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Analysing the 'Global City'
Meanings, evolution and challenges

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Abstract

To be a global city has become the aim of many cities around the world. This dissertation focuses on understanding the literature that created the global city idea and discusses the implementation. The aim is to find a concept of global city and possible gaps inside the literature. In order to achieve this, an analysis is proposed of this terminology. The 'global city' is broken down into several meanings for different disciplines, for different practices and in different perspectives. The construction and evolution of the global city theory are also studied. Main authors like Friedmann, Sassen, and Taylor are investigated deeper and the way that such a theory has been used currently is observed as well. The analysis proposed has confirmed the existence of several gaps in global city literature. A partial and westernized vision, based on empirical research in a few wealthy cities is one of these gaps. The lack of good data about cities in the global cities research is another. The exaggerated importance of global cities rankings, due to their oversimplified outputs, is also confirmed. The existence of a simplified model made for the diffusion of the global city idea in other cities is another finding. Yet another gap is the little political comprehension of the global cities by the researches produced. This dissertation confirmed the lack of a clear conceptualization of the global city. Due to this, it was also possible to observe how different disciplines are using and being used by global cities. In the considerations about global cities theory in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro it is possible to confirm some of these failures observed in the literature. To fill these gaps it is urgent that multidisciplinary approaches definitively enter into the global city theory. The incorporation of the current criticism in the research agenda is also necessary. The incorporation of a not addressed topic for global city studies: urban environment needs to be considered too.

Key words: global city, global city theory, Saskia Sassen

Riassunto

Essere una città globale" è diventata l'obiettivo di molte città di tutto il mondo. Questa tesi si focalizza sul capire la letteratura che ha creato l'idea di città globale e discute della sua implementazione . L'obiettivo è quello di trovare un concetto di città globale e le possibili lacune all'interno della letteratura. Per raggiungere questo obiettivo, l'analisi si propone di questa terminologia. Il concetto di "Città globale" ha diversi significati per diverse discipline, per le diverse pratiche e per le diverse prospettive nei quali è inteso tale termine. La costruzione e l'evoluzione sulla teoria inerente la città globale sono anche state studiate in modo approfondito. Gli autori principali come Friedmann, Sassen, e Taylor hanno investigato nel profondo I modi di tale teoria e di come essa è correntemente osservata. L'analisi proposta ha confermato l'esistenza di diverse lacune nella letteratura sulla città globale. Una visione parziale e occidentalizzata, basata sulla ricerca empirica in alcune città ricche è una di queste lacune. Altra lacuna è la mancanza di buoni dati sulle città prese ad esempio nello studio sulla città globale. E' stata confermata anche un'importanza esagerata della classifica mondiale delle città riguardo ai risultati che hanno prodotto. L'esistenza di un modello semplificato fatto per la diffusione dell'idea di città globale in altre città è un'altra constatazione. Ancora un altro gap che risulta dalle ricerche è la poca comprensione politica delle città globali. Questa tesi ha confermato la mancanza di una chiara concettualizzazione della città globale. A causa di questo, è stato anche possibile osservare come le diverse discipline utilizzino e siano utilizzate dalla città globali. Nelle considerazioni sulla teoria globale delle città di São Paulo e Rio de Janeiro, è possibile confermare alcuni di questi fallimenti osservati nella letteratura. Per colmare queste lacune è urgente che gli approcci multidisciplinari entrino definitivamente nella teoria sulla città globale. E' necessario infine l'incorporazione delle critiche correnti nel programma di ricerca. L'inserimento di un tema senza un indirizzo preciso per gli studi di città globale: l'ambiente urbano, deve essere considerato troppo.

Parole chiave: città globale, teoria della città globale, Saskia Sassen

1. Introduction

1.1. Motivation

The term 'global city' is widely used. It is often bantered about as if everyone intuitively knows what it is. A 'global city' automatically reminds one of city landscapes in London, New York, Singapore or Dubai. It is quickly connected to images of skyscrapers of glass and steel, lots of people in a business center, sophisticated airports, hi-tech concert halls, outstanding museums, luxury hotels, and fancy restaurants. It bestows an idea of an urban place that is contemporary, international, multicultural, 'wired', cosmopolitan, polarizing, and having geographically boundless power (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 23). These images are present inside discussions among global city researchers, architects, economists, geographers, planners, sociologists, mayors, politicians, investors, journalist and population. However these discussions are never exactly the same. Each discipline has some differences in focus or perception of the same phenomenon.

The concept of a 'global city' has been largely used in different social and disciplinary contexts. Architects design museums thinking about global flows of tourists and about the other museums present in top global cities. Even if not clearly stated, architects have been influenced by the architecture of global cities. Developers think about fostering a global city image to compete in the global real estate market. Geographers explain several phenomena in the urban space using the global city theory. Economists think about flows of investments and goods having the global cities as key points, gateways for these flows. CEOs of international companies always have in mind the power of global cities in order to decide the next location for their headquarters. Few of these disciplines discuss the creation and the validity of such concept.

Influenced by all this discourse, mayors have aimed to transform, as much as possible, their cities in global cities. They put large amounts of public money in this strategy. Metropolises like Shanghai and Manila, for example, are aggressively seeking to become global cities by improving their infrastructure, by expanding their Central Business Districts, and by promoting rapid development in the finance, insurance, and real estate sector (PIZARRO, WEI, BANERJEE; 2003, page 116). In developed countries, business and governmental leaders of large cities typically aspire to reach the global city status (FAINSTEIN, 2006, page 112). Not only in developed countries. Every substantial city nowadays aspires to a world role, at least in some specialty (SIMON, 2006, page 207). This is a critical aspect.

Despite all the different disciplines and professionals talking about global cities and their different perceptions, they all share a single master narrative 'intense urban competition for a share in global market' (FRIEDMANN, 2002, page XII). Sassen, for example, supports a better look at these strategies: 'foreign firms have profoundly marked the urban landscape, and their claim to the city is not contested, even though the costs and benefits to cities have barely been examined' (SASSEN, 2006, page 87). Robinson argues: 'to aim to be a 'global city' following strict formulas may well be the ruin of most of these cities' (ROBINSON, 2006, page 220).

The lack of a robust theoretical construction of the global city theory may help to explain the utilization of some of its ideas without wider consideration about its consequences. The literature fails to produce a common identity for setting the global city apart empirically and in analysing policy issues related to it (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 3). There is little evidence of consensus in perspectives or analytical content in global city theory. This has given room for different actors to use the concept according to their interests, especially economic ones. Academic discourse about cities picked up on diversity but it became economic dominated (FRIEDMANN, 2002, pageXI).

This dissertation will show and try to understand these theoretical gaps. Some of these gaps are explicitly perceived by some authors, like the decision of Sassen to not address political issues in her studies: her 'focus is on production not power' (SASSEN, 2001, page 6). Others topics are surprisingly not regularly addressed, like for example the real estate market that is considered by Haila a 'neglected builder' of the global cities (HAILA, 2006, page 283). Others themes are intentionally hidden like the 'dirty little secret' of the lack of reliable urban data in global cities studies demonstrated by Short (SHORT, 2004, page 53).

Global city research has been carried out within segregated paradigms of scholarly tradition which remain largely uninformed by each other work (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 23). This dissertation will try to join some of these concepts. It will use visions of different disciplines to understand the misinterpretations, the doubts, and uncertainties of this theory. Few appear to acknowledge the global city as an interrelated complex system (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 4). This dissertation tries to respond to such necessity.

1.2. The organization of the dissertation

Following this introduction, will be a chapter explaining the methodology used. The other nine chapters address specific aspects of the meaning of global cities. Roughly, they can be understood as four main parts. Four chapters, from three to six, discuss conceptual issues of the theory about global cities: the evolution of this concept, a problem in this theory, how such

a concept has been diffused, and how it has been simplified in numbers to be used in a different way. Three other chapters, from seven to nine, discuss the influence of global cities in three different but related areas: architecture, urban planning, and the real estate market. Two other chapters, ten and eleven, discuss political issues in the global cities: discourse and political choice. The last part is composed only by chapter twelve, addressing some considerations about the global cities concept applied in two cities. The dissertation will be wrapped up with a conclusion and the bibliography.

Chapter two, methodology, will present two aspects. Initially, the kind of dissertation being proposed is explained. After, the strategy for addressing the global city is detailed. As the global city is full of different meanings and perceptions of different disciplines and practices inside the same term, an analysis was done. The aim was to break down the different interpretations of what a global city is and study these different concepts.

Chapter three, about the evolution of the global city theory, explains the path in which such a theory has developed. Studying this evolution will help to make clear the influence it had on the current difficulties for having a consensual definition about global cities. It will also present the main authors and their influence on the understanding of global cities. King remembers that 'no theory develops in a vacuum, researches need to be grounded in data collection, informed by hypothesis and theory, utilized to suggest new frameworks, theories, problems, and solutions' (KING, 2006, page 2002). The evolution of a theme helps to explain the theme itself, especially in social sciences.

Chapter four, about the global myth, is polemical. It supports that the global city theory is partial, because it is focused on westernized, rich countries' standards and because it uses as object of detailed empirical studies, a few cities on the top of the global city rankings. As Boschken observes, no theory exists without considerable questions of relevancy and empirical authenticity (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 4). For most of the population of the earth, the relevancy of the global city theory is uncertain.

Chapter five explains how this model, unfeasible in most of the cities in the world and with a weak theory supporting it, was diffused. First, it shows how it was built, under a process of simplification. Then, the actors and tools used to transmit this model are explained.

Chapter six is about the global cities rankings. They are widely known and used, despite the fact that their data and theoretical foundations are not precise. They actually work mainly at encouraging competition between cities. There are also some considerations about a better use of global city rankings.

Chapter seven, about urban planning, discusses the difficulties that planners find working under globalization processes in cities. It addresses the global city as a planning issue. It also

discusses the weakness of the theory in urban planning and how this leads to the use of planning as a way to justify global city implementation.

Chapter eight is about architecture. It follows the approach of King, who sees the built environment, in all its various conceptualizations, as both a product of and as a major resource for understanding these global processes (KING, 2006, page 202). The chapter discusses the evolution of architecture and the role of the economic forces driving it. It also addresses the rise of urban icons, of the importance of famous architects and the use of architecture to produce spectacular images. As an example, summarizing these concepts, the rebirth of the skyscraper is used.

Chapter nine brings to the arena the 'neglected builder' of the global city, the real estate market. In this topic, the global city economy can be visualized in a physical way. The chapter explains how it works and uses the cities. How they are prepared, announced and sold as products for global investors.

Chapter ten analyses the political discourse of global cities. It visualizes the city as a coherent space of abstract financial process and consumption (ZUKIN, 2006, page 143). It is coherent but complex. Due to this, the notions of justice and rationality are detailed. The role of politics in determining the global cities is stressed.

Chapter eleven discusses several cities in the world, with different traditions and history. It stresses that global cities are consciously built. It is a political choice to accept this phenomenon. Size, geographic location and economic power are important, however, as the chapter supports, without political approval, cities can hardly become global.

In chapter twelve, some considerations will be made regarding two Brazilian cities: São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Some examples of practices and visions in these cities will be briefly exposed. They will not be complete study cases. The methodologies proposed by Taylor for determining global cities through indicators and rankings will not be used, for example. Some topics discussed in the dissertation will be shown, like political struggles and real estate market influence, in order to exemplify them in a real case.

Finally, the conclusion, in chapter thirteen, summarizes the topics previously discussed and shows some of the suggestions of different authors to solve the gaps observed. It points out also the possibilities of further studies about global cities, stressing other subjects not discussed in this dissertation that can be the object of other works.

King argues that, 'urban phenomena can only be adequately understood by treating them as part of a larger world-system, of economy, society, and culture, of which they are integral part' (KING, 2006, page 202). This dissertation tries to understand all these chapters as describing a complex but interrelated process. This makes the study of global city a challenging

task but also one that is quite motivating. It has a "dark side' (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 251), 'black holes' and a 'secret' (SHORT, 2004, page 30). It has controversy, multidisciplinarity, politics, and justice. It works with images, numbers, schemes, experiences, discourses, emotion. It influences cities all around the world.

2. Methodology

2.1. Introduction

A clear methodology is something very important for any study. Explaining the tools, the object of study, the context and the aims is very useful, making it clear is as important as having it. This makes the analysis, comparison, and classification easier and provides a better comprehension of the dissertation. Exposing the reasons of the methodological decisions is interesting for further studies that can be based on this one or eventual corrections that may be necessary. Some authors strongly criticize the lack of an authentic urban planning theory (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 146, CHOAY, 1997, page 256). This work is a small attempt for better understanding the literature about global cities. This chapter will discuss the kind of thesis it is proposed, the way it is organized, and the reasons for these decisions. After, it explains and justifies some practical decisions. Finally, it shows some limitations and constraints of this study.

This dissertation is, using the definition of the Italian professor Umberto Eco, a 'panoramic study'. It is not a monographic one (ECO, 2006, page 7). It talks about a concept in a very wide scope and it opens it up even more, considering the different meanings it can have. According to Eco, this is a very risky strategy. Studies like this have the tendency to lose the point, to be superficial. In this kind of approach, some fundamental authors may be forgotten and others less important may be overrepresented. However, in my opinion, this kind of panoramic view is quite necessary for studying global cities. It is a subject strongly related to so many disciplines; it is a subject that can be seen through so different lens; that this kind of approach becomes necessary.

My objects of study are ideas rather than the global cities in a physical sense. Cities are the *locus* of the implementation of such ideas. Buildings, architects, plans, data, images are part of this. However, books, authors, publications and their discourses, concepts and terms, are the main scope of this dissertation. Like in the book of Choay, The Rule and the Model, in this dissertation, the 'object of study belongs to the order of the text'. Like in her book, it will address 'space and the city as they have been written' (CHOAY, 1997, page 1), and also as they have been used, commented, advertised, and described. This will be done by focusing on the idea of the 'Global City'.

Discussing theory is potentially difficult. Architects are more used to act rather than to see, or to observe and create theory (KOOLHAS, 2007, page 320). However it pays. The power of ideas is outstanding. Single projects can influence others, become paradigmatic, otherwise,

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most of the time, they are only one project. They generally change the life of their users and influence closer neighbors. Ideas are much more powerful, they may influence several projects. That is why theory is so important. Choay talked about this relation between theory and practice. She points out the difference between practitioners and texts commentators. The first do not need further explanations, the second, according to her, works for 'favor imagination, passion or reflection'. They 'change the perception of space, shift meanings, motivate' (CHOAY, 1997, page 15). My aim is motivate a reflection about the 'Global City', understand the meaning inside this idea, occasionally shift the preconceived meanings people may have and also change the perception of space, showing the disputes that are represented there.

Finally, to finish this introductory part, it may be useful to make some clarifications. In order to avoid false expectations, it is important to explain what will not be addressed or what kind of approach will not be used. This dissertation will not talk about the global city network, and not about its dynamics. I will not use the classifications proposed by Sassen and Friedmann and currently, largely produced by Taylor. I will not create a pattern of analysis nor try to insert some cities in the existing rankings. There are already several studies using these tools. Cities have been classified, ranked and evaluated for a long time. This dissertation will, rather, talk about the way cities are influenced by these relations, by these classifications, and by this theory. This study works on another level. It will look for deeper reflections, for the real reasons of these classifications and the way it has been used by different actors.

2.2. The analysis

The title of this study is the first piece of information that may help to explain the methodology used in this dissertation: Analysing the 'Global City'. Initially, what is an analysis? The dictionary is resourceful to clarify this. The synonyms are first, 'break down' and second, 'explicate' (Merrian Webster, 2010). Both describe very well the aims of this master dissertation. The first is interesting because one of the main aspects of this study is to break down the several meanings and utilizations of the 'Global City' idea by different actors. It can be a product, a concept, a model, a discourse, a theory, etc. This dissertation proposes this analysis, to break down each of the pieces and detail in each chapter. The second synonym presented is also quite relevant as to make clearer, understand reasons, and "explain" what is a 'Global City' is a goal as well.

The meanings of the word analysis also help to explain the work proposed. The first definition is 'to separate (a material or abstract entity) into constituent parts or elements;

determine the elements or essential features of something'. This definition matches exactly with the objectives of this dissertation. To separate an abstract entity, the 'Global City', into constituent parts, like for example, the meaning for architecture, the motivation for political discourses, the object of classification by rankings, etc. The second definition: 'to examine critically, so as to bring out the essential elements or give the essence of' is interesting because it talks about critical examination. The chapters that are also the constituent parts of the 'Global City' were not only separated but they were also critically discussed. A third definition: 'to examine carefully and in detail so as to identify causes, key factors, possible results' fits well too. It is very similar to the second one, it only describes better, in other words, what is the critical examination. It talks about causes, key factors and results, exactly the way the chapters work. Consequently this dissertation not only has a title with the word analysing but it is effectively an analysis.

What is analysed?, the 'Global City' is the obvious answer but what global city, in which sense? No specific city will be studied. The aim is to understand the global city as a concept in all the senses each of the chapters proposes. As discussed before, the objects of study are the texts, the concepts, the theories about the 'Global City'.

Sassen said that her classic book, The Global City was written to 'unpack the concept of the city and re-present it in terms of specific presence/data and dynamics' (SASSEN, 2001, page XVIII). She continues arguing that "the activity of naming these elements is part of the conceptual work" (SASSEN, 2001, page XIX). The aim of this dissertation, as much as possible, is to unpack the concept of the Global City, that she helped building, and show its different parts. The goal is to understand these names and classifications, proposed and used not only by Sassen and other authors but also by different actors like politicians, investors, and researchers from several disciplines.

2.3. The dissertation

This study tries to address some topics widely discussed, like the architecture of global cities or cities rankings, with some other not so common in the global city theory like justice and the real estate market influence. Due to this decision, subjects were not addressed in depth or in the two cities analyzed. The two Brazilian cities are used as tests rather than complete study cases. I do not use any specific methodology or pattern of analysis. They are mainly the object of some consideration about the presence of the global cities model influence.

In a first view this study can be seen as a mere collage of authors. However, the organization of the ideas, the decision of which topic address, the way they are interpreted are original contributions of this dissertation. Other point to be stressed is the large number of citations. It was a desired aim. As much as possible, this dissertation tries to base the reasoning in more experienced authors.

This study will not contain charts, images, schemes or graphics. The strongest reason for this is a symbolical one. Most of the literature and the discourse about the global cities are full of these graphic resources. The aim of this dissertation is to be different, to stress this position; it is useful to not use the same tools. Global city theory is full of rankings and schemes. Urban planning projects generally use lots of images of the primary global cities in the world as references. The architecture of global cities is full of 3D renders or photomontages. Economical reports are plenty of numbers in charts and graphics. Due to this, this work will, as much as possible, avoid this strategy in order to mark a position: the necessity of more theory in the global city research.

2.4. Limitations and constraints

Each of the chapters and subjects has their own large literature base. Due to this, this master dissertation needs to be understood much more as a starting point for further studies either for the author or for the ones who will read it. It is not a final product *per se*. For this reason, all the citations are easy to check because they are all together with the book and page. Sometimes, the discussion goes deeper into some authors, some concepts, some disciplines or even some cities, like in the two cities that are analysed. Otherwise, the aim is to understand the 'Global City' idea and the variety of uses and meanings it may have. The risk of omissions of some authors is a typical danger of panoramic thesis like this one (ECO, 2006, page 7). However, it is a calculated risk.

Even if I had read all the material I would like to, it would be impossible in just one master's thesis to talk about all the aspects of global city theory. A collection of books would not be enough due to the range of possibilities of approaches in this field. So, my aim is to understand the genesis of this theory, the most important authors and works, how it is so present in our cities nowadays. It is also my aim to understand how different disciplines and professional fields, like architecture and urban planning, are influenced by this theory, even if it is not a clear influence. My contribution looks to partially start filling some of the theoretical gaps I identified and confirm some point of views of some authors. It is also, in my opinion, an interesting attempt to discuss theory.

Especially in the master level, the discussion of theory is not so common. The urban planning field as a whole is not so committed with theory. The analysis of other plans, the learning by doing approach, the tradition of borrowing from other fields tools and methods, all together help to end for not encouraging the development of urban planning theory. During undergraduate studies and most of the master level studies, students had the opportunity to propose physical interventions, to apply theories in urban design studios. However, the master thesis is, in my opinion, the right time to think in a broader perspective, a chance to start questioning the reasoning of such theories.

This dissertation, in my opinion, can be useful for individuals desiring to have a wider understanding of the 'Global City'. It shows, for example, how Sassen's works were strongly based on Friedmann's hypothesis. It also shows other points of view completely different from hers. This dissertation can be helpful to individuals looking for some specific aspects, some overlaps areas of the global city concept with other subjects. As an example the idea of justice, the real estate market influence and the relation with urban planning as a discipline can be pointed.

Finally, it is interesting a Brazilian write about globalization. The Brazilian cities are under a process of strong globalization. The dream of several cities in the country is to become a Global City. We do not have a long tradition of Brazilian researchers to effectively challenge this influence. The important geographer Milton Santos, the only Brazilian cited in the classic book of Sassen, is an exception much more than a rule of good thinkers about the urban space. We have some tradition in good practices in the urban planning field, like those proposed by Jaime Lerner in Curitiba, or the participatory budget in Porto Alegre. However, few theoretical studies were done by Brazilians about global cities and even these few studies were rarely made in English. This dissertation humbly aims to start understanding these gaps.

3. Global city as a theory: the global cities research evolution

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to confirm the difficulties for conceptualizing global cities. The use of such term is spread in several circles of debate. Not only urban planning theorists and the specific global cities researchers but also politicians, businessmen, journalists, and architects frequently use such terminology. The media, in general, frequently uses it also. Cities became integral to understanding potentially epochal changes; in which globalization is the key macro-social process (TAYLOR, 2008). The 'Global city' is exactly the interplay between globalization and urban development (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 9)

The terms 'global city' and 'global cities' are now widely-accepted and widely-cited, having become an ubiquitous feature of academic writing on globalization, urban studies and the global economy (JONES, 2002, page 3). It became, what Robinson called, a 'fashionable approach' (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218). Due to this, some questions need to be considered. The first one is if there is a clear definition for global cities. Another question to help situate and better understand this concept is regarding its evolution. How has the concept evolved, based on which previous theories? Who were the most important authors and what were their specific approaches?

3.2. Difficulties for definitions of global cities

There is not a definitive definition of what a global city is currently. There are some common characteristics that regularly come to mind when someone talks about them. Cosmopolitan, strong financial centers, l businessmen, power, international architecture, big airports, spectacular museums, and flows of tourists are images that generally are linked to global cities. Not only physical and aesthetic aspects but also economic and political stability and cultural life (SIMON, 2006, page 207) are understood as features of global cities. Using these images, the idea of the global city is now firmly embedded in policy discourses concerned with urban planning, regional and national economies (JONES, 2002, page 3).

Trying to discuss the definitions and nature of world cities (the previous concept from which global cities were created), Simon, for example, just lists three generic prerequisites for achieving world city status. The first is a sophisticated, internationally driven financial and service complex, the second is to have a hub of international networks of capital and information and the third is to present quality of life, attracting skilled international migrants

(SIMON, 2006, page 204). There is no theoretical consolidated definition. What being a global city means is a matter of controversy (FRUG, 200, page 303).

Taylor, for example, made a list of 50 descriptions of 'inter-city relations under conditions of contemporary globalization' (TAYLOR, 2008). In such list, the global cities, together with other similar concepts, are present. Sassen, the most influential researcher about global cities, admitted the existence of several similar concepts (SASSEN, 2001, page 349). Confounding a collective understanding of the global city is a plethora of similar-sounding terms including 'international city', 'world city', 'weltstadt', and 'mega-city' (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 3). This leads, several times, to a misuse of the concept (MARCUSE, 2006, page 365). There is still a plethora of terminology and disparity in perspectives (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 4)

This confusion is not a particularity of the media, politicians or society in general. Inside the discussions of global city researchers, there is no certainty about clear definitions. The global city 'thesis' has become a central tenet of contemporary urban studies (JONES, 2002, page 3). The development of a large and vibrant world cities literature is evident (TAYLOR, 2008) although it has not produced a solid conceptualization for the global city phenomenon. For a long time, research on global cities has stumbled over the inability to demonstrate clear conceptual and empirical distinctions about what constitutes a global city (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 23). The crisis in the lack of data for research is partially related to conceptual confusion (TAYLOR, 2008). Even though 'these competing terms and disparate perspectives may be viewed as individual anatomic parts of an integrated whole, they seldom form a collective understanding' (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 4).

Even some basic theoretical approaches and empirical research are still questioned. Tokyo, considered by Sassen`s studies as one of three best examples of a global city, according to James W. White, has low levels of foreign investments, few foreign migrants and lack global command functions, consequently, 'it cannot be considered a global city, at all' (SMITH, M. P.; 1998, page 484). These contradictory perceptions show at least some problems in the premises utilized. Robinson, for example, makes a critique at the epistemological core of the theory itself. He supports the entire conceptual apparatus of global city theory as problematic insofar as it is grounded upon basically static, decontextualized categorizations and typologies. (BRENNER, NEIL; 2006; page 217)

Besides this unclear theoretical base, two main critiques are regularly addressed at global city theory. The first is that the research is too focused on economic issues. The model for explaining global cities is 'too economistic' (SMITH, M.P., 1998, page 484). Robinson says there is a 'strident economism' in accounts of global and world cities. He adds that elements of

urban theory have become transfixed with the apparent success and dynamism of certain stylish sectors of the global economy (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218).

The second is that global city theory is too concerned with classifications and the creation of hierarchies as final outputs. The global cities rankings have become an efficient and popular tool to disseminate the global city idea, alongside with images. They are built, as it will be discussed in a specific chapter of this dissertation, without deeper discussions about theoretical construction. However, these rankings are spread in magazines, internet, and media in general and are widely accepted as scientifically accurate. Due to this, they are the base of political discourses and public policies. In specialized literature, the discursive effectiveness of the global city hypothesis depends on the pithy identification of the global city (ROBINSON, 2006, page 219). The 'debate' around the global city thesis has taken the form of argument as to whether the global city concept is applicable to more than the few key centres than Sassen first suggested (JONES, 2002, page 4).

Surely there are intrinsic difficulties to a multidisciplinary task that is research about global cities. The urban field inherently crosses many social sciences and increasingly scientific disciplines even though little attempt at collating the research is evident (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 23). This and the other problems pointed out before are forming widely circulating approaches to contemporary urbanization like the global and world cities, that are not helping for the development of better tools of analysis and practices in our cities. They are actually only imposing substantial limitations on imagining or planning the futures of cities around the world (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218). What is surprising is that despite this criticism, there has been little critical engagement in the literature with the epistemological foundations of the 'global city' as a concept (JONES, 2002, page 3).

To comprehend better how this process has arrived to this point, the understanding of the evolution of the global city theory may be useful. In order to more easily visualize and study this evolution, it will be roughly split into three main phases. They can be understood also as three main authors. According to Taylor, two main authors have dominated this literature, Sassen and Friedmann. Taylor himself can also be put in this list.

Taylor said that the world cities literature developed in the 80´s and blossomed in the 90´s (TAYLOR, 2008). Going in the same direction, the first phase this dissertation proposes is the foundation of global cities studies with Friedmann in the eighties. The second is the research and production of Sassen, mainly in the nineties. The third is characterized by the studies of Taylor and some other critics of the global city theory mainframe during the 2000´s.

