Slide 1

The Role of Cities and Regions in a Globalised Setting, and the Political and Policy Implications of that
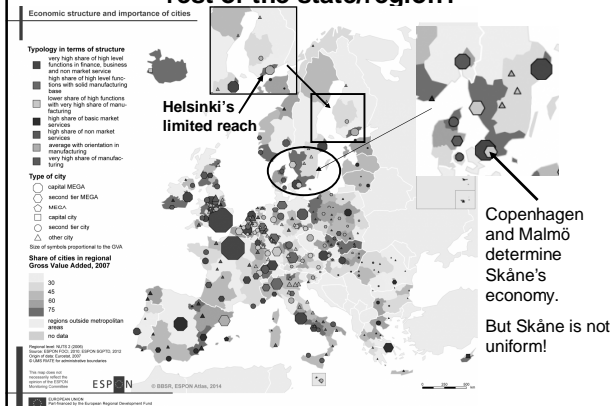

theguardian

Denmark wants to rebrand part of Sweden as 'Greater Copenhagen'

GREATER CoPENHAGEN

NEW YORK / LONDON / TOKYO / Chicago / PARIS / Los Angeles / MILAN / HONG KONG / Singapore

Tassilo Herrschel,
University of Westminster and VUB
:

Vrije Universiteit Brussel

UNIVERSITY OF WESTMINSTER

Slide 2

Globalised Competitiveness: Cities as Gateways to Economic Opportunities –
Fragmentation of the Conventional Territorial Region.
Policy Implications?

Total resident population in Urban Audit core cities, 2008 (*)

Metropolitanised European Space:
- Urban Nodes as 'Growth Poles' and 'Beacons of Competi-tiveness'
- No more cohesive state space?
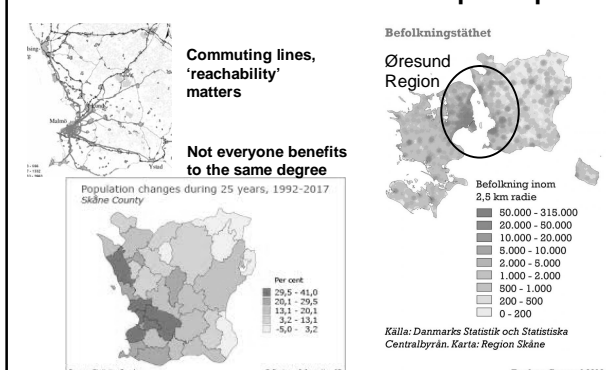- What are the options in a fragmenting economic space?

Slide 3

It is the cities that matter – what about the rest of the state/region?

Economic structure and importance of cities

Typology in terms of structure

Helsinki's limited reach

Copenhagen and Malmö determine Skåne's economy.

But Skåne is not uniform!

ESPON

EUROPEAN UNION
Part financed by the European Regional Development Fund
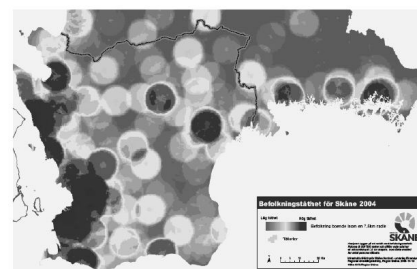

Slide 4

Main Arguments

1. Globalisation-based competitiveness drives urban-centric competitiveness through stronger individualisation
2. Self-selective metropolitan agency defines spaces of competitive opportunity and dis-opportunity
3. Growing focus on urban (metropolitan) success fragments the territorial state (winners – losers, cities – 'rest')
4. Result: marginalisation through the resulting 'gap' between selective metropolitan 'network spaces' and actually existing fixed (cohesive?) state territories as of democratic representation
5. Fragmenting cohesive state territoriality undermines notion of collective 'us' as 'glue' of state-building and sense of shared commons

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Slide 5

Example: The Metropolitanised Region of Øresund - differences in economic participation

Commuting lines, 'reachability' matters

Not everyone benefits to the same degree

Population changes during 25 years, 1992-2017
Skåne County

Befolkningstäthet

Øresund Region

Befolkning inom 2,5 km radie
- 50.000 - 315.000
- 20.000 - 50.000
- 10.000 - 20.000
- 5.000 - 10.000
- 2.000 - 5.000
- 1.000 - 2.000
- 500 - 1.000
- 200 - 500
- 0 - 200

