

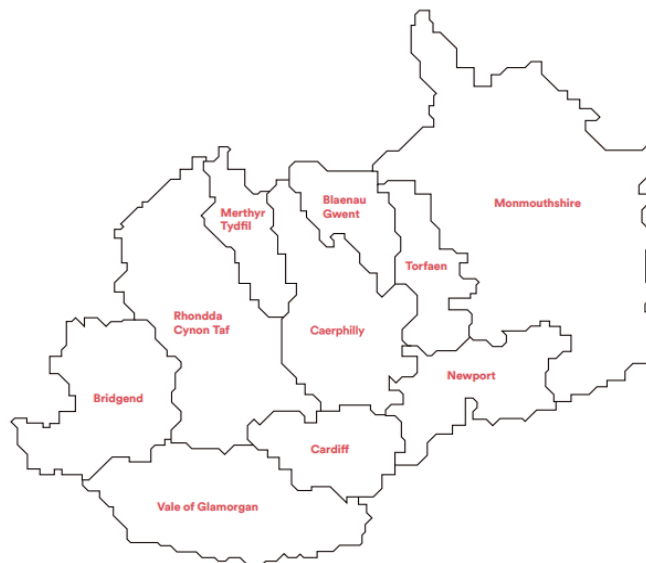


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Better Understanding of City Regional Governance. The Cardiff City Region Case

MSc Spatial Planning



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List of Acronyms Used

Acronym	Meaning
CCR	Cardiff City Region
CCapR	Cardiff Capital Region
LA	Local Authority
FSB	Federation of Small Business
CC	Cardiff Council
WG	Welsh Government
UKG	United Kingdom Government
GCC	Growth & Competitiveness Commission

Abstract

The city regional dimension is considered 'ideal' for the agendas of sustainable development, economic competitiveness and political functions. However, city-regionalism brings with it challenges. The governmental problem is one of the central. Such structures are usually serve as so-called 'soft-spaces'. The tensions between the actors has become an issue in the case of the Cardiff City Region.

This research applied a discourse analysis to investigate how different coalitions perceive the development of the Cardiff City Region to understand the governmental issues in the city regions better. The precise aims are to determine what makes successful city regional governance, what are the main obstacles, the core agenda, and marginalised agendas.

The process of negotiations focused on the City Deal is hidden from the public, and the involvement of new actors is very selective. Presumably, the existing government structure will be used for the whole governance the Cardiff City Region in the future. Among the obstacles is a lack of trust between the partners, difficulty in thinking beyond the local interest, and the 'narrow game' of the key players. Importantly, there is no universal approach, however, it is important to make the process transparent for the potential stakeholders.

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Research Context

The history of the relationship between the city and its hinterland originated over 5,500 years ago (Frey & Zimmer, 2011). This relationship was initially founded political, trade-related, social and religious factors. These basic factors laid the foundation for the contemporary conceptualization of the rural-urban relationship.

It is important to focus on the context of the current city-regionalism as we live in the period which is called the 'urban age' where established spatial development and traditional relations between the rural and urban are being rearranged (Brenner & Schmid 2015). Impressive urban growth did not produce to the extension of singular urban form rather lead to the spatial mosaic with the stark socio-economic contrasts (ibid., p.152):

Today, divergent conditions of wealth and poverty, growth and decline, inclusion and exclusion, centrality and marginality, mutually produce one another at all spatial scales, from the neighbourhood to the planetary.

This pattern of uneven spatial development requires innovative approaches for understanding. This spatial transformation led to the apparition of diverse territorial formations, one of which was the city regions (ibid.).

Recently, there has been an upwelling of interest in city-regions (Jonas 2012; Parr 2005; Morgan 2014; Ellingsen & Leknes 2012; Ravetz 2001). There are three influences behind this. Firstly, there is a notion that the city as a concept became 'outmoded' (Parr 2005, p.556) due to its inappropriate boundary, insufficient housing and labour markets and the service provision. Secondly, there is concern about the inability of the central state to solve regional problems and deliver a particular kind of service (ibid.). Thirdly, there is the emergence of so-called 'new-regionalism', which occurred due to globalisation processes, 'Europe of the Regions' policy and the decline in influence of nation-states (Scott et al. 2001; Allmendinger, & Tewdwr-Jones 2000). Fourthly, there exists a sustainable development agenda which recognises that cities by themselves cannot be sustainable. Notably, more than a half of people (54%) are living in urban areas in 2014 with the probably increase to 66% by 2050 (United Nations 2015). Also in countries such as the UK where 80% of the population is urban, there is a noted 'counter-urbanisation' movement, which is potentially threatening to rural areas (Ravetz 2001). Therefore, there is a need to find an approach of how to deal with the growing urban areas in a sustainable way. One of the solutions

– is to create city regions, which have an appropriate scale for delivering sustainability (Ravetz 2001).

Finally, despite the sustainability aspect, which the city regions could deliver, there are potential economic and political benefits to these formations since city regions have increasingly been presented as one of the key actors in the global economy and political stage (Scott et al. 2001). The policy of ‘new regionalism’ proclaimed regions as ‘ideal territorial scales’ (Bristow 2013, p.315) and ‘natural units’ (Ravetz 2001, p. 256) for political and economic functions.

One can begin to see possible tensions between these rationales for city regionalism. Indeed, the city region trend has brought some challenges. The governmental problem is a primary one as it faces the issue of coordinating actions at the various governmental levels in order to overcome the described interest while striving to subscribe to the global sustainability agenda. These interrelated issues touch upon the city regions, being a sub-national entity and suppose the involvement of local and regional governmental bodies. Moreover, besides the governmental bodies, the city region operation involves new agents in the negotiation process such as: different stakeholders such as NGOs, civil associations, business companies, public partnerships, etc.

On the one hand, complex governments peculiar to city regions, that required to multitask can be a potential barrier and threat for the successful development of their territory. On another, it could bring better development of the city region area. The success of the city region is based on the ideal that it arises ‘through the emergence of socially and institutionally mediated forms of selective co-operation between actors’ (Raco, 1999, page 951 cited in Allmendinger, & Tewdwr-Jones 2000, p. 712). However, it is interesting to ponder, whether and how it happens, which is the topic of this research.

1.2. Research Aims & Objectives

The aim of this research is to better understand the factors shaping the governance of new city regional bodies. It addresses the following questions:

1. How do different stakeholders define the success of city regional governance?
2. What is perceived to be the main obstacle to the creation of the coherent city regional governance?
3. What issues become a part of the core agenda for city regional governance and which tend to be marginalised?

1.3. Research Scope

This paper focuses on the case of the Cardiff City Region (CCR). First of all, it is necessary to clarify the difference between the CCR and the Cardiff Capital Region (CCapR). The CCR is the physical territory, which does not have clear borders. The CCapR is the brand of this territory consisted of the 10 local authorities (LAs): Bridgend, Vale of Glamorgan, Rhondda Cynon Taff, Merthyr Tydfil, Caerphilly, Monmouthshire, Blaenau Gwent, Torfaen, Newport and Cardiff. There was an official CCapR Board, established by the Minister for Economy, Science and Transport in November 2013, consisting of ten representatives from the business community, education sectors and local authorities (Welsh Government 2015). The Board issued a strategic document entitled “Powering the Welsh Economy” (Cardiff Capital Region 2016) where the CCapR is expected to become ‘a globally-connected, great place to live and work — powering the Welsh economy’ (Welsh Government 2015a). However, this document, as well as other policies and plans, do not provide a comprehensive explanation of the CCR’s governance structure. Rather it is presented as informal. Also, the definition of the CCR and its boundaries and concerned stakeholders remain unclear for the public at large.

One opinion is that the biggest obstacle to the creation of the CCR governance is the lack of the political will (Morgan 2017). Basically, there is not enough political leadership, which slows down the process of the negotiations. Correspondingly, there is a lack of consensus regarding the final picture of the CCR and the CCapR formations. Finally, official documentation does not make mention of the development of the CCR’s rural area which raises the question what would happen with the rural-urban relationships? As well as it relates to the question, regarding the governmental structure of the CCR: if there is one side who has a vantage point in this issue? The author hopes the research could help to understand how city regions can be developed and governed better.

1.4. Thesis Structure

The study begins with an outline of the literature review of the city-regionalism, emphasising on the functions of the city regions and what issues the city regions face in terms of the globalisation process. The conceptual framework is provided in the same chapter. This is followed by an overview of the research strategy and methodology. The research findings are then discussed. Finally, there is a conclusion in relation to the research questions and recommendations.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

This chapter starts with the introducing the reader to the concept of the city region. The first part will examine the origin, definition and the key features of the city regions. In the second section, there key issues will be reviewed. Finally, the Cardiff City Region case will be described

2.2. The Concept of the City Region

This chapter examines the origin, definition and the key features of the city-region. There is no consensus regarding the first appearance of the concept and definition of the city region. Hall (1998; 2009), Coombes (2014) and Ravetz (2001) argue that the concept firstly appeared in the work of Patrick Geddes in 1915 as critiques of the new English administrative structure created in 1888 (Coombes 2014). However, Geddes does not provide either a definition or a comprehensive concept description of city regions; rather he is appears to be searching for the new term for 'town aggregates' which were eventually coined by the term *conurbations* (Geddes 1915, p. 34).

According to Parr (2005, p.556), the first definition appeared in the work of Dickenson 'City region and regionalism: a geographical contribution to human ecology', where Dickenson writes (1947, p. 18):

The "city-region" is not to be regarded as a clearly defined geographical unit with sharply defined limits. It is rather a constellation, a cluster of centres around the capital, and the influence of the latter is made evident in its environs by a radiating system of traffic routes, and, further afield, by isolated single strands running to separate towns, each of which it, rather than a metropolis, becomes the dominant centre for local affairs.

Another important concept is the Garden City of Ebenezer Howard (Howard & Osborn 1946), which played a crucial role in modern urban planning practice. His theory based on social ideals (collective ownership of land [Howard & Osborn 1946, p.142]) is one of many Utopians that arose in the late of the nineteenth century as a reaction to industrial expansion and rampant capitalism (March 2004). Howard considered that the 'social city', represented in the garden city, could be the solution to the divide between the city and countryside. The garden city remediates this divide by combining the advantages of both of environments and acts as self-sufficient that is integrated into the environment (Clark 2003; Blowers 2013). Moreover, these garden cities were planned for a population of only 32,000 with growth occurring in an adjacent city. Consequently, the whole system is artificially planed with the aim to achieve 'ideal' size. Therefore, Howard's conception was an alternative to the sprawling mega-cities. Nevertheless, these social cities became the prototypes for the modern approach to the creation of sustainable city-regions.

Simultaneously, other authors were writing about the city, operating within wider territory, using different definitions (as cited in Parr 2005, p.556): McKenzie (1933) wrote about the “metropolitan community” that considered the city-region as a functional entity, Bogue (1949) used the same term. Fridmann and Miller (1965) paid attention to the spatial organisation of the large city, and, Boudville (1966) wrote about a ‘polarised region’ with spatial economic effects.

Some modern commentators try to determine the formation of the city region as well. For instance, Parr (2005, p.556) writes that the city region:

...may be seen as comprising two distinct but interrelated elements: the city (sometimes a regional or national metropolis), possessing some specified set of functions or economic activities; and a surrounding territory...

According to the Swansea Bay City Region Official website (SBCR 2017):

A City Region is a core city, conurbation or network of urban communities, sharing resources such as a central business area, labour market and transport network. In other words, a city region is one where most of its population conduct most of their lives - they work, trade, shop, live and spend leisure time there.

Ravetz (2001, pp.11-12) suggests: ‘A city-region might be defined by its politics, industry, commuting, river basins or others, and there are perennial efforts to re-arrange the political map around the optimum pattern.’ Most notably, Ravetz is one of a few scholars who considers the political in conjunction with the functional component. A more detailed review of this consideration is elaborated in section 2.3. Woods adopts a rural geographic perspective when he writes about city regions from the rural geography perspective (2009, p.852): ‘the city-region is a field of spatial interaction focused on the ‘city zone’ but extending across adjacent rural districts.’

Finally, the Task and Finish Group, pointed to consider evidence for city regions as economic drivers by the Welsh Government (WG) in 2011 (Welsh Government 2012a; Welsh Government 2012) adapted the definitions of the city and its functional area of the presented in the report ‘Cities of tomorrow Challenges, visions, ways forward’ (European Union Regional Policy 2011, p.95):

- *A city consists of one or more municipalities At least half the city residents live in an urban centre.*
- *An urban centre has at least 50,000 inhabitants. It consists of a high-density cluster of contiguous grid cells of 1km² with a density of at least 1,500 inhabitants per km² as well as filled gaps.*
- *If 15% of employed people living in one city work in another city, these cities are combined into a single destination.*
- *All municipalities with at least 15% of their employed residents working in a city are identified.*

- *Municipalities sharing at least 50% of their border with the functional area are included.*

Expanding interpretation of the city region, there are other relevant concepts that enter the consideration of the city regions (Scott 2001) and mega city regions (Hall 2009; Harrison & Heley 2015). The first one is also related to the ideas of the ‘world cities’ of Hall, Friedman and Wolff (Scott 2001, p. 11) and of the ‘global cities’ by Sassen (ibid.). These concepts explain that the globalisation process help reinforce the productive activity of the city regions, and, consequently, some of the city regions became global world players. From which very large territories were converted to some extent into ‘functional hinterlands’.

As we can see, the city region definition has evolved from its simplistic conception as a conurbation or ‘constellation’ of the cities, to include more complex considerations such as the formation of the functional relations and interconnections between the economic core and its hinterland through the flows of citizens, information, goods on a regular basis, e.g. daily or weekly operations. This, however, still refers to the earliest Geddes’s earlier conceptualisation: ‘...city-regions develop[ing] as a result of economic trends deepening the linkage of urban and rural areas through commuting and other flows.’ (Coombes 2014, p.2429).

There are number of features, determining the city-region’s structure that requires a specific level of governance. Presumably, the functional interrelation between the city and its hinterland is one of the key features of the city region, admitted by the majority of scholars. The ‘long-waves’ of economic activity along with the human activity are perhaps the catalysts of this functional interrelation. The post-industrial city is a ‘city of flows’ (ibid.) where some of the patterns of urban activity are turned inside out (Figure 1).

Another important point is the city regions assume the global sustainability agenda. Ravetz (2001) considers that the city regions are the best level to motivate and organize sustainable development. More provided in Chapter 2.3.1.

Importantly, there has always been a so-called ‘boundary question’ surrounding the notion of city region formation (Parr 2005). The dimensions of the city regions usually does not have a relevant

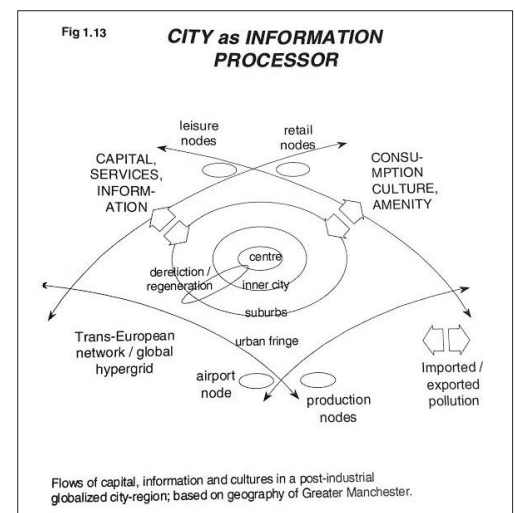


Figure 1. Flows of capital, information and cultures in a post-industrial globalized city-region; based on geography of Great Manchester. Source: Ravetz 2001, p.14

administrative division (ibid.). The same physical territory of the city region can contain the unlimited number of the 'city regions' such as political unit, 'travel to work area', 'bio-region', etc. (Ravetz 2001, p.256). It refers to the concept of *boundary-object* of Star and Griesemer (1989). The authors argue that the boundaries (Star & Griesemer 1989, p. 393):

...have different meanings in different social worlds but their structure is common enough to more than one world to make them recognizable, a means of translation. The creation and management of boundary objects is key in developing and maintaining coherence across intersecting social worlds.