These phases are not chronologically accurate. The development of a new literature is never a straightforward process. Friedman wrote a book in 2006, Sassen is still giving lectures

and presenting papers about global cities and finally, Taylor has published a book in 1995 even if his main production has been made in the 2000´s with the creation of the GaWC Research Network.

There is always the basic question of what concepts and ideas are brought forwards from existing literatures on the subject (TAYLOR, 2008). These interactions between different authors and stages of development of the research will be addressed for understanding the evolution of the global city concept.

3.3. Antecedents and the foundational world city hypothesis of Friedmann

Despite the fact that Peter Hall attributed to Patrick Geddes, in the book *Cities in Evolution* (1915) the term 'world city' (HALL, 1966), Hall defined world cities in a very complete way. He did it in terms of their multiple roles: as centres of political power, both national and international, of the organizations related to government; as centres of national and international trade, acting as *entrepôts* for their countries and sometimes for neighboring countries also; hence, centres of banking, insurance and related financial services; centres of advanced professional activity of all kind (HALL, 1966).

In this definition, it is still possible to see a strong focus on national systems. Other authors like Hirschman, for example, also viewed the national economy as the basic unit. Cohen studies economic issues in world cities creating a multinational hierarchy (COHEN, 2006, page 55) and the 'seminal contributions of Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey' (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 7) were also important for the development of the studies of John Friedman.

The development of the model of the 'world systems theory' developed by Giovani Arrighi (1979) and Imannuel Wallerstein (1984, 1974), that criticized the state-focused and nationalist theories in the social sciences, proposing a more globalist and historical rooted understanding of capitalism (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 8; PIZARRO, WEI, BANERJEE; 2003, page 115) were the most influential antecedents of the world city hypothesis of Friedmann.

Friedmann provided a global vision for urban studies (TAYLOR, 2008). He interpreted the new international division of labor with the interaction of local and global issues. He stressed the interface of economic and life spaces, explaining that they reveal to the astute observer the true forces at work in the world city and the actual distribution of power (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 65). He used the tools of the world city analysis to create a hierarchy whose image came to dominate the literature (TAYLOR, 2008).

The 'World City Formation: an agenda for research and action', published in the International Journal of Urban and Regional Research in 1982 (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page

57) was, in my opinion, the starting point of the world city theory. His theory is similar in some points to that of Hall, but the larger focus in cities is decisively different. In his conception, the world city may be defined as an instrument for the control of production and market organization. The idea of the world cities as luxurious, splendid cities whose very splendor obscures the poverty on which their wealth is based, is also present in Hall`s definition. According to Friedmann, the economic space obeys the logic of capital because it is profit-motivated and individualized. These three points, command and control, cities as luxurious places and economic focus will be maintained by other authors like Sassen. However, Friedmann focused also on political issues. He posed that life space and economic space would interact in a way that new questions would emerge for the state, bringing multiple contradictions and difficult choices to be solved (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 65).

World-systems theories had been transferred to the analysis of cities with its categorizations like core, periphery and semi-periphery (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218). Friedmann had in mind a heuristic for the empirical study of world city formation in which form and strength of integration and spatial dominance were fundamental. However, he always observed something that currently is not perceived by some scholars: to label them is just a matter of convenience because at every instance it may change (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006; page 59).

He was also strongly engaged with research underlining his studies as part of a process. The world city 'approach' was, as he explained, a methodology, a point of departure, an initial hypothesis, a way of asking questions and of bringing foot loose facts into relation. He said that there was not an all-embracing theory of world city formation. According to some scholars, there is not yet a complete theory for world or global cities.

 Four years later, Friedmann had a more consolidated hypothesis which he called 'The World City Hypothesis', published in Development and Change (1986). His taxonomy has been subject to critique and reformulation, however at that time, it created a powerful hermeneutic (NEIL, BRENNER; 2006, page 67). He insisted his hypothesis was a framework for research, not a theory, not a universal generalization about cities, but a starting point for political enquiry (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 67).

He supported again the importance of economy for this process. The economic variable is likely to be 'decisive for all attempts at explanation', although it was not the only one to be considered. According to him, the contradictory relations between production in the era of global management and the political determination of territorial interests were important as well. The world city formation brings into focus the major contradictions of industrial

capitalism because cities used as 'basing points' by global capital (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 68).

This political question had its influence on the local level. He remembered that corporations were not only exempt from taxes, they were generously subsidized in a variety of other ways as well. Furthermore, world city growth already generates social costs like poor migration, polarization, housing, education, health, transportation and welfare. Both needs are increasingly arrayed against each other, social needs against the transnational capital and the interests of the dominant elites (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 71).

The theses of Friedman, as he defines, are a starting point for political enquiry, reflecting an evolutionary process focus. He did not want to establish a finite set of world cities at a given point time. He does not define world cities (SIMON, 2006, page 207). Another problematic issue was indicated by Taylor. He argued that Friedmann upscaled state-level modeling of inter-city relations (TAYLOR, 2008) without the necessary adaptations and with no empirical basis for this premise. To solve these three issues: establish a definition, create a specific approach (and also a specific name) for relations among cities and find empirical analysis were some of the aims of Sassen.

 Friedmann supported that an important ancillary function of world cities is ideological penetration, centres for production and dissemination of information and control. As examples, he suggested New York, Los Angeles, London, Paris, and Tokyo (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 69). The core concept of the global cities of Sassen is exactly the command and control idea. The three study cases of Sassen are inside the five examples of Friedmann: New York, London and Tokyo. She clearly adopted the 'research agenda' of the world city formation of Friedmann

3.4. The dissemination of the global city of Sassen

The works of the sociologist Saskia Sassen were a mark in the global city studies. She is the single most influential and widely cited contemporary analyst of global city formation (BRENNER, NEIL; 2006; page 82). Even twenty years after the publication of her book *The Global City*, she is still known as the most important scholar within this subject. She popularized the use of the term 'global city'. Sassen`s 1991 *The Global City* combines a global overview, detailed case studies and a concise theoretical argument to produce the most comprehensive approach to the world cities (PACIONE, 2002). One of her biggest merits was to take the global city research outside academia.

Before her work, the process of cities in the global networks was called as world cities. Sassen coined the concept of the global city (TAYLOR, 2008), but not the word 'global city' that had been used before by other researchers. She just reused an older terminology for naming her own concepts. They would be largely disseminated in her papers, lectures and conferences. Naming was, according to her, one of the challenges for contemporary researchers (SASSSEN, 2001, page XVIII).

Currently in the media, the term global city is more used than world city. Among the scholars of the global/world city research, it has been more utilized as well. However there are still some researchers that insist in maintaining the former terminology. The Global and World Cities Research Network, directed by Taylor is an example of this dual way to address the same topic. In the important work, *The Global Cities Reader*, edited by Brenner and Keil, in the articles published after the book of Sassen, just Machimura in 1992, Douglass in 1998 (maybe because he co-edited it with Friedmann), Taylor in 2000, Smith R.G. in 2003, King in 2006, and Flusty also in 2006 used the term world city among more than forty authors that preferred the word 'global city' to define their concepts (BRENNER, NEIL; 2006).

Another author that used both terms in her article was Robinson. She did it in order to compare them. She stresses the influence of the world-system theory in the world city, the hierarchical sense of this theory and the focus on economic process that conflict with social dynamics. She defines global cities as mainly based on the classification of cities on their power in the world economy. She proposes that if 'the global had been labeled as just another example of industrial district, it might not have attracted the attention it did'. Robinson, a strong critic of the global city, actually observes that global cities should be called 'new industrial districts of transnational management and control' (ROBINSON, 2006, page 219).

The global cities literature needs to be situated historically (SMITH, M. P.; 1998; page 486). Not only the aims and interpretations, but also the tools available, are influenced by the historical moment. One of the reasons Sassens' work became so famous was her ability to mix theory and empirical studies. She benefited from the larger availability of information in the early nineties especially if compared with Friedmann. The three specific cities she takes as examples were based on this availability and were a fundamental part of her work. She defines her own studies as to 'unpack the concept of 'the city' and re-present it in terms of specific/data and dynamics' (SASSEN, 2001, page XVIII).

Some of the goals of her studies were clearly a response to pertinent issues of the nineties, especially in her two first books, in 1991 and 1994. First, there were strong discussions about the end of cities proclaimed by analysts and politicians (SASSEN, 1994, page 13). Internet, modernization of transportation modes and development of communications

were the reasons for this according to those predicting it. Sassen admitted, in the seven hypotheses she presented in her first book, the influence of such new processes. In her two first hypotheses, she underlined that dispersal of economic activities and outsource of specialized services were consequences of this. However she also pointed out that agglomeration economies and the importance of location especially for advanced services were determinants. She perceived cities as strategic places for servicing global capital (TAYLOR, 2008). Central concerns of her work were to view cities as production sites for the leading information industries (SASSEN, 2006, page 84).

She reinforced that the notion of the end of borders and the decreasing power of national states under the globalization process were commonly accepted ideas during the end of last century. The creation of the European Union and several trade agreements throughout the world helped to confirm this hypothesis. However, Sassen stressed the opposite: states were very important. The impact of globalization, commonly seen as catastrophic for social cohesion, will vary across different cities and countries, according to Sassen, in good part because of the different role of the state (SASSEN, 2001, page 363).

Considering this, she observed a gap in the literature of both urbanism and political economy in the knowledge of the regulation, management, and servicing of spatially dispersed but globally integrated economic activities (SASSEN, 2001, page 344). These tools are generally driven by states. Global firms need cities, and indeed groups of cities. This should enable the political, corporate, and civic leadership in those cities to negotiate for more benefits, taking advantage of this globalizing process or at least mitigating its negative impacts (SASSEN, 2008).

The idea of homogenization is present in the concepts of global cities. The homogenizations of spaces will be addressed in the specific chapter about architecture. However, there is another homogenization. The idea of economic homogenization is present in global cities studies. Sassen supports that such homogenization is only apparent. Cities have specialized functions in the global cities networks. Each city, due to its history or tradition, works in different networks of different advanced services. The financial sector leaders are Frankfurt, New York and Tokyo. The specialized services for heavy industries are concentrated in Chicago, São Paulo, and Bombay (SASSEN, 2008).

Literature has dealt with cities as part of national urban systems (SASSEN, 1994, page 16). In her fifth hypothesis of her first book she criticizes these national systems, observing the importance of city to city relations. There is a new urban system working in regional, transnational and global levels in which the cities are the main points (SASSEN, 1994, page 47).

Sassen addresses in her sixth and seventh hypotheses, inequalities and informalization. Polarization and reduction of the middle class are topics discussed. She shows how advanced

producer services tend to produce high income job positions but mainly lower-income ones. She says fifty percent of the jobs created are from the second kind (SASSEN, 2001, page 9). She makes a provocative question about this in the second edition of this book, putting a little political ingredient in her economic approach: 'How many times do high-income executives have to step over the bodies of homeless people till this becomes an unacceptable fact of discomfort?' (SASSEN, 2001, page 335).

Differently from Friedmann, Sassen did not stress political implications in her work. She clearly explained her focus was not in power but on production (SASSEN, 2001, page 6). She tried as much as possible not to address it. She, for example, argued that 'whether all of this is good or bad for the larger social fabric of these cities and their countries is a complex matter, and the subject of many debates' (SASSEN, 2001, page 3).

Even in her book, *Globalization and its Discontents*, first published in 1998 (SASSEN, 2002), where more political approach would be expected, she did not address such issues. In this book, she talks about values, influence of world organizations like IMF and WTO, the political discourse as dominated by companies; but her focus is more on sociological and economic issues. The discontents of globalization are all related to economic questions: poor immigrants looking for better job opportunities, women in labor work earning much less than men in our current global cities, informalization of work force and finally the declining of former cities based on manufacturing.

She talks about the devastating consequences for cities and communities of the global cities process. Some types of economic activities and consequently their workers are marked as unnecessary or irrelevant (SASSEN, 2006, page 85). She asks whose city this is and observes the political implications of this: the formation of new claims like the right to the city (SASSEN, 2006, page 87) however it is never the focus of deeper studies.

In the second edition of her main book, almost ten years after the first edition, she discussed some of the criticism of her work. She observed, for example, that the key issues in the debate around this subject have centered on questions of measurement and use of indicators (SASSEN, 2001, page 359). This was not her intention. Differently from other researchers, she did not publish global cities rankings. She never tried to influence cities to aim at becoming global cities. Her work is descriptive. Among the few contributors that have attempted to theorize about the global cities thesis of Sassen, Jones underlines the work of Sassen herself as very important (JONES, 2002, page 3).

However, as she described mainly the top three cities in the global city hierarchy and as she showed as the typical features of global cities: cosmopolitanism, modern architecture, financial and tourism flows, power and control over other places, it is natural that this gives

room for confusion. Cities around the world would aim for this even if most of these features are feasible just for few cities in the world. Sassen is responsible for this too, in my opinion. She seldom addressed the millions of inhabitants in the world that live in cities far from being global. She never studied these cities in depth. She did not discuss and make her voice heard about the consequences of cities trying desperately to become global cities. She helped to create the global city myth, as it will be further analysed in this dissertation.

3.5. The work of Taylor and other authors

The work of Sassen changed the global city research. It become known not only among planners, sociologists, geographers, architects and other specialists but also among politicians, public officials, businessmen, developers and investors and became the aim of several cities in the world. Due to all this attention, two main groups of researchers started discussing the subject. A first group of scholars supported the global city theory and a second one strongly criticized it.

Among those supporting her approach, Taylor is the most important. He founded, with other researchers, the Global and World City Research Network in the United Kingdom. It became the most important center regarding global cities in the world. Inside this research group, Taylor produced the Alpha, Beta, Gamma Ranking, the most well known rankings for global cities. The critical debate surrounding the global city thesis has largely focused on how global cities might be better defined and which cities might be included in this categorization (JONES, 2002, page 3). The GaWC group is very active, producing papers, hosting events, supporting researchers and mainly collecting data.

Taylor supported that one of the global city research needs is more accurate data about as many places as possible. One of the main aims of the GaWC is to provide ways to measure global city links. Taylor supports there is a necessity for a consistent approach to the subject in which the development of theory and empirical analyses iterate in a mutually beneficial manner. He produces complex analysis based on numeric formulas using indicators like network connectivity (TAYLOR, 2008). The latest book of Taylor, 'Global Urban Analysis: a survey on cities in globalization' to be presented in the end of 2010 shows exactly this focus. It mostly contains analysis based on hard data about all the regions of the world.

He barely disagreed with Sassens' theories. He proposed, for example, a 'more inclusive approach to counter Sassen´s exclusivity', in which his response was the idea of 'cities in globalization'. It is similar to the 'globalizing cities' of Marcuse and Van Kempen in 2000 (TAYLOR, 2008).

The authors that generally are committed to criticize the current notion of global cities are producing more research. In my opinion, the idea of Jones that 'few contributors have engaged with the epistemological issues surrounding the global city concept' (JONES, 2002, page 3) is not true anymore. Several researchers have also systematically questioned the work of Sassen. Some of these authors are cited inside different chapters of this dissertation. When the subject is related to the unfeasibility for all cities to achieve a global status, Robinson, Douglass and especially Short, are present in the chapter about the global myth. When the topic is the global cities aiming for the creation of images through architecture Koolhass, Piñon are the authors selected. When the diffusion of such concept is criticized because of the imposition of a model of development for every city, Simon, Lefebvre and Choay are the researchers cited. When the focus is on criticizing the exaggerated importance of indicators, the authors more cited are Smith, R.G., and Robinson. Finally, when the lack of politics inside the global city theory is addressed, the main texts used are from Harvey and Fainstein. This dissertation can be understood historically as part of this moment. It can be seen as an attempt for better understanding this criticism.

3.6. Conclusion

Understanding the difficulties for conceptualization of global cities and the evolution of the global city theory is very important. It was possible to perceive how historical moments are decisive for the creation of concepts and theories, especially in the social sciences. The focus, the objects of study, the main authors are part of the explanation of some of the directions some theories take. This is quite useful for helping to question the utility of the 'global city thesis' as a framework for understanding and theorizing economic activity in the contemporary global economy. This is not to argue that Sassen`s thesis is 'somehow wrong, nor that it is not a helpful and insightful theoretical perspective to make use of in certain debates' (JONES, 2002, page 5). The aim is just to continue the perpetual questioning and answering of the scientific method.

We should consider the construction of the 'world city hypothesis' of Friedmann, to sharpen its definitional clarity (SIMON, 2006, page 209). Devising a robust construct that integrates different perspectives into a collective understanding of the global city is a difficult matter because scholars frequently come from different social science disciplines and have competing agendas about what should be studied (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 4). Even Sassen calls for the development of new categories of analysis, new lines of theorization, and perhaps

some new political and economic practices as well, taking in consideration the urban and community level (SASSEN, 2006, page 83).

Presentism and uniqueness of globalization rely exclusively or primarily on an encompassing strategy of comparison with purely economic indicators are all problems the global city research still faces (BRENNER, 2001, page 143). With few exceptions (such as Short), most of the past research is single perspective and not interdisciplinary, like the dominant view proposed by Friedmann 2000, Castells 1989, Sassen 2001, and Taylor 2004 (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 17). There is a need for more contextualized, causally messier, and more sociolologically complex views. The comparative-historical method world city theory could be useful (BRENNER, 2001, page 143)

Regions of the south represent a rich arena for research geared to practical issues of policy and planning, as well as at the level of the theory (SIMON, 2006, page 208). Sassen stressed this also but others authors and Sassen herself did not follow this direction. Global cities theory is too focused on the top cities in the hierarchies. Friedmann had indicated the rise of regional inequalities (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 66). Inequality and poverty at all scales within the core, semi-periphery, and periphery are just important as those between these entities. (SIMON, 2006, page 208).

However, neither these authors nor most of the other early contributors to world cities research engaged systematically with the politics of the global city (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006, page 249). We must interrogate our assumptions, disaggregate our categories, and address the questions of whose city and for whom (SIMON, 2006, page 208). This clearly calls for more than global economy as the principal independent variable (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 23). It is fundamental to examine how political economy articulates with the social and cultural realms of plurality. Deprivation and disempowerment go hand in hand with wealth and power (SIMON, 2006, page 209).

Contemporary economic restructuring has been understood by mainstream economic theory with emphasis on market competition as the only driving force of economic change. Due to this, the reallocation of industries to countries with cheaper labor, deregulation of economies of such countries and reduction of transportation costs are analysed regardless of the consequences in the social aspects. Other theorists, generally from the left, see the increase of profitability as a result of weakening of the influence of labor (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL; 2002; page 6). Fainstein is, in my opinion, a good complement to the work of Sassen. She made important contributions in the relation of globalization and local transformation in a political-economic view (FAINSTEIN, 2006, page 112).

From an urban studies perspective, there can be little doubt of the importance and utility of Sassen´s arguments to policy makers tackling questions of social restructuring and transformation in large cities. However, as Jones points out, the global city thesis is misleading and limiting when it is used (JONES, 2002, page 5). The academic field of urban studies ought to be able to contribute its resources more effectively to the creative imagining of possible city futures around the world (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222). To aim to be a global city is certainly not the best alternative.

4. Global city as a partial view: the global myth

4.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to understand the reasons that make the use of the term 'global' for the global city literature and practice, not appropriate. Several authors agree that new approaches are necessary to really turn it into a global theory. How did the evolution of the global city theory lead to current conceptual gaps? What has been discussed about this gap? What are the consequences for the cities of this situation? Why can't it be called global?

The global city theory actually cannot be called global because it does not address the major part of the world and the largest part of its population. World city research tends to focus only on the effects of global capitalism on one-third of the world population and their *loci* (PIZARRO, WEI, BANERJEE; 2003, page 115).The world city literature is mostly aimed at cities at the top of the urban hierarchy economy (GRANT, NIJMAN; 2006; page 225). The search for world city-ness dooms a large number of cities to marginality or even exclusion from research on globalization and the city (SHORT, 2004, page 45). No researcher clearly admits that just global cities are important, although there is an 'implied broader structural irrelevance of all other cities' (ROBINSON, 2006, page 219). Douglass made the strongest image to represent this gap. According to him, for several researchers, it seems that the 'world is empty beyond global cities' (DOUGLASS, 2006; page 190).

Theories of globalization that only build upon the experiences of a few global cities have a precariously narrow grip on the full range of the urban experience (SHORT, 2004, page 45). Unfortunately, the literature falls short in examining this topic in third world cities (PIZARRO, WEI, BANERJEE; 2003, page 120). One of the ironies of the academic debate on globalization is its Western Bias (GRANT, NIJMAN; 2006; page 225). Much of the theorizing and empirical research is based in the core countries of the world economy, most global cities researchers are based at universities located in the global north and most global cites are located in the north (DOUGLASS, 2006, page 189; GRANT, NIJMAN; 2006; page 225). As a result, this academic environment influences the focus of the research. But why is the research so concentrated in these countries?

First, it is easier to find data, an important issue for research (SHORT, 2004, page 30). Second, it is easier to get funding, the global cities are economically powerful and they have traditional universities. Third, in the global cities it is easier to find an interested audience in conferences about the subject and also to find people that can understand it. Most of the studies in this field, like most of the studies completed, are written in English. A very small part

of the population in developing countries is able to understand another language beyond their native one.

The consequences for cities in developing countries, due to this lack of research are catastrophic. The problem is not only that cities in developing countries are not studied. Sometimes cities are studied but they are assessed in terms of the pre-given standards of world city-ness that is mainly based in urban economic dynamism (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218). Non-world cities are defined by the prevailing paradigm (SHORT, 2004, page 32). This helps only to 'perpetuate an urban hierarchy that seem to be emerging where highest order cities are the beneficiaries of global dynamics, whereas lower order cities continue to be shaped by older endogenous forces' (PIZARRO, WEI, BANERJEE; 2003, page 116). According to Robinson, these widely circulating approaches to current urbanization impose substantial limitations on imagining or planning the futures of cities around the world (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218).

Another reason that leads to this concentration of interest for research in some top hierarchy cities is the evolution of the global city theory itself, especially with the studies of Sassen.

4.2. The evolution of the global city research segregation

In the beginning of the global city research, Friedmann had analysed a considerable number of cities. This was still a consequence of the world-systems approach that influenced his job. His traditional scheme (FRIEDMANN, 2006, page 69), presented in The World City Hypothesis, in 1986, contained 25 cities. There were 14 cities from developed countries and 11 from developing ones. Surely these 14 cities were indicated as the more 'globalized' ones, just the fact that he considered almost the same number of cities in developed and developing countries shows his intention to take into consideration a wider range of cities.

This situation would be transformed with the famous book of Sassen, The Global City. It meant a change in the global city research. First, this book would stress economic aspects as the drivers of the classification and construction of global cities. Advanced services sector were seen as the main producers of command and control centers, core to Sassen`s definition of global cities. Sassen clearly indicated that the 'majority of the cities, however, including the largest part of the big cities do not take part of these new transnational urban systems' (SASSEN, 1994, page 47).

 Second, her study cases would be extremely focused in the three cities on the top of the hierarchy: New York, London and Tokyo. In her classic book, she argued that the locations of

interest of that study were 'major cities, specially New York, London and Tokyo, rather than for example, export-processing zones in third world countries' (SASSEN, 2001, page 35). She supported her approach with numbers, observing that 'a hand full of countries account for 70% of global activity in services' (SASSEN, 2001, page 64).

This economic focus of her research was a conscious decision. Different than other authors that came after her, she made this clear. The author stressed the necessity of other studies to check the consequences of these new urban system in different cities in the world: 'not examined at length in my study, but important to its theoretical framework, is how transformations in cities ranging from Paris to Frankfurt to Hog Kong and São Paulo have responded to the same dynamic' (SASSEN, 2001, page 4).

Analysing the three most famous books of Sassen, The Global City, Cities in a World Economy, and Globalizations and its Discontents, it is possible to notice that she barely discusses other cities than the global cities. She always does it inside an economic focus. Just in the last book of this list, she addressed in more depth some social aspects like immigration, women in the labor market, and unskilled workers and industrial cities in knowledge based economies. In the only moments she mentioned other cities she said, 'this is a regime connected to the increase of the concentration of wealth, of poverty and of inequalities over the world' (SASSEN, 2002, page 26). In other studies of Sassen, there was almost no mention to the cities outside the major global economic dynamics. She discussed, for example, that there are three places, among all the others, that symbolize the new forms of economic globalization: Global Cities, offshore financial centers, and export-processing zones (SASSEN, 1994, page 34). No mention to places outside this classification.

4.3. Current criticism

As a result of this approach, a 'view of the world of cities thus emerges where millions of people and hundreds of cities are dropped off the map of much research in urban studies' (ROBINSON, 2006, page 219). Several authors identified this gap. Taylor seems to be an exception. His hierarchies do not take in account the "world cities beyond the West" (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 189).

His influential GaWC Research Network, for example, created the Alpha, Beta, Gamma Ranking. However, analysing the cities present in this classification, it misses the largest part of the populations, countries and cities in the world. It would be necessary maybe to create new levels like Delta, Sigma, Omega in order to address more significant shares of the world population. Other authors seem to be much more aware of these gaps. They create and

discuss new classifications that to try to define these cities and at the same time implicitly criticize the former classifications. Four authors can be recognized as following this approach.

The first one is Short, maybe the strongest critic of the existence of these gaps. He classifies cities as global cities, globalizing cities and black holes. He presents a list of 35 large, non-global cities with at least 3 million inhabitants. Inside this list there are also huge cities containing 10 million inhabitants, like Tehran and Dhaka. There are others, not so big, but also extremely populous like Belo Horizonte (Brazil) and Wuhan (China) with almost five million and Medellin (Colombia) and Pusan (South Korea) with almost four million inhabitants. All these cities are not considered global, consequently they are 'off the map' (SHORT, 2004, page 49) for most of the researchers. With this example, he criticizes two aspects. First, he criticizes the common requisite for the size of population of a city to be considered a global city. Second, he shows how this approach just ignores the largest part of the world population.

He goes even further, stressing that the research is not just focused in developed countries cities but focused mostly in three specific cities. SHORT presents a table containing the number of citations in some selected case studies. There is a concentration of studies in each of the three top global cities, New York, Tokyo and London. Beijing, for example, has 5 times less studies than the top three (SHORT, 2004, page 33).

The second researcher is Timothy Luke. He also strongly criticizes the global city theory and the scope of the global city theory. According to him there are 'Global Cities' and 'global cities'. The difference in the capitalization is explained by the opposite functions of both types of cities. He supports that we should stop focusing upon few 'Global Cities' which serve as the core nodes in networks for global capitalism, working as real command centers, controlling and influencing others. We should 'ask instead about the collective impact of all 'global cities'' (LUKE, 2006, page 277)

Olds and Yeung, also created what they call typologies of global cities. According to them, there are hyper global cities (OLDS, YEUNG, 2006 page 394) and the emerging global cities. They stress that their classification could be equivalent in some aspects to the Alpha, Beta, and Gamma hierarchy of the GaWC. Their novelty is the creation of the Global city-states, using Singapore and Hong Kong as examples. However, they criticize current research about these hierarchies, pointing out that 'analysts need to become more cognizant of the sheer variety of global cities, and the differential pathways to global city formation'. They also say that 'the existing literature has focused too narrowly upon a few 'champions examples'' (OLDS, YEUNG, 2006 page 394).

