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Introduction

A lively global debate has recently emerged over the relationship between technological change and urban or regional forms. The rise of various "high technology" areas, particularly in the United States, has stimulated efforts by state and regional governments throughout the world to create or induce the formation of similar high technology industrial nodes in their own territory. A range of policy instruments has been devised for this purpose, including, for example, science parks, technology parks, innovation centers, training programs, taxation supports, targeted research funding, regulatory stream lining, direct subsidies to firms, or special financial schemes to aid small start-up high technology firms.

Technological innovation has become recognized as a determinant of the economic performance of industrial firms and sectors. Changing market conditions, increasing costs of industrial inputs, greater emphasis upon information flow as part of the economic process, more complex trading patterns, difficult regulatory requirements, and sophisticated product-standard environments -to name some of the key pressures facing contemporary businesses-all place a premium on an organization's competence in adopting and managing new technology. Technology, furthermore, has come to be seen less as something which emerges miraculously out of the "black box" of science and engineering, exogenous to economic processes, but rather as linked with theregional economic and managerial context.

Growing international competition and interdependency in trade has given technological innovation an even higher profile in economic policy, and firms are increasingly forced to innovate in order to remain in business. As a consequence, the strategic management of technological innovation has become an important component of corporate management. Most national and provincial governments have now established some kind of bureaucracy to deal with technology policy. Education, therefore, has become a new central resource for national and regional policy.

The phenomenon of "uneven development" has received considerable scholarly and political attention. It has long been recognized, at least since the classic work of Adam Smith or Karl Marx, that the generation of wealth tends not to be distributed evenly between either social classes or nations and regions within nations. This tradition in scholarship has witnessed a revival in recent years, fed by contributions from a number of disciplines, including political economy, geography, city-

and-regional planning and sociology. Much of the recent literature is united by the theme that the economic disparity between regions and within regions increasingly exhibits structural features, changing in consonance with macro-economic structural changes in the national and international arenas.

This uneven economic development can be explained by uneven participation in human resource development and application. Some of the research dealing with this issue is based on particular technology-based industry sectors in particular places, such as micro-electronics in California.

As a consequence of the above themes emerging within scholarly debate, cities, or urban regions, have been recognized as the locus for leading-edge technological development, with a number of prominent "international" cities receiving the greatest attention: the San Francisco Bay Area, the greater Los Angeles region, Cambridge in Massachusetts, Tokyo, or Cambridge and the M4 Corridor in Britain, for example.

Given the prominence of a relatively small number of "international" high technology metropolitan regions, and their apparent interdependence, scholars have sought to understand both the way in which advanced technology industries affect urban form, and the way in which city structure affects the prospects and form of local educational infrastructure. No generally accepted theory has yet been distilled from these efforts. But there is a consensus that a shift from an industrial economy that emphasizes the flow of resources and goods as well as the accumulation of tangible assets, to an advanced-industrial economy that emphasizes the flow of information and accumulation of knowledge will in turn alter the "19th century agro-industrial" regional city form. The simple center-periphery land-use patterns will evolve into something more complex-probably a more decentralized polynucleated system of communities within a regional system.

The convergence of two fields of scholarly endeavor: technological innovation studies and urban-and-regional studies, has been mirrored in the national policy arena with deliberate efforts to create modern cities where "high technology" and its associated social forms may flourish. Examples include the "technopolis" regions in Japan, and the "multifunction polis" idea in Australia.

High technology industries seemingly emerge in cities with a certain kind of regional structure, where their development subsequently exerts influence on the region and reinforces the spatial features which first led those industries to flourish. The result of these mutually reinforcing tendencies is that once a region becomes established as conducive to high technology, it develops an international competitive advantage. Conversely, cities or regions which lack the appropriate structure find themselves increasingly bypassed by advanced technology industries and employment.

There are practical policy implications of this perspective. First, civic authorities and their advisors in high technology regions may adopt such a perspective in planning the "urban" infrastructure that best fits their economy's evolving industrial base, (e.g. transport facilities, housing developments, zoning requirements, project development regulations, educational institutions, communications facilities, et cetera). Second, managers of advanced technology firms may be indirectly influenced by such theory when making decisions about the location of their activities. Third, regional and city policy makers wishing to improve the economic prospects of their region may look to such ideas to guide the adoption

of policies aimed at altering their comparative economic advantage.

New notions of economic development are beginning to be guided by a new set of regional parameters that incorporate separate identifiable socio-economic units. Old regional relationships based on agricultural and raw materials are dying because of external events, too large in scale, and too distant from the locality for community policy makers to affect the changes. Global, not locally controllable factors, I am arguing, are influencing regional and community patterns to a far greater degree than resident actions or inaction. We can see this phenomenon in the emergence of the Pacific Rim citistate system.

The Pacific Rim is characterized by city/regional economies rather than nation states. It is manifest in the decline of once proud small farm towns and the changing relationships among cities in the same national framework. The community or rural town is no longer the basis for new agricultural or other developments. Rather, international capital determines the destiny of all communities so they must inevitably fit themselves into global rather than local marketing systems. The world communications market, not local taste determines both prices and the demand for goods. Similarly, cities within a nation are no longer bound by common economic destinies. They are free to engage in international commerce autonomously. No clearer case of this can be seen than the remarkable decay of the New York economy while Los Angeles and Dallas continue to grow. It is obvious that these city/metropolitan regions are shaped by very different external economic forces and not by national economic trends. It is within this context I sketch the citistate as the basis of the Pacific Century.

