

Metropolitan cross-border integration in Europe

Evidence from Luxembourg, Basel and Geneva

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Metropolisation: contemporary form of urbanization process

Concentration of knowledge-intensive activities and wealth in the major urban centres

Polarisation and development of inter-cities flows: world city network (Taylor, 2003)

Large functional and discontinuous urban areas

Metropolitan centres can be described as both the cores of networks and the poles of a territorial unit (Veltz, 1996 ; Lévy, 1999)

New challenges for urban governance

With processes like globalization, de-regulation, de-centralization and privatization, rescaling of governance arenas

Metropolitan regions as strategic level of governance (Brenner, 2004 ; Andersen & van Kempen, 2001 ; Salet *et al.*, 2002)

A research that focuses on cross-border metropolitan regions

Specific geographic object that combines the commutator function (metropolis) with a limit/interface (border)

Overall objective

To analyze the emergence of metropolitan governance in relation with a cross-border context

New context with the transformation of borders in Western Europe

Change of functions: from a limit of sovereignty to an interface (Foucher, 2000)

New border regimes initiated by the EU: Interreg, cross-border cooperation (O'Dowd, 2002)

Despite the European integration's process, institutional, cultural and identity differences remain (Foucher, 2007)

The need for comparative analysis

The move from in-depth single-case study is necessary in order to control contextual variables and test causal relationships (Gissendanner, 2003 ; Pierre, 2005)

The choice of Luxembourg, Basel and Geneva

- Small-sized cities
- Specialized in knowledge-intensive activities (finance, life-sciences...)
- Economic performances that exceed their size (Rozenblat et Cicille, 2003 ; Taylor, 2004)
- Presence of international institutions (EU, UNO, ICRC...)



I. Introduction

Two different cross-border contexts influenced by EU integration

Luxembourg:

