

Anchoring Urban Development: Globalisation, Attractiveness and Complexity

Olivier Crevoisier 

University of Neuchâtel, Switzerland

Delphine Rime

University of Bern, Switzerland

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Abstract

Since the work of Hoyt in the 1930s, economic theories of urban development have stressed the primacy of manufacturing because of the existence of a regional multiplier effect. This model was extended to traded services and, in the last 10 years, to the residential and presential economy, taking into account the fact that mobile consumers and residents also bring monetary flows into regions. The city today is both a productive agglomeration and a place of living, for both local and extra-local consumers, heralding the end of the primacy of manufacturing. In this article, we go a step further and consider the primacy of other kinds of export, either based on selling competitive goods or on attracting consumers. Due to changes in globalisation and to the rise of inter-urban competition for spending, incomes earned on exports are less and less likely to be spent locally, and instead flow out, progressively invalidating the multiplier effect. Consequently, the hypothesis of this article is that the main issue for urban development theories and practices is combining competitiveness in terms of exports with attractiveness to local as well as to external consumers. In this article, we call complexity the idea of pushing aside the focus on exports in order to understand the tensions and synergies between all activities and populations present within the urban space. In order to formulate new research questions, we build a typology of urban income flows and activities.

Keywords

complexity, development, economic processes, globalisation, governance, milieu, theory

Corresponding author:

Olivier Crevoisier, Institute of Sociology, University of Neuchâtel, fbg de l'hôpital 27, Neuchâtel, 2000, Switzerland.

Email: olivier.crevoisier@unine.ch

摘要

自从霍伊特 (Hoyt) 在20世纪30年代开展其研究工作以来, 城市发展的经济理论一直强调制造业的首要地位, 因为存在区域乘数效应。考虑到流动消费者和流动居民也会给地区带来货币流入这一事实, 这一模式已被扩展到服务贸易, 并在过去10年中扩展到住宅经济和旅游经济。对于本地和外来消费者来说, 今天的城市既是一个生产集聚地, 也是一个生活场所, 这宣告了制造业主导地位终结。我们在本文中更进一步, 考虑其他类型出口的重要性, 这些出口或者基于销售有竞争力的商品, 或者基于吸引消费者。由于全球化带来的变化和城市间消费竞争的加剧, 出口收入越来越不太可能在本地消费, 而是流出, 从而使乘数效应逐渐失效。因此, 本文的观点是, 城市发展理论和实践的主要课题是将出口竞争力与对本地和外来消费者的吸引力结合起来。在本文中, 我们呈现了这样一种思想的复杂性: 把焦点从出口上面挪开, 从而理解城市空间中所有活动和人口之间的紧张关系和协同作用。为了阐明新的研究问题, 我们建立了城市收入流动和活动的类型学。

关键词

复杂性、发展、经济过程、全球化、治理、环境、理论

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Introduction

When Hoyt (1939) developed his export base theory, he identified manufacturing exports and employment as being central to explaining and forecasting urban growth and decline. Since then, the importance and presence of industry in contemporary Western cities has declined significantly, and yet most of today's theories – such as clusters (Porter, 1998) and territorial innovation models (TIMs) (Moulaert and Sekia, 2003) – still rely on the centrality of cities as productive agglomerations and on the assumption that export-related manufacturing activities will automatically lead, through the local multiplier, to the development of local services.

Nevertheless, the manufacturing industry is no longer central to the economic growth of contemporary cities, and the expansion of industrial areas and related workers' residences and local services is minimal. In fact, in most Western countries, as well as in Japan, industrial regions are among the poorest. A first explanation of this is that it is now traded services (such as knowledge

intensive business services (KIBS)) that lead exports, instead of manufactured goods (Strambach, 2008).

A second, more recent, explanation comes from Davezies and Talandier's (2014) revised export base theory. They demonstrate that Hoyt's local multiplier is becoming outdated in that (a) workers no longer necessarily live near their place of work and are therefore less likely to spend money locally, and (b) a large proportion of the population receives some income or financial aid from assets not linked to any job. This means that urban development is no longer exclusively a matter of competitive production sold on global markets, but also of economic integration, growing redistribution flows and changes in consumer and resident mobility and in modes of living (for example, many people now spend more time studying, or take longer retirement). Thus, in a world of increasing and varied mobility, urban development can arise from a local capacity to anchor the spending of extra-local consumers, and not only from productive export activities.

