Entrepreneurial regionalist planning in a rescaled Spain: The cases of Bilbao and València

David L. Prytherch[1] and Laura Huntoon[2]
[1]*Department of Geography, The Miami University, Oxford, Ohio (E-mail: prythedl@muohio.edu); [2]School of Planning, The University of Arizona, Tucson (E-mail: huntoon@email.arizona.edu)*

Abstract

European politics and planning have recently been characterized by a shift to economic entrepreneurialism at sub-national scales, and the planned redevelopment of the city-region in pursuit of global competitiveness, which scholars have interpreted in light of political-economic "rescaling" or regionalization and the emergence of a "new regionalism." Analyzing rescaling largely in terms of shifting economic and institutional structures, however, many accounts underestimate the complexity and enduring power of so-called 'old' regionalist politics of culture and identity as backdrop to urban redevelopment planning. In this paper we address how the urban planning process mediates between the seemingly dichotomous tendencies of regionalized entrepreneurialism and cultural regionalism. Using case studies of two Spanish autonomous regions and their major urban centers – the Basque Country or Euskadi (Bilbao) and the Comunitat Valenciana (València) – we review the historical geography of planning in the European region in order to explore how cultural regionalism collides with economic rescaling and entrepreneurialism, in and through the planned landscape. We propose that such emerging and hybrid politics and planning be understood as a form of *entrepreneurial regionalism*, a culturally inflected form of economic competitiveness characteristic of but not unique to the Spanish region. This specific notion of entrepreneurial regionalism may illuminate how planners mediate global and local imperatives within political discourse and landscapes that materialize them, and allow us to better reconceptualize the relationship between economic globalization, state restructuring, and cultural politics in a new Europe of the Regions.

Introduction

The contemporary European region and its capital city have been the locus of vertiginous economic, political, and cultural change. Globalization has reshuffled the territorial scales – local/urban, regional, national, and supra-national – on which economic competitiveness and state regulation are structured (Smith, 1992, 1995; Brenner, 1997a, 1997b, 1999, 2000; Delaney and Leitner, 1997; Swyngedouw, 1997, 2000, 2004; MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999; Leitner, 2004). Recent theories of political-economic "rescaling" help us understand the broader structural context of the regionalization of economic and state power in Europe, and how this prompts the ubiquitously competitive politics of economic development, what we might call regionalized entrepreneurialism. But the resurgence of the politics of European regional autonomy cannot be theoretically reduced to contemporary structural transformation. Cultural regionalism, as an enduring politics of sub-national identity and difference, has its own long history (López-Aranguren, 1986; Dunford, 1998; Keating, 1993, 1998, 2000, 2001). There exists an uneasy and complex relationship between global economic forces and regional cultural politics, which can be starkly evident in the landscape of the regional city, where finite space forces hard choices. Planners, like scholars, must grapple with globalization's disparate economic, political, and cultural tendencies. If research writings show limitations in their ability to fully reconcile these threads theoretically, planners and local politicians have produced conspicuous new landscapes that appear to reflect, and perhaps structure, the subtle synthesis of regionalized entrepreneurialism and cultural regionalism.

Empirical evidence thus prompts difficult theoretical questions about planning and urban change. What is the role of urban planning in mediating globalization's contradictory imperatives? How may the planning of new urban landscapes reconcile the exogenous pressures of regionalized, economic entrepreneurialism and endogenous politics of cultural regionalism within the dialectical process of European rescaling? One answer is the urban planning process mediates between these seemingly contradictory, or at least poorly aligned, imperatives through a new, hybrid politics and planning of *entrepreneurial regionalism*. More than the

extrapolation of urban entrepreneurialism to a regional scale, our specific use of entreprepreneurial regionalism intends to suggest the particular way in which the culturally charged politics of European regionalism are synthesized with the discourses and policy emphases of inter-urban or inter-regional competitiveness. This synthesis is most clearly embodied in economic development projects planned and built by regionalist governance, dramatic new landscapes in Europe's regional centers that may be the most clear evidence that planning can mediate the connection between regional identities and place making on a global scale, reinforcing a place-based ethos while pursuing a simultaneously entrepreneurial *and* regionalist strategy in political discourse and the landscapes that "materialize" it (Schein, 1997).

Perhaps no place better embodies this complex intersection of global restructuring and local politics than the Spanish regional city. In the late twentieth century, Spanish democratization and decentralization occurred precisely at the time scholars recognized a new era of postmodern globalization. Movements towards regional autonomy, a revived sense of regional difference, deindustrialization, and away from Fordism happened simultaneously, if not serendipitously. Even if we lack the space here to tease out the relationship between the historical specificity of Spanish core-periphery tensions and the broader experience of political-economic restructuring in Europe, the case of urban and regional planning in a rescaled Spain offers an unparalleled window on the complexity of territorial rescaling *in process*, highlighting the role of planners as they manage economic imperatives and cultural politics in the competitive European city. We offer brief case studies of two major redevelopment and planning efforts in Spanish regional centers, which reflect the convergence of entrepreneurial and regionalist agendas, in political discourse and the landscape itself. First, we describe the transformation of Bilbao, economic center of the restive Basque Country or Euskadi, through waterfront revitalization and the construction of the Guggenheim Bilbao. Second, we explore the lesser-known case of València, capital of the Comunitat Valenciana, whose landscape and image has been redesigned by the construction of the City of the Arts and Sciences, a cultural entertainment complex designed by locally-born but internationally-known Santiago Calatrava. For two decades Spain, long defined by its distinct and competitive regions, has experimented with political and economic decentralization, trends that now spread to other states in Europe. The urban outcomes of these social changes in Spain may foreshadow urban change elsewhere.

Recent research on political-economic rescaling and entrepreneurialism offers a valuable starting point for interpreting the resurgence of autonomous regional government and planning in Europe, and the economic development policies they pursue. But this expanding literature, despite its considerable conceptual strengths, overdetermines the role of economic and structural change in the process of regionalization. It cannot help

us fully account for regionalism as an explicitly cultural form of politics centered on the particular scale of the region. Thus, we also briefly discuss recent writings on cultural regionalisms in Europe and Spain, which help conceive the particular social milieus in which globalization's imperatives are interpreted, producing distinct regional landscapes. But these writings often work with essentialized and static notions of regional culture, and can fail to comprehend how new regional identities communities are "imagined" (Anderson, 1983) to fit a globally competitive age. Each framework – entrepreneurialism and cultural regionalism – is needed to understand Spanish planning, but neither is sufficient alone.