Per cent
- 29,5 - 41,0
- 20,1 - 29,5
- 13,1 - 20,1
- 3,2 - 13,1
- -5,0 - 3,2

Källa: Danmarks Statistik och Statistiska Centralbyrån. Karta: Region Skåne

Source: Statistics Sweden   © Pantzare Information AB
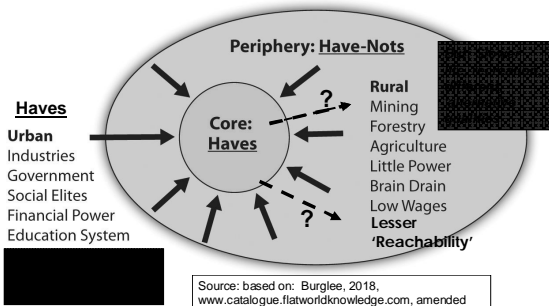
Tendens Øresund 2012

Slide 6

The Perforated Region: Metropolitan Regionalism (Hubs) – and the Rest?

FIG. 8: Population density Region Skåne, 2004
Source: Strukturbild för Skåne, http://www.skane.se/default.aspx?id=128715, April 2006

Befolkningstäthet för Skåne 2004

SKÅNE

The Challenges: Growing gap between city(-region) and beyond

Haves

Urban
Industries
Government
Social Elites
Financial Power
Education System

Periphery: Have-Nots

Core: **Haves**

Rural
Mining
Forestry
Agriculture
Little Power
Brain Drain
Low Wages
Lesser
'Reachability'

Source: based on: Burglee, 2018, www.catalogue.flatworldknowledge.com, amended

'Metropolitan Fortresses'? Division between the 'inside' and 'outside' of cities

Building new (invisible?) walls between the urban (metropolitan) and the 'rest'?

Connectivity is 'king' to interact, raise awareness and allow engagement

Andel hushåll med bredband via fibernät 2017
Skåne län

High-speed rail routes

Creating a multi-speed (divided) state territory?

Trans-border Connectivity and its Region-Defining Effects
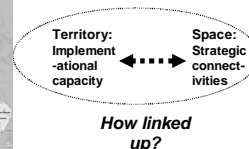

ØRESUNDSTÅG

The Challenge of Competitiveness:
Perforation of State Territories through Opportunity-seeking (Urban-)Network Regionalism

- fragmentation of cohesive cities and states (societies) through elitist selective inclusion/exclusion
- Works at two levels:
  - Growing urban-centric reconfiguration of the territorial/social state (metropolitan network regions)
  - Reconfiguring and re-representing cities in the image of 'trendy' elite visions and imaginations to 'raise profile' ('Cites of Culture')
  - imaging of cities/ places as attractive choices for living/ working
- Tension between structure and process of political voice/ representation: state hierarchy versus collective policy networks between places and actors

Challenge: Connecting Fixed Territories to Self-Selecting Collaborative Opportunity Spaces – Who Is In and Who Out?

State Territoriality: Spatially defined regions: contiguous, fixed, redistributive, passive

Incidental 'Spatiality: Regions spatially fragmented, virtual, opportunistic, active,

Territory: Implement-ational capacity
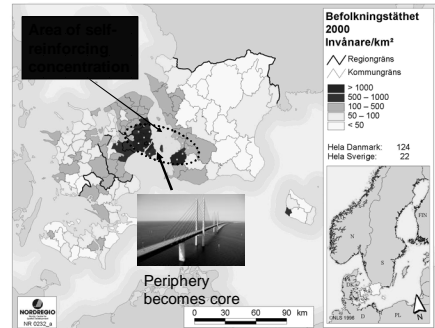
Space: Strategic connect-ivities

How linked up?

Regions as state-defined territories for implementation of policies, with fixed boundaries and institutions

Regions as city-defined network spaces – with 'gaps' in between. Borders (and space) follow collaborative opportunism.

