Steffen Wetzstein

Re-Imagining the Local-Global Relationship in Territorial Economic Governance: Tentative Insights from three Australasian Cities

web: www.ispa.uni-vechta.de/

Re-Imagining the Local-Global Relationship in Territorial Economic Governance: Tentative Insights from three Australasian Cities

Author: Steffen Wetzstein, School of Earth and Environment,
            The University of Western Australia

            Email: steffen.wetzstein@uwa.edu.au

Abstract

Attempts to govern local-global economic relations and spaces have been increasingly recognised in the international literature. While much has been written about multi-national corporate actors in this regard, globalising strategies of territorially-rooted actors such as local, metropolitan and national governance alliances have been under-researched. This paper aims to redress this imbalance by investigating spatial economic strategies of governance actors in a semi-peripheral part of the world – Australasia. The methodological starting point is that big cities are particularly important sites of political strategy and policy work at the local-global interface. Framed by post-structural political economy readings of literatures on neoliberalisation, globalisation, global cities and governance, this paper starts with the assumption that this work is, at least initially, often about soft, or discursive, forms of interventions. Based on the tentative findings on very recent in-depth ethnographic research in the case study sites of Sydney, Auckland and Perth, it is claimed that discursive governance practices are put to work in the context of particular spatial political projects, that resulting governance trajectories and multiple effects are context-specific and contingent, and that despite an heavy emphasis on city-regions as key building blocks of the global economy in the literature, nation-state institutions are actively and powerfully involved in the (re)making of globalising territorial economic governance. The study concludes with a call for more thorough investigation of the contradictory effects of such interventions on people, places and investment as well as for sustained efforts to break-out of narrow Anglo-phone spatial referencing in academic and policy knowledge production on globalising territorial economic management.

Introduction

This paper explores new qualities of local-global economic interactions by investigating emerging forms of globalising territorial economic governance. It problematises the nexus between globalising economic and social relations, territorially based political and policy interventions, and urban/metropolitan outcomes. It takes very seriously the overarching question of how under neoliberal conditions private investors can be influenced in their decision-making (the Global Financial Crisis and the associated EURO-crisis give painful evidence to this dilemma). In order to address this meta-theme, the world of influencing, or governance, needs to be investigated more thoroughly. Recent developments in the international literature point to important dimensions of contemporary governance arrangements. They are said to be wider than just state actors and incorporating business and community actors (Jessop, 2002), to have moved from nation-state arrangements to sub-national and supra-national scales (Swyngedouw, 1997), involve coordination at-a-distance (Larner, 2001), complex policy networks (Rhodes, 1996) and informal and fluid political practices (Hajer, 2003) as well as much discursive work (Wetzstein, 2008a; Goehler et al., 2009). Crucially, they are portrait as often being distant and removed from the spheres where actual investment decisions are made (Le Heron, 1987; Wetzstein, 2007a). An increasingly important question is the issue of how governance actors shape, and respond to, an increasingly complex globalising world.

The methodological strategy of this study is premised on the assumption that cities are particularly important sites in the age of globalisation, and that therefore much of intervention-related thinking and calculating is being undertaken there. Questions of economic prosperity, liveability, sustainability and citizenship are increasingly linked to urban places. Cities are key sites where governmental configurations beyond the nation-state are emerging, where particular ideas about the world are circulating, where policies are formulated, particular activities and ways of doing things are championed, and particular outcome patterns envisioned. Urban-based elites, then, are particularly interesting research subjects as their perceptions, understandings, aspirations and behaviours are important makers in coming to terms with the contours and content of a dynamically changing world.

This study explores urban/metropolitan economic governance in the context of Australasia[1]. This part of the world can easily be overlooked for such research purposes as its small population size and semi-peripheral location on the world map may deem it relatively insignificant. However, these same attributes make it a fascinating research site if one is intrigued by the makings and effects of globalisation on people and places around the world. In addition, the strong commodity-based export-performance of both Australia and New Zealand that in part successfully sheltered them from the effects of the recent global economic downturn, point to the importance of the specific nature of local-global links for territorial development. New situated research questions can be posed: How do globally remote urban places seek access to far away markets? Where in the 'wide-reaching global' are reference

---

1 The term Australasia stands for New Zealand and Australia.

points for urban change sought? And which spatial strategies are pursued by which actors? The particular focus is on two Australian cities and one New Zealand city: Perth, Sydney and Auckland. The choice of case study sites has been influenced by the author's particular positionality of being involved in knowledge production in both, academic and policy arenas, in Auckland and Perth. Sydney has been chosen as an investigative site because of its alleged importance as Australia's economic powerhouse and key 'global city'. This study does not follow conventional comparative Trans-Tasman research (comparing governance and investment pattern between New Zealand and Australia), but explores changing economic governance in the urban context from a post-nation state viewpoint (Sparke, 2005). This means that economic management patterns in each city are investigated in their own right with reference to emerging relationships and networks (initially) independent of scalar hierarchies. By doing so, it takes serious calls for methodologies that pursue 'global ethnography' strategies (McCann, 2010) and a relational comparative approach to urban studies (Ward, 2008).

Central to the papers argument are the concepts of soft interventions, or discursive governance, and political project. The former refers to the bundle of practices that attempt to influence perceptions and behaviours through communication, persuasion, association and reference to particular representations about the world, rather than through top-down administrative power or legal frameworks. The latter has been defined as speculative imaginaries of particular interests involving rationalities that are intelligible, spaces that are seen as potentially governable, governable subjects, translations strategies to link to immediate circumstances and practices, and technologies that facilitate action and assist with knowing the world (Le Heron, 2009c). Spatial political projects acknowledge the implicit and explicit geographical dimensions that are integral to governing initiatives in strategic and operational terms. Political projects have proven useful as analytical tool for linking circulating academic imaginaries, political initiatives and particular policy rationales (Wetzstein and Le Heron, 2010).

This paper is organised around three questions: How is globalising economic governing attempted in urban Australasian settings, how can resulting policy and investment trajectories be evaluated, and which actors are the key influencers in spatial imaginary-mediated governance configurations? Based on extensive policy document review, considerable personal work experiences at the policy-academic interface in Australasian cities, personal observations as well as conversations and in-depth interviews with governance actors in the three case study sites, this paper argues, first, that discursive governance practices and spatial political projects are key ingredients in new globalising territorial governance arrangements in Australasia. Second, it is claimed that resulting contingent governing trajectories and multiple effects on institutions and investment are dependent on city-specific socio-economic conditions and institutional-cultural context. Third, it is suggested that despite a heavy emphasis on city-regions as building blocks of the global economy in the literature, nation-state institutions are actively involved in the (re)making of urban/metropolitan economic governance. The reminder brings together key international literature strands, provides empirical

insights from three Australasian cities and analyses them in regards to discursive and material local-global repositioning processes, and concludes with new questions for research.