Analyzing how regionalized entrepreneurialism, prompted in part by the generalized imperatives of global political-economic restructuring collide with the particularity of European regionalism requires a broad understanding of economic and political globalization that integrates the relevance of place and its social production. We seek this by extending recent writings on new regionalism, which explore how regional frameworks emerge through economic restructuring and political discourse (MacLeod, 2001; MacLeod and Jones, 2001; Paasi, 2002), particularly Paasi's (2003) interrogation of the interaction between regional culture and regional identity (2003). In this vein, we suggest that urban landscape is a key field for sorting out globalization's contrasting economic and cultural imperatives, internalized and hybridized in a new entrepreneurial regionalism. Amidst so many theoretical writings that view regionalization as purely structurally driven on one hand, or mirror of ancient and essentialized cultural identities on the other, more work needs to be done to highlight the links between the economic and cultural, and the global and local, in which these often false dualisms might be collapsed. Our narratives of major planning initiatives in Bilbao and València show that economic competitiveness and identity politics need not be necessarily mutually exclusive, in theory or in practice. Instead, they can become entwined in complex ways through the politics and planning of the regional city. To synthesize these realities, theoretical and empirical, we emphasize the entrepreneurial regionalist character of planning and politics in a rescaled Spain and the new European region, and explore how two city-regions exemplify it.

Planners in the Spanish regional city are concerned with how to balance the search for competitive position with the desire to preserve or promote the distinctiveness of their urban culture and landscapes. The balances they have struck amidst the process of a decentralizing and regionalizing Spain may help us conceptualize European urban futures elsewhere, and how they will be planned.

Regionalized entrepreneurialism in Europe

Globalization and political integration in Europe pose a revolutionary challenge to *status quo* territorial governance.

The territorial locus of accumulation and governance is shifting away from the nation state to the European Union and the regions, a process variously called reterritorialization (Brenner, 1999) and state rescaling (Swyngedouw, 2000), fostering a regionalization of state power and institutions (Keating, 1998).

Thinking about regions through the abstracted lens of territorial scale helps us remember their historical specificity and mutability, since such scales may be "relatively fixed and immobile socioterritorial structures and infrastructures" (Brenner, 1999 p. 43) but they are nonetheless socially produced and reconfigured to meet the demands of particular historical moments. The scale of the region – its territorial outlines, its internal structure, its relation to other scales like the national or supra-national – is not inscribed in stone, despite the claims of many regionalists, but made and remade through social practice. As local governments assume new responsibilities as nation-states cede economic development and planning to local officials (MacLeod and Goodwin, 1999), planning policies can become "spatial tactics" deployed by the state to "regulate, produce and reproduce the configurations of social space adequate to the continued accumulation of capital" (Brenner, 1997b, p. 280). In short, larger structural transformations may provide the context for rescaling or regionalization, but these are not abstract processes that redraw Europe's economic and political map, but are premised upon the apparently compulsory restructuring of local politics and urban spaces by people (like planners) to meet the exigencies of a competitive global economy. Globalization, regionalization, and the city are inseparable.

From this context of economic and territorial regionalization, and increased inter-regional competition, have emerged the increasingly hegemonic politics of civic boosterism (Boyle, 1997) and urban entrepreneurialism (Harvey, 1989; Leitner, 1990; Boyle and Hughes, 1994; Hall and Hubbard, 1996). Seeking competitive position for their regional economies and cities, local governance markets the city or region as a commodity, plans urban space as themed image (Crilley, 1993; Gottdiener, 1997), and employs advertising to communicate it (Goodwin, 1993; Kearns and Philo, 1993; Gold and Ward, 1994). Local government also becomes entrepreneurial when it shoulders the political and financial risks of pursuing economic development (Harvey, 1989). In these senses, entrepreneurialism is not a policy framework and political discourse particular to any particular state scale, but is a portable set of policy fixes that increasingly define urban and regional politics across a rescaled Europe (Dunford, 1998). As a result, urban planning increasingly focuses not on traditional policy targets like distributional justice or social unity, but on economic entrepreneurialist pursuits like redesigning the region as marketable brand.

Globalization appears to be the inescapable context of, if not motor for, the rescaling of economics and state power in Europe, and the emergence of the entrepreneurial city-region. Indeed, as Brenner (1997a, p. 290) notes, "both the 'politics of place' (struggles over the trajectory and form of growth *within* cities and regions) and interspatial competition (struggles *between* cities and regions to secure growth) have become increasingly crucial in transforming the spatial scale of social life." Globalization burdens local officials with entrepreneurial tasks of promoting economic development and engaging in inter-urban competition, edging European planners away from the traditional political concerns. This offers one structural interpretation for changing territorial scales, modes of regulation, and the increasing hegemony of entrepreneurial discourse across Europe's regions. But it does not account for how these processes are interpreted locally, and how they may be articulated to already existing and culturally complex forms of regional politics.

Cultural regionalism in Europe and Spain

The enduring centrality of the regional worldview for so many Europeans, which in many places long predates modernization (much less post-Fordism) must be taken seriously in its own right. In countries like Spain, the regionalist or regional nationalist politics of cultural difference can be a powerful lens filtering urban decision-making. As much as planning in the European region can be driven by an outward-looking entrepreneurialism, it also remains very much a matter of inward-looking regionalism, a politics of such historical depth and ideological complexity as any found in modern politics. In a regionalized country like Spain, this is particularly true.

