to the challenges they come up against.

States are no longer the only actors in our globalized world, where the complexity of what is at stake and interdependence coexist. Cooperation and inter-parliamentary relations are therefore more important than ever. It is one of the many elements, dear colleagues, that makes the exercise of parliamentary diplomacy fundamental. The National Assembly carries out

its action on the basis of the two fundamental principles of the autonomy of parliaments and the respect for political pluralism. As a parliamentary institution of a federal state, the National Assembly of Quebec has as its objectives, taking part in activities like this one, reinforcing the efficacy of the institution and the deputies in their functions. In addition to enhancing the prestige of the Assembly and all the values it represents on the international scene, Quebec's involvement allows contributing to building up a global community founded on democracy, peace, justice and prosperity.

For me, parliamentary diplomacy allows not only making Quebec culture and political institutions known, but also promoting the sectors of excellence of Quebec society. It is a vehicle of circulation, but also an important tool of dialogue, information and action.

Participating in this type of forum allows an institution like the National Assembly to share what it does best, but also to be enriched by benefiting from the experience of all its partners. Quebec is now an actor that is present and acknowledged on the internationals scene in all the areas of its competence and through its French-Canadian specificity and this is to a great extent thanks to the exchanges like those taking place here, as part of CALRE. The World Forum of regional and infra-national legislative Assemblies is also an excellent example of a grouping that can foster the development of inter-parliamentary networks of cooperation and exchanges. Of course, the results of parliamentary diplomacy can sometimes appear intangible, but parliamentary diplomacy has to be seen as a diplomacy that completes that of our governments, which democratizes it and reinforces it. It is a tool that allows us to multiply out occasions for contact, a tool that diversifies our networks and gives us access to different political or decision-making circles, to present-day or potential political actors.

In conclusion, Quebec is unique and stands out for its linguistic, historical and cultural specificities and, like each of the federal states represented here, gains by being better known. It is therefore our duty, in a concern of transpar-

ency and becoming closer to citizens, to make the activities of international and inter-parliamentary relations of our respective assemblies better known. I would like to end quoting the man who said what has become the juridical and political base of Quebec's international relations. During a speech made as part of the 50th anniversary of the doctrine that bears his name,

Mr. Gérin-Lajoie recalled that "to prosper and develop in a competitive and globalized world, Quebec, more than ever, has to weave relations with the rest of the planet, in all areas of activity". May this doctrine continue to increase Quebec's presence on the international scene and inspire the actions and engagements of its partners.

Magnus Berntsson

Vice-President Treasurer of the Assembly of European Regions

My name is Magnus Berntsson, and I am Vice-President Treasurer of the Assembly of European Regions. I come from the Swedish region of Västra Götaland where I am Vice-President of the regional parliament.

The Assembly of European Regions is the largest independent network of regional authorities in wider Europe, bringing together regions from 35 countries along with 15 interregional organisations. This year, AER has been celebrating our 30th anniversary and at the same time gone through a well needed reform process to be more effective and focus even more on our two main areas:

- exchange of experience and match-making of potential interregional co-operation;
- providing a regional perspective on European politics, already at a pre-draft state.

AER uses a bottom-up approach and most of our work is done in thematic committees, open for all members and I would like to mention two of our initiatives for young people:

- Eurodyssey is AER's youth mobility programme which has been operating between AER's member regions for over 30 years. Aiming to improve the

chances of young Europeans to integrate into working life by offering them the opportunity of work experience abroad. Since its creation, over 10,000 young people have benefited from Eurodyssey work placements;

- the Youth Regional Network, YRN, created by the Assembly of European Regions the Youth Regional Network (YRN) is a platform of regional-level youth parliaments, councils and organisations from the wider Europe.

Dear Friends, I hope you will accept that I made a change to my written speech today! I feel obliged to tell you what I mentioned at the CALRE meeting this morning!

Yesterday morning, I was sharing a meeting in my home region. At the same time, just 2 km away, in an area with a lot of immigrants, a man in his early twenties walked into a school with a mask over his face, a sword-like object in his hands and hatred in his heart. This ended in a catastrophe. Three people are dead so far, including the offender, and two people are still hovering between life and death. One of the victims arrived from Syria just 9 months ago, from where he and his family fled the war.

We as regions, that live and act closer to the citizens than the national states and we as political leaders on the regional level, have a certain responsibility to fight for and promote democracy and to safeguard human dignity. This is important today, in a world with great flows of refugees.

We need to do our best, when it comes to education, psychiatry and getting people in work, etc. But also in creating a discussion in our societies about ethics and how we should treat each other. Let us all work against extremism in any form it shows its face!

Sandro Locutor

President UNALE – National Union
of Legislators and States with Legislative
Powers (Brazil)

The first article of the constitution of the Federative Republic of Brazil, our Constitution, states that: "The Federative Republic of Brazil, formed by the indissoluble union of States and Cities and the Federal District, consists of a Democratic State with Rule of Law and has as foundations: the sovereignty; citizenship, the dignity of the human individual; the social values of work and free enterprise, and p olitical pluralism. "In addition, it stresses that all power emanates from people and it will be exercised on their behalf".

Well, we need to think a great deal about the federations, which are relatively new. The so-called War of Independence of the Thirteen Colonies, that resulted in emancipation from the English crown and the consequent promulgation of the Constitution of the United States, served as the embryo of federal pacts around the world. In Brazil, since Portuguese colonization, we have been witnessing arising social sores, to a great extent caused by the centralization of power held by the Union (Executive power), marginalizing the Brazilian federal pact that can no longer be completely exercised, and then, many actions, which are relevant to society, are still only on paper. The central government (Union) gets aboute 70% of what is collected in the country and the remaining 30% is divided among the 26 states, more than 5,500 municipalities, in

addition to the Federal District, where in fact we experience social problems day by day. Other federal agencies bear every day more responsibilities, that are constitutional obligations of the Union, which tarnish the federal pact and generate conflicts and serious social difficulties, aggravating the local economic and social situation, often by applying a wrong dose of "medicine" that does not solve the issue as it does not act on prevention, which would be more correct for a better social policy for the population. I do not intend to dwell much on this regional issue, I will focus on only one comparison: Brazil has the world's 4th largest prison population, behind only Russia, China and the United States, and in the last decade the increase in arrests has been 61.8% for each group of 10,000 inhabitants. The increased incarceration rate in Brazil is going against the trend of other countries as well, according to data presented by the Ministry of Justice: the prison population in Brazil is expected to surpass that of Russia in 2018, reaching the "bronze medal" in this undesirable competition. Also in accordance with the report submitted by the Ministry of Justice, 67.1% of Brazilian inmates are black and 31.3% are white, and 8 out of 10 have only elementary schooling, i.e. 4 years. Perhaps here we can say that for lack of planning, the world's governments do not apply the resources and energies in accordance with the laws, as countries grow in a disorderly way, without infrastructures and without concern for the greater good of society that is human life. Only by way of an example, it should be mentioned that in the last century, Brazil had about 90 million inhabitants, and there are now more than 200 million of us, but the State is not prepared for this growth.

Currently, about 50 million people are enrolled in Brazilian schools, but teachers' salaries, in addition to facilities and structures for teaching, are far short of the requirements of the Constitution, and leaders do not strive to prevent social problems, instead of combating the sores that they cause.

It is clear that it is easier to combat than prevent. However, keeping an inmate is far more expensive than a student at school, so what we perceive is a world with installed crime, causing social disasters. Cultural, religious and political issues must be preserved and respected by governments who must be prepared to manage the diversity of information and discussions that they provoke, and the involvement of society is crucial for success in such pleadings.

For these reasons, nowadays, the world calls for fighting social inequality, where we experience suffering of various homelands, seeking shelter in other nations, taken to this state of suffering by the greed of their fellows, transformed into survival pilgrims, not knowing if they will be able to reach the "Promised Land." The social and economic inequality throughout the world and in Brazil is no different, we have suffered from it since colonization, in the era of coronelismo, the plantation owners, the feudal regimes that even today leave deep scars in the society, as well as the current civil wars which leave deep marks and open wounds in the face of rulers who should listen more to their people and work more in favour of equality between brothers.

The consequences of mismanagement and non-compliance with laws, not only drawn up by man, but also divine laws, are explicit for all of us, whether through environmental degradation, inhumane treatment, wars, drugs, crimes of the most varied and macabre killings, which are shown in communication networks. All this makes us realize that social inequality can lead to the end of human race, and only we, public figures and organized society, united, can change this scenario.

We have to stop talking, to only putting things on paper and we have to move for practice; otherwise, we will be doomed to failure.

I would like to finish leaving you with two quotes from the prominent master Rui Barbosa, one of the greatest federalists of Brazilian history:

"During social changes or political crises, the mainstream always tends, in the nature of things, to exceed the limit of reason, and exercises over the spirits of an intolerant, exclusivist, radical origin." "Nations cannot excuse itself of obligations when the needs of their existence impose it on them. Its condition is not identical like the father of a family, the provident restrained man, who may even be reduced to hunger, to keep his honour and meet his commitments."

Maria Leobeth Deslate-Delicana

Councilor – Philippine Councilors League
PCL (Philippines)

I am a lawyer by profession and have been in the Philippine Councilors League for the past 8 years. I represent the Philippine Councilors League, as I am its national board secretary. The Philippines Councilors League – PCL – is a political organization established in 1990 with more than 16,000 members who are law-makers from all over the country; 80 % of us are elected while 20% are nominated ex officio.

Coming from the lower level of the government, we are closer to the people and can better legislate policies directly affecting our constituencies.

This is considering we are 7101 islands with different dialects, religions, and cultures. But in these diversities we find unity. The 16,.000 lawmaker councilors elect their provincial presidents and the provincial presidents elect the regional presidents and the regional presidents elect us, the national officers. And we in the national board than propose policies for adoption by our national government. It becomes bottom-up legislation.

And we do hope that the National Councilors Forum will materialise in December 2016 in the Philippines as earlier mentioned, so that we can discuss and propose supranational policies.

Many consider the Philippines to be a country with strong democratic values.

It is Asia's oldest democracy, and on its independence in 1946, the Philippines was known as the showcase of democracy in the Asia-Pacific.

The Philippines is located in the world's most economically dynamic region and is filled with incredible human and national resources. It was the first country in the region to topple authoritarian rule. Signs of a vibrant democracy are extensive: high voter turnout, civil engagement, institutional arrangements that theoretically promote accountability and safeguard rights and liberties. Unfortunately, as it is now in the Philippines, democracy is a paradox. The failings in the democratic process are extensive. There is élite dominance, institutional weaknesses and widespread abuse of public office. The Philippines finds itself at the bottom of every list measuring the quality of life and various human development indicators. It only ranks first in two lists. The list of countries perceived to be corrupt and the list of countries most hit by disasters. Corruption is consistently cited as the most serious problem underlying the lack of development in the Philippines. Lack of transparency continues to undermine democratic development. There is also a big issue on political dynasties. The same families have been occupying the high ranking national seats in the country. Even at the local levels of government, the scenario is generally the same. In the last elections, that were in 2013, there were more families that were elected, more wives, sisters, sons, daughters, sons-in-law and the like who were elected.

As power is passed on, many claim that these representatives of the people perpetuate themselves in power, not only for the influence but also for the money. Spending in elections, largely on vote buying, is seen as an investment. A seat in the government is perceived to be a hereditary investment.

The majority of the people, due to lack of education and poverty vote for those who can give them the most immediate solution to their problems, that is, money to buy food. They do not vote for those who are competent and reliable and who can give them long term solutions.

As a result true representation is largely illusory. These representatives, although coming from the local level of the government, fail to truly represent the people they are supposed to represent.

Vested interests prevail over the interests of the common people. Economic development is very often at the expense of the people. The social aspects of development are not addressed or if they are, not properly and substantially. The problems of democracy therefore in the Philippines, a developing country, are a consequence of a myriad of factors, the greatest of which is poverty. Only by dealing with these problems in a holistic manner do we have hopes of rising above our own failures as a Filipino people.

Only by insuring that our democratic institutions are capable of coping with the problems of democracy, can we be assured of an opportunity to reduce or abolish these problems.

But we Filipinos are a resilient people, we always smile in times of adversities, we rise to the challenges and we do not lose hope. We believe that there will be a better Philippines in the future.

With this forum it is my ardent hope that the experience of other countries and the exchange of ideas can be sources of inspiration to the Philippines to bring about changes and to bring back the Philippines to its glory, the showcase of democracy in the Asia-Pacific region, the government truly representing its people.

Regional and Local Representation for a True Global Democracy

Piero Bassetti

Gary Marks

Keynote speeches

WORLD FORUM 2015
OF REGIONAL AND SUB-NATIONAL LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLIES
MILAN, 23-24 October

Piero Bassetti

President of Globus et Locus
and President of the Fondazione Giannino
Bassetti

*The Future of Sovereignties.
Power of national states, local
autonomies and supranational
governances. Where is sovereignty
heading, who is really exercising it
and with what entitlement?*

The processes of globalisation under way have generated a profound transformation "from below", launched by the technological revolution and by the development of transnational functional networks. The traditional coincidence between territory, people, market and regulations that characterised the nation-state within the defined sphere of its own frontiers has therefore been altered and muddied. Fundamental shifts of powers are today imposed not only upwards or downwards, but also transversally. In this

way, new transnational public spaces have come about and "glocal" strategies and policies, local and global at the same time, have become necessary in order to be able to act effectively in these spaces. Today these emerging needs challenge the institutions to redefine their nature and even the very idea of sovereignty, which today would seem to have had its day in view of the lack of sovereign powers.

1. Sovereignty is "that absolute and perpetual power" belonging to the state. Thus, in chapter VIII of *Les Six Livres de la République* (1576), Jean Bodin identified the fundamental characteristics of a term and a concept that was to prove decisive over the course of Western history. The author's aim was to stress the complete autonomy of the public sphere from the private and, at the same time, to justify the existence of a sole source of power. Sovereignty was in fact entrusted with the task of unifying the political community and making it cohesive. Therefore, sovereign power was necessarily indivisible, non-transferable, unlimited and uninterrupted.

Bodin's considerations were certainly not isolated, nor anachronistic in the first modern age[1]. Fifty years after the French author, it was Thomas Hobbes who offered a new interpretation of the subject of sovereignty. According to the author of the Leviathan, the birth of the state occurs through a pact between individuals, who, in order to emerge from a condition of natural violence, decide to forego certain rights in order to guarantee their own in-

dividual security. Hobbes' aim was to make power 'immanent', cutting any medieval reference to the derivation of auctoritas from above, that is, from God. And he did so also and above all as a response to the religious civil wars that had raged in Europe until that time. In Hobbes' work, the absolute power of the monarch does not derive from a divine investiture, but rather sovereignty is representative and belongs to the people. The Leviathan is – as the author observes in chapter XVII of book II – the "mortal god to whom we owe, beneath immortal God, our peace and our defence".

Hobbes, like Botero and others, therefore represents a break with the previous model, precisely because with them the figure of the State is born as a subject exclusively appointed to exercise sovereignty[2].