Economic Governance, Globalisation and Discursive Practices

New forms, practices and objects of sub-national economic governance under neoliberalsing and globalising conditions have been explored from a variety of angles; recognising, for example, new entrepreneurial forms of urban management (Harvey, 1989), the wider context of crisis-prone capitalist territorial development (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Brenner 2006) and a shift from the state to a variety of public, private and non-for-profit actors (Jessop, 2002). At the same time, analysts have shifted attention to the intriguing question of how governing is achieved under contemporary conditions of a financially constrained public sector, rapid social change, rising global interdependencies and increasing discursive complexity. This issue has been approached by political scientists who have focussed on new structures of complex policy networks (Rhodes, 1996; Bevir and Rhodes, 2003) as well as a new range of informal and fluid political practices and arrangements between institutional layers of the state, and between state institutions and societal organisations (Hajer, 2003; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Political Economists have increasingly contributed to the study of the choices behind particular economic and spatial representations that guide sub-national political and policy interventions. A cultural political economy approach (Fairclough et al., 2004; Jessop and Sum, 2006) attempts to shed light on the rise of dominant political and economic discourses and imaginaries at the expense of others by illuminating the ongoing interactions between the semiotic and extra-semiotic dimensions that give relatively successful economic and political imaginaries their performative, constitutive force in the material world. An alternative post-structural political economy perspective (PSPE) stemming from the analytical engagement with emergent post-restructuring[2] governance structures in New Zealand (Larner and Le Heron, 2002a; Le Heron 2009a,b; Wetzstein, 2007b; Lewis et al., 2008; Larner et al., 2007; see also McCann, 2008), highlights governance and economic processes as contingently 'in the making' and having constitutive effects; thus stressing openness, indeterminacy and emergence. PSPE sheds light on the ways governing of a multitude of actors that include state, business, community and environmental interests remains possible at-a-distance (Rose, 1999; Painter, 2005) despite the diminished direct role of the state as a mediator of economic and social processes. One of the advantages of investigating complex and multifaceted policy developments from an 'in the making' perspective that features a dynamic process perspective (compared to a static, frozen snap-shot approach), a real-time concern with policy problems (rather than ex post analysis), and the revelation of relational associations (rather than causality links or chains), is the promise of a more liberating approach for actors and practitioners that might lead to performing economic development policy-making differently (Wetzstein and Le Heron, 2010).

2 Economic restructuring refers to the wide-reaching effects of the well-publicised comprehensive neoliberal political reforms in New Zealand in the 1980s and 1990s (see Le Heron and Pawson, 1996, for a detailed account).

A PSPE-approach increasingly recognises the importance of economic, spatial and other imaginaries (Jessop and Oosterlynck, 2008; Mitchell, 2009; Larner and Le Heron, 2002b; Larner et al., 2009), because these are seen as generative of new objects and subjects of governance, context and conditions, as well as new institutional forms and configurations. The concept of imaginaries has increasingly been used to describe how (academic) ideas become intellectual projects that are strategic in nature and sometimes go into extended circulation. The analysis of how particular imaginaries about New Zealand's and Auckland's economies become activated, contested and materialised, under what contextual circumstances, and in which spatial and institutional settings, has benefited from the application of the concept of the political project. In New Zealand, these conglomerates of programmes and initiatives in governmental arenas have recently included the knowledge economy and society (Prince, 2003), globalisation and global connectivity (Larner and Le Heron, 2002b), sustainability (Rees, 2005) as well as state-centred discourses on policy integration, joined-up government and partnerships (Wetzstein, 2008b; Mitchell, 2009). This particular configuration of contingent projects as well as contradictory strategies, rationalities and political forms is very different to developments under neoliberal governments of the 1990s. According to Larner et al. (2007) they can be linked to an after-neoliberal policy turn in New Zealand. However, they stress that this label does not stand for a definitive governmental moment, nor does it signify a defining rupture with the neoliberalism of the past; rather it emphasises the open-ended and emergent qualities of these programmes.

Central to the expansionary and transformative force of political projects is the work of emerging discursive practices of governance. They encompass, at least in Auckland, a combination of 'story telling' (Berry, 2001; Tilly, 2002; Hajer, 2003) to inspire, motivate and mobilise other actors, the use of benchmarking to create globalising imaginaries for local actors (Larner and Le Heron, 2002a; McCann, 2010), and the proliferation of indicators to constitute 'self-reflexive' actors that pursue sustainability through the balancing of investment goals (Wetzstein, 2008a). Calculative practices have been particularly powerful in constituting new objects of governance recently. Benchmarking has become popular across diverse academic disciplines and decision-making contexts (Thompson, 1999; Dattakumar and Jagadeesh, 2003). At least for peripheral positions such as New Zealand they are viewed as central practices through which new conceptions of global spaces and subjects are being made by bringing together previously heterogeneous and spatially disparate economic objects (Larner and Le Heron, 2002 a, b; 2004). Le Heron and Larner (2005) demonstrate, for example, the increasing significance of global referencing capabilities that involve scanning knowledges and practices for New Zealand's universities' global repositioning. The constitutive power of numbers is also visible in the rise of 'indicatorisation' as a governmental technique. McCann (2004) shows the influence of 'best places to live' rankings and a key mediating role of the popular media for urban policy development in the USA. Baker and Wong (2006) associate the proliferating application of indicators and statistical information in regional and local policymaking in the United Kingdom (UK) with a more information-intensive governance regime. New Zealand, too, has

embraced 'indicatorisation' in the context of evidence-based policy-making in local and central government during the last decade (MED, 2005; MSD, 2005). Numbers in this context are crucial because they, far from being neutral measurements, help make up the object domains upon which government is to operate (Rose, 1999). More generally, discursive governing practices are somewhat 'low level' interventions, often unable to get large media attention, buried in the day-to-day activities of technocratic elites, not easily accessible to the wider public, and thus relatively easily hidden from the observing analytical eye. Yet, these interventions are the institutional basis for narrating stories that are circulating and that actors believe in, and for making claims about the world that are accepted as truth. They clearly are important.

City-regions are said to become critical objects of economic governance under neoliberalising and globalising conditions as they are variously described as, for example, key nodes of competitive activity (Morgan, 1997; Amin, 1999), centres of power and exchange (Sassen, 1991; Scott, 2001), attractive to global capital in production (Jessop and Sum, 2000; Florida, 2002) and consumption circuits (Rogerson, 1999; Begg, 1999) as well as laboratories for developing sustainable practices (Newman, 1999; Pol, 2002). Assumptions and claims of those literature strands have been critiqued, for example, on the grounds of being constructed around a rather narrow set of empirical and theoretical issues relating to exchange, interspatial competition and globalisation (Jonas and Ward, 2007), too much emphasis placed on the economic side as opposed to social and political aspects (Purcell, 2007) and an failed engagement with claims that deal with changes in the material circumstances of city-regions (Harding, 2007). Important recent work by McCann illuminates the role of cities as producers, distributers and consumers of mobile and modifiable policy models (McCann, 2010). He stresses that apparently banal activities of individual policy transfer agents in the flow of policy ideas from one location to another need to be taken seriously. Importantly, policies do not remain the same, but are translated, learned in specific settings, re-interpreted and adapted to local circumstances. Other key contributions to the globalisation/urbanisation debate by Sassen (2008, 2009) claim that the global economy needs diverse specialised economic capabilities, and that these capabilities required to trade, finance, service, and invest globally, need to be produced in the complex and thick environments of particular 'global cities'. These places function as bridge between their national economies and the global economy. Global firms need groups of cities, meaning that cities do not simply compete with each other. Finally, Sparke (2005) argues that even in a post-nation state and post-foundational world, the nation-state remains important and re-emerges in different shapes, practices and open-ended political struggles.