As the restructuring of European politics displaces the centralized nation-state, "mini-nationalisms" (Snyder, 1982) structured around smaller language groups and other markers of identity (Hooghe, 1992; Barbour, 1996) have sought greater autonomy. This reemergence of the region and regionalist politics has been interpreted through the changing institutional structure of the European state and the political party system (Keating, 1993). In Great Britain, regional parliaments or assemblies have been founded in Scotland and Wales, a response to longstanding linguistic and cultural tensions (Keating, 2001). In France, modest state decentralization has achieved a greater tolerance of such regional languages as Occitan or Breton (Snyder, 1982). In Italy, the emergence of regionalist parties like the Liga Nord signals shifts in political economy and political identity (Agnew, 2000). Such changes have prompted scholars to wonder if the region has become Europe's "new imagined community" (Smouts, 1998).

Few countries exemplify the regionalist character of European politics better than Spain. The Spanish state, consolidated in the early 18th century, has always been highly differentiated politically, culturally, linguistically (Dupláa and Barnes, 1986; Ucelay da Cal, 1995). The Spanish state is divided by four major language

groups – Castilian Spanish, Catalan, Basque or *Euskera*, and Galician (Elorza, 1995) – and regionalist movements ranging from Basque separatism to nationalist movements of the Catalan-speaking regions and Galicia (Núñez, 1990; Payne, 1991). Franco was unable to quell these challenges to a unitary Spain. Following his death in 1975, Spanish democracy began to dismantle centralized Spain and by 1982 a new "State of the Autonomies" was in place (López-Aranguren, 1986). Each of Spain's 17 autonomous communities has its official language, parliament, president, and executive ministries. Not only was this an accommodation of the historic nationalities, but also reflected the strong sense of regional difference across Spain. Within the Spanish state, governing power has been substantially devolved to the regions, giving the sub-national scale governing competence over education, cultural and linguistic policy, tourism promotion, environmental regulation, and land use planning.

Traditional analyses of European cultural regionalism, for their many strengths, themselves have significant limitations. On one hand, the structural influences of economic globalization, via rescaling and economic entrepreneurialism, are often neglected in favor of cultural explanation. On the other hand, the complexity of what actually constitutes the symbolic politics and discursive construction of cultural regionalism remains neglected. The emphasis on regionalist political institutions (whether states or parties) and their policies, particularly in the realms of language and culture, tends to simultaneously ignore structural forces and essentialize the cultural. We need to understand how economy, politics, and culture are mutually constituted at local as well as global scales. Both cultural regionalism *and* economic entrepreneurialism now characterize Spanish governance. The regional capital (or economic center, in the case of Bilbao), as platform for economic development and institutional and symbolic home of regionalist politics, has become a key site for both competing globally and galvanizing the regional electorate. The question remains "how?"

Entrepreneurial regionalism, planning, and the cultural landscape

Planning in Spain's regional cities occupies a revealing juncture between regionalization as economic restructuring and regionalism as ethnic politics, and how these tendencies are reconciled in the urban landscape. We suggest the hybrid concept of entrepreneurial regionalism to capture how contradictory imperatives can become fused in European urban planning, as urban redevelopment and architectural spectacle become critical avenues for regional governments to promote globally-oriented economic development while legitimizing the politics and discourses of a "new" cultural regionalism

Recent work in new regionalism explores the fluid reterritorialization of European governance on the basis of entrepreneurial cities and regions (MacLeod, 2001; MacLeod and Jones, 2001). Keating's (2003) recent work on the regional "nations against the state" shows that not all nationalist movements seek absolute sovereignty, but sustaining both social integration and international competitiveness may require regions to use nationalist values and identities as "an instrument for economic development and the formation of social capital" (p. 69). MacLeod, among others, calls for a New Regionalist focus on the region as definitive object of inquiry into "the changing functional and territorial contours of the state – and its intricate connections to the globalization-regionalization dialectic" (2001, p. 806).

But Paasi has perhaps done the most to bring regional identity into discussions about European regionalization dominated by structurally-deterministic theories of rescaling, without essentializing identity itself. Paasi sees identity is seen as an interpretation of "the process through which a region becomes institutionalized," and identity practices as central to rescaling and building institutional structures (Paasi, 2002, p. 808). But for Paasi institutionalizing the region is about more than state apparatus or political parties, but "a process consisting of the production of territorial boundaries, symbolism, and institutions" (Paasi, 2003, p. 478). Symbolically laden narratives of identity, like regionalist politics, are constructed and embedded in contexts ranging from "the regimes of power and ideologies that come 'from above' to local actions of citizens and forms of resistance" (Paasi, 2003, p. 277).

In Europe where landscapes can be central to the discourses and politics of nationalism and national identity (Olwig, 2002), as Nogue (2004) has shown in the Catalan case, planning and economic development must frequently make sense of the urban spaces in which identity narratives are rooted. As MacLeod and Jones (2001) note, "the region is ready to be mobilized for such purposes as place marketing or as a weapon in an ideological struggle over resources and power" (p. 681). And nothing may be critical for institutionalizing new regions and narrating new regional identities than the landscape itself. Seeking to materialize (Schein, 1997) a political discourse that articulates entrepreneurialism to regionalism, planners focus intently on the complex instrumentally of the land itself.

In the attempt to embed new regional identities, entrepreneurial regionalist planning serves to synthesize distinct yet oddly complementary organizing strategies. The discourses and landscapes of regional difference may have long characterized sub-national politics in countries like Spain, but the territorial shuffling entailed by globalization also has made the regions an effective scale at which to govern and compete economically. Regionalist politics, long defined by cultural questions, are increasingly retooled to fit the agenda of entrepreneurial regionalist politics and planning. Entrepreneurialism and cultural regionalism are both processes of imagining the region *vis à vis* other regions, of

transforming those ideas through planning into new territorial arrangements and emblematic urban spaces, and ways of legitimizing governing actions in the face of considerable risks. As such, they are much less contradictory than seen at first blush. Where economic globalization, political regionalization, and entrenched discourses of cultural difference collide – as they dramatically do in contemporary Spain – the fusion becomes striking, especially when materialized in the planned landscapes that regions hope will lead them into the 21st century.