The city regions might be identified in this way. The overlap of the 'meanings' results in the collision of interests between the relevant stakeholders. For instance, in the case of the CCR, it might touch upon the Brecon Beacon National Park authority and the interests of the local authorities (LAs). More details are disclosed in Chapter 4, which is dedicated to data analysis.

The definitions examined above and the main features demonstrate the complexity of city region as a concept. It is evident that the territory, encapsulating different functions requires effective governance. However, it remains unclear how this entity can be governed and who should assume responsibility, given these diverse and difficult to boundary functions. These problems will be considered in the next chapters.

2.3. The Key Issues, Facing the City Regions

2.3.1. The New Place of the City Regions

There are numerous reasons behind the increased interest in the city regions, which became central to policy in England (Rodríguez-Pose 2008; Harrison 2010; Parr 2005). Rodríguez-Pose (2008) divides them into political and socio-economic ones. However, in both cases, globalisation was the initial reason for any changes. Globalisation is the multifaced term for a wide range of shifts, begin primarily in economic activity in the early 1960s (Sassen 1991). The roots are traced to the colonial period when Asia, Africa and both Americas were reshaped by European economic power. The global flows remained modest in absolute scale until the industrial revolution, impelled the new markets and sources, what resulted in the international trade (Guttal 2007A). The events, of the twentieth century such as the First World War, the Second World War, policy of Reagan and Thatcher, Soviet Union collapse led to the spread neo-liberalism, strengthening the private sector. Already by the end of the same century, the most powerful companies were transnational (ibid.).

The global transformation processes in the economic sector led to the knowledge economy demanding globally organised services (Castells 2010, p. 2740). In turn, this led to the growth of concentration of these services in the particular areas – network nodes, connected by the transport and telecommunications. The global functions are determined by their connection to the global networks, not by their location (ibid.). These centres became key nodes of economic power and resourcefulness for all sectors of economic activity (Brenner 1998; Brenner 1999; Bristow 2013). These cities attracted laborers including talented specialist, preferring the diverse and dynamic places (Florida 2005; Jacobs 1992), which was the source of this economic dominance.

Such a global city regional mosaic is functioning of the spatial foundation of the new world system: 'Large cities or city-regions, then, have today become a more insistent element of the geographic landscape than at any previous moment in history.' (Scott 2001, p.820; Kidokoro et al. 2008). The process of urbanisation, enhanced by globalisation is one of the reasons for this observed dominance, and it started at the end of 19th century. However, in the UK this process became contested on the post-war era. The new urbanisation trend had a clear decentralisation character: starting from the 1960s, there was a notable 'rejection of urban living' (Blowers 1993, p.152), which led to extended suburbanization in the UK and in most Western countries. Nevertheless, currently, we live in an 'urban age' as most of the world's population lives within cities (Brenner & Schmid 2014).

On the one hand, there was a process of globalisation, while, on another hand, 'glocalisation' of state territorial power had a place (Brenner 1998). It is referred to as the policy of neoliberalism, characterised by 'privatisation and deregulation; trade and financial liberalisation; shrinking the role of the state; encouraging foreign direct investment' (McLean & McMillan 2016). The decreasing role of the state in government led to the rise of the alternative forms of the governance, such as 'soft spaces', examined in more detail in the next section.

Due to globalisation trends, the relationships between the central state and the local governments changed: '...globalisation must be understood as a re-scaling of global social space' (Brenner 1998, p. 27; Brenner 1999). As Rodríguez-Pose notices 'any process of political devolution necessary implies transfers of powers' (2008, p.1030). However, the new spatial structure can be defined as polycentric and hierarchical at the same time (Castells 2010, p.2740).

Despite that, '...it is becoming increasingly difficult to disentangle the new economic geography of city-regionalism from its political construction' (Jonas 2012, p.822), competitiveness has started playing an important role, becoming a key factor shaping governance (Scott 2011, p.821):

To an important extent, much of the political change going on in the world's large city-regions today represents a search for structures of governance capable of securing and enhancing their competitive advantages in a rapidly globalising economic order.

Eventually, functional and economic competitiveness became a main focus of the city region debates (Jonas 2012; Ward & Jonas 2007). The 'new-regionalism' policy the region promoting regions as 'ideal territorial scale' for politico-economic processes necessary to economic competitiveness (Bristow 2013, p.315) as well as city regions are being considered as the main drivers for economic growth (Ache 2000). Moreover, as Gillian Bristow (2013, p. 316) notices: 'As a consequence, the discourse of competitiveness became sutured into the very fabric of the 'region' which, in turn, developed an intrinsic association with territorial institutions of political-economic governance.'

Another significant challenge for city regions is the sustainable development agendas this could also be framed as an opportunity since city region is '...the best level to motivate and organise sustainable development – large enough for critical mass, and small enough to be manageable.' (Cohen 1993; Roberts 1999 cited in Ravetz 2001, p.250). Now city regions, unlike their predecessors, are seen to have the potential to become sustainable and self-sufficient. Blowers (1993) present the critique that any urban scale settlements can be sustainable – it is simply a matter of coordinating initiatives. Also, Ravetz (2001) argues that in environmental terms, the modern city region with its deregulated flows might be even more calamitous than an industrial city of 19th century.

Overall, the globalisation process, shifted the socio-politico-economic layers that led to the significant role of the city regions. Currently the UK is witnessing the appearance of the new forms of state spatiality (Bristow 2013). Although Howard's garden city did not 'hold water' the reality of globalisation – the global economy is operating within the parameters of the global city – his principles of balanced development, social equality and environmental quality formed the basis of the modern approach to sustainable planning (Blowers 1993). The city regional dimension is admitted as ideal for the economic competitiveness as well as for the sustainable living. Nevertheless, the question 'How is the best to govern such complex entities?' is still cause for consideration. The next chapters will try to give an answer in the context of the Cardiff City Region.

2.3.2. Governing City Regions

Firstly, there is the perspective of city regional government shall be discussed with reference to the global context. Secondly, the essential elements of the government shall be examined. Thirdly, the form of the ‘soft spaces’ is reviewed. Finally, the current trends in England are described and their experience could hold clues into the case of CCR in Wales.

Such shifts mentioned above resulted in new challenges as socio-economic disparities, poor connectivity, environmental issues, concerning a broad range of policy fields. These issues go beyond the municipal boundaries are herculean tasks for a small institution such as municipalities to handle. Therefore, the common city regional governance model has to consider these issues (Ahrend, Gamper & Schumann 2014).

Firstly, let us have a look at the city regional governance review, by Ahrend, Gamper & Schumann (2014) research. It covers 263 metropolitan areas (synonymous with the city region concept) and is mostly found in OECD. The authors collected information regarding the governance bodies’

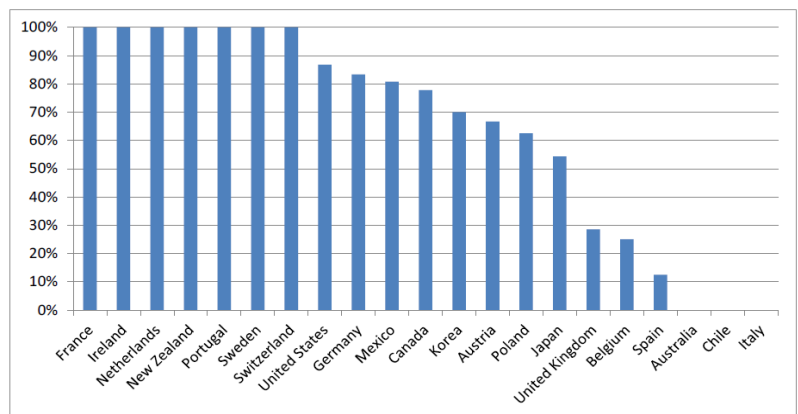


Figure 2. Share of Metropolitan Areas with Governance Bodies. Source: Ahrend, Gamper & Schumann 2014

and their structures. As a result, 68% of the metropolitan areas do have the governance bodies, while the UK areas’ share is approximately only 28% (Figure 2). Among the 15 city regions only Edinburgh, Glasgow, London and Manchester have a governance body that could be considered as a ‘city regional’ (ibid.). At the same time, the presence of the metropolitan body, even covering such policy fields as regional development, transport, spatial planning does not necessarily mean that planning is under control: ‘...in most cases, with some exceptions, there is no institutional unity in these metropolitan regions, leading to political unaccountability and chaotic planning for these mega human settlements.’ (Castells 2010, p. 2738). Therefore, as we can see, city-regional governance is not common practice for the UK yet, though, there are some successful examples within the country or in other European countries, however these might not be in full effect due to their non-statutory status.

The role of the government in metropolitan areas is admittedly essential in the era of globalisation and urbanisation (Gleeson & Spiller 2012; Ravetz 2001): ‘The cost of non-cooperation will

increase constantly and, obviously, the dissolution of traditional policy structures and agency patterns have to be accepted in this context' (Ache 2000, pp.706-707). Operating such a complex formation demands a high level of coordination and integration for the synergy effect to work (Ravetz 2001). This new city regional thinking demands and drives push toward the more complex governance organisation. Now there are many new players, involved in the negotiation process such as business representatives, NGOs, academic society and, local activists. Gleeson and Spiller (2012, p.396) suggest four principles of metropolitan governance:

- 1. There needs to be reasonable alignment between governance institutions and clear spatial communities of interest or communities of co-dependence.*
- 2. There should be clear democratic accountability in each of these spheres — institutions should not rely on implied mandates.*
- 3. There should be subsidiarity in the allocation of decision-making power across these institutions and spheres of the community.*
- 4. There should be subsidiarity in the allocation of revenue raising powers across these institutions, to avoid the accountability problems associated with vertical fiscal imbalance.*

However, Ravetz (2001) argues that the principle of subsidiarity enshrined in the Maastricht Treaty has a dual nature. There are competition and conflict encapsulated within this principle. One such example is that some of the problems relegated the lower levels are nothing short of failed attempts to solve them at the higher levels (ibid.).

Regarding the city regional governance form, it can be understood as shaped by dominant neoliberal thought of the 1950s and the 1970s. It was characterised by state diminishment, which led to the appearance of alternative forms and techniques of governance. Moreover, existent legal and administrative spaces can make territorial policy 'difficult if not unacceptable' (Haughton, Allmendinger & Oosterlynck 2013, p.219). Therefore, as a displacement from, the apparent so-called '*soft spaces*' of spatial governance, defined as '...informal or semiformal, nonstatutory spatialities of planning with associations and relations stretching both across formally established boundaries and scalar levels of planning and across previously entrenched sectoral divides' (Metzger & Schmitt 2012, pp. 265-266). Such soft spaces can have 'fuzzy boundaries, and they are usually time limited (Haughton, Allmendinger & Oosterlynck 2013). Moreover, Haughton, Allmendinger and Oosterlynck consider soft spaces as integral part of the neoliberal regulations as 'neoliberalism reactivates scepticism about the capacity of political authorities to govern well' (ibid., p.220).

The main positive impact of such soft spaces is that: “At the regional scale, soft spaces can be deployed to address particularly sensitive, cross-boundary issues that statutory plans linked to accountable and transparent processes would find difficult to tackle.” (ibid., p. 219). The central government has turned away from the statutory systems of government and planning, being unable ‘to provide the customized, place specific regulatory infrastructure that are said to be required for sustained regional growth under contemporary geo-economic conditions’ (Brenner 2003, p.305); and ensuring ‘that the capacity for politicians to address socio-economic and environmental problems across the metropolitan scale has been largely played-down.’ (Tewdwr-Jones & McNeill 2000, p. 122). However, the collision with the existing regulatory landscapes might be inevitable (Haughton, Allmendinger & Oosterlynck 2013).

There are four main shifts and critiques, provided by the authors (ibid., pp. 228-230). These occurred in the planning system during the Coalition government, that replaced New Labour in 2010. The changes concern the soft spaces arrangements and their relations with the politics. Firstly, there was a noted shrinking of national planning policy and shift from detailed national planning and top-down targets to increasing the discretion for planners. However, the appeared ‘vacuum’ on the national level would naturally be filled by some unknown mechanism. Secondly, there was a dismantling of Regional Development Agencies and Regional Assemblies together with the housing strategies. Thirdly, there was a creation of LEPs (Local Enterprise Partnership) for the new functional spaces at a subregional level along with the Localism Act 2011, binding the local authorities to cooperate with each other. The creation of the LEPs was mainly due to thinking beyond the local authority boundaries (Hildreth & Bailey 2012). The ‘duty to cooperate’ could lead to patchwork planning and the involvement of public and private bodies. Finally, the government supports the neighbourhood level of planning; allowing communities prepare their own plans. However, it led to the uneven engagement of LEPs as well as uneven ‘rollout of neighbourhood plans’ and uncertainty with the central funding (Haughton, Allmendinger & Oosterlynck 2013, p. 230). Moreover, the authors argue than despite the right of local actors to prioritise the planning policy ‘...a certain disciplinary power remains with central government, which controlled the designation of LEPs and retains discretion to reward favoured LEPs financially’ (ibid.). The described changes only apply to the case of England, though; it is considered that there is a common direction and mechanisms, which would be applicable to Wales and other regions or countries. The use of financial incentives in the Cardiff Capital Region City Deal is what will be examined in chapter 4.3.1.

2.3.3. Rural-Urban Relationships in City Regions

The city region supposes the involvement of the city's hinterland into the government and institutional arrangements. This process cannot overlook issues around potential distributive effects, i.e. there may be losers and winners. A key axis for thinking about this has oriented around urban-rural relationships. This matter raised some disputes to a high level on the political agenda.

Currently, the nature of rural-urban relationships is being reconsidered due to the increased interconnections and interactions between urban and rural areas. As Lacour and Puissant (cited in Woods 2009, p.853) wrote, the colonised rural settlements adapt both to: '...urban ideals (convenience, centrality, diversity) and to rural ideals (community, solidarity, tranquillity).' As a result, there is formed a hybrid lifestyle with urban practices in the rural areas, leading to the 'abandonment of conventional dichotomies of rural and urban and the search for new socio-spatial models.' (ibid.).

However, this hybrid is not a 'homogenous extended city' (Woods 2009, p. 853), rather a territory with mixed and uneven socio-spatial settlement forms. Basically, this leads to the question on whether the city-region from more beneficial for urban or rural part of the formation. This concern brings up another puzzle regarding the equality of the city and the region. What is more important: the city or its region – hinterland?

Apparently, the city should be more 'important' as the center of the region for which it is part of. However, this is not explicit: Harrison & Heley (2015) provide details about the debates between city first and region-first perspectives on the city-region policymaking.

