

Third International CPE Conference, Lancaster September 2017

Spatiotemporal Fixes and Multispatial Metagovernance

Bob Jessop



• Cultural
• Political
• Economy
 Research Centre
CPERC

Outline



- On spatial turns
- From globalization
- via spatialization
- and TPSN relations
- plus temporalization
- to **spatio-temporal fixes**.
- From government
- via governance
- and multi-level governance
- to **integral metagovernance**.
- On **multispatial (integral) metagovernance**
- European Union

• Conclusions

Sociospatial turns

- **Thematic:**
 - Turn from primacy of temporality to intrinsically spatial topics (space, the terrestrial, territory, place, scale, networks, etc.)
- **Methodological:**
 - Socio-spatiality as an initial entry-point into study of complex phenomena – but may end up elsewhere
- **Ontological:**
 - Spatiality as fundamental aspect of the intransitive world – but need to avoid a radical ontologization of space (esp. versus time) because this leads to empty spatial fetishism
- **Reflexive:**
 - Observe contingencies of revised notions of sociospatiality: historicization, re-contextualization, fad, fashion, boredom

Some Complexities of Globalization

- Globalization is not a single mechanism with uniform effects, eventually culminating in a fully integrated global economy, global state/polity, and global society
 - Multi-centric – emerges and works through many sites
 - Multi-scalar – emerges and works at many scales
 - Multi-temporal – operates over many time horizons
 - Multi-rhythmic – works with many different temporalities
 - Multi-form – takes many forms
 - Multi-agential – involves many types of agent
 - Multi-causal – is product of many causes
- So description and explanation must provide specific accounts of specific processes and specific effects

And Some Complications

- So what appears from one angle as globalization, from other view points may be described in terms of other processes – which may in turn in different ways promote and/or counteract globalization

internationalization	triadization	cross-borderization
regionalization	macro-region building	virtual regions
glocalization	glurbanization	localization
multi-tier urban networks	global city formation	rescaling
bilateralism	multilateralism	et cetera

- From mid-1970s, increasing importance of 'regions' above and below national economy, national state, and national society
- Linked problem of relativization of scale, i.e., loss of post-war primacy of national scale, contestation over new dominant scale

“Flat World” or “Striated World”?

- Globalization as emergent process(es) reorders economic, political, and socio-cultural differences across space, the terrestrial (land-sea-air), territories, scales, places, networks
- It involves an uneven terrain with uneven flows, differential frictions, and uneven agential capacities, including for time-space compression and time-space distantiation
- Some see it as result of space of flows and territorial logics
- States at different scales (supra-national, national, and local) have tried to shape these differences and complementarities
- Result is hierarchical, striated world: some “spaces of flows”, states (e.g., USA, PRC, Germany), places (e.g., global cities), and scales of action (e.g., EU) matter more than others

Territorial Sovereignty

- **Globalization** does not challenge **The State**: there is no globalization in general and no state in general
- It has different meanings for, and impacts on, advanced capitalist states, post-colonial states, post-socialist states, export-oriented developmental states, rentier oil states, underdeveloped states, failed states, etc.
- Globalization affects territorial sovereignty in different ways according to what is globalized, for example:
 - Trade
 - Financial flows
 - Portfolio Investment
 - Trade in derivatives
 - Direct investment
 - “Human capital”

States and Politics

- Different forms of territorialized political power co-exist and are complemented/ undermined by diverse forms of extra-territoriality in and beyond states
- Overlapping modes of integration of world polity (segmentation into states, centre-periphery, functional or non-territorial regimes) and hegemonic projects
 - This opens space to study varieties of colonialism or imperialism, world history, and variegated colonialism and/or imperialism as structurally coupled, co-evolving forms of spatial organization
- Capital accumulation (space of flows) is only one logic of organization of world market-world state-world society. Other logics are possible: e.g., police-military security

Problematizing Spatiality

- **Space**: “umbrella” term, substratum of other forms of spatial differentiation and their associated, differentially selective opportunity structures for spatial strategies
- **Territory**: territorialization of *political* power, tied to processes of bordering and territorial integration
- **Scale**: scalar hierarchy (dominant, nodal, subaltern), may be tangled, scope for creating/reordering/jumping scales
- **Place** (or locale): specific locales in given terrestrial and/or territorial space (have temporal depth, tied to identities)
- **Network**: forms of horizontal reticulation and connectivity among positions and places without regard to ‘borders’