Three Areas of Observation from Australasia

In Australia's and New Zealand's highly urbanised societies, big cities serve as commercial hubs, service centres and gateway locations rather than predominantly as sites of manufacturing goods. The urban economic fate has always been linked to the performance of primary industries and the rural sector in both countries. Over time, these fast growing cities have been

able to create more demand from the local population and the economic base has shifted from commerce, trade and some manufacturing to more consumption-oriented activities. Like in many other countries around the world, the 1980s and 1990s saw profound neoliberal restructuring happening in both countries, leading to market-friendly policies and opening of borders to global investment and people. As people magnets in traditional immigration societies, the Australasian cities have for long enjoyed sustained high population growth. While this dynamic drives demand for products and services, it also puts pressure on urban housing markets and infrastructure systems. The political system in Australia is a three tier system of federal, state and local government. The Federal Government is in charge of taxation and regulation, defence, trade and some infrastructure provision. The States are powerful players in areas such as education, health, economic development, planning, while local governments are responsible for local infrastructure, property-, business- and community services. In New Zealand's two tier system, in contrast, the central government has large powers (basically combining Australia's Federal and State level responsibilities), while local governments are in charge of local service provision and environmental protection.

The ways governing is attempted, the nature of the wider claim- and evidence base for a particular intervention, and the inherent tensions and power relationships, become more visible if one engages with key actors of the urban elites. The arguments in this paper result from closer interrogation of the work and the understandings of leaders in state and business. The views of elected and appointed local and state government leaders and their staff have informed this research as much as representatives of the influential 'Committee for [City]'[3] organisations as well as Chambers of Commerce and influential individuals. Through these personal stories, combined with insights gained from a wide range of published policy reports, strategies, scoping papers as well as press releases and website information, a more detailed picture emerges as to what topics are debated in each city, which academic and policy ideas are circulating in which sites, what particular socio-economic challenges have triggered political and policy initiatives and which topics are more politicised than others at any given time. Light can also be shed on who the most powerful agents of change, or resistance, are, how governing is attempted and where investment undertaken, and, importantly, how local-global dimensions are incorporated in these debates. Insights from each of the three Australasian cities give evidence to the particular nature of the spatial economic imaginaries at work, but also highlight commonalities and similarities across these places.

Sydney, Australia's largest city and economic powerhouse, is widely perceived as Australasia's most globally-oriented city. This perception is largely based on the number of headquarters of transnational companies in the city in particular in finance, the sheer size of the economy, and the global imagery fuelled by world-class local events such as New Year's celebrations,

---

3 The 'Committee for Perth', the 'Committee for Sydney' and the 'Committee for Auckland' as relatively new gover-nance actors that combine powerful corporate and civic interests for the 'good' of their respective cities have been important study sites for developing the author's understanding of contemporary urban/metropolitan economic governance in Australasia.

the Olympic Games in 2000, and the pull of iconic landmarks such as the Sydney Opera and the city's beautiful harbour. However, after the Olympic Games Sydney was largely seen as big and popular enough to attract global investment without sustained political and policy effort. But in recent years, the 4-millon plus metropolis has encountered the severe problems of its own rapid and often uncoordinated growth as traffic congestion, political antagonism and corruption have raised questions about the city-region's sustainable future. In addition, the recent global financial crisis has left an impact on the business sector as some key financial businesses left town. In Sydney a variety of competing political projects can be discerned at this moment. Among others, there is the 'green city' model, inspired by continental European pedestrian- and bicycle-friendly policies, and largely promoted by the City of Sydney[4]. There is the 'global city' project, a style of thinking that focuses on the Central Business District (CBD) and linkages to the wider Asia-Pacific region, knowledge-producing institutions and global headquarters of banking and insurance companies. There is the State of New South Wales driven 'city-of-cities' project focussed on land-use dynamics and emphasising regional centres and links between them. And there is the 'employment self-sufficiency' project, which dominates suburban Western and Southern Sydney where public transport is under-developed and the local rate base dependent on small and medium-size businesses. Sydney is also a place of intense politics, and local decision-making can at times include non-transparent deals between local politicians and developers - to avoid the word corruption. The role of the media must not be under-valued. In this context, the Sydney Morning Herald has been very influential in shaping public debate on the performance of the current State government; a set of campaigns that may contribute to the latter losing the elections later this year.

Auckland, New Zealand's 1.4 million metropolis, economic centre and traditional gateway to the world, is firmly on the country's economic governance agenda today. This is an outcome of a remarkable transformation in understandings about the role of the country's largest metropolitan centre, from an ungovernable economic development problem site 4 decades ago, to the reform period of the 1980s and 1990s where it was not considered a relevant site for economic intervention at all, to the post-restructuring years that saw economic governing functions gradually being reinvented and governmental actors increasingly aligned. Auckland's overall restructuring experience had been predominantly one of economic growth, not of decline. The end of the 1990s, however, illustrated the unsustainable quality of this growth as it was largely based on population growth and local consumption, not on productivity gains. While international migration and rising imported goods have become an expression of intensifying local-global links, analysts highlighted the increasing economic marginalisation of Auckland in terms of exporting activity, the role as a physical gateway between New Zealand and the world, and in servicing the country as a business hub (Le Heron and McDermott, 2001). These challenges triggered a more collaborative local state trajectory at Auckland's metropolitan scale (see Wetzstein, 2007c) and the autonomous mobilisation of local

---

4 The City of Sydney represents the inner-most area of the metropolitan region of Sydney. It is one of 38 local government entities in the region.

business interests; developments which coincided and intersected with a new approach by central government to mobilise economic growth through sub-national institutional changes in New Zealand. The resulting intervention trajectory has put Auckland at the heart of spatial economic thinking in New Zealand in form of the 'Fix Auckland' political project. Yet, Auckland is an arena where multiple political projects are played out. These political projects have in recent times included an emphasis on the knowledge economy and knowledge society, sustainability, competitiveness as well as state-centred discourses such as policy integration, joined-up government and partnerships. Larner et al. (2007) suggest these different speculative imaginaries coalescence around a new emerging governmental rationality in New Zealand in the form of a 'global connectedness'. She claims that in the specific form of this policy project, both discourses and practices allow the creation of a unified business and administrative environment, thereby constituting global flows and networks as the new objects of economic governance. An increasingly overriding concern with 'global connectedness', combined with the fact that Auckland is now becoming a site of economic governance in its own right, meant that the until recently unthinkable radical institutional reconfiguration in the name of local-global re-positioning is currently embarked on – an amalgamated 'Super-City' (Royal Commission on Auckland Governance, 2008). At the same time, Auckland becomes a site of, potentially, increasing social problems associated with spatial and economic polarisation as well as educational underachievement of a growing part of the ethnically diverse local population.

Perth is the most isolated capital city in the world. Its economic base is overly reliant on the resource sector, meaning that investments, business confidence and population growth are strongly linked to the boom and bust patterns of this sector. People of this city are often said to show an entrepreneurial commercial spirit. While local real estate and infrastructure has been financed to a considerable degree by US-based investors after World War Two, managerial and bureaucratic expertise has been transferred from the Australian East Coast to the country's Western part. International immigration, in contrast, stems mainly from countries such as the United Kingdom, South Africa and New Zealand. A very conservative local culture is very much based on 'othering'; identity formation on the basis of being different to other places. This tendency shows, for example, in the rejection of the often 'taken for granted' policy initiatives elsewhere - waterfront developments, retail liberalisation and daylight saving. The astonishing population growth resulting from the recent resources boom associated with the rapid growth of East- and South-Asian economies, coupled with a lack of mechanisms and capacity to increase the supply of housing, have pushed housing affordability at the forefront of current policy challenges. Other political projects of the 1.5 million 'metropolis' include the intensification of the extremely sprawling residential development, current State-driven local government amalgamation and sequential retail trade reform. From a long-term perspective, the sustainable use of scarce resources, especially water, is a highly topical area.

