

Is a collaborative strategy among
municipalities in Japan truly
strategic?

a case study of Collaborative Core City-
Region (CCCR)

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1. Introduction

Background

- Japan's Local government system is two-layer system, which is formed by prefecture and municipality (city, town and village).
- Recent declining of population has deprived various power (economic, social, cultural etc.) of municipalities which have less size, therefore, collaboration between core-city and small sized neighborhood municipalities becomes more important.
- Last decade, several systems of collaboration among municipalities in Japan have been established, one of which is Collaborative Core City-Region (CCCR). In CCCR, large core-city and neighborhood municipalities achieve economic development, and higher level of city function and quality of life through compactifying a core-city and connecting between it and neighborhoods by traffic network.

Aim of study

- Evaluating CCCR by applying the framework of strategic planning evaluation
 - which has been studied mainly in Europe
 - Bingo region as a case study
- Especially, I evaluate how strategic the vision is, focusing on the following points
 1. performance of the strategy based on DPM(Dutch Performance Model)
 2. relational outcome based on collaborative planning model
 3. governance innovation

Result of evaluation

1. Performance

- **good** in terms of strategy orientation and implementation consistency

2. Relational outcome

; i.e. collaboration among stakeholders and knowledge diffusion

- **Municipalities sufficiently collaborate** and realize knowledge sharing
- **Collaboration with stakeholders except for municipalities** and knowledge diffusion among them is **not enough**

3. Governance innovation

- Implementation of the system of “flexible collaboration” can **realize development of governance** in the region.

2. Framework of evaluating strategic plan

Two point of view of evaluation of strategic plan

1. Performance based

- based on Dutch Performance Model: DPM(e.g. Faludi(2000))

2. Focusing on collaboration among stakeholders in the process

- Albrechts, Baldicci

2 types of plan; “project plan” or “strategic plan”

- Project plan : Blue print in order to implement particular projects
 - Interactive discussion among stakeholders finish when the plan is produced.
 - Stakeholders are not involved in decision-making about implementing projects based on the plan.
- Strategic plan
 - Used in order to make decisions
 - Interactive discussion of stakeholders is continuing after the plan is completed

	project plan	strategic plan
Object	Material	Decisions
Interaction	Until adoption	Continuous
Future	Closed	Open
Time-element	Limited to phasing	Central to problem
Form	Blueprint	Minutes of last meeting
Effect	Determinate	Frame of reference

Evaluation of Strategic Plan

(1) Performance

- The objective of Strategic Plan
 - ✓ Not outcome of particular project
 - ✓ Affect the group of decision-makers.
 - Because strategic plan is not a plan related to some projects
- In other words, if a group made its decision based on a strategic plan, this plan is evaluated as “performing”.
- A plan is fulfilling its purpose, and in this sense “performing”, if and only if it plays a tangible role in the choice of the actors to whom it is addressed.

Evaluation of Strategic Plan

(2) Collaboration

- Another point of view is “**Relational Outcome**” and “**Knowledge Diffusion**” which is produced by collaboration among stakeholder involved in the strategic plan.
- A framework composed by 4 dimensions (see Albrechts and Balducci(2013))
 1. Content of strategic planning
 2. Form of the planning process
 3. Relational outcomes
 4. Institutional implication; especially governance structure

Framework of evaluation

Point of evaluation	Item of evaluation	Content of evaluation
Performance as learning process	Strategy Orientation	Coherence between the strategic vision and subsequent policies and programmes
	Implementation Consistency	Consistency between the vision and concrete actions for implementation
Collaboration	Relational Outcome	Cooperative capacity (co-production) developed among participating municipalities and other stakeholders
	Knowledge Diffusion	Dissemination of knowledge and development perspectives among stakeholders
	Governance Innovation	Impact of strategic planning on social norms and standards and informal ways of thinking and behaving

