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# **Legitimising identity discourses and metropolitan networks: urban competitiveness versus territorial protection**

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# Rescaling statehood

Tristate city  
2017

*REOS 2016: Spatial Economic  
Development Strategy*



MRDH 2014

MRA 2008



Accommodate

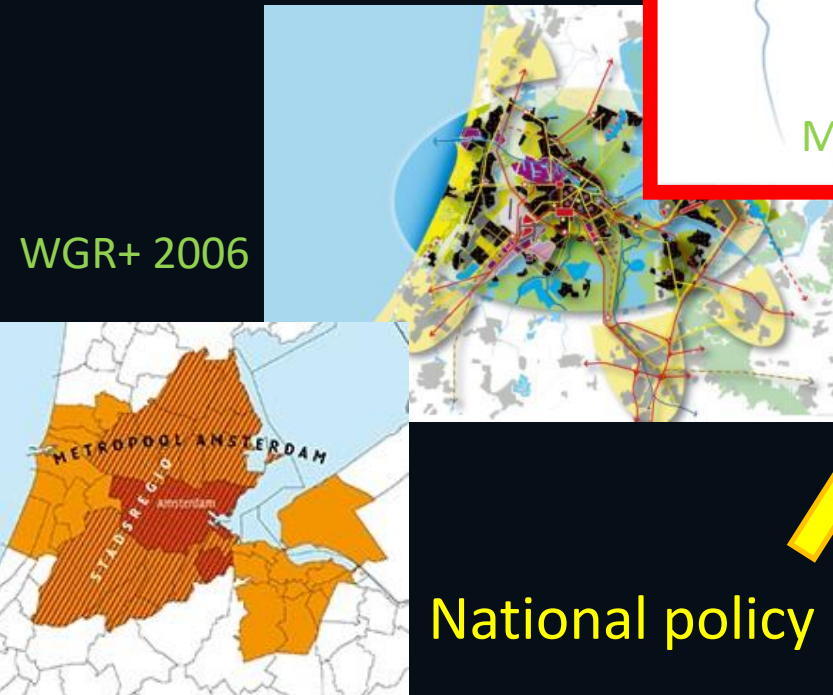


Control

(Local) policy entrepreneurs



National policy makers



WGR+ 2006

***"The amalgamation of Katwijk, Rijnsburg and Valkenburg in the unitary municipality Katwijk is a step towards independence."*** (Official municipal vision document 2006)

**Dorps belangen**  
WEST BETUWE








# One rescaling state two diverging spatial logics converging in space



	Metropolitan region	Regional municipality
Downscaling	Urban competitiveness	Welfare
Side scaling	Organised entrepreneurs, growth coalition, extended supply chain	Local civil society, charities, health care companies
Upscaling	Expanding urban network <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- From city to cities (nodes)</li> <li>- From city to cub-urban countryside (zones)</li> </ul>	Effective provision public goods through re-territorialisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Amalgamation</li> <li>- Cooperation</li> </ul>
Focus	Outward: complementarity urban → countryside	Inward: contradiction urban ↔ countryside

# What hinders cooperation in metropolitan regions?

- Interests
  - Organisation
  - Perspectives
- 
- Policy makers

- Identities

- Change for better or worse

- Legitimation



Legitimising Identity Discourses

<b>ASPECT</b>	<b>Ranging from <i>thick</i>:</b>	<b>to <i>thin</i>:</b>
<b>Spatial form</b>	Territorial	Network
<b>Organisation</b>	Institutionalised	Project
<b>Participants</b>	Population	Administrators and stakeholders
<b>Purpose</b>	Broad and many	Single
	Culture	Economy
<b>Time</b>	Defensive	Offensive
	Historical oriented	Future oriented
	Stable	Change
<b>Scale focus</b>	National	Globalisation

**GOOD**

Strong cohesion  
and collective identity

**HOPE**

**Thinning**  
Layered identities

**Gain of individual freedom**

*Traditionalists*

*Modernists*

*emancipation*

*alienation*

**Loss of local autonomy**

**Thickening**  
Resistance identity

**FEAR**

**Time**

Lack of freedom of choice  
and individual identity

**BAD**

**DISTANT PAST**

*Traditional Village*  
**Isolation**

Inter-local diversity (between)  
Local uniformity (within)

**EXPERIENCE**

(within present generation)

**DISTANT FUTURE**

*Transnational Urbanisation*  
**Outside relations**

Inter-local uniformity (between)  
Local diversity (within)