Since founding in 1829, space and spatial imaginaries have played an important role in the ways local identity was forged and political issues were being addressed. The city's

isolation meant that a relatively inward looking culture developed that champions home-grown innovation and self-reliance. When spatial references were sought, they were found not just in the big cities on Australia's Eastern Seaboard, but in diverse places from around the world. Two recent initiatives highlight how space is currently rethought for Perth's future development in some institutional sites. First, last year's LandCorp Community 2030 Summits – marketed as community conversations about the future of Western Australia held in Perth and Broome in July 2009 - talked about Perth potentially becoming a hub to the wider Indian Ocean Region (personal observation). Another strategic conference scheduled for 2010 will also focus exclusively on opportunities in building closer relationships with countries and places around the Indian Ocean Rim. Second, the so-called 'In-the-Zone' conference, a major international public policy conference initiated by the University of Western Australia in conjunction with the State Government and Mining Giants such as Rio Tinto and Chevron, attempted to stimulate debate on the public policy, geo-political and business challenges facing Australia and its major trading partners in China, Japan, India, South-Korea and South-East Asia. Importantly, Perth and Western Australia were positioned as important link between Australia and the globally dominating markets in East and South Asia in the vast mineral and gas resource sectors. No wonder, then, that 'The Australian' newspaper euphorically proclaimed that Western Australia, and thus centrally Perth as dominant centre, is "no longer isolated, but now finds itself centre stage for the [Asian] 21st century" (The Australian, 2009).

Re-imagining the Local-Global Relationship

The work of how spatial relationships involving city-regions and urban actors from this part of the world are envisioned, reimagined, rethought and remade can be conceptualised in regards to the 'local-global' relationship. Using a diverse sets of insights from the three case study sites, there are at least four angles from which to make sense of discursive spatial repositioning processes involving urban-based elite governance actors. These are: the 'global' as reference point for local aspirations and ideas, local – global comparisons and rankings, urban state-institutional reconfiguration for 'local –global' repositioning, and re-imagining the local in relation to the global. Each of these four processes will be quickly commented on.

Global Reference Point for Local Aspirations and Ideas

The interviews in all three case study sites highlighted the importance of actors looking to places in the 'global' for guidance on successful urban development. In the land-use policy area, ideas on compact city design, mixed-use developments and alternative transport modes have strongly informed planning policies. These ideas are largely sourced from continental European cities and their policy thinkers. Copenhagen's star architect Jan Gehl, for instance, has been visiting Australian cities for a long time and has attempted to influence inner city and waterfront redevelopments in places such as Perth and Sydney. Transit-oriented Design (TOD)

and 'new urbanism' design principles have been imported from the North American context, and have left an impact in particular in the redeveloped areas of East Perth and Subiaco in Perth. Interestingly, the Subiaco train station development design became the exact blueprint for a large scale intensification project in West-Auckland (Waitakere City Mayor, 2010). Best practice ideas on urban political governance have been identified in diverse cities as Vancouver, London and Brisbane, and have consequently informed thinking on metropolitan local government reform in Auckland and Perth. These urban policy mobilities (McCann, 2010) from elsewhere have become important discursive governance resources in Australasian cities. It is important to note, however, that these ideas have often been strongly adapted to local circumstances through context-specific problem-solving and innovation. It can be said that Auckland's new ‚Super City'-arrangement has been influenced by governance models in the UK and Australia, but it is in its entirety a unique creation (Chair Auckland Governance Commission, 2010). Global urban policy transfer is also mediated by time- and place-specific institutions. For example, the University of Western Australia worked with the 'Committee for Perth' on a discussion paper on metropolitan governance models elsewhere. This study is now compressed and repackaged by a public relations company, before a press release will make it attractive so as to be picked up by the local media. Then, so it is hoped, it will get traction in Perth's political circles. In Auckland, likewise, the 'Committee for Auckland' assisted the fact-finding trip of the Royal Commission of Auckland's Governance, and recommended particular locations where important lessons could be learnt. It becomes clear that shifting understandings of the local-global nexus centrally includes scanning global knowledges and practices. But it is not just a guiding idea that is referenced globally. Aspirations in Australia and New Zealand are often phrased in regards to the global. Across all case study sites, actors refer to the global as a scale where wider objectives can be formulated and justified. The term 'world-class' is used frequently, and seems to be more common in Australasia than, for example, in the European context. Perth, for instance, is now re-imagined as 'World Centre for Indigenous Culture and Cultural Experience' and place with 'world-class' amenity (Committee for Perth, 2010). Global ambition serves as reference point, and legitimisation, for local institutional and investment changes. To the critical observer, all too often, however, claims of 'world-class'-ness are not aligned with reality. They are more often than not just the discursive aspects of city-boosterism that aim to persuade people to buy-in, belief-in and consume certain products, or packages, related to the changing urban world.

Local – Global Comparisons and Rankings

Calculative practices such as global benchmarking and ranking exercises shape new understandings of where Australasian city-regions compare in regards to the global. For a semi-peripheral region they can be understood as particular measurements that provide valuable feedback about its positioning in globalising networks and circuits. A recent benchmarking exercise by an Australian consultancy commissioned by Sydney-based business organisation 'Committee for Sydney' provides the

rationale behind selecting particular cities. London, Tokyo and New York are depicted as cities that define Sydney's global aspirations and standing, Singapore, Hong Kong and Shanghai are seen as direct competitors, and Vancouver, San Francisco and Los Angeles as places that have similar urban characteristics and challenges to Sydney (Committee for Sydney, 2009). Continental European cities don't feature at all. The report shows that the 'Committee for Sydney' shapes particular conceptions about Sydney's local-global relationship, one that by large refers to the North-American and East-Asian context. As a result, an imaginary of the Asia-Pacific Rim emerges as the spatial reference space for Sydney's urban and economic development. The chosen indicators, too, reveal spatial dimensions such as the 'percentage of resident population born overseas', air transport passengers or top global fortune 500 companies in the city. Some benchmarking indicators are benchmarks themselves, for example, the Shanghai Jiaotong university ranking (number of top 500 universities), the Anholt City Brand ranking (indexed) and the Economist Intelligence Unit's liveability survey index score. The benchmarking report findings and the interview messages from members of the Sydney-based business and state elites are remarkably aligned. Just as the report highlights, one interviewed private sector executive views Singapore, and to a lesser degree Hongkong, as key competitors for investment, headquarters and people in the Asia-Pacific region (Sydney Business Leader, 2010).

This 'Committee for Sydney' benchmarking report is just one example of how particular governance actors use emerging governmental technologies to make claims and justify initiatives. Personal experiences from working in Auckland's transport and economic development policy area confirms the importance of benchmarking in contemporary public policy practice in this part of the world, the re-constitution of the Asia-Pacific regions as the key reference space for urban comparisons and aspirations, and the bias towards cities in the non-European Anglo-phone world as often first choice for selecting places to be benchmarked. In the past, benchmarking and ranking moved from the private sector to national governments, resulting, for example in OECD comparisons or international industry comparisons (see PISA-study on education as an example). Rankings have at times explicitly framed the aspirations of governments such as New Zealand's Labour-led governments under Helen Clark (1999-2008) that targeted the country's GDP per capita ranking as key indicator of economic development success. But it is today's cities that are increasingly important spatial entities that are ranked, indexed, benchmarked and evaluated in all kind of ways – shaping spatial awareness in the process. Quality of Life surveys (e.g. Mercer) seem to be particularly prone to media attention and thus constitutive of new governance discourse at this point in time. The rapid expansion of the 'urban liveability' discourse across Australasian cities in recent years can be partly explained by the proliferation of these sorts of ranking exercises. Interestingly, cities such as Melbourne, Auckland, Wellington and Perth are often considered favourably against North-American and even many European cities in this regard. In sum, through calculative practices involving city comparisons and rankings the local and global are connected in particular ways. In the process, important governmental work is done that shapes actors' understandings of their world as urban, competitive and geographically particular.