Terrestrial versus Territorial

- The terrestrial refers to earth, water, and sky *qua* first nature and built environment (second nature)
- *Territorial as distinctive political form* is not same as *terrestrial as general substratum* of this and other forms of socio-spatial organization
- Territory is result of political organization of the terrestrial, i.e., constitution of frontiers, borders, limes that serve to ‘contain’ (*and* connect) power
- Terrestrial may be *terra nullius* and/or divided among territorial powers (“extra-territoriality”)

The TPSN Schema

- The TPSN grid is an abstract taxonomic tool that can also be populated by actual spatial imaginaries, representations, objects of strategic intervention, and (un)intended outcomes – a bridge between actors’ perspectives and observers’ interpretations
- Also useful for discussing different socio-spatial priorities of different accumulation regimes and modes of regulation:
 - North Atlantic Fordism prioritized territory and place (national economy-national state-national society plus efforts to reduce regional uneven development due to Fordist growth dynamics)
 - The knowledge-based economy prioritizes place and network (clusters, inserting places into world market, network-building)
 - Finance-dominated accumulation prioritizes the telematic space of flows over territory and promotes scalar networks of financial hubs)

Dimension of socio-spatial relations	Principle of socio-spatial structuration (spatialization)	Associated configurations of socio-spatial relations (aspects of spatial formats)
TERRITORY	Bordering, bounding, parcellization, enclosure	Construction of inside/ outside divides, Constitutive role of outside
PLACE	Proximity, spatial embedding, areal differentiation	Construction of spatial divisions of labour; horizontal differentiation in terms of core-periphery
SCALE	Hierarchization, Vertical differentiation	Construction of scalar divisions of labor in terms of ‘dominant’, ‘nodal’ and ‘marginal’ scales
NETWORKS	Interconnectivity, interdependence, transversal or ‘rhizomatic’ differentiation	Networks of nodal ties Differentiate nodal points in topological networks

	TERRITORY	PLACE	SCALE	NETWORKS
TERRITORI-ALIZATION	States as power containers	Integrating places into a territory, managing uneven development	Intergovernmental coordination of scales	Inter-state system, state alliances, multi-area government
PLACE-MAKING	Core-periphery relations, land-based empires, borderlands	Locales, milieux, cities, sites, regions, localities, globalities	Glurbanization (embed cities in global order), globalization	Local/urban governance, partnerships
RE-SCALING	Hollowed out national state, multi-level government	Local ↔ global areal (spatial) division of labour	Nested or tangled scalar hierarchies Scale jumping	Decentred parallel power networks, private international regimes
NETWORKING	Cross-border regions, virtual regions, nomadic shadow empires	Global city networks, polynucleated cities, intermeshed sites	'Soft spaces', networks of differently scaled places	Networks of networks, spaces of flows, maritime empires

Institutional Fix

- Reproducing inherently improbable social relations involves a 'social fix' that partially compensates for their instability and gives it a relative semantic and structural coherence through its occultation and handling of contradictions, dilemmas, paradoxes, antagonisms, tensions, and crisis-tendencies, etc.
- This social fix rests in part on institutional fixes, i.e., a complementary set of institutions and practices that, via institutional design, imitation, imposition, or chance evolution, offers a temporary, partial, relatively stable solution to the challenges of securing economic, political, or social order
- Such fixes are not purely technical – not innocent or neutral – but involve unstable equilibria of compromise or brute force

Spatio-Temporal Fix

- A specific configuration of the material, social, and spatio-temporal aspects of a given set of social relations in a specific 'time-space envelope'
- It offers a provisional, partial, and relatively stable solution to spatiotemporal co-ordination problems of a [contradictory, conflictual] economic, political, social order
- It displaces and/or defers material and social costs of securing coherence beyond the boundaries of this STF (but the outside and the future are also partially constitutive of the fix)
- It sets TPSN and temporal boundaries for securing the coherence of a given institutional order and scope for its dismantling
- **Some social forces are marginalized, excluded, or subject to coercion, leading to social and political blowback against an STF**

Studying Spatio-Temporal Fixes

- In relatively abstract terms, consider the relative weight of the four "pure" TPSN moments of spatialization as aspects of a **coherent spatial format** and/or **emergent spatial order**
 - For example: the Atlantic Fordist accumulation regime, its mode of regulation, and its societal paradigm prioritized territory and place
 - For example: the neo-liberal knowledge-based economy prioritizes network and scale
- In more concrete-complex terms, explore specific two-, three- and four-dimensional spatio-temporal formats
- Consider what is involved in the transition from one format to another, including continuities/discontinuities

The State and Territory

- Statehood = the territorialization of political power
- The territorial national (Westphalian) state is **one** form of this territorialization – and historically very recent
 - Distinguish territorial national state and the nation-state
- Other state forms exist: city-states, small states, empire, suzerainty, satrapy, client states, colonies, trust territories, colonies, protectorate, mandates, etc.
- Other forms of political power are not directly territorial (e.g., stateless societies, nomadic and snowball states, virtual regions, networked governance, TPP, TTIP, etc.)