Case studies of entrepreneurial-regionalist planning in Spain: Bilbao and València

Two cases illuminate this complex intersection of entrepreneurial and regionalist tendencies. In following pages we narrate major planning initiatives in two of Spain's most important cities: Bilbao's Guggenheim Museum and associated redevelopment in the mid-1990s, and València's new City of the Arts and Sciences in the late 1990s. In order to convey the complex political contexts from which each project emerged, against the backdrop of political-economic rescaling, our case studies will unfold in five sequential parts: the historical background of regionalist claims, the emergence of regionalist governance and its role in Spain's democratic transition, the urban challenges facing planners at the beginning of regional autonomy, the projects with which municipal and regional planners responded, and the political and economic ramifications that ensued. A brief look at these planning efforts – as political, technical, spatial, cultural, and financial endeavors – shows that spectacular interventions in the urban landscape can be an effective way for regional governments to promote local development while legitimizing regionalism itself, exemplifying how the new landscapes help narrate a politics of new politics and planning of entrepreneurial regionalism in Europe.

Euskadi, Bilbao, and the Guggenheim Bilbao

Perhaps no region in western Europe is better known for ethnic nationalism than the Basque country, or *Euskadi,* of the Atlantic coastline straddling the border of France and Spain, whose economic center (but not capital) is the economically embattled port city of Bilbao. So deep are the roots of Basque ethnic difference that the origins of the autochthonous and unique language Euskera remain unknown (Jacobsen, 1999). The existence and relative integrity of Euskera attests to Basque resistance to forces of cultural assimilation and change over the millennia (Payne 1973a, 1973b). If this longstanding regionalism contextualizes the persistent separatist violence of ETA (an acronym in Euskera for "Basque Homeland and Liberty"), it paradoxically also may explain the emergence of Bilbao as an avant-garde cultural destination from the ashes of de-industrialization, home

to a titanium-clad museum, 'franchise' of the New York's Guggenheim Foundation.

Euskadi exemplifies the historical depth of cultural regionalism, but it also suggests how much regionalist politics are dependent on wider political economic contexts. The politics of Basque cultural and territorial difference are centuries old, but an explicit Basque nationalism only dates to the nineteenth century, when Basque Catholics and local bourgeoisie reacted to rapid industrialization and immigration by founding the *Partido Nacionalista Vasco* or 'PNV' in 1895 (Carr, 1980). The Basque statute of autonomy, finally signed in 1979, couches the question of political autonomy in the ambiguous term "self-government" in uneasy compliance with the Spanish Constitution, but the PNV has long equated Basque nationalism with full "recovery of national sovereignty" (EAJ-PNV, 2001). Despite the impossibility of this goal under the current constitutional framework, and against the backdrop of continued ETA violence, Basques have consolidated autonomous government with jurisdiction over civil law; economic policy and development; educational, cultural, and linguistic policy; regional planning; and tourism, among other matters.

The impacts of global restructuring are evident not merely in the emergence of Basque autonomous government, but also in the economic landscape over which it governed. The planning of modern Bilbao must be understood in terms not only of the democratic transition to regional autonomy, but also rapid deindustrialization. From the mid-1800s to the 1970s, Bilbao's economy and urban landscape were defined by iron and steel production, shipbuilding, and chemical industries, profits from which were the basis for a powerful regional banking sector. In 1985, the closing of the *Altos Hornos* blast furnaces capped an industrial decline characterized as ruinous particularly along the River Nervión (Zulaika, 2001). Between 1979 and 1985, Euskadi lost 94,766 jobs, with disproportionate job loss in the Bilbao metropolitan area (Gómez, 1998). Planners, first municipal then regional, sought to reinvigorate the city's economy and tarnished image. Municipal planners first revised the city's General Plan in 1986, with an explicit focus on improving Bilbao's image in order to attract outside investment in advanced services and cultural production, emphasizing the role of culture in urban regeneration, and envisioning the urban landscape as a cultural magnet for tourists and conventioneers (Gonzalez, 1993). Strategic planning documents stated explicitly "spatial transformation becomes a key element to change the city's profile of economic activity, to change the city's image..." (Bilbao Metropoli-30, 1992, p. 3). To facilitate the process of service-oriented redevelopment and re-imaging, the Spanish and Basque governments in 1992 created the publicly-funded urban development corporation Bilbao Ría 2000 (Gómez, 1998). Autonomous regional government contributed a growing share of planning and financing of an ambitious $1.5 billion urban renewal plan. Plans included the

improvement of the port, new transportation links, importantly a Santiago Calatrava-designed airport and footbridge, a Norman Foster-designed subway system, and the redevelopment of the riverfront with the Euskalduna Conference and Performing Arts Center (Zulaika, 1999). Entrepreneurialism, place marketing, and urban redevelopment had come to Bilbao with a vengence.

Central to these redevelopment efforts were the regional government's planning and construction of the now famous Guggenheim Bilbao on a former riverbank industrial site. After secretive negotiations, the Solomon Guggenheim Foundation sold the Basques the right to use the Guggenheim name and host, but not own, portions of its collection in exchange for a $20 million franchise fee. The Basque government, to create a centerpiece for its redevelopment efforts, constructed a museum in the dramatic postmodern design of Los Angeles-based architect Frank Gehry. Although the museum would be Basque, the art would not, a bone of considerable local contention. Regional government assumed the substantial and escalating costs, despite persistent skepticism about the costs among many Basque politicians and voters (Zulaika, 1997). The pursuit of an emblematic icon of global modernity, at the expense of both regional taxpayers and the regional art community, was a quintessentially entrepreneurial move, with all the attendant global-local contradictions.

Although the ambitious project neglected local culture in the traditional regionalist sense (i.e. folklore) this was very much intentional, about re-orienting Basque identity 'forward' instead of 'backwards', and 'outwards' instead of 'inwards.' As early as 1982 the regional Minister of Culture spoke of such a contemporary art museum as a necessary "window so that [the Basque] people, losing its primal fears, may open itself to the outside world" (cited in Zulaika, 1999, p. 29). In 1991, the Guggenheim asked researchers at the University of Nevada to study American perceptions of the Basques. They found that 85% of news coverage of the Basques in North America made reference to terrorism. Basque officials were explicit in their eagerness to see the Basque association with the word "terrorism" replaced with the words "modern art" (Zulaika, 1999).