Urban Institutional Reconfiguration for Local – Global Repositioning

Auckland's rationale behind the radical overhaul of its current local government structure presents an example of how the 'global' is projected into the 'local' to justify state-institutional reconfigurations. The birth of the 'Super-City' structure has been legitimised by reference to Auckland's competition with other urban regions in the Asia-Pacific region as well as the desire to achieve first-rate liveability for its people by global standards. The new structure is believed to ensure that Auckland not only successfully competes with Melbourne, Sydney, and Brisbane for people and investment, but achieves world-class standards in quality of life, attracts and retains talented people and delivers significant investment and prosperity to New Zealand (Royal Commission on Auckland's Governance, 2008). Yet, Auckland's fundamental break with the city's long history of political fragmentation and localism can only be understood in the wider national context. In this sense, Auckland's state-institutional restructuring is much about the spatial politics of governance within New Zealand. On the one hand, local government reform in New Zealand's largest city can be viewed as a means to align fragmented and antagonistic local actors, ensure adequate national investment and manage political risks of a growing Auckland electorate. As one Auckland business leader (2010) explains, "comprehensive reform was the least risky of all political choices for Helen Clark". On the other hand, there are powerful claims that assert that New Zealand needs a global city for its economic future, and this can only be Auckland. The global city status is seen as an important governmental goal by local elites, which, importantly, include Central Government and both the past and present Prime Ministers. Current local government reform is the most recent expression of how the position of New Zealand's economic powerhouse is changing within the country's governance. There are imagined economic and non-economic benefits for the country as a whole which lie behind the hopes for more effective governance and increased leadership in the post-reform Auckland. It signals a shift in understanding about Auckland's place in New Zealand and the world. Just like Sydney's political construction as a global city and its elevation to 'national champion' as part of the national accumulation strategy (McGuirk, 2007), Auckland is now seen by many as the central factor in attempts to connect New Zealand's actors and activities with the networks and circuits of the globalising economy. But the city-region is expected to do more. The Auckland political project consists of different programmatic impulses across the political spectrum featuring infrastructure re-investment, political reorganisation, economic and social governance, as well as knowledge production and institutional representation. Clearly, Auckland has become a political project in its own right in recent years in New Zealand. In this after-neoliberal moment, just like the creative industries or urban sustainability, Auckland has become a meta-narrative and governmental vehicle to imagine simultaneous progress towards goals in economic, social, environmental and cultural domains. As a matter of fact, institutional reconfiguration as subject of discursive interventions is also on the agenda in Sydney and Perth. The 'Committee for Sydney' argues for the creation of greater metropolitan areas as they "...believe that in the first decade of the 21st century this is an intelligent policy proposal that will reflect realities of Australian life, just as the states reflected realities in 1901"

(Committee for Sydney, 2010, 2). There is also some political appetite for State-driven Local Government reform in Western Australia at the moment, but it needs to be seen how long the current reform momentum can be maintained against heavy opposition from local politicians.

Re-imagining the Local in Relation to the Global

Reconfigurations under globalising territorial governance can also be linked to a re-imagining of the 'local' into the 'global'. Whereas in the past Perth's spatial isolation had been its defining feature, increasing spatial connections through significant government and corporate links to the Australian Eastern Seaboard cities, through sea links to Europe and the UK as well as financial ties to the United States have produced a more complex map of spatial interdependencies. Growing understandings of the opportunities provided by the city's location on the Indian Ocean Rim, and its spatial and temporal proximity to key markets in Asia, is starting to add another layer of spatial imaginaries available to actors. Recent initiatives in Perth exemplify how spatial relations are re-thought in a strategic manner by corporate actors, government elites and community leaders alike. While many people reject dependence and reliance on geographically distant actors, Perth's and Western Australia's global links are actively made and remade through discursive means such as conferences, reports, media releases and public debates.

The 'local' is also re-projected into the 'global' through new rounds of targeted city-marketing. By means of creating a unified vision for a city-region, or by working on a sharp and distinctive city brand, the object of discursive governance is the visibility and recognisability of specific aspects of the 'local' to particular actor groups of the 'global'. For example, governance actors now claim that "historically, Perth has looked elsewhere for models, but the city is big enough, old enough and sophisticated enough to be able to develop its own vision" (Committee for Perth, 2009, 1). In this context, "a vision statement should be inspiring, articulate the hopes and dreams of the population and set the direction for future planning" (4). It should also not be generic, but reflective of the distinctive features of Perth. Strategic thinking, tactical considerations and outright risk/benefits analyses are part of the development of these policy statements as are practical engagement options ranging from participatory processes and school competitions to workshops and 'chatter' groups. In Sydney, 'branding' has become a new buzzword since the 'Brand Sydney' project was launched by the former Premier Morris Iemma in 2008 in order to develop a global brand logo for the city. This initiative evolved in the Greater Sydney Partnership, a public-private sector marketing initiative consisting of business and tourism organisations aiming to develop an internationally recognisable brand for Sydney. This State-government supported entity describes its role as "to market Sydney and its existing assets more effectively by shifting current perceptions and stimulating investment, promoting world-class education, increasing visitation (both domestically and internationally) and increasing tourism and trade overall" (Sydney Morning Herald, 2010). It seems that the business of shifting perceptions through creative marketing campaigns, targeted institutional mechanisms and deliberate engagement practices has become an important part of repositioning Australasian cities to the World.

In sum, discursive governance practices and spatial political projects are central to emerging globalising territorial governance arrangements in Australasia. At-a-distance governmental technologies such as the use of benchmarking and indicators, associative practices such as networking, and 'story-telling' techniques not dissimilar to commercial marketing exercises all work in subtle ways to shift actors perceptions, assumptions and aspirations in regards to spatial relations inherent in institutional and economic processes. These governing arrangements are guided by the hope that socio-economic conditions can be influenced, rather than being grounded in causal mechanisms about how the world works. Governance actors are becoming increasingly strategic about when to use particular discursive techniques. For some, narratives and visions are the key building blocks for attempting to affect change, and numbers, facts and evidence follow later. For others, (re)telling narratives works best for community-buy-in and for broader changes of attitudes and cultures, while the facts-based approach is highly useful for influencing governments and the bureaucrats of the state-apparatus. Networking and partnership arrangements have become a key feature of governmental work over the last decade in both Australia and New Zealand. Insights from each of the three Australasian cities give particular evidence to the kind of 'spatial work' discourses do, and some indication of the sheer scale of spatial imaginaries that are circulating. Urban repositioning processes become ultimately possible because problems of urban economic policy are being rethought through a revised image of economic space and the means by which it can be acted upon (Rose, 1999).