A third explanation, already largely debated in the 1950s (North, 1956), is that cities also grow and develop within themselves. As observed by Jacobs (1972), they have their own 'engine for change', each tension within the urban development inducing new demands for new supplies to emerge, and vice versa. Jacobs insists that the city did not appear out of land and agriculture, but that, historically, rural areas were shaped by urban demand. She names the centrality of agriculture to urban development theories 'the dogma of agricultural primacy'.

In this article, we claim that (1) the mobility of consumers brings to an end the 'dogma of manufacturing primacy' in urban development theories, and (2) that cities today need to remain attractive to their own inhabitants in order to retain their income. This could signal the end of the primacy of all kinds of exports, in the sense that being competitive on the global markets and/or attractive to tourists no longer guarantees the prosperity of a region.

This is due to the fact that in today's cities, money flows, people move and goods and services are traded within a very dense network of activities that are closely interwoven both within the city and in connection with countless places outside the city. The locale and its organisation provide producers and consumers more or less easy access to global resources and markets, from internet access or cheap labour to more sophisticated processes, such as being able to mobilise competences in international tax law or fine mechanics. Therefore, the 'local' part of the organisation of a city is seen here as key to enabling access to and interplay with broader (national or global) scales.

Globalisation can be seen as the increasing institutional and technological opening to remote markets and resources, as well as the participation of cities and regions in major multi-scalar challenges, such as sustainable transition or migration issues.

Consequently, the development of a city is defined in this article as a process of adaptation to the evolving constraints and opportunities of increased mobility in both quantitative terms (e.g. to maintain a certain level of income, population and resources) and qualitative terms (e.g. to meet societal demand regarding lifestyle, etc.).

In order to deal with this, we do not deny the relevance of the existing theories or the development mechanisms they highlight. However, we propose to change the focus from the mechanisms described above (exports, the multiplier, the mobility of consumers ...) and considered one by one, to an understanding of how they interact within cities as a consequence of increased mobilities.

This changed focus generates a new set of research questions about complex interactions: how do these mechanisms co-exist and compete within the urban space? What are the various positive or negative consequences of their interactions and combinations? And how do these interactions and combinations lead to the subsequent densification, renewal or obsolescence of a city? In this article, complexity specifically refers to the need for each city to combine competitiveness in terms of exports with attractiveness to extra-local consumers and to its inhabitants. Successful cities should logically be those which manage to combine the various development mechanisms positively and help resolve the tensions that arise from changes in external demands on the city.

The main research hypothesis of this article is that the places which manage to organise the co-existence of activities and populations (both local and extra-local) are those which experience economic development without compromising local production, resources or living conditions. The research agenda should henceforth focus on these collective local capacities, which we will call enlarged anchoring milieus.

This article is not a theoretical synthesis, nor a literature survey. It is a debatable theoretical proposal to adopt a more complex understanding of economic urban development, in particular because all cities in the Northern hemisphere today face the increased mobility of consumers. The article does not represent a deep dive; it does, however, provide an overview and outlines what a research programme adopting this perspective could look like.

In the first section, this proposal takes the form of a conceptual framework, a typology of several spatial development drivers. The second section proposes a dynamic approach to the successful insertion of cities in globalisation. We will then discuss whether such successes (or failures) could be explored through the research hypothesis of the existence of enlarged anchoring milieus.

The economic organisation of the city: A typology of urban incomes and activities

In order to build a typology of the activities and income flows of cities, we will look separately at the demand for and supply of cities as places of production and of living.

The city as a place of production and consumption

The majority of the literature solely addresses productive, industrial globalisation and local competitiveness relating to the mobility of traded goods and services, implying that a city need only sell labour and knowledge in the form of goods and services on the international markets for development to take place. For instance, Storper (2010) transposes the international economics framework (which uses specialisation, human capital and institutions to explain growth) to metropolitan areas. More recently, Scott and Storper (2015), in their review of the common aspects

of all cities, reassert the predominance of the productive paradigm:

... we can say that the most basic *raison d'être* for cities, certainly in the modern era, resides in their role as centers of economic production and exchange within wider systems of regional, national and international trade. Cities are always much more than this, as we shall see shortly; however, it is only by means of an analysis that begins with the complex spatial dynamics of economic activity that we can arrive at an account of the agglomeration dynamics common to all cities. (Scott and Storper, 2015: 6)

In such theories, local consumers are implicitly considered to be captives of the place where they generate their income (or receive a private or public annuity) in such a way that their spending mechanically generates local urban services. For Scott and Storper, the city is primarily a competitive production and innovation system. In this article, we call this 'the dogma of manufacturing primacy', where manufacturing includes non-local traded services, such as KIBS, as well as financial and creative industries.

