DEMOLOGOS

Development Models and Logics of Socioeconomic Organisation in Space

A methodology for empirical research on spatial socio-economic development
With illustrations from case studies

by Flavia Martinelli and Andreas Novy

The DEMOLOGOS approach

- Trans-disciplinary re-interpretation of the **Regulation Approach *cum* Critical Institutionalism**

- Bridges **theoretical reflections** (ABC-papers, TSP-papers) with empirical **research** (8 case studies)

- Advancement of **theories and strategies** of historically and geographically contextualised socio-economic development

Outline of presentation

- **Part I. The DEMOLOGOS case-study methodology**
  - Approach
  - Analytical "pillars"
  - Methodological principles
- **Part II. Selected themes and illustrations**
  - A typology of case studies
  - Periods and moments
  - Scalar dialectics
  - Understanding agency
- **Part III. Lessons and open question**

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PART I.
The DEMOLOGOS methodology

- Development as multi-dimensional, multi-scalar and complex – **story telling as entry point**

- **Institutions** mediate between structure and agency (see earlier Moulaert & Jessop PPT and D3.1):
  - **Form analysis** as a form of critical institutionalism
  - **ASID**: agency – structure – institutions – discourse
  - **CHID**: culture, hegemony, ideology and discourse

- **Path-dependency**: History matters and contributes to shape future (strategic selectivity of agency)

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PART I. *(continued)*
The **DEMOLOGOS** methodology

- **Critical realist approach**: (reality matters, but concepts matter as well)
- **Integral** understanding of socioeconomic development as **multidimensional**
- Time, space and socioeconomics as a **unity**
- **Dialectical (non-dualist) approach**
  - beyond subject and object
  - beyond theory and practice
  - beyond disciplinary boundaries

Three *analytical* "pillars" of case-studies

1) Space-time sensitivity

- Geographical-historical *specificities*, i.e. path-dependencies, but also path-breaking
- *Spatial (inter-scalar) articulation* of socio-economic models
- *Phases* or *regimes* of accumulation and conjunctural moments

2) Relations between accumulation, reproduction and regulation

3) Focus on agency

- Institutions mediating between structures and actors
- Particular attention to the role of *discourse*
- Agency mechanisms as strategically selective

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Three *methodological* principles for case-study analysis

1) **"Story telling"**
   - ❏ theoretically informed **periodisations**
   - ❏ **scalar articulation** of trajectories
   - ❏ structural and **conjunctural moments -** turning points

2) Understanding the dialectics of **path-dependency**, **path-breaking and path-paving**

3) Unveiling the **"politics of the possible"**
   - ❏ strategies and visions (concrete utopias, imaginaries, practices) for alternative socio-economic development

PART II. Selected lead themes and illustrations
A typology of case studies (1)

Typology	Case Study	Lead Theme(s)
Glocal metropoles	Brussels	Spatial mismatch between regulation and accumulation, new scalar geometries
	London	Conflict between City of London and rest of the nation, structured by conflicts in the fields of finance, politics and industrial capital
Trans-border development	Vienna & Centrope	New scalar geometries that resemble the one of the Habsburg Empire
	Hong Kong & Pearl River Delta	Evolution of inter-scalar articulation of development ; s*tructural-strategic* context of development stages; s*trategic-discursive moments* in hegemony production
Metropolitan restructuring	Chicago	Between regulatory dynamics and sustainable growth; from deindustrialisation to globalisation
	Rome	Changes in urban governance, accumulation, and social inclusion
Uneven regional development	Mezzogiorno & Reggio Calabria	Evolution of regional policy & governance of urban growth
	North of England & Newcastle	Shifting discourse of regional policy & urban policy

PART II. Selected lead themes and illustrations *(continued)*
A. Periods and Moments
1. Pre-Fordist roots of post-Fordism

- Analysis of the *longue durée* has proved important to understand path-dependency, as well as current developments, especially using insights from theories of imperialism and world system theory. Not all case studies mobilised Pre-Fordist history, but such an analysis was crucial in the cases of:
  - **London** (gentlemanly imperialism and the conflict between financial and national industrial capital);
  - **Vienna** (Imperial Vienna as a *semi-peripheral* gateway to the East);
  - **Brussels** (nation building based on colonialism, national disintegration and stronger regionalisms after colonialism and rise of Flemish capital)
  - **Hong Kong** (commercial hub of the British empire, explains dominance of trade and financial interests)
  - **North of England** (historically poorest part of the country, despite 19th century industrialisation)

2. From Fordism to Post-Fordism

Dialectics of *change* and *continuity* in regulation, accumulation, reproduction (and discourse)

- All cases show *specific* trajectories of accumulation and regulation which differ from the "canonical" model of North-Atlantic Fordism (i.e. Fordist industrialisation *cum* mass consumption and regulation), even in Chicago ("a maker of this mode of growth", where employment in manufacturing declined already after World War II). Each case features different positions in the spatial division of labour and a different role in the hierarchy of cities (e.g. specific trade networks and colonial relations as in the case of Hong Kong).