Yet this outward-oriented piece of place marketing, a concerted effort to change international perception of Bilbao and Euskadi, was also a key component in attempts to narrate a new kind of Basque identity discourse, and embed it in Bilbao's urban landscape. Indeed, the feasibility studies for the museum suggested "the actual and symbolic presence of the Guggenheim Musuem Bilbao as a major institution of European and international culture would emphasize the progressive outlook of the Basque sensibility" (quoted in Reuben Holo, 1999, p. 154), to those both within and beyond the Basque Country. Basque Minister of Culture Joseba Arregi promoted the museum as a unifying force in the region, as well as a "great stimulus toward the progress and well being of our country in the immediate future" (Zulaika, 1999, p. 290). Regional vice-president Jon Azua touted the project as a positive multi-dimensional connection between global society and Euskadi, serving as a "mechanism for the strategic development of our global society" (290–291). Director of the Museum Juan Ignacio Vidarte put it bluntly: "the project transcends the mere cultural sphere, it is above all an investment in the future" (*ibid.*) In sum, the project held the potential to help Basque politicians navigate the tensions generated by politics of ethnicity, internationalism, and anti-Spanish statism at the complex heart of mainstream Basque regionalist politics (Rueben Holo, 1999, p. 148)

This materialization of a new regionalist discourse within economic development, and the embedding of a new kind of Basque regionalist identity, at the same time served an entrepreneurial agenda in the purest sense, framed almost entirely in a language of competitiveness, improved efficiency, flexibility, partnership, and collaborative advantage (Rodriguez et al., 2001). Although it is not our desire to judge the project an entrepreneurial success or failure, the economic numbers nonetheless bear mentioning. Within 1 year of the museum's opening on October 19, 1997, the museum logged 1.3 million visitors (Guggenheim Bilbao, 2003), total monthly visitation to the region jumped 23%, and visits by foreigners increased by 43% per month (Plaza, 1999). Between 1997 and 2002, the Museum is credited with contributing the equivalent of 816 million Euros to Euskadi's gross domestic product, creating and maintaining 4137 jobs, and generating 143 million Euros in tax receipts (Bilbao Metropoli-30 2003, p. 23). At the height of the so-called Guggenheim Effect in summer 1998, higher-end Bilbao hotels recorded an 85% occupancy rate (Plaza, 2000). Beyond economic impacts, the Museum is credited with attracting international press coverage, creating "positive externalities" and a "great leap forward" for the city (Plaza, 1999).

The Guggenheim Museum Bilbao has become the icon for urban revitalization and social development in the Basque Country. Nationalist government consciously promoted the museum as addressing the challenges of entrepreneurial competition and regionalist politics (Eusko Jaurlaritza/Basque Regional Government, 2003). The museum is part of the effort to remake the Basque Country into "a model of an open society which strives for integration and serves as a reference for freedom, well-being and solidarity; a model able to meet the challenges inherent in the profound changes and transformations our people must confront in the twenty-first century" (EAJ-PNV, 2001). Whether they buy this message or not, studies of public perception show that Bilbao residents have grown more proud and confident in their city's progress: in 2002 97% of residents were "proud" and 62% "very proud" of their city, an increase of nearly 5% over 2001 (Bilbao Metropoli-30 2003, p. 45). In 2000 elections, the PNV, identified with the Guggenheim Bilbao, increased its share of seats in the regional parliament, indicating something about the

success of the project as tool for state legitimation amidst charged cross-currents of Basque regional nationalism.

The project at once served to reconstruct Euskadi's regional capital, its regional economy, its international image, and the sense Basques have of themselves and the nature of their political and cultural autonomy. In one building are tied all the different threads that make regionalist politics amid globalization seem so complex and contradictory. The new urban landscape of Bilbao, with the Guggenheim as its centerpiece, was designed to reflect a new kind of Basque nationalism, a titanium-clad reflection of an entrepreneurial and regionalist Euskadi for both foreigners and Basques to pay close attention to. Thus for some observers the Guggenheim "is the fundamental text of Basque cultural politics in the current postmodern era" (Zulaika, 2001, p. 17).

Comunitat Valenciana, València, and the City of the Arts and Sciences

Although less known for its regionalist politics and urban redevelopment schemes, the autonomous region the Comunitat Valenciana and its capital València exemplify the complex ways regions seek to compete globally while retaining a sense of cultural difference. The city of València has long been a commercial and cultural center of the Catalan-speaking region of the northwestern Mediterranean coastline, perhaps second only to Barcelona. Since the 13th century reconquest by Catalan forces, Valencians have shared the Catalan language, and that has in part translated into a shared sense of Catalan national identity (Sanchis Guarner, 1999). València shares a history of resistance to 'greater Spain,' but without the degree of cultural or linguistic homogeneity of Catalunya, since Castillian Spanish is spoken widely. Tortured questions of Valencian identity dominate political discourse, which readily feed into an over-weaning sense of economic and cultural competitiveness with, in turns, Barcelona and Madrid. The monumental new City of the Arts and Sciences Project is the most recent embodiment of these political and economic obsessions.

The Comunitat Valenciana secured regional autonomy in 1982. The Valencian Statute of Autonomy modeled regional government on the medieval *Generalitat*, replicating the territory of the Kingdom of València, and designating the region as bilingual Valenciano (a variant of Catalan) and Castilian. The Statute describes itself as the "manifestation of the will to autonomy of the people of the Valencian provinces… giving birth to Valencian autonomy as the integration of both currents of opinion that define any concept of Valencia's unique culture" (Ley Orgánica 5/1982 de 1 de Julio, de Estatuto de Autonomía de la Comunidad Valenciana). The regional Socialist party, led by Joan Lerma, won the 1982 elections, assuming control of regional government and the newly devolved jurisdictional powers over territorial planning, economic development, and tourism (*ibid.*).

