Global Stockholm
Ambitions beyond the state

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Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION ........................................................................................................................................ 4
AIM & RESEARCH QUESTION ............................................................................................................. 5
RELEVANCE ........................................................................................................................................... 5
DISPOSITION ......................................................................................................................................... 6
THEORETICAL BACKGROUND & PREVIOUS RESEARCH ............................................................... 7
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS CONDUCIVE TO THE GLOBAL CITY ............................................... 7
PREVIOUS RESEARCH ....................................................................................................................... 8
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE THESIS ................................................................................ 10
RESEARCH DESIGN & UNIT OF ANALYSIS .................................................................................... 12
INVESTIGATIVE APPROACH ............................................................................................................... 12
OPERATIONALIZATION – ASKING QUESTIONS .................................................................................. 13
MATERIAL ............................................................................................................................................... 14
VALIDITY & RELIABILITY ................................................................................................................... 15
ANALYSIS ............................................................................................................................................ 16
INTERNATIONELL STRATEGI FÖR STOCKHOLMS STAD ................................................................. 16
STOCKHOLMS STADS EU-POLICY .................................................................................................... 18
Eurocities ............................................................................................................................................... 21
Sveriges Kommun och Regioner ....................................................................................................... 21
Stockholm Region Association for European Affairs ........................................................................ 22
DET GLOBALE STOCKHOLM .............................................................................................................. 23
MILJÖ- OCH HÄLSOSKYDDSNÄMNDENS VERKSAMHETSPLAN ................................................... 25
DISCUSSION ....................................................................................................................................... 28
CONCLUSION ......................................................................................................................................... 29
REFERENCES ......................................................................................................................................... 31
Introduction

The centrality of cities for humans as collective entities extends back in time. From Athens, the ancient Greek city-state, to Florence during the Renaissance and to Manchester during the Industrial revolution, cities have been an essential part of the history of humankind. From historical records we know that trade and connectivity drove the development of many well-known cities of the past, such as Alexandria and Constantinople. Through such activities these cities became outward looking and globally oriented and are the roots of the modern global city (Clark 2016:11).

After the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, in conjunction with the emergence of centralized states, cities became subordinate to these. Hence, the development of global cities is early on contingent on the development of modern states. However, during the past century cities have gained a stronger position that transcends the state’s territorial borders. This may be considered a renaissance of the city, where the trend of the city as subordinate to the state has become reversed (Nijman 2016:212ff).

The capital of Sweden is not an exception and current globalizing trends, and features and discourse common in global cities is found there (Stahre 2004, Stockholm Chamber of Commerce 2016). Moreover, the city has established itself as a production site for innovation and creativity (World cities culture report 2018, 2018 WSP Global Cities Index:52ff). Stockholm, and its surrounding metropolitan area “… is home to more workers in the creative and cultural sector than any other European region, and it has a growing gaming and music sector, both important export industries. Stockholm is second only to the United States in the number of unicorn companies (start-up companies with $1 billion turnover) per capita” (World cities culture report 2018:241). Moreover, Sweden has during the 20th century established itself as a neutral mediator of peace (Bjereld 2017: Chapter 3). As a result, Stockholm has been the location for high diplomacy during recent years. In 2018 negotiations concerning the humanitarian crisis in Yemen was held outside of Stockholm and in the fall of 2019 talks between the US and North Korea was held concerning nuclear weapons (OSESGY 2018, Dagens Industri 2019).

In the Global Power City Index 2019 (Mori Memorial Foundation), measuring economy, research and development, cultural interaction, livability, environment and accessibility Stockholm was ranked 14th. It should be noted that Stockholm’s global power therefore was estimated higher than Zurich, San Francisco and Beijing to name a few. In AT Kearney’s Global Cities Report 2019 Stockholm is ranked 10th in their global cities outlook ranking. The purpose is to identify which cities are “primed to be the next generation of global hubs by assessing four metrics:
personal well-being, economics, innovation, and governance” (AT Kearney 2019:5). Finally, the Economist Intelligence report Hot Spots 2025 measures competitiveness by assessing economic size and growth but also its institutions, business and regulatory environment, the quality of human capital, the quality of environmental governance and cultural aspects. Stockholm is ranked 8th out of 120 cities on its competitiveness today and in 2025.

This thesis departs from the literature on global cities, which emerges as a research field in the early 20th century (Clark 2016:91). More precisely, in 1915 Patrick Geddes publishes Cities in Evolution and the term “world cities” is formalized. The concepts of “world cities” and “global cities” then start to flourish and appear in various books and periodicals. However, it is first in the 1970s that the term global cities become an analytical concept and a field of research starts to develop (Clark 2016:92).

Aim & Research Question

Currently there are different theoretical approaches to what constitutes a global city. In this thesis I will focus on the approach of Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007). Their work investigates if an international strategy can be identified in a city. In the literature this is defined by activities and actions of an international dimension carried out by urban actors.

In this thesis, I use the literature by Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007) on global cities to construct a theoretical framework that I empirically test by investigating if Stockholm is to be considered to make use of a global city strategy according to a few operationalized indicators of the theory. The research question to be answered by this thesis is thus: Which traits of a global city strategy does Stockholm make use of?