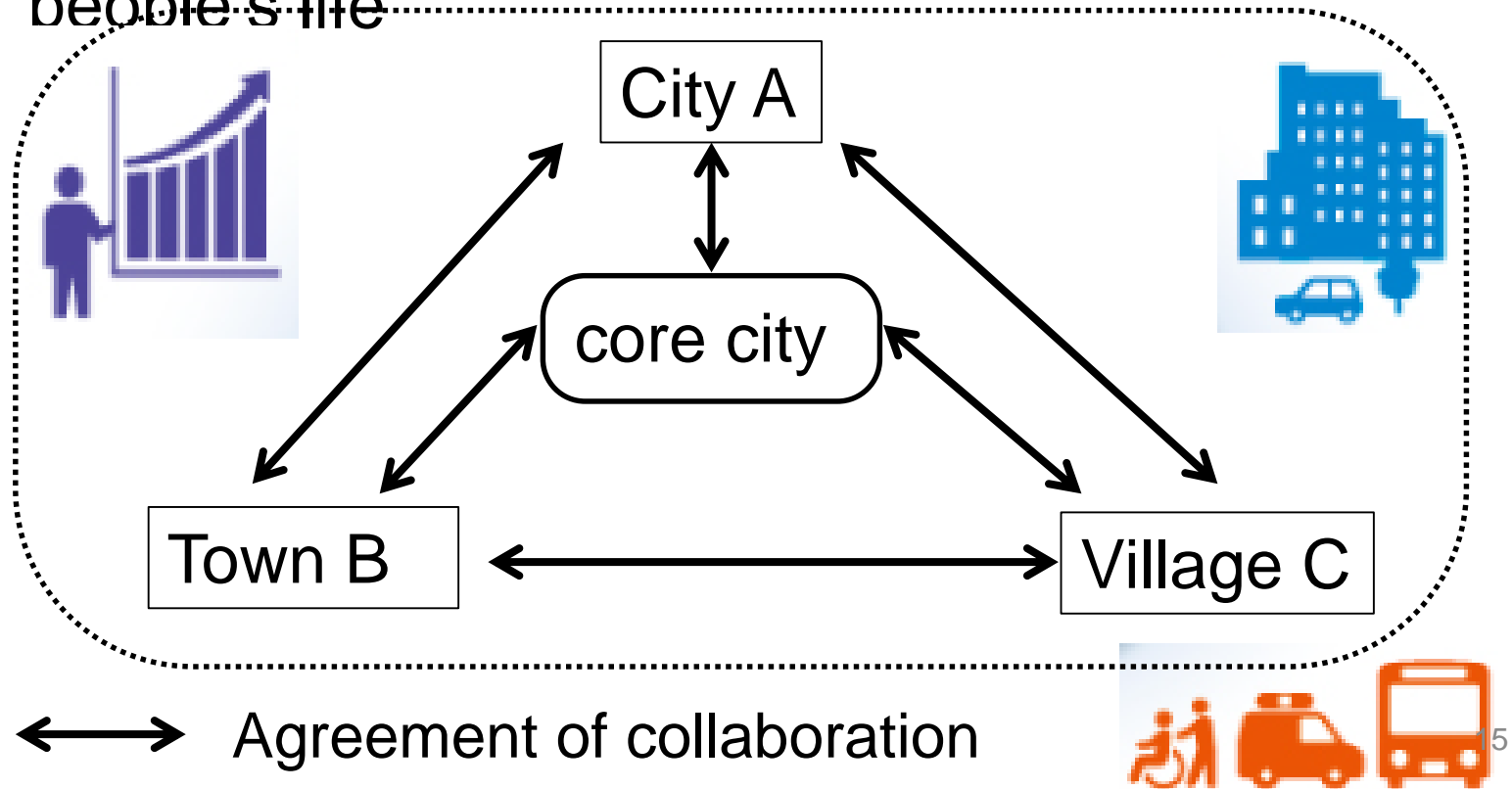
3. Outline of CCCR

What is CCCR?

- CCCR: System **legally implemented** by the national government
 - Core city
 - ✓ relatively **larger in population and more central** than neighborhood municipalities
 - ... **& Neighborhoods collaborate** in order to make down size and networking.
- start: the year of 2014
- Why CCCR was implemented?
 - Each region **need to maintain** a certain **number of population** and a certain **level of socio-economic power** in decline of population and ageing population combined with the diminishing number of children

CCCR

- Objective of collaboration
 - 1. Leading an economic growth** in the city region
 - 2. Agglomerating and upgrading the function of city**
 - 3. Development of Daily Services** associated about people's life



Core-city

- Condition of Core-city
 1. **Government-designated** city or **central city**
 2. **Day population** / domitory population is more than 1 (about)
- CCCR is an area composed by the “core-city” and the neighborhood municipalities which **have strong ties socially and economically with core-city**

Procedure of forming CCCR

- Necessary Process
 1. Core-city make “**Declaration of Collaborative Core City**”
 2. **Agreement of collaboration** to neighborhood municipalities
 3. Core-city and neighborhoods making up **Vision of CCCR**



Procedure of forming CCCR

(1) Declaration of Collaborative Core City

1. Core-city write and state

2. Aim

- Clarifying the intention that **core-city will play the following role** based on the collaboration with neighborhood municipalities
 - I. Drawing the vision of that area
 - II. Leading the economy of that area
 - III. Supporting the people living in that area

Procedure of forming CCCR

(2) Agreement of collaboration

- In order to lead the economy and support the people living in the whole city-region, **Core-city and each neighborhood sign**
- **Decision of Parliament** of both core-city and neighborhood municipalities is needed.
- Contents
 - 1. Object of collaboration**
 - 2. Key principles**
 - Making compact about the function of administration and private sector
 - Networking of transporting system in the city-region etc.
 - 3. Collaborative projects** in order to realize
 - i. Leading an economic growth in the city region
 - ii. Agglomerating and upgrading the function of city
 - iii. Developing daily services associated about people's life

