

Conclusions. Political-economic systems shaping port-port city relationships

10.1 INTRODUCTION

The three port/port city clusters having been described and analyzed, a more integrative approach is needed by establishing a bridge between theory and observations. Briefly, from a political-economic perspective, we describe three different port clusters: Rotterdam as a very opportunistic and economically (but frequently corporate-based) driven port cluster, Antwerp as a political-relations-based port cluster, and Hamburg as a culture-driven port cluster. From the perspective of the nature of the ports, Rotterdam and Antwerp are typical industrial and petrochemical port clusters, with a huge container function as well; Hamburg's description can be limited to that of a container port. The detailed theories presented in this thesis covering the subjects of clusters, governance, and institutional arrangements were needed to define cluster characteristics and sensitizing concepts. In Chapter 9, they were used to discuss the tangible and intangible forces behind the outcome of the current port–port city relationships in the three ports. This chapter establishes a theory concerning the port–port city relationship by showing that the absorption of the general dynamics has not resulted from location and economic developments only, but that the underling social fabric deriving from the political-economic system was also crucial for the position of each port in relation to its city.

Section 10.2 restates the research questions that guided the exploration of the theoretical and empirical research. The answers to these questions make up the first part of this chapter. The outcomes, based on the various research questions, are the subject of sections 10.3 to 10.7. In sections 10.8 to 10.10, the thesis is evaluated from various perspectives. Section 10.8 looks at the future, with remarks on what could be done to restore port–port city relationships. Final remarks are made about port policies in relation to political-economic systems. The scientific and societal relevance of the thesis is discussed in section 10.9. The thesis concludes with the epilogue in the final section, 10.10.

10.2 BACK TO THE QUESTIONS

The overarching research question formulated for this thesis was designed to explore the relationship between port and port city:

How can we understand the relationship between port and port city in response to international, port business-related, developments?

This question was operationalized with five subsidiary questions:

1. What are the dynamics that play a role in the shaping of spatial and port-port city relationships?
2. What are the differences between various port cities in response to these dynamics influencing port-port city relationships and how can this be explained?
3. Which concepts can be of any support to explain the responses to the dynamics influencing port-port city relationships?
4. What different political economic structures can be distinguished that influence the port city communities in Rotterdam, Antwerp and Hamburg?
5. How do these political economic structures manifest themselves in port-port city relationships?

Questions 1 and (partially) 2 were dealt with in the introduction part of this thesis. Question 1 laid the foundation for the problem of a drifting apart of the port and the city, but formulated it as a phenomenon resulting from general, globally occurring dynamics. Question 3 was answered in Chapter 2,3 and 4 which discussed different theoretical concepts concerning clusters, governance, and institutional arrangements. These theoretical chapters established the sensitizing concepts used for the interviews and for the analysis of the annual reports as presented in the framework in Chapter 6. The answers to questions 2 and 5 are the subject of this chapter. The sensitizing concepts provide us with insights that help to answer these questions. Section 10.3 discusses the differences in response to the dynamics by summarizing the articulation of the sensitizing concepts per port city cluster. Chapter 9 provided the main findings for this overview. Section 10.4 relates the findings to theoretical notions as discussed in Chapters 2,3 and 4. It shows that these concepts enhance or mitigate each other. The fourth research question, about political-economic cultures and how they are manifested in Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg (question 5), is discussed in section 10.5. Because of the nature of the findings, some methodological remarks are made there. Section 10.6 elaborates on Easton's theory as introduced in Chapter 5. By doing so, the research interprets grounded theory in the Strauss variant in a very liberal way, not only using concepts to conduct field research, but also adapting existing theory to structure the results. The fifth research question needed to be answered for each port/port city by constructing a narrative to create a consistent picture. The narratives in section 10.7 make a connection between the theoretical approaches of clusters, governance, and institutional arrangements and thus address the last subsidiary question.

10.3 THE MANIFESTATIONS OF THE SENSITIZING CONCEPTS WITHIN THE THREE PORTS

Table 10.1 summarizes and evaluates the sensitizing concepts as input for constructing a narrative relating each port's developments to its current position, as researched with interviews.

Table 10.1 Evaluation of the manifestation of the sensitizing concepts in port cities

Concept	Rotterdam	Antwerp	Hamburg
Business relations (section 9.2)	Business based and competitive. Internationally oriented, entrepreneurial attitudes. Considered as a national asset.	Institutionalized and politically influenced. More formalized and subject to legalization and particularism.	Locally based. Old trade structures dominant in networks. Close relationship between business and politics.
Complementarities (section 9.3)	Aligned. No active policy to enhance the cluster by integrating the entities through a main-port policy.	Integrated and therefore an enhancement of the entities within the cluster.	Between the marine-based activities and the strongly present maritime advanced producer services in the city. Port as the gateway for importing resources and exporting products.
Diversity (section 9.4)	A very diversified port. Strong maritime-based industry, especially transshipment and fuel based. Logistical value-adding activities also more related to inland ports near Rotterdam.	A less diversified marine-based industry. Logistics adding value within the port of Antwerp. Chemicals as a prominent sector.	Strong marine and non-marine based. Marine industry is only one of the industries. High-tech, high-value-adding activities: chemistry, Airbus, education.
Foreign ownership (section 9.5)	Is viewed as a natural outcome of economics. Like in Antwerp, it is slowly becoming an issue.	Seen as a 'natural' result of lack of finance to develop modern infrastructure. Is viewed as being problematic.	Strong aversion, therefore a protectionist environment. Hardly any opportunity for outsiders to acquire full control in Hamburg companies.

Table 10.1 Evaluation of the manifestation of the sensitizing concepts in port cities (continued)

Concept	Rotterdam	Antwerp	Hamburg
Investment in society (section 9.6)	Recognition of an attractive city where investments need to be made from an economic point of view. Hardly any individual contributions (except Verre Bergen).	Under direction of port authority. License to operate is a motive. Individual entrepreneurs play a modest role.	Companies invest from a license to operate perspective. Besides this, individual businessmen and their companies contribute significantly to the city.
Economy of touch Section 9.7)	Less present.	Especially present between the naties.	Highly omnipresent but invisible.
Closed community (section 9.8)	N.A.	N.A.	Very closed community.
Trust (section 9.9)	Strongly based on reliability.	Institutionalized trust and reliability.	Personalized trust and reliability.
Shared values (section 9.10)	Economic.	Slightly cultural and more strongly economic.	Cultural and economic.

The differences between the three port cities are (more or less) apparent, as was made clear in Chapter 9 by analyzing these sensitizing concepts inductively by using the interviews and the annual reports of the port authorities. As stated regularly in Chapter 9 however, dealing with the concepts one by one is rather artificial. Therefore, it was difficult to stay on course discussing and explaining them in Chapter 9. The concepts need to be seen within their interrelationships. As social networks articulated in political economic structures. Existing theory and newly developed theory can help to do so.

10.4 COMBINING THE CONCEPTS THAT MAKE UP THE PORT–PORT CITY RELATIONSHIP

The thesis started with an exploration of the problems that set the scene: the dynamics that influence the development of port cities around the globe. Thus they are quite independent and difficult for individual ports and their owners, the port cities, to influence. In the port cities under study, the port authorities are still owned by local authorities. The three monographs in Chapter 8 describe the effects of the general dynamics that have shaped the spatial arrangements. The drifting apart of port and city is apparent in the three cities but has led to – even spatially – different

outcomes. The butterfly model in Chapter 1 is clearly apparent in Rotterdam and Antwerp and much less in Hamburg. Of course, location plays a role: for example, the possibility for Rotterdam to expand westward and eastward, and for Antwerp to expand northward and westward. The development of the right wing of the butterfly can partly be attributed to the modalities used in The Netherlands and Belgium whereby waterways and inland ports are used to reach the hinterland where additional value-adding activities can be carried out. In Germany, the excellent north–south railway system connects the port of Hamburg directly to its hinterland in Southern Germany, and, besides the railways, the Elbe Lateral Canal and the Mittellandkanal connect Hamburg to Hannover, Dortmund, Braunschweig, and ports abroad. The dispersion of activities in The Netherlands is more prominent however. This was stimulated very much by the national government (the need for a national intermodal infrastructure), the provinces and local politicians, and entrepreneurs in cities like Venlo (located close to the German hinterland). Initially, (the 1980s) this was not supported at all by the Port Authority of Rotterdam, but planning policies and industrial development policies overruled Rotterdam.⁸⁵

10.4.1 Cluster theory

The theories used from the various scientific perspectives have helped to elucidate the developments in the three port cities. The perspective from cluster theory was a powerful tool. We have seen that Porter's (1990a) theory about cluster development must be researched by looking at the past as well as at the present. Two of the characteristics of cluster theory, complementarities and heterogeneity or diversity, clearly showed remarkable differences between the three ports. Of all the elements in Porter's diamond, (local) government as an influencing factor clearly plays a dominant role in its omnipresence (the Antwerp case) or in its (local) distance (the Rotterdam case). Diversity, as a concept to illustrate the heterogeneity and the vitality of a cluster, was useful for differentiating between a port city that was strongly based on maritime activities and one for which a port was one of the pillars of its economic system, but not necessarily the most important one. Hamburg is an example of that. Therefore, Hamburg can certainly be seen as a city that is not locked in as Chapman (2005) described, although the port is very locked up spatially.