Other areas of the literature recognise the growing importance of the ways in which cities are integrated into globalisation through customer mobility. As noted by Judd and Fainstein (1999), American cities in the 1980s had already developed tourism activities, specifically to counteract the effects of deindustrialisation and suburbanisation. This is observed in all types of cities, irrespective of their size, including former industrial cities (Cameron, 2003; Markusen and Schrock, 2009).

Apart from the precursory critique by Williams (1996), several authors have revisited export base theory during the last decade, taking into account the capacity of a place to play on the spatial division of consumption, that is, to capture incomes generated elsewhere through mobile residents,

such as those who commute out of the city to work (the *residential economy*) (Davezies and Talandier, 2014; Segesseemann and Crevoisier, 2015). The research thus also now considers income mobility, looking at where these mobile incomes are actually spent (the *presential economy*) (Ruault, 2018; Ruault and Prouhlac, 2014). The majority of the research into the extra-local demand for places as living environments focuses on tourist expenditure (De la Mata and Llano-Verduras, 2011; Terrier, 2006). However, a large amount of spending resulting from extra-local demand is due to other categories of consumers, for example students (who spend their bursaries and/or their parents' income in the place where they study) (Vacher and Vye, 2012), secondary residents (Roca, 2016; Sonderegger and Bätzing, 2015), tourist shoppers (GfK, 2012) (especially in border areas) and pensioners and beneficiaries of other forms of annuity (Williams et al., 2000).

In addition to these short-term income flows, the concepts of *amenity migration* (Gosnell and Abrams, 2011; Perlik, 2006) and *lifestyle migration* (Benson, 2010) capture the phenomenon of consumer mobility over the long term; people choose a place for its quality of life and establish their permanent residence there, sometimes generating income in situ, but normally bringing in revenue/wealth from other places.

Aggregated demand and supply of a city

In order to understand a city's development, we must look at it as a place of both production and consumption. In addition, based on Camagni's (2005) idea of the aggregated supply of a city and the aggregated demand for one, we propose a typology of activities within a city resulting from spatialised supply and demand, in the context of the globalisation not only of production but also of consumption.

Camagni sees the city as a space of both functional and productive relationships and hierarchical distributive relationships. For him, there is a 'close, logical and economic relationship between residential and productive locations, land rent, demand for interaction and transport, and congestion of the transportation system' (Camagni, 1996: 14; translation ours). Albouy (2009) and Camagni, Capello and Caragliu (2016) analyse urban productivity not in relation to income but in terms of urban rent. This is because rents crystallise urban value as a result of both internal demand and exports: the higher the demand, the higher the rent and the incomes. The relationship to the limited local space theoretically presupposes a joint consideration of the challenges of production and of consumption for both local and extra-local consumers. However, Camagni and his co-authors do not offer a systematic and integrated typology of those mechanisms, nor of how these mechanisms interact (whether positively or negatively) to influence urban rents. To some extent, they overlook the qualitative issue of how the various supplies and demands interact. Moreover, they do not take into account the fact that demand is increasingly mobile.

Extending Camagni's (2005) logic, this section works on the assumption that there exists a local aggregated supply and a local and global aggregated demand for each city. In terms of supply, the traditional theories note two distinct systems: first, a system of production and innovation which competes with other cities and regions for global markets; second, the production of public and private local services which are protected from competition with other places. Therefore, whilst a city's various supplies are found within it, the various demands for them come from both inside and outside. The interplay between the various supplies and demands occurs in the form of market transactions (e.g. the sale of an industrial

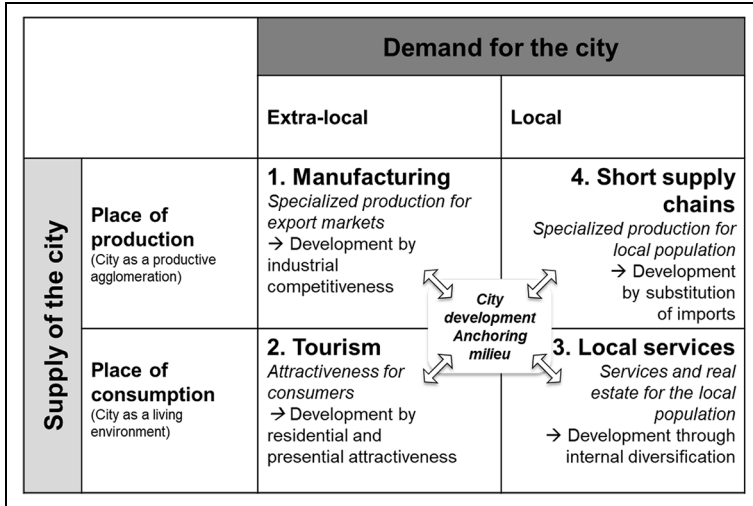


Figure 1. Typology of income flows and economic activities of a city.
Source: Authors' own content.

