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What kind of local and regional development and for whom?

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Abstract

This paper asks the question what kind of local and regional development and for whom? It examines what is meant by local and regional development, its historical context, its geographies in space, territory, place and scale and its different varieties, principles and values. The socially uneven and geographically differentiated distribution of who and where benefits and loses from particular forms of local and regional development is analysed. A holistic, progressive and sustainable version of local and regional development is outlined with reflections upon its limits and political renewal. Locally and regionally determined development models should not be developed independently of more foundational principles and values such as democracy, equity, internationalism and justice. Specific local and regional articulations are normative questions and subject to social determination and political choices in particular national and international contexts.

Introduction

One of the biggest myths is that in order to foster economic development, a community must accept growth. The truth is that growth must be distinguished from development: growth means to get bigger, development means to get better - an increase in quality and diversity (Local Government Commission 2004: 1).

This local government association in the United States holds a specific interpretation of the kind of local and regional development it considers appropriate and valuable. Particular interpretations differ from place to place and evolve over time. To grasp the form and nature of local and regional development, the basic understandings of what it is, what it is for and, in a normative sense, what it should be about must be addressed. As a contribution to reflections on the history of the 'region' and the chronology, purpose and future of regional studies (Pike 2007), this paper seeks to ask the question of what kind of local and regional development and for whom? First, definitions are examined to understand what is meant by local and regional development, to establish its historical context and to explore the 'where' of local and regional development in space, territory, place and scale. Second, the nature, character and forms of local and regional development are investigated to reveal its different varieties, principles and values in different places and time periods. Third, the objects, subjects and social welfare dimensions are addressed in order to illustrate the often socially uneven and geographically differentiated distribution of who and where

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3 benefits and loses from particular forms of local and regional development.
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5 Last, a holistic, progressive and sustainable version is outlined and reflections
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7 offered upon the limits and political renewal of local and regional
8
9 development. Our argument is, first, that we need to consider the basic
10
11 principles to get a better analytical purchase on the question of 'what kind of
12
13 local and regional development and for whom?', and, second, locally and
14
15 regionally determined models of development should not be developed
16
17 independently of more foundational and universal principles and values such
18
19 as democracy, equity, internationalism, justice and solidarity. The specific
20
21 local and regional forms and articulations of such principles and values are
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23 normative questions and subject to social determination and political choices
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25 in particular national and international contexts.
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36 **What is local and regional development?**

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38 Definitions are a critically important and deceptively difficult starting point for
39
40 understanding what is meant by local and regional development. They are
41
42 complex and intertwined with conceptions of what local and regional
43
44 development is for and what it is designed to achieve (Pike *et al.* 2006).
45
46 Referring to conceptions of 'development', Williams (1983: 103) noted that
47
48 "very difficult and contentious political and economic issues have been widely
49
50 obscured by the apparent simplicity of these terms". Local and regional
51
52 development has historically been dominated by economic concerns such as
53
54 growth, income and employment (Armstrong and Taylor 2000). Development
55
56 can even be wholly equated with this relatively narrow focus upon local and
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2
3 regional *economic* development (Beer *et al.* 2003: 5). For Storper (1997),
4
5 local and regional prosperity and wellbeing depends upon the sustained
6
7 increases in employment, income and productivity integral to economic
8
9 development.
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14
15 Rooted in dissatisfaction with mainstream approaches and critiques of
16
17 orthodox neo-classical economics in the 1960s and 1970s, 'alternative'
18
19 approaches began to question the dominant economic focus of local and
20
21 regional development on firms in a national and international economic
22
23 context (Geddes and Newman 1999). Taking a particular normative position,
24
25 more local, even community-level (Haughton 1999; Reese 1997), and
26
27 socially-oriented approaches emerged as part of alternative economic
28
29 strategies in the UK and US, often challenging national frameworks through
30
31 new institutions at the local and regional level, such as enterprise boards,
32
33 sectoral development agencies and community associations, and contesting
34
35 capital locally through promoting 'restructuring for labour' (Cochrane 1983;
36
37 Gough and Eisenschitz 1993; Zeitlin 1989; see also Bingham and Mier 1993;
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39 Fitzgerald and Green Leigh 2002).
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48 Building upon the pioneering experimentalism of the 1980s and stimulated by
49
50 growing concerns about the character, quality and sustainability of local and
51
52 regional 'development', the often dominant economic focus has broadened in
53
54 recent years in an attempt to address social, ecological, political and cultural
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56 concerns (Geddes and Newman 1999; Morgan 2004). Unequal experiences
57
58 of living standards and wellbeing between places even at equal or
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2
3 comparable income levels has fuelled dissatisfaction with conventional
4 economic indicators of 'development' (Sen 1999). The 'post-development'
5 critique (Gibson-Graham 2003) and recent research on alternative concepts
6 working with broader, more social versions of the economy (Leyshon *et al.*
7 2003) have further increased the range and diversity of approaches to local
8 and regional development. Reducing social inequality, promoting
9 environmental sustainability, encouraging inclusive government and
10 governance and recognising cultural diversity have been emphasised to
11 varying degrees within broadened definitions of local and regional
12 development (Haughton and Counsell 2004; Keating 2005). Often uncertain
13 moves toward notions of quality of life, social cohesion and wellbeing are
14 being integrated or balanced, sometimes uneasily, with continued concerns
15 about economic competitiveness and growth.
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36 Broader understandings provide new opportunities to think about and define
37 local and regional development. What local and regional development is – in
38 the present. What it can or could be – in terms of future visions. And,
39 normatively, what it should be – in the sense of people in places making
40 value-based judgements about priorities and what they consider to be
41 appropriate 'development' for their localities and regions. No singularly
42 agreed, homogenous understanding of development of or for localities and
43 regions exists. Particular notions of 'development' are socially determined by
44 particular groups and/or interests in specific places and time periods. What
45 constitutes 'local and regional development' varies both within and between
46 countries and its differing articulations change over time (Beer *et al.* 2003;
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3 Danson *et al.* 2000; Reese 1997). Incremental and, sometimes, radical shifts
4 occur, shaped by practice, experience, assessment and reflection. Debate
5 and deliberation can transform conceptions and practices of local and regional
6 development. Models can be imposed and contested. Innovation can
7 incorporate formerly alternative approaches into the mainstream. Changing
8 government agendas during political cycles can recast local and regional
9 development policy. But, as we argue below, local, regional and national
10 interests determine local and regional development in specific and particular
11 contexts, albeit in relation to broader economic and political processes.
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27 Given this potential for geographical differentiation and change over time,
28 considering the evolution of definitions and conceptions of local and regional
29 development can anchor its main themes and dimensions in their historical
30 context (Pike *et al.* 2006; see also Cowen and Shenton 1996). The notion of
31 'development' as sustained increases in income per capita is a relatively
32 recent social and historical phenomenon evident since the 18th Century and
33 closely associated with modernity itself (Cypher and Dietz 2004). In
34 generalised terms, a post-war era of 'developmentalism' discernable up to the
35 1970s has given way in a highly geographically uneven and contested
36 manner to an emergent and uncertain era of 'globalism' (Table 1).
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TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE

