

Collaborate to Compete Glasgow: Edinburgh

November 2007

Presented at Scotland House, Brussels, 27 November 2007

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Paper 31

“Collaborating to Compete” Glasgow : Edinburgh

**Presented at
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Introduction

Cities across the world are joining forces to compete more proactively in an increasingly globalised market place. An increased focus on cities as the main organising units for the development of the knowledge economy has gone hand-in-hand with greater efforts to maximise potential by borrowing size and diversity from their nearest neighbour. This is provided that there are already signs of significant potential for stronger economic linkages. This paper examines this increasing phenomenon, drawing on the experience of the Glasgow:Edinburgh Collaboration Initiative (GECI). It looks at the evidence base to support this type of activity and highlights experience with city collaboration initiatives elsewhere in Europe and beyond and asks whether there are any key principles of effective collaboration that can be applied to the Glasgow:Edinburgh context. It concludes by suggesting that whilst, on the one hand, the economic rationale for city collaboration appears to be strong, there is as yet no clear evidence that it has an impact in terms of GVA growth and that further research is needed to assess this.

City Competitiveness

In the past decade, UK cities have re-discovered their traditional role as drivers of regional and national economies. This renewed focus on cities has come about because of the central importance of the knowledge-based economy to future economic growth. Several studies have focused on knowledge and how it serves as a base for urban economic development. The work of Local Futures¹ on the knowledge economy² suggests that knowledge economy drivers are self-reinforcing and they tend to be clustered in cities. Knowledge workers are attracted to areas of greatest opportunity and knowledge-intensive areas offer the best conditions for business start-up. Cities are capitalising on this economic potential by re-thinking themselves as larger, more socio-economically diverse entities, by collaborating with neighbouring cities and regions.

Just as cities as engines of growth have moved up the policy agenda, collaboration between cities which are geographically adjacent has been on the increase. The main reason for this appears to be to achieve scale which, in turn, helps create critical mass in terms of assets and diversity. **Van Winden**³ et al developed a typology of cities from an analysis of 11 cities in North Western Europe and conclude that, for small- and medium-sized cities, which perhaps lack the scale and the diversity required to become major forces in themselves, they may engage in strategic co-operation with other cities, for instance by sharing facilities, joint lobbying or by aligning the research and education programmes of their universities.

Wight⁴ highlights successful city regions as those that are innovative in the way they think about their geography, and an ability to create a critical mass of assets beyond their administrative boundary (Randstad, the Cities of the Ruhr, Stuttgart).

¹ Local Futures - "Geography of the Knowledge Economy" (2004)

² As above

³ Willem Van Winden, Leo van den Bergen and Peter Pol - "European Cities in the Knowledge Economy - Towards a Typology"

⁴ M Wight (2005) - "The Rise of the Metro Regions in Economic Development: A Scottish Perspective" - Scotland Europa

Docherty, in his 2005 paper⁵ found that competition between cities for investment, jobs and population was intensifying, with the growth of internationalisation leading to an expanding choice of potential locations for firms and individuals alike.

Given that connectivity, the quality of higher education and research & development seem to be the most important factors under-pinning competitiveness, he concluded that cities could scale up in order to achieve the size required to cross the critical threshold necessary to get major investments and world events.

Most recently, **Clark**⁶ notes that 'city collaboration is also perceived as a strategy to respond to the transformation from manufacturing to service industries boosted by globalisation. Collaborating together, the involved parts try to build a stronger foundation for their cities based on high-tech industries, education, health care, culture and tourism'. Collaboration is about overcoming boundaries and creating 'a single economic space' in order to compete against larger, more prosperous locations.

This all suggests that scale, and therefore diversity of assets, so important in international competitiveness terms, can be engineered. It also suggests that collaboration can reduce local 'zero sum game' competition by raising the growth prospects of all parties by focusing on complementary assets.

⁵ Iain Docherty (2005) - "Towards a Collaborative Metropolitan Agenda for Scotland: Edinburgh and Glasgow on the Global Stage"

⁶ Greg Clark (2007) - "Economic Collaboration Between Cities"

The Case for Collaboration between Glasgow and Edinburgh

Glasgow and Edinburgh are Scotland's largest cities: vital, vibrant and growing pillars of the Scottish economy. In recent years, both cities' economies have performed well. Now, seeking to do better still, Glasgow and Edinburgh have agreed to join forces in those areas where they can compete more effectively together.

