

'Edge City ... Charlie closed his eyes and wished he'd never heard of the damn term.' Tom Wolfe, *A Man in Full*.

INTRODUCTION

It has been argued that the field of urban studies has tended to be underspatialised (Soja, 2000). Recently, however, several intersecting academic research traditions have begun to redress this situation. From its roots in development studies, academic interest in world or global city formation and competition has occupied a leading position within the field of urban studies (Friedmann and Wolffe, 1982; Sassen, 1994). To this can be added more specific interests in the new urban politics (Harding, 1997; Le Gales, 1998) visible in major cities and more prosaic concerns with the renewed possibilities for, and practicalities of, metropolitan government (Lefevre, 1999; Newman, 2000). These intersecting research agendas all speak to, and can be incorporated within, a broad based concern with analysing the contemporary re-scaling of economic, social and political processes as well as state practices and structures (Brenner, 1998, 1999; Smith, 1992; Swyngedouw, 1997). Taking these bodies of literature together, the emphasis has been squarely on exploring the rise of subnational territories defined broadly in terms of major cities, city-regions or regions. Whilst some of the aforementioned research agendas touch upon new edge or peripheral urban forms, the analysis of such contemporary moments of urbanisation has taken place largely outside this rubric. In this paper we seek not merely to draw attention to such edge urban areas as another important scale to be considered alongside others, but highlight the formative contribution of edge urban populations and institutions to contemporary processes of urbanisation.

The term edge city (Garreau, 1991) is something that academics, along with Tom Wolfe's developer hero Charlie Croker in the opening quotation, have come to use with no little anxiety. As Soja notes 'For much of the world, the Edge City maxim, that every American city is growing in the fashion of Los Angeles has become much more of a foreboding than a hopeful promise.' (Soja, 2000: 401). Moreover, while the term edge city takes its place in a welter of terminology deployed to help chart the complexity of modern forms of urbanisation, its precise relevance in the European setting is highly questionable (Ghent Urban Studies Team, 1999; Lambert et al, n.d.). It will come as no surprise, then, that we avoid the term edge city or any explicit attempt to define the 'European edge city'. Rather, in keeping with the diversity of experiences of urbanisation in Europe, and in keeping with the diverse empirical cases reported later in this paper, we prefer the term edge or peripheral urban areas. In what follows we first develop three broad themes relating to the contemporary rescaling of functional processes and state practices and structures. These themes permit us implicitly to begin to distinguish European edge urban areas from their North American counterparts.

THE CENTRALITY OF URBAN PERIPHERIES TO CONTEMPORARY RE-SCALING OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROCESSES

The recent and sizeable academic interest in the rescaling of political, social and economic processes derives from a desire to understand the repositioning of different territorial scales within an ever more integrated world economy. As Brenner (1999) describes, 'the post-1970s wave of globalisation has significantly decentred the role of

the national scale as a self-enclosed container of socio-economic relations while simultaneously intensifying the importance of both sub- and supranational forms of territorial organisation' (Brenner, 1999: 435). Terms such as multilevel governance (Marks et al, 1996), 'glocalisation' (Swyngedouw, 1997) and the 'relativisation of scale' (Colinge, 1999; Jessop, 1999) have been used to capture the interconnections between processes at various spatial scales. In particular, interest has centred on the renewed potential of subnational regions and cities - when set against nations – in such multiple levels of governance. So, for example, renewed possibilities for the regions have been the subject of quite intense study across Europe (Keating, 1997; MacLeod and Jones, 1999). Similarly, some of the subtle contours of an emerging Europe of the city-regions have been charted (Harding, 1997; Le Gales, 1998). Yet some scales have remained invisible to much of this research effort. Notable in this respect are edge or peripheral urban areas. This paper therefore addresses this urgent need to consider the position of edge urban forms within the contemporary rescaling of socio-economic processes.

Despite their importance as centres of economic activity and population, and despite some notable academic concern with edge urban areas (Beurregard, 1993; Keil, 1994; Keil and Ronneberger, 1994), they have, of themselves, attracted little attention. Instead, following an earlier interest in global cities, the primary academic interest has focused on major cities as a window onto the possible emergence of a Europe of city-regions. On the one hand, then, edge urban forms have often been subsumed within discussion of broader subnational regions. Charlesworth and Cochrane (1994), for instance, see the significance of edge urban formations in terms of processes of regionalisation.

This underplaying of the regional dimension is particularly problematic in the light of developments which point towards the extensive networks of “suburbs” or “edge cities” and the emergence of what have been called non-places, each of which nevertheless has its own institutions of local governance and networks of local politics. (Charlesworth and Cochrane, 1994: 1725).

On the other hand, where edge urban areas have been incorporated specifically into analysis of cities and city-regions, their role has been defined in terms secondary to that of central city areas. Their significance has been viewed in terms of their contribution to the entrepreneurial efforts of major city governments as they seek to ‘enlarge their spaces of engagement’ (Cox, 1998) to compete internationally for resources and investment. In this paper we want to place edge urban populations and institutions centre stage - highlighting their importance to contemporary processes of urbanisation.

The object of analysis within the literature on the rescaling of socio-economic processes is upon the study of process and not pre-established administrative territories (Brenner, 1999; Jonas, 1994; Swyngedouw, 1997). If in theory the object of analysis is ‘the study of process through which particular scales become (re)constituted’ (Swyngedouw, 1997: 141) in practice, because of the continual rescaling or geographical fluidity of processes, there is a necessity to analyse both process and pre-existing scales.¹ There is an irony here as, although there is a very

¹ This literature is not without its critics. In making use of it here we perceive its value as the latest incarnation of a tradition within human geography which in various guises – place and space (Tuan, 1977; Taylor, 1999), structuration theory (Giddens, 1975), the spatial divisions of labour approach (Massey, 1984) and locality studies (Duncan, 1989) – has attempted to bridge perhaps the most fundamental methodological schism in human geography; that between nomothetic and idiographic approaches. It is precisely the tension between these two approaches – rather than the

real difficulty in speaking of edge urban areas as given, there is nevertheless a need to suspend one's dissatisfaction with such an idea in order to appreciate the way in which such places are socially constructed. In this respect then, there are at least two analytical devices that might be deployed in order to capture this near constant re-scaling of processes. One such device is the refocusing of analytical attention upon boundaries or boundary regions as the objects of analysis (Paasi, 1991; 2000). Here the object of analysis would be a region defined so as to straddle existing administrative boundaries. This represents an idiographic approach but one which is defined in order to search for the trans-boundary processes which problematise and disrupt the coherence of established territorial boundaries. Notable in this respect then is the intense policy and academic interest in European cross-border regions (Perkmann and Sum, 2002).

A second device involves making a, somewhat artificial, distinction between the relative geographical fixity of administrative or state practices, structures and agents on the one hand and the relative geographical mobility of functional (non-state) economic, social and informal political processes and associated agents on the other hand. Actually, as Brenner (2002) points out, practical questions of urban administrative reforms in the United States have long been conducted in terms of this distinction. This is also reflected in the work of Paasi who conceptualises the emergence of regions in terms of a number of stages (Paasi, 1991: 243). Paasi makes an implicit distinction between functional economic, social and political processes and spaces on the one hand and administrative or state processes and spaces on the

privileging of one over the other – which has driven progress in human geography (Taylor, 1999: 9).

other, suggesting a progression from the initial role of functional economic, social and political processes in shaping territory toward the crystallisation of that territory in institutions and presumably administrative or state structures. A similar explicit distinction is made by, among others, Bennett (1997) and Keating (1997), with Bennett arguing that administrative structures tend to lag behind or shadow functional processes and as a result there is constant ‘underbounding’ of state spaces.

The significance of edge urban areas is self-evident when deploying the first of these analytical devices. As the subtitle of Garreau’s (1991) book suggests, these edge urban areas do indeed represent boundary or frontier regions. In the remainder of this paper we also wish to deploy the second of these analytical devices. By utilising both devices we wish to make an initial contribution to charting the contours of edge urban areas in Europe and contrasting them with those of their more narrowly-based North American edge city corollaries.

Functionally dynamic or administratively created? Distinguishing European edge urban forms

The distinction between the relative fluidity of functional economic, social and informal political processes on the one hand and the relative fixity of state structures and practices on the other is particularly relevant to understanding the formation of North American edge cities whose function and dynamism precedes the formation of ‘shadow’ governmental structures. As Garreau notes ‘Edge cities ... seldom match political boundaries’ (Garreau, 1991: 185). Yet, there is no reason why this relationship between functional processes and spaces and administrative processes

and spaces may not operate in reverse, not least because of the strategic and spatial selectivity of the state (Gottdiener, 2002; Jessop, 1990; Jones, 1997). In this case, the rescaling of administrative or state practices and structures may set in train a rescaling of functional economic, social and political processes. We could consider two extreme outcomes here. The first, and perhaps more common, outcome is where state strategies create 'nowhere' places. This is the familiar scenario in which 'States impose spaces on places' (Taylor, 1999: 14; Scott, 1998). The second, perhaps rare though nonetheless possible, outcome is where state restructuring actually galvanises social, economic and cultural processes to create meaningful places. 'Although initially imposed, boundaries can ... become embedded in society and have their own effects on the reproduction of material life. In this way what were spaces are converted into places.' (Taylor, 1999: 14). Both outcomes are important to consider in the light of the strong states of European nations where territorial redefinition has tended to be led by administrative reform such as devolution.

The implications of this distinction need to be pursued in relation to a trend that Mayer (1994) refers to as an expansion of the space of local political action. Here the term governance has been used to describe the way in which a range of private and quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisations have taken their place alongside the local state in local political processes. The term has become axiomatic despite its limitations (Imrie and Raco, 1999) and despite its clear and potentially partial resonance with ideas of growth machines and urban regimes which have grown out of a specifically North American context. This can be compared to the European setting where 'the institutions and networks found in promoting redevelopment in European cities simply do not have the local *gravitas* of a growth machine or a regime'

(Harding, 1997: 299 original emphasis). Instead, in the European setting, the local and central state and the public sector more broadly play a much more important role in economic development strategy at the urban scale (Harding, 1991).

Following on from this, and returning to our observation regarding the importance of state strategies in the contemporary rescaling of socio-economic processes in Europe, we can identify the likely significance of the state, and more particularly the central state, in urban politics and the construction of edge urban areas in the European setting. Following Lefebvre, Brenner (1999) has stressed the importance of the central state to contemporary rescaling of processes. ‘Rescaled state institutions are increasingly viewed as a central means of delineating locally and regionally specific growth poles through which capitalist territorial organisation can be mobilized “endogenously” as a force of production in the world market’ (Brenner, 1999: 476). So as Keating (1997) describes, the rise of regions within many European nations can typically be characterised in terms of a series of central government-led administrative settlements. Newman (2000), for instance, notes how, in France, regional reforms, including joint planning between the central state and regions, failed to invigorate regionalism because of domination by the central state. Thus, ‘The Europe of strong states and “dependent” cities appears, as yet, to have plenty of mileage left in it.’ (Harding, 1997: 296). This, we can suggest, will also be the case in the formation and development of edge urban areas in the European case, in the sense that state institutions, especially non-local ones, will have an important bearing on the ability of edge urban agents to enlarge their spaces of engagement and to construct edge urban areas as distinct places.

The dynamism of European edge urban areas: economic, social and political

The distinction between functional processes and the scales at which these operate on the one hand, and administrative or state practices and structures on the other hand, is also important in connection with the suggestion that the focus of urban politics has shifted from social welfare policies toward economic development objectives (Mayer, 1994). This has been made familiar in what Harvey has described as a shift from urban managerialism toward urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989). Certainly, this emphasis is appropriate to understanding the increasing economic centrality of edge urban areas in an increasingly integrated international economy. As Keil notes ‘The new peripheries have become the projection spaces of the emerging global post-fordist economy: the target of investment and accumulation’ (Keil, 1994: 134). The economic centrality of urban peripheries is also highlighted by Dear and Flusty who posit the existence of ‘a postmodern urban process in which the urban periphery organizes the center within the context of globalizing capitalism.’ (Dear and Flusty, 1998: 65). Moreover, it is also possible to speak specifically of edge entrepreneurialism in the North American (Althubaity and Jonas, 1998) and, it seems likely, in the European contexts – a point to which we return to later in our empirical discussion. In this respect, the fortunes of central cities and their edge urban areas are frequently linked in a city-region consciousness which ‘is an important part of the ideology of structural coherence in the region and unites it for the global interregional competition’ (Keil and Ronneberger, 1994: 162). The entrepreneurialism of edge urban areas in conjunction with that of central city areas is a crucial ingredient of the renewal of the metropolitan idea in Western Europe. This is because ‘central cities ...

are now aware that they need the peripheries in order to develop, or quite simply to keep their place, in the ranks of world cities.’ (Lefevre, 1998: 22).

However, in the European (and indeed developing country) context, it would be as well not to overlook the role that rescaling of *political* and *social* processes play in the dynamism that edge urban-based agents and institutions contribute to broader city-regions. These, as Keating (1997) has outlined, are equally significant in devolution in Western Europe. Moreover, Swyngedouw (1997) has noted how the politics of resistance have been relegated to smaller and more particular scales. Here, the formative role of some edge urban areas as the origin of significant political movements and of redefinitions of citizenship appears to have been largely overlooked. Holston has argued that areas at the periphery of the Sao Paulo city region were significant in redefining notions of citizenship at the city-region scale. ‘As in many other metropolises around the world, the urban poor of Sao Paulo established a space of opposition – the periphery – within the city-region. This space confronts the old culture of citizenship with a new imagination of democratic values.’ (Holston, 2000: 339). The grassroots political movements of Spain in the 1960s and 1970s were also significantly those of peripheral urban areas (Castells, 1983).

In Europe, the lineage of many edge urban areas in state redistributive and spatial planning policies means that these new forms of urbanisation are still materially and discursively imbued with considerable social and political maladies. Yet many edge urban areas have also outgrown their original identities as containers of social problems and attendant political struggle to become economically dynamic or part of the political mainstream of metropolitan society. ‘The periphery is not the periphery

anymore. In Europe it has ceased to be merely the problem container of cities, perverted product of social reform based on the inner city.’ (Keil and Ronneberger, 1994:141). One consequence of this is that many of the social and political movements of the 1970s have conferred a lasting political capacity upon their respective localities, being incorporated into mainstream municipal politics and even ‘routinized cooperation’ with the local and central state by the 1990s (Mayer, 2000: 138).

Edges and the new geometry of urbanisation

Finally, an important concept to emerge from the literature on contemporary rescaling of socio-economic processes is that of the nesting of scales (Jessop, 1999; Jonas, 1994; Swyngedouw, 1997). The analytical focus on processes through which scales are socially constructed alerts us to mechanisms of scale transformation and transgression through which there is a continually changing or fluid nesting rather than some immutable hierarchy of scales (Swyngedouw, 1997). Edge urban areas in North America and Europe provide us with an excellent illustration of such a nesting of scales. Speaking from the South East England context, Charlesworth and Cochrane argue that the growth of suburban and edge urban areas makes it ‘impossible to pretend that local politics are somehow rooted in the experience of free-standing and bounded “localities”.’ (Charlesworth and Cochrane, 1994: 1726). Instead, as Keil and Ronneberger (1994) argue ‘Core and periphery are not plausible anymore as geometric concepts. Rather, we are dealing with a relational model of spatial relationships manifesting themselves in myriad forms ...’ (Keil and Ronneberger, 1994: 139).

Here edge urban agents have played their own important, but barely understood, role in redefining the geometry of urbanisation. For Brenner (1999), Keil and Ronneberger (1994) and Soja (2000), the enlarged scale of contemporary urbanisation, and with it the emergence and growth of edge urban areas, bears only a partial resemblance to the Chicago school's radial and concentric geometric depictions of urbanisation. As Keil and Ronneberger suggest, 'Instead of the radial-concentric concept of urban space, the notion of a nodal, fragmented pattern of relationships in a disparate urban fabric, with diversely dimensional cores and peripheries, seems to be taking hold ...' (Keil and Ronneberger, 1994: 139). In this respect, the Ghent Urban Studies Team (1999) argue that the spatial reorganisation of urban areas is, if anything, more complex in the European setting with edge urban areas having significant autonomous linkages elsewhere in wider city-regions. On the one hand, edge urban areas are usually defined in relation to the cores they surround but, on the other hand, they have lateral relationships with other edge urban areas. Yet, unlike the classic models, they rarely embody homogenous territories. Instead, they display tendencies toward internal fragmentation and can be the focal point of boundary transgressing institutions and processes. Indeed, as the sub-title of Garreau's (1991) book suggests, the most dynamic of edge urban areas are at the constantly shifting frontier of contemporary urbanisation processes – the active sites of colonisation by contemporary capitalist socio-economic processes.

In this respect, geographic scale is central to the manner in which the entrepreneurial strategies of edge urban governments, politicians and other non-government agents are played out. Such edge entrepreneurialism centres not merely on material and

discursive practices which establish a sense of place, but since that sense of place is felt most acutely in the context of broader metropolitan areas, it is played out in relation to other geographic scales and senses of place. First, the pursuit of political, economic and social autonomy has been an enduring theme in the material and discursive construction of North American (Teaford, 1998) and European suburbs from the early 1900s to the present day. Second, this search for absolute independence from central city or metropolitan political and administrative arrangements has itself a complex relationship with the varying degrees of relative independence that edge areas have displayed over time in economic terms (Hill and Wolman, 1997; Savitch, 1995). Whilst some of the newer edge urban areas in North America display signs of increasing economic dynamism independent from the central city and metropolitan areas to which they are proximate, the more common pattern appears to be one of complex and selective interdependencies. For example, it is quite possible for edge urban areas to remain largely dependent upon central city economic activity (either as a source of surplus labour or in terms of tertiary-sector divisions of labour manifest at the urban or urban system scale), while simultaneously exerting their own economic effects laterally upon other edge urban areas. Third, most recently, and perhaps as a consequence of the meshing of political aspirations with socio-economic conditions in some edge urban areas, attempts to enlarge their 'spaces of engagement' (Cox, 1998) have begun to figure prominently in the entrepreneurial strategies of agents of edge urban governance.

NOTES FROM THE MARGINS OF EUROPE'S CAPITAL CITIES

This paper focuses on three case study edge urban areas. They were brought to our attention by being part of a unique EU-funded network of edge cities.² In both analytical and pragmatic terms we believe these case studies have something useful to offer in an implicit comparative analysis of edge urbanisation.

Arguably, few good approximations to a North American edge city exist in Europe, and the examples considered here do not number among some of the closest European approximations to an edge city in *form*. It is notable that unifying analyses of urban sprawl have limited themselves to drawing comparisons between North American edge cities and extended metropolitan growth in East Asia, leaving aside the diversity of European experiences (Dick and Rimmer, 1998). Indeed, the search for the form of a North American edge city within Europe may itself be rather futile. Garreau's defining features of an edge city are actually rather loose, and yet the term is by now so firmly invested with connotations associated with the *form* of North American urbanisation as potentially to obscure any valid points of comparison in the *function* of edge urban areas in different national and continental settings. So, for example, the three examples of European edge urbanisation presented here, although in appearance rather unlike a North American edge city, nevertheless correspond to at least some, if not most, of these defining features. We wish to be open in an exploratory paper such as this to points of comparison in the functioning of European and North American

² The network was originally established without funding in 1996. Presently the network members are (associated capital cities in brackets): Croydon (London), Nacka (Stockholm), Espoo (Helsinki), Getafe (Madrid), Fingal Co. (Dublin), North Down Borough (Belfast), Loures (Lisbon), Kifissia (Athens), Ballerup (Copenhagen) and Noisy-le-Grand (Paris). Subsets of these municipalities later received funding for specific collaborative projects under the European Commission's REACTE and RECITE II programmes (Phelps, McNeill and Parsons, 2002).

edge urban areas, though our sympathies lie in contributing to a geographical analysis of edge urban difference (Fincher, Jacobs and Andersen, 2002).

On pragmatic grounds our utilisation of an existing network of municipalities is instructive, not least because of the very fact that these municipalities, or rather officers and politicians acting on behalf of their populations and constituents, have themselves been actively engaged in defining and constructing their territories as ‘edge cities’ in a European setting. So, as self-styled edge cities, the partners of this network from the outset did not appeal to the North American concept. As one respondent described ‘To say that there is a unique European concept of an edge city – there isn’t – because we are all different but we all found that we had enough in common to make it work.’ (local authority official, Croydon Council, interviews). Instead, then, whilst the various members of this European network have experienced different histories and patterns of development, what they do have in common ‘is their proximity to the capital and the consequent need to develop a strategy which is based on a synergy with the capital city, but which also establishes their *separate identity* ...’ (Edge Cities Network, 1996: 2, emphasis added).

In our research we focused on three edge urban areas associated with this network: Croydon and Getafe who remain members and Noisy-le-Grand which has become a lapsed member. The three case studies highlight the diversity of edge urban areas in the European setting. Despite some common issues around which these edge urban municipalities identify, they are different in size, socio-economic complexion and in their respective administrative and political contexts (see Phelps, McNeill and Parsons, 2002 for further details).

The research was undertaken during 2000 and explored issues of governance and identity formation in the three municipalities. Specifically, published material in the form of documentary evidence such as economic development strategies and reports and newspaper articles was collected and supplemented with a total of 22 interviews with representatives from stake-holding local public and private sector organisations. Interviews in Getafe and Noisy-le-Grand were conducted in Spanish and French before being translated.

Each of our case study edge urban municipalities can be used to speak to the three themes identified in the literature reviewed above. However, in what follows we draw upon the single case study which best illustrates each theme. For example, Noisy-le-Grand provides an excellent illustration of the dominant role of state practices in the fashioning of an edge urban *space* – but one devoid of any real meaning as a distinct *place*. Getafe highlights the dynamism of European edge urban areas in social and political terms. Here a legacy of local informal political activity has conferred a lasting and now more formalised political dynamism which has seen a firm sense of place successfully mobilised within a wider metropolitan political and administrative setting. Finally, in their energetic pursuit of public-private partnership styles of working and their longstanding political independence from the rest of Greater London, Croydon-based institutions have enlarged their spaces of engagement and sphere of influence well beyond the borough's boundaries into South London and beyond.

MAPS OF NO MEANING: NOISY-LE-GRAND - AN ADMINISTRATIVELY CREATED NOWHERE?

Local government and the public sector more generally play an important role in the development of each of our case study edge municipalities, in a way in which they do not in the North American setting. However, nowhere is the influence of non-local state institutions and constructions more apparent than in Noisy-le-Grand whose edge identity, or lack thereof, has been produced by its entanglement in a complicated and overlapping set of administrative arrangements. Figure 1 captures some, though by no means all of these administrative complexities.

INSERT FIGURE 1 HERE

Noisy-le-Grand exists as a *commune* just outside of Paris. At the start of the twentieth century it was a rural village but grew into a small town of seven thousand inhabitants by 1936. It was the main centre of employment and population growth in the east of Paris in the 1950s and 1960s having reached a population of 25,800 by 1968. However, the main development of the town and its somewhat confused identity as a new town growth pole cum edge urban area has been from the 1970s onwards, when it was incorporated into the planned new town of Marne-la-Vallée.

As with other municipalities within the edge cities network, the local authority is concerned to create an identity for the town which is distinct from that of the adjacent capital city. The experimental architecture of Ricardo Bofill and Manolo Nunez figures prominently in Noisy-le-Grand and distinguishes it from the suburban *grand*

ensembles housing developments of the 1950s and 1960s elsewhere (Noin and White, 1997). Despite some of these buildings being definitive reference points in the history of contemporary architecture (Dieudonné, 1992: 53), ironically they also contribute to Noisy's lack of identity. With the development of the *Mont d'Est* area, Noisy-le-Grand was originally planned as a tertiary employment counterweight to *La Défense* in the west of Paris. However, despite attempts to promote the town as a dynamic centre of tertiary activity, it still suffers the stigma attached to many Parisian dormitory suburbs, particularly on the eastern periphery of the capital, of being a problem area. This is partly due to its position in Seine-Saint-Denis, one of the poorer *départements* in the Ile-de-France region. It is also, however, due to problems within the town, particularly in areas such as *Champy* and *Pavé Neuf*, where problems of poor housing, unemployment, delinquency and poverty exist. Despite the deliberate mixing of economic activity and residences to integrate *Mont d'Est* with the rest of the town, it has remained mainly a business centre rather than a 'true' town centre due to a lack of social animation in the evenings and weekends (Balaquer et al., 1996, p.60).

A nowhere in search of an identity

Although close to central Paris, Noisy-le-Grand is at the boundary of Paris and an inner ring of *départements*. It falls within the Seine-Saint-Denis *département* (which extends northwards) but also borders onto the Val de Marne 'inner ring' *département* (which extends to the south and west) and the Seine-et-Marne *département* (to the east) which forms part of the much larger Ile-de-France region (see figure 4). As one interviewee commented

Noisy-le-Grand is a commune that is in the extreme south of the *département* that it is attached to – Seine-Saint-Denis – which goes right up to the north of Paris. So it's a town that is a little at the end of the world, that doesn't participate in *départemental* policies. That poses problems for the commune, which has difficulty establishing relations with the *Conseil General* [the département-level council]. So it is isolated. (officer, EPAMarne, interviews).