Relevance

This study intends to add to the growing field of research concerning “global cities” and the globalization of cities in general by investigating if Stockholm has a global city strategy. This is a research area with cross-field implications (e.g. political science & urban studies). Extensive research has been made on the established global cities (e.g. Sassen 2001, Ljungkvist 2014). Also, the concepts of “global cities” or “world cities” have over recent decades developed as an extensive literature (e.g. Peter Hall 1966, Friedmann 1986, Curtis 2016, Curtis 2018). Whereas earlier, the established global cities of New York, London and Tokyo were the main cities of
relevance in this research field, more cities are now emerging as established cases of global cities. Moreover, these new global cities have reached influence due to their specialization in an area of comparative advantage in a globalized economy. These new global cities are acknowledged as global cities mainly in quantitative rankings (e.g. Worldwide Centers of Commerce Index, WSP Global Cities Index, AT Kearney’s Global Cities Report). However, empirical research using a coherent theoretical framework to establish what constitutes a global city is still scarce concerning many cities (for an exception see Beal et.al 2014 about the mayor of Saint-Étienne and his urban international relationships). When it comes to Stockholm as a case, Stahre (2004) has acknowledged that globalizing trends, and features and discourses that are common in global cities also exist in Stockholm. However, existing publications focusing on Stockholm does not exist and no work has thus far used a coherent theoretical framework to investigate if Stockholm may be regarded to possess a global city strategy, more empirical research is therefore necessary. My hope is that this thesis can contribute to this understanding.

Disposition

Following this introduction, the thesis begins with a theoretical background describing trends that has enabled the modern global city. Thereafter follows an overview of previous research and the theoretical framework for this thesis is developed. Following this, the research design and method is presented, including a discussion about limitations, validity and reliability. The result of the research is then presented and analyzed. Lastly, a discussion and conclusion summarizing the findings, final remarks and some suggestions for future research is presented.
Theoretical Background & Previous Research

In this section I will briefly outline some political developments since the mid-20th century that has enabled the global cities of today. After that, in the next section, the theoretical developments that have enabled the analysis of the modern global city will be introduced. Finally, I will explain the theoretical framework for the thesis and how it relates to previous theoretical developments and research.

Political developments conducive to the global city

E. Nijman (2016:216) presents three contemporary interdependent developments conducive to what she describes as the renaissance of the city: globalization, urbanization and decentralization. In the modern economy, multinational corporations and their headquarters possess a high degree of control and influence. These are usually based in cities connected globally through various networks. “Within the system of global cities, the global economic financial, and cultural information and technology flows reside, function, and influence the cities themselves” (Nijman 2016:216). This globalization of finance and the economy based in the cities unwittingly results in an increased concentration of business and people to these areas. This urbanization is driven by the opportunity that cities enable for people and organizations. Brugmann (2009:24) states “cities offer advantage in the world-unique chances to secure greater income, to organize for political rights, to benefit from education and social services, to meet other entrepreneurs or gain competitive position in market”.

Urbanization thus postulates good governance on the city-level. This demand is reinforced by the third global trend: decentralization (E. Nijman 2016:218). This is a worldwide trend most famously conceptualized within New Public Management (NPM) since the 1980s. Decentralization should be understood as “moving responsibilities from the state to municipalities” (Jacobsson et al 2015:48). This transfer of authority gives local authorities increased freedom of action, both on local and global issues (E. Nijman 2016:219ff). Locally this occurs by more areas of responsibilities that could be adjusted to their urban preferences and businesses located in the city. Globally it occurs by the making of global and local governments norms. This development has been enabled through, for example, United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG) which represents the world cities in the UN and the World Bank. The UCLG work program focuses on: “Increasing the role and influence of local government and its representative organisations in global governance; Becoming the main source of support for democratic, effective, innovative local
government close to the citizen; Ensuring an effective and democratic global organisation” (UCLG 2016).

Curtis (2016:13ff), on the other hand, specifies three geopolitical developments essential for establishing the modern global city: US hegemony, the crises of statism and technological change. Firstly, the liberal transnationalism embodied by global cities was enabled by US unipolarity following the victory of the cold war. “It has been the hegemonic power of the United States, and its ability to underwrite and extend the principles of global liberalism, that provided the necessary historical conditions of possibility for global cities to emerge as actors” (Curtis 2016:14). Secondly come the crises of statism. It should be understood as the departure from a centralized state with control over political and economic activities. Curtis (2016:15) explains these crises, which lead to the emergence of global cities, by the tension between “a political structure built upon sovereign territoriality and the fundamentally transnational capitalist economic structure that grew up within it”. Thirdly come the recent technological developments enabling transnational networks formed by global cities. Castell (referenced in Curtis 2016:17) argues that technology develops within, and is affected by, social structure and economic frameworks. This implies that our culture, norms and politics have influenced the material infrastructure fundamental to these networks. “Such transnational networks rest upon a culture that embraces decentralisation, self-organising complexity, and multi-nodal pluralism” (Curtis 2016:17).

Previous Research

What characterizes concepts within the social sciences is often a lack of cohesion concerning their meaning, and as a result there is typically few standardized definitions. The global city is not an exception (see e.g. Clark 2016: Chapter 1, Encyclopedia of Power 2011). Clark (2016:2), introduce some common traits for global cities: 1. Cross-border trade through connectivity 2. Diverse and entrepreneurial populations, 3. Innovation and influence over systems of exchange 4. The discovery of new markets, products, and practices, and 5. Geopolitical opportunity.

“All modern systemic thinking about global cities has unfolded in roughly three distinct but overlapping phases…” (Clark 2016:95). The first phase starts with the release of The World Cities in 1966 by its most prominent thinker Peter Hall. He compares attributes of major cities at the time in order to identify an urban hierarchy (Encyclopedia of Power 2011). Hall’s world cities are closely linked to their nations and should be seen as their center for national and international politics.
What is also essential for this phase and the continuum of the field of research is Friedman’s 1986 World City hypothesis. It concerns the “spatial organization of the new international division of labor. As such, it concerns the contradictory relations between production in the era of global management and the political determination of territorial interests” (Friedmann 1986:69). The hypothesis consists of seven interrelated theses, concerning e.g. integration with the world economy, international capital, structure of their production sectors and domestic and international migrations (Friedmann 1986:70ff).