Place and Context Matter

This exploration shows that discursive governing trajectories and its multiple effects on institutions and investment are dependent on the prevailing socio-economic conditions of the place and the particular institutional-cultural context. In other words, place and context matter. New Zealand's spatial isolation, its small domestic market and low productivity growth contributed to governmental alignments that finally led to unexpected sweeping political restructuring in its commercial capital Auckland - with the hope that a strong Auckland will deliver economic benefits to the whole country. In Australia, radical metropolitan amalgamation is much less likely in the context of - on average - higher economic growth rates and strong power of the States. Current business-driven governance initiatives in Perth and Sydney can thus be expected to change the status-quo only modestly. The conservative culture of significant parts of Perth's population, coupled with a forecast of ongoing strong economic growth, may in fact be the recipe for continual resistance against societal change in Western Australia's capital city. The powerful politics around intensified land-use and high-rise developments is already making News headlines on a regular basis. A simple comparison between Auckland and Perth shall further illustrate the context-specificity of initially discursive governance trajectories. Both metropolitan regions engaged actively with their underdeveloped waterfronts in recent times. Building on the success of America's Cup related waterfront renewal projects in the late 1990s, the recent Tank farm project in

Auckland got slowly traction when central government came on board as broker and investor. In contrast, Perth highflying plans of a 'world-class' development similar to Singapore's came to a quasi-standstill recently with the change of State governments. Because of the lack of political leadership and shared urban aspirations, Perth's beautiful waterfront is much less developed as those in Brisbane and Melbourne, and in addition visibly separated from the heart of the city. The latter city, and perhaps Wellington in New Zealand, are examples where challenging socio-economic circumstances such as dramatic economic restructuring and even population decline combined with strong political leadership and a more collaborative local institutional culture resulted in remarkable urban and economic revitalisation.

Global policy import translates differently into local strategies and actions. The travel of global policy mobilities as 'hot policy models' and best practice and their 'touching down' to various extend in Australasian cities as the fuel behind particular political projects illustrate this point. The creative and vibrant city idea, the compact city model and the green pedestrian- and bike friendly city are examples of particular visions of urban life – taken from originating contexts elsewhere – that have enthused people in this part of the world and triggered political and policy action and, in some cases, new investment trajectories. The channels through which policy mobilities are brought in can vary significantly, ranging from expert visits and fact-finding trips, to recruitment of staff from overseas, to consultant networks, desktop-research and popular media – to name just a few. Whether these ideas get traction or not depends on many factors, among other the extent of economic growth (or lack of) facing a city, the historical-cultural and institutional context of a place, and particular political considerations between individuals and groups at any given time. For example, the currently implemented 'green city' policies of the City of Sydney result out of the contingent coupling of a trend towards a more environmentally conscious local population, the current council's green convictions, the subtle opposition to State policies in the metropolitan region as well as the recruitment of one of the key thinkers behind the Greater London Authority's environmental policy approach. This staffing process was a contingent procedure in itself that included a couple of prior visits of this officer to Sydney and a fallout with the new mayor in London - resulting in 'surprise' recruitment for the City of Sydney. Contingent governance means that trajectories would be different if aspects of the policy processes, encounters between people, timing of meetings and so on would be different. It is one explanation while there is always the possibility of a variety of outcomes to interventions. It follows that alternative ways of both knowing the world and doing things, do affect governing work. Thus, there is always the potential for imagining spatial relationships with progressive ends in mind.

Material Governance Changes and Nation-State Institutions

In the light of the case study findings the arguments by Sassen (2008, 2009) and Sparke (2005) about the relationship between nation-state institutions and urban-based global economic networks can be put to the test. In New Zealand, Auckland's current radical political overhaul

is explained by many actors with the assumption that the country needs one global city to succeed on the international stage. In this regard, Auckland's gateway function is seen as crucial to attract global investment and skills to the country. Equally widely accepted now is its important role as business service centre and processing hub to the country's export-oriented primary industries. New Zealand is a highly centralised country, with the Central Government apparatus in Wellington remaining to be the undisputed maker of economic rules as well as prime public investor (Le Heron, 1987). In this context, a streamlined local government structure in its largest city and economic powerhouse can be understood as easing coordination difficulties for the centre. The overall resource share between the two levels of Government is likely to remain the same, however. In other words, while Auckland may gain discursive power through a highly visible Mayor and economies of scale in regards to city promotion, the power of public investment will stay in Wellington. Given the importance for influencing private sector investment decisions of spending in infrastructure and for amenities, raising education levels and workforce skills, promoting growth industries and redeveloping waterfronts as well as upgrading the public transport system – all the things New Zealand Central government is centrally involved in – then the prevailing state power geometries become more obvious. Furthermore, the key legislative frameworks for regulating private and public sectors investment – the Resource Management Act (1991) and the Local Government Act (2002) – are political vehicles and governing tools of Central Government. Sub-national economic governance in New Zealand then, after all, appears to remain very much national in nature.

In Australia, Federal government and State governments set key policies and largely hold the public purse strings for its cities. Fragmented local governments, perhaps with the exception of a large and influential Brisbane City Council, are rather minor players when it comes to directly incentivise private investment through policies and public spending. In addition, current Labour Prime Minister Kevin Rudd has shown renewed interest in the country's capital cities (Australian Government, 2010). Ambitious broadband roll-out initiatives and tight benchmarking on urban indicators monitored by a new Major Cities Unit in Canberra highlight the importance placed on urban Australia in the global age. While much governmental activity is going on in places such as Sydney and Perth, involving, for instance, 'Committee for [City]' sites, consultancies and local governments such as the City of Sydney, nation-state institutions such as the (old) Federal and State structures in many ways co-opt largely discursively operating urban elite coalitions for their own purposes. These may or may not be in the best interests of people, businesses and communities in individual metropolitan regions. This study from Australasia, then, confirms that despite an emphasis on cities and city-regions as building blocks of the global economy in key strands of the international literature, and the undisputable role of discursive interventions in attempting to shift governing and economic actors' outlook at the world, powerfully resourced and politically legitimated nation-state institutions remain actively and strongly involved in the (re)making of globalising territorial economic governance.

Conclusions

This paper explored the nexus between globalisation, territorially based governance and urban outcomes patterns in the context of big cities in the semi-peripheral region of Australasia. The insights from three case studies support the argument that more attention should be paid to the subtle and 'low-level' discursive forms of politics and policy in the re-constitution of the relationship between the local and the global. Speculative spatial imaginaries such as the dominant 'Asia-Pacific-region' and its urban rim, 'world-class' amenities in Perth or New Zealand's 'global city' signify the importance of discursive practices and constructions in the making of a globalising, urban-centred world. The study shows that the explicit or implicit rethinking of the geographical position of urban economies in cities' elites has much to do with the unique challenges each place faces, and the particular institutional decision-making context by which each place is characterised. Similar practices can be observed across these places, for example an emphasis on benchmarking and ranking, global policy transfer, global city-marketing and attempts to forge metropolitan wide political structures. Yet, the materialisation of such discursive strategies depends a lot on the structures, frameworks and ambitions of nation-state institutions such as States and Federal/Central Governments. Despite globalisation and urbanisation as increasingly dominant meta-discourses in economic geography, (old) nation-state governing arrangements are remarkably powerful governance players with key resources to give material expressions to urban-based interventions.

To an critical observer, governance ambitions to press the rich diversity of urban social and economic life into single city visions, the narrow construction of the sets of benchmark cities, the political calculations in regards to evaluating the usefulness of participatory processes for vision statement development as well as state-institutional reconfigurations that potentially privilege global economic connections over local community and neighbourhood ties, must be reasons to cause some concern. Future research efforts should be directed not just to the changing ways territorial economic governance is constituted through discursive means, but to the complex and multiple outcome patterns that are generated. In other words, more emphasis should be paid to the economic and non-economic work these practices are doing. For example, how does thinking about distant places in the same time zone affect the real material decisions and strategies of local politicians and business managers? Or do urban waterfront developments in the name of global competition allow members of the public equal access? And what is not said, and which local industries remain absent, in the slogans and logos of cleverly packaged city branding exercises?