'Mind the Gap': City Networks and State Territory

- **Conventional model of public policy**
  - state shapes political and policy framework and 'conditions'
  - states 'builds' fixed framework for local/ regional action and governance
  - State secures state-wide quality of public service and living conditions
- **'New' urban-centric concept of state space**
  - Places (especially larger cities) are **no longer mere locales**, but **active shapers** of political & economic processes and development opportunities
  - New hierarchy of 'winners' and 'losers' around self-selecting collaborative, opportunistic networks of key urban places
  - Resulting patchwork of 'ins' and 'outs' requires new strategies through callaborative action (local networks) – also across borders
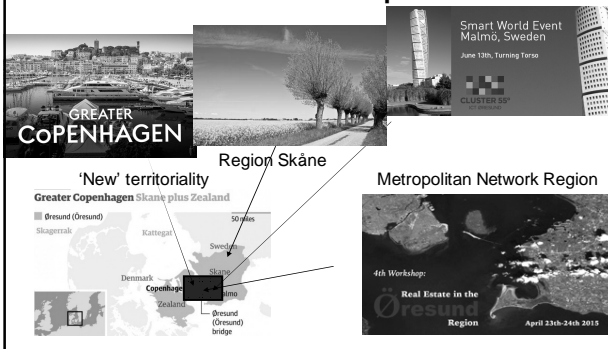
The Challenge: International Metropolitanisation and State-territorial Peripheralisation in the Øresund

Spaces of concentrating activity and 'white spots'

Population density in 2000

The Issue: How to Reconcile Individual Metropolitan/ Local Ambition and State Structure and Political Representation
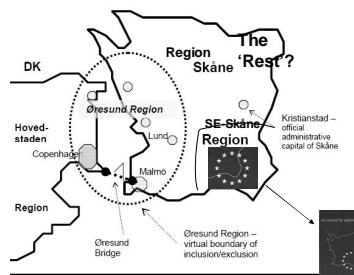

Growing Challenge to Democratic Representation through Metropolitanisation and Fragmentation of the Territorial State

1. growing visibility of sub-national regionalisation as collective clusters of metropolitan-centric spaces
2. result: selective (variable, uneven) democratic representation & participation (= 'voice')
3. likely re-/production of marginality and inequality in opportunity to participate in decisions and developments?
4. emerging gaps in governance practices between state (representational) structure and economic relevance and promise of opportunity (= discursive and imagined power)
5. need for novel, more innovative/entrepreneurial and multiple forms of governance and actorness to retain/boost state-territorial (city-regional) cohesion.

Formation of State Territory May Follow Two Alternative Scenarios

- **(1) State *territory* as cohesive, institutionally organised entities with set boundaries**
  - **either** as containers of central policies
  - **or** as collective 'bottom-up' expression of local clusters of interest,
- **(2) State *space* as weakly institutionalised, self-organising 'virtual' entities, defined through collaborative networks of shared interest**
  - non-contiguous
  - increasingly localised – inclusive/exclusive,
  - opportunity based and fragmented
  - network (communication) based, connectivity matters
  - variable scale and 'reach' (fuzzy boundedness)

Example: Øresund as self-selecting part of institutionalised Skåne Region – generating (perceived) exclusion of places and people

Figure 2: The virtual space of the urban centric Øresund Region intersects with the state territoriality of Skåne Region, effectively periphralising those parts outside virtual boundary.

International (selective) City-Network Space and comprehensive State Territoriality
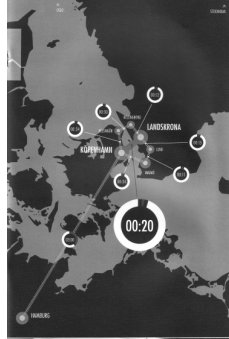**Internationalisation as a way to gain attraction through 'profile'**

Connectivity (Actual and/or Imagined) as Vehicle for Inclusion in Economic Opportunities

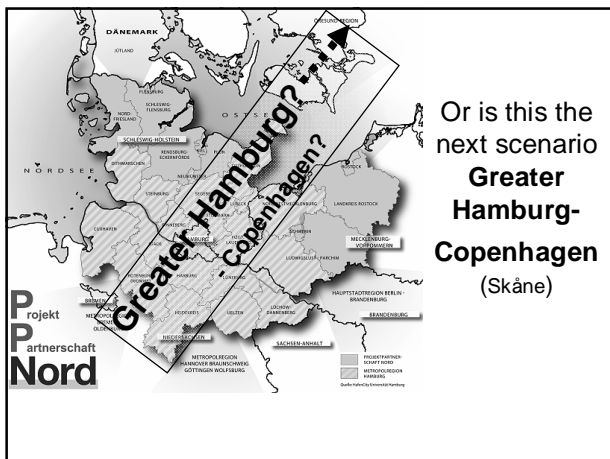In the shadow of the Øresund Regon: Counteracting marginalisation through Europeanisation (EU)

Overcoming marginality among cities: Landskrona seeks centrality by becoming hub on new Øresund rail-link reaching to Oslo, Copenhagen and Hamburg

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Metropolitanised international co-operation and connectivity for greater (selective?) competitiveness: from Hamburg via Øresund to Oslo – and beyond!?