Procedure of forming CCCR

(3) Vision of CCCR

- Core-city produce within the whole area of CCCR through discussing with stakeholders associated with CCCR including private sector and region.
- Contents
 1. **Medium and long term future image** in CCCR
 - ✓ **Based on population projection** in the CCCR; only used the one that National Institute of Population and Social Security Research published on March 2013
 - ✓ Writing the situation of function of city implemented by both public and private sector
 - ✓ **Goal of population and population aging rate**

Procedure of forming CCCR

(3) Vision of CCCR

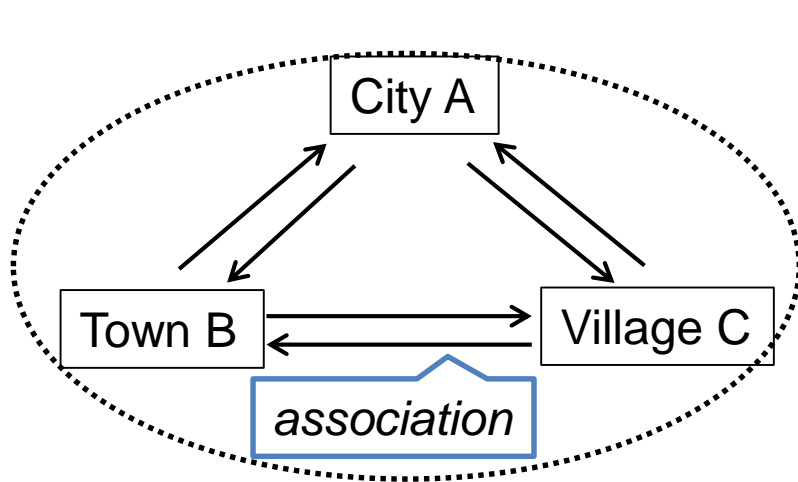
- Contents
 - 2. Project based on agreement of collaboration** to realizing the above future image
 - ✓ Contents, schedule, total and yearly budget
 - 3. Schedule of project**
 - ✓ Around 5 years (and must revise in each year according to the socio-economic change)
 - 4. KPI**(Key Performance Indicator)
 - ✓ Setting up clear indicators about economic growth, agglomeration and upgrading the function of city and development of daily services associated about people's life
 - ✓ **Mile stones of checking the extent of achieving the future image**

Promotion of CCCR

- **Steering committee**
 1. Built when making CCCR vision
 - ✓ **Arena** discussed **revising the vision**, if necessary
 2. Member of committee
 - ✓ To reflect many and broad opinions, required to gather as **broad stakeholders** as possible
 - I. Business sector, university, research institution, local bank, medical agency, social-service agency, education agency, transportation agency etc.
 - II. Person working about civic community, NPO
 - III. Retail store, hospital which will develop a function of city
 3. **Checking the extent of achieving the future image based on the KPIs**

Characteristics of CCCR in terms of legal system about collaboration among municipalities

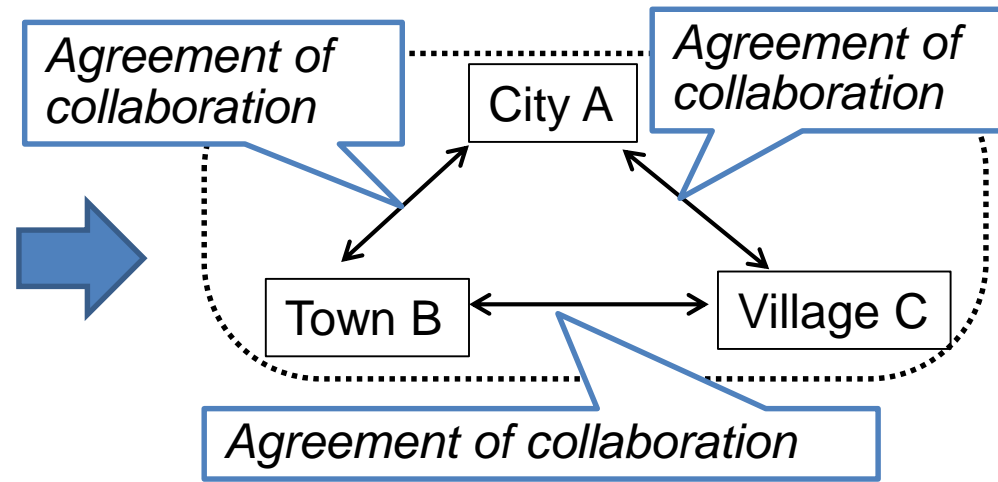
- Agreement of collaboration to neighborhood municipalities
 - Newly added to existing procedures which municipalities address the same public service cooperatively
 - In 2014 amendment of the Local Autonomy Act



Existing system (association, cooperative establishment, commissioned work etc.)