10.4.2 Governance

Regarding the governance perspective, a sharp distinction can be made between the three ports. Port devolution is an exponent of this. If one talked about the hollowing

⁸⁵ Henk Molenaar, in particular, was very much in favor of creating added value instead of moving TEUs on the Maasvlakte (Kuipers, 2018d).

out of the state (Rhodes, 1996, 1997), it would be more applicable to the situation in Rotterdam than to that in Antwerp or Hamburg. New Public Management was at the base of the port devolution activities that distanced the Rotterdam port authority from local governance. Although formally in the hands of local and national government, in time this port authority has developed a very autonomous position. This is less the case in Antwerp with its board members from local politics. The situation in Hamburg is even more different, as the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg treats the port authority as a department of the city 'at a distance', but every move is discussed in the town hall. This issue brings up the next sensitizing concept of governance, ownership. This concept is manifested in differences in attitudes towards governance. The rather casual attitude in Rotterdam towards the fact that main-port actors are owned by foreign companies with their own agenda regarding long-term policies is incomparable with Hamburg's – perhaps convulsive – attitude about keeping things at least in German, but preferably Hamburg, hands. The sensitizing concept of trust is strongly related to these two concepts. The relationships between port actors must be based on trust. As discussed in Chapter 3 (see Table 3.3), trust is analyzed on the basis of personal relations. In Rotterdam, this is articulated in a different way than in the other two ports. For Rotterdam, it is strongly based on reliability. Such trust is economically based. For Antwerp, as arrangements need to be more codified, it is more about institutionalized trust. For Hamburg, the presence of the family companies and their networks provides an example of personal trust, as this is the sensitizing concept of companies' involvement in the city's community. For Rotterdam and (less) for Antwerp, the case is very much one of license to operate and of benefitting employers by creating an educated labor pool. In Hamburg, the business elite is still involved in, and actively supports, the city's wellbeing because of the strong bonds between the Hamburg business environment and the Hamburg politicians.

10.4.3 Institutional arrangements

The institutional arrangements perspective led to the concepts of tacit knowledge, based on an economy of touch, power, and social networks. These concepts are very intangible, as previously discussed. They exemplify the culture behind the social fabric that forms the supra-structure of the ports. Here, the differences between the three port clusters are most prominently manifested. They help to explain why governance is as it is. The Hamburg actors' attitude is based on networks, so with strong ties, a deeply rooted (for decades) tacit knowledge. It is a stable social environment, hardly touched by foreign influence. The Hamburg situation is therefore incomparable with the situation in Rotterdam. In Rotterdam, there is an inner circle too, but business driven, and the old structure of people knowing one another very

well has been eroding over the last years. In Antwerp, there is more an in-between situation, but, there too, the influence of foreign companies in the most prominent port actors (especially the container terminal operators) has led to other relationships that are more rational and business oriented. These outcomes are, as said in section 8.4.3, what Tönnies would define as *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (Tönnies, 1887). These two terms, although related to culture, find their origins in political-economic structures. Hamburg can truly be seen as the typical *Gemeinschaft*, and the port city benefits from that. As illustrated in Chapter 8, this is a rich city that benefits from the we-belong-together attitude. This aspect was present in Rotterdam in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, but it decreased with the advent of the neo-liberal approach as articulated by New Public Management. The port/city separation is a clear manifestation of this. In Antwerp, traditionally, politics still determine the speed of port development, as the situation on the Left Bank shows. Here too however, globalization has been prominent and has changed the power relations, and not for the best for public service. Both ports have turned to the *Gesellschaft* model, where business comes first, with Rotterdam in the lead on this. Sections 10.7.1 to 10.7.3 elaborate on that within the framework of narratives for the three ports. First however, the relationships between the political-economic systems and the sensitizing concepts must be made.

10.5 POLITICAL-ECONOMIC STRUCTURES AND PORT–PORT CITY RELATIONSHIPS

Differentiating political-economic structures using the system of the expression of various spheres can be compared to the findings of the research conducted (Hall & Soskice, 2001). By using Hall and Soskice's classification as described in Chapter 5, some of the concepts in Table 10.1 can be compared. For the classification in different varieties of political-economic systems, it is about an economy of touch. It is about the character of the interactions between firms and people, where the basis can be different types of trust. It is about whether joint activities are undertaken to create positive conditions for port firms to act and create opportunities for the city to implement benefits for society. It is about how ownership of prominent companies is organized. For that, one might expect the situation as presented in Table 10.2. It should be noted that this is an assumed model. It is a translation of the characteristics of the political-economic models, as described in Chapter 5, in terms of the sensitizing concepts.

Table 10.2 An assumed model of the manifestations of the sensitizing concepts in various political-economic systems

	Liberal Market Economy	Latin Market Economy	Coordinated Market Economy
Foreign ownership	++	+	-
Investment in society	-	+/-	++
Economy of touch	-	++	++
Closed community	-	-	++
Trust as reliability	++	+	+
Trust as personal trust	-	+	++
Shared values	-	+/-	++

The intangible sensitizing concepts used in this research indicate the presence of a type of political-economic structure. In Table 10.3, the appearance of these concepts within the ports is indicated. Complementarities and diversity are not included, as they are concepts that describe the composition of the cluster in its economic structure. Neither is business relations included, as that is a derivative of the concepts. These are extensively dealt with in Chapter 9. Their conclusions are used in the

Table 10.3 The presence of the sensitizing concepts and the political-economic structure in the three ports

	Rotterdam	Antwerp	Hamburg
Foreign ownership	++	++	-
Investment in society	+/-	+/-	++
Economy of touch	-	++	++
Closed community	-	-	++
Trust as reliability	++	+	++
Trust as personal trust	-	+/-	++
Shared values cultural	-	+/-	++
Shared values economic	+/-	+	+

Source: Interviews and annual reports as discussed in Chapter 9

three narratives of the ports in section 10.7. Table 10.3 focuses on the social fabric that underlies this social structure. The evaluation is based upon an interpretation of the strength of the presence of the concept based as it is on the remarks made in Table 10.1. It must therefore be interpreted as a plausible outcome as discussed in Chapter 7 regarding the essence of the grounded theory method. Table 10.3 is based on interpretation, a plausible one, as it is made up of coded segments of the

interviews with the respondents in the port city. Table 10.4 provides some insights to link this directly to the coding process. During the analysis of the interviews, a corresponding code was attributed when the subject was discussed. The interviews per port city were then grouped together and a frequency table of the codes was compiled. The frequency⁸⁶ of the codes that represent the sensitizing concepts provides us with the overview in Table 10.4.

Table 10.4 Groundedness of codes per cluster of interviews for Port of Rotterdam (POR), Port of Antwerp (POA), and Port of Hamburg (POH)

Codes	POR	POA	POH	Totals
Closed community	0	0	22	22
Company's investment in society	19	12	5	36
Economy of touch	21	42	28	91
Family company	4	11	22	37
Foreign ownership	48	45	13	106
Institutional trust	4	1	0	5
Local ownership	4	6	24	34
Personal trust	19	11	17	47
Shared value cultural	25	14	37	76
Shared value economic	25	11	26	62
Totals	169	153	194	516

Source: Author (Output Atlas Ti: Groundedness codes per cluster interviews)

This exercise was not performed for the annual reports, as the codes from the sensitizing concepts were less directly applicable, as discussed in the methodology. Although the figures in Table 10.4 suggest an exactness that seduces the researcher to say that the appearance, or at least the mentioning of a code – in the interviews, for example, for family company – is twice as strong in Hamburg as it is in Antwerp, this cannot be the outcome for this table. What it does suggest is that some concepts are more strongly present in one particular port than in the others. Again, as discussed in the methodology section, this analysis of the interviews and the annual reports provides the material on which, with a certain plausibility, conclusions can be drawn that make up a narrative or theory. However, what the numbers say must be evaluated by taking a closer look at the content of the remarks coded in that way. And then some observations must be made. Most of codes correspond with the evaluation as presented in Table 10.3, based on Table 10.1, which was a condensation of the findings presented in Chapter 9. In Table 10.4 however, a concept like

⁸⁶ Groundedness based on Atlas Ti frequency table

company's investment in society deviates. In numbers, the port of Hamburg scores 5, which is the lowest. This is not reflected in Table 10.3 where the concepts are ranked almost equally. Here, a judgement needed to be made between high-impact personal contributions – as in Hamburg with the Kühne University of Logistics as a perfect example – and more frequent and structured contributions from port authorities in Antwerp and Rotterdam in, for example, traineeships. A similar deviation can be made for personal trust. The high score for Hamburg and the low score for Rotterdam on the concepts in Table 10.3 are based on the current situation. In the coding of the interviews, which resulted in Table 10.4, the Rotterdam respondents reflected on this concept by telling stories about the past. So, in numbers, for Rotterdam this code occurred frequently, although the current situation shows a change, where this has decreased. The same applies for shared values, where the concept is divided into an economic and a cultural aspect. Although in numbers the economic shared values concept was the same for Rotterdam and Hamburg, the content of the coded fragments showed that, in Hamburg, the economic shared values element reflects the problems between the city intruding into port areas, whereby an economic shared value is eroded. However, this groundedness of codes was very a useful aid for providing a structure to make up the narrative concerning port–port city relationships, as the codes' groundedness was a tool for selecting which codes to use and which codes to relate to them.

Tables 10.2 and 10.3 relate to each other. The three ports, in terms of these concepts, resemble these types of political-economic systems. It was not the intention of this thesis to prove a case that port A resembles political system B, and port C resembles system D. The systems were needed to provide the framework and using that provides this outcome. What it does show is that these sensitizing concepts were well chosen. They helped to describe and explain the developments in the ports in a political-economic context.

10.6 ABOUT INPUTS, BLACK BOXES, AND OUTPUTS: ESTABLISHING RELATIONSHIPS

As this chapter started with the research questions, it now comes to the last one: Can the different outcomes of the general dynamics as articulated in port–port city relationships be attributed to differences in the supra-structure⁸⁷ of the three ports

⁸⁷ As remarked in footnote 1 in Chapter 1, in this thesis, the supra-structure is the broader societal construct about how things are done.

under study? The former sections helped to answer this question with the observation that the supra-structure is very distinctive in the three port/port city clusters and can be deemed responsible for how the general dynamics are dealt with. Supra-structure matters and should not be taken out of the equation in port studies.