# Legitimation of power



- ◉ Max Weber: popular **acceptance** (=passive, top-down)
- ◉ David Beetham: **matching** norms and values of community
- ◉ Coherence between three aspects of legitimation
  - 1) **Legality**
    - Adherence to established rules of acquiring and exercising power
  - 2) Expressed **consent**
    - Mobilisation
    - Elections
  - 3) **Justifiability** for community based on shared beliefs
    - Authoritative source of knowledge
    - Efficiently serve the common interest
- ◉ Legitimacy based on coherent mix of different aspects
- ◉ What community?
  - European
  - National
  - **Regional**
  - **Local**



## Legality and thick and thin legitimising identity discourses

	Elements	Thick ↔ Thin
Legality	Spatial form	Single bounded stable <b>territory</b> ↔ Multiple, open flexible overlapping temporary economic <b>networks</b>
	Organisation	<b>Institutionalised</b> authority and regulation ↔ Specific <b>projects</b>
	Coordination	<b>Hierarchy</b> delegates fixed competences ↔ <b>Cooperation</b> constructed and based on commitment

# Consent and thick and thin legitimising identity discourses



	Elements	Thick ↔ Thin
<b>Consent</b>	Agreement	Contract, past <b>Elections</b> , long term, input Expression, constant <b>Consultations</b> negotiation, output
	Participants	General <b>population</b> public debate Specific <b>stakeholders</b> administrators, technocrats, elite expert debate
	Choice	Established <b>preferences</b> population <b>Adaptation</b> to changing external circumstances

# Justifiability and thick and thin legitimising identity discourses

	Elements	Thick ↔ Thin
<b>Justifiability</b>	Sources of knowledge	<b>Internal</b> , specific rights <b>External</b> , universal doctrine
	Changes	<b>Protection</b> tradition, past achievements, fear for future, established rights <b>Innovation</b> , solving expected problems, and problems from the past, hope for better future
	Communal interests	Whole <b>Population</b> , (re-)distribution, <b>welfare</b> Successful <b>Stakeholders</b> , indirect trickle down to population, <b>wealth</b>

Elements	<b>THICK</b> Primarily thick	More thick than thin	Equally thick and thin	More thin than thick	Primarily thin	<b>THIN</b>
<b>LEGALITY</b>						
<b>Spatial form</b>	Single bounded stable territory					Multiple, open flexible overlapping temporary economic networks
<b>Organisation</b>	Institutionalised authority & regulation					specific projects
<b>Coordination</b>	Hierarchy delegated fixed competences					Cooperation constructed and based on commitment
<b>CONSENT</b>						
<b>Agreement</b>	Contract, past Elections, long term, input					Expression, constant Consultations negotiation, output
<b>Participants</b>	General population, public debate					Specific stakeholders administrators, technocrats, elite expert debate
<b>Choice</b>	Established preferences population					Adaptation to changing external circumstances
<b>JUSTIFIABILITY</b>						
<b>Sources of knowledge</b>	Internal, specific rights					External, universal doctrine
<b>Changes</b>	Protection of tradition, past achievements, fear for future					Innovation, solving problems from the past, hope for better future
<b>Communal interests</b>	Whole Population, (re-)distribution, welfare					Successful Stakeholders, indirect trickle down to population, wealth

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# Conclusion on Legitimising Identity Discourses and Metropolitan Networks

- ◉ Fundamental, multifaceted and coherent **differences**
- ◉ How does **interrelatedness** different discourses emerge?
- ◉ **Combinations** possible, but how probable?
  - Different types of metropolitan regions
  - Differences between regional municipalities
  - Differences between national contexts?
  - What is the role of different scales?
    - Layered relations between thicker and thinner legitimising identity discourses
    - Other scales?
- ◉ Consequences for **cooperation**?