The City As The State

Cities are now the focal point of economic development and wealth creation. Nowhere is this pattern more apparent than among the emerging Pacific Rim citistates. The citistate is essentially an invention of the trade and commerce forces currently re-shaping the world. Across the Pacific, a new pattern of trade and communications has developed that has effectively and perhaps permanently replaced the nation-state as the major economic vehicle. Cities like Tokyo, Los Angeles, Singapore and Hong Kong have formed a set of relationships more international than local or domestic in character. These cities are now the core of large metropolitan regions – metroplexes or conurbations. Their reconfigured jurisdictions recall the citistates of ancient Greece, although they differ in several respects.

First, the new citistate is part of a nation-state. Second, the old citistate was dependent on its strategic military location while the new citistate is based on its telecommunications and trade capacity. Location remains important, but proximity to the sea is not nearly as important as in the past. Denver, Colorado, for example, is playing a major role in Pacific Rim trade because of its advanced airport and telecommunications capacity, combined with its high amenity life styles. In essence, natural resources are less significant now than an area's character.

Uncoupling and Transforming

Peter Drucker (1991) has made the clearest statement with respect to the global changes in economic relations. In his view,

the world is uncoupling from its past economic and social order. At the base of this uncoupling is the uncoupling of natural resources from wealth creation. No longer are nations and places endowed with agricultural or mineral resources necessarily powerful and rich. In fact, the decline in commodity prices is a clear indication that physical resources are declining in value in the new world order. The wealthy nations emerging on the Pacific Rim are trade and knowledge producers like Singapore, Japan, Hong Kong, and South Korea. The real power of these nations comes from the capacity of their human resources to develop a sophisticated urban infrastructure, not the availability of their natural resources. Moreover, the development of a trade economy as a replacement for an industrial or agricultural economy makes information a central or primary resource.

The second uncoupling is the uncoupling of human resources from national and local boundaries to perform their work. Increasingly, individual skills are internationally oriented. That is, talent moves around the globe to opportunities rather than being held to a location. In many instances, the most skilled people set up business at the site or venue they prefer. Telecommunications makes work transportable.

Pacific Rim cities are somewhat decentralized. Even big cities like Tokyo and Seoul are multi-centered. As a result, they are in a better position to offer amenity packages that reflect the requirements of these mobile human resources. Los Angeles-Orange County is the classic example of this pattern.

The third uncoupling is the uncoupling of cities from their national hierarchies. Pacific Rim cities are linked across national lines as much as within them. The most obvious examples of this pattern are the transnational relationships forged between San Diego-Tijuana and Seattle – Vancouver. These relationships are far deeper and longer range than with nearby cities within the same country. For instance, the growth in economic relationships between Los Angeles and Tokyo exceeds such growth between Los Angeles and San Francisco, as demonstrated by air and telecommunications traffic between these nodes. Sydney similarly has more international affiliates than local interactions.

Finally, there is the well known pattern of research and intellectual enterprise becoming uncoupled from production activities and locations. American firms manufacture more products for U.S. markets outside the country than within it. Significantly, as companies link through cities into an international market system, former ties between their headquarters and the communities where they are based, are severed. As a result, city governments across nations are becoming part of an inter-dependent network across international boundaries. Decisions made in firm headquarters inside or outside the United States have direct implications for local labor and community stability. As firms become more interconnected across nation-states, so too do the cities that form part of the network system.

The Pacific Rim Dimension

While the patterns described are the most advanced in Pacific Rim cities, the fact that a tremendous cultural and social revolution has transpired is not necessarily acknowledged. But Pacific Rim cities are now beginning to reflect a cosmopolitan quality, characteristic of the Asian Pacific.

In this respect they offer a far more tolerant and accepting set of social and cultural institutions than the traditional European or East Coast American pattern. In a sense, these communities are forging a new social as well as an economic pattern.

The trade base among Pacific Rim trading partners is still not widely understood by policymakers. Pacific Rim trade is already $ 5 trillion US per year increasing at over $ 1 billion per week. This volume of trade has created an enormous requirement for a new trade-oriented infrastructure. These requirements are well beyond more land and buildings. New "soft infrastructure" is required, including education and training to support trade and international relations. This would include the development of higher education institutions focusing on trade and economic development. Furthermore, research institutions are critical to the development of the new economy. Pacific Rim communities need to develop a set of institutions that will conduct scholar research on communications, trade and intercultural relations to support the new city-to-city relationships.

Finally, citistate relations can be enhanced by new city design. City form must reflect the international quality and style of the cultures and missions they serve. City planning is still trapped in inadequate models of ethno-centered and nationalist-based processes. As a result, many of the cities find they face social and cultural clashes over development options. San Francisco is one of the major Pacific Rim cities that has not adapted to its new mission or its opportunities. Consequently, San Francisco is losing its strategic advantage to other communities on the US Pacific coast like San Diego and Seattle.

Conclusion

As we enter into a new century, a new set of relationships is being formed. Cities are the new backbone of economic development and international trade. The development of these citistates has taken both them and their nations by surprise. There is currently very little thinking about how the social, physical and human resource development patterns need to be designed to accommodate this emerging form.

The mission of the Pacific Rim Council on Urban Development (PRCUD) is to find new ways to build on the concepts of international citistates as the cornerstone of the next century. In order to develop this new pattern, PRCUD is creating opportunities for planners, architects, developers and public officials to share critical information as the basis for future collaborations in city building. The intention is to embody new city-based economic development into city design and development. PRCUD is creating an atmosphere of mutual problem solving and collaborative rather than competitive development. In pursuing this mission, PRCUD can act as a catalyst for developing tomorrow's planners and policymakers.

Notes

Drucker, Peter 1991 "The Changed World Economy" in Scott Fosler Local Economic Development Washington, D.C: International City Management Association.