

**THIS IS THE FINAL AUTHOR VERSION POST PEER REVIEW OF: CLARKE N
(2012) 'ACTUALLY EXISTING COMPARATIVE URBANISM: IMITATION AND
COSMOPOLITANISM IN NORTH-SOUTH INTERURBAN PARTNERSHIPS',
URBAN GEOGRAPHY 33(6): 796-815**

ABSTRACT

There is a renewed interest in comparative urbanism among human geographers. There is also a renewed interest in comparative urbanism among urban policy practitioners. This latter 'new comparative urbanism' is identified in the paper as 'actually existing comparative urbanism' and outlined using existing literatures on municipal internationalism and urban policy mobilities, in addition to empirical material from a research project on interurban partnerships involving British cities. A brief history of these partnerships is provided that focuses in particular on North-South interurban partnerships so as to engage with the concerns of postcolonial Urban Studies. The main argument developed is that policy transfer in such relationships has been overwhelmingly from North to South and that economic and democratic rationalities among northern participants go some way towards explaining this pattern of 'imitative urbanism'. The paper concludes by considering prospects for a more cosmopolitan urbanism.

The pace of social, economic, and technological change over the past decade has served to transform the context of local policy making. To a far greater extent than in the 1990s, cities now have to function as actors on the national and international stage, developing assertive strategies to influence investment decisions and improve their competitiveness. The 2005 Competitiveness Index revealed that Cardiff was placed 115th out of 434 UK cities. Whilst this represents an increase of 36 places since 1992 (one of the best performances of any of the major regional cities), further progress needs to be made to maintain this momentum and to achieve Cardiff's long-term ambition to become a superlative maritime European capital city which will stand comparison with any similar city in the world. (Cardiff City Council 2006: 1)

1. NEW COMPARATIVE URBANISMS

There is a renewed interest in comparative urbanism among human geographers. This is especially evident in the pages of *Urban Geography* (Dear 2005, Nijman 2007, Robinson 2004, Smith 2009, Ward 2008). At least some of this interest, including much of that expressed in this special issue, has followed from Jenny Robinson's project to construct a postcolonial Urban Studies from research on 'ordinary cities' (Robinson 2002, 2004, 2005, 2006). As part of this project, Robinson has advocated a new comparative urbanism that goes beyond comparisons of similar cities – e.g. cities with similar political systems – and compares different cities including cities in wealthier and poorer countries. The point is not to categorise, label, and rank such cities – as global and mega cities, or modern and traditional cities, or developed and underdeveloped cities. Neither is it to create urban

hierarchies where the policies of cities at the top get imitated by those lower down. Rather, the point is to provincialise European and North American cities – since the majority of the world’s population now lives outside of ‘the West’. It is also to recognise diverse cities with diverse histories; cities that coincide with distinctive territories or places; and diverse urban experiences and ways of being urban. Ultimately, the aim is to expand imaginations of city life and practices of city development.

This comparative urbanism is ‘new’ because it focuses attention on cities beyond the usual canon of Paris, Chicago, Los Angeles etc. and beyond the urban norms generated from research on that canon. Robinson acknowledges, however, the influence of mid-twentieth century Urban Studies on her work, particularly that of the Manchester School of Anthropology. Her work is also influencing (and being influenced by) other contemporary scholarship. This includes Colin McFarlane’s postcolonial geography and Urban Studies (McFarlane 2006, 2010, Jazeel and McFarlane 2007). He argues that urbanism has always been approached comparatively. Implicit comparisons inform most of the claims made in Urban Studies. Conceptions of the city are often drawn from experiences of cities in Western Europe and North America. Cities outside of the ‘Global North’ are often understood in relation to these referent cities. Thus urban comparison has been not only an explicit methodology in Urban Studies, but also an implicit mode of thought. And such a comparison could be otherwise. It could be read expansively and used to situate and contest existing claims in urban theory, to expand the range of debate in Urban Studies, and to inform new perspectives on the city. It could be used, in other words, as a ‘strategy of critique’ that reveals the distinctiveness of existing urban theories, and a ‘strategy of alterity’ that generates new positions and lines of enquiry for the discipline. McFarlane advocates ‘comparison-as-learning’ across ‘the North-South divide’. He follows postcolonial and (post)development theorists in acknowledging the challenges of such comparison and learning that must engage

different scholarly, activist, and public knowledges, while proceeding indirectly through dialogue and translation.

In this paper, I take inspiration from Robinson and McFarlane to identify another new comparative urbanism – actually existing comparative urbanism – because, while there is a renewed interest in comparative urbanism among Urban Studies scholars at the present moment, there is also a renewed interest in comparative urbanism among urban policy practitioners. This other comparative urbanism involves league tables of urban competitiveness or quality of life, knowledge transfer events and publications, ‘best practice’ schemes, urban networks and partnerships, and so on. In the rest of this paper, I want to outline this actually existing comparative urbanism and bring it into conversation with the new comparative urbanism of Urban Studies.

One way of introducing this other comparative urbanism is to consider the quotation at the top of this paper. Cardiff City Council believes that urban development involves attracting investment from outside of the city. These investors, it believes, compare the city to other cities also in competition for investment. They may use league tables of urban competitiveness in making these comparisons. They may compare Cardiff not to all cities but to certain ‘comparable’ cities: regional cities, maritime cities, European cities, capital cities. To attract investment, Cardiff City Council believes it must view the city from the perspective of these investors. It must make the same comparisons. It must improve its place in various league tables.

Another way of introducing actually existing comparative urbanism is to review two existing literatures on related fields: municipal internationalism; and urban policy mobility. Cities have been compared with one another for centuries. But this activity has been heightened since at least the nineteenth century when European colonialism placed cities as sites of encounter between different planning cultures or sites of production for new planning

knowledge and techniques (King 2004, McFarlane 2008). It has been heightened again since the late nineteenth century and the birth of relatively organised and formalised municipal internationalism (Ewen and Hebbert 2007, Rodgers 1998, Saunier 2001, 2002). At this time, European cities were growing and posing new hygiene and other problems just as transportation and related technologies were making long-distance travel and communication easier. Existing organisations such as the Socialist International and the Cooperative Movement were used by local politicians and officers to circulate ideas, policies, regulations, designs, and so on. New organisations were established including the Union International des Villes (founded in 1913 and renamed as the International Union of Local Authorities in 1928) and the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association (also founded in 1913 and renamed as the International Federation for Housing and Town Planning in 1929). These organisations joined new journals, conferences, exhibitions, and private correspondence to make up what P-Y Saunier calls ‘the Urban Internationale’ (Saunier 2002). From these networks emerged twentieth-century urban policy in the areas of poor relief, unemployment, housing, town planning, and services such as water and sewerage.

Such municipal internationalism became overshadowed by national politics during and after the two world wars. In recent decades, however, transnational policy networks have returned to the foreground in a context of improved transportation and communications technologies and fiscal constraints at both national and local scales (Harvey 1989). A large literature has developed in Political Science on policy transfer (see Dolowitz 2000, Dolowitz and Marsh 1996, 2000, and James and Lodge 2003 for reviews). Geographers Eugene McCann and Kevin Ward have sought to extend this literature using the concept of urban policy mobilities (McCann 2008, 2011, McCann and Ward 2010, 2011, Ward 2006). The field to which this concept refers is similar to that described by actually existing comparative urbanism. McCann and Ward focus on interurban policy transfer and not just international

policy transfer (as much of the policy transfer literature does). They emphasise the wide range of agents involved in bringing cities into comparison with one another and transferring policies between cities. Agents include not only local politicians and council officers but also consultants, journalists, activists, and so on. They also emphasise the wide range of spaces involved, from conference venues and seminar rooms to consultants' reports and newspaper articles. Something often neglected in the policy transfer literature is the amount of cultural work required to mobilise policies – to deterritorialise them from one place before reterritorialising them elsewhere. McCann and Ward describe how policies get translated or reduced into models that travel while destinations undergo discursive readying through briefing papers, study tours, visiting speakers, and so on. They also note some effects of urban policy mobilities that clarify their significance. Cities get assembled using elements from a wide geographical field. New maps of 'best cities' get drawn from and enter new policy imaginations.