On the one hand, the city-region can be considered as a threat to the rural areas, included to its formation (Ward 2006, p. 52 cited in Harrison & Heley 2015, p. 5):

The city region approach reproduces a rural development problem. It establishes and reinforces out-of-date notions of geographical centrality and hierarchies, and it actively marginalises places, consigning them to the periphery, dividing and polarising.

Moreover, Woods shares this point of view and argues that city-regions (2009, p.852):

...carries risks of addressing rural localities solely in terms of their relation to the urban, of disregarding any sense of an overarching, interregional rural condition, and of marginalising rural concerns within structures dominated economically and demographically by cities.

Also, new socio-spatial hybrid blurs the border between rural and urban and effectively changes its usual operation order and identity (ibid.)

This process affects the city cores as well. Woods writes that French geographies (Urbain 2002 as cited in Woods 2009) argue that the process of urbanisation is accompanied by a parallel ‘realisation’, which is observed in the ‘civic organisation and social interaction’ (p.853). In reality, the multiple links and flows between the rural and urban are reflected in the inter-relatedness of housing, entertainment and labour markets. Therefore, the primary function of these relationships is interconnection when ‘...the competitive and complementary aspects of urban–rural relations become more transparent.’ (Parr 2005, p.565). Harrison & Heley (2015, p.4) conclude that rural parts of city-regions “‘prosper’ from their deepening connection to, and integration with, the modern metropolis” and Pemberton and Shaw (2012) concede that in spite of a critical body of work emerging to address the impact of city-regionalism on the main urban areas, this issue has not been addressed in reverse with regards to the rural context.

Generally, it cannot be unambitiously argued whether there is more dominant and valued component of the city-region. However, it is possible to assert that the process of city-region creation is dual and has positive as well as negative consequences for both sides. The desire of some of the scholars to preserve some of the rural areas, excluding them from urbanisation process seems to be utopian as ‘even the least urbanised spaces on the planet have “become increasingly articulated with the rhythms and cultures of the modern metropolis”’ (Scott 2011, p. 857; Brenner, 2013 cited in Harrison & Heley 2015 p.4). This might refer to Howard’s theory of the Garden Cities, which contained features of both the city and its hinterland, leading to the equal territorial and social development (Howard & Osborn 1946).

As a result, the nature and concept of the contemporary city and countryside are changing under these processes (ibid.). One of the consequences is increased awareness among policy makers of the necessity to design new planning and governance regulations “...which cross-cut the territorial divides that have traditionally prorated geographic space into localised urban, rural, or peri-urban units’ as the city-regions are based on the networks, functional connections and non-administrative geography” (Harrison & Heley 2015, p. 4). This is especially significant for the future Cardiff, having a city-centric origin. The Cardiff City Region development plan illustrates ‘recognition that functionally integrated urban-regional spaces are pivotal societal and political-economic formations in globalisation’ (ibid., p. 5).

2.4. Discourse Coalitions. Conceptual Framework

One of the challenges for city regional governance is how such governmental arrangements emerge and become institutionalised in the face of a potential conflict of interests and goals. A conceptual framework is the system of concepts, assumptions, and theories supporting the research. The chosen framework provides the system when the space of potential conflicts and discourses interact.

For this work, the theory of *discourse coalitions* of Maarten Hajer was used (Hajer 2000; Hajer 2002). He develops the discourse analysis concept of Foucault and Billing and Harré. Hajer defines discourse as (Hajer 2000, p.44):

A specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced, reproduced and transformed into a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities.

Hajer bases his theory on conflict over the interpretations of environmental concepts such as sustainable development. According to constructionism, there might be different perceptions on what the problem actually is. Hajer assumes that there exists so-called coalitions (scientists, activists, politicians, organisations) sustaining the discourses. Discourses refer to particular ways of thinking and talking about environmental issues following specific ‘story-lines’, which, can often be interpreted differently (Hajer 2000, p.13). Such discourse interaction creates new meanings, which in turn can create new positions (Hajer 2000, p. 59). The author argues that ‘political power’ comes from ‘multi-interpretability’ (Hajer 2000, p. 61). Some concepts are thus seen to have alliance-building potential, in that diverse actors can come to support them even if they actually disagree on quite fundamental issues.

Discourse analysis can transform data analysis. As Hajer (2002, p.62) writes: ‘The stories that people tell are no longer seen as the “raw” data that need to be precisely coded...’ The way people say things is becoming more important. Therefore, there are two main approaches to the data analysis. One method of discourse analyses is the ‘linguistic’ approach, which is when ‘a phenomenon is linguistically represented has repercussions for politically essential questions...’ (Hajer 2002, pp. 61-62). It is the stories themselves which are interpreted, not the ‘data’. Another approach is so-called ‘*argumentative discourse analysis*’ (Hajer 2002, p.62). This means that to understand the meaning of discourse ‘one should also consider the positions which are being criticised, or against which justification is being mounted, without knowing these counter-positions, the argumentative meaning will be lost.’ (Michael Billig 1987, p.91 cited in Hajer 2002 p.62).

The last approach is especially important, as it would represent the interest of the coalitions. This being essential for answering the research questions (Hajer & Versteeg 2011, para.2):

Moreover, a discursive analysis will help to see the bias in particular discourses—emphasising only some aspects of the problem and thus the interests of some actor groups rather than others. Hence it is not about which discourse is ‘true’, it is more about how power is exercised through language and discourse.

This approach is applicable to this research as the coalitions in question do not necessarily agree with each other regarding the perception of the city-regional issues. Moreover, the ‘actors are creating the city region in different variants, according to their intentions and interests.’ (P. Ache, personal communication 6 May 2017). At the same time, the discourses do not always create new meanings since ‘...there is no reason to assume that this discourse of inclusion will always work. Sometimes people might develop an identity precisely because they disagree with what they hear.’ (Hajer 2003, p.100). Nevertheless, the disagreement between the coalition groups provides the platform for the further discussions (Hajer 2003, p.95):

‘...it is likely that it is the confrontation with a particular policy programme that first provides the shared basis for discussion, that first brings together the range of individuals in a particular region.’

Overall, Hajer’s concept of discourse coalitions provides a way of interpreting what is going on. It gives attention to the discourses themselves and discovers how the actors align around them through the linguistic features and the positions of the coalitions. Although Hajer uses this theory for environmental issues, this concept is applicable for such complex entities as city-regionalism too. This concept will help to get an insightful perspective on the current process of the CCR development as it involves various groups with different interests and perceptions. The fact that parts of this process may be hidden from the public large might exacerbate the difference between the discourses.

2.5. Development of the Cardiff City Region

2.5.1. Historical and Geographical Contexts

The CCR is located in South-East Wales. Geographically the region is divided into three zones: the heads of the valleys and the lower valleys, together occupying the major part of the CCR and the coast zone. To the north of the region, the Brecon Beacons National Park forms a physical border (Figure 3). The southern municipalities are located on the coastline of the Bristol Channel and the estuary of the river Severn.

The history of city-regionalism in South Wales started in the 19th century when Cardiff had been growing dramatically from the agriculture town with 1,870 citizens in 1801 to the world ‘coal metropolis’ (Daunton 1977 cited in Waite 2015) with a growing population of 18,351 in 1851 to 209,804 in 1911 (Census of Great Britain 2017).

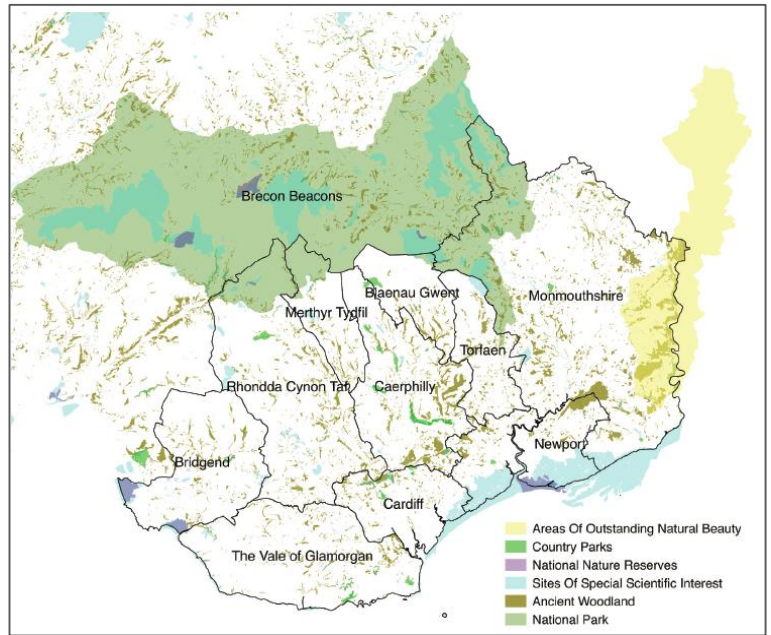


Figure 3. Designated natural environment sites. Source: Webb 2017, p.30

There were two preconditions for this change: construction of the Glamorgan Canal and development of the port that was built by the Bute Family that enabled the transportation of iron from Merthyr Tydfil to the coast area (Waite 2015). Therefore, during the coal-oriented industrial era in South Wales, with the port facilities and the valleys serving as an export source these spaces were considered interdependent. The nature of these relationships drastically changed after the coal and steel employment collapse in the middle of 20th century.

Currently, there are approximately 350,000 people living in Cardiff and 1.86 million living within the CCR which represents approximately 50% of Wales’ population (Cardiff Capital Region, 2015). In the economic turn, when activity moved from the coalfield to the coast, rural politicians did not wish to change the policy and system, considering the Cardiff’s benefits as the valley’s losses (Morgan 2014). It was not a surprise that the development of the Cardiff Bay area caused the antipathy of the valleys’ heads.

Nowadays, Cardiff is the main economic core for the whole region. There are only two areas where the population increases during the day due to workers – Cardiff (+40%) and Newport (+9%) (Webb 2017, p. 9). In addition, the full-time payment varies significantly across the region. While

it is generally £13 in Bridgend and Cardiff, in Methyl Tydfil, it is a bit more than £10.5 (Figure 4). Finally, one more distressing statistic is that: 65% of the most deprived communities in Wales are in the CCR (Webb 2017). Therefore, socio-economic inequality is a significant problem, which was the premise behind the Cardiff Capital Region City Deal. More detail will be provided in the data analysis chapter.

2.5.2. The challenges for the Cardiff City Region

The CCR is a physical territory without designated borders, located around Cardiff. Based upon this loose delineation, the CCapR branding was developed in order to define the subscription of ten municipalities to the CCR. These municipalities included, the Vale of Glamorgan, Bridgend, Newport, Caerphilly, Cardiff, Rhondda Cynon Taf, Merthyr Tydfil, Torfaen, Blaenau Gwent and Monmouthshire (Figure 5).

The CCapR operates through the collaboration of the Cardiff Capital Region Board. The board consists of members representing the business community, education sector and local authorities (Welsh Government 2015). The Board issued one official document called “Powering the Welsh Economy” (Cardiff Capital Region 2015). It extends this vision and sees the CCR as an ambitious, collaborative, and as a well-connected region, providing confidence and lifestyle with sustained success on the international and national stages (ibid.). Thereafter, for achieving this, the report suggests concentrating on four main topics, delivering the vision: connectivity, skills, innovation and growth, identity.

After a while there appeared to be significant opportunity for the CCapR: the Cardiff Capital Region City Deal, offering investment of £1.2bn to the CCR economy between now and 2036 (GCC 2016). The UK Government and the WG

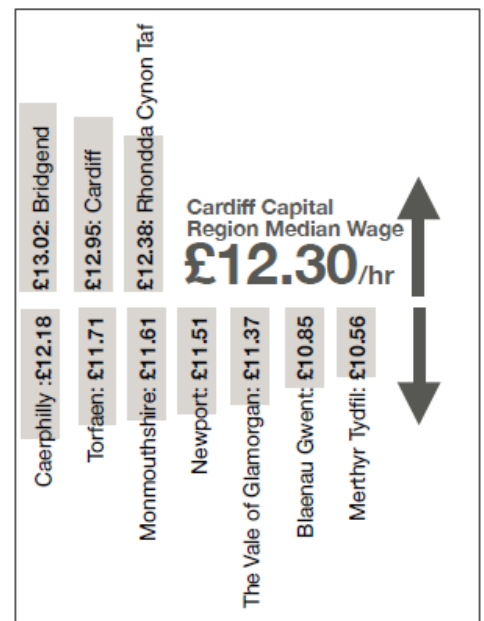


Figure 4. Median hourly gross pay of full time workers by workplace (2015). Source: Webb 2017. p.22



Figure 5. Cardiff and the Cardiff city-region (with local authorities and major settlements marked). Source: City of Cardiff Council as cited in Waite 2015, p.22

contribute £1.1bn while the local authorities support £120m additionally. The key targets are 25,000 of new jobs by 2036, leveraging of £4bn private investment and securing economic growth. Currently, the relationships between the City Deal, CCapR, CCR, WG and the UKG are still not completely clear. And more importantly, what is happening with the governance on the city regional level while there is the City Deal delivery process?

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has examined the historical development of the relationships between the city and its hinterland, which has evolved to the current trend of the city regional development trend. The Howard's social city concept has grown to the modern notion of city-regionalism. The city regions are the areas consisting of economic core and its hinterland interconnected through the flows of citizens, information and goods. The globalisation process has led to the concentration of economic power in the big cities becoming key nodes. City regions are indicated as the best platform for achieving sustainability, promoting economic competitiveness and realisation of political function. However, the city regions, consisting from the hinterland might be a potential threat to the rural areas.

Such entities require a specific level of governance, covering the city-regions' entities, which do not have administrative boundaries. There are only 28% of governmental bodies in the city regions in the UK. At the same time, metropolitan governance is acknowledged as essential in the globalisation epoch. Therefore, there are 'soft-spaces', spatial governance with fuzzy boundaries. Being an informal structure, 'soft-spaces' they can flexibly react to the city-regional issues such as spatial planning or transport. The soft-spaces formations demand the involvement of a big number of different stakeholders, which usually have their own perception of the reality. This feature is considered in the Maarten Hajer's discourse analysis framework.

Chapter Three: Research Strategy & Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter shall detail the research strategy which will then justify the methodology. The chosen strategy follows the ‘onion’ order (Figure 6). Firstly this chapter will establish the philosophical assumptions by examining ontological and epistemological consideration. The subsequent sections shall rationalise the selection of the inductivist approach. Subsequently, the methodological choice of the case study shall be discussed in relation to the established research design, and finally the choice of data collection methods shall be explained.

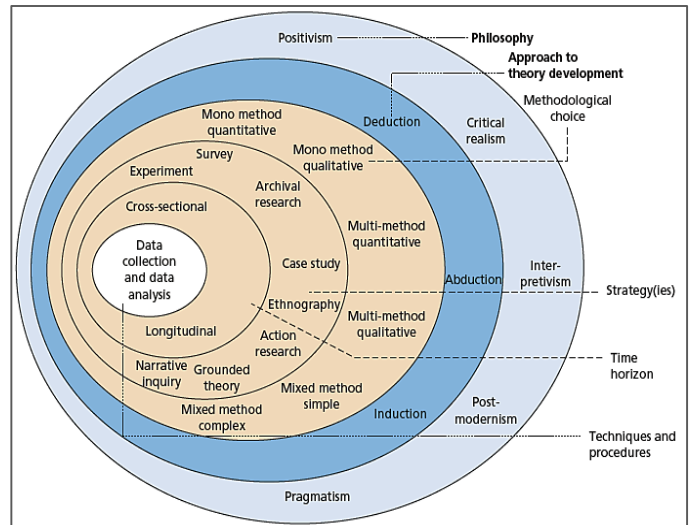


Figure 6. The research ‘onion’. Source: © 2015 Mark Saunders, Philip Lewis and Adrian Thornhill

3.2. Philosophical assumptions. Ontology & Epistemology

Ontology is a philosophical assumption, referring to the nature of reality. The definition of ontology (University of Idaho 2017):

The branch of metaphysics (philosophy concerning the overall nature of what things are) is concerned with identifying, in the most general terms, the kinds of things that actually exist. In other words addressing the question: What is existence? And What is the nature of existence?