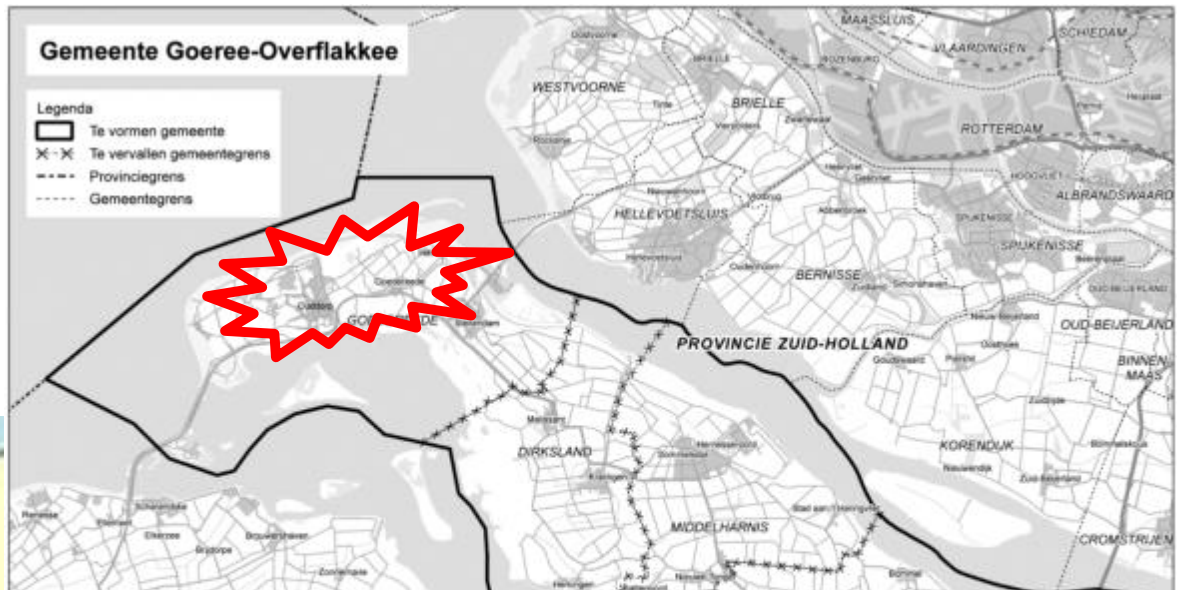
**BREXIT?**



# Hope



**Goeree-  
Overflakkee**



# Hope of local businessmen on Goeree-Overflakkee

- Bank merged in 2006
- Regional association of local business associations
  - *“Four too small and too weak competing municipalities”*
- Vision document
  - Island
  - Peripheral position
    - Sector composition
    - Negative spiral of (population) loss
  - Profiting from proximity to Dutch urban core (Rotterdam)
    - Renovation of touristic sector
    - Attractive housing



# Local businessmen Goeree-Overflakkee

- Island marketing through a new Island identity discourse
  - Shared elements of traditional local identities
    - Community values (self-reliance, solidarity ...)
  - New thin regional elements
    - Sustainability (products & tourism)
      - Present in Paris climate conference
    - Sub-urban living (attracting urban population)
- Close links to administration looking for an identity and legitimation for the amalgamation in 2013
  - Local businessmen deputy mayor
  - Better position towards other administrative levels

*“We need some big businessmen to lay down the framework and the rest will follow.” (local administrator)*

*“A kind of brainwash is necessary. But we are in only at the beginning of the Gaussian curve to adjust the identity. This is evolution not revolution. That does not suit Goeree-Overflakkee. You have to do that slowly, in small steps.” (entrepreneur)*