In the rest of this paper, I focus on one particular mechanism for bringing cities into comparison and mobilising urban policy: interurban partnerships. Section 2 provides a brief history of interurban partnerships involving British cities. As it progresses, the focus is narrowed still further to partnerships between British cities and cities of the 'Global South',¹ including town twinning partnerships associated with the United Towns Organisation during the 1950s and 60s, North-South links associated with community development initiatives during the 1970s and 80s, and decentralised cooperation or city-to-city cooperation associated with the European Union and the United Nations during the last two decades. This point of focus allows direct engagement with concerns of the new comparative urbanism literature including those of urban hierarchies, urban policy imitation, and the possibility of learning across the North-South divide. Section 3 argues that North-South partnerships have tended to involve policy transfers from North to South – to produce 'imitative urbanism' in Robinson's

(2006) terms – because British partners approach them as opportunities to secure funding from technical assistance and related programmes, and because a will to be accountable among British local authorities translates into partnerships that are designed and monitored in such detail that little space remains for other knowledges, dialogue, translation, and associated disruption. The concluding section summarises the main argument, draws out a secondary argument of the paper (that actually existing comparative urbanism has become more organised recently by national and international governmental organisations), and considers prospects for a more cosmopolitan urbanism, either through well-crafted international partnerships or by other means – thus completing our conversation between the two ‘new’ comparative urbanisms.

All of these sections are informed by research undertaken between 2007 and 2009 on the history and geography of town twinning involving British towns and cities.² Town twinning in the project was defined broadly to include all forms of interurban partnership (see Clarke 2009). The research involved analysis of data on town twinning collected by the Local Government Association, relevant correspondence held in the National Archives at Kew, London, newspaper articles generated by searches in Lexis Nexis, reports and policy documents from various sources, and material archived in local record offices. It also involved interviews with representatives of 12 partnership organisations (from local authorities to friendship and town twinning associations)³ and 13 organisations with roles in overseeing interurban partnerships at the national and international levels.⁴ In a special issue on comparative urbanism, it is worth acknowledging that what follows is a view of actually existing comparative urbanism from the British end of North-South partnerships. Comparative research on views from elsewhere is planned but has yet to be funded.

2. INTERURBAN PARTNERSHIPS

Formal interurban partnerships were invented in Europe around the middle of the twentieth century as a mechanism for constructing peace and unity after the Second World War. Such arrangements, involving civic delegations and school exchanges among other activities, have often been called ‘town twinning’ relationships (Clarke 2010, Campbell 1987, Vion 2002, Zelinsky 1991). Since their invention, interurban partnerships have been used in various contexts by various groups and to various ends. They were established between US cities and cities in Central America or the USSR as part of attempts to relieve tensions during the Cold War. These arrangements have sometimes been termed ‘municipal diplomacy’ or ‘municipal foreign policy’ relationships (Bilder 1989, Hobbs 1994, Kincaid 1989, Kirby et al 1995, Lofland 1989, Shuman 1986-87, 1992). Interurban partnerships have been used in attempts to facilitate trade and other economic relations between cities located in different nation-states (Cremer et al 2001, Ramasamy and Cremer 1998). Along with the European Commission, national governments used interurban partnerships during the 1990s as a device for influencing the transition of post-socialist Europe and Asia (Clarke 2009). North-South partnerships have been used in attempts to construct development and development education by agents ranging from community groups to international aid organisations. These latter arrangements have varied in character and have been known variously as ‘North South linking’, ‘community development partnerships’ (Shuman 1994), ‘international municipal exchange’ (Hewitt 1996), ‘decentralised cooperation’ (Hafteck 2003), and ‘city-to-city cooperation’ (Bontenbal and van Lindert 2009).

What unites these different categories of interurban partnership is their shared repertoire comprised of agreements (town twinning charters, friendship agreements, memoranda of understanding, project-specific contracts etc.), exchanges (of school children,

sports teams, orchestras and choirs, civic delegations, trade delegations, council officers etc.), and projects (to learn about Europe, for example, or to send emergency aid, to establish business links, or to transfer an urban policy of some kind). These relationships are worthy of serious consideration by Urban Studies scholars for at least two reasons. Firstly, interurban partnerships are to explicitly comparative Urban Studies what urban policy mobilities are to implicitly comparative Urban Studies. Put another way, in Urban Studies we can identify an implicit comparativism that pervades the discipline (McFarlane 2010). But we can also identify an explicit comparativism on display in studies purposefully set up to compare two cities. This latter comparativism might be termed ‘pure’ comparative urbanism. And, while an implicit comparativism pervades the empirical field of urban policy mobilities, a corresponding ‘pure’ actually existing comparative urbanism can be found in partnerships between two cities.

More important than this, however, is that, measured by number of arrangements involving British cities, interurban partnerships are currently on the rise. This can be seen in data collected by the Local Government Association (LGA) which show that town twinning – loosely defined to include relatively formal and permanent interurban partnerships – grew from 24 new arrangements signed during the 1950s, to 184 during the 1970s, and 598 during the 1990s (see Clarke 2009 for an extended analysis of these data). Because of the narrow focus in this dataset on town twinning, and the loose definition used (that was also inconsistently applied by the LGA during data collection), the author undertook a separate survey of local authorities in England and Wales during the summer of 2009. Metropolitan District Councils, Unitary Authorities, London Borough Councils, County Councils, and Shire District Councils were asked for details of active partnerships in which their towns or cities are currently involved. Details of 945 arrangements were received, 580 of which included year of establishment and some indication of relationship type. These details are

plotted in Figure 1. It can be seen that until recently the vast majority of these interurban partnerships were of the town twinning variety. This situation began to change during the 1990s. The number of new town twinning arrangements began to decline while the number of new ‘friendship’ and ‘other’ relationships continued to grow. Not only has the total number of interurban partnerships increased in recent decades (as suggested by the LGA data), but the character of those arrangements has changed. Town twinning relationships are being replaced by less formal and less permanent partnerships. They are being replaced by friendship arrangements that tend to be less formal and permanent while retaining the broad scope of town twinning relationships. Or they are being replaced by ‘other’ partnerships, the majority of which are narrowly focused on clear aims and objectives restricted to one particular policy field (e.g. local economic development, or waste management, or children’s services), scheduled to last for between one and five years, and often connected to funding programmes such as the Commonwealth Local Government Forum Good Practice Scheme (of which more below). In summary, interurban partnerships are becoming not only more numerous but also more oriented towards urban policy, comparison between cities, and urban policy mobility.