However, the picture in Noisy-le-Grand is further complicated by its special status as part of the 'new town' of Marne-la-Vallée, which meant that its planned expansion came under the control of a central state body. The 1965 *Schéma directeur* announced plans for the creation of five new towns around Paris to balance the development of the capital city and to attract people and jobs from an overcrowded centre. Following the announcement of the siting of a new town at Marne-la-Vallée, the EPAMarne was created in 1972 to oversee the development of the new town. Thus, the EPAMarne was created as a decentralised arm of the State charged with planning a town spanning several *communes* and *départements*,³ with a view to producing a coherent whole of living and working areas linked by well planned communications networks. The development of Marne-la-Vallée is a long-term project that was programmed to take thirty years when it started, and thus, will not be completed until 2015. Although the work of the EPAMarne is all but complete in Noisy-le-Grand (it only intervenes in a few specific projects now, such as the renovation of the Champy area, and focuses most of its attention on areas such as the development around the Disneyland Paris site) its influence on the town can still be seen in its form and function. From the outset it was envisaged that Noisy-le-Grand would constitute the commercial and economic centre of the new town of Marne-la-Vallée - a counterbalance the

³ Marne-la-Vallée is spread over 26 *communes* in the *départements* of Seine-Saint-Denis, Seine-et-Marne and Val de Marne. Of the 26 *communes*, only Noisy-le-Grand is in Seine-Saint-Denis.

development of tertiary industry and employment around La Défense in western Paris.⁴

INSERT PHOTOGRAPHS 1 and 2 HERE (Les Arcades and Pavé Neuf)

Yet Noisy's partial identification with Marne-la-Vallée new town appears to be part of the problem of the lack of individual identity. On the one hand, and for some purposes and to some audiences, Noisy is part of the new town. As one interviewee commented:

Noisy-le-Grand is clearly identified with the new town. It plays on the proximity to Paris and the good transport links, but also on the image of Marne-la-Vallée. It doesn't play on the image of the [Seine-Saint-Denis] *département*. At a push, you could take it out of the *département*, say the Marne is the border. For a start there is the geographical aspect which makes the point: Noisy-le-Grand is a bit particular, it's not attached to the rest of the *département*. And Noisy-le-Grand is atypical of the rest of the *département* ... (officer, Direction Départementale de l'Équipement Seine-Saint-Denis, interviews.)

Yet, there are significant ambiguities inherent in Noisy-le-Grand's being part of the new town. The Paris new towns have themselves suffered from a lack of identity (Burgel, 1997) and the work of the EPAMarne itself will continue for more than another decade. Moreover, standing at the western extreme of Marne-la-Vallée new town and close to Paris, Noisy-le-Grand's separate identity is confounded by some of its distinctive architecture that has been more closely associated with Marne-la-Vallée new town. For example, the *Arènes de Picasso* housing development otherwise known as 'les Camemberts' in Pavé Neuf (see plate 2) served for a long time as the

⁴ Noisy-le-Grand is now 'the second largest centre of tertiary employment outside of Paris, after La Défense' (EPAMarne, 1998, p.2).

symbol of Marne-la-Vallée new town (Dieudonné, 1992: 53). More recently still, Noisy's separate identity has been eclipsed by the vast Disneyland Paris development at the eastern edge of the new town. As a result, any distinct identity that Noisy has is lost in a conflation with its larger fellow state-construct of the new town Marne-la-Vallée.

For anyone in Paris, Noisy-le-Grand is Marne-la-Vallée. And for French Parisians, Marne-la-Vallée is a small town with Disney in it. It's not Noisy-le-Grand. ... I'm sure that no-one knows that Noisy-le-Grand is in Marne-la-Vallée. In addition it's in Seine-Saint-Denis, and so no one could imagine that it's in Marne-la-Vallée. So there is a problem of the appropriation of the name, image and territory. ... It doesn't stop people from living and developing here, but there is a problem of image. (officer, Syndicat de l'agglomération nouvelle du Val Maubuée, interviews).

In addition to the EPAMarne, the central State and the Region are also major players in the development of Noisy-le-Grand through the system of pluriannual planning agreements between the two (*Contrat de Plan Etat-Région*). The latest covers the period 2000-2006, and sets out the main priorities for transport, economic development and employment, higher education and research, social service provision including housing, and sports, leisure and culture for the next seven years (Conseil Régional Ile-de-France, 2000).

The central State also intervenes in the development of Noisy-le-Grand in two other significant ways. First, a town planning agreement (*Contrat de Ville*) was signed by the mayors of Noisy-le-Grand and Villiers-sur-Marne by the Prefects (State representatives) of the respective *départements* of these towns, Seine-Saint-Denis and Val de Marne in January 2000 (Ville de Noisy-le-Grand, 2000). Again, this *Contrat*

sets out the major economic and social axes of development for Noisy-le-Grand and Villiers-sur-Marne over the next seven years and falls in line with the law of 12 July 1999 which encourages intercommunal co-operation in order to rationalise local authority action (Ministère de l'Intérieure, 1999). In associating the two *communes* in this contractual manner, it emphasises that the development of Noisy-le-Grand is not seen as separate from that of the *Portes de Paris* sector of which it is a part within the new town of Marne-la-Vallée, something that could be seen as the preponderant hand of the State over development choices in the town. Second, as part of a policy of urban renewal and economic development in poorer areas, former Prime Minister, Lionel Jospin, announced, on 19 December 1999, the creation of fifty *Grands Projets de Ville* (Major Town Projects) whereby nominated towns would receive considerable state aid for economic and urban renewal. Noisy-le-Grand was considered to be one of the towns in need of such aid (Garin, 1999).

In sum, then, Noisy-le-Grand's identity and development prospects are confounded by a wider set of non-local state projects and administrative relationships. As one interviewee neatly summarised: 'Noisy-le-Grand is all alone. It's trying to find a place for itself in what is going on around it.' (officer, EPAMarne, interviews). In Taylor's (1999) terms, non-local state practices have imposed Noisy as an edge urban *space* - a space which has seen considerable physical development and is a sizeable centre of economic activity and population - but have also prevented local agents from investing it with a sense of *place*.

THE GEO-POLITICAL LOCAL STATE: SOCIAL DEMOCRACY AS PLACE- MAKING IN GETAFE

The political settlement that followed the collapse of the Francoist dictatorship was characterised by a strong degree of mobilisation at the local level. Urban planning issues had been at the forefront of many citizens demands, and vocal and articulate neighbourhood groups – *asociaciones de vecinos* – were a feature of local politics in most large metropolitan areas and have been described by Castells (1983: 215) as some of ‘the largest and most significant urban movements in Europe since 1945’. Both in the historic centre of Madrid, as well as in the urban peripheries, the improvement of the urban environment was at the forefront of political debate, and the role of the newly democratic state – especially at the municipal level – was seen to be fundamental in achieving this.

Castells (1983) argues that an excessive centralisation of industrial activity overcrowded the major cities of Spain, attracting in thousands of workers from rural areas. This process was licensed by an authoritarian state where property developers worked closely with banks to create a vast building boom, and where lack of democratic rights meant a weak system of planning control. Thus

the developers built hundreds of thousands of flats in compact groups in the middle of the Castilian plains, leaving empty spaces of several kilometers between clusters of blocks in order to raise the value of the land in between which they also owned. They only built housing – no amenities, no paved streets, no lighting, little sewerage, little water, and poor transportation ... (Castells, 1983: 220).

The protests in areas in southern suburbs such as Getafe, Leganes and Mostoles, which drew attention to this lack of facilities were among the most militant displays of opposition to the Francoist regime. In contrast to Noisy-le-Grand, although an edge urban *space* imposed by the central state, from an early point in this process local institutions and agents have been able to construct Getafe as a distinct edge urban *place* – a place with distinctive social and political concerns from which to enlarge their spaces of engagement within the wider metropolitan area.

During the boom in the Spanish economy of the 1960s, Madrid benefitted the most in terms of employment: almost 700,000 immigrants came to the city between 1960 and 1970; its population rose from 2.4 million in 1960 to 3.6 million in 1970; around 40% of all housing units in the Madrid metropolitan area in 1975 had been built after 1960 (Castells 1983: 220). And so, the small towns and villages which surrounded the capital – particularly in the south – were overwhelmed by waves of rural emigrants. Getafe was no exception. A town that in 1960 had just over 20,000 inhabitants had by 1975 120,000. (Sanchez Gonzales, 1989: 82). Major companies such as Kelvinator, Siemens and John Deere opened in the 1950s providing a strong lure for immigrants. By the end of the 1970s the city was notable as an industrial centre and remains so today.

Post-1979 the development of local capacity for governance in Getafe has taken place against, and drawn strength from, a threefold dynamic of politico-economic restructuring. First, despite some restructuring of the local industrial base associated with with the restructuring of the Spanish Fordist economic model (Holman, 1996), Getafe's status as one of the most important sites of industrial development within the

Madrid metropolitan area remains. Second the re-establishment of democratic municipalities was consolidated after the local elections of 1979. The Ayuntamiento de Getafe was given responsibility for local planning which includes considerable powers for co-financing urban projects. Third, there has been the creation of a regional tier in Spanish governance, in this case the Comunidad de Madrid (CAM), with responsibilities now including strategic planning, education, and strategic economic development. Led by the *alcalde* (mayor), the social democrat Pedro Castro, Getafe has been able to alter its own political weight through negotiation with the regional presidency. As such, it may not be implausible to see Getafe as an entrepreneurial local state, which is defined by its location both on the southern edge of Madrid and within a wider strategic metropolitan context, as we now explore.

Our earlier discussion of the boundary transcending activities of local institutions and agents (Cox, 1998) leads us to focus on Getafe in terms not only of its formal administrative powers, or its economic strength but more so on specific aspects of the geopolitical power available to the municipality and its local politicians. The grass-roots political movements appear to be part of Getafe's enduring geopolitical capacities. First, Getafe has a place or civic identity capable of mobilisation by a local state fraction. Second its real, virtual, and symbolic territorial location within the Madrid political space has also been exploited recently.

Getafe and the 'Gran Sur': political mobilisation within the metropolitan space

Getafe council has promoted itself as 'the capital of the south', the lynch-pin of the southern Madrid working class towns, which has an underlying geopolitical rationale.

During the 1980s, the social democrat (PSOE) controlled CAM sought to combine a territorial planning strategy with an electoral programme, which sought to redistribute wealth from the north and northwest of the city, identifying four major territorial lines of action of which the South was one of the more important. The major municipalities of which the South consisted – Móstoles, Leganes, Getafe, Fuenlabrada, Parla, and Alcorcón – were seen as fragmented, in need of co-ordinated governance (Neuman, 1997; Heitkamp, 2000). Felix Arias, director of the *Oficina de Planeamiento Territorial* (regional planning office) identified the ‘Ciudad del Sur’, (the city of the South) as a means of endowing identity to the fragmented southern municipalities, and creating a kind of second city to sit alongside the Madrid core:

The city of the South, a city of more than 800,000 inhabitants at present, thus raises itself as a city with an airport and university, with parks, sports and leisure facilities, with important urban and commercial centres and with the creation of specialised areas for economic development that currently can be decentralised in the Madrid metropolis, but can’t find suitable land in the metropolitan South, such as business parks, transport nodes etc. (Arias 1991 [speaking in 1988], p.426).

The concept of a whole new city was given credence by the excellent transport links in the south, with the convergence of 4 major motorways, a mainline train service to the south of Spain, and a number of established urban centres. It was also given necessity by the growth in unemployment in Spain during the 1980s, particularly in the industrial areas to the south of Madrid.

INSERT FIGURE 2 HERE

Within this evolving ‘metropolitan space’, the mayor of Getafe, Pedro Castro, has played a key role in aggrandising Getafe not merely as part of the city of the South

but as ‘capital of the South’, thus enhancing both his and his town’s predominance in the new city-region, elevating the municipality above simply being part of Madrid’s city of the south. As he has recently outlined ‘It has fallen to our city to be the motor of the South [of Madrid]. Getafe is the centre of economic development it is the university and cultural centre’ (Getafe.net, 1999). Key to this rethinking of the municipality’s role within the *Gran Sur* has been the ‘integration of the different districts of the city through neighbourhood regeneration aimed at improving their quality of life and endowing them with an identity that induces the residents’ belonging’ (Castro, 1999: 12). The sinking of a suburban railway line that has divided Getafe provides an important example of attempts to unify the municipality and create a sense of place. The commissioning of Norman Foster’s practice to produce a master plan for a 43 hectare site at the southern end of the municipality is, perhaps, the most notable instance of raising Getafe’s identity through regeneration. However, the siting of Madrid’s Carlos III University within Getafe, the building of a new football stadium, the pedestrianisation of the old town along with other discrete housing, retail and economic development projects have also played their part.

The defeat of the social democrat PSOE by the conservative Partido Popular in the 1991 regional elections has seen the right control the CAM for almost a decade, under the presidency of Alberto Ruiz-Gallardón. However, unlike the conservative position held by the mayor of Madrid, the CAM president is viewed very much as a pragmatic, centrist politician who is dedicated to strong regional intervention in modernising the Madrid metropolis as a competitive city-region. Here, Getafe plays a key role as an industrial location - the municipality is to hold 80% of the CAM’s new industrial space between 2000 and 2002 (Fernandez, 2000). Getafe’s Mayor, Pedro Castro, and

the CAM president reached a controversial accord over the construction of the latter's pet project, the Metrosur, an extension to the Madrid metro which would link in all the major municipalities to the south of the core city (Figure 2). Undoubtedly, for Ruiz-Gallardón, the Metrosur would allow a dilution of the southern red belt through increased commuting possibilities, as well as enhancing mobility within the region. Yet, unlike the other southern mayors, who saw Ruiz-Gallardón's announcement as being either an electoral false promise or an attempt to 'gentrify' the south, Getafe's mayor seized the opportunity and offered public support in return for extra stations within Getafe's neighbourhoods.

INSERT PHOTOGRAPH 3 HERE (sinking the suburban rail line).

Getafe began life as an edge urban space imposed by the central state, but in this instance a sense of place was constructed out of the grass-roots political concerns with the attendant social and welfare problems of this imposition. A lasting political capacity has seen mayoral politics, rather than local administrative practices, mobilise the interests of Getafe as a distinct place with distinct concerns within a wider metropolitan setting.

THE GREATER URBAN EDGE: THE 'CROYDONISATION' OF SOUTH LONDON

Our case study edge urban areas each highlight different aspects of the eccentric geometry of edge urban areas and their centrality to the re-scaling of urban processes. In Noisy-le-Grand the vacuum of local identity was a product of the multiple and

overlapping non-local state structures in which it was entangled. The edge entrepreneurialism of Getafe, as we saw rests, significantly, on its geo-political manoeuvring within the metropolitan institutional and political setting. Croydon is large enough as an edge urban *place* to be both internally fragmented on the one hand and a platform for entrepreneurial local institutions to have enlarged spheres of influence within emergent South London administrative *spaces* on the other.

As a County Borough, Croydon remained outside and independent of London-wide government under the London County Council (LCC) during that institution's lifetime from 1889-1965. During this time Croydon expanded from a market town, to a dormitory suburb and eventually into a suburban commercial centre. Even at its inception, the LCC area did not adequately reflect the contemporary urban expansion of London. Edge urban developments such as Croydon, which were beginning to expand as dormitory suburbs for London, remained outside the LCC boundaries and beyond its influence. Although incorporating these by now full-grown edge urban centres such as Croydon, the Greater London Council (GLC) which replaced the LCC in 1965 had fewer competencies than its predecessor. 'Suburban boroughs in particular were not prepared to accept the geographical or political subordination ...not least because the very process of dispersal of people and jobs out of the old LCC area had produced some new and thriving suburban centres. ...' (Gyford, 1994: 80). The creation of the GLC marked the beginning of a shift away from the remarkably stable, largely uncontested political and functional pattern of London-wide government that had existed under the LCC. Here, then,

If the boroughs ... made active incursions into strategic planning issues during the GLC era, they also of course focused very firmly in planning their own

territory. As well as promoting the idea of a polycentric Greater London, they proved equally enthusiastic about imparting a monocentric character to their own individual boroughs. (Gyford, 1994: 80-81).

Croydon provides a prime example of the sorts of suburban independence described by Gyford. In this period in which the GLC superseded the LCC, Croydon was undergoing dramatic expansion into a significant suburban commercial centre in its own right. The laissez-faire form of office development which established Croydon's familiar, if much derided, office landscape was nevertheless facilitated by a determined piece of opportunism or municipal entrepreneurialism on the part of the then conservative controlled Croydon Council (Phelps, 1998; Saunders, 1982). This propelled Croydon, at least partially, into an edge city in *function* (though not in form) at around the same time that North American edge cities began to emerge in earnest.

INSERT FIGURE 4 HERE

From the dismantling of the GLC in 1986 to the formation of the Greater London Authority (GLA) in 2000, London-wide government became more fragmented under a profusion of quangos, partnership arrangements and service delivery organisations with overlapping territorial jurisdictions (Gyford, 1994; Newman and Thornley, 1997). Despite strong divisions between London boroughs along party political lines, the polycentric system of metropolitan government which emerged under the GLC has been held together by a certain pragmatic mode of joint working (Hebbert, 1992).

Despite its long being an edge urban place, as signified by powerful senses of independence from central and greater London, Croydon is internally fragmented. Moreover, in the recent more fragmented era of London-wide governmental

arrangements, Croydon emerged as a leading exponent of partnership working through which there has been a partial ‘Croydonisation’ of South London as Croydon-based institutions have extended their sphere of influence laterally to neighbouring South London boroughs.

The Croydonisation of South London

Croydon is the most populous of London boroughs and stretches radially from inner-city-like wards in the north, to the dominant commercial complex of central Croydon and out to the relative affluence of what Saunders (1983) refers to as the ‘deep South’ (which borders onto the stockbroker belt of Surrey). Yet again there are contrasts laterally from East to West in the borough. The New Addington area at the eastern edge of the borough is essentially two peripheral housing estates (one a philanthropic estate built in the 1920s, the other a council estate built in the 1970s) somewhat detached from the rest of Croydon. Purley Way, on the Western edge of the borough – referred to as “shed city” by a senior economic development officer – has something of the spontaneity and free-market character of an edge city (Phelps, 1998).

It is clear from casual observation that Croydon is not a single self-contained place with a single identity. An article celebrating Croydon’s rise to prominence in the 1960s made note of ‘a splendid new flyover which does not appear to go anywhere at the moment but eventually will fit neatly into the new southern motorway system.’ (Hodson, 1971). There is an irony here, for whilst in many respects Croydon does enjoy enviable communications within a South London and South East England setting, adequate road links to the M25 to the south remain the one main problem of

accessibility for the borough. Croydon's flyover still does not go anywhere. Yet what Croydon's radial relationship to central London and the lateral Croydonisation of South London boroughs reveal are Croydon's character as an edge urban gateway. This is stressed explicitly in the recent city status bid and, in the form of 'Croydon Gateway' – one of the largest development sites in the South East of England, which plays a prominent part in the redevelopment of central Croydon envisioned under the 2020 master plan (EDAW, 1998).

Moreover, as a 'city in waiting', Croydon's influence encroaches laterally into neighbouring South London boroughs. Most immediately the sheer size and gravitational pull of Croydon's office and retail centre has prompted neighbouring boroughs to differentiate their town centre shopping areas to avoid head-on competition. This lateral encroachment manifests itself in a political form. As one interviewee, alluding to a phrase that had become familiar in Croydon Council circles, suggested, 'Croydon has a policy of being promiscuous where partnerships are concerned' (local authority officer, Croydon, interviews). Here, the suggestion was that Croydon Council had actively sought to engage itself in as many partnerships as possible. Such partnerships have seen the Council expand what Cox (1998) would term its 'spaces of engagement' locally – within South London but also nationally and internationally.

The evolution of the London Wandle Valley Partnership provides one illustration of the porosity of borough boundaries and identities within South London, and of Croydon Council's active pursuit of larger spaces of engagement for itself. The London Wandle Valley partnership grew out of formal joint working arrangements

for a Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) area straddling parts of Wandsworth, Merton, Sutton and Croydon. It has outlived this with informal joint working across an expanded area covering the whole of these four boroughs and beyond in the emerging South London Partnership (Figures 3a and b). As one interviewee described,

Over the years with the London Wandle Valley Partnership we've broken down the initial suspicions and prejudices. I mean we detected quite a lot of animosity towards Croydon. You see Croydon, in South London terms, is quite a significant ... local economy ... I think there's a feeling that Croydon is pretentious, that the aspirations of Croydon are about forming a greater Croydon. But we play that down. We genuinely believe in working on a South London basis. (local authority officer, Croydon Council, interviews).

In the local setting of South London, Croydon is highly active in a range of partnerships. Its influence is probably, as one interviewee suggested, greater to the West where Croydon plays a part in the South London Partnership (formerly the Wandle Valley Partnership). Nevertheless Croydon Council and other Croydon based organisations (such as the Chamber of Commerce) have been active in attempts to integrate activities on a South London-wide basis, with Croydon itself being the preferred location for many of these emergent South London bodies.⁵

These same sensitivities among neighbouring southern boroughs were also thrown into sharp relief with the progress of the South London Tramlink project. This is now operational and runs from Wimbledon in the West to Beckenham in the East (Figure 3b). As one interviewee identified

⁵ Territorial arms of formal organisations such as the Learning and Skills Council, the Small Business Service, the South London Chamber of Commerce as well as informal partnerships such as the London Wandle Valley Partnership, the South London Economic Development Alliance (SLEDA) are all headquartered in Croydon.

You almost detect a resentment by Merton and others about Tramlink. Because Tramlink was driven by Croydon Council and then London Transport et al were brought on board. ... I suppose it's that competition thing ... it comes back to what I said – the view of greater Croydon. Croydon are pushing this, Croydon are pushing that. We try to play that down ... (Local authority officer, Croydon Council, interviews).

So objections by Bromley Council to Tramlink and the eventual positioning of its eastern terminus at Beckenham seem testament to a desire to prevent the 'Croydonisation' of Bromley. These sentiments are clearly visible in the representations made by the MP for Beckenham, Piers Merchant

I think it is very important for me to stress that though people looking at a map might say this is south London and Croydon is quite near Beckenham, there is a very strong historical and natural divide between what effectively was Kent and what effectively was Surrey ... So they are crossing a border, which might not appear on a map or in London Transport plans, but in terms of perception, it is very important for people in the area. (Merchant, 1994).

Certainly, part of the economic logic of Tramlink, from Croydon Council's perspective, was to expand the labour market open to the central Croydon commercial centre, bringing other South London boroughs into the orbit of Croydon in the form of increased commuter flows (Croydon Council, 1992).

Croydon Council was instrumental in establishing the edge cities network from which our case study edge municipalities are drawn. Its championing of the European network and use of the term edge city resonates with, and has its origins in, longer and more firmly locally held beliefs in the borough's being a city in its own right. Croydon first bid for city status in the early 1900's and, according to its latest bid (Croydon Council, 1999), is the largest town in Western Europe without city status. In this respect, then, Croydon's opportunistic self-styling as an edge city bears little

resemblance to the North American idea of an edge city as popularised by Garreau.

As one senior economic development officer recounted,

We didn't think at all about the American concept. ... Part of the psychology is that there isn't a psychology underneath it. There's this Croydon as a city ... This kind of European city kind of concept that Croydon has. It wants to punch above its weight. It wants to be something it's not. ... The interesting thing about edge city is not the edge it's the city. (local authority officer, Croydon Council, interviews).

The championing of this trans-European edge cities network has done as much as anything to raise the profile of the borough and enhance its claim to be a city in its own right (Meikle and Atkinson, 1997). Here, then, Croydon Council has lent weight to its own local political manoeuvring when enlarging its space of engagement through this trans-European local authority network. There is just the hint of the sense in which 'local identity and the urban territory, as a stratified deposit of natural and cultural assets, no longer have value for what they are but for what they become in the process of valorisation' (Dematteis, 2000: 63). To the extent that a trans-national local authority network, like the edge cities network, meshes with local political coalitions and partnerships it can lend weight to the latter.

INSERT PHOTOGRAPH 4 HERE (Croydon central office complex and tramlink)

Croydon embodies an edge urban place whose identity has been transformed by the entrepreneurial actions of its major institution, Croydon Council, from a dormitory suburb to a suburban office and commercial centre in the 1960s to a city-in-waiting with a wider independent economic and administrative sphere of influence within South London and beyond.