The second phase is defined by the groundbreaking work of Saskia Sassen in her book The global city: New York, London, Tokyo, first published in 1991. Sassen (2001) use her definition of a “global city” to interrogate the relationship between a new urban form and global capitalism. Global cities, hence, is defined by “(1) the production of specialized services needed by complex organizations for running a spatially dispersed network of factories, offices, and service outlets; and (2) the production of financial innovations and the making of markets, both central to the internationalization and expansion of the financial industry” (Sassen 2001:5).

The third phase is emphasizing world city networks. Peter J. Taylor combine previous works by seeing the cities in the new global economy as connected beyond national border, and additionally, that the products these cities create are advanced producer services (Encyclopedia of Power 2011). Through these complex connections and interactions in order to produce and export services in the modern world, J. Taylor rejects the previous emphasis on hierarchies.

A distinction could also be made between established global cities, emerging global cities and new global cities (Clark 2016: Chapter 6). The established global cities of New York, London, Paris, Tokyo, Hong Kong and Singapore are seen as the command-and control centers of the world economy. Many of these cities have had a global reach for several decades due to transnational corporate firms being based here and service and infrastructure platforms combined with a cultural appeal. Their demand for growth, investors and ever-increasing populations has, inevitably, resulted in negative externalities such as environmental problems, congestion and increasing inequality in two-speed economies (Clark 2016:219ff).

The emerging global cities, to name a few, are Shanghai, Beijing, Taipei, Sao Paulo and Moscow. These are the capitals and bigger cities of today's fastest-growing larger economies. What differentiate them from the previous category is a more active support from their state, which sees them as a gateway to global markets and capital. These cities have different trade specialization ranging from financial services to R&D to logistics and tourism. Many of the problems emerging global cities
have, are the same that the established global cities had to address fifty years ago; environmental problems and how to cope with demographic strain (Clark 2016:122ff).

The new global cities are the result of globalization since 2008. Finance in Dubai, Diplomacy in Geneva, Artistic creation in Los Angeles and Digital technology in Brisbane are all examples of the smaller, more specialized globally oriented cities characterizing the recent emerging global cities. These cities internationalize their economies, mainly the area of specialization, as a result of their comparative advantage as smaller, more attractive centers that is more livable than their peers. Due to their size they do not face the challenges of established and emerging global cities such as social and environmental risks and inefficient infrastructure (Clark 2016:126f).

Theoretical framework of the thesis

In this section I will briefly outline the theoretical frameworks for the thesis. This framework, by Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007) focuses on the international strategy of urban actors, and “... attempts are made to analyze not just one specific type, goal, or form of city international activity, but a wide-ranging repertoire of actions (Lefevre & d’Albergo 2007:317). Internationally strategy could be seen as a discourse found in global cities that could be identified by analyzing urban actors. Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007:319) also state “we intend `international strategy' as a subjective attempt to reach coherence between the goals, available means, and underlying values of a set of activities that urban actors perform outside their national borders”.

Between 2003-2005 multiple researchers conducted research based on this approach in the ESF-CITTA network. Studies on Amsterdam, Birmingham, Budapest, Madrid, Manchester, Montreal, Paris, Rome, Vilnius, and Zurich were conducted during these years (Lefevre & d’Albergo 2007:318). Therein, seven common traits for global cities were identified and these are as follows:

1. Initiatives aimed at fostering and improving a city's competitiveness in the international marketplace.
2. Bilateral intercity partnerships, such as sister cities and twinning schemes, originally developed as part of postwar reconciliation efforts but which subsequently took on a new functional and symbolic meaning.
3. Promoting or taking part in multilateral partnerships, such as international networks and/or associations of cities.
4. Lobbying at international or supranational levels of political decision making, primarily directed towards the EU, through individual activity, short-term joint action, or by more institutionalized cross-
border collaboration by coalitions of cities. This activity can take place either to obtain different kinds of resources from the international arenas or to try to rearrange such arenas, in order to obtain a better ranking in the international pecking order.

5. Participation in EU-funded programmes, often through partnerships with other cities both at home and abroad.

6. Showing solidarity with the Global South, mostly in the field of decentralized cooperation with Third World countries and cities, and through other activities aimed at supporting transnational policies for sustainable development, human rights, and the fight against poverty.


Their work thus departs from the early theories that mainly emphasize hierarchy and economy. Instead, their focus on “international strategy” adds soft power, networks, and lobbying to the global city concept. As a result, it should be seen as a fusion between previous phases of research. Out of the seven common traits described above by the theory of Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007:319) traits number 1, 3, 5 and 6 will serve as the theoretical definition of international strategy employed in this thesis. They were chosen since the framework of Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007) explicitly concerns actions of urban actors outside of their national borders. Moreover, the four common traits selected are suitable as a theoretical definition that feasibly could be operationalized into measurable units for the purpose and time restrictions of this paper. As a result, if these four traits could be identified, Stockholm shows indications of having a global city strategy. However, if the traits do not exist, Stockholm should not be considered having a global city strategy based on the thesis of this paper.
Research Design & unit of analysis

In order to investigate if Stockholm may be regarded as having a global city strategy according to the foregoing theory, the units of analysis of the research have to be identified. Here, both territorial and policy dimensions are of importance. In their study, Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007:320) solved the methodological problems connected to this by focusing their analysis on “the study of the ‘prevailing strategy or strategies' in place in each metropolitan area” (2007:320). According to Lefevre & d’Albergo “a prevailing strategy is either a strategy that aggregates a significant part of the international activities of an urban area, and/or a strategy that dominates or which is presented as dominating the agenda because it is highly visible and is ‘marketed' by a strong actor or a group of actors” (Lefevre & d’Albergo 2007:320). Hence, to apply the theory of actors by Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007:320) on the case of Stockholm, this thesis will focus on local urban actors with a likely capacity to act internationally. The actors and units of analysis in this thesis are: The municipality of the City of Stockholm and Stockholm Chamber of Commerce. Thus, the case is the City of Stockholm and the units of analysis are the foregoing two urban actors.