Glasgow and Edinburgh are 46 miles (75 kilometres) apart in Scotland's Central Belt, connected by frequent rail and coach services and by the M8 motorway. Each has an international airport.

Glasgow is Scotland's largest city: almost 600,000 people live within its municipal boundary, 1.2 million in its built-up area, and the city is at the heart of the Clyde Valley region (population 1.8 million). Edinburgh is Scotland's capital city. Over 450,000 people live in the city, which is the centre of a region of 1.4 million residents.

The cities provide a disproportionate contribution to Scotland's jobs and wealth: -

- They provide around one-third of all Scotland's jobs, including those of 250,000 non-residents (ie in-commuters). Since 1995, the cities have accounted for almost half (around 125,000) Scotland's extra jobs, a level of increase (21%) double that in the rest of Scotland⁷.
- From 1995-2005, Glasgow and Edinburgh's GDP per capita grew at a rate double the rest of Scotland's and 50% above the UK average. The cities generate around one-third of Scotland's GDP⁸.
- Glasgow and Edinburgh account for half of Scotland's income from overseas visitors; three-quarters of its financial services jobs; and most of the private sector jobs for new graduates.⁹

"If Edinburgh and Glasgow can get their acts together, it could become the UK's second most important region after London".

(Sir Terry Farrell, to the Scottish Parliament, 2004)

Academics such as **Turok**¹⁰, **Gulliver**¹¹ and **Docherty**¹², have referred to the potential of collaboration between Scotland's 2 major cities - Glasgow and Edinburgh. The Scottish Executive's* Cities Review (2003) suggested that considerable benefit could be gained for Scotland as a whole through city collaboration. The Scottish Government's new economic strategy endorses and includes an action to: -

"Facilitate greater collaboration between Edinburgh and Glasgow and their surrounding areas to develop a city region with the scale and quality of assets (including quality of built and natural environment) that can compete with leading cities globally for mobile people, business and investment, with delivery bodies working across conventional boundaries".

* Now known as Scottish Government

⁷ Source: Annual Business Inquiry (ABI) 2004; Census of Population 2001

⁸ Source: BAK Basel Economics, 2005

⁹ Source: International Passenger Survey 2003; ABI 2004; HESA First Destination Survey 2003/04

¹⁰ Ivan Turok

¹¹ Professor Stuart Gulliver in Locum Destination Review, Autumn 2003

¹² Iain Docherty (2005)

Glasgow and Edinburgh working together offers the opportunity to create critical mass of population, services and infrastructure and so on between the 2 cities – which public policy has often considered in isolation, despite their relative proximity - so that they cross the metropolitan threshold and compete more effectively against larger, more prosperous locations.

Wight¹³ points out that there are undoubtedly European regions which share a similar dual city pattern, but Glasgow and Edinburgh's proximity, and their very different characters as cities make the prospects of their collaborative impact so potentially exciting.

In urban economies, size really does matter, with those larger cities that are home to 'capital' or 'high order' functions doing better economically. A view among economists who have tried to measure this is that doubling city size could lead to a sizeable 3-8% increase in productivity (Rosenthal and Strange, 2004; Venables, 2006). Increasing productivity is a priority for Scotland: Glasgow and Edinburgh together offer one of the best routes to achieving it. Proximity is also important. **Woods**¹⁴ refers to the importance of geographical proximity to collaborative efforts. In Silicon Valley, the most strategic relationships are local. A key driver of the success of Silicon Valley is the support services - money, law, marketing, the innovation system. Transport and infrastructure investment can play a key role in increasing the effective density of an areas population, through reducing journey times

Scotland has no 'world city' in the top ranks of the European or global hierarchy but the Glasgow and Edinburgh combined region (not a region matched by any administrative boundary) was recently identified as one of the world's top 30 "New Megs"; regions acknowledged as the "the real economic organizing [sic] units of the world, producing the bulk of its wealth, attracting a large share of its talent and generating the lion's share of innovation"¹⁵. Realising that potential means creating the capacity for the - currently relatively separate but adjacent - regions to work as one in areas of shared interest. Until now, inability to 'borrow scale' has counted against our cities - the decisions by the Bank of New York and super-casino advisory panel to favour Manchester were based on that city's access to a larger hinterland.

