



# Second Tier Cities in Age of Austerity: Why Invest Beyond the Capitals?

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Regional Studies Association,
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#### Second Tier Cities - 4 Questions

- 1. Who are we?
- 2. What did we try to do?
- 3. How did we do it?
- 4. What messages?



#### 1. Who Are We?

#### **Partners**

- EIUA
- MRI Budapest
- University of Tampere

#### **Advisers**

- University College London
- University of Paris



# 2. What Trying to Do?

#### **Answers to:**

- •What contribution capital & second tier cities national, EU performance?
- Which punch weight nationally & Europe, how and why?
- What territorial impact & implications crisis?
- Who does what better, differently in future?

#### What are second tiers?

Larger non-capital performance affects national economy.
 Agreed EU OECD metro region boundaries



## 2. What Trying to Do?

#### **Respond EU policy concerns:**

- What performance second tiers, what gap capitals, what direction change?
- What policy debate member states?
- How gap seen, competitiveness or cohesion, explicit or implicit, any concern territorial impact?
- What impact national policy for second tiers greater targeting, increased capacity, more powers & resources, fewer constraints?



## 2. What Trying to Do?

#### **Test key arguments:**

- Decentralisation powers & resources, deconcentration investment higher performing economies
- Better second tiers better national and European economies
- Relationship capital & second tiers win-win, not zero sum
- National policies for second tiers crucial
- Critical success factors innovation, diversity, human capital, connectivity, place quality, strategic governance capacity
- Territorial governance & place matter more not less global economy



#### 3. How Did It?

- Research & policy literature performance, policies, prospects
- Quantitative data 124 second tiers, 31 capitals
- Interviews European, national policy makers, private sector
- E-questionnaire
- 9 case studies Tampere, Cork, Leeds, Lyon, Turin, Munich, Barcelona, Katowice, Timisoara



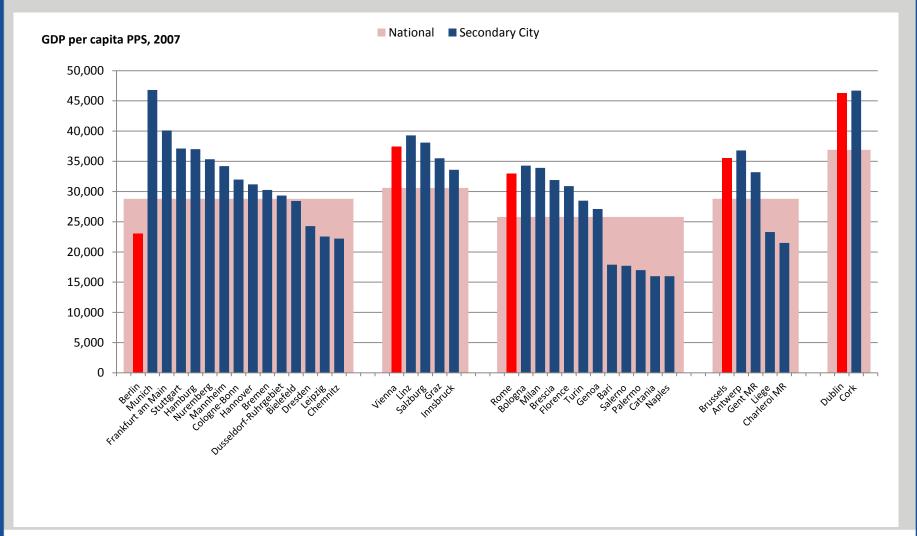
- Performance cities crucial to competitiveness
- Economic contribution capital & second tier varies
- Capitals dominate but size gap varies & some cases falling
- Capitals dominate national economy more in east than west
- Many second tiers growing contribution national prosperity
- Some second tiers outperform capital