The model adapted from Baltazar and Brooks (2007) about strategic fits of involves port actors – port firms, port authorities, and port cities (Figure 3.3) – shows that it is the fine-tuning between the individual fits that leads to different outcomes. The strategic fits are an outcome of structure, strategy, and environment. Based on Figure 3.3, each actor's strategic fit is influenced by the other actors' search for a strategic fit. The search for the optimal fit is influenced by the general dynamics, as presented in Figure 1.2 describing the relationship between governance, general dynamics, and the relationship between the actors. Furthermore, this process of responding to external influences and taking into account existing but changing responsibilities, relationships, and strategies, takes place within a socio-political-economic context. This context was to be considered a black box. This thesis has opened up the black box by regarding it as a transformational system shaped by political-economic systems. Figure 10.1 synthesizes these outcomes as an adaption of Easton's (1957) model of a political system as presented in Chapter 5.

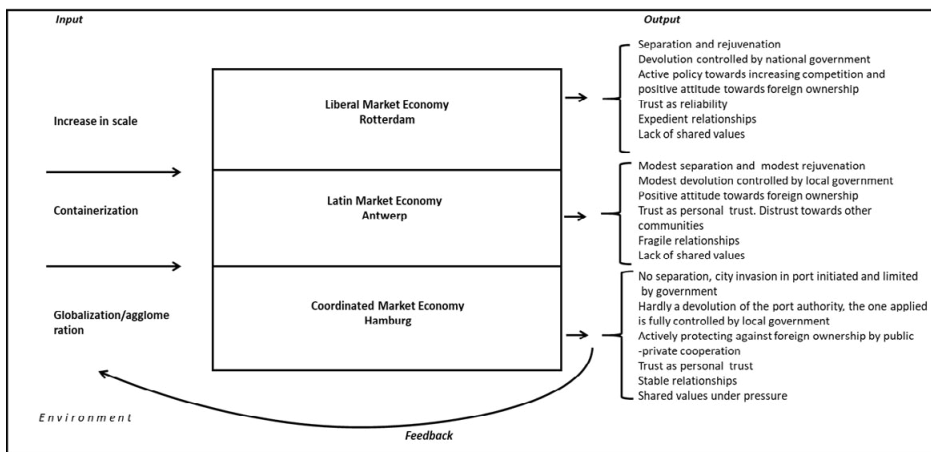


Figure 10.1 A model for approaching the outcomes of political systems given the same environmental inputs (adapted from Easton, 1957)

It is the environment as shaped by political-economic structures that this thesis has applied to study the ports of Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg. As input variables, the general dynamics were used that, molded by the characteristics of these political-economic systems, were responsible for outcomes that in turn might

affect the input variables, as illustrated in Figure 10.1. This system has a feedback. The role that the city wants to play in influencing the input to the system, the general dynamics, is one of the challenges for the future. How much power can or will a governance structure exert to achieve an outcome that favors the whole port city community? As remarked, power increases when local structures are backed up at national level. To illustrate the outcomes of this model, three narratives are constructed, based on the outputs modeled in Figure 10.1.

10.7 THREE NARRATIVES FOR THREE PORTS IN VARIOUS POLITICAL-ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

Up to now, various concepts guided the descriptions of the developments in the ports. They were the level of analysis. Now, it is time to describe the developments from the perspective of the port–port city relationship as the level of analysis, where the history, the present situation, and possible future developments are discussed. For that, for each port, schedules were constructed with the codes that most prominently describe the developments on which the narrative can be constructed and conclusions can be drawn. The relevant political-economic system framework is used for each port. The narrative is not just a story, it is a construct in which the various elements are combined to provide meaning to the observations made.

10.7.1 Rotterdam, a Liberal Market Economy

Rotterdam is a very large port, especially when measured in cargo handling volumes (tonnage). However, when expressed in added value, the port is not as large as one would expect from a complex that is so huge compared to its two competitors. It is highly esteemed for its contribution to national welfare and therefore supported by the national government when needed; but it is a port characterized primarily by flows of oil, other basic products, and containers. In this, it is responding to international developments that are beyond its sphere of influence. Although oil will be a necessary product for years to come, a time will come when it will be a business in decline. In cluster terms, this port will have to reinvent itself over and over again. To date, it has succeeded in that by dedicating itself to new developments such as hydrogen, biomass, and other sustainable energy sources, in addition to sophisticated IT solutions in maritime communications and data processing. The port has clearly chosen free entrepreneurship where competition within the port is highly stimulated. From Porter's idea that competition within the cluster enhances the competitive power of the cluster itself, this could also make the port vulnerable. Although 'ships still follow cargo', the decision does not always have to be rational

for the distant decision makers of liner or terminal operators to put port authorities under pressure. Because of these operators' possibilities in other nearby ports, they can try to enforce decisions that may be favorable for them, but not always for the port. The impact of the dynamics relating to scale increase, containerization, and globalization are expressed most strongly in this port. That this could be the case is due partly to its location: containers are handled rather easily, as there is enough space. A national government strongly supported these developments and realized the extensions on the Maasvlakte I; and, since the end of the 1980s, there has been a liberalized climate in The Netherlands, enthusiastically adopted by (historically based) entrepreneurial Rotterdam to make the most of it. This westward movement out of the city was accompanied by a more eastwardly directed movement of other logistics activities along the rivers where inland ports were developing, supported by the Port Authority of Rotterdam in close collaboration with the national government and regional governments. This stretched out the maritime activities spatially, in such a way that these inland ports benefit. So, their value-adding activities do not benefit the city of Rotterdam itself, but rather the other regions.

Synthesizing Rotterdam's scores on the sensitizing concepts and comparing them with the assumed scores of the Liberal Market Economy socio-political structure results in the picture presented in Table 10.5.

Table 10.5 Rotterdam, a Liberal Market Economy

	Rotterdam	Liberal Market Economy
Foreign ownership	++	++
Investment in society	+/-	-
Economy of touch	-	-
Closed community	-	-
Trust as reliability	++	++
Trust as personal trust	-	-
Shared values cultural	-	-
Shared values economic	+-	-

Note: A distinction was made between cultural and economic values for the three port cities and not for the political-economic system. Therefore, the system's shared values score included both types of values.

Globalization as a dynamic entered Rotterdam unimpeded, and therefore it was one of the first ports in which foreign ownership could flourish, unlike other ports in Western Europe. However, other ports soon opened up, with the exception of

Hamburg. Rotterdam is also a port characterized as having a problematic city. It has the central problem experienced in many port cities of economic development lagging behind in parts of the city. It is a port city whose ties with the port have been loosening – a process enhanced by the presence of these large powerful global players, especially in the cargo sector: the container business. Companies' investments in the city have been decreasing compared to the past. This separation between city and port is further stimulated by the port authority, which has been gaining a large degree of autonomy thanks to the entrepreneurial character of its past and present directors and the strong entrepreneurial attitude of politics and businessmen in Rotterdam. Trust between actors transformed into reliability (because of a stronger business-oriented relationship). This entrepreneurial character shows itself nowadays more and more in the port authority's explorative attitude. The port therefore scores more on economic shared values than on cultural shared values. Thus, the Rotterdam port cluster is typically an example of a *Gesellschaft*, but this cluster also has a city that is less interested in the port as it has to deal with its own urban problems – a city that has the burden of a less educated community and where many higher income level employees have moved out of the city, although the tide is turning thanks to new urban developments. There is, however, a gap that still needs to be filled. For that, the Rotterdam Maritime Capital project may be the instrument to bring the port closer to the city again.

The results in Table 10.5 may suggest that this had to be the conclusion. It is striking, although the researcher was constantly aware of possible bias when evaluating the concepts and attributing scores. In the end however, this is the plausible result for Rotterdam, which indeed very much approaches the score for the political-economic system connected with it. Some remarks are made on this methodological issue in section 10.9.1.

In the meantime, Figure 10.2 depicts a model expressing Rotterdam's port–port city relationships in a Liberal Market Economy context.