CONCLUSION

The European edge urban areas examined in this paper highlight a diversity of developmental trajectories and processes operating within the European setting, and hence the difficulty of unifying analysis in relation to the notion of edge urbanisation. The diversity of European experiences outlined here speaks to the need to avoid the temptation to think in terms of ‘globally scoped scripts of urbanization [which] enact their own misrecognitions, assimilating both repeated instances and expressions of difference to the same.’ (Fincher, Jacobs and Andersen, 2002: 36). Instead, and as others have argued (Gottdiener, 2002) and detailed (Molotch, Freudenburg and Paulsen, 2000), a nuanced, structurationist, analysis of urbanisation more attuned to common, although unevenly felt, structural capitalist processes, on the one hand, and the differential agency of state and non-state actors, on the other, is needed. To this end we highlighted three broad themes that we believe help distinguish European edge urban formations. Future research would need to explore in greater depth the different material and discursive practices of a greater range of agents in the fashioning of urbanisation at the edge of major metropolitan areas.⁶

First, an initial contrast we have been able to draw between European edge urban areas and North American-style edge cities relates to the extent to which their economic, social and political dynamism and even their very creation may, in large measure, be produced from administrative processes. Even in the United States,

⁶ The scope of this research was limited to a consideration to the activities of local and other relevant tiers of government as well as other key organisations such as chambers of commerce. In particular the role of private sector interests (such as individual retail and manufacturing businesses, land owners and developers) was not examined in detail.

government policies and associated expenditures have made important contributions to the suburbanisation process (Gottdiener, 2002), but the activities of this particular group of agents is particularly pronounced in European nations. Noisy-le-Grand was our example of an administratively created edge urban area. Such planned developments have few real parallels in the North American setting. Moreover, administrative bodies play a more commonly significant role in the functional dynamism of European edge urban areas than is the case in North American edge cities. Local government, and the public sector more generally, are both more important employers and more active partners in edge urban politics and development than is the case in North America. Furthermore, their entrepreneurial role in promoting the dynamism of cities, towns and edge urban areas alike has increased in the light of the sorts of inter-urban competitive processes that have strengthened across Europe in recent decades (Cheshire, 1999). Here, we see a degree of meshing or articulation of local priorities with policy-making processes operating at wider metropolitan, national and international scales (Phelps, McNeill and Parsons, 2002).

Second, where European edge urban areas and their institutions display signs of dynamism these extend beyond issues surrounding the economic livelihood of such places into important and perhaps overlooked aspects of their social and political life. European edge urban areas are home to significant social problems in a way in which their North American counterparts are not. The social complexion of these settlements has in turn been more or less closely associated with a political dynamism. The case studies of Croydon and Getafe should serve to highlight that edge urban areas can be numbered among some of the most politically dynamic places within the largest and most politically dynamic metropolitan areas in Europe. Moreover, such political

dynamism is driven in different ways and takes on a different complexion in different places and over time within the same place. In Getafe, an enduring socialist political legacy stemming from radical grass-roots movements persists in a mutated pragmatic political form in the Mayoral politics of Pedro Castro. In Croydon, such ‘high politics’ is much more muted and the real dynamism of its edge urban entrepreneurialism has been generated by a ‘low politics’ played out by local authority officers.

Third, we have explored, to use Jessop’s term the ‘eccentric geometry’ of edge urban areas in the European setting. In some respects, European edge urban areas come closest to their North American counterparts in this respect, since they are nevertheless at the frontier of processes of urbanisation. Our case studies suggest that even where such edge urban areas themselves come close to being ‘nowhere places’, the relative nature of place identity means that such places exert an effect which is nonetheless felt, or perhaps appropriated, by neighbouring places and their institutions. Indeed, the issue of creating and shaping an independent identity has been a major factor in the formation of the Commission funded network of European edge cities from which our study settlements are drawn (Phelps, McNeill and Parsons, 2002). In attempting to fashion such identities, edge urban agents of governance have managed in notable instances to project their places as some of the more active centres within wider metropolitan urban arenas – as was seen in the cases of Croydon and Getafe. This confirms our aim at the outset of placing edge urban areas centre stage in discussions of contemporary urbanisation and is suggestive of the need for more research on the function and form of edge urban formations.

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**Edge urban geographies: notes from the margins of
Europe's capital cities.**

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Edge urban geographies: notes from the margins of Europe's capital cities.

Abstract

This paper places edge urban formations at the centre of our understanding of the re-scaling of economic, political and social processes. In the European setting in particular, edge urban areas have been understudied and their contribution to the renewal of metropolitan-scale governance and the growth dynamics of major city-regions left largely unrecognised. Moreover, the diverse lineage and complexity of processes edge urban processes in the European setting militate against unifying analysis. Some contrasts are drawn implicitly with North American edge cities but in doing so, the concern is to contribute to a geographical analysis of edge urban difference. The paper develops three themes regarding European edge urban formations. Specifically, the paper argues that edge urban settlements have lent not only their economic dynamism but also their political and social dynamism to broader city-regions. It notes the manner in which some of these settlements have, in large measure, been created from spatial planning and redistributive policies. Finally, it notes the 'eccentric geometry' of these edge urban areas – which display internal fragmentation and whose institutions have expanded their spaces of engagement within the metropolitan sphere. The paper draws upon research on the governance of three European edge urban areas – Croydon (London), Noisy-le-Grand (Paris) and Getafe (Madrid). The grass roots political movements of Getafe have conferred a lasting political capacity that has been reactivated within recent metropolitan-wide politics and planning. Noisy-le-Grand is a good example of an 'administratively created nowhere'. The entrepreneurialism of council officers in Croydon has been part of a 'Croydonisation' of emerging South London institutions.

Plan Establishment and Application of Decentralized Governance

the master plan of the Ile-de-France metropolitan region: the SDRIF

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Introduction

Stretching across the Paris agglomeration and its large metropolitan area, the Ile-de-France Region has understood the importance of a comprehensive vision for the future since the beginning of the 20th century. It possesses a planning document that is unique in France. Its Regional Master Plan -*Schéma directeur de la région Ile-de-France* (SDRIF)- is not only a long-term strategic framework for coordinating a broad range of public policies and private actors; more remarkably for a region the size of Ile-de-France, it is also a land-use document that regulates local master plans.

The capital region has 11,4 million inhabitants. It's the only global city in Europe, with London. One of the unique features of the region is its institutional situation: there are a total 1.300 municipalities, each of them having a mayor (including central Paris) in charge –among other things- of urban planning. There are 8 counties as well. That means that the regional metropolitan governance is really a challenge by itself. The SDRIF is then a key tool to coordinate the local urban policies in a wider and long term framework.

In 2004 the region's elected assembly, the Regional Council (*Conseil régional d'Ile-de-France*), began the long process of revising the SDRIF in order to better respond to the challenges of today. A "world region" that stands out for its economic competitiveness and quality of life, Ile-de-France shares a number of concerns with other big metropolitan areas: a critical housing shortage, new forms of competition and the mutation of its economic tissue, global warming and rising energy costs, social and territorial inequalities, and demands among residents for a higher quality of life.

On February 15, 2007, the Regional Council approved the first version of a new SDRIF, which offers a determined response to these challenges. Its goals for the next 25 years are to build the world's first "Eco-region," reduce social inequalities, and develop a dynamic Ile-de-France capable of maintaining its international rank.

These goals find their translation in a series of ambitious objectives: to build 1.5 million new housing units until 2030 and expand affordable housing, limit sprawl by directing new construction towards existing urban spaces, implement one of the most ambitious transportation programs in the region's history, revitalize priority sites while comforting the region's most competitive areas, and promote Ile-de-France's rich natural resources.

But such an ambition cannot be imposed from above. That's why the Regional Council has made the elaboration of a new plan for Ile-de-France as inclusive as possible. The result has been a constant innovation in public partnerships and participative democracy: new alliances for piloting the revision of the SDRIF, over 50 public workshops and forums, novel "citizens' conferences," a detailed floor debate in the regional assembly, and an unprecedented public review process.

The site www.sdrif.com has been revamped to provide an overview of the key issues and objectives of the new SDRIF as well as integral access to the version approved

in February 2007. It also contains the main documents and public hearings of the past three years, which provide a rich archive of the revision process.

All the more reason to discover this strategic plan for a sustainable, socially cohesive, and competitive metropolitan region. This presentation will explain the most innovative dimensions of the SDRIF, both in terms of process and content.

Part 1: A unique planning system, transformed in the 1990s

Since the 1920s, when haphazard construction overwhelmed the outskirts of Paris, the capital region has been required to implement a master plan. This regional plan has since been revised several times to meet new challenges and has shaped the Ile-de-France of today, most remarkably through the new towns, rapid regional transit system, and highway network that were built in the postwar years.

Today the region enjoys a planning system that is unique in France. As is the case for other regional plans, the SDRIF serves as a strategic vision for the development of the region in the next 25 years. It harmonizes the myriad policies that influence the evolution of the region and coordinates a series of other strategic documents, such as the region's traffic plan. But unlike other regional plans in France, the SDRIF is also a prescriptive land-use document, controlling spatial growth across the region. Local master plans must be compatible with its orientations.

In both its guises, the SDRIF is conferred a number of key missions by national law:

- Control urban growth and land use
- Guarantee the international rank of the capital region
- Correct social, economic, and spatial disparities in Ile-de-France
- Coordinate transportation options
- Preserve the region's open spaces and rural areas
- Respect the principles of social diversity and mixed-use development and fight against air and noise pollution.

It especially determines the allowed land uses; the means of protecting and valorizing the environment; the location of infrastructure and key services; and the preferential location of urban growth and industrial, craft, agricultural, forestry, and tourist activities.

The SDRIF currently in effect dates to 1994. Since then, a series of laws have profoundly modified the legal and institutional framework of planning in France. This legislation has introduced the prerogatives of sustainable development, reinforced intermunicipal planning and governance, promoted greater coherence among the different areas of public policy, reinforced local democracy and public reviews in the planning process, and required detailed environmental evaluations for all new plans.

But one important transformation of the past decade has been specific to Ile-de-France. Like its predecessors, the SDRIF of 1994 was created and continues to be enforced by the National State—a particularity reserved for the capital region. A 1995 law, however, turned the prerogative of revising the SDRIF over to the Regional Council. For the first time, the regional government is at the helm of the planning process in Ile-de-France.

At the helm, but in association with the National State and in close partnership with the local governments of the metropolitan area. The national state has retained key

prerogatives in the realm of land use and urban development; this is particularly true of the role it plays in promoting “national interest” projects, regulating local planning, and guaranteeing that regional policies do not interfere with the prerogatives of local governments.

At the other end of the scale, the local governments of Ile-de-France enjoy a large degree of autonomy for drawing up their master plans and local policies. In the end, Ile-de-France remains a complex web of actors, with its 8 counties or *Conseils généraux*, 1.300 municipalities, nearly one hundred intermunicipal bodies of governance, numerous semipublic institutions, and 11.4 million inhabitants.

That’s why, for the past three years, the Regional Council has chosen to make the revision of the SDRIF an innovative exercise in institutional cooperation and participative democracy.

Part 2: An unprecedented cooperation for a shared regional project

Learning from the lessons of the SDRIF of 1994, whose effectiveness has been limited by the lack of institutional momentum it generated, the Region has gone far beyond its legal obligations in this realm and engaged its various partners in the creation of a shared regional project.

This construction of new partnerships has taken place in the ***committees that have led the revision:***

- an executive committee that contains the president and vice-president of the Regional Council, two representatives of the national government, and the president of an assembly that represents civil society in Ile-de-France (the *Conseil économique et social régional* or CESR);
- this executive committee has regularly been extended to include the presidents of the region's 8 local governments (*Conseils généraux*), various "consular chambers" (chambers of commerce, chambers of agriculture, etc.), mayors' association, and intercity bodies of governance.
- a technical committee joining the services of the Region, state, CESR, and a unique public institute dedicated to urban and regional planning in Ile-de-France (*L'Institut d'aménagement et d'urbanisme de la Région Ile-de-France*, which has served as the project manager of the revision).
- this technical committee worked with 7 groups of experts to formulate proposals and produce the new SDRIF.

...in ***over 40 public workshops and conferences***, which brought together thousands of public officials, independent experts, economic actors, and professionals:

- 12 thematic workshops to identify the main challenges and goals for the next 25 years
- 26 "territorial" workshops to confront these goals with local realities and dynamics across the region
- a specific conference for intercity bodies of governance
- an "inter-regional" conference, which brought together the presidents of Ile-de-France and 7 surrounding regions to confront various issues that transcend regional borders (such as transportation, waterways, and urban expansion)

...in ***a novel form of participative democracy:***

- In 3 "citizens' conferences," 75 residents, who were randomly chosen to represent the region's diverse makeup, studied the issues at stake in the revision of the SDRIF, organized a weekend of debates with officials and experts, and drew up written recommendations which they presented in public to the president and vice-president of the Regional Council.
- Alongside this qualitative form of participatory democracy, a polling firm surveyed Ile-de-France residents with 20 questions about the future of the region.

Three forums have been organized to synthesize these reflections and debates at key moments in the revision of the SDRIF. The last of them, in October 2006, presented the fruit of over two years of participatory planning: a watershed document entitled *A Regional Vision*, voted by the Regional Assembly to define the collective goals for Ile-de-France and serve as a mandate for the writing of the new SDRIF.

The first drafts of the new SDRIF were unveiled in the fall of 2006 and then went through **a democratic process of revision**. Thousands of requests for modifications from associations and public institutions were processed. Then the Regional Council discussed the plan in detail during two days and one night of debates; it considered over 300 amendments before approving an initial version of the new SDRIF on February 15, 2007.

Today, this collective creation of the region's future continues with an **unprecedented review process**. Official opinions on the plan have been collected from a series of public partners designated by national law. In the fall of 2007, public review hearings have been held in 187 locations, in order to give the 11 million residents of Ile-de-France an opportunity to suggest modifications. This public enquiry will be concluded by a formal report asking modifications of the project. Then, the Regional Council will finalise the SDRIF and a national decree will be necessary to give the new SDRIF a legal value.

This exceptional cooperation will be maintained after the plan's final approval, in order to ensure that the regional project is translated into reality. The Regional Council has announced plans for a series of **partnerships for the implementation and evaluation** of the future SDRIF. The institutional framework already established for the revision process will be maintained, in the form of an executive committee, a technical committee, and a "regional conference." In order to tailor this cooperation as closely as possible to the functional territories and local dynamics of Ile-de-France, the new SDRIF proposes to divide the region into 5 large "cones" or *faisceaux*, which will serve as a framework for the regional conference. Each cone stretches outward from the urban core of the agglomeration and contains parts of the outer agglomeration, the green belt, outlying areas of the region, and even neighboring regions directly concerned by the development of Ile-de-France. This approach will favor cooperation between different parts of the region and match institutional initiatives up with the concrete realities of the metropolitan area.

A new cooperation between the Region and the National State in the regulation of local planning and construction, a regional land agency, and contractual agreements with local governments will also help coordinate the myriad actors of Ile-de-France around a collective project for the region's future.

Such an important consultation and participative process give a strong legitimacy to the project. It also makes a change with the former SDRIF, which was adopted by the National State, without a real institutional consultation and without the acceptance of the regional institutions : this plan received in 1993-1994 negative votes from almost every single county council and from the Regional Council. The State imposed it anyway and the plan was not voluntarily implemented since then.

Part 3: The steps of the revision

2002-2004: Evaluation of the SDRIF of 1994.

In 2002, the Regional Council decided to evaluate the real impact of the SDRIF of 1994, currently in effect.

Public hearings, studies by the region's services, and evaluations performed by the national state all led to a common conclusion: ten years after its initial conception, the SDRIF of 1994 was obsolete. It had proven unable to achieve the goals it had set out for the region or adapt to new challenges; it was also outdated by important changes in the institutional framework and the conception of planning in France since 1995.

June 24, 2004: The Regional Council unanimously voted to begin the revision of the SDRIF. It requested that the national government officially decree the opening of the revision process.

October 21, 2004: An "Opening conference" brought together nearly 1,000 local actors—an auspicious start to the collective engagement around the revision.

May 26, 2005: The Regional Council voted the key principles that have since served as a basis for the revision of the SDRIF: an ambitious response to the housing shortage, the choice of urban density, the reduction of social and territorial inequalities, and the valorization of the region's natural resources.

June 2005-October 2006: The Region hosted over 40 public workshops, conferences, "citizens' conferences," and forums synthesizing the debates.

August 31, 2005: The national government issued the decree officially opening the revision of the SDRIF.

June 23, 2006: The Regional council voted *A Regional Vision*.

November 29, 2006: The "Estates General of the cooperation" (*Etats généraux de la concertation*) synthesized two years of discussions and debates.

February 14-15, 2007: The Regional Council approved an initial version of the new SDRIF.

Summer 2007: A series of public partners, determined by national law, will give their written recommendations on the initial version of the new SDRIF.

October-December 2007: An unprecedented set of public review hearings on the initial version of the new SDRIF has taken place in 187 public buildings around the region. A team of 19 independent "commissioners" has conducted the hearings and render a judgment of the plan.

The Regional Council will then modify the new SDRIF if need be, revote it, and submit it for the national decree that alone can give it legal effect.

Part 4: 3 challenges and 5 objectives for a sustainable development

The SDRIF identifies three major challenges for Ile-de-France, each of them having a wide range of consequences in the more sectorial topics of the master plan:

- Promote social equality and create a better balance and solidarity between the region's different territories : the goal is to reduce the regional disparities, which have heavy impacts both on quality of life and social cohesion, but also on international attractiveness (the 2005 riots in Paris' suburbs left a long term bad image of the capital region in foreign countries). It must be said that the disparities are not only seen as social disparities, but also as addition of diverse local problems such as airport noise, lack of public transports, lack of green spaces, etc. : some territories suffer of the addition of all these problems and call for a strong public policy to solve them, through the regional Master Plan.
- Respond to the major transformations and crises being produced by climate change and the rise in fuel costs: the goal is to adapt the region to the new challenges about energy and global warming, and promote an urban development model which leads to more public transport uses (less car use) and higher densities (less natural land consumption).
- Develop a dynamic Ile-de-France capable of maintaining its international rank: the goal is to help the region's territories to be performant and attractive at an international scale, in the globalized economy. Some parts of the region are already well positioned and produce a large part of the value added: these need to be better structured and connected to adapt the new economy. Some other parts of the region have the potential for that, but need to be strongly helped both in terms of international connectivity and global approach for a better territorial attractiveness.

In response to these wide challenges, the SDRIF identifies 5 major goals.

- **Respond to the current housing shortage with an ambitious construction program.**

The Ile-de-France Region is presently in a deep crisis in the housing sector, because of a too little volume of construction. Prices are then so high that low income –and even medium income- families can no longer afford to buy or to rent a flat. The demographic exchanges between the region and outside is negative, partly due to such an housing shortage. An illustration of the problem can be given by a simple comparison: Ile-de-France lies in the last position among other French regions in terms of housing construction per 1.000 inhabitants.

That's why the SDRIF aims to build 1.5 million dwelling units over the next 25 years. This represents a considerable boost to current construction rates: it means to build

60.000 units per year, compared with the past trends (since 1990) in construction which has been less than 40.000 units.

The SDRIF also seeks to raise the proportion of social housing to a full 30% of all units, up from about 23% today: the Regional Council is seeking a goal higher than the current national housing law. This law is not really adapted to the Capital Region's context and the Regional Council tries to promote higher rates in its own territorial policies, without legal strength, because it has no power in this legal field: it can't be imposed to increase the legal threshold in the SDRIF. This topic is a source of debate between the National State and the Regional Council.

- **Make Ile-de-France the first "Eco-region"**

Building on the area's exceptional amount and diversity of open spaces, which result from its historically dense urbanization, the SDRIF aims to valorize the region's natural resources and give all residents access to a high-quality environment. A key point in this field is the ambition for reduction of land consumption by urban uses: the project opens much less spaces for new urban areas, than did the former Master Plan (1994).

Many environmental resources have to be protected through the regional master plan, not only in terms of protected areas, but also in terms of relations to be maintained between areas of environmental value. For instance, ecological corridors are introduced in the SDRIF, in order to make sure that animal and vegetal species can move from one place to another. This represents a new dimension in a master plan.

- **Guarantee the region's economic competitiveness, attract new jobs, and stimulate growth.**

One of the roles dedicated to the SDRIF is to express the territorial strategy for economic development in the region. As an answer to the third challenge explained before, the SDRIF has to create the best conditions for economic activities of all kinds. It's a hard task for the Regional Council to do that, for two reasons: first, prospective studies of job location until 2030 are very uncertain ; second, a large part of municipal taxes come from economic activity and, then, local authorities fear to loose financial resources if the Regional Council choose to locate employment in a place or another.

- **Implement a new transportation policy that ranks among the most ambitious in the region's history.**

The goals for the next 25 years are to reduce automobile dependency, rationalize the large public transportation system, and better articulate transportation planning and new urban projects. The transport strategy of the SDRIF lies on a strong will to develop the quality and efficiency of the public transport network. It must be said that it is already one of the most powerful system in the world, but there is still much to do. It is expected to better connect the metro lines converging to Paris' center, by new circular lines(5-8 km), both in a close distance to Paris and in a longer distance (15-

20 km): the idea is to propose a full network, like the one existing in Paris' center –but a little less dense.

In order to restrain urban sprawl, the SDRIF much reduces the road projects that were planned in the former Regional Master Plan (1994). It also limit the new extensions of rail lines far from the center, for the same reason. These choices make a real difference with the former SDRIF.

- **Provide the region with quality equipment and services.**

The plan seeks to reinforce social cohesion by assuring that these services are nearby and accessible to all the region's residents. Again access by public transports and coordination with urban developments are key elements.

Part 5: A spatial project for sustainable development

These goals correspond to a spatial project that promotes a better organization of the region and a real solidarity between its different areas.

La ville compacte: the compact city, through density and urban quality. Planning in Ile-de-France has long aimed for a polycentric region with strong, structured territories outside of Paris. While the new SDRIF continues this heritage, it also emphasizes the importance of a compact region and places new attention on the historically dense urban core of the agglomeration. With the goals of limiting traffic and curbing urban sprawl, the SDRIF encourages higher density in existing urban spaces and affirms a priority for areas serviced by public transportation. As a prescriptive land-use document in particular, it reworks the map of constructible land, seeks minimum densities for new urbanization, and places conditions on the urbanization of certain areas.

But density is only sustainable if it translates into urban spaces with a high quality of life. That's why the revision of the SDRIF has been placed under the sign of urban "intensity"—linking the creation of dense neighborhoods to the production of quality public transportation, parks and open spaces, services, and jobs.

Every potential area for densification has to be used, and the SDRIF tends to find all kind of methods for that:

- the general map of the SDRIF (the one which must be respected by local plans) identifies preferential sites for densification: the rules of the SDRIF impose that municipalities make their best efforts to turn them into high density urban districts, either because they are nowadays underused, or because it plans new public transport links, which will give them a new value.
- The rules expressed in the SDRIF's text make it compulsory for all municipalities to increase their local average densities: it will no longer be possible for a local authority to refrain construction. Every single municipality has to take part in the regional efforts.
- Other rules expect that districts around public transport stations (express railway, metro, tram) are to be densified as well, in order to make the better use of the offered accessibility.
- As a "balance" with the important reduction of the surface of new possible urban extensions, the SDRIF makes it compulsory to build the new districts (i.e not densification of existing urban areas) with a minimal housing density, much higher than current practices.

The National State, as well as chamber of commerce and other institutions, debate with the Regional Council about these choices, seen by them as too much ambitious and not desired by mayors and citizens. Densification is a big change in the planning

habits in Ile-de-France. It's interesting to see that the principle of densification is now generally well accepted at the regional scale, but the level of ambition and the local application of this principle is delicate to share.

The Ile-de-France Regional Spatial Project (2007)



The counterpart of this *ville compacte* is the plan's strong effort to preserve and mobilize the region's open spaces, whose various economic, environmental, and public uses are now better acknowledged. Two particularly important steps in this direction are the strengthening of a network of green spaces that runs through the central agglomeration and the creation of "biological corridors" in the outer areas of the region.

Finally, the new SDRIF continues longstanding efforts to develop the metropolitan area around a network of strong, structured centers. The plan's ambitious transportation program plays a key role in this effort; it will help structure the region's urban core and give a boost to the new dense neighborhoods called for in the SDRIF. In addition to reinforcing the region's historically "radial" transportation system, which spans outward from Paris, the new SDRIF calls for a number of new high-capacity lines running around the Parisian center.

A network of strategic areas and priority sites

The SDRIF also identifies the specific territories in which efforts need to be concentrated and coordinated in order to realize this ambitious project.

It distinguishes two kinds of territories:

- **Strategic areas**, which will play key roles in achieving the economic and environmental objectives set out in the plan. These include, for instance, the new towns and national project sites (where the State can impose urban developments, for national reasons).
- **Priority sites**, which are particularly concerned by the SDRIF's goal of reducing social inequalities and strengthening solidarity across the metropolitan area.

In addition, the SDRIF accords **waterways** a strategic role in its spatial project. Rivers federate the region's different areas and touch upon all of its goals for a sustainable development: the concern for a vast, interconnected ecosystem; the search for sustainable forms of transportation and economic growth; and the goals of urban requalification and a higher quality of urban life through the reopening of waterways to the city.

For more information :

www.sdrif.com

The Role and Organization of Council for Wide Area Regional Plan

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1 From NCDP to NLFP

1-1 Kinds of Plans and Decentralization in National and Regional Plans

National Land Formation Plan Act came into force in July, 2005, as the amendment of the former National Comprehensive Development Plan Act 1950 which produced five plans. The most important point for the amendment was the kinds of plans. The following kinds of plans were able to be formulated in the NCDP Act:

- National Comprehensive Development plans
- Prefectural Comprehensive Development plans
- Regional Comprehensive Development plans
- Specific Area Comprehensive Development plans.