This consideration demonstrates the researcher’s position with regard to the subject. This research is shaped by the *constructionist* position. Constructionism (also referred as constructivism and subjectivism) views social phenomena as constructed as being continually revised by the social actors precisely, by their perception and interaction (Saunders at al. 2016; Bryman 2012). Moreover, it means, that the social reality is not permanent and there is always a particular version of it.

Constructionism is appropriate for this research project because of the nature of the research questions and the objectives which seek to examine the city regions governance structure and the effects and roles, that are dependent upon many social factors and is influenced by the stakeholders’ perception. Also, the conceptual framework proposes that there exists a

differentiated perspective among actors, which is could be best understood by utilising a discourse analysis approach which corresponds to the central tenets of the constructivist stance.

Epistemology concerns question what knowledge is considered acceptable, valid and legitimate (Saunders at al. 2016). University of Idaho (2017) defines epistemology as:

The branch of philosophy concerned with the nature of knowledge itself, its possibility, scope, and general basis. More broadly: How do we go about knowing things? Or How do we separate true ideas from false ideas? Or How do we know what is true?

In order to follow this line of question the research utilises the *interpretivism* stance. It shares a view that people and institutions differ from the natural science's objects because they create meanings (Saunders at al. 2016; Bryman 2012). Therefore, social science is different from natural science because of the meaning that is attached to social phenomenon.

This position is appropriate for this research as interpretivism supposes the usage of the subjective meaning of social action (Bryman 2012). The research aim and questions assume that reality is constructed by the different stakeholders' opinions, which are used as the primary source of data. Studying the formation of city regions is useful to be viewed in an interpretivist way due to complex structure and involvement of many various actors, who perceived the formation of the city region differently.

The current research questions are explanatory in nature and thus require qualitative research methodology as quantitative approach would not provide the necessary data (Ahrend, Gamper, & Schumann 2014, p.5): 'Large metropolitan area datasets usually contain only basic variables, such as population size and number of administrative units and layers.' Also, the chosen ontological position – constructionism – concerns the people's discourses, opinions, interpretations, etc., which is what Mason (2007 p.63) considers as a reason to use the qualitative approach. The same questions are used as a rationale for the case study application – one of the reasons, distinguished by Yin (2014, p. 9).

3.3. Research Design. Case Study

The research design is the framework for the collecting and analysing the data, in order to address the research questions in the appropriate way (Bryman 2012; Hart 2005). This research is designed as a *case study*. There are numerous definitions and opinions on the validity of case studies. However, Yin (2014, p.16) President of COSMOS Corporation defines it as follows:

A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident.

The term of ‘Analytical Generalisation’ (Yin 2014, p. 41) is determined by the inductive tradition of the relationship between theory and research (Bryman 2012). The case study approach usually follows this approach, generating theory from the research results (Yin 2014). As May (2011, p.221) noted: ‘In the first instance, the purpose of the case studies, regardless of methodological approach, is to contribute to the sum of total knowledge through theorization.’ Therefore, the research attempts to answer the particular questions by deducing common threads of knowledge regarding the city regional governance from the Cardiff case.

The topic of city-regional governance requires investigating one or several cases. In order to examine the processes surrounding city regional formation and governance approaches it is more useful to examine one case study more thoroughly rather than researching several cases, as the required depth of analysis may be lacking. The current paper investigates wider issues, common for all city regions, since: ‘...although each case of regionalization is unique, conceptualization of the processes requires analytical guidelines and abstractions (Ellingsen & Leknes 2012, p.227). One of the advantages of the case study method is that it is flexible in terms of data collection and analysis methods.

However, Yin (2014) explains that there are significant concerns, associated with the case study approach. Firstly, this method is rigorous. Compared to its common perception as having a non-systematic or sometimes sloppy process (ibid.). Secondly, there is a confusion with the case study, using in teaching. Thirdly, there is a concern regarding generalisation: it seems wrong to extrapolate from a single case study, but through the use of appropriate research design, use of proper theory, generalisations can be drawn (ibid.). Finally, there is an unclear comparative advantage in contrast to other research approaches.

No research design is perfect, and as a response for the abovementioned concerns, it must be mentioned that for the current research questions, which have a qualitative nature that requires deep understanding of the processes happening inside the city regional structure, the case study design is the best choice. It allows generalising knowledge, which can be useful for those city-regions who do not have a similar experience, but aspiring to progress towards more efficient city region level institutions.

The case of the Cardiff City Region is a good choice because it is under research but very applicable to the current trends in city regions. The CCR case has distinctive qualities that are able to provide insights into the main causal mechanism in the city regional governance. The CCR involves national state government as well as local authorities and other different communities, what is perceived as common conditions, which are noted in other examples of city regional formations. The CCR is medium sized, therefore the results could be applicable to both smaller cases or larger cases of CR formation.

3.4. Data Collection Methods

3.4.1. Introduction

This subsection explains the methods, used for the data collection. All the research questions will be answered through three data collection methods: semi-structured interview, documentary analysis, and secondary data. All the methods and sampling (when is required) is concerned with the inductive perspective on the relationships between the theory and research. Additionally, it conforms to the chosen epistemological stance – interpretivism, since it allows for the use of meanings, generated on a subjective base, and constructionist position, considering that social phenomena are the outcome of individuals (Bryman 2012).

3.4.2. Semi-structured Interview

As previously mentioned, the research questions require an understanding of the views, knowledge and perceptions of the stakeholders, involved in the development of the CCR. There is merit therefore in choosing the semi-structured (also referred as in-depth) interviewing in order to understand the opinions of these actors (Mason 2007). This approach is flexible and is the intermediate option between the structured and unstructured (focused) interview. Semi-structured interview are supposed to have specified questions, elaborated in an interview guide. The researcher is, also allowed to go beyond the written questions and enter into a dialogue with the respondents. Also, it is important to understand their reactions and behaviour (Bryman 2012).

The main advantage of this method is that semi-structured interviews ‘...allow[s] people to answer more on their own terms than the standardised interview permits, but still, provide a greater structure for comparability...’ (May 2011, p.134). Due to the different positions (potentially) and the backgrounds, each discussion is unique despite the common questions. The main disadvantage is the subsequent time-consuming step of transcribing the recordings.

Before starting data collection, it is important to identify the selection criteria. Sampling must provide access to ‘...enough data, and with the right focus, to enable you to address your research questions.’ (Mason 2007, p.134). The research questions are used as the starting point: ‘...research questions should give an indication of what need to be sampled, [the questions] provide guidelines as to what categories of people need[s] to be the focus of attention and therefore [need] to be sampled’ (Bryman 2012, p. 416).

The specific focus of this research refers to the city regions governance issues, which means that respondents must be ‘key informants’, which significantly reduces the respondents’ circle. In other words, there were interviewed stakeholders, who were involved in the negotiations centered around discussions of the Cardiff City Region development. They may have had a demonstrated interest but were not a part of the formal negotiations. Therefore, this research is based on purposive sampling, distinguished by Patton and Palys (Bryman 2012, p. 419). It suggests having as much variation and diversity as possible in the interview groups, mostly in a particular dimension with a purposive strategic method of sampling (ibid.).

The first step, was the primary literature review, revealed that there were distinctions between the main categories of stakeholder – government at various levels, business, third sector, etc., involved in the abovementioned process of the CCR negotiations. The next step was to identify the relevant persons – representatives of each stakeholder, who could provide their views. However, for some of the groups, it was difficult to find specific names. In some cases snowball method was used when a participant recommends other relevant persons and personal contacts from particular fields, what also has some benefits and risks.

Table 1 provides the stakeholder's interview groups. The aim was to interview at least one representative from each of the stakeholder groups. As a result, there were produced 13 interviews in total. Such individuals as the Welsh Government officers or business representatives were usually too busy to participate as an interviewee. It negatively affected the number of possible respondents. However, it is considered that the views of each stakeholder group sufficiently represented throughout this research.

Table 1. The stakeholders' groups and respondents

Stakeholders groups	Interviewees	Background
Welsh Government	Councillor 1	In the past Environment in the Department of Natural Resources and Food at the Welsh Government, now - Sustainable Places Research Institute (changed the workplace 2 weeks before the interview)
Cardiff Council (as a secondary data)	Councillor 2	Planning Department Manager at Cardiff County Council
Other local authorities	Councillor 3	Leader of one of the rural counties
Academics	Researcher 1	Former researcher of the CCR formation; CCR consultant
	Researcher 2	Cardiff University; The CCR exchange initiative
	Researcher 3	Sustainable Places Research Institute, PhD researcher of the CCR
Business community	Director 1	Member of South Wales Chamber of Commerce
	Director 2	Head of a department, South Wales at Associated British Ports
	Director 3	Head of a department of Federation of Small Business (FSB) of South Wales
Third parties	Advisor 1	Conservation manager of Brecon Beacon National Reserve Park
	Advisor 2	Cardiff University researcher of the CCR; The CCR Board Advisor; the CCR consultant
	Advisor 3	Cardiff University; Creator of METRO project
	Advisor 4	Head of the Cardiff Capital Region

Nine interviews were provided face-to-face through the personal meetings and four (Researcher 3; Advisor 1; Advisor 2; Advisor 4) were conducted by telephone. Telephone communication was used when a participant was unable to meet in person due to significant physical distance or respondent's issue with regard to scheduling. All the discussions were recorded; the respondents were made aware prior to the interview.

Getting in touch with the unknown persons was carried out with or without the recommendation of the known expert. In most cases, a short description document briefly explaining this research as well as the interview questions were sent beforehand to engage the potential respondent and to prepare the participant as to the scope of the research. Table 2 provides the question schedule,

showing the relation of the research questions (bold) and the main interview questions. In square brackets the prompt questions, only asked if the respondent does not mention corresponding issues spontaneously. During the interview process, question 9 became non-issue with regards to the research and after the fifth interview this question was removed from the interview guide.

Table 2. The interview schedule

<i>General questions</i>
1. Could you, please, briefly describe how you were involved in the CCR negotiation process? What was your role?
2. What is currently happening with the CCR development?
<i>How different stakeholders define the success of city-regional governance?</i>
3. Who is currently leading the process? Are there any main responsible bodies? [Is it top-down or down-up initiative?]
4. What are the roles of the UK and Welsh governments and the local authorities?
5. How do you see the success of the CCR?
6. How do you identify the direction of the CCR development?
7. What are the main obstacles for the CCR governance?
8. How do you think it is possible to solve them? [How local, regional and national government bodies should collaborate for the CCR development?]
<i>What is perceived to be the main obstacle to the creation of the coherent city-regional governance?</i>
9. The Board has issued one official document called “Powering the Welsh Economy”. It suggests concentrating on four main topics, delivering the vision: connectivity, skills, innovation and growth, identity. Why exactly these priorities and not others? Were there any disagreements in this term?
10. What do you think about competitive advantage of the CCR or its main unique feature? Would it be able to compete with other urban cores such as Bristol?
<i>What issues become part of the core agenda for city-regional governance and which tend to be marginalised?</i>
11. Could you name any agendas, which tend to be ignored (as a result – the new socio-economic problems in the region) by the CCR stakeholders? [What do you think about the future of the rural-urban relationships of the CCR?]

3.4.3. Analysis of Documents

The official documents (from the state and private sources) are a great source of information. The current research topic, dedicated governmental issues is closely connected to the local, regional and national policies and official documentation. At the same time, the CCR development sparks the interest of different companies. They release very heterogeneous reports and recommendations. For this research only the documents from the public domain were used. Both public and private documents are considered as valuable sources of information, and all the

relevant documents will be used for supporting data analysis. This approach is very transparent, reliable and flexible, according to Bryman (2012).

For this research documents and interviews are the main source of information for the analysis. The official state documents usually contain reliable information in terms of legislation, numbers and conditions. Private ones could include a particular point of view, what might support the discourses among the respondents (*ibid.*). In this research, the author will try to combine all the gained data in one united analysis of discourses and information.

3.4.4. Secondary Data

Secondary data was data collected by other researchers (Bryman 2012). During the Intensive Seminar, which took place in January 2017 at Cardiff University as a part of the author's Mater programme, the CCR was investigated from different sides to give recommendations for the territorial development of this area.

The five following topics related to the CCR have been considered: governing and planning, transport, energy, water and environment, housing and economic development. As a result, five thematic outlines were produced for each of the topic. This source of information performed only an additional supportive role in helping to understand the context of the CCR. The only limitation, applicable for this source is the absence of the control over data quality (Bryman 2012). However, as an additional source of knowledge, these outlines are reliable enough as the academic staff of Cardiff University verified them. Besides the thematic outline, one semi-structured interview with the representative of the City of Cardiff Council was conducted, and was coded as Councillor 2 (Table 1).

3.5. Data Analysis

The data itself does not produce knowledge. The gained qualitative data was generated from the semi-structured interviews, documents and secondary data. This research used the discourse analysis approach as the whole work is based on the Maarten Hajer's discourse analysis concept (2000). Potter considers that discourse analysis 'emphasises the way versions of the world, of society, events and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse' (cited in Bryman 2012, p. 528). Therefore, the ways in which the CCR issues are accomplished by the stakeholders through language and positions is also certain data.

During the qualitative interviews, the author was recording the conversations as well as making field notes. In the case of this paper, it is not required to provide the full transcription of the

recordings. Therefore, the answers were written down as bullet points with the detailed quotes, under each of the scheduled questions. This form of transcription is very close to traditional methods of transcribing.

Given the conceptual framework, based on research questions and the literature review, the recordings were transcribed verbatim elements that reflected categories and sub-categories of the conceptual framework. Particularly, following the scheduled interview questions and research questions, there were determined key themes, which highlighted the coalition's discourses.

Appendix A provides the thematic analysis matrix of the data, collected through the interviews. Bryman considers thematic analysis as the same as coding (Bryman 2002, p.578), which is applied to the corresponding research. The thematic framework is constructed from the main themes, consisting from subthemes, which are in turn, consist of the discourses, fixed during the interviews. The discourses '...are essentially recurring motifs' (Bryman 2012, p. 579) in the interviews' transcriptions, e.g. the determining particular discourses was based on the repetition if the ideas, phrases and thought with the same context. The same approach was applied to the interview, gained from the secondary data, as the questions were similar.

Such way of data processing is convenient as it is visible how the discourses are shared by but also different between the coalitions. However, there is a criticism, regarding such coding as the context and the 'narrative flow' might be lost (Bryman 2012, p.578). To avoid this problem, besides the usage of the matrix, a regular return to the original scripts and recordings realised if necessary. In terms of the documents, they were read and used similarly to the journal articles reading.