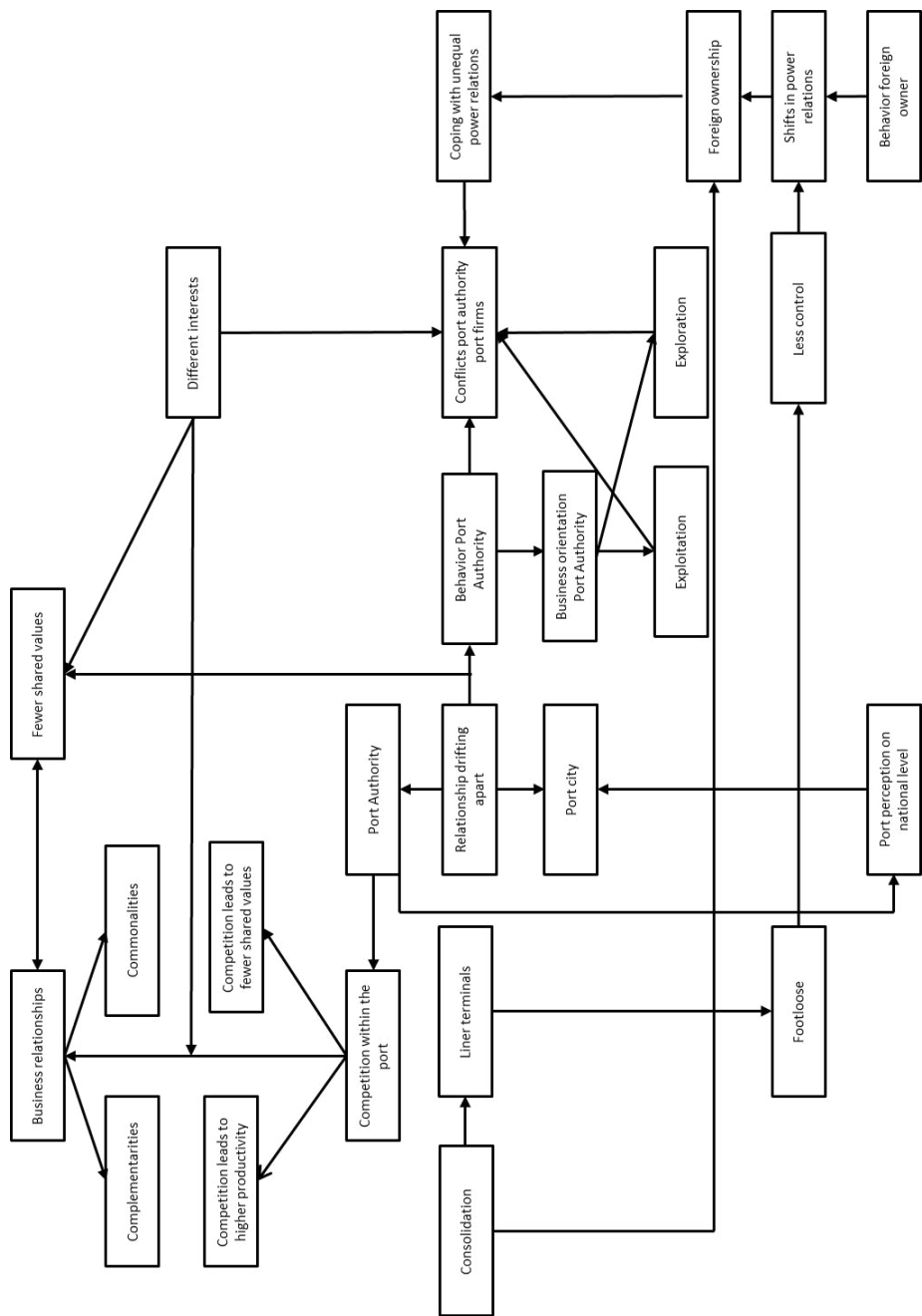


Figure 10.2 A model expressing Rotterdam port-port city relationships in a Liberal Market Economy context

10.7.2 Antwerp, a Latin Market Economy

Antwerp is a port with a typical, value-adding logistics sector that has its roots in early days and has been capable of retaining this activity until now – a port that not only depends on transit and therefore is influenced by short- or medium-term economic trends, but also has its own industrial structure with a certain independence. This is the strength of the port of Antwerp, thanks to the presence of some family-owned companies, organized around the naties. However, Antwerp is also a port that has to maneuver within politically determined goals, because of its strong bonds with the city council and its special relationship with the political forces as expressed by the municipalities on the Left Bank on whose territories it has expanded and wants to grow in future. These elements are reflected in the scores synthesized in Table 10.6.

Table 10.6. Antwerp, a Latin Market Economy

	Antwerp	Latin Market Economy
Foreign ownership	++	+
Investment in society	+/-	+/-
Economy of touch	++	++
Closed community	-	-
Trust as reliability	+	+
Trust as personal trust	+/-	+
Shared values cultural	+/-	+/-
Shared values economic	+	+/-

It is a city that lacks support at national level and therefore has to compete with other ports in Flanders for funds. This lack of national-level support derives from a situation typical of the federal state of Belgium where particularism fragments policies in order to satisfy the different needs of smaller entities. This is a property of the socio-political structure of the country, and particularly this region. This obstructs port performance. The development of the Left Bank is an example of how fragmented interests slow down the development of the port and shows the effect when a port is not considered as of a national interest. Conversely, there is a lack of trust to create conditions to foster the development of the port and of the smaller neighboring cities. This is why Antwerp, regarding personal trust, scores (slightly) less than expected according to the political model. This fragmentation is also reflected in the composition of the port authority, where elections can change its composition and therefore its impact – an unenviable situation with the prospect of having to make deals with large liner terminals and other global players, especially because politics favor personal relations as a basis for doing business – relations that are not easily built with these international players. The question is whether these

companies are open to doing business with an institution that is heavily influenced by local political players with their own political agenda. To date, institutionalized actions such as Major's Law and Chabert's Law have been able to cope with problems in the port. It is typical for a Latin Market Economy to reach for legislation when communications and business-like negotiations fail. These 'solutions' are, however, under pressure, not only because, as in the case of Major's Law, the employers find them outdated and not applicable to modern employer/employee relationships, but also because international EU legislation obstructs this.

Antwerp will have to find a way to reach its goals not only because it has to try to satisfy the interests of the actors involved, but also because a modern port city needs to be flexible to adjust to rapidly changing international developments and to be attractive for outsiders to live and work in a modern vibrant city. The relationships between the actors and the processes that constitute the port–port city relationships are depicted in Figure 10.3, where Antwerp is placed within the Latin Market Economy as the political-economic context. Like Rotterdam (and Hamburg as will be shown), the scores on these concepts very much resemble the political-economic context.

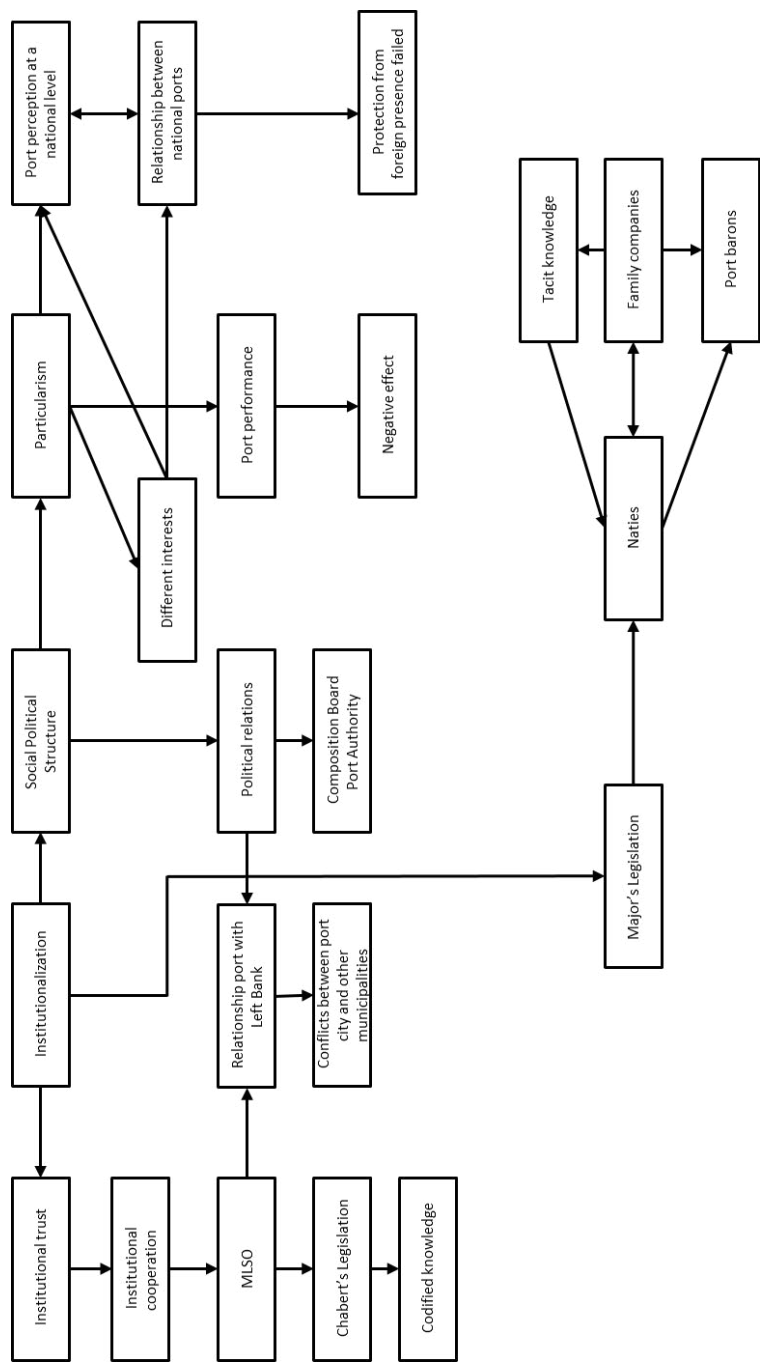


Figure 10.3 A model expressing Antwerp port–port city relationships in a Latin Market Economy context

10.7.3 Hamburg, a Coordinated Market Economy

Hamburg is a port under pressure: spatially, because there are literally limits to its capacity to expand; metaphorically, because city development in terms of water-front development puts pressure on existing areas of the port. Moreover, for a long time already, the port has been profiting less from spin-offs; but this city is much more than its port, although in terms of visibility the port is very evident. Thus, Hamburg “breathes the port” and its function, despite the more than noticeable negative externalities, is very much appreciated. This is enhanced by the blossoming cruise industry that brings its own dynamics to the town. As a cluster, the core of port business risks being locked in. This situation may be enhanced by the culture of its community. This community is composed of many family-owned companies with their own tacit structure that, thanks to an economy of touch, operate beyond the official structures, try to keep things under control, and are willing to help one another on the basis of old personal relationships whereby they trust one another. They are the architects (or components) of a social fabric that really determines what happens within the port. They are the owners of locally based companies that do not allow foreign companies to get a foothold in the port, or try to prevent them from doing so. On the one hand, this gives the port of Hamburg a certain autonomous position because it is more in control; on the other hand, it could mean that it will eventually lose contact with international developments as business globalizes. Viewed from the city’s perspective, as stated, the city is more than its port. The port is just one of Hamburg’s businesses, because such businesses “...ranging from automobiles, to electrical products to manufacturing chemicals did not need coalfield locations. They thus grew up in the established cities where the medieval crafts had been” (Hall, 2014, p. 92). To elaborate on that, Hamburg not only did not have coalfields, but also did not need huge coal imports to power economic activities, because the existing activities are of a different nature. These other activities (pharmaceuticals, education, aviation) are strong, future oriented, and expressed in the level of research and development and added value. Those industries contribute to the very wealthy city of Hamburg, based on high level employment. Even there however, Hamburg tries to be in control by preferring to own community needs like energy or taking stakes in companies if the city thinks that they are important for the city’s wellbeing. Thus, Hamburg is a *Gemeinschaft pur sang*: it is about the members, and not just the stakes involved; but the *Gemeinschaft* is under pressure because city developments like rejuvenation of former port areas is pushing the port to its limits spatially. These concepts are synthesized in Table 10.7 and compared to the political-economic model of the Coordinated Market Economy.