good or a property), non-monetarised transactions (e.g. contemplation of a landscape by a tourist) or transactions which are decommodified by the State (e.g. a local resident renting a subsidised apartment) (Figure 1). The development theory accompanying this analytical framework posits that supply and demand form a more or less virtuous circle within a given space. There are varying demands – for a landscape, regional product, restaurant, public space, museum or simply a car park – which may compete with or complement each other to varying degrees within a city, and therefore the higher and more numerous the demands, the more likely people are to pay for them. Regarding supply, the various natural and built amenities within the city will interact in a complementary way. The various supplies are to a greater or lesser degree complementary and in competition for local space, and the quantity and quality of these supplies will depend on the dynamics of urban development.

A typology of urban activities and income flows

The analytical typology in Figure 1 allows us to distinguish four main types of income flow and economic activity within a place. The aim of this typology is to overcome the ‘dogma of the primacy’ of exports of manufactured goods and traded services and to formulate the challenges for urban development theory today. Specialisation and competitiveness are still important because inflows of income are still necessary for most cities; however, due to changes in globalisation and the rise of interurban competition for spending, earned incomes are no longer necessarily spent locally and are more likely to flow out, partially invalidating the competitiveness paradigm. Moreover, the growing interurban competition for mobile consumers must be considered as a growing external demand for locally produced services, that is, a demand for the city as a place of consumption. In addition, the competitiveness paradigm posits exports as the key to

urban development, while the hypothesis of this article is that the main challenge for urban development theories and practices today is combining competitiveness in terms of exports with attractiveness to both external and local consumers.

The typology presented below is a systematic view of the economic processes of a city, that is, the flows into, out of and within the city, showing the city as a place both of production and of living.

In the next four subsections, we look at each type individually, before detailing in the second section how these types can be considered as a whole in order to analyse and understand the complex development of cities within globalisation.

Type 1: Manufacturing. Type 1 is by far the most common focus of the literature regarding supply. Here, manufacturing includes not only traditional industrial activities but also public and private KIBS. There are two main theoretical approaches to this type of development. The first includes models in which regional production systems bring together the key components of the value chain while competing with each other within an (inter)national market. Historically, this type of approach included theories about industrial districts (Marshall, 1970) and the growth poles theory (Perroux, 1955); today, this approach also includes territorial innovation models (Moulaert and Sekia, 2003), such as innovative milieus, clusters (Porter, 1998) and creative cities (Florida, 2005).

The second approach includes models in which the value chain is organised, often by large businesses, on a wider scale. In 1985, Aydalot's classic spatial division of labour explained how large businesses would distribute various functions in different regions and countries, seeking specialised labour resources at the best price. This resulted in a hierarchical and functional division of

labour between cities. Today, Coe, Dicken and Hess's (2008) theory of global production networks applies this system on a global scale and demonstrates how international production and innovation networks are organised within the value chain. It is no longer simply a matter of expanding and optimising existing production, but of an approach to innovation that encompasses, from the very beginning, the variety of resources available globally. Of course, such a system is only feasible if the capital, businesses, knowledge and workers all have a certain degree of mobility, and if communications systems are efficient enough to allow the coordination of this globalised economy (Sassen, 1991).

Type 2: Tourism. Historically, extra-local demand for a place as a living environment has always been deemed crucial for the development of the few cities and regions particularly affected by consumer mobility, such as tourist regions. Nowadays, most regions are affected by the demand of mobile consumers, which include not only tourists but also new residents, students, annuitants and anyone else spending income generated elsewhere. This demand is sensitive to prices, of course, but also to tangible and intangible local amenities (both urban and environmental) (Olson and Munroe, 2012). Insofar as basic services (both residential and touristic) are relatively standardised across Western cities and regions (Judd and Fainstein, 1999), response to this demand is all the more important in enabling a place to differentiate itself from other places.

In addition to the various types of 'tourism', commuting plays an important role. While commuting occurs almost exclusively around a given city, it could be interpreted as an enlargement of the city, or a function of the relationship between a city and its surrounding rural space (Bosworth and Venhorst, 2017). Today, interurban and

long-distance commuting have become a significant modality of interregional income redistribution, thus raising the question of which places manage to capture these flows. The same occurs due to an increase in multi-local dwelling (Frelat-Kahn and Lazzarotti, 2012).