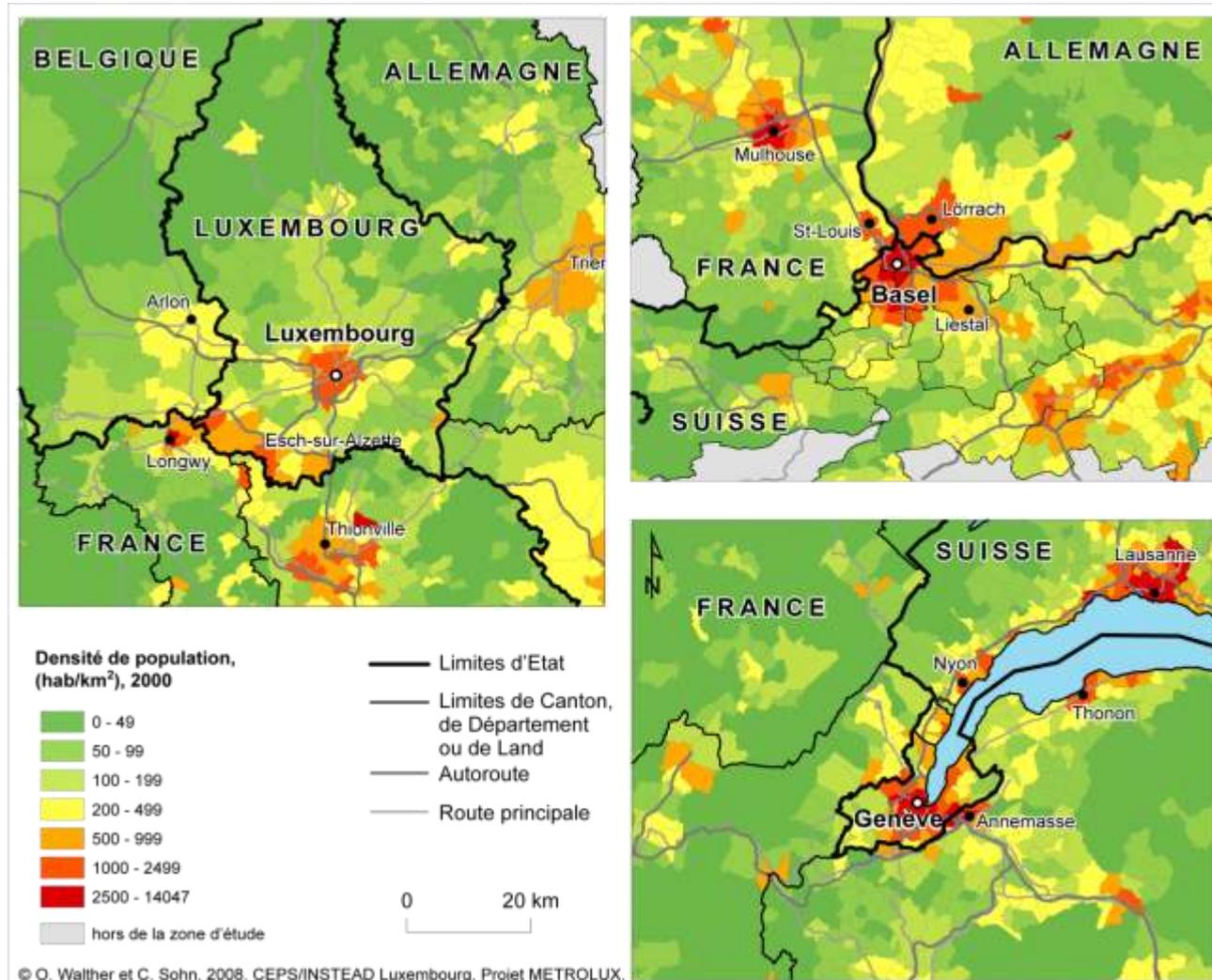
At the heart of the EU construction

FR, DE, BE, LUX: Four founding members of the EU

Basel and Geneva:

EU / Swiss border

Bilateral agreements (1999, 2004...)



II. Problematic and hypotheses

Questions

1. What articulation between functional and institutional integration processes?
2. How to explain the nature and the level of institutional integration?
3. More specifically, what is the role played by the border? Constraint or opportunity?

Hypotheses

1. There is no automatic link between a strong functional integration and the level of metropolitan cooperation that occurs
2. It is not the cross-border institutional context that takes first importance, but the political organisation of the metropolitan centre and the strategies of its actors
3. The interest to cooperate is favored by the presence of a cross-border urban area
→ The capitalization of experiences over time can contribute to the development of cross-border cooperation projects