The fourth author, used as an example of criticism to the current model of global city classification and research focus is Shatkin. He used the term 'Fourth World' Cities to talk

about cities in 'countries that have not become important industrial producers, they nevertheless play a role in globalization and are heavily impacted by it' (SHATKIN, 2006, page 212). They are 'structurally irrelevant on the process of capital accumulation' (SHATIKIN, 2006, page 211). He argues also that the complexity and variation in experience is not adequately represented by analyses that focus on the exclusion of least developed countries in the process of globalization (SHATKIN, 2006, page 216). He completes, supporting that the cities in the Fourth World should be a topic for research and debate (SHATKIN, 2006, page 212).

4.4. Conclusion

The only reason that could potentially support the use of the word 'global' for global cities is a kind of reverse etymology. As the global city process is a direct consequence of globalization, the use of the same radical 'global' in both the words 'globalization' and 'global city' is a quick and easy way to associate them. However, the globalization process is the only real planetary phenomenon. The global city clearly is not, as discussed previously.

This critique does not negate the value of previous works (SIMON, 2006, page 209). This is not also to say that 'every study consider everywhere' (ROBINSON, 2006, page 223). However two aspects need to be discussed. First, it is strange to use the word 'global' for something that is not truly a world process. Second, it is urgent that more studies about other cities be produced. The identification of the main nodes of global urban networks is as important as the identification of the black holes and loose connections (SHORT, 2004, page 56).

To become a global city is not a mandatory process. Cities in poor countries are often seen as non-cities, as lacking in city-ness, as objects of western intervention (ROBINSON, 2006, page 220). The result has been the growth of privileged and segregated spatial enclaves that further exacerbate the already dualistic nature of many of these cities (PIZARRO, WEI, BANERJEE; 2003, page 119). Polarization is occurring also in the 'global or macro level has dramatically increased in the last decades confirming the image of a "North/South divide, although the 'poles' may be scattered all over the globe' (BUFFONI, 1997, page 110).

The global city theory urges a new approach that questions these contradictions. It should enable a comparison that asks not only why and how global cities become so in a multidimensional sense, but also why and what happens to urban places that do not progress towards global city status' (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 23). There is a need to construct an alternative urban theory which reflects the experiences of a much wider range of cities. This

involves the disrupting the narrow vision of a still imperialist approach (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218). It is a need for a more inclusive vision.

Simon goes directly to the point arguing that 'colleagues working on world cities in the north so easily make unjustified implicit and explicit universalizing assumptions about the global relevance or uniqueness of our constructs' (SIMON, 2006, page 209)

Due to this, the aim needs to not only change the object of study but also adequate the methodology for new theoretical approaches. Researchers should become more aware of the possible influence of their Euro/America experience, paradigms, and research (SIMON, 2006, page 209). Only noticing the differences between cities in developing and in developed countries is not enough (ROBINSON, 2006, page 223). Since the development of the global city theory in the 1980's, mappings of the global urban system have been articulated primarily from the point of view of the older industrialized world (DOUGLASS, 2006; page 189). The challenge is to add a new point of view.

To include the cities in the developing countries, with their problems and claims, inside the discussions about global cities is not only a question of justice. Robinson urges the necessity of a project for understanding ordinary cities (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222) for other reasons as well. Populations in cities in poor countries are growing, but not only their populations, the economic importance of developing countries is growing. Especially BRIC countries: Brazil, Russia, India, and China. Other reason for this importance is the fact that mineral resources, fundamental for the global economy, are drawn in the poor countries of the world (ROBINSON, 2006, page 220).

Consequently, if the field of global city research does not start to consider this, irrelevance is a very real possibility. (ROBINSON, 2006, page 223). A new approach is necessary. Experience of cities in less developed countries, for all the reasons exposed, cannot continue to be an "unfortunate footnote to the phenomenon of globalization" (DOUGLASS, 2006; page 191). They should be a topic of debate and research.

5. Global city as a model: the diffusion of the concept

5.1. Introduction

Is there a global city model? The current existence, or not, of this model is a fundamental question. What are the reasons that have led the global city into the form of a model? Finally, if there is a model, how was it spread? Which institutions and specific groups of people were inside this process? According to Sassen, in her classic book, *The Global City*, the answer to the first question is positive. She talks about a global city model and argues that the point of convergence in the 'global city model is the development and partial importation of a set of specialized functions and the direct and indirect effects this may have on the larger city' (SASSEN, 2001, page 349). However, it is clear it was a descriptive model that was misinterpreted or used in a different way. It has been used in a normative way.

Other authors confirm the existence of a global city model. Friedmann talks about the idea of a "typical world city" (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 63). Robinson says there is a formulaic sense to aim to be a global city (ROBINSON, 2006, page 220). So, if there is a formula, it is supposed to exist a known possible result to be followed, the model. Brenner agrees that this aim of becoming a global city is a model, a 'successfu' model of urban development (BRENNER, NEIL; 2006; page 218).

Short talks about a 'model of competition between cities' (SHORT, 2004, page 7). He does it trying to explain that it should be abandoned and replaced by a 'network of cities' however he also talks about prerequisites for being a global city. David Simon also discusses some prerequisites for world city status (SIMON, 2006, page 206). These simplifications like prerequisites, norms, principles, and rules are a fundamental aspect of every model as it will be explained in detail further.

In the initial studies about the world city hypothesis of Friedmann (FRIEDMANN, 2006, page 69), the global city theory started using a model. It had a different 'meaning than the way it is currently being used. The first authors of the global city theory use the term 'model' in order to explain a situation, in a more a descriptive way. The word was used with the meaning of: a description or an analogy used to help visualize something (MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, 2010). Lefebvre argues that there is a complex process of analysis in which it is necessary to select objects or build models (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 126). The 'Global city' was shown through a model. It was a representation shown in order to explain the hypothesis of Friedmann.

The world-systems approach was being reinterpreted, emphasizing the role of cities in the globalizing world. The aim was to make understandable the relations among world cities and the hierarchy created by these connections. The cities participating in this system, the different levels of participation, the number of connections, and the strength of these connections were presented through a model. This model was a tool for better understanding the global city.

However, with the development and success of the studies of Sassen, the global city theory started to become a model, but in a different sense. Her descriptions became an example to be followed. Currently, the meaning of the global city concept in the discussions by the media, public officials and marketing experts can be described as a model but with the meaning of an example, a pattern to be emulated.

5.2. Building a model

In order to check this affirmation, a question arises: what is precisely the meaning of the word model? Going to the simplest definition, in the dictionary, the synonyms for model are 'example, pattern, exemplar, ideal' (MERRIAM-WEBSTER DICTIONARY, 2010). Besides the meanings of 'miniatures', or 'a person employed to display clothes', one of the possible meanings is 'an example for imitation or emulation'. This is the closest meaning, in my opinion, to be used in the global city model nowadays. Imitation of an example are key words for an updated conceptualization of it. It is not being used anymore to explain something; it is an exemplar to be copied. Few researchers clearly use the term model to describe the global city process. However it is, in my opinion, the way the global city theory has been used currently by several actors.

This same exercise of defining the word 'model' was done by Dominique Lorrain when she tried to explain economic models of capitalism in Europe. She initially argues the term 'model' may be defined as a simplified formalization that allows us to account for an entity made up of a large number of objects or of situations (LORRAIN, 2005). Based on her description, three core ideas are central for understanding a model: simplification, formalization, and situations. A forth core idea, which came from the dictionary, is important to be analyzed: emulation. These four concepts will be better analyzed also regarding the specific global city model.

The first one is simplification. Lorrain says that it is necessary in any model to identify regular features and deliberately minimize the details that make comparison impossible by their excess of singularity (LORRAIN, 2005). This definition suits the global city model very well.

A city is already a complex set of phenomenon, difficult to be fully understood. A global city with its variety of characteristics, actors and scales is even more complicated to be described. The global city model is an apparently way to make easier to understand it.

The global city model can be seen as a simplification. It benefits from lack of clearness in the global city theory. What a global city means is a matter of controversy (FRUG, 2007, page 303). This epistemological gap was filled with a model. Lefebvre argues 'myth' has occupied largely an absence: knowledge supported by/about a practice (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 106). I would say that nowadays, global city model occupied this space.

Urban studies popularized the global cities idea in intellectual and policy circles (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222). This simplification fits very well, responding to the needs of these public officials, marketing experts, real estate agents, and other actors. They benefit from simpler assumptions. Their clients, electors or audience, in general, are also better able to understand and agree with easier descriptions. This is an important issue. One of the reasons the global city model is spread all over the world is this simplicity. Global cities rankings, as it will be discussed further, work in the same direction. They simplify the performance, the aim of global cities, in just a number, a hierarchical table.

The global city model is simplified, with few details, and decontextualized, which make it easier to be copied by other cities. This gives room for strong critiques of the epistemological core of this theory. For Robinson, for example, the entire conceptual apparatus of global city theory is problematic insofar as it is linked to decontextualized categorizations and typologies (BRENNER, NEIL; 2006; page 218).

The second concept linked to the creation of a model is the formalization. The features in a model must have an internal coherence, that is capable of some level of change but are based on principles or rules. These rules or principles, according to Lorrain, are common to several sectors (LORRAIN, 2005). In the global city theory, for example, economists, urban planners, public officials, geographers, sociologists, marketing strategists, all share the 'rules' for following and analyzing the global city model. In the same direction, Choay, forty years ago, stated that the specialized tradition of theorizing architecture and urbanism, since its emergence in the fifteenth century, has been organized by two principal formulations: the rule and the model (CHOAY, 1997, page 3). Rules or principles configure a model.

This formalization could be the beginning of a deeper theoretical thinking of the model, however, its function is just to create a necessity for specialists. Due to this, researchers, professors, planners, and journalists are necessary for explaining the formalization. It is complicated enough to be given a scientific consideration, however not so difficult that mayors, investors and businessmen cannot understand it. Actually, there is no scientifically or

technically correct or incorrect way of creating a city (PEÑASOLA, 2007, page 7). Robinson says urban studies have accepted the categories of world/global city as analytically robust when they actually are not (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222). The formalization of the global city model as it will be explained further helps also to hide an important issue: ideology.

The third concept that helps explaining a model is situation. It is related with the previous concept of formalization because it is a specific strategy that helps to build a model. According to Lorrain, a large number of 'situations' or 'objects' may define a model (LORRAIN, 2005). It is present also in the global city model. They are the examples of global cities that became a model for implementation. In order to explain her ideas, Sassen used the current status of London, Tokyo and New York as examples of her description.

Other researchers do not use situations with a previous depth conceptualization and contextualization as Sassen did. Sometimes, politicians and investors do not take into consideration such theory. Robinson noted the establishment of certain western cities as the standard towards which all cities should aspire to (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222). They take the practices of some global cities, in the best situation possible, in order to prove something they want to confirm. After this, they show it as something feasible for other cities regardless of their context. They are the so called 'best practices'. It can be called what Robinson called a fashionable approach to cities (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218), take some specific situations, put some logic or simplify an existing one, like in the case of global cities theory, and a model is built.

In order to overcome the difficulties of studying theory in depth, to avoid taking too much time reasoning the motivations of actions, there is always a best practice to be referred to. This is a common approach of several international institutions and urban planners. It has become a buzzphrase (GERMAN GOVERNMENT, 2000, page XIX). Sometimes this idea of copying others practices is clear: 'the idea is to start with 100 best cities in the world and then trumpet their ideas to spread the word to more and more cities so that we can multiply to 1,000 cities and beyond' (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 4). They continue saying that this is how UNHABITAT and their partners will lobby to bridge the urban divide (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 4)

Some people, excited with the power of this approach say that 'sharing best practices is the key to sustainability' (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 63). This is not necessarily true. It depends on what practice, if it can be applied in a different context and how it will be done. The excitement about best practice is so big that it seems sometimes that urban interventions are done also as an example. It should be a natural consequence, after further theoretical scrutiny, not an initial aim. Talking about a green space along the Han River, a public official said he

believes this will become 'another case that global experts in urban planning can use as an interesting benchmark' (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 7).

The forth aspect, as explained above, is that a model is only configured when it works as an example for emulation. It becomes a more normative model. Again, the previous idea of base a model in 'situations' and the sprawl of the use of best practices run in the same way. The idea of transference of a concept is part of the definition of a model. In the definition of Sassen, she stresses that the global city model is also a 'partial importation of a set of functions'. I would add it is an importation of the whole model as well. How does this process work? The construction of the global city as a model is quite important for explaining how it was spread.

Using the gap left by urban planning theory, benefiting from its simplicity, the global city model found space in the media with its wonderful images, in the political discourses with its manipulated numbers and in the academic papers with its idea of feasible solution for urban planning problems. However, before analyzing the actors and tools used for the diffusion of this model, it is important to clarify what it is.

5.3. The model

What is this global city model? After understanding the formation of a model, this is a new question to be answered. The definition of Sassen is very good, however it was disrupted. The global city model is used in a much simpler way than in Sassen`s readings. Academic discourse about cities picked up on diversity but it also became economic dominated (FRIEDMANN, 2002, page X). Sassen´s book, *The Global City*, is a good example. She stressed that she would focus on production rather than power (SASSEN, 2001, page 6). Other contributions which came from disciplines like sociology, geography and political science were not considered in depth. This was an important simplification.

The problem is that the global city model, became first an economic dominated academic discourse, but after, it became mainly economic driven. It is now working for reproducing a specific model of city. City marketing is being used to sell the image of a city for investors. Architecture, museums and spectacles aim mainly to increase flows of tourists that bring money to spend in a place. Cosmopolitanism and an intense cultural life are created for attracting skilled and talented immigrants to be inserted in the economy of a city.

Robinson supports that the way the global city theory developed may not have been the intention of urban theorists. He underlines 'ideas have the habit of circulating beyond our control' (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222). A good example of this can be seen in the prerequisites

for being a global city. They are seen by policy makers and investors almost as a checklist of items a city need to have for being considered global. It is also possible to observe how economic oriented they are.

David Simon, when he talks about definitions and nature of world cities, quickly goes to the prerequisites for world city status (SIMON, 2006, page 207). For him, there are 3 main items: (1) sophisticated, international driven financial and service complex, (2) hub of international networks of capital and information, (3) quality of life attracting skilled international migrants. He talks as well that not only physical aspects but also economic, political, and cultural aspects (SIMON, 2006, page 207) are important. Short talks about 'modalities' of the global cities. He supports there are four types: (1) global connections: port, railway station and airport, (2) global spectacles: signature architects and global urban semiotics, (3) global cultures and (4) reimagining the global city: mainly done by a globalizing discourse. These classifications are descriptive but used or misinterpreted as normative by politicians, developers and some planners. They are used for creating an image, a model of a global city.

In this model, according to Short, global cities need to have at least one million inhabitants, which would surprisingly exclude Zurich, for example (SHORT, 2004, page 3). Friedmann, in the 80's, said that it would be necessary to have 10 million inhabitants to configure a world city. Short goes on, adding it is necessary to have an important international airport. He says it is a sure sign of global status (SHORT, 2004, page 68). Museums are very important too. Guggenheim of Bilbao turned into a model itself. It became a formula: 'get a Guggenheim and live happily ever after' (GERMAN GOVERNMENT, 2000, page XIX). The sprawl of similar museums became the 'Bilbao effect' (SCHULLER, 2009, page 56).

Stadiums, concert halls, redeveloped waterfronts, business districts, hotels and fancy restaurants are all part of the must-have of a global city. Some skyscrapers or a high TV tower are desirable also. Architecture plays a fundamental role in this model. It is the most recognizable global language (SHORT, 2004, page 72).The international style is widely present in the global cities.

Besides this, some invisible features like a large touristic flow, the constant presence of businessmen, a cosmopolitan atmosphere and a strong cultural life are mandatory. Short uses the term 'polyculturalism' as a 'social attributional characteristic of a global city' (SHORT, 2004, page 3). A global city needs to host events, expositions, and concerts. It needs to be performed. It has to become an image, a feeling rather than specific data or a clear concept. Media plays a fundamental role in this process. Cities need to be known as global cities, their

attractions need to be fresh in the minds of people. They are enacted and spectacularized (SHORT, 2004, page 12).

In the economic area, the global cities model is characterized by a deregulated financial sector, by the presence of headquarters of international companies, and by the strength of the service sector, especially advanced ones. Creative and cultural industries are two typical examples of important advanced services of global cities (SHORT, 2004, page 3). The international trade is high in the global cities. They need to be in the network of international financial flows. One of these investment flows is driven by the real estate market. The global property market, especially offices spaces, is very active, responding to the demand created by the market and also for speculation. All these features are assessed by firms with indicators like 'easiness for making business', 'political stability' or 'time required for opening a company'.

The concentration of investments, public (mainly through financial incentives) and private in some areas and cities is part of the model. Polarization is a natural consequence of this practice. Spatial segregation is the way the elite find to protect themselves from this phenomena. The images of the poor in the outskirts of the cities, their claims, their problems are not showed but they are present, they are an intrinsic part of the global city model implementation. Capitalists call it an unavoidable byproduct, social movements a terrible and unbearable consequence.

The global city model also has typical tools for its implementation. They have become part of the model. Short argued that global cities are also a planning issue (SHORT, 2004, page 10). Global city model implementation happens mostly with Public-Private Partnerships, following a strategic planning and through an Urban Operation in order to get more advantages from the public sector. Development Agencies also work granting incentives for private actors, especially international ones, concentrating their investments in particular cities. According to Short, planning has become a way to improve economic efficiency and market success (SHORT, 2004, page 11). Poorly managed cities should learn from those that have become more globally 'competitive' (GERMAN GOVERNMENT, 2000, page XIX).

The paradox is that this model is so present in our cities but its roots are not so clear. There are no epistemological foundations of it, no deeper reasoning about it. There isn't any ideology clearly related to it. It pretends to be an apolitical way to solve urban problems but surely it is not. There is no sense of justice. Equality, a huge need in the contemporary cities, is not addressed. It is a just model, assessed mostly with numbers in rankings. Elements of urban theory have become transfixed with the apparent success and dynamism of certain stylish sectors of the global economy (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218).

Lefebvre argued that 'the science of the urban phenomena is build slowly, using both theoretical hypothesis and practical experiences, as established concepts' (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 128). Global city models are weak because of weak theoretical thinking. The use of practical experiences is weak as well because it misses a solid previous theory, so it became only based on 'best-practices'. Although, it is not seen as a model, it is seen, as observed Lefebvre decades ago about the science of the urban phenomena, as an established concept.

5.4. The diffusion of the model

International Institutions and academia, both encouraged by economic forces, are primarily responsible for the transmission of the global city model around the world. IMF, World Bank and United Nations, with mainly the UNHABITAT works, and the World Economic Forum are the main institutions working about urban issues. In the academic sector, a number of universities and their research centers, mostly located in Europe and United States, are the leaders in urban research and teaching.

The Urban Age conferences are a good example. They were a series of conferences in several large cities in the world, Istanbul, São Paulo and Mexico City to name a few. Sassen Sassen and other major professors were invited to speak about globalization and cities. It was organized by the London School of Economics, however it had the financial support of the Deutsche Bank. Certainly the bank did not influence the agenda of each researcher or lecturer, although, they all knew in advance that research and initiatives about globalization, global cities or with an economic focus would find financial support easier than if they were researching about other subjects.

Other examples are some papers presented by Saskia Sassen during her lecture in the same Global Age Conference in São Paulo (SASSEN, 2008). She used several data sources provided by the credit card company: Mastercard. Their tables contained information about business in several cities in the world. This availability certainly did not drive researches, like this one, but it may have influenced at least the focus. Studies about business and economic issues have more chance of going deeper because they can be based in more robust sets of data. Besides this, the ease of getting information helps this kind of study. This availability of information and funding are indirect ways the economic forces influence the research agenda in the academia.

Besides the influence universities can make with their research, they can disseminate ideas through teaching. Universities in developed countries receive many students from developing countries. This exchange is interesting; however, the opposite direction of people

flow is quite rare. Few students from developed countries study in universities in developing countries. The flow of ideas is mainly unidirectional. As Brenner and Keil argues: 'most of the global city research has been conducted in the global North, most of global cities researchers are based in universities in the global north' (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 189). Several of these researchers came from developing countries. Due to this, the possibilities of the consolidation of models, created and 'successfully' applied in the developed countries cities, in the minds of students from developing countries cities is big. The global city model is certainly one of these models.

International institutions are also responsible for the spread of this way of thinking about urban issues, like for example, the World Bank. It can be clearly seen in the World Development Report 2009. They say policy makers should be aware of the market forces in the cities: 'in reality, cities and towns, just like firms and farms, are creatures of the market'. As a result, the role of policy makers, according to the report, should be as 'prudent managers of a portfolio of places, to get the most from agglomeration economies, using what each city does well' (WORLD BANK, 2009, Page 128).

This last idea is similar to the one presented in some of the global city definitions of Sassen who talks about a 'specialized differences of global cities' (SASSEN, 2008), however the similarity is just this. She never discusses policy makers as managers of a portfolio of places or cities as firms. The report seems to try to teach the way cities should be seen, and the form policy makers should work. Actors linked to the global economy have started to influence and use the global city model.

World Bank and the IMF are drivers of the circulation of knowledge (ROBINSON, 2006, page 220). They organize courses, they host conferences, and they publish and distribute books and reports about economic developing and urban planning around the world. To cite some programs related with exchange of experiences, there is the Cities Alliance, the Urban Management Programme, and the Municipal Development Programme, all supported by international institutions (UNHABITAT, 2009,page 14). Due to this, the possibility of their ideas become hegemonic is big. Several of their actions are performed in developing countries (SASSEN, 2002, page 26), where there is no long tradition of research or good universities like Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

As a result, these ideas penetrate these countries without enough local scanning and critiques are not often taken into consideration. Cities in poor countries are often seen as non-cities, as lacking in city-ness, as objects of (western) intervention (ROBINSON, 2006, page 220). SIEMIATYCKI talks about the increasingly global flow of planning expertise and urban imagery (SIEMIATYCKI, 2006, page 278). Such flow goes mainly from developed to developing

countries. With the focus mainly in economic features of global cities, the richest cities are in clear advantage as exemplar practices. Robinson says that the strident economism in accounts of global and world cities reinforces imperialism. (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218)

If mayors and other public officials are still not convinced about the benefits of global cities model by academia or international institutions, they are pressured by the necessity of funding for their cities. The influence of international aid and lending organizations (SHATKIN, 2006, page 215) is increasing. Certainly, the cities selected for aid are the ones aligned with their way of proceeding. As a consequence of this economical power allied with theoretical expertise, WB, UN and a range of IGOs and NGOs frequently exercise a powerful influence on patterns of urban development in the global south (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; 192).

This concentration of power can be a problem. These institutions are not totally democratic. Stiglitz discussed the hidden agenda of some of these international institutions, like IMF (STIGLITZ, 2002, page XII). The authoritarian imposition of solutions to many of our urban ills these past few years, and the inability to listen to alternative conceptions of both justice and rationality, is very much part of the problem (HARVEY, 2002, page 434). This imposition may be through economic pressure or intellectual influence.

This concentration of power is problematic because the global city model is full of ideology, despite the fact it is barely clearly stated. Firms, investment companies, real estate companies, banks, the governments where most of these companies are established, big speculators, and politicians have interests depending on the way urban development happens. Cities are used as 'basing points' by global capital (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 68). Global cities are key places for advanced services and telecommunications necessary for the implementation and management of global economic operations (SASSEN, 1994, page 35). Especially in the developing countries, they work as gateways for global economy in their countries.

Such economic forces do have an interest in cities opening their economies, that cities grant incentives for the establishment of headquarters of international firms, or create business districts, that cities deregulate their real estate market, and that cities build, for example, big museums or redevelop their waterfront. These economic forces have an ideology. They follow 'free-market' regimes in an agenda of neoliberalization (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006, page 191). Especially in developing countries but also in developed ones, this idea of public investments in private companies is not well received. The global cities image is being used to helps to legitimate this kind of action.

Studying the case of big projects, Siemiatyck underlines the importance of examining the 'historical and culturally rooted symbols, imageries, meanings and mythologies because it

have led to widespread political and public support for some initiatives' (SIEMIATYCKI, 2006, page 278), in which I would add mainly the ones inspired by the global city model. Sassen goes in the same direction when she says that the concepts linked to global capital interests are mainly performed in the global cities, where they are legitimated and fulfilled with positive values (SASSEN, 1994, page 35). Legitimating is something important. The novelty is the use of other cities, not as a model for new ideas nor as a lesson to learn from their experience, but as legitimation for certain measures (HAILA, 2006, page 284). The example of Finland, that used London and Sweden as a model for reforming planning law, and Helsinki that wanted to beat Berlin and become gateway to Russia, are important.

I would say that 'good city' and 'global city' are presented currently as if they had a similar meaning. Global cities are cosmopolitan, boasting numerous foreign visitors and a panoply of opportunities to consume (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL, 2002, page 8). All these are "cool" adjectives that every city would like to be considered with. The global city model is seen as if it was scientifically and technically correct, however it is ideologically influenced and theoretically weak. Strong economic interests are behind its implementation, acting as the driver of such changes. This explains why, even when it is not possible to transform a city in a real global city, several actors insist on it.

5.5. Model becomes a myth

What happens when the model cannot be applied? If, for a variety of reasons, the global city model cannot be implemented, what does it become? The answer is myth, utopia. This impossibility of being a global city is not the exception, it is the rule. Relatively few cities can hope to participate (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222), most of the cities in the world will probably never be one. The goal of becoming a global city is seriously unrealistic for most urban centers in the developing world (BRENNER, NEIL; 2006; page 218). As a result, global city as a concept becomes a regulating fiction (ROBINSON, 2006, page 221). However the global city model is presented as feasible, realistic, and scientific, never as a utopia. Not only this. It is shown as the only way for cities survive in the growing competition among different regions of the world. It offers an authorized image of city success.

But, why can't most of the cities really be global cities? First, as explained before, the global city model is strongly related with economic forces. Most of the cities in the world are in poor countries. Their economies cannot be compared with the economies of rich ones. Consequently, the financial flows are not so sizable, the real estate market is not so developed, and the number of international headquarters is not considerable.

Second, there are some technological, infrastructure and knowledge gaps that work as real bottle necks for the full implementation of global cities model around the world. These gaps in the short and middle term cannot be eliminated. These cities still face problems concerning to housing, water and power supply, illiteracy, and urban violence. Especially in the advanced services sector, a core sign of global city-ness, a real global city needs very skilled professionals. They are layers, advertisers, architects, economists and CEOs, fluent in English, generally holding MBAs or other post graduation degree. These very talented professionals do not exist in sufficient number in developing countries.

To give two examples that will be further detailed, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, some figures can be presented. Currently about 12 percent of households in Rio de Janeiro lack running water, over 30 percent are without sewage connections, and formal electricity lines reach only 70 percent of the population (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 19). In São Paulo, the situation is similar. Despite being considered by some research a global city, it presents several problems that put this classification in doubt (FERREIRA, 2003, page 30). There are 13 percent of illiterates in the city (URBAN AGE, 2008). In developed countries, this number is generally between 1 percent and 2 percent. The number of students enrolled in universities in Brazil was just 25 percent in 2006 (UNESCO, 2009, page 334). How can we talk about advanced services when going to university is not common? The problem is that most mayors think a modern business district, a brand new airport, can overcome these problems and turn their cities into global ones.

