



# **BENCHMARKING DUBLIN: DIALOGUE ON DUBLIN'S POSITION IN THE WORLD CITY NETWORK**

## **REPORT**

*to the*

**Office of International Relations and Research  
DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL**

Loughborough, United Kingdom, February 2010

*This is a*

Report by the Globalization and World Cities (*GaWC*)  
Research Network

*on the*

Workshop at the Wood Quay Venue  
Civic Offices, Dublin  
on January 25<sup>th</sup> 2010

*to the*

Office of International Relations and Research –  
Dublin City Council

*entitled*

Benchmarking Dublin: dialogue on  
Dublin's position in the World City Network

*presented by*

Peter Taylor (Loughborough University, UK)  
Ben Derudder (University of Ghent, Belgium)  
Michael Hoyler (Loughborough University, UK)

## PURPOSE AND PARTICIPANTS

The **basic purpose** of the Workshop was to bring together a leading academic think tank on global cities, **GaWC** ([www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc](http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc)), and the international research arm of Dublin City Council to explore synergies between the distinctive understanding of cities offered by **GaWC** and the identified need of the city of Dublin for collaboration and networking with other cities across the world.

The means of achieving this purpose was an **intensive, interactive exchange of ideas** between **GaWC** network presenters and approximately 30 workshop participants in the fields of politics, business, public sector, tourism, education and community invited by Dublin City Council. The workshop took the form of a **dialogue for exploring the challenges Dublin faces in terms of its status as a world city**: how it ‘brands’ and positions itself globally.

Participants in the Workshop were divided into table groups of c.10 people to facilitate discussion and debate. In the discussions **GaWC** presenters were on hand to clarify ideas and facilitate exchange at tables but not to lead the arguments. In this dialogue **GaWC’s** “leadership” of ideas comes through the presentations.

# CONTENTS

Workshop programme .....	5
Structure of the Report.....	6
Context of the dialogue.....	7
Initial table work: Where is Dublin? Who are Dublin’s peers? .....	11
<b>The GaWC perspective on cities in globalization .....</b>	<b>13</b>
(i) Basic ideas: the importance of inter-city relations .....	13
(ii) Table work on the launch of the euro and Frankfurt-London ‘rivalry’ ..	14
(iii) Lessons learned .....	16
<b>How cities relate to each other .....</b>	<b>18</b>
(i) Practical guide to measuring connectivity.....	18
(ii) Table work on basic example .....	21
<b>World city network results for 2008 .....</b>	<b>22</b>
(i) Presentation of results: overall and by sectors .....	24
(ii) Table work: discussion of connectivities.....	24
(iii) Table work: where is Dublin in world city networks?.....	28
<b>Who are Dublin’s peers? .....</b>	<b>30</b>
(i) Connectivities.....	30
(ii) Sector profiles .....	31
(iii) Hinterworlds.....	31
<b>Benchmarking results for Dublin .....</b>	<b>34</b>
(i) 26 qualifying cities, 13 qualifying cities.....	34
(ii) Final table work: benchmarking discussion .....	34
(iii) GaWC recommendations.....	35

## WORKSHOP PROGRAMME

The one-day programme started at the more general level and ended on the very specific identification of Dublin's peer cities in globalization. The time was split relatively evenly between presentations by members of the **GaWC** team drawing on their worldwide experience and expertise, and table work by Dublin invitees bringing local knowledge of their city and its needs to the dialogue and discussion. **GaWC** team members helped each table in the process of bringing these 'global' and 'local' knowledges together in a productive synthesis.

10.30	<i>Registration</i>	
11.00	<b>The importance of the international dimension for Dublin and Ireland</b>	<i>John Tierney (Dublin City Manager)</i>
11.15	<b>Context of the dialogue</b>	<i>Peter Taylor</i>
11.30	<b>Where is Dublin? Who are Dublin's peers?</b>	<i>Ben Derudder</i>
12.00	<b>The GaWC perspective on cities in globalization</b>	<i>Peter Taylor</i>
12.30	<b>How cities relate to each other</b>	<i>Michael Hoyler</i>
13.00	<i>Lunch</i>	
14.00	<b>GaWC results for the world city network in 2008</b>	<i>Ben Derudder</i>
14.30	<b>Where is Dublin in the world city network?</b>	<i>Michael Hoyler</i>
15.00	<i>Break</i>	
15.15	<b>Who are Dublin's peers? Benchmarking results</b>	<i>Peter Taylor</i>
16.00	<b>Closing remarks</b>	<i>Peter Finnegan (Director of International Relations and Research)</i>

## STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

This report is built around the PowerPoint presentations used in the Workshop. All slides used in the Workshop are reproduced here to provide a precise record of activities. A short introductory text will indicate how each contributed to the larger whole that was the Workshop.

The activities of the Workshop fell into two categories:

1. Presentations by members of the **GaWC** team drawing on their worldwide knowledge of global cities customised for the Dublin audience. Each is presented here with a short introductory text indicating its contribution to the larger whole that was the Workshop.
2. Discussion and debate – **'table work'** – in small groups on the themes derived from the presentations. For this activity we present summaries of the results of the discussion and debate.

## CONTEXT OF THE DIALOGUE

Three key points readily encapsulate the nature of the workshop.

### 1. *Benchmarking and the complexity of cities*

The purpose of the workshop was to aid Dublin in finding peer cities against which it can be benchmarked. Benchmarking was originally devised to assess individual companies or sections of companies by comparing them to other companies with similar functions. But cities are much more complex entities than companies thus rendering city benchmarking a more difficult exercise. Therefore although we can compare Dublin with other cities, we cannot expect to find examples that are similar to Dublin in all or even most respects. Rather several cities are likely to be found that are similar in specific ways so that between them they might cover many of the features that make Dublin the city it is.

Once this inherent complexity of cities is recognized, there are two countervailing effects we have to take into account when comparing cities. First, we need to marshal a lot of evidence to provide robust results. Second, we need to be clearly directed at relevant strategic elements of city complexity. Thus the workshop will be strongly evidence-based using the latest data targeting the key institutions that are building city economies in contemporary globalization.

### 2. *The need to think globally*

Globalization is the term used to describe the new larger scale of human activities that became apparent in the 1980s and 1990s. We will be concerned with economic globalization, whereby a more interconnected world was created by large corporations, initially called 'multinational', latterly 'global'. The work of these global corporations transcends individual countries to create what is now termed the 'global economy'. Thus national economies have become increasingly subject to economic globalization, restricting the traditional autonomy of national governments. It is in this context that Dublin's function as the capital city of a small-medium European country remains important, but the city's future lies in its economic functions within a globalising world economy.

This globalising is an additional layer of complexity that affects all contemporary cities. This means that city policymaking has to take into account the existence of a world city network as the urban expression of globalization. It is no longer sufficient to base city policy on Dublin's position as the predominant city in Ireland; rather policy makers must look to the position of Dublin in the world city network.

## *The Globalization and World Cities (GaWC) Research Network*

GaWC is the leading academic thinktank on cities in globalization. It operates as a worldwide network of urban researchers with key nodes at Loughborough (UK), Ghent, Beijing and Washington, DC. Collaboration is organized through its renowned website ([www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc](http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc)). Its prime concern is the measurement of inter-city relations that constitute the contemporary world city network. This research indicates the importance of any given city – how well integrated it is into the network – and as such has attracted attention from urban policymakers worldwide. The most intensive use of the GaWC approach has been in Milan where a company, Globus et Locus, has been set up to promote ‘Global Milan’. The largest workshop so far has been in Abu Dhabi where GaWC has been advising the Abu Dhabi Council for Economic Development (ADCED). In the UK GaWC has done one Report for the City of London and has researched the Core Cities group. GaWC research has also informed the UK Treasury fourth economic test for entry into Economic and Monetary Union (on the UK financial services industry and the City’s wholesale markets). We were employed by the New South Wales government for input into last year’s Metropolis conference resulting in our prominence in the current “State of Australian Cities 2010” report. The latest interest comes from from Las Vegas and we are currently planning an intensive study of the Chinese city of Qingdao in collaboration with their city authorities.