III. Conceptual and methodological framework

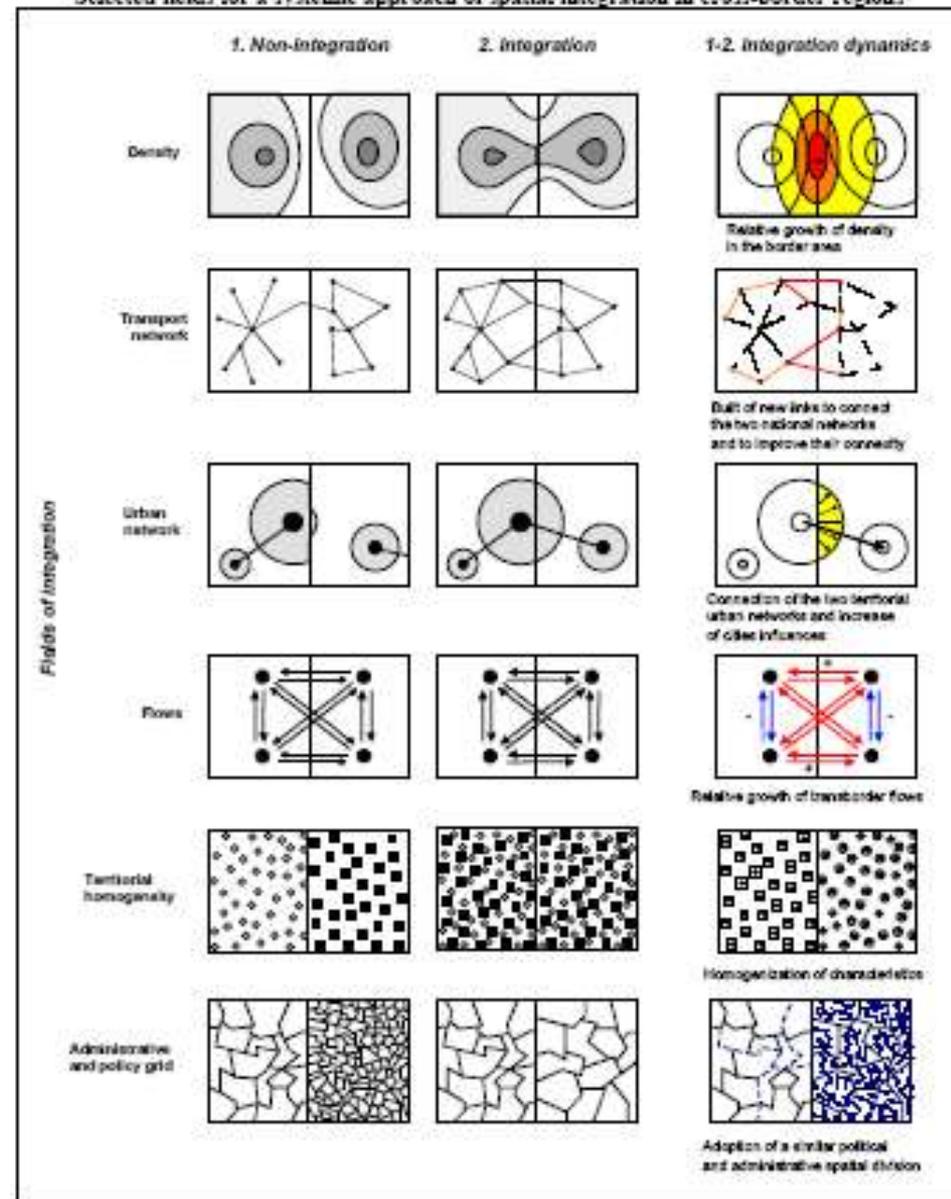
Spatial integration

Multiplicity of approaches, with two main orientations:

1/ Structural approach based on the measure of homogeneity

2/ Systemic approach focussing on relationships within a spatial system

Selected fields for a systemic approach of spatial integration in cross-border regions



Source: Grasland, 1999

III. Conceptual and methodological framework

Definition of spatial integration

« Opportunities for and level of interaction within and between areas as well as the willingness to co-operate » (De Boe, Grasland, Healy, 1999: 8).

Two dimensions were identified : functional and institutional integration

Researches on metropolitan governance have shown that there is often a gap between the functional spaces and the institutional territories for cooperation (Saez, Leresche, Bassand, 1997 ; Harvey, 1988 ; Jouve, Lefèvre, 2002; Vandermotten 2007)

1. Analysis of interactions between areas: **commuting flows**

2. Analysis of interactions between actors: **cooperation projects**

III. Conceptual and methodological framework

Horizontal axis: social and economic flows

Separation → Interaction (Ratti & Reichman, 1993)