This has terrible consequences for most of these cities. The worst utopia is the one that does not say its name (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 147) because, as it is not a clear and feasible concept, it is harder to discuss or criticize. This myth or utopia benefits from the weak foundations of the global city model and lack of ideological honesty. A myth and ideology are so close that it is hardly possible to separate both aspects (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 97). This helps to encourage the confusion that makes it difficult to understand that the global city model is a myth for most cities. The importance of the ideological and political issue for the global city formation is also stressed by Haila when she says 'instead of global cities I prefer to talk about the politics of the global city' (HAILA, 2006, page 283).

Faced with this triple alliance- the myth, ideology, utopia-, conflicts and contradictions are solved by magic: reported to past or to the future (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 99). In the global city model, these contradictions are, in my opinion, reported to cities competition. If a city is not attracting skilled professionals, if its economy is not going well, if the urban environment is not good, the reason is that the possible investments or firms that could arrive in the city and

solve all the problems, are not coming because there are better cities, more globalized ones taking them. So, the solution is to work even harder to achieve more global city status.

Calculated attempts at world or global city formation can have devastating consequences for most people in the city (ROBINSON, 2006, page 221). Robinson continues arguing that to aim to be a 'global city' may well be the ruin of most cities (ROBINSON, 2006, page 220). Policy-makers need to be offered alternative ways of imagining cities, their differences and their possible futures. Rather than a solution, the typical concentration of investments in some areas of the city and in some specific economic sectors helps to increase the problem.

5.6. Conclusion

We might see ways to break the political, imaginative and institutional constraints which have, for too long, inhibited the advanced capitalist societies in their developmental path. (HARVEY, 2002, page 434). One of these constraints, currently, is the urban planning practice and its models. Urbanism makes the implementation of several actions with its models difficult (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 147). In the same direction, Robinson argues that these widely circulating approaches to contemporary urbanization – global and world cities, together with the persistent use of the category 'third-world city' – impose substantial limitations on imagining or planning the futures of cities around the world (ROBINSON, 2006, page 218). The global city model, in my opinion, is certainly one of these models. The challenge is not to replicate rich countries model (JAGER, GAINES; 2009, page 19).

The way to do this is to understand the difference between the model and the theory that originated it and the process that configured it as a model. One of the reasons the global city model is spread all around the world is its simplicity. It is not epistemologically well discussed and it is not embedded in a strong conceptual framework. Sassen, during the World Congress of IFHP (International Federation of Housing and Planning), said that most of the mayors and public officials never read her books (SASSEN, 2010). They discuss it, they apply what they think should be applied, but with no theoretical base. Even this conceptual base is not so solid, as was discussed previously. As a result, it is usually misinterpreted, fragmented, and used according to different interests.

Models are easy for understanding, for explaining, for teaching, for demonstrating, however, based on false premises. Cities are too complex to be able to receive straight models from outside. All cities are different, management techniques are difficult to transplant (GERMAN GOVERNMENT, 2000, page XIX). It requires a complete contextualization, a geographical, historical, and social contextualization and also a theoretical and conceptual one.

When the model faces a different reality, the only possibility is to become a myth. It is then supported just by images, opinions, discourses, best practices, and partial numbers.

Furthermore, another point to be stressed is that inside the global city model, there is a political ideology. It is not made clear, but is obvious that a neoliberal approach with a profit-driven view of the city is part of the concept. This view is not necessarily bad or good,It depends of a political view. The problem is that it is not made clear. As this ideology is hidden, most people do not discuss if it is just or not. Economic forces are deciding the future of the cities. Politicians take a comfortable position accepting this model and supporting it. Building a more equal city, a more sustainable city is much more difficult than to follow the global city model.

6. Global city as numbers in a ranking: the global competition

6.1. Introduction

Rankings are at the very beginning of global city theory. In 1981, Robert Cohen made a "multinational index" for cities. He talked about the world urban hierarchy emerging in which competitiveness of industries was a major factor (COHEN, 2006, page 51). John Friedman, probably one of the founders and surely the most significant global city researcher, started using this tool very early. He used the terms 'core, semi-periphery and periphery' (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 59) which came from world-systems theory (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222) but he also noted that several taxonomies of world cities had been attempted (FRIEDMANN, 2006, page 68). The original meaning of global cities already called attention to a hierarchical pattern among cities based on a position in a network of cities (MARCUSE, 2006, page 366).

6.2. Evolution

During the eighties, there was a problem with those classifications: insufficiencies of data. As a consequence, according to Friedman, those rankings were chiefly a way to visualize 'possible rank ordering of major cities, based on presumed nature of their integration with the world economy' (FRIEDMANN, 2006, page 68). This was not a decisive problem. The 'pervasive failure to synthesize the results of studies conducted on the basis of divergent empirical indicators' (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006, page 190) would not avoid the increase of creation and use of world cities rankings for the next 3 decades. The dominant theoretical ideas in the field of global cities research have remained unchanged. Friedman and Taylor followed world-system analysis and Castells and Sassen the political-economy approaches. However, all these researchers were committed mainly to discuss about global cities or simply measure global city networks (SMITH, R. G.; 2006, page 405). Even the initial problem of the lack of data would be partially solved with informatics, and after, with the internet. The way was completely opened for the global cities rankings.

With the development of the internet, it became easier to find more quantity (not quality) of data about cities. This made the construction of all kinds of rankings possible. In the global cities theory it happened as well. Global cities rankings, and cities rankings in general

(GIFFINDER et al., 2008, page 2) experienced a boom. Getting data from different cities could be completed more easily using government websites or data collection institutes websites.

The Global and World Cities Research Network has a major data inventory and data analysis in the global cities theory as well (SHORT, 2004, page 18) with a very robust set of empirical indicators to support their outputs (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 190). The Alpha Beta and Gamma classification of global cities completed by GaWC researchers is widely used in the literature and media. Recently, the magazine Foreign Policy talked about global cities and one of their main outputs was the new edition of the Global Index of World Cities (FOREIGN POLICY, 2010, July). Saskia Sassen's classic book is full of cities classifications according to different criteria. She did not create any global city ranking, but her book has several charts and lists ranking cities considering different indicators (SASSEN, 2001). SASSEN also uses and analyses other's rankings from different sources (SASSEN, 2008).

Internet has also helped to distribute ranking results all around the world. Besides this, informatics made it easier to present hard data in the form of classifications. They are quickly understood by politicians, investors and citizens. Especially politicians are very receptive to this kind of way of presenting information. This happens maybe because, in most contemporary democratic systems, ordinary people with no previous preparation can be elected, receiving power to decide about municipal strategies. These decision makers are using cities rankings in order to understand the strengths and weakness of their cities. The utilization by policy makers and marketing experts in the formulation of municipal strategies is currently increasing a lot (GIFFINDER et al., 2008, page 2).

Investors require precise data to compare and decide about their business locations or investment flows in the world market. Global cities ranking fit very well for these aims. International investors need simplified ways to see different cities around the world. They need numbers to build graphics and make calculations regardless of the history, traditions or social relations of that place. This "economistic approach" (SAMERS, 2006, page 385; BRENNER, 2001, page 143) started to set the research agenda, in which the above quoted GaWC Network and their rankings play a fundamental role. The focus changed: cities are seen as business locations: numbers are more important than people. The seduction of numbers, the magic use of statistics (SANTOS, 2000, page 54) finds their peak in the rankings.

Global cities rankings are largely produced, read and used but at the same time, criticized by scholars. Why? Sometimes, the scholars that criticize how the global city research has developed, looking strongly for indicators, are the same that produce these results. Why is the distribution of the global cities rankings criticized? Sassen, in the epilogue of the second edition of her book, talks about the ways global cities theory changed after the first edition in

1991. She said that: "the key issues in the debate around this subject have centered on questions of measurement and use of indicators" (SASSEN, 2001, page 359). PEARCE & WYLY go in the same direction, arguing that:

> Concern with world cities has not only become a paradigm of researchers who seem obsessed with rankings (and researchers obsessed with people who are obsessed with rankings) (PEARCE & WYLY, 2008).

6.3. Criticisms about global cities rankings

Analyzing the global cities literature, there are four main reasons widely discussed for this criticism. The first is about the competitiveness among cities encouraged by these rankings. The second is that having such results demonstrated through rankings is not good because it diverts the issue from the social construction of this theory. The third reason for this criticism is that exaggerated use of global cities rankings does not take in consideration the impossibility of such rankings to describe minimally the complexity of global cities networks and dynamics. Finally the fourth reason for criticism is the bad quality of data used to build these global cities rankings.

In spite of this availability of quantity of data that provides the necessary input for global cities rankings and the ease provided by media and internet for distributing these rankings, there is a phenomenon that feeds this process and simultaneously is a criticized aspect: competitiveness. Global cities rankings, at the same time, increase the interest for cities competitiveness, and such competitiveness is fostered by the existence of so many rankings. Urban planning is in the middle of such process. It is reduced to discover which indicators should be used to measure competition (EISENGER, 2009, page 27). TAYLOR argues that hierarchies are 'there to be climbed and hence incorporate a competitive relation between cities' (TAYLOR, 2008). There is a strong cities competition literature taking it into consideration. This is not a clear process, but implicitly encourages them to aim for the top (ROBINSON, 2006, page 221). However, what is the problem with cities competition?

There is no certainty that this is the best way for cities to achieve a better quality of life for their citizens. There are always 'winning' and 'losing' cities (GIFFINDER et al., 2008, page 8) in this competition. The main problem is that at the end of the race there are few winners but many losers. Is the competition the best form to deal with economic crisis, the efficient use of resources, the environmental questions and respond to people needs (SCANDURRA, 1997, page 21)? Cities are just imitating the same tools as companies (SANTOS, 2000, page 163). Although companies can bankrupt, and can be closed, cities cannot. Most of the time, the

resources spent in upgrading some feature of a city in the global cities competition does not pay.

Cities could not compete for companies. The opposite could be the rule. Global corporations need cities. Geographic space became a major resource in the globalization process (SANTOS, 2000, page 163). Sassen argues that city leaders should ask for more benefits for their municipalities from global firms (SASSEN, 2008). Rankings are an important part of this problem. They give the numbers that helps to feed this destructive competition process. Enter this race for being a global city in this formulaic sense may be the ruin of most cities (ROBINSON, 2006).

The second common critique regarding the global cities ranking is the absence of a discussion of the social construction of this theory when such classifications are the only or the most used output of the global city research. Professor Michael Peter Smith is one, if not the biggest, supporter of this critique. He argues that global cities should be understood inside the discourse of globalization, a political project of powerful social forces. It is part of a complex historical, social and economical construction where the accumulation of capital has a main role (SMITH, M. P., 1998, page 484). Such duality ends for creating what ROBINSON calls an 'analytical tension': a wider vision encompassing the social influences of this theory versus a more rigid and partial vision (ROBINSON, 2006).

The lack of the insertion of the global city theory inside these different approaches ends by weakening the usefulness of the global city concept (SMITH, M. P., 2006, page 378). Former collaborator of the GaWC Network, Richard G. Smith (another Smith) says that without questioning the fundamental contradiction in those theories which global cities researches follow, ideas of network 'cannot be seriously taken' (SMITH, R. G.; 2006, page 405). The global city theory became 'a recognizable, if not formulaic character' (SMITH, M. P., 1998, page 482). Some selected cities are 'identified, labeled, processed and placed in a hierarchy'. There is almost no attentiveness to the diverse experiences of that city, or even to extant literature about that place (ROBINSON, 2006, page 219).

Researchers committed to the analysis of rankings or their production hardly think outside of that logic. They think about new indicators, ways to correlate them, methodologies to guarantee more aspects of global cities are taken in consideration, they think about how to name their classification groups, etc. It forms a complete, conceptual toolkit (BRENNER, 2001, page 143). However, once you start to think inside this logic: criticizing other rankings, trying to improve them or looking for better data, it is quite difficult to criticize the validity of this information. They tend to be focused just on improving the reliability.

Few scholars directly talk about the construct of the validity or empirical significance of their researches in a more sociological approach. BOSCHKEN, for example, criticizes 'limited empirical data' of others global cities researches, however when he proposes his way of analysis he just constructs a 'broader' perspective with '7 different dimensions' of the global cities (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 12). Such dimensions are composed roughly of more indicators, maybe more sophisticated and methodologically more accurate but only more indicators. There is no discussion about the relevance of all that data in a wider approach.

As a consequence, the debate generally just generates alternative positivist taxonomies, completely outside the process of meaning making. Global cities, according to Smith, are not something to be measured by the scientific tools of objective social scientists. It needs to move to another level of analysis (SMITH, M. P., 1998, page 482).

There is a necessity in the global city theory for more historical vision in the research. KING talked about the 'presentism' that dominates contemporary urban studies (BRENNER, 2001, page 144). The global cities network is a human creation, socially and historically situated (SMITH, M. P., 1998, page 482). Abu-Lughod argues we need global cities comparison more contextually embedded in time and space. It need to be casually messier and more sociologically complex (BRENNER, 2001, page 143). Rankings are exactly the opposite, they simplify.

The third main critique of the global cities ranking goes in the same direction: rankings do not address the complexity of cities. They tend to neglect complex interrelations and causalities (GIFFINDER et al., 2008, page 2). Newer research is committed to add more and more data to build better rankings that can improve their capacity to represent better the complexity of urban dynamics. However, Lefebvre argued more than 40 years ago that: the urban phenomena cannot be defined by the 'sum, synthesis or superposition of their parts' (LEFEBVRE, 2006, 413). FLUSTY reminds that 'there are far more kinds of world cities, organized into a far more world systems, than are dreamt of in our geostatistical algorithms' (FLUSTY, 2006, page 351)

Rankings are exactly a way to reduce, or at least try to reduce, complex networks of global cities into simpler models. Theoretical simplifications are useful to describe complex phenomenon, transforming them in an understandable and manageable set of concepts. However, there is a necessity of abandoning the illusions of objectivity, causality or partial determinism (LEFEBVRE, 2006, 414). Rankings need to be seen as they are: limited, not specific, and variable, depending on the method used.

In addition to this, cities and networks of cities are not logical. Sometimes these processes are indeterminate, contradictory and irregular (FRIEDMANN, WOLFF, 2006, page

60). Flows between global cities are most of the time from a multiple and often contradictory composition (SMITH, M. P.; 2006; page 378). Speculative investments, for example, sometimes destroy countries' economies, making these same investors lose money. However, fear, uncertainty or prejudice also influences investments dynamics.

The decision to choose a place for a headquarters of a company is another example. It can be done based on the preference for the elegance of Paris, even for a higher cost. Elegance cannot be measured, or assessed, it is a feeling. Global cities networks are not only complex but also irrational sometimes. They are influenced by economics, sociology, history, politics, religion, landscapes, geographic location, etc. They form a mosaic of interscalar relations (BRENNER, 2001, page 134). Due to this, rankings should be understood just as a small clue, a little start for further analysis, not a complete final product of global cities research.

There are other reasons that make the task of describing cities under globalization process more complex. It is the velocity of the changes. SMITH argues, for example, that the quest for urban hierarchies should be abandoned. This is clearer just thinking about the volatility of current investment flows. Money flow is a main driver of global cities networks but it cannot be measured for longer periods (SMITH, M. P.; 2006; page 378). FRIEDMANN gives a final argument that shows how it is almost impossible to represent completely accurately global cities networks dynamics, advocating that in each and every instance the specific role of a city must be determined through empirical research (FRIEDMANN, WOLFF, 2006, page 60).

Finally, the fourth reason for criticizing global cities rankings is the bad quality of data. In the global cities literature, there is a consensus that those data used are not so accurate (SHORT, 2004, page 30). This is mainly the result of two problems: lack of data in the city level and lack of relational data. Historically, the situation is much better now than previously. United Nations institutions, European Union Institutions and other national statistics institution helped to increase the quantity and quality of data. Internet helped to increase the availability of data in different parts of the world, something quite important for global city research. Nevertheless, we are far from the ideal situation. National states have their own pattern to collect information and process it. Not all the countries have good and available databases. In addition to this, states hardly research city level data. The word 'statistics' came exactly from the word 'state' (TAYLOR, 2008).

TAYLOR exemplifies this with the London and New York cases. They form the 'main street' of globalization. They are always in the top of all global city rankings however we know 'so little about it' (TAYLOR, 2008). There is much information available about USA and UK but not about their major cities. If this happens with the biggest global cities in the world, how can we imagine a better situation for other cities?

Besides this, I think, this problem is impossible to be totally solved. Cities have different forms in which their borders were designed, so what can be precisely described currently as a city? The political border, the urban agglomeration, the metropolitan area, the region it influences? Does Pero, a small town linked to Milan, where the Fair of Milan is located, need to be seen as part of Milan? London is composed just by the City, small and mainly composed of business offices, or all of Greater London? The area of the municipality of São Paulo is almost totally urban, around 90%, what does it mean when urban agglomeration continues in other directions invading other cities with no clear physical border, what should be considered as São Paulo? We need to think beyond borders (SMITH, R. G.; 2006, page 405) because they do not really matter as they did before. How can we have better data with no clear geographic borders? It is difficult, almost impossible.

The other problem concerning global cities data is the lack of relational information. It is what SHORT calls the 'dirty little secret' (SHORT, 2004, page 30). According to him, all the global city research is not based on the flows, on the dynamics it should be. It is based on statistical and individualized characteristics of each city. This goes against the fundamental epistemological foundations of global city theory which advocates the importance of the interaction of cities, exchange of goods, ideas and power in a dynamic network. GaWC network has tried to transcend this traditional emphasis on fixed attributes (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 190).

TAYLOR, GaWC leader, argues that there is a need for relational data for uncovering flows and networks not attributes, because the nodes are already known, but not the links in this new metageography (TAYLOR et al., 2006, page 97). SHORT says these difficulties are not made clear in most of the contemporary urban studies about global cities. It is almost a trend to hide this methodological problem (SHORT, 2004, page 30). Often, rankings are not transparent regarding the methodology of data collection and processing. (GIFFINDER et al., 2008, page 13). These unsuitable or unreliable sets of data, together with lack of familiarity with some of the regions, can lead to a production of maps which are simply inaccurate. (ROBINSON, 2006, page 219).

As a result of these data gaps, researchers have to, by themselves, collect data and/or process data for each study they develop. The difficulties are strongly due to the global scope of the data (TAYLOR, 2008). In almost each paper, Taylor and his collaborators in the GaWC Research Network need to look for specific data themselves. Giffiender, on his article about cities ranking, created a methodology and a new ranking based on information he selected. He designed groups of indicators based on other indicators he needed (GIFFINDER et al., 2008).

Ranci as well used EU data to construct graphics and rankings for comparing European cities competitiveness and social cohesion (RANCI, 2008).

Unclear methodological procedures associated with this need for data collection by each isolated researcher generates a lack of uniformity. Each study has a different focus requiring different indicators and consequently producing different results (GIFFINDER et al., 2008, page 2). Sometimes very different results give room for criticism. City rankings change according to criteria (EISENGER, 2009, page 28). SHORT, for example, compares the results of Globalization Index completed by the magazine Foreign Policy with the ranking developed by GaWC, Alpha, Beta and Gamma world cities ranking.

He stresses the big differences between them (SHORT, 1997, page 30). In 2010, an updated version, now called Global Cities Index, was published. One of the organizers of such initiative was the Chicago Council of Global Affairs. So Chicago is ranked 6th, the best classification of the city comparing to other major rankings (FOREIGN POLICY, 2010, July). It is ranked less than 10th in the GaWC ranking, for example. Why such big differences? SHORT also disagrees with some common assumptions of other global cites rankings. He, for example, insists that Los Angeles, considering only economic transactions, is a relatively provincial city despite 'the academic boosterism of the LA school' (SHORT, 2004, page 30). Such huge differences, as they are not analyzed carefully, are leading (in addition to the other problems discussed previously) to a weakening of the global city rankings as scientifically relevant for the global cities theory in general. How to revert this process?

6.4. Conclusion

Observing the way global cities ranking are conceived and used, they are part of the problem. Ranking the command functions of cities is an interesting but limited exercise (TAYLOR, 2008). We need to break the free of categorizing imperative (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222). According to TAYLOR, just after solving this conceptual confusion, clearing this brushwood, the global city theory will be able to advance, using better empirical results to understand cities under the process of globalization (TAYLOR, 2008). They are currently built based on weak methodological procedures, they do not discuss the social construction of this theory, they are far from explaining, even partially, the global city dynamics and they foster a destructive competition among cities. As a consequence, shouldn`t it be abandoned from the global city theory? In my opinion, the answer is no.

Global cities ranking, if well used, can be very useful. It allows us, for example, to have some idea of the relative economic weight of cities and provides an antidote to the mere

assertions of previous studies. (SHORT, 2004, page 15). So, they need to be seen as an initial description, providing clues, first insights for further questions (TAYLOR, 2008). It can never be the final product that reduces possibilities of approaches for addressing the global cities. Interrogating these categorizations of cities and theoretical divisions within urban studies is very important because they limit our potential to contribute to envisioning possible cities futures (ROBINSON, 2006, page 221).They should, according to me, be used as a tool among others to understand global cities network dynamics.

Following the emergence of non-representational theory and complexity theory (SMITH, R. G.; 2006, page 400) we should look for a more cosmopolitan urban research that could be more accurate, resourceful and creative in its outputs (ROBINSON, 2006, page 221). We need to abandon simplistic visions. We need to perceive things and events that can not only be represented by lines, diagrams where we can calculate fixed hierarchies. There is constant movement, vibration, flows, like the space of flows of CASTELLS (CASTELLS, 1996, page 453), that cannot be reduced to a segment, to things, to structures or processes (SMITH, R. G.; 2006, page 445), nor to a final classification in a list.

One of the interesting ways of dealing with global data is the one proposed by an Italian non-profit organization, the Foundation Enio Enrico Mattei. They created the FEEM sustainability index, where they join a wide array of features of cities in one indicator. Despite the use of countries instead of cities to analyse information and make comparisons, they integrate social and environmental issues with the common economic approach. Second, they understand these outputs as they should be understood: a tool for further studies, a partial explanation of the reality. Third, the complete methodology of construction of such output is provided in which they explain the aggregation and creation of their indicators. Finally, they compare and discuss these set of data with policy making theory in order to propose new strategies for better urban policies implementation, not as a final aim.

To conclude, an example given by Sassen shows how hard data can be badly used. She explains that ranking of cities by back bone capacity of internet is a misleading measure frequently used to show a city`s chances for becoming an international business center (SASSEN, 2001, page 115). This example, the internet capacity, is useful information, but it needs to be seen inside the tradition of that city, the educational level of its population, the owners of those facilities, and the effective utility of that as a globalizing tool. The number of bytes exchanged, the velocity of data transmission will just seem a conclusive. Instead of understanding this, scholars, according to ROBINSON, are more likely to blame on others – capitalists, elite urban managers - never on their own erroneous analyses (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222) in which global cities rankings are playing currently a fundamental role.

7. Global city as a driver of urban planning: the global practice

7. 1. Introduction

Urban planning, like architecture, is experiencing a crisis. There is almost a consensus in the planning field as tools seem to not work anymore. Urban planners are still quite perplexed because of this feeling of impotence (SCHULLER, 2009, page 14). How deep is this crisis? Talking about urban planning is quite a complicated task. Experient authors like the two professors from Polytechnic of Milan, Balducci (BALDUCCI, 2003; BALDUCCI & BERTOLINI, 2007) and Palermo (PALERMO, PONZINI; 2010), Patsy Healey (HEALEY, 2004) and John Friedman (FRIEDMANN, 2004), to cite just four, analysed deeply the planning theory and practice. My aim in this chapter will be to address the urban planning practice under the globalization processes, the main focus will be to discover how the 'global city' influences urban planners, how the urban planning as a field has been seen and how it has worked recently.

Globalization has a fundamental role in this phenomenon. Its beginning, in the seventies, was accompanied by a deep crisis in urban planning and architecture (CHOAY, 1997, page 2). Globalization changed our societies, creating new claims and making it difficult to achieve the consensus necessary for the policies to improve the urban quality of life. It also influences the way cities are growing, investing, and building their spaces. Taking all these changes into consideration, what are the current roles of urban planners? What are the contributions the urban planning field is making for the construction of better cities? What is the relation between the 'global city' and urban planning?

Observing this moment of crisis, UNHABITAT proposed a discussion about 'new ideas for urban planning' (UNHABITA, 2009). The executive director of UN-HABITAT first asks if planning failed and if it need to be replaced by a more effective function (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 4). Although the Secretary-General of the United Nation, Ban Ki-Moon, went directly to the point arguing that 'there is evidence around the world suggesting that contemporary urban planning has largely failed to address the current major urban challenges' (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 16).

This period of crises is more evident when we see opposite ideas being supported. Koolhaas, with experience also in the urban field, advocates that architects and urban planners stopped thinking about the cities and this enormous gap is a sad territory (MIMICA, 2009, page 52). He supports the necessity of more reflection. In the other direction, Herzog & De Meuron support the need to abandon manifestos and theories (HERZOG & DE MEURON, 2007, page 327). In urban planning, discourses and paradoxes are enjoying something of a boom

(SCHULLER, 2009, page 25). Balducci, for example, has a totally different view, a very optimistic one, saying that the last fifteen years were characterized as a 'period of rich experimentation of new forms of planning' (BALDUCCI, 2008, page 1).

The problem is even worse than the fact urban planning tools are not efficient anymore. Urban planning has become, according to some researchers, a 'contributor to urban problems rather than tools for human and environmental improvement' (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 3). It shows how the moment is of transition, proving the necessity of new ideas to help dealing with a globalizing world. The way globalization influenced the urban planning field, and the way the field received this influence are at the core of the reasons planning failed to address the main issues of contemporary cities. These changes were not totally understood by planners. In other fields these kinds of difficulties also occurred but in urban planning, the crisis has become catastrophic. It is due to the fact that not only the way to solve urban problems needed to change, but the problems themselves also changed. Besides this, their role was diverted, sometimes intentionally and sometimes unintentionally, by some of actors of globalization process, especially economic agents.

These two big transformations and the rise of economic power as a decisive agent changed the way urban planning should work. The first change is the political environment and the way societies have become more complex. The political context of urban planning is also, according to Short, one of the ways planning has fundamentally shifted (SHORT, 2004, page 11). This requires a different approach to solve the current urban issues. The way of solving problems is different from the way urban planners used to find solutions because the societies and consequently their political systems changed the way they work.

The second change is in the 'problem' itself. It is in the object of intervention of the urban planners, the city. By city I mean not only the physical city but also the social, cultural, economic and political practices that now influence the cities and also larger regions. Cities have changed, new claims have increased, and new scales need to be considered. The global city network is a new challenge made by the mixture of these three changes. It transforms cities, it creates new claims and it needs to be understood in a wider context. Due to this, new urban planning tools need to be used to intervene efficiently under the 'global city' influence.