In National Land Formation Plan Act, however, kinds of plans decrease to the following two:

- National Land Formation Plans
- Wide Area Regional plans.

Although four kinds of plans could be made in NCDP, only national and specific area plans were made based on the law. Prefectural and regional plans were not made based on the law. Prefectural Comprehensive Development plans were proposed by prefectures based on the law when the law was enacted in 1950, but they were finally made by prefectural governments based under the ordinances in each prefecture in most of the cases. As for the regional plan, except for Hokkaido and Okinawa where special laws were enacted for the plans made by the central government, development promotion acts for rural regions, that is North East, Hokuriku, Chugoku, Shikoku and Kyushu Regions were enacted. And National Capital Region and Kinki Region Arrangement Acts, and Chubu Region Development and Arrangement Act were enacted for making plans in the three metropolitan regions.

In addition to the reform of introducing WARP to be made under the law, the making process for regional plans is decentralized. Since the decentralization from central to local governments in physical

planning is the mandate of the reform of the national land plan, prefectural governments are supposed to play an important role when WARP is made. Although the central government is in charge of final determination of the plan, prefectural governors are deeply involved in the process of making the plan.

1-2 Giving an end to “Development”

It is also important to know that the objectives of plan were changed in NLFP. Utilization, development and preservation of the nation's land are three main objectives of NCDP, but the word of development was replaced with “arrangement” which means to redevelop areas to fit future needs than to newly develop lands. In fact, the word of development cannot be seen in the revised law and hardly seen even in the final draft of the NLFP as well. Obviously, this amendment reflected the decrease of the necessity of new development because the population of Japan is predicted to decrease towards the future. The existing urbanized areas should be rearranged for new uses instead of expanding urban areas.

1-3 Internationalization is another key word for the reform

Strengthening economical and social network in cooperation among Eastern Asian countries is considered important in NLFP because international connections in various economical and social activities are getting developed more and more. Major regional centers are expected to be gateways towards Asian countries. At the same time, it is stimulated to increase inbound tourists. As a result, although NCDP was seen a domestic subject in the past because it sought internal development to maximize domestic industrial production, international cooperation is stressed important as more countries in this region have achieved economic development and fulfill the conditions of mutual benefits through international exchange in economy and social activities.

2 Wide Area Regional Plans

2-1 First NLFP

The final draft of NLFP was proposed to National Land Council in February, 2008, and approved there. The only procedure left necessary to determine officially the new NLFP is the determination in the Cabinet Meeting. Although it was observed that the Cabinet would decide it late February, the decision has not yet done because the Cabinet got busy with various political matters. After NLFP is determined, Wide Area Regional Plans can be given a start to its

formal making process. And it is said that WARPs will be finalized before the end of fiscal 2008.

2-2 Areas and objectives for planning

WARP will be made in eight regions designated throughout the Japan except for Hokkaido and Okinawa. Since these two prefectures have specific laws to make a development plan respectively, WARPs do not cover them. Regional divisions were already done as follows:

Tohoku Region: Aomori, Iwate, Miyagi, Akita, Yamagata, Fukushima,
Niigata

National Capital Region: Ibaraki, Tochigi, Gunma, Saitama, Chiba,
Tokyo,
Kanagawa, Yamanashi

Hokuriku Region: Toyama, Ishikawa, Fukui

Chubu Region: Nagano, Gifu, Shizuoka, Aichi, Mie

Kinki Region: Shiga, Kyoto, Osaka, Hyogo, Nara, Wakayama

Chugoku Region: Tottori, Shimane, Okayama, Hiroshima, Yamaguchi

Shikoku Region: Tokushima, Kagawa, Ehime, Kouchi

Kyushu Region: Fukuoka, Saga, Nagasaki, Kumamoto, Oita, Miyazaki,
Kagoshima.

A subcommittee in the National Land Council was set up for discussing the regional division. In the process, other ideas to divide the country in different ways were proposed. One of the convincing ideas was that each region has prefectures facing the Sea of Japan and those facing the Pacific Ocean. Finally, however, the regional division used in the NCDP in the past was adopted because prefectural governors were happy with this. As no government is established at regional level in Japan, it is difficult to determine a rational regional division from all the points of view.

A couple of measures are taken to make up for inadequacy of the adopted regional division. One is to set up joint councils to discuss the matters in which two regions are involved. Joint council meetings will be set up between Chugoku and Shikoku regions and between Chubu and Hokuriku regions. Subcommittees will be organized to discuss common subjects among the prefectures in southern Tohoku and northern National Capital region. In addition, neighboring prefectures can be joined in a council if necessary. In these ways, the problems caused by the situation where related local governments cannot exchange their ideas or understand each other because they belong to different regions seem to be avoidable.

The objectives of WARP are to apply the basic ideas of NLFP to each region. NLFP will deal with the following matters according to the law:

1. Matters related to utilizing and preserving the land, water and other national resources.
2. Matters related to utilizing and preserving the sea area.
3. Matters related to preventing and reducing earthquake disaster, flood and wind damage, and other disasters.
4. Matters related to adjusting the size and location of cities and farming, mountain and fishing villages and developing them.
5. Matters related to the proper location of industries.
6. Matters related to utilizing, providing and preserving transportation, information communication and scientific research facilities and other important public facilities.
7. Matters related to preserving cultural, welfare and tourist resources, and utilizing and providing those facilities.
8. Matters related to creating good environments, preserving environments and forming good landscape.

WARPs are going to state guidelines, objectives and principle policies to accomplish those objectives.

3 WARP Councils

WARP councils are to be organized in order to discuss the plan and its implementation with the central government organizations concerned, prefectures and ordinance-designated cities concerned. In addition, economic or other organizations which are concerned with the plan can be the members. The council will meet and discuss the matters necessary to make a plan. The plan is made based on the mutual agreement and is respected by the members.

It is Minister of Land, Infrastructure and Transportation that determines the WARP through the Cabinet meeting. Substantially, however, the draft plan made by the council will be close to the final version. The council is the place of the discussion among the members consisting of the administrative organizations at central, prefectural and municipality levels, but also asks the experts for their opinions and collect proposals from local municipalities concerned.

The role of the secretariat of the council is played by regional offices of MLIT. Therefore, they will play most important role in the plan making process because they are preparing the materials for the discussion in the council and are drafting the plan.

4 WARP and Chubu Development and Arrangement plan

The plan making process for WARP is relatively decentralized compared with the precedent system in which the central government determined regional plans without having an official meeting with local governments, although it collected their opinions somehow except for a few cases. In short, regional plans were drafted, discussed and determined by the central government in the former system, then it is decentralized having a council to discuss substantial contents.

WARP has a model, however, in one of the regional plan making systems, which was the case of Chubu Region Development and Arrangement plan, in which the plans were supposed to be drafted by the regional council consisting of governors and chairpersons of prefectural assemblies, representing mayors and so on. This system was most advanced from the decentralization point of view, but it didn't work as expected. The draft was made only for the first time in 1970s. After the second plan, the plan was treated as an amendment of the precedent plan. Therefore, the central government made the revised plan following the articles concerned. It stated that the decentralized process can be skipped when a plan is revised. Behind the reason that the decentralization system didn't work well, there was a dependent tendency of local governments on the central government. They expected the central government to have a commitment to the fiscal investment for particularly developing infrastructure in the region. Therefore, they preferred for the central government to draft it so that the involvement of the central government is secured.

As seen in Table 1, the plan making procedure of WARP is similar to that of Chubu Region C&A plan, in the point that the representatives of local bodies are organized for making the plan. Therefore, it is important that the substantial decentralization work effectively. Especially, since the present system includes the regional offices of the central government as the important members, plans may be dependent to the central government. Looking back the discussion for designing the system, it is local governments that stress the importance of the involvement of the central government.

Table 1 Comparison of Council Structure

	Chubu Region Dev. and Arrange. Plan Council	WARP Council
Central Government Regional Offices	×	○
Prefectures and Cities	○	○
Chairpersons of Prefectural Assembly	○	×
Local Municipalities concerned	○	○
Chairpersons of Local Assembly	○	×
Adjacent Local Municipalities	×	○
Regional Organizations	×	○
Experts and Scholars	○	× (in subcommittee)

5 Wider Area Administration and Regional Government

Looking at the structure of WARP and its councils, we observe that no government is responsible directly for making WARP similar to regional planning under the former law. Therefore, it is a natural concern whether making and implementing the plan work well without a government responsible for it, because the implementation requires obviously tremendous administrative jobs and financial resources. The branch offices of MLIT, Ministry of Land Infrastructure and Transportation, serve as a secretariat of the plan, but they are not representing the people who are influenced directly by the plan. Above all, since governors and mayors are elected in their own prefectures or cities, they cannot easily compromise policies to make the plan, because they must be responsible for maximizing the benefits of their own people. This will make it difficult to create an effective plan through “choice and concentration”.

Then, the idea to create stronger regional governments comes out as regional matters are getting more concern. The idea is called “Dou-Shuu Sei” in Japanese, meaning regional government system, that is, to create local governments which govern wider area including several prefectures. There are alternative ideas for this, because this subject is still under discussion in Japan. Based on the ideas of many experts, the following points may be possible system for regional governments:

- A regional government is an autonomous government with a head and an assembly elected in popular election.

-A regional government governs wider area than a prefecture, situated between local municipalities and the central government.

-Policies suitably applied to wider area are conducted by the regional government, such as industrial and economic policy, advance education and scientific technology, wider area transportation system, and preservation of natural environment.

When a regional government is established, WARP could be an important guideline for shaping a physical structure of the region. The representative of the region is responsible for the plan instead of the central government regional office as the existing system. WARP is a tentative planning system which is going to be completed when regional government system is introduced. Therefore, it is more important to enhance the discussion for the adoption of the regional government system than to spend too many efforts to manage WARP for its smooth operation.

It is not clear, however, when the regional government system is introduced. The government lanced a committee to discuss this matter, and it published the interim report in March, 2008, to propose the regional government system, saying that the regional government system should be introduced within ten years from now. It will have new taxation system and legislative power for governing the region. Since the areas of local municipalities have been getting larger through the merger, the introduction of regional government system becomes realistic as the existing prefectural system is felt too small. Of course, however, as the governance system which has been lasting for a long time in this country, the prefectural system has a strong basis with it. Therefore, it is no easy to demolish it to shift to the regional government system.

6 Case Studies

Since the NLFP has not yet approved in the Cabinet Meeting, WARP making process does not begin officially. But, the preparation for it began already since the mid of last year throughout Japan. Take two regions for example to watch what process is going on. We will take up National Capital Region and Hokuriku Region, focusing on the role and organization of the councils.

1) National Capital Region WARP

National Capital Region consists of 8 prefectures, including nation's capital of Tokyo with more than 43 million people. The pre-council meeting was held in October last year to exchange views with each other. Members of pre-council are, as follows, considered the same as

the expected council members as follows:

Governors of 8 prefectures

Mayors of 4 ordinance-designated cities, Saitama, Chiba, Kawasaki and Yokohama

Governors of 4 adjacent prefectures, Fukushima, Niigata, Nagano and Shizuoka

Heads of 12 Central Government regional offices

Representative of Regional Mayor's Association

Representative of Regional Town and Village Mayor's Association

Representative of Chamber of Commerce and Industry Regional Association.

Governor of Ibaraki Prefecture was elected chairman of the pre-council meeting, who is expected to chair the council too when it starts.

The secretariat, served by jointly Kantou Region Development Bureau and Kantou Region Transportation Bureau of MLIT, prepared the materials for the discussion in the meeting, which were made based on inputs from the experts meeting and reports of the consultants.

The council will have a meeting of persons in charge of the plan at member organizations as a subcommittee and will have a committee of experts as well as an advisory committee. Besides, a subcommittee is organized by adjacent prefectures in southern Tohoku region and northern Kantou region to coordinate the matters related to the both areas.

When we look at the web site of the secretariat, we can find a draft of the structure of the plan, which states the important role of the National Capital Region as the leading region. However, it is very questionable whether choice and concentration of the budget and human resources can be done beyond the boundaries of prefectures. What can be actually done with WARP may not make much difference with what can be done without the WARP. Especially, governors are powerful in this region because of strong tax revenue resources and large population, so they are likely to be independent. It is not easy to work out matters in which the interests among prefectures are opposed to each other. In other words, the coordination power of the central government is limited.

2) Hokuriku Region WARP

Hokuriku Region is smallest region in geographical and population size, although Kantou region is largest in population. It also had a pre-council meeting in January this year. Their members are 35 as

follows:

Heads of 17 Central Government regional offices

Governors of 8 prefectures which are in Hokuriku Region or adjacent areas

Mayors of 6 local municipalities

President of Hokuriku Economic Federation

President of Toyama Chamber of Commerce and Industry Federation

President of Ishikawa Chamber of Commerce and Industry Federation

President of Fukui Chamber of Commerce and Industry Federation.

Here, President of Hokuriku Economic Federation was elected as chairman of the pre-council meeting, and Hokuriku Development Bureau and Transportation Bureau of MLIT serve as secretariat of the council. The secretariat proposed the skeleton of the plan in March, 2008, although the council has not yet started officially. The skeleton covers various subjects, such as disaster prevention, preservation of natural environments, industrial development, support for child care and so on. But, concrete projects which are conducted to deal with these subjects are not proposed. It is not easy to reach an agreement among organizations, especially prefectures, to concentrate their financial as well as administrative resources.

7 Conclusions

WARPs are discussed in 8 regions towards its determination at the end of this fiscal year. Basic structure of the WARP is ruled by the law. The most important point is that the council is organized by local governments, the central government and private organizations concerned. So far, only the representatives of economic organization become members of the council. No representatives from NGO, for example, are a member as expected. The dialogue among the central government, prefectures and economic organizations are important to make effective WARP. However, it is not easy to work out the confrontation of the different interests without a government representing the region. In this meaning, the author thinks that WARP is in a tentative stage towards the establishment of the regional government system, which is discussed gradually with stronger concern.

Another point to be added is the concerns of the Japanese people to national and regional plan has been decreasing as shown with the fact that NLFP has not yet approved by the Cabinet Meeting, although it was finalized by the National Land Council. It indicates that NLFP is not considered important to shape the future of the country, although

the NCDP was thought important and attracted many concerns of the people in the past. Therefore, the government must consider again what policies are sought by the people in physical reshape of the country. Because Japan passed the turning point coming into a population declining era, the way of managing the national land must be different from that in the past. Looking at the membership of WARP, only administrative people and economic organization take part in the plan making process. However, managing the land from environmental, tourist, landscape and global warming prevention point of views is getting more and more important. Therefore, when the WARP will starts officially after NLFP is approved, the council should invite more members from the above-mentioned fields.

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<p>ASIAN WORLD CITY CONTEST: GLOBAL COMPETITIVENESS AND LOCAL SUSTAINABILITY</p>

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Introduction

Friedmann's seminal article, 'The World City Hypotheses' (1986), postulates the origins of local socio-economic changes in relation to the rise and formation of a spatial hierarchy of world cities driven by mobile capital and transnational corporations. This postulation has led to a plethora of theoretical and empirical research. Many have tried to identify the 'world city hierarchy' through city ranking and have confirmed that world cities are places where global business, finance, trade and government are orchestrated (Beaverstock, Smith and Taylor, 2000; Clark, 1996, p.138; Friedmann, 1986, 1988; Smith and Timberlake, 1993, 1995; Taylor, 2003, 2004). The search for forces of globalization has created in some quarters 'an ideology of globality'. Omae (1995) even hails this as the dawn of a borderless world and the end of the nation state. Yet, Abu-Lughod in her voluminous book on New York, Chicago and Los Angeles (1999) employs *longue durée* comparative and historical analyses to demonstrate that 'history matters': today's developments in these world cities have causal linkages with previous *in situ* events and processes. To Abu-Lughod, there are 'limits to contemporary globalization' (Brenner, 2001, pp.128-9).

Abu-Lughod's position departs fundamentally from Friedmann's postulation and Sassen's classic work: *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (1991). Sassen's path-breaking book not only seeks to understand the 'production' of the global economic system and its concomitant 'global control capacities' (2001, p.349), but also to link the three cities' 'structural positions' in the global urban hierarchy to economic and socio-spatial realities within those places (Smith and Timberlake, 1993, p.194). When Sassen argues that 'the development of global city functions in different cities across the world does indeed signal convergence of something', she also maintains that 'this is a highly specialized, institutionally differentiated process' (2001, p.348). Perhaps, as Savitch and Kantor (2002, p.167) argue, 'cities are neither creatures of their bargaining circumstances nor are they masters of their policy choices'. In this age of globalization, policy makers have to navigate local developments amidst constraints at different geographical scales and hence it is important to investigate and untangle 'global-local connections' (Beauregard, 1995) and the 'global-local nexus' (Tickell and Peck, 1995).

Many have researched the global-local nexus in world cities (Eade, 1997; Hill and Kim, 2000; Keil, 1998; Keil, Gerda, Wekerle and Bell, 1996; Knox and Taylor, 1995). However, not many have investigated issues surrounding sustainability, quality of life, ecological modernization and creativity in these cities (Douglass, 2000; Florida, 2005; Landry, 2000; Lo and Marcotullio, 2001; Low, Gleeson, Elander and Lidskog, 2000; Mol, 2001; Ward, 1995), popular concepts that have spread and transformed thanks to the same globalization processes. Lo and Marcotullio (2001, p.459) observe that 'within the literature on "sustainable cities" there are limited international comparative studies currently available and even fewer on the influences of globalization'. This paper would like to pick up this challenge and contribute to a continuing debate in this area.

This paper argues that the contents of globality should not just be confined to the economic aspect but should also extend to issues surrounding sustainability and creativity (Ng, 1999, 2002a, 2002b, 2004; Ng and Hills, 2000, 2003). Twenty-first century cities should strive to be sustainable world cities that are creative in developing innovative technology and economic activities (ecological modernization) to further sustainable global and local development; and this requires the pursuit of a networked mode of governance among the government, the private sector and the civil society to develop and utilize effectively and creatively their

economic, human, social, cultural and environmental capital. This paper attempts to use quantitative and qualitative measures to position six identified and aspiring Asian world cities: *Hong Kong, Tokyo, Seoul, Singapore, Taipei and Shanghai*. These cities except Seoul were chosen by participants in an engagement activity organised by the Centre of Urban Planning and Environmental Management, the University of Hong Kong back in year 2000 who considered that Hong Kong should have something to learn from these cities. Seoul is added to this analysis because of the request of the organizer of this conference and most of the data on Seoul was provided by the organizers too.

The following section outlines the conceptual framework and section three compares and contrasts the six cities in terms of their global connections, local sustainable development including their degree of creativity. While most of the comparisons are done quantitatively, qualitative frameworks are also employed to position the six cities. Section four concludes the paper.

Sustainable World City

World City Hierarchy

Many cities have strived for world city status: to be commanding posts where headquarters of global business, finance and trade activities converge, through well-connected physical and virtual communication networks (Clark, 1996). Friedmann (1995, p.25), a decade after the publication of his ‘World City Hypothesis’ (1986), argues that ‘world cities articulate larger regional, national, and international economies into a global economy. Cities serve as centres extending their influence into a surrounding “field” or region whose economic relations they “articulate” into the global economy or space of global accumulation. They serve as the organisation nodes of a global economic system’. Many have jumped on the bandwagon of ranking and positioning cities in the global economy (Tables 1, 2 and 3).

Table 1: Typologies of World Cities: Friedmann’s Schema

Friedmann, 1986, pp.69-83	Friedmann, 1998, p.27
Primary Core Cities London Paris Rotterdam Frankfurt Zurich New York Chicago Los Angeles Tokyo	Global Financial Articulations London New York Tokyo Multinational Articulations Miami Los Angeles Frankfurt Amsterdam Singapore
Secondary Core Cities Brussels Milan Vienna Madrid Toronto Miami Houston San Francisco Sydney	Important National Articulations Paris Zurich Madrid Mexico City Sao Paulo Seoul Sydney

Friedmann, 1986, pp.69-83	Friedmann, 1998, p.27
Semi-peripheral Cities	Sub-national/Regional Articulations
Sao Paulo	Osaka-Kobe
Singapore	San Francisco
Johannesburg	Seattle
Buenos Aires	Houston
Rio de Janeiro	Chicago
Caracas	Boston
Mexico City	Vancouver
Hong Kong	Toronto
Taipei	Montreal
Manila	Hong Kong
Bangkok	Milano

Table 2: A Roaster of World Cities (Beaverstock, Taylor and Smith, 1999, p.456)

Alpha World Cities
12: London, Paris, New York, Tokyo
10: Chicago, Frankfurt, Hong Kong, Los Angeles, Milan, Singapore
Beta World Cities
9: San Francisco, Sydney, Toronto, Zurich
8: Brussels, Madrid, Mexico City, Sao Paulo
7: Moscow, Seoul
Gamma World Cities
6: Amsterdam, Boston, Caracas, Dallas, Dusseldorf, Geneva, Houston, Jakarta, Johannesburg, Melbourne, Osaka, Prague, Santiago, Taipei, Washington
5: Bangkok, Beijing, Montreal, Rome, Shanghai, Stockholm, Warsaw
4: Atlanta, Barcelona, Berlin, Buenos Aires, Budapest, Copenhagen, Hamburg, Istanbul, Kuala Lumpur, Manila, Miami, Minneapolis, Munich

‘Cities are ordered in terms of world city-ness values ranging from 1 to 12. World city-ness values produced by scoring 3 for prime centre status, 2 for major centre status, and 1 for minor centre status for each of the four services.’ The four services included are namely accountancy, advertising, banking/finance, and law.

Table 3 Rankings of Cities on Four Network Connectivity

Rank	Global Network Connectivity	Bank Network Connectivity	Media Network Connectivity	NGO Network Connectivity
1	London	London	London	Nairobi
2	New York	New York	New York	Brussels
3	Hong Kong	Tokyo	Paris	Bangkok
4	Paris	Hong Kong	Los Angeles	London
5	Tokyo	Singapore	Milan	New Delhi
6	Singapore	Paris	Madrid	Manila
7	Chicago	Frankfurt	Amsterdam	Washington, DC
8	Milan	Madrid	Toronto	Harare
9	Los Angeles	Jakarta	Stockholm	Geneva
10	Toronto	Chicago	Copenhagen	Moscow
11	Madrid	Milan	Sydney	New York
12	Amsterdam	Sydney	Singapore	Mexico City
13	Sydney	Los Angeles	Barcelona	Jakarta
14	Frankfurt	Mumbai	Zurich	Tokyo
15	Brussels	San Francisco	Vienna	Accra
16	São Paulo	São Paulo	Oslo	Cairo

Rank	Global Network Connectivity	Bank Network Connectivity	Media Network Connectivity	NGO Network Connectivity
17	San Francisco	Taipei	Prague	Dhaka
18	Mexico City	Shanghai	Tokyo	Rome
19	Zurich	Brussels	Brussels	Dakar
20	Taipei	Seoul	Hong Kong	Santiago
21	Mumbai	Istanbul	Budapest	Abidjan
22	Jakarta	Beijing	Warsaw	Buenos Aires
23	Buenos Aires	Bangkok	Lisbon	Dar es Salaam
24	Melbourne	Amsterdam	Chicago	Copenhagen
25	Miami	Warsaw	São Paulo	Beijing

Source: Taylor, Peter J., (2004), *World City Network: A Global Urban Analysis*, London: Routledge, p.99.

Sustainability

However, it is also true that ever since the conceptualisation of the process of world city formation, there have been incessant reminders that if unchecked, growth-driven world cities would be unsustainable. Friedmann (1986, pp.76-77) argues that ‘world city formation brings spatial and class polarisation’ and ‘world city growth generates social costs at rates that tend to exceed the fiscal capacity of the state’. Clark (1996, p.176) challenges that world cities ‘cannot remain prosperous if the aggregate impact of their economies’ production and their inhabitants’ consumption draws on global resources at unsustainable rates and deposits wastes in global sinks at levels which lead to detrimental climate change’. Keil (1995, p.282) argues that the ‘world city is a place where the global ecological crisis manifests itself concretely’ whereas Sen (1997, p.23) contends that globality has made ‘livelihoods and resource entitlements of poor people insecure’, poor people within and beyond the world cities. According to Bonvin (1997, pp.40-41), ‘in the OECD zone, about one hundred million individuals are living below poverty levels. Of these some five million do not even have a shelter’, not to mention the environmental degradation that has resulted from globalisation such as destruction of the ozone, global warming and depletion of ‘global commons’.

One may even contend that world cities are bound to be unsustainable as can be seen in Table 4 below.

