

There is no doubt that *The Korean State and Social Policy* moves our understanding of Korean success forward by going beyond the one-sided view of early economic-policy-driven development proposed by the state-business account. Especially because of the book's arguments about 'mixed governance' and 'social-policy analysis of an authoritarian regime', it should be regarded as a must-read for those interested in democratic transition and consolidation, the nature of authoritarian governance, social policy development, and state analysis.

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Notes

¹ This approach traces the extent of welfare state protection to left parties and the labour organisation.

² This approach focuses on employers' preferences and complementarities between production system, political institution, and welfare structure.

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- Nico van der Heiden: *Urban Foreign Policy and Domestic Dilemmas: Insights from Swiss and EU City-Regions***
Colchester 2010: ECPR Press, 213 pp.

Urban Foreign Policy and Domestic Dilemmas, a monograph published as part of the European Consortium for Political Research Press (ECPR) series, presents Nico van der Heiden's doctoral dissertation from the University of Zurich. Its main thesis asserts that city-regions have gained economic and political power in the process of globalisation and they have used this power to develop their own international activities. Van der Heiden's research seeks to investigate the factors that account for the intensity and the orientation of these international activities of city-regions. Building primarily on literatures in the field of political science (rescaling theory and varieties of capitalism inform his theoretical approach), this book, through its rich empirical basis, should also be of interest to scholars in related fields, most notably urban studies.

The book opens with a brief introduction, after which it is divided into a theoretical (Chapter 1) and an empirical part (Chapters 2, 3 and 4). Although the author suggests these can be read independently

of one another (using the valuable overview and summary paragraphs at the end of each section), I find that the contribution of this work lies exactly there, where abstract theories of scale get articulated in the city-regions' particular international activities. The book works best when read as a whole, and readers less interested in either a theoretical model of urban foreign policy or the details of five Swiss city regions, Lyon and Stuttgart, should look elsewhere.

The theoretical section is framed around two central questions, each drawing on a distinct body of literature. The first question can be summarised as 'why are cities participating in international urban networks and why is this increasing over time?' The few examples of such networks described in Chapter 2 (such as Climate Alliance—Cities for a Liberal Environmental Policy; OWHC—Cities with a World Heritage; UCP—Cities Fighting Poverty; Les Rencontres—Cities Cooperating on Cultural Policy) are arguably new forms of connectivity between city-regions, and—of greater interest to the scalar literature—examples of a new layer in a global urban system. The author builds primarily on the rescaling literature (drawing heavily on Jessop, Castells, Brenner, Swyngedouw and others) in order to make the argument that the more open landscape of economic competition that resulted from changes in world trade and the dismantling of Fordist production systems since the 1970s, has led to the so-called 'downloading' of responsibilities and spatial planning activities to regions and city-regions. Reading van der Heiden's work as an economic geographer, a field in which agglomeration economies and the spatial unit of the region are awarded great importance, I felt this book suggests there is great potential for engagement between these bodies of literature. Although van der Heiden's work focuses primarily on the consequences of 'glocalisation' for the activities of cities (their 'agglomeration communities' are treated as

separate and somewhat disconnected units in the practice of international urban networking), its implications could well inform future work on the boundary between geography and political science.

The second question driving the research presented in this book asks why participation in international urban networks takes different forms in different city-regions. Although the author demonstrates a great appreciation for rescaling theory, he argues strongly for a more nuanced understanding of how this translates into real on-the-ground urban policy activities. 'Rescaling theory is a macro approach to statehood that provides broad overviews of current general scalar trends and shifts in multi-level governance settings . . . to explain differences between the international activities of city-regions is therefore hardly possible.' (p. 17) The complement or solution he proposes is rooted in what he calls a meso-level approach, building on the literature on varieties of capitalism. Drawing primarily on scholars such as Hollingsworth and Hall and Soskice, van der Heiden seeks to explain the variety of city-regions' participation in international networks by linking these activities to their economic or industrial profile. Although the application of the varieties of capitalism approach at a sub-national scale is an ambitious project, the underlying aim is an intriguing one and of critical importance in today's policy environment, where strategies and initiatives are believed to transfer seamlessly between very different urban contexts.

The empirical portion of the book rests on expert interview-based case studies of seven city-regions: five in Switzerland (Berne, Geneva, Lausanne, Lucerne, and Zurich) and two in EU countries (Stuttgart in Germany, and Lyon in France). The city regions range in size, from Lucerne with less than 200 000 inhabitants to Zurich with more than 1 million and Lyon with 1.2 million. They also vary greatly in terms of industrial profile, including for example

Lausanne's focus on sports administration and Geneva's concentration of NGOs and IGOs. Although the cases are presented in sequence, they are designed to yield comparative insights with respect to governance relations—in contrast to Lyon and Stuttgart, the five Swiss city-regions lack regional institutions in the form of metropolitan governance as well as direct relations with the EU. Each case description provides some background, a list of its international activities and an interpretation of how these activities relate to the city-region's economic and political functions. Switching to the governance lens for the latter half of each case description, van der Heiden discusses the role of the mayor and parliament within each of the city-regions, and relations between the city-region and its agglomeration communities (horizontal), the federal state, and the EU (vertical).