Over the centuries various authors have engaged in the activity of describing and prescribing the special and specific characteristics of sovereignty[3]. However, the 20th certainly constituted a strong break with all the previous reflections. And this due to some key transformations that modified international policy. The system of sovereign states forged in Westphalia (1648) met with a very serious crisis with the First World War, once the equilibrium between the European powers was upset within the international system. The crisis became even more acute with the outbreak of the Second World War. At the end of that conflict, therefore, the winning powers decided to put new international institutions in place that would be capable of guaranteeing stability and peace through the concentration of political-military power

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[1] Starting from partly different premises, which prompted him to theorise a contractualistic and federative conception of the state, in his *Politica methodice digesta* (1603) Johannes Althusius also reflects on the inalienability of sovereignty. Moreover, between the late 16th and early 17th centuries political teaching was almost entirely devoted to the study of the state.

[2] In the 'social contract' that Hobbes places at the basis of the passage from the state of nature to civil society, the sovereign does not participate, he is not a contractual party (as he was to be for Locke), and it is precisely this that allows him not to assume obligations and to be an 'absolute' sovereign, as claimed by the state in the contemporary age; the source of the absolute character of sovereignty is the non-participation of the sovereign in the founding agreement. Underlying the Hobbesian idea of sovereignty is a pessimistic anthropological model (the state of nature characterised by the famous principle of homo

homini lupus). This model was to serve as the counterpoint to the 'optimistic' one of the great Spanish theologian-jurists of the School of Salamanca (Francisco de Vitoria, Luis Molina, Francisco Suarez), according to whom man is characterised by an appetitus sociatatis. It is not a coincidence that they theorise *ius commerci* and *ius transiti* as 'fundamental' rights.

[3] From *La Ragion di Stato* [The Reason of State] (1589) by Giovanni Botero to the *Leviathan* (1651) by Thomas Hobbes, numerous authors have engaged in the activity of describing and prescribing the special and specific characteristics of sovereignty. The topic of sovereignty thus continued to set political thinkers against each other. Among others, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, Benjamin Constant, and then also Hans Kelsen and Carl Schmitt, each in the sphere of his own legal and philosophical doctrine, participated in a lively debate revolving around the transformations that sovereignty has undergone over time.

in the hands of supranational bodies responsible for reducing the sovereign prerogatives of the nation states.

Today many political forces – and regional councils are no exception – still consider that autonomist thought is founded upon the old concept of sovereignty: that is, on the idea of bringing power downward (and, at the same time, making it arise from the bottom). But the reality has become more complex. Already at the end of the last century the process of globalisation demonstrated the inability of states to tackle international problems and their unsuitability for the task; these problems, assuming a planetary scale, have ended up requiring 'global' strategies, political institutions and legal systems, when not and perhaps even more 'glocal' ones. Indeed, if on one hand globalisation has eroded the control of each state over its own territory, on the other it has shown the importance of sub-national or local areas in the activity of responding to the personal and collective expectations of citizens. The glocal reality is, in my view, a reality marked by two fundamental structural innovations that are shaping a new panorama.

The first is represented by the fact that, with globalisation, the distinction between "inside" and "outside", or, in other words, between domestic policy and foreign policy, has disappeared. With the increasing transnational mobility of goods, capital and people (consider migration flows and the new mobility of professionals) and of signs (information, images, values, etc.), the "outside" increasingly often enters the "inside", while the "inside" becomes "nomadic", traversing and pervading the global world. Consequently, no one – at the various different levels of government – can delude themselves any longer that they can govern (or even simply know) the processes under way with the traditional instruments of domestic policy or with those of foreign policy. What is truly "external" and what is truly "internal" in a world in which the "inside" and the "outside" increasingly permeate and merge with each other? At Globus et Locus, the association I chair, right from the start we have placed this new phenomenon at the heart of our reflection, and have considered the category of "glocal", the "glocal" point of view, to be the most appropriate language and approach. In the "locus" [the place, the local], in every place, the "globus" [the world, the global] is increasingly present, and the "globe" is in turn localised, it is structured locally. Through the flows and along the (transnational) networks, the local and the global, the interior and the exterior, are interconnected and become hybrid. The space of any possible sovereignty is compressed and distorted. Governance (and government), consequently, in order to be legitimised and effective, becomes "glocal", or, in other words, internal and external at the same time. Regional Authorities, from this point of view, are structurally – and necessarily – glocal institutions. Their sovereignty appears powerfully conditioned. The second innovation I mentioned, which is structurally connected to the first, is the multiplication of players who act on the global stage, who come and go between the, "inside" and the "outside", designing transnational paths and therefore also making "foreign policy", in various ways and at least to some extent. If all this is true, we can understand why the most pressing challenge the political authorities find themselves facing today has to be considered adapting to glocal 'complexity'. Faced with glocalisation, Hobbes' idea of sovereignty also collapses: it is clear, in fact, that if it were constructed starting from a subject, in a world of plurality of subjects, such as that of a pluralistic society, structured into autonomies, each subject will be called upon to construct its own sovereignty as a contribution to a higher-level subjectivity.

2. Globalisation therefore requires new responses to the expectations and needs of citizens. If, in many ways, the "rules of the game" on which sovereignty has been based starting from the 16th century reveal their now almost complete inadequacy, so the regional legislative and sub-national assemblies we are discussing today are called upon to reinterpret those principles of sovereignty and representation that are evolving along with the new reality. In this regard, I consider that classical autonomist thought can still help us in

our attempt to understand the future of sovereignty only to the extent that it is prepared to rethink certain fundamental convictions. Faced with the imposing phenomena of 'resilience', politics – in all of its various sub-national dimensions – must in my view acknowledge the need to prepare a phase of 'consilience', which, in order to be adequate, must inevitably be 'different' from the lively pluralism of 'resilience'. Faced with resilience, we cannot have a response of monistic 'consilience', rather, it is necessary to have structured and multiple responses. We need only think, for example, of the major functions, each of which propose their own global political synthesis and in the local have very restricted spaces of autonomy.

3. Concretely, faced with these transformations, what might the outlines be for a new political practice capable of inspiring the action of the regional and sub-national legislative assemblies? I feel I should highlight three.

First of all, the defence of 'liberty'. In an age of considerable disaffection with politics (but particularly with the parties), there is a need to reinvigorate the contribution of citizens. That is why, recalling a famous dichotomy coined by Benjamin Constant, it is necessary to set aside the 'liberty of the moderns' and to defend the 'liberty of the ancients'. We must be able to replace the 'liberty from', a private and individualistic liberty, with the 'liberty to', a genuinely political liberty, namely one based on responsibility and participation. Today public subjects and private subjects that are extremely diversified in their 'responsibility' speak to the world and act in the world, to an increasing extent, in various forms and with various means; subjects of which it may be said that at times they are 'below' the state (the regions and the local authorities, for example) and at times they are 'above' it (the European Union, for example); subjects 'between' the states, deriving from their cooperation, such

as international bodies and the meta-national subjects.

In essence, there is an increasing 'polyphony of voices', with all the problems that result from this, between possible outcomes of 'sound' and possible outcomes of 'noise'. This is a dynamic, after all, that is consistent with the increasing weight that soft power seems to have in international relations with respect to the traditional instruments of hard power (military and economic power). This soft power – material and non-material resources, capacity to influence and persuade – is in fact increasingly held by a plurality of players, public and private, institutional and from civil society.

De facto, no institution should therefore decline the contribution of the soft power of these players if it wishes to be effective and gain consensus.

Secondly, 'subsidiarity'. A fundamental contribution to the future of sovereignty can be offered by a full implementation of the principle of subsidiarity, not only in its vertical dimension (on which federalist thought is based), but also and especially in its horizontal dimension (functional autonomies). The true turning point in years to come, far more than the proximity of the state – in its various levels of government – in its response to the demands of its citizens, will be the recognition of what comes before the state, namely society. To borrow a fine expression from Pope Francis, in fact, we could say that society firsts over the state. In this regard, there is a future for sovereignty if it comes from below, in the sense that it knows how to take a gamble on people and not on the pre-constituted order. Mauro Magatti is right when, in his book *Libertà immaginaria*, he stresses the importance of a 'widespread subjectivity' to sustain democracy. Relaunching the democratic process in fact involves recovering and placing on file the enormous work that social players continually carry out in the concrete contexts of action in which they are active[4]. In many ways, it is necessary to climb over the wall that still

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[4] Mauro Magatti, Libertà immaginaria. Le illusioni del capitalismo tecno-nichilista, Feltrinelli, Milan, 2009, p. 383.

divides a formal sovereignty, which lays claim to spaces *a priori*, from a substantial sovereignty, which manages processes. In this regard, it would be useful to reflect on those functional practices that, modifying the exercising of representative delegation, must be, if not acquired, at least recognised by sovereign authorities so that a perverse mechanism of exclusion of essential 'political-economic' interests is not generated.

Finally, thirdly, 'functionality'. The emergence of a new equilibrium between 'functional powers', which today are based on a different scale from the territorial, seems to have been made increasingly necessary by the phenomenon of glocalisation. If, until a while ago, the equilibrium reached by the international system was based on an architecture of the political system and on the classical powers of the nation-state, today the true forces pushing to change the same system are external to political-state organisation, such as technology, digital connectivity, demography and climate change. The discussed presence and role of the multinationals are an evocation of this.

4. That is why it seems permissible for us Europeans to glimpse the dawn, still hazy, of new relationships between yesterday's localisms and the advance of tomorrow's globalisms in the community policy of the major regions. The major regions, to which the European Union calls us, seem in fact to be tasked with filling this new design for Europe with political, but also constitutional contents, beyond the federalist. In this regard, the regional and sub-national legislative assemblies will obviously be – and, I feel I should say, must be – involved in this revolution. A revolution that is first and foremost conceptual and cultural, but that could probably become a political revolution. A political revolution that must be founded upon the three concepts referred to above: liberty, subsidiarity, functionality.

5. To conclude my speech, I would therefore like to express the wish that opportunities for dialogue, such as the one to which we have been summoned today, can renew our reflections on sovereignty and on democracy. For this reason, I strongly believe that "a space of common evaluation for the representatives of the regional legislative assemblies on the very meaning of representation and the possible forms that will characterise the relationship between citizen, territory and intermediary levels of government", as is stated in the programme of the Forum, should be embodied in a committed collaboration between all those who seek to establish a relationship with this new post-Westphalian equilibrium.

Gary Marks

Professor of Political Science at University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and the Vrije Universiteit VU Amsterdam

Does regional power still make sense? Globalisation and bottom up representation. Regions and regional areas in the age of financial, economic and information networks.

A Quiet Revolution: Multilevel Governance since 1950

Gary Marks
University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
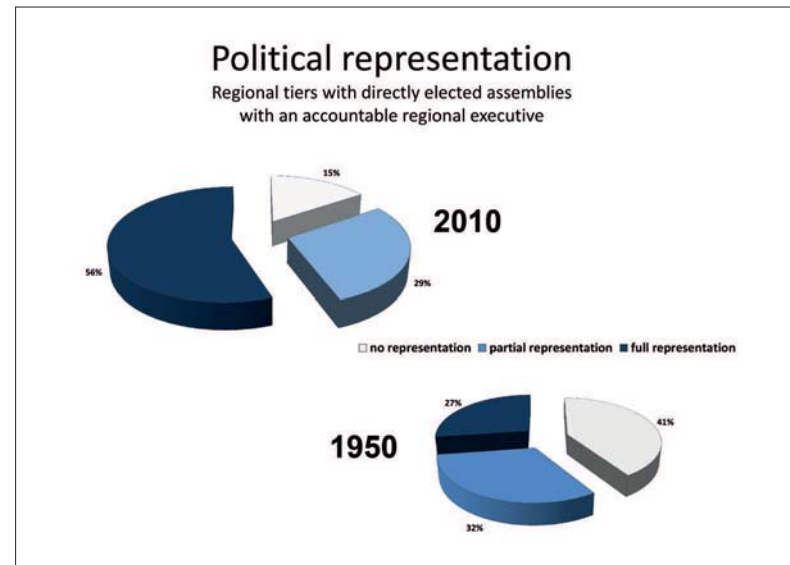VU Amsterdam

www.unc.edu/~gwmarks/

Talk outline
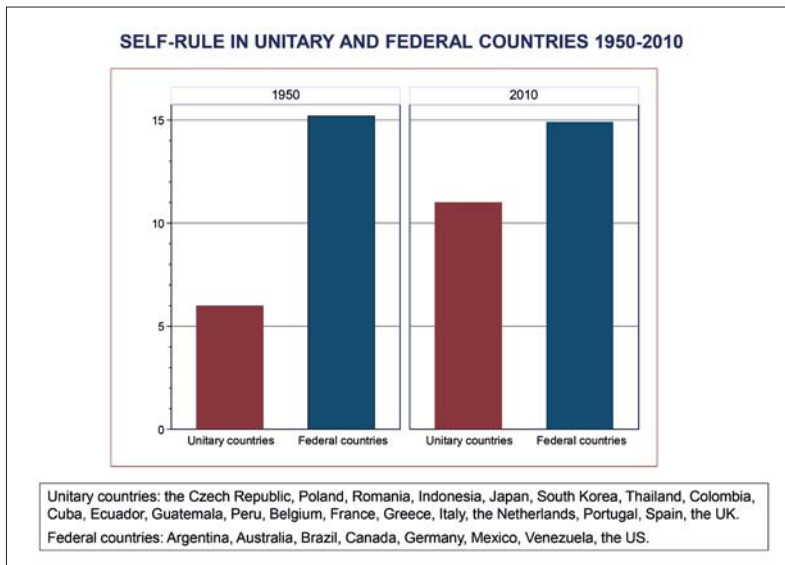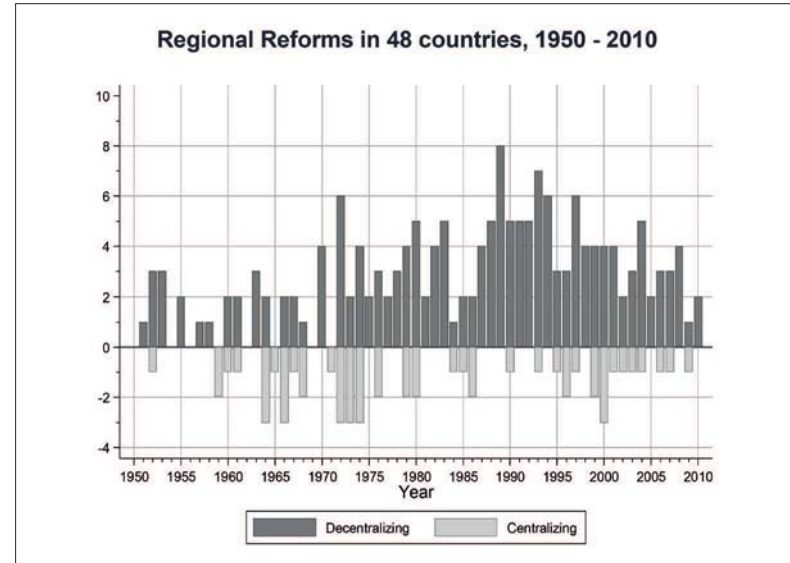
1. The Regional Authority Index

2. Regional governance has undergone a quiet revolution

3. Regional governance is democratic
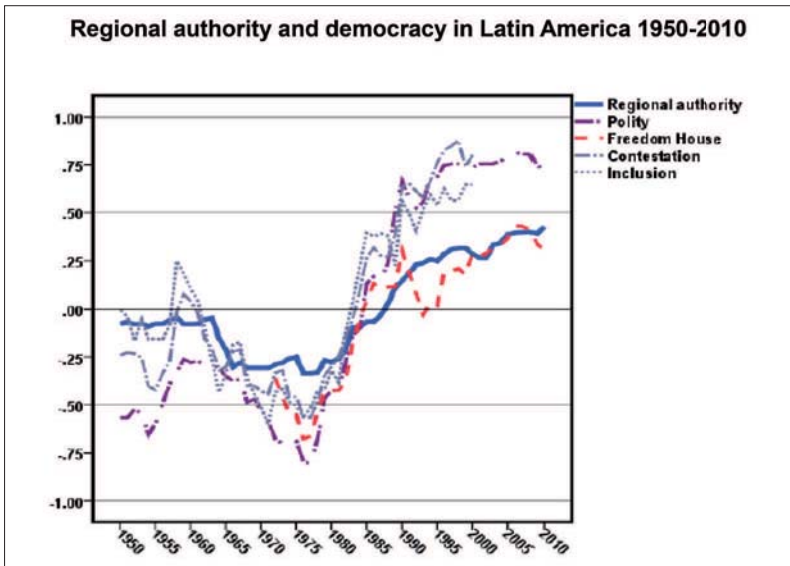
4. Regional governance has become differentiated

The Regional Authority Index

- 81 countries – OECD, CEE, Latin America, S.E Asia
- annual data1 for 48 countries 1950 to 2010; + 33 countries for recent decades.
- 3055 regions
- 10 dimensions

Self-rule	The authority exercised by a regional government over those who live in the region
Institutional depth	The extent to which a regional government is autonomous rather than deconcentrated.
Policy scope	The range of policies for which a regional government is responsible.
Fiscal autonomy	The extent to which a regional government can independently tax its population.
Borrowing autonomy	The extent to which a regional government can borrow
Representation	The extent to which a region is endowed with an independent legislature and executive

| Shared rule	The authority exercised by a regional government or its representatives in the country as a whole
Law making	The extent to which regional representatives co-determine national legislation.
Executive control	The extent to which a regional government co-determines national policy in intergovernmental meetings.
Fiscal control	The extent to which regional representatives co-determine the distribution of national tax revenues.
Borrowing control	The extent to which a regional government co-determines subnational and national borrowing constraints.
Constitutional reform	The extent to which regional representatives co-determine constitutional change.