Table 4: World Cities against Sustainable Development Principles

Sustainable Development Principles*	World City Reality	Remarks
<i>Basic Principles</i>		
Ethical utilization of natural resources	✖	World cities being consumptive societies consume a disproportionate amount of earth’s resources.
Intra- and inter-generational equity	✖	World cities have a dual face, with stark social polarisation within and between generations.
<i>Economic Capital</i>		
Long-term economic prosperity	?	Given the fluctuating global market, long term stable prosperity is not guaranteed?
Restorative economy	✖	The capitalist economy often ‘adjusts’ through disruptive market mechanisms.
Reforming market economy	✓//?	Depends on which world city one is looking at.
Ecological modernization	✓/✖/?	More research work is required.
<i>Human and Social Capital</i>		
Diversities in human resources	✓	World cities are places of immigration, a magnet of different types of talents.
Cultural diversities	✓	
Satisfying basic needs	✓/?	While social polarisation exists, there are usually institutions to meet citizens’ basic needs.

Sustainable Development Principles*	World City Reality	Remarks
Equity in governance	?	Social polarisation, skewed distribution of power and power struggle.
Social cohesion	?	
Equal opportunities	✖/?	
<i>Environmental (Physical & Built) Capital</i>		
Geographical equity	✖	World cities have large ecological footprint and are hopeless in terms achieving self-sufficiency in needs.
Living within nature’s carrying capacity	✖	
Enhancing biodiversity	✖	Development often leads to a decrease of biodiversity.
Reduce/Replace/ Recycle/ Reuse	✓/✖/?	Depends on individual city’s efforts?

* Ng, 2002b, p.9.

Source: author.

Globalisation is inherently 'unsettling' and as argued by Friedmann (1995, p.43), a bifocal perspective is required to view globality: 'one eye directed at the dynamic capitalist system at the core—the space of global accumulation and its articulations—and the other at the fragmented periphery of the excluded'. He asserts that 'the economic system is unable to hold out the promise of a better life to the vast majority of the world's population' and 'if we continue to ignore it it will bring us face to face with unimaginable grief' (p.44). Vonkeman (2000, p.21) reports that 'since 1950, per capita consumption of the poorest 20% of nations has hardly increased in real terms, while in the richest 20% of national per capita consumption of energy has doubled during this period and car ownership has quadrupled'. Similarly, Christine and Warburton (2001, p.116) suggest that 'the top 20 per cent of the world's population in the richest countries enjoy 82 per cent of the expanding export trade, and 68 per cent of foreign investment; the bottom 20 per cent get barely more than 1 per cent'. The UNDP's *Human Development Report 1997* estimated that in the mid-1990s the combined wealth of the world's three wealthiest families (US\$135 billion) was greater than the annual income of 600 million people living in the least-developed countries (Sandbrook, 2003, p.3).

All these challenge world city government's creativity in moving economic growth towards a more sustainable path, according to the principles listed in Table 4. The role of the state is of particular importance because 'public policies can make a huge difference for urban outcomes' (Friedmann, 1997, p.15). Instead of focusing only on the race towards world city status, world city governments should proactively participate in international agreements and formulate national development policies with a view to developing integrated socio-economic and environmental strategies and policies at the local level that allow the state to work in partnership with the private sectors and the civil society. The city government needs to stop neglecting the environmental impacts of production and consumption, pollution and wastes production alongside the depletion of natural resources. In other words, governments should seriously consider the implementation of clean production legislation, policies and programmes (Gleeson and Low, 2000, p.24), steering production activities based on recycling, minimisation of material flows, maximisation of transportation efficiency and utilisation and retention of locally generated capital (Portney, 2003, p.116-123).

At the same time, it is very important for governments to establish and institutionalise processes and governance structures that allow citizens equal access to social and political services and decision making power (Hooghe and Stolle, 2003). As Friedmann (1997, pp.15-16) puts it, 'a city's inhabitants must be assured a way of flourishing in the new economic order. Their life space must be defended against developments that tend to favour

the few over the many; public services must be provided in adequate measures to everyone regardless of their ability to pay for them; and, the conditions of the environment from city core to far periphery must be protected and enhanced'. Ward (1995, p.303) suggests that city government should be 'transparent and accountable': there should be 'one authority with responsibility for the whole of the city or metropolitan area exercising executive powers over certain macro-level activities such as planning,' complemented by 'decentralised and devolved responsibilities and powers' at the local level to facilitate inclusive participation. The idea is to create a milieu where ideas and wisdom can be shared and found anew collectively for urban innovations. Creativity is of vital importance in building sustainable cities. Without creative thinking grounded in a unique culture of a specific place, sustainable development is simply not possible as the concept needs to address the long-term management of future development of a present bequeathed to us by the past.

Sustainable World City: Assessment Criteria

We have so far argued that the pursuit of economic globality alone can easily lead to multi-scalar environmental problems and social polarisation within and beyond the world cities. Local sustainability hinges upon an ecologically diversified and healthy environment, a strong and well-connected community together with a vibrant community-based economy. Such challenges call for a creative capacity grounded in a place's unique cultural and heritage assets.

In order to revisit the world city paradigm through these important theoretical lights, a set of assessment criteria is drawn up to investigate the realities of the six identified or aspiring Asian world cities (Table 5).

Table 5: Assessment Criteria for the Creative Sustainable World City Contest

<i>Checklist Questions on Governance Aspects</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Election of head of government • Election of legislative councillors • The role played by different stakeholders in the planning process
<i>Checklist Questions on Sustainability Strategy and Processes</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participation in sustainable development (SD)-related international conventions? • National sustainable development strategy? • City-wide sustainable comprehensive & integrated development strategy, embracing environmental, economic and social dimensions? • Well-resourced commission on sustainable development with executive power? • Sustainability impact assessment? • Visionary leader(s) championing the course of sustainable development? • Popular support from the civil society? • Ecological modernisation or industrial ecology practice in production and consumption?

Indicators
<i>Global Competitiveness</i>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Global Competitive Index by World Economic Forum • Rankings in network connectivity identified by Taylor (2004) (Table 3) • Number of Fortune 500 headquarters, international banks and chambers of commerce represented • Number of international organisations participated • GDP and GDP per capita (USD at current price) • Average amount traded per day of the equity market in million USD • Value of bond trading in million USD • Market capitalisation of shares of domestic companies in billion USD • Tourism numbers (international and domestic) • Number of internet service providers • Expenditure on R&D as % of GDP
<i>Local Sustainability</i>
<p><i>Environmental Concerns</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecological footprint • % of government expenditure on environmental issues • Solid waste (kg/head/day) • Air quality • % of wastewater with secondary treatment • Number of noise complaints • Proportion of work trips using public transport • Death rates of cancer and respiratory diseases per 100,000 population <p><i>Social Equity Issues</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Annual net migration rate per 1,000 population • Cost of living index (New York-100) • Gini coefficient of income distribution (%) • % of households receiving social security assistance • Average number of hours worked per year • % of population holding post-secondary qualification • % of household expenditure on medical services • % of household expenditure on transportation <p><i>Cultural and Creative Aspects</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Number of museums • Number of libraries open to the public • Number of listed buildings • Number of films screened annually • Number of book publishers

Source: By the author after synthesising and contemplating upon various issues.

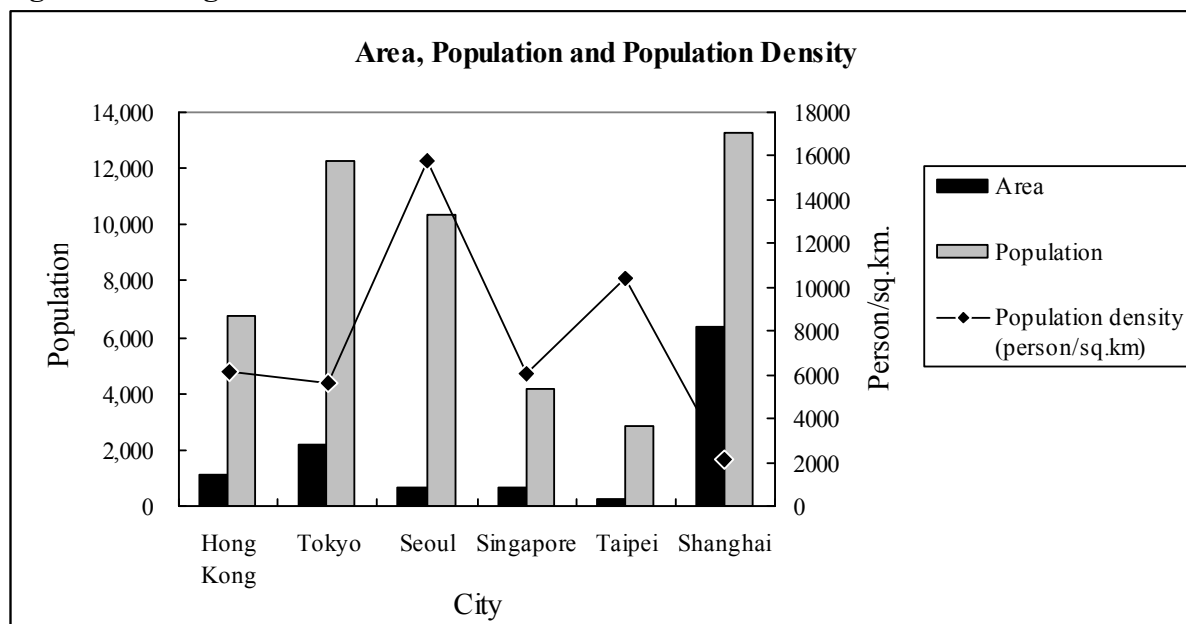
Although this is a rather long list, it is by no means comprehensive, exhaustive or finite. However, it should serve as a good starting point to revisit the realities of our aspiring Asian world cities and ascertain if they have the creative capacity to build a sustainable future. The following outlines first the general background of the six cities, followed by comparisons against the set criteria.

Asian World City Contest¹

Governance Aspects

The six cities, with the exception of Shanghai (where the city is entrusted with the task of overseeing counties), are of comparable size in terms of area and population. Taipei is the smallest in terms of land area and population (272 km² and 2.84 million) and Shanghai the largest (6,341 km² and 13.27 million). Average population densities in the six cities fall within the range of 2,093 per km² in Shanghai to 15,806 per km² in Seoul (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Background of the Six Cities



From Figure 2, we can see that Tokyo has a much larger economic size when compared to her Asian counterparts. Tokyo also has the highest per capita GDP, followed by Hong Kong and then Singapore. Per capita GDP in Seoul is comparable to the figure found in Taiwan, and Shanghai has the smallest GDP and the lowest per capita GDP among the six cities.

Figure 2: GDP and Per Capita GDP in the Six Cities

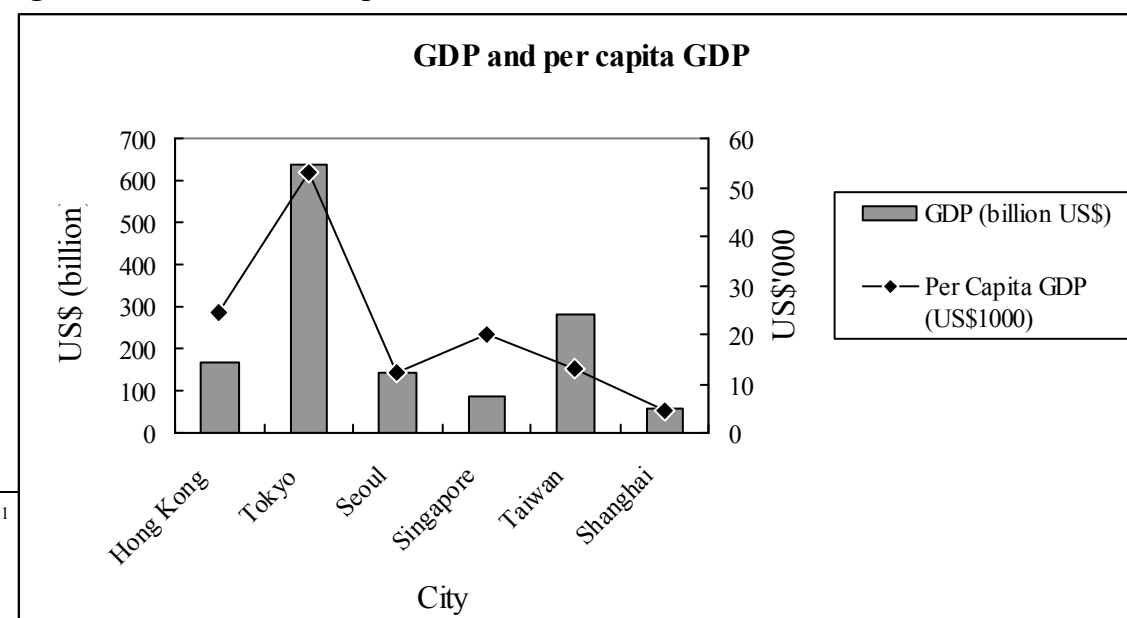
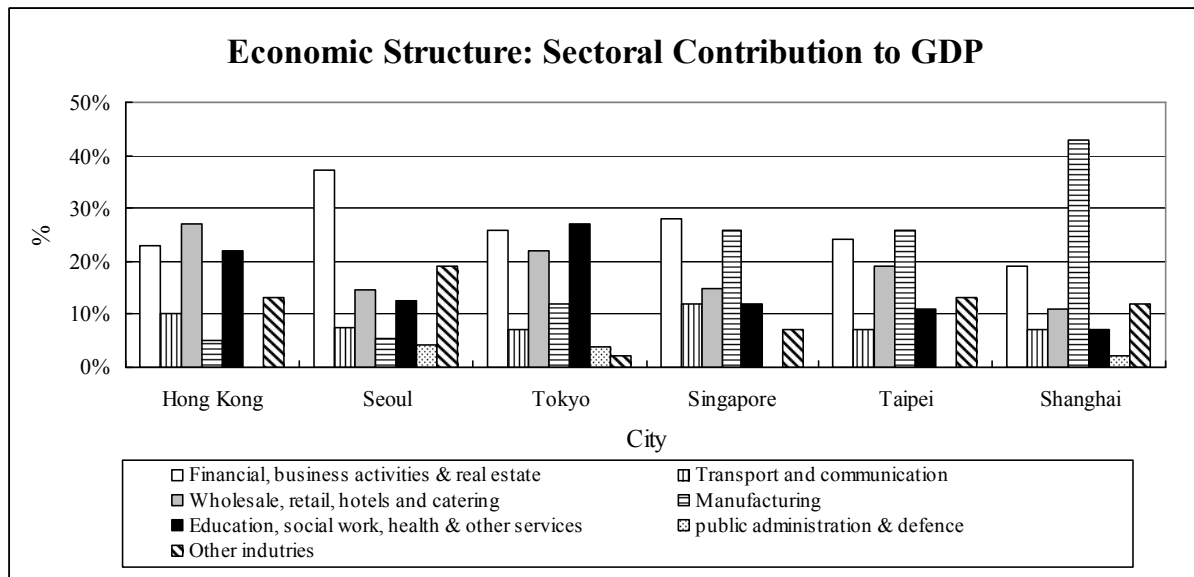


Figure 3: Economic Structure of the Six Cities



With the exception of Shanghai, financial, business and real estate activities contribute to at least over 20 per cent of all the cities' GDP (Figure 3). The figure for Seoul is the highest—37 per cent. Shanghai is still basically an industrial city with manufacturing contributing to 43 per cent of GDP. Both Singapore and Taipei have more than a quarter (26%) of their GDP originated from industrial activities. For Tokyo (27%) and Hong Kong (22%), education, social work, health and other services play a more important role in contributing to their GDP. The transport and communication sector plays a more important role in Singapore and Hong Kong ($\geq 10\%$) as compared to the rest of the cities (7%). So all the cities, except Shanghai can be described as service-driven cities.

Four of these Asian cities have democratic setup: in Singapore, a parliamentary democracy is led by the dominating People's Action Party which has been in power since the city-state's independency in 1965; the Governor in Tokyo and the mayors in Seoul and Taipei are directly elected. Similarly, their legislative bodies are democratically constituted: in Tokyo, the 127 Metropolitan Assembly is directly elected by the people; in Seoul, among the 106 council members, 96 are elected from local constituencies and 10 are elected by proportional representation; and in Taipei, the 52 councillors are elected by its residents. Unlike these world cities, Hong Kong has an executive government-led polity, that is, the Chief Executive is elected by an 800-member constituency and the Legislative Council is constituted in such a way that the democratic elements cannot assume majority control. The mayor of Shanghai is elected by the People's Congress of the Municipality, membership of which is all tightly controlled by the People's Communist Party.

As equity in governance is an important principle in sustainable development, and an open, transparent, democratic and accountable polity is an important basis for networking and partnership building which in turn will facilitate co-learning and societal capacity building, this paper postulates that the more democratic world cities should in general be more creative and sustainable than those where power is concentrated in the hands of a significant few.

This proposition can be verified by the mode of urban planning adopted in these cities. In Shanghai, planning is the responsibility of the Municipal City Planning Bureau and when the plan is drafted, public participation will take place through consulting relevant administrative

departments, representatives from local units or people's congresses of municipality, districts, county, town or township. In Hong Kong, the general public are not involved in the planning process until a draft plan is gazetted. The statutory planning system in general is top-down and expert-led. The People's Action Party-led Singaporean government also exercises very tight control over urban planning and the decisions of the Ministry of National Development is final but in recent years, views of the general public are solicited in the updating of their Master Plan and the Concept Plan. The updating of the 2001 Concept Plan involved two focus groups of professionals, interest groups, industrialists, businessmen, academics, grassroots and students, who in turn consulted the rest of the community, before they submitted a final report to the Minister of National Construction.

The mode of urban planning is different in the more democratic polities. Although Taipei is similar to Hong Kong where the general public are not allowed to be involved until a draft plan is exhibited for 30 days for comments, citizens can participate in "Neighbourhood Improvement Programme" and the "Community Planning Programme". With these programmes and the regulations on community participation and implementation, authorities initiating planning related changes in the community would need to engage the public or even hold public hearing. The process is similar in Tokyo. When a plan is formulated, the government needs to provide details to the public, especially those directly affected stakeholders and consult them for two weeks and after this, interested parties can submit written comments. Similar to Taipei, community-led planning is a standard practice called 'Machizukuri' (Nishimura, 2005). The author has problem in understanding how urban planning works in Seoul. From the limited materials that are available, it seems that the Korean system is rather top-down with the Central Government exerting strong influences on local land use planning.

Strategies and Processes related to Sustainable Development

Table 6 roughly outlines whether sustainable strategies and processes exist to advance sustainable development in the six cities. Answers to the checklist, however, should not be taken too seriously at this stage as information is extremely fragmented and some, in a language foreign to the author. This problem is particularly serious for Tokyo. Furthermore, the perception and actions on sustainable development is also place and culture specific and hence a lot more research is required in this area. Anyway, we can argue that Taipei seems to lead in terms of policy rhetoric and resource inputs to sustainable development. Shanghai has an action plan for implementing China's Agenda 21 and Tokyo has proclaimed her desire to be a zero waste world city (Fujita and Hill, 2007). Yet, Singapore is not subscribing to the targets set by the Kyoto Protocol and although Hong Kong as a Special Administrative Region of China has ratified the Protocol since 2003, China's developing status means that Hong Kong does not need to worry about any obligation to cut down green house gases emission. South Korea has also ratified the Kyoto Protocol and the Presidential Commission on Sustainable Development formulated a National Strategy for Sustainable Development in 2006 (PCSD, 2006) and the city of Seoul has a vision of building a 'clean, attractive and global city'.

Table 6: Sustainable Development Strategy and Processes in the Six Cities

Checklist Questions on Strategy & Processes	H K	Tokyo	Seoul	SG	Taipei	Shanghai
Participation in SD-related international conventions: Kyoto Protocol	✓	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓
National sustainable development strategy?	✓*	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓
City-wide sustainable comprehensive & integrated development strategy, embracing environmental, economic and social dimensions?	Some?	✓	✓	✗	✓	✓
Well-resourced commission on sustainable development with executive power	?✗?	?	?	✗	✓	?
Sustainability impact assessment?	✓✗?	?	✗	✗	✓	✗
Visionary leader(s) championing the course of sustainable development	✗	Some?	Some?	✗	✓	?
Popular support from the civil society	Some?	Some?	Some?	✗	✓	?
Ecological modernisation or industrial ecology practice in production and consumption?	Some?	✓	Some?	Some?	Some?	Some?

* China has developed a *National Agenda 21* in 1994. However, under the ‘One Country, Two Systems’ formula, Hong Kong is not affected by the national development policies.

Note: The above assessment is a preliminary assessment by the author after studying relevant government websites in individual city. See Ng, 2007.

After gaining some rough ideas about the progress of these cities in terms of rhetoric and resource inputs in sustainable development, let us review their performance according to the criteria set in Table 5. It seems that Taipei is very serious in moving their cities towards sustainability. While Shanghai has strong rhetoric (compliance to Kyoto Protocol, for instance), she is not much different from Singapore and Hong Kong in terms of its other commitment. Emphasis seems to be on development rather than sustainability concerns. Let us now proceed to look at the cities’ performance with reference to the sustainability indicators.

Indicators

Global Competitiveness

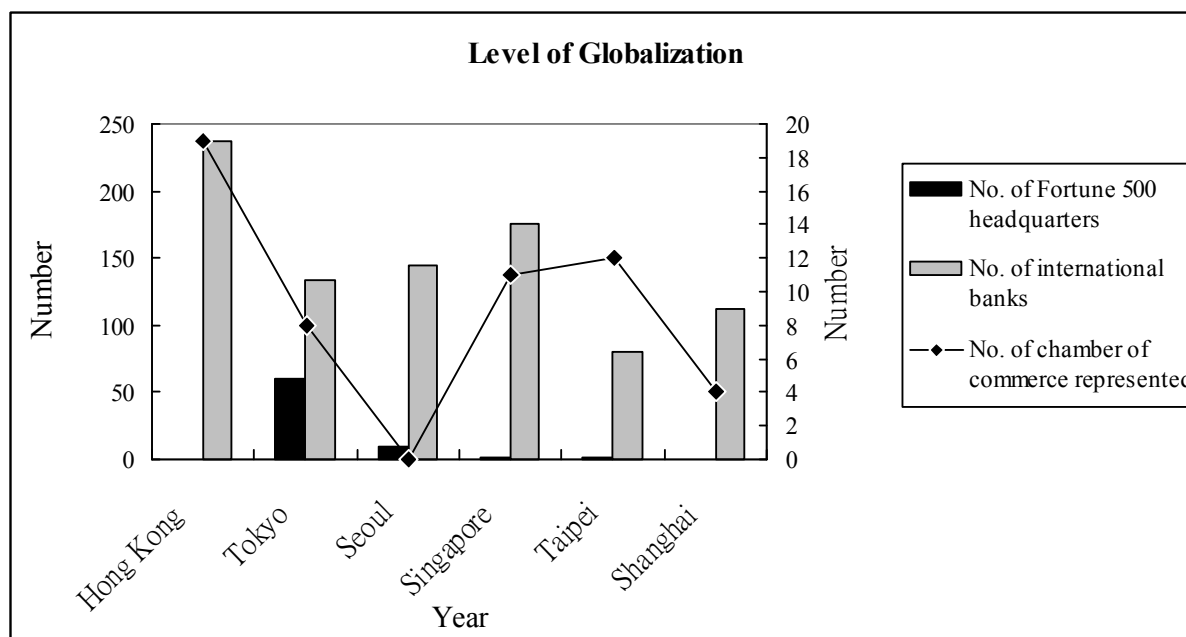
The global competitiveness ranking by the World Economic Forum refers to national not individual city ranking (Table 7). According to their 2007 announcement, Singapore (7th) ranks highest among the six countries, followed by Japan (8th), Hong Kong (12th), Taiwan (14th) and Shanghai 34th). However, these rankings cannot tell us the intensity of globalisation within individual cities.

Table 7: Global Competitiveness Ranking

<i>City</i>	<i>Ranking</i>
Hong Kong	12
Tokyo (Japan)	8
Seoul (Republic of Korea)	11
Singapore	7
Taipei (Taiwan)	14
Shanghai (China)	34

Source: World Economic Forum, 2007, <http://www.weforum.org/en/index.htm>, viewed on 2 April 2008.

However, according to Taylor (2004, pp.169-170), Hong Kong, Singapore and Tokyo are, among others, classified as ‘Band 1’ leading world cities, just after the two Centre cities of London and New York. Banking and finance services are particularly identified as particularly strong in these cities. Seoul, Shanghai and Taipei are identified in ‘Band II’ regional clusters of important world cities.

Figure 4: Number of Fortune 500 Headquarters, International Banks and Chambers of Commerce in the Six Cities

In Figure 4, we can see that Tokyo hosts the largest number of Fortune 500 headquarters in Asia. The distribution of international banks is more comparable among the cities with Hong Kong leading and Singapore in the second place. The number of chamber of commerce is highest in Hong Kong, followed by Taipei and Singapore. Figure 5 also shows that Tokyo has obviously participated in many more international organizations. The least international are Hong Kong and Taipei as the latter has been suffering from political isolation for a long time.