[INSERT FIG. 1 ABOUT HERE]

Within this broad range of interurban partnerships, the rest of this paper focuses on North-South partnerships in order to engage directly with Robinson and McFarlane’s postcolonial Urban Studies and new comparative urbanism. North-South partnerships were born at the same time as formal interurban partnerships in the years immediately following the Second World War. From 1951, they were advocated by the United Towns Organisation or UTO (also known as *Le Monde Bilingue* and *La Federation Mondiale des Cities Unies*) as

one means of promoting international understanding, the French language (through which, along with English, this international understanding would be pursued), and development in Europe's former colonies (especially those of French-speaking Africa). The UTO was founded in France but had ambitions to become a worldwide town twinning organisation (Clarke 2010). These ambitions came to little in Britain, however, because the Foreign and Commonwealth Office suspected the UTO of communist connections, and, because of this, the British authorities actively promoted an alternative model of town twinning during the 1960s and 70s (ibid). This alternative model was that of the Council of European Municipalities that viewed town twinning between European localities as one means of constructing a peaceful and united Europe set against a communist and non-Christian outside (Vion 2002). With UK Government support – including funding under the Rippon Programme of the early 1970s – this latter model of town twinning was embraced by British towns and cities for which North-South partnerships were rare if not entirely absent during the post-war period.

By the late 1970s, however, North-South partnerships had begun to (re)emerge from a completely different context. Britain's development community was growing and fragmenting at this time.⁵ Some groups were disenchanted with the centralised approach of international donor agencies such as the World Bank, national government departments such as the Overseas Development Agency, and non-governmental organisations such as Oxfam. Independently of one another, community groups began establishing partnerships between their own localities and those of the Global South. These became known as 'North-South links' – the terminology taken from the Brandt report (Independent Commission on International Development Issues 1980). A conference of such links was held in 1982: the first UK National Conference of North-South Links. Two years later, the United Kingdom One World Linking Association was formed to coordinate and promote North-South

partnerships. Members of this association (co)manage relationships including those listed in Table 1 (that represent the North-South links most closely associated with British towns and cities – as opposed to schools, churches, health organisations, and so on). Activities pursued through these partnerships include fundraising at the northern end (through dinners, dances, calendars, emergency appeals etc.), resource transfers from North to South (of education, health, and other materials), development projects at the southern end (e.g. paying teachers' salaries, or building wells, or providing technical support to local authority officers), and development education at the northern end (through slide and film shows, photography exhibitions, lectures, workshops, newspaper articles, teaching packs, school exchanges, and so on). This last activity is particularly important for those advocating North-South linking. It is through development education that northern partners might receive something from – and thus be changed by – the partnership. It is because of development education that advocates view equal, mutual, and reciprocal partnerships as possibilities within reach.

[INSERT TABLE 1 ABOUT HERE]

Some of these North-South links have enjoyed more involvement by local authorities than others. But the majority have been led by community organisations with urban policy professionals playing a peripheral role. This situation has been reversed in the decentralised cooperation and city-to-city cooperation partnerships that have arisen over the last decade or so. 'Decentralised cooperation' is a term used by the institutions of the European Union to describe technical-assistance and capacity-building partnerships between European cities and cities of the Global South. The term entered European law in 1989 with the fourth revision of the Lomé Convention (the trade and aid agreement between the European Union and various countries in Africa, the Caribbean, and the Pacific). Decentralised cooperation partnerships

have since been promoted via EuropeAid programmes including Urb Al (for cooperation between Europe and Latin America) and Asia Urbs (for cooperation between Europe and Asia). ‘City-to-city cooperation’, by contrast, is a term used by the agencies of the United Nations (UN). It is also used to describe technical-assistance and capacity-building partnerships between local governments in the Global North and South. Agencies particularly interested in this concept include the UN Development Programme, the UN Volunteers Programme, and the UN Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat). Indeed, ‘city-to-city cooperation’ was the central theme of World Habitat Day 2002.

What unites those promoting decentralised cooperation and city-to-city cooperation is a particular view of twenty-first century geography (evident in Bongers 2001, Bongers and McCallum 2003, Ringrose 2000, 2003):

With the marked trends towards democratisation and decentralisation of the 1980s and 1990s, the scope for concrete cooperation between local authorities on practical issues of mutual interest expanded considerably. Moreover, cities were increasingly responding to their role in combating the root causes of poverty and fostering sustainable economic and social development, as the political entities closest to the needs of their communities. These advances at the local level coincided with the growing recognition in the international community that the process of urbanisation, particularly with the movement of population towards the cities of the developing countries, raised major issues of governance – as well as of economic, social, and environmental policy – which called for new approaches to capacity building at the local level.

(Bongers 2001: 5)

Two processes are perceived to be changing the context for development initiatives.

Urbanisation is thought to leave more and more people living in cities. Decentralisation is

thought to leave more and more of these cities with relatively autonomous and legitimate local governments. As a result, poverty is approached as urban poverty, and development is approached as something best pursued through local governments. These local governments are often relatively new and may lack capacity. This is where interurban partnerships come into play. Decentralised or city-to-city cooperation is positioned as one means to capacity building – and, ultimately, development – for urbanising and decentralising times.

These arguments have been taken up by the Commonwealth Local Government Forum (CLGF). With funding from the Department for International Development (a department of the UK National Government), the CLGF runs a decentralised cooperation programme called the Good Practice Scheme. This is the programme through which British local authorities are most likely to become involved in city-to-city cooperation at the present time. Since its inception in 1998, ‘good practice’ partnerships have been established between local authorities in Britain and Ghana, India, Jamaica, Sierra Leone, and South Africa. These partnerships are listed in Table 2. Currently, they are funded for three years and should contribute to achievement of the Millennium Development Goals. Areas of focus have included: tourism strategy; revenue collection; waste management; corporate governance; master planning; information and communication technologies; public-private partnerships; strategic planning; community safety; local economic development; urban regeneration; and procurement.

[INSERT TABLE 2 ABOUT HERE]

As with North-South linking, the rhetorical emphasis in much of the policy literature on decentralised or city-to-city cooperation is on equality, mutuality, reciprocity, diversity, and so on. There is a fledgling academic literature on city-to-city cooperation that considers

whether this rhetorical emphasis has been translated into partnership design and practice. Hewitt (1996, 1998, 1999) found that information and technology transfers occurred in both directions within the Toronto-Sao Paulo partnership supported during the 1990s by the Canadian International Development Agency through the Federation of Canadian Municipalities. Sao Paulo's Integrated Operations public housing programme became largely based on Toronto's 'selling density' or 'density bonusing' policy. Meanwhile, Toronto's campaign to promote use of dental floss among school children became largely based on Sao Paulo's practice of using private companies to formulate advertising campaigns, as with the Sao Paulo campaign against cholera in the early 1990s. But this is just one case study of city-to-city cooperation. Recently, Bontenbal and van Lindert (2009) have reviewed all existing case studies of such partnerships. They have found that flows of information, technology, policy, programmes, knowledge, know-how etc. have been overwhelmingly in one direction: from North to South. This has led Johnson and Wilson (2006, 2009) to write of the 'mutuality gap' in city-to-city cooperation, by which they mean the gap between a rhetoric of equality, reciprocity, diversity etc. and a record of uni-directional transfers, and the gap between partners in these relationships resulting from both uneven access to resources and subsequent patterns of transfers. Drawing on case study research of links between British and Ugandan cities (Kirklees and Kampala, and Daventry and Inganga), they suggest that southern partners have much to teach about decentralised government, self-reliance, and user involvement in service provision, but northern partners have learned little to date.