From a national perspective, Hamburg is in the same position as Antwerp. It is just one of Germany's ports without national support favoring the port with a focused port policy. The rather city-state-oriented attitude will not contribute to a stronger relationship; but, like Belgium, the federal state organization delegates responsibility to the various more or less autonomous regions. That favors internal competition between the German ports, and the question is whether this gives global players too much power that will have an effect on port fees and decision making.

Table 10.7 Hamburg, a Coordinated Market Economy

	Hamburg	Coordinated Market Economy
Foreign ownership	–	–
Investment in society	++	++
Economy of touch	++	++
Closed community	++	++
Trust as reliability	++	+
Trust as personal trust	++	++
Shared values cultural	++	++
Shared values economic	+	+

Again, the scores in Table 10.7 indicate a very strong relationship between the outcomes evaluating the scores for the sensitizing concepts and the assumed scores for the political-economic system. However, this system in itself is very much related to the German economy, and the Hamburg situation, given its background as a most prominent Hanse city, can therefore be seen as an extreme example of it. Figure 10.4 depicts a model representing Hamburg's port–port city relationships in a Coordinated Market Economy context.

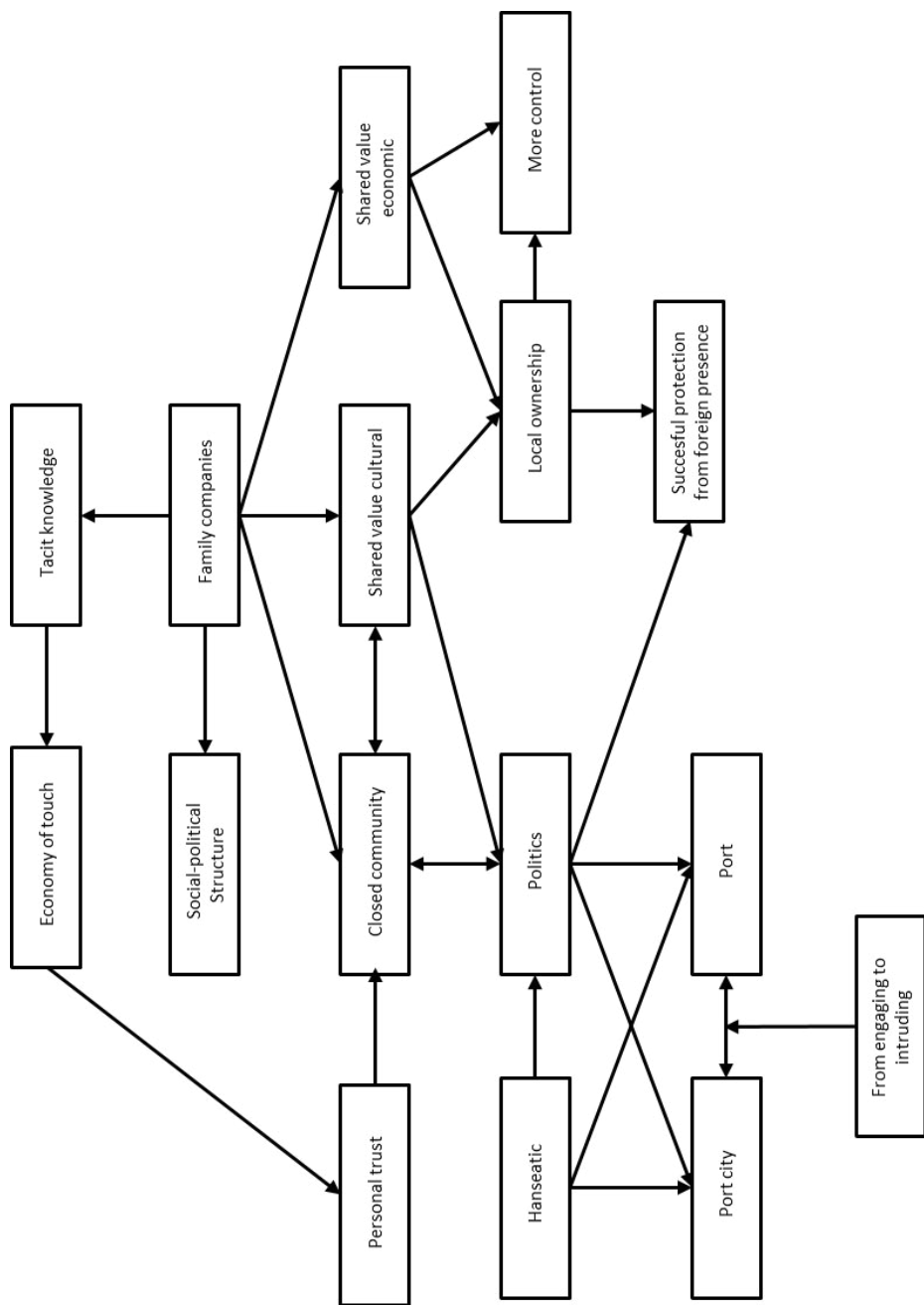


Figure 10.4 A model expressing Hamburg port–port city relationships in a Coordinated Market Economy context

10.8. REMARKS ON PORT-PORT CITY POLICIES

The three port/port city clusters having been described within the context of their respective political-economic systems, comments can be made on their policies. The next two sections are an attempt to do so, first, by evaluating the cluster within the scope of the relevant political-economic system (section 10.8.1); second, by making concrete suggestions (section 10.8.2).

10.8.1 Political-economic contexts and port-port city relationships

Positive externalities in the hinterland and negative externalities in the port region as a result of port activities are more profoundly evident in structures where the butterfly model mostly prevails (see Chapter 1, section 1.8). In Rotterdam, this is especially the case. Stimulating more value-adding activities within the port region would generate more positive externalities from which the city's population could benefit. On the other hand, the presence of a strong elite that wants to be influential and have a strong bond with the city and its existing political and economic structures might favor the city more than economic activities that feel less engaged with the city. So, a more closed community in Rotterdam that really feels related to the city could foster this process. For that, Rotterdam's city government should take more control of the port's future developments. The Rotterdam Maritime Capital project could be the vehicle through which to do so. This could foster an integrative approach where companies, private investments, and governance are more aligned within a framework that in the end is established by politics. This means stepping down from the Anglo-Saxon (rather neo-liberal) approach of a completely independent port authority. It is interesting to see that current developments in other aspects of society are moving in a direction of more governmental/political influence. This in fact means returning to the more Coordinated Market Economy that prevailed in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s.

It helps to be a main-port; it creates scale and generates influence. In Antwerp and Hamburg, it would be beneficial for national governments to be more involved in the development of the ports' functions. For that, the local governments should do more to force national governments to take a stand in favor of their position. In Antwerp, this means more centralized policies at national level that are able to listen to local interests, but from the perspective of the larger opportunities that go beyond the local communities. So, the Latin model with its policies determined by political local interests should shift to a more rational model where the interests of the economy are balanced out with the interests of other stakeholders.

National governments taking a stand for port policy means taking more advantage of the Coordinated Market Economy in Hamburg's case, but at a higher political level. Closed communities like Hamburg run the risk of failing to capitalize on the international developments regarding changing ownerships and the integration of liners and terminals. Opening up might unlock chances for more cooperation with other ports and thereby a reshuffling of port businesses that best suit the city and activities that are better placed in ports that have the upscaling possibilities to adapt to changes in demands from port users.

10.8.2 Looking forward, what is to be done?

This thesis is not about what has been done wrong or right by the three port/port city clusters. They responded in their own way to challenges that are basically the same. The outcomes were determined by various factors, one of which is the political-economic system and which is highlighted as an explanatory tool; but one might discover advantages and disadvantages of the different systems. So, the next remarks can be seen as mindsets whereby the three ports might learn from one another.

For the port of Rotterdam, in the past the mechanism of adapting to a changing environment has been at work, but primarily for port industry. As one respondent remarked, the position of the city has been weakened by the port devolution. The alderman responsible for the port has hardly any influence, and this is seen as a lack of countervailing power against the Rotterdam port authority. The position of the port companies is one whereby there should be more control on how the Rotterdam port authority acts. The Rotterdam port authority has the advantage of having good relationships with the national government in The Hague. If Rotterdam port authority does not favor developments because of the city's policies, putting pressure via The Hague has always been a 'brake in the toolbox'. This process must be viewed more in terms of the port's structure, which is more than the area west of the city. To date, the port has looked upstream but has also tended to overlook the in-between: the city. The Rotterdam Maritime City project, as well as the update of the Port Strategy 2020, aim to adjust this perspective. If support from the national government, which certainly was an asset in the past, can be assured, Rotterdam city can benefit fully from the developments to come, as will the port itself. This will require not only actions, but also a changed attitude, so that values will be truly shared.