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3 This periodisation contextualises the evolution of conceptions of
4 'development'. In each era there are distinctive theoretical and ideological
5 frameworks, 'development' definitions, theories of social change, agents of
6 development and specific forms of local and regional development.
7
8 Significantly, what constitutes 'development' changes over time, shaped by
9 critique, debate, experience and evaluation. Second, 'development' definitions
10 are geographically differentiated, varying within and between places over
11 time. However, critique of the linear stages model of 'development as
12 modernisation' toward 'developed', industrialised and 'advanced' country
13 standards of living and norms suggests that the increased diversity of
14 approaches and pathways of 'development' are not necessarily proceeding
15 towards the same singular destination (Rangan 2007). Third, the historically
16 dominant focus upon economic development has broadened, albeit highly
17 unevenly, to include social, ecological, political and cultural concerns. Last,
18 the national and, increasingly, supra-national 'development' focus has evolved
19 multi-scale understandings to incorporate differing meanings of the local and
20 the regional. Advanced, 'developed' industrial countries, economies
21 undergoing transition from central planning, and countries formerly considered
22 as 'developing' have been reincorporated into a much more global
23 development question than hitherto:
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53 ...as globalization and international economic integration have moved
54 forward, older conceptions of the broad structure of world economic
55 geography as comprising separate blocs (First, Second and Third
56 Worlds), each with its own developmental dynamic, appear to be giving
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3 way to another vision. This alternative perspective seeks to build a
4
5 common theoretical language about the development of regions and
6
7 countries in all parts of the world, as well as about the broad
8
9 architecture of the emerging world system of production and
10
11 exchange...it recognizes that territories are arrayed at different points
12
13 along a vast spectrum of developmental characteristics (Scott and
14
15 Storper 2003: 582).
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22 As its boundaries shift beyond the national, where local and regional
23
24 development unfolds has become a central question.
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32 *Where is local and regional development?*

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34 However defined, development is a profoundly geographical phenomenon
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36 and does not unfold in a spatial vacuum devoid of geographical attachments
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38 or context. The inevitably social process of local and regional development is
39
40 necessarily spatial (Castells 1983) and requires an appreciation of the
41
42 geographical concepts of space, territory, place and scale. Space is an
43
44 integral constituent of economic, social, ecological, political and cultural
45
46 relations and processes, and their geographies condition and shape in
47
48 profound ways how such processes develop (Harvey 1982; Markusen 1987).
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51 As specific spatial scales, the 'local' and the 'regional' are particular socially
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53 constructed spatial scales not simply containers in which such processes are
54
55 played out (Hudson 2007; Swyngedouw 1997). Spaces are causal and
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3 explanatory factors in economic growth not just receptacles for or
4 manifestations of its outcomes (Scott and Storper 2003).
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10 At a time when the spatially 'unbounded' and relational character of localities
11 and regions continues to be debated (Allen and Cochrane 2007; Allen *et al.*
12 1998; Jones and Macleod 2007; Lagendijk 2007; Massey 2004), it is
13 important not to lose sight of the territorially embedded nature of their
14 development and agency. While flows of ideas, people and resources remain
15 integral to territorial development processes (Hirschman 1958), the
16 expression of localities and regions in which different kinds of development
17 may or may not be taking place in specific time periods is often as territorially
18 bounded units with particular administrative, political, social and cultural forms
19 and identities, albeit those boundaries are continually being reworked and
20 constructed anew at different spatial scales. Within such territories, states and
21 other quasi- or non-state institutions — associations of capital, labour and civil
22 society — engage to differing degrees and in different ways in local and
23 regional development and its government and governance. Even in an era of
24 more globally integrated economies and more complex, multi-layered
25 institutional architectures, locally and regional rooted understandings and
26 agency remain integral to the reproduction and exercise of political power:
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53 The global media and markets that shape our lives beckon us to a
54 world beyond boundaries and belonging. But the civic resources we
55 need to master these forces, or at least to contend with them, are still
56 to be found in the places and stories, memories and meaning, incidents
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3 and identities, that situate us in the world and give our lives their moral
4
5 particularity (Sandel 1996: 349).
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10 Territorial boundaries form defined areas, evolving and changing over time
11
12 (Paasi 1991), within which particular definitions and kinds of local and regional
13
14 development are articulated, determined and pursued.
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19 While the current phase of accelerated international economic integration
20
21 means that localities and regions face ostensibly similar development
22
23 questions, this does not situate local and regional development on an
24
25 homogenous or uniform geographical plane. 'Development' is concerned with
26
27 specific and particular places. From Hackney to Honolulu to Hong Kong, each
28
29 place has evolving histories, legacies, institutions and other distinctive
30
31 characteristics that impart path dependencies and shape – *inter alia* - its
32
33 economic assets and trajectories, social outlooks, environmental concerns,
34
35 politics and culture (Agnew 2002; Martin and Sunley 2006). Such
36
37 particularities can be both shared and different and can be materially and
38
39 symbolically important to defining local and regional development. The
40
41 geographical diversity of places conditions how and why definitions of local
42
43 and regional development are to a degree contingent and vary both within and
44
45 between countries and over time (Sen 1999). Local and regional development
46
47 definitions are inevitably context-dependent (see Storper 1997):
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57 Economic development is not an objective per se. It is a means for
58
59 achieving well being, according to the culture and the conditions of
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3 certain populations. Nevertheless the well being target is not the same
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5 for people living in New York or in Maputo; only who is living in New York
6
7 or Maputo could fix what they want to achieve in the medium and long
8
9 term (Canzanelli 2001: 24).
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15 The particular attributes of places shape whether, how and to what degree
16
17 specific local and regional development definitions and varieties take root and
18
19 flourish or fail and wither over time.
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24 Together with space, territory and place, Table 2 demonstrates how
25
26 economic, social, political, ecological and cultural processes relevant to local
27
28 and regional development work across and between different scales through
29
30 the actions of particular agents. While focusing on *local* and *regional*
31
32 development here, each scale cannot be considered separately from its
33
34 relations with processes unfolding at other levels and scales (Perrons 2004).
35
36 Phenomena and processes that may seem somehow 'external' or beyond the
37
38 control or influence of particular localities and regions can have profound
39
40 impacts. Each scale and level is mutually constitutive: "localities cannot be
41
42 understood as neatly bounded administrative territories, and places are
43
44 intrinsically multi-scalar, constituted by social relations that range from the
45
46 parochial to the global" (Jones *et al.* 2004: 103).
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58 TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE
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What kind of local and regional development?