- If more than 3 municipalities cooperatively address the same service, **all of them must**

agree.



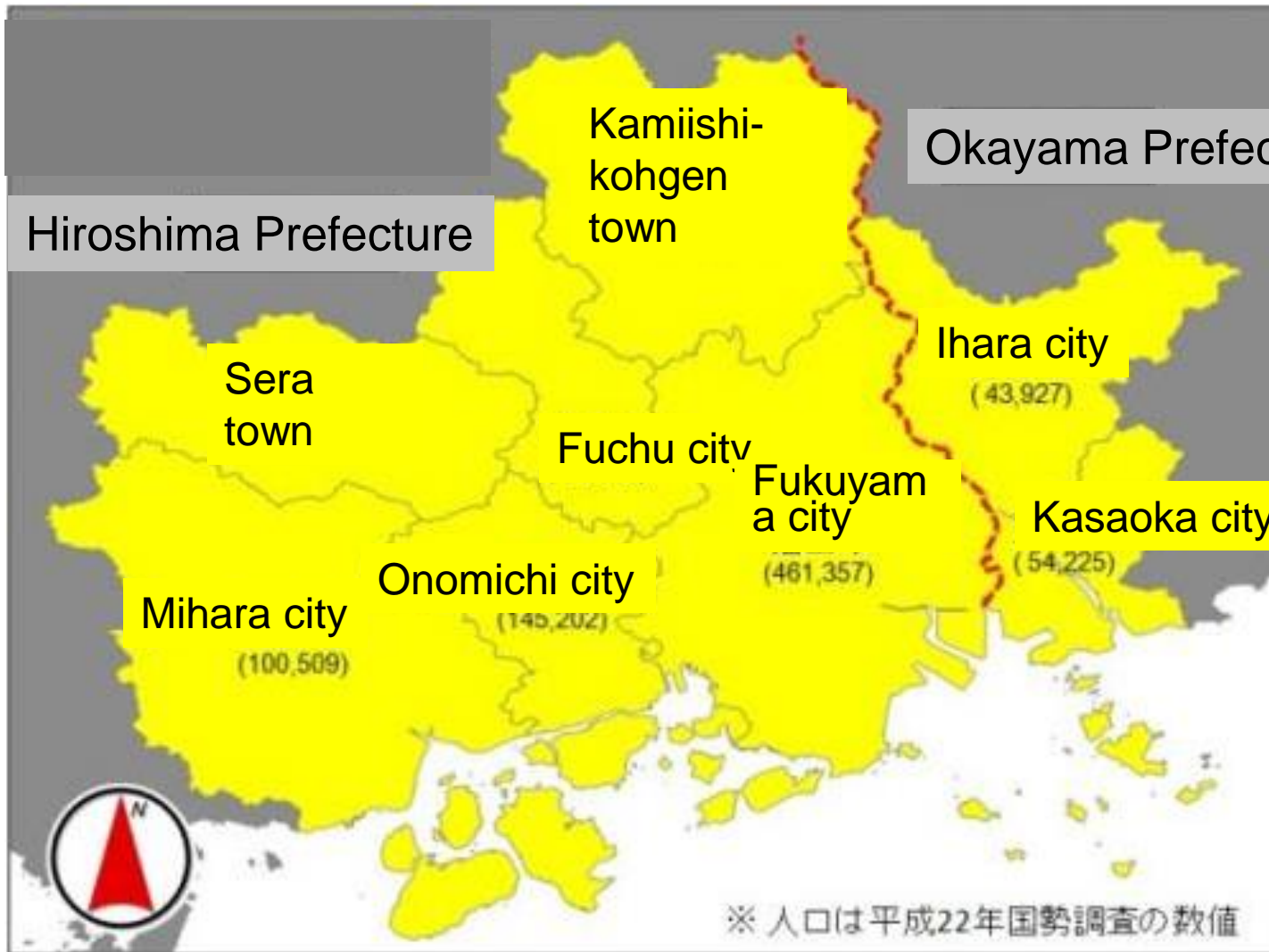
“Agreement of collaboration”

- All municipalities need not to agree, one on one accord
- **Only related municipalities can agree** regardless of the situation of other municipalities

4. Case study: Bingo CCCR

History of forming Bingo CCCR

- Composed by **8 municipalities** (**6 cities** and **2 towns**)
 - Fukuyama city, Mihara city, Onomichi city, Fuchu city, Sera town and Kamiishi-kohgen town(Hiroshima prefecture)
 - Kasaoka city and Ihara city(Okayama prefecture)
- 8 municipalities have strong ties historically
- People living there **come and go across 2 prefectures**(Hiroshima and Okayama) in the dairy life: unique