Investigative approach

In order to answer the research question and thus identifying if Stockholm shows indication of having a global city strategy according to the theory of Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007), a document analysis is the chosen method. “Document analysis is a systematic procedure for reviewing or evaluating documents—both printed and electronic (computer-based and Internet-transmitted) material" (Bowen 2009:27). This analysis yields data, such as excerpts and quotations, which is then organized into categories. This part of the process takes the form of content analysis. Esaiasson et. al (2016:212) points out that the qualitative analysis of texts is about active reading and asking questions that either the text itself could answer or the researcher after reading the texts.

The advantage of a document analysis in this context is its applicability on the main source of material of this study, which is constituted by documents from the public domain and accessible on the Internet (Bowen 2009:31). Moreover, since the documents are unaffected by the research process, problems of reflexivity, common in other qualitative research methods, is avoided. The disadvantage of the method, however, is that the documents are created for a purpose outside of research. As a
result, they seldom provide sufficient details in all areas of importance to the research question. Yin (1994, referenced in Bowen 2009:32) further warns for the risk of biased selectivity. This could either be an incomplete collection of documents or that the documents chosen is biased towards the organization that has produced them. This may of course be considered problematic in the case of this investigation since the material used necessary must come from the organizations under investigation. However, while there may be a bias in the source of the empirical material the method of document analysis used to analyze this material is not to be considered biased, as it should not be seen as a way to ratify an initial hypothesis of the researcher. For example, Bowen (2009:33) states that when performing a document analysis "researchers should not simply ‘lift’ words and passages from available documents to be thrown into their research report. Rather, they should establish the meaning of the document and its contribution to the issues being explored”.

Operationalization – asking questions

Operationalization is the process where a theoretical definition is appointed one or multiple operational indicators (Esaisson et.al. 2016:56). The international strategy is in my thesis theoretically constructed by four components that have been selected from Lefevre & d’Albergo (2007:319), which are then operationalized to enable an investigation. As mentioned previously, the following four of the common traits for global cities will function as the theoretical definition of the international strategy:


2) “promoting or taking part in multilateral partnerships, such as international networks and/or associations of cities” (ibid).

3) “participation in EU-funded programs, often through partnerships with other cities both at home and abroad” (ibid).

4) Showing solidarity with the Global South, mostly in the field of decentralized cooperation with Third World countries and cities, and through other activities aimed at supporting transnational policies for sustainable development, human rights, and the fight against poverty” (ibid).

These theoretical traits are to be operationalized into measurable units that could be investigated within the restrictions of this paper. The operationalization will consist of a set of four questions posed to the empirical material. These questions are the operationalized theoretical indicators and are as follow:
1. Which initiatives exist to improve the city’s competitiveness in the international marketplace? What does the work of these international networks and associations of cities look like?
2. Which international networks and associations of cities does Stockholm take part in? What does the work of these international networks and associations of cities look like?
3. Which EU-funded programs is Stockholm taking part in? Does Stockholm have partnerships abroad connected to the EU-funded programs?
4. Does Stockholm have decentralized cooperation with Third World Countries and cities? Does Stockholm aim to support transnational policies for sustainable development, human rights and the fight against poverty in Third World Countries?

Material

Following the limitations introduced to the thesis, the material is issued by Stockholm and Stockholm Chamber of Commerce. Four documents have been selected as the main sources for the analysis. However, when necessary to thoroughly examine the question of research, additionally sources have been used. The reports and policies that configure the fundament for the result of the thesis is mainly written in Swedish. The risk that the spirit of the text is lost thus exist. This is acknowledged, but since the author of this paper is Swedish the context of these text should be understood properly. Here the main sources will be introduced to give the reader an understanding of why they were chosen.

*Internationell strategi för Stockholms stad:* Enacted in 2016. The aim is to set overall goals, orientations, principles and working methods and the division of responsibility of how the city’s international work shall be conducted.

*EU-policy för Stockholms stad:* Enacted in 2016. The purpose is to show the city's general approach towards EU and the principles in the document is the fundament for all advocacy on EU-decisions in the municipality’s jurisdiction.

*Det globala Stockholm En strategi för huvudstadsregionens internationalisering:* Published in 2016 by Stockholm Chamber of Commerce. The purpose is to provide a strategy for the internationalization of the Stockholm Capital Region.

*VP 2019 Budget och verksamhetsplan för miljö- och hälsoskyddsnämnden:* Enacted in 2019. The Environmental and Health Protection Board is responsible for most of the EU-funded programs in Stockholm, and it is thus an important actor following the operationalization.
Validity & Reliability

Validity is commonly defined as the absence of systematic mistakes (Esaiasson et.al 2017:58). This is an inherent problem in empirical research since questions are theoretical whilst the research is operational. The operationalization in this paper should be seen as an extension of the theoretical definition, transformed into questions. It is therefore closely linked to the theoretical definition. One could argue that the operationalization does not give a valid picture of whether Stockholm have a global city strategy or not with the argument that merely a descriptive study of Stockholm’s networks, EU-funded programs, initiatives to improve its competitiveness and decentralized cooperation with Third World Countries does not map the full picture of a global city strategy. However, if these traits are present it indicates that, following the theory, features of a global city strategy do exist. The operationalization can thus be viewed as an attempt to illustrate global actions by local actors.

Reliability is defined as the absence of unsystematic mistakes (Esaiasson et.al 2017:58). This thesis strives to accomplish this by openness. The formulation of the theoretical definition and the operationalization is clearly stated and should be seen as tools open for others to use (and hopefully reach similar results with). Additionally, many of the sources are not written in English as previously mentioned. The quotes are mainly illustrative, and the following analysis should ensure that nothing vital is lost in translation.
Analysis

In this section I will explain how I have analyzed the foregoing described material using my operationalized indicators – questions. Each section begins with a scheme presenting and illustrating the findings in the analyzed material. Following each scheme is an analysis of that document. This part is then concluded with a discussion and the conclusion.