Chapter 4 provides the data analysis, based on the Thematic Analysis Matrix (Appendix A), the documents and the concepts, examined in the literature review sections and relevantly embedded to the analysis. In the conclusion chapter, the analysis of these topics is transformed into the answers on the research questions.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

The main concern regarding the ethical considerations lies in semi-structure interviewing and secondary data. The first is based on the direct connection with people. The respondents were aware that they were participants in the interview process for the purpose of research and that the conversation was being recorded. The interview commenced only after informed consent was obtained by the participants. Finally, the data was kept anonymous and confidential by removing

the names of the interviewees in both the recording and in the presentation of the data in the dissertation.

Chapter Four: Findings & Discussion

4.1. Introduction

In order to understand the preconditions of the current trends it is useful to consider the history surrounding CCR development. Therefore, the first section shall provide historical review of the CCR as well as the corresponding planning policy will be provided. In the second section the current state of the CCR development shall be analysed. In the last part, the opportunities and challenges regarding the future development of the CCR shall be examined.

4.2. The Context of the Cardiff City Region

City-regionalism debates started emerging in the beginning of this century (Scott 2001; Scott 2002; Tewdwr-Jones & McNeill 2000; Brenner 1998). Among the precursory initiatives of the WG, the first notable one was the Wales Spatial Plan Update (Welsh Assembly Government 2008). To achieve ‘general prosperity level and reducing negative environmental impacts,’ collaboration was sought amongst the key developments (Figure 7) with notorious ‘fuzzy boundaries’ (ibid., p. 20).

The UK Government (UKG) also recognises the power of cities and their regions. One of the strongest advocates was Chancellor George Osborne who wished to ‘rebalance the UK economy by getting areas outside London to perform more competitively’ (Councillor

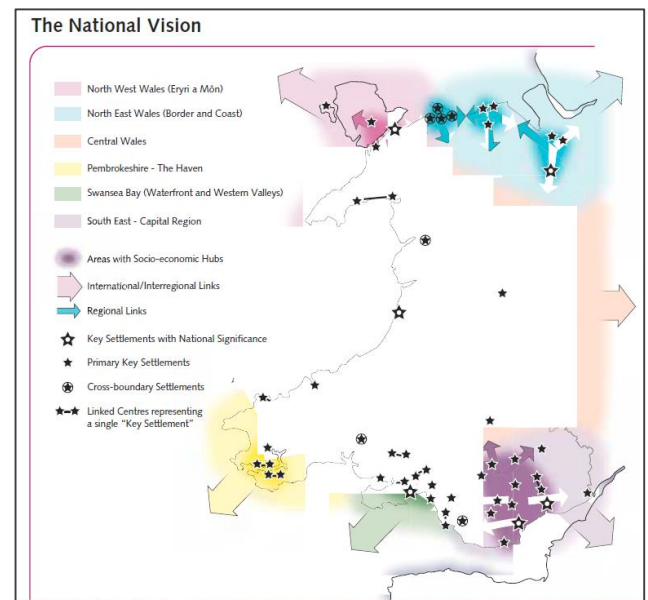


Figure 7. National vision. Key settlements. Source: Welsh Assembly Government 2008, p.20

1). But to rebalance UK economy and create the polycentric structure is very challenging and it is ‘very much from the economic development perspective’ (ibid.). Therefore, Osborn launched a new enterprise zones project around the country (Ward & Hardy 2012). At the same time, the new Minister of Cities Greg Clark and the Deputy Prime Minister Nick Clegg issued a report entitled ‘Unlocking Growth in Cities’, which set out a range of tools and powers for the core cities. Basically, it is similar to the development of the LEP, applies in the 1980s. The new offer of the City Deal, supposes a capital pot for economic development projects on the local level around the cities (Ward & Hardy 2012).

Figure 8 shows the time-line of the documents, relevant to the CCR development, emanating from the national (WG) level. Nevertheless, the respondents argued that the particular initiative to create a city region in the South East of Wales initially belongs to the WG (Researcher 2; Councillor 1; Researcher 1; Advisor 2; Advisor 4).

Eventually, the localism agenda and decision of the Coalition Government to create powerful, innovative cities (Department for Communities and Local Government 2011) were announced. In 2011 Minister for Business, Enterprise, Technology and Science of the WG appointed Elizabeth Haywood as a Chair of the City Regions Task and Finish Group, established ‘to consider the evidence for city regions as economic drivers, and to identify [the] potential [of] city regions in Wales’ (Welsh Government 2012a, p.1). It is unclear how this correlates to the fact that in December 2011 there already existed a so-called South East Wales Regional Partnership Board working to establish ‘a thriving South West Region’ (SEWDER 2013, p. 2). The Board comprised of the leaders of the same LAs as in the CCapR: Bridgend, Vale of Glamorgan, Rhondda Cynon Taff, Merthyr Tydfil, Caerphilly, Monmouthshire, Blaenau Gwent, Torfaen, Newport and Cardiff. Therefore, presumably, the initiative to create the CCR was either earlier and Haywood’s investigation was a ‘window-dressing’, either the process was informal and started running in a parallel. However, realising the UKG’s intentions to invest in the core UK’s cities, it would be unwise not to conform.

Nevertheless, based on the international and domestic experience Task and Finish Group ‘strongly’ recommended cognising the city regions in South East Wales and Swansea Bay. The following factors of this decision (to recognise the city regions in Wales) were (ibid.): ‘critical mass; traffic flows; community identification; existing structures of governance, and the fact that our cities contribute less to the economy than cities anywhere else in the UK’. There were 22 recommendations produced which stresses the factor of economic development. Regarding spatial planning, the authors suggest to adapt or replace the Wales Spatial Plan (Welsh Assembly Government 2008) so as not to ‘hinder the success of the city region’ (Welsh Government 2012a, p.5). There is probably evidence that the importance of the city regions in Wales is equal to the national planning. In addition, the report recommends to use the METRO project to point of development for the South East Wales City Region (the first tentative name of the CCR) and to ensure that transport planning is linked to housing planning.

Further, there was the process of shaping the identity of the CCR. In November 2013 the Welsh Government Minister for Economy, Science and Transport, Edwina Hart established the CCapR

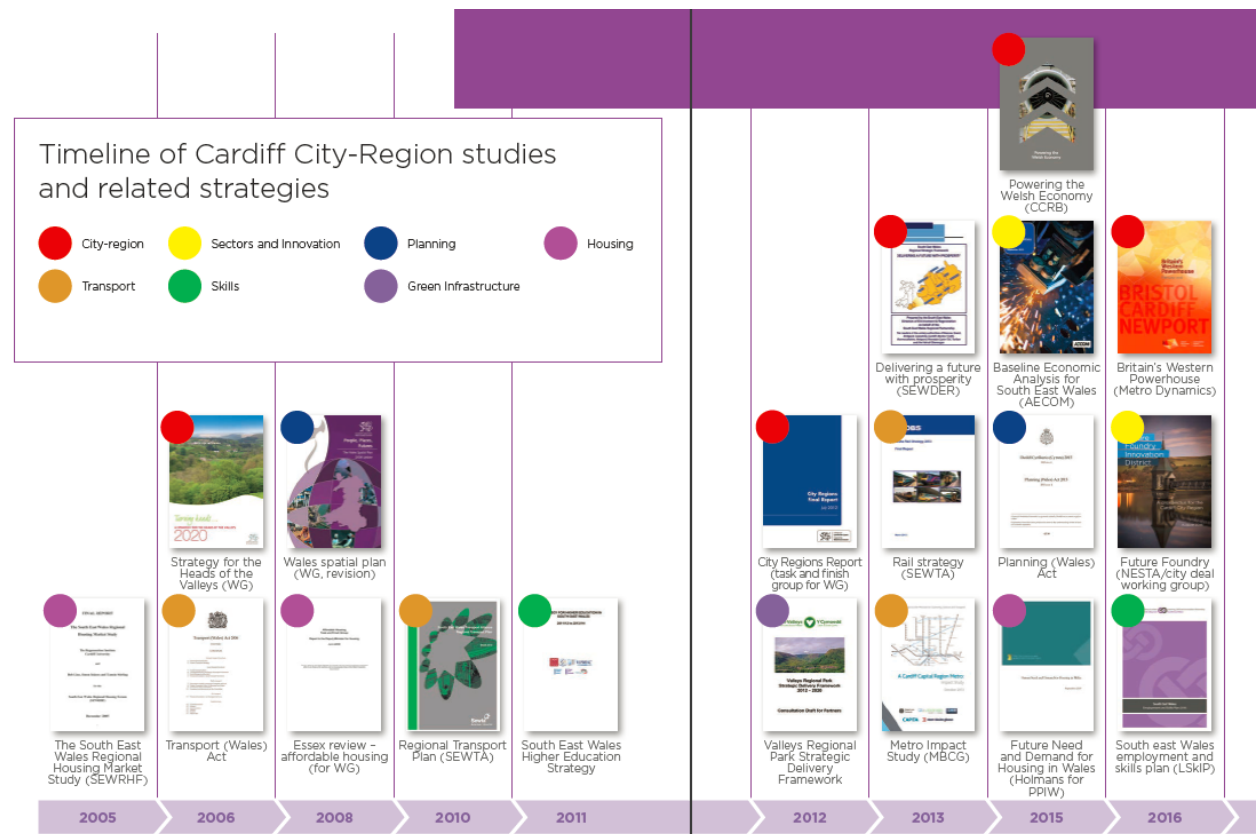


Figure 8. Timeline of Cardiff City Region studies and related strategies. Source: GCC 2016, pp. 14-15

Board, consisting of representatives from the business community, education sectors and LAs ‘to provide advice on the development and growth of the Region’ (Welsh Government 2015a). The Board consisted of ten members with only two representatives of the LAs, which was ‘upset[ing to] other leaders who wanted to be on it’ (Councillor 3). The Welsh Government website provides the minutes of the CCapR Board meetings (Welsh Government 2015), showing the evolution of the negotiation process, started arising around the CCR.

Regarding the CCR term, during the research process, the terminology was very confusing, as people name the same objects in different ways and cannot explain the difference. For some respondents the CCR it is an entity ‘which we know where is it’ (Councillor 3; Director 3) for others the CCR is referred to as the CCapR (Advisor 4). In the space of discourses, the term CCR was mostly encounter while reviewing the reports, produced by the Task & Finish Group (Welsh Government 2015), in the academic literature (Waite 2015; Morgan 2006) or was used in the City Region Exchange initiative, which, was, though the Cardiff University project (CRE 2017). At the same time, there is also no clear understanding with regards to the CcapR. Also, the definition, given on the City Deal official website does not provide a clear definition as well (CCRCD 2016):

What is the Cardiff Capital Region?

The Cardiff Capital Region is made up of an area of South East Wales, consisting of the ten local authorities. These local authorities have joined forces in order to tackle issues that affect the whole of the region, such as worklessness and poor transportation links.

Advisor 4, head of the CCapR clarified the situation, named CCapR as ‘the umbrella brand – the way people will work within the region’. Indeed, it is a name, chosen on the CCapR Board meeting on 25 March 2014 (Welsh Government 2014) with the recommendation of Haywood’s report to change the name ‘South East Wales City Region’ to attract the external investors (Welsh Government 2012a). Basically, the CCapR is just a name for the CCR. Consequently, the development of the CCapR can be equated to the development of the CCR

The CCapR Board met every month during the period of time when the members were shaping the vision of the South East Wales. They came forward with the several recommendations, one of which was the ‘Powering Welsh Economy’ report (Cardiff Capital Region 2015). It was the first output of the CCapR Board – a trial version of the CCR vision. The report proposes that the development be centered around four themes: connectivity, skills, identity, and innovation and growth. Advisor 3 commented on the choice of these themes that: ‘there were high aspirations’. The Board members target to achieve ‘globally-connected great place to live and work’ (Cardiff Capital Region 2015, p.6). The report highlighted the role of the METRO project, which initially was central in the negotiations. (Councillor 3). The critique of the ‘Powering Welsh Economy’ report mostly concerns the determined priorities, which are considered as very narrow and, moreover, the report does not explain how to achieve them (Researcher 3).

However, considering that it is the government which ‘wanted it from us’ (Councillor 3), and that there were ‘some tensions because of the minister’ (Advisor 3), the report was important stage of the CCR governance development as it ‘provided context and conversation’ (Advisor 3) – the possibility for dialogue especially in terms of discussing the governance structure (Researcher 3). A bit later the City Deal emerged, which the CCapR secured in 2016. The City Deal worth £1.2bn and it mainly concentrates on the METRO project, coordinated by the LAs, the WG and the UKG.

The ‘Powering Welsh Economy’ report initiated the first set of discourses (Hajer 2000; Hajer 2002) between the government bodies, academic, business and other interested sides. At the same time, as Hajer (2003) was arguing such confrontations provides the basis for discussion.

As we can see, initially the top-down directive from London transformed to the rather horizontal partnership of the three different level of governments. The first aspirations transformed to the more economically straightforward directions. The precursory events led to the collaboration of the governance bodies, and the currently observed processes will be the subject of examination in the next section.

4.3. The Current State of the CCR Development

4.3.1. The Cardiff Capital Region City Deal

The question about the current process of the CCapR development caused a new set of discourses. Such reaction fits the conceptual framework of the research as well as it is linked with the research questions, supposed concerning different opinions. The research questions are as follows:

- 1. How different stakeholders define the success of city regional governance?*
- 2. What is perceived to be the main obstacle to the creation of the coherent city regional governance?*
- 3. What issues become a part of the core agenda for city regional governance and which tend to be marginalised?*

One Cardiff Council (CC) representative had a very sceptical view of the current process, arguing that ‘everything is stuck’ (Councillor 2; Researcher 3). Many of the key informants could not clearly say what is currently happening with the CCapR as they are not directly involved (Director 2; Advisor 1; Advisor 2; Director 1; Councillor 2), which may reflect the fact that the process is hidden from the general public and there is ‘lack of dissemination of information’ (Director 2). Some respondents, including those directly involved in the process, argue that the focus now is on the development of the City Deal only (Councillor 3; Researcher 1; Researcher 2; Advisor 4). Importantly, there was noticed confusion between the CCapR and the City Deal, which Councillor 3 confirmed ‘People on the street, business, they are always confused.’ The City Deal is just an ‘element’ of the CCapR (Advisor 4), it is ‘a tool for us to take forward the development of the region’ (Councillor 3).

The author of the research would name the City Deal as a project, which the CCapR secured. Moreover, the CCapR is a brand which could become a ground for the future deals: ‘Manchester has five deals, and they are not completed, they lay on top of each other’ (Councillor 3). However, the critical report of the Bevan Foundation argues that there is a risk that the deals will compete with each other, ‘resulting in ‘race to the bottom’, for instance, on wages and business incentives (including business rates)’ [Bevan Foundation 2017, para. 13].

The City Deal is the deal, which CCapR secured with the UKG and the WG to deliver up to 25,000 jobs and leverage an additional £4 billion of private sector investments (HM Treasury 2016). The deal includes £1.2bn investments in the CCapR with the key priority to deliver the METRO, including the Valleys Lines Electrification programme. Among other projects, there is £50m investment for the creation of a new Catapult Centre for the Compound Semiconductor Applications. This project has been already secured with £38m as a joint venture between Cardiff University and IQE in Newport (Dickins 2017). Councillor 3 is convinced that IQE came to the CCR because of the City Deal.

The aim of this deal is to ‘unlock significant economic growth across the Cardiff Capital Region’ by ‘improving transport connectivity; increasing skill levels still further; supporting people into work; and giving businesses the support they need to innovate and grow’ (HM Treasury 2016, para. 2). Moreover, the deal encourages development of skilled workforce and tackling unemployment, support enterprise and business growth, and housing development regeneration. As we can see, the aim of the City Deal is economic development of the region and part of George Osborne’s plan to rebalance the UK economy (Ward & Hardy 2012).