In simple terms, Scotland's cities, and Edinburgh and Glasgow in particular, are disproportionately important to both Scotland and the UK's economic well being. The arguments for Glasgow and Edinburgh are so compelling that they prompted the 2 City Councils, together with Scottish Enterprise, to form a partnership and launch a collaboration initiative.

The GECEI, which has '*collaborating to compete*' as its mantra, is supported by the Scottish Executive's Cities Growth Fund, and the Government is also represented on the GECEI Steering Group.

¹³ M Wight (2005), *Opcit*

¹⁴ C Woods (2006), "Collaborating to Succeed" - Scotland Europa

¹⁵ "The New Megapolis", *Newsweek*, 3-10 July 2006

The GECl has four main objectives: -

1. Accelerate the achievement of the cities' shared economic development objectives.
2. Compete more effectively with international top performing cities.
3. Contribute disproportionately to enhancing Scotland's economic performance.
4. Establish at a national level, the role and importance of cities as generators of sustainable economic growth.

The focus of the GECl is on connectivity, key sectors and international profile, trade and talent attraction.

Connectivity

BAK Basel economic consultants¹⁶, in their reviews of Glasgow's and Edinburgh's economic performance on an international level, highlight the importance of physical connectivity but noted that this is an area where Glasgow and Edinburgh lag many of their European and North American competitors. BAK Basel suggest that additional investment in transport infrastructure is key to propelling Glasgow and Edinburgh into the European top league of cities and regions.

It is also true that nearly every successful example of city collaboration begins with interventions to improve transport connectivity between the participating places. The Øresund fixed link, Randstad Rail, the 'Transport Express Regional' to improve links between Lyon, Grenoble and St Etienne in the Rhone-Alpes region, and exploration of a high speed rail corridor between Seattle and Vancouver have all formed the starting point for collaborative activity in their regions.

The Glasgow : Edinburgh route is perhaps unique in Scotland in that it serves a large business-to-business market¹⁷. Travel between the 2 cities is considerable and increasing, especially by rail, but a return journey by rail represents a considerable business time cost (up to half a working day when waiting times and connections at either end are considered), and the journey itself is slower and more prone to overcrowding than in the 1970s. The recent Government announcement to invest £1bn in rail improvements should go some way to improving inter-city connectivity. Meanwhile recent announcements regarding London CrossRail and the Northern Way highlight the fact that major English cities' rail connections with their capital, already much faster, plan to become still faster and more frequent¹⁸.

The economic case for transport investment is becoming better understood. Scottish Enterprise has recently completed initial research on the economic benefits of high-speed links between Scotland's cities. This notes that high and increased connectivity can produce economic benefit through: -

¹⁶ Bak Basel Economic Consultants, International Benchmarking (2005, 2006, 2007)

¹⁷ A 2001 survey of 1650 firms found that 15% of firms in Edinburgh said that their most important collaborator was in the Glasgow area, while 11% of Glasgow firms said their main collaborator was in Edinburgh (source: Turok, I & Bailey, N (2001) Does Central Scotland Need a Development Strategy?" University of Glasgow)

¹⁸ From 2008, Manchester and Birmingham will see trains for London leaving every 20 minutes, with average speeds much (50%+) faster than found between Glasgow and Edinburgh. These services will also be wi-fi enabled, allowing business travellers to make the most productive use of time www.railbritain.com/index.php?option=news&task=viewarticle&sid=522

- Efficiency gains, lessening the financial and time costs of business travel.
- Facilitating greater economic specialisation and 'agglomeration effects' - the process whereby a wider and/or deeper concentration of businesses and industries in a specific location can achieve lower costs and/or higher margins through better access to skilled labour, customers or services/suppliers - as well as intensified competition.
- Creating wider and deeper labour markets, allowing specialist skills and jobs to be better matched across larger geographical areas. Scottish Enterprise' research suggested that there would be a disproportionate increase in commuting flows (currently less than 1% each way between Glasgow and Edinburgh) with a move to high-speed links.

The case for Glasgow:Edinburgh transport improvements is not simply about point-to-point developments: it is also about better connecting the 2 cities with their regional labour markets, and allowing business better access to these.

Glasgow and Edinburgh, and their adjacent regions, are sufficiently close together that transport improvements could allow their economies to be combined in certain cases - creating a 'shared economic space' and allowing achievement of the productivity benefits outlined earlier.