Organizing Spatio-Temporal Fixes

- **Hierarchization**: some contradictions and dilemmas are seen, rightly or wrongly, as 'more important' than others
- **Prioritization**: priority to one aspect of a contradiction or dilemma over its other aspect, until latter becomes critical
- **Spatialization**: use different scales and sites of action to handle one contradiction or one of its aspect and/or displace problems associated with its neglected aspect to various marginal or liminal spaces, territories, places, scales, or networks
- **Temporalization**: alternate between treatment of one or other aspect or focus one-sidedly on a subset of contradictions, dilemmas, or aspects until it becomes urgent to deal with issues that had previously been neglected

The Fordist “Spatio-Temporal Fix”

- **Territory:** national territory: national economy managed by national state with a national welfare state developed for national population interpellated as national citizens
- **Place:** spatial planning and social policy to reduce uneven development and its social repercussions
- **Scale:** national scale is dominant in economic and social policy with local and regional relays and embedding in international regimes and state system
- **Networks** are mainly isomorphic with territorial frontiers

Crisis-Tendencies in Fordist STF

- **Territory:** growing disjuncture between ‘fixed’ national territory and international/global scale of capital → pressures for de- and re-territorialization (hollowing out) and/or shift from government to governance
- **Place:** destabilizing effects of increasing uneven spatial development / political-economic crisis → crises in Fordist spatial planning methods
- **Scale:** expansion of sub- and supra-national scales of politico-economic organization → relativization of scale
- **Network:** proliferation of new types of networks that are neither isomorphic or co-extensive with Westphalian state space or sub- or inter-national economies → weakening of spatio-temporal fixes organized around national territory

What is Governance?

- Governance coordinates social relations characterized by complex reciprocal interdependence
- Governance theory identifies four main forms:
 - *anarchy* of exchange (invisible hand),
 - *hierarchy* of command (iron fist)
 - *‘heterarchy’* of reflexive self-organization (visible handshake),
 - *‘solidarity’* of unconditional loyalty-trust (tacit handshake)
- In more Foucauldian terms, this typology can be seen as a set of ‘diagrams’ of power – with multiple instantiations
- If so, it can also be analysed in terms of ‘critical discourse and dispositive analysis’ as well as state and governance theory

Government or *lo Stato Integrale*

- The entire complex of practical and theoretical activities with which the ruling class not only justifies and maintains its dominance, but manages to win the consent of those over whom it rules (Gramsci)
- The general notion of the State includes elements which need to be referred back to the notion of civil society (in the sense that one might say that the State = ‘political society + civil society’; or, again, ‘hegemony protected by the armour of coercion’) (Gramsci).

Rethinking State and Governance

- State is **government + governance in shadow of hierarchy**
- Government is more than *Territory, Apparatus, and Population* – state power always exceeds imperative coordination (it involves many forms of governance)
- Government as social relation (hegemony protected by the armour of coercion) involves *collibration*, i.e., rebalancing forms of governance in shadow of *hierarchy* and, as such, is also linked to issues of domination
- Collibration is more than technical, problem-solving fix: tied to wider “unstable equilibrium of compromise” and specific objects, techniques, and subjects of governance

Dispositif

- Summarizing and seeking to inject some coherence into Foucault’s unsystematic but broadly consistent reflections, we propose the following extended (re)definition:
- It comprises a problem-oriented, strategically selective ensemble or assemblage of
 1. a distributed apparatus, comprising institutions, organizations and networks;
 2. an order of discourse, with corresponding thematizations and objectivations;
 3. diverse devices and technologies involved in producing power/knowledge;
 4. subject positions and subjectivation (Sum/Jessop 2013: 208)