- Therefore, all case studies have especially focussed on the shifts from Fordism to Post-Fordism, highlighting the elements of change and continuity, i.e. stressing how specific forms of Fordism influenced Post-Fordist trajectories and/or how specific events shaped change

2. From Fordism to Post-Fordism
Dialectics of change and continuity *(continued)*

- Changes and continuity in *accumulation*:
  - **Chicago** (from manufacturing to services)
  - **Rome** (always service-based, but from public administration to advanced services, from bureaucracy to KBE)
  - **Hong Kong** (from industrial to financial and service-based accumulation)
  - **Vienna** (from industry and public administration to producer services; from home market to trans-national regionalisation)
- Change and continuity in *regulation, governance and policy*
  - Evolving trans-border governance (**Vienna**; **Hong Kong** from independent-colonial to PRC Special Administrative Region)
  - Changes in regional development policy (**Mezzogiorno**, **North of England**)
  - **Rome** (the 1993 democratic turn had roots in the 1976-1982 social movements and "red" urban government experience)

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3. Emblematic and conjunctural moments

- *Emblematic moments* are like **snapshots**, representative events or emblems, reflecting a (temporary?) equilibrium or an **eminent turn-about** in the development of social relations and forces. **Emblematic moments** are representative of converging/diverging developments (including strategic and collective agencies) which can be analysed by identifying **structural** and **conjunctural moments** in the development of social relations (DEMOLOGOS Methodology paper D.3.1).

- Several case studies have identified emblematic and/or conjunctural moments as **crucial** for understanding struggles and strategic agency, e.g.:

  - **Brussels**: World expo (1958), emblematic of apogee of Belgian political-economic space unity, based on national-colonial finance capital
  - **Newcastle**: Northern Way policy (2004), emblematic of "New" Labour project
  - **Reggio Calabria**: "Tangentopoli" scandal (1992), conjunctural moment allowing rise of a Mayor from the opposition.

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A typology of case studies (2)

Case Study	Emblematic moments	Path-breaking moments/events	Continuities
Chicago	"Chicago works together" (after a "city on the brink"), "make no little plan" projects (Boeing headquarter, Olympic bid)	US-deindustrialisation (1970s -), national neoliberalism (Reagan 1981-88),	Machine politics (from Daley to Daley), status as a secondary world city
Rome		Social movements (1968 onward) and "Red councils" (1976-85) Election of Rutelli Mayor with new electoral system (1993)	Service-based accumulation and society (although evolving) Roots of new governance in 1970s social mobilisation and "Red "councils
Mezzogiorno & Reggio Calabria		Start of regional policy (1950) Tangentopoli scandal, beginning of "Second Republic", end of national regional policy (1992) Falcomatà Mayor (1993)	Uneven development and urban-regional-national articulation of accumulation model Fordist regulatory framework throughout the 1980s
North of England & Newcastle	Northern Way policy (2004) as emblematic of "Ne" Labour project	Post-war Spatial Keynesianism (1940s) Thatcher neo-liberal turn (1979)	Regional divide New labour "Third Way" in continuity with Thatcherism

A typology of case studies (2)

Case Study	Emblematic moments	Path-breaking moments/events	Continuities
Brussels	Expo 1958 Redevelopment of Noordwijk (1970) DHL and night-flights (2000 -)	End of Belgian colonialism (1960), "capital of Europe"	The mutually reinforcing relationship between the Belgian scale-making project and the Brussels urban scale
London	Struggle over and defeat of Tariff Reform (1906) EEC membership (1973) 'Big Bang' (1986) choice for finance	End of colonialism Creation of Greater London Council End of GLC and creation of Greater London Authority	National and international primacy due to finance capital and the support of national government
Vienna & Centrope	Karl Lueger´s democratic movement (Fin de Siecle Vienna) Creation of Danube island (Fordism) Rejection of Expo95 (Post-Fordism)	1918 (end of the Habsburg Empire, creation of a nation state), 1989 (fall of the Iron Curtain - end of state-socialism)	Semi-peripheral status Internationalisation of finance capital
Hong Kong & Pearl River Delta		Communist revolution and Cold War (1949-on) PRC "open-door" policy (1978) "Handing-over" to PRC (1997)	Primacy of commercial-financial capital Pivotal role in evolving inter-scalar articulation "Hinge" between Centre and periphery

B. Scalar Dialectics

- The analysis of scalar dialectics is based on theoretical syntheses of the **"spatial turn" and its multi-scalar dimension** as elaborated within DEMOLOGOS (see later presentation by Erik Swyngedouw)

- It aims at **overcoming *methodological nationalism* as well as *methodological localism.*** It addresses:

    1. **The evolving spatial *articulation* of socio-economic development:** All case studies have a privileged scalar "entry point", through which the complex relationships between the local, the regional, the national and the international or global scales are highlighted.