The premier challenge for the newly autonomous region and its capital city was consolidating a political and economic autonomy in a region torn by, not deindustrialization, but a rapid transition from agriculture to industry and services accompanied by explosive demographic growth. Such transformations had left both region and city in disarray, both spatial and social, so municipal planners in the early 1980s revised the city's General Plan to consolidate its growth patterns (Gaja and Boira, 1994), while planners within nascent regional government focused upon consolidating a fragmented region. The Generalitat developed an aggressive planning agenda, focused on three key ideas. First, the Generalitat sought to *vertebrar territori* or literally "give spine to" regional territory through public infrastructure, expressed in an ambitious regional Urban Development Plan (Generalitat Valenciana, 1995). Second, regional planners sought to enhance the city of València's leadership role or *capitalitat* (translated literally as 'capital-ness') (Sorribes, 1998). Third, Lerma sought to integrate the region within the *Arc Mediterrani* or 'Mediterranean Arch,' an emerging urban and industrial region on the northwestern Mediterranean (Generalitat Valenciana, 1993). Together, these three concepts guided regional planning, promoting social cohesion, political autonomy, and economic development.

In order to operationalize its planning agenda, and embed a new Valencian regionalism within the symbolic landscape of its capital city, Generalitat pursued an extraordinarily ambitious urban redevelopment project. The *Ciutat de les Artes i de les Ciències* (City of Arts and Sciences) is a science and entertainment complex designed and paid for entirely by regional government. Comprised of a science center, an IMAX theater/planetarium, an oceanographic park, and opera hall (the last still under construction), the complex was built amidst farmlands between the city center and its port.

The project was conceived, from the start, from a political viewpoint that perceived València as both a capital to the new region and potentially strategic position within a newly rescaled Spain and Europe. Joan Romero, regional Minister for Culture and Education during the late 1980s and early 1990s, recalled to me in an interview (València, April 11, 2001), there were three major factors driving the Generalitat's planning: "When we looked at the map, we recognized that València was part of the 'anillo de España' or "Spanish ring" comprised by Madrid, Bilbao, Barcelona, and València. Each city had its major projects and it was obvious that València was the weak point, a city with a much lesser level of international projection." More, Romero notes that European Union studies had shown that València was a "weak spot" at that scale, leading some to speak openly of the "Valencian fracture" in the *Arc Mediterrani*. Those within the inner circle of Valencian president Joan Lerma concluded that València needed to find a greater level of specialization in order to close the *anillo* and mend the fracture.

But the costs of actualizing this ambitious and competitive agenda on the ground were high and borne entirely by the Generalitat. By the time it opened in late 2000, the science museum alone has cost the Generalitat more than the equivalent of 175 million U.S. dollars (Aupí 11/12/00), just part of the nearly billion U.S. dollars regional government budgeted for the project between 1993 and 2000. Having gambled heavily on risky entrepreneurial policies, regional government took credit for their successes. The museum registered a million visitors in its first six months, according to museum director Manuel Tomaria (interview València, May 15, 2001). The number of hotel rooms in the city jumped by more than 30% within just three months after the museum's opening, a statistic proudly touted by regional tourism official Javier Solsona in an interview (València, May 5, 2001). More than just a facility, however, the new complex is an architectural icon that is monumentally visible at the city's edge, redefining València's modest skyline, and internationally famous, the setting for *New York Times Magazine* fashion shoots. The Generalitat, deeply engaged in the hyper-competitive business of selling place, has a new emblem for transforming the city, which British literary critic Kenneth Tynan once called the "world capital of anti-tourism," into a mecca for visitors.

The image of the Ciutat de les Artes i de les Ciències also now reverberates within Valencian political discourse as new and potent symbol of a new València. Used in commercial and political advertising, highlighted in tourism literature and government web sites, the project is simultaneously said to represent the region's competitiveness, its European modernity, its regional singularity, and proof of still young autonomous government's ability to get thing done. The project, not merely about boosting the local economy or improving the skyline, is touted as the gateway to a new European future, in which the region will assume its rightful, more prominent place at the European "vanguard" (Generalitat Valenciana, 1992). When Edwardo Zaplana of the Partido Popular defeated Lerma in 1995 and unsuccessfully tried to cancel the project, public outcry was fierce. Romero accused Zaplana of trying to "destroy the future" (Aupí, 1996). The City of the Arts and Sciences has come to symbolize Valencian modernity to political forces across the regional spectrum, the museum's silhouette matched with newspaper headlines like the center-right daily's November 13, 2000 "The Future's Already Here in València" or the center-left daily *Levante - El Mercantil Valenciano*'s November 11, 2000 "Destination Future."

reterritorializes them in new ways. Most striking perhaps, is the way globalization prompts in seemingly contradictory ways the shift to neoliberal, entrepreneurial governance at the same time it breathes new life into the older politics of regional difference, as well as the regional scale itself. With so many having predicted the demise of regionalism and nationalism in a globalized age, it thus seems strange that globalization would instead reenergize the politics of regional identity. These ironies are embodied by the clear tension between entrepreneurialism and regionalism in the scale politics of the contemporary European region. We have suggested here that the challenge of meeting and reconciling both imperatives has become paramount for many local leaders, a challenge that is in turn handed to economic development planners.

Recent redevelopment projects in Spain indicate an emerging synthesis of entrepreneurialism and regionalism not only in political discourse, but also in the planned urban landscape itself. Pressed to develop and sell their cities and regions on a competitive marketplace, regionalist governance also must legitimize itself and the pursuit of regional autonomy before local constituents. A politics and planning of entrepreneurial regionalism serve this difficult goal, creating the urban spaces and booster images that help imagine a new regional community, less wedded to the past and more adapted to a competitive future.

That particular confluence of entrepreneurialism and regionalism is well demonstrated in the trajectories of major redevelopment efforts in these cities: the Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao, and the City of Arts and Sciences in València. In each, the quests for economic development and political autonomy, place marketing and cultural self-affirmation, took shape in planned landscapes of entrepreneurial regionalism. These new urban façades cannot be understood apart from the quite 'old' politics of Basque and Valencian regionalism/nationalism. But neither can they be explained apart from the new imperatives of entrepreneurialism imposed by inter-regional competition in the global economy. The projects, in their genesis and development, reflect a new entrepreneurial regionalism. And, in ways difficult to measure, the projects may in turn have a role in redefining the nature of regional identity and the region itself, not merely reflecting the process of globalization but refracting it in novel ways. Our theories of both regionalization and regionalism might benefit from closer study of the European regions where planners are working out globalization's tensions in a through the landscape itself.