However, the City Deal is perceived differently by the stakeholders: Councillor 3 realised that ‘different people want different things from the deal’. It is perceived as an opportunity for the LAs (Councillor 3; Advisor 3; Director 1; Researcher 2) and business (Director 3; Councillor 3; Director 1; Researcher 2). Both sides agree that the City Deal will accelerate the CCR development (Councillor 3; Director 3; Director 1; Researcher 1). At the same time, Research 3 supposes that the City Deal emerged as a result of the central government’s inability to solve the local problems and take the responsibilities, as found in the studies of Ravetz (2001) and Haughton, Allmendinger & Oosterlynck (2013). Moreover, Director 3 negatively reacted on the City Deal initiative, criticising its ‘shiny vision’.

In terms of ‘argumentative discourse analysis’ approach (Hajer 2002, p. 62), described in the conceptual framework, such interpretation of the City Deal is very representative for the whole data analysis section. A logical pattern emerged in the data analysis in that respondents, who were not directly involved in the decision-making process reacted more negatively towards the CCR development. Whereas those, who are directly participating in the City Deal or had a real influence on it proclaimed the deal the first success of the CCapR and defended the current disadvantage or just did not discuss problems (Councillor 3; Advisor 3; Advisor 4).

The uninvolved parties did not have an access to the actual information and had to make conclusions based on the indirect information what can lead to the misunderstanding and biases. Moreover, some parties had rather negative biases regarding the current process as their interests were ignored by the LAs elites: Director 3, representing the Federation of Small Business and Councillor 2, argued that ‘Because we are the center of it [of the CCR]. No one around the table wants Cardiff to do it. It is nepotism, it is like children fighting’. Therefore, the answers of the interviewed stakeholders should be interpreted relatively.

The majority of the respondents perceived the aims of the City Deal to be purely economic (Researcher 3; Councillor 1; Councillor 3; Researcher 1), though, it is not clear what exactly the City Deal sought to achieve in terms of economic development. Thus, while the most of the respondents thought that it was lifting GVA (Councillor 3; Director 2; Researcher 3; Advisor 2; Advisor 3; Councillor 1; Director 1; Researcher 1; Researcher 2) and Councillor 3 argued that they aimed to lift it by 5%. Indeed, Wales has very low GVA rate in comparison with Western Europe (Figure 9). As well as the CCapR area particularly is ‘among the worst performing UK city-regions regarding GVA’ (GCC 2016, p.30).

However, the City Deal document did not provide any particular direction regarding GVA growth. With the purpose of supporting the CCapR economic and investment strategy and advising how best to generate Gross Value Added growth there was established Independent Growth and Competitiveness Commission (HM Treasury 2016, para. 59). The Commission is one of the CCapR’s subdivisions, which provides independent estimations.

The Commission’s first output: ‘Report and Recommendations’ is currently the main document, proving the vision and the evidence about the functional economic area of the CCapR in the frame of the City Deal. The report contains recommendations on how to generate economic growth – the main aim of the City Deal. The key determinant of GVA growth is job creation and increases in productivity. The authors of the report considered the question ‘To what extent is productivity or job growth key determinant of the GVA gap between the Cardiff Capital Region and the UK average?’ (GCC 2016, p.23). They argue that productivity is the biggest contribution to the economic output. If it raised to the UK average level this will bring approximately £7bn to the economic output of the CCR and what is equivalent to an increase of GVA of £4,700 per capita. At the same time, the employment rate has much smaller scale. An additional 35,000 in employment would bring £1.5bn added to the output what is equivalent to around £1,000 per person (ibid.). As a measure, they suggest ‘to address skills deficiencies across the skills spectrum,

particularly in those with the lowest levels of skill as well as to increase productivity to at least 90% of the UK average (GCC 2016, p.30).

The City Deal document recognised the skill level improving importance, though, it does not touch upon the lowest levels of skills, stressing on the creating new jobs to tackling unemployment as the main target (HM Treasury 2016). The Commission argues that the deal's target to deliver up to 25,000 jobs will increase the employment rate from 70.5% to 73.8%, which is slightly above the UK average. One critical review of the City Deal is a report prepared by the Bevan Foundation (2017) which contains a set of notes discrediting the deal's intended economic impact. According to the report, the City Deal, does not consider the quality of jobs nor their location (Bevan Foundation 2017, para 3). It argues that people with fewer skills will not gain benefits from the investments (ibid., para 9). This suggests that the increasing GVA does not necessarily mean prosperity for everyone – London's GVA is a good example (ibid., para. 8). Moreover, the GVA growth can lead to the increases of the cost of living (ibid., para. 10). In summary, one can say that the CCapR has brought with it a certain amount of (primary) economic analysis of the region's problem, which, however, is far from ideal.

The attention of the central government to the city regional economic development is not surprising. Economic perspectives on the city-regionalism is generally dominant, as the city region dimension is considered ideal for economic competitiveness (Ward & Jonas 2007; Bristow 2013).

At the same time, the GCC argues that the CCapR can be 'more prosperous, more inclusive and more sustainable' (GCC 2016, p.6). Indeed, this level is able to provide sustainable development of the city-regional unit (Ravetz 2001; Blowers 1993). In order to achieve it, the connectivity is considered as the essential condition. The only sustainability implication, admitted by the Vale of Glamorgan Council (2017), is the contribution through public transport improvements (para. 12). Councillor 3, working on the City Deal now also realises that the ultimate success is more complex: 'at the end, we want to bring some balance to the whole region'. Director 3 supports his view arguing that we need to 'create the life better for young people – how can they be healthier, wealthier, etc.' At the same time, the Commission admits that (GCC 2016, p.10):

A City Deal which strengthens aggregate growth without reducing overall levels of inequality, or raising standards of living in the poorest communities of the city-region, will not be regarded as a success.

This might put the deal, aiming to get economic growth, into difficulties. It shows that there remains quite deeply-rooted alternative goals for the city regions, which are not easily addressed

by the aggregates growth indicators. This discourse involves the governance structure topic, which is presented in the next part.

4.3.2. The Cardiff Capital Region Governance Structure

The City Deal was coming forward very fast, ‘accelerating the need for the government structure’ (Councillor 3). However, what is the structure of its governance and what are the main discourses? The GCC’s report provides recommendations for the CCapR regarding the governance system.

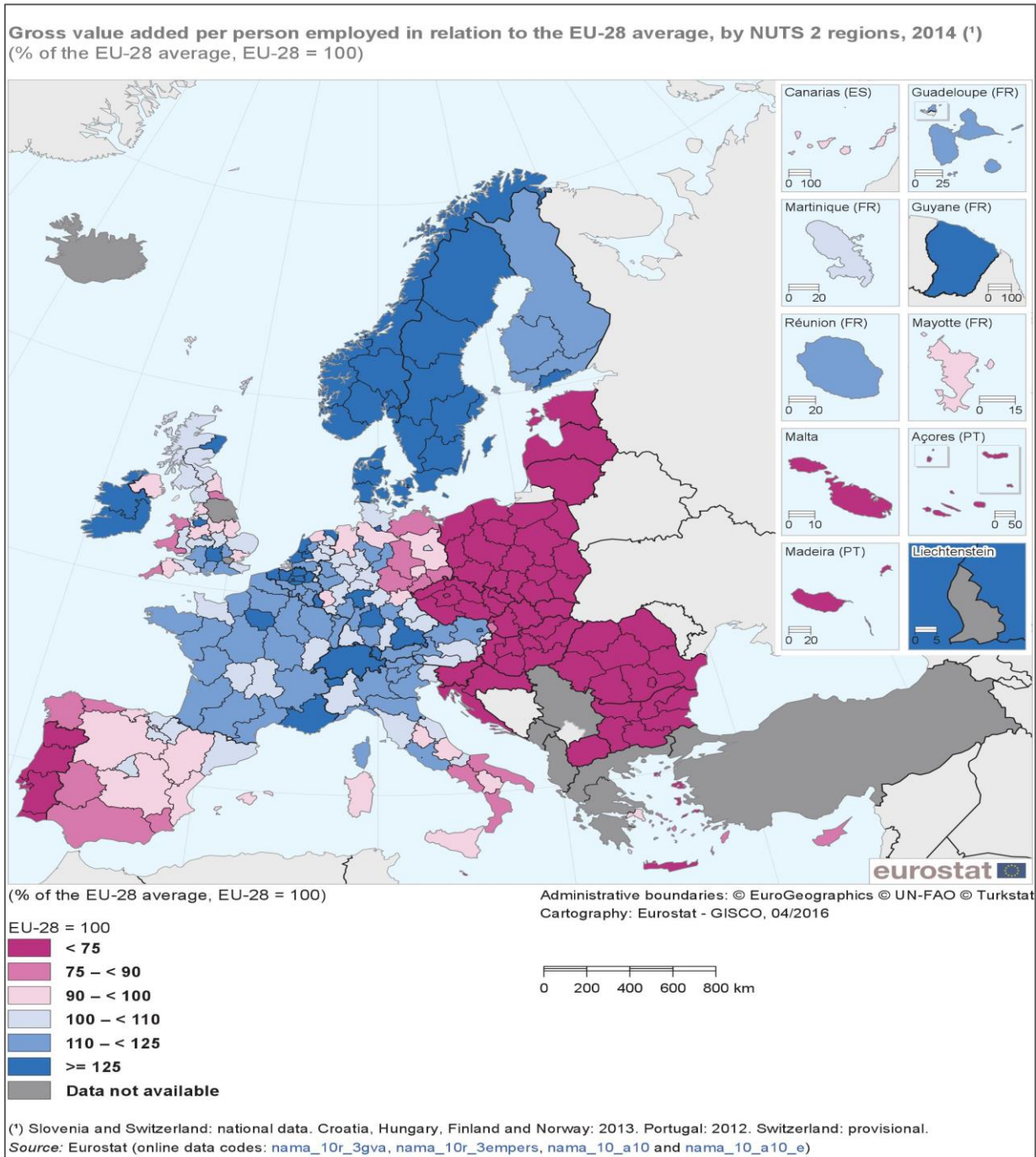


Figure 9. Gross Additional Value per capita. Source: <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat>

Advisor 4, the director of the CCapR, considers that the current government of the CCapR does not exist: 'For the CCapR it is not applicable as there is no governance structure' as this entity is a brand for the region. At the same time, the City Deal document provides a directive to establish the Cardiff Capital Region Cabinet, which has a status of Joint Committee to 'be ultimate decision-making body in the governance structure' (HM Treasury 2016, para. 52). According to the official website of the City Deal, it is led by the Joint Shadow Cabinet comprising the leaders of 10 LAs with a chair Councillor Andrew Morgan. Presumably, the sources are talking about the same structure, using different names.

The respondents mostly realised that the main obstacles for the governing the CCR are the large number of the LAs and collaboration between them (Advisor 3; Director 2; Director 3; Advisor 2; Advisor 3; Councillor 1; Director 1; Researcher 1; Researcher 2; Councillor 2). At the same time, some respondents consider that the main obstacle is the absence of the regional body/authority and government structure, necessary for the delivering needs (Councillor 1; Researcher 2; Councillor 2). The GCC report encourages the UKG, the WG and LAs

'...to act in concert now, and for a long term, to create unified governance, an increased rate of investment and deeper delivery capability that can be sustained for two to three cycles to achieve the success.' (GCC 2016, p.6).

While Councillor 3 argues; 'We cannot have combined authority in Wales – we do not have the legislation frame'. The CCG report recommends the CCapR '...quickly establish itself as a primary strategic decision-making body for the city-region...' and the CCapR 'commit to reviewing the City Deal governance and exploring the future options for moving to even stronger and effective governance that is legally binding' (HM Treasury 2016, para. 55). All these contradictions add more perspectives to the space of discourses and abundance of information. Nevertheless, the Joint Cabinet is the only one 'soft-spaces' (Haughton, Allmendinger & Oosterlynck 2013; Metzger & Schmitt 2012) governance structure covering the whole CCR.

The Joint cabinet meet regularly and, according to Councillor 3, lately a governance structure of the City Deal has been established (Councillor 3; Advisor 4). There were three elements, which the councillors were asked to agree on. Firstly, it is an insurance framework, which will be drafted between the LAs, WG and the UKG. Secondly, it is the constitution of the Joint Committee work – the rules of the engagement. Thirdly, the financial business plan, based on the population of the each county. The last element, which has not yet been agreed is the so-called 'overarching project', which gives an 'opportunity to each councillor to put the wish list in' (Councillor 3). This 'wish

list' might be a serious obstacle for the negotiations as well as a political instrument for some of the leaders to satisfy their interests. Nevertheless, there is no more information regarding this action yet.

The Cabinet's leaders are also responsible for the specific portfolios created to respond the City Deal conditions. At the same time, the Joint Cabinet is committed to establishing four regional bodies to deliver all the City Deal program aspects. All the governance structure pieces are presented in Table 3. The columns with the City Deal agreements is correlated with the column of the Joint Cabinet portfolios and the Regional Bodies column in accordance with the author's understanding, however there was no noticeable correlation or links between the agreements, portfolios and bodies.

There is also an Independent Growth and Competitiveness Commission established to 'review activities related to the City Deal and wider economic and growth interventions' (HM Treasury 2016, para. 59). At the same time, there are two more governance arrangements, indicated in the GCC's report: an Integrated Delivery Unit made for 'regionally significant aspects of economic development' and a Joint Program Manager Team whose role is not specified (GCC 2016, p.48). Moreover, the GCC argues that the LAs have suggested creating one more department – a Cardiff Innovation Capital Regional Development Corporation.

As we can see, the current structure is very complex even though most of its activities seem to lie within a broad economic domain. Apparently, the participants are going to use these arrangements for the future governance of the whole CCR, going beyond the City Deal delivery process: 'Because we don't need the cabinet or economic growth partnership just for the deal. We need one entity which can start delivering for the whole area.' (Councillor 3).

In terms of the structure itself, it remains unclear the reason for creating duplicate departments and whether they are linked functionally or not. In addition, there is no clarity between the actors' roles and responsibilities, which can cause confusion and conflict among business and public groups (Bevan Foundation 2017, para. 15).

Table 3. The correlation between the City Deal agreement, the Shadow Cabinet responsibilities and the Regional Bodies. Sources: Cardiff Capital Region 2017; HM Treasury 2016, para. 4, GCC 2016, p.48

The City Deal agreement	The Joint Shadow Cabinet's portfolios	The portfolios' purposes	The Regional Bodies, established by the Cabinet	The regional bodies' purposes
Connecting the region	Transport	N/A	A Regional Transport Authority	A non-statutory body to co-ordinate transport planning and investment in partnership with Welsh Government.
Support for innovation and improving digital network	Innovation and business partnership	N/A	A Regional Business Organisation	Responsible for business support programmes, and conduit for private sector business to engage and help shape investments from CCR City Deal funding; to provide a clear voice to influence and shape business support programmes.
Developing a skilled workforce and tackling unemployment	Work, skills and economy	To look into a potential work and health programme, ways to regenerate the community, and skills and training to increase employment	A Skills and Employment Board	To strengthen the existing Learning, Skills and Innovation Partnership.
Supporting enterprise and business growth	Finance and governance	To include the management of an investment fund	A Regional Economic Growth Partnership	Established to bring together business, higher education and local government. It will be responsible for setting the overarching city-region economic development strategy.
Housing development and regeneration	Regeneration, housing and planning	To identify potential areas for investment and development	-	-

Interestingly, Advisor 4 and Councillor 3 stated that the identified Regional Bodies are already running. It is unclear how the bodies are operating, who is brought into them and what the mechanisms are for third party involvement. Director 3, representative of the Federation of Small

Business, argued that the CCapR's partners 'do not seek partnership with businesses' and that 'we haven't really got any engagement with the partnership with the city deal, but this would be very important for us' (Director 3). Moreover, the Director 3 is convinced that the City Deal is 'trying to dictate the vision of the economy to business' while the 'business community should help create economic vision' and 'communication with the business community is fundamental in this stage of consultations around the city deal'.