Internationell strategi för Stockholms stad

**Table 1. Internationell strategi för Stockholms stad**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Which initiatives exist to improve the city’s competitiveness in the international marketplace? How to these initiatives work to improve the city’s competitiveness in the international marketplace?</td>
<td>“The international strategy for the City of Stockholm aims to set overall goals, orientations, principles and overall working methods and the division of responsibility for how the city’s international work shall be conducted” (p. 2, Authors translation).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Which international networks and associations of cities does Stockholm take part in? What does the work of these international networks and associations of cities look like?</td>
<td>“International strategy for Stockholm city together with the city's EU policy lays the foundation for the city's actions in the Stockholm Region's European Association (SEF). The Europe Association has the task of promoting the common political interests of the members by cooperating on issues relating to the region's relationship with the EU” (p. 7, Authors translation).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“The city's operations are developed and strengthened through collaboration</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

at the international level” (p. 4, Authors translation).

“Through involvement in relevant international organizations and networks, the city participates in driving important processes forward and gains access to valuable knowledge and international contacts” (p. 4, Authors translation).

“Committees and corporate boards decide on membership and participation in activity-specific international organizations and networks, international cooperation initiatives and EU projects” (p. 7, Authors translation).

3. Which EU-funded programmes is Stockholm taking part in? Does Stockholm have partnerships abroad connected to the EU-funded programmes?

4. Does Stockholm have decentralized cooperation with Third World Countries and cities? Does Stockholm aim to support transnational policies for sustainable development, human rights and the fight against poverty in Third World Countries?

“In the international work, the City of Stockholm also shows its responsibility and commitment for a sustainable global development” (p. 2, Authors translation).

“… the city has no designated twinning locations and does not sign twinning agreements” (p. 5, Authors translation).

“The city can get involved in projects of an aid nature when all the funding is being raised by another party, such as Sida” (p. 5, Authors translation).

The municipality of Stockholms stad’s international agenda is introduced in two documents, their international strategy (table 1) and their EU-policy (table 2). A fundamental principle of the cities international work is that it does not have its own foreign policy, since this is a responsibility of the state (Stockholms stad a, 2016:5) However, as the quotes states in Table 1, the need for a framework for its
international agenda gives a primary indication that even though it may not have a foreign policy, an international policy is vital for the continuing development of the city.

The intention of this active international work is thus to develop the city in a globalized world and continue to develop with it. In order for this process to function, international networks and a diversity amongst its citizens is key components (Stockholms stad a 2016:2ff). Stockholms stad further stresses the need to engage in relevant international organizations and networks to gain valuable knowledge and make valuable contacts. The networks the city currently engage in is: C40 Cities – Climate Leadership Group, Eurocities, ICLEI – Local Governments for Sustainability, ECCAR – European Coalition of Cities Against Racism, Strong Cities Network, OECD Inclusive Growth Initiative, CNCA – Carbon Neutral Cities Alliance (Stockholms stad c 2019). Moreover, benchmarking is presented as a tool to know which cities to compare yourself with and with which you could cooperate.

“In order to strengthen and improve the municipalities work, the city also needs to make comparisons with other cities to gain knowledge of the city's position and development potential as well as gain an insight into what other cities in the world are doing to succeed and achieve success. For assessing which cities Stockholm should compare and cooperate with, external monitoring is central (Stockholms stad a 2016:3, Author’s translation).

In the document it is stated that Stockholm has a “commitment for sustainable development” (2016:2). Besides that, is no explicit reference to decentralized cooperation with Third World Countries or support for transnational policies for sustainable development, human rights and the fight against poverty. The reason stated in the international strategy is that Stockholm does not sign twinning agreements with other cities and that involvement in aid projects only occur when funded by another party. Another reason that follows from this, could be that these efforts is beyond the competence of the municipality and budget restrictions does not allow for this kind of actions to be brought about.

**Stockholms stads EU-policy**

<table>
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<th>Table 2. Stockholms stads EU-policy</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>1. Which initiatives exist to improve the city’s competitiveness in the international marketplace?</strong> How to these initiatives work to improve the city’s competitiveness in the international marketplace?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The city should work to ensure that EU policies are balanced and well substantiated” (ibid).

“The city should focus its impact efforts on selected EU proposals, primarily legislative proposals, that may be restrictive or enabling to the development of the city. The city's focus should be on EU issues that are of specific interest to Stockholm or where the city has a different view than the country in general” (p. 5, Authors translation).

“To clarify the City of Stockholm's EU policy, affected committees and corporate boards will adopt their own guidelines for EU policy work” (p. 5, Authors translation). “Committees and corporate boards shall in the implementation of their guidelines use all the channels available to the city to influence EU decision-makers. Examples are contacts with Members of the European Parliament, a strategic use of EU projects as well as organizing seminars and conferences on themes keen to the city. It is also important to notify the government office on the city's view on EU issues” (ibid).

2. Which international networks and associations of cities does Stockholm take part in? What does the work of these international networks and associations of cities look like?

“There is great added value in working through the city's partner organizations to influence EU policy” (p. 5, Authors translation). “Three organizations are particularly important: Stockholmregionens Europaförening… Eurocities… Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (SKL)” (ibid).