The evidence used in this workshop derives from collaboration between the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS) in Beijing and GaWC researchers at Loughborough University (UK) and Ghent University (Belgium). The resulting database was created in 2008 and is the largest set of information ever collected on how globalizing firms use cities for their business. Applying GaWC’s signature model (the interlocking network analysis described below) to this data enables us to evaluate cities in globalization so that Dublin can be directly compared to hundreds of other cities worldwide.

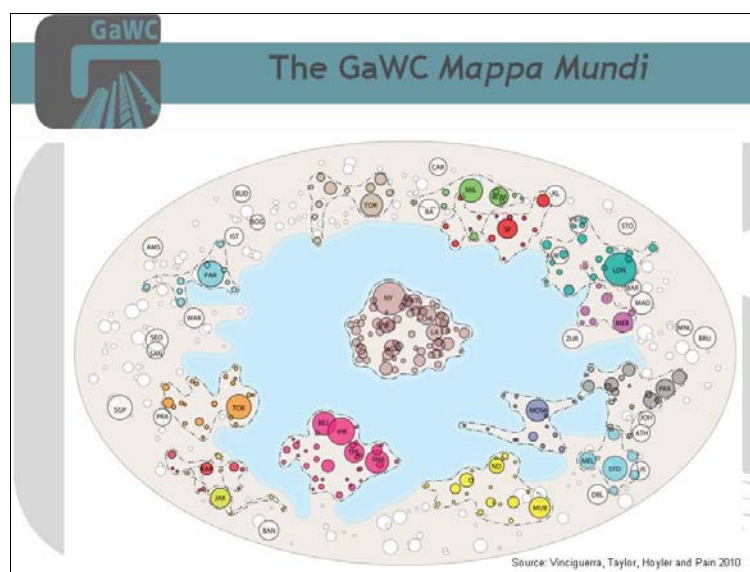
In order to start the workshop in an upbeat manner a diagram from one of GaWC’s latest publications was presented showing an unusual image of the world wherein US cities appear as an ‘island’ centre of globalization. This figure was derived from a network analysis of the same data used in the benchmarking below. It is of interest because it highlights American exceptionalism in world city networks, a feature that will be relevant in later consideration of cities for Dublin benchmarking.



### 3. The dialogue

The analyses reported below focus upon Dublin's position in the world city network. In other words we have customised GaWC knowledge for this workshop. Hence what GaWC brings to the dialogue is deep knowledge of the global with some less knowledge of the local (i.e. Dublin city).

The workshop participants, on the other hand, have deep knowledge of Dublin with some less knowledge of the global (i.e. the world city network). The purpose of the dialogue is to blend these two knowledges in a collaborative conversation on benchmarking Dublin in the world city network.



Introduction to the workshop

**Purpose**

- Benchmarking: identification of peers
- Empirical emphasis: city comparisons

**Thinking globally**

- Globalization
- World city network

This slide is titled 'Introduction to the workshop'. It features a GaWC logo in the top left corner. The background of the slide shows a perspective view of a modern building's facade with many windows. The slide lists the purpose and key themes of the workshop.



## Introduction to the workshop

**Who are GaWC? ([www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc](http://www.lboro.ac.uk/gawc))**

- Worldwide research network
- Focus on relations between cities

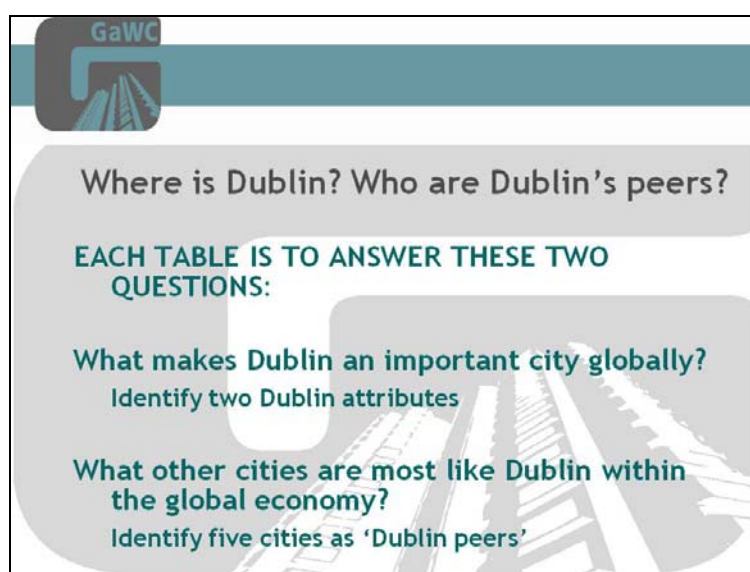
**Nature of the workshop**

- Customized GaWC knowledge
- Collaborative exercise with local knowledge

## INITIAL TABLE WORK: WHERE IS DUBLIN? WHO ARE DUBLIN'S PEERS?

The dialogue began by inviting participants to share their perspective and understanding of Dublin in the world city network. There were two elements to the table-work: first, identifying attributes of Dublin that make the city important globally, and second, identifying other cities that are considered to be economically similar to Dublin. In other words this is the first step towards benchmarking Dublin.

The specific instructions are shown in the following slides.



The slide features a teal header with the GaWC logo. Below the header, the title 'Where is Dublin? Who are Dublin's peers?' is displayed in a grey box. The main content area contains two questions in teal text, each with a corresponding instruction in a smaller font. The background of the slide shows a stylized image of a city street with a road leading into the distance.

**Where is Dublin? Who are Dublin's peers?**

**EACH TABLE IS TO ANSWER THESE TWO QUESTIONS:**

**What makes Dublin an important city globally?**  
Identify two Dublin attributes

**What other cities are most like Dublin within the global economy?**  
Identify five cities as 'Dublin peers'

The results of this exercise were as follows.

### 1. *Dublin's key attributes*

Two attributes were agreed upon as important: first, the people, their skills and openness to new ideas coupled with links to a worldwide diaspora, and second, the government's pro-business policies. Participants also referred to the 'ideal combination' of being in an English-speaking country in the Euro-zone. The scale of the city (liveable compared to London?) and its international reputation for tourism and culture were also mentioned.

These are all relevant attributes but in the subsequent discussion we emphasize the first topic with a somewhat different, and more economic, interpretation.

## 2. Initial identification of Dublin's peers

15 cities were identified. They fall into four groups:

- (i) Continental European cities dominate with 7 cities identified. **Amsterdam** and **Barcelona** are selected 4 times, **Copenhagen** 3 times, **Helsinki** twice, and **Valencia**, **Stockholm** and **Geneva** once
- (ii) Three UK cities are identified: **Manchester** and **Edinburgh** are selected twice and **London** once.
- (iii) From English-speaking Commonwealth countries there are three cities: **Vancouver** twice and **Auckland** and **Melbourne** once.
- (iv) Other cities mentioned once are **Tel Aviv** and **Singapore**.