In common with the preceding discussion about definitions, no singular meaning exists amongst the different kinds of local and regional development determined by different people and groups in different places at different times. Indeed, recent years have witnessed a growing range and diversity of approaches internationally (Beer *et al.* 2003; Fitzgerald and Green Leigh 2002). The character, form and nature of local and regional development evolve in geographically uneven ways. While recognising the historical context of the uneven emergence of 'globalism' (see Table 1), thinking about the possible kinds of local and regional development encourages the consideration of its different varieties and the principles and values utilised in its determination. What local and regional development is for and is trying to achieve are framed and shaped by its definitions, varieties, principles and values.

Varieties of local and regional development

Building upon the definitions of what is meant by local and regional development and encountering a growing diversity of approaches, distinctions can be drawn about its different types and nature. Table 3 provides examples, although this list is not exhaustive and does not imply that similar action cannot be taken at other territorial levels. Specific dimensions might be different or receive varying priority in different localities and regions over time.

1
2
3 Geographical unevenness means such distinctions may be questions of
4 degree, extent or compromise rather than binary opposition. Absolute
5 development means an aspiration for geographically *even* development within
6 and across localities, regions and social groups; relative development
7 suggests *uneven* development. Connecting to the question of local and
8 regional development for whom, whether by default or design, relative
9 development prioritises and privileges particular localities, regions and/or
10 interests and social groups, often exacerbating rather than reducing
11 disparities and inequalities between them. Substantive differences exist
12 between absolute development *of* or relative development *in* a locality or
13 region (Morgan and Sayer 1988). Encompassing traditional top-down and
14 more recent bottom-up approaches (Stöhr 1990), autonomy describes where
15 the power and resources for local and regional development reside. Different
16 emphases may range from strong, high priority and/or radical to weak, low
17 priority and/or conservative. Exogenous, indigenous and/or endogenous
18 forms of growth may constitute the focus. State, market or civil society may
19 provide the institutional lead. Inter-territorial relations encompass differing
20 degrees of competition and/or co-operation (Malecki 2004). Measures include
21 interventions focused upon 'hard' infrastructure, such as capital projects,
22 and/or forms of 'soft' support, for example training. The objects of local and
23 regional development may be people and/or places and the subjects are the
24 themes upon which 'development' is based. The rate of development may
25 seek to balance 'fast' development to address pressing social need with a
26 'slow', perhaps more sustainable, outlook. Large and/or small scale projects
27 may be combined. The spatial focus distinguishes the particular geographical

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3 scale of development efforts. Views of sustainability may be relatively strong
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5 or weak.
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13 TABLE 3 ABOUT HERE
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20 Connected to the recent moves toward broader perspectives discussed
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22 above, an increasingly important distinction in the kinds of local and regional
23
24 development is between its quantitative extent and its qualitative character.
25
26 The quantitative dimension concerns numeric measures, for example a per
27
28 capita growth rate of GDP, an increase in productivity, a number of jobs
29
30 created or safeguarded, new investment projects secured or new firms
31
32 established. Notwithstanding issues of data availability and reliability,
33
34 quantitative approaches focus objectively on the absolute or relative change
35
36 in indicators over specific time periods within and between localities and
37
38 regions (McCann 2007). The qualitative dimension relates to the nature of
39
40 local and regional development, for example the sustainability (economic,
41
42 social, environmental) and forms of growth, the type and 'quality' of jobs, the
43
44 embeddedness and sustainability of investments, and the growth potential,
45
46 sectoral mix and social diversity of new firms. Qualitative approaches focus
47
48 upon subjective concerns informed by specific principles and values of local
49
50 and regional development socially determined in context within particular
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52 localities and regions at specific times. Depending upon the context, the
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54 sustainability of growth may be evaluated in terms of its ecological impact; the
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4 'quality' of jobs might be assessed by their employment terms and conditions,
5
6 relative wage levels, career progression opportunities, and trade union
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8 recognition and the extent to which each form of 'development' contributes to
9
10 the enhancement of citizens' capabilities (Sen 1999). Although efforts have
11
12 been made recently to quantify such factors, the approach still remains
13
14 fundamentally qualitative. Research has tended to concentrate on the
15
16 'success' stories of high-productivity and/or high-cohesion forms of growth,
17
18 however, neglecting other less desirable, but widespread, types of growth
19
20 (Sunley 2000).
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27 Quantitative and qualitative dimensions of local and regional development can
28
29 be integrated but are not necessarily complementary. Localities and regions
30
31 can experience 'development' in quantitative terms but with a problematic
32
33 qualitative dimension, for example inflationary and short-lived growth,
34
35 increased low 'quality' jobs, disembedded inward investors and/or failing start-
36
37 up firms. Similarly, localities and regions can witness qualitative 'development'
38
39 that is quantitatively problematic, for example low level, weak (but perhaps
40
41 more sustainable) growth, insufficient (although potentially good quality) jobs,
42
43 too few new investments and new firms.
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50 In grappling with the dimensions of growth, 'high' and 'low' roads to local and
51
52 regional development have been identified to describe causal relationships
53
54 between high or low levels of productivity, skills, value-added and wages in
55
56 relation to the relative levels of sophistication of economic activities (Cooke
57
58 1995). The 'high' road equates with quantitatively greater, qualitatively better,
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1
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3 more sophisticated and less easily imitated and more sustainable forms of
4 local and regional development. The 'low' road suggests not necessarily
5
6 quantitatively less but qualitatively worse, less sophisticated and more easily
7
8 replicated and less sustainable development locally and regionally. While
9
10 providing one way of thinking and evident in international policy debates, the
11
12 'high' and 'low' road distinction may be a question of degree, varying amongst
13
14 the economic activities in localities and regions and changing over time.
15
16 Distinguishing between 'high' and 'low' roads is problematic for 'developing'
17
18 and transition countries and peripheral localities and regions whose relatively
19
20 low wages and weak social protection may be perceived as advantages within
21
22 an increasingly competitive international economy, despite their potential
23
24 contribution to undercutting social standards in a de-regulatory 'race to the
25
26 bottom' (Standing 1999). What are considered 'appropriate', 'bad', 'good',
27
28 'failed' or 'successful' forms of local and regional development are shaped by
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30 principles and values socially and politically determined in different places and
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32 time periods.
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46 *Principles and values*