“The City's committees and corporate boards will also initiate joint impact
initiatives with other Swedish and European big cities when a similar view exists on prioritized EU policy issues” (p. 5, Authors translation).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3. Which EU-funded programmes is Stockholm taking part in? Does Stockholm have partnerships abroad connected to the EU-funded programmes?</th>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>4. Does Stockholm have decentralized cooperation with Third World Countries and cities? Does Stockholm aim to support transnational policies for sustainable development, human rights and the fight against poverty in Third World Countries?</th>
</tr>
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</table>

It was previously stated that Stockholms stad does not have its own foreign policy. Nevertheless, it is stated that:

“through active international work the interest of Stockholm is utilized and the ability to observe, affect and take part in processes affecting the city increases. About 50 percent of municipal agenda is affected by decision in the EU. The city is thus working to influence decision made at the EU-level to protect the interests of the people in Stockholm” (Stockholms stad 2019, Author's translation).

The impact of the EU and its political influence is thus acknowledged. Even the cities committees and boards (in companies owned by the municipality) should initiate joint efforts with both Swedish and European big cities to affect EU-policy where similar goals exist. This shows that this thesis only scratches on the surface on the city’s international reach and contacts abroad. In Stockholms stads EU-policy (2016:3) three guiding principle for the cities EU-policy work is presented: “the city should work to make sure decisions within the EU is made as close to citizens as possible, the city shall promote an EU that is socially, ecologically, economically and democratically sustainable, the city shall work to ensure that EU policies are well level-headed and substantiated.

This gives an early indication that work with international implications thus exist and is of importance to Stockholm. Work within networks and joint efforts to affect the politics in the EU is considered valuable for Stockholm, due to the fact that when working together with other big cities it is possible to exert greater influence on policies. In the EU-policy three networks of importance is specified in order to affect politics in the EU: Eurocities, Sveriges Kommuner och Landsting (recently renamed to Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner, SKR)
and Stockholmsregionens Europaförening. Below follows a more in-depth description of these three organizations/networks.

Eurocities

Eurocities is the leading network of major European cities. Their members are the elected local and municipal governments, and currently it consists of over 140 cities (Eurocities). Their vision is to work together to ensure a good quality of life for all. This is a well-established network to affect EU-policy with a multitude of initiatives, projects and policy suggestion for European cooperation. Eurocities conclude their Annual Report 2019 with some numbers to fully understand their outreach and work to affect EU-policies. In the year, 432 media articles were published, 19 EU funded projects were enacted, 296 meeting with partners/stakeholders’ organizations was held, 223 meeting with members in Brussels was held and also 42 high level meeting with EU institutions (Eurocities 2019:28f).

In their strategic framework for 2020-2029 their six overall goals for the coming years is presented. “People take part in an inclusive society, people progress in a prosperous local economy, people move and live in a healthy environment, people make vibrant and public open spaces, city governments address global challenges, and city governments are fit for the future” (Eurocities 2019:1).

In Eurocities Annual Report 2019 their work during the past year is reported, and it is initiated by stressing the networks importance in the current political climate. “At a time of increasing political fragmentation across Europe, our cities are uniquely placed to bridge the gap between European and national leaders and their citizens” (Eurocities 2019:6). As a result, the previous year has had a focus on participatory democracy. This has constituted of carrying through citizens’ panels together with the European Commission and publishing a report on citizen engagement to support local governments. To acknowledge that different level of governments can cooperate and that the establishment of partnerships both within and outside of national borders is necessary for inclusive and equal societies is considered of great importance for Eurocities.

“The Urban Agenda for the EU has been a milestone for recognizing the growing importance of cities in the EU as partners alongside national and EU policy makers. To ensure it continues to develop into a coherent strategic framework for cities in Europe, we have several top asks, including a renewed urban intergroup in the European parliament, an annual EU-urban leadership summit, and a revived focus on citizen engagement” (Eurocities 2019:7).

Sveriges Kommun och Regioner

Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner states that: “After more than 20 years of Swedish membership, however, it is not enough to know just how the EU affects the local and regional level. It is also time to increase our understanding of how the local and regional level can affect the EU and take advantage of the opportunities offered by the EU membership!” (SKR 2019:3). As a result, in the report EU i
lokalpolitiken (EU in local politics) they included a guide for representative work for local and regional governments towards the EU.

Furthermore, SKR is represented in multiple committees and organizations. The European Committee of the Regions is an advisory body with the task of assessing EU legislation and policy from a local and regional perspective (SKR 2019:54). Sweden is represented by 12 members and 12 alternates. Out of these, five comes from the Stockholm Region. They work within the CIVEX committee, the ECON committee and the SEEDEC committee.

SKR is also a member of the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR), and within it, Stockholm is represented by one replacement chair in the Policy Committee (SKR 2018:56). CEMR is the European municipal and regional governments' cooperative organization. Finally, SKR have a Swedish delegation to the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities (CLRAE), which is an organization within the Council of Europe. CLRAE is responsible for monitoring the application of The European Charter of Local Self-Government. Of six members and six alternates, three origins from the Stockholm region.

Stockholm Region Association for European Affairs
Stockholm Region EU Office serves as a representation office in Brussels for Stockholm Region. Their staff of five full-time employees provide information, recommendations and communicating with the EU institutions. “Stockholm Region EU Office monitor the legislative and regulatory activities in the European Union and enable and state our joint positions and recommendations towards EU policy makers” (Stockholm Region a). The EU Office areas of interest is digitalization, research and innovation, environment, climate and energy, and regional policy. Their view on these issues are:

“Promoting regional and local experiences of digitalization in EU decision-making processes” (Stockholm Region b). “More attention to excellent research environments and innovation within the EU research and innovation funding, in order to maintain global competitiveness. In addition, cooperation between public actors, academia and industry must remain in focus” (Stockholm Region d). “EU legislation and policies to take into account local and regional conditions, thus enabling the Stockholm Region to become a leading European resource efficient and sustainable region with continued possibility to thrive within clean and green innovation and technology” (Stockholm Region c). “Promoting a key role for cities and metropolitan regions in the shaping of the future cohesion policy” (Stockholm Region e).