Population	about 870,000
Area	2510.48km²

Background of forming the CCCR

- The city-region was designed by “Special Area about Industrial Promotion”
- 1964
 - ✓ **6 cities**(Fukuyama city, Mihara city, Onomichi city, Fuchu city, Kasaoka city and Ihara city) was decided as “Special Area about Industrial Promotion”
- Since then, **the city-region has been addressed the development** of the region together across 2 prefectures(Hiroshima and Okayama).
- **Kamiishi –kohgen town** has cooperated with **Fukuyama city** and Fuchu city
- **Sera town** has cooperated with **Mihara city** and **Onomichi city**
 - ✓ Within the framework of “Wide-area municipal zone”(which was the past legal system)

History of forming Bingo CCCR

- “Special Area about Industrial Promotion” was abolished(2001) and “Wide-area municipal zone” also was abolished(2009).
- However, **municipalities continuously need to make the whole region more powerful and attractive** for integral development of the city-region after diminish of the above two system.
- By leadership of the mayor of Fukuyama city(the biggest city within Bingo city-region), mayors of 8 municipalities built “**association of collaboration in Bingo city-region**” on December 2011.
 - The arena of discussing how to activate the city-region and solve the problems all municipalities have with looking ahead to the future of population decline.
 - agreement of cooperation when disaster happens anywhere in the city-region(July 2012)
 - joint management of center supporting development of children(November 2012)
 - These services are written in the Agreement of collaboration and succeeded by CCCR

History of forming Bingo CCCR

- While Bingo city-region was dealing with the problem across the city-region, the 30th study group about the local governance system initiated by national government decided the document about a structure of municipalities when serving civil services and **Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications** started “**project of forming a new model of collaboration with municipalities**” in the FY 2014
- **This attitude of national government is consistent** with that of **Bingo** city-region. So, Fukuyama city coordinated the other 7 municipalities and applied to the above project.
- Since then, after 8 municipalities discussed, on **February 2015**, Fukuyama city announced “**Declaration of Collaborative Core City**” and **March 2015**, 8 municipalities executed the **Agreement** and published the **Vision of Bingo city-region**, by which Bingo city-region was formed.

Vision of Bingo CCCR

- Published on March 2015
- **Future image**
 - The region where residents realize abundant quality of life and hope to live forever
- Target of population:820,000(year of 2025)
- 7 policies based on 3 categories
 - **Policy and subsequent program and projects are written(described later).**
- **KPI :Decided at level of project**

3 Categories and 7 Policies

category	policy
Industry	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Industrial promotion by utilizing an advanced manufacturing industry
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Creation of attractiveness of the primary sector of industry
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promotion of wide range tourism within CCCR
City Function	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Upgrading city function
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nurturing those who will support city-region in the future
Civil Service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Realizing environment, health and culture-oriented life
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional development collaboratively with people living in CCCR