Regional Reforms in 48 countries, 1950 - 2010

SELF-RULE IN UNITARY AND FEDERAL COUNTRIES 1950-2010

Unitary countries: the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Thailand, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru, Belgium, France, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, the UK.
Federal countries: Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Germany, Mexico, Venezuela, the US.

Political representation
Regional tiers with directly elected assemblies with an accountable regional executive

Regional authority and democracy in Latin America 1950-2010

EXPLAINING REGIONAL REPRESENTATION

	Cross-sectional (Prais-Winsten)		Over time (Fixed effects)	
	β	s.e.	B	s.e.
Democracy t-1	0.01*	0.005	0.05***	0.01
Per capita GDP t-1	0.50***	0.15	0.17*	0.09
Regional authority t-1	0.02***	0.005	0.15***	0.02

N=7983. Cluster-corrected standard errors

The Standard Model

The Differentiated Model
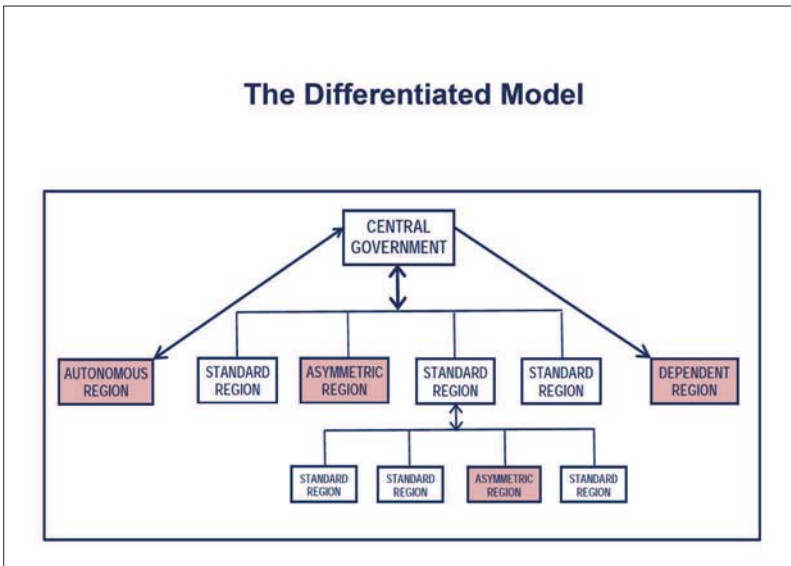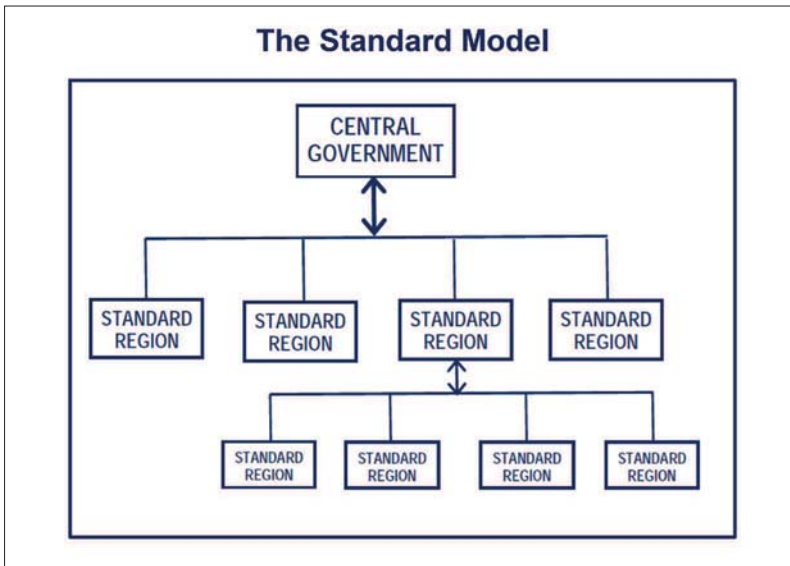
Regional and Local Representation for a True Global Democracy

Pilar Rojo Noguera

Conclusions

Pilar Rojo Noguera

Vice-President of CALRE 2015,
President of the Galician Parliament

Thank you for inviting me to take part as Vice-President of CALRE to present thematic sessions which will be developed during the working session of the World Forum of regional and Sub-national Legislative Assemblies.

We are here to contribute to the development of good governance at European level, but also at international level. To this extent, cross-border, transnational and interregional cooperation and partnerships play a key role.

At European level, European programs of territorial cooperation help regions and cities to develop joint initiatives, optimizing resources and promoting the exchange of best practices for the development of higher quality policy thus, together, we can better move forward.

At international level, the establishment of networks and associations with other similar entities also help to address common problems by comparing legislative experiences with existing practices within sub-state authorities of third states.

Either at European or international level, regional parliamentary diplomacy can help to build capacities and develop effective measures to solve main problems faced by our territories such as migration flows, climate change

and the implementation of reforms of good governance through the use of new technologies of information and communication aiming to achieve the ultimate goal, the welfare of citizens living in our territories.

Networking at international level constitutes a democratic innovation which can lead towards a renewal that helps to shape democratic processes at regional level. Regional entities are the elected institutional entities closest to citizens and therefore, we have to promote transparency, get real results and citizens' commitment as a symbol of democratic processes quality.

During tomorrow's session we will have experts to deal with the main topics that concern our assemblies and territories nowadays.

Different panels are focused on thematic areas affecting legislative representatives for obtaining sustainable regional development which enable growth of our territories. In particular, the debate will be focused on 8 topics: First, competitiveness and new paradigms of growth at global level. In this context, territories are presented as the main agents for jobs and growth creation through the development of new services and competitive infrastructures in all political areas. To this end, we have to address our efforts towards a simplified public administration and enable a good environment for business creation and innovation.

Secondly, feeding the planet, energy for life. The development of sustainable systems of agricultural production and a balanced allocation of resources, including waste, in the long term, are needed to achieve a sustainable planet – for the future -, efficient in the use of resources. To achieve this goal the European institutions are focusing their efforts on the development of a circular economy based on the reuse of resources.

Thirdly, regional welfare: immigration, social rights and institutional opportunities. Promote social innovation in a period of major changes, in a diverse and dissatisfied society in institutional and political terms. The fight against social and economic disparities will be at the heart of the multilevel governance aiming to achieve the balance of different territories by guarantee-

ing fundamental rights in our society such as education, employment and health.

Fourthly, sustainable development and regions. Our assemblies have to work for the sustainable development in their respective territories by integrating environmental policies within its territorial planning. If the current trend continues, our planet is threatened, for this reason it is necessary to adopt sustainable policies of spatial planning, landscape and transport, forcing governments' commitment to develop sustainable regions.

To this extent, it is worth highlighting the Conference of Paris (COP 21) which will be held from 30th November to 11th December in the framework of the UN Convention on Climate Change. The subject of sustainable development and regions is of current interest framed in a sustainable future for all. Our institutions must continue adapting for new challenges resulting from climate change and take advantage of new opportunities which can arise from new sustainable systems. All this will benefit economic development and we have to take advantage of smart climate which will improve our existence.

Fifth, multilevel governance and need for partnership because all together we can do more. The establishment of a shared, competitive and independent authority is crucial for the development of effective real governance over territories. Shared governance by different levels of government and local and regional authorities from different territories will allow us to meet best practices and solutions to common challenges and to reach the real needs of territories up to the top of the government scale.

Sixth, fiscal and financial policies are focused on established tax models without representation of territorial interests and needs.

Seventh, policy making and policy assessment. The impact of laws in our territories is presented as a key element for the effectiveness of policies and learning on results. For this purpose, assessing laws in all their steps, from conception to implementation is very important for legislative authorities.

Eighth, value of the norm: subsidiarity and rights. Society is constantly evolv-

ing and regulations have to be able to anticipate social relations of our citizens by linking legal principles to concrete solutions. To meet real needs of territories, regional and local authorities are presented as the most appropriate body because they are the elected institutions closest to citizens.

To conclude, all these subjects which are under discussion in our assemblies are interconnected. We have to envisage a sustainable system according to the existing territorial realities which affect our citizens. In this regard, citizens make up the engine of growth.

At this point it is worth highlighting the theme of Gender Equality since women are also a key element of growth in our territories. In an OECD study, it is estimated that the global GDP could increase to $12 trillion for 2025 in the case of progress in gender equality, notably, due to the growth of entrepreneurial women. To obtain growth in territories it is necessary develop an effective public policy relying upon impact assessments which analyze opportunities and results. In this regard, it is crucial to take into account real multilevel governance regulated under the subsidiarity principle and through international partnership agreements enabling the share of experiences and best practices. To this extent, the European Commissioner for regional policy, Corina Crețu, highlighted that "the regional policy is nowadays the main European investment tool"

As you can see, tomorrow's working session will embrace many subjects of very great interest and I wish you all very productive thematic sessions.

Appendix

Appendix 1
Position Papers

Panel session no. 1

Competitiveness and new paradigms of growth

Building a sharing and networked economy; embracing new services and products; developing a resilient and productive region.

Chair

Karl-Heinz Lambertz, German Speaking Community
Felix Ortiz, NCSL – National Conference of State Legislatures

Facilitator

Michael Kitson, University of Cambridge

Context

Regional competiveness has increasingly been identified as a key for economic growth and wealth creation. Yet, the very notion of regional competitiveness is complex and contentious, and we are far from a consensus on: what is meant by the term; how it can be measured, and; what is the role for policy. In the European Union, the issue of regional competitiveness has taken on particular significance with the ambition to close the 'productivity gap' with the USA and to deal with the adverse repercussions of the Great Recession. However, this focus on 'competitiveness' is itself highly problematic: what is meant by the competitiveness of regions, cities and localities; in what sense do regions and cities compete; how can regional competitiveness be measured; what is the relationship between regional competitiveness and regional well-being?

At its simplest, regional competitiveness can be considered as the success with which regions and cities compete with one another: this might be over shares of export markets, or the ability to attract capital or labour. This notion, however, does not completely capture the complexities of regional competiveness, as Porter (1992, p.40) has argued:

"I believe that many policy makers, like many corporate executives, view the sources of true competitiveness within the wrong framework. If you believe that competitiveness comes from having cheap capital, and low cost labour, and low currency prices and if you think that competitiveness is driven by static efficiency, then you behave in a certain way to help industry. However, my research teaches that competitiveness is a function of dynamic progressiveness, innovation, and an ability to change and improve. Using this framework, things that look useful under the old model prove counterproductive".

This suggests that we need to interrogate the regional competitiveness debate and re-assess the implications for public policy.

Themes

1. Regional competiveness: the traditional approach

The traditional paradigm of competitiveness has focused on the inputs that generate a competitive regional economy: including human capital (skills), physical capital (including infrastructure), financial capital and innovation. Additionally, the traditional view has also included processes that ensure that such factors are efficiently allocated, including enterprise and competition. Public policy has often focused on how to increase these factors (or the externalities that they generate) to improve regional competiveness, which has traditionally been measured as growth of regional productivity (labour or total factor). As Krugman (1990, p.9) observed: 'Productivity isn't everything, but in the long run it is almost everything'.

This approach, however, has increasingly been considered vague, partial and incomplete. First, there is the problem of 'universalism', whereby it is assumed that similar policies will work in different places. Second, the key competitiveness factors often lack local specificity, for instance: the infrastructure needs of one place may be very different from those somewhere else; and: innovation is a nebulous concept which will vary across space. Third, the supply side approach ignores the demand side of the local economy.

A low level of local demand tends to dampen local innovativeness and entrepreneurism and encourages the emigration of skilled workers, hinders the development of high- quality cultural and infrastructural capital, weakening the supply side of the locality. Fourth, the focus on mobile factors of production (workers, firms and financial capital) may encourage place competition with localities adopting similar strategies and competing for the same resources.

2. Regional competiveness: new developments

The limitations of the traditional approach have led to a re-evaluation of regional competiveness. One development has been to consider the region-

al economy as a system rather than simply a combination of markets. A systems approach suggests that it is not sufficient to look at factors of production but to look at the connectivity and relationships between the factors within the local economy. This has re-focused much of the debate on how to develop networks, connectivity and collaboration.

One example is regional innovation, where the debate has evolved from looking at a narrow range of metrics (R&D, patents and licenses) and a process characterised as linear and closed, to a systems approach which looks at a wide range of metrics and a process characterised as iterative (with feedback loops) and open. Within the systems approach, a key focus is on key institutions which can act as anchors, attractors and connectors.

A feature of globalisation is that many factors of production (such as firms and skilled workers) are highly mobile and can easily move in response to economic changes and this can destabilize local economies. This indicates the important role of organisations, institutions or factors that do not tend to move and can act as local anchors and foci. There can be various forms of such 'sticky' institutions but of particular importance are universities and hospitals, which can be important sources of employment, innovation and connectivity.

The traditional approach to attracting and retaining economic activity in a locality has looked at a narrow range of economic indicators such as wage and land costs. This is not sufficient as places can become 'talent magnets' (or conversely, 'talent drains') based on a range of non-economic factors. In particular, workers want to live and work in interesting places that have a 'buzz'. This creates new challenges for policy makers as it emphasizes the importance of local public services, cultural and recreation activities, green spaces and the civic built environment.