3. THE PRODUCTION OF IMITATIVE URBANISM

In Robinson's (2006) terms, the comparative urbanism evident in city-to-city cooperation has been, for the most part, an 'imitative urbanism' (where urban comparisons lead to hierarchies of cities and transfers of policies down from the top of those hierarchies), as opposed to a 'cosmopolitan urbanism' (where urban comparisons lead to expanded imaginations of city life and development – for all participant authorities and individuals). This claim leads to a couple of questions for consideration. Firstly, why is it important that certain forms of actually existing comparative urbanism have produced imitative urbanism? Should we be concerned about this and, if so, why? Secondly, bracketing this 'so what?' question for a moment, how is it that North-South partnerships produce imitative urbanism, and could they produce cosmopolitan urbanism if entered and managed differently?

Let us take the 'so what?' question first. This connects the concepts of imitative and cosmopolitan urbanism to larger debates about development and post-development, and also moral universalism and relativism. These debates are wide-ranging and impossible to summarise, let alone resolve, in the space available here. But a brief position statement seems appropriate. This can begin with acknowledgements that numerous relatively young municipal authorities do exist in Latin America, Africa, and Asia that have little experience of local government and do request assistance from older local authorities elsewhere (Hewitt 2004); while the technology available in the Global North – for whatever reasons (including those to do with histories of colonialism and imperialism) – can be labour saving and even life saving (Corbridge 1998). It must proceed, however, with other acknowledgements. The problems confronted by cities of the Global South are not problems, on the whole, of which local authorities in the Global North have much experience. It is a long time since most European or North American societies faced rapid urbanisation. Moreover, the problems of

nineteenth-century urbanisation in northern England, for example, were not the same as those of twenty-first century urbanisation in parts of the Global South. This has been shown convincingly by Chaplin (1999) for whom unsanitary conditions in contemporary Indian cities are caused not by a lack of technology (as they were in nineteenth century Manchester or Liverpool), but by a lack of political pressure for reform explained by comparatively low levels of unionisation among India's lower classes, and high levels of access to antibiotics and other medicines – *to technology* – among India's middle classes. Other points to consider here include that both 'North' and 'South' are plural and internally diverse. Northern cities have their own problems (from sprawl and traffic congestion to abandoned centres and homelessness) that other cities could do without (Hewitt 1998). In any case, the project of imitating the northern model of development is an impossibility, both historically (since development in Europe was predicated on colonial plunder – Blaut 1993) and environmentally (given the climate and biodiversity consequences of northern development – Peet and Hartwick 1999). Where does this leave us? Arguments can be made both for and against imitative urbanism – assuming it includes the translation work necessary for any policy to move between contexts (see McCann and Ward 2010). One recourse available in such situations is to Geography. The contribution made by geographers is that approaches such as imitative urbanism are likely to be appropriate in some places at some times, but not in all places at all times. This allows the question to be reframed. City-to-city cooperation transfers have been overwhelmingly from North to South. This is important and cause for concern because North-South transfers are unlikely to have been appropriate in all of these different historical-geographical contexts.

The 'why' question can now be taken: why has city-to-city cooperation tended to produce imitative urbanism? In the rest of this section, I offer two answers to this question: one derived from the distinction between interurban cooperation and competition; the other

from a distinction between audit temporality (after Power 1997) and craft temporality (after Sennett 2008). In doing so, I consider four rationalities informing participation by British cities in North-South interurban partnerships. These were found in the qualitative material gathered during archival work and interviews with partnership managers and participants (see Section 1). Two of these rationalities, a moral rationality and a managerial rationality, do not necessarily lead to imitative urbanism. But the other two – an economic rationality and a democratic rationality – are central to the production of imitative urbanism.

Taking the *moral* rationality first, many local authorities in the Global North do receive regular demands for assistance from cities in the Global South. For example, requests from localities in the following countries were posted on the LGA website in December 2009: Argentina, Cameroon, Ethiopia, Ghana, India, Kenya, Mali, Namibia, and Uganda. In view of this, some actually existing comparative urbanism can also be thought of as ‘responsible urbanism’ – not in the sense used by Massey (2004), but because responsibility most straightforwardly describes a relationship between demands and responses, and/or those making them (Barnett et al 2006).

A second rationality is *managerial* in character and derives from a discourse of institutional learning that pervades contemporary organisations (Jones and Blunt 1999). Many decision-makers in both private and public sectors currently perceive a world that is fast-moving and turbulent, in which only those who adapt and learn may survive and prosper (Thrift 2005). This translates into desires for training and other learning opportunities. North-South partnerships provide some such opportunities. Through them, council officers can take secondments in other local authorities. They can encounter new challenges such as urban problems they rarely face in their own locality, or problems of communication across cultural and geographical distance. The hope is that participating officers return as more flexible and adaptable subjects capable of operating amid change and disruption.⁶ It is

possible that officers also return having learned something of urban development in a different city. But the evidence for this happening in a significant way is not strong (see Bontenbal and van Lindert 2009). One reason for this is that two further rationalities for entering North-South partnerships constrain these secondments and other engagements in ways that preclude such learning.

An *economic* rationality connects North-South partnerships to competitive urbanism. One could be forgiven for associating such partnerships with interurban cooperation and the opposite of the uncompromisingly competitive urban strategies of the 1980s (see Brenner 2004, Graham 1995). But interurban partnerships often provide cities with just one more field on which to compete with each other, much like urban networks did in the last decade of the twentieth century (Brenner 2004, Church and Reid 2002, Graham 1995, Leitner and Sheppard 1999). One context for this is enlargement of the European Union during the 1990s. Structural Fund money gradually moved east towards the former socialist states. This did not mean that external funding opportunities disappeared for regions and localities in north-western Europe. It just meant that such opportunities were now rarely for economic development and related activity within these spaces themselves. Today, European and international units within British local authorities continue to compete for external funding, but available funding is mostly for involvement in technical-assistance and capacity-building programmes.

Councils have thus moved into what we might call ‘the cultural circuit of government’. This term is inspired by Nigel Thrift’s work on the cultural circuit of capitalism:

[...] the extraordinary discursive apparatus which has been perhaps the chief creation of the capitalism of the post-1960s period [...] – business schools, management consultants, management gurus, and the media. This has

produced a process of continual critique of capitalism, a feedback loop which is intended to keep capitalism surfing along the edge of its own contradictions.

(Thrift 2005: 6)

Local authorities now receive funding from various UK Government departments, the European Commission, the CLGF, the UN Development Programme, the World Bank etc. for participation in, to paraphrase Thrift, a process of continual critique of local government that works to keep local government surfing along the edge of its own contradictions. In doing so, towns and cities participate in North-South partnerships, but they operate in competition with one another for the same external funding, and as partners already positioned as ‘consultants’ and ‘gurus’. These partnerships are configured from the very beginning to produce competitive and imitative urbanism. Northern cities enter them to exchange ‘expertise’ for external funding. This is one answer to the question of why decentralised cooperation tends to involve transfers predominantly from North to South.

The other answer begins with Michael Power’s notion of ‘the audit society’ (Power 1997; also see Sennett 2006). For Power, contemporary democracy involves regular account-giving, whether to shareholders in publicly-traded companies or to citizen-consumers of public services. Such account-giving demands that work be organised into short-term projects so that performance can be reported at frequent intervals. This broad movement towards audit and shortened timeframes has influenced interurban partnerships over the last decade or so which have become shorter in duration, or more fragmented into short-term projects, and more tightly focused so that achievement of aims and objectives can be evaluated against progress towards milestones and targets – all with a view to providing local politicians and their constituents with accounts of how council funds are spent carefully and with due prudence.