Director 2 and Director 1 are more confident in their involvement: 'We were asked quite early in the process to have a look the opportunities where we can drive GVA. We put a number of projects to them.' (Director 2). Also, he argues that the CCapR and business have mutual interest. One side argues that parties like business and universities are already involved (Advisor 4), and the governance structure confirms that, others say that it will start running soon 'We are going to have a meeting [Innovation and business partnership portfolio] for the first time' (Councillor 3).

Thus, probably, the process of shaping the government structure and the vision was very selective, indicating that political elites have a 'narrow game' (Advisor 2). Now, the new governance structure is open for the key stakeholders, but the selection process is still hidden. Among other identified parties, which are not involved in the CCR development process (through the City Deal any other initiatives) are Brecon Beacon National Park – 'there is no opportunity for Brecon Beacon' (Advisor 1), rural communities (Researcher 2), and young people (Researcher 3).

At the same time, there was a notable interest in the engagement of other parties, especially business: Economic Growth Partnership '...would have key stakeholders from business, universities, social enterprises, local government. We believe that this body can be the real heart of the region' (Councillor 3). Advisor 2 argues that Economic Growth Partnership is '...very important governance mechanism, because it allows civil society, universities and business to play a role in the city deal.' The official purpose of this regional body confirms the position of Councillor 3 (Table 3): 'established to bring together business, higher education and local government'. As well as business representative fixed 'definite' interest from the CCaprR (Director 2). There were high aspirations at the beginning of the CCapR until the Board got a deal offer from the UK government. Since that moment the focus turned from the wider engagement of the parties to the narrow economic delivery.

It is important to think about the region, not only about the interest of the LAs (Councillor 3; Advisor 3; Researcher 1; Councillor 2; Researcher 3). It is applicable not only to the leaders but

to the citizens. Consequently, an important obstacle for CCR governance is the public expectations (Councillor 3; Researcher 1; Councillor 2; Director 3): ‘What would the public say about investing in the thing where they may not feel any benefit?’ (Councillor 3). As Director 3 noted, ‘We do not elect businesses.’ This obstacle demands to manage the trust and expectations between the LAs’ elite and citizens. However, it would be challenging for the LAs’ leaders as only 33% of surveyed residents heard about the CCapR (GCC 2016, p.49, Researcher 2), e.g. majority of the CCR citizens are not aware about the City Deal and the CCapR initiative. Besides the problem with public expectations, it also makes the deal operation even more narrow and ‘elitist’.

In addition, understanding that the money allocated for the CCR development is not for the development of the LAs themselves rather for the whole region, is difficult even for some of the authorities’ leaders (Councillor 3). The LAs contributed to pot with approximately 10%. However, this money is not a grant; it is investment’ and realising this needs thinking beyond the interests of the LAs. (Councillor 3).

Another obstacle is the so-called ‘historical resistance’ (Director 1; Waite 2015) between the rural and urban authorities (Councillor 3; Researcher 1; Councillor 2). The rural LAs are afraid that Cardiff will get more benefits from the City Deal. At the same time, Cardiff considers that their authority should be the central in the negotiations (Councillor 2), while the Councilors of Rhondda Cynon Taff and Monmouthshire show the leadership (Councillor 3). This bias slows down the negotiations, preventing the establishment of trust among the Cabinet members.

In spring 2017 the deal was secured to avoid the risk, which could be caused by the elections (Researcher 2), provided in May: ‘If we hadn’t secured the deal, it could have fallen apart. Or it would be so long people catching up or the UK government would pull out.’ (Councillor 3). Perhaps, the elections and wish to avoid ‘uncertainty’ of electoral accountability were some of the reasons why the City Deal is coming forward so fast, and some parties have not been involved.

In terms of delivering the City Deal, there is a partnership comprising three levels of government (HM Treasury 2016, para.63):

Cardiff Capital Region will work with the UK Government and the Welsh Government to develop an agreed implementation, monitoring and evaluation plan in advance of implementation, which sets out the proposed approach delivery and evaluating the impact of delivery.

The discourses regarding the roles of the UKG and the WG are very different, and there is no consensus for any of the statements, excepting agreement that the UKG is providing funding for the City Deal (Director 2; Researcher 3; Advisor 2; Councillor 1; Researcher 1; Researcher 2). The most popular discourse confirmed the statement from the City Deal document: ‘WG works very close’ (Councillor 3; Advisor 2; Researcher 1; Advisor 4). There is an opinion, that Wales is dependent on Westminster decisions in terms of the City Deal (Advisor 1; Councillor 1) and that ‘the City Deal initiative went from the UK government, so the WG did not participate’, rather the WG ‘...need to coordinate the investments, METRO, particularly’ (Councillor 1). Considering, that it is an opinion of the WG’s representative, it provides some food for thought.

The WG could be threatened by such a significant power devolution (Councillor 3; Researcher 3): the CCR is approximately 50% of the Welsh population (ONS 2016; GCC 2016). On the contrary, there is a perception that the UKG and WG are ‘hands-off’ (Researcher 2) and they just push down the difficult decisions (Councillor 2; Researcher 3).

The central government’s approach to stimulating regional collaboration using a pot of money is seen as having worked elsewhere – there are successful examples of Manchester and Glasgow as well as a recognition that without the deal there would not be a conversation (Councillor 3; Advisor 3), i.e., there would be no incentive to collaborate. However, such a neoliberal approach has been ‘absorbed and transformed into a variety of individualised and institutionalised routines’ and is ‘rewarding preferred behaviour’ (Haughton, Allmendinger & Oosterlynck, 2013, p. 221). The significance of this practice is that ‘Instead of taking institutions as the point of departure, it focuses on technologies that are materialised and stabilised in institutional settings’ (Lemke, 2007, p. 50 cited in Haughton, Allmendinger & Oosterlynck, 2013, p. 221).

It is critical to realise, that directions of the city-regional development are purely top-down. Ironically, the aim of this initiative to make the role of the central government less important in the local level problem-solving. The governance arrangements proposed for the City Deal is an opportunity for establishing the future CCR governance structure. In this case, the ‘dictation of the vision’ (Director 2) and other forms of interventions by the central state seem reasonable.

To conclude this subsection, the localism agenda and competitive economic potential of the city regions are provided by the City Deal to the CCR. The aim of this project is to accelerate economic growth across the region by improving connectivity and increasing number of jobs. Despite the economic nature of the deal, this project is seen as critical for the comprehensive development of the region. Indeed, the City Deal demanded organisation of ‘soft-space’ government structure,

involving the leaders of the LAs. However, the process of the negotiations was hidden from the public at large and involvement of the other parties was very selective. Also, there were tensions between the bodies, as it is hard to collaborate for the common benefits. At the same time, there is a recognition that the City Deal is much bigger than the political agenda; the main aim is to make the CCR a sustainable region, with the comprehensive development and life balanced values.

Nevertheless, currently there exists a government structure, which appeared due to the City Deal, and will be probably the main body for all the future projects in the CCR. It is too early to say with certainty, the main direction of the CCR.

4.4. The Future Challenges and Opportunities for the Cardiff Capital Region

The significant part of the City Deal investments (£734m) is allocated for the METRO project (Figure 10). The main substantive opportunity for the CCR is increasing connectivity through the main City Deal project – METRO. There are two phases which have been allocated by the UKG, WG and the CCapR: delivery of the Valley Lines Electrification programme and the wider South Wales Metro scheme.

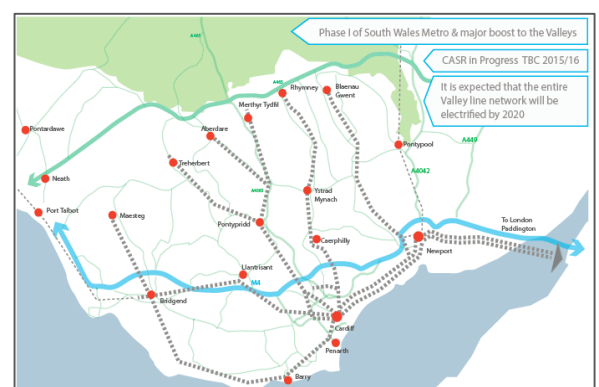


Figure 10. Scope of Valley Lines Electrification (Barry 2013, p.12)

The transport policy in addition to regional development and spatial planning is one among two other typical policy fields in the city regions (OECD 2014). The public transport usually has the highest budget, being ‘nervous system’ of the metropolis (Rutherford, 2004 cited in Castells 2010, p. 2738), proving the functional connections across the region.

The main benefits of this project are mostly economic-strategic (Barry 2013, p. 45). Connectivity is presented the main driver, which will create ‘broader placemaking, business clustering, higher skills and bolder aspirations for the city-region’ (GCC 2016, p.6). The report prepared by Mark Lang in the frame of the FSB (2016, p.16) confirms that ‘there is no doubt that the Cardiff Capital Region Metro proposals offer a significant scheme for improved public transport connectivity throughout South East Wales’. Moreover, in terms of sustainable development agenda, METRO is a chance to improve public transport in the region. Currently, people travel 40-50 min by car through Brecon Beacons National Park every day twice (Advisor 1). Therefore, the building of the METRO is necessary at least from this perspective.

However, there are socio-economic impacts of the METRO project that require greater attention since increased mobility is potentially a ‘two-edged sword’. Firstly, it can bring disproportionately more prosperity to Cardiff than to the valleys (Lang 2016). Lang (2016, p.18) considers that METRO could become ‘part of series of factors that have contributed to the decline of local economies in communities outside of Cardiff’. This position reflects an issue raised by Woods (2009), who considers the city-regional approach to carry risks for the hinterlands, as the rural issues are marginalised by the cities.

Harrison & Heley (2015) argue that the rural areas prosper from the integration with the metropolitan areas. Moreover, rural areas ‘become increasingly articulated with the rhythms and cultures of the modern metropolis’ (Scott 2011, p. 858). Potentially, residents of the valley could move closer to the coast, draining the rural areas. However, only Researcher 1 considers this threat, while Advisor 3, Advisor 1 and Director 1 are convinced there will be no centralisation process and, even more, that ‘Cardiff can lose people, not valleys’ (Councillor 3).

In terms of particular strengths and advantages, the CCR has a set of developed areas or advanced preconditions. The results of the interviews are summarise in Table 4.

Table 4. The CCR advantages in accordance with the respondents’ opinion

The CCR advantages	Respondents
Medical Science and Hospitality	Researcher 2; Councillor 3
Advanced Technologies	Councillor 3
Industries and Manufactories	Researcher 2
Tourism and Leisure	Researcher 2; Researcher 3; Director 3; Advisor 3; Advisor 4
Environment, Geography, the National Park	Researcher 2; Councillor 1; Researcher 3; Director 2; Advisor 3
Life-balance Comfortable City	Councillor 1; Councillor 2; Director 2; Advisor 3
Universities and Skills	Councillor 1; Researcher 1
Sport Facilities	Councillor 2; Advisor 4
Media	Councillor 2
Good Location	Director 2
Agglomeration Effect and Market	Advisor 2

As we can see, the discourses form two slightly contradictory strategies of the CCR development. On the one hand, there are preconditions for the development of the region in a competition scenario: strengthen and investing in technologies, medical science, and creative industries. On another, the CCR could be a life-balanced city with unique geography and accessible nature – the place, where is comfortable to live. The respondents who were against the competition

passionately arguing that competition cannot help people with the disadvantage socio-economic background (Researcher 3) and that it must be about partnerships with other cities, not competition (Councillor 2). The positions of these coalitions are different, though. Researcher 3 has a critical position, usual to the researcher, while Councillor 2 might not support the power devolution, happening in the region.

At the same time, the strategies do not contradict each other completely, and ideally, it is possible to deliver both scenarios. Currently, it is hard to say with certainty what the main direction of the CCR development will be. With the exception of economic development, it is not very clear which agendas, if any, will be addressed further. As it was said many times, it is ‘very early days’ (Advisor 2; Director 1; Researcher 2; Director 3; Advisor 4, Councillor 3).

In terms of what constitutes ‘success’, the respondents were answering from different perspectives. For some, the CCR is the current City Deal project, for others, it is some abstract partnership. Nevertheless, most of the respondents answering on the question, ‘What is the success of the CCR?’ considered the GVA raising and successful delivering of the City Deal (Councillor 3; Director 2; Researcher 3; Advisor 2; Advisor 3; Councillor 1; Director 1; Researcher 1; Researcher 2). The impact on health and wealth and sustainability were also named, though less frequently (Advisor 2; Director 3; Researcher 3; Councillor 2). Finally, in relation to the METRO, the success of the CCR is its improvement to connectivity and the lower dependence on public transport (Director 3; Advisor 1; Advisor 3).

Regarding the challenges, during the interview, it became clear that some of the respondents omitted the topic of rural community. Even after the question about the rural-urban relationships, this issue did not invoke a strong reaction. Nevertheless, Director 1, comparing the CCR with London, noticed:

People feel that in the CCR contrasts are big; people feel dislocated. 10-15 miles difference and they feel that Cardiff is a different world. In London, they feel they are in London with the same distance.

There is a high level of socio-economic inequality in the CCR area. Some respondents agreed, that it is necessary to think about the rural communities in advance (Director 3; Advisor 3; Councillor 1; Researcher 1), especially about young population, living in the hinterland, which is outside the CCR development area (Researcher 3; Researcher 2; Councillor 3). In addition, Councillor 3 raised the question of youth saying that ‘education is not in our brief now’, but there must be much more attention to schools. The GCC reports also recommends investing in ‘education, skills and

employability as the primary way in which individuals can access opportunities...' (GCC 2016, pp.30, 36). Besides the problem with youth, there is a problem with elderly people 'the county is becoming a dormitory for elderly people' (Councillor 3).

Among the other challenges, the respondents named such fields as social enterprises (Researcher 2), poverty agenda (Advisor 2; Councillor 1), sustainable development, and environment (Advisor 2; Researcher 3; Councillor 1; Researcher 1) as agendas which are felt to be marginalised during the current CCR development. Indeed, the City Deal – being the only currently running initiative – have economic development direction. Councillor 3 admits that 'we do not have an excuse for that', currently a lot of groups, which have an interest, are not involved neither in the City Deal neither in any other CCapR initiatives (if they exist). However, it does not mean that these issues, which are ignored currently will not be addressed shortly through other city deals, for instance.