Antwerp has to make a leap across a 'second Rubicon'. Not only must the river Scheldt be crossed, but also the idea must be implanted that formalization of in-

terests in legal structures is an answer to the distrust that exists in the Left Bank communities regarding decisions about port activities and the negative externalities that result from that. The appointment of the mayor of Beveren to the Port Authority of Antwerp board is a step forward in trying to establish more trust; but the balance of power is fragile, as the composition of the board is still partly determined by the presence of political factions. This divides the power of the Left Bank communities to influence the input variables affecting the port community.

Hamburg's closed community faces two pressures – one from outside, as a result of global dynamics (the input for Figure 10.1), and one from inside, as the port community faces the demands of city rejuvenation that needs space for new developments. The possibilities for the port community to expand further are limited. The question arises as to whether this expansion is needed in this port. Of course, one cannot abandon investments made in Hamburg, but a closer look at what should be allowed, guided by the principle of whether this really contributes to the welfare of the port city (as the cruise industry currently does), might lead to more opening up towards regions nearby. Hamburg is characterized by high trust inside but low trust towards the outer world. However, internal ties that are too strong might lock firms into their relationships. Furthermore, there is the dynamic of increased concentration in the container industry. In the future, the balance of power could swing to a side that does not favor Hamburg's interests. Adapting to this by allowing foreign investments is a strategy not chosen by Hamburg, relying on its own strengths as the port for the industrial hinterland with which it has its contacts. This, however, might change as a consequence of the activities of the other northern ports, which might require a more interstate approach by northern German ports. If Hamburg led such a process, it would be in the driving seat of such a development. The extent to which the Free and Hanseatic City of Hamburg, with its inward-looking policies, is inclined to do so is questionable. In addition, it is facing intercity tensions between the port and Hafencity. The government's position is ambivalent, as it is responsible for both entities: the port authority and Hafencity. A more distant relationship towards the port authority might make this tension more visible and thus more debatable. That might loosen up its port-city relationship to a certain extent.

10.9 SCIENTIFIC AND SOCIETAL RELEVANCE

What scientific and societal contribution has this thesis achieved? Within the maritime economy, there has been interest in the supra-structure in which developments have taken place, and, as stated in Chapter 1, attention has been paid to port-port

city relationships. No approach, however, has tried to view these relationships by taking a rather tacit, undefined supra-structure as an explanatory variable to describe and explain differences between port clusters. A lot of the research on port management does not approach the subject from this more holistic and integrative perspective. Port management studies are often rational and quantitative, whereas many important aspects are intangible but do exert influence and have not been examined. This thesis has done so by espousing insights from different disciplines: economy, sociology, and geography. This interdisciplinary approach gives this thesis its own stance in the maritime scientific world. Much research is done by looking at outcomes of processes, but less by looking at the underlying invisible forces and structures that influence these processes. This thesis contributes by researching influential forces like economy of touch, closed communities, and trust. When possible, arguments are illustrated with empirical literature and data. That could not be done in every case. Then, a greater appeal had to be made to a grounded theory characteristic: the argument of plausibility. By combining and creating a narrative as consistently as possible, reality has been explained.

10.9.1 On methodology

Some remarks need to be made regarding methodology. The use of sensitizing concepts is an effective approach to operationalize rather intangible phenomena, but the harsh method of letting the findings meld into these concepts is a method that could lead the researcher into a labyrinth of findings. Structuring the process by defining these concepts in terms of existing theoretical constructs helps to develop a systematically useful tool. That is why in this thesis there has been quite an extensive elaboration of the theories used. It was a quest to achieve a tool to research sometimes intangible phenomena. The results have to be interpreted as plausible outcomes,⁸⁸ and, as stated in evaluating the situation in Tables 10.5 to 10.7, there is the risk of ‘writing to an outcome’. That is why so much theory as dealt with in Chapters 2, 3 4 and 5 had to be discussed. These theories are the backbone on which concepts were chosen and are the tools for the interpretations made. The evaluation of the concepts used a coarse meshed system on a 5-point scale using plus/minus grading, but this also demanded clearer statements on difficult-to-measure outcomes. The application of a numerical scale (with outcomes like 6.4, etc.) would have resulted only in apparent accuracy. The comparison of resemblances to political-economic systems was carried out on the basis of assumed scores on political-economic models. Therefore, the argument can also be reversed: evaluating the three tables creates the scores on the political-economic model. One

⁸⁸ For the discussion on precognition, see section 3.3.9.

should not forget that it was not the aim of this thesis to prove that a port cluster resembles a certain political-economic system. These scores only help to explain the plausible causes of variations in outcomes under the influence of more or less the same inputs.

10.9.2 On policies and interests

Economic developments are not intended to be for the sake of companies. They are not intended to be for the sake of shareholders. Economic developments are crystallized around nodes of activities, the clusters. Therefore, many stakeholders need to be taken into account – stakeholders that all have their own interests. This study shows how various political-economic systems absorb global developments. That is not to say that one system is better than another. What it does say is that systems proffer solutions that foster economic development in ways whereby they can have different outcomes for different stakeholders. This research shows that paying attention to local interests rather than merely taking care of just the economic interests of companies can help to benefit more stakeholders. That is certainly not a plea for a step back from internationalization and globalization; rather, having an eye for the risks of these developments and an acknowledgement that a society should be able to stay in control of key assets is a lesson to keep in mind. Politics do play a role in so-called rational decisions, but, as the motto of this thesis reads, “Reason is a slave of the passions” (Hume, 1986). The starting point is that which is believed in and that which is felt, before rational outcomes become apparent. Therefore, policymakers should be aware that what they think as a rational decision-making process in reality started in the heart with all its biases and preferences.

10.10 EPILOGUE

This thesis started with the remark that port cities are attractive places. The Menon Report (Menon Business Economics, 2012) on maritime capitals, which researches this, claims that the winners in the race for attractiveness will be the leading maritime centers of the world (Jacobsen et al., 2019, p. 4). The Menon Report predicts, in the assessment of industry experts, that Hamburg will be in the vanguard of maritime centers, given the comparison between the three port cities researched in this thesis. This thesis has shown different outcomes of the transformation of the port cities. Attractiveness does not always have to be directly connected to maritime activities, but it certainly was spurred by it. The most attractive cities are the ones that are able to have a diversified economy. Various political-economic systems have been trying to influence this, with different outcomes. There is no favored model;

each has its advantages and its flaws. However, the three systems researched in this thesis have characteristics whereby each entity can learn and implement changes in its own port city environment. For Rotterdam, it means that the bond between port and port city needs to be strengthened by active participation in the Maritime Capital narrative and even taking the lead in it. It should also stimulate locally bound initiatives in which the national government should participate. Take initiatives in container handling activities could be one option. For Antwerp, it means that the Left Bank must acknowledge that, for the greater good, one cannot stick to one's own small-scale interests but realize that the development of activities of large-scale industries need to be governed by strong entities that can act as one. The Antwerp political community sitting on the port authority board must therefore rise above its political interests and realize that taking care of national interests requires a national approach. For Hamburg, it means that it should open up cautiously, otherwise there is the risk that developments in days to come will pass it by and choose other nearby German ports. A national port policy could be devised to choose what kind of future there is for these ports on Germany's north coast. What these three cities show is that old structures, stemming from the past, are sometimes very alive – Hamburg, and to a lesser degree Antwerp – or almost gone because of an attitude that in fact does not really fit the structure of its society: Rotterdam. The latter might be changing, as is visible in the discussions about business relations and companies' responsibilities towards society (stakeholders instead of shareholders), gaining trust, ownership, and shared values.

This study contributes to a better understanding among ports of one another's position. It would be worthwhile if this work could contribute to a better understanding of each tradition, presenting the DNA structure and the actual political-institutional context. It starts from an ex-post orientation, but, more than ever, we need to have knowledge of this complexity in order to be able to read the future (ex-ante). Being aware of these insights should lead to more and better cooperation between ports and cities, to be prepared for the common challenges that need to be addressed in the near future – challenges with which these regions especially are confronted: climate change, energy transition, changing economic points of gravity, a changing geopolitical landscape. These challenges ask for public and corporate policies that are not primarily interested in financial benefits in the short term. These topics need investments for the (very) long term. In view of this it can be argued that neo-liberalism as the outcome of the Liberal Market Economy in essence can be viewed as a conservative way of thinking, and in fact delayed responding to these challenges. A new approach might be needed. The developments in 2020 as a result of the Covid-19 crisis seems a catalyst, a turning point if one takes a closer look

at the statements of Dutch politicians. Time will tell if this translates itself into a business perspective that views ports as constructs that are inseparable from their cities with all the responsibilities both have for each other.

The first sentences of this thesis in the problem analysis in section 1.1 made a kind of promise: “This thesis is about the untold. The presence of the invisible but clearly present. It is about knowledge that is not clearly expressed but omnipresent. It is about relational structures that are articulated formally and informally. It is about embeddedness in an environment that sets constraints or opportunities. It is about an infrastructure and a deeply ingrained supra-structure, the ‘fluid’ that flows within a port’s society, that influences one of the most massive, heavyweight artificial structures ever made by man: it is about ports and their port cities.” A lot has been said and so it is time to end. As this thesis has opened up the black box and tried to give voice to the untold, a view on the invisible, and an explanation of the unexpressed, differences between the three port city clusters in their response to the same general dynamics have become clear and the reasons for these differences have been explained.