In the remainder of this review I will focus on two central contributions of *Urban Foreign Policy and Domestic Dilemmas* that will be of interest to scholars working on urban governance and globalisation. One of the most important findings in van der Heiden's work, is that city-regions' international activities focus overwhelmingly on non-competitiveness-oriented networks. In other words, the aim of participating in these city networks is learning and cooperation. Van der Heiden describes a series of shifts in city-regions' strategy for its partnerships, away from traditional friendly exchange meetings between politicians, and towards economic and project-based cooperation schemes (for example, to establish economic links with developing countries). More recently however, the goals of city networks appear more focused on policy learning, and the exchange of knowledge about access to EU funding. A few networks operate in the same policy domain (historic preservation or environmental politics for example) resulting in a competition for member cities. A broader membership base not only creates more

revenue but also gives the network greater legitimacy. This fine interplay between competition and cooperation within and between city networks, appears to be a recurring theme in the book, and one to build on in future research. Most importantly, city-regions do not tend to cooperate on economic matters. The goal of policy learning is problematic when city-regions are expected to provide information on their best practices in policy arenas in which they directly compete with other city-regions in the network. In other words, 'cooperation is most difficult when competition is highest' (p. 143).

The second important contribution is the book's questioning of the balance between foreign policy and domestic concerns. Given that city-regions increasingly participate in international urban networks, what are the consequences for domestic social cohesion? Are local political logics in conflict with economic ones? What are the factors that determine the shape urban policy eventually takes? Although van der Heiden does not answer these questions explicitly in this monograph, his in-depth studies of seven city-regions suggest fruitful avenues forward. Most notably, he highlights the critical importance of political leadership in the decision-making process concerning a city-region's international activities, particularly in the form of the mayor and his or her political affiliation. One of the most vivid examples is Lausanne's strong engagement in international environmental networks and its investment in establishing a new network of sustainable city-regions (IFGRA). As van der Heiden describes: 'Lausanne tries to earn a label as a sustainable city, which is not surprising, considering that the mayor of Lausanne belongs to the Green party. The label of a sustainable city is seen as an important locational factor because a green city is attractive for residents.' (p. 68) The 'dilemma', however, between foreign policy and domestic concerns is sometimes difficult to

resolve. Although policy-makers see the city-region's international activities as extremely important, they fear the (local) voter's non-acceptance. A similar balance must be maintained between economic and social goals. One of the five hypotheses that frames the comparative section of the book states that city-regions act on an international level according to their specific economic needs (p. 22), rather than focusing on questions of (local) social cohesion. In other words, in these seven case studies, do actors at the city-region level perceive international activities as part of a larger strategy that aligns with their local system of production? Van der Heiden's conclusion is tentative on this matter: on the one hand, international activities of city-regions are 'not per se devoted to questions of economic competitiveness' (p. 140), and the empirical analysis illustrates 'it is wrong to assume a general and coherent path towards neoliberal policy-making on the urban level' (p. 141). On the other hand, although 'the content of networking itself is hardly oriented towards competitiveness, the strategy behind networking is clearly linked to competitiveness goals' (p. 152). Similar dilemmas, between foreign and domestic concerns, and between a city-region's social well-being and economic prosperity, are also explored in other bodies of literature, one example being the vibrant debates around creative cities. Future comparative work in this area, including perhaps the identification of a set of 'best practices' that achieve a balance between articulated social and economic goals, would be timely and interesting in international perspective.

The book closes with a general summary, and in so doing it re-states the central conundrum inherent to the new forms of interurban networking: 'city-regions try to increase their relative competitiveness towards other city-regions by cooperating with them' (p. 180). Although the nature of city-region's international activities are

more complicated as demonstrated by the rich empirical detail in the book, this 'illogical' goal merits further investigation in political science and urban studies. The book highlights the complexity of scalar relations: city-regions, through their international activities, have not gained influence 'against' the national scale. International urban networks should therefore be seen as a new spatial layer, not one that replaces the nation state. City networks are increasing in size and number all over Europe, and city-regions' urban policy will continue to strike their own balance between foreign and domestic concerns, and between economic and social agendas. Van der Heiden's intensive study of Swiss regions therefore makes a valuable, insightful and timely contribution to the field.

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Peter Hanns Reill and Balázs A. Szelényi (eds.): *Cores, Peripheries, and Globalization: Essays in Honor of Ivan T. Berend*

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This edited volume brings together a number of prominent historians to investigate the nature of relations between developed areas or nations and those that are under-developed or emerging. The editors invited scholars with an impressive record of research on various aspects of development to reflect on the concepts of core and periphery in order to forge new analytical tools to investigate the history of globalisation. This collection makes a very attractive promise: to account for the essential dynamics between metropolitan areas and their peripheries by going beyond the two master narratives of neoliberalism and dependency theory.