7.2. Designing government

This first transformation, in the political and social aspects will be analyzed deeper. Under the globalization process, different conflicts have been raised, the societies are more complex, more dynamic (MELUCCI, 2000, page 41). The mode of world system integration will

affect the economic, social, spatial, and political structure of world cities and the urbanizing process to which they are subject (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006; page 60). The major urban challenges of the 21st century include the rapid growth of many cities and the decline of others, the expansion of the informal sector, and the role of cities in causing or mitigating climate change (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 16).

Other new issues also further complicate the role of planning. The fragmentation of administrative borders (SCHULLER, 2009, page 14) is one of this issues which made finding consensus a harder task. Political parties are no longer able to represent these new configurations of societies (SALZANO, 2008, page 14). Multiscalarity and multidisciplinary (SALZANO, 2008, page 18) approaches are mandatory for responding to these transformations, however, in many parts of our world, urban planning systems have changed very little (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 3).

In order to deal with these new social and political scenarios, Frug points out that the task of designing government (FRUG, 2007, page 298) is extremely important. Urban governance is quite a decisive issue. To foster cooperation, tolerance, and real democratic values is a complicated duty but essential for the well functioning of urban policies aiming a more liveable city. Despite the common sense supporting the contrary, there is a number of precariously democratic societies (FORESTER, 1989, page 3). This is the worst scenario because to run democratic decision processes, even precarious ones, is as difficult and time-consuming as democratic one but it does not give the same legitimacy for the final decision.

Dealing with heterogeneous social groups, immigration, urban violence, and dynamic populations currently is not an exceptional situation but the most common one. In this pluralist world, the decision-making becomes more complex (FORESTER, 1989, page 56). Planners are directly engaged on this contested terrain (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006; page 58). Economic differences are the main drivers of urban conflicts. Bridging this urban divide needs to be a goal for every plan, cities must build equality (UNHABITAT, 2010).

Due to this, planners need to have new skills that were not so evident before. In planning practice, talk and argument matter (FORESTER, 1989, page 5), especially now because most of the planning tools are based upon the capacity to communicate and involve actors (BALDUCCI, 2008, page 1). Participatory tools are present in several urban interventions. To encourage participation is decisive for obtaining legitimacy. Among the roles of planning, one is to create and nurture hope (FORESTER, 1989, page 21), in which the use of the imagination cannot be avoided (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 28). Creativity is the key for building better alternatives to face the new challenges of a globalizing world.

Understanding the political dimension of every urban development or policy is also quite relevant. The criticisms of specialized sciences, like urban planning, cannot be made without the criticisms of specialized politics, of its tools and ideologies (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 123). They need to give rise to a sustained, comprehensive 'vision' for any given city, and one that speaks to the aspirations of the whole population (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 4) not only specific political groups.

According to John Forester, to solve a problem, you must define it and after, collect all the relevant info, rank values and finally evaluate alternatives (FORESTER, 1989, page 49). How to define what is relevant information in complex societies like the ones we currently have? How to rank values if people have different values? Sometimes they have contradictory ones, sometimes they do not know how to express it, and sometimes they easily change it during processes. These are the complicated issues which planners are dealing with.

7.3. 'Global city' as a planning issue

The second transformation that decisively influenced the challenges for urban planners is the alteration of the object of urban planning action, the cities. Globalization changed the cities around the world with several features. This was foreseen by Friedmann during the eighties: "the mode of world system integration will affect the urbanizing process to which they are subject" (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006; page 60).

According to Short, the second of the two ways planning has fundamentally shifted is the changing definition of urban planning (SHORT, 2004, page 11). I agree with this; however, I support that cities changed first. They became global or globalizing cities. According to Friedmann, these "world cities are the concrete materialization of the world economy" (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006; page 60). Life space and economic restructuring meet in the global cities (FRIEDMANN, 2006, page 65). The problem is that this makes cities more contradictory, they are constantly living in transformation. Internationalization of capital is a combination of complex processes that are indeterminate, contradictory, and irregular (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 60). Urban processes tend to follow this dynamics of the economy, which is even less controllable (SCHULLER, 2009, page 14). The global economic processes and their influence need to be considered in urban planning interventions and theory.

Consequently, Short remembers that Peter Hall already emphasized the idea of the global city as a planning problem and focused on how to deal with population and economic growth (SHORT, 2004, page 9). Short himself argues that global cities should be seen also as a planning issue (SHORT, 2004, page 10).

In strongly capitalistic societies like most of the ones we have (FORESTER, 1989, page 3), it should not be surprising that cities are seen as a product (SCANDURRA, 1997, 91). The 'entrepreneurial city' is a concept linked to this same logic, the logic of money, as discussed in the previous chapter. Public administrators, economists and investors are decisively influencing the design of cities and urban spaces according to this vision. Cities are seen mainly as places for business, not residents. Citizens are considered users, consumers or workers in this new political culture (SHORT, 2004, page 60).

Besides this economic influence, globalization transforms cities in a wide range of factors. The increase in the exchange of ideas, like habits, cultures, and knowledge is one of these important changes. The power of influence by distant organizations or cities is considerably bigger as well. The physical flow of people, like immigrants, temporary workers and tourists is also important.

After analysing this new vision of the cities, the challenges globalization brings, and the importance of global cities as a planning issue, a question needs to be made. How can planners specifically intervene in globalizing and global cities with all these changes occurring?

7.4. Urban Planners and their roles in 'global cities'

Planners are performing three main roles now. They are not required to think in social practices, long-term consequences, and quality of life of the whole population. Their role was reduced to first, and mainly, produce projects based on economic criteria. Second, the creation of modern and 'polished' (ZUKIN, 2006, page 139) environments, typical of global cities, for the establishment of advanced services, fundamental for the global city economies. The use of marketing as a tool in order to show those realizations is part of this job.

The final aim of these projects is to be competitive in the global dispute for investments. This strategy need to be supported, or at least not disturbed. Politicians usually do this job but planners have the prerogative of being neutral (SCANDURRA, 1997, page 56), and being based in technical reasoning only. Due to this, their third task is to legitimate all these practices. Conflicts, discussions about some complicated aspects of this strategy need to be avoided. Stability is a valorized as important by investors.

Urban development comes to be regarded primarily as a question of how to develop business location (SCHULLER, 2009, page 26). Planning has become a way to improve economic efficiency and market success (SHORT, 2004, page 11) rather than a process of improving social welfare. The solely importance of planning seems to be only make evaluations following economic principles. As it was the only and most important principle of the reality

(SCANDURRA, 1997, 11). Furthermore, this economic power cannot be hidden; it needs to be performed in the urban space.

The importance of the built environment's symbolic value in an advanced service economy has been the subject of extensive discussion since at least the mid-1980s (LEHRER, 2006, 334). For real estate market investors, for tourists attraction, for creating a 'cool' environment for top managers and creative talented professionals, for giving an appearance of a wealthy, economic powerful and vibrant city, the creation and manipulation of symbols and images is fundamental. Cities, neighborhoods, buildings, companies need to clearly look successful. Money attracts money.

Due to this, the needs of people are not a priority. Environmental quality becomes mainly based on formal elements (SCANDURRA, 1997, 90). As a result, rather than planners that are more used to dealing with the needs of different populations and think in strategic ways, there is tendency to hire designers for this job (CHRISTIAANSE, 2009, page 22). Their goal is to create spectacular spaces that are almost scenarios where global cities will 'happen'.

Some urbanists have become cultural managers of this new modernity, builders of new images, creators of new languages (SCANDURRA, 1997, 128). Like Forester stressed, planning analysts are selective organizers of attention, they pose and create problems (FORESTER, 1989, page 15). Currently, planners and urban designers are working to create the need for events, the necessity for tourist attractions, and the urgency for building museums or redeveloping waterfronts. Attention is far from social cohesion, basic infrastructure in the poorer neighborhoods or mitigating economic inequalities. Building social housing is not necessarily more important than building a concert hall. It depends on the priorities. Currently, some planners are calling attention only to the 'concert hall', looking for ways to justify it.

Planning is 'the organization of hope'. It needs to correct and prevent false promises, and correct misleading expectations (FORESTER, 1989, page 21). In the 'global city', instead of doing this, most planners, intentionally or unintentionally, are working to increase the hope that competitive cities, that large scale projects, that hosting big events, and consequently that following the global city model is a condition for cities to achieve a better quality of life for most of their inhabitants. They do not encourage real discussion about the development of cities. Global cities change the focus of disputes for a competitive project among different regions (SASSEN, 1994, page 155), with the silence of most planners.

They do not point out that the price for entering in this competition may be too high compared to the possible advantages (SASSEN, 1992, page 159). In this competition there are few winners and lots of losers (SCAN DURRA, 1997, page 97), however no investors, few public officials, and few planners say this. Another point is the polarization brought by the global

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cities. They stimulate a concentration of investments in some areas, in some sectors of the economy and in some skilled professionals. Marginal areas, not advanced service sectors and low qualified workers mostly do not benefit from this globalizing process.

 In the design and re-configuration of planning systems, careful attention should be given to identifying opportunities which can be built on, as well as pressures which could lead to the subversion and corruption of planning institutions (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 19). The planner is generally exposed to the risk of being co-opted by the most influential interests involved (PALERMO, PONZINI; 2010, page 42). This co-option is done by pressure but sometimes also with the agreement of planners, mainly thinking about their own situation.

Sassen said her focus were not on power but on production (SASSEN, 2001, page 6), however planners cannot ignore the political implications of their actions. Currently planners do not, or pretend not, to see the ideology behind this globalizing project, and these strong economic forces that are fundamental to it. Their presumed technical neutrality (SCANDURRA, 1997, page 128), their apparent scientific knowledge is used just for legitimating, just for justifying the existing institutions and projects (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 98). Even if Koolhaas, with all his fame, experience and, as a result, potential power of influencing decisions argues that: 'business players and real estate corporations collaborate very closely with local governments with only marginal influence from architectural offices' (MIMICA, 2009, page 52), imagine the situation of ordinary planners.

7.5. Urban planners and theory

Why are planners having so little relevance in the core decision-making of urban interventions? Besides the powerful economic agents that are strongly influencing planning decisions, I think one of the reasons for this irrelevance is the lack of a deeper theoretical base of urban planners. Their analyses are not rooted in solid arguments, they mostly give their opinions. This is mainly because there is not an epistemology of urbanism, a theoretical core generator of an urban practice (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 146) to support them. Lefebvre said this in the seventies, however it is still a quite updated assertion. Planners have not much more than an opinion sometimes based in previous experience, but still an opinion.

Lefebvre also said that 'each political group and especially each tool, is justified through an ideology created and supported by such group' (LEFEBVRE, 2008, 123). Urban planners can be considered a political group, they have interests in common. They have a tool, urban planning, created and supported by them, which they try to justify. It is also a way to justify themselves. How to hide this awful truth? It is simple. Urbanistic ideology exaggerates the

importance of the discussed actions it allows. It gives the impression, for the ones using such representations, that it is possible to manipulate things and persons in a positive and innovative way (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 141). Planners need these exaggerations to justify their role and the lack of theory in their practice.

Research has fundamentally remained separated from planning culture, which has long preferred more simplifying views (PALERMO, PONZINI; 2010, page 42). Reflection, reasoning about their actions should be more common than it currently is for planners. Discourse of urbanism is a normative one; it can be only indirectly connected to any scientific practice (CHOAY, 1997, page 2). Choay goes deeper and says the computer and the resource of statistics are being used to analyze urban data, while information theory, econometrics modeling, and even thermodynamics are helping to construct a theory of the development of human settlements (CHOAY, 1997, page 48). This assistance is not a problem considering it comes together with a social approach. Planning deals with cities and social practices, it would be useless to wait for a rigid and clear scientific answer for each of the urban problems. It is not a rocket science (GAINES, JAEGER; 2009, page 114). Although the theory of urban planning could be more frequently analyzed, evaluated, and enriched.

Texts in urban theories contain no auto-critique and are not made the object of any epistemological interrogation (CHOAY, 1997, page 256). Scholars, according to Robinson, are more likely to blame others – capitalists, elite urban managers - never their own erroneous analyses (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222). They only produce the linguistic indicators of scientific language. Urban planning could be commensurate with modern thought (GAINES, JAEGER; 2009, page 114). Besides this increase of quality, urban planning could also have an increase of quantity of literature produced. The discussion of urban issues should be more present among urban planners.

The task of talking about cities, especially global cities I would add, for a long time has been given to philosophers, sociologists, and also geographers. Multidisciplinarity is a good aspect, however it is desirable that such a task come back to be discussed also by urbanists (SCANDURRA, 1997, 9). Koolhaas, besides arguing that planners and architects have stopped thinking about the city, said that in the meantime, as they are reluctant in step into this void, others are stepping into it with a degree of eagerness that is about to change the whole nature of the city (MIMICA, 2009, page 52). In the American context this is even more evident. Pacione directly asked 'Who plans America? Planners or developers' (PACIONE, 2002, page 223).

Friedmann, for a long time, has called attention to the 'world city' as a planning issue and the role of planners. In his classic 'World city formation: an agenda for research and practice'

(FRIEDMANN, WOLFF; 1982), the authors underlined in 1982 the 'tasks we face considering the world city formation' and 'their implications for planning' (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006; page 60). He put forth a fundamental question that is still asking for an answer: how could planners gain ascendancy over the world economic forces? (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006, page 58).

Talking about planning, Lefebvre made a radical critique to the reductive disciplines, of the partial sciences, specialized, institutionalized as such. According to him, taken isolated, they get lost in the fragmentation, confusion, dogmatism or nihilism (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 123).

Currently, the urban planning studies, especially in global cities theory, are influenced by other disciplines like geography, sociology, management and primarily, as Friedmann noted, economy. Otherwise, other disciplines could give their contribution to this main core of urban planning theory. In order to understand the politics of the decision making processes and their ideologies, political science should be better integrated. In order to understand other scales of these political and economical connections, international relations could help. In order to integrate sustainable practices in different scales and moments, environmental engineering could be used.

Finally, urban planning, in order to understand itself, in order to question the meanings and motivation of several of its norms and practices, philosophy could be an interesting resource. The use of philosophy can be useful for escaping from prejudices, preconceptions and tradition, to question the reasons; the meanings of apparently established concepts (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 129; SANTOS, 2000, page 47). Theoretical terms depend on the premises (SCANDURRA, 1997, 109). The current theory that justifies urban interventions is based in weak premises. Urban studies, for example, have accepted the categories of world/global city as analytically robust (ROBINSON, 2006, page 222). Philosophical questioning is the only way to correct these mistakes.

Planning teaching difficulties are a reason, a consequence of this weak epistemological foundation of urban studies. UNHABITAT perceived that planners may not have adequate training. There is a significant need for updating and curriculum reform in many urban planning schools, particularly in many developing and transitional countries where urban planning education has not kept up with current challenges and emerging issues (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 20). Among these new challenges the question of understanding different approaches from different places is underlined. Urban planning schools should educate students to work in different world contexts by adopting the 'oneworld' approach (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 21). Another challenge is the efficiency of the advice given by planners as they may be good or bad, taken or ignored (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 4).

7.6. Conclusion

The current crisis in urban planning has both an internal and external dimension. The way societies now try to solve their problems is related with the internal dimension. Heterogeneous societies require adequate tools for dealing with their conflicts. The use of real participation, with cooperation, involvement, trust and solidarity is the key for building solid democratic practices and foster community sense. These changes need to be present inside the whole planning process. The external dimension is about the cities. They changed a lot under globalization processes. New scales, new actors, new dynamics are present.

Another fundamental feature of global cities is the huge power of economic agents. This concentration of resources and power is typical of global cities. To fight against the interests of these actors is useless. In the urban planning field, even more than in the architecture, a more reflexive, adaptive way of viewing planning and architecture is quite important. Wall calls this "archinomics" (WALL, 2010). It supports that it is necessary to consider economic factors not as obstacles but as factors that need to be totally considered from the beginning of the planning process.

Like Palermo and Ponzini underline, it is the construction of the possible (PALERMO, PONZINI; 2010, page 68) or what Short calls a viable, livable city (SHORT, 2004, page 9). The three main coordinates: territory, society and economy (SALZANO, 2008, page 30) of Salzano are very similar to the three e's: ecology, equality and economy of Gaines and Jaeger (GAINES, JAEGER; 2009, page 211). In both descriptions, economy is present. Not as a main driver but among other aspects.

This more adaptive approach help prevent urban planning from becoming used only for justifying preconceived projects of other actors. This would give room for planners to come back to perform their main task: representing public interests and thinking about the future (SALZANO, 2008, page 15). They are called upon to clarify the issues and to help in searching for solutions (FRIEDMANN, WOLF; 2006; page 58). They have a new professional role: select problems, suggest paths for solving it, encourage the research of alternative views despite their own vision (SALZANO, 2008, page 6).

One of the fields that are presenting this kind of holistic and innovative approaches in planning is in the search for sustainable communities. The city could also demonstrate the value of a more ecological approach to urban planning and architecture (LEHRER, 2006, page 337). However, this can also be used by interested actors for legitimating their urban projects. Each case needs to be extensively monitored because, according to Gaines & Jaeger, all the hype on the eco-cities should not be taken overly seriously (GAINES, JAEGER; 2009, page 9).

Besides this, another important point for increasing the possibilities of urban planners to be able to efficiently intervene in the urban space is to root such work in better reasoning. Instead of continuing to base their work in opinions, examples and other disciplines, urban planners need to produce and also benefit from an authentic urban planning theory.

This discussion about planning under globalization is quite relevant for the developing world. Especially in Africa and Asia, urban planning must prioritize the interrelated issues of rapid urbanization, urban poverty, informality, slums and access to basic service,(UNHABITAT, 2009, page 17). As the urbanization process is largely happening in cities in developing countries, the necessity of efficient tools in the urban planning sector is urgent for these populations. Urban planners, better trained, aware of the political implication of their works, and based in theoretical foundations are much more prepared for improving the quality of life of those populations.

8. Global city as a driver of architecture: the global spectacle

8.1. Introduction

This chapter would like to address architecture, not only by itself, but also in terms of the kind of vision it represents. Architecture always has a meaning, it has been and it is, a way society expresses itself. This chapter will discuss architecture as a final product of a specific vision of cities, the global cities. In the last decades, architecture has been used to construct the scenery, and this is not only a metaphor, sometimes the lack of authenticity makes cities look like scenery in which global cities happen. Architecture is in a moment of crisis, or at least experiencing a transition period. According to Piñon, the current emblematic buildings are a proof of the decline of architecture (PIÑON, 2009). Leach supports the necessity of 'rethinking' architecture (LEACH, 1999, page 1).

Koolhaas argues about the need to search for authenticity (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 320). Such authenticity has been substituted by imitation. This tool of architecture has been used to instantaneously serve as a reminder, in a project, the aspects of a global city. The sameness is not just an accident of shared technologies or similar architects, it is a desired end. Short supports that global cities are in the center of the problems of architecture. He continues saying 'there are recurring features that exist in global cities and are the focus of desire of globalizing cities' (SHORT, 2004, page 60). According to him, global cities, 'like their airports, are all very different, yet the same' (SHORT, 2004, page 60). The global economy needs these standardized built environments (SASSEN, 2009), these polished landscapes (ZUKIN, 2006, page 138). How did it start? How did architecture change? How are architects working under the global city phenomena? What is the meaning of the global city for architecture?

8.2. Evolution

According to Manuel Castells, until the end of modernism, architecture was 'the semiconscious way societies used to say something' (CASTELLS, 1996, page 448). The 'machine for living' of Le Corbusier, for example, also expressed this concept. Architecture was adopting the growing importance of technology in that society as a value by itself. A strong functionalism and rationalism was implemented in the architectonic solution of different buildings. 'Form follows function' was sprawl in the minds of almost all architects. New materials like the development of reinforced concrete, industrialization of building process,

urbanization and modernization of cities and also of ideas should be present in each building through its modernist architecture. However, it did not last a century.

Modernist architecture paid too much attention to numbers and strict models. It believed too much that the determinism of designed places would influence human behaviors. So it did not give enough space for diversity, for spontaneous ways of living. The date of the death of modernist architecture was even established by some scholars: It was in 1972 with the implosion of the Pruitt-Igoe Urban Housing Project in St. Louis, Missouri, USA. The prized project did not work. The decay caused by a lack of community sense of inhabitants and the several failed attempts to reverse this process led to this symbolic end. According to Piñon, abandoning the modernist tradition in the 50´s was suicide (PIÑON, 2009).

Postmodern architecture did not fill the space left by modernist architecture. It is characterized by architectural provocation, irony and code-breaking logic with the use of many styles at the same time. There was an apparent feeling of freedom because there was no more the "tyranny" of a specific way to produce the space. However, as postmodern architecture pretended to celebrate diversity, it actually promoted uniformity (HAILA, 2006, page 285). There is a jump from modern to current architecture. As an example, Zukin talks about new skyscraper office buildings. He says that they lift the urban identity from the modern directly to the spectacular (ZUKIN, 2006, page 139). The ruler, dictating aims and norms to be achieved in this spectacular architecture is money.

One year before the implosion of Pruitt-Igoe, there was another event, a political decision that would help to initiate a new period in the world economy. It was 1971, the breakdown of the Bretton Woods settlement. It was fundamental for the creation of a worldwide financial market that would mean the beginning of the globalization process. Consequently major cities started to be seen as possible important financial center. (TAYLOR, 2008) This was the start of global cities phenomenon. It decisively influenced architecture.

8.3. Filling the gap

This lack of a strong conceptual framework in architecture, at the same time international financial flows started to be decisive in the development of cities, gave room for a new focus in architecture. It is more linked to marketing strategies, to commodification of urban spaces and lack of attention to local traditions in architecture. The 'neglected builder' of the global cities, the real estate market (HAILA, 2006, page 282), was the most evident intersection of these financial interests and physical urban space.

Castells says architecture is nowadays ahistorical and acultural (CASTELLS, 1996, page 449). Leach supports that architecture looks sideways if not backwards to a vision of some "lost" architecture once filled with meaning (LEACH, 1999, page 3). I do not think architecture is acultural. I think there is another kind of culture, new values are represented by such architecture. I disagree also with Leach, architecture is filled with a meaning, a new meaning.

I think what we have now is another logic, the logic of money. Castells argues that the built space was one of the best ways for understanding the codes of the basic structure of society's most important values. I think it still is. Architecture is committed to sell something or to sell itself, through its buildings and urban spaces. The theoretical gap was filled by investors, developers, and public authorities looking for a way to promote their cities. Professor Short argues, for example, that architecture became currently 'a commercial art form' (SHORT, 2004, page 75).

The architect Ronald Wall, updating the former slogan, says that now 'forms follows function follows flows' (WALL, 2010). Zaera-Paolo goes directly to the point 'form follows money' (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 397). This is, in my opinion, the new slogan for contemporary architecture. I would just add that money, mainly as investments flows, follows global cities. Consequently form follows global cities.

Façades, for example, are not viewed anymore as a way to protect a building and provide fresh air or natural lighting. They need to be fantastic. They may be of glass, to reflect the surroundings. They can also be counted as space for front lights. They can change colors through modern light systems, they may have high-tech screens with advertisement 24 hours a day to sell products or promote something. They do not work anymore to show the truth of materials like in the modernist period. They do not work to present different styles like in the architectural revivalism, for example. Façades now need to help selling products. They need to help to sell the building or maybe to sell the city as a global city. They need to help to make money.

Besides this valorization of money, another feature that is typical of our societies is individualism. It is represented in architecture. Cities are competing with each other (SANTOS, 2000, page 47, SCANDURRA, 1997, page 97). Companies are competing with each other. Citizens are competing as well. They fight for jobs, to have a better car than their neighbors, to have space in the streets in order to use these cars. They want to show off. In the United States, the average size of houses is two times bigger than 30 years ago. This is partially a result of exaggerated individual consumerism. Most of what we consume is, maybe unconsciously, in order to posit ourselves relative to others (SHORT, 2004, page 120). However, how can architecture and architects be individualist? Buildings and designers can

compete for attention, for prizes, for certifications, for world records and for distinctiveness. How does it work?

8.4. Individual buildings: the rise of urban icons

In the rise of these urban icons there is apparently a paradox. If, according to Sassen, globalization homogenizes standards for managing, for accounting, for manufacturing and also homogenizes standards for building state-of-the-art office districts and luxury hotels (SASSEN, 2009), how are these unique icons being built? The spread of these standards create a sense of homogeneity. They are novel but indeterminate. They are standardized but unique. The variations are found only in the shape of the building, in the rhythm of the façade, in some new material added or maybe in the colors used however, the pattern is always the same. The idea, the concept is to call attention, to have an eye-catcher. Architectonic decisions are arbitrary. The exceptions to this bad use of iconic buildings most of the time just confirm the rule (GAINES, JAGER; 2009; page 102). There is currently almost no real originality in architecture in the global cities.

In order to confirm this idea, Scruton defines: 'originality is not an attempt to call the attention anyway, or an attempt to shock or disturb, aiming to exclude competition with the world'. For him, it is not just to 'challenge the past or a rude aggression to the expectations'. It is, according to this author, the surprise caused by the intelligent use of those forms. He concludes supporting that 'tradition and originality are part of the same historic process because it is only against tradition that originality becomes evident' (SCRUTON, 2000, page 45).

Currently, there is no clear well established tradition, so it is difficult to find originality. I disagree with Sassen when she said 'these standards do not exclude very original architecture' (SASSEN, 2009). These standards are not traditions. They can be models to be copied, nothing else. While professionals have been presented a stunning outburst of creativity, it has also created an atmosphere in which novelty is often prized over innovation (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 397).

Besides this problem of originality, iconic buildings, architects deal with other challenges. When architects build a project not considering the impact of that neighborhood or even that city, they start to design an individualistic project. To not consider local traditions, specific features of the site or historical social practices, are common mistakes of this kind of approach.

Some architects, city councils, and developers evidently confuse icon with glitter, glamour, expense, or wasteful use of all kinds of resources (GAINES, JAGER; 2009; page 102).

But it can be even worse when these architect design a building trying, looking to promote an individual iconic building instead of the city as a whole. When the aim is only to have an outstanding and unique solution for that program, the urban environmental quality of that city is reduced. The temptation to rely on a single building as an attention-grabbing icon just to feed people's vanity (GAINES, JAGER; 2009; page 100) is big, however the consequences are negative. The city starts to be configured of exceptions (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 397).

To use these exceptions too often has other negative consequences. These exceptions lose much of their importance when they are frequently and arbitrarily used. They are not special, not unique anymore. The city becomes a huge museum of contemporary art. Berlin had become an open-air museum for buildings designed by world-renowned architects' architecture (LEHRER, 2006, page 337). Consequently, the city cannot be well perceived by their inhabitants and users, it is not a 'legible' city anymore. It becomes a 'city shaped by the sum of individual initiatives'. (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 397)

Certainly the city can have exceptions. Despite all this criticism about iconic buildings and their lack of originality, their poor integration with the surroundings, and the problems they generally cause for the legibility of a city, they can be used to build a better urban environment. If well designed, they can, like Aldo Rossi supported, serve to characterize the urban fabric and give it meaning, helping to forge an identity (GAINES, JAGER; 2009; page 100). They can help a city to survive, give it distinctiveness. It can serve as an anchor for some urban requalification, for example. They can be modest but still fulfill and identity-forming function (GAINES, JAGER; 2009; page 100).