3. Globalisation and global shocks

Global integration has created two main processes which influence regional competitiveness. First, the intensity of global completion (for labour, capital

and resources) has increased. Second, regional, national or local shocks (financial, geopolitical, trade and technological) are transmitted from one place to the rest of the world at speed and with greater amplitude than in the past. It is important for places to be 'resilient' so that they can exploit the benefits of a positive shock (such as growth in world demand) whilst being able to absorb and ameliorate negative shocks (such as a global financial crisis). Important questions for policy makers include: what economic structures are most resilient to shocks (for instance whether a specialised or a divergent structure is best); and what institutions and policies act best as shock absorbers.

4. Regional competiveness policy

The new competitiveness raises a number of issues for policy makers. First, where are the boundaries of policy when regions may have limited influence over global forces? Furthermore, there is insufficient clarity about what should be the appropriate spatial scale of intervention. Some processes of regional competitive advantage may be highly localized, while others may operate at a regional scale, and others may be national or global. In many cases, polices are pursued on the basis of predefined administrative or political areas that may have little meaning as economically functioning entities. Second, what is the role of the public sector and is there a role for public-private partnerships? Third, how can a networked economy be fostered and which institutions should act as coordinator or network builder; and how should success be measured and over what period? Fourth, how can policy make the region more resilient to shocks? Fifth, how can policy makers create an interesting place where people want to work and live, and which attracts 'sticky' capital?

5. Measuring success

A narrow range of economic indicators has been used to judge the success of regions: the most common is productivity, but this has often been combined with others such as employment growth. Despite Krugman's declara-

tion that productivity is 'almost everything' it may be appropriate to broaden the range of policy metrics. First comes the issue of distribution; should all or most citizens benefit from improved prosperity? Second is the importance of the sustainability of growth, to ensure that it is environmentally friendly. Third, it has increasingly been argued that economic growth often fails to deliver improved well-being and quality of life. If the policy focus is re-orientated to well-being, this may have a major impact on public policy discourse and the evaluation of policy options. Fourth, whatever the range of indicators that are considered appropriate, it is also important to measure performance over an appropriate time period. There is often a significant time-lag between policy implementation and policy impact, and this must be taken into account despite frequent political imperatives of wanting 'quick wins'.

Questions for discussion

1. Regional competiveness: the traditional approach

How can we boost productivity in regions and localities by investing in human capital, skills and innovation? What does evidence suggest could be the most successful infrastructure investments to increase local and regional productivity?

2. Regional competiveness: new developments

How can a networked economy be developed? What are the roles of local institutions, such as universities and hospitals, in improving regional competiveness? How can we create and sustain an interesting place where people want to work and live?

3. Globalisation and global shocks

What are the limits of policy in a globalising world? How can we build a region or locality that is resilient and adaptable to global shocks?

5. Measuring success

How can we ensure that all citizens gain from competitiveness and growth? How do we build an environmentally sustainable economy? Should policy makers move away from focusing on economic outcomes and focus on well-being and quality of life?

References

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Summary of the thematic table

Competitiveness represents a very important element to increase growth and employment. The table highlighted how it is absolutely necessary for competitiveness to be linked with economic well-being and can bring tangible benefits and improve citizens' quality of life. Therefore, the concept of competitiveness cannot be oriented towards and connected with a simple increase of the GDP but other elements have to be taken into consideration. In order to pursue this objective, however, the regions have to play an active role and can find a compromise between competitiveness and cooperation with the other regions. This compromise will guarantee the success of the regions in the future.

Panel session no. 2

Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life

Food, energy, equity. The Milan Charter speaks to the world: sustainable agriculture and balanced distribution without waste. Cities and regions between modern locally regulated consumption and postcolonial globalisation. Zero food-miles as a new opportunity for local development.

Chair

Lin Chin-Chang, TCF – Taiwan Local Councils Representatives

Facilitator

Nunzia Borrelli, University of Milano-Bicocca and Fondazione Feltrinelli – Expo LAB

Context

The Milan Charter, the cultural legacy of Expo Milano 2015, is the result of a broad debate in the scientific community, civil society and institutions on the theme of Expo: 'Feeding the Planet, Energy for Life', and commits every citizen, association, company or institution to take responsibility to ensure that future generations can enjoy the right to safe, secure and nutritious food for all as a human right. For this purpose, sustainability is a key issue, in its economic, social and environmental meanings: governance, indeed, is one of the main drivers towards these goals. In particular, the Milan Charter, when it is addressed to institutions and policy makers, asks them to commit in order to take actions and be the hub to facilitate other actors, for example in reducing food waste, in empowering social cohesion both in urban and rural areas, and in promoting sustainable policies and equity. In achieving this, local and regional communities have an extraordinary opportunity, as the Milan Charter comes in a year in which the UN established the new Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Synergies between these two fundamental documents can lead to a new awareness in policy making for regional and sub-national Legislative Assemblies.

Themes

The Milan Charter is a document that addresses the institutions: that is, Regions and Municipalities. What it suggests is to adopt regulations that guarantee the right to food and food sovereignty and make them effective. Moreover, it strengthens legislation to promote the safeguarding of agricultural land, so as to regulate investments in natural resources, thereby protecting local communities. It promotes the theme of nutrition in international government forums, ensuring effective and concrete implementation of the undertakings at national level and coordination among specialized interna-

tional organizations, and developing a system of open international trade, based on shared rules that are not discriminatory, and which can remove the distortions that restrict the availability of food, thereby creating the conditions for improved global food security. It considers food as a cultural patrimony, and as such, aims at defending it from counterfeiting and fraud, protecting it from deceptive and improper business practices, highlighting the value of its origin and originality with transparent regulatory processes. The Milan Charter proposes to formulate and to implement legal rules and regulations regarding food and environmental safety that are easy to understand and apply; to promote and to disseminate the culture of healthy diet as a global health tool; to combat and eliminate child and unregulated labour in the agrifood sector; working to build a supranational structure that gathers together the information activities of, and crime studies related to, the agrifood sector and which strengthens cooperation in countering criminal offences.

It aims to identify the best practices in public policy and development aid that are in keeping with local requirements, rather than designed to address emergency situations, and which seek to foster the development of sustainable food systems. It promotes international agreements for urban and rural food strategies for access to healthy and nutritious food, which involves both the planet's main metropolitan areas and the countryside. It advocates increasing resources for research (and transferring its results), training, and communication; introducing or strengthening in schools and in school meal services, dietary, physical, and environmental education programmes as tools of health and prevention and highlighting the value of knowledge and the exchange of different food cultures, starting with typical, local and organic products. It proposes developing national health service measures and policies that promote a healthy and sustainable diet and reduce unbalanced diets, paying particular attention to people with special nutritional requirements, and those needing proper hydration and hygiene, especially the elderly, pregnant women, babies, children and the sick. The Mi-

lan Charter aims to promote equal access to food, land, credit, training, energy and technology, especially for women, small-scale producers and disadvantaged social groups. It intends to create support tools for the weaker sectors of the population, including coordination between actors working to collect and organize free distribution of surplus food; including the problem of food and water loss and waste in the international and national agenda through public and private investment in more effective production systems. Finally, it highlights the value of biodiversity at local and global level, using strategies that include indicators which attest to both its biological and to its economic value; considering the link between energy, water, air and food in a comprehensive and dynamic way, underscoring their fundamental relationship, so as to be able to manage these resources with a strategic long-term approach that can combat climate change. Considering the main proposals of the Milan Charter and in accordance with the main sustainable goals defined by the UN we would like to suggest concentrating our attention on the following topics.

1. Make cities, regions and human settlements safe, resilient and sustainable

Cities can be hubs for ideas, commerce, culture, science, productivity, social development and much more. At their best, cities have enabled people to advance socially and economically. However, many challenges exist to maintaining cities in a way that continues to create jobs and prosperity while not straining land and resources. Common urban challenges include congestion, lack of funds to provide basic services, a shortage of adequate housing and declining infrastructure. The challenges cities face can be overcome in ways that allow them to continue to thrive and grow, while improving resource use and reducing pollution and poverty. The future we want includes cities of opportunities for all, with access to basic services, energy, housing, transportation and more.

2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

Agriculture, forestry and fisheries can provide nutritious food for all and generate decent incomes, while supporting people-centred rural development and protecting the environment. Right now, our soils, freshwater, oceans, forests and biodiversity are being rapidly degraded. Climate change is putting even more pressure on the resources we depend on, increasing risks associated with disasters such as droughts and floods. A profound change in the global food and agriculture system is needed if we are to nourish today's 795 million hungry and the additional 2 billion people expected by 2050.

The food and agriculture sector offers key solutions for development, and is central for hunger and poverty eradication. Some 800 million people suffer chronic hunger, more than two billion people are malnourished or suffer deficiencies in vitamins and minerals; nearly two billion people are overweight or suffer from obesity; 160 million children suffer from malnutrition and stunted growth. Each year, 1.3 billion tonnes of food produced for human consumption are wasted or lost in the food supply chain. The new UN SDGs suggest doubling the agricultural productivity and incomes of small-scale food producers, in particular women, indigenous peoples, family farmers, pastoralists and fishers, including through secure and equal access to land, other productive resources and inputs, knowledge, financial services, markets and opportunities for value addition and non-farm employment. In the coming years, we need to ensure sustainable food production systems and implement resilient agricultural practices that increase productivity and production, that help maintain ecosystems, that strengthen capacity for adaptation to climate change, extreme weather, drought, flooding and other disasters and that progressively improve land and soil quality.

3. Promote inclusive societies for sustainable development

We must ensure public access to information and protect fundamental free-doms, in accordance with national and regional legislation and international agreements; strengthen relevant national institutions, including through international cooperation, for building capacity at all levels, in particular in developing countries, to prevent violence and combat terrorism and crime; and promote and enforce non-discriminatory laws and policies for sustainable development.

4. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages

Ensuring healthy lives and promoting well-being for all at all ages is essential to sustainable development. Significant strides have been made in increasing life expectancy and reducing some of the common killers associated with child and maternal mortality. However, many more efforts are needed to fully eradicate a wide range of diseases and address many different persistent and emerging health issues.

5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

While the world has achieved progress towards gender equality and women's empowerment under the Millennium Development Goals (including equal access to primary education for girls and boys), women and girls continue to suffer discrimination and violence in every part of the world. Gender equality is not only a fundamental human right, but a necessary foundation for a peaceful, prosperous and sustainable world. Providing women and girls with equal access to education, health care, decent work, and representation in political and economic decision-making processes will fuel sustainable economies and benefit societies and humanity at large.

Questions for discussion

1. Make cities, regions and human settlements safe, resilient ad sustainable

How well are local and regional organizations equipped with capacities (knowledge, experience, official mandate) for being safe, resilient and sustainable? What resources are necessary? What capabilities? Are regional and local levels dialoguing to define the guidelines for implementing a safe, resilient and sustainable city?

2. End hunger, achieve food security and improved nutrition and promote sustainable agriculture

Are there any plans for making the food system more effective and efficient? Is an integrated, cross-sectoral approach to food policy– links with Climate Action Plans, Regional Transportation Plans, Sustainability Strategies – applied?

3. Promote inclusive societies for sustainable development

How well are local and regional organizations equipped with capacities (knowledge, experience, official mandate) for being inclusive? What resources are necessary? What capabilities? Are regional and local levels dialoguing to define the guidelines for implementing an inclusive society?

4. Ensure healthy lives and promote well-being for all at all ages

How are regional institutions defining well-being? What resources are necessary for implementing the promotion of well-being? What capabilities?

5. Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls

Why is it important to take gender concerns into account in programme/policy design and implementation? How do you take gender concerns into account in programmes/policies? Have you measured gender equality in public administration?

Summary of the thematic table

The theme of food was approached by highlighting aspects linked to the local and regional levels: local productions of food and a fair distribution of food. The thematic table stressed the support for the Millennium Goals worked out by the United Nations to eradicate hunger and poverty. In the past few years, improvements have been recorded but further progress has to be made, from several points of view: introduce effective legislation on food; foster healthy diets; stimulate scientific research on health; work out programmes for the fair distribution of food and reduce food waste. To do this, cooperation on several levels is required and the regions can contribute significantly.

Panel session no. 3

Regional welfare: social rights and institutional opportunities

Education, work, health from the 20th to the 21st century. Demographics, new needs, sustainability. Local communities, regions and areas called upon to offer new responses.

Chair

Sandro Locutor, UNALE - União Nacional dos Legisladores e Legislativos Estaduais

Facilitator

Paolo Graziano, University of Padova

Context

As is well known, the past decades have been years of social transformation in several respects. Relevant changes have also occurred in welfare policies, both from a governance and from a substantive point of view. On the one hand, institutional arrangements have been questioned and in several cases changed. On the other hand, permanent austerity, productivity slowdown, population ageing, family household changes and migration flows have posed new constraints on existing welfare states in Europe and elsewhere, especially since the beginning of the new century. Furthermore, the recent financial and economic crisis has intensified the pressure on institutions, especially local and regional ones where the everyday effects of the crisis could be seen with greater intensity.

Currently, beyond national institutional arrangements, all European and non-European countries are in the process of rethinking their welfare policies since new social problems have emerged and increasing differentiation in policy answers is needed.

Key words such as social investment, targetization, marketization, decentralization have all emerged and have often been inspirational for the redesign of local welfare states. All over the world, recalibration and revisitation of local models of intervention is already occurring.

But often limitations in inter-institutional communication make the diffusion of best practices – or, more simply, even the diffusion of knowledge regarding the existence of other practices – difficult to obtain.

Themes

1. Understanding current social challenges

One of the best points of departure in any given policy process is to ask the right questions at the right moment. In order to do so, a constant monitoring

of the social situation has to be foreseen. In this respect, the first theme that needs to be addressed regards the capacities to understand the societal challenges the developing regional welfare systems are coping with. More specifically, 'puzzling' over specific key challenges needs to be appropriate and well timed. The overall objective of this specific theme is to grasp the main challenges which regional governments and welfare state systems are currently facing in terms of social developments.

Within this theme, issues such as institutional competence, policy design and policy formulation capacities will all be analyzed in order to fully grasp the main obstacles to a full understanding of what the societal challenges may require. Thanks to the comparative nature of the discussion, best practices will be examined and the mechanisms which may explain failure and success in this respect will be scrutinized.

2. Producing and consolidating social cohesion

In the past years, one of the most important tasks for welfare state providers has been to produce social cohesion, i.e. generalized trust and willingness to start and consolidate dialogues which could bring about more cooperative forms of societal life. Social cohesion has become a key word in terms of making it possible for societies to survive exogenous shocks (such as the current financial and economic crisis) thanks to 'resilience' or support from the members of the political community in order to overcome or at least contain the consequences of such exogenous shocks. The production and maintenance of social cohesion in 'hard' times is one of the key goals of any society, particularly so at the local or regional level where the effects of a crisis are felt in a more intense way. Building and consolidating trust allows societies to overcome difficulties and build new institutional arrangements which may further facilitate the overcoming of societal tensions linked to economic, cultural and social changes. In a nutshell, it is social cohesion that may allow current local or regional societies to survive in 'hard' times.

Within the discussions related to this theme, ways through which social cohesion has been produced and consolidated will be presented and discussed in order to learn from contextualized best practices and understand why in some circumstances social cohesion may be particularly difficult to achieve.