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48 Principles and values shape how specific social groups and interests in
49
50 particular places define, understand, interpret and articulate what is defined
51
52 and meant by local and regional development. The worth, desirability and
53
54 appropriateness of different varieties of local and regional development may
55
56 be collectively held unanimously, shared with a degree of consensus or
57
58 subject to contest and differing interpretations by different interests within and
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3 between places over time. Rather than narrowly and simply rational and
4 technocratic calculations, principles and values of local and regional
5 development frame value judgements and raise normative questions about
6 values, ethics and opinions of what should be rather than what is (Markusen
7 2006). What could and should local and regional development mean? What
8 sorts of local and regional development does a locality or region need and
9 want? What kinds of development are deemed appropriate and inappropriate?
10 What constitutes the 'success' or 'failure' of specific kinds of development for
11 a locality or region? How should these normative questions be addressed?
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27 Principles and values of local and regional development reflect the relations
28 and balances of power between state, market, civil society and are socially
29 and politically determined within localities and regions. Principles might reflect
30 foundational (Harvey 1996) or universal beliefs held independently of a
31 country's levels of development such as democracy, equity, fairness, liberty
32 and solidarity (Sen 1999). Individuals and institutions with social power and
33 influence can seek to impose their specific interests and visions of local and
34 regional development but these may be contested (Harvey 2000). It is, then,
35 critical to ask whose principles and values are being pursued in local and
36 regional development. Particular varieties of the political settlements of
37 government and governance of local and regional development are central to
38 how such questions are framed, deliberated and resolved (Hall and Soskice
39 2001; see also Cooke and Clifton 2005). Such social agency is not wholly
40 autonomous or independent to act and decide its own course of development,
41 however. It is circumscribed by the structural, institutional and historical
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3 context in which it is embedded and the constraints this creates in any
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5 consideration of what 'development' is, could or should be about. The social
6
7 and political determination of the principles and values of local and regional
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9 development is a geographically uneven process and principles and values
10
11 can differ between places and change over time. Particular geographically
12
13 rooted constructions of 'development' condition the social use of resources
14
15 with potentially different economic, social, ecological, political and cultural
16
17 implications, for example whether places seek to address internal social
18
19 needs or external markets (Williams 1983). Such heterogeneity and
20
21 contingency underpins the range and diversity of different approaches to local
22
23 and regional development. Elsewhere, however, localities and regions may
24
25 seek convergence toward more mainstream and orthodox approaches, for
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27 example liberalizing their economies, promoting competition and reducing the
28
29 role of the state. The principles and values that shape social aspirations may
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31 reflect perceived economic, social and political problems and injustices, for
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33 example concerning the allocation of public expenditure, the actions of local
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35 or trans-national firms, ecological damage or the relative degree of political
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37 autonomy. 'Development' in this specific context may then be defined as a
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39 'fairer' allocation of public funding (McKay and Williams 2005), greater
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41 regulatory control over the power of firms (Christopherson and Clark 2007),
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43 enhanced environmental standards and enhanced political powers.
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58 **Local and regional development for whom?**

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3 Definitions and kinds of local and regional development are closely related to
4 the question of local and regional development for whom? Answers to which
5 concern the objects and subjects of local and regional development and the
6 social welfare dimensions of the uneven and geographically differentiated
7 distribution of who and where benefits and loses from particular varieties of
8 local and regional development. The objects of local and regional
9 development are the material things to which 'development' action is directed.
10 The subjects are the themes upon which 'development' is based. Each
11 provides a means of discerning the implications of specific forms of local and
12 regional development and policies. Social welfare analysis reveals how
13 specific social groups and/or institutional interests may be advantaged by
14 particular varieties of local and regional development. The objects and
15 subjects of local and regional development work across sometimes
16 overlapping levels and scales (Table 4). This distinction can help reveal policy
17 implications – intended or otherwise – and the geographical impacts of spatial
18 and non-spatial policies (Pike *et al.* 2006).
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46 TABLE 4 ABOUT HERE
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53 The social welfare distribution of who and where benefits and loses from
54 particular varieties of local and regional development is geographically
55 differentiated and changes over time. The distribution of social power and
56 resources within society shapes the economic, social and political inequalities
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3 and experiences of local and regional development (Harvey 1996). The
4 relationship between economic efficiency and growth and social equity is a
5 recurrent normative issue (Bluestone and Harrison 2000; Scott and Storper
6 2003). The greater focus on local and regional development accompanied by
7 an emphasis on efficiency at the sub-national level has often been at the
8 expense of the redistributive capacities of nation states (Cheshire and Gordon
9 1998). Still, though, too little is known about the extent to which social
10 cohesion is a result or cause of economic growth (Perrons 2004).
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24 Kuznets' (1960) nationally-focused work argued that further economic growth
25 tended to generate inequality at low income levels. Richardson (1979) saw
26 regional inequalities as a problem in the early stages of a nation's growth that
27 could be ameliorated by redistributive regional policies. While Hirschman
28 (1958) indicated that greater initial inequality may represent the natural path
29 towards equality. For Kuznets, as income levels per capita increased, a
30 critical threshold of income is reached and further economic growth and
31 higher average per capita income tended to reduce a nation's overall income
32 inequality (Figure 1). The "knife-edge" dilemma between growth and equity
33 remains central to current debates:
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51 ...some analysts hold that development policy is best focused on
52 productivity improvements in dynamic agglomerations, (thereby
53 maximising national growth rates but increasing social tensions), while
54 other analysts suggest that limiting inequality through appropriate forms
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3 of income distribution (social and/or inter-regional) can lead to more
4
5 viable long-run development programmes (Scott and Storper 2003: 588).
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10 Local and regional development grapples with this uneven shift from the more
11 equity-focused, donor-recipient model toward growth-oriented policies and
12 their potential to reinforce rather than ameliorate spatial disparities (Pike *et al.*
13 2006; see also Dunford 2005; Fothergill 2005; Moulaert and Sekia 2003)
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15 (Figure 2).
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27 FIGURE 1 ABOUT HERE
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32 FIGURE 2 ABOUT HERE
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39 Inspired by broader notions of local and regional development, social welfare
40 analysis has widened to address questions of equality. Ways have been
41 sought to utilise the experience and participation of women which have
42 altered the underlying definitions, principles and varieties of local and regional
43 development (Aufhauser *et al.* 2003; Hudson 2007; Rees 2000; Rönnblom
44 2005; Sen 1999; Schech and Vas Dev 2007). Similarly, recognition of ethnic
45 and racial minority interests has helped design varieties of local and regional
46 development that tackle discrimination, promote positive role models, raise
47 educational aspirations, and increase economic participation (Blackburn and
48 Ram 2006). The heterogeneity of places helps rather than hinders the framing
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3 of distinctive and context-sensitive approaches to local and regional
4 development.
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10 Ultimately, our central question — what kind of local and regional
11 development and for whom — is concerned with competing visions of the
12 'good society' (Galbraith 1997). In an allegedly 'post-ideological' or 'post-
13 political' age (Žižek 1997), there is a tendency to reduce such issues to
14 technical questions. However, we have stressed that a clearer understanding
15 and analysis necessitates a greater awareness of the values that underpin
16 local and regional development in any given society. Apparently neutral
17 questions, such as 'what works?' and 'what are the successful models?',
18 remain imbued with politics. Indeed, narrowly short-term and/or pragmatic
19 approaches can limit the search for effective public policy and undermine
20 enduring and potentially more sophisticated and sustainable responses to
21 local and regional development concerns. For this reason, then, answers to
22 the question of what kind of local and regional development and for whom
23 require us explicitly to annunciate the principles and values which should
24 underpin local and regional development. In short, we need to bring the
25 normative dimension back into our discussion (Markusen 2006).
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53 **Towards holistic, progressive and sustainable local and regional** 54 **development** 55