The architect and designer Edwin Heathcote of the Financial Times agrees with the use of iconic buildings for creating an identity in some places. He observes though that these buildings are just the most visible part of projects that involve lots of other interventions. He uses the classical example of the Guggenhein Museum in Spain. The 'Bilbao effect' that spread iconic buildings as a solution for brownfield areas aiming to be global tourist and investment destination did not consider other initiatives which helped this project work. He says even that Frank Gehry admitted the museum was just a part of an entire renovation project (HEATHCOTE, 2010).

It is possible to perceive the presence of such exceptions in most global cities when the growing utilization of huge skyscrapers all around the world is observed, as it will be later discussed.

8.5. Individual authors: starchitects

Another feature, that shows how an individualistic way of thinking architecture is growing, is the astonishing 'need' for famous architects to design large projects. The name of the author became as important as the quality of the project itself, maybe more important. As Short clearly observes: 'global and globalizing cities need and want the signature buildings of famous architects as they give a sense of seriousness, a feeling of competition in the global arena at the highest level' (SHORT, 2004, page 73). They are the 'starchitects' or, as Short addresses 'signature architects'.

The buildings designed by such groups of world-renowned architects are called by a specific term. They are called by Lehrer: 'trophy buildings'. These professionals are hired as a 'certain guarantee to get recognition on a world scale' (LEHRER, 2006, 334). Furthermore, the involvement of a particular architect has been able to sometimes subvert budget constraints (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 397). This happens as if one person, as if only a name could be the certainty of a good project.

Short analysed all the Pritzker Prize winners, confirming they are part of this group of architects that became a brand because of the buildings they designed and the marketing they were able to do. He took as an example Norman Foster and showed how his designs were all around the world (SHORT, 2004, page 75). He supports that they form a select group currently responsible for the main projects in the global cities.

The accepted idea that architecture characterized as contemporary, in fashion, and technological need to look like the ones present in top global cities, is rooted in the mind of architects in several countries. As a consequence, the final results are extremely similar. This is producing a 'homogeneous architecture' (CASTELLS, 1996, page 448), not related with local traditions, local needs or local preferences that could give a singular touch to each buildings. The paradox is that a lot of marketing is done to advertise the fact that a famous architect is designing some building, at the same time, the investment to pay such famous architects is huge. The final result is pretty similar to the architecture currently produced in every global city.

Sometimes this sameness can be useful depending on the strategy adopted. Architecture is the easiest way to link places all around the world with the global cities image. The most recognizable global language is architecture. Short addresses the power of such an idea because it can "turn vision into concrete realities and solidifies messages of power and prestige" (SHORT, 2004, page 73). Due to this, if an architect wants his project to automatically connect with the most modern global cities in the world, the use of the same language is the

easiest strategy. Many cities have sought to mimic aspects of the global city profile (BOSCHKEN, 2008, page 12). This actually reduces the role of architects. They just copy, emulate global city environments, following generally strict briefings made by developers.

In the best case scenario, the architect is empowered by formalizing an envelope that will be attractive to potential customers, create brand value for the occupier or seduce local planning committees and politician to allow higher floor/are ratios (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 396). This kind of client arrives with a decision already made. This is problematic for architecture. According to Mahfuz, a good client is as important as good architecture (MAHFUZ, 2001). Currently the developer calls the architect just to legitimate the plans of something which is already decided (PIÑON, 2009).

The superexposition and valorization of starchitects reinforces their role as stars, as important brands to be sold with the building. They benefit, especially very famous architects, from this large exposition in the media, so they do not claim more power in the decision process of the projects. Their silence is not adequate. Koolhass supports that architecture should never be passive, because it is an agent of change (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 320). Architects became managers of images (MAHFUZ, 2001). In my opinion, they become managers of their own images also.

When an architect has mainly to offer to his client his personal image and the brand of his name but not his experience, talent and technical knowledge, there is a decline of architecture as a relevant profession (MAHFUZ, 2001). In the global city spectacle, architects are not the main actors.

The current lack of a deeper reflection about architecture as a discipline ends for encouraging individual point of views. Architects, with no clear conceptual framework and without solid architectonic values are easily influenced by other actors power. They do not collectively discuss their common problems. Most of the time, especially investors and developers will take the principal decisions instead of these architects. This exposes the crisis in architecture as a practice and also as a theory.

8.6. Individual practices: not a theory

Despite the boosterism for technological architectonic innovations, large scale projects and enchantment caused by complex buildings, there is currently a very pessimist vision about the current value of architecture. Koolhaas, for example, states that 'we are living the waning hours of the mythology of the architect' (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 320). According to him, the reason for this is the lack of a theory of cities. Since the seventies, there hasn't been any

theoretical description of the city by architects. Architects should start thinking and reasoning about their practice.

This gap in theory leads to conflicts that seemed already solved. One of the fundamental discussions of the discipline, debated from the time of the famous Roman architect Vitruvius, was the 'venustas, firmitas and utilitas' idea (beauty, technique and utility). It was apparently solved. The modernist approach of the 'truth of the materials' was the answer. However, it came to the arena again. Expression in architecture has become an alternative, detached from functional and constructive concerns. Tension between expression and efficiencies has never been greater (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 401). Other demonstrations of 'architecture's death' is 'at the hands of advertising culture' (LEACH, 1999, page 3). Urban environments are very important for this debate about culture and consumerism.

As explained before, the decisions are barely, effectively done by architects. The theory, or at least the discussions and debates about the cities have not been driven by them. The discursive 'realm of architecture and urban redevelopment was not left to the self-aclaimed experts, but instead became part of a general public discourse' (LEHRER, 2006, page 337). Architectural theory increasingly took on an extra-architectural dimension (LEACH, 1999, page 2). Discourse about creating an identity through the built environment was also about a cultural battle over the meaning of architecture (LEHRER, 2006, page 337). However, Leach asks: 'how logically might we expect an architecture of any kind to emerge from such theory that today is largely extra-architectural?' (LEACH, 1999, page 3)

The globalization process and specifically the global cities, which can be understood as the best physical representation of this phenomenon, are in the core of this crisis in architecture. Traditional pillars of globalization are responsible for this situation. Architecture, having been enslaved in turn by monumentality, consumerism, and the spectacle, it has lost its vital essence. It traded substance for appearance, depth for surface, aesthetic form for image. (LEACH, 1999, page 3)

Sometimes there are clearer conflicts between the theory of global cities and architecture. Koolhaas, for example, noticed how Saskia Sassen introduced the word 'cityness', and supports it is a unuseful word one. However it has immediately been picked up, proving there is a huge eagerness and a huge need for new words. Architects could at least try to find new words (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 320).

A serious 'rethinking" of architecture is necessary. It cannot be undertaken without upsetting the 'structure and emphases of the traditional profession, of traditional typologies, and of traditional modes of envisaging the architectural subject' (LEACH, 1999, page 3). It is important to underline that such reasoning, if done outside architecture will unfortunately

only serve to widen the gap between theory and practice (LEACH, 1999, page 3). Going in this same direction, Koolhaas urges that the most important thing that architects can do is to write new theory (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 320). Such theory needs to be aware of the global cities influence, aware of the role of urban space as democratic place, and aware of the political and ideological pressures that some actors can do over architects.

8.7. The construction of the global city

Architecture and global cities both benefit from the dissemination of each other. They are strongly connected concepts. True global cities are full of exemplars of contemporary architecture. Architecture helps to disseminate the values and images of global cities and it helps as well to concentrate investments in some areas of cities. Many, if not all, cities act as transmission points for globalization (SHORT, 2004, page 45) and also architecture. Due to this, the conflicts and characteristics of both architecture and global cities are very similar in some aspects.

Architecture and engineering companies are also part of what Sassen addresses as the advanced service sector that is in the core of the command and control concept of her global city theory (SASSEN, 2001, page 359). Asia's rising powers sell the West toys and oil and purchase world-class architecture and engineering in return (FOREIGN POLICY, 2010). In China, for example, the leading growth country in the world, there is a consistent import of western precedents, which is not really very useful (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 321).Within the projects sent to other countries, inside the minds of architects sent to command such works, the global city image is largely present and adopted as an aim.

Architecture has been strongly used to help construct this image of global cities. Individual buildings and whole buildings complexes are being used increasingly as a means of establishing a city on the map of world locations and destinations. (LEHRER, 2006, 334) Developers are quite literally building cityscapes that concretize global influences. (SHORT, 2004, page 78) Dubai, Doha, Shanghai, Singapore and other cities are very good examples. This phenomenon also happened in developed countries: there were those who wanted to use new projects in Berlin in order to connect with the global language of office towers made out of glass and steel (LEHRER, 2006, page 337). In Sydney, for example, they used the 'Baltimore model' (SHORT, 2004, page 60). Architecture, just like global cities model is transmitted to other places.

International style became the architectural trademark (PIZARRO, WEI, BANERJEE, 2003, page 123), at the same time, being a global city started becoming the goal of almost every city.

Lehrer shows, for example, that in Berlin, during the 70´s and the 80's, locally specific strategies for urban redevelopment met with internationally celebrated architectural approaches (LEHRER, 2006, page 337). Just like the global city model, as it will be discussed further, the North American and, to a much lesser extent, European models of office buildings are being replicated in several countries. The selection of projects that should move onward is made through indirect forms. Those that are linked to this new globalizing discourse are green-lighted while others are marginalized to irrelevancy (SHORT, 2004, page 85)

This, just like the global cities around the world, requires enormous energy to accommodate cultural, social and climatic differences and give rise to enormous conflicts. The clash of ideologies appeared, at first glance, to be about stylistic considerations, they are actually about the relationship between the construction of built environment and larger social, cultural and economic transformations (LEHRER, 2006, page 338). Architecture is the arena where the local meets the global. In Germany for example, it plays a significant role within the public discourse or urban development and local politics (LEHRER, 2006, page 337).

Koolhaas also points to an architectural issue that is present in the discussion about global cities. He urges the necessity to discuss architecture in developing countries. These countries are facing rapid urbanization, several projects are being developed there. It is exactly in this poverty that we may be able to find subtler ways of intervening (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 321). He also stresses the uselessness of discussing a city like New York when, at the same time, several cities in poor countries are being built from the scratch. This discussion about the westernized vision of the world is the global city research. Architecture and global cities issues are very close. Koolhaas suggests 'we need to shift the light to ourselves, not look back to what we have, but what we might have again' (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 323) to effectively intervene in the global and mainly in the globalizing cities.

8.8. City as a spectacle: image consumption

This weak theoretical vision of architecture is constituted by the pressure to use cities as connectors to global cities networks and the presence of starchitecs trying to promote themselves and their buildings more than the whole cities end for creating a not authentic city. The city becomes a spectacle; it needs to be constantly performed to be attractive. There is a necessity to create a cosmopolitan atmosphere that helps cities create their global image which is done mainly through art and culture, in which architecture plays a fundamental role (SHORT, 2004, page 64).

Architecture is currently understood as a product to be consumed (MAHFUZ, 2001). Products are designed to be outdated. Architecture is used to being outdated too. They create images which are admired by investors and tourists. However, after sometime, they need to be replaced with new images. The dissemination and consumption of the image (LEACH, 1999, page 2) are a strong current trend in architecture. In order to respond to this crazy global demand for images, the building process of important buildings has been used as well. Models, construction site pictures, 3D images are all disseminated long time before the building can produce such images by itself (LEHRER, 2006, page 338).

This constant image production costs a lot of money. However, Short adds that truly global cities need to 'go beyond mere money-making' (SHORT, 2004, page 64), they need to create a modern and cosmopolitan environment. They need to produce the landscape of power (ZUKIN, 2006, page 141) where the decisions will be taken. The transnational elites, fundamental for the global cities, require these spaces. They are attracted by these places. In the logic of some public policy makers, these elites have the power to decide investments, they have money to spend on these cities, stimulating the local commerce of luxury goods, and they also generally do not require public services like healthcare, for example. Consequently, the investment for creating pleasurable places for them may compensate these cities.

To create such images, the architecture of these buildings needs to be spectacular. They need to be breath-taking. The seduction of images created by architecture (LEACH, 1999, page 3) is very effective in producing such atmosphere. To be seductive, architecture needs to be surprising, complex, and permanently innovative. Due to this, simplicity has been considered lack of creativity (MAHFUZ, 2001); a rational solution of the spaces is considered lack of courage.

Cities with truly global pretensions need art and culture. This is performed in concert halls, theaters, and museums. However, as important as this, is the cosmopolitan atmosphere created by the presence of important people, businessmen, tourists, artists, creative people, cultural events, and expositions. This is achieved with 'cool' options for housing, interesting gentrified neighborhoods, restaurants, and luxury hotels. This atmosphere 'signifies and creates global cities' (SHORT, 2004, page 75)

8.9. Global city towers

In several global cities of the world, the construction of high towers became a trend. After two-decades of lapse of high-rise buildings, it is back in vogue (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 394). Cities like Dubai, Kuala-Lumpur, Shanghai, São Paulo and Tokyo are watching the rebirth

of this architectonic typology. Even in Europe, where there is a tradition of exiling tall buildings far from downtown, like in La Defense in Paris or the Canary Wharf in London tendency (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 394), the rise of projects like the City Life in Milan strongly proves the rebirth of this trend.

However it is no longer the outcome of land shortage and urban speculation or the consequence of construction technological improvements like it was in New York or London. It is a signal of global cities. The skyscrapers have become 'the *sine qua non* of place in the global hierarchy of cities' (ZUKIN, 2006, page 141). They synthesize features of global cities in one building. They are iconic, spectacular, designed by famous architects hired by powerful international investors. They are also a visible point where architecture meets global cities.

The fascination is not just with their renewed importance and urban charisma, the glamour of high-life, the breathtaking views, the vertigo caused by buildings swaying in the wind or the experience of living with cutting-edge technology (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 394). The feeling of power, in my opinion, is the main cause of their importance; the power of the few able to afford to live there. The power of the few cities that can be interesting enough for investors to put giant amount of investments in just one single building in that city. The marvelous and doomed tower of Babel, for example, is erected against a horizon of ambivalence (CHOAY, 1997, page 47). Global cities towers are erected with the same aim. They concentrate investments, important people, and attention against other ambivalent places and cities.

They are built to be the most important objects of a given city. They produce the identity of a city. If the European cities were recognizable by their cathedrals, the current towers have the same aim. Zaera-Polo argues that developers and planners are requested to produce dramatic tall buildings 'sometimes' driven by the goal of monumentality (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 401). I think they always are driven by it. They are designed to be iconic.

As the global city model, they are shown as examples of urban quality by international developers. As the global city model, their aim is to be replicated as often as the market demand circumstances allow. Just like the global city model, these towers require a substantial level of investment. Just like the global city model, skyscrapers are often linked to global economic process, like foreign investment and migrant workers. They put also 'unprecedented pressure on urban cores to accommodate new ones, often forcing the city leaders to rethink their planning policies' (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 397). Consequently they are the ideal battleground for global trends and local users, having architecture as the mediator.

As in the global cities, the discourse about towers needs to be carefully analysed. Despite the discourse of densification, developers, and especially policy makers, should realize

that high-rises reaching more than 300 meters into the sky are economically inefficient and technologically non-sensical, nothing in common with sustainable building. We must devise planning and architectural measures that emphasize precisely local specifics features (GAINES, JAGER; 2009; page 100). Skyscrapers in a city like Milan, with a consolidated historic urban fabric, and in cities like Dubai, with a strong natural horizontal image of the desert are frequently too aggressive for those environments.

However, Zaera-Polo proposes a hybrid approach. In his article, Taxonomy of Towers, he first recognizes the complex relationship between high-rise buildings and cities but supports that the population growth requires more sophisticated policy than just limiting heights. (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 397). He exemplifies that strategic location of landmarks to construct new views, the design of guidelines or environmental performance for tall buildings, the delimitation of zones and finally density vs transport analysis could help to produce more sustainable skyscrapers.

8.10. Conclusion

Architecture is fundamental in any discussion about global cities. The rise of starchitects, urban icons, cities as spectacles, the rebirth of skyscrapers and the problems in the theory of architecture are all related to the global cities process and its consequences. Architecture has a chaotic multifaceted nature, dealing with economics, politics, aesthetics, civilization, however it still maintains at least a sympathetic and sometimes impressive ambition to connect the dots (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 321) like the global cities that are is a very wide subject, connected to different disciplines. Among these points, Lehrer supports the importance of the political question in this discussion. He urges that architects should understand architecture more than merely aesthetically or economically motivated. The discourse about it draws on previous time periods and their ideologies about architecture (LEHRER, 2006, page 337).

These ideologies are linked in some sense to justice. Justice is the core concept that can synthesize, in my opinion, the solutions for all the issues in the architecture of global cities. Justice in global cities and its architecture can be explained by two main ideas. The first one is the justice against economical interests and its influence. The second is justice for the yet unborn, the sustainability of the urban space in global cities.

Addressing the first topic, Ronal Wall observes that the influence of investors and their advertising strategies are controlling the way architecture and planning work according to their interests. Due to this, he proposes a more integrated view of seeing architecture (WALL, 2010). He argues that economics should be inserted inside the architectonic process and not

drive it. He calls this idea "archinomics". According to him, this is the only way to avoid architects and planners becoming just executers of others ideas. He continues adding that this new way of viewing architecture requires a more reflexive, adaptive planning. It should be aware of its multi-scalar context and its multi-disciplinarity. This is a good example of how the field of architecture and planning are being increasingly destabilized because of the effects of globalization and external forces created by it that influence our cities.

Still in the same topic and with a similar approach to Wall, Zaera Polo advocates the necessity of developing the typological knowledge that could reactivate the synergies across the divides inside architecture. For this, the creation of a new relationship between efficiency and expression, which cannot ignore the context of given technology and marketplace fundamentals (ZAERA-POLO, 2007, page 397).

The second idea that can motivate solutions for the crises in architecture and in global cities is sustainability. However, even sustainability has become a commercial fetish because the architecture with quality has always been sustainable (PIÑON, 2009). As a discourse it is irrelevant. He supports also that this is a problem of justice. Non sustainable buildings are, for example, with a more expensive structure than it could be or with the façades inadequate for that environment (PIÑON, 2009).

Edwin Heathcote gives good examples of real sustainable architecture principles. Huge shopping malls and big skyscrapers, two typical programs in our cities, do not have the flexibility to be used in other periods of history. Big stadiums and Expo sites could also be added to this list. He continues saying flexible architecture is one that permits modifications without losing the sense of place and without wasting resources that could be reused. As examples, he points the SoHo in New York and some inner areas in major cities in Europe. Artists, designers, studios used former industrial buildings in these cities. This possibility of continuity is just possible because this urban fabric was flexible enough to accommodate some changes like the reallocation of industrial activities. But he asks: 'what will happen with giant skyscrapers or the current isolated shopping malls in the future?' He asks also: 'are they flexible to accommodate new functions without changing cities landscapes or requiring too many resources for adaptations?' (HEATHCOTE, 2010)

Heathcote concludes saying that if we consider some of the most interesting buildings designed last years, we can see how it is important to have some continuity in our cities and how this is not a constraint but an opportunity. In London, the reuse of a former power station for the Tate modern Museum is a good example. In Berlin, the Neues Museum used consolidated buildings as well. Both are innovative, modern and audacious projects. They are new icons reusing former structures, not destroying previous memories of those communities.

Good alternatives for architecture in global cities exist. The typical need for speed in architecture is used against these new alternatives. They are labeled as experimental and they will not be tested and therefore, in the current market economy, they will be labeled as irrelevant (KOOLHAAS, 2007, page 323). The challenge is to not accept these labels. Global cities should not drive architecture. Sustainable architecture must drive global cities.

9. Global city as a product: the real estate market influence

9.1. Introduction

If you type into an internet browser 'globalcity.com ' you will not be redirected to a research group, nor to a portal with articles about global cities, nor a ranking of global cities around the world, you will enter into a real estate company website. This did not happen by chance, the real estate market is quite an important driver of global cities transformations. Urban space has become a product; its negotiation has become fundamental in the world economies (LEFEBVRE, 2008, 139). What is strange is that this is not well addressed by scholars or by society in general. The American real estate crisis in 2008 was a sign demonstrating these two facts. First, the size of the crisis showed the importance of the sector to the whole economy. Second, the surprise caused by a world crisis, initiated by the real estate market, proved how the sector is not well studied. How does this growing importance start? Why has the sector become so important? In which sense is this related with global cities? Why is it not a theme of further studies?

9.2. Growing importance of the real estate market

The real estate market has been a powerful agent of urban transformations. Harvey said for example that drugs and the real estate sector were the most powerful forces in New York in the eighties (HARVEY, 2002, page 420). With the reduction of criminality in the 90´s in New York, one might surmise that the real estate market, now, could be the primary source. Lefebvre argued in the seventies that the real estate sector could supplant the industrial sector in importance. (LEFEBVRE, 2008, 144). Other products can be produced almost *ad infinitum*. Urban space is a finite resource. This gave room for speculation. The product was never only the building or the lot by itself; it was also the possibility of the rise of prices in that area. This process of speculation increased a lot with the globalization of financial flows (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 140) making the prevision of the growth of the real estate market of Lefebvre true.

Real estate speculation meant a new perspective for capitalism that until globalization seemed fatigued. It found on the urban space, in the real estate market speculation and big works a new chance for increasing profits (LEFEBVRE, 2008, 140). Investors from other sectors of the economy started using the real estate market as an opportunity for speculation. In the globalized economy, such investors can also be from other countries of the world, increasing

the amount of money involved. Consequently, the power of real estate companies and the size and importance of their interventions are huge.

Foreign investments and the integration of markets, also real estate markets, created this scenario. The trend in urban development according to Haila is that this process is advancing even more (HAILA, 2006, page 286). One of the reasons is that such integration in the world economy increases the possibility of crisis in different places in the world. With such interconnected economies, one place influences other markets. The tendency for the financial flows during these turbulences is to concentrate even more in the property market (LEFEBVRE, 2008, 144).

This change could be perceived in the recent crisis started in the American real estate market. The consequences were spread in the entire US and in the world economy. According to Sassen, the explanations were in the low income neighborhoods in the United States. The way these financial firms used to make profits was not payment on the mortgage, even with high interest rates; it was the bundling of lots of these mortgages to banks and international investors. Borrower capacity of payment was not decisive for the profits of investors. With few regulations in the sector, the beginning of the crisis was a question of time. It was the confirmation of how the real estate market is connected also to financial firms and especially international ones (SASSEN, 2010).

With the rapid urbanization in Asia, the improvement of living conditions of people in other developing countries and consequently the search for better housing conditions, the scarcity of well localized land is increasing in these countries. This huge demand is leading to an increase of the real estate sector in these places. Developing countries are on the top lists of the portfolios of investments of global property companies. These places are balancing the losses of the European and American real estate market that have no prevision of short term gains. More about the functioning of the real estate market in two cities in a developing country, Brazil, will be showed in the next chapters.

After understanding the importance of this sector, especially its increasing economical power, several questions come to mind. How do real estate developers enter in each city? What are the main tools to guarantee their interests? What is the global city image used for in the real estate market?

9.3. Operation of the real estate sector

The real estate developers do not count only on this natural increase in their importance. They stimulate this process in order to become more powerful. How did they

achieve this? By making alliances. The first was with municipalities and public authorities in general. Mainly through the support of electoral campaigns, the real estate market creates strong links with mayors, town councilors and other authorities. In the American municipal governments, such intimate relationships between local elected officials and real estate market interest is quite common (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL; 2002; page 12).

Besides these political issues, some authorities believe, or at least pretend to believe, that the real estate market should be aided by public subsidies or flexible regulation. This happens because of competitive pressures among cities. In virtually all cities, policy-makers have perceived their economic base as endangered by competition from other places. As a response, they have created programs that would attract the expansion of business, usually office-based and hospitality sectors. Consequently, they have provided various kinds of financial assistance and regulatory relief to developers and occupiers of new offices, retail or entertainment-oriented space (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL; 2002; page 11).

These subsidies have also been supported by elite and middle-class consumers seeking a more exciting downtown and attractive, centrally located housing. Some sectors of the economy are considered 'marginal business', as a consequence, they have suffered from government neglect. (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL; 2002; page 11). However, this idea of the priorities of public administration may not necessarily be shared by other parts of the population. These different comprehensions of the space are connected to different ideologies (LEFEBVRE, 2008, 142). Due to this, conflicts in the urban space are happening a lot (HARVEY, 2002, page 430).

In order to avoid being regulated by the municipal laws, real estate market interests respond using three different tools. First, as explained above, they try to work inside the government, influencing public officials and politicians. Second, if the first is not possible, they try to work outside these regulations, mostly through urban operations. This well-know tool works in a project-by-project basis rather than a comprehensive planning (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL; 2002; page 11). It makes easier for investors to influence the way some specific areas will be changed. This tool is also faster, with much less bureaucracy, than changing a whole masterplan, for example. The third way is with the government, generally with public-private partnerships.

Consequently, Fainstein argues, that 'The character of the built environment both determines the profits and looses that derive from investments made within a given territory' (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL; 2002; page 10). I would say that it is just the opposite: profits and losses are determining the character of the built environment. This is just possible because of the commitment between private market interests and public officials. The user became just a

possible space buyer (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 141) or space user. Space is manipulated mainly with consideration to market interests. A good example of this occurs in many central business districts. They result from a concentration of investment in office buildings and retail establishments in certain areas. They welcome certain kinds of activities and exclude others, enhance the potential profitability of buildings within their boundaries.

This is the problem. The built environment is relevant for the whole population. Much of the quality of life of urban populations depends on the liveability of the urban space. Governments should act to balance real estate market interests with the public interest. Their commitment to the property market is very strong. If the state cannot work to support public interest, another important actor could take care of the interests of most of the population: the urban planner. What is the role of urban planners?

There is no space left for their work (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 143). There is almost no chance to perform their primary task which is avoid that few take advantage on the costs of many (SALZANO, 2008, page 29). The only work left for planners is to dissimulate economic strategies (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 127), dissimulate that land renting is the main aim (SALZANO, 2008, page 29). They just legitimate actions following primarily market interests. It is the strategy of profit, the logic of the industrial space (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 143). The city is seen 'just like firms and farms, they are creatures of the market' (WORLD BANK, 2009, Page 128), mainly the real estate market.

As a result, the task of the planner is only to put a positive, humanistic, and technological appearance, to the capitalist strategy. Urban planning hires this giant operation. It hires this fundamental aspect and its aims (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 141). This happens for two reasons which Lefebvre discussed. Some planners just ignore, or pretend that urban planning, objective in its appearance, is actually working for some class. The strategy needs to seem like logic. Planners do not perceive, or again, they pretend, that they are inside production relations, when most of the time, they are following orders (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 141).

Another task left to urban planning is the city marketing. Selling the city is something important in this capitalist strategy, so marketing is a powerful tool. Due to this, some planners have become cultural managers (SACANDURRA, 1997, page 128), dealing with big events, managing spectacles and promoting new projects.