Conclusion

Globalization is remarkable for the way it erases some differences between places and people, yet simultaneously reinforces other patterns of difference, the way it deterritorializes existing political structures yet

References

Agnew J., 2000: From the political economy of regions to regional political economy. *Progress in Human Geography* **24**: 101–110.

Anderson B., 1983: *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism.* Verso, New York.

Aupí V., 2000: El museo del futuro. *Levante-El Mercantil Valenciano.*

Barbour S., 1996: Language and national identity in Europe: Theoretical and practical problems. In: Charlotte H. (ed), *Language, Culture and Communication in Contemporary Europe*. pp. 28–46. Multilingual Matters Ltd., Clevedon.

Ben-Ami S., 1991: Basque nationalism between archaism and modernity. *Journal of Contemporary History* **26**: 493–521.

Bilbao Metropoli-30, 1992: *Regeneración Urbana. Plan Estratégico para la Revitalización del Bilbao Metropolitano. Fase III: Metas, Objetivos y Estrategias*. Asociación Bilbao Metrópoli-30, Bilbao.

Bilbao Metropoli-30, 2003: *Informe Annual de Progreso 2002*. Asociación Bilbao Metropoli-30, Bilbao.

Boyer M.C. 1992: Cities for sale: Merchandising history at South Street Seaport. In: Sorkin M. (ed), *Variations on a Theme Park*. pp. 181–203. Hill and Wang, New York.

Boyle M., 1997: Civic boosterism in the politics of local economic development: 'Institutional positions' and 'strategic orientations' in the consumption of hallmark events. *Environment and Planning A* **29**: 1975–1997.

Boyle M. and Hughes G., 1994: The politics of urban entrepreneurialism in Glasgow. *Geoforum* **25**: 453–470.

Brenner N., 1997a: Global, fragmented, hierarchical: Henri Lefebvre's geographies of globalization. *Public Culture* **10**(1): 135–167.

Brenner N., 1997b: State territorial restructuring and the production of spatial scale: Urban and regional planning in the Federal Republic of Germany, 1960–1990. *Political Geography* **16**(4): 273–306.

Brenner N., 1999: Globalisation as reterritorialisation: the re-scaling of urban governance in the European Union. *Urban Studies* **36**(3): 431–451.

Brenner N., 2000: The urban question as a scale question: Reflections on Henri Lefebvre, urban theory, and the politics of scale. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* **24**(2): 360–377.

Carr R., 1980: *Modern Spain: 1875–1980*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Crilley D., 1993: Architecture as advertising: Constructing the image of redevelopment. In: Kearns and Philo C. (eds), *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*. pp. 221–252. Pergamon, Oxford: Pergamon.

Delaney D. and Leitner H., 1997: The political construction of scale. *Political Geography* **16**(2): 93–97.

Dunford M., 1998: Regions and economic development. In: Le Galés P. and Lequesne C. (eds), *Regions in Europe*. pp. 89–110. Routledge, London.

Dupláa C. and Barnes. G (eds), 1986: *Las Nacionalidades del Estado Español: Una Problematica Cultural*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

EAJ-PNV, 2001: *For Social Commitment in Favour of Non-Violence and Dialogue: An Avenue toward Resolution*. Political manifesto by the Lehendakari (Basque Regional President). http://www.eajpnv.com/ingles/compromiso.html.

Elorza A., 1995: Some perspectives on the nation-state and autonomies in Spain. In: Graham H. and Labanyi J. (eds), *Spanish Cultural Studies, an Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity*. pp. 332–335. The Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Eusko Jaurlaritza/Basque Regional Government, 2003: Official Website: Museums. http://www.euskadi.net/zentroa/museos/bizkaia20_c.htm.

Gaja Díaz F. and Boira Maiques J.V., 1994: Planeamiento y realidad urbana en la ciudad de Valencia (1939–1989). *Cuadernos de Geografía* **55**: 63–89.

Generalitat Valenciana, 1992: *Plan Parcial Area N.P.T. – 6 S.U.N.P.: Ciudad de la Ciéncia, Valencia*. Conselleria d'Obres Públiques, Urbanisme i Transports, València.

Generalitat Valenciana, 1993: *Arco Mediterraneo Español. Europeo de Desarrollo: Documento i del Avance del Plan de Desarrollo Urbanístico de la Comunidad Valenciana*. Conselleria d'Obres Públiques i Transports, València.

Generalitat Valenciana, 1995: *Estrategias de Vertebración Territorial: Documento II del Avance del Plan de Desarrollo Urbanístico de la Comunidad Valenciana*. Conselleria d'Obres Públiques i Transports, València.

Gold J.R. and Ward S.V. (eds), 1994: *Place Promotion: The Use of Publicity and Marketing to Sell Towns and Regions*. John Wiley, Chichester.

Gómez M.V., 1998: Reflective images: the case of urban regeneration in Glasgow and Bilbao. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* **22**(1): 106–121.

Gonzalez J., 1993: Bilbao: culture, citizenship, and quality of life. In: Banchini F. and Parkinson M. (eds), *Cultural Policy and Urban Regeneration: The West European Experience*, pp. 73–89. Manchester University Press, New York.

Goodwin M., 1993: The city as commodity: The contested spaces of urban development. In: Kearns G. and Philo C. (eds), *Selling Places: The city as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*. pp. 145–162. Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Gottdiener M., 1997: *The Theming of America: Dreams, Visions, and Commercial Spaces*. Westview Press, Boulder CO.

Guggenheim Bilbao, 2003: History. http://www.guggenheim-bilbao.es/ingles/historia/historia.htm.

Hall T. and Hubbard P., 1996: The entrepreneurial city: new urban politics, new urban geographies. *Progress in Human Geography* **20**: 153–174.

Harvey D., 1989: From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation in urban governance in late capitalism. *Geografiska Annaler* **71b**: 3–17.

Hooghe L., 1992: Nationalist movements and social factors: a theoretical perspective. In: Coakley J. (ed), *The Social Origins of Nationalist Movements: The Contemporary West European Experience*. Sage Publications, London.