56 Building upon this analysis of definitions, geographies, varieties, principles,
57 values and distributional questions, the following outlines our normative
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3 version of holistic, progressive and sustainable local and regional
4 development (Pike *et al.* 2006). 'Development' is defined as the establishment
5 of conditions and institutions that foster the realisation of the potential of the
6 capacities and faculties of the human mind in people, communities and, in
7 turn, in places (Sen 1999; Williams 1983). Local and regional 'development'
8 should be part of more balanced, cohesive and sustainable approaches. A
9 holistic approach interprets close relations and balanced integration between
10 the economic, social, political, ecological and cultural dimensions of local and
11 regional development (Beer *et al.* 2003; Perrons 2004), notwithstanding the
12 potential trade-offs and conflicts involved (Haughton and Counsell 2004). It
13 connects directly to Sen's (1999: 126) view of a broad and many-sided
14 approach to development which:
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34 involves rejecting a compartmentalized view of the process of
35 development (for example, going just for "liberalization" or some other
36 single, overarching process). The search for a single all-purpose
37 remedy (such as "open the markets" or "get the prices right") has had
38 much hold on professional thinking in the past...Instead, an integrated
39 and multifaceted approach is needed, with the object of making
40 simultaneous progress on different fronts, including different
41 institutions, which reinforce each other.
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55 The holistic approach sees development as necessarily broader than just the
56 economy and encourages wider and more rounded conceptions of wellbeing
57 and quality of life. It attempts to move beyond the narrow economism of
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3 “deseccated indicators” (Morgan 2004: 884) like GDP and income per head to
4 develop new metrics that better capture broader conceptions of local and
5 regional development (Bristow 2005; Geddes and Newman 1999; Sen 1999).
6 Earlier, less developed versions of holistic thinking may start by recognising
7 the parallel contributions and potential for integration of economic, social,
8 cultural and environmental policy without an explicit local and regional focus
9 and beyond the immediate realm of local and regional development but with
10 the potential to contribute to its goals. Critics may question the practical
11 feasibility of such an apparently all-encompassing approach. Hirschman
12 (1958: 205), for example, argued that its “...very comprehensiveness...can
13 drown out the sense of direction so important for purposeful policy-making”.
14 Institutions and policies may struggle to intervene and shape such a wide and
15 complex set of relationships in order to develop localities and regions. The
16 challenge to integrate the often dominant concerns of economic efficiency
17 with social welfare and environmental sensitivity is certainly formidable. Yet,
18 without questioning dominant conceptions and seeking to understand the
19 relations between broader dimensions of local and regional development,
20 more balanced, cohesive and sustainable development of localities and
21 regions may remain beyond reach.

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51 A politically progressive local and regional development is underpinned by
52 critiques of capitalism and a belief in the need to challenge the social injustice
53 of uneven development and spatial disparities (Harvey 2000). This approach
54 is potentially holistic. It emphasises the role of the state together with civil
55 society in tackling local and regional disadvantage, inequality and poverty.
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3 The inclusion of social actors, such as trade unions and community
4 associations, can serve to broaden the focus of local and regional
5 development beyond narrowly economic concerns and propose alternatives
6 (Pike *et al.* 2005). While their narrow, theoretical economic efficiency in
7 allocating resources is recognised, institutionalism and socio-economics
8 reveal how markets are underpinned by frameworks of institutions and
9 conventions (Polanyi 1944; see also Martin 1999). As Scott (1998: 102)
10 argues "...superior levels of long-run economic efficiency and performance
11 are almost always attainable where certain forms of collective order and
12 action are brought into play in combination with competition and markets" (see
13 also Rodríguez-Pose and Storper 2006; Wade 2003). Progressive local and
14 regional development seeks to tame and regulate markets to ameliorate their
15 tendencies toward instability and unequal economic, social and spatial
16 outcomes that may undermine aspirations for balanced, cohesive and
17 sustainable local and regional development. In opposition, regressive forms of
18 local and regional development are often characterised by wasteful inter-
19 territorial competition, zero-sum notions of places 'developing' at the expense
20 of other places and an understanding of 'development' as a harsh meritocracy
21 in which unfettered markets are relied upon to much greater degrees to
22 arbitrate the realisation of the potential of people, communities and places.
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53 Progressive local and regional development is based upon a set of
54 foundational, even universal, principles and values such as justice, fairness,
55 equality, equity, democracy, unity, cohesion, solidarity and internationalism
56 (Harvey 1996). Such ideals are often forged in place and can connect local,
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3 particular, struggles – ‘militant particularisms’ – in a more general,
4 geographically encompassing common and shared interest (Harvey 2000;
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6 Williams 1980). In establishing the principles and value that define what is
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8 meant by local and regional development, public discussion and social
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10 participation within a democratic framework are integral. Sen maintains that:
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17 It can be argued that a proper understanding of what economic needs
18
19 are — their content and their force — require discussion and
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21 exchange. Political and civil rights, especially those related to the
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23 guaranteeing of open discussion, debate, criticism, and dissent, are
24
25 central to the processes of generating informed and reflected choices.
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27 These processes are crucial to the formation of values and priorities,
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29 and we cannot, in general, take preferences as given independently of
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31 public discussion, that is, irrespective of whether open debates and
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33 interchanges are permitted or not. The reach and effectiveness of open
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35 dialogue are often underestimated in assessing social and political
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37 problems (1999: 153).
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47 Democracy, then, suggests opportunities for the definition of social and
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49 economic problems, although there are clearly substantial geographical
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51 variations in its practice. While democratic institutions are important, their
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53 relationship with development outcomes is not simple but reflects the degree
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55 to which opportunities for participation are taken up. As Sen (1999: 159) puts
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57 it: “The achievement of social justice depends not only on institutional forms
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59 (including democratic rules and regulations), but also on effective practice”.
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6 The universal values central to the progressive approach are neither fixed, nor
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8 are they simply the products of relativist definitions of 'development'
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10 determined by particular places in specific time periods. Such introspective
11
12 and narrow understandings may only fuel inter-territorial competition and
13
14 zero-sum interpretations of development. Instead, the specific local and
15
16 regional forms, articulation and determination of principles and values are
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18 normative issues subject to varying degrees of local and regional social
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20 determination, shaping and struggle within their particular national and
21
22 international contexts (Standing 1999). They are normative questions for
23
24 localities and regions of what their local and regional development should be
25
26 about. Keating, Loughlin and Deschouwer (2003) argue that political and
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28 social agents instrumentalise and utilise territorial identities to provide socially
29
30 rooted frameworks for such politics. Formalised institutions of state and civil
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32 society adapt and mould such interests. Based upon their specific
33
34 interpretations of concepts and theories, localities and regions attempt to find
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36 and reach their own particular 'syntheses' of distinctive models of local and
37
38 regional development conditioned by cultural values, institutions and
39
40 prevailing modes of social and political mobilisation. Drawing upon the 'post-
41
42 development' critique (Gibson-Graham 2003), this view rejects any notion of
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44 'one-size-fits' all models and underpins the growing variety and diversity of
45
46 local and regional development approaches. Yet, while reflecting particular
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48 and specific local and regional aspirations, needs and traits, such locally and
49
50 regionally determined models or resolutions should not be developed
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52 independently of the more universal values outlined above. Such local and
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3 regional resolutions are shaped by the balance, dialogue, power and relations
4 of local and regional interests, sensitive to their specific contexts, and
5 mediated through multi-layered institutions of government and governance
6 (Morgan 2007; Rodríguez-Pose and Storper 2006).
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15 The third guiding principle is sustainability. Sustainable local and regional
16 development is holistic in encouraging broader notions of inclusion, health,
17 wellbeing and quality of life (Haughton and Counsell 2004; Morgan 2004) and
18 incorporating understandings of the relations between the economic, social,
19 ecological, political and cultural dimensions of development. Sustainability is
20 potentially progressive if it prioritises the values and principles of equity and
21 long-term thinking in access to and use of resources within and between
22 current and future generations. Sustainable development seeks to recognise
23 distinctive structural problems and dovetails with local assets and social
24 aspirations to encourage the kinds of local and regional development that are
25 more likely to take root and succeed as locally and regionally grown solutions
26 (Hirschman 1958; Storper 1997). Heightened recognition of such context
27 sensitivity has promoted diverse and sometimes alternative approaches to
28 local and regional development. This connects to the recognition of the
29 leading role of the state in more holistic, programmatic and systemic forms of
30 local and regional policy:
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55 ...environmentally sustainable development implies a more important
56 role for the public sector, because sustainability requires a long-term –
57 intergenerational – and holistic perspective, taking into account the full
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3 benefits and costs to society and the environment, not only the
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5 possibility of private profitability (Geddes and Newman 1999: 22).
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10 Depending upon the circumstances and aspirations of particular localities and
11 regions and often very real constraints (Mainwaring *et al.* 2006), balances and
12 compromises inevitably emerge from considerations of sustainable
13 development when connected to holistic and progressive principles.
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19 Critics may see an utopian and infeasible wish list in this particular normative
20 approach. But the principles and values of holistic, progressive and
21 sustainable local and regional development are being explored and put into
22 practice by international, national, regional and local interests (Pike *et al.*
23 2006). The International Labour Organisation's local development framework
24 focuses upon human development and 'decent work' (Canzanelli 2001).
25 Further international examples – amongst many others under development
26 and experimentation (see Beer *et al.* 2003; Scott 1998) – include alternative
27 economic strategies based upon local currencies (Leyshon *et al.* 2003),
28 sustaining local and regional economies (Hines 2000; Mitchell 2000; Pike *et*
29 *al.* 2005), labour-oriented investment funds (Lincoln 2000), international fair
30 trade and local development (Audet 2004), localising food provision through
31 public procurement (Morgan 2004; Ricketts Hein *et al.* 2006), gender-
32 sensitive approaches (Aufhauser *et al.* 2003), public sector dispersal
33 (Marshall *et al.* 2005; Myung-Jin 2007), mobilising community engagement to
34 formalise undeclared work (Williams 2005) and ecological modernisation by
35 encouraging local development through 'de-manufacturing' and recycling
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3 (Gibbs *et al.* 2005). While not exhaustive, these examples provide concrete
4 cases of at least some elements of our approach.
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10 Holistic, progressive and sustainable local and regional development is not a
11 'one-size-fits-all' template or universal model. Neither is it a plea for local and
12 regional relativism and voluntarism in definitions of development driven solely
13 by local and regional interests in splendid isolation. Instead, this approach
14 outlines guiding principles informed by the kinds of universal values discussed
15 above that may influence the social determination of definitions, geographies,
16 varieties, principles and values for local and regional development that are
17 geographically differentiated and change over time. A holistic, progressive
18 and sustainable approach is but one answer to the fundamental question of
19 what kind of local and regional development and for whom.
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39 **Conclusions and the limits and political renewal of local and regional** 40 **development** 41