Moreover, the GCC report also contains mentions and recommendations regarding issues such as sustainability or poverty. However, due to the CCR vital problems and 'time imperative' for the City Deal delivery (Councillor 3). It is doubtful that considering any other recommendations is possible in the near future.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

5.1. Key Findings to the Research Questions

5.1.1. How different stakeholders define the success of city-regional governance?

Apparently, it is very early days to make conclusions based on the case of the CCR. Currently, the CCR does not exist as an independent entity. There is the brand of the CCR – the CCapR, which framed the first City Deal. The City Deal aimed at establishing certain governmental arrangements. The City Deal governmental structure operates in collaboration with the Welsh and the UK governments. It is very complex, containing duplicating departments, which mostly lie within the economic domain. Nevertheless, there is an intention to use this structure for the whole CCapR govern and future City Deals.

There is no silver bullet for the governance structure. In terms of governance of the City Deal, it is hard unambiguously to determine what is the success of the city-regional governance as it is dependent on the chosen criteria. There are two approaches suggested by Advisor 2: ‘formal’ and ‘broader’. The formal one means achieving the economic targets of the City Deal – increasing the GVA by increasing the number of jobs and delivering METRO project. This will cause positive (as well as negative) externalities and work of agglomeration effects (Glaeser 2008), having more complex changes in the region. The broader approach is based on the sustainable development of the region by promoting environmental protection, social inclusiveness, etc. Both approaches are valid, though, for the different entities. The broader should be applied to the CCapR development, the narrow to the City Deal. Currently, there is no clear understanding of this difference.

5.1.2. What is perceived to be the main obstacle to the creation of the coherent city-regional governance?

Currently, we can witness the process of the transformation of the power from the central government down and from the LAs up to the sub-regional level. There is a number of obstacles, which have occurred during the governance structure shaping. First of all, there are difficulties with thinking beyond the interests of the particular LAs. All the counties are contributing to the deal pot. But it is hard to take the responsibilities for the whole region for the Joint Cabinet leaders. As a consequence, there is a public expectation of the LAs’ citizens who elect the councillors for the local needs.

Moreover, any transformation in governance structures demands trust between the partners, while there are historical tensions between Cardiff and its hinterland. However, some members

representing rural authorities have shown leadership. This might be better for the future redistribution of the regional prosperity.

A final obstacle occurred in the case of the City Deal is the narrow game, that political elites were playing, excluding different communities such as the National Park, small business, social groups, etc. Perhaps, those groups do not necessarily need to be involved in every deal (especially the current one), though, it must be announced clearly what is currently happening and ensured that the third parties could participate in the common development of the CCR.

5.1.3. What issues become part of the core agenda for city-regional governance and which tend to be marginalised?

The UK city-regionalism is an output of the neoliberal regime, which operates through the financial support of the particular projects – the deals. Therefore, the core agenda varies from one City Deal to another. At the same time, there must be a common core agenda of the city region, which, in the case of the CCapR has not appeared yet. There is a focus on the delivering the City Deal only. Nevertheless, there is a common understanding of what kind of the city region the participants want to have at the end. The wider perception is a balanced and sustainable place which wheris comfortable to live, where people are healthy, and where children have many opportunities.

Basically, everything that is not related to the economic development of the CCR is marginalised (social enterprises, poverty agenda, sustainability, etc.), as currently there is a focus on the City Deal only. Regarding the CCR, there are certain advantages such as tourism, environment and geography, which are, perceived as the core ones for the common development of the CCR.

In terms of rural-urban relationships, the contrasts are indeed very high: the landscape changes dramatically just with 10-15 miles from Cardiff. There is an understanding that rural communities must be involved in the CCR development process. However, nothing particular is fixed in the interviews or documentation.

5.2. Reflection on the City Regionalism

The globalisation processes have led to the transformation of the economic power across the world. Big cities have become the key nodes, concentrating the productive power and attracting population. It leads to the growth of the entities, called city regions. At the same time, the governance of such formations is required. As a result, transformations of the traditional

governance levels, new more flexible forms of government (soft-spaces) have developed, and the process of territorial identification, which is thinking beyond the interest of the local authorities. Such changes have been fixed in the CCR, but they must be common for any city region.

The agenda to achieve sustainable development, which is considered as possible through the development of the city region is more difficult than it might seem from the literature. The comprehensive development of the territory requires significant funding and administrative sources. In the case of the CCR, only one deal costs more than a -billion. Also involving a big number of the stakeholders, is the essential condition for comprehensive development. This is challenging as all the coalitions have (as we have seen in the CCR) different discourses. As we see in the case of Cardiff, it turned to opaque negotiations, this also may happen elsewhere. However, it is possible, gradually, 'deal by deal', to achieve a more complex approach. It is important to have a full picture of the territorial development 'in mind' and inform all the parties.

The changes are the real challenges for the local authority leaders as well as for the citizens. In any case, the region is becoming more united through the transport connectivity, planning policy, regional dimension projects, etc. The citizens get the new identity level as well. What effect will this have on the economy and social development? How will the usual way of life change? Will the rural communities disappear by the increased closeness to the economic core? These questions are still open; the current research could not give a particular notion about these issues.

5.3. Research Limitations

The first limitation is the 'interview access'. This includes the local authorities elections, provided during the research process. Due to this, the author had to wait two months for the meeting with the LA leader. Moreover, there was no certainty regarding the meeting itself: if the candidate lost, no interview would be provided. Moreover, access to the respondents was difficult due to the chosen research topic. The answers were supposed to get the opinion of the key informants, who are tend to be very busy and hardly accessible. The snowball approach helped a lot, but, sometimes, it was not enough for getting people. For instance, any attempt to get a present employee of the WG failed.

The last limitation, which is personal, is the author's English language level; therefore, reading the literature and transcribing the recordings took more time than expected.

5.4. Recommendations and Further Research

The first recommendation is to make the process of shaping the CCR identity, establishing any regional bodies, or choosing a brand as transparent as possible. It is important that the third parties know what is happening in their region and understands how they can be useful for its development. Currently, the process is very far from this. In terms of governance structure, it would be better to divide the responsibilities and roles clearly to avoid confusion amongst businesses, communities and other stakeholders. Finally, the current City Deal is a long-term project, and its benefits will take many years to become evident. The development of the CCR will take dozens of years. It might make sense to occasionally show people the short-term successes in order to gain the public's support.

Regarding the possible research topic, it is recommended that we think about the boundary question with the case of the CCR. There are indeed many LAs on such a small physical area. In addition, a lot of groups are not involved in the process which makes this topic interesting for consideration. Secondary, it is suggested to research the evolution of the rural areas, which became a part of the city regional development. What is happening in these territories? Are they degrading or remain unchanged? Perhaps, it would be interesting to compare the areas within the different city regions – young and old ones.

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Appendix A: The Thematic Matrix

Theme	Sub-theme	Discourse	Respondents
The current state of the CCR	What is the CCR?	It is an entity, which we know where is it	Councillor 3, p.1; Director 3, p.2
		(Cardiff Capital Region) It is a partnership; it is an umbrella brand	Advisor 4, p.1
		It is a good idea; there are good examples	Advisor 3, p.1
	The current process	Everything is stuck	Researcher 3, p.1
		The focus on development of the CD only (time imperative)	Councillor 3, p.1; Researcher 1; Researcher 2, p.1
		The CCR is the CD now	Councillor 3, p. 1; Advisor 2
		There is a confusion between the CCR and CD	Councillor 3, p.1
		The CD Committee has just agreed on the governance structure	Advisor 4, p.1
		Cannot really say/ not involved	Director 2, p.1; Advisor 1, p. 1; Advisor 2, p.1; Director 1, p.1; Councillor 2, p.1
		Lack of dissemination of information	Director 2, p.2; Advisor 2, p.2;
	What is the motivation/in interest/benefit in the CCR	Realisation that we need to work together to get better future	Councillor 3, pp.1-2
		Turn around economic activity	Councillor 3, p.2; Director 3, p. Director 1, pp.1-2
		Cardiff is growing; we need to think about the region	Councillor 2, p.2
		Good public transport	Advisor 1, p.1; Advisor 3, p.2
		Better connectivity with the market	Director 2, p.1
	The perception of the City Deal	The CCR is the opportunity for LAs	Councillor 3, p.1; Advisor 3, p.1; Director 1, p.1; Researcher 2, p.1
		It is the opportunity for business	Director 3, p.1; Director 1, p.2; Researcher 2
		It will accelerate the CCR/purpose for the CCR	Councillor 3, p.1; Director 3; Director 1, p.1; Researcher 1;
		It pushed out the responsibilities and ask for the return	Researcher 3, p.1
		Shiniest vision, far from reality	Director 3, p.3
		It must be focused on the region, not Cardiff	Councillor 3, pp.2-3
		Different people want different things from the deal	Councillor 3, p. 2
		It is identified with the CCR by mistake	Researcher 3, p.1; Councillor 3, p.1
		The CCR is much more than the CD	Director 3, p.4

Theme	Sub-theme	Discourse	Respondents
		The concept of the CD and the CCD is so much bigger than political agenda	Councillor 3, p.5
	Business involvement	The partners of the city deal do not seek partnership with business	Director 3, p.1
		Business have a great interest in the CCR	Director 2, p.1
		LAs have interest in business	Councillor 3, p.4; Director 2, p.1
	Critiques regarding the process	Information [about the CCR development] should be provided, widely disseminated	Director 2, p.2; Director 1, pp.1-2
Governance	The main obstacles for the governance	The big number of the LAs/ communication/ collaboration	Advisor 3; Director 2; Director 3, p.3; Advisor 2, p.2; Advisor 3, p.1; Councillor 1; Director 1; Researcher 1, p.1 Researcher 2, p.2; Councillor 2, p.3
		No regional body/regional authority/government structure/responsibilities	Councillor 1, p.1; Researcher 2, p.2 Councillor 2, p.3
		New people came after the elections	Councillor 3, p.3; Director 2, p.2
		Narrow game	Advisor 2, p.2; Researcher 2
		No full picture for the LAs/no consensus about the future	Researcher 3; Director 1, p.1
		Finance and resources – LAs have limited capacity	Councillor 3, p.6; Advisor 2
		Public expectations from the LAs	Councillor 3, p.6; Researcher 1, p.1; Councillor 2, p.4; Director 3
		Can we start thinking broader than the deal [the future of the CCR]?/Think strategically	Councillor 3, p.5; Advisor 3, p.2
		Thinking about the region, not only about the interest of the LAs	Councillor 3, p.5; Advisor 3, p.2; Researcher 1; Councillor 2, p.2
		A risk that LAs can absorb money for the quick wins – not sustainable investments	Councillor 2, p.2; Councillor 3, p.2
		Risk that Cardiff gets more benefits	Councillor 3, p.2; Researcher 1, p.2 Councillor 2, p.1
	What is necessary for	There is no a silver bullet	Director 3, p.1; Director 1, p.1; Researcher 3, p.2; Researcher 1, p.2

Theme	Sub-theme	Discourse	Respondents
	the governance	There is already a big step made – sit around the table	Researcher 3; Researcher 2, p.1; Director 2, pp.1-2
		Trust built between the authorities/how well they collaborate	Councillor 3, p.4; Advisor 3, p.2; Researcher 1
	City regional governance body	It will be similar to LEP (business, universities, social enterprises, local government)	Councillor 3, p.4
		The CD have got their governance	Advisor 4, p.1
		It is a bit too early days to comment whether it will be effective or not	Advisor 4, p.1
		Must involve business, universities, social enterprises, local government.	Director 3; Advisor 2, p.2
	The role of the UK government in the CCR development and the CD	The city deal needs funding/ co-founder of electrification	Director 2; Researcher 3; Advisor 2; Councillor 1, p.1 Researcher 1, p.1; Researcher 2
		Wales is dependent on the Westminster decisions	Advisor 1, p.2; Councillor 1, p.1
		The UK government uses the CD as a Trojan Horse for the devolution	Advisor 2, p.1
		UK government is hands-off now	Researcher 2, p.2
		Create CD agenda	Director 3; Researcher 2, p.2
	The role of the WG in the CCR development and the CD	The WG has a resistance to the combined authority	Councillor 3, p.4; Researcher 3, p.1
		The WG needs to coordinate the investments (METRO particularly)	Councillor 1, p.1
		The CD initiative went from the UK government, so the WG did not participate	Councillor 1, p.1
		The WG drives the process of the CCR/brought LAs together	Director 1, p.1; Researcher 2, p.2
		WG works very close – co-founder (IQE...)	Councillor 3, p.5; Advisor 2, p.2; Researcher 1, p.1; Advisor 4, p.1
		WH is hands-off now	Researcher 2, p.2
		Pushed down the difficult decisions	Councillor 2, p.2; Researcher 3
		WG makes the vision for the region	Director 3, p.1
		WG provides advises (e.g. that there are no duplications)	Advisor 4, p.1

Theme	Sub-theme	Discourse	Respondents
Challenges	METRO project	It provided legislative framework	Advisor 3, p.1
		Will make easier movement	Director 1; Councillor 2, p.2
		Loose of workers by METRO	Researcher 1, p.1
		Without METRO there would be harder to have conversations around CD	Advisor 3, p.1
	The future of the rural-urban relationships	Risky for valleys	Researcher 1, p.2
		People will stay in the valleys, there will be no changes	Advisor 3, p.3; Advisor 1; Director 1, p.2
		Cardiff can lose people, not valleys	Councillor 3, p.7
	Agendas, are tend to be marginalised	Rural communities/ Their decline	Director 3; Councillor 1; Researcher 1, p.2
		Sustainable development/Environment	Advisor 2, p.3; Researcher 3; Councillor 1, p.3; Researcher 1, p.2
		Communities' involvement	Researcher 2; Researcher 3
		Young people are not involved	Councillor 3; Researcher 3; Director 3
		Food provision	Researcher 2, p.3
		Social enterprises	Researcher 2, p.3
		Social justice, poverty agenda	Advisor 2; Councillor 1, p.3
		Economic growth partnership – will be limited	Councillor 3, p.7
		Growth area in: medical science, advances technologies, life science, creative industries/skilled area	Councillor 3, p.3; Councillor 1; Researcher 1, p.2; Advisor 4, p.2
		We need better airport to compete	Researcher 3; Director 1, p.3
		Life-balanced city	Director 2; Councillor 1p. 2; Councillor 2, p.3
		Good location – access to the other parts of the country	Director 2, p.2
		Unique geography	Researcher 2, p.3 Advisor 3, p.3
		Tourism/Leisure	Researcher 2, p.3; Advisor 3, p.3 Advisor 4, p.2
		Cardiff do not need to compete	Researcher 3, p.3; Councillor 2, p.3
	Success of the CCR	Formal approach: GVA/ Successful delivering the CD	Councillor 3,p.6; Director 2,p.2 Researcher 3,p.2; Advisor 2; Advisor 3, p.1; Councillor

Theme	Sub-theme	Discourse	Respondents
			1, p.2; Director 1, p.2; Researcher 1, p.2; Researcher 2, p.2
		Broader view – sustainability, social justice, ecologic issues, etc.	Advisor 2, p.1
		Better connectivity, less dependent on public transport	Director 3, p.2; Advisor 1, p.1; Advisor 3, p.1
		The healthier and wealthier future for our children	Director 3, p.3; Researcher 3, p.3; Councillor 2, p.3
	The direction of the CCR development	At the end we want to create the balanced sustainable life here in the whole region	Councillor 3, p.3
		Concentration on economy	Researcher 3, p.2; Councillor 1, p.2; Councillor 3, p.1; Researcher 1, p.2
		Right direction	Director 3
		Comprehensive	Advisor 3, p.2
		Very early days	Advisor 2, p.2; Director 1, p.2 Researcher 2, p.2; Director 3, p.2; Advisor 4, p.2, Councillor 3, pp.4-5