1. Border = strict barrier
2. Cross-border metropolitan area
3. Polarisation of secondary urban centres

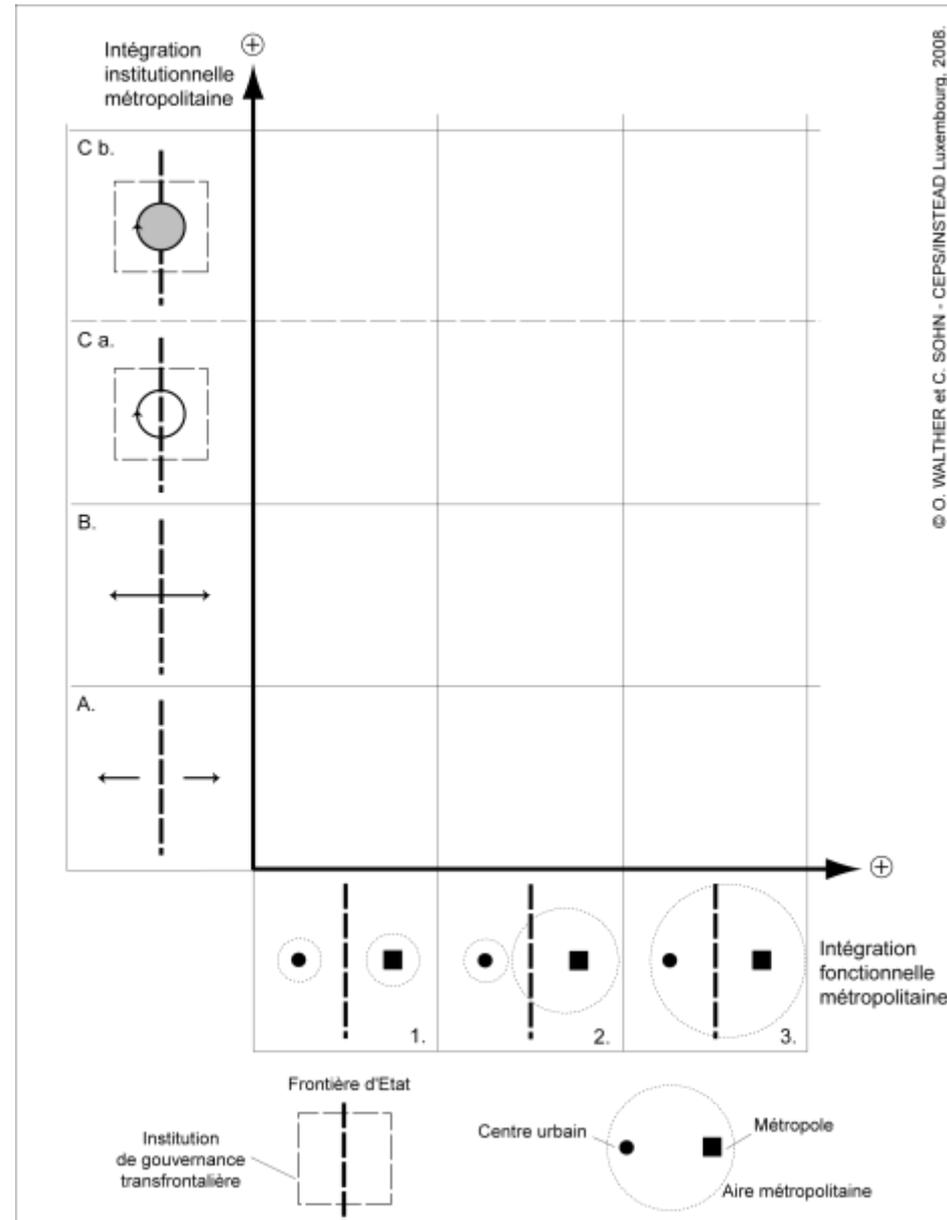
→ Analysis of commuting flows

Vertical axis: governance initiatives

Ignorance → Cooperation (Martinez, 1994)

- A. No relations