Type 3: Local services. In the third type of income flows and activities, local supply meets local demand for a place as a living environment. Consumers, in this case, generate or receive their income locally. In the traditional export-based development perspectives (Hoyt, 1939; Moulaert and Sekia, 2003), these are the flows induced by local expenditure of export incomes.

Historically, this supply (education, health, local shops, etc.) developed in correlation with productive supply (Type 1). This complexification of local activities is talked about in the literature as the local endogenous capacity to diversify urban activities (Durkheim, 1893; Jacobs, 1972), responding, for example, to local demand for new services (such as universities) or infrastructures (such as public transportation). In less dynamic – usually rural – contexts, such demands remain unsatisfied.

It is not always obvious how to distinguish local services from tourism activities. With increased daily mobility, the inhabitants of a city may easily visit another nearby city for shopping, health services or leisure activities. Is this local consumption or tourism? In Western Europe, for example, cities are near to each other and closely connected by transportation infrastructure, while in North America there is still a much more clear-cut distinction between one city and the next. Therefore, what would be considered local services in one place might be called tourism in another.

Type 4: Short supply chains. In the fourth case, supply includes activities where production is

not exported. Historically, this is production that allows a place to be self-sufficient. With the gradual increase in the spatial division of labour since the Industrial Revolution, the market reach for businesses that produce everyday consumer goods has expanded considerably (Cortright, 2002); thus industrialisation and subsequent globalisation movements have caused a shift from this type towards Type 1.

Today, due to deindustrialisation, and also to environmental pressure, this type of local supply is re-developing in Western countries as an alternative to imports (Rutland and O'Hagan, 2007), particularly in the agricultural (Aubry and Kebir, 2013), artisanal (Sasaki, 2010), energy production (Huguenin and Jeannerat, 2017) and other sectors (Neirotti et al., 2014). The value of these products is related to their potential to improve quality of life from the perspective of de-globalisation.

Considered globally, short supply chains are still only a feature in a few sectors. However, they meet current aspirations for de-globalisation and probably represent a great potential for development.

Complex urban development and anchoring milieus

The typology in the previous section sets out the various theories, activities and flows at play within a city. In this second section, we discuss the theoretical consequences of an increasingly ineffective multiplier effect due to growing consumer mobility. Accordingly, we focus our attention on a 'complex' approach where the various drivers in play lead to various tensions and complementarities. Finally, we discuss the enlarged anchoring milieu in an attempt to explain how coordination between a large set of players works in a city and how it might help to turn the tensions caused by globalisation into local synergies and increasing returns.

The theoretical impact of an increasingly ineffective multiplier effect

Thus far, this article has discussed the various income flows and activities that can be found within the city's space. It has also provided an overview of the previously existing theories, most of which deal with only one or two of the types of activity shown in our typology.

Historically, cities have been highly specialised. The Industrial Revolution was based on the increased mobility of goods and, much later, traded services. Specific export-oriented activities (manufacturing or tourism) supported downstream urban growth and diversification because workers did not move to spend their incomes. Only the bourgeoisie could afford to travel to the few existing tourist resorts. Over and above specialisation by type of manufacturing, cities were specialised in either manufacturing or tourism. Very few places, if any, developed both the export of goods and the attraction of extra-local consumers. Thus the multiplier effect exists because, in the traditional models, there is a clear-cut distinction between activities serving the global scale (manufacturing, tourism) and local activities.

Today, however, we suggest that all of these theories have something to contribute, but they do not push the reasoning to its natural conclusion: as consumers are increasingly mobile, the multiplier effect is becoming correspondingly weaker. Therefore, the exclusive focus on exports is no longer justified.

Although export-oriented activities still retain primacy to some extent, and probably will for some time yet, conceptually the four types of activities in the typology should be considered to be equally important for development, and the interactions between them should be given more attention. In order to do this, we must first acknowledge the diversity of the drivers in play in a given region and understand how they interrelate.