Performativity of Governance

- Governance is often analysed in superficial taxonomic, typological or descriptive terms but durable forms of governance have performative, constitutive effects
- Modes of governance partly co-constitute objects of governance, initially as imagined problems and practices, later through instantiation as actual objects and practices
- Successful governance requires capable governing subjects and appropriate governable subjects (raising issues of *assujettissement*, *agencement*, disciplining)
- Inappropriate or unsuccessful governance strategies lead to search for other modes and objects of governance

Key Activities in Meta-Governance I

- Provide ground rules for governance
- Regulate relations among partners
- Create forums for dialogue and/or organize dialogue among partners
- Ensure spatio-temporal coherence of regimes
- Shape expectations through organized intelligence, diagnoses, and prognoses
- Evaluate, audit, benchmark
- Court of appeal in governance disputes

Key Activities in Meta-Governance II

- Re-balance power differentials, alter strategic bias in governance regimes
- Modify self-understandings about interests, identities, etc.
- Subsidize organizations that produce public goods and/or organize side-payments for those making sacrifices to maintain regime
- Exercise "super-vision", permitting expansion, shrinkage, or adjustment
- Assume final political responsibility in case of governance failure

Meta-Governance Failure

- Contested approaches to meta-governance
- Competing meta-governance imaginaries, problem definitions, and projects
- Competing approaches to governing subjects and governable subjects
- Inherent ungovernability of some objects (e.g., contradictions, dilemmas), some subjects (e.g., resistance), and lack of a single Archimedean fulcrum point from which meta-governance projects can be pursued, at any scale
- Projects may sometimes succeed only by deferring problems into future, displacing them elsewhere

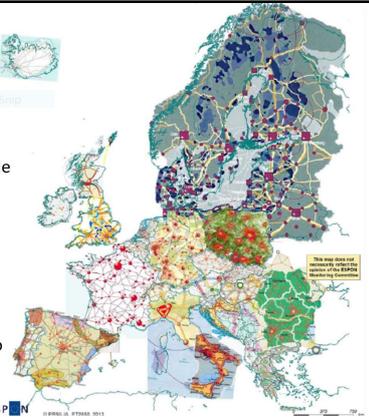
Concept of Multi-Level Governance

- Focuses on levels of political organization in a nested territorial hierarchy, reflecting era when main debate concerned supranationalism vs intergovernmentalism
- Focuses on relations of vertical interdependence, communication, and joint decision-making; neglects changes in dominant, nodal, and marginal levels of government in different areas
- Examines specific policy and issue areas rather than co-ordination problems across different areas
- Often more concerned with government and neglects problems of 'meta-governance'

Concept of Multi-Spatial Meta-Governance

- Multispatial metagovernance involves a marked plurality of levels, scales, areas and sites involved in, affected by, and mobilized in metagovernance practices
- It involves complex, tangled, interwoven political linkages -- horizontal, transversal, and vertical
- Involves art of 'collibration' (continuing efforts to redesign modes of governance and change their relative weight and functions) to secure requisite variety, flexibility, adaptability in face of many challenges
- Plurality and heterogeneity of actors in and beyond main economic, political, ... social spaces subject to MSMG
- NB: not a new set of practices – especially evident in empires

MSMG in Europe



Far more than the reordering of territory is at stake in the multiple and often rivalrous spatial strategies and projects depicted in this ESPON collage

All these strategies and projects aim to remake/reorder TSPN relations

ESPON

Conclusions - I

- Sociospatiality comprises socially produced grids and horizons of social life. These have temporal aspects too. A spatial turn should not occur at cost of ignoring time – so examine socio-spatio-temporal aspects of spatial formats
- Space offers an array of strategically selective possibilities to stretch and/or compress social relations over space-time
- It is a floating – but not empty – signifier (for first, second, or third-order observers): there's no space or spatial format in general, only particular spaces and formats (real, represented, and imagined) and their emergent totality
- Space has at least four reconfigurable moments: TPSN (which provide objects and processes spatialization)

Conclusions - II

- Space is socially produced on basis of the "terrestrial" as its raw material (terrestrial is prior to territorialization – *terra nullius*)
- Spatial formats and orders emerge from interaction of multiple socio-spatio-temporal projects, whose preconditions could be rivalrous or conflictual than harmonious and complementary
- These projects can be understood as fractal, i.e., self-similar but existing in multiple spaces, places, territories and scales.
- "Multi-spatial metagovernance" highlights the complexity of spatializations, spatial formats, and spatial orders. It involves structural, discursive/semantic, technological, and agential selectivities and involves variation, selection, retention – not all spatial projects are translated into policy, not all policies succeed