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APPENDIX1: LIST OF INTERVIEWEES

Name	Date of interview (jjjj-mm-dd)	Function	Company
Rotterdam			
Rob Baghus	2018-06-29	Chief Public Affairs & Public Relations Officer	ECT
Ulco Bottema	2018-05-24	Senior Commercial Executive	ECT
Carel van den Driest	2018-05-31	Former CEO	ECT
Ben Vree	2018-07-06	Former Managing Director	PSA
Wim van Sluis	2018-06-07	Former Alderman	City of Rotterdam
Hans Vervat	2018-07-05	Former Alderman/ Director; owner	City of Rotterdam/ Matrans Holding
Dominic Schrijer	2018-06-28	Former Alderman/Mayor	City of Rotterdam/ Zwijndrecht
Menno Huijs	2019-06-20	Managing director Rotterdam Maritime Board	City of Rotterdam
Wio Schaap	2018-06-22	Senior Policy Advisor	City of Rotterdam
Henk de Bruijn	2018-05-31	Manager Social & Labour Affairs	Port of Rotterdam
Henk Molenaar	2018-07-04	Former CEO	Port of Rotterdam
Victor Schoenmakers	2019-03-14 2019-08-20	Director Corporate Strategy	Port of Rotterdam
Allard Castelein	2020-03-16	CEO	Port of Rotterdam
Hans Smits	2018-07-11	Former CEO	Port of Rotterdam
Steven Lak	2018-08-13	Chairman	Deltalinqs
Antwerp			
Marc van Peel	2017-11-22	Alderman, chairman	City of Antwerp/Port of Antwerp
Guy Janssens	2018-01-12	Chief Corporate Affairs Officer	Port of Antwerp
Eddy Bruyninckx	2018-01-11	Former CEO	Port of Antwerp

Name	Date of interview (jjjj-mm-dd)	Function	Company
Roger Roels	2017-12-07	Former managing director	P&O Ports/DP World
Fernand Huts	2017-11-30	CEO	Katoen Natie
Jan Blomme	2017-11-16	Regional Port Commissioner	Government of Flanders
Peter van de Putte	2017-11-17	General manager	Maatschappij Linker Scheldeoever
Thierry Vanelslander	2017-09-18	Associate professor	University of Antwerp (Transport & Logistics)
Stephan Vanfraechem	2018-01-15	Managing director	Alphaports/VOKA Antwerpen
Marc van de Vijver	2018-02-09	Mayor	City of Beveren
Hamburg			
Jens Meier*	2019-07-11	CEO	Port of Hamburg
Bernhard Zampolin*	2019-07-11	Ass. to the CEO	Port of Hamburg
Bjoern Pistol	2018-10-25	Head of Port Strategy	Port of Hamburg
Phanthian Zuesongdham	2015-11-12	Officer Process Management Innovation	Port of Hamburg
Gunther Bonz	2018-10-24	Former State Secretary/ Executive Director	City of Hamburg/Eurogate
Anjes Tjarkes	2019-02-27	Chairman faction Green Party	City of Hamburg
Jürgen Bruns-Berentelg	2018-12-13	CEO	HafenCity Hamburg
Jürgen Sorgenfrei	2018-10-25	Former CEO/Managing Director	Port of Hamburg Marketing /IHS Markit
Hans-Ulrich Wolff	2019-02-28	Consultant	W&P marine
Jens Froese	2019-02-28	Professor em./ Consultant Maritime Logistics	Hamburg University of Technology
Michele Acciaro	2019-02-01	Associate professor	Kühne Logistics University

*Information via questionnaire

APPENDIX 2: DISCIPLINES, APPROACHES, AND INDICATORS

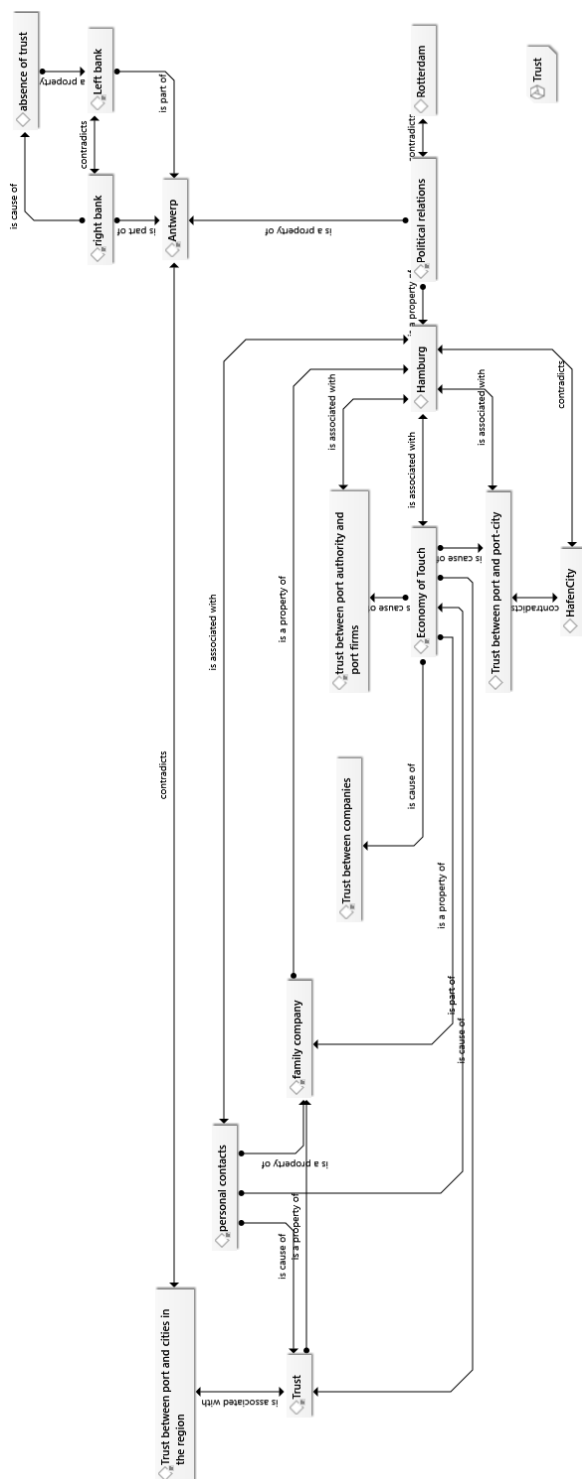
Discipline	Scholars	Model	Fields of interest	Indicators	Comment
Neo-classical economy <i>A Theory of Location of Industries</i> (1929)	Weber, (Isard, Moses)	Industrial Complex	Stable relations among firms; relations are trading links; concerning the relationship between optimal location of the firm, transport costs, and the price of factors of production (labour)	Level, pattern, and temporal stability of the input–output linkages for local tradeable and factor inputs	Static, only ‘hard’ economic drivers
Neo-classical economy <i>Principles of Economics</i> (1920)	Marshall	Industrial District: pure agglomeration based on a certain industry	Local pool of specialized labour; local non-traded input; maximum flow of information and ideas. Based on geographical proximity.	Estimation of aggregate production functions (labour force, capital)	Still hard economic drivers but an eye for relationships. Pays attention to path dependency and history.
Management and business studies <i>The Competitive Advantage of Nations</i> (1990)	Porter	The Diamond: an elaboration on non-traded inputs. Businesses benefit from availability and efficiency of local services.	Factor conditions; demand conditions (local); firm’s strategy, structure, and rivalry; related and supporting industries. Relation with customers and suppliers.	Human capital, knowledge resources, demand size, pattern of growth, number of competitive suppliers, number of rivals. Commonalities and complementarities.	All about relationships in the perspective of competitive advantage. Historical perspective (path dependency). Describes a situation, not a model for future developments.
Management and business studies <i>Creating Shared Value</i> (2011)	Porter & Kramer	Stakeholder model	Attractive clusters as a driver for supply and demand Relationships between firms and their environment	Stakeholders; supply and demand within the region	Acknowledging positive and negative externalities; role of public governance emphasized

Discipline	Scholars	Model	Fields of interest	Indicators	Comment
Neo-classical New economic geography <i>Geography of Trade (1991)</i>	Krugman	Geographic Concentration	Interaction of demand, increasing returns, and transportation costs; centripetal and centrifugal forces. Role for history and accident.	Aggregate production functions (labour force, capital). Costs.	In fact, a Marshallian approach based in a spatial context. Hard economics. Sees conflicts of interest in the dynamics of the spatial concentration.
Sociology <i>The Strength of Weak Ties (1973)</i>	Granovetter	Social Network	Strong (interpersonal) interfirm social interactions are stronger than intrafirm interactions; strong and weak ties; interpersonal trust and routine practice	Involvement in joint- ventures, lobbying activity, mutual-support networks, means of controlling membership of the network	Not a real spatial dimension although it is about a linked network placed in space. Has profound ideas of the boundaries of space and the impact on the network. Very usable.
Economic geography <i>Places and Flows: Situating International Investment (2009)</i>	Dicken	Trans-national corporations	Social embeddedness: inter- and intra-firm relationships; firm-place and place-place relationships	Customer-supplier transactions; positive regional spill overs; power of local firm towards the other international sister companies	Place and geography are important determinants of firms' behaviour; there are place-specific contexts. Comparative international analyses are required to 'understand the nature and characteristics of the persistently varied and divergent forms of capitalism.'
Geography <i>From 'Growth Center' to 'Cluster' (2005)</i>	Chapman	Life cycle	Locked-in regions; cluster life cycle		Brings in the development of the cluster. A frame to describe the historical events that led to the current situation. Important for evaluation of the future of clusters.