Another issue lies with the narrow cultural base for spatial references in Australasian cities. This study illuminates the fact that too often new ideas, models and benchmarks are confined to places in the Anglo-phone world (see also Bunnell and Das, 2010). Potentially rewarding views beyond the immediately familiar facets of urban life are often missed out for a variety

of reasons, including scarce resources and cultural-institutional distance. Yet, exactly the cross-fertilisation possibilities that arise from looking to the 'others' in terms of better ways to manage places may offer the greatest opportunities for progressive territorial interventions with positive outcomes in areas such as liveability, sustainability and vibrancy. Finally, this investigation points to a range of new questions that could be of interest in Northern Hemisphere- and Europe-centric academic and policy debates. Is a better understanding of the discursive, or soft, dimensions of territorial interventions, equally important in other parts of the world in the age of globalisation. Which spatial imaginaries are dominating the thinking of urban elites in Germany at the moment? Which cities is Hamburg, or Bremen, benchmarked against in different sectors? Of what nature are the discursive ties between separate economic urban-focused interventions? Which actors are more important than others in this regard? And what are the effects on actors' perceptions and understandings, and of course, public and private investment? In this sense, it is hoped that this paper can invite reflection and stimulate fruitful debate in, and beyond, Australasia.

Acknowledgement

References

Amin, A (1999) An institutional perspective on regional economic development. In: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 23: 365-378.

Auckland Business Leader, 12/04/2010, Interview by author.

Australian Government, Infrastructure Australia - Major Cities Unit (2010) *State of Australia's Cities 2010.*
Available at http://www.infrastructureaustralia.gov.au/mcu.aspx, accessed 12/09/2010

Baker, M; Wong, C (2006) Indicators and strategy monitoring: the case of the English Regions. In: *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design*, 33: 661-683.

Begg, I (1999) Cities and competitiveness. In: *Urban Studies*, 36 (5-6): 795-809.

Berry, G (2001) Telling stories - making sense of environmental behaviour of chemical firms. In: *Journal of Management Inquiry,* 10 (1): 58-73.

Bevir, M; Rhodes, R A W (2003) *Interpreting British Governance.* London: Routledge.

Brenner, R (2006) *The economics of global turbulence: the advanced capitalist economies from long boom to long downturn 1945–2005.* London: Verso.

Bunnell, T; Das, D (2010) Urban Pulse—A Geography of Serial Seduction: Urban Policy Transfer from Kuala Lumpur to Hyderabad. In: *Urban Geography*, 31 (3): 277-284.

Chair Auckland Governance Commission, 13/04/2010, Interview by author.

Committee for Perth (2009) *Research Report - Creating a vision for Perth.*
Available at http://www.committeeforperth.com.au/research, accessed 28/04/2010

Committee for Perth (2010) Research Website Information, Perth: Committee for Perth.
Available at http://www.committeeforperth.com.au/research, accessed 07/05/2010

Committee for Sydney (2009) *Global Sydney: Challenges and Opportunities for a Competitive Global City.* Benchmarking Paper.
Available at http://www.sydney.org.au/newsite/Benchmarking_Sydney_webdoc.pdf, accessed 07/05/2010

Committee for Sydney (2010) *Benchmarking Sydney.* Website Information. Sydney: Committee for Sydney.
Available at http://www.sydney.org.au/newsite/sydney_report.php, accessed 07/05/2010

Dattakumar, R; Jagadeesh, R (2003) A review of literature on benchmarking. In: *Benchmarking: An International Journal,* 10 (3): 176–209.

Fairclough, N; Jessop, B; Sayer, A (2004) Critical realism and semiosis. In: Fleetwood, S; Roberts, J M (Eds) *Realism, Discourse and Deconstruction*. London: Routledge, 23–42.

Florida, R (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class*. New York: Basic Books.

Goehler, G; Höppner, U; De La Rosa, S (2009) Einleitung. In: Goehler, G (Eds) *Weiche Steuerung - Studien zur Steuerung durch diskursive Praktiken, Argumente und Symbole*. Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 11-26.

Hajer, M (2003) A frame in the fields: policymaking and the reinvention of politics. In: Hajer, M; Wagenaar, H (Eds) *Deliberative Policy Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 88-112.

Hajer, M; Wagenaar, H (2003) *Deliberative Policy Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harding, A (2007) Taking City Regions Seriously? Response to Debate on 'City-Regions: New Geographies of Governance, Democracy and Social Reproduction. In: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 31(2): 443-458.

Harvey, D (1989) From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. In: *Geografiska Annaler*, 71 B (1): 3-17.

Jessop, B (2002) Liberalism, neoliberalism, and urban governance: A state-theoretical perspective, In: *Antipode* 34 (3): 452-472.

Jessop, B; Sum, N L (2000) An entrepreneurial city in action: Hong Kong's emerging strategies in and for (inter) urban competition. In: *Urban Studies*, 37 (12): 2287-2313.

Jessop, B; Sum, N L (2006) *Beyond the Regulation Approach: Putting Capitalist Economies in their Place*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar.

Jessop, B; Oosterlynck, S (2008) Cultural political economy: On making the cultural turn without falling into soft economic sociology. In: *Geoforum*, 39: 1155–1169.

Jonas, A; Ward, K (2007) Introduction to a Debate on City-Regions: New Geographies of Governance, Democracy and Social Reproduction. In: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 31 (1): 171-178.

Larner, W (2001) Governing globalisation: the New Zealand call centre attraction initiative. In: *Environment and Planning A*, 33: 297-312.

Larner, W; Le Heron, R (2002a) From economic globalisation to globalising economic processes: towards post-structural political economies. In: *Geoforum*, 33: 415-419.

Larner, W; Le Heron, R (2002b) The spaces and subjects of a globalising economy: a situated exploration of method. In: *Environment and Planning D*, 20:753-774.

Larner, W; Le Heron, R (2004) Governmentality, geography and globalising processes: the role of calculative practices. In: Larner, W; Walters, W (Eds) *Global Governmentality*. London: Routledge, 212-232.

Larner, W; Le Heron, R (2005) Neo-liberalizing spaces and subjectivities: reinventing New Zealand universities. In: *Organization*, 12: 843–62.

Larner, W; Le Heron, R; Lewis, N (2007) Co-constituting 'after neoliberalism': globalising governmentalities and political projects in Aotearoa/ New Zealand. In: England, K; Ward, K (Eds) *Neoliberalization: States, Networks, People*. London: Blackwell, 223–47.

Larner, W; Lewis, N; Le Heron, R (2009) State Spaces of 'After Neoliberalism': Co-Constituting the New Zealand Designer Fashion Industry. In: Keil, R; Mahon, R (Eds) *The Political Economy of Scale*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 177-194.

Le Heron, R (1987) Rethinking regional development. In: Holland, PG; Johnston, W B (Eds) *Southern Approaches: Geography in New Zealand*. Christchurch, New Zealand: New Zealand Geographical Society, 261-282.

Le Heron, R (2009a) Theoretical Concepts: 'Globalisation' and 'local economic development' in a globalising world: critical reflections on the theory-practice relation. In: Rowe, J E (Eds) *Theories of Local Economic Development: Linking Theory to Practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 93-112.