Structure of promotion

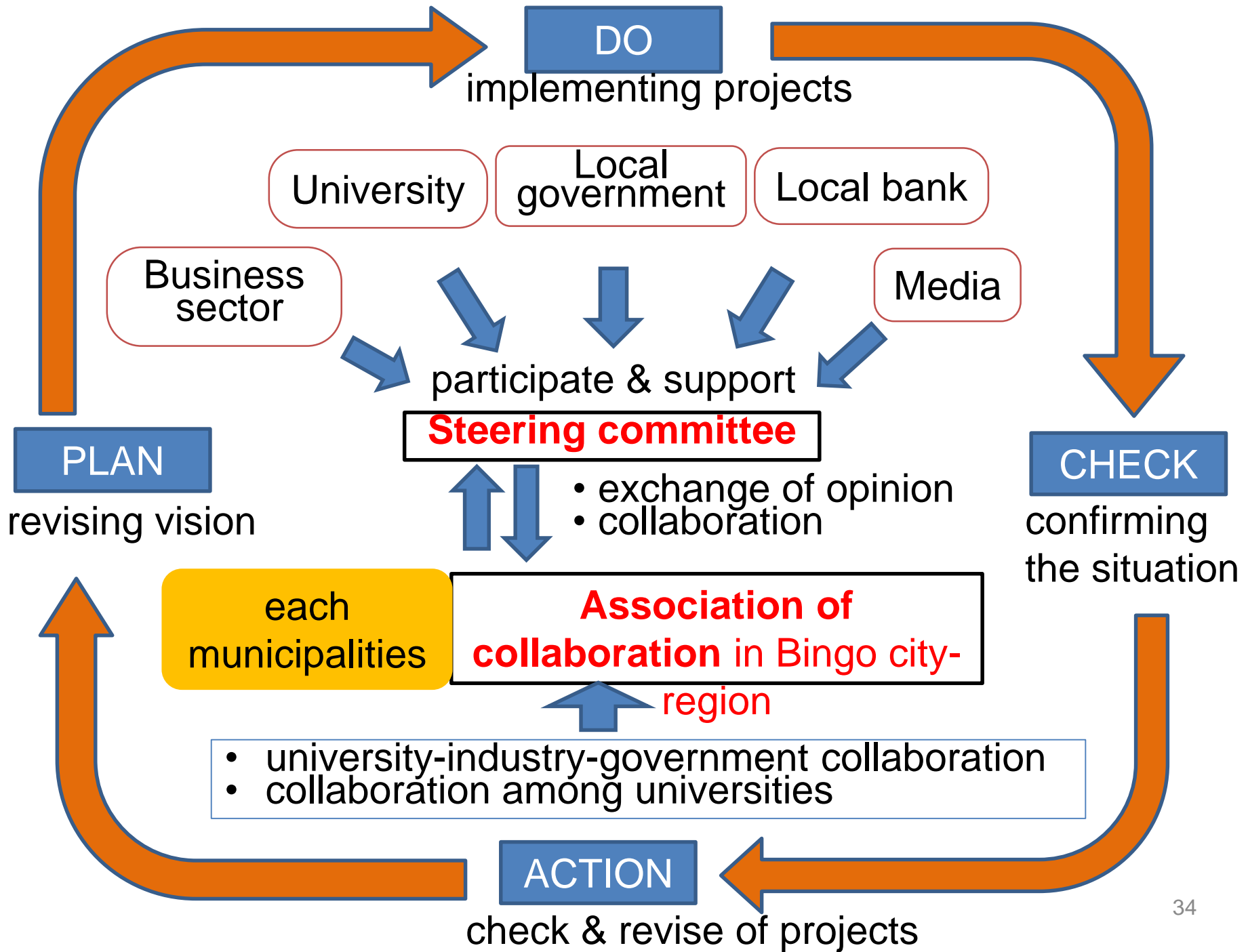
Consultative organizations are two

1. Steering committee

- **Member:** Stakeholders including business sector, university, local government, local bank and media
- Holding the meeting periodically
- **Revising the vision, monitoring** the impact of each project, **checking** adequacy actions of next year

2. Association of collaboration in Bingo city-region

- Member: **mayors** of 8 municipalities
- Arena of communication and discussion of mayors
- Preparatory meeting composed by directors of department in charge of 8 municipalities set under the association coordinates before holding of mayors' meeting



Evaluating Strategic Planning: Bingo CCCR

1. Performance of Strategic Plan

- Measurement of performance of strategic planning
 1. Strategy orientation
 - Coherence between the strategic vision and subsequent policies and programmes
 2. Implementation consistency
 - Consistency Between the vision and concrete actions for implementation
- **In vision, policy** and **subsequent programs** and **projects** are written.
- Apart from vision, **actions** broken down from projects are decided **by steering committee**
- **Budget** in each year, outline of **role allotment and budget** between core-city and other municipalities, **KPI** are decided **at level of project**
- Every FY, **steering committee checks whether each program is managed** on a basis of the above contents, and **advise** at level of action.
- Strategic planning of CCCR succeed sufficiently in terms of performance of planning because steering committee consistently manages from Strategic plan(=vision) to program and action.

Written in vision				Not written in vision
policy	program	Project	KPI	Action(typical example)
Industrial promotion by utilizing an advanced manufacturing industry	developing the system of promoting industry within city-region	Strengthening function of business support	gross value added; More than 10,500yen(2019FY)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Business Support Center in Fukuyama city(Fuku-Biz) • Promoting starting business
	Support of SMEs	Promotion of innovation of SMEs	gross value added; More than 10,500yen(2019FY)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sending supporting adviser in Bingo city-region
		Supporting women willing to start business	labor participation rate of women of age between 30 and 34; 69.5% (2019FY)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Delivery of information and seminars for young women in Bingo city-region
		Increasing regional competitiveness by industrial accumulation	gross value added; More than 10,500yen(2019FY)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “Denim Project”
		employment measures	Number of persons engaged in manufacturing; more than 81,900人 (2019FY)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Supporting those willing to work in Bingo city-region • Holding a meeting that make students out of Bingo city-region meet Bingo firm