Virtual connectivity is also significant in enhancing productivity levels and ensuring Scotland is a highly competitive location for business and tourism. The GECI has recently completed research into 'Wireless on the Move'. The research concludes that whilst there would be a beneficial economic impact from providing wireless and mobile technology on the Glasgow:Edinburgh line; the real benefits would be through improved competitiveness, as customers and businesses come to expect good connectivity as part of normal business travel.

Key Sectors

"The cities strength is that they are so different, so complementary - imagine San Francisco and Chicago relocated 45 miles apart! The potential is vast".

(Malcolm Fraser, Scottish Architect of the Year 2002-03, 2003-04)

Early collaboration activity in support for key sectors is most advanced in tourism. Glasgow and Edinburgh are powerful assets in Scotland's tourism 'offer': the cities took top places in the Guardian and Conde Nast Traveller readers' polls of favourite UK cities in 2006, and account for half of Scotland's income from overseas tourists.

Glasgow and Edinburgh share specific and distinct roles (relative to the rest of Scotland) which make a twin-city focus appropriate. These roles include being: international gateways; major urban, cultural, business and (especially) conference tourism venues; and leading retail and entertainment locations. Although the cities share the benefits of scale, their 'offers' are quite complementary, each adds to the other.

An industry enthusiasm for combining the cities 'offer' is evident among tourism businesses: a private sector-focused workshop event in 2006 demonstrated a high level of industry interest in the potential for collaborative working, and identified a number of initiatives - many of which have been developed and launched subsequently.

Much of the collaborative support for sectors overlaps with efforts to improve transport between the two cities: the financial services sector - one of Scotland's most successful wealth-generators in recent times, and based overwhelmingly in

Glasgow and Edinburgh - has identified "significant improvements" to the rail link between the two cities as one of its top priorities. The sector can also benefit from the ability to draw from a wider labour pool - improved connections can effectively expand the cities' labour markets.

Making it easier for tourists to travel between the cities can allow each to enhance its 'product offer', and creative and cultural organisations to draw on a wider audience. Current levels of travel between the cities to patronise cultural events are limited by the timing of late trains, for example.

International Profile, Trade and Talent Attraction

Glasgow and Edinburgh are home to Scotland's world-class universities, and through their international profile are often Scotland's 'face to the world'. The cities' scale and depth of opportunity means that they are the most powerful attractors to the mobile, talented people that are increasingly seen as being key to economic success. The GEI is investigating how work with the higher education institutions in each city can help use the power of Glasgow and Edinburgh together to project a more compelling image of Scotland abroad. An early project brought together universities in each city to promote the combined career and wider lifestyle opportunities to overseas Post-graduate students. It was very well received by students and businesses alike, but the real test will be in seeing whether the students remain in Scotland to work following completion of study.

In international events - another major draw for overseas professionals and visitors - collaboration between the two cities' conference bureaux - who do compete against each other for conferences and events of a scale manageable by each city - means they have also collaborated to deliver larger events, eg by sharing accommodation. The ability to do more of this would be greatly assisted by transport improvements. They also have an understanding that the two cities will not allow operators to 'gazump' one city by asking the other to under-cut its price once it has identified either Edinburgh or Glasgow as the preferred option.

Working with partners such as Scottish Development International, VisitScotland and the Scottish Government's Relocation Advisory Board, GEI is promoting the cities as places to live and work. As with support for key sectors, collaborative efforts in transport are relevant to this area too.

Creating the Capacity to Collaborate

A review of the GECl to date suggests that it has been most successful in an influencing and advocacy role, as well as playing a key role in championing and endorsing major projects. It functions primarily as a catalyst for change rather than a project delivery vehicle with tangible outputs. Its role is to facilitate and pump-prime collaboration, bringing key stakeholders together to discuss important issues and building an evidence-based case for collaboration in clearly defined areas. From this solid base, the GECl can influence policy at a strategic level and galvanise collaborative ventures in key areas across the two cities. Given the strategic influencing role of the GECl, its impact will take place over the long-term.

A major focus of the work of the GECl is to engage with the Scottish Government. The following sets out the main priorities for that engagement:-

The Scottish Government's Economic Strategy

This sets out an important role for GECl in delivering sustainable economic growth. The focus is the two cities and their wider regions within a wider pro-business agenda.