42 Understanding local and regional development requires an engagement with
43 its most basic nature. What it is, what it is for and, in a normative sense, what
44 it should be are critical starting points. This paper has addressed the
45 fundamental question of what kind of local and regional development and for
46 whom? Issues of definition were reviewed to examine what is meant by local
47 and regional development, its historical context and the importance of its
48 geographies of space, territory, place and scale. Definitions of local and
49 regional development have broadened to include economic and social,
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3 environmental, political and cultural concerns. Definitions are socially
4 determined in the context of historically enduring themes, principles and
5 values, incorporating geographical differentiation and changes over time.
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7 Geography matters as a causal factor in local and regional development.
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9 Territories evolve as defined areas in which particular definitions of local and
10 regional development are constructed and pursued. Places shape the
11 geographical diversity, unevenness and context of local and regional
12 development. Economic, social, political, environmental and cultural
13 processes influence local and regional development across, between and
14 through different scales. Different kinds of local and regional development
15 connect to socially determined and normative principles and values that differ
16 geographically and change over time. Distinguishing the objects, subjects and
17 social welfare aspects of local and regional development helps understand
18 the often socially and geographically uneven distribution of who and where
19 benefits or loses from particular forms of local and regional development.
20 Holistic, progressive and sustainable principles and practices suggest a
21 particular normative view of what local and regional development should be
22 about.
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48 Yet, there are limits to what local and regional development can achieve.
49 Broadened understandings of local and regional development are necessary
50 but not sufficient for more evenly distributed territorial development, wealth
51 and wellbeing across and between localities and regions. The
52 macroeconomics of growth and the extent and nature of the engagement of
53 national states within the international political economy raise fundamental
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3 questions concerning the problems and prospects for local and regional
4 development:
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10 ...how, in a prospective global mosaic of regional economies, individual
11 regions can maximise their competitive advantages through intra-
12 regional policy efforts while simultaneously working together
13 collaboratively to create an effective world-wide inter-regional division of
14 labour with appropriate built-in mechanisms of mutual aid, and especially
15 with some modicum of collective assistance for failing or backward
16 regions (Scott 1998: 7; see also Hudson 2001).
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29 Despite the changed context, nation states remain integral in recognising the
30 plight of lagging territories and framing local and regional development, for
31 example through regulating inter-territorial competition at the international,
32 national and sub-national levels (Gordon 2007; Markusen and Nesse 2006;
33 Rodríguez-Pose and Arbix 2001). Yet deep concerns linger about the
34 technocratic character of 'quasi-governance', especially at the regional and
35 local levels, its problems of accountability, co-ordination and transparency
36 (Allen and Cochrane 2007; Skelcher *et al.* 2000; Pike 2002; 2004; Blackman
37 and Ormston 2005) and the ways in which, internationally, devolution has
38 largely failed to reduce local and regional disparities and, under particular
39 conditions, has even served to exacerbate them (Rodríguez-Pose and Gill
40 2005).
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3 The potential constraints and limits suggest the need for the political renewal
4 of local and regional development:
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10 ...in the absence of discussion on the goals and purposes of economic
11 development policy, we will remain in a period of policy formulation
12 which favours interventions targeted toward either reducing the costs of
13 doing business or improving the competency of firms. Such emphases
14 will ensure that theory is invoked to justify current practice, further
15 diverting attention from the deeper underlying bases of economic
16 deprivation (Glasmeier 2000: 575).
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29 Politics explicitly recognises the normative choices about what local and
30 regional development should be about, where and for whom. Such choices
31 are not simply objective and technical assessments. They are wrapped up in
32 specific combinations of universal and particular principles and values that
33 require institutional mechanisms of articulation, deliberation, representation
34 and resolution. As Scott (1998: 117) argues “Successful development
35 programmes must inevitably be judicious combinations of general principle
36 and localized compromise, reflecting the actual geography and history of each
37 individual region”. Like Thompson’s (1963) understanding of social history,
38 political practice forges the functional and geographical shape of the
39 institutions of co-ordination and collective order for local and regional
40 development (see Scott 1998). Achieving answers to the question of ‘what
41 kind of local and regional development and for whom?’ – in the manner of
42 Keating *et al.*’s (2003) distinctive locally and regionally determined syntheses
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3 – involves compromise, conflict and struggle between sometimes opposing
4 priorities. 'Success', 'failure' and 'development' in localities and regions are
5 framed and shaped by processes and politics of government and governance.
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13 A renewed politics of local and regional development hinges upon the
14 questions of who governs and how power is exercised in deciding what
15 varieties, institutions and resources frame, address and answer the questions
16 of what kind of local and regional development and for whom? Parochial and
17 introspective approaches developed at the expense of other people, classes
18 and places are rejected (Beynon and Hudson 1993). Instead, potential exists
19 in international inter-governmental co-ordination and national and
20 decentralised decision making structures co-ordinating and integrating their
21 relationships within multi-level institutional structures operating across a range
22 of scales. This agenda may be criticised as utopian or too reformist and
23 insufficiently radical in its approach. But it is important to recognise the
24 practical difficulties which confront those seeking to transform public policy
25 that occurs when rationality and power collide (Flyvbjerg 1998). Aspirations
26 for local and regional development are beset with potential problems but not
27 having a vision of what we want local and regional development to do and to
28 look like would make such a task even harder.
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51 52 53 54 55 **Acknowledgements** 56