- B. Regular contacts
- C. Institutionalized structure of governance

→ Analysis of cross-border governance projects (Lefèvre, 2004)



IV. Results

1. Functional integration

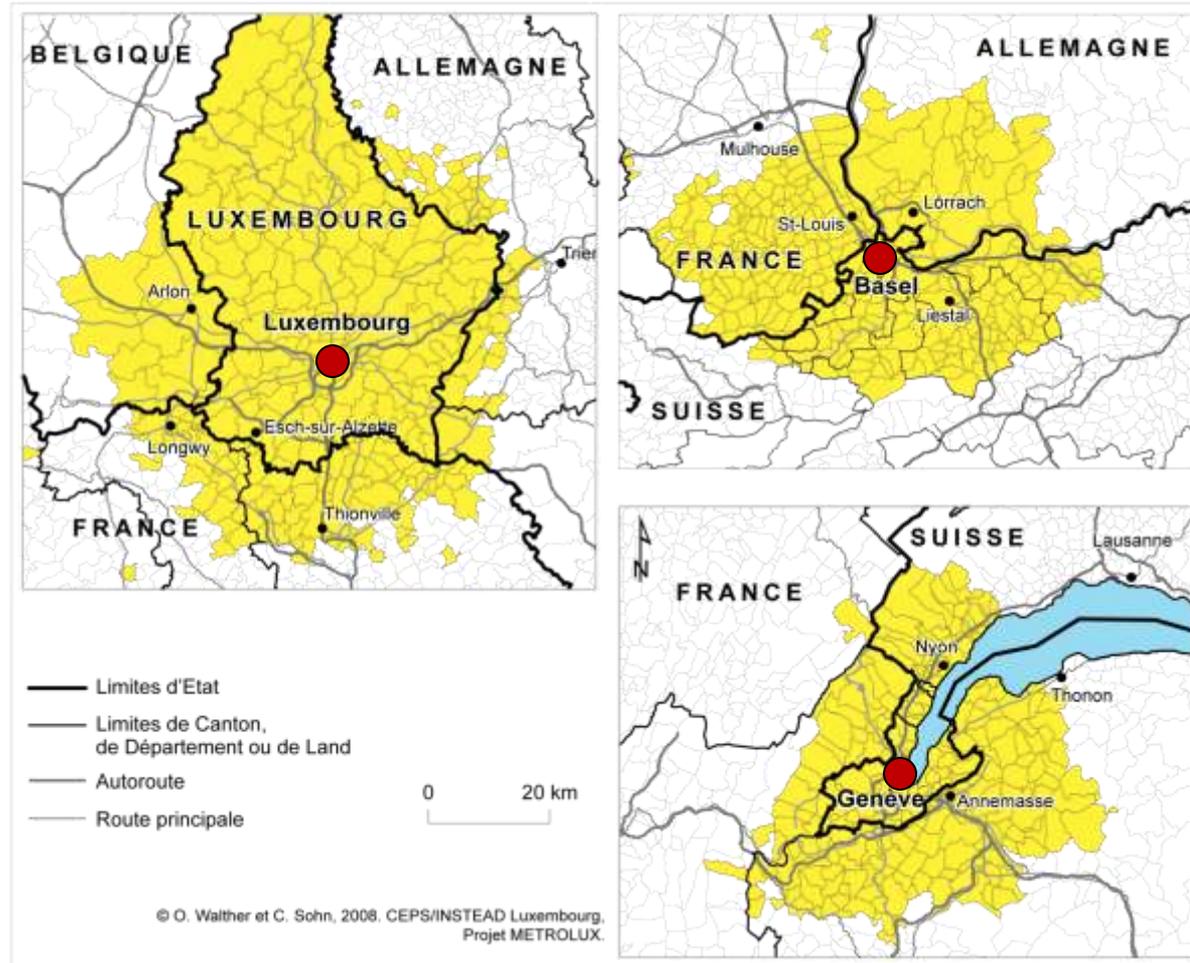
Evidence of a cross-border metropolitan area in the three case studies