Figure 5: Number of International Organisations Participated by the Six Cities

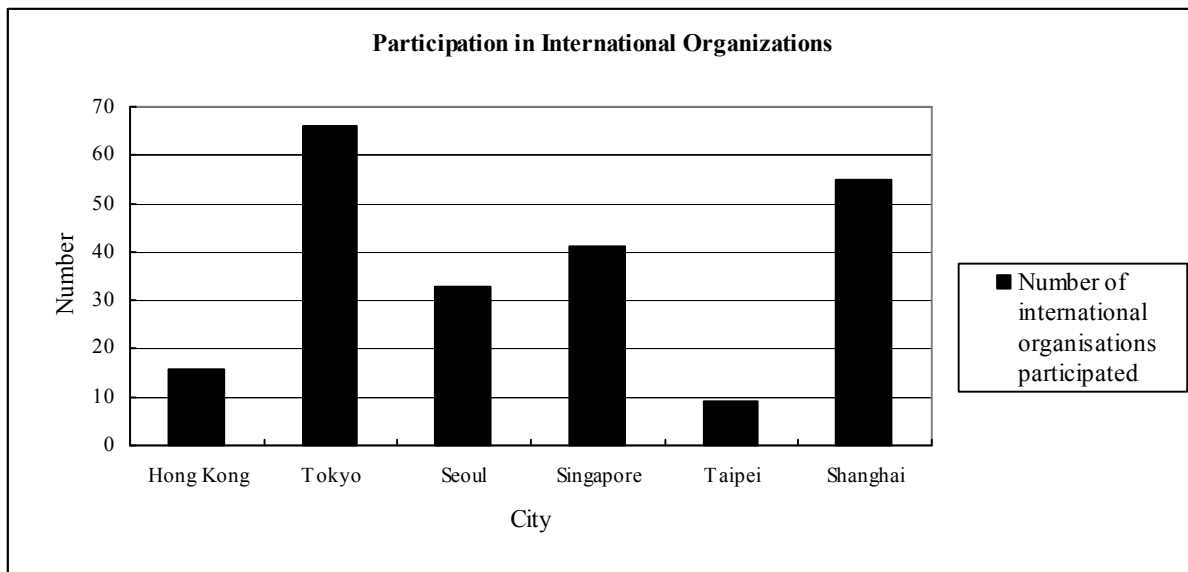


Figure 6 presents a very interesting picture of these six cities as international financial centres. While South Korea leads in the equity market, followed by Tokyo and Singapore, the three Chinese cities seem to be lagging far behind. Market capitalisation of shares of domestic companies is highest in Tokyo, almost four times that of Hong Kong and more than six times that of Shanghai. Bond trading is only significant in Shanghai, Seoul and Tokyo. They are negligible in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore.

Figure 6: The Six Cities as Financial Centres

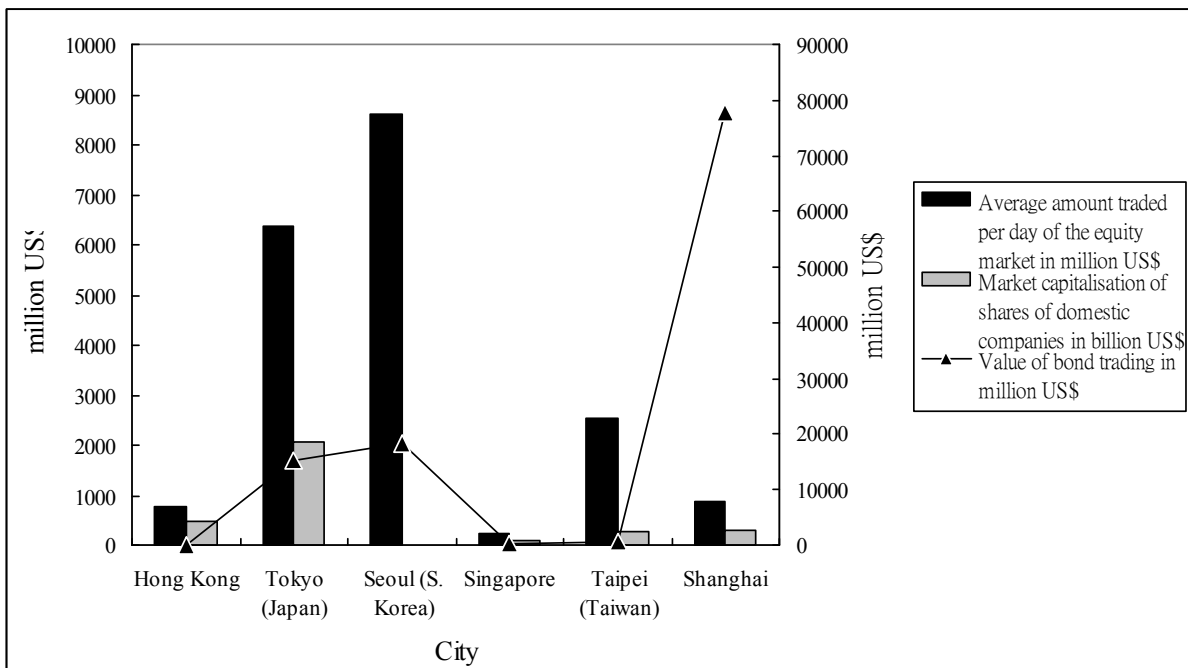
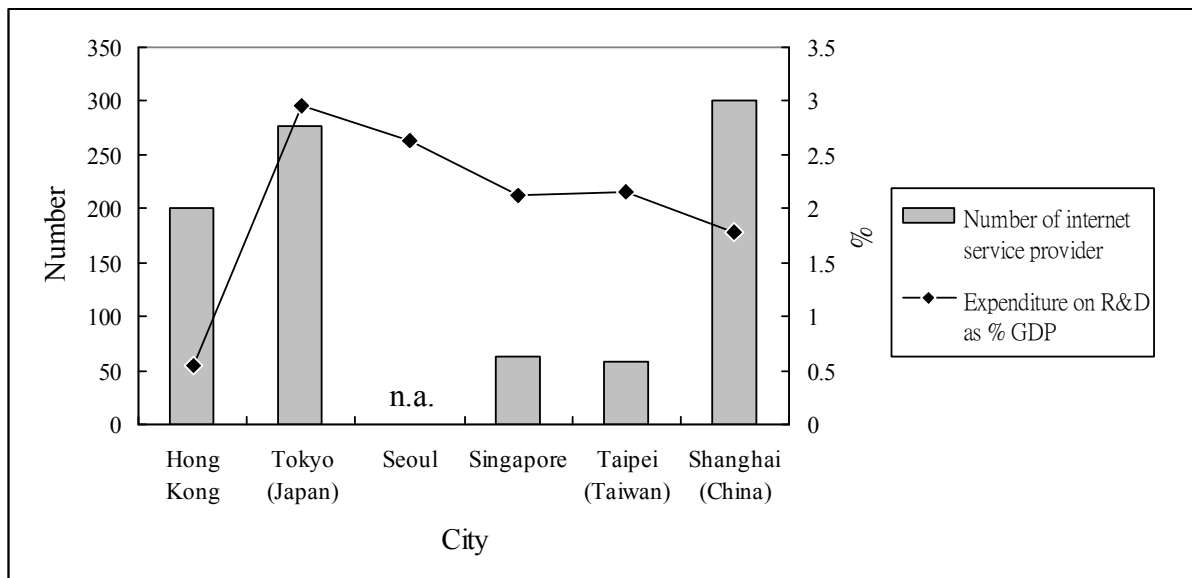


Figure 7 shows that Shanghai, Tokyo and Hong Kong have a larger number of internet service provider. The lowest numbers are found in Singapore and Taipei. Expenditure of R&D is much higher in Tokyo and Seoul, followed by Taipei, Singapore, Shanghai and Hong Kong, in descending order.

Figure 7: Internet Service Provider & R&D in the Six Cities



Another dimension regarding a city's global position can be reflected by the number of international visitors. Figure 8 shows an interesting picture: domestic tourists are always larger than international tourists except in the city state of Singapore and Seoul where no figure can be found.

Figure 8: International and Domestic Tourists in the Six Cities

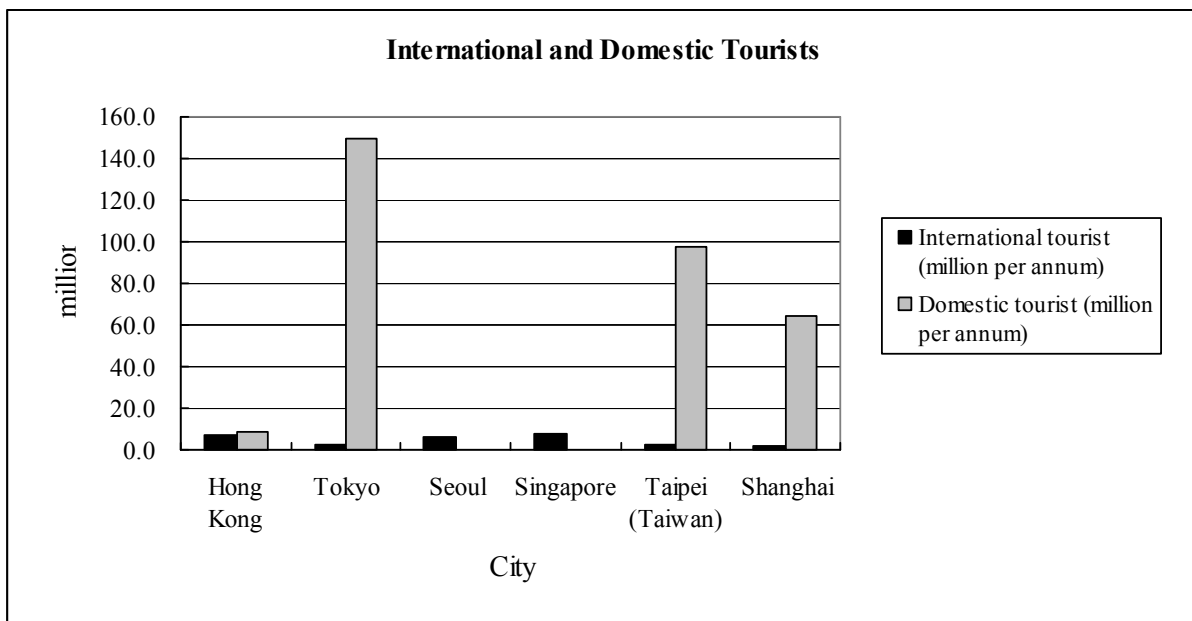
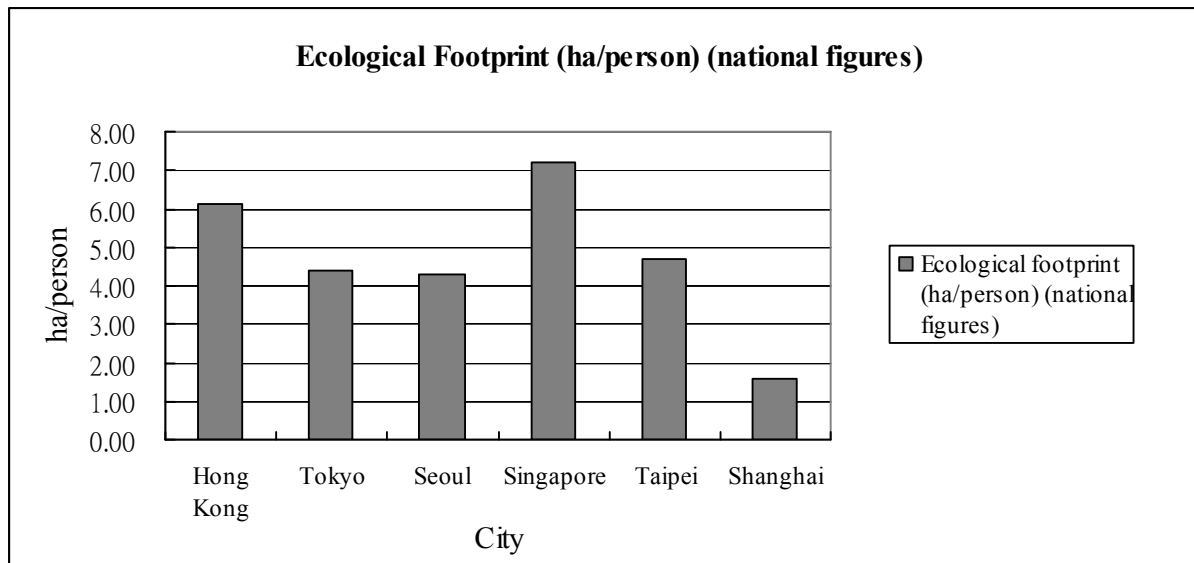


Figure 9: Ecological Footprint (national figure)



Since the ecological footprint data (Figure 9) are all national figures, we can only say that Singapore and Hong Kong having a rather large footprint, followed by Taipei, Tokyo and Seoul. Shanghai's ecological footprint is the smallest. However, if we review the amount of solid waste produced, we might be in a better position to see if policy rhetoric on sustainable development had an impact on actual outcomes. Figure 10 shows that Taipei and Shanghai produce the least amount of per capita solid waste. Hong Kong on the contrary produces the highest per capita solid waste, followed by Seoul, Tokyo and Singapore. In terms of wastewater treatment, the situations in Hong Kong and Taipei are not satisfactory at all, especially for Taipei where 'blue water' is one of their stated environmental goals. Singapore has secondary treatment of all their wastewater whereas information is not available for Tokyo, Seoul and Shanghai.

Figure 10: Per capital Solid Waste and Wastewater Treatment in the Six Cities

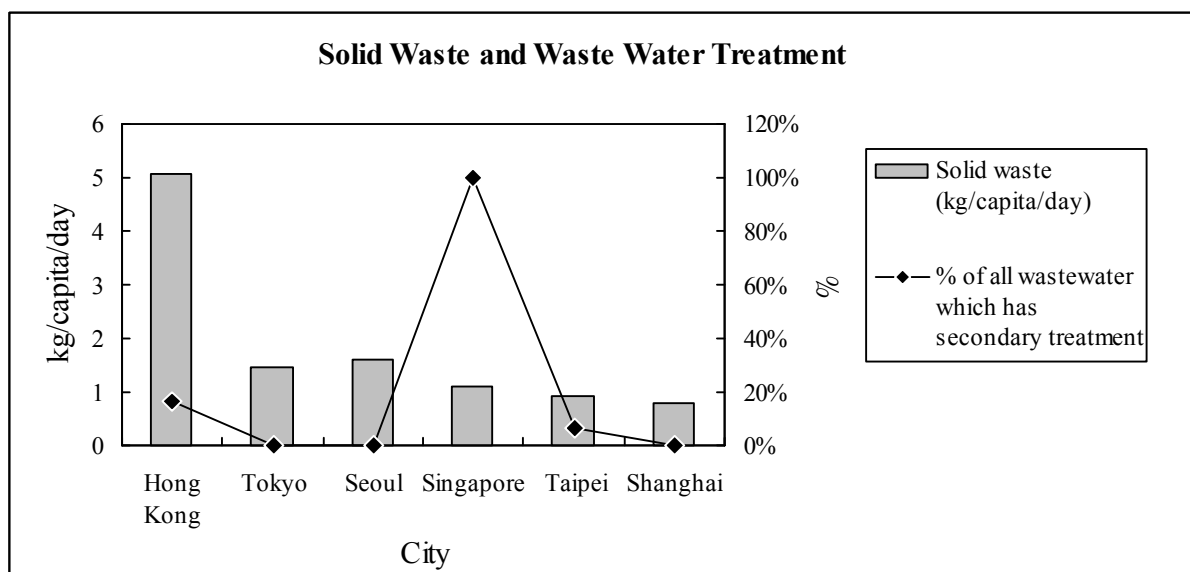
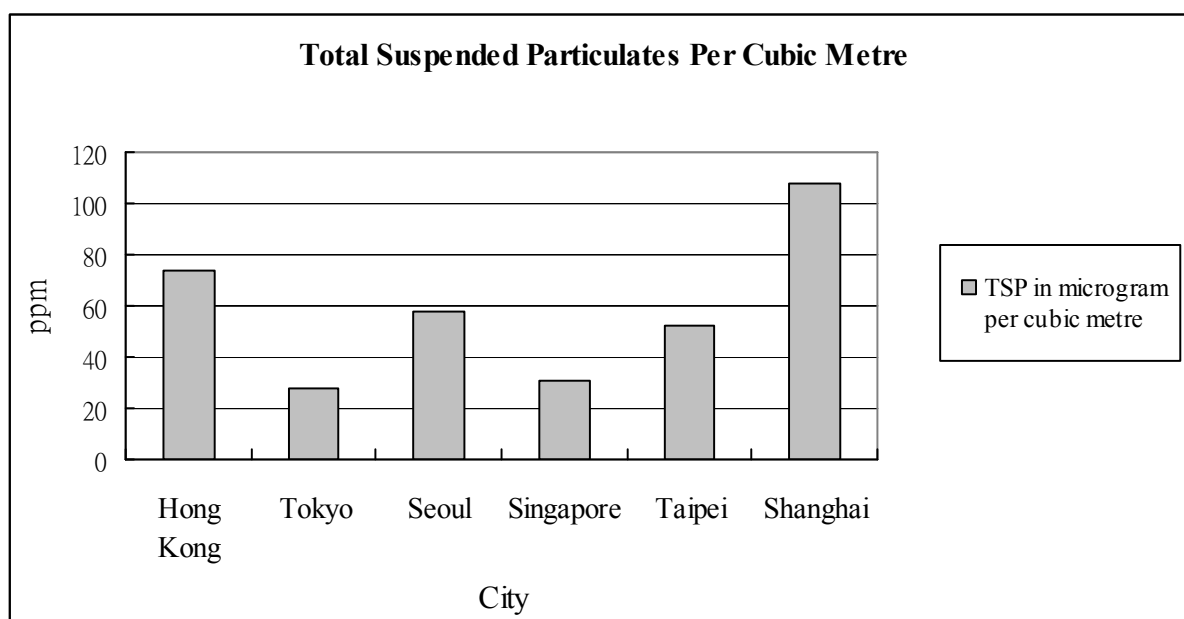


Figure 11: Air Quality in the Six Cities



From Figure 11 above, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Seoul have exceeded the standard of $50\mu\text{g}/\text{m}^3$ for TSP (total suspended particulates) whereas Taipei is a borderline case. Figure 12 below shows the number of deaths caused by cancer and respiratory disease in the six cities. Cancer death rates are much higher in Tokyo, Shanghai, Hong Kong and Taipei. Shanghai has the highest incidence of death resulted from respiratory disease, probably due to its nature as an industrial city.

Figure 12: Deaths caused by Cancer and Respiratory Disease in the Six Cities

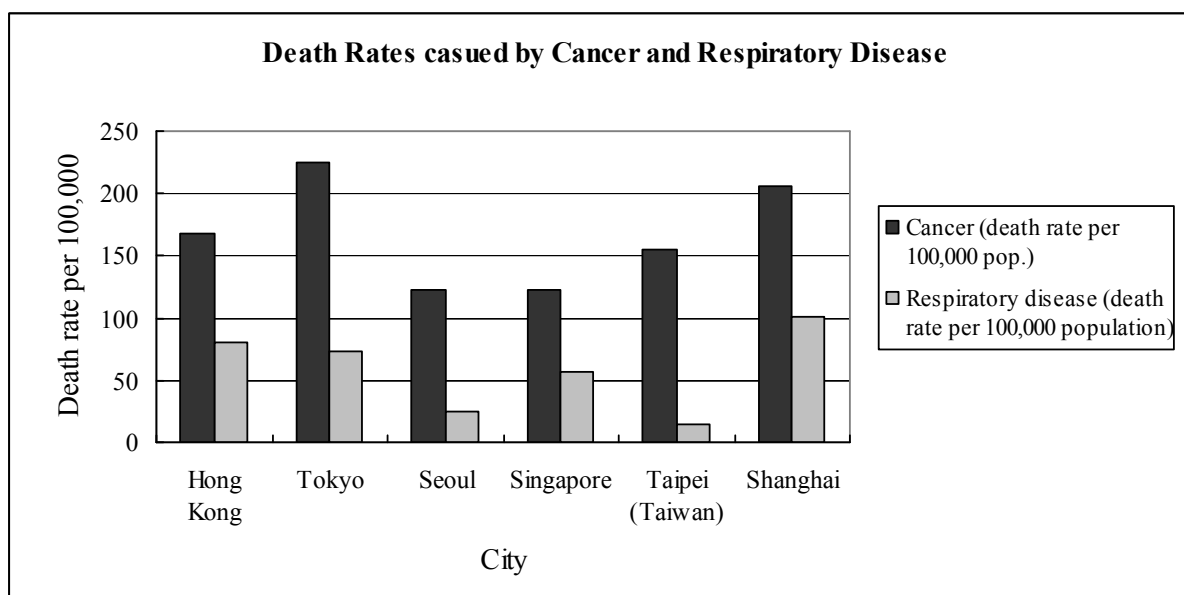
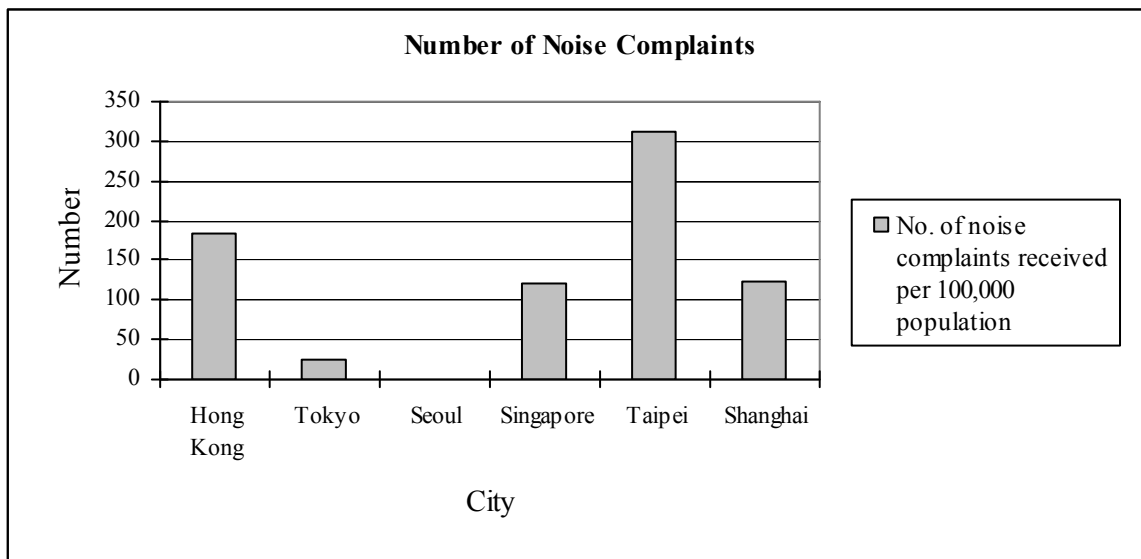


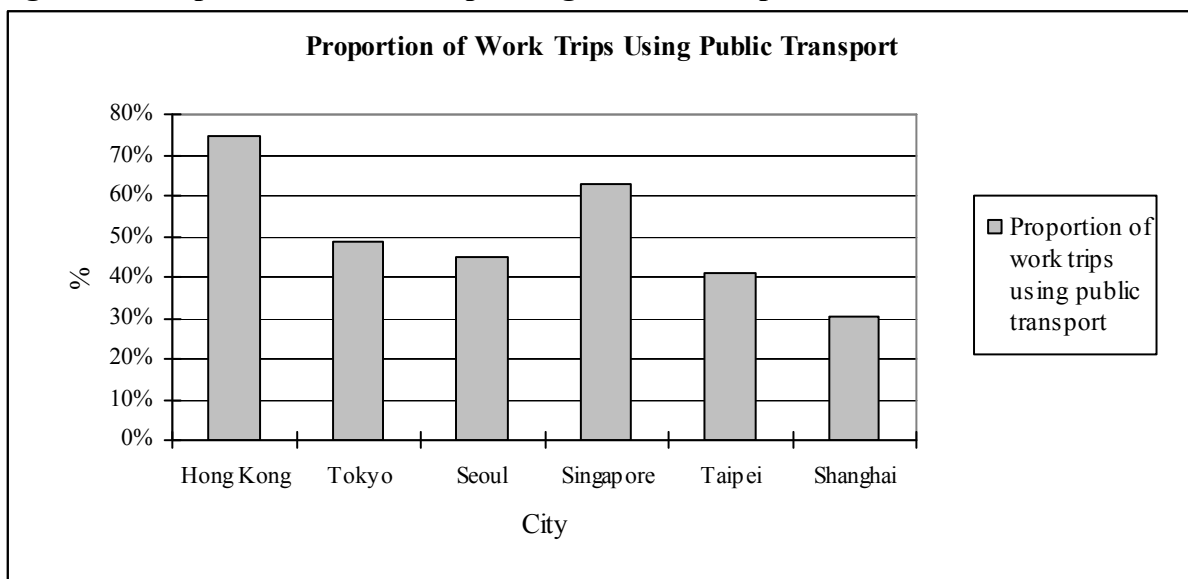
Figure 13 shows that in the densely populated cities of Taipei and Hong Kong, the number of noise complaints is considerable. The number of complaints in Singapore and Shanghai while much lower than the first two cities, is still four to five times the number in Tokyo.