(Note. The reason for there being no US cities mentioned relates to part of the introduction that referred to American exceptionalism in the world city network. US cities in globalization are distinctive and different and therefore are not strictly comparable with other cities in the world city network. Thus these cities are not suitable candidates for benchmarking Dublin. This does not mean US cities are not important to Dublin but only that they are not relevant for this particular exercise.)

The result of this first benchmarking exercise is interesting for its privileging of north European capital cities (plus Barcelona where Dublin has existing links) and its focus on middle-sized cities (London and Singapore are exceptions. The relative omission of neighbouring UK cities is also noteworthy although the focus beyond Europe does privilege Commonwealth cities. All these informal criteria make sense as subsequent analysis will show.

# THE GaWC PERSPECTIVE ON CITIES IN GLOBALIZATION

This section of the workshop had two parts: firstly, a presentation of a more specific description of the GaWC approach to cities in terms of city competition versus city cooperation, and secondly, table-work to illustrate the importance of the latter.

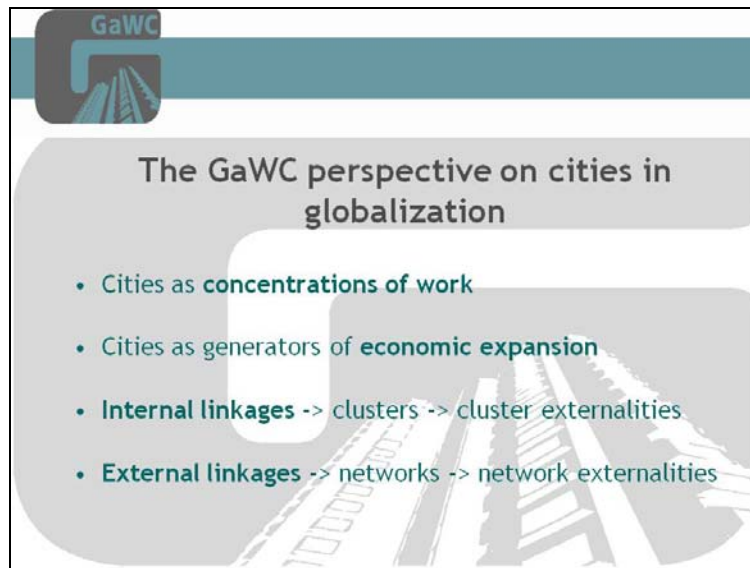
## (i) Basic ideas: the importance of inter-city relations

The basic starting point of the GaWC approach is to treat cities as concentrations of work. Thus the initial question asked of a city is what work is done in this place. In other words you understand a city by the work that is done within it.

The basic premise of the GaWC approach follows the groundbreaking work of Jane Jacobs on how city economies work. The key point is that cities are where economic expansion occurs. In other words the strategic entities for understanding economic growth are actual city economies rather than their cumbersome amalgam in political states.

Economic expansion derives from two sets of linkages in city economies. First, there are internal linkages within knowledge-rich economic clusters that typify all successful cities. Second, there are external linkages with other cities through which knowledge is also generated; successful cities are always members of vibrant city networks. Both of these linkages can be interpreted as externalities, advantages to businesses located in cities outside the usual market structures. Thus economic expansion derives from a combination of cluster and network externalities.

Arguably, with cities in globalization, at the present time the importance of external linkages has been enhanced. This is especially exemplified by the advanced producer services sector, where financial, professional and creative service firms are now global in scope. These are firms that provide specialized and customized services for other global corporations in sectors such as law and advertising. In the last few decades they have had to set up worldwide office networks in response to their corporate clients 'going global'. These are the business firms housed in the huge office tower blocks (with associated enabling infrastructures) that dominate world city skylines. Although not always themselves the largest global corporations, they are particularly indicative of where the action is: places of rapid economic growth require these firms to facilitate and augment this growth. In other words, advanced producer service firms are found at the cutting edge of a globalizing world economy. Our focus will be on these firms and their office networks across the world



**(ii) Table work on the launch of the euro and Frankfurt-London ‘rivalry’**

Focusing on the world city network produces one important corollary: we should expect cities to show more evidence of inter-city cooperation than inter-city competition. This is because, despite the large literature on city competition, networks are inherently cooperative in their functioning: without mutuality networks will simply dissipate.

To develop this idea we use a case study from an early project on relations between London and Frankfurt at the time of the launching of the euro. There were numerous assumptions that with the UK (and therefore London) operating outside the Eurozone, and with Frankfurt housing the new European Central Bank, the latter city was primed to overtake London as Europe’s leading financial centre. Today we know that this did not happen. Participants were invited to consider why this was the case.



The participants' answers to this question revolved around two related differences between Frankfurt and London.

1. The simple difference in scale between the two cities: London is not just bigger demographically but also has a broader, all-round city economy compared to Frankfurt. Financial centres are not stand alone activities but are integrated into many other city functions.
2. London has a long history of being a leading international financial centre so that its functioning and needs are embedded in London's fabric. Frankfurt was not structurally capable of displacing London.

Put simply, even important decisions such as locating the new central bank cannot disrupt established economic practices that are part of the complexity that makes cities.



### The GaWC perspective on cities in globalization

Here is a classic example of how inter-city relations have been typically viewed

Before the euro was launched there was a location decision to be made: where was the European Central Bank to be located? London was Europe's main financial centre but the UK was to be outside 'Euroland'. In the European Council the German government were successful in securing the ECB for Frankfurt.

Contemporary interpretation of this decision was that it would boost Frankfurt in its competition with London as a financial centre with predictions of it overtaking London sooner rather than later

A decade on and we know nothing like this scenario has occurred: London remains Europe's premier international financial centre

Each table will consider this story and suggest reasons why commentators got it so wrong at the time.



Wie lange stehen diese Türme noch in Frankfurt?

Lesen Sie diese Woche alles über die Zukunft Frankfurts. Die große Analyse über fünf Tage. Täglich in der Financial Times Deutschland. Was wurde richtig gemacht, was falsch? Wie steht die Stadt im internationalen Vergleich da?

Die große Serie: Deutschlands Metropolen im Zukunfts-Check.

**Jetzt in der Financial Times Deutschland.**

Source: FTD 27.11.2000

### (iii) Lessons learned

The participants' answers were quite valid but there was another very important lesson that GaWC researchers took from this inter-city case study. Funded by the Anglo-German Foundation, in 2000 we interviewed executives from 26 firms (in banking, law, advertising, management consultancy and accountancy) in London and 23 in Frankfurt, plus representatives of 18 relevant institutions in London and 8 in Frankfurt. We explored with them the effects of the launching of the euro on the two cities but more generally we found that the study informed the debate between competition and cooperation as inter-city relations. Basically our results showed that although the politicians and media had framed the relations as competition, the business service firms we studied saw only cooperation. Nearly all firms had offices in both cities and therefore wanted both cities to be successful. They used the two cities in different ways – London for 'global work', Frankfurt for 'European work' – in other words, that were complementary. Quite simply, as one respondent put it, "What is good for London is good for Frankfurt and vice versa". This is the mutuality of networks. There may be inter-city rivalry between cities within countries for government largesse to climb national urban hierarchies, but this is not contemporary globalization.

The key point is that the 'networkers' who 'interlock' cities through their routine work are firms located in numerous cities, in particular advanced producer service firms. It is these corporations and not national governments that are directly responsible for the emergence of a world city network. This is why we study the behaviour of firms – specifically their location decisions – to understand how cities are connected in networks. In other words: firms are the subjects of GaWC research but cities are the object.