These networks and associations of cities is of great importance for Stockholm’s global political outreach. However, it becomes clear that the city focusses its ability to affect policies international on the EU. As stated in their problem formulation for their EU-policy, this is decisions with direct implication for the work in the municipality.
Det globala Stockholm

**Table 3. Det globala Stockholm**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Question</th>
<th>Response</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Which initiatives exist to improve the city’s competitiveness in the international marketplace?</td>
<td>“The aim of the Global Cities Initiative is to make cities more global and thus increase their competitiveness, growth and prosperity” (p. 17, Authors translation).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Several actors, both public and private, will need to work together in order to succeed” (p. 5, Authors translation).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Without diminishing the importance national efforts can play, there is an underutilized capacity to promote internationalization at city and regional level. Lessons from other parts of the world show the potential of key players in cities and regions collaborate to identify opportunities and launch initiatives to improve international business opportunities” (p. 15, Authors translation).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Open the City to Global Talents, Secure Long-Term Skills, More Global Headquarters in Stockholm, Connect Stockholm with the World, Find and Promote New Sectors to Export - such as healthcare and health, Reduce barriers to trade, Put cities at the center of trade policy and Export Stockholm to tourists” (p. 19, Authors translation).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“There is a need to establish a Team Stockholm to achieve better coordination at the regional level. Team Stockholm should include, in addition to local and regional public bodies, also private actors. Foreign Chambers of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2. Which international networks and associations of cities does Stockholm take part in? What does the work of these international networks and associations of cities look like?

“Within the framework of the project ‘Global Cities Initiative’, led by the American think tank Brookings institution and the bank JPMorgan, a number of cities have initiated strategic work to increase its internationalization. As one of the first cities outside the US, Stockholm has become a member of this initiative” (p. 8, Authors translation).

3. Which EU-funded programmes is Stockholm taking part in? Does Stockholm have partnerships abroad connected to the EU-funded programmes?

4. Does Stockholm have decentralized cooperation with Third World Countries and cities? Does Stockholm aim to support transnational policies for sustainable development, human rights and the fight against poverty in Third World Countries?

“Stockholm still has limited exchange with emerging markets” (p. 5, Authors translation).

The report, as part of the Global Cities Initiative, is in itself an initiative to improve the city’s competitiveness. “The Global Cities Initiative equips city and metropolitan area leaders with the practical knowledge, policy ideas, and connections they need to become more globally connected and competitive” (Parilla et.al 2015:48). Their three core activities include independent research, catalytic convenings and present global engagement strategies. Hence, this should also be considered an international network the city is taking part in.

The report Det global Stockholm (2016:19) present eight overarching goals in order to improve the city’s international competitiveness (see table 3). For all these to become a reality, different underlying targets exists, such as extend the tax-ease for foreign workers, special visa for investors and entrepreneurs, expand the period international students could stay in Sweden after they have finished studying and develop transport by expansion of ports and increase the amounts of international air links (2016:21ff). Most of these proposals lays beyond the city’s competence and is a matter for the state. Hence, the city is limited to lobbying for this sort of action to become reality. Nevertheless the report has sub targets for local
actors as well: “The goal should be that one foreign top university establishes a local branch in Stockholm” (p. 25, Authors translation), “To attract more headquarters to the metropolitan area must be a priority for all actors working for increased investments in Sweden” (p. 29, Authors translation), “Stockholm should have its own trade and foreign minister who helps sharpen and clarify the metropolitan area brand globally” (p. 45, Authors translation), and “Make English the official language” (p. 49, Authors translation). This clearly indicate that Stockholm Chamber of Commerce are acknowledging Stockholm as global city with global ambitions. For instance, the proposals about English as the official language and the establishing of its own foreign minister is so international, they might be considered controversial.

**Miljö- och hälsoskyddsnämndens verksamhetsplan**

**Table 4. Miljö- och hälsoskyddsnämndens verksamhetsplan**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Which initiatives exist to improve the city’s competitiveness in the international marketplace? How to these initiatives work to improve the city’s competitiveness in the international marketplace?</th>
<th>“MHN will collaborate and exchange experiences with other cities and actors in Europe to influence the EU acquis, but also to push for improved action and development onwards” (p. 68, Authors translation).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Which international networks and associations of cities does Stockholm take part in? What does the work of these international networks and associations of cities look like?</td>
<td>“In line with the Environmental and Health Protection Board's guidelines for EU policy work, the administration cooperate with other cities in different EU projects and act through different networks in order to pursue the interests of the city and the board within the Environmental and Health Protections Boards area of operation” (p. 69, Authors translation).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Which EU-funded programmes is Stockholm taking part in? Does Stockholm have partnerships abroad connected to the EU-funded programmes?</td>
<td>“Civitas Eccentric” (p. 77).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4. Does Stockholm have decentralized cooperation with Third World Countries and cities? Does Stockholm aim to support transnational policies for sustainable development, human rights and the fight against poverty in Third World Countries?

A central actor when it comes to EU-funded programs in Stockholm is Miljö- och hälsoskyddsnämnden (The board for environment and health protection). It is responsible for carrying out a majority of the EU-projects in Stockholm that has a global reach (local EU-funded projects with no international partners is excluded in this paper).

GrowSmarter: Is a project within energy, transport and infrastructure together with seven European cities and businesses. By twelve smart city solutions, the goals are effective use of energy and reduced climate impact whilst more jobs are created (GrowSmarter).

“The Environmental Management is leading the GrowSmarter project in Stockholm and Europe. The project amount to 12 smart solutions for energy efficiency in buildings, mobility and infrastructure is demonstrated in order for these innovative solutions to have a greater spread both locally in Stockholm but also in the international market” (p. 69, Authors translation).