This trend in the management of interurban partnerships, and the *democratic* rationality behind it, was discussed at a Quarterly Meeting of the LGA's International Cooperation Officers Network to which I was invited in December 2007. Participants seemed acutely aware of the need to justify the international activities of local authorities, the role of audit in such a process, and the implications of audit for partnership temporality – that could no longer be relaxed and open-ended as it was during the post-war era of town twinning partnerships. The trend is also found in the CLGF's Good Practice Scheme where projects that were funded for five years under previous phases are now funded for only three years in order to fit with the Department for International Development's new reporting and budgeting timetable.

Such moves towards project management and associated technologies of business plans, aims and objectives, targets, milestones, contracts, quantified outcomes etc. have been welcomed by some observers (e.g. Nitschke et al 2009) because North-South partnerships need justifying to sceptical publics in terms of their development impact. There is a danger, however, which is that interurban partnerships become colonised by the audit process and configured to meet its informational demands so that auditable performance becomes the primary end of such partnerships and the tail ends up wagging the dog (Power 1997). Recall that McFarlane's comparative urbanism seeks 'global learning' and 'learning through differences' in arrangements critically reflexive of power relations between North and South (McFarlane 2006, 2010, Jazeel and McFarlane 2007). For McFarlane, this requires that outcomes of relationships not be pre-empted (as they often are in business plans). It demands a 'strong internationalism' (after Appadurai 2000) that takes the knowledge of others seriously – whether it conforms to Euro-American norms of representation or not; a 'radical politics' (after Briggs and Sharp 2004) that refuses to integrate different views into pre-held positions; and a process of 'unlearning' (after Spivak 1993) through which work is done to

(re)learn about others and how to speak with them in ways that allow answering back. Such demands cannot be met easily within tightly focused interurban partnerships. This is the second reason why transfers have tended to be from North to South. Little space exists in ‘accountable’ partnerships for uncertainty and indirectness. Little time exists in short-term projects for southern partners to speak without having their words appropriated or trivialised (Spivak 1988).

McFarlane is outlining a set of guidelines for conversations between Urban Studies scholars across the North-South divide. But these guidelines are equally relevant for North-South interurban partnerships. And they can be supplemented by drawing from Richard Sennett’s study of craftwork and its temporality (Sennett 2008). Sennett identifies the advantages of craftwork – narrowly defined as the skill of making things well and the condition of being practically engaged, but broadly defined to include the desire to do any job well for its own sake. Advantages include that self-criticism is only enabled by going over an action again and again; quality products only result from a circular process of continual problem finding and solving; and premature closure is only avoided by ‘sketching’ – drawing and redrawing as problems arise and ways forward become clear. Together, they imply a temporality that is long-term, sustained, circular, iterative, open-ended. Sennett argues that society often stands in the way of craftwork, not least because of its temporality. Pride in the field of work is dismissed as a luxury of less competitive times. Performance measurement demands closure that in turn requires the concealment of problems. Fordist management divides tasks from each other and organises workers to focus on parts and not wholes so that workers lose their curiosity, their will to experiment, and the experience necessary to make judgements about quality. The new economy, in which innate talent and short-term success are celebrated, channels rewards away from sustained work, slow learning, and long service. In this light, McFarlane’s postcolonial Urban Studies can be seen as a call for – and guide to

– the *craft* of global academic debate. And the present paper can be seen as a modest corollary for the craft of actually existing comparative urbanism. Most directly, it is a call for North-South interurban partnerships that acknowledge demands for transparency and accountability, but respond in ways that allow partnerships to remain or become self-critical, experimental, iterative, circular, sustained, and open-ended.

4. PROSPECTS FOR A MORE COSMOPOLITAN URBANISM

Alongside the new comparative urbanism of Urban Studies scholars outlined in this special issue, another new comparative urbanism can be identified among urban policy practitioners: actually existing comparative urbanism. This concept approaches a similar field to that described by the urban policy mobilities literature, but from a slightly different direction (urban comparison as opposed to policy transfer). Within this broad field, interurban partnerships constitute an increasingly significant mechanism for bringing cities into comparison with one another and mobilising urban policy. If we take partnerships involving British cities, their number has grown in recent years. These new partnerships include fewer broad-based town twinning arrangements in which comparative urbanism was always implicit, and more friendship and project-specific partnerships in which urban comparison and policy transfer are often explicit aims and activities. Even these latter partnerships vary considerably in form but a number of recent examples have connected British local authorities with counterparts in the Global South, making them relevant to the new comparative urbanism of Urban Studies (that is concerned with, among other things, comparison across the North-South divide). Such North-South partnerships have tended to involve transfers of knowledge, know-how, technology, policies, programmes etc. in one

direction only: from North to South. Imitative urbanism of this kind is unlikely to be appropriate in all situations. But it arises from two contexts in which northern cities find themselves: external funding is available to them if they assume the role of ‘expert’ in technical-assistance and capacity-building partnerships; while cultures of accountability favour short-term and tightly focused projects over well-crafted partnerships in which all might genuinely speak and be heard.

That is the paper’s central narrative. But there is another story, evident in fragments throughout the previous sections, to be assembled in this conclusion. Actually existing comparative urbanism has been organised by different agencies at different times. In the case of interurban partnerships involving British cities, it was organised by individual cities and their associations in the years immediately following the Second World War (town twinning). It was organised by the UK National Government during the 1970s (via the Rippon programme) because of Cold War fears about communist infiltration and penetration. These were also fears about uncontrolled urban comparison and policy transfer – a recognition of the power of comparative urbanism and urban policy mobilities, or at least an illustration of their perceived power. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, interurban partnerships were organised by community groups (North-South linking). Over the last two decades, they have become increasingly organised by national and international governmental organisations: the UK Government’s Department of Communities and Local Government and its Improvement and Development Agency (interested in improving local government performance among British cities through ‘knowledge transfer’); and the UK Government’s Department for International Development, the European Commission’s EuropeAid, the Commonwealth Local Government Forum, and various centres and programmes of the United Nations (interested in building local government capacity in the Global South through ‘good practice’ sharing).

So, in addition to producing geographical scale (McCann and Ward 2011), actually existing comparative urbanism involves agencies operating at numerous scales. And the roles played by these agencies vary with political-historical-geographical context (see Clarke 2010). Immediately after the Second World War, when nation-states were associated with conflict and totalitarianism (Campbell 1987), cities shaped their own international relations. During the Cold War, when Communism was feared by Western political elites, nation-states used funding programmes in attempts to control municipal internationalism. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, local communities formed their own North-South partnerships in opposition to centralised, top-down, and apparently failing ‘mainstream’ development. More recently, nation-states have become involved again in a context of fiscal austerity and the New Public Management, while international governmental organisations have become active in response to perceived processes of urbanisation and administrative decentralisation in the Global South.

In contemporary Britain, actually existing comparative urbanism appears to be shaped largely by national and international governmental organisations. They gather cities together for ‘knowledge transfer’ meetings. They identify exemplar cities using league tables and awards programmes. They fund ‘capacity-building’ and ‘best practice’ partnerships and networks. And they demand particular standards from such comparative urbanism. In particular, they demand standards of accountability that impose business plans, targets, and short timeframes on interurban relationships. This is a common story where governmental organisations become interested in fields and bring public money to bear on them. It is also a common story of contemporary democracy. But in the fields of comparative urbanism and urban policy mobilities, outcomes can be imitative urbanism and associated narrow imaginations of cities, urban life, and practices of city development.