According to Haila, the big importance of this symbolic aspect is a novelty in the global city politics (HAILA, 2006, page 283). In order to promote themselves, cities are promoting and selling not only their big projects but the whole building process. From the decision of the architect, generally a "starchitect" selected in an international competition, the design process, and now also the construction process. The importance is to use the new buildings for

the creation of images, symbols of worldliness and cosmopolitanism. This symbolic aspect is a response to the appearance of this new influential agent in urban development, the global real estate investors (HAILA, 2006, page 283).

Decisions to invest are based on estimates concerning future rents and value increases. They are based on beliefs rather than facts because of the unpredictable nature of the property market. Discourse on urban spaces motivates and assure investors much more than numbers or graphics (HAILA, 2006, page 283). These discourses are generally supported by images, the signs of success. The best city to live, the best city to make business, the capital of culture, the one with the best architecture are all images that city officials and investors try to link to their cities. However, nowadays there is no better symbol of modernity, prosperity and success than the appearance of a global city. Cities need to seem economic healthy (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL; 2002; page 10) to attract investors, big events and tourists.

As a consequence, the building process no longer involves just the conception of an idea and its realization; it is equally about the production of images between a projects inception and completion (LEHRER, 2006, page 334). Leher also stresses that the speed and assertiveness with which images are produced, leave a physical imprint in the global production of images, also long before the building is able to work itself for this aim (LEHRER, 2006, page 334).

The operation of worldly superstars, including developers, architects and private-sector financial institutions, concerted in designing the landscapes in all global cities, is part of the strategy (HAILA, 2006, page 285). The architect is generally chosen in an international architecture competition with a previous first stage with several proposals evaluated by a committee. This is shown by the official discourses as a possibility of participation of the society not as a marketing tool which it actually is. The final decision with a spectacle in the announcement of the winner is promoted.

That is not all; the building process needs to be displayed as well. Cities need to use every moment to sell the building, to sell the image of the global city. Big 3D models, mega events to launch each part of the building, the possibility of visits to the construction site and special treatment for the media are part of it. It is the spectacularization of the building process (LEHRER, 2006, page 334). Another novelty is the spread of similar methods of finance and construction (HAILA, 2006, page 286). This is mainly, in my opinion, a consequence of the two previous trends. Having the same international investors and world famous architects, it is logical and probable that such methods will be similar.

Despite these transformations and the importance of the real estate market, this process is not well studied. Haila argues that it is surprising that real estate has not gained popularity

as a topic in urban studies (HAILA, 2006, page 284). Given the importance of the sector for the global city process and lack of attention to the subject she called it the 'neglected builder of the global cities' (HAILA, 2006, page 282). However, Lefebvre, almost forty years ago, already explained this. He stated that urban planning used to discourage the theoretical discussion about the real estate market influence. He went further saying that urban planning was working as a false answer to these conflicts, avoiding that the thoughts become a reflection about the possible solutions (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 144).

9.4. Conclusion

As discussed above, the real estate market was always extremely profit-driven. Speculation is a fundamental part of it. The novelty is with the globalization process, investors from all over the world were able to invest in cities all over the world. Another change is the way this sector operates now. The global city image is the aim. A strong real estate sector can be either a consequence or a cause of global cities. In important global cities, the real estate interest is a natural consequence. In others, it can be artificially obtained through subsidies or intense marketing strategies. In both cases, the way it operates is quite similar. There is a strong commitment between municipalities and the real estate sector. "Starchitects" and projects connected to the global city image are often used.

Despite this importance, the real estate market has not been subject to deeper studies. Two possible reasons can explain this. The first is the interest of the involved actors to not make clear the way they operate. It could give room for criticism. The question of justice in the use of the urban space, subsidies and built environment would be, for example, primarily complicated questions to be discussed with developers. The second reason is the complexity and especially the multidisciplinarity required to address this issue. Economy, public administration, urban planning, architecture are all related to this discussion making it harder to study such phenomena.

The trend from now is the empowerment of the real estate sector in developing countries. With growing economies and a big demand for housing and office space, the sector is experiencing a boom in these countries. The top suggestion of the Global Property Guide, 2010 needs no further explanations: 'buy in Latin-America' (GLOBAL PROPERTY GUIDE, 2010, page 4). Important issues will arise from this phenomena: the influence in the built and natural environment, in the social fabric and in the economies of the global cities of these developing countries.

10. Global city as a discourse: justice and politics

10.1. Introduction

Wonderful images of modern global cities, scenes of businessmen walking between huge skyscrapers, astonishing amounts of investment flows, and considerable number of international headquarters are all used to show people how global cities can mean development and wealth. However, the final tool, the instrument used to join all this information and present it in a simple and pleasant way, in order to be convincing, is the discourse. Considerable rhetoric has emphasized the global city ideal (FAINSTEIN, 2006, page 116). The idea of the global city is now firmly embedded in policy discourses concerned with urban planning, regional and national economies (JONES, 2002, page 3) although it has not often been an object of research among scholars. The political visions that are the lens of these discourses are not well studied.

Authors like Sassen or Friedmann nor most of other early contributors to world cities research engaged systematically with the politics of the global city (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006, page 249). Short, stressing this, argues that an important element in the global city research has been to identify the discursive strategies of global and globalizing cities (SHORT, 2004, page 11). Politics and its discourses are quite relevant in global cities.

The investment in marketing strategies, in incentives for foreign companies, in providing better infrastructure for center business districts, or in hosting big events are decisions that should be widely discussed because they influence the life of many citizens. It should also be discussed inside the global city theory. But they are not. The decisions are only justified with the aim of becoming a global city. Researchers ignore the theme. Space that seems to be neutral and not political (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 148) is the object of these studies.

At the same time, these investments are being concentrated in some advanced sectors of the economy, some 'marginal businesses' for this global dynamic have suffered from government neglect (FAINSTEIN, CAMPBELL; 2002; page 11). Who is thinking about this? Why aren't politics and discourse focusing more research on global city theory? How have the difficult notions of justice discouraged such a debate? What are the consequences of such lack in the global cities and globalizing cities? Discourse in urban planning is a recurrent topic. The aim of this chapter is to discuss it with regards to global cities, marking its importance for global cities theory and practice.

10.2. The complex task

Discourse is always based in some rationality, in some order (MERRIAN WEBSTER, 2010). To understand rationality is fundamental for defining better discourse. However, it is a complex issue; such complexity may be a first explanation of the lack of deeper studies considering discourse and global cities. Harvey made this connection in his writings. According to him, discourses are separate arguments, each with its own logic and imperatives (HARVEY, 2002, page 422), or rationality.

Several distinct arguments are valid within their own logic. Rationality defined from the standpoint of corporate capital, for example, is quite different from rationality defined from the standpoint of the working classes, although both are rational. The problem is when some group tries to impose their rationality over other groups. There are 'communities of interests' which articulated a particular discourse as if it was the only one that mattered (HARVEY, 2002, page 422). Policy makers, for example, have deliberately embarked on courses that have been given the name 'global-cities strategy' (FAINSTEIN, 2006, page 115). They try to convince population in general, politicians, and media that aiming global cities brings development for the city.

They are right, considering their logic. Cities that invest in becoming a global city generally attain some advantages. They can attract international companies, increase tourism or the flow of foreign investments. This actually brings some development, creates some jobs and can stimulate the modernization of some business centers inside the city. However, does it pay? Sassen questioned this (SASSEN, 2001, page 3) almost twenty years ago in the first edition of her book; apparently her voice was not heard.

Is this strategy just creating more low income jobs and concentrating the high income ones in cities in higher positions in the global hierarchy? Do the incentives given to foreign companies or the money spent in marketing cities compensate the number of jobs created and the economic growth? Is this growth improving the life of the poor or just concentrating more income in the richest part of that society? Is this wrong, right, or just a byproduct of capitalism? Is this a conscious and democratic decision or are a few deciding for the majority? Is this fair? Simon asks, for example, what is the meaning of a global city, if it has some, for the different groups, especially for the impoverished (SIMON, 2006, page 209).

 All these questions are based on the principle of justice. Rationality is dictated by the nature of the social group and its project rather than the project being dictated by social rationality (HARVEY, 2002, page 424). Justice has no universal meaning but a whole family of

meanings. It is necessary to admit the relativism of discourses about justice (HARVEY, 2002, page 426). It strongly depends on the groups we are talking about.

Currently, it is possible to observe that democratic tools most of the time are not working anymore. Public hearings arrive at no solution. Social conflicts primarily lead to no consensus. Besides all these issues, as discussed in the chapter about the role of urban planners, the globalization and heterogenization of societies brought new difficulties for finding consensus. Nowadays, it is harder to find a common rationality for different groups inside societies. The notions of justice are contradictory sometimes. The political systems are not able to represent this plurality. Inside this process, urban planning suffers from a crisis. Harvey underlines the changes from modernist to postmodernist discourses. Doubt uncertainty, and contradictions are currently features of the different discourses.

10.3. Politics and planning

Choay, in the seventies, addressed some critiques to urban planning that are still updated. They certainly could be used to discuss global cities. She started saying that the texts of urban theorists pretend a scientific status not rightfully theirs, and that their claims are in fact based on ideological positions, that are not stated and not fully assumed (CHOAY, 1997, page 2). Her response to this is polemical: 'denounce the imposture of a discipline, uncover secret intentions and tacit ideologies' (CHOAY, 1997, page 2). These texts, this theory can be seen as part of a language with its rules, examples, and professors.

The concept of justice has to be understood in the way it is embedded in a particular language game, supports Harvey. Each language game attaches to the particular social, experimental and perceptual world of the speaker (HARVEY, 2002, page 425). Urban planning and specifically the global cities idea can be this language. Statisticians, economists, geographers, sociologists and planners all converged to the same single master narrative: intense urban competition for a share in global market (FRIEDMANN, 2002, page XII). They all speak this same language. However, just a language, just norms and rules cannot be the only base of a theory or a practice.

In a closer view, urbanism does not work. It is lost in intention wiliness and representation, institutions and ideologies (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 137). It has been the application of a power, much more than knowledge (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 145). It has been used to legitimate such power too. This confusion is interesting for the actors dominating this process. Economic forces are not interested in clarifying this.

What is surprising is that few of the global cities scholars seem to have given much thought to these new issues. They question whether their research agenda and its 'objective' findings implicitly provide support for that very project by legitimating the 'reality' of global cities (SMITH, 1998, page 487). Planners already have a trend to be conditioned by a set of values and norms of common knowledge which may have decisive effects on his understanding of reality and social commitment (PALERMO, PONZINI; 2010, page 42). They are inside a given society, this is natural. Refusing to better study it or pretending to not know (as discussed better in the specific chapter about planning) they become tools of other political actors, especially the economic ones.

According to Harvey, partial approaches cannot be accepted: 'if we accept that fragmented discourses are the only authentic discourses and that no unified discourse is possible, then there is no way to challenge the overall qualities of a social system' (HARVEY, 2002, page 424). Castells talks about a social system too. He supports that the fundamental form of domination in our society is based on the organizational capacity of the dominant elite that 'goes hand in hand with its capacity to disorganize those groups in society which, while constituting a numerical majority, see their interest partially attended'. He continues arguing that 'the articulation of the elites, segmentation and disorganization of the masses seem to be the twin mechanisms of social domination in societies'. So, he arrives to an interesting point for this chapter: 'space plays a fundamental role in this mechanism' (CASTELLS, 1996, page 446).

Just and rational distribution was whatever the market dictates. A just organization of social life, of urban investments and resource was best provided through the market. According to Harvey, this is a relatively old and well-tried approach. It was a powerful feature of the hegemonic discourses for decades (HARVEY, 2002, page 429). Global cities can be understood as a renewed version of this phenomenon. Global cities can be seen, using the same metaphor used by King, as 'an old wine inside a new bottle' (KING, 2000), in which some capitalistic practices are the old wine and the global cities the brand new bottle.

We might see ways to break this bottle, questioning the political, imaginative and institutional constraints which have for too long inhibited the advanced capitalist societies in their developmental path. Harvey observes the necessity of looking for alternative conceptions of both justice and rationality (HARVEY, 2002, page 434).

If the relationships of poverty and world city formation are to be explored fully in terms of relations of power, the question of decision making and control over the formation of the urban habitat needs to be include in the analysis (DOUGLASS, 2006; page 269). In which the discourse plays a fundamental role.

Mann stresses the links of ideology, discourse and poverty studying the case of the metro of New Delhi in India (MANN, 2009). Another voice from a developing country underlines this issue and goes on. The Brazilian professor Whitaker Ferreira argues that the simple acceptance of the exaggerated importance of advanced services for a city ends for, if not together with, a robust study of the dynamics that generate this process, legitimating the premises of the global city idea (FERREIRA, 2003, page 54).

10.4. Conclusion

The content of the politics of the global city may be outlined thus: belief that attracting investments, especially foreign and real estate investments, represents a way out of the present recession. This is barely made clear. Harvey has used the term 'entrepreneurialism' that favors entrepreneurs at the expense of inhabitants (HAILA, 2006, page 282)

It is perceived, very naively, that there is no relation among urban phenomena, production relations, and productive forces. The strategies under class logic are dissimulated by one connected to knowledge. This occurs especially, in my opinion, in the global cities where beautiful images supported by economic analysis are actually dissimulating a market approach. The critics of specialized sciences, like urban planning, economics and sociology cannot be done without the critics of specialized politics (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 126).

Lindblom is very important in urban planning studies. Harvey argues his definition of social rationality was connected to the perpetuation and rational management of a capitalistic economic system rather than with the exploration of alternatives (HARVEY, 2002, page 423). Governments may not be able to affect the world economy but they can shield their citizens from the most pernicious effects (FAINSTEIN, 2006, page 115, HARVEY, 2002, page 433). Governments are driven by political forces that are influenced, not always, by mostly by their ideologies. Sassen, supports Ideology and governmental policy mediate tendencies toward the worsening of poverty (SASSEN, 2006B, page 115).

The passivity of interested populations, their silence, gives the idea of the lack of urban democracy (LEFEBVRE, 2008, page 123). Harvey proposes that planning and policy practices must seek, by a variety of means, to eliminate the imperialist attitude in modes of popular consultation (HARVEY, 2002, page 432).

However, as demonstrated in this chapter, even scholars researching global cities are surprisingly not often addressing ideology in their studies. Some exceptions are Short, Haila, Robinson, Smith M. and especially Fainstein and Harvey. Haila urges a focus on the process through which cities try to achieve the status of the global city, stressing the necessity of

discussions about the politics of the global city research with the creation of alternative approach concerning its scope and focus (HAILA, 2006, page 282).

Harvey insists, for example, that discourses are expressions of social power and that the idea of justice has to be set against the formation of certain hegemonic discourses which derive from the power exercised by any ruling class (HARVEY, 2002, page 426). Global cities are currently this hegemonic discourse.

11. Global city as a political choice: the globalizing project

11. 1. Introduction

Politics really matter. Globalization is not only an economically driven process that crosses borders with no specific consequences based on local features. Globalization is largely influenced by the way societies and governments respond to it (SASSEN, 2001, page 365; SHORT, 2004, page 67). This is an important issue. Globalization in all its aspects is not a mandatory process. It depends on the creation of public policies to encourage, avoid or mitigate it and how this is achieved, if it is. The same happens with the implementation of the global city model. It is strongly a consequence of the way public authorities react to the demand for cities connected to this model. Variations in sociocultural, economic and political institutions strongly influence the way global impulses are amalgamated into real historic settings (DOUGLASS, 2006; 268). Global cities are desired and sometimes carefully aimed as in the case of Toronto (TODD, 1998, page 195) where there was a project for internationalization.

Consequently, there is a range of possibilities for cities to engage or not in the global cities model and how to do it. There is no political or social homogenization, nor economic homogenization like some scholars predicted (SASSEN, 2001, page 3) decades ago. Global cities are very different, they just undergo some similar consequences but they still maintain and sometimes reinforce specific differences among them, creating complex patterns of hybrids (SHORT, 2004, page 4). They can vary from typical ones like London or New York, passing through new ones like Doha or Beijing, and finally arriving in the non-global cities like Pyongyang, Phoenix, and Porto Alegre.

Certainly size, history, geographic position, culture and other aspects in these cities are important to understand this process but public policies are important too and they are not as well studied as they could be. It is not common to think about geopolitics, for example, if you want to talk about a city. The advantage of such an approach is the possibility of understanding the conflict between networks and territory (BOLOCAN GOLDSTEIN, 2010, page 6). Even taken into consideration, for example, similar-size countries from the same region: east-Asia: the differences among their cities are considerable. Hong Kong, Korea, Singapore and Taiwan were compared considering domestic and transnational capital behavior, labor policies and civil society organization. This simple analysis already showed how different globalization process influenced these places (DOUGLAS, 2006, page 271, table 1).

11.2. Different scales

There are two scales of actions that respond to globalization that should be analyzed within the question of geopolitics. The first is the national level and the second, the local level. Like some top scholars, I do not agree that the rise of the cities as main actors in the globalization process goes against the power of the national states. Both still have their roles in managing globalization and more specifically the global city transformations. There are several examples with study cases about global city comparisons in the literature showing how different cities deal with this model. Analyzing some of these studies it is possible to see how politics is important for the construction or not of global cities.

First, we can observe the influence of national scale events and policies in cities under globalization process. International relations, national economic views and political or religious conflicts are issues mediated by countries so they influence their cities. National governments directly decide about securities regulation, interest rate levels and labor-market restrictions (FAINSTEN, 2001, page 115), for example.

Beirut was known as the "Paris" of the Middle East for its cosmopolitan atmosphere. It could be at the same pace as Istanbul in the globalization process, maybe further along. Before the civil war that almost destroyed the city, the capital of Lebanon was the entrance to the Middle East with strong links to European cities. Currently, however, Istanbul is a very successful globalizing city (KEYDER, 2009, page 45) and Beirut is far behind. It is mainly a consequence of the civil war and the political instability caused by religious conflicts. Political influence is decisive for global city implementation.

Pyongyang in North Korea could be facing similar changes like the ones that some Chinese cities are undergoing. Both countries have a communist history with millions of people available as cheap labor. Both populations want also to become consumers of capitalist goods. The closed political regime in North Korea totally discourages international investments and a more globalized economy. Political choices again make a huge difference. Tehran is on SHORT's list as the biggest non-global city in the world (SHORT, 2004, page 49). This is mainly for political reasons. Iran has huge sources of oil, like Dubai or Abu Dhabi, for example. Besides this, it has two interesting advantages. First, it is an enormous city, more than 10 million inhabitants. This is an important advantage when we talk about global cities. Second, Tehran is the capital of a big country with a network of medium and small cities providing both consumers and goods complementing the economy of the city. Another case of the influence of national politics in the construction or not of global cities is in South Africa (SIMON, 1995, page 204). It would

nowadays be considered a new industrialized nation if the isolation, due to the apartheid system and political reasons, had not occurred. Cities like Johannesburg and Cape Town, seen in the Football World Cup 2010 with big stadiums and a cosmopolitan life, would be in a much better position in the global cities rankings.

The Dutch example (FAINSTEIN, 2001, page 114) shows how economic and welfare state policies influence the kind of global cities that are built in the country. There is no primary global city in the Netherlands. The cities form a global city region with several important cities. There is no strong concentration of investments. Rotterdam's port and the Schiphol airport in Amsterdam are examples of this. Besides this, the Dutch system of social welfare is strong, providing assistance, especially for the poor. They act also in protecting some weak sectors of the economy reducing unemployment. These actions mitigated the effects caused by polarization typical of global cities. This kind of intervention is not able to change the logic of the global economy but shield their citizens from some of the bad consequences of global city logic.

There are other examples, but with the ones presented above, it is possible to have an idea of how national policies can change the way global cities are conceived in each country. National level influences in macroeconomics policies, like international trade, interest tax and big infrastructures. It influences as well, political decisions regarding other counties, it supports the achievement or not of political stability, it regulates the presence of foreign industries and stimulates tourism. According to Susan Fainstein, local efforts to prevent their citizens from the social and economic exclusion are useless without a central government support (FAINSTEIN, 2001, page 117). However, the city level has a strong importance as well.

The local scale, as explained before, is important. The case of Zurich (SCHMID, 2006, page 162) is quite relevant. During the 70′s, the city started to face the globalizing process with the establishment of several headquarters of companies of the financial sector. Two local political visions of urban development appeared to deal with these changes. The first group was asking for modernization, permitting the development of such headquarters of big financial companies and having no problem dealing with the renewal of inner city neighborhoods. The second was focused on a livable city, low rents and preservation of residential neighborhoods. From this dispute emerged a new model of urbanization in which there were modernization, quality of life and economic growth together. There was, for example, the project "10.000 flats in 10 years" launched in 1998 in order to attract new people to live in Zurich. At the same time, expansion of business districts in the downtown area was restricted.

This did not interrupt the presence of headquarters as they found a new location close to the city. This area, called Zurich North, was made of eight cities and two northern districts of Zurich. They were committed to the "headquarter economy": competition, focusing on global capital and the attraction of people. Christian Schmid argues that this case illustrates "specific local traditions, contradictions and fields of conflicts may have a decisive influence on urban development". (SCHMID, 2006, page 169) Certainly national policies, like deregulation of economy and historical patterns, like strong traditions of political stability, helped to transform Swiss cities into quite attractive places for global investments.

The German global cities system is at the intersection of all these level of analysis. It is a byproduct of political issues but also of economic decisions. Berlin is strongly influenced by these national questions but also deals with some specific local features that helped to form their model of urban development. It is at the same time an export champion but without a global city (Lapple, 2007, 232). The natural candidate for being one would be Berlin. During the thirties, the city was surely the most important of the country.

For historical reasons, the German capital lost some of its importance compared with other cities in the last decades. After the Second World War, the city was divided and It was surrounded by the East Germany. Investments were discouraged, connections with other cities were more difficult because of the political instability. At the same time, other cities specialized in different functions. Frankfurt became a financial center, Hamburg the media one, Munich with its important chemical industry and Ruhr Valley with its historical industrial complex are all important metropolitan centers. Consequently there is no clear overarching global city in Germany. There were some attempts to create the "German Paris or London" (SUDJIC, 2007, page 226) with strong investments in the city. The last wave with this idea came after reunification but it never worked. It is surprising especially if we take into consideration the power of its economy and the strong orientation to global integration.

This more balanced model of development is complemented by an efficient welfare state that protects citizens from social disparities. This is quite important, for example, in Berlin where almost 20% of population is unemployed. In the economic field, the government had more support for some long-term interventions and transfer of technologies and education. This gave the possibility for the rise of a different kind of capitalism with a spatially distributed industry. Such case is proof that economic power in the globalized world does not necessarily requires an outstanding global city to serve as a

gate for international exchange of money, people or ideas. The German system works as a network connected with other cities around the world and it works quite well. Berlin if not a top global city, found its role as a creativity center. Affordable housing and social diversity are other two main advantages of the city.

11. 3. Conclusion

Each of these cities could be discussed in an entire book. However, with all these examples, three observations can be made. First, the global city model is also a political choice. It is an economical issue as well but a decisive factor is the political one. Cities can decide not to be global or they can obsessively try to become global. Between these two positions there is a range of possibilities. Cities can and should, manage this process in order to take advantage of it. Politics is the key for making this possible. Second, nations do not need to have a global city to be successful in the global economy. Investments, hosting headquarter of companies or being a good place for making business is not a guarantee that a city or a country is better for its citizens. The German case is a good example. Globalization seems to concentrate investments, decisions, resources in some global or globalizing cities. Follow this logic is not a requirement for success. Finally, third, historical aspects, local features, town and national levels analysis should be taken into consideration when we discuss global cities. If we see Zurich, considering only global cities rankings, hard data and maps or just schemes, it is not possible to understand the complexity of such a phenomenon.

12. Global city as they actually are: São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro

12.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro not as complete study cases of the effects of globalization and performance in the global cities network. Fix (FIX, 2007), Kouliomba (KOULIOUMBA, 2002) and Ferreira (FERREIRA, 2003) did an analysis of these current network classifications to use as a base for criticisms of some of its aspects. E. Rossi did research about advanced services in Brazilian cities and the case of 'second cities' like Rio de Janeiro in the GaWC Research Network. She followed the methodology of Taylor, developing a mathematical model to understand how banks are using the Brazilian cities (ROSSI, E.; TAYLOR; 2006). Despite these studies, and as discussed in the chapter about the partial view of global cities, there are not many works about the global city theory concerning cities in undeveloped countries. Due to this, a secondary aim is to bring the discussion to these cities. There is a slowly growing number of studies of 'non-core' cities in the world city literature (ROSSI, E.; BEAVERSTOCK , TAYLOR 2007). This chapter is much more a small provocation, calling attention to the subject and suggesting further studies following a more reflective approach.

The aim is to use Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo as a way to demonstrate some examples of the implementation of the global cities model. To achieve this, some projects, numbers and literature, both from authors from Brazil and other countries, are used. The existing classifications will not be applied, like the current rankings and hierarchies. The focus will also not be on poverty and social segregation. First, there are many studies about slums, social disparities, their effects and causes, generally with a strong ethnographic approach. As an example, the article of Buechler, a former PhD student of Sassen, brings some narratives (BUECHLER, 2006, page 239) about the living conditions of workers in cities under the globalization process, in São Paulo. Second, following the observations of Davis, 'the solutions for slums are not in the slums' (DAVIS, 2006, page 91). Important decisions are barely made there or by people living there. The goal of this chapter and this dissertation is not to discuss the reasons why the resources are not going there, but why the resources are going other places in the city and based on which vision. The global city ideal is currently this vision. It has been used to justify the concentration of resources in some areas or some economic sectors.

A short introduction about the Brazilian context is necessary to help the comprehension of these two examples. Globalization strongly influenced the Brazilian state. Perhaps the best case of the evidence of the influence of the globalization of culture through modernization on urban form is Latin America in the last half of the century (PIZARRO, WEI, BANERJEE, 2003,

page 123). Military regimes ruled Brazil until the end of the eighties. These military governments promoted a crusade to modernize the cities, to bring progress to them. The consolidation of the transference of capital from Rio de Janeiro to Brasilia in the sixties was part of this process. The urbanization of the country also happened in this period, much before Asia and Africa. Under this regime, a technocratic method of urban planning was implemented. Strict models, statistics, and non democratic decisions were evident. The re-establishment of democracy in 1988 with the promulgation of a new constitution also meant the rebirth of hope in urban planning as a solution for the urban issues of the Brazilian cities.

In the nineties, participation, not only through elections but also in direct ways started to develop. The experience of the participatory municipal budget in Porto Alegre was the beginning of this process. However, in a short period, the population started to perceive that these tools were not enough to guarantee a better quality of life for the largest part of the population. Governance problems – including extreme poverty, chronic housing shortages, mass unemployment and severe environmental devastation – have emerged in the globalizing cities in the developing world (BRENNER, KEIL; 2006; page 192). In 2003, a new hope for urban issues came. The creation of the Ministry of Cities as well as the Statute of the City, the law that regulates the constitutional chapter on urban policy, were crucial in triggering the government to develop policies on the country's urban and social infrastructure (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 5).

The Statute of the City made the production of a masterplan mandatory for every city larger than 20,000 inhabitants. Popular participation during the creation of such plans was also mandatory. The statute also gave the cities the powers to increase taxes and purchase, at a lower amount, the lots not following a 'social function'. Not used lots and empty or buildings were among those not following the social function of urban land ownership. Furthermore, it provided legal instruments to regularize informal settlements of the most marginalized inhabitants (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 16). The statute was considered 'revolutionary' due to its innovative approach. However, despite all these good intentions, when applied at the local level, the practice did not follow the concepts proposed.