This article posits that the complexity of the development process no longer occurs in a sequential and hierarchised way, with some export activities being an engine for local ones. We argue that, in an age of global companies organising local services, such as Uber and Airbnb, and of local companies competing with global ones – as is the case, for example, with the supply of food or electricity – all kinds of activities have to operate simultaneously on different scales. Firstly, as the literature notes, manufacturing activities draw on and contribute to local networks, institutions and structures. Secondly, touristic activities often reinforce or even create local particularities. Thus, short supply chains, as well as local services, can benefit from globalised technologies or organisations and become more profitable. In short, urbanisation today responds to more diversified local and extra-local demands. This increased complexity creates synergies and tensions at the heart of the city. Therefore, *complex urban development must be understood as the local combination of several development mechanisms (relating to the city as a place of production and as a place of consumption) operating on different scales to integrate into globalisation (extra-local demand for both productive goods and services and from mobile customers)*. This is true even for relatively simple, specialised cities.

Tensions stemming from complex urban development

Tensions due to modern globalisation relate not only to the creation of jobs and the attractiveness of firms, but also to either the absence or overrepresentation of mobile consumers. For instance, while manufacturing cities mostly suffer a lack of attractiveness with respect to mobile consumers, large diversified agglomerations are mostly affected by over-attractiveness, which results

in gentrification (Rérat and Lees, 2011; Smith and Williams, 2013) and over-touristification in central areas. Indeed, in many cities, manufacturing activities have been crowded out by the land pricing mechanism, as office space or 'tourist' activities are much more profitable per square metre. This can have an impact on the diversity of productive activities and their long-term competitiveness.

We can distinguish two types of gentrification. First, gentrification related to the attractiveness of cities as productive agglomerations (see below) is well defined by Florida's (2005) creative class approach: the city increases its attractiveness to highly skilled workers, who can afford and are looking for well-equipped living environments; this leads to greater competitiveness in exports and to a progressive crowding-out of the former lower-income working class. Second, gentrification can also result from mobile residents or consumers who do not work, at least not within that city (see above, regarding overtourism). This also leads to increases in land price, competition for local services and possibly the crowding-out of both former inhabitants and workers in local services. The latter case can be observed in expensive tourist resorts, for example.

In both types of gentrification, there is competition between the previous inhabitants and local workers on the one hand and between mobile, more affluent residents or consumers on the other. However, these two types of gentrification are intertwined in practice, especially in large diversified cities. A good example of this is given by overtourism. In recent years, citizen protests have broken out in cities such as Barcelona and Berlin, due to rising housing and retail prices as a result of a massive tourism presence. This occurs because mobile consumers (such as tourists) are usually wealthier than local inhabitants. Protests can also arise because of noise, congestion and antisocial behaviour caused by an

excessive presence of tourists, especially in local places that play an important symbolic or economic role, or are important to the identity of inhabitants. An example of this is touristified food markets.

Synergies stemming from complex urban development

Various activities performed by the city as a productive agglomeration and as a living environment can converge to constitute a broader, more diversified, competitive and attractive supply (see below). This overall attractiveness is particularly noticeable for 'tourist' activities: goods and services can be sold in the form of a 'destination'. The concept of a 'territorial basket of goods and services' (Pecqueur, 2001) also reflects the overall attractiveness of a place resulting from strong complementarities between tourism services and local production, particularly in the agro-food (see vineyard regions) and artisanal sectors.

A supply can respond to both local and extra-local demand. For example, investments made in sports activities can meet local demand but also partially meet demand from external consumers, such as in skiing resorts. This additional supply may allow for increased revenues, but also a broader, more specialised and, therefore, globally more attractive supply. Conversely, infrastructure built on the basis of external demand, such as a convention centre, can also satisfy a local demand.

Anchoring milieus

Until this point, we have argued for an understanding of city development that takes into account the tensions and possible synergies between activities, inhabitants and mobile consumers. The question now is how tensions could and/or should be transformed into synergies, by whom and according to what kind of governance pattern. In the following

paragraph, we set forth a research hypothesis to identify, understand and, if possible, promote local capacities to build synergies.

Most of the territorial innovation models (Moulaert and Sekia, 2003) of the 1990s and early 2000s focused on specific types of regions, such as industrial districts, high tech regions, creative cities, etc. The milieus approach (Aydalot, 1985; Camagni, 1991; Kebir et al., 2017), however, focused on an element that was central to all these theories: the local capacity for interaction and learning (Crevoisier, 2004; Maillat, 1998), either within the region or, less frequently before the 2000s, with respect to remote places. The innovative milieu characterises the endogenous capacity of a region to integrate itself into a globalisation based, in essence, on an evolving spatial division of labour. Innovative milieus have mainly centred on companies, training and research institutions, and any kind of public or private support for the export capacities of a region. These included cohesive cooperation, but also competitive and conflicting relationships. Successful milieus, by definition, managed to maintain and develop local resources for production, innovation and knowledge development dynamically.