3. Understanding and managing diversity

All over Europe, today's societies are characterized by multilingual, multicultural and multi-religious features. Especially over the past years, such diversity has increased and there is no reason to think that in the coming years it will become less relevant. Quite the contrary, it is highly probable that societies will become increasingly diversified and therefore the need to consider new social demands in both the agenda setting and policy formulation of the policy process will grow significantly. The same may also apply to the policy implementation phase in relation to which the relevant actors (both political and social) will have to find ways to incorporate new complexities and differentiation in service delivery. Managing diversity means being able to identify common problems and provide solutions which may allow, within a general and shared policy framework, some differentiation in the policy response in order to take into account the above-mentioned differences. Indeed, such an approach is not only aimed at avoiding discrimination but is actually aimed at promoting integration through diversity which rather than a potential threat could be seen as what it really is, i.e. a great opportunity. Discussions related to this theme will focus on how diversity has been considered in the various stages of the policy process (especially in policy formulation, adoption and implementation).

4. Promoting social innovation through increased participation

Another key issue which has clearly emerged over the past years is related to social innovation in terms of identifying new policy solutions to growing differentiated social concerns and citizens' dissatisfaction in both political

and policy terms. Clearly, social innovation per se cannot solve all the social problems existing in given communities, but it may contribute to finding ways out with respect to social problems which seem to be impossible or very hard to cope with. Social innovation should not simply be considered as addressing old issues in a new way ('old wine in new bottles'), but rather it should be understood as something truly original and useful in order to think differently and therefore change the whole policy process (not only policy formulation, for example). Furthermore, social innovation should not be considered simply as a substitute for more consolidated forms of policy provision.

Social innovation is to be supported because it manifests itself as a promising tool to cope with enduring but still changing societal challenges. Social innovation may occur in very different ways, for example in the form of public-private partnerships or in the form of even more participatory approaches linked to the inclusion of social, political and individual actors in the decision making process. In fact, although the link between participation and social innovation is not always linear, there is enough evidence to suggest that greater participation may lead to greater social innovation. Discussions related to this theme will shed new light on examples and mechanisms of social innovation practices, perhaps paying particular attention to the role and possible benefits of social participation in the design and implementation of social innovation.

5. Combating economic and social inequality in a multilevel context

Together with other scholars, Thomas Piketty has recently acquired world visibility thanks to his reading of the economic developments over the last century in terms of inequality growth. In fact, we have very good evidence showing that inequality (especially income inequality) has not only grown significantly over the past decades but also that it negatively affects the good functioning of both social and political systems. Clearly, combating inequality cannot be considered as a goal that regional welfare systems can achieve on their own; nevertheless there may be innovative ways of coping with inequality at the regional level which could also be particularly promising in a multilevel setting. Not only should economic inequality be considered but social inequality may also be scrutinized and best practices could be identified and communicated during the session linked to the theme. Discussions around this theme will centre on the ways in which inequality is defined at the regional level; whether there are differences in the definition with respect to what other levels of government (municipal, national, European) think and do; and how definitions and conceptualizations are translated into policy design and implementation.

Questions for discussion

1. Understanding current social challenges

How has the social composition (ethnic, economic, religious, etc.) of your territory changed over the past few years? How has social change been tackled by the regional social services?

2. Producing and consolidating social cohesion

How is social cohesion understood? What are best practice examples of social cohesion enhancement? How has such social change challenged the existing 'social cohesion' setting?

3. Understanding and managing diversity

What is the added value of local civil society organizations? Should their role be enhanced? If so, how? Beyond the increase in problems and pressure, what are the main consequences of the financial and economic crisis for regional welfare states?

4. Promoting social innovation through increased participation

How is social innovation defined? And how is it incorporated into policy de-

sign? What are the local best practices in terms of social participation in policy design or formulation which could 'travel' beyond the site where they took place? What are the key features of multilevel governance in your area? What are the main strengths and opportunities which have emerged?

5. Combating economic and social inequality in a multilevel context
Is inequality considered a key issue in regional policy design? How is it incorporated into regional welfare policy goals?

Summary of the thematic table

From the discussion, it emerged how, as far as the problems linked to hunger and poverty are concerned, it would be useful to be able to transfer advanced technologies in order to increase the production of food in countries which, due to their small sizes, produce limited quantities of food. This is also linked to the subject of the fight against waste. In Brazil, a major cereal producer, it has been calculated that the food waste stands at around 30 % of the product. It therefore appears evident how reducing waste can also have a positive repercussion on the fight against hunger and poverty. The table then dealt with the question of immigration The problem concerns not only Europe, but is dramatic and covers the whole world. Funds have to be set up to deal with the phenomenon of mass migration and to give rise to projects that can help the countries of origin. In addition, it would be very useful to organise moments of common reflection and discussion between the countries of departure and those of destination in order to develop ideas and projects.

Panel session no. 4

Sustainable development and regions

New policies integrating environment and region, from respect for the needs of the present to the obligation not to jeopardise the future.

Chair
Maria Leobeth Deslate-Delicana, PCL - Philippine Councillor League

Facilitator
Roberto Zoboli, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore

Context

Regional governments typically face complex governance issues for natural and environmental resources. The complexity of these issues can be very high both in the case of regions with full jurisdiction on their resource endowment and in the case of regions that are part of multi-level and multi-stakeholder governance systems.

The first proposed issue is the potential conflict arising in the governance of natural capital within regional development strategies. Conflicts can arise with other levels of government having some degrees of jurisdiction on regional resources, or may arise with local communities and different categories of stakeholders. Conflicts and trade-offs can also arise between short term and long term development goals when non-renewable resources are involved. Resolving these conflicts and trade-offs can be conditional on implementing successful sustainable development strategies.

The second issue is the relationship between regional governance and the processes of urbanisation – that is, cities emerging as the main attractors of development processes with possible severe imbalances for the environment as well. The possibility that, emulating the aspiration of many cities to become 'smart cities', regions can undertake pathways towards becoming 'smart regions', where smartness blends advanced technologies with social and environmental sustainability, is suggested for discussion.

The third proposed issue is the role of regions in future climate change policies as expected to take off from COP 21 in Paris this year (2015 Paris Climate Conference of Parties). While regions have a central role in climate change mitigation policies, in particular through local energy policies and land use planning, they can have an even greater role in climate change adaptation policies. As adaptation involves minimising the expected adverse effects of a climate change not controlled by mitigation, for example extreme weather and natural disasters, it can require putting climate risk and prevention

at the very centre of regional/local planning, thus stimulating entirely new approaches to the governance of natural resources and the development process as a whole.

Themes

1. Governing regional natural capital

Natural resources and the environment, sometimes referred to as natural capital – a key concept in sustainability, represent fundamental assets of regional development. These resources can be under pressure from economic growth and there can be some critical trade-offs between the benefits of exploitation and the benefits of conservation, the latter possibly arising from future use or alternative development approaches (e.g. conservation-based tourism). The government of these resources can be the source of conflicts, not only between different development strategies but also between the different actors having a stake in the same resources. These actual and potential conflicts generally lead to governance processes in which regional governments interact with multiple stakeholders and activate processes of consensus building.

Among the general issues, the jurisdiction of local natural capital can be allocated to central government (e.g. mining resources in many countries) with a limited possibility of government/governance by regional governments. As a second general issue, property rights on resources can be ambiguous even within regions because there are traditional property rights belonging to the communities or rights and claims by stakeholders of the civil society. A third issue can be the role of conservation areas, e.g. natural parks, in economic development. Solutions to these potential conflicts and trade-offs can involve processes of exchange of rights, forms of compensation, including those implicit in the economic outcomes of development projects, consensus building, and best-practice 'technical' solutions.

An important area of planning that can present natural resources issues is infrastructural development. Infrastructures are at the same time the most important backbone of modern development processes and an important factor of land use change and pressure on local resources. They can have systemic and non-reversible effects on natural resources and typically exhibit problems of jurisdiction, cost-benefit distribution, and consensus building.

Another critical area of natural resource governance is agriculture, for which the interaction with natural resources is very different at different development levels. Agricultural settlements in less developed countries can be a fundamental need for the livelihood of an increasing population but can pose a risk for forestry and biodiversity, thus generating significant trade-offs, whereas in developed countries agricultural resources can be under pressure from land re-allocation to other sectors and, in terms of quality, from agricultural techniques (e.g. chemical overload).

Governance of water resources, as largely related to agriculture and energy production, can involve significant conflicts, even without water scarcity, between the human right to access a vital resource and water management efficiency goals. On the side of environmental quality, many regions are faced with the impact from both historical and new industrial initiatives that can create hot spots of pollution with consequences for health and quality of living while at the same time they can create employment and economic value. In many cases, good regulations and social acceptance seem to be the key levers on which a sustainable industrial development can be based. Many regions own non-renewable resources of high economic value, and the governance process is faced with critical decisions in long term planning on how and when to extract the value of these resources to deliver maximum benefits to the population. Finally, some development trajectories may imply strong conservation, e.g. tourism, which however may have complex interactions with other resource-based sectors and can demand other systemic changes, e.g. culture.

2. Smart regions and sustainability

Many regions, in all countries, are facing a process of urbanisation, that is, agglomerative forces that concentrate population and economic activities in/around big towns or in systems of small towns interconnected by intensive infrastructures. The governance of these processes is particularly difficult.

If bigger cities are more 'creative', then there can be general benefits for their regions, and in urban concentrations there can be useful economies of scale even for natural resources, for example energy saving in concentrated 'vertical' towns. However, urbanisation is the main source of some issues of sustainability and environmental quality as defined at point 1 (e.g. land consumption for infrastructures, pollution hot spots, impaired agricultural development) that are only partly under the jurisdiction of city administrations and, in any case, exert negative externalities on the whole regional system. In addition, urbanisation can deprive the rest of the region of its major assets, e.g. people and entrepreneurship, thus possibly creating a double track of development on which regional governments are asked to act for a more balanced development path. Integrated multilevel governance between regions and cities is typically difficult to agree on and implement, sometimes exactly because of the growing role of growing cities. Metropolitan areas, as an additional configuration of governance, can only partly be a solution.

During the last few years, many cities – especially in Europe – have adopted the idea of the smart city in their development and governance strategies. Even though the concept of smart city is not fully defined, it is supported by the EU in Europe and it is evolving. It was initially identified with the deployment of new technologies, in particular ICT, in the management of public services. It then evolved to also include the social side of smartness and in particular the quality of life (including services) that, of course, also encompasses environmental quality, e.g. greener mobility and housing systems. This more holistic perspective also requires deploying eco-innovations and smart solutions between technology and behavioural change, e.g. electric mobility.

The transfer of this 'smartness' idea to whole regions seems far from being immediately practicable. The idea of 'smart regions' in Europe is largely linked to the localisation of high tech sectors in regions and the intensification of R&D regional investments, and it is close to the idea of 'innovative regions', but the other aspects of 'holistic smartness', i.e. social and environmental sustainability and quality of life, can pose significant challenges when pursued at the whole-region scale. Unlike cities, regions encompass a variety of heterogeneous conditions and capabilities in different locations with very different potentials for smartness.

However, regional planning can be an opportunity to go towards region-level smartness and there can be specific areas, e.g. regional networks for transport and energy, in which smartness that combines advanced technologies and social/environmental sustainability can be deployed in practice. In many cases, even the 'smartness' of cities can depend on a favourable regional environment. The regional policies for innovation can be another area in which the idea of the 'smart region' can be pushed by selecting innovation trajectories that can contribute to make a region smarter. As an outcome of these innovation directions there can also be a boost to certain regional industrial sectors belonging to the 'green economy' that can further contribute to the 'holistic smartness' of development while creating economic value.

3. Climate and energy: the challenge of adaptation

COP 21 next December in Paris (2015 Paris Climate Conference of Parties) is expected to start a process leading by 2020 to a new global treaty on climate change that will replace the Kyoto Protocol. The expectations are for commitments on high emission-reduction targets on the path towards the very demanding targets of an 80% reduction in GHG (Greenhouse Gas) emissions by 2050 suggested by the science of climate change.

As was the case with the commitments and targets under the Kyoto protocol, regions will be a fundamental level of action and implementation. In particu-

lar, local land settlement policies in developing countries are critical to emissions from land use change, while energy policies in regions of developed countries are critical to achieve the emission reduction targets to be adopted by countries under the new treaty. In many countries, energy planning is largely, if not entirely, in the hands of regions, and this specifically applies to the development of projects for renewable energy and for energy efficiency. Furthermore, transport and housing policies - two very resilient sectors in terms of GHG (Greenhouse Gas) emission reduction - are often in the hands of regions and municipalities/cities, and achievements in these sectors can make the difference for successful climate policies.

Regions are also, and probably even more, in the central position for adaptation strategies, the second major pillar of global climate policies together with mitigation. Mitigation is about reducing anthropogenic contribution to climate change by curbing GHG (Greenhouse Gas) emissions and is linked to the technological sphere, especially for energy use, but can also encompass social and individual behaviour change (e.g. reducing excess consumption) as well as land use change. Adaptation, instead, generally refers to strategies/measures which are aimed at minimising environmental, economic and social losses from a climate change that is already taking place, or is expected to take place in spite of mitigation policies. In an adaptation perspective, the whole development strategy (not only single technologies) has to be changed to incorporate either a self-protective response to climate change effects or simply climate-related risk and uncertainty.

The key point is that, in order to reduce climate-related risks, uncertainties and losses, adaptation requires thinking and planning in a different way, by taking risk reduction and loss prevention as key words in governance and decision-making processes. This can have far-reaching consequences. For example, climate change is expected to change the hydrological regimes which can impact agriculture, tourism (e.g. snow), and energy production (hydropower). The governance of these sectors should be adapted by embody-

ing climate risk. In addition, the main effect of climate change is to increase weather extremes and the risk of natural disasters even in the short term. Therefore, the whole planning of land use and human settlements, including the strategies for 'smart cities/regions', should encompass climate change. The need to adapt regional planning is always beyond specific sectors and involves regional governance as a system and as a method based on long-term risk-minded governance. This is particularly challenging because although there is sound evidence on net socio-economic benefits of adaptation and prevention policies, they are rarely implemented. The reason for this paradox is that adaptation investments have costs that are certain and are to be supported today whereas benefits (such as expected loss reduction) are uncertain and expected to materialise tomorrow, where 'tomorrow' may mean decades. Furthermore, the cost of prevention/adaptation is often an opportunity cost, especially in development strategies: prevention often means 'not doing' - or doing differently and more expensively with respect to cheaper alternatives in current practices. However, climate risk can involve human life and this can be a strong argument to escape the paradox.

The policy framework for adaptation has evolved from the highest level - the Cancun Framework for Adaptation of the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework - Convention on Climate Change), especially directed at developing countries at the country level. For example, EU Member States are required to produce 'national adaptation plans'. However, the most important level of adaptation to climate change is the regional and local one, and only a few regions have already made adaptation plans in Europe. Furthermore, given the different nature of the adaptation problem (see above), specific planning may not be the best approach because the only effective approach could be adapting governance as a whole towards risk-embodying approaches. Finally, the role of regions in climate policies (both mitigation and adaptation) strongly interacts with natural resource governance (point 1) and the development of 'smart regions' (point 2).

Questions for discussion

1. Governing regional natural capital
Is it possible to achieve (more) integrated approaches to development and resource-use governance by addressing the whole system of natural and environmental resources, instead of specific sector-level policies (e.g. water)?
Is it feasible to adopt and implement strategies of land saving (e.g. the EU provisions on 'no new land take by 2050') and land recycling (e.g. reclamation of former industrial areas) in different development frameworks, including fast growing regions? Is it possible to have practices of good and sustainable resource management without solving the conflicts on jurisdiction and rights at different levels? Can best practices in solving trade-offs between conservation and development and building consensus be transferred between regions at very different levels of economic development?