**GaWC**

**The GaWC perspective on cities in globalization**

**Lessons from the 2001 London-Frankfurt GaWC project**

1. On inter-city competition versus cooperation
2. National city hierarchy versus world city network
3. Who are the network makers? Governments or corporations?
4. We study the work of corporations in cities in order to understand cities in globalization





The GaWC perspective on cities in globalization

Firms are the subject of study;  
cities are the object of study

What firms are doing what work in Dublin as a node of the world city network?

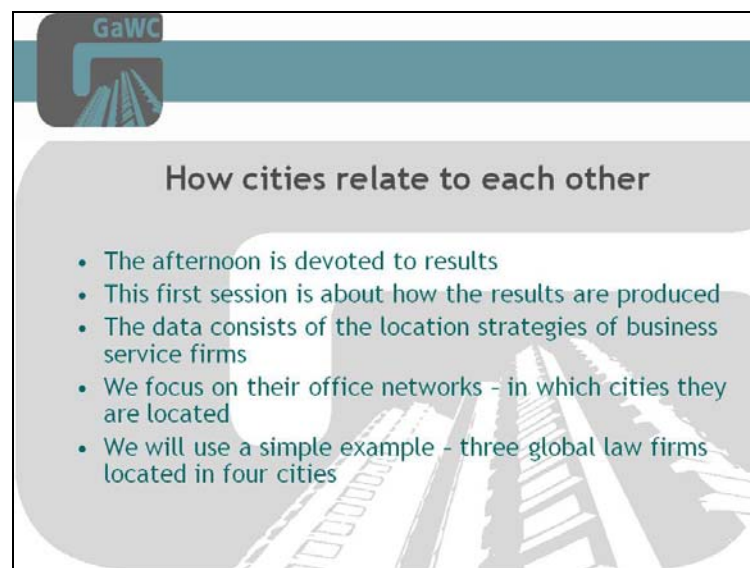
# HOW CITIES RELATE TO EACH OTHER

## (i) Practical guide to measuring connectivity

It was important that participants in the workshop had a basic knowledge of how the GaWC results are produced. The results are about network connectivity, a measure that describes how well a city is integrated into the world city network.

Basically our measure is an aggregation of firms' office networks. Leading business service firms are very proud of their 'globality' and tend to flaunt it on their websites. We use this information to find out how each firm uses each city for its work purposes. We have made up a simple example of three law firms with office networks covering just four cities. At such a small scale diagrams can be drawn to show all the possible intra-firm links between law partners. We refer to these as potential working flows; they can be enacted as and when necessary for carrying out an inter-jurisdictional legal service. The sum of these links between cities constitutes their inter-city relation; the overall sum of links to/from a city defines the measure of a city's network connectivity.

This is a very basic measure of network connectivity and is derived solely from intra-firm links. There are, of course, connections *between* service firms that can be important for inter-city relations but we deal only with links within firms for two reasons. The first is pragmatic: we need to collect a lot of data at the global scale and this is only feasible on a reasonable budget if we limit the data collection to intra-firm patterns that can be easily gleaned from websites. Second and more important, the firms we deal with have their global brands to protect and therefore strive to supply a seamless service to their clients. This is the reason they have developed worldwide office networks; to go to an outside service supplier is to lose quality control.



The slide features a teal header with the GaWC logo and the title 'How cities relate to each other'. Below the title is a list of five bullet points. The background of the slide shows a perspective view of a city street with buildings and a road.

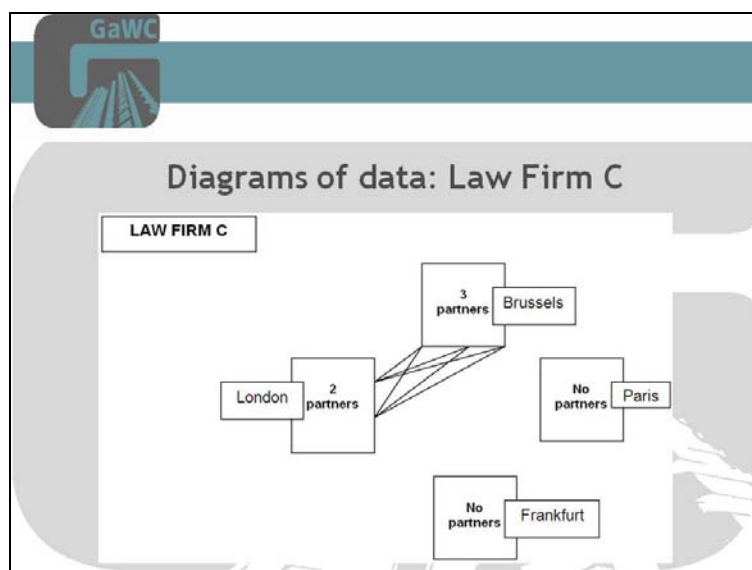
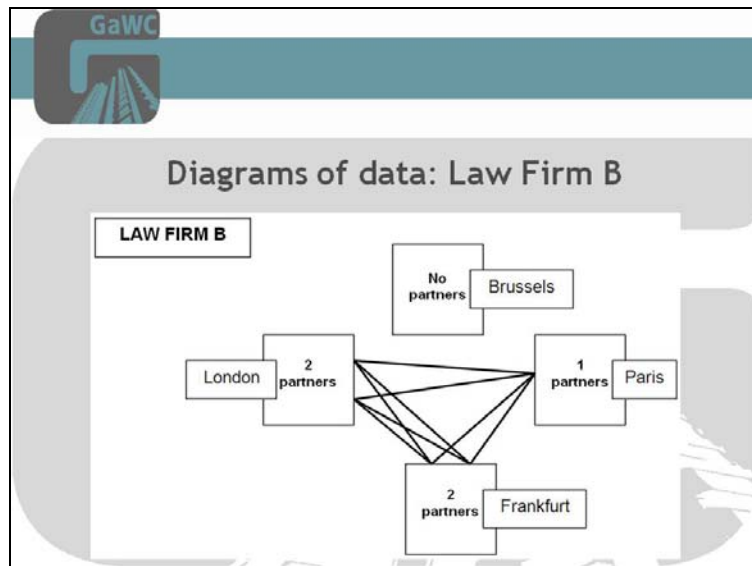
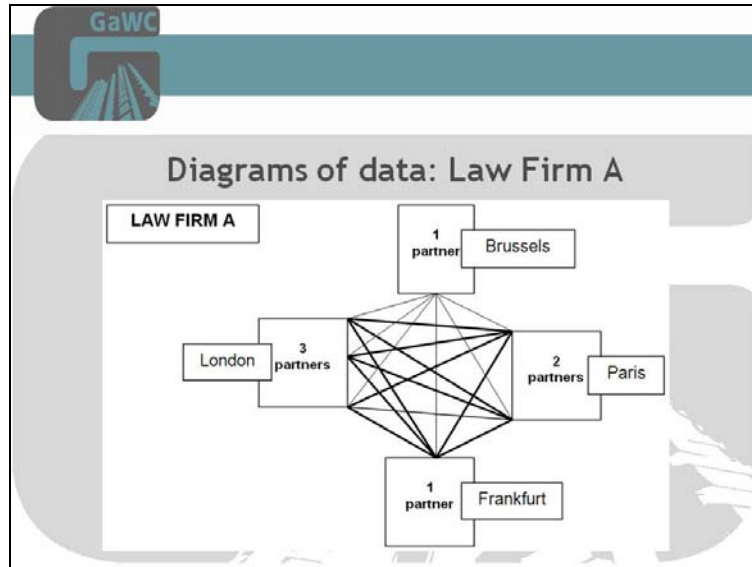
- The afternoon is devoted to results
- This first session is about how the results are produced
- The data consists of the location strategies of business service firms
- We focus on their office networks - in which cities they are located
- We will use a simple example - three global law firms located in four cities



**GaWC**

### Listing of data

City	Number of partners:		
	Law firm A	Law firm B	Law firm C
London	3	2	2
Paris	2	1	0
Frankfurt	1	2	0
Brussels	1	0	3




## (ii) Table work on basic example

Participants were asked to count up links and thereby find the connectivity of each of the four cities.