Le Heron, R (2009b) 'Rooms and moments' in neo-liberalising policy trajectories of metropolitan Auckland, New Zealand: towards constituting progressive spaces through Post Structural Political Economy (PSPE). In: *Asia Pacific Viewpoint,* 50 (2): 135-153.

Le Heron, R (2009c) Economic geography: geographic political economy. In: Kitchin, R ; Thrift, N (Eds) *International Encyclopedia of Human Geography*. Elsevier (forthcoming).

Le Heron, R; McDermott, P (2001) Rethinking Auckland: local response to global challenges. In: Felsenstein, D; Taylor, M (Eds) *Promoting Local Growth*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 365-386.

Le Heron, R; Pawson, E (1996) *Changing Places. New Zealand in the Nineties*. Auckland: Longman Paul.

Lewis, N; Larner, W; Le Heron, R (2008) The New Zealand designer fashion industry: making industries and co-constituting political projects. In: *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers New Series*, 33: 42–59.

Local Government Act (2002) *Public Act - New Zealand Parliament*.
Available at http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2002/0084/latest/DLM170873.html, accessed 14/04/2009

McCann, E J (2004) 'Best places': Interurban competition, quality of life and popular media discourse. In: *Urban Studies*, 41 (10): 1909–1929.

McCann, E J (2008) Expertise, truth, and urban policy mobilities: global circuits of knowledge in the development of Vancouver, Canada's 'four pillar' drug strategy. In: *Environment and Planning A*, 40: 885-904.

McCann, E J (2010) Urban policy mobilities and global circuits of knowledge: Toward a research agenda. In: *Annals Association of American Geographers* (forthcoming).

McGuirk, P (2007) The Political Construction of the City-Region: Notes from Sydney. In: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31 (1): 199-206.

MED (2005) *Growth through Innovation: Economic Development Indicators 2005*. Wellington/New Zealand: Ministry of Economic Development.
Available at http://www.med.govt.nz/templates/MultipageDocumentTOC___38424.aspx, accessed 18/01/2010

MSD (2005) *The Social Report: Indicators of Social Wellbeing in New Zealand*. Wellington/New Zealand: Ministry of Social Development.
Available at http://www.socialreport.msd.govt.nz/regional/tauthorities/location/auckland.html, accessed 18/01/2010

Mitchell, P (2009) *Accessing the in-between: The conditions of possibility emerging from interaction in the information and communication technology sector in Auckland*. New Zealand Unpublished PhD thesis, School of Geography, University of Auckland.

Morgan, K (1997) The Learning Region: institutions, innovation and regional renewal. In: *Regional Studies*, 31 (5): 491-503.

Newman, PWG (1999): Newman, Sustainability and cities: extending the metabolism model. In: *Landscape and Urban Planning,* 33: 219–226.

Painter, J (2005) Governmentality and regional economic strategies. In: Hillier,J; Rooksby, E (Eds) *Habitus: A Sense of Place.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 131-157.

Peck, J; Tickell, A (2002) Neoliberalizing space. In: *Antipode,* 34 (3): 380-404.

Pol, E (2002) The theoretical background of the city–identity–sustainability network. In: *Environment and Behavior*, 34: 8–25.

Prince, R J (2003) *'Catching the Knowledge Wave' in New Zealand: the constitution of the global knowledge economy and the production of space.* Unpublished MA thesis, Department of Geography, University of Auckland.

Purcell, M (2007) City-Regions, Neoliberal Globalization and Democracy: A Research Agenda, In: *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research,* 31 (1): 199-206.

Rees, E (2005) *In what sense a fisheries problem? Negotiating sustainable growth in New Zealand fisheries.* Unpublished PhD thesis in Geography, University of Auckland.

Resource Management Act (1991) *Public Act - New Zealand Parliament.*
Available at http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1991/0069/latest/DLM230265.html, accessed 25/07/2010

Rhodes, R (1996) The new governance: governing without governance. In: *Political Studies*, 44:652–667.

Rogerson, R J (1999) Quality of life and city competitiveness. In: *Urban Studies*, 36 (5/6): 969-985.

Rose, N (1999) *Powers of Freedom: Reframing Political Thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (2008) *Executive Summary.*
Available at http://www.royalcommission.govt.nz/rccms.nsf/CONTENTPAGES/9D6029440 CEAC382CC25758600076078/$FILE/AGV2.pdf, accessed 06/08/2009

Sassen, S (1991) *The Global City: New York*. London, Tokyo New Jersey: Princeton University Press.

Sassen, S (2008) *Territory, Authority, Rights: From Medieval to Global Assemblages.* Princeton: University Press.

Sassen, S (2009) Cities in Today's Global Age. In: *SAIS Review* 29 (1): 3-34.

Scott, A J (2001) Globalization and the rise of city-regions. In: *European Planning Studies*, 9 (7):813-826.

Sparke, M (2005) *In the Space of Theory: Post foundational Geographies of the Nation-State.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Swyngedouw, E (1997) Neither global nor local: 'glocalization' and the politics of Scale. In: Cox, K (Ed.) *Spaces of Globalization: Reasserting the Power of the Local.* New York: Guilford Press, 138-166.

Sydney Business Leader, 09/03/2010, Interview by author.

Sydney Morning Herald, 27/03/2010: *Brand Sydney seeks Holmes a Court.*
Available at http://www.smh.com.au/travel/travel-news/brand-sydney-seeks-holmes-a-court-20100326-r32f.html, accessed 03/05/2010.

The Australian, 07-08/11/ 2009: *In the Zone – Crisis, Opportunity and the new World Order: Northern Exposure.*
Available at www.the australian.co.au/business/in-depth, accessed 24/03/2010

Thompson, G (1999) Introduction: situating globalisation. In: *International Social Science Journal,* 51: 139-152.

Tilly, C (2002) *Stories, Identities and Political Change.* New York: Rowman and Littlefield.

Waitakere City Mayor, 14/04/2010, Interview by author.

Ward, K (2008) Editorial: Towards a comparative (re)turn in urban studies? Some reflections. In: *Urban Geography* 29: 405–410.

Wetzstein, S (2007a) *Economic Governance for a Globalising Auckland? Political Projects, Institutions and Policy.* Unpublished PhD thesis, Department of Geography, University of Auckland, Auckland.
Available at http://hdl.handle.net/2292/2131

Wetzstein, S (2007b) Managing for a Prosperous Auckland? Critical Reflections on regional Interventions for growing New Zealand's Economic Centre. In: *Sustaining Regions* 6 (1):28-49.

Wetzstein, S (2007c) Networked governance for global participation: the case of New Zealand's largest city. In: Daniels, P W; Harrington, J W (Eds) *Perspectives on Services and Development in the Asia-Pacific.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 199-221.

Wetzstein, S (2008a) Influencing Auckland's Global Economic Participation? 'After- neoliberal' Policy Practices and Regulatory Effects on New Zealand's Largest Regional Economy. In: Tamasy, C; Taylor, M (Eds) *Globalising Worlds and New Economic Configurations.* Aldershot: Ashgate, 271-285.

Wetzstein, S (2008b) Relaunching Regional Economic Development Policy and Planning for Auckland: Remaking the State and Contingent Governance under Neoliberalism. In: *Environment and Planning C*, 26: 1093-1112.

Wetzstein, S; Le Heron, R (2010) Regional Economic Policy 'in the Making': Imaginaries, Political Projects and Institutions for Auckland's Economic Transformation. In: *Environment and Planning A*, 42: 1902-1924.