Source: City of Hamburg: Vision for a Meta-Regional Cooperation with the Øresund Region

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Or is this the next scenario **Greater Hamburg-Copenhagen** (Skåne)

Bridge the Gap ? Or Create New Ones?

Source: City of Hamburg: Vision for a Meta-Regional Cooperation with the Øresund Region

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So, Metropolitan-defined *Space* and/or State *Territory*

Globalisation marks out **distinction between space and territory**

> **Space** as expression of **virtual, imagined characteristics**

> **Territory as actual manifestation 'on the ground'** in state-territorial, institutionalised and empowered geographic entities.

Both co-exist, but don't always match, intersecting, overlapping – even competing

How can they be linked to allow competitiveness **and** cohesiveness, i.e. individuality and collectivity

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Strategic Option: Linking Multiplicity of Interests and Voice through Novel Forms of Co-produced governance

– Activism: direct citizen engagement in governance processes
  • technology-based community (social media)
  • 'alternative scenarios' (narratives of opportunity)
  • put all options and challenges 'on the table'
– Co-production of knowledge
  • anticipatory governance: responds to uncertainty, rather than follows structure and convention
  • mobilise variety of viewpoints
  • examine the value and power systems (goals, ambitions, capacities) that shape public policies and institutions

Strategic Options: Urban Competitive Activity at Increasingly International Level – Next to the State

Strategic Options:

1. Do little and wait for the hierarchical state to take care as part of political responsibility

2. Take initiative based on local strategic vision and (publicly) agreed agenda, e.g. through

 a. Expanding reach and visibility through (selective) network building
 b. Re-imagining cities as international/global actors with selected 'features' ('trendification'?)

Strategic Option 1:

Doing Little, waiting for the state to redistribute: Being passive recipient of 'political social security'.

Problem:
- giving up scope to change and develop,
- dependency on choices and priorities set elsewhere.
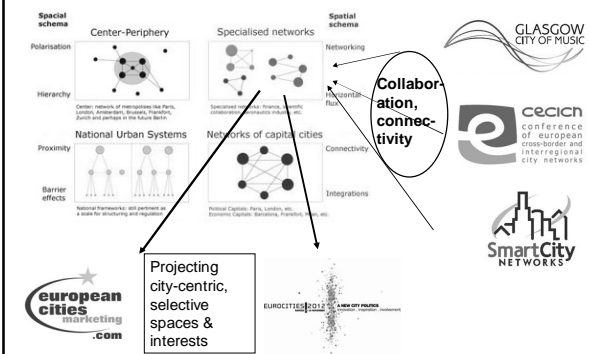- loss of scope

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Strategic Option 2a:

Cities/localities 'going it alone' as political-strategic actors to raise profile through collaborative engagement and connectivity to gain/exploit scope for themselves:
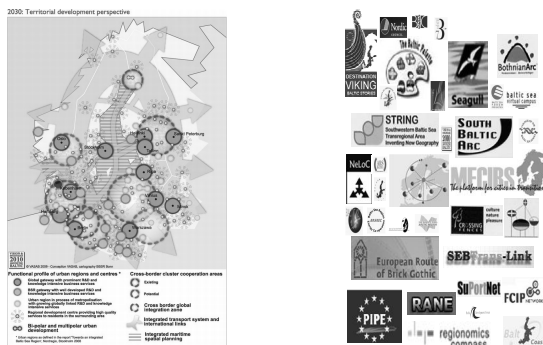*And what about 'their' regions/state?*

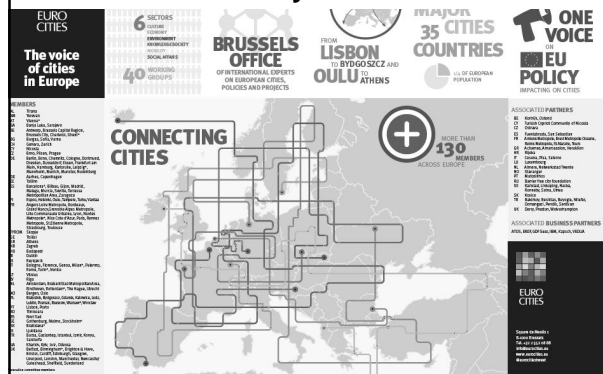---

Challenge of the 'Bubble'?
City-Centric Spatialisation defines who is 'in' and who is 'out' varies

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Metropolitan-centric Spatialisation in the Baltic Sea Area: Overcoming 'Old' Border – Creating New Divisions?