What, then, are the prospects for a more cosmopolitan urbanism? The purposes of this paper have been threefold: 1) to identify actually existing comparative urbanism in a variety of registers including literatures on municipal internationalism and urban policy mobility, and empirical material concerning interurban partnerships; 2) to bring this other comparative urbanism into conversation with the new comparative urbanism of Urban Studies; and 3) to identify, via this conversation, opportunities for and constraints upon a more cosmopolitan urbanism than is evident in current North-South interurban partnerships.

Massey (2004, 2005, 2007, 2011) has recently suggested one path towards a more cosmopolitan urbanism. Her starting point is that cities are not just victims of globalisation. Urban life connects to sources and repercussions around the world. Cities pull in workers from distant labour markets, for example, and emit pollution that respects no political boundaries. Massey argues that responsibilities attach to this urban agency, and politics attach to these responsibilities. She calls for ‘an outward politics of place’ or ‘a politics of place beyond place’. In this view, a more cosmopolitan urbanism would involve not the transfer of policies between cities, but the transformation of policies *within* cities – with an eye on their effects elsewhere. Massey presents London’s partnership with Caracas as one example of such a globalised local politics. Another example would be the policy of fair-trade cities promoted by Britain’s Fairtrade Foundation and adopted by cities such as Bristol (Malpass et al 2007).

This argument that cities should look at their own policies and the often distant effects of such policies, before looking at other cities and what policies can be mobilised between cities, is an important one that deserves much attention. I see the contribution of this paper as being complementary to Massey’s concerns. Cities must gaze inwardly at their own policies in order to act outwardly to cosmopolitan ends. But where cities are already bound into partnerships and networks of various kinds, and where participants in these arrangements are

often motivated by moral and managerial rationalities, cities could also learn from the new comparative urbanism. This postcolonial school of Urban Studies advocates engagements across the North-South divide that are critically reflexive, strongly internationalist, and politically radical. In this paper, I have argued that such engagements could also benefit from being *well-crafted* – a characteristic dependent on self-criticism that in turn depends on a particular temporality: long-term, sustained, circular, iterative, and open-ended.

To conclude, actually existing comparative urbanism could learn something from the new comparative urbanism. But, to complete our conversation between these two comparative urbanisms, it is also possible to say that the new comparative urbanism could learn something from research, at least, on actually existing comparative urbanism. What this research suggests is that city authorities are informed by certain rationalities that push against indirect learning and interurban craftwork. These include economic rationalities connected to competitive funds for international local government activity, but also democratic rationalities connected to quite understandable concerns about accountability. They suggest that while pathways stretch out towards a more cosmopolitan urbanism, they do so only across a given and difficult terrain.

NOTES

1. The term 'Global South' is problematic. It originated in the Brandt Report (Independent Commission on International Development Issues 1980) that used various indicators of development to draw a line from the US-Mexico border across the top of Africa and along the bottom of Russia. It is shorthand, then, for Latin America, Africa, and Asia (and the line deviates dramatically to exclude Australia and New Zealand from the resulting 'South'). The two main problems are that some of the development indicators used are derived from culturally specific imaginations of the good life, and, even measured against these indicators, 'North' and 'South' are clearly plural and internally diverse categories. Despite these problems, I use the terms 'South' and 'North' in this paper for two reasons. Firstly, they are less problematic than other available shorthand terms such as First, Second, and Third World, or developed, developing, and underdeveloped world. This is because North and South are points of the compass and imply no hierarchical relationship between themselves. The second reason is that South and North are used by the policymakers and practitioners I have been studying. Terms such as 'North-South partnerships' and 'North-South linking' are widely used in the field of interurban partnerships. To avoid confusion as the empirical parts of the paper proceed, I retain these terms while acknowledging their problematic character.
2. See acknowledgements.
3. These 12 partnerships were between: Bristol and its seven international partners (Bordeaux, Hannover, Oporto, Tbilisi, Puerto Morazan, Beira, and Guangzhou); Newport and Kutaisi; Warwick and Bo; Cardiff and Cochin; Cardiff and Generation Europe (a

project involving Cardiff's two twin towns: Nantes and Stuttgart); and Sherborne and Douzelage (a network of twinned towns, one from each member of the European Union).

4. These organisations were: the International Union of Local Authorities; the Council of European Municipalities and Regions; the Association of Municipal Corporations; the British Council; the Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign; Towns and Development; the United Kingdom One World Linking Association; Oxfam; the Local Government International Bureau; the United Nations Development Programme; World Associations of Cities and Local Authorities Co-ordination; the Commonwealth Local Government Forum; and the Local Government Association.

5. The account of North-South linking that follows was constructed from interviews with representatives of the Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, Towns and Development, the United Kingdom One World Linking Association, Oxfam, the Warwick-Bo link, the Marlborough-Gunjur link, the Bristol-Puerto Morazan link, and the Bristol-Beira link. Interviewees also provided access to archived documents that helped to verify data collected by interview.

6. This hope was expressed by interviewees including representatives of the Local Government Association and the Commonwealth Local Government Forum. The argument that overseas visits provide training and learning opportunities was made by speakers at two Local Government Association events: the 2009 Local Government Leaders International Symposium; and the December 2007 Quarterly Meeting of the International Cooperation Officers Network.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The research project from which this paper draws (Town Twinning in Britain Since 1945) was funded by the Nuffield Foundation. Many thanks are due to this organisation and to all those people who provided access to data and archived material, or who agreed to be interviewed for the research (see Notes 3, 4 and 5). I am also grateful to Hannah Mitchell and Nancy McAnallen who assisted with the survey of local authorities during the summer of 2009. Early drafts of this paper were presented in a session on comparative urbanism at the 2009 Meeting of the Royal Geographical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, at a workshop on assembled cities at the Open University in 2010, and in Geography seminars at the University of Liverpool and the University of Portsmouth. On all occasions, many helpful comments were received. Comments and encouragement were also received on written drafts of this and related work from Jenny Robinson, Colin McFarlane, and Eugene McCann. While debts are owed to all of these colleagues, and to the editors and referees for this special issue, any weaknesses of the final paper remain the sole responsibility of the author.

REFERENCES

- Appadurai A, 2000, Grassroots globalisation and the research imagination. *Public Culture*, Vol. 12(1), 1-9.
- Barnett C, Robinson J, and Rose G, editors, 2006, *A demanding World*. Milton Keynes: The Open University.
- Bilder R B, 1989, The role of states and cities in foreign relations. *American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 83, 821-31.
- Blaut J M, 1993, *The Coloniser's Model of the World: Geographical Diffusionism and Eurocentric History*. New York: The Guildford Press.
- Bongers P N, 2001, *City-to-City Cooperation: Issues Arising from Experience*. New York: WACLAC and the UN Centre for Human Settlements.
- Bongers P N and McCallum D, 2003, *Partnership for Local Capacity Development: Building on the Experiences of City-to-City Cooperation*. New York: WACLAC and the UN Centre for Human Settlements.
- Bontenbal M and van Lindert P, 2009, Transnational city-to-city cooperation: Issues arising from theory and practice. *Habitat International*, Vol. 33, 131-33.
- Brenner N, 2004, *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Briggs J and Sharp J, 2004, Indigenous knowledge and development: A postcolonial caution. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 25(4), 661-76.
- Campbell E S, 1987, The ideals and origins of the Franco-German sister cities movement, 1945-70. *History of European Ideas*, Vol. 8(1), 77-95.
- Cardiff City Council, 2006, *Cardiff Connections: An international Policy for Cardiff*. Cardiff: Cardiff City Council.