2. Smart regions and sustainability
Can the idea of the 'smart region' - as encompassing new technologies, social/environmental quality and quality of living - become a leading idea in regional planning? Can regional planning and urban planning, especially by big cities and metropolitan areas reallybe integrated to solve the imbalances that urbanisation can create at the regional level? Can innovation policies at the regional level be directed towards sectors, for example green economy sectors, that contribute to the development of 'smart regions'?

3. Climate and energy: the challenge of adaptation
How can regions face the demanding task of implementing at the local level the possibly very ambitious targets emerging from the next treaty on climate change? How can regions solve the possible tension between economic development goals and adaptation to climate change? Can adaptation to climate change become a lever for changing governance approaches and making (climate) risk and prevention fundamental principles of planning/governance?

Summary of the thematic table

The debate highlighted the importance of cooperation between the local and the regional in order to reach the objectives, emphasising the development of good energy policies, using soil and the land well and increasing sustainable development.

It thus emerged how, although the same problems are faced differently around the world depending on the governance and the level of development of the region concerned, one element is shared by all: innovative elements have to be introduced into the local society and economy to take advantage of useful trends in terms of job creation, industry and the green economy. This would be an economic dividend which would also allow us to preserve and protect nature.

Panel session no. 5

Multilevel governance and need for partnership

Shared authority, competition and interdependence: issue-shaping, decision-making, implementing. Comparing EU policy and law-making experience with actual and experimental practices of sub-state extra-European parliaments.

Chair

Nicola Irto, Consiglio Regionale Calabria

Facilitator

Sarah Ayres, University of Bristol

Context

This panel focuses on the concept of multilevel governance and partnerships in contemporary policy making. The term multilevel governance (MLG) has emerged from its origins in studies of the European Union to become a commonly used description of politics and policy-making in a range of settings. This panel will interpret MLG in its broadest sense to accommodate conceptual developments, applications and insights from around the world, not just the European Union (EU).

Practitioners will be asked to reflect on the extent to which the term has meaning in their day-to-day working practices and what we might learn from one another in the application of behaviours associated with MLG. More specifically, the panel will address the following five key themes: the conceptual development of MLG and its different manifestations; the centrality of partnership working; the role of the individual actor in this process; the influence of state and non-state actors; implications for democracy and the impact of increasing policy complexity. The session is intended to be interactive. It is a forum for open and honest discussions about the practical opportunities and challenges public actors face when situated in a multilevel governance setting.

Themes

1. The conceptual development of multilevel governance and its different manifestations

Multilevel governance 'has developed as a conceptual framework for profiling the "arrangement" of policy-making activity performed within and across politico-administrative institutions located at different territorial levels' (Stephenson, 2013: 817). In the face of both the institutional complexity and issue complexity of policy activity in the EU, MLG has been used to try to provide a simplified notion of what is a pluralistic and highly dispersed pol-

icy-making activity. Multiple actors (individuals and institutions) participate at various levels, from the supranational to the sub-national or local. It implies spatial distinctions and geographical separation but its defining feature is the linkages that connect levels.

Two authors - Gary Marks and Liesbet Hooge - have led the field in the conceptual development of MLG. However, there have been different manifestations and uses of the term theoretically and in practice. In essence, there 'have been three broad waves of scholarship on MLG that relate to different contributions by Marks and Hooge' (Bache and Flinders, 2015: 13). The first wave relates primarily to MLG as characterised by Marks (1993) to capture the changing dynamics of intergovernmental relations in Europe. The second wave of MLG stepped back from analysing the EU to focus more broadly on the dispersal of governing authority across multiple centres. This wave highlighted 'two types' of MLG: state centric and society centric (Hooge and Marks, 2003). State centric implies that the nation state (or government) maintains a central bargaining position in governance arrangements. A society centric model views the state as one of a range of important actors in an increasingly 'differentiated polity' (Rhodes, 1997). The third wave involves an attempt to translate the work of Marks and Hooge into new terrains - geographically and in relation to policy fields.

2. The centrality of partnerships, bargaining and negotiation

MLG implies engagement and influence - no level of activity being superior to any other, although the reality is often relationships characterised by power imbalances. There is a mutual dependency through the intertwining of policy-making activities. There are parallels between the literature on MLG and policy networks (Klijn and Kooppenjan, 2015). They both explore how patterns of relationships between actors at different levels shape actors' roles and strategies. However, if governance implies engagement, then it becomes difficult to measure the exertion of influence, and gauge the out-

comes of participation in decision making processes when power relations are ill-defined and with little insight into the links between actors. Understanding the process requires in-depth analysis of the environment and the behaviours of actors.

3. Exploring the role of actors and public officials

Individual actors and public practitioners have a central role in the management and execution of MLG. As noted above, MLG is centred on negotiation, bargaining and partnership working. The skills required to manage this environment are arguably different to those required to manage traditional bureaucracies. A network manager needs to display all the leadership skills of a traditional bureaucrat combined with softer, process management skills to be able to work with a diverse range of actors in complex and uncertain environments (Martin and Guarneros-Meza, 2013).

4. Stakeholder control at different stages of the policy cycle

MLG impacts on each stage of the policy cycle: agenda setting, decision making and implementation. Actors that have been outmanoeuvred at one stage of the policy process, e.g. policy formation, might use another stage like implementation to protect their control over policy outcomes. MLG describes a policy environment where decision making and competences are shared by actors at different levels rather than monopolized by state executives. However, many studies have emphasised the controlling position of central government (Ayres and Stafford, 2014). Policy arenas are interconnected rather than nested. Sub-national actors can operate in both national and supranational arenas, creating transnational associations at each stage of the policy process.

5. Multilevel governance: democracy and complexity

As the policy environment becomes more complex a growing number of scholars have focused on the relationship between MLG and democracy.

For example, Peters and Pierre (2004) highlighted the potential dangers of the flexible, fluid and informal modes of coordination characteristics of MLG. They argued that the advantages of MLG in terms of functional efficiency are often traded as core democratic values seep away from the formal institutions in which democratic accountability is exercised. Moreover, government and actors can use these 'fuzzy spaces' to blur lines of accountability, transparency and rigour in policy making to suit their purposes, thus leading to 'fuzzy accountability' (Flinders et al, 2014).

MLG draws attention to the high complexity of modern governance practices. A challenge for government and actors is to understand and manage this complexity. Bob Jessop (2009) describes a process of 'multi-scalar meta governance', which pays attention to the 'governance of governance'. This set of literature explores how government can manage the process of governance to provide the right environment for doing business and to secure desired outcomes, such as democracy or accountability. Nonetheless, the task of managing the governance process is complicated by the prevalence of both formal and informal governance practices. Informal governance can be defined as a means of decision making that is un-codified, non-institutional and where social relationships and webs of influence play crucial roles (Christiansen and Neuhold, 2013). The use of 'softer' co-ordination mechanisms such as inter-personal contacts, reciprocity and trust building are common features of MLG and policy networks.

Questions for discussion

1. The conceptual development of multilevel governance and its different manifestations
Does the term have contemporary relevance for practitioners? What does the term symbolise or capture for practitioners? In an increasingly globalised and complex world, are all policy settings multilevel to some degree?

Is the term globally transferable? What does multilevel governance mean to practitioners outside the European Union? Do some policy sectors epitomise multilevel governance more than others?

2. The centrality of partnerships, bargaining and negotiation
What are the conditions, relationships and variables to making a successful (multilevel) partnership? What is the best way to research and evaluate complex partnerships?

3. Exploring the role of actors and public officials
Can individual actors shape their institutional environment? Is there a role for the 'maverick' or 'network broker' in contemporary policy making? Alternatively, are individuals constrained by their cultural and institutional backgrounds?

4. Stakeholder control at different stages of the policy cycle
Where can public officials best exercise control and how? What opportunities are there for non-state actors to engage in these stages?

5. Multilevel governance: democracy and complexity
Is there a danger in more flexible, fluid, informal modes of co-ordination characteristic of multilevel governance? Is there a trade-off between functional efficiency and democratic values? How can a perceived lack of democratic accountability be mitigated in governance networks? Does multilevel governance capture the complexity of institutional/actor relations in contemporary policy making? How has the global financial crisis and drastic public sector spending cuts impacted on horizontal and vertical governance arrangements?

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Summary of the thematic table

Multilevel governance creates a bond between the different levels of government and underlines the opportunities for society and the markets. In order for policy-makers to put into practice their policies as best as possible, all the citizens have to be involved from the start of the decision-making process. To reach this objective, a central role is played by the politicians themselves who have to translate the citizens' requests into concrete actions, but also of the public officials who have the purpose of orienting policy to the best and most effective means to attain their objectives. However, all this would not be possible without working jointly at different levels.

Panel session no. 6

Fiscal and financial policies

No taxation without representation: models and rationales of sub-national government systems. An open debate between centre and periphery.

Chair

Roberto Ciambetti, Consiglio Regionale Veneto

Facilitator

José María Durán Cabré, University of Barcelona

Context

Although decentralization is not solely motivated by economic issues, economics does play a very significant role, in particular as regards the aim of achieving a more efficient public sector. Fiscal and financial policies are therefore essential for a proper functioning of a decentralized country. Both sides of the fiscal system – expenditures and revenues – must be balanced to ensure efficiency, accountability, economic stability and equity; in other words, to ensure an improvement in citizens' welfare. It is important, however, to bear in mind that different aspects of decentralization may interact with one another affecting the results of regional and local governments. This session will concentrate mainly on the revenue side, examining the different issues related to fiscal and financial policies.

Themes

1. Tax autonomy

Sub-national governments need to have adequate revenues to fund their expenditure needs so that they can enjoy effective autonomy, but at the same time they must also take responsibility for how they raise those revenues. Therefore, the first question we need to consider concerns tax assignment. Taxation at the sub-national level can enforce accountability and guarantee efficient public services and fiscal sustainability. Sub-national governments must have tax autonomy; that is, the right to fix the parameters of the assigned taxes, including rates, bases or reliefs. Obviously, the taxing power of sub-national jurisdictions may vary, but they must enjoy a certain degree of tax autonomy in order to make the most of decentralization. After all, spending is much easier than raising revenues.

Some taxes cannot be assigned to a specific government but have to be shared between different levels of government. Under such tax-sharing

arrangements, sub-national governments receive revenues according to a sharing formula, but they do not have any legal power over the tax. Here, there is less autonomy as the national government controls all the tax parameters. If citizens (taxpayers) are not aware that the tax also funds sub-national governments, it is difficult to achieve any improvement in terms of fiscal responsibility. Tax autonomy, however, can raise concerns about tax policy interactions, particularly tax competition; that is, the possibility that sub-national governments use taxation to attract mobile factors within the country. Some taxes are more prone to tax competition, but this is also dependent on other factors such as the scope of decentralized legal power, the equalization system or the size of jurisdictions.

2. Tax administration

Tax administration is crucial to tax policy, as it affects the level and distribution of effective tax rates and, therefore, the total amount of revenues collected. In decentralized countries, tax administration can serve as an additional tax instrument for sub-national governments, along with the legal power to set tax parameters, which can reinforce the accountability of local government officials to residents. However, recent developments and trends in tax administration seem to suggest a greater concentration of administration based on the idea of enhanced efficiency and effectiveness achieved through economies of scale. Thus we are seeing revenue institutions with increased autonomy from politicians, the adoption of a co-operative compliance model approach, the massive use of new technologies and the increasing complexity of tax systems and international issues.

3. Equalization

Regions, municipalities or any other sub-central jurisdiction of a country may have different levels of wealth. Subsequently, economic disparities can result in unequal access to public services across a country. The citizens in rich jurisdictions will enjoy better services and economic disparities and imbalances will increase. For this reason, national governments must ensure that all their citizens, regardless of whether they live in a rich or a poor region, enjoy similar levels of wellbeing; in other words, they must operate a system of fiscal equalization. The aim of the equalization system is to transfer financial resources to poorer sub-national governments in order to provide their citizens with a similar level of public services at similar levels of taxation. In short, autonomy and fiscal responsibility must be combined with territorial solidarity.

However, strong equalization systems may undermine local and regional efforts to develop their economy and fiscal base. In addition, large equalization grants can undermine fiscal discipline at the sub-national level. In order to minimize trade-offs and distortions, equalization arrangements should rely on revenue and needs indicators that cannot be manipulated by sub-national governments. The final results of the equalization system should be clear and coherent with its redistributive aim. In conclusion, tax assignment, fiscal grants and tax administration are key issues in the models and rationales of sub-national government systems. Yet, there are other factors to consider in assessing fiscal and financial policies in decentralized countries.

4. Decentralization

National governments may be especially reluctant to hand over too much fiscal power to sub-national governments as they may fear losing macroeconomic control. They have concerns about their capacity to take effective political actions in the face of economic crisis. In addition, decentralization may lead to a breakdown in intergovernmental coordination, thus increasing public deficit both at the central and local levels. Heavy reliance on intergovernmental transfers reduces incentives for good fiscal behaviour among sub-national decision makers, which can create a soft budget constraint. Reliance on bailouts from the national government weakens fiscal discipline.

5. Asymmetry

A common element of heterogeneity among the sub-national jurisdictions of a country is its different wealth levels. Some jurisdictions are richer than others. However, at the same time, ethnic, linguistic and cultural differences can also be important in some countries, and the origin of severe political conflicts. Clearly, these countries need to find a way to deal with these differences and, as such, asymmetry becomes an important issue.

6. Intergovernmental fiscal relations

Different aspects of decentralization interact with one another affecting the results of regional and local governments. Gains in efficiency, accountability, economic stability and equity can only be achieved if these elements of the sub-national fiscal system are carefully fitted together. This requires a periodical assessment of the system. In addition, circumstances inevitably change over time, giving rise to the need to update fiscal arrangements.

Questions for discussion

1. Tax autonomy
What taxes should be allocated to sub-national governments? What taxes should be retained by national governments? What legal powers should sub-national governments receive? What powers should national governments keep? What role should tax-sharing arrangements play?

2. Tax administration
Should sub-national governments be responsible for collecting and administering taxes? What is the most appropriate approach to organizing the vertical structure of tax administration: centralized, decentralized or shared?

3. Equalization
What should be equalized: only tax-raising ability or also expenditure needs? How can fiscal equalization be designed in order to avoid disincentives in poorer jurisdictions? How effective is the equalization system in reducing economic disparities across jurisdictions?

4. Decentralization
When are fiscal rules effective? When can financial market discipline act as a constraint on sub-national governments?

5. Asymmetry
When can asymmetrical fiscal and financing policies emerge among sub-national governments? Can asymmetry help to calm political conflicts or does it foster them?

6. Intergovernmental fiscal relations
Who should assess the results of the system?
What are the drivers for reform? How often should fiscal relations be reviewed? Periodically or only occasionally?

Summary of the thematic table

A more equitable fiscal policy is definitely more advantageous for everyone. The whole world, with different experiences and levels, has to face taxes that are too high and resources that are not sufficient to finance services. One absolutely essential point to take a decisive step ahead on the matter of taxation is that of transparency: everyone has to know from the source of the taxes the way these resources are spent.

In addition, it will be very important to succeed in building up a good financing system at local level and reaching a good balance between expenditure and income. This will naturally led to having: a better public sector, higher accountability and greater economic stability.