First, these masterplans did not address the main needs of most of the population: inequalities. Second, the tools to guarantee the 'social function' of land were not fully applied. At the municipal level, local real estate market agents and powerful developers were able to influence political decisions concerning the application of the Statute of the City. Participation declined quickly when the population perceived it would not decisively change their conditions of living. In choosing among alternative public investments, the main consideration 'should be how poorer citizens fare. Government has many roles but a fundamental one, in democracy,

should be to build equality' (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 7). Not observing this, governments and also the urban planning field, ended by losing their role as the proposers of better cities. Other agents have driven the changes in the Brazilian cities.

The big urban transformations are happening in Brazil due to economic reasons. After the stabilization of the economy in 1994, with the end of the inflation that destroyed the economy for years, the country was able to grow. Helped by the growing demand from China for some of the commodities produced in Brazil, the country has reached a sustainable level of economic growth. The continuity of a national redistribution program 'Bolsa Familia' was also important. It is a cash assistance plan for 11 million families living below the poverty line (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 19) that not only improved the life of these populations but also helped the whole economy of the country.

Such economic stability allied to this sustainable growth attracted the flows of international investments. According to the World Economic Forum, Brazil was the top country in upward evolution of competitiveness in 2009, gaining eight positions, overcoming Russia (PROPERTY RECOMMENDATIONS, 2010, page 16). According to the same recommendations, the Brazilian economic performance is 'outstanding' and it can grow even more. Brazil is still 'an unusually closed economy with a small import/export sector' that can increase its commercial relations. Besides this, it is 'so big and populous that it can grow on its own steam'. This has produced intense pressures in the Brazilian cities.

The globalization process has tried to establish global cities in the country as key points of the global economy. Brazil is ranked first in the Latin American and Eastern European 'emerging markets' ranking (ROSSI E.; TAYLOR; 2006). This international interest in Brazil can be seen in the stock exchange market. Major Brazilian firms now list on the New York Stock Exchange and bypass the São Paulo Exchange (SASSEN, 2006B, page 94). The global real estate market also shows interest in the Brazilian cities. According to the Global Property Guide, the valorization of the Brazilian real estate market was twenty two percent in 2010, the third best number in the sector, just under the Hong Kong and Singapore (PROPERTY RECOMMENDATIONS, 2010).

The two biggest cities in the country, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are the natural candidates to lead this process, becoming global cities. Due to this, they were chosen to be better observed in this chapter. They are at the same time, very similar and very different. Among the similarities, there are the classic developing world challenges like the interrelated issues of rapid urbanization, urban poverty, informality, slums and access to basic services (UNHABITAT, 2009, page 17). It could be added to this list of urban violence and environmental problems and hazards. They both have suffered the effects of economic globalization. The

factories transferred the insecurities of the market to the workers (BUECHLER, 2006, Page 241). Degradation of work, unregistered work, subcontracting, and temporary work are part of this new economic dynamic in both cities. Friedmann, wisely observing some similarities, put Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo together in his classic scheme of the hierarchy of the world cities in his foundational world city hypothesis (FRIEDMANN, 2006, page 69, figure 1). It can be defined as part of a same global city-region according to the definitions of Scott.

However they have differences. São Paulo is a regional financial center and has the most powerful industrial complex of Brazil. It is the largest city of the country and the third largest in the world. It hosts the most important international headquarters of foreign companies in Brazil. On the other hand, Rio de Janeiro also has some specific characteristics. It is a well-known world tourism destination and has been creating a tradition of sports, taking advantage of its weather and coast, and also a tradition in hosting sports events. Rio also has a strong oil sector on its coast.

12.2 São Paulo, the candidate

Beautiful is definitely not an adjective one associates with São Paulo. Especially for tourists, the best aspect of the city is its easy connections to Rio de Janeiro (LIMA, 2005). Overstretched infrastructure, overcrowded public transport, lack of basic amenities and high crime rates characterize the city (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 39). However in terms of economic power and consequently global economic connections it is quite an important city.

According to the literature about global cities, São Paulo is 'the Brazilian global city'. It is the Brazilian metropolis that aims connection with global flows (LIMA, 2005). Friedmann, in his foundational *World Cities Hypothesis*, explained that São Paulo is perhaps, 'the best example of a primary, semi-peripheral world city, an enormous urban complex of production and economic control and an integral part of the international economy' (FRIEDMANN, 2006, 160). Buecheler summarized some of the classifications in which São Paulo is included. São Paulo has been labeled by some global city theorists as a global city of the second order, Friedmann 1986, a Beta global city, Taylor, 2003, a city with global functions or in the mid-range of the global hierarchy, Sassen, 2002, a world-city beyond the west, Gugler, 2004, or as an emerging global city, OLDS and YEUNG, 2004 (BUECHLER, 2006, Page 240).

The importance of the city can be measured in numbers. Among the 20 largest foreign-owned companies in Latin America, 6 are in São Paulo. Inside Brazil, its leadership is even clearer. Sixty-three per cent of the headquarters of the largest 100 foreign companies in Brazil are located in the city. From 1993 to 2000, foreign direct investment inflows increased from

US$ 1.29 million to US$ 32.77 million. (BUECHLER, 2006, Page 240). She underlines also that the city is a 'globalizing city' because it is inside a process. The trend seems to be the increase of these investments. São Paulo is considered one of the bests places in the world for worldwide expansion (excluding Europe) for European companies. A Cushman & Wakefield report was based on research with 500 managers in top companies of nine countries. São Paulo was ranked 3rd below only New York and Shanghai. São Paulo is above Singapore, Tokyo, Hong Kong, Los Angeles and Chicago, in the same classification (CUSHMAN & WAKEFIELD, 2009).

These numbers can be shown with some examples. IBM, General Electric and Google are example of multinational companies that chose the city as headquarters for regional decisions in the last years. IBM changed the base of Latin America operations from Miami in 2005. General Electric transferred its regional headquarter from Mexico. In 2008, Google established its operational center for Latin America in the city of São Paulo (SALLES, CRESPO; 2009).

Until the end of the last century Buenos Aires was still in this dispute for hosting international companies, however, with its internal crisis in the 2000s, the country became less attractive for the world economic giants. Today, just Mexico City, a Latin American metropolis closer to USA, competes with São Paulo for the position of gate entrance to Latin America. Currently 'Santiago, in Chile, has some influence, but it cannot be compared with São Paulo' (SALLES, CRESPO; 2009).

Despite all of these numbers, the city has been challenged by the decline of the industrial sector and growth of service sector. From 1985 to 2003, the population of workers increased forty percent but there was a decrease of twenty three percent of workers employed in industries (BUECHLER, 2006, Page 241). São Paulo has lost tax revenues as many companies have moved out citing poor infrastructure (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 39). This has been interpreted by some public officials, scholars and politicians as a proof of insertion in the global trends of deindustrialization and the rise of the advanced services.

Other 'proof' of such globalization is the growing international investments in real estate market in the city. São Paulo is 5th in office space under construction with 16.1 million square feet. It has the biggest increase among the other cities studied (COLLIERS INTERNATIONAL, 2009). The city has also entered into the run for skyscrapers, the highest building of the country is being built in São Paulo. It will have 47 floors and it will be called Company Business Towers, located close to the Pinheiros River.

Both Borja and Castells had been, several times, in São Paulo, consulting for governments and other institutions (FERREIRA, 2003, page 27). The idea of the global city has been consolidated in São Paulo, and it is adopted with some consistency for a significant number of

actors from the market, from academia and from public administration. Several initiatives are being implemented to improve the competitiveness of the city.

Rio de Janeiro has grabbed all the headlines with the World Cup and Olympics arriving in the next six years to put the city firmly in the public eye at the expense of its traditional rival São Paulo. But, as Jemima Raman reveals, São Paulo is determined to push ahead with its own innovative agenda for urban development. (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 38).

The public tender for the Celso Garcia Bus Rapid Transit project, for instance, is expected to be announced in July 2010 (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 39), and it is expecting reduce the intense traffic jams that everyday consume time and pollute the air. Downtown areas are experiencing a strong decrease in population and economic importance. In order to revert this process, projects such as Nova Luz, which will revitalize half-a-million square meters located at the very centre of the city with tax benefits to stimulate companies. The city is also trying to be more attractive in visual aspects. An important feature of the global city is the spectacle, the image they produce. The city is working on its aesthetic appeal. It has banned visual pollution by pulling down billboards (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 39).

Downtown of the city was the first financial center in the 50s and 60s, after the Paulista Avenue and from the 90s to the region of Berrini Avenue (SALLES, CRESPO; 2009). This last region symbolizes the transformations that are occurring in São Paulo. There are hotels, convention centers, supermarket, shopping centers, office buildings of glass and steel. Lots of international investment banks have established there in the last years like Merrill Lynch, Salomon Smith Barney, Morgan Stanley, Goldman Sachs and the Crédit Suisse First Boston, among others (FERREIRA, 2003, page 49).

São Paulo launched new urban programs to attract companies (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 39). However, the city has also worked in other indirect ways. An expensive cable-stayed bridge called 'Otavio Frias', located exactly in the Berrini Region is a good example. It was inaugurated in 2008 and is 138 meter high; a produced landmark. The technology adopted, the location, the size, were all intentionally used to give that region a global city appearance. There were other cheaper structural solutions. The bridge costs R$ 230 million, or almost US$ 150 million. There were possibly other priorities in the city like housing, education, water supply, or health services in which such amount of money could be invested.

Due to this, according to Ferreira, there is nothing new in the global cities strategy (FERREIRA, 2003, page 108). Private interests, mainly of real estate market have driven the organization of the urban space in Brazilian cities for a long time (LIMA, 2005). The novelty is only the justification: to achieve a global city status. Polarization is also not new. In the sixties, long before any reference to globalization, the 10% richest part of the population owned

almost 40% of the wealth, while 50% more of poor had only 18% (FERREIRA, 2003, page 110). According to the World Bank, the situation is still the same. In 2002, Brazil, the 9th economy of the world, is ranked 82nd in income concentration. It is only three positions better than Botswana, the 109th world economy (FERREIRA, 2003, page 145). Now, the globalization and deindustrialization have been used as a possible explanation for this phenomenon.

Despite all the numbers of economic performance, several researchers support that the city of São Paulo is not completely global. Some scholars argue that the outstanding numbers of the economy of the city are not so impressive in comparative terms. Brazil is the '12th economy of the world and São Paulo is the third largest city of the world with a GDP larger than some countries' (FERREIRA, 2003, page 60). However it is not in the top of the global cities rankings. Fix argues the idea of São Paulo as a global city is only an economically driven fake miracle (FIX, 2007). Kouliomba (KOULIOUMBA, 2002) asks if the city is really a global city and supports that certainly it is not. Ferreira (FERREIRA, 2003) goes in the same direction, underlining the actors interested in creating this false expectation. Several researchers argue that globality is partially applied in only a part of the city, like in the Berrini Avenue where the cable-stayed bridge was built. The potential for becoming a global city is constrained by the severe social exclusion and inequalities observed in the city (FERREIRA, 2003, page 30).

Michael Charlton, president of the Agency of Investment attraction 'Think London' agrees with the observation that São Paulo is not global. He gives a clear example of this. He explains that London usually competed to attract companies with other Europeans cities like Paris and Munich, and currently with some emergent cities like Shanghai and Bombay. According to him, London never competed with São Paulo. The city is still 'a regional center for Latin America, not the 'global city' it intends to be and it is promoting (EXAME MAGAZINE, 2008).

12.3. Rio de Janeiro, following the toolkit

Rio de Janeiro is not as present as São Paulo in the global cities literature. It was considered a gateway city by E. Rossi (ROSSI, E.; TAYLOR; 2006) and studied as a 'second city' in crisis by the same author. The city recently hosted the World Urban Forum in 2010, in which the city was discussed by several scholars and authorities. This event also signals both the power of the city to attract world events and the relevance of the city as an urban issue for debate.

After the transference of the capital of Brazil to Brasilia in the sixties and the growth of São Paulo, which became the largest city in the country in the seventies, the city of Rio de

Janeiro experienced some crises. The closure of Rio de Janeiro's stock exchange in 2000 concentrated the financial operations of the country in São Paulo (ROSSI, E.; TAYLOR; 2006). This was just the final action of a long process. The city had to discover new ways to keep developing. Rio always had a wider global view because of the large number of tourists visiting the city. The city has used this tradition to sell the city for tourism, business, hosting events, and for attracting investments. The city looked like it would naturally try to become a global city.

Rio is experiencing considerable growth, influenced by the national growth, not only in terms of tourism, which is its natural inclination, but also in other sectors such as the fashion industry. The oil business has been responsible for a constant and increasing income for the state government (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 6) and the trend, after new reserves were discovered, is for this sector to increase even more. In the real estate market, this rebirth of the city as an interesting option is evident. Rio de Janeiro is ranked 26th in the Colliers report with 3.6 million square feet built of office space last year. This put it above Amsterdam, Toronto and Sydney, for example (COLLIERS INTERNATIONAL, 2009). Rio de Janeiro is ranked as the 11th best place in the world for worldwide expansion of European companies (CUSHMAN & WAKEFIELD, 2009). Globalization has definitively arrived in the city. However, this was not an unintentional process. The city has been trying for years to achieve the status of a global city.

It started in the early nineties, influenced by the experience of Barcelona. Similar to Rio, it is a city located on the coast and was the second most important city of the country. The city produced a strategic plan in 1996: 'Plano Estartégico da cidade do Rio de Janeiro'. The intentions were to make the city competitive as well as internally and externally integrated. The plan clearly observed that Bilbao, Lisbon and mainly Barcelona were the examples to be followed. It talks about 'new values', a 'valuable city brand on foreign countries' and 'competitiveness in the advanced services' (COMITÊ DO PLANO, 1996, page 2). It was announced that the city was the first in the south hemisphere to have a strategic plan (COMITÊ DO PLANO, 1996, page 20). The achievement of the right to host the FIFA World Cup 2014, with the final match in the legendary remodeled Maracanã Stadium, and the right to host the Olympic Games of 2016 can be seen as the finale of this process.

R. Short analyses the importance of Olympic Games as global city producers. The '1996 Olympics was the culmination of a long campaign to gain international recognition for the city of Atlanta' (SHORT, 2004, page 84). Short uses also the example of Sydney. It first produced an iconic building, its opera house, and after, as final proof of its global city status, hosted the Olympic Games in 2000. Rio de Janeiro is headed in the same direction. The city, with a new

museum on its redeveloped waterfront designed by Santiago Calatrava, and the Olympic Games of 2016, is following the same dynamics. However, as Short explains, while 'an already rich minority benefits a great deal and most benefit some, the poor and marginal tend to become poorer and more marginal' (SHORT, 2004, page 84). Roman Rollnick, who supports that Rio, looks to sport to bridge the urban divide. Having landed the two greatest sporting prizes on earth, Rio is determined to lead the 20 percent of its citizens which inhabit slums to a better quality of life. (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 18). It is a challenge to make that happen.

Other projects in the city are now justified with the presence of the games. The famous Spanish architect Santiago Calatrava was announced in June as the designer for the project of the Museum of Tomorrow in Rio de Janeiro. The project is part of the redevelopment of the old docklands of the 'Pier Mauá'. The iconic building, with a modern and extravagant architecture, will require an investments are around R$130 millions, which is more than 75 million dollars (ROCHA, 2010). Considering all the needs of the city, it is strange to see several projects that are not focused on urgent social needs of the population. According to Short: 'hosting the Games creates the global city at the expense of the local weak' (SHORT, 2004, page 107).

This is catastrophic in a city where the local weak are already very weak. Rio de Janeiro is a city with a population of just over six million in its central urban areas, of which, according to officials, an estimated 20 percent live in the *favelas*. They are overcrowded places where the walls are covered in graffiti, many scarred by bullet holes, and where the narrow alleyways are often beyond the reach of cars. These urban islands of poverty vary enormously in size and character. Currently about 12 percent of households in Rio de Janeiro lack running water, over 30 percent are without sewage connections, and formal electricity lines reach only 70 percent. The most interesting fact is that in most Brazilian cities, the poverty is not in your face, but in Rio it is — because of topography (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 19). The curiousity is that this same topography makes the city an uncommon mix of beaches, forests, mountains, and lakes which forms gorgeous landscapes.

12.4. Conclusion

These observations intended to stimulate further reasoning. It is difficult, for example, to measure if both cities are experiencing growth because of globalization strategies or the overall economic growth of Brazil and redistribution policies implemented in the national level. More studies are necessary, especially comparative ones, to determine which factors are

related with a specific situation, like the Brazilian one, and which factors are independent from this but related to other specific characteristics, like the policies implemented in each city.

The current theoretical matrix of the 'global city' has been made to demonstrate a model that 'worked well', using the case of the most powerful cities in capitalism. The discourse is that global cities are able to overcome the process of deindustrialization and city decline (FERREIRA, 2003, page 49). The local Brazilian discourse is that Brazilian cities are moving in the right direction.

The practices of some cities, some isolated statistics like those presented here, and mainly the opinion of some scholars and politicians, are all in this direction. However, even considering the aspects of global cities theory, like presence of advanced services, direct foreign investments and command and control roles, the two Brazilian cities considered cannot be seen as really global cities. Short stressed this, arguing that Brazil is 'perhaps international' but not 'truly global' (SHORT, 2004, page 73).

Furthermore, there is the necessity to analyse the validity of these principles on another level. Otherwise, it could mean the repetition of the traditional mistake of Brazilian scholars of importing, without the adequate scrutiny, preconceived theories from foreign countries (FERREIRA, 2003, page 58). The relevance of the global city theory and specifically the relevance of the construction of global cities in Brazil need to be questioned.

Brazil is not simply 'São Paulo´s hinterland' and São Paulo is not only the global city of Brazil. There are interactions between the different territorial scale northern, southern and rural regions (ROSSI E.; TAYLOR; 2006). Following this same logic, Rio is not only a complementary city to São Paulo. It does not only form another global-city region. There is a complex urban network inside the country. Both cities, São Paulo and Rio, have particularities that make it important to make specific analysis. Categorizations must be challenged.

Besides this, the current practices need to be challenged as well. Cities seeking to present themselves as world-class destinations for political and sporting events must not forget the rights of low-income citizens (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 16). Low-income communities also form an integral part of globalizing cities (BUECHLER, 2006, Page 240). Cities also attempt to transform themselves to meet superficial world class standards. This stands in sharp contrast to the exclusionary and repressive treatment these cities give to the poorest of their residents (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 13). Especially in third world countries where the resources are limited and the situation of populations is precarious, a human rights-based approach is necessary. If planners and politicians are to make progress in creating a more inclusive city, municipal authorities do not need just a new vision – they need a dramatic ideological, paradigmatic and policy shift (UNHABITAT, 2010, page 16).

13. Conclusion

Most of the concluding ideas were discussed in the end of each chapter, although some general observations can be made. This chapter aims to reinforce these concepts on a wider scale but mainly proposes topics of research. The criticism that has been directed to the global city research need to be considered. Furthermore, three other important ideas are underlined here as fundamental recommendations. The first is inequality and it is regularly addressed by several authors. The second is the global-city region and it is addressed by only some authors. The third is the urban environment and it is rarely discussed by authors that address global cities.

The global cities researchers should definitively embrace the criticisms made by some scholars and move one step ahead in the global city theory evolution. They should admit that the definition of global cities is clearly too economic focused, helping to concentrate power in the top cities in the hierarchy, and based on a westernized vision of the world. The current moment of crisis, instead of slowing down the development of better theories, could stimulate it. 'Globalizing cities', for example, as used by Short is a better definition than the former 'frozen' global cities classification.

Taylor, his GaWC research network, and the ones who support his approach based in mathematical models, improvement of data quality, and no strong contestation against Sassen's former theories, should try to use this information in a more contextualized way. However, the data collection should go on. The lack of good data regarding cities is still a problem. On the other hand, the researchers that urge more attention on the social construct of the meaning of the global city theory, like Smith M. P., Smith R. G., and Robinson, should also look for new conceptualizations and new ways to measure global city networks.

Further studies should aim to propose new definitions. Sassen stresses that the 'epoch of transition, such as the ones we live in, demand taking theoretical risks' (SASSEN, 2001, page 363). Maybe a new hypothesis or new research agendas, as the seminal ones proposed by Friedmann, should be necessary. A definition that encompasses new values like sustainability and equality would be more productive.

13.1. Global city as an unequal space

This topic should be addressed not only taking in consideration poverty or the urban divide created by economic reasons. The role of space as a catalyst of democracy, social cohesion, and equality should also be addressed. We should engage aesthetics which embrace

or stimulate that 'spontaneous self-diversification' on which Jane Jacobs speaks (HARVEY, 2002, page 418). City designers, instead of working on selling cities and spaces, on managing images and spectacles, could be attracted by the aesthetic problems of expressing self-diversification. Currently, they 'seem to not recognize this force' (HARVEY, 2002, page 418). This necessity makes clear the need of new concepts to define this phenomenon.

Sennet calls this concept 'democratic space'. Despite the fact it incorporates sociological meanings, it is primarily characterized by physical strategies. It is an open system, incorporating porosity of the territory, narrative indeterminacy and incomplete form (SENNET, 2007, page 296). It becomes democratic in a physical sense. Architects, urban designers and urban planners, lost in the panoply of images of global cities, pressured by economic forces and missing authentic values and ideas to stimulate them, could adopt this kind of approach. It is radically against the spaces currently generated in global cities. There is a clear opposition to the 'polished environments' or the 'landscapes of power' of the global cities (ZUKIN, 2006, page 137). Democratic spaces, according to Sennet, are 'less ceremonial spaces' (SENNET. 2007, page 297).

This approach generates some answers but also some new questions for urban issues. Harvey points to the importance of the difference, without reinforcing the forms of oppression (HARVEY, 2002, page 419). He urges that genuine public space, that previously had this role, is 'extinguished, militarized or semi-privatized' (HARVEY, 2002, page 419). Most characteristic response to violence is to search for defensible urban spaces. What should the planners do?, asks Harvey (HARVEY, 2002, page 432). The creation of more inclusive landscapes with the stimulation of 'democratic space' that can be a forum where strangers can interact (SENNET, 2007, page 297) may be the answer. However new questions arise. Sennet, with an architectonic eye, points to two questions (SENNET. 2007, page 297). How can the divide between inside and outside be bridged? How can visual form invite engagement and identification? The answers can be varied but the concepts of inclusion, tolerance, and trust in the urban space are fundamental.

13.2. Global city as a regional issue

Most of the time, global city theory covers cities around the world and the international networks they are linked within. However, another scale is important to discussion: the region. Scott discusses a lot about global city-regions. Even Friedmann, who in the eighties developed a model with only cities represented, today supports a change in the scale of analysis. He advocates that the best term to analyse the urban spaces is through the 'city-region'. He

explains that every urban core needs a surrounding regional space to sustain itself. This is a space for its future expansion and for all those space-extensive activities that a large city needs, from airports and landfills to industrial districts and areas of intensive agriculture, to open space recreation and water reservoirs. Friedmann tries to define it physically. This area is typically roughly one hour commuting time or up to one hundred km (FRIEDMANN, 2002, page 3)

Short supports, inside his book about global cities, the rise of globalizing city regions (SHORT, 2004, page 63). Bolocan urges that cities cannot be reduced to models with nodes, like in the global city (BOLOCAN, 2010, page 1). A larger space of relations needs to be considered. Global cities influence and are strongly influenced by the regions that contain them.

13.3. Global city as an urban environmental challenge

Other issue related to scale that research approaches is the environmental question. Global city as an environmental site has failed to attract the same attention as other topics (SHORT, 2004, page 20). In wider scales, it has been more discussed. Natural parks, forests, lakes, mountains and rivers are frequently objects of study. The natural environment has been adequately debated. Curiously, a similar interest addressed to the natural environment is not addressed to the human environment (PEÑALOSA, 2007, page 319). Douglass observes the relative absence of explicit treatment of the built and natural environment in world city literature (DOUGLASS, 2006; page 269). Short calls this the silence of the environment (SHORT, 2004, page 20) in the global city research.

It strongly influences the cities. The environmental issue, globally attached to processes of urban spatial restructuring and environmental deterioration, have been major contributors to poverty (DOUGLASS, 2006, page 269). Its negatives effects affect mainly those with fewer resources. Furthermore, frequently the poor are able to stay in the city just because certain quarters are so environmentally unsafe that private housing or commercial developers are not interested in them (DOUGLASS, 2006; 269), especially in third world cities. Consequently, poor populations stay closer to these deteriorated environments.

Environmental quality of space could work in the opposite direction. Quality of life could be a resource to increase the prosperity of a city. Quality of life can be the most valued competitive factor in the new global economy (PEÑALOSA, 2007, page 319). Skilled and talented workers could be attracted or the local ones maintained by such quality of life.

Urban environment is also a question of justice. Justice for people separated from us in either space or time (HARVEY, 2002, page 433). The next generations cannot pay for the actions of the present ones. Due to all these critical implications, it becomes more evident that the lack of attention of global cities research on the urban environment is one of the 'most disturbing gaps in our understanding of global cities' (SHORT, 2004, page 20).

13.4. Global city as it could be

Few authors have proposed innovative solutions for the urban issues. Most of the ideas are adaptations, partial solutions, or very theoretical concepts. Friedmann, one of the creators of the global city theory, pointed to the concepts of David Harvey as an authentic 'alternative global project'. According to him, Harvey´s ideas are not the 'myopic one of the third sector'. Friedmann continues saying that Harvey 'involves us in a complex exercise of reflection that is at once critical and forward-looking, passionate and practical, spatial as well temporal, normative but attentive to the process'. He goes 'beyond mere nay-saying and critique'. Each starts with analytical questions and then moves forward to proposals that, in various ways, run counter the dominant paradigm. Unlike Harvey, they do not contemplate a radical break with present system. Friedmann agrees with it because he has a very pragmatic view 'whether we like it or not, global capital has an astounding capacity for reconfiguring itself, so it will be here for some time'. He concludes that 'even if changes start, just historians of the future will see it. But I live now. I want to deal with questions piecemeal rather than holistically, accept negotiated solutions. Mine utopia is the one of the possible' (FRIEDMANN, 2002, page XXI).

Katz, Altman and Wagner bring strong claims, like the one of Harvey. It is a 'wake-up message' (KATZ, ALTMAN, WAGNER; 2007, page 481). According to them, a broad range of policies and practices at the city, national and supranational levels need to be overhauled, reordered and integrated around new spatial realities and paradigms (KATZ, ALTMAN, WAGNER; 2007, page 481). This dissertation supports that these new spatial reality may be a reconsideration of the regions scale and also a concern about local urban environment. The new paradigm may be the creation of democratic space that stimulates social interaction.

To break down the barriers not only between specialized and self-referential disciplines, but also between professions and bureaucracies, makes it possible to share innovations across networks of urban researchers, practioners and policy makers. The challenge is to build cities that are at the same time prosperous, sustainable and inclusive (KATZ, ALTMAN, WAGNER; 2007, page 481). It is much harder than to build a global city, it takes much more time, but it may produce much better results.

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