# Baseline: Gap capitals & second tiers big

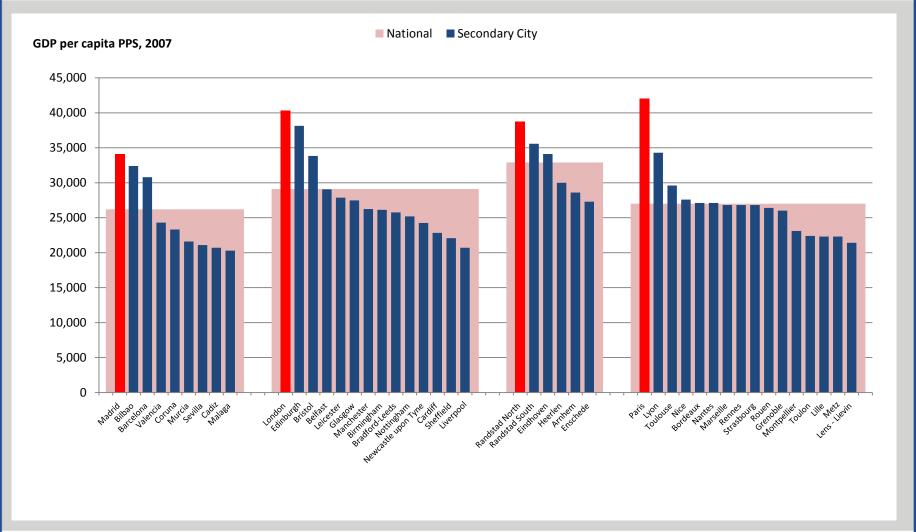


# Exceptions - Top Secondary Outperforms Capital: Germany, Austria, Italy, Belgium, Ireland



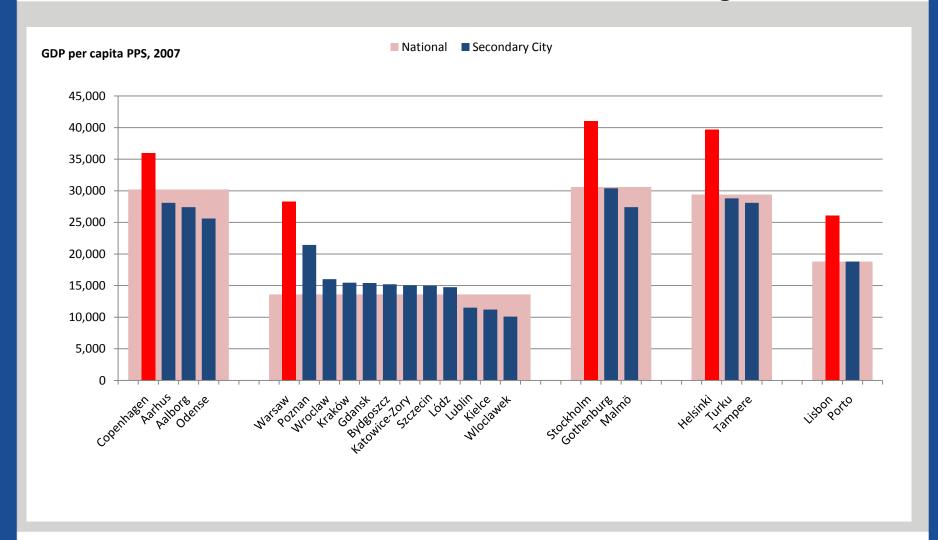


# Top Secondary Lags Capital by 5-20%: Spain, UK, Netherlands, France



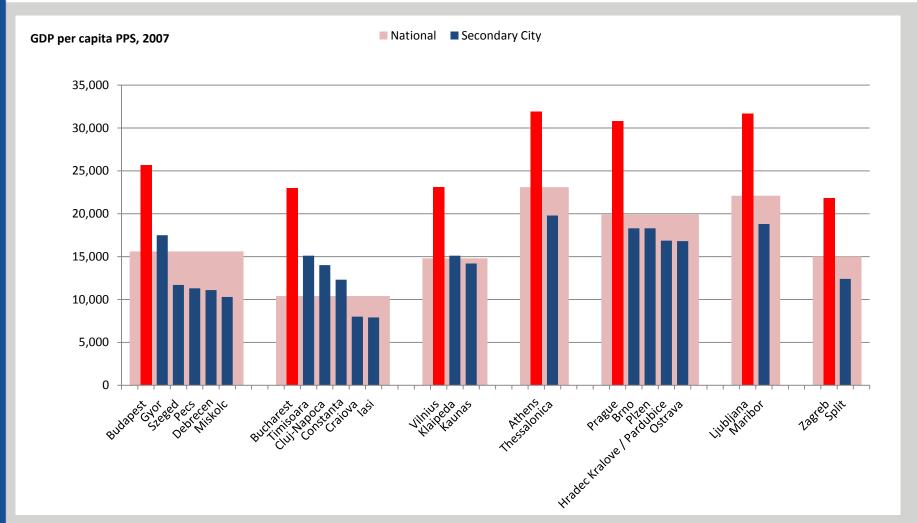