Written in vision				Not written in vision
policy	program	Project	KPI	Action(typical example)
Creation of attractiveness of the primary sector of industry	Revitalizing the primary sector of industry	Promotion of agricultural diversification	Working population of the primary sector of industry; More than 15,200(2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Marketing of wine made in Bingo city-region; "Bingo wine project"
		Improving the system for promoting the primary sector of industry	Working population of the primary sector of industry; More than 15,200(2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Branding fishery products Nurturing those who newly work in the primary sector of industry
Promotion of wide range tourism within CCCR	Strategic promotion of tourism	Strategic promotion of tourism	Total tourist in 8 municipalities; 20,920 thousand (2019)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting round trip within Bingo city-region Setting up cycling route within Bingo city-region
Upgrading city function	Advancing high-level medical service	offering high-level medical service	employment rate of nurse within city-region; 68.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Securing adequate volume of nurse Setting up high-level medical equipment
	improving urban infrastructure across city-region	improving urban infrastructure across city-region	occupancy rate in urban area; 69.85%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Making restructuring plan of local public transportation
nurturing those who will support city-region in the future	Advancing higher education	Advancing higher education for nurturing next generation	employment rate of new graduates within city-region; 40.0%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Promoting collaboration among universities within city-region

Written in vision				Not written in vision
policy	program	Project	KPI	Action(typical example)
Realizing environment, health and culture-oriented life	Advancing medical and welfare service	Advancing local medical service	DI of “medical facilities and public support associated with medical care are fulfilling”; more than ±0% point	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operating night-time clinic for adults • Collaboration among hospitals within city-region
		Advancing welfare of elderly and handicapped person	Rate of elders who need care; 22.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building cooperative “community-based integrated care systems “
		Advancing child care service	total fertility rate; 1.70	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cooperative operation of Development Support Center • Building care system before and after childbirth
		Health promotion	Agent diffusing health promotion and one teaching improvement of one's dietary life; 3,420	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nurturing volunteer stuffs and promoting their wide range business cooperatively

Written in vision				Not written in vision
policy	program	Project	KPI	Action(typical example)
regional development collaboratively with people living in CCCR	Upgrading civil service by collaboration among municipalities	Disaster prevention	Persons certified as Disaster prevention officer; 360	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Nurturing persons playing a key role in local disaster prevention
		Creation of a recycling society	The number of members of "Best Movement";21,300	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> "Best Movement"(Action for moving without riding car
		Upgrading civil service	DI of "collaboration among civil services within city-region"; more than ±0% points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cooperative procurement and use of IT system holding seminar of officer associated with consultation of DV
	Promotion of Regional Revitalization	Regional Revitalization by agricultural, forestry and fishery products	DI of "having vaunty indigenous product ; more than 10.0% points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Networking Roadside Station PR of Bingo city-region Fish-Festibal
		Preparing new local public transportation and "On-demand traffic"	DI of "Saticefied with public transport ";more than ±0% points	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Revitalization by two local lines (Fuku-Shio line and Ihaara line)
	Increasing long-term residents	Attrcting long-term residents to Bingo city-region	Social increase and decrease in population; ±0 person	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increasing long-term residents to Bingo city-region public relations about Bingo city-region

2. Collaboration among stakeholders and knowledge diffusion

a) collaboration among participating municipalities and knowledge diffusion

- Municipalities **always discuss interactively** with each other in the following place.
 1. **Association of collaboration in Bingo city-region**
 - ✓ Built before formation of CCCR and have played a significant role as arena where 8 municipalities agree.
 - ✓ **Mayors of 8 municipalities** discuss and **develop the common attitude and understanding** about promoting wide-range cooperation in this association
 2. **Task Force**
 - ✓ 3 task forces were set in response to policy and program of the vision under the steering committee since November 2014.
 - ✓ Fields: (1)Industry, (2)city function and (3)civil service
 - ✓ Member of task force
 - **Practitioners from Business sector, local government, local bank, NPO and researchers in university**
 - Discussing Revising the vision of CCCR and new projects by cooperation among municipalities
 3. **Working Group**
 - ✓ Officers belonging to related section of 8 municipalities participate and discuss interactively in working group in the task force .
- Through discussion at the above arenas, 8 municipalities sufficiently collaborate and realize knowledge sharing each other.

Steering Committee

Task Force

Regional revitalization

City function

Civil service

Theme

Manufacturing

Tourism

Primary sector of industry

Nurturing of human resources

Urban infrastructure

Medical service

Health & aged person

Support for developmentally disabled persons

Promotion of moving from outside

Working Group(WG)

Manufacturing WG

Wide-range tourism WG

Agricultural diversification meeting

Nurturing persons with high capacity WG

Urban infrastructure meeting

Medical collaboration meeting

Health & aged person WG

Support center for developmentally disabled children meeting

Promotion of moving from outside WG

Collaboration among stakeholders and knowledge diffusion

b) collaboration among other stakeholders participating in CCCR and knowledge diffusion

- Knowledge diffusion to stakeholders except for municipalities is insufficient.
- **Some task forces** contain **various stakeholders**.
- For example, **3 working groups** (2 are in Industry Promotion task force and 1 is in City Function task force)
 - contains business sector, university, bank, tourism promotion agency, travel firm and institute supporting industry
 - cooperatively discuss and propose a new project of next fiscal year
- Particular stakeholders participating in these working groups
 - (1) **understand concept that the vision is a strategic plan** and
 - (2) **propose new projects or action based on the vision** (=strategic plan), which can be seen **as knowledge diffusion**.
- **Other 2 working groups and 4 meetings** contain **only departments in charge** and don't lead to collaboration with stakeholders except for municipalities, to whom knowledge diffusion is **not enough**.