Panel session no. 7

Policy making and policy assessment

How to set up a virtuous circle of policy-making and of public policy assessment, in terms of impact, effectiveness and learning

Chair
Antonio Mastrovincenzo, Consiglio Regionale Marche

Facilitator
Giliberto Capano, Scuola Normale Superiore

Context

Legislative assemblies (LAs), not only at the national level, but also at the regional and sub-national level, need to act through an evaluative perspective. Evaluating policies and legislative measures helps to improve the accountability and efficiency of the public sector as well as allowing a more evidence based policy design and the monitoring of the implementation process. Thanks to different types of evaluation activities, LAs can not only control the executive (legislative oversight) but can be more aware of the content of their decisions and thus be genuinely accountable to their voters. Formal evaluations of both policy and decision making have emerged in response to calls for greater transparency, (cost-) efficiency and accountability in the public sector. Evaluations seek to provide information on the impact and causality of the instrument concerned and to contribute to policy learning on the effects produced by different policy actions. Evaluations may be conducted either prior to the adoption of policy or legislative measures (ex ante), during their implementation (in fieri), in particular with multi-annual programmes, or after implementation (ex post).

There are many ways to organize an evaluative assembly (according to what we can observe from a comparative perspective). This panel will focus exactly on the main challenges dealt with when making legislative assemblies really capable of acting according an evaluative perspective.

Themes

1. Legislative assemblies must assess and evaluate policies: policy assessment and evaluation as a pillar for the institutional function of LAs
Legislative bodies have been changing their role in the last decades. Their original functions (to control the executive and to legislate) have been challenged by strong external pressures and dynamics (globalization, suprana-

tional and transnational politics and policy, strengthening of central governments). Governments need to go faster in their decisions while the policy complexity of the issues at stake is dramatically increased.

The result of the interaction of this double dynamic can produce a weakening of the institutional capacity of LAs in performing both as government regulators and as legislators. To deal with this risk, LAs should work through an intense evidence-based policy activity.

This is not only relevant for the quality of legislation but for the overall way of working of the democratic system. Informed policy-making (which means also gathering information from the target of the decisions) and, ultimately, participatory law-making, are pillars for a higher quality of the regional democratic system, and thus can safeguard the local democracy against the persistent risk of losing the citizens' legitimisation.

2. Policy assessment of LAs should characterize all the stages of the policy-making process

All the stages of law making as well implementation should be a matter of LAs' assessment. It is important, for example, to assume that LAs should develop evaluation activities also before the ex-ante stage. This means that a periodic activity of exploratory assessment should be done of the main policy fields under the LAs' competences. This exploratory assessment helps LAs to maintain a constant attention on the main sectoral policy developments and to continuously focus on the framing of policy problems. Exploratory assessment strengthens the innovative and "visionary" capacity of LAs.

Furthermore ex-ante, in fieri and ex-post evaluation should be institutionalized to guarantee: good policy design; effective implementation; timely feedback. Ex-ante evaluation should be independently conducted and should be focused on all the relevant policy dimensions (organizational, financial, political, impact of regulation, distributional, etc). Different options should be offered to legislators, if possible according to a comparative perspective.

Evidence here should be considered essential. In fieri evaluation should be clearly provided for by internal institutional regulations and where possible its timing should be established in every new law. Every law (policy decision) could also provide for specific "fire alarms" able to indicate to legislators, in real time, that the implementation is going badly. The results of this type of evaluation should be made public promptly and, if necessary, taken into consideration for a swift correction of the previous policy decision.

Ex-post evaluation should be organized in good time: most of the required data and indicators should be established in advance. In this way, all the implementers can perfectly know the dimensions by which the results will be evaluated and the evaluation can start promptly, without the need to devote time to seeking agreement on which data should be gathered.

No new policy should be launched or old policy redesigned without a rigorous ex-post evaluation.

3. Technical support of LAs as evaluative institutions

There are different ways to ensure LAs the necessary technical support in evaluation: from well organized and updated timely library research services to periodic policy reports; from juridical advice to feasibility studies. What is relevant here is the type of institutional organization in charge of the evaluation. There could be different ways of organization: from funding to assembly political groups to permanent staff reporting to the presidency of the assembly. However, it seems that the best solution, most widely adopted in a comparative perspective, is to have an internal administrative branch (or an autonomous agency) devoted to all the evaluation activities.

Then there is the problem of the competences and skills of the offices for evaluation. Here very often the national traditions matter (for example, in continental Europe a background in law or economics is considered more relevant than one in social sciences, organization or psychology). Recruitment should be based on a specific plan of the type of evaluative activities to be

pursued, as well as on a clear commitment to multi-disciplinarity. Multi-disciplinarity is needed to allow LAs to have at their disposal complete and multi-faceted evaluations, otherwise their decisions might not take account of all the potential implications and outcomes.

The status of the members of the evaluative offices should be more similar to that of researchers than to that of "bureaucrats". This implies specific financial and professional incentives as well as a constant interaction with the external world of research (academic and, where it could be the case, private). Offices for evaluation should attain a high reputation in the world of evaluative research. External consultancy should be directly led and supervised by the office for evaluation and should be adopted only on specific and hyper-specialized topics.

4. The organization of assessment and evaluation practices throughout the policy-making

As said above, the evaluation activities should characterize all the stages and LAs should be independent in these activities from the executive. Furthermore, it is preferable that specific internal regulations formalize the "loci" of evaluation contributions and their compulsory nature.

Not only should each stage of the law-making be characterized by due information and reports, but each bill, especially government ones, should be evidence-based or, if this is not possible, should present the prevailing contrasting evaluations. The case of government bills is particularly relevant, because in respect of them the assembly should be guaranteed a completely independent evaluation and assessment. Should there be contrasting technical evaluations between government and assembly, before the final decision, it would be preferable to seek advice from a third party.

The assessment activities should be highly inclusive. Evaluation should be considered a primary component of the institutional culture. To help in this, every LA member should be involved in them in some way (and initial train-

ing on rules and procedures as well as on evidence-based policy making should be offered to each new LA member).

There should be a constant interaction among the offices for evaluation and the external independent bodies in charge of auditing or other types of control on policies. From this point of view, there should be a formal statement of inter-institutional collaboration. Public hearings and surveys should be periodically organized on the most relevant policy problems under the responsibility of the LAs: citizens' interests need to be taken into consideration as a primary source of information for assessment.

5. Stakeholder audits should be institutionalised, coordinated and coded in a data set

Stakeholders are often a significant driver of information for assessing problems, offering possible solutions and gathering data on the effects of policy making. Stakeholders tend to interact "privately" either with bureaucrats or with politicians, since their main goal is that of self-interested lobbying. But stakeholders could also represent a significant source of information for evaluation.

Thus hearings with stakeholders should be considered a main source of information; however, they should be organized not randomly but through a planned strategy designed to constantly gather data and opinion on what is going on in the related policy fields. This activity should be well organized, highly coordinated among the offices for evaluation and the other administrative branches, and the resulting data should be coded to build up a specific data set.

Questions for discussion

1. Legislative assemblies must assess and evaluate policies: policy assessment and evaluation as a pillar for the institutional function of LAs

Is the culture of evaluation really working in your LA? What kinds of dynamics characterize evaluation activities in your institutions? What are the main pros and cons? What is, in your experience, the best strategy to make evaluation really part of LAs' policy-making?

2. Policy assessment of LAs should characterize all the stages of the policy-making process

What do you think about the exploratory evaluation activity? Could it really be useful? At which stage of the law-making process should evaluation be considered necessary and inevitable? On the basis of your experience, is evaluation taken seriously in your institution?

3. Technical support of LAs as evaluative institutions

The organization of evaluation of LAs: what could the best organizational solution be according to your experience? What kind of incentives are needed to recruit the best staff for evaluation? In your experience, does the type of organization for evaluation make a difference?

4. The organization of assessment and evaluation practices throughout the policy-making

In your institution is the contribution of evaluation formally regulated? Are the members of LAs prepared to understand and use evaluation output? What do you think about having compulsory training in evaluation for all new LA members?

5. Stakeholder audits should be institutionalised, coordinated and coded in a data set

In your experience, what are the most interesting and useful stakeholders for evaluative purposes? Do you think that instruments like citizens' juries could be an interesting way to evaluate policy problems and solutions?

Summary of the thematic table

Assessing policies plays a fundamental role at every step of the legislative process and is an element of vital importance for the quality of democracy at all levels.

Panel session no. 8

Value of the norm: subsidiarity and rights

The relationships between citizen and State, between civil and political society are changing. Traditional forms of political representation and direct action by citizens on problems of general interest. The political challenge of the relationship between legal principles and concrete solutions.

Chair

Carla Dejonghe, Flemish Community Commission
François Ouimet, National Assembly of Quebec

Facilitator

Nicola Pasini, University of Milan

Context

In the past decades, Western democracies have experienced a drastic change in the relationships between citizens and the State. The global expansions of civil, political and social rights has meant, for established democracies, a continuous request in the direction of deepening the granted rights in order to make them more and more substantial. From a declaration of principles, those rights have become the battleground over which conflicting views of the role of the State clash. Advocates of the State as the provider of a level playing field claim that the role of the State is not to give each player an equal chance of succeeding, but simply to ensure that all players play by the same set of rules. This means that no external interference affects the ability of the players to compete fairly. On the other side, an opposite view argues that, if the rules affect different participants differently, then they are not actually the same, and therefore not all participants must abide by the same rules. This continuous tension has changed the relationship between civil and political society. Traditional forms of political representation are in crisis. Parties and other intermediate bodies are no longer able to collect and present the legitimate demands of citizens. This creates a short circuit blocking the flow of information between citizens and the State (and vice versa) that, on the one hand, fosters direct action by citizens on problems of general interest and, on the other hand, strengthens the direct relationship between leaders and the public in an attempt to go beyond traditional representation channels.

Themes

1. No match between citizens' expectations and the formal responses of institutions

From local to supranational government levels, the traditional channels of

aggregation and representation of citizens' interests are becoming weaker. Political parties, interest associations, trade unions, etc. are unable to understand citizens' rights, to listen to citizens' legitimate demands and, as a consequence, to respond effectively. The overload of demands to the political system makes this crisis even deeper. The role of social integration played by parties through political participation has been replaced by new socialization agencies, more similar to market mechanisms.

Those dynamics have profoundly influenced the relational processes, and this in turn has had an effect on political parties' strategies. Traditional systems of representation are in crisis, questioning the role of intermediate bodies. Since parties are less and less able to play their role of mediating between citizens' demands and the State's responses, the political system risks an overload crisis. If, therefore, the State proves unable to respond effectively to citizens' legitimate demands, citizens may decide to withdraw their support for the political system, looking for alternative systems of representation that may guarantee their rights more effectively.
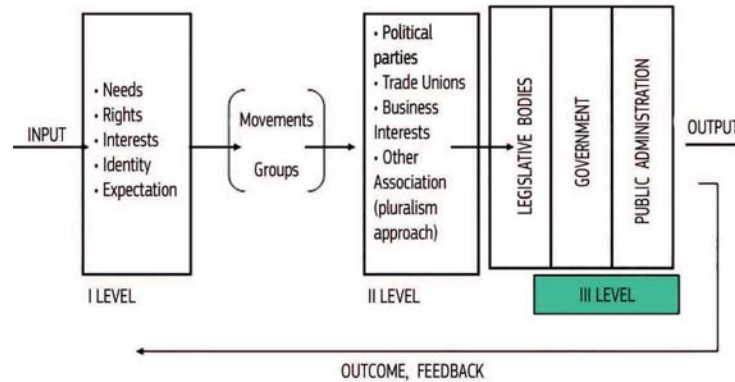
mension which was unified and neutral, national and universal. Nowadays, citizens' rights are based on a more complex system of guarantees which inevitably differentiates between regional and local contexts (e.g. welfare systems which are less and less national and more and more regional). This predictably creates differences among citizens and regions inside the same universalistic set of values and rights which will give rise to unavoidable tensions from the civil to the political system. The phenomenon, however, is not new: new political demands have emerged along with requests for innovative, less structured forms of representation. The relationship between party and voters has become less stable and more dynamic, while party membership has become more flexible.

3. Neutral and universalistic-legal rules vs diversified and particularistic demands. The role of new actors.

Universalistic rules of decision making are characterized by a neutral approach based on general norms. Those rules are, sometimes, unable to recognize the main features of public demands, which can also involve diversified needs, interests and rights. Citizens' rights, on the contrary, are becoming more and more particularistic and difficult to process with a general and universalistic legal approach. Thanks to the improvement in economic well-being, post-materialistic values changed the focus of public opinion from the economy to the environment, gender issues, etc.

How is it possible, then, to re-build a correspondence between policy answers given by the institutions (and by political parties which are part of those

Framework of Political System

2. What public goods: national dimension vs differentiate and territorial dimension

The political challenge stemming from the relationship between legal principles and concrete solutions may give rise to an insoluble tension. In the past, in fact, the guarantee of citizens' rights was based on a territorial di-

institutions) and citizens' requests? How can citizens, trade unions, firms, interest groups, third sector organizations, etc. make their claims heard? Is it possible to outsource to new subjects, private or public (but other than the State), the fulfilment of citizens' rights? If so, how? Through new systems such as welfare society, welfare community, second welfare?

4. Mediation of interests: the paradox between active participation of (new and old) social and economic actors and their exclusion from the decision-making process

If, however, we think it is possible to outsource at least part of the welfare system, we face the following paradox: On the one hand, new actors such as volunteers, social firms, non-profit enterprises, pressure groups, etc. ask to be admitted to the political system due to their role of mediation of interests. They may offer a new, active and central participation, with the aim of filling the space left empty by the State. But this has an obvious consequence: while offering subsidiarity, they ask for greater involvement in the decision-making process, negotiating new criteria, new functions and new political priorities.

On the other hand, the same intermediate bodies are becoming weaker in their original role of mediation of interests, thus favouring the process of disintermediation of politics, where political leaders offer their messages directly to the citizens, without the need for party structures. Thus, intermediate bodies may be excluded from the decision-making process and also from representative institutions (parliaments, legislative assemblies, regional councils, etc.).

5. Administrative deregulation to guarantee more effective public policies and to regain trust with citizens: is it enough?

It is not always possible to regain a trust-based relationship between public institutions (both representative and government institutions, and the public administration and civil service) and citizens. At the same time, the administrative deregulation involves central government, regional and local administrations and private firms. But will the valorisation of local autonomies and the speeding up of the decentralization process be enough to guarantee more effective public policies? Today we are faced with a decreasing capacity on the part of political parties to interpret and represent questions, preferences, needs and identities of individual and social groups. Parties are not able to address those issues through the classic 'parliament-government-public administration' circuit. Political parties must therefore rethink their functions in order to counter the desire of citizens to bypass political mediation.

6. Federal and local government institutions

According to federalist principles, local and regional governments seem more suitable than central governments in answering local demands, even if (or maybe exactly because) central governments offer uniform and standardized public policies, while regional and local governments are closer to the needs of the territory. This, however, opens a central question regarding the relationship between citizens and public institutions: how to reconcile the subsidiarity principle with general and standardized State decisions. On the one hand, taking decisions at a level closer to citizens may favour a pluralistic culture able to appraise local differences; on the other, however, universal and general norms provide a basis of equality for all citizens. Are those apparently conflicting principles able to coexist? Is there a way to engage them in a process of mutual reinforcement?