Mono-centric metropolitan structures

Proportion of commuters working in the Urban Area higher than 16% of the active population

Metropolitan areas	Population (2000)	Cross-border Commuters (2006)
Luxembourg	800 000	123 500
Basel	890 000	46 000 *
Geneva:	740 000	46 500

* 2000



IV. Results

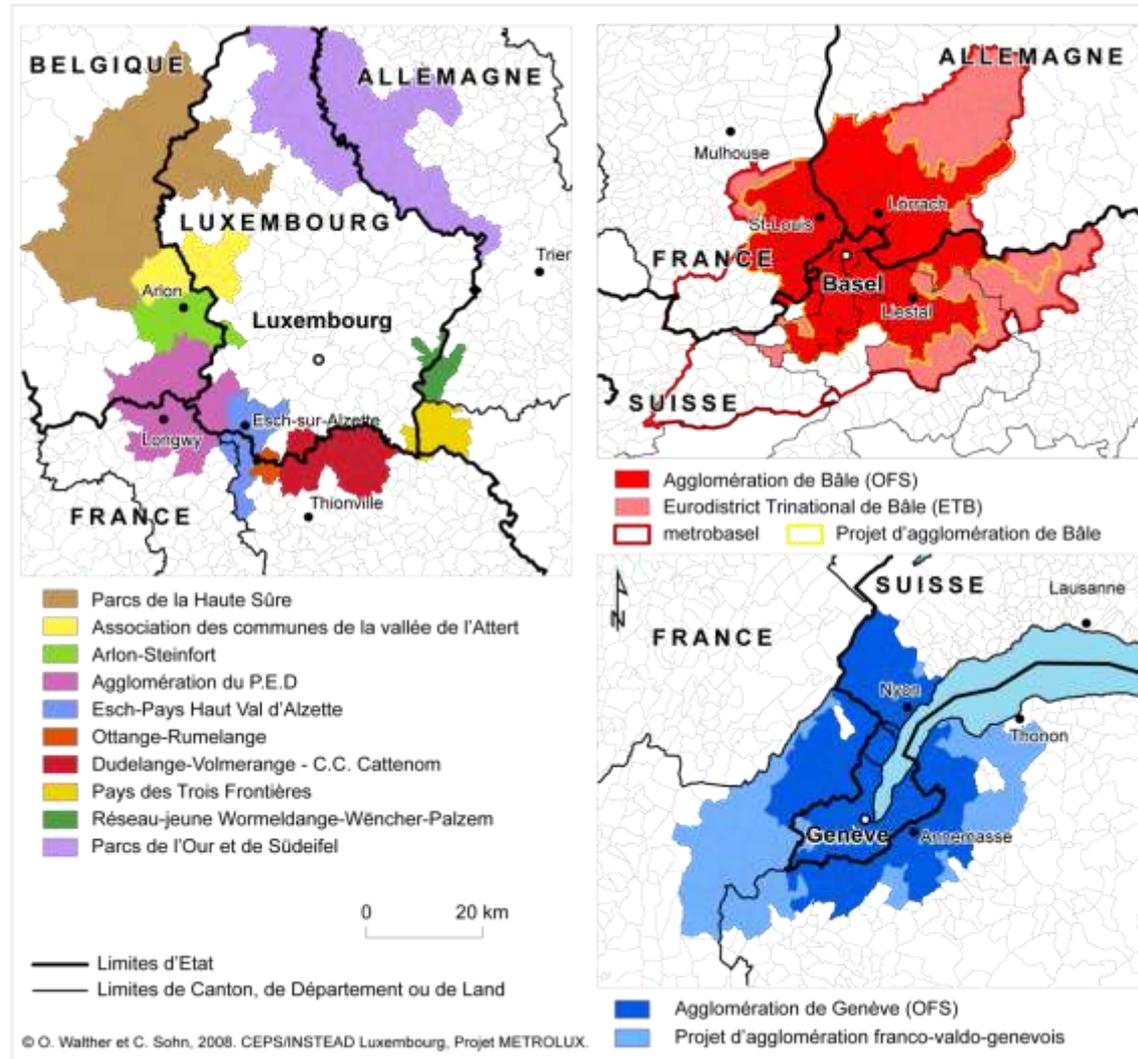
2. Institutional integration

Luxembourg: No cross-border metropolitan cooperation but only local initiatives (or inter-regional eg. Greater Region)

Basel and Geneva: Cooperation projects built to cope with the functional scale of the metropolisation

ATB/ETB, Metrobasel (Basel)

Projet d'agglomération franco-valdo-genevois (Geneva)