- Chaplin S E, 1999, Cities, sewers and poverty: India's politics of sanitation. *Environment and Urbanisation*, Vol. 11(1), 145-58.
- Church A and Reid P, 2002, Local democracy, cross-border collaboration and the internationalisation of local government. In R Hambleton, H Savitch, and M Stewart, editors, *Globalism and Local Democracy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 201-18.
- Clarke N, 2009, In what sense 'spaces of neoliberalism'? The new urbanism, the new politics of scale, and town twinning. *Political Geography*, Vol. 28(8), 496-507.
- Clarke, 2010, Town twinning in Cold-War Britain: (Dis)continuities in twentieth-century municipal internationalism. *Contemporary British History*, Vol. 24(2), 173-91.
- Corbridge S, 1998, 'Beneath the pavement only soil': The poverty of post-development. *Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 34(6), 138-48.
- Cremer R D, De Bruin A and Dupuis A, 2001, International sister-cities: Bridging the global-local divide. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, Vol. 60(1), 377-401.
- Dear M, 2005, Comparative urbanism. *Urban Geography*, Vol. 26(3), 247-51.
- Dolowitz D P, 2000, Policy transfer: A new framework for analysis. In D P Dolowitz, R Hume, M Nellis, and F O'Neill, editors, *Policy Transfer and British Social Policy: Learning from the USA?* Buckingham: Open University Press, 9-37.
- Dolowitz D and Marsh M, 1996, Who learns from whom: a review of the policy transfer literature. *Political Studies*, Vol. 44, 343-57.
- Dolowitz D P and Marsh D, 2000, Learning from abroad: The role of policy transfer in contemporary policy-making. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, Vol. 13(1), 5-24.
- Ewen S and Hebbert M, 2007, European cities in a networked world during the long 20th century. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Vol. 25, 327-40.

- Graham S, 1995, From urban competition to urban collaboration? The development of interurban telematics networks. *Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy*, Vol. 13, 503-24.
- Hafteck P, 2003, An introduction to decentralised cooperation: Definitions, origins, and conceptual mapping. *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 23, 333-45.
- Harvey D, 1989, From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: The transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler B*, Vol. 71(1), 3-17.
- Hewitt W E, 1996, International municipal exchange as a catalyst for South-North technology and information transfer: A case study from the Americas. *Canadian Journal of Development Studies*, Vol. 27, 293-311.
- Hewitt W E, 1998, The role of international municipal cooperation in housing the developing world's urban poor: The Toronto-Sao Paulo example. *Habitat International*, Vol. 22(4), 411-27.
- Hewitt W E, 1999, Municipalities and the 'new' internationalism: Cautionary notes from Canada. *Cities*, Vol. 16(6), 435-44.
- Hewitt W E, 2004, Improving citizen participation in local government in Latin America through international cooperation: A case study. *Development in Practice*, Vol. 14(5), 619-32.
- Hobbs H H, 1994, *City Hall Goes Abroad: The Foreign Policy of Local Politics*. London, Sage.
- Independent Commission on International Development Issues, 1980, *North-South: A Programme for Survival*. London: Pan Books.
- James O and Lodge M, 2003, The limitations of 'policy transfer' and 'lesson drawing' for public policy research. *Political Studies Review*, Vol. 1, 179-93.

Jazeel T and McFarlane C, 2007, Responsible learning: Cultures of knowledge production and the North-South divide. *Antipode*, Vol. 39(5), 781-89.

Johnson H and Wilson G, 2006, North-South/South-North partnerships: Closing the 'mutuality gap'. *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 26, 71-80.

Johnson H and Wilson G, 2009, Learning and mutuality in municipal partnerships and beyond: A focus on northern partners. *Habitat International*, Vol. 33, 210-17.

Jones M L and Blunt P, 1999, 'Twinning' as a method of sustainable institutional capacity building. *Public Administration and Development*, Vol. 19, 381-402.

Kincaid J, 1989, Rain clouds over municipal diplomacy: Dimensions and possible sources of negative public opinion. In E H fry, L H Radebough, and P Soldatos, editors, *The New International Cities Era: The Global Activities of North American Municipal Governments*. Provo, UT: David M Kennedy Centre for International Studies, Brigham Young University, 223-50.

King A D, 2004, *Spaces of Global Cultures: Architecture, Urbanism, Identity*. London: Routledge.

Kirby A, Marston S, and Seasholes K, 1995, World cities and global communities: The municipal foreign policy movement and new roles for cities. In P L Knox and P J Taylor, editors, *World Cities in a World System*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 267-79.

Leitner H and Sheppard E, 1999, Transcending interurban competition: Conceptual issues and policy alternatives in the European Union. In A Jonas and D Wilson, editors, *The Urban Growth Machine: Critical Perspectives, Two Decades Later*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 227-43.

Lofland J, 1989, Consensus movements: City twinning and derailed dissent in the American eighties. *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, Vol. 11, 163-96.

Malpass A, Cloke P, Barnett C and Clarke N, 2007, Fairtrade urbanism? The politics of place beyond place in the Bristol Fairtrade City Campaign. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 31(3), 633-46.

Massey D, 2004, Geographies of responsibility. *Geografiska Annaler B*, Vol. 86, 5-18.

Massey D, 2005, *For Space*. London: Sage.

Massey D, 2007, *World City*. Cambridge: Polity.

Massey D, 2011, A counterhegemonic relationality of place. In E McCann and K Ward, editors, *Mobile Urbanism: Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1-14.

McCann E, 2008, Expertise, truth, and urban policy mobilities: Global circuits of knowledge in the development of Vancouver, Canada's 'four pillar' drug strategy. *Environment and Planning A*, Vol. 40, 885-904.

McCann E, 2011, Urban policy mobilities and global circuits of knowledge: Toward a research agenda. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 101(1), 107-30.

McCann E and Ward K, 2010, Relationality/territoriality: Toward a conceptualisation of cities in the world. *Geoforum*, Vol. 41(2), 175-84.

McCann E and Ward K, 2011, *Mobile Urbanism: Cities and Policymaking in the Global Age*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

McFarlane C, 2006, Crossing borders: Development, learning, and the North-South divide. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 27(8), 1413-37.

McFarlane C, 2008, Governing the contaminated city: Infrastructure and sanitation in colonial and post-colonial Bombay. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 32(2), 415-35.

McFarlane C, 2010, The comparative city: Knowledge, learning, urbanism. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 34(4): 725-42.

- Nijman J, 2007, Introduction – Comparative urbanism. *Urban Geography*, Vol. 28(1), 1-6.
- Nitschke U, Held U, and Wilhelmy S, 2009, Challenges of German city2city cooperation and the way forward to a quality debate. *Habitat International*, Vol. 33, 134-40.
- Peet R and Hartwick E, 1999, *Theories of Development*. New York: Guildford Press.
- Power M, 1997, *The Audit Society: Rituals of Verification*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Ramasamy B and Cremer R D, 1998, Cities, commerce and culture: The economic role of international sister-city relationships between New Zealand and Asia. *Journal of the Asia Pacific Economy*, Vol. 3(3), 446-61.
- Ringrose N, 2000, *The Challenges of Linking: City-to-City Cooperation as a Development Modality for the 21st Century*. New York: United Nations Development Programme.
- Ringrose N, 2003, *Closing the Gap: A Guide to Linking Communities Across the Globe for International Solidarity and Mutual Benefit*. Bonn: United Nations Volunteers Programme and International Union of Local Authorities.
- Robinson J, 2002, Global and world cities: A view from off the map. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 26(3), 531-54.
- Robinson J, 2004, In the tracks of comparative urbanism: Difference, urban modernity, and the primitive. *Urban Geography*, Vol. 25(8), 709-23.
- Robinson J, 2005, Urban geography: World cities, or a world of cities. *Progress in Human Geography*, Vol. 29(6), 757-65.
- Robinson J, 2006, *Ordinary Cities: Between Modernity and Development*. London: Routledge.
- Rodgers D T, 1998, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age*. Cambridge, MA: Belknap, Harvard University Press.