Euro-Cities Network: Internationality and Visibility and Voice

'Localised' Network Regions – Self-selecting Elitism *versus* (?) Sense of Collective State

- city-network regions
  - are 'virtual' spaces of preferred interaction
  - 'underpin' flows of interests and perceived opportunities by diverse policy makers
  - overcome divisions by administrative boundaries and localist parochialism
  - mirror the "economic footprint"(*) of a city, i.e. its *economic* spatial 'reach',
- **BUT creates divisions: How is the not selected 'rest' kept engaged to retain collective sense of society and state?**

*after Llewelyn Davies Yeang (2007): **Northern Way.** Final Report,

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Strategic Option 2b:

Cities as 'Designed' and 'Airbrushed' Places (of International Competition) to Become 'Visible' and Desirable

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International activities by individual cities

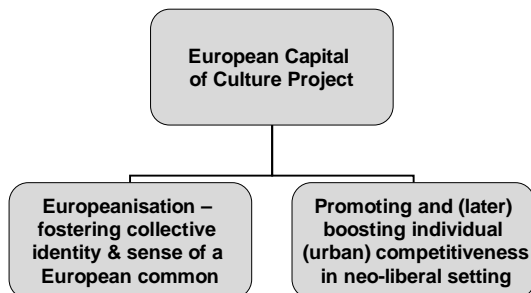| Single city initiatives post War until c1990	Single city initiative 1990 on
1945	2016
Main features: - **bridging borders to 'heal' divisions (especially in Europe)** - driving new internationality with lesser 'risk' at lower profile than state level - acting as 'ambassadors' of states - cities seen as integral to state territory, - state represented through cities	Main features: - **overcoming borders to pursue new opportunities on international arena** - **enhancing local (and national) economic competitiveness and opportunities** - **reaching beyond state borders by joining city networks** - 'freeing' from state territorial ties (as hindrances) and pursue presumed greater opportunities individually
Examples: - **European City of Culture** - Sister Cities International (SCI) - United Towns Organization (UTO), (Fédération mondiale des villes jumelées) - Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR)	- **European Capital of Culture** - Brussels International Offices - United Cities and Local Government (UCLG)

Source: authors' own compilation

The Challenge: Boosting International Competitiveness through Metropolitanisation – what about the State?
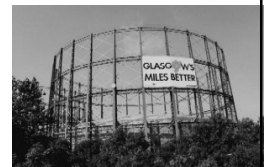
The European Capitals of Culture

Conflict or Commonality: Capitals of Culture to highlight local individuality **but also** European connectivity and togetherness

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ECoC - Conflicting Purpose: Urban Places as Expression of Collective Europeanisation and Neo-liberal Competitiveness

European Capital of Culture Project

- **Europeanisation – fostering collective identity & sense of a European common**
- **Promoting and (later) boosting individual (urban) competitiveness in neo-liberal setting**
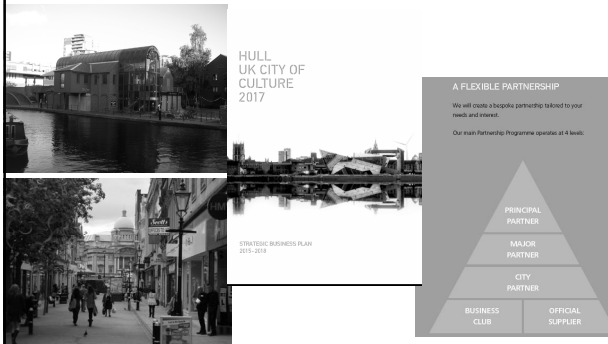

ECoC – from Flagship Projects and 'Grands Projèts' to Democratic Local Participation, Ownership, Aspiration ?

National politics shapes conditions and need for local entrepreneurialism urban politics:EU funds offered way to 'bypass' London at project level

But neo-liberal market pressure for property-led regeneration set by Government

Hull 2017: **Escaping stagnation, poor image & peripherality – multiscalar approach with focus on education and selective market engagement**

Umeå 2014 – transparency and democratisation through participation (self-empowerment?)