IV. Results

3. Functional vs Institutional integration

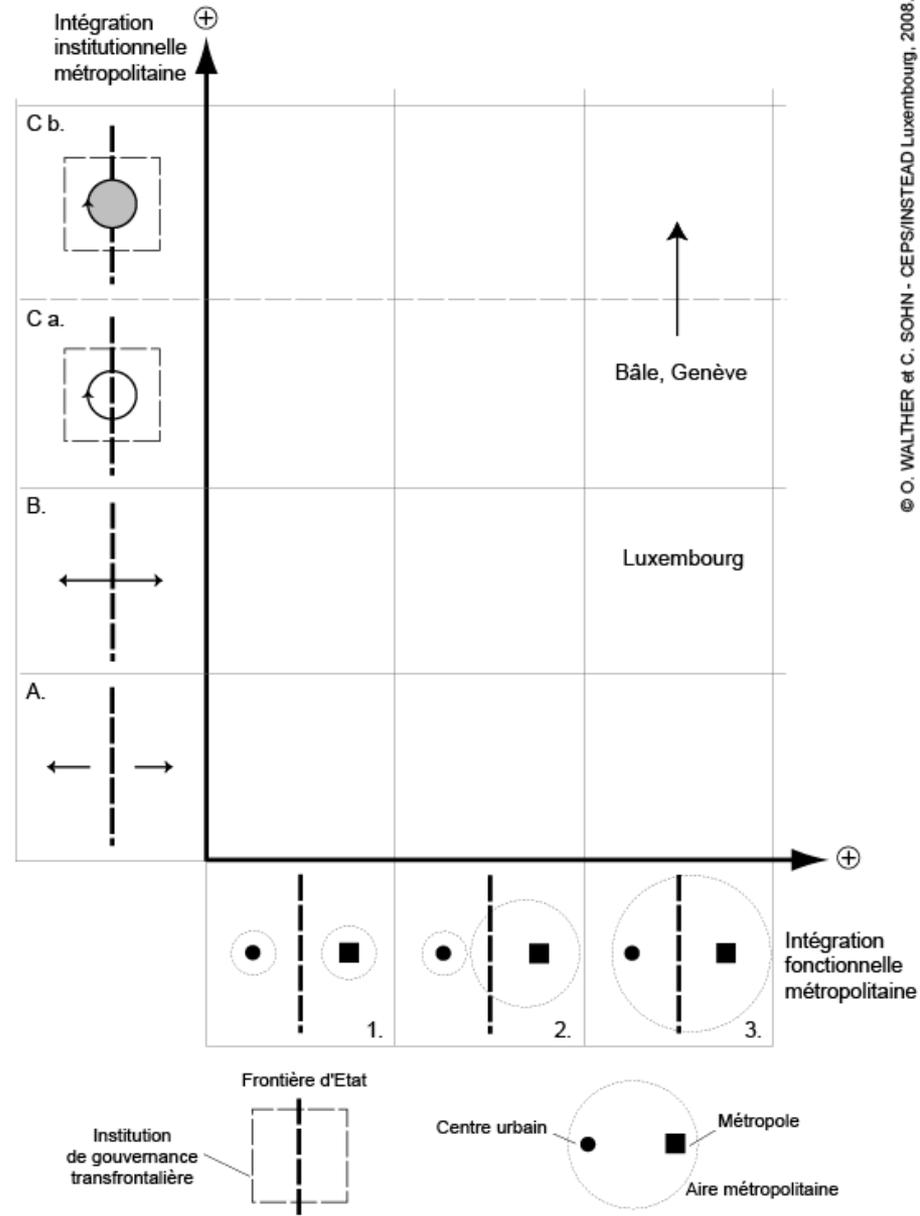
Luxembourg

No cross-border metropolitan governance likely to cope with the functional issues

Basel and Geneva

Strong institutional metropolitan integration process

Development of strategic vision and spatial planning
Operational projects are forthcoming



IV. Results

Why is there no cross-border metropolitan governance in Luxembourg?

Despite strong functional integration (over 125 000 commuters) and institutional and political differences that tend to be lowered (UE), the metropolitan scale is not in the political agenda

This singular situation results from the dominating role of the State – rather than the City – of Luxembourg in the process of metropolisation

- Interventionism of the State
- Institutional fragmentation of the territory
- State-metropolis rather than city-state

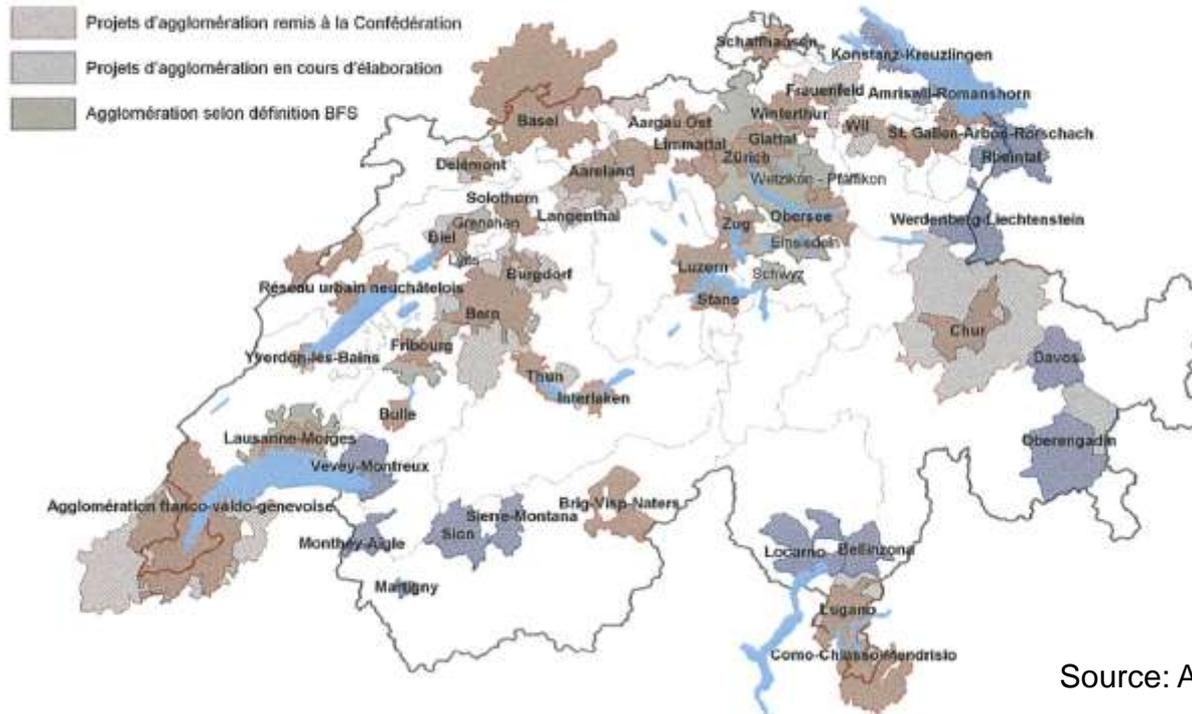


IV. Results

Why is the cross-border metropolitan governance stronger in Basel and Geneva?