# Andreas Reckwitz Die Gesellschaft der Singularitäten

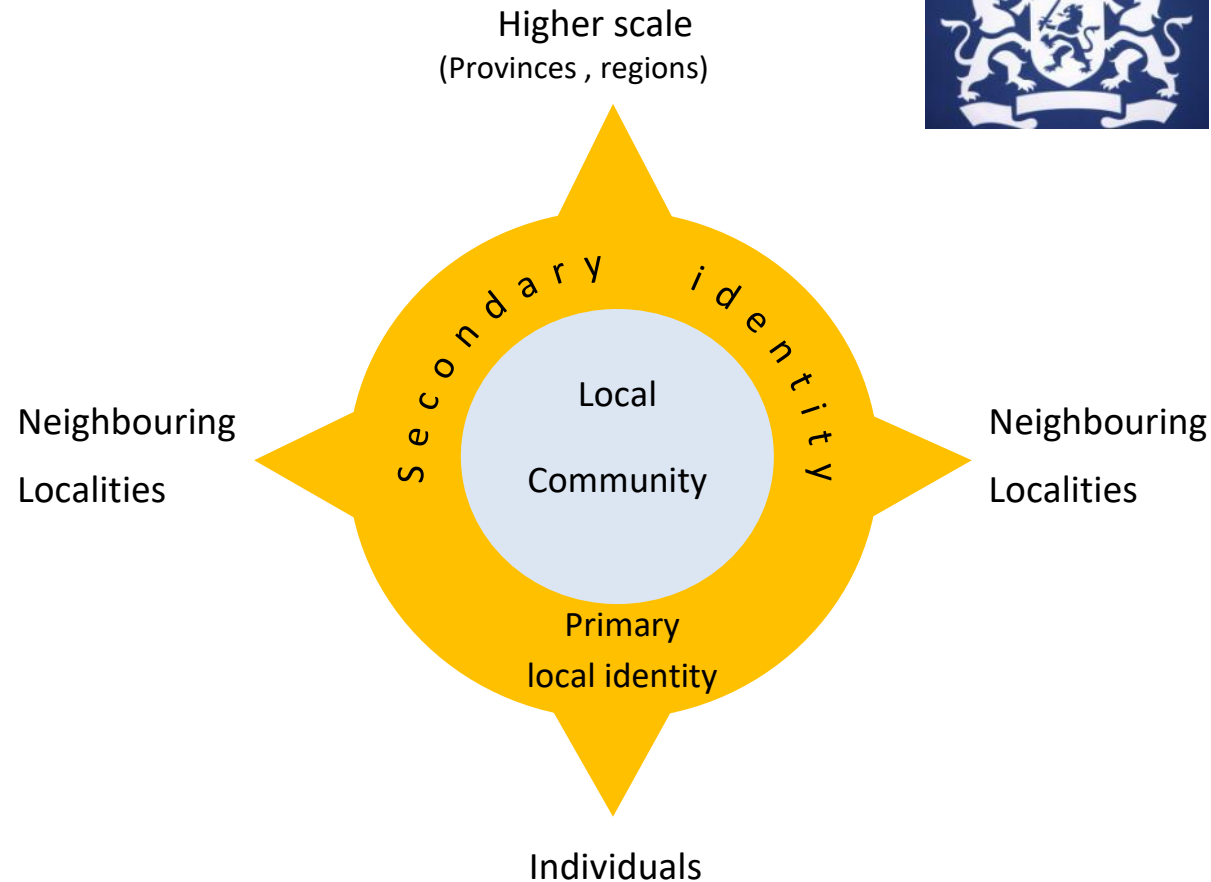
Suhrkamp



# “What is the importance of local and regional identities for local communities”

Are local and regional identities just fixed traditional “cultural identities” and emotions outside rational discussions on administrative reforms?

**Identity discourses: social construct, power, plural, scale**



# The local identity meta-discourse of opposition to big city

*“Look, we are very close to Rotterdam, but the mentality is completely different. Really totally different, incomparable. Here we work hard, we just act normal, that’s already crazy enough, don’t get to big for your boots, and especially don’t stand out from the crowd.” (Local administrator).*



*“There is a tendency to guard against the outside world. Let us alone. On the other side of the island there is also a more traditional social structure, all sorts of things which have already disappeared a long time ago in the Randstad.” (Local politician).*

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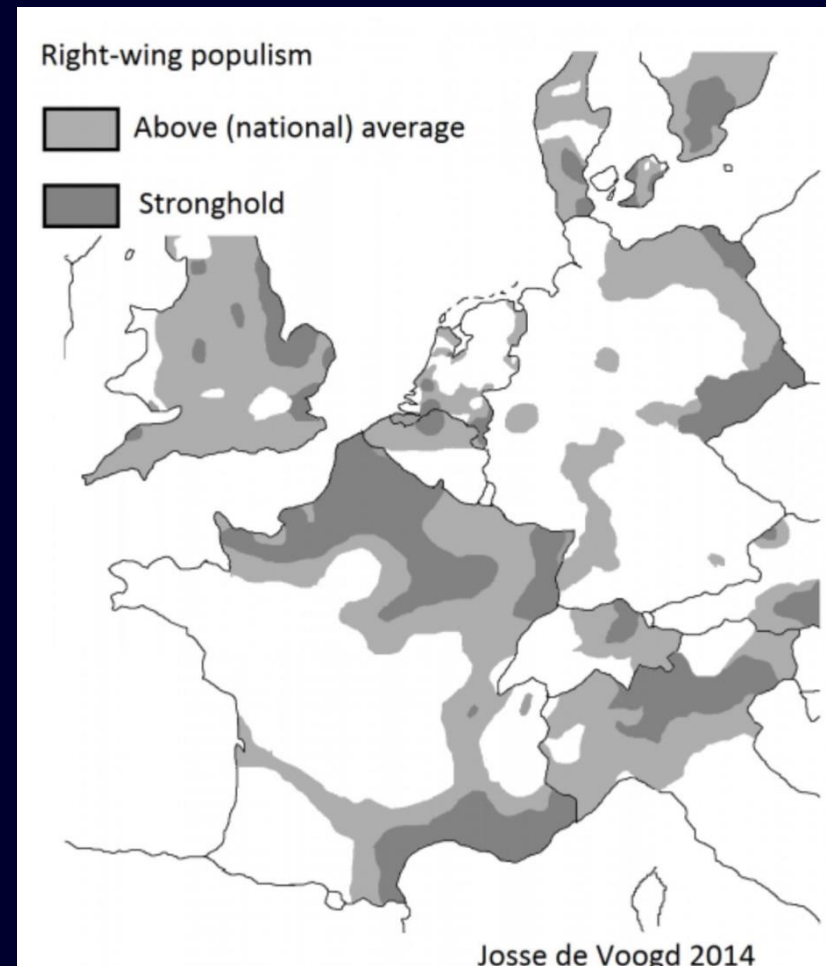
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Scale focus	Local and National	Globalisation