- Saunier P-Y, 2001, Sketches from the Urban Internationale, 1910-50: Voluntary associations, international institutions, and the US philanthropic foundations. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 25(2), 380-403.
- Saunier P-Y, 2002, Taking up the bet on connections: A municipal contribution. *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 11(4), 507-27.
- Sennett R, 2006, *The Culture of the New Capitalism*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Sennett R, 2008, *The Craftsman*. London: Penguin.
- Shuman M H, 1986-87, Dateline main street: Local foreign policies. *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 65, 154-74.
- Shuman M H, 1992, Dateline main street: Courts v. Local foreign policies. *Foreign Policy*, Vol. 86, 158-77.
- Shuman M, 1994, *Towards a Global Village: International Community Development Initiatives*. London: Pluto Press.
- Smith M E, 2009, Editorial – Just how comparative is comparative urban geography? A perspective from archaeology. *Urban Geography*, Vol. 30(2), 113-17.
- Spivak G C, 1988, Can the subaltern speak? In C Nelson and L Grossberg, editors, *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*. Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 271-313.
- Spivak G C, 1993, *Outside in the Teaching Machine*. London: Routledge.
- Thrift N, 2005, *Knowing Capitalism*. London: Sage.
- Vion A, 2002, Europe from the bottom up: Town twinning in France during the Cold War. *Contemporary European History*, Vol. 11(4), 623-40.
- Ward K, 2006, ‘Policies in motion’, urban management, and state restructuring: The trans-local expansion of Business Improvement Districts. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 30(1), 54-75.

Ward K, 2008, Editorial – Toward a comparative (re)turn in Urban Studies? Some reflections. *Urban Geography*, Vol. 29(5), 405-10.

Zelinsky W, 1991, The twinning of the world: Sister cities in geographic and historical perspective. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, Vol. 81(1), 1-31.

Figure 1: New interurban partnerships involving towns and cities in England and Wales

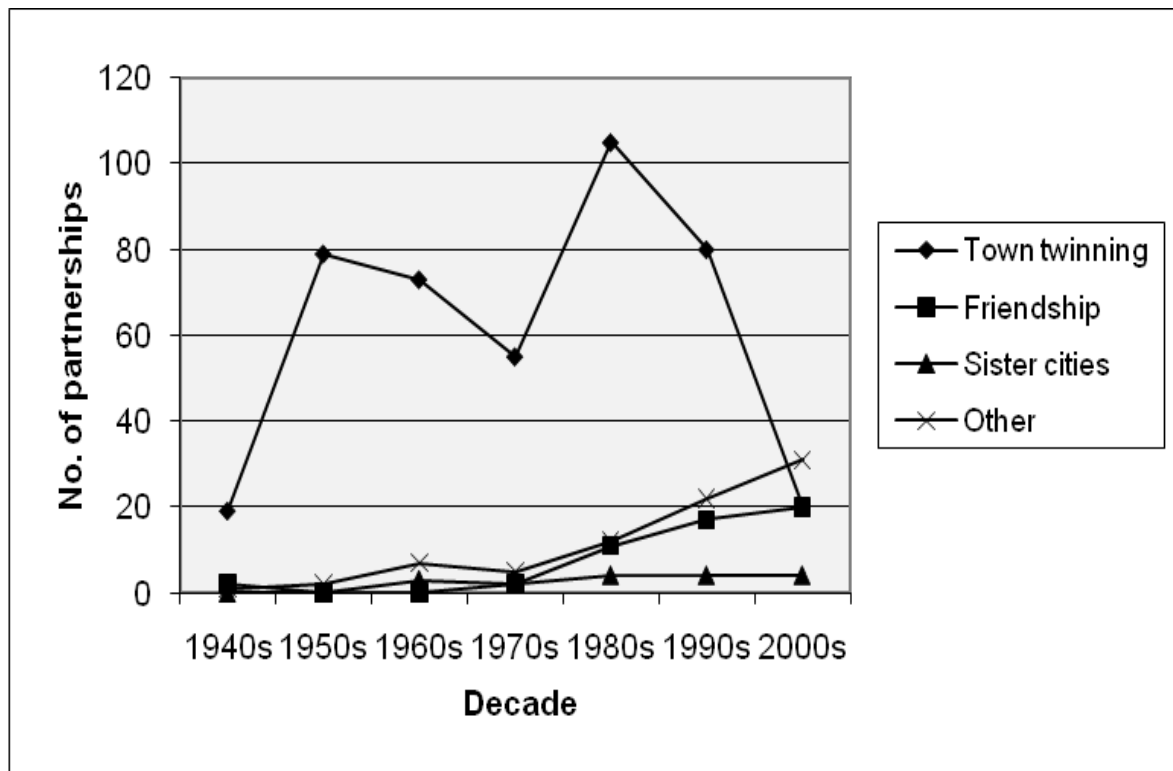


Table 1: Interurban partnerships involving members of the United Kingdom One

World Linking Association

<i>Northern partner</i>	<i>Southern partner</i>
Amesbury	Esabulu (Kenya)
Bristol	Beira (Mozambique)
Bristol	Puerto Morazan (Nicaragua)
Chesterfield	Tsumeb (Namibia)
Daventry	Iganga (Uganda)
Exeter	Hareto (Ethiopia)
Garstang	New Koforidua (Ghana)
Guildford	Mukono (Uganda)
Leicester	Masaya (Nicaragua)
Marlborough	Gunjur (Gambia)
Pontypridd	Mbale (Uganda)
Redditch	Mtwara (Tanzania)
Stevenage	Kadoma (Zimbabwe)
Warwick	Bo (Sierra Leone)

Source: UKOWLA, February 2008

Table 2: Partnerships involving British local authorities and funded by the Commonwealth Local Government Forum Good Practice Scheme

<i>British partner</i>	<i>Overseas partner</i>
Birmingham	Vadodara (India)
Birmingham	Aurangabad (India)
Cannock Chase	Portmore (Jamaica)
Cardiff	Cochin (India)
Cardiff	Vadodara (India)
Glasgow	Amathole (South Africa)
Greenwich	Tema (Ghana)
Hammersmith and Fulham	Wasa Amenfi (Ghana)
Hammersmith and Fulham	Surat (India)
Hampshire	Upper Denkirya (Ghana)
Hull	Freetown (Sierra Leone)
Kent	Mfantseman (Ghana)
Leeds	St Mary (Jamaica)
Leeds	eThekweni (South Africa)
Leicester	Rajkot (India)
Lewisham	Ekurhuleni (South Africa)
Lewisham	Kingston (Jamaica)
Lisburn	Swellendam (South Africa)
Oxfordshire	Nkonkobe (South Africa)
Staffordshire	Nadiad (India)
Staffordshire Moorlands	Clarendon (Jamaica)

Sunderland	Mbombela (South Africa)
Warwickshire	Bo and Makeni (Sierra Leone)

Source: CLGF, December 2009