1. Presence of Swiss cantons with strong competences at local scale
2. Opportunity to benefit from federal financial support

Projets d'agglomération (Etat janvier 2008)

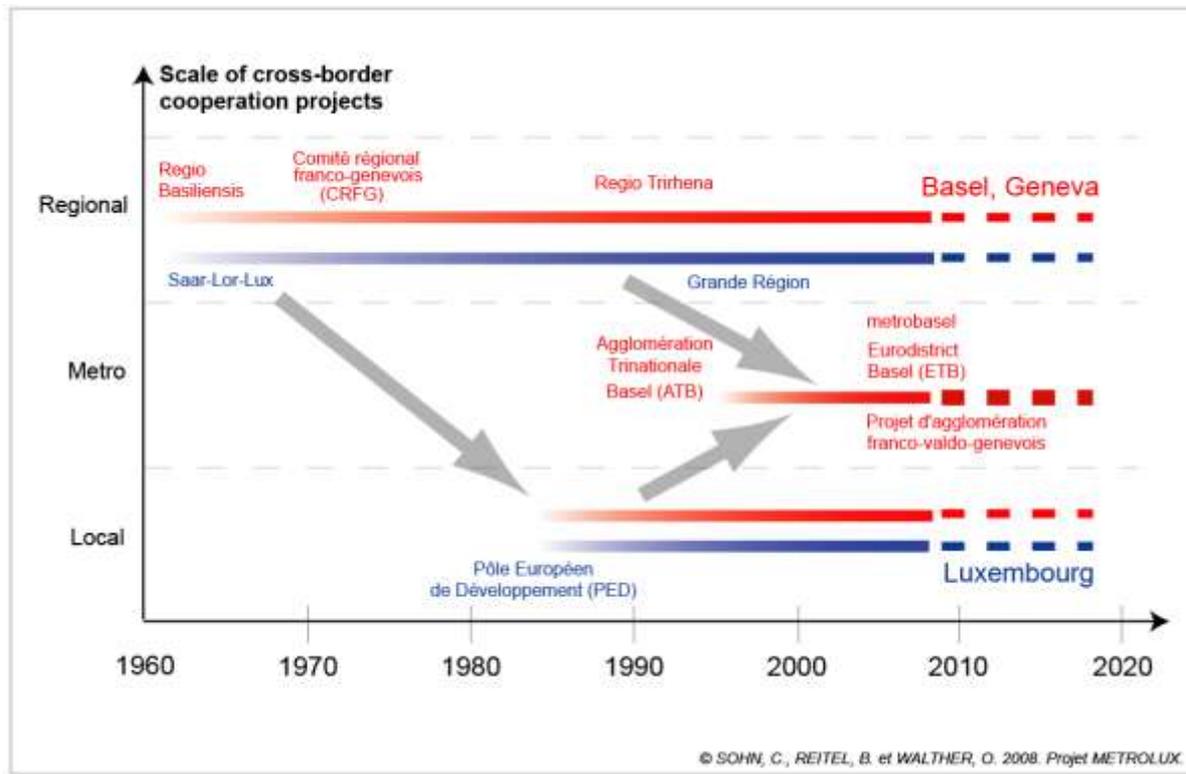


Source: ARE

IV. Results

Why is the cross-border metropolitan governance stronger in Basel and Geneva?

3. History of cross-border cooperations that converges on the metropolitan area



4. Existence of cross-border urban areas

Confirmation of the hypotheses

1. There is no simple relationship between the level of functional integration and the strength of cooperation
2. The strategies of the metropolitan actors are more important than border differentials when it comes to explain the level of institutional integration
3. The border as a constraint for urban development can positively influence the willingness to cooperate

Capitalization of experiences and exchanges play a crucial role in developing a metropolitan governance project

Cross-border metropolitan areas as paradoxical spaces

On the one hand, borders constitute a resource for metropolitan development of the urban centres due to fiscal and regulatory differentials (niche policy...)

On the other hand, the functional integration of cross-border areas tends toward a levelling-up of those differentials

In face of this paradox, there are various attitudes

Luxembourg's state invests the regional and the local scales for cooperation, whereas it ignores the metropolitan scale in order to preserve its control over its border private means

Basel and Geneva have acknowledged that their territory of reference is now the metropolitan area and they have integrated their periphery in order to better regulate the development of the metropolitan area and its counter-effects

V. Conclusion

**This research was funded by the National Research Fund of Luxembourg (FNR).
METROLUX Project 2007-2008**

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