    2. **The evolving *power* geometries among government levels (politics of scale)**

1. Evolving spatial *articulation* of socio-economic development

- **Brussels and London**: *spatial mismatch* between political regulation and accumulation dynamics.

- **Vienna and Hong Kong**: deliberate strategies of *politically re-embedding* themselves in a broader *trans-border* region

- **Newcastle and Reggio Calabria**: Both cases show a strong articulation of both accumulation and regulation across spatial scales: strongly *embedded* in their respective *regions* – the North of England and the Mezzogiorno – which in turn are strongly articulated to their respective *national* spaces. But also increasingly integrated into the EU regulatory space, via the latter Cohesion policy.

- **Rome and Chicago**: significant international connectivity and a specific – although evolving – national role. But *local/metropolitan-centered dynamics of governance*, the former highly dependent on the stability of a finance-capital driven regime of accumulation and the latter on services and a real estate-based urban growth model.

2. Evolving *power geometries* among government levels (politics of scale)

- All cases have highlighted the evolving relationships among different levels of government – e.g. between the EU, nation states, regions, county, metropolitan or municipal governments – and the impact such changes have on regulation and governance.

  - In the case of the **Mezzogiorno and Reggio Calabria**, a clear regulatory shift – devolution – has occurred from the Central state to the Regional and Municipal governments, which strongly affected policy as well as governance at the local level, although this did not significantly affect accumulation processes.

  - The same occurs in the **North East of England and Newcastle**, where a process of policy "downscaling" occurred, from the Central State to the regions and especially cities (via real estate revalorisation projects).

  - In **Hong Kong** the hand-over to PRC has involved a very complex re-articulation of power-relations, with elements of change and continuity.

  But the politics of scale are very relevant in ALL cases – see the presentation by Swyngedouw later.

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A typology of case studies (3)

Case Study	Time frame	Spatial articulation
Brussels	**Pre-Fordist, Fordist, Post-Fordist**	**Global/European**, National, **Urban**
London	**Pre-Fordist, Fordist, Post-Fordist**	**Global/World**, National, **Urban**
Vienna & Centrope	**Pre-Fordist, Fordist, Post-Fordist**	**Regional (transnational), National,** Urban
Hong Kong & Pearl River Delta	<u>Pre-Fordist</u>, **(Late)Fordist, Post-Fordist**	**Global**, Trans-border, **Regional, Urban**
Chicago	Crisis of Fordism, **Post-Fordism**	(National), **Urban**
Rome	**Fordist, Post-Fordist**	National, **Urban**
Mezzogiorno & Reggio Calabria	**(Late) Fordist, Post-Fordist**	EU, **National, Regional, Urban**
North of England & Newcastle	Pre-Fordist, **Fordist, Post-Fordist**	EU, National, **Regional, Urban**

C. Understanding agency: the ASID, RR, and CHID models

- **The theoretical synthesis papers (TSPs)** elaborated three proper DEMOLOGOS models to address agency from different analytical perspectives (identify mediating concepts of institutionalising agency) (see earlier PPT presentation by Frank Moulaert and Bob Jessop):
  - **ASID** (Agency-Structure-Institutions-Discourse)
  - **RR** (Reproduction and Regulation)
  - **CHID** (Culture-Hegemony-Ideology-Discourse)
- They are crucial in analysing **strategic agency** and the **concrete struggles** over socioeconomic development in all case studies.
  1. Accumulation, reproduction and regulation
  2. Path-breaking crises and agency
  3. Hegemonic projects
  4. Role of discourse

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1. Interplay between accumulation, regulation, and reproduction

- In line with the Regulation Approach socio-economic trajectories in specific periods reflect the (more or less consistent) interplay between specific accumulation processes and reproduction arrangements, as mediated by regulatory frameworks.

- This is generally achieved through temporary successful hegemonic projects, i.e. alliances of hegemonic actors and forces that are able to rally or silence subordinate and counterhegemonic actors, through both institutions and imaginaries.

- ALL case studies have stressed this interplay in their account of socio-economic trajectories.

2. Path-breaking crises and agency

- Path-breaking changes, i.e. changes that significantly alter the established trajectory and set a new track, can be the result of **conjunctural events** that alter and re-shape the relationships between accumulation, reproduction and regulation. These events can be internal or external and can assume the form of fully-fledged *structural crises* (e.g. the crisis of Fordism).