Figure 13: Number of Noise Complaints in the Six Cities



Although Hong Kong has done poorly in terms of air quality, it has the highest proportion (75%) of its population using public transport (Figure 14), followed by Singapore (63%) and Japan (49%). Seoul and Taipei only managed to have some 40 per cent of their work trips using public transport.

Figure 14: Proportion of Work Trips using Public Transport in the Six Cities



Social Equity Aspects

Interestingly Taipei, Seoul and Singapore all have negative migration rate and Tokyo, Hong Kong and Shanghai are having more immigrants (Figure 15). Obviously, these growing cities may face a bigger challenge in pursuing sustainable development.

Figure 15: Annual Net Migration Rate in the Six Cities

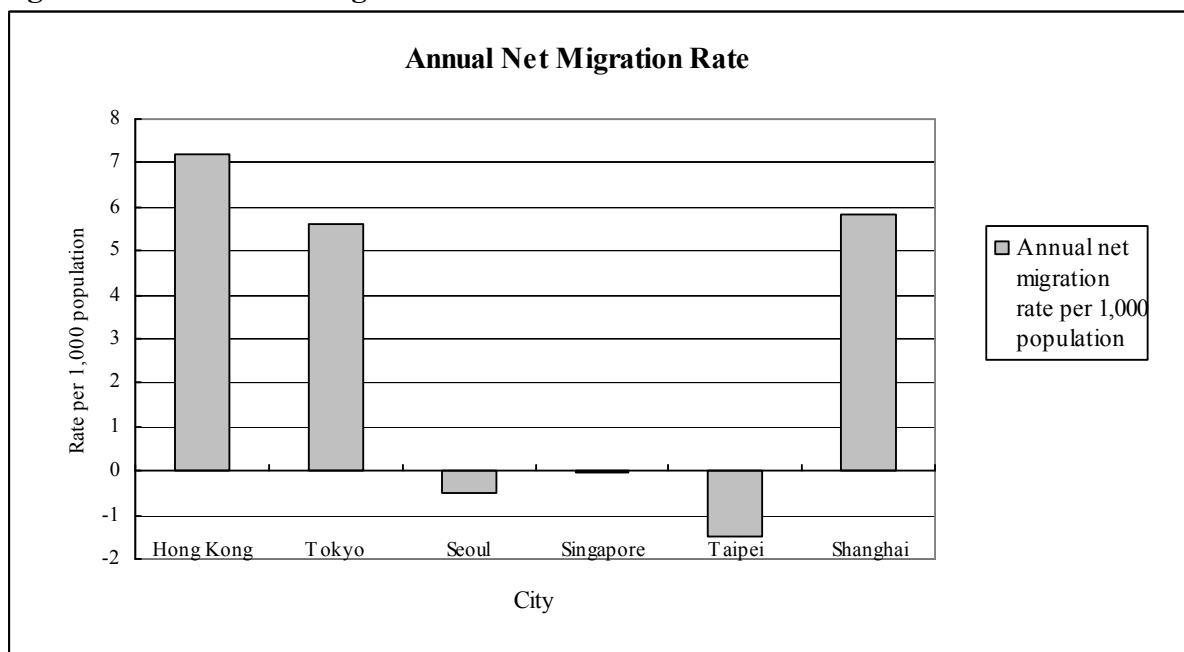
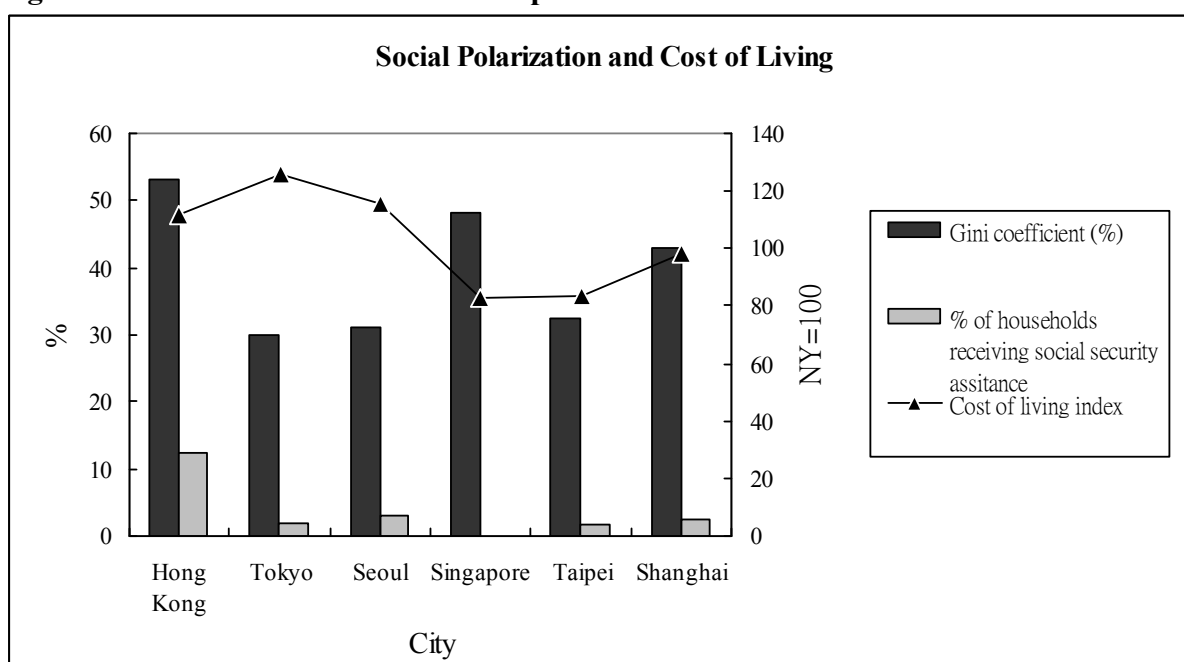
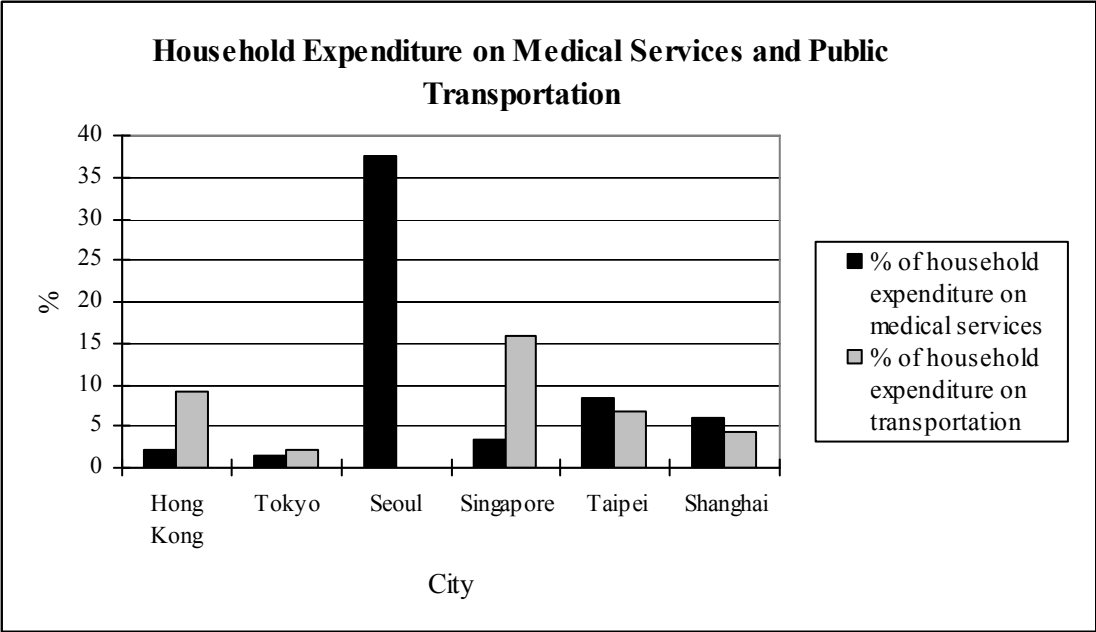


Figure 16: Dimensions of Social Development in the Six Cities



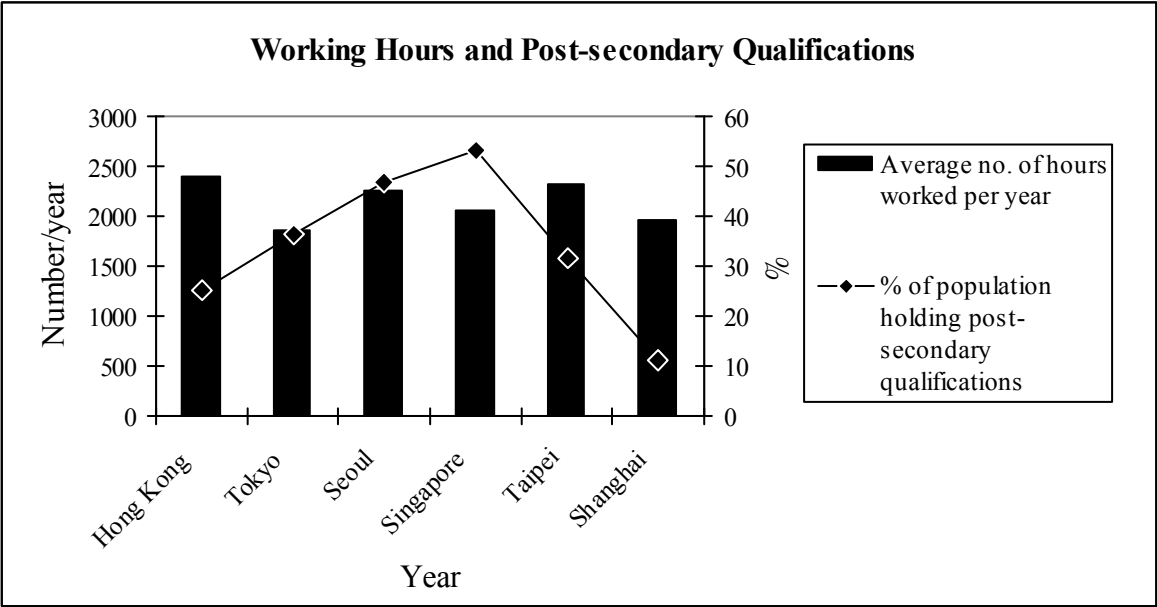
The figures on Gini-coefficient in all the cities are rather high: the highest being Hong Kong, followed by Singapore, and Shanghai (Figure 16). It can be seen that Hong Kong also has the highest percentage of households receiving social security. Assuming New York's cost of living as 100, only Singapore and Taipei have lower indexes. The other cities have either a similar or even higher index. In other words, these cities are not particularly sustainable with reference to the social dimension.

Figure 17: Household Expenditure on Medical Services & Transportation in the Six Cities



It is rather surprising to find out that households in Seoul have to spend so much more on their medical services: close to 38% when the next highest figure is only 8.4% in Taipei. In fact, in Singapore (15.9%), Hong Kong (9.2%) and Taipei (6.8%), households spend more on transportation rather than medical services (Figure 17). As mobility and healthiness are essential ingredients for a livable city, it seems that Tokyo is doing particularly well in these aspects.

Figure 17: Qualifications and Number of Working Hours in the Six Cities



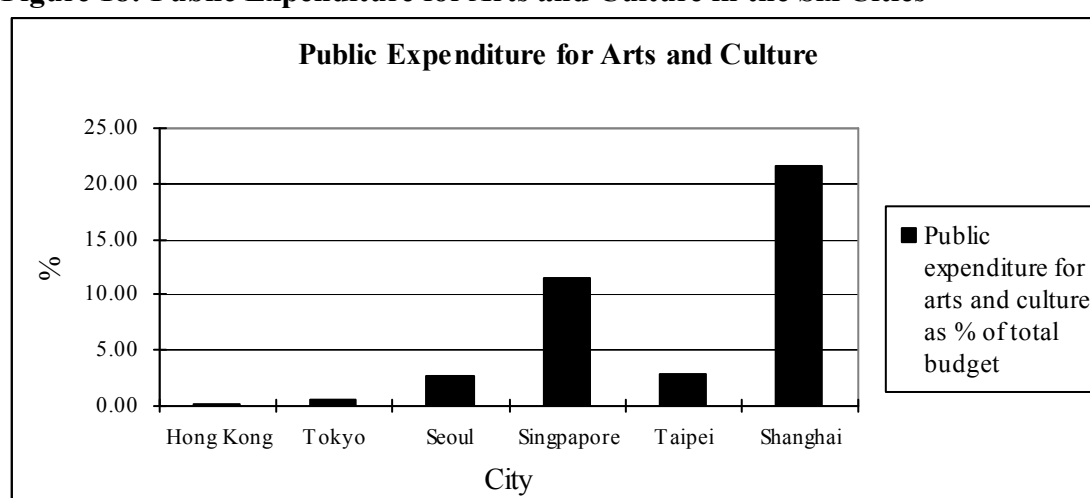
People in all the six cities worked very hard (Figure 17) but those in Hong Kong, Seoul and Taipei work even harder. Most cities have 30 to 50 per cent of their work force with post-secondary qualifications except Hong Kong (25.2%) and Shanghai (11.4%). As

sustainable development requires devotion of time and resources from different stakeholders, long working hours may not be conducive to capacity building within the civil society or the nurturing of social capital among different stakeholders.

Cultural and Creativity Indicators

While public expenditure on arts and culture can be an indicator for the cultural milieu of a city, we understand that creativity is more a way of life and should be manifested through different sectors. Anyway, Figure 18 below shows that Shanghai has a disproportionately high input into arts and culture. This is probably because the budget is for both ‘science and culture’. The Singaporean government has committed over 10 per cent of its budget into arts and culture. Others range from 2-5 per cent with Tokyo (0.5%) and Hong Kong (0.2%) having the least supportive public sector.

Figure 18: Public Expenditure for Arts and Culture in the Six Cities



Compared to western world cities such as New York and London where over 22,000 and 18,000 buildings are listed respectively as monuments, the figures in Asian world cities look rather dismal. Shanghai has the highest number of listed buildings, followed by Seoul. The other cities have less than 100 listed buildings within their city boundaries (Figure 19).

Figure 19: Number of Listed Buildings in the Six Cities

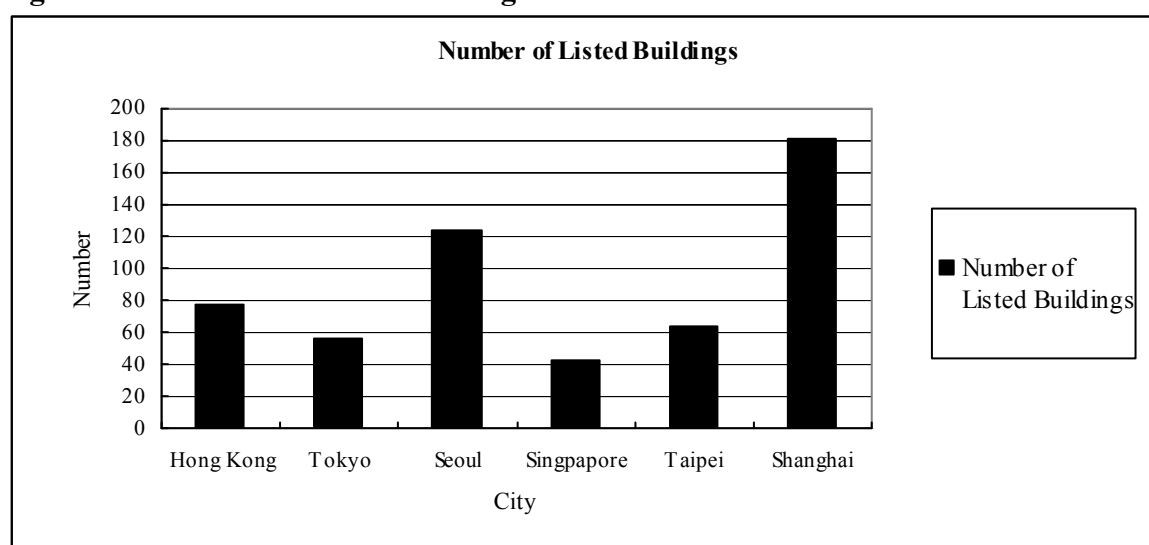
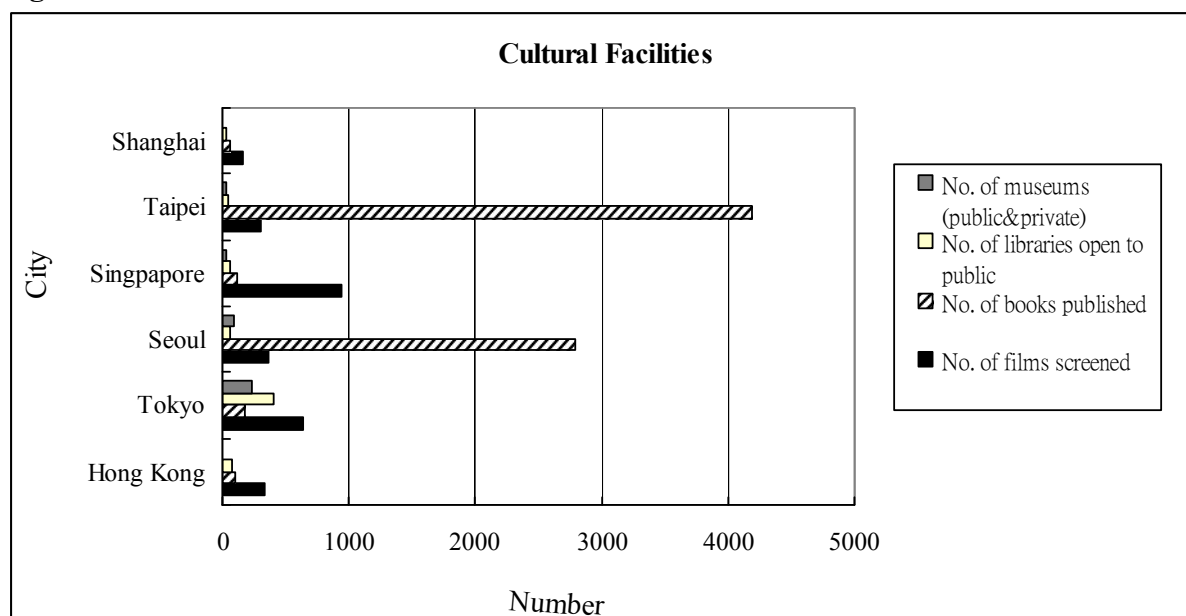


Figure 20 below shows that Singapore and Tokyo and to a lesser extent Hong Kong and Taipei have the highest number of films screened. However, in terms of book publishers, Taipei takes the lead, followed by Seoul. The number of public libraries and museums is much higher in Tokyo. The other Asian cities are not doing particularly well in these aspects

Figure 20: Culture-related Amenities in the Six Cities



Contest Results

Table 8 uses a very crude assessment method to compare these six cities. Each city is ranked according to their performance with reference to governance, sustainable development strategy and processes and results of the indicators. An average 'rank' is calculated with reference to each set of criteria listed in Table 5. After obtaining the rankings of the six cities in the four aspects, Table 9 shows the overall ranking of the six cities. While the author understands fully the crudity of the methodology (e.g. no weighting or differentiation of importance among indicators), the exercise aims to establish some idea on where these cities stand in the direction towards sustainable world city status. It is interesting to see that cities with integrated national and city level sustainable development strategies are doing better than others: Tokyo seems to be delivering in various aspects of development, followed by Seoul and Taipei. However, Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai are lagging behind. Many probably would be surprised to see Hong Kong being the least sustainable among the six cities. While Hong Kong society has a great creative capacity, the executive-led government has yet to tap into this rich source of creativity to move the money-first economy towards sustainable development. In any case, it seems that the earlier proposition that cities with democratic polity, multi-stakeholder involvement in their mode of governance and transparent and participatory planning and decision making processes will fare better in the race of becoming sustainable creative world cities can be verified by the data presented.

Table 8: Assessment Results

Indicators	Hong Kong	Tokyo	Seoul	Singapore	Taipei	Shanghai
GOVERNANCE ASPECTS*						
Election of head of government	2	1	1	1	1	3
Election of legislative councillors	2	1	1	1	1	3
Transparency and openness of the planning process	2	2	2	2	2	3
<i>Average</i>	2.000	1.333	1.333	1.333	1.333	3.000
SUSTAINABLE STRATEGY AND PROCESSES						
Overall Assessment	4	2	5	6	1	3
INDICATORS						
<i>Global Competitiveness</i>						
Global Competitive Index by World Economic Forum	4	2	3	1	5	6
Taylor's World Cities Network (2004)	1	1	2	1	2	2
Number of Fortune 500 headquarters, International banks and Chambers of commerce represented	5 1 1	1 4 4	2 3 n.a.	4 2 3	3 6 2	5 5 5
Number of international organisations participated	5	1	4	3	6	2
per capita GDP (USD at current price)	2	1	5	3	4	6
Average amount traded per day of the equity market in million USD	5	2	1	6	3	4
Market capitalisation of shares of domestic companies in billion USD	2	1	n.a.	5	4	3
Value of bond trading in million USD	6	3	2	5	4	1
Number of internet service providers	3	2	n.a.	4	5	1
Expenditure on R&D as % of GDP	6	1	2	4	3	5
Tourism numbers (international and domestic)	4	1	6	5	2	3
<i>Average</i>	3.462	1.846	3.000	3.538	3.769	3.692
<i>Local Sustainability</i>						
<i>Environmental Concerns</i>						
Ecological footprint	5	3	2	6	4	1
Solid waste (kg/head/day)	6	4	5	3	2	1
% of wastewater with secondary treatment	2	n.a.	n.a.	1	3	n.a.
Air quality	5	1	4	2	3	6
Number of noise complaints	4	1	n.a.	5	2	3
Proportion of work trips using public transport	1	3	4	2	5	6
Death rates of respiratory diseases per 100,000 population	5	4	2	3	1	6
Death rates of cancer diseases per 100,000 population	4	6	1	2	3	5
<i>Average</i>	4.000	3.143	3.000	3.000	2.875	4.000

Indicators	Hong Kong	Tokyo	Seoul	Singapore	Taipei	Shanghai
<i>Social Equity Concerns</i>						
Annual net migration rate per 1,000 population	6	4	2	3	1	5
Cost of living index (New York-100), index and ranking	4	6	5	1	2	3
Gini coefficient of income distribution (%)	6	1	2	5	3	4
% of households receiving social security assistance	6	3	5	1	2	4
Average number of hours worked per year	6	1	5	3	4	2
% of population holding post-secondary qualification	5	3	2	1	4	6
% of household expenditure on medical services	2	1	6	3	5	4
% of household expenditure on transportation	4	1	n.a.	5	3	2
<i>Average</i>	4.750	2.500	3.143	2.750	3.000	3.750
<i>Culture and Creativity Aspects</i>						
Public expenditure for arts / culture as % of total budget	6	5	4	2	3	1
Number of museums	6	1	2	3	4	5
Number of libraries open to the public	2	1	4	3	5	6
Number of listed buildings	3	5	2	6	4	1
Number of films screened annually	4	2	3	1	5	6
Number of book publishers	5	3	2	4	1	6
<i>Average</i>	4.333	2.833	2.833	3.167	3.667	4.167
Overall Average for Local Sustainability	4.403	2.825	3.230	2.972	3.181	3.972

Notes:

*: For democratic polities, rank '1' is assigned; for semi-democratic polities, rank '2' is assigned; and for non-democratic polities, rank '3' is assigned. Similarly, for transparent and open planning systems that engage stakeholders throughout the planning process, rank '1' is assigned; for processes that allow participation at certain stage, rank '2' is assigned and for planning processes that are confined to the experts and top-down, rank '3' is assigned.

Table 9: Ranking of the Six Cities with Reference to Governance, Sustainable Strategy and Processes, Global Competitiveness and Local Sustainability

Overall Ranking	Hong Kong	Tokyo	Seoul	Singapore	Taipei	Shanghai
Governance aspects	2	1	1	1	1	3
Sustainable development and processes	4	2	5	6	1	3
Global competitiveness	3	1	2	4	6	5
Local sustainability	6	1	4	2	3	5
<i>Average Rank</i>	3.75	1.25	3	3.25	2.75	4
OVERALL RANK	5	1	3	4	2	6

Policy Implications and Concluding Remarks

In the 20th century, globalized economic production aiming at material growth had brought about an over-exploited and degraded environment and polarized societies within and between different geographical levels. If anything, the 20th century was one that had depleted and destroyed much of the natural and the built heritage of the past centuries (Tung, 2001). With the dawn of the 21st century, there has been a general reawakening to the importance of conserving the natural and built environment and a need to overcome poverty issues as endorsed in the Millennium Development Goal. Aspiring world cities have to realize that global competitiveness should only be one of their development goals. And global competitiveness is no longer just about producing export-oriented goods as cheap as possible. Rather, it should be about the employment of technology and innovation to ‘modernize’ the production process to achieve the ‘4-R’ principles (reduce, recycle, reuse and replace) in deploying resources. More importantly, world cities should strive for local sustainability, an essential element in an increasingly inequitable world. As argued in this paper, a two-pronged approach is required to achieve this: a mode of governance that facilitates the engagement of stakeholders in designing, planning and formulating sustainable development policies that direct the growth directions of the city and in turn empower the same stakeholders towards meaningful and concrete actions.