The milieu approach primarily addressed the key issue of urban development mentioned in the introduction: ability on the local scale to provide local players with more or less easy access to globalisation. This depends, at least partly, on the endogenous capacity of local players to interact and develop innovative resources. During the 1990s and early 2000s, the research focused on productive resources. Later, the literature introduced the concept of *anchoring* milieus, predominantly to capture the local capacity to deal with increasingly mobile resources, such as highly-skilled workers and knowledge (Colletis-Wahl et al., 2008; De Propriis and Crevoisier, 2011; Kebir et al., 2017).

Modern globalisation is based on the spatial division not only of labour but also of

consumption. This gives rise to a new complexity in conjunction with activities that have been traditionally regarded as being induced within the city. The local capacity for coordination is no longer restricted to players involved in the development of exports, as in traditional innovative or anchoring milieus. It must include all relevant players for coordinating the four types of driver (Figure 1). This may include the media, NGOs, private and public players in the planning, real estate and tourism sectors, cultural stakeholders, etc. Consequently, the research hypothesis of an *enlarged anchoring milieu* puts the local collective capacity to manage the tensions and make use of the synergies resulting from the integration of the city into evolving forms of globalisation (Figure 2) at the centre of the development processes. As highlighted above, the local scale provides local players access to globalisation, from simple things to sophisticated information. In other words, the milieu frames and stages a place (Guex, 2016), in a more or less coordinated manner, as both a productive agglomeration and a living environment. The *enlarged anchoring milieu* can be defined as all actors who collectively imagine and implement solutions that create synergies and resolve tensions between activities and between local and extra-local populations.

Traditional innovative milieus, centred on specialised fields of productive innovation, emphasised the importance of local interpersonal networks. Coordination within an enlarged anchoring milieu is probably much looser and more changeable depending on circumstances and remote connections. It represents an endogenous decentralised capacity to maintain solution-oriented processes. We can hypothesise that more complex cities require more complex coordination mechanisms, even if we do not yet know what they look like.

The following research hypothesis can be formulated: places which succeed in

	Urban development facing industrial globalisation	Complex urban development facing industrial and today's forms of globalisation
Economic issues	Spatial division of labour, cities as places of production	Spatial division of labour and consumption, cities as places of production and consumption
	Tensions related to industrial transformation and international relocation processes	Tensions related to industrial transformation and international relocation of jobs as well as to gentrification
	Synergies tend to be created across industrial activities	Synergies tend to be created between the four types of urban economic activities
Assumptions and theorisation	Competitiveness is sufficient to induce urban development through the multiplier effect	Competitiveness, attractiveness and internal integration needed for urban development
	<i>The primacy of exports:</i> Export-base theory, Innovative milieus, Territorial Innovation Models, the revisited export-base theory, the creative class theory, etc.	<i>The research hypothesis:</i> Enlarged anchoring milieus

Figure 2. Economic issues, assumptions and theorisation in the industrial and contemporary forms of globalisation.

Source: Authors' own content.

Threats to Venice: The increase in the number of tourists in the ancient city of Venice is crowding out its inhabitants, year after year. The high prices and, above all, continuous flow of visitors and saturation of public spaces are detrimental to living conditions. Moreover, the passage of numerous cruise ships likely increases erosion underneath the city, without providing the corresponding means to undertake consolidation works. There have been global protests by inhabitants and NGOs.

Box 1: *Tensions between tourism, resources and living conditions in Venice.*

organising activities (which are specific to the city as a productive agglomeration and as a living environment) and populations (local and extra-local) are those which experience economic development without compromising local resources and local living and production conditions. Local anchoring milieus will, therefore, orient the city towards either the renewal or obsolescence

of its products and services, public and private spaces, buildings and infrastructures (see Box 1, regarding Venice). This adaptation to changing demand and supply over time presents a particular complexity not only for cities but also, for example, rural places which benefit from seasonal tourism. However, the urban context is particularly challenging, because its built and real estate

dimension makes it more rigid and less adaptable to change. This results in rapid price changes that lead to land rent effects in favour of property owners. Urban development will depend on the capacity of the anchoring milieu to (1) reach the global scale by responding to global demand, encouraging the emergence of regenerative activities, and (2) avoid the negative effects of competitiveness, especially those relating to the attractiveness of the city, by preserving affordable spaces for local suppliers and consumers. In other words, the local milieu organises presences and activities to take advantage of falls and increases in price to make investments while preserving a certain diversity. In the short term, responding to existing global demand is often favoured, as it appears to be the most profitable strategy. However, considering the need for local supply to respond to local demand (regarding the city as both a place of production and a place of consumption) can help to achieve several goals: not only social (through local activities) and environmental objectives (through short supply chains), but also economic ones. Indeed, the diversity maintained in this way perpetuates the specificity of the city and thus its attractiveness and competitiveness in the long term.