Questions for discussion

1. No match between citizens' expectations and the formal responses of institutions

Are overload and the inability of institutions to select citizens' demands in terms of priorities now structural issues in Western democracies? How did they come to this? Is it only a political problem or rather one relating to our ever-changing society?

2. What public goods: national dimension vs differentiate and territorial dimension
Should public goods be produced in a standardized manner throughout the country, or should we consider their differentiation that takes into account different needs and specific end-users? And how is this phenomenon reflected in the political representation?

3. Neutral and universalistic-legal rules vs diversified and particularistic demands. The role of new actors
The previous point calls into question the universalistic approach and the neutrality of the welfare state. Can we talk about alternative systems of production (welfare society and welfare community) which take into greater account the new needs and rights of the citizens referring to increasingly post-materialist values?

4. Mediation of interests: the paradox between active participation of (new and old) social and economic actors and their exclusion from the decision-making process
Why is the activism of new forms of interest association and representation not listened to by such institutions as legislatures and governments? Does the exclusion of these forms of mediation of interests inevitably lead to the verticalization of politics and decision making? Is the crisis of political parties a consequence or a cause of this phenomenon?

5. Administrative deregulation to guarantee more effective public pol-

icies and to regain trust with citizens: is it enough?
On the administrative side, is it enough to implement deregulation and New Public Management in order to rebuild trust between citizens and institutions? Or does the distance between institutions and citizens concern those actors (political parties in particular) that should filter the demands of the community and strengthen the institutional ethos?

6. Federal and local government institutions
Are the federal government and the local institutions able to better interpret the rights of citizenship and to produce fair, effective and more efficient public policies through both vertical and the horizontal subsidiarity? In the end, are there different kinds of regions (political, administrative, economic, and cultural) which do not always coincide with each other?

Summary of the thematic table

The importance of respecting the law at different levels and the centrality of some keywords: ethical codes, citizens' charters, accounting for what is done by politics. The new role of the political parties that have to show they have a new ethos, a new culture of listening and greater attention to the needs of citizens and society in general.

With globalisation there has been an explosion of questions from the bottom up to which the institutions fail to give convincing answers. Little attention is also paid to the new economic and social operators. There is no correspondence between the expectations of citizens and the answers from the institutions. Regaining trust between citizens and institutions is an absolute necessity.

Appendix 2
Manifesto

"Manifesto of regional, sub-national and national Legislative Assemblies in Federal States for a true global democracy"

We, in regional sub-national and national Legislative Assemblies in Federal States, gathered here in Milan from different Nations and Continents,

recognizing that our Parliaments, elected democratically and legitimized by the popular will, represent the voice of citizens who live in the territories of our Regions and Countries. Aware that we are called by our citizens and from civil society to give strength, with responsibility, honesty and trust, to the democratic institutions which are based on parliamentary representation. Aware that politics is the highest form of service to the community to give voice to the will of the people and contribute to the achievement of the common good.

Basing our political and administrative action on the fundamental values of the autonomy of each local community, with its own peculiarities, its own history and traditions, its own unique characteristics that make it unique and therefore able to make an original contribution to the global community. Recognizing the principle of subsidiarity as a benchmark for relations between Institutions and civil society and for the exercise of political and administrative power with a view to a real and constructive multi-level governance.

We approve and sign

the contents of the *Manifesto of regional, sub-national and national Legislative Assemblies in Federal States for a true global democracy*, stressing the fundamental values of regional, sub-national and national Parliaments in Federal States as an indispensable pillar for a more closer to territories and citizens democracy, for a more efficient, more participatory and better quality democracy.

The global stage and the task of Legislative Assemblies

We face a time that looks like a complex mosaic, not easy to interpret, characterized by good and bad, light and shadow, opportunities and risks.

In recent decades, the rapid spread of technological innovation has drastically reduced the distances between people and it has improved interconnection among parts of the world that are very far away from each other. These innovations have made communication among people, nations and Institutions easier, encouraging dialogue and debate.

At the same time, the global economic crisis, affecting all our countries in different ways, has brought with it elements of political, economic and social instability. On the world stage never really dormant conflicts re-emerge, old and new nationalisms arise, consistent migration flows occur. Current systems of welfare, citizenship and international relations are questioned.

New answers from our Legislative Assemblies are required at a time when we are frequently witnessing an increased distrust in public Institutions and more generally in politics. Institutions and politics which are not always able to provide appropriate responses to the challenges of the present time.

A tendency to withdraw into an individualistic culture that determines a negative perception of the other, seen more as an obstacle than an opportunity, forms the background to this complex scenario. Sometimes it seems that the ideal, civil and cultural roots of our democratic coexistence and the same civilian life in our community are undermined in their foundations, weakening their civic traditions, in the affirmation of a nihilistic vision of the individual, of society and history.

In many cases Nation states have reacted to this difficult situation with a tendency towards a centralization of its functions and prerogatives, by progressively reducing the space of sub national legislatives assemblies.

We, in regional Legislative Assemblies, want to relaunch the reasons for efforts towards communities and a positive vision of democratic representation, also as a stop to this growing trend. We live in a time of crisis, but precisely in this crisis there are elements of a possible restart.

"*We can't ask things to change, if we keep doing the same things. The crisis can be a great blessing for people and nations, because the crisis brings*

progress" said Albert Einstein. There is a clear need for the relaunch of a bottom up democracy, the care of territorial interests, the need for the enhancement of Representation at the level closest to individual needs and to those of Communities. Local and regional Authorities, in fact, find fulfillment in promoting the good of citizens and territories, as well as in representing their requests in the inter-institutional dialectic.

We have, therefore, before us an additional, large and delicate challenge: to take charge of the request of active participation from our territories, and to gradually reduce the distance between people and institutions. It is in this that Parliaments, as the closest to territory and local communities legislative level, can make the most significant contribution, and it is for these reasons and in this perspective, that we want to relaunch the role and the task of Legislative Assemblies.

All this is based on the sharing of some principles that can re-found the democratic representation of our Legislative Assemblies and set common and shared values, even in different cultural and political expressions.

Central role of the individual

We affirm the value of every single person, unique and unrepeatable, with his dignity and his irrepressible rights, as established in the Charter of Human Rights of the United Nations. We recognize the importance of the individual, as an individual and as a protagonist in an economic and social community. It must guide our actions as legislators. Faith in everybody and a willingness to cooperate are the cornerstones on which to build together the common good.

Subsidiarity and multilevel Governance

The principle of subsidiarity has its roots in the assumption that society, with its creativity and capacity for initiative, is born and comes before State. So it is not permissible that Institutions with a higher status will replace Institutions with lower status, such as local communities, if the latter can better carry out their functions meeting the needs of their communities.

And so we must open up the fields for the society that expresses itself especially in local communities, and recognize and promote the leadership of social, economic, cultural players who drive our civilized coexistence in our communities and territories.

This should be granted in accordance with the responsibilities of each person, be they civil or institutional, and with the perspective of the definition of a multilevel governance system, intended to encourage a political dialogue and cooperation between the various institutional levels of government and the civil society, aiming at the protection and enhancement of territories and individual Communities.

Global Democracy

We all believe in parliamentary democracy as the most mature form of expression of the popular will, and we aspire to a full and complete global democracy. It cannot come from the top but rather must start at grass roots level, it must enhance specificity, cultural and territorial differences without trying to standardize them. We are aware of the importance of Parliaments, as places in which collective decisions are made, and in which disputes between men, communities and people through the use of words and dialogue have to be settled.

Through history, Parliaments have asserted themselves as the place where the word won the sword. As the only effective alternative to violence, as a tool for the development of the relationship between men. For this reason, Parliaments have become the protagonists of modern history as place and symbol of democracy, pluralism, participation and freedom. The voice of our Legislative Assemblies is therefore an essential bulwark for the free expres-

sion of the will of our communities, without which it is not possible to build a true global democracy, condition for the implementation of an authentically human growth and of an integrated development.

Responsibility and Representation

In our Legislative Assemblies the use of legislative power, based on democratic representation, is the main instrument through which we can exercise authority in the service of our territories. But there is no true representation without concrete responsibility. We recognize the essential role of a policy pursued with a strong sense of responsibility, dignity and honor, in the service of society, in order to make decisions that meet the needs of the community, respecting at stake liberties and exercising political activities as the pursuit of the common good and the public interest.

Therefore, considering the challenges we are facing and the founding principles of the democratic representation of our regional, sub-national and national legislative Assemblies in Federal States we identify the following political priorities as the main lines of the political, administrative and institutional work.

Competitiveness and new paradigms of growth

Strengthening the competitiveness of economic systems plays a crucial role in boosting growth and employment. Our priority must be to promote sustainable growth for everybody and a fair distribution of resources. We must develop a "*global partnership for development*" as suggested by the Millennium Goals of the United Nations through the development of a trading and financial system that is open and non-discriminatory.

In an increasingly globalized world, it is important for policies to embrace new forms of cooperation between the public and private sectors so as to increase the competitiveness of all localities.

It is also important for all citizens to benefit from the rewards of economic growth. We need to create new and more inclusive models of development which are able to counter the negative effects of financial, commercial and geopolitical shocks. Policy-makers require local instruments to be deployed to improve the competitiveness of their local economies. Policies should also ensure a balanced economic development: the pursuit of competitiveness and economic growth must be accompanied by social cohesion.

Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger

We share and support the first objective of the Millennium Goals: "E*radicate Extreme Poverty and Hunger*". In recent years, the data on extreme poverty show us that major improvements have been achieved, but we still need a hard and meticulous work starting with cities, regions and territories. In line with the Objectives of the United Nations for a sustainable development, and adopting the content and the principles of the Charter of Milan, drawn up at EXPO2015, we highlight the importance to introduce effective legislation for accessible food for everybody, the right to food and sustainable at general and local levels food policies.

We should deal with the following aspects: promoting healthy food in schools; stimulating research projects on healthy and sustainable food; promoting agriculture (i.e. adding value and recognition to the profession of farmers); fostering programs for an equal distribution of food and the distribution of wasted food to people who suffer from hunger; stimulating local production and enhancing the quality of locally produced food; strengthening intercontinental collaborations.

Territorial welfare: social rights, immigration and institutional opportunities

We have to promote adequately funded policies, keeping into consideration the specific financial contributions provided by each country, that ensure

the progressive and full affirmation of social rights and full opportunities of social integration, by paying particular attention to gender issues, with the overall aim of adapting the different welfare systems in the light of the on-going demographic and social changes, both globally and locally.

Social integration and co-operation should be facilitated by specific spaces where meetings, which guarantee opportunities of exchanges and debates, could take place on a continuous basis.

Migration policies must take advantage of the new opportunities offered by the recent evolution of technology in order to increase its overall effectiveness. Our primary objective must be to ensure to communities full access to social rights, to adequate social protection systems, a proximity and rights-based welfare that, faced with difficult situations, is able to involve local communities and governments more closely, according to a principle of shared responsibility and promotion of social innovation.

Sustainable development and Regions

We need to cooperate to ensure genuine environmental sustainability and social progress, according to the priorities of the Millennium Development Goals. We look at the Conference of the Parties (COP21) of the Framework Convention of the United Nations to be held in Paris next November 2015 as a turning point to tackle one of the most important challenges for human kind. We need a responsible management of the "natural and environmental capital", which has to take into consideration the active involvement of local communities together with regional and local governments. We need to develop global climate change adaptation and prevention by developing good energy policies together with sustainable land use strategies at local levels.

As a win-win strategy, we look at the process towards 'smart regions', in which advanced technologies are integrated with environmental sustainability and economic development.

Multilevel governance and partnership requirements.

In order to ensure an effective and "bottom-up" democracy, civil society needs to be engaged from the start of the policy process in meaningful ways. Sub-national legislatures have a pivotal role in connecting citizens with national and supranational authorities. This is vital to promoting a fully-fledged multi-level governance system. In a world that is becoming increasingly interdependent and competitive, political institutions at all levels must seize the opportunity to work together with socio-economic partners and civil society. Multi-level governance systems must be able to think critically about their practices and adapt flexibly in an increasingly globalised, multi-actor world. In the context of increasingly severe global policy challenges, we have a real chance to create an international network of multi-level actors committed to building a stronger global democracy.

Fiscal and financial policies

In the light of fiscal and financial policies, both at supranational and supra-territorial levels, which are increasingly influenced by the reduction of public resources, we need to ensure a more efficient and effective use of available resources in order to offer our citizens public utility services, that should be increasingly appropriate and accessible to the evolution of the socio-economic development.

In full respect of the principle "no taxation without representation" the territories should not only represent the end of structural policies, implemented through the tax system, but also have to be put in a position to administer and control, actively and independently, the financial resources. So we need to promote the effective and responsible financial autonomy of local and regional authorities, which can contribute to economic stability and social equality, also by redistributing resources among the local authorities. Local and regional governments should participate in the administration of taxes. When citizens pay taxes they should know where the revenue goes, to which

level of government they are paying and what public services will be provided with these taxes. Transparency and visibility are fundamental issues in decentralization.

Development and evaluation of policies

The analysis of territorial requirements and needs, the development of laws and measures and the subsequent evaluation of public policies should be based on a process of dialogue and cooperation between Governments and Parliaments in order to ensure higher quality of legislation and greater transparency and awareness within the democratic territorial system.

In order to achieve important results it is clear that it is appropriate to recognize the growing importance of the evaluation systems, within the decision-making of legislative assemblies; in this regard, it is necessary to cooperate in order to promote the exchange and sharing of best practices with regard to systems of public policy evaluation and accountability, at all stages of the decision-making process. Therefore policy evaluation activities should be utilized at all stages of decision-making, and they should be based on high professional support.

Value of the rule: subsidiarity and rights

It is necessary to reiterate the importance that the rule of law has in a human and orderly coexistence. Regional, sub-national and national Parliaments must first of all ensure full respect for the law and for the culture of legality, as well as the implementation of a code of ethics, the adoption of a citizens' charter and rules of accountability and responsiveness. Moreover, in a constantly changing society, it is necessary to look back on the function and importance of rules as a guarantee of the new social and economic needs and to take up the challenges of new rights with active policies.

At the same time, it is necessary to continue to ensuring freedom and

rights at the territorial level so as to restore the central role of citizens. Finally, it is crucial to rethink the function of political parties within the framework of a multilevel governance and their relationship with new economic and social actors.

By virtue of the shared principles and policy priorities, regional, sub-national and national Legislative Assemblies
hope that this manifesto will be adopted and deepened in its contents within national and international Associations, and in the daily work of each regional, sub-national and national Parliament in Federal States to make it clear to the World that the defense and promotion of autonomy and popular sovereignty are the cornerstones of a true and concrete global democracy. They reiterate the importance and usefulness of meetings and moments of confrontation and they hope that these opportunities for cooperation and dialogue will become increasingly common with the objective of sharing values, experiences and best practices at national, continental and global levels, fallowing what happened during the Forum in Milan, with the hope that meetings like this can be held periodically. They wish to make international relations between Countries and Regions more concrete and effective by launching a common platform for ongoing dialogue and exchange of information and good practices of the Legislative Assemblies, a "think tank" widespread and interconnected in order to make it clear that freedom and democracy go through the places of regional and local representation. They will continue to speak with one voice in asserting the importance and the need of their political and institutional mission in the service of territorial democracy always looking forward to the positivity and fruitfulness of our territories, true beating heart of our free Institutions and cornerstone of a true global democracy, truly respectful of the rights of the individual, of society, of territories and local communities.

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