*"parties are gradually losing their legitimation function. They are no longer accommodating differences but are exacerbating them."* FT, 245

Neighbourhood effect + corporate, metropolitan globalisation FT 251



<p><i>Negative</i></p> <p><i>Positive</i></p>	Nation	Region	Local
Nation	<p><i>Brexit</i></p> <p>5 <i>Heimat</i></p> <p><i>EU</i></p>	<p>Regional identity against national identity</p> <p><i>Scotland, Flanders</i></p> <p>4 <i>Heimat</i></p>	<p><i>Sanctuary cities</i></p>
Region	<p>Regional identity aligned with national identity</p> <p><i>Metropolitan regions</i></p> <p>2 <i>Heimat</i></p>	<p>Competition</p> <p><i>MRDH↔MRA</i></p> <p>Cooperation</p> <p><i>Valleys</i></p>	<p>Local resistance identities against region</p> <p><i>amalgamation</i></p>
Local	<p><i>Mainports</i></p>	<p>Overarching regional identities protecting local identities</p> <p>1 <i>Heimat</i></p>	<p>Competition</p> <p>Cooperation</p>





# Andreas Reckwitz Die Gesellschaft der Singularitäten

Suhrkamp



# Divisions



Cosmopolitan elite ↔ 'populist'

..... Cities ↔ countryside

Metropolitan regions ↔ local resistance identities

Competitiveness ↔ Distribution..... ..

Industry 4.0 ↔ traditionalism 4.0

How do these divisions interact with the expanding urban economic networks?

How is the relation between metropolitan regions and their neighbouring municipalities framed in different identity discourses?

# Two logics?

**Metropolitan regions**

**Regional municipalities**

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# Centrifugal – centripetal

- Convergence –divergence
- Relations – borders
- Networks – territories
- From cities, urban regions to metropolitan networks

- One rescaling state  
two diverging spatial logics  
converging in space  
political conflicts
- Opposing perspectives
  - Identity
  - Legitimation



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Local		<i>Mainports</i>	Overarching regional identities protecting local identities 1 <i>Heimat</i>	Competition Cooperation



# Legitimation of power: overview



- ⦿ Max Weber: popular acceptance (=passive, top-down)
- ⦿ David Beetham: matching social norms of community
- ⦿ Coherence between three aspects of legitimation
  - 1) Legality (**System**)
    - ⦿ Adherence to established rules of acquiring and exercising power
  - 2) Expressed consent (**Input**)
    - ⦿ Mobilisation
    - ⦿ Elections
  - 3) Justifiability for community based on shared beliefs
    - ⦿ Authoritative source of knowledge (**Environment**)
    - ⦿ Efficiently serve common interest (**Output**)
- ⦿ Legitimacy based on coherent mix of different aspects

# Legality: from nation-state to city

- ⊙ The (il)legality of rules and rulers changes
- ⊙ Initially 'night-watchman state': security and contracts
  - Controlled by upper classes
- ⊙ After world wars national economic regulation and redistribution
  - Controlled by educated middle classes: technocrats
- ⊙ *Neo-liberal roll back of central state: deregulation*
  - *Local entrepreneurs and local politicians (from managerialism to entrepreneurialism, local growth coalitions, etc.)*

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# Expressed consent: from nation-state to city