These measures of connectivity were compared with nodal size (the number of partners in each city) and subtle differences were discerned. Although London ranks first in each case, the other cities vary in their rankings: for nodal size Brussels is 2<sup>nd</sup> with Frankfurt and Paris equal 3<sup>rd</sup>; for connectivity Paris is 2<sup>nd</sup> and Brussels and Frankfurt are equal 3<sup>rd</sup>. This is because connectivity is not just about work in the city but also incorporates work linking cities.

Finally the connectivity results were presented as proportions or percentages of the first ranked city's connectivity. This is the way we always present the results so that comparisons can be easily made across different networks of different sizes.




### How to measure the importance of cities through their service provision

The usual way of assessing the importance of a city is to measure the size of the service provided  
*In this case this means counting the number of partners in each city - we will call this **nodal size***

A more sophisticated way is to look at the quantity of connections with other cities  
*In this case this means counting the number of possible intra-firm links to/from a city - we will call this **network connectivity***

WILL EACH TABLE COUNT UP PARTNERS AND LINKS TO PROVIDE MEASURES OF THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF THE FOUR CITIES



### These are the results you should have found:

City	Partners	Possible working links	
	Total (nodal size)	Total (connectivity)	% of highest
London	7	24	100
Paris	3	14	58
Frankfurt	3	12	50
Brussels	4	12	50

## WORLD CITY NETWORK RESULTS FOR 2008

In order to reinforce understanding of the connectivity we use for the final benchmarking, the basic results from the latest world city network analysis are presented. This is based upon data on the office networks of 175 service firms across 526 cities. The firms were selected from 5 key sectors: financial services, accountancy, advertising, law and management consultancy. For each sector we used rankings from relevant trade sources to find the top 75 financial services firms, and the top 25 firms in the other four services. For each of the 175 firms we investigated their use of 526 cities selected on the basis of our previous studies. Estimates of the work done in each city are coded from 0 (for cities where there is no office) to 5 (indicating the city housing a firm's headquarters). Rules were used to allocate other scores; basically 2 represents a typical office of a firm, 1 is given for a small office with limited services, 3 is for a particularly large office, and a score of 4 indicates an office with responsibilities beyond the city (e.g. housing a regional headquarters). These scores are used in the same way as law partners in the simple case study to derive potential working flows. The result is a huge 175 x 526 matrix of 0s, 1s, 2s, 3s, 4s, and 5s. A slide is provided showing a small portion of this matrix for 2008.

The best way of interpreting this data is as follows:

1. Each column of the matrix represents a firm's locational strategy – the collection of cities where it has offices (non-zeroes) and the variations of work carried out in those offices (1s, 2s, 3s, 4s, and 5s)
2. Each row of the matrix represents the advanced producer services mix available to firms doing business in that city – obviously London will have a richer mix of more important offices than, say, Manchester.

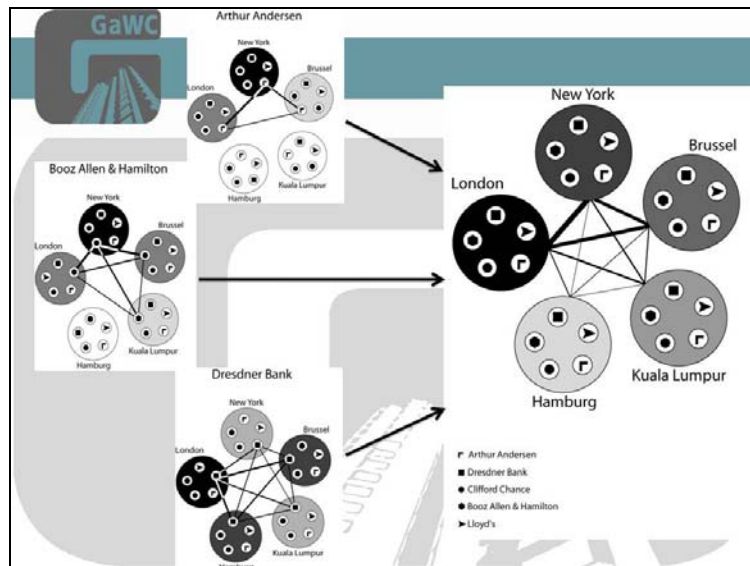
Note that the 2008 matrix is identical in structure to the simple made up law example, but is much larger in size. The law matrix contained 12 pieces of information (3 x 4) whereas the 2008 data matrix consists of 92,050 pieces of information (175 x 526).



**GaWC**


## Introduction to GaWC results

- We focus on **network connectivity** as a measure of the integration of a city into the world city network
- The difference from the worked example is, of course, **quantity of data**: we investigate the office networks of large numbers of advance producer firms (in financial services, accountancy, advertizing, law, and management consultancy) across many cities worldwide.
- Our results derive from **aggregating many office networks to create a world city network**. We have carried out such aggregation on three occasions although we will concentrate on the latest results



**GaWC**

Data: size of matrix	Coding of city offices
<b>2000:</b> 100 firms in 315 cities (31,500 pieces of information)	5 - headquarter location 4 - important office with extra-city functions 3 - an exceptionally large office 2 - a typical office of the firm 1 - a particularly small office 0 - no office (i.e. no presence in the city)
<b>2004:</b> 80 firms in 315 cities (25,200 pieces of information)	
<b>2008:</b> 175 firms in 526 cities (92,050 pieces of information)	



Small segment of the 2008 matrix of 175 firms x 526 cities

City	Citigroup	Bank of America	HSBC Holdings	JPMorgan Chase	American Intl Group	UBS	ING Group	Royal Bank of Scotland
Douala	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dresden	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dubai	0	0	2	0	2	3	3	4
<b>Dublin</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>
Duisburg	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Durban	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dushanbe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Dusseldorf	2	0	4	0	0	2	2	0
Edinburgh	0	0	3	0	0	2	2	5

### (i) Presentation of results: overall and by sectors

Specimen results were displayed for discussion at each table. These consisted of the top 20 cities for overall connectivity (175 firms) and for each sector – financial services (75 firms) and accountancy, advertising, law and management consultancy (25 firms each).

### (ii) Table work: discussion of connectivities


Table work consisted of identifying results that seemed to be obvious and results that were somewhat surprising. The upper echelons of all the rankings seemed to be the least surprising, most notably the dominance of New York and London.

Surprising results tended to focus on European cities and ‘third world’ cities. Here are the cities that had more than one mention for being a ‘surprise’.