# Top Secondary Lags Capital by 20-30%: Denmark, Poland, Sweden, Finland, Portugal



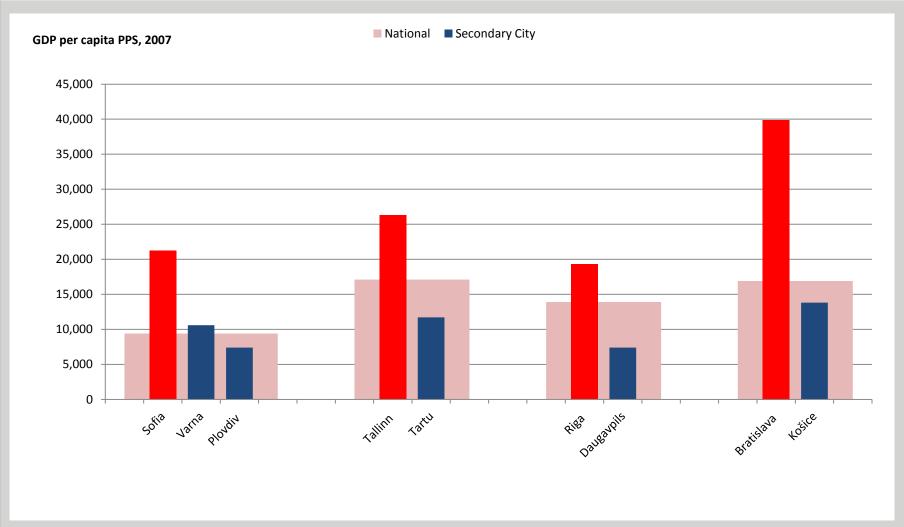


# Top Secondary Lags Capital by 30-45%: Hungary, Romania, Lithuania, Greece, Czech Republic, Slovenia, Croatia





# Top Secondary Lags Capital by 50-65%: Bulgaria, Estonia, Latvia, Slovakia

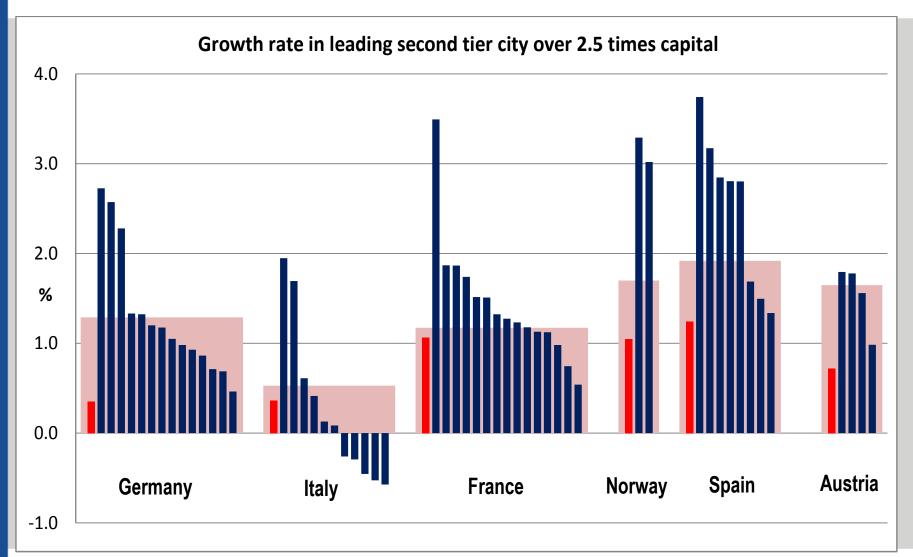