European Capitals of Culture 2014: City and/or Region? Community and/or Administration?

Overcoming divisions, yet still thinking in borders

And where is Vaasa?

Puget Sound – Produced Policy Region Based on Geographic Belonging

Visible organisational expressions of locally collaborative regional association with the blessing of the State.: technocratically framed, planning-based 'suggestive' regionalisation

Visioning the competitive region for 2020 through the lens of planning

"Growth management, environmental, economic and Transportation strategy for the Central Puget Sound Region" Attempt at 'catch all'?

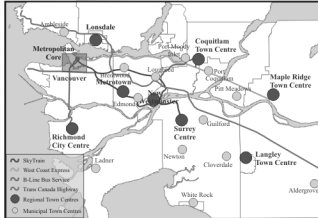**'Making' Economic Competitiveness AND Sustainability**

Achieving Sustainability – Public transport as the high visibility option – and required norm?

Transportation Planning and Climate Change in the Central Puget Sound Region

Sustainability as vague regional agenda

GVRD:Livable Centres Plan: Sprawl as the enemy no. 1 (but 'growth' remains unquestioned)

New image for 'old' regional (transport) planning body, role still no clearer and no extra powers or cudos
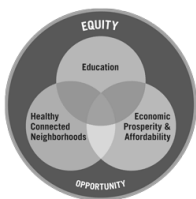

Contrasting values: Vancouver Region: Sprawl in suburban City of Surrey versus Vancouver's (livable) densities

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Portland: Metropolitanisation, and the Promotion of Equitable Growth

Legitimation Beyond Instrumental Planning

Metro | *Making a great place*

Portland: Liveablity, Competitiveness and Growth – as Strategic 'Norm'?

Danger of Maintaining a Metropolitan 'Bubble' – What about the Rest?

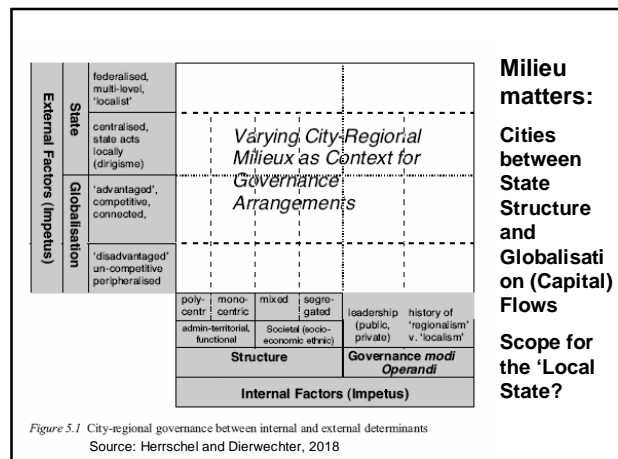Not far outside, it looks like this: 'Cowboyland'

So, in conclusion…

- Growing challenge through restless 'elitist' urbanism driven globalised competitiveness
- Co-produced local agenda to shape and legitimise policy choices & strategies (encourage political actors)
- Visibility needed beyond being part of state context/ hierarchy and allocated resources (collaborative networks to boost political scope)

So, in conclusion…

- **Challenges:**
  - Uneven representation and political-democratic 'voice'
  - Retain collectivity and role of the state, including sense of belonging and nation
  - connect different mechanisms and agendas of pursuing individual versus collective interests at dfferent scales (external- internal,, top-down-bottom up, intra-/inter-national)

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		federalised, multi-level, 'localist'							
External Factors (Impetus)	State	centralised, state acts locally (dirigisme)							
			Varying City-Regional Milieux as Context for Governance Arrangements						
	Globalisation	'advantaged', competitive, connected,							
		'disadvantaged' un-competitive peripheralised							
		poly-centr	mono-centric	mixed	segre-gated	leadership (public, private)	history of 'regionalism' v. 'localism'	
		admin-territorial, functional		Societal (socio-economic ethnic)				
		Structure				**Governance *modi Operandi***		
		Internal Factors (Impetus)						

Figure 5.1 City-regional governance between internal and external determinants
Source: Herrschel and Dierwechter, 2018

Milieu matters:

Cities between State Structure and Globalisation (Capital) Flows

Scope for the 'Local State?

So, cities and/or the state?
How much 'city' and 'state'

How to balance urban opportunity, need for (global) competitiveness and societal and territorial cohesiveness

There is a lot to discuss

Thank You

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