- For the **overall results** the most surprising inclusion was deemed to be Warsaw in 19<sup>th</sup> place plus Milan in 10<sup>th</sup> place
- For **financial services** Milan is again seen to be surprisingly high at 12<sup>th</sup>, Frankfurt surprises at 14<sup>th</sup> and Sydney surprises at 7<sup>th</sup>
- For **accountancy** the most surprising results were for Buenos Aires ranked 8<sup>th</sup>, plus Milan ranked 5<sup>th</sup>, Tel Aviv ranked 12<sup>th</sup> and Jakarta ranked 14<sup>th</sup>
- For **advertising** the surprises were Warsaw ranked 9<sup>th</sup>, Athens ranked 15<sup>th</sup> and Madrid ranked 20<sup>th</sup>
- For **law** the surprises were for Budapest in 20<sup>th</sup> place, Dusseldorf in 19<sup>th</sup> place and Singapore in 17<sup>th</sup> place
- For **management consultancy** the surprises were for Mexico City in 15<sup>th</sup> place, Milan in 20<sup>th</sup> place and Rome in 14<sup>th</sup> place




The general pattern of these results is quite straightforward: positions of US and Pacific Asian cities are accepted but doubt is expressed for the significance of European (eastern and southern only) and Latin American cities. What this exercise suggests is that participants have a distinctive geographical bias for estimating the importance of cities as service centres in the world city network.



### Results for discussion


- We present the latest results (2008)
- We focus on the leading cities and show top twenty rankings
- The first listing shows 'global network connectivity' using all 175 firms
- The remaining listings show results for different sectors: 75 firms for financial services, and 25 firms each for accountancy, advertizing, law and management consultancy

EACH TABLE SHOULD IDENTIFY MOST EXPECTED AND LEAST EXPECTED RESULTS FOR EACH OF THESE LISTINGS




### Global network connectivities

Rank	City	GNC	Rank	City	GNC
1	New York	1.00	11	Madrid	0.66
2	London	0.99	12	Seoul	0.64
3	Hong Kong	0.82	13	Moscow	0.63
4	Paris	0.76	14	Toronto	0.63
5	Singapore	0.73	15	Brussels	0.63
6	Tokyo	0.72	16	Mumbai	0.61
7	Sydney	0.72	17	Buenos Aires	0.61
8	Beijing	0.70	18	Kuala Lumpur	0.60
9	Shanghai	0.70	19	Warsaw	0.56
10	Milan	0.67	20	Sao Paulo	0.56




### Financial network connectivities

Rank	City	GNC	Rank	City	GNC
1	New York	1.00	11	Madrid	0.73
2	Hong Kong	0.99	12	Milan	0.70
3	London	0.99	13	Taipei	0.69
4	Tokyo	0.84	14	Frankfurt	0.65
5	Singapore	0.84	15	Toronto	0.64
6	Shanghai	0.83	16	Mumbai	0.63
7	Sydney	0.82	17	Zurich	0.62
8	Paris	0.81	18	Moscow	0.59
9	Seoul	0.75	19	Dublin	0.59
10	Beijing	0.75	20	Kuala Lumpur	0.58




### Accountancy network connectivities

Rank	City	GNC	Rank	City	GNC
1	London	1.00	11	Toronto	0.61
2	New York	0.78	12	Tel Aviv	0.61
3	Hong Kong	0.70	13	Shanghai	0.60
4	Sydney	0.69	14	Jakarta	0.60
5	Milan	0.67	15	Moscow	0.60
6	Singapore	0.64	16	Brussels	0.59
7	Beijing	0.64	17	Auckland	0.59
8	Buenos Aires	0.63	18	Tokyo	0.59
9	Paris	0.62	19	Seoul	0.59
10	Kuala Lumpur	0.62	20	Lisbon	0.57




### Advertising network connectivities

Rank	City	GNC	Rank	City	GNC
1	New York	1.00	11	Brussels	0.62
2	London	0.74	12	Buenos Aires	0.62
3	Paris	0.73	13	Taipei	0.62
4	Tokyo	0.68	14	Mumbai	0.61
5	Hong Kong	0.68	15	Athens	0.61
6	Singapore	0.65	16	Toronto	0.61
7	Moscow	0.65	17	Stockholm	0.61
8	Shanghai	0.64	18	Bangkok	0.60
9	Warsaw	0.63	19	Beijing	0.60
10	Sydney	0.63	20	Madrid	0.60



### Legal services network connectivities

Rank	City	GNC	Rank	City	GNC
1	London	1.00	11	Shanghai	0.42
2	New York	0.89	12	Amsterdam	0.40
3	Paris	0.70	13	Munich	0.40
4	Frankfurt	0.59	14	Milan	0.39
5	Washington	0.58	15	Chicago	0.38
6	Brussels	0.54	16	Madrid	0.37
7	Hong Kong	0.53	17	Singapore	0.35
8	Moscow	0.50	18	Warsaw	0.34
9	Tokyo	0.48	19	Düsseldorf	0.32
10	Beijing	0.45	20	Budapest	0.31



### Management consultancy network connectivities


Rank	City	GNC	Rank	City	GNC
1	New York	1.00	11	Mumbai	0.50
2	London	0.67	12	Atlanta	0.50
3	Paris	0.65	13	Washington	0.49
4	Hong Kong	0.61	14	Rome	0.48
5	Chicago	0.57	15	Mexico City	0.47
6	Singapore	0.56	16	Amsterdam	0.47
7	Tokyo	0.56	17	Dublin	0.47
8	Zurich	0.55	18	Boston	0.47
9	Madrid	0.55	19	Frankfurt	0.47
10	Beijing	0.53	20	Milan	0.46

### (iii) Table work: where is Dublin in world city networks?

The next exercise was to bring the 2008 results into focus on Dublin.

Dublin's connectivity and world rank were provided for overall connectivity and for the four sectors separately. Participants were invited to discuss what these results indicated for Dublin's position in the world city network.

Discussion focused on the expected high rankings in finance and consultancy but the key anomaly was the result for law firms. Legal services are the most concentrated of the services and they are present in just 131 of the 526 cities in the study. Dublin with no recorded service in this sector (i.e. no offices for any of the top 25 global law firms) is a surprise perhaps reflecting a location in the shadow of London (which dominates this sector).




### Where is Dublin in world city networks?

The city connectivity measures are formally about the degree of integration into city networks

There are two enhanced interpretations:

1. Servicing global capital: strategic places where highest values are added to commodity chains
2. Indicator of economic vibrancy: not the biggest firms but pinpoint 'where the action is'

*EACH TABLE SHOULD CONSIDER THE PLACE OF DUBLIN IN THE NEXT SLIDE IN THE LIGHT OF THE ABOVE*



### How Dublin fares

Network	Connectivity	Rank	Network	Connectivity	Rank
Global network	0.55	26	Accountancy	0.52	37
			Advertising	0.49	38
Financial	0.59	19	Law	0.00	132=
			Management Consultancy	0.47	17

## WHO ARE DUBLIN'S PEERS?

We use 2008 results to define Dublin's peers.

We make two suggestions for exclusion: (i) US cities and (ii) 'third world' cities. This is because each category relates to globalization in a manner very different from Dublin. Several studies have shown that US cities are quite distinctive in their globalization: this was the message of the unusual diagram used to begin the workshop. The reason seems to be that the USA has been the prime originator of globalization and these business services are more strongly embedded in this country than elsewhere. Thus non-US service firms find it very difficult to enter and prosper in the US market, many limiting their American presence to a New York office only. 'Third world' cities are different in a very different way. Large-scale rural-urban migration over the last 50 years or so has created very large cities, referred to as mega-cities, with a host of inherent and pressing problems of poverty, health and environment not encountered elsewhere. Thus are US and 'third world' cities unlikely benchmarks for Dublin.

From the initial table work we can expect European capitals plus English-speaking (but not US) cities to be likely candidates.

We define Dublin's peers in three related ways. With respect to Dublin's results these are (i) cities with similar levels of connectivity, (ii) cities with a similar mix of sector connectivity levels, and (iii) cities with similar pattern of linkages to other cities.