- After world wars cross-party consensus on centralised national Keynesian welfare state
- Elections: voter volatility and political instability
  - Decline of cross-party consensus
  - Decline in stable support for national political parties
  - Growing importance of popularity of politicians
  - Creates room for local politicians and local administrations
- Mass events: festivals legitimise policies



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# Legitimation: justifiability

## 3) Justifiability (social norms)

### – Source of political authority

- Types of knowledge: God, natural law, scientific doctrine, tradition and the will of people
- Actors: priests, philosophers, technocrats, cultural leaders and representatives

### – Purpose of government

- Beneficial for communal interest (What they do)
  - Ideology (f.i. equality ↔ competitiveness)
- Efficiency (How they do it)

### – Embedded in social values

- Linked to the shared qualities and beliefs of the community
- *“the construction of a **social identity** by a complex set of often unconscious processes, which make that identity seem ‘natural’, and give the justifying ideas their plausibility.”*  
(Beetham 1991, 78)

# Justifiability: towards nation-state

## ⊙ Types of knowledge:

- External: religion, natural law, ideology, scientific doctrine
  - Conservative liberal ideology
  - Scientific doctrine: Keynesianism, social engineering, modernisation
- Internal: tradition and the will of people
  - Historical rooted national community with common destiny
  - Popular egalitarianism

## ⊙ Communal interest

- National community
  - Reduction of social and spatial differences
    - De-concentration of growth away from cities

# Justifiability: from nation-state to city?

## ◎ Types of knowledge

- Failure of economic regulation in western core states since 1970s
- Local roots of global competitiveness

## ◎ Communal interest: from national to urban

- Away from national population
  - Individualisation
- Many in middle-classes focus more on local community



# One rescaling state two diverging spatial logics converging in space



## Metropolitan regions

## Regional municipalities

### Downscaling

- Economic urban competitiveness

- Downscaling welfare

### Side scaling

- Growth coalitions, extended supply chain

- Local civil society (charities companies)

### Upscaling

- Expanding network

- Local welfare to citizens
- Effective service provision public goods

### Focus

- From city to cities (nodal)
  - From city to sub-urban countryside (zonal)
- Outward: urban → countryside

- Territorial amalgamations
  - Territorial regional cooperation
- Inward: urban ↔ countryside



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Nation		Regional identity against national identity <i>Scotland, Flanders</i>	
Region	Regional identity aligned with national identity <i>Metropolitan regions, REOS</i>	Competition <i>Regional municipal.</i> Cooperation <i>Goeree-Overflakkee</i>	Local resistance identities against region <i>amalgamation</i>
Local		Overarching regional identities protecting local identities <i>Goeree-Overflakkee</i>	

# Rescaling statehood

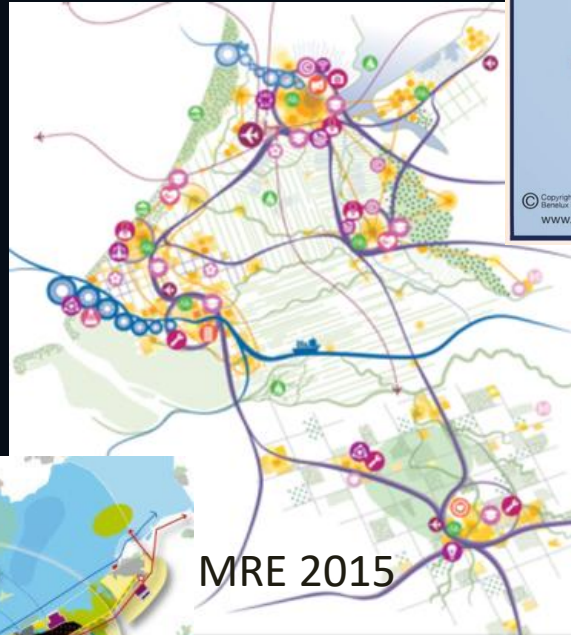
Tristate city  
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*REOS 2016: Spatial Economic  
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MRDH 2014

MRA 2008



MRE 2015

**Accommodate**



(Local) policy entrepreneurs

**Control**

National policy makers

WGR+ 2006





## *European Economic and Social Committee*

- “The **lack of identity** and inadequate governance stand in the way of balanced development in metropolitan areas. Existing administrative bodies often go back a very long time. They prevent flexible adjustment. The involvement of several levels of authority — national, regional and urban — is indispensable if metropolitan areas are to succeed. This means that decentralised authorities must have legitimacy, which would also facilitate private sector and non-governmental initiatives.” (EESC, 2007: 1).