# Trend: In boom some second tiers outperformed capitals

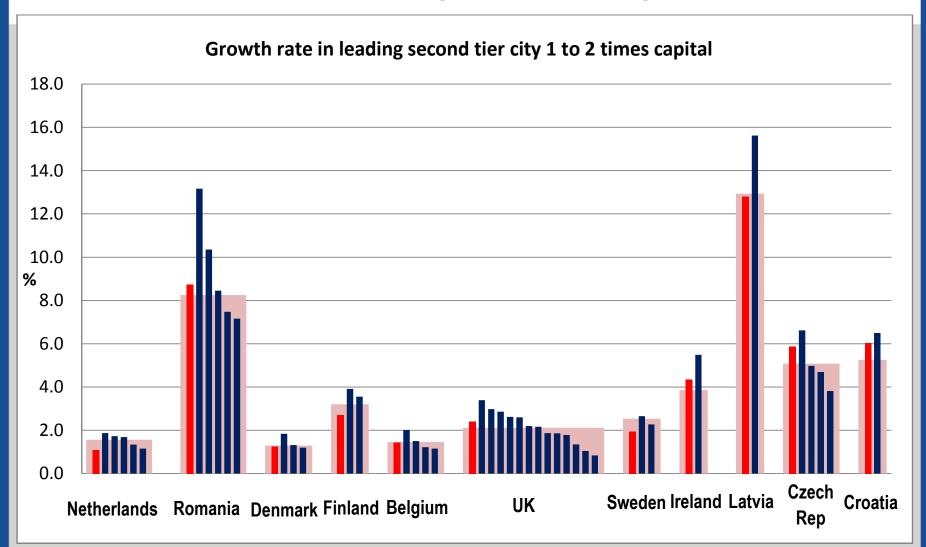


#### GDP per capita – average annual % change, 2000-7



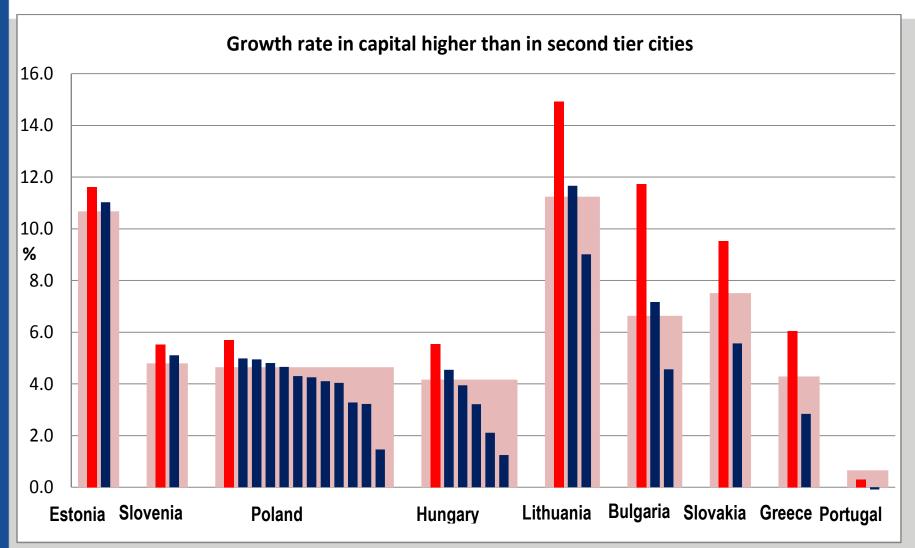


#### GDP per capita – average annual % change, 2000-7





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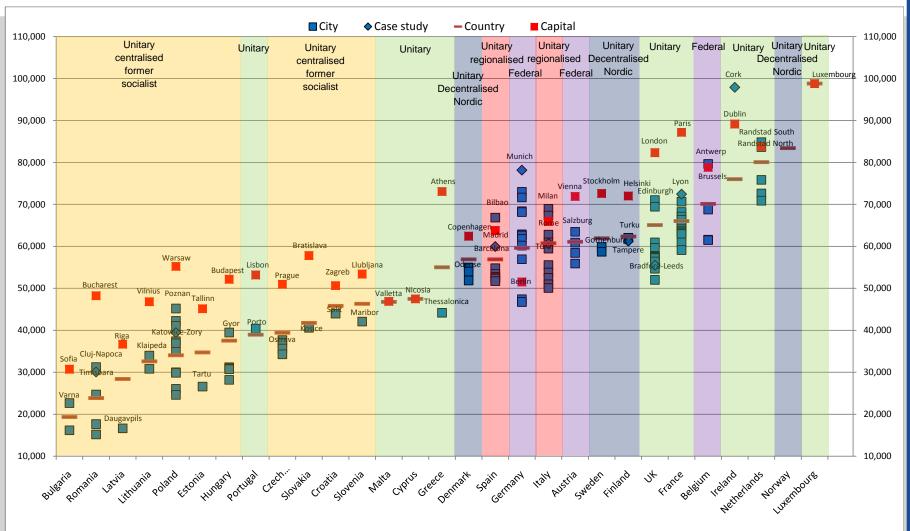