Only then can Asian world cities become a place where basic needs are met and a quality environment with an equitable and culturally nurturing society that allows for ‘human flourishing’ (Friedmann, 1997, p.15). Indeed, the dense Asian cities provide a natural breeding ground for the germination, growth and transfer of creative ideas. The question, however, is whether the mode of governance can liberate the latent energy of the potential talents of a place. It is argued in this paper that more democratic institutions and engaging planning processes, together with visionary leaders having a political will to implement sustainable development in the course of development will pay off and produce cities that are globally competitive and locally more sustainable.

If we review these cities’ global competitiveness, while Tokyo is a class of its own, the other cities have rather similar level of performance (see average ranking score for global competitiveness in Table 8)—this is a rather telling point because all these five cities aspire to become Asia’s world cities. What really differentiates them is their modes of governance and the ways they try to achieve social, economic and environmental sustainable development within a multi-scalar context. Figures on their ecological footprints, air, water and environmental qualities, health conditions of their citizens, social equity, and cultural milieu, etc. are what distinguish the sustainable from the less sustainable ones.

Hence, to excel, world cities should not just focus on global competitiveness. Since networked world cities these days are also truly nodes that articulate the regional economies, near and far, it is, therefore, very important to harmonize sustainable development in the regions surrounding the Asian world cities. To achieve such as state will certainly involve debates on regional governance, inter-city mega-infrastructure planning, sharing of governing responsibilities or regional politics in the pursuit of sustainable development, topics that are specifically addressed by this conference. In any case, it is always wise to remind ourselves that we are living in a networked society—and unless we are ready to face the demise of humankind through the continuation of economic expansion at the expense of environmental integrity and community solidarity, Asian world cities have no choice but to co-evolve with their respective regions and to pursue strategic cooperation with other city-regions to further sustainable development of mother spaceship earth.

References

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Appendix I: Sources of Information*

Indicators	Cities	Sources
City area Population (million) Area (sq.km.) Density (pers/sq. km.)	Hong Kong	Population: C&SD (2004), <i>Population by Sex</i> , available from <www.info.gov.hk/censtatd.eng/hkstat/fas/pop/by_sex_index.html> viewed on March 09, 2004; Area: C&SD (2004), <i>Land area of Hong Kong</i> , available from <www.info.gov.hk/censtatd.eng/hkstat/hkinf/geog/geog4.htm>, viewed on March 09, 2004.
	Tokyo	Tokyo Government (2002), <i>Overview of Tokyo</i> : Geography of Tokyo, available at <http://www.chijihonbu.metro.tokyo.jp/english/profile/overview2.htm>, viewed on July 24, 2002.
	Singapore	Singapore Department of Statistics (2002), <i>Yearbook of Statistics Singapore, 2002</i> , Singapore: Department of Statistics, p.9.
	Taipei	Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei City Government, Republic of China (2002), <i>The Statistical Abstract of Taipei City for 2003</i> , available at <http://www.dbas.taipei.gov.tw/stat/abstract/data/03/6170.htm#P2>, viewed on July 22, 2003.
	Shanghai	Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau (2002), <i>Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2002</i> , China Statistics Press. Available at <www.chinainfobank.com>, viewed on July 23, 2003.
Economic size GDP in billion USD GDP in USD per capita	Hong Kong	C&SD (2002), <i>Gross Domestic Product (GDP)</i> , available at <www.info.gov.hk/censtatd.eng/hkstat/hkinf/nat_account/gdp1.htm>, viewed on August 04, 2003.
	Tokyo	Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000), <i>Tokyo Statistical Yearbook 2001</i> : Table XVI Prefectural Account, Gross Product in Tokyo-to Classified by Economic Activities (Fiscal Years 1999 and 2000), available at the Official Tokyo Metro website <www.toukei.metro.tokyp.jp/08touke/tyosei/jyoho/01qytia2020.xls>, viewed on August 06, 2003.
	Singapore	Singapore Department of Statistics (2003), <i>Economic Survey of Singapore First Quarter 2003</i> , Table A1.1 Gross Domestic Product by Industry at Current Prices, p. 81, available at <www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/mqstats/ess/essall.pdf>, viewed on August 03, 2003. GDP per capita is available at Statistics Singapore, <www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/hist/gdp.html>.
	Taipei	Bureau of Statistics (2002), <i>Statistical Abstract of National Income in Taiwan Area</i> , Republic of China, Table 1 Major Indicators, available at <www.dgbas.gov.tw/dgbas03/bs4/uis/p1.xls>.
	Shanghai	Shanghai Statistical Bureau (2002), <i>Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2002</i> , Shanghai GDP by Economic Activity, available at the Statistical Database of <www.chinainfobank.com>, viewed on August 06, 2003, (in Chinese).
Economic structure, contribution to GDP by each sector	Hong Kong	C&SD (2002), <i>GDP by Economic Activity</i> , available at <www.info.gov.hk/censtatd.eng/hkstat/hkinf/nat_account/gdp4.htm>, viewed on August 04, 2003.
	Tokyo	Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2000), <i>Tokyo Statistical Yearbook 2001</i> : Table XVI Prefectural Account, Gross Product in Tokyo-to Classified by Economic Activities (Fiscal Years 1999 and 2000), available at the Official Tokyo Metro website <www.toukei.metro.tokyp.jp/08touke/tyosei/jyoho/01qytia2020.xls>, viewed on August 06, 2003.
	Singapore	Singapore Department of Statistics (2003), <i>Economic Survey of Singapore First Quarter 2003</i> , Table A1.1 Gross Domestic Product by Industry at Current Prices, p. 81, available at <www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/mqstats/ess/essall.pdf>, viewed on August 03, 2003.
	Taipei	Bureau of Statistics (2002), <i>Statistical Abstract of National Income in Taiwan Area</i> , Republic of China, Table 6. Gross Domestic Product by Kind of Activity, available at <www.dgbas.gov.tw/dgbas03/bs4/uis/p1.xls>.
	Shanghai	Shanghai Statistical Bureau (2002), <i>Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2002</i> , Shanghai GDP by Economic Activity, available at the Statistical Database of <www.chinainfobank.com>, viewed on August 06, 2003, (in Chinese).
Number of Fortune 500 HQs	ALL CITIES	Fortune (2002), <i>The 2002 Global 500: The World's Largest Corporations</i> , Fortune, Vol. 146, Issue 2, pp. F1-8, available at <http://www.fortune.com/fortune/global500/0,15119,,00.html>, viewed on July 08, 2003.
Number of international banks	ALL CITIES	Reed Business Information (2004), <i>The Bankers' Almanac Database</i> , available at <http://www.bankersalmanac.com/seaban.asp>, accessed on February 2004.
Number of chambers of commerce represented	ALL CITIES	World Chamber Network online: <http://www.worldchambers.com/CCII/index1.htm> accessed on July 08, 2003.
Number of international organizations participation	ALL CITIES (national)	Central Intelligence Agency (2002), Director of Central Intelligence, <i>The World Factbook 2002</i> , USA. Available at <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/index.html>, viewed on July 07, 2003, last updated on March 19, 2003.

* Except otherwise stated, all the statistics on Seoul in this paper are provided by Dr. Lee, SangDae, Director, Center for Metropolitan Policy, Gyeonggi Research Institute, Suwon City, Republic of Korea in April 2008.

Indicators	Cities	Sources
Average amount traded per day of the equity market in mil US\$	ALL CITIES	World Federation of Exchanges (2002), <i>Annual Statistics 2002</i> , 1. Equity Market: 1.4 Total Value of Share Trading: Table 1.5.1 Other Trading Statistics (Main and Parallel Market), available at < http://www.world-exchanges.org/publications/TA1402.pdf >, viewed on July 09, 2003.
Value of Bond Trading in mil US\$	ALL CITIES	World Federation of Exchanges (2002), <i>Annual Statistics 2002</i> , 2. Bond Market: 11.4 Total Value of Bond Trading: Table 11.4.B Total Value of Bond Trading, available at < http://www.world-exchanges.org/publications/TA2402.pdf > viewed on July 10, 2003.
Market Capitalization of Share of Domestic Companies in billion US\$	ALL CITIES	World Federation of Exchanges (2002), <i>Annual Statistics 2002</i> , 1. Equity Market: 1.3 Market Capitalization of Shares of Domestic Companies, Table 1.3.B Market Capitalization of Shares of Domestic Companies (Main and Parallel Market), available at < http://www.world-exchanges.org/publications/TA1302.pdf >, viewed on July 10, 2003.
Number of Internet services provider (ISPs)	Hong Kong	The Office of the Telecommunications Authority (OFTA) of HKSAR Government (2003), <i>Telecom Facts: Data & Statistics on Internet Service</i> , Graph of Number of licensed Internet Service Providers, available at < http://www.ofta.gov.hk/tele-lic/operator-licensees/opr-isp.html >, viewed on Feb 19, 2004.
	Tokyo	Ministry of Home Management, Public Affairs, Posts and Communications (2003), <i>Press Release: Number of Internet Users (as of January 31, 2003)</i> , Appendix: Number of Providers of Internet Connection Services Using CATV by Town, City and Prefecture, available at < http://www.soumu.go.jp/joho_tsusin/eng/Statistics/number_users030228.html >, viewed on Feb 17, 2004.
	Singapore	Infocomm Development Authority (IDA) (2004), <i>Public Internet Access Services (Updated as at 1 March 2004)</i> , available at < http://www2.ida.gov.sg/license/Licensees.usf/SBO-IND-PIAS?OpenView >, viewed on March 5, 2004 and email contact with IDA < info@ida.gov.sg > on Mar 3, 2004.
	Taipei	Chang, Edward (2000), <i>Information Technology Landscape in Taiwan: Internet Diffusion</i> , available at < http://www.america.edu/carmel/ec0897a/internetdiffusion.html >, viewed on March 4, 2004.
	Shanghai	Fan, Qiuyan (2001), <i>Regulatory Factors Influencing Internet Access in China: An Empirical Analysis</i> , p. 5, available at < http://www.ica.ogo.gov.au/papers2001/fan.doc >, viewed on March 4, 2004.
Expenditure on R&D as % of GDP	ALL CITIES	IMD (2003), <i>The World Competitiveness Yearbook 2003</i> , Lausanne, Switzerland: International Institute for Management Development, p. 676, Criterion 4.3.03.
	Shanghai	Shanghai Statistical Bureau (2002), <i>Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2002</i> , Statistics on R&D investment, available at the Statistical Database of < www.chinainfobank.com > (in Chinese).
Tourism numbers (million visitors per annum) international domestic total	Hong Kong	Hong Kong Tourism Board (2004), Visitor Arrival Statistics - Dec 2003, Table 2: Cumulative Visitor Arrivals Summary by Country/Territory of Residence, available from < http://partnernet.hktourismboard.com/ >, viewed on Feb 12, 2004.
	Tokyo	International: Email contact with Mr. Shkok Uchida < uchida@tourism.jp > of the Tourism Japan on August 28, 2003. Domestic: Tokyo Convention & Visitors Bureau (1999) <i>Travel Promotion</i> < http://www.tcvb.or.jp/about_us/t_promo.html >
	Singapore	Singapore Tourism Board (2003), <i>Statistical database: Visitor arrivals statistics, Yearly</i> , available at < http://app.stb.com.sg/asp/index.asp > viewed on Feb 13, 2004.
	Taipei	Tourism Bureau, Ministry of Transportation and Communications, Republic of China (2002), <i>Annual report on Tourism 2001</i> , Visitor expenditures, 1956-2001 & Tourism revenues for past two years, available at < http://202.39.225.136/auser/B/Annual_2001/index.html >, viewed on Feb 13, 2004.
	Shanghai	Shanghai Statistical Bureau (2002), <i>Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2002</i> , Statistics on International tourist and Visitors from Other Provinces, available at the Statistical Database of < www.chinainfobank.com >, viewed on August 28, 2003, (in Chinese).
Ecological footprint	Hong Kong and Singapore	YOD: 1997, <i>Ranking the Ecological Impacts of Nations</i> , The Earth Council, http://www.ecouncil.ac.cr/rio/focus/report/english/footprint/ranking.htm , viewed in May 2006.
	Tokyo	WWF, <i>Asia-Pacific 2005: The Ecological Footprint and Natural Wealth</i> .
	Taipei	YOD: 1998, Forestry Bureau 2005 Sustainability Index, http://www.forest.gov.tw/web/English2/ESI.htm , viewed in May 2006.
	Shanghai	YOD: 2002, 'Ecological footprint and biocapacity,' downloaded from The Ecological Footprint webpage under The European Environment Agency, http://org.eea.europa.eu/news/Ann1132753060 , viewed in May 2006.
Solid waste	ALL except Taiwan	The World Bank (1999), <i>What a Waste: Solid Waste Management in Asia</i> , Washing, USA: The World Bank
	Taiwan	<i>Statistical Yearbook of Taiwan 2007</i> , http://eng.stat.gov.tw/public/data/dgbas03/bs2/yearbook_eng/y074I.pdf , accessed on 2 April 2008.
Percentage of all	Hong Kong	Email contact with Ms. Carmen Wong, Community Relations Officer of Drainage Services Department of the HKSAR Government < carmenwong@dssd.gov.hk > on Oct

Indicators	Cities	Sources
wastewater which has secondary treatment		28, 2003.
	Tokyo	n.a.
	Singapore	Email contact with Mr. Tan Yok Gin, assistant director for director of Water Reclamation Department, Public Utilities Board of Singapore <TAN_Yok_Gin@pub.gov.sg> on Oct 29, 2003.
	Taipei	Email contact with Mr. Lee Shu-Chuan, director of Sewerage System Office of Taipei City Government, Republic of China <sew000@mail.sew.gov.tw> on Dec 29, 2003.
	Shanghai	n.a.
Average annual air quality TSP (total suspended particulates) in microgram per cubic metre-----50 ug/m3	Hong Kong	Environmental Protection Department (2002), <i>Air Quality in Hong Kong 2002</i> , available from < http://www.epd.hk/epd/tc_chi/environmentinhk/air/air_quality/files/aqr02c.pdf >, viewed on January 27, 2004.
	Tokyo	Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2003), <i>Tokyo Statistical Yearbook 2002</i> , Tokyo: Tokyo Metropolitan Government, pp.480-483.
	Singapore	Ministry of the Environment (2000), <i>Annual Report 2000</i> , pp. 20-22, Singapore: Ministry of the Environment. Available from < http://www.nea.gov.sg/cms/ccird/pg_18_23.pdf >, viewed on January 28, 2004.
	Taipei	Department of Environmental Protection, Taipei City Government (2002), <i>Diagram of Air Quality of Taipei City in 2002</i> , available from < http://www.epb.taipei.gov.tw/english/official/air_quality.htm >, viewed on January 26, 2004.
	Shanghai	Shanghai Environmental Protection Bureau(2003), 2003 Shanghai Environmental Bulletin, available from < http://www.sepb.gov.cn/gongbao/inian2002.asp >, viewed on November 07, 2003.
Death rate per 100,000 population Cancer and respiratory disease	Hong Kong	For the data of death rates per 100,000 population for cancer and respiratory diseases, they are adopted from Information Services Department of the HKSAR Government (2002), Hong Kong Yearbook 2002, Appendix 6, Table 25 Number of Deaths and Death Rate by Leading Cause of Death, Hong Kong: Information Services Department of the HKSAR Government, p.484. For the datum of death rate per 100,000 population for suicide, it is adopted from Hospital Authority (2003), Annual Report 2001-2002, p.110, available at < http://www.ha.org.hk/hesd/v2/AHA/ANR0102/110-114.pdf >, viewed on Oct 13, 2003.
	Tokyo	Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2002), <i>Tokyo Statistical Yearbook 2001: Population, Table 9 Growth of Population (1877-2002) and Health, Medical Care, Sanitation and Pollution</i> , Table 248 Deaths by Selected Causes (1997-2001), available at < http://www.toukei.metro.tokyo.jp/08toukei/a_toukei/TOBB510W.HTM >, viewed on Sept 10, 2003.
	Singapore	Singapore Department of Statistics (2003), <i>KeyStats: Singapore in Figures -- Health</i> , available at < http://www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/keystats.html#pubn >, viewed on Sept 10, 2003, last updated on Sept 1 2003.
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	Singapore	Email contact with Mrs. Geraldine Chan, Deputy Manager of Publicity & Programmes, Corporate Communications Department of Land Transport Authority <Liesda_KAMSANI@lta.gov.sg> on Feb 18, 2004.
	Taipei	Email contact with Mr. Jason Tse-Ying Lin of Department of Transportation, Taipei City Government <dot_tpl@dot.tcg.gov.tw> on Dec 22, 2003.
	Shanghai	Email contact with Mr. Yifeng Cai of the Shanghai City Comprehensive Transportation Planning Institute <bandm@vip.sina.com> or <jto@scctpi.gov.cn> on Feb 18, 2004.
Annual net migration rate per 1,000 population	Hong Kong	Census & Statistics Department of HKSAR Government (2003), <i>Hong Kong Statistics: Population and Vital Events</i> , Tables of Mid-Year Population by Sex and Population growth, available at < http://www.info.gov.hk/censtatd/eng/hkstat/hkinf/population/pop1_index.html > and < http://www.info.gov.hk/censtatd/eng/hkstat/hkinf/population/pop3_index.html >, viewed on Feb 12, 2004.
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	Singapore	Singapore Department of Statistics (2003), <i>Yearbook of Statistics Singapore 2003</i> , Table 1.8 Population and Land Area, available at < http://www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/annual/yos/yos18.pdf > and <i>KeyStats: Latest Indicators</i> , available at < http://www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/annual/indicators.html >, viewed on March 8, 2004.
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Percentage of households receiving social security assistance	Hong Kong	The datum of Comprehensive Social Security Assistance (CSSA) and Social Security Assistance (SSA) cases are from email contact with Information and Public Relations Unit of Social Welfare Department of the HKSAR Government <swdenq@swd.gov.hk> on Oct 27, 2003. The datum of number of households is from Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government (2003), <i>Frequently Asked Questions - Population and Vital Events</i> , Statistics on Domestic Households, available at < http://www.info.gov.hk/censtatd/eng/hkstat/fas/pop/domestic_hh_index.html >, viewed on Oct 30, 2003.
	Tokyo	Statistical Bureau, Ministry of Public Management, Home Affairs, Post and Communications Japan (2003), <i>Japan Statistical Yearbook 2003: Chapter 2 Population and Households</i> , Table 2-21 Households and Household Members by Type of Household and Prefecture (2000), available at < http://www.stat.go.jp/english/data/nenkan/zuhyou/b0221000.xls > and Tokyo Metropolitan Government (2002), <i>Tokyo Statistical Yearbook 2001: Social Security</i> , Table 189 Livelihood Protection (1) Households Assisted by District (Yearly Averages of Fiscal Years 1998-2001), available at < http://www.toukei.metro.tokyo.jp/08toukei/a_toukei/TOBB510W.HTM >, viewed on Nov 6, 2003.
	Singapore	Singapore Department of Statistics (2002), <i>Yearbook of Statistics Singapore 2002</i> , Singapore: Singapore Department of Statistics, p.267, Table 22.4 Public Assistance Recipients by Category (End of Period).
	Taipei	Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei City Government, Republic of China (2003), <i>The Statistical Abstract of Taipei City 2003</i> , Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei City Government, Republic of China, pp.598-599, Table 213 Low Income Population in Taipei and p. 609, Table 219 The Household and Population of the Communities in Taipei.
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Gini coefficient of income distribution (%) (national figures)	Hong Kong	C&SD (2002), 2001 Population Census, Main Report, Vol. 1, Table 4.13, Hong Kong: Printing Department HKSAR Government.
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	Shanghai	Wong, L. (2003), "Review of 'China's New Rulers', eds. Andrew J Nathan and Bruce Gilley, Granta, Book review by Laurence Wong", <i>Socialist Review</i> , February 2003, available from < http://www.socialistreview.org.uk/article.php?articlenumber=8332 >, viewed on January 29, 2004.
Cost of Living Index (New York = 100), Index and Ranking	ALL CITIES	Mercer Human Resource Consulting (2003), <i>Cost of Living Survey 2003 - Index Summary</i> , available at < http://www.finfofacts.com/costofliving.htm >, viewed on July 11, 2003.
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	Taipei	Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei City Government, Republic of China (2003), <i>The Statistical Abstract of Taipei City 2003</i> , Taipei, Taiwan: Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei City Government, Republic of China, p.637, Table 229 Criminal Cases in Taipei.
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Percentage of household expenditure on transportation	Hong Kong	Census and Statistics Department of HKSAR Government (2001), <i>Hong Kong Statistics: 1999/2000 Household Expenditure Survey Average Monthly Household Expenditure by Commodity/ Service Section/ Group</i> , available at < http://www.info.gov.hk/censtatd/eng/hkstat/fas/hes/hes_index.html >, viewed on Feb 12, 2004.
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	Taipei	Email contact with Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei City Government, Republic of China < web20000@mail.taipei.gov.tw > on March 15, 2004.
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Percentage population holding post-secondary qualification	Hong Kong	Census and Statistics Department of the HKSAR Government (2003), <i>Hong Kong in Figures: Education -- Distribution of Educational Attainment of Population Aged 15 and Over</i> , available at < http://www.info.gov.hk/censtatd/eng/hkstat/hkinf/education/edu_2_index.html >, viewed on Sept 3, 2003, last updated on March 5, 2003.
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Public expenditure for	Hong Kong	Leisure and Cultural Services Department of the HKSAR Government (2002), <i>2001 Annual Report</i> , Appendix 4 Statement of Revenue and Expenditure for the Financial

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arts and culture as % of total budget		Year 2001-02, available at < http://www.lcsd.gov.hk/dept/annual2001/pdf/app04.pdf >, viewed on Oct 24, 2003; The HKSAR Government (2002), The 2002-03 Budget: Summary of Expenditure Estimates, available at < http://www.budget.gov.hk/2002/cframe4.htm >, viewed on Oct 24, 2003 and email contact with Leisure and Cultural Services Department of the HKSAR Government <lcsdenq@1823.gov.hk> on Oct 24, 2003.
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	Singapore	Singapore Department of Statistics (2003), <i>Singapore in Figures: Government Finance</i> , available at < http://www.singstat.gov.sg/keystats/annual/sif/page19.pdf >, viewed on Oct 22, 2003.
	Taipei	Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei Government, Republic of China (2003), <i>The Statistical Abstract of Taipei City 2003</i> , Taiwan: Department of Budget, Accounting and Statistics, Taipei Government, Republic of China, pp.206-209, Table 67 Budgetary Expenditures of Taipei.
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Number of listed buildings	Hong Kong	Leisure and Cultural Service Department, HKSAR (2002), <i>Antiquities and Monuments Office -- Declared Monuments</i> , available at < http://www.lcsd.gov.hk/CE/Museum/Monument/eng/declared/index.html >, viewed on Sept 1, 2003, last updated on Nov 15, 2002.
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Number of museums public & private	Hong Kong	Hong Kong Tourism Board (2003), <i>DiscoverHongKong -- Heritage -- Museums</i> , available at < http://webserv1.discoverhongkong.com/eng/heritage/museums/index.jhtml >, viewed on Sept 1, 2003, last updated on June 30, 2003.
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	Taipei	Taipei City Government (2003), <i>Taipei Citizen's Handbook -- Sport and Leisure, List of Museums in Taipei City</i> , available at < http://www.taipei.gov.tw/1/11/menu/page30.htm >, viewed on Sept 2, 2003 (in Chinese).
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Number of libraries open to the public	Hong Kong	Leisure and Cultural Service Department, HKSAR (2001), <i>Hong Kong Public Libraries -- Introduction</i> , available at < http://www.lcsd.gov.hk/CE/CulturalService/intro-lib.html >, viewed on Sept 1, 2003, last updated on Sept 28, 2001.
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	Shanghai	Shanghai Municipal Statistics Bureau (2002), <i>Shanghai Statistical Yearbook 2002</i> , Statistics on Public Libraries in Shanghai in 2001, available at < www.chinainfobank.com >, viewed on Oct 8, 2003 (in Chinese).
Number of book publishers	ALL CITIES (except London & Taipei) Search On-line Yellow Page	
	Taipei	Taiwan Yearbook: http://english.www.gov.tw/Yearbook/index.jsp?catid=28&recordid=52732 , accessed on 12 December 2006.
Number of films	Hong Kong	Email contact with Film Services Office, Television and Entertainment Licensing Authority of the HKSAR Government (info@fso-tela.gov.hk) on Sept 9, 2003.

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screened annually	Tokyo	Japan Information Network (2003), <i>Statistics: Leisure</i> , Statistics on the Number of Japanese Films and Foreign Films Released (1983-2002), available at < http://jin.jcic.or.jp/stat/stats/20LES42.html >, viewed on Oct 14, 2003.
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