National Planning Framework

This will provide the framework for Scotland's physical development within the context of the new economic strategy. Building on NPF1, the new framework will provide the basis for strong, sustainable economic growth and, given the pro-business agenda of the current Government, help build business confidence that Scotland is serious about growth.

The GECl is already engaged in the process and is represented on the National Planning Framework Advisory Group.

Transport

The GECl has a strong focus on connectivity as set out above. The main priorities within this agenda are:-

- Representation on the Scottish Transport Priorities Review process.
- Assurance on implementation of approved projects.
- Continuing and serious dialogue about the prospects for fast links between Glasgow and Edinburgh to other UK cities.
- Continued development of our international business links.
- Ability to fund local and regionally-significant projects (eg Fastlink) that are important in making the cities remain/more attractive places for economic and sustainable development.

Finance for Infrastructure

Cities need to be able to access new sources of finance to deliver critical infrastructure projects. The Comprehensive Spending Review has introduced greater flexibility for raising finance in an English city context through the introduction of Supplementary Business Rates. Whilst this does not apply in Scotland, the Scottish Parliament's Finance Committee has recently announced an inquiry into the funding of capital investment projects. The GECl will make representations to this. Focusing initially on Glasgow : Edinburgh to pilot potentially new and creative forms of funding, and including the business sector, is likely to offer a more certain and higher rate of return than other parts of Scotland. It is also an opportunity to decouple beneficiaries from the cost in the sense that there will be greater benefit to other parts of Scotland, particularly the areas surrounding the cities. Coming together jointly to discuss this with the

Scottish Government offers the opportunity to understand more fully the barriers to using more innovative ways of financing projects, such as regulation, legislation, due diligence, planning, auditing etc, and galvanise the private sectors support for the benefit of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and ultimately Scotland as a whole.

Looking to the future, a city-focused agenda may well become increasingly important: the **increasing importance of environmental sustainability** (particularly with regard to climate change) challenges traditional approaches to economic development. As electricity generation and transport are the UK's largest producers of man-made greenhouse gas, Glasgow and Edinburgh may offer Scotland's greatest opportunities to reconcile the requirement for continued economic growth with environmental sustainability concerns.

Collaboration Elsewhere

Collaboration is not new and has been important to business for a very long time. Woods¹⁹ refers to the paradox created by globalisation, 'the more intensive competition is driving markets, the most successful response to these forces will often be collaborative in nature'. Businesses collaborate to make the most of their assets and markets in order to build as much critical mass as possible. Among companies and institutions, the growth of strategic alliances and joint ventures has long co-existed alongside competitive behaviour. Examples include Cisco and Intel; Microsoft and Siemens; Nissan and Stanford University; and, in Scottish academia, numerous collaborative ventures between Scotland's top Higher Education research departments in physics, economics, bioscience and creative arts exist to compete for research funding with the "golden triangle" of Oxford, Cambridge and London. Many of the incentives to collaborate - such as enhanced competitiveness in challenging markets and protection against market turbulence and uncertainty - can be traced across from commercial to city collaboration.

Greg Clark's²⁰ baseline study of collaborating cities across the world concludes that there appear to be 5 main reasons for economic collaboration between cities. These are: -

1. Advantages of scale for cities too small to marshal certain strategies on their own.
2. Diversification of appeal to firms, investors and workers.
3. A mechanism for including smaller towns and rural areas in strategies.
4. A fresh logic to underpin investment in key infrastructures.
5. New brands to introduce to mobile investors.

The **Øresund** region, comprising of the Copenhagen in Denmark and Malmö in Sweden and the land areas in eastern Denmark and Southern Sweden, is one of the best-known collaborations. The **Øresund Bridge** has been both a major focus, of and a catalyst to, successful collaborations, with the region now competing successfully in the big leagues for inward investment, foreign direct investment, trade and talent. Long-term vision, commitment and leadership have been key to the implementation of the **Øresund** project. Planning for the region started a full 12 years before the bridge was built. The collaboration is characterised by clear, long-term vision backed up with resources.

The Cities of Baltmet (the Baltic Metropolises Network which includes the cities of **Berlin, Copenhagen, Malmö, Oslo, Riga, St Petersburg, Tallinn, Vilnius and Warsaw**) have joined forces to strengthen their global position in a re-defined Europe by strengthening their industrial structure. Not all cities are involved in all collaborations which are focused on co-ordinated inward investment (**Tallinn, Riga and Vilnius**), developing a common innovation policy and identifying key joint infrastructure investment projects. A critical part of the collaboration is about trying to differentiate the cities of the Baltmet, as their current, very similar economic structures make them natural competitors in a number of fields.