Civitas Eccentric: Stockholm’s ambition with its participation is to make use of experiences from other cities around EU and push its interests within the project (p. 69). The aim of Civitas Eccentric is to demonstrate and test innovative sustainable mobility in peri-central areas (Civitas).

Clarity (Integrated Climate Adaptation Service Tools for Improving Resilience Measure Efficiency): The projects explore how existing climate intelligence could be utilized in urban areas to ensure that these areas and the traffic infrastructures that are linking such areas is resilient towards climate change (Clarity). Stockholm is the end user of the result from this project and will focus on how planning could reduce the risk and consequences of heat waves, air pollution and rainfall (Stockholms stad a 2019).
NonHazCity: The purpose of this project is to reduce the proliferation of chemicals in the Baltic sea, which is harmful for the environment and the living (p. 40). To show its impact, information campaigns and analyses of sewages is part of the project. It unites 18 partners in the Baltic Sea Region including research institutions, municipalities and regional authorities, wastewater treatments plants (WWTPs) and a range of associated partners (NonHazCity).

All of these EU-funded projects show how Stockholm have close cooperation with other cities around Europe. Even though all projects introduced above is led by the board for environment and health protection they range from infrastructure, sustainability, energy efficiency to the proliferation of chemicals. This might, first of all, show the range of tasks just one part of the administration is faced with but secondly how global cooperation and projects has become a natural part of the activities in the municipality. As a result, it might develop stronger bonds with cities abroad than with cities with the state of Sweden in certain areas. However, environment should be seen as a particular area with natural cross-border consequences. A wider range of EU-funded projects to globalize other parts of the municipality’s administration would give a stronger indication of a global city in this area.
Discussion

The municipality of Stockholms stad stresses in its main documents, *Internationell strategi för Stockholms stad* and *Stockholms stads EU-policy*, that in order to achieve global reach the use of networks is important. These should be used for knowledge exchange and to make valuable contact in order to observe, affect, and take part in processes affecting the city. Since Stockholm is a relatively small city these networks are seen as necessary to gain support for their views. Furthermore, it appears that Stockholm’s high ranking in city rankings (see introduction) is well-known since benchmarking is presented as an important tool. Even though the city is present in multiple networks and associations of cities its involvement in EUROCITIES, Sveriges Kommuner och Regioner and Stockholmsregionens Europeförening shows that the cities political ambitions focuses on EU-policies.

The political ambitions, both in the municipality alone and in the networks, it is taking part in might be considered uncontroversial, with proposals that decisions should be made closer to the citizens, a focus on sustainability and that cities should be considered when developing new policies. This could however result in a power transfer where the government and smaller cities has to stand back for the emerging global cities and local actors within. The question might not be the political agenda as so but on what political mandate this action is taken, and whether it is presented to the citizens. These are questions that arises when a descriptive paper is concluded and would be valuable to investigate in future research.

Stockholms stad is part of, or has initiated, many EU-funded projects. The previously mentioned in this paper is all in partnership with other cities around the European Union. This shows how the administration is connected abroad, and that global cooperation is part of the operational targets within the municipality.

Stockholm Chamber of Commerce introduce a solid plan for internationalizing the city, and the eight overall goals has a total of 45 sub targets which suggests that, if implemented, would make Stockholm a more robust global player. They further stress the importance of private actors, and their proposals to improve the city’s competitiveness mainly concern their opportunities. Since the city, as an entity, origins from trade it continues to be a leverage point for its increased influence. This is thus an important aspect. As a result, the Chamber differs from Stockholms stad that mainly has international cooperation with political actors both abroad and within the state.

However, the documents analyzed in this paper give no indication of decentralized cooperation with Third World Countries or specify the support for transnational
policies for sustainable development, human rights and the fight against poverty in Third World Countries. An explanation for this is given in the international strategy document where the city does not sign twinning agreement and projects of aid only come about when funding is raised by another part. Further research is necessary in this area, with the aim to investigate cities ability to provide support for other cities with the restrictions stated in law or economic restrictions.

The method of document analysis in combination with the material made it difficult to answer two of the follow-up questions in the operationalization about how the initiative to improve the competitiveness work and what the work of the networks looks like. This sort of reliability problems was partly solved with additional sources that specified this. Nevertheless, more documents specifying operational targets could have been interesting to deepen the analysis further. Even so, studies with an aim to investigate these networks and initiatives should be valuable in the future, and a good complement to this thesis.

**Conclusion**

Which traits of a global city strategy does Stockholm make use of? Globalization, urbanization and decentralization might be conducive to the development of the global city, but to be a global city is something more. As the framework of Lefevre and d’Albergo suggest, it is a conscious choice that by the use of an international strategy act globally. The purpose of the thesis has been to investigate if Stockholm possesses an awareness and capacity to not just be affected by global events, but likewise affect them. The document analysis, by answering the questions used as the operationalization, has given good primary indications that it does, with networks and associations to affect global events and strategies to globalize the city. The generalization of the result is limited and difficult to estimate since previous research on Stockholm has not been found. Extended material and more actors in future studies will thus provide an answer.

The used method and theoretical framework limit itself to merely a description of the city as a global actor. Future studies could try to explain how the development has looked and the political motives behind it. One contribution of the thesis is the development of a manageable theoretical framework that could be used in other pilot studies. The potential that similar actors exist in the other Nordic countries is good, and to replicate the study in these contexts would be interesting. Moreover, this mapping of other cities should enable comparative studies in order to identify similarities and traits that differentiate the cases from each other.
Finally, Stockholms stad and Stockholm Chamber of Commerce acknowledges the need for an international strategy. Whilst the Chamber focus in develop the cities competitiveness and engage private actors, Stockholms stad focus on affecting politics and policies. The conscious work with global ambitions at least gives a primary indication that Stockholm has gone global.
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