## **Governance matters**



#### Governance & Productivity Capitals and Second Tiers 2007



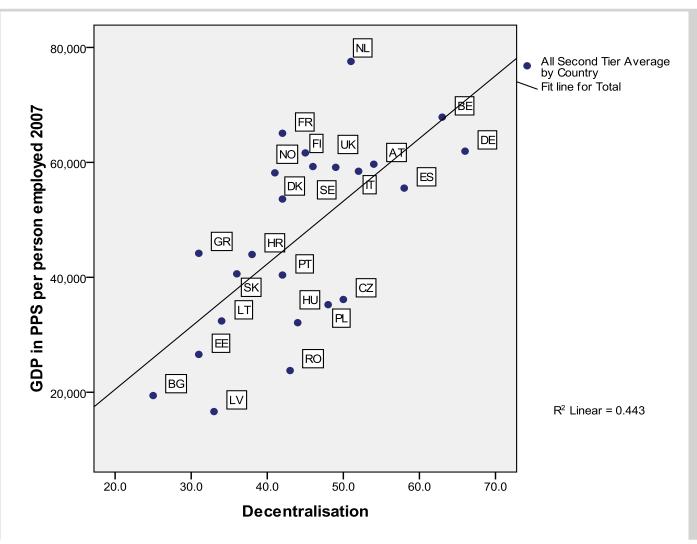


**Greater Decentralisation** 

**Greater Productivity Second Tiers** 



#### Decentralisation and Second Tier Cities' Average Productivity 2007





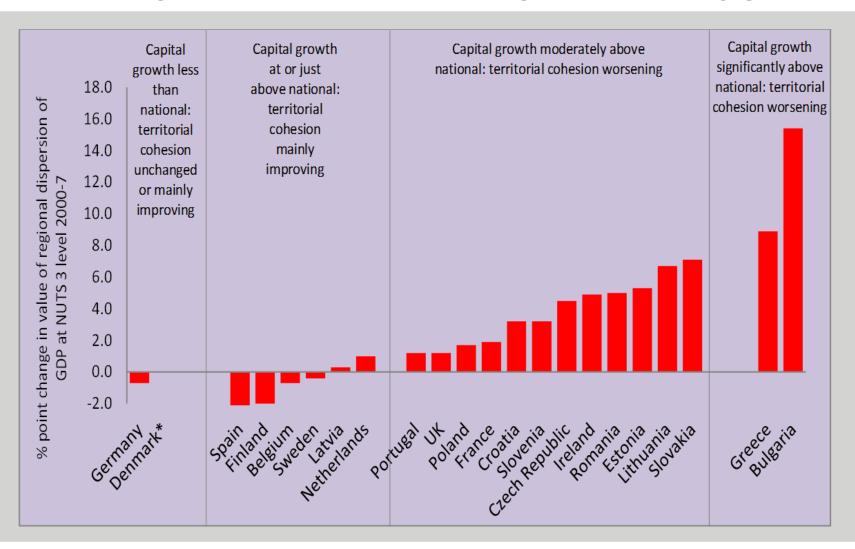
Capitals grow, regional inequality grows