The Dutch **Deltametropolis** (formerly the Randstad) is a long-standing initiative which aims to under-pin and strengthen the global competitiveness and profile of the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. Originally established to protect Holland's Green Heart, in what is one of the most highly urbanised countries in Europe, the initiative has successfully expanded its scope to focus on speeding up the journey between the cities and further developing the

¹⁹ C Woods (2006) "Collaborating to Succeed" - Scotland Europa

²⁰ G Clark (2007), OpCit

complementarities between the four cities. The Deltametropolis is probably the most well developed collaboration in Europe, with the 4 cities providing the focus of the national planning framework.

Quattropole is a multi-region collaboration between the authorities of four towns in central Europe: Metz (France), Luxembourg, Truer and Saarbrucken (Germany). The cities are collaborating to reinforce the economic value of the cross-border area as well as the individual cities. Collaboration has provided the towns with a means of exploiting the infrastructure and existing services in their partner cities. Part of the push for collaboration has been a desire to increase the region's profile in an ever widening Europe. The focus of the collaboration up to now has been on the creation of high speed data network and e-learning. The Quattropole has also launched collaborative tourism campaigns using tag-lines "*Cultural Escapes without Borders*" and "*4 Cities, 3 Countries, 1 Bed*".

Closer to home, England's Core Cities collaboration is also making significant progress, influencing the national agenda on transport, finance and governance. The Sub-National Review of Economic Development gives the cities more powers to raise finance and invest in infrastructure. City region working is also to be incentivised through the delivery of Multi-Area Agreements.

Beyond Europe, Greg Clark has identified important collaborations across the world. **Seattle** and **Vancouver** have facilitated the development of a transnational region, often called the **Cascadia** Region, with their focus on transportation, trade, tourism and technology.

San Diego and **Tijuana** have focused on addressing urban sprawl through the exploitation of key industry links in high technology. Beyond America, he has identified important collaborations in South Africa (**Johannesburg** and **Tshwane**), and strong city region collaboration in China - the **Pan Pearl River Delta** and **Hong Kong** because of their economic complementarities with high order services and brand provided by Hong Kong and the Pan Pearl River Delta focusing on manufacturing.

There are some useful lessons to be learned from these case studies, but their relevance to a Scottish context remains to be tested. They differ often in their focus and in their organisation but rarely differ in their rationale - to improve overall economic effectiveness. Some, such as Øresund and the Randstad, point to the importance of a strong spatial planning focus - the GECI has so far only paid lip service to such a perspective preferring, in the short-term anyway, to focus on point to point, city to city.

Next Steps

There is evidence that the GECI is beginning to have an impact. Recent announcements on investment, and transport in particular, suggest that the arguments being put forward by the GECI are beginning to be heard. The battle for hearts and minds is certainly being won with a recent report²¹ showing that around 100 of Scotland's top movers and shakers are strongly supportive of the initiative and its objectives.

Whilst there does seem to be a strong rationale for collaboration and the various case studies as well as the GECI appear to reinforce the case, there remains little in the way of hard evidence that it is, or even can, contribute to Gross Value Added. This is largely because it is a relatively new and untested concept and significant impacts are only likely to be felt in the long-term. A fast-link between Glasgow and Edinburgh, for instance, could be at least 15 years in the making, but the arguments for it and the technical justification needs to be supplied now. Witness the London CrossRail story. It has been 'on the stocks' for more than two decades and in the last 5 to 10 years has provided the focus for an extremely well resourced, dedicated team. Tourism offers a clear case for a two city proposition - businesses have already demonstrated their support for this as the two cities offer distinct and complementary gateways to Scotland. The financial services sector offers the most compelling case for collaboration. It is clearly a major sector for Scotland and worth pursuing on its own.

For other sectors, and indeed individual businesses, the case remains to be made, and a major research project looking at levels of economic integration - existing and potential - to assess this is underway. In addition to this, over the next few months the GECI is to examine the economic impact of some of the case studies identified above in greater depth. Through this in-depth research, which may be supported through an URBACT funded network, it is anticipated that there will be further evidence to show that city collaboration can make a contribution to economic growth.

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²¹ Weber Shandwick (2007), The GECI Attitudinal Survey

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