- But change can also occur because of **path-breaking agency**, i.e. the appearance of charismatic actors, whether in the form of personal leadership, an alliance among relevant actors (e.g. a new hegemonic coalition), or social mobilisation (counter-hegemonic pressures), which are able to exploit/re-shape time/place-specific conjunctures and relations.

2. Path-breaking crises and agency

(continued)

- In many of our cases a relevant role – in radically changing tack – was played by **charismatic Mayors** or **political leaders,** often, but not necessarily supported by local mobilisation. This was certainly the case in:

  - **Reggio Calabria** (Mayor Falcomatà designated, for lack of alternatives, after a major scandal; by sheer charismatic qualities, he was able to stop the city´s cumulative decline and recover Municipal functionality)

  - **Chicago** (Mayor Washington empowering labour and community)

  - **Rome** (with the election of the first Communist Mayor Argan in 1976, on the wave of the Left-wing vote surge, but also in 1993 with Rutelli)

  - **North of England** (Thatcher represented a major turning point in regional policy, with the dismantlement of redistributive "spatial Keynesianism").

2. Path-breaking crises and agency
(continued)

- In some cases agency seemed to **implement structural logics and necessity**:
  - The Third Way and New Labour policies in **England** (North East as well as London)
  - Ken Livingstone in **London** in his turn towards Global City discourse
  - Social democratic **Vienna** in its turn to social liberal internationalisation without trade union participation

- In other cases it was the building up and eventual precipitation of internal contradictions that led to **cathartic path-breaking change:**
  - This was e.g. the case in Italy, with the *Tangentopoli* scandal and the fiscal crisis of the state in 1992, which brought down the political and regulatory system of the Fordist First Republic.

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3. Hegemonic projects

- In a number of cases *no* hegemonic project emerged in the Post-Fordist phase because of socio-economic fragmentation/ disarticulation, or else *competing* or *contested* projects did not manage to gain sufficient consensus:

  - **Brussels**: *no* hegemonic growth coalition emerged, able to rally consensus or engineer the necessary regulatory support, because of the disarticulation of national actors.

  - **Hong Kong**: two *competing* strategies fought for hegemony, the high-tech specialisation strategy and the advanced services strategy The local/global service bloc eventually won the struggle for hegemony.

  - **Chicago**: machine politics was able to impose first a Fordist and later on a Post-Fordist mode of regulation. But both have been periodically *contested* by coalitions of labour and community, organised around a Mayor (Washington) or single-issue politics ("living wage")

4. Role of discourse

- In some cases discourse **legitimised policy shifts**, in others it was put forward to **support competing strategies**, in fewer still to mobilise **consensus** on partially alternative strategies or counter-hegemonic forces.
  - **North of England and Mezzogiorno**: competitiveness and endogenous development discourses were used to legitimise major shifts in regional policy
  - **Chicago and London**: the Global City discourse was used to legitimise changes in urban policy.
  - **Hong Kong:** "brand" imaginaries (Harvard and MIT) were constructed and used to support competing restructuring strategies.
  - **Rome:** Mayor Veltroni's discourse about a new "knowledge-based" economic growth, coupled with a new more democratic governance model rallied significant transversal consensus

- On the other hand, the **real impact of discourses** on economic strategies, coalition building and the development of social forces has been uneven. In some respect, discourses remained instrumental tools of power strategies, mere rhetoric. In others they shaped practices and structured alliances.

PART III. Lessons and open questions for discussion (1)

- **1. Crisis as opportunities for change?**
  - Political radicalisation after 1968 resulted in different local state projects (Rome, Chicago, …)
    - conserve or re-invent the old consensus of industrialisation
    - defeated politically; cleared the way to (neo)liberal hegemony.
  - Political de-legitimisation of establishment (Reggio)
- **2. The role of the state re-visited?**
  - crucial actor even in Post-Fordism (coordinating liberal policies and mode of governance)
  - democratic power game via mayors, city halls, parties and movements has remained a key vehicle of the politics of the possible (Chicago: City hall discussion on living wage, Rome)?
  - reflecting on progressive projects *within* hegemonic agendas and strategies and therefore based on alliances with fractions of capital (cf. Hongkong, Vienna)?

PART III. Lessons and open questions for discussion (2)

- ## 3. Counter-hegemony as a "politics of the possible"?
  - little or too scattered counter-hegemonic movements and discourses
  - crisis of formal politics, weakness and fragmentation of other movements (exception Hongkong?)
  - alliances of social and political movements with formal (party) politics and/or state institutions?

- ## 4. From urban to regional strategies?
  - Entry point was a city
  - Trans-border geographies
  - Politicise the regional question and politics of scale