Second tiers grow, regional inequality falls





#### Capital grows more than nation: Regional inequality grows



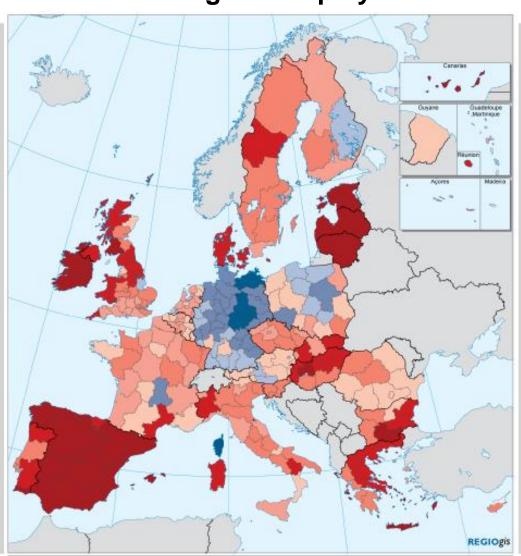


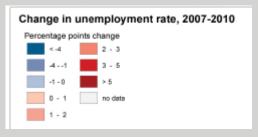
#### **SIGNIFICANT RISK:**

- Crisis undermine achievements second tiers
- Competition public & private investment widen gaps within second tiers
- Competition widen gap between second tiers & capitals



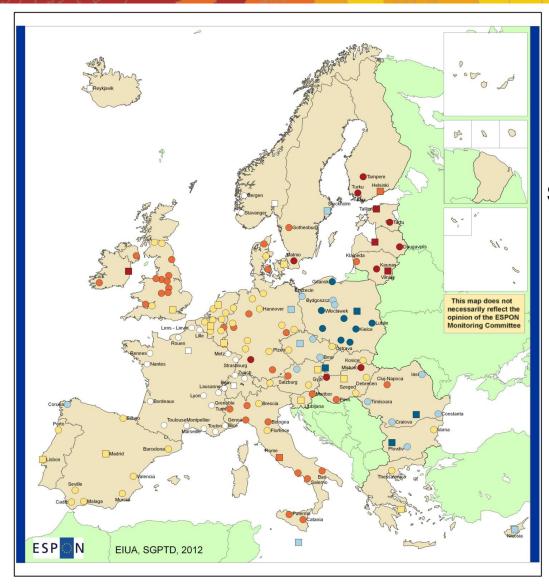
#### **Change Unemployment Rates % NUTS 2 2007-10**





Source: Bubbico & Dijkstra, 2011





# Total GDP 2007-9 Annual % Change Capital & Second Tier Cities

- -11.1 -5.0
- -4.9 -2.5
- -2.4 0.0
- 0.1 2.4
- 2.5 6.0
- Data not available

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#### **UK City Regions – Performance in the Recession**

	Leading City-regions – GDP per capita above national			Intermediate City-regions – GDP per capita 75%-100% of national			Less developed City-regions – GDP per capita less than 75% of national		
Performance 2008-9 is better than national	London Edinburgh Bristol	139.4 132.5 109.8	-1.6 -1.1 -2.4	Glasgow Leicester	96.7 93.9	-1.6 -2.0	Liverpool	71.5	-1.6
Performance 2008-9 is worse than national				Belfast Bradford-Leeds Manchester Birmingham Nottingham Newcastle u Tyne Cardiff	96.2 86.7 86.4 84.9 84.7 79.5 75.3	-3.8 -2.8 -3.4 -3.2 -3.1 -2.9 -3.0	Sheffield	73.0	-3.0
	UK	100.0	-2.7						



# Policies vary and matter



#### **Policy assessment:**

- Little explicit policy debate on relationship
- Countries concentrate attention, resources capitals cost second tiers
- Most focus cohesion but some focus economic performance
- Some national policies promoted urban competiveness innovation, diversity, skills, connectivity, place quality, governance
- Cities better countries less political centralisation & economic concentration, & cities more powers, resources, responsibilities
- Some cities helped national economy perform better



#### Successful investment in age austerity

- Relationship capital second tiers not zero-sum, but win-win
- Diseconomies scale governments encourage development second tier cities complement capital
- Overspill second tiers could absorb growth capital when costs outweigh benefits
- Relatively little demand artificially limit capitals
- Increase national economic pie encourage second tiers not kill golden goose



#### Successful investment in age austerity

- Number second tiers country sustain depends size, level development
- Smaller countries & East less scope develop second tier cities
- But policy aim should be more high performing second tiers
- More systematic national policies second tier cities
- Maximise territorial impact national policies competitiveness



#### Successful investment in age austerity

- Decentralise responsibilities & resources, deconcentrate investment
- Territorial economic governance at scale
- Encourage financial innovation
- Greater transparency territorial investment strategies
- Mainstream money & policies matter most not urban initiatives
- Invest second tiers when (i) gap capital big, growing; (ii) weak business infrastructure because underinvestment (iii) negative externalities capital