Of course, this is only a research hypothesis. Whether cities which are successful today and in the future will be those with enlarged anchoring milieus, and whether they will develop in accordance with the above synergies between productive and residential/presential activities, are questions that can only be answered by conducting in-depth field work. Our hypothesis is that exclusively production-focused or tourism-oriented development strategies are no longer viable. It accepts the position of Florida, Markusen and Talandier that taking into account current local demand makes a real difference to a city's competitiveness and attractiveness. It claims that strategies and

practices which centre on the articulation of several, if not all, of these development mechanisms will provide better results. Of course, cities, and in particular small cities, cannot and should not do absolutely everything. We only posit that focusing exclusively on exports is an error. The ways in which the various drivers can be combined to create competitive and attractive cities remain to be investigated.

Thus, the local anchoring milieu should be able to facilitate investments in densification and complexity without jeopardising the attractiveness of the city or compromising the living environment (rising property prices, overtourism, etc.) for inhabitants. To do this, the milieu must take into account the complex diversity of the transactions at play, whether these are market, non-monetarised or decommodified transactions (Esping-Andersen, 1999), and succeed in maintaining them as a whole along with their complementarities. The local enlarged milieu thus has the function of maintaining and evolving this set of transactions, in part by securing the necessary monetary transfers to ensure the renewal of resources and amenities/externalities.

Conclusion

Modern globalisation issues differ from those of the past because the economic activities driving urban development relate more and more to quality of life. While a vast number of cities and regions focus on developing tourism, retail and real estate activities to boost insufficient growth, tourism studies too often centre on leisure tourism and neglect the diversification and generalisation of consumer mobility. Although consumption-based urban development is by no means new (Markusen and Schrock, 2009), it is receiving growing attention. In France and Switzerland, studies focusing on the residential economy (Segessemann and Crevoisier, 2015; Talandier et al., 2016) and

the presential economy (Ruault, 2018) provide challenging and convincing explanations about spatial dynamics. These approaches underline the importance of economic activities which underpin the supply of places as living environments.

This article's primary argument is that the increase in consumer mobility (the growing globalisation of demand for places as living environments), and the theories which seek to address it, are not an epiphenomenon, but rather a central issue for all existing territorial development theories. First, places must both capture the spending of increasingly mobile consumers and avoid outflows due to their own more and more mobile inhabitants. Export base approaches, focusing on production and productive innovation, Porterian clusters, territorial innovation models and other creative city-oriented approaches, become worthless if the wealth they create floods out to other places which are more attractive for consumers. Second, theories such as that proposed by Jacobs which consider urban diversification to be the main driver of development must consider the influx of varied types of tourism into attractive urban centres, crowding out local populations and activities.

Most urban development theories are challenged by today's pervasive consumer mobility. This mobility affects all places, and development can no longer be understood according to one specific development model for each type of city (manufacturing centre, tourist resort, etc.). Instead, this article makes a theoretical proposal: that a complexity-oriented approach be adopted, which requires all models to be combined and integrated, at least in part.

Complexity is understood here as the need to combine several development mechanisms within the above-mentioned typology in order to understand today's processes at work. How can we explain why some cities do better than others within this framework? Some are

overcrowded (see, for instance, Berlin or Barcelona today), while others are emptying (e.g. many small and medium-sized industrial cities in France (Davezies and Talandier, 2014) and the Spanish ghost towns built in the 2000s). Complexity suggests that urban and regional policies that revolve around competitiveness and attractiveness give better results than those that focus exclusively on exports. However, what the specific approach should be remains an open question.

This article suggests, as a research hypothesis for the future, that enlarged anchoring milieus could be the endogenous social organisation contributing to the success, renewal, densification and enrichment of cities. This is the result of local coordination between public authorities, inhabitants, companies, media, property owners, etc. to resolve tensions and exploit the synergies opened up by shifts in demand due to consumer mobility. Less favourable cases could be interpreted as representing deficiencies in this cooperation, allowing the competition for space to destroy territorial complexity and leading to the city's obsolescence.

We believe that the proposal contained in this article could open up new perspectives and initiate a debate around the impact of the increased mobility of consumers on urban development theories.

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ORCID iD

Olivier Crevoisier  <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0807-4015>

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