### **(i) Connectivities**

We measure similarity to Dublin in connectivity levels as follows:

1. For overall connectivity we identify three levels of connectivity: those cities within 0.02 of Dublin's connectivity, those between 0.02 and 0.05, and those between 0.05 and 0.1. These are scored 3, 2, and 1 respectively.
2. For connectivities in each sector we identify two levels of connectivity: those cities within 0.02 of Dublin's connectivity, and those cities between 0.02 and 0.05. These are scored 2 and 1 respectively. However we omit law as a special case: there are 394 other cities that share Dublin's zero connectivity!

These results are summed city by city (maximum =  $3+2+2+2+2 = 11$ ). 26 cities scoring 3 or above are treated as potential Dublin peers. These are then divided into three groups: (A) cities scoring 7 or 8; (B) cities scoring 4 or 5; and (C) cities scoring 3.



## (ii) Sector profiles

We measure similarity to Dublin in the sector mix as follows:

1. For each city we compute for each sector the percentage of connectivity it contributes to the city's overall connectivity.
2. These percentages are compared to Dublin's sector percentages and the differences are summed. Obviously a city with percentages the same as Dublin's will score zero. In practice the smallest sum recorded was 6.

40 cities with differences of 20 or below are treated as potential Dublin peers. These are divided into three groups as follows: (A) differences from Dublin between 6 and 10; (B) differences between 10 and 15; and (C) differences between 16 and 20.

## (iii) Hinterworlds

We use the term hinterworld to describe a city's links to other cities in the world city network. In computing network connectivities, links to all other cities in the data are measured. Thus we can define Dublin's hinterworld as its 525 links to other cities in the 2008 data.

We measure hinterworld similarities to Dublin by a simple correlation of Dublin's against each other city's links. The correlations are very high because the world city network is very strongly structured: every city's two strongest links are with New York and London.

The 31 cities with the highest connections to Dublin's hinterworld are identified as potential Dublin peers. These are divided into A, B and C groups by level of correlation.



**Who are Dublin's peers?  
Benchmarking Dublin**

- We will use the 2008 results to search for Dublin's peers
- Exclusions:
  - All US cities
  - 'Third world' cities - Latin American, Africa, and sub-Pacific Asia
- Very likely candidates:
  - Capital cities of medium/small European states
  - Cities in English-speaking countries

**GaWC**

### Who are Dublin's peers? Connectivity similarities

GLOBAL	Conn	FINANCIAL	Conn	ACCOUNTANCY	Conn	ADVERTISING	Conn	CONSULTANCY	Conn
Sabur	0.64	Toronto	0.64	Lisbon	0.57	Milan	0.54	Mumbai	0.50
Moscow	0.62	Mumbai	0.62	Rome	0.57	Lisbon	0.54	Athens	0.50
Toronto	0.62	Zurich	0.62	Moscow	0.57	Mexico City	0.52	Washington	0.48
Brussels	0.63	Moscow	0.58	Mexico City	0.57	Amsterdam	0.53	Rome	0.48
Houston	0.61	<b>Dublin</b>	<b>0.61</b>	Sao Paulo	0.56	Jackson	0.53	Mexico City	0.48
Buenos Aires	0.61	Kuala Lumpur	0.58	Sao Paulo	0.56	Copenhagen	0.53	Amsterdam	0.47
Kuala Lumpur	0.60	Jakarta	0.58	Madrid	0.56	Bushareef	0.52	<b>Dublin</b>	<b>0.47</b>
Vienna	0.56	Bangkok	0.58	Helsinki	0.56	Rome	0.51	Beijing	0.47
Sao Paulo	0.56	Brussels	0.57	Caracas	0.56	Prague	0.51	Frankfurt	0.47
Jakarta	0.56	Sao Paulo	0.56	Oslo	0.55	Caracas	0.50	Milan	0.46
Zurich	0.56	Amsterdam	0.56	New York	0.55	<b>Dublin</b>	<b>0.46</b>	Beijing	0.46
Mexico City	0.55			Kuala Lumpur	0.55	Sao Paulo	0.47	Stockholm	0.46
Amsterdam	0.55			Beijing	0.55	Chicago	0.47	Bangkok	0.46
Bangkok	0.55			Buenos Aires	0.55	Jakarta	0.46	Kuala Lumpur	0.45
Taipei	0.55			Vienna	0.55	Zurich	0.46	Mumbai	0.45
Rome	0.54			Yokohama	0.55	Jakarta	0.44	Beijing	0.45
London	0.53			Santiago	0.52	Kuala Lumpur	0.44	Brussels	0.45
Washington	0.53			<b>Dublin</b>	<b>0.52</b>	New York	0.44	London	0.45
Chicago	0.53			Vienna	0.51			Buenos Aires	0.45
Lisbon	0.52			Guadalajara	0.51			Toronto	0.45
Frankfurt	0.51			Beijing	0.50				
Stockholm	0.50			Zhangjiabang	0.50				
Vienna	0.49			Zurich	0.50				
Hongkong	0.49			Hongkong	0.50				
Prague	0.49			Chicago	0.50				
Jakarta	0.49			Jakarta	0.50				
Caracas	0.47			Washington	0.49	Accountancy.com			
Auckland	0.47			Bucharest	0.48	Vienna	0.47		
Santiago	0.47			Prague	0.48	Moscow	0.47		
				London	0.47	Kyle	0.47		
				Amsterdam	0.47	Stockholm	0.47		
				Sao Paulo	0.47	Beijing	0.47		

**GaWC**

### Who are Dublin's peers? Connectivities

Group A scores 3		Group B scores 2		Group C scores 1	
Rome	8	Kuala Lumpur	5	Milan	3
Amsterdam	8	Warsaw	5	Seoul	3
Sao Paulo	8	Jakarta	5	Stockholm	3
Mexico City	7	Bangkok	5	Toronto	3
Zurich	7	Mumbai	4	Moscow	3
Chicago	7	Frankfurt	4	Taipei	3
		Brussels	4	Vienna	3
		Istanbul	4	Prague	3
		Lisbon	4	Jeddah	3
		Caracas	4	Athens	3

Calculated from connectivity similarities



**GaWC**

### Who are Dublin's peers? Sector profiles

Group A scores 3		Group B scores 2		Group C scores 1	
Manila	6	Guangzhou	11	Hong Kong	16
Mumbai	6	Amsterdam	11	Buenos Aires	16
Zurich	7	Sao Paulo	11	Melbourne	16
Seoul	8	Los Angeles	11	Moscow	16
Sydney	9	Milan	12	Warsaw	16
Toronto	9	Mexico City	13	Bangkok	16
Madrid	9	Jakarta	13	Prague	16
Kuala Lumpur	10	Brussels	14	Chicago	17
Singapore	10	Shanghai	14	Santiago	17
Beijing	10	Paris	15	Manama	17
San Francisco	10	Tokyo	15	Istanbul	18
				London	18
				Rome	20
				Stockholm	20
				Budapest	20
				Montreal	20
				Lisbon	20
				Miami	20

Measured by sums of differences

**GaWC**

### Who are Dublin's peers? Hinterworlds

Group A scores 3		Group B scores 2		Group C scores 1	
Melbourne	0.9775	Istanbul	0.9747	Athens	0.9730
Bangalore	0.9763	Auckland	0.9746	Düsseldorf	0.9729
Prague	0.9760	Barcelona	0.9741	Johannesburg	0.9729
Santiago	0.9759	Rome	0.9740	Bogota	0.9728
Manila	0.9758	Mexico City	0.9740	Moscow	0.9725
Geneva	0.9754	Jakarta	0.9738	Manama	0.9724
		Bangkok	0.9733	Riyadh	0.9724
		Vienna	0.9731	Chennai	0.9724
		Stockholm	0.9731	Budapest	0.9722
		Amsterdam	0.9731	Lisbon	0.9722
		Sao Paulo	0.9731	Luxembourg	0.9720
				Kuala Lumpur	0.9719
				Buenos Aires	0.9719
				Zurich	0.9718

Measured by correlation

## BENCHMARKING RESULTS FOR DUBLIN

We are now in a position to use the identifications of Dublin's peers to suggest a set of benchmarking cities for Dublin. The three sets of Dublin peer results were combined by scoring 3, 2 and 1 for each city in each of the A, B and C groups. Thus the maximum score is 9; in practice the highest score recorded was 7.