Task Force	Working Group	Member	Proposal new projects
regional revitalization	manufacturing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Fukuyama university • business sector <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ chamber of commerce etc. • institute supporting SMEs <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Hiroshima Industrial Promotion Organization etc. • Financial agency <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Hiroshima Bank etc. • Department in charge of municipalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nurturing human resources by manufacturing college <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Offering a lecture that one can study the utilizing advanced technology ➤ Strengthening technical person with cooperating with institute supporting industry • Collaboration between local bank and Fuku-Biz <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Holding seminar for increasing user • Promoting communication between firms within city-region and college students outside city-region <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Holding workshop where students and firms study together

Task Force	Working Group	Member	Proposal new projects
regional revitalization	wide-range tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Fukuyama Convention & Visitors Association • Onomichi Tourist Association • Kasaoka Tourism Federation • Private enterprise(Japan Tourist Beureau Shikoku-Fukuyama branch etc.) • Department in charge of municipaities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Strengthening information transmission capacity <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Diffusing regional attractiveness by SNS to increase visibility ➤ Strengthening information transmission capacity for foreign tourism by multi-linguistic guide book • Promoting round trip within Bingo city-region <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Marketing to tour agency

Task Force	Working Group	Member	Proposal new projects
city function	nurturing high level human resource	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chair <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Fukuyama City University • University <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Fukuyama University • Highschool <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Hiroshima prefecture KannabeAsahi HighSchool ➤ Kasaoka technical HighSchool • Support Center for Bingo regional enterprise • Kitagawa Corporation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collaboration of universities to support SMEs in respect of professional technique <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Offering information and nurturing human resources by collaborating of 6 universities within city-region • Nurturing human resources by collaboration between high school and colleges within city-region <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Holding lecture that high school and colleges act together ➤ Increasing chances in which college teacher lecture in high school

3) innovation of governance

- Implementation of “**Agreement of collaboration**” to neighborhood municipalities is important
 - ✓ because municipalities can do “**One on One collaboration**” by it, which means “**Flexible Collaboration**”.
- But, in Bingo CCCR, 8 municipalities participate in all projects, thereby flexibility of the agreement **can not be proofed**.
- Here, as an empirical example that participating municipalities change according to different projects ; innovation of governance in Nagano CCCR
- Though 41 projects are implemented in Nagano CCCR, ones that all 9 municipalities participate are only 8
 - ✓ In other words, **each municipality can flexibly participate** in the projects depending on their own needs.
- Formerly, there was not this form of governance, which can be **seen as Development of Governance** in the region in Japan.

Nagano CCCR

Number of projects		Participating municipalities (excluding Nagano city(Core city))							
		city		town				villedge	
		Susa ka	Chik uma	Sak aki	Obu se	Shin ano	lidu na	Takay ama	Oga wa
Lead an economic growth in the city region	14	14	13	14	3	11	14	11	6
Agglomerating and upgrading the function of city	5	1	3	2	0	1	1	1	0
Development of daily services associated about people's life	29	21	14	19	8	24	26	19	15
total	41	36	30	35	11	36	41	31	21

Projects that all municipalities participate(Nagano CCCR)

Category	Project name
Lead an economic growth in the city region	Promoting economic growth within Nagano city-region
	Collaboration in order to attract firms outside city-region
	Supporting people willing to work in the city-region e.g. Utilizing website of information of jobs in the city-region "Oshigoto-Nagano"
Agglomerating and upgrading the function of city	-
Development of daily services associated about people's life	System of operating hospitals by rotation
	Extending child care across the city-region
	Mutual cooperation for disaster prevention
	Promoting interaction among technical and professional staff (e.g. nurse and health nurse)
	Promoting information exchange among children's nurse

Conclusion

- This study **focuses on new system of collaboration** among municipalities(i.e. CCCR), and **apply a framework of evaluating strategic planning** to Bingo CCCR

1. Performance

- **good** in terms of strategy orientation and implementation consistency
- Because program, project and action **are implemented consistently based on the “vision”** (i.e. strategic plan) , and steering committee is totally responsible for assessment of strategic plan.

2. collaboration among stakeholders and knowledge diffusion

- **municipalities sufficiently collaborate** and realize knowledge sharing through discussion at steering committee, task force and working group,
- While **collaboration with stakeholders except for municipalities** and knowledge diffusion among them is **not enough**

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