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Table 1: The eras of 'Developmentalism' and 'Globalism'

World framework	Developmentalism (1940s-1970s)	Globalism (1970s-)
Political economy	State regulated markets Keynesian welfarism	Self-regulating markets (Monetarism) Schumpeterian Workfarism
Social goals	Social entitlement and welfare Uniform citizenship	Private initiative via free markets Identity politics versus citizenship
Development (model)	Industrial replication National economic management (Brazil, Mexico, India)	Participation in the world market Comparative advantage (Chile, New Zealand, South Korea)
Mobilizing tool	Nationalism (post-colonialism)	Efficiency (post-developmentalism) Debt and credit-worthiness
Mechanisms	Import-Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) Public investment (infrastructure and energy) Education Land reform	Export-oriented Industrialization (EPO) Agro-exporting Privatization, public and majority-class austerity Entrepreneurialism, sustainable development

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5	Geographical		First World (Freedom of Enterprise)			National structural adjustment (Opening economies)	
6							
7	Variants		Second World (Central planning)			Regional free trade agreements	
8							
9							
10			Third World (Modernization via Developmental			Global economic and environmental management	
11			Alliance)				
12							
13							
14	Local and regional		National spatial policy			Supranational and devolved (sub-national, regional and	
15							
16	dimension		Economic and social focus			local) policy and institutions	
17							
18			Growth redistribution			Economic competitiveness focus	
19							
20							
21						Broadening of 'development'	
22							
23							
24						Regeneration	
25							

Timeline	1940s	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s	2000s
Markers	United Nations (1943)	First Development Decade (1950-53)	Second Development Decade (1964-73)	Oil crises (1973, 1979) New International Economic Order Initiative (1974)	Debt Crisis/The Lost Decade (supervised state/economy restructuring) (mid-1980s)	Globalisation New World Order begins (early 1990s)	9/11 (2001) Second Gulf conflict (2003) Growth of China
	Bretton Woods (1944)	Korean War	Vietnam War			Earth Summit (1992)	
	Marshall Plan (1946)	Non-Aligned Movement	Alliance for Progress (1961)			Chiapas revolt (1994)	

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	(1946-)	(1955)	UN Conference		Neo-liberalism		and India
			on Trade		Reaganism,		
			Development		Thatcherism		
			(1964)		Cold War ends		
					(1989)		
Institutional developments	World Bank		Eurodollar and	Group of Seven (G7) forms (1975)	GATT Uruguay	NAFTA (1994)	Anti-globalisation
	and IMF (1944)		offshore \$		Round (1984)	World Trade	protests (Seattle,
	GATT (1947)		market		Glasnost and	Organisation (1995)	Davos, Genoa)
	COMECON				Perestroika in	Asian financial crises	(early 2000s)
	(1947)				Soviet Union	(1997)	Argentina financial
	US\$ as world				(mid-1980s)	Euro introduction	crisis (2002)
	reserve				IMF and World	(1999)	European Union
	currency				Bank Structural		enlargement (25
					Adjustment		Member States)
					Programmes		(2004)
					Single European		
					Market		

Source: Adapted from McMichael (1996)

Table 2: Scales, socio-economic processes and institutional agents

Scale/Level	Socio-economic process	Institutional agents
Global	Trading regime liberalisation	International Labour Organisation (ILO), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Trade Organisation (WTO), inter-governmental organisations, nation states
Macro-regional	Information and communication technology network expansion	European Union, Member States, regulatory bodies, private sector providers
National	House price inflation	Central Banks, building societies, borrowers
Sub-national	Transport infrastructure	Public transport bodies,

1			
2			
3		expansion	private companies,
4			financial institutions
5			
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9			
10	Regional	University graduate	Universities, Regional
11		labour market retention	Development Agencies,
12			employers, training
13			providers
14			
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21			
22	Sub-regional	Labour market	Employment services,
23		contraction	trade unions, business
24			associations,
25			employers, employees
26			
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34	Local	Local currency	Local Exchange Trading
35		experimentation	Systems, households
36			
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41	Neighbourhood	Social exclusion	Local authorities,
42			regeneration
43			partnerships, voluntary
44			groups
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53	Community	Adult literacy extension	Education and training
54			institutions, households,
55			families
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4 **Source: Adapted from Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney (2006: 37)**
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For Peer Review Only

Table 3: Distinctions in local and regional development

Dimension	Distinction	
Approach	Absolute	Relative
Autonomy	Local, regional	National, supra-national
Direction	Top-down	Bottom-up
Emphasis	Strong	Weak
Focus	Exogenous	Endogenous/indigenous
Institutional lead	State	Market
Inter-territorial relations	Competitive	Co-operative
Measures	Hard	Soft
Quantity/Quality	Extent	Nature
Objects	People	Places
Rate	Fast	Slow
Scale	Large	Small
Spatial focus	Local	Regional
Subjects	Growth	Equity
Sustainability	Strong	Weak