### (i) 26 qualifying cities, 13 relevant cities

26 cities with scores of 2 or more were identified as possible cities against which Dublin could be benchmarked. Using the prior suggestion for omitting US cities and 'third world' cities provides us with a final set of 13 cities that are eminently suitable for benchmarking Dublin. These are in rank order:

- 1= **Amsterdam, Zurich**
- 3 **Rome**
- 4 **Prague**
- 5= **Brussels, Lisbon, Prague, Toronto**
- 9= **Vienna, Warsaw**
- 11= **Athens, Budapest, Milan**

### (ii) Final table work: benchmarking discussion

The final table work considered this result in comparison with the initial table work suggestions. One key difference is that no UK cities appear in the benchmarking list – this reflects Dublin being able to escape from London's powerful influence/shadow in a way that is not possible for UK cities. Notice also that only one English-speaking city is featured (Toronto). Compared to the initial table northern European cities are replaced by eastern European cities – this possibly reflects the particular growth of both Dublin and eastern Europe with the onset of globalization after 1990. The key city missing from the new benchmarking list is Barcelona.

There was also discussion about whether the exclusion of US cities and 'third world' cities was appropriate. For US cities in particular, it was acknowledged that the close relations between Ireland and the USA (traditionally culturally, more recently because of investment) might require some revision of this exclusion. However the point being made by GaWC is that as economic nodes in the world city network Dublin is much more like, say, Amsterdam or Milan, than any US city. In fact, of the 13 cities qualifying for benchmarking but deemed to be not relevant, only one was from the USA, and 12 were 'third world' cities.

The final discussion merged into the final remarks by the Director of International Relations and Research. The following are the key points:

- the importance of business firms to Dublin's future trajectory
- within the Dublin economy there are both indigenous and foreign firms with a vested interest in Dublin's success
- these firms hold a much relevant knowledge concerning how Dublin relates to the world economy in their respective sectors
- this is important for Dublin in its weaving a path between general diversification and finding niche areas in which to expand
- returning to the complexity of cities, monitoring of economic changes becomes vital for policy makers: knowledge within firms is essential for this
- it makes sense for the City Council to convert its existing links with internationally-linked firms into a more formal structure – a Global Business Council - with a precise remit reflecting the GaWC approach as exemplified in the Workshop.

### **(iii) GaWC recommendations**

These derive from the GaWC position that it is firms that link cities together and in the process generate vibrant successful cities. Such economic links are much more important than inter-governmental links, either local or national. So what is the role of local government – Dublin City Council – in this?


If there were to be a 'Global Business Council' as broached above, it would NOT become a platform for business to lobby to Council for subsidies or obtain privileged access in general to policymaking. Obviously subsidies and other policies can attract new business but in the long run cities cannot simply buy success (cf. Dubai). To be sure the role of the public sector is to facilitate economic success but in a much more subtle way than 'giving business what it wants'. Selectivity is crucial and this requires policies based upon a very rich and current knowledge base. Customized knowledge is the key to successful public sector facilitation of economic success. The purpose a Global Business Council would be to facilitate the City Council in its production of suitable economic data.

We live in a world that has been characterized as 'global network society' where the key commodity is knowledge in both the private and public spheres. In places as complex as cities within this new volatile world, the tradition in planning to resort to models that simplify what's happening is now entirely inappropriate. Rather the basic approach is quite modest: to monitor economic change in order to inform policymaking. Public policy decisions are then about choosing which economic changes to facilitate and augment and which to allow to proceed undisturbed. In a world that is very hard to predict, the complexity has to be respected but not be allowed to overwhelm our thinking. For city councils this requires detailed and dynamic information on economic changes

happening in their city. Monitoring requires a continuous policy of purposive data gathering that will, for instance, pick up changes that are usually ‘under the radar’ of more general and intermittent data collection. This is a twenty first century approach to public sector data collection using the latest electronic means.


This approach of prioritizing monitoring was first developed for our Abu Dhabi workshop and is still under consideration by Abu Dhabi Council for Economic Development. But we have moved on since then and are negotiating for a Chinese city partner to pioneer this methodology. The current situation is that we expect to begin with Qingdao as our “Global Research City” in early 2011. Still under development, the method will involve a rolling (monthly?) electronic survey of a very large number of firms in the city, immediate electronic analysis interpreted by a city/GaWC analytic team, who respond by immediate revision of the survey content to incorporate any new surprises. A high-level panel will regularly appraise the results (six monthly?). We will be seeking funds for a European city comparison study (possibly Newcastle because of its recent OECD study). We will also be looking to carry out a set of secondary studies that learn from the two primary studies on how to apply this methodology on a much more affordable basis. We would be delighted if Dublin City Council wanted to be part of this research/policy programme.

In the more immediate term, we are currently in a new phase of world city network data collection (again in collaboration with CASS, Beijing). The new data should be available towards the end of 2010 and will complement the 2008 data in a ‘before and after’ sequence with respect to the global credit crunch and associated economic crisis. When we have 2008-10 change findings (for 526 cities including Dublin and its designated peers) we are willing to again share our results with you.




**Benchmarking results**

Qualifying city	Network connectivities	Sector profiles	Hinterland correlations	Final totals	Relevant city
Amsterdam	3	2	2	7	YES
Mexico City	3	2	2	7	NO
Zurich	3	2	1	7	YES
Sao Paulo	3	2	2	7	NO
Kuala Lumpur	2	3	1	6	NO
Rome	3	1	2	6	YES
Jakarta	2	2	2	6	NO
Prague	1	1	3	5	YES
Mumbai	2	3	0	5	NO
Bangkok	2	1	2	5	NO
Istanbul	2	1	2	5	NO
Lisbon	2	1	1	4	YES
Santiago	0	1	3	4	NO
Toronto	1	3	0	4	YES
Brussels	2	2	0	4	YES
Seoul	1	3	0	4	NO
Stockholm	1	1	2	4	YES
Chicago	3	1	0	4	NO
Moscow	1	1	1	3	NO
Vienna	1	0	2	3	YES
Warsaw	2	1	0	3	YES
Budapest	0	1	1	2	YES
Buenos Aires	0	1	1	2	NO
Athens	1	0	1	2	YES
Caracas	2	0	0	2	NO
Milan	0	2	0	2	YES



## Discussion of benchmarking results

1. Benchmark cities appear to be mainly European, is this too limited?
2. Note that there are NO UK cities - this is certainly a correct finding
3. There are only two 'English-speaking' cities and one of these disqualified for being American - does this need more consideration?
4. What is the relevance, if any, of the numerous former 'third world cities'?



## Complexity, caveats and concluding thoughts

To be derived from the day's discussions