Jacobsen W., 1999: Basque language origin theories. In: Douglass W., Urza C.,White L., and Zulaika J (eds), *Basque Cultural Studies*. pp. 27–43. Basque Studies Program, Reno, Nevada.

Kearns G. and Philo C. (eds), 1993: *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present*. Pergamon Press, Oxford.

Keating M., 1993: *The Politics of Modern Europe: The State and Political Authority in the Major Democracies*. Edward Elger Publishing Limited, Hants, England.

Keating M., 1998: Is there a regional level of government in Europe? In: Le Galés P. and Lequesne C. (eds), *Regions in Europe*. pp. 11–29. Routledge, London.

Keating M., 2000: The minority nations of Spain and European integration: a new framework for autonomy? *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* **1**: 29–42.

Keating M., 2001: *Nations Against the State*. Palgrave, New York.

Leitner H., 1990: Cities in pursuit of economic growth: The local state as entrepreneur. *Political Geography Quarterly* **9**: 146–170.

Leitner H., 2004: The politics of scale and networks of spatial connectivity: Transnational interurban networks and the rescaling of political governance in Europe. In: Sheppard E. and McMaster R. (eds), *Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society, and Method*, pp. 236–255. Blackwell Publishing, Ltd., Malden, MA.

López-Aranguren E., 1986: Autónomia y descentralización: Las relaciones entre el poder central y los poderes autonomicos. In: Dupláa C. and Barnes G. (eds), *Las Nacionalidades del Estado Español: Una Problematica Cultural*. pp. 29–84. The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis.

MacLeod G., 2001: New regionalism reconsidered: Globalization and the remaking of political economic space. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* **25**(4): 804–829.

MacLeod G. and Goodwin M., 1999: Space, scale, and state strategy: Rethinking urban and regional governance. *Progress in Human Geography* **23**: 503–527.

MacLeod, G. and Jones M., 2001: Renewing the geography of regions. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **29**: 669–695.

Marston, S., 2000: The social construction of scale. *Progress in Human Geography* **24**(2): 219–242.

Nogué J.V., 2004: Landscape and national identity in Catalonia. *Political Geography* **23**: 113–132.

Núñez X-M., 1992: *Historical Research on Regionalism and Peripheral Nationalism in Spain: A Reappraisal*. San Domenico: European Univeristy Institute, Florence.

Olwig K.A., 2002: *Landscape, Nature, and the Body Politic*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI.

Paasi A., 2002: Place and region: regional worlds and words. *Progress in Human Geography* **26**(6): 802–811.

Paasi A., 2003: Region and place: regional identity in question. *Progress in Human Geography* **27**(4): 475–485.

Payne S.G., 1973a: *A History of Spain and Portugal, Vol I*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI.

Payne S., 1973b: *A History of Spain and Portugal, Vol II*. The University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, WI.

Payne S., 1991: Nationalism, regionalism and micro-nationalism in Spain. *Journal of Contemporary History* **26**: 479–491.

Plaza B., 1999: The Guggenheim-Bilbao Museum effect: a reply to María V. Gómez' 'Reflective images: the case of urban regeneration in Glasgow and Bilbao. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* **23**(3): 589–592.

Plaza B., 2000: Evaluating the influence of a large cultural artifact in the attraction of tourism: the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao case. *Urban Affairs Review* **36**(2), 264–274.

Rodriguez A, Martinez E. and Guenaga G., 2001: Uneven redevelopment, new urban policies, and socio-spatial fragmentation in metropolitan Bilbao. *European Urban and Regional Studies* **8**(2): 161–178.

Sanchis Guarner M., 1999: *La ciudad de Valencia: Síntesis de historia y de geografía urbana*. Translation by R. Filella. Ayuntamiento de Valencia, Valencia.

Schein R., 1997: The place of landscape: a conceptual framework for interpreting and American scene. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **87**(4): 660–680.

Smith N., 1992: Geography, difference and the politics of scale. In: Doherty J., Graham E and Malek M. (eds), *Postmodernism and the Social Sciences*. pp. 57–79. Macmillan, London.

Smith N., 1995: Remaking scale: Competition and cooperation in prenational and postnational Europe. In: Eskelinen H. and Snickars F. (eds), *Competitive European Peripheries*. pp. 59–74. Springer, New York.

Smouts M.C., 1998: The region as the new imagined community? In: Le Galés P. and Lequesne C. (eds), *Regions in Europe*. pp. 30–38. Routledge, London.

Snyder L., 1982: *Global Mini-Nationalisms: Autonomy or Independence*. Greenwood Press, Westport, CT.

Sorribes J., 1998: *La Ciutat Deitjada: València entre el Passat i el Futur*. Tàndem Edicions, València.

Swyngedouw E., 1997: Excluding the other: the production of scale and scaled politics. In: Lee R. and Wills J. (eds), *Geographies of Economies* pp. 167–176. Arnold, London.

Swyngedouw E., 2000: Authoritarian governance, power, and the politics of rescaling. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **18**: 77–89.

Swyngedouw E., 2004: Scaled Geographies: nature, place, and the politics of scale. In: Sheppard, E. and McMaster, R. (eds), *Scale and Geographic Inquiry: Nature, Society, and Method*. pp. 236–255. Blackwell Publishing, Lt., Malden, MA

Ucelay da Cal E., 1995: The nationalisms and the periphery: Culture and politics in the construction of national identity. In: Graham H. and Labanyi J. (eds), *Spanish Cultural Studies, an Introduction: The Struggle for Modernity*. pp. 32–40. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Watson S., 1989: Gilding the smokestacks: the new symbolic representation of deindustrialized regions. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **9**: 59–71.

Zulaika J.,1997: *Crónica de una Seducción: El Museo Guggenheim Bilbao*. Nerea, Madrid.

Zulaika J., 1999: 'Miracle in Bilbao:' Basques in the casino of globalism. In: Douglass W., Urza C., White L. and Zulaika J. (eds), *Basque Cultural Studies*. pp. 265–274. Basque Studies Program, Reno, NV.

Zulaika J., 2001: Tough beauty: Bilbao as ruin, architecture, and allegory.'' In: Resina J. R. (ed), *Iberian Cities*. pp. 1–18. Routledge, NY.