Source: Adapted from Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney (2006: 39)

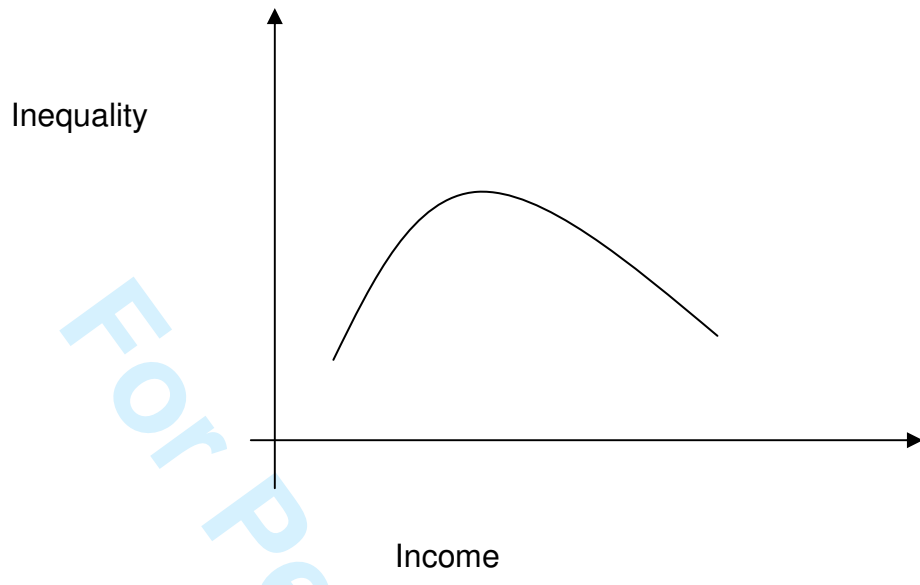
Table 4: The objects and subjects of local and regional development

Level/Scale	Objects	Subjects
People	Individuals	Education and training
	Households	Homecare services
	Families	Childcare
	Neighbourhoods	Neighbourhood renewal
	Communities	Community regeneration
	Villages	Rural diversification
	Localities	Strategic partnerships
Spaces, places and territories	Towns	Market town revival
	Cities	Growth Strategies
	City-regions	Local authority collaboration
	Sub-regions	Spatial strategies
	Regions	Regional economic strategies
	Sub-nations	Economic development strategies
	Nations	Regional development
	Macro-regions	Economic and social cohesion
	International	Aid distribution
	Global	Trade liberalisation

Source: Adapted from Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney (2006: 49)

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Figure 1: The Kuznets Inverted-U Hypothesis

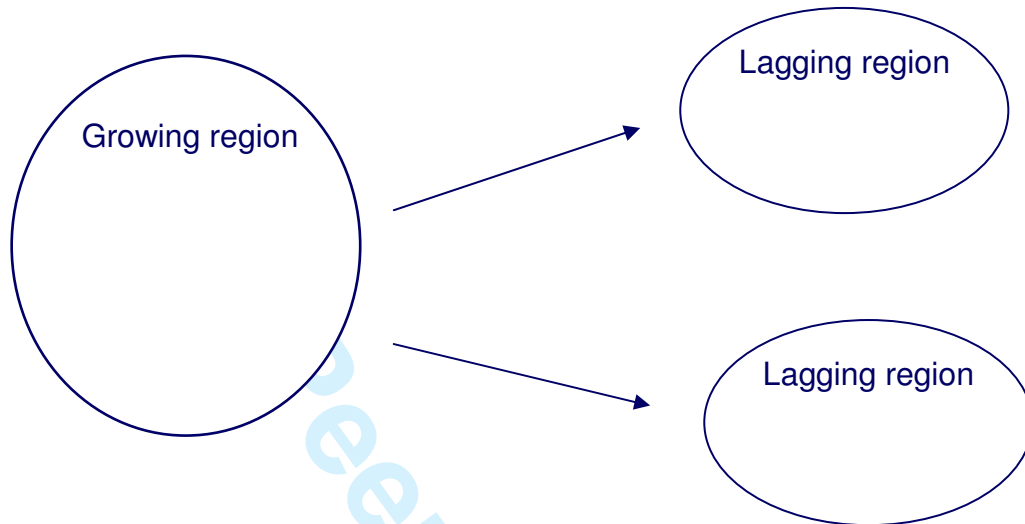


Source: Adapted from Cypher and Dietz (2003: 54)

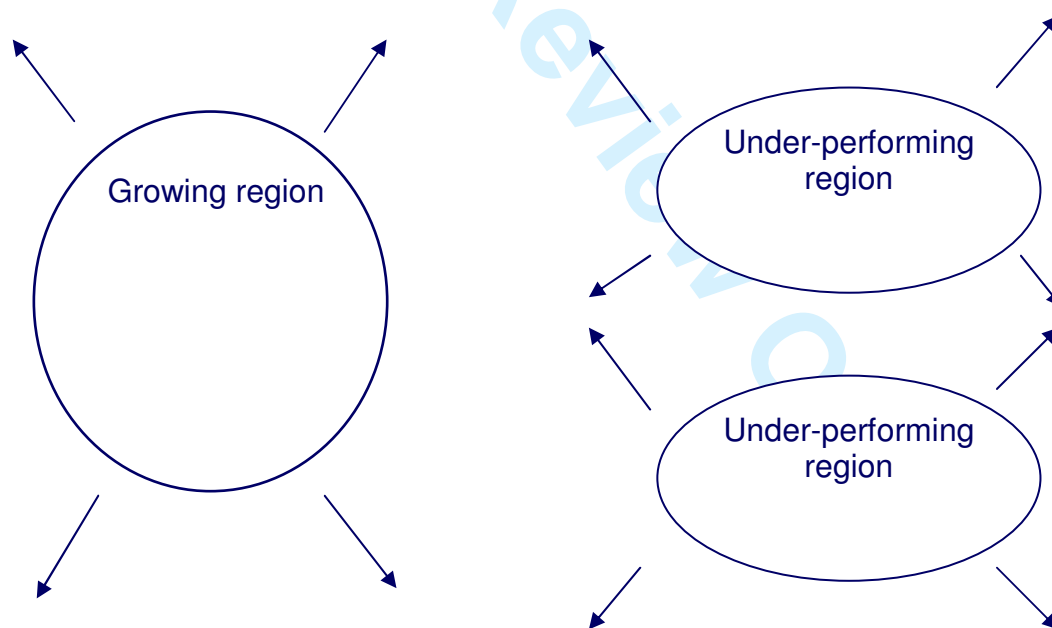
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Figure 2: Models of local and regional development policy

The donor-recipient policy model



The growth-oriented policy model



Source: Adapted from Pike, Rodríguez-Pose and Tomaney (2006: 106)