Discipline	Scholars	Model	Fields of interest	Indicators	Comment
Economics <i>Skill Relatedness and Firm Diversification</i> (2013)	Neffke & Henning	Skill-relatedness	Related diversification	Job migration	Strong link to Chapman. In combination, this provides the researcher with a great tool. Strong emphasis on HRM, perhaps too much. If other factors were included, perhaps other judgments could have been possible.
Geography <i>Cluster Life Cycles – Dimensions and Rationales of Cluster Evolution</i> (2009)	Menzel & Fornahl	Life cycle	Dynamics: heterogeneity and absorptive capacity; Dimensions: direct and systemic effects, quantitative and qualitative dimensions	Size, capacity for collective action; diversity utilization; localized learning, spatial and thematic boundaries	Elaboration of Chapman. Here everything comes together. What is lacking is Porter's ideas about the diamond factors and the personal dimension provided by Granovetter
Geography <i>Conceptualizing Cluster Evolution: Beyond the Life Cycle Model?</i> (2011)	Martin & Sunley	Adaptive (life) cycles; Clusters as complex adaptive systems	Life cycle model not capable of providing a general theory of cluster evolution. In need of a model that does not have the episodic discrete systems at temporal scales but has more flexibility to allow more different possible sequential trajectories.	Full adaptive cluster cycle: reorganization, exploitation, conservation, release + cluster (constant) mutation, stabilization, reorientation, failure, disappearance	More interest in the interaction of the cluster with external factors, capable of disrupting cluster developments.

Appendix based on Gordon & McCann (2000)

APPENDIX 3: EXAMPLE OF SCHEDULES OF SENSITIZING CONCEPTS



APPENDIX 4: OUTPUT ATLAS TI

Output Atlas Ti frequency groundedness per port city per sensitizing concept.

	Repondents Port of Antwerp Gr=2346; GS=10	Respondents Port of Hamburg Gr=2182; GS=10	Respondents Port of Rotterdam Gr=3309; GS=14	Totals
◦ closed community Gr=22	0	22	0	22
◦ Company's Investment in society Gr=36	12	5	19	36
◦ Economy of Touch Gr=91	42	28	21	91
◦ family company Gr=37	11	22	4	37
◦ Foreign ownership Gr=106	45	13	48	106
◦ institutional trust Gr=5	1	0	4	5
◦ Local ownership Gr=34	6	24	4	34
◦ personal trust Gr=47	11	17	19	47
◦ Shared value cultural Gr=76	14	37	25	76
◦ Shared value economic Gr=62	11	26	25	62
Totals	153	194	169	516

English summary

Living Apart Together

Rotterdam, Antwerp and Hamburg: relationships between port and city under pressure

INTRODUCTION

Port performances are often studied from an economic or geographical perspective. In these studies, a lot of attention is paid to the achievements of ports in various domains, varying from historic happenings to innovative capacities. The relationship between a port and the city in which it was originally located, if reviewed at all, is examined by accepting the spatial situation as a starting point to explain its development. This has formed the basis for a certain fascination for the separation of functions and effects in terms of studying the labour market, the economic and the environmental effects for the city, and, in later years, its rejuvenation by waterfront development.

Not many studies consider the port and the city as an organic structure with mutual interdependencies; a handful of studies focus on the cluster perspective, but these are exceptions. This thesis combines the two approaches and places port cluster and city interdependence as an outcome of a socio-economic fabric. The study aims to unravel the underlying structure that influences, and more or less determines, the responses to global developments that have an impact on ports in their relationship with their port city. The outcomes of these developments differ between ports, and this thesis analyses the underlying structures for three ports and their effect on the port–port city relationship. The ports in question are the three largest ports in north-western Europe: Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg.

The thesis is structured in three parts. In the first part, the problem is stated and the research questions are presented. The second part, the theoretical framework, delves into various disciplines to develop a research framework in which so-called sensitizing concepts are presented. These concepts are applied in the third part, the empirical (case)study.

The problem analysis

From the 1960s onwards, many maritime studies have focused on three global developments for which models were constructed. These developments were the effects of a) increase in scale; b) containerization, and c) globalization/agglomeration. In this study, these three developments are characterized as the general dynamics that influence port–port city relationships. Their effects influence the growth and location of ports and have led to a separation between the ports and their cities. This forms the inspiration for this study. Based on this, the main research question of this thesis is:

How can we understand the relationship between port and port city in response to international, port business-related, developments?

The three port clusters – Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg – are all affected by the same developments but have responded to them in different ways. The study uses the perspective that three different social political-economic systems form the embeddedness for different outcomes.

The theoretical part

To get a better understanding of the dynamics that determine these different outcomes, a framework is developed. This framework results from studying insights from economics, research on clusters, governance, and social sciences. From the insights, an interdisciplinary tool is constructed to conduct the empirical part. As it is about an underlying, not directly apparent fabric, the grounded theory method was chosen as the scientific approach for conducting the research. Following an interpretation of this methodology, sensitizing concepts were needed to conduct the research. These sensitizing concepts are derived from the theoretical overview of the disciplines mentioned above.

Cluster theory describes clusters in terms of their historic development, their composition, their resilience to change, and the degree of public involvement by government. Thus, the cluster approach provides a framework for describing the port–port city cluster in terms of commonalities and complementarities, heterogeneity (differentiation), and locked-in situations. The governance approach provides sensitizing concepts such as business relations, trust, ownership, and companies' contributions to society. Finally, social sciences provide the sensitizing concepts of economy of touch and tacit knowledge. As an integrating concept, provided by cluster theorists and re-formed in this thesis for use as a concept in which the other concepts could manifest themselves, the concept of shared values is a central notion.

Governance scholars study how control, communication, and learning processes can be used as instruments of governance. In the last three decades in particular, the emerging New Public Management has made efficient and effective governance a central theme – hence the role played by governance in this research in view of the devolution of port governance that took place in the last two decades. Social sciences contribute to the development of the framework in the form of institutional arrangements that provide the sensitizing concepts to get a better understanding of the role of behaviour and culture. Political-economic contexts are formulated in three appearances: a Liberal Market Economy, a Coordinated Market Economy,

and a Latin Market Economy. The thesis assumes that manifestations of these three varieties of economic models can help to explain the different outcomes of the port–port city relationships as a response to the general dynamics as described in the problem analysis.

The empirical part

The empirical part is divided into two sections. The first section is comprised of three monographs of Rotterdam, Antwerp, and Hamburg, respectively. It shows that the seeds are sown in history for today's outcomes. Of course, geographic conditions make certain developments more likely than others. It makes a difference if the port is near the seashore or positioned 80 kilometres inland. However, historical bonds across Europe also determined the economic position and configuration of the cities, and still do even today. Rotterdam's position, recognized in the national policy of The Netherlands as a generator of economic development, is still reflected in the economic structure of the port and the city. In Antwerp, the country's political structure and context determined and still determines the development of the port and the relationship between port and city. This is not restricted to influences at national level only, but also includes the political relationships between provinces or between cities and villages near Antwerp. These multi-level issues have a direct effect on the port and the city of Antwerp. In Hamburg, being one of the most important Hansa cities, a caste of merchants/businessmen with strong governmental relations developed over the centuries as a very internationally oriented but also closed network. This has led to a structure that can still be found nowadays with its own mores and behaviour.

The second section is based on interviews with 36 key port actors, active or formerly active in business, port authorities, or city government. The sensitizing concepts distinguished in the theoretical part are the topics to be explored in these interviews. Besides the interviews, the annual reports (2011–2016) of the port authorities of the three ports are analysed by using a selection of the sensitizing concepts to conduct a text analysis. In addition to the analysis, statistical data are used to underline or illustrate the conclusions.

Relationships between ports and their cities

The findings from the analysis of the concepts for the three ports/port cities show that the differences in outcomes within these regions can be explained by differences in political-economic systems; this argument is a plausible one. The narratives created for each port–port city relationship make it clear that actors' responses can be traced back to their respective supra-structure: their socio-cultural embedded-

ness. The differences between the three ports become clear, as summarized in Table S1.

For Rotterdam, starting from its reconstruction just after World War 2, a shift can be observed from a strong entrepreneurship for the good of society to reconstruct the national economy rooted in the city of Rotterdam towards a more stand-alone port with its own economic goals located outside the city. This shift was not only physical but also mental and culminated in a changing governance style from the 1990s onwards, inspired by the New Public Management concept to adopt the concept of New Public Governance. For example, the port authority operated more and more independently, and the port and the city drifted away from each other. This move was not only spatially to the west, but also mentally in terms of belonging to each other and striving for a common purpose. Because of its employment structure, the city had a hard time economically speaking. Large areas, especially in the south of the city, lagged behind in economic development. This was exacerbated by an influx of non-Western immigrants whose economic prospects were poor. The separation of port functions that had traditionally been located in the city Rotterdam was increased by leading companies like the container terminal operators. The consolidation of these companies resulted in a trend towards influential and internationally oriented entities, less based in Rotterdam's business society (see score on foreign ownership). Social structures became less personal, and economic drivers became more dominant (see scores on economy of touch and both types of shared values). This more Liberal Market Economy model is nowadays in question and the call to create stronger ties with the city is getting louder.

Table S1: The presence of the sensitizing concepts and the political-economic structure

	Rotterdam	Antwerp	Hamburg
Foreign ownership	++	++	-
Investment in society	+/-	+/-	++
Economy of touch	-	++	++
Closed community	-	-	++
Trust as reliability	++	+	++
Trust as personal trust	-	+/-	++
Shared values cultural	-	+/-	++
Shared values economic	+/-	+	+

For Antwerp, the globalization dynamic is equally expressed in foreign ownership, like in Rotterdam. Differences can be found in interpersonal relationships, partly

stimulated by the port authority and ties between the port actors and the city that are stronger and more aligned. The political influence manifested in the presence of politicians on the Port Authority of Antwerp's board should not be underestimated, and it certainly contributes to this. That does not mean that there is a widely shared common sense and agreement on the direction of port development. A certain distrust can be observed between, on the one hand, the port and the city of Antwerp and, on the other hand, the surrounding smaller communities and municipalities. That is the arena in which the port and the city strive for their own interests. Politics still play a role in the port–port city community, and therefore the situation in Antwerp indeed reflects the Latin Market Economy.

Rotterdam and Antwerp differ slightly from each other, but the situation in Hamburg is completely different. Its glorious past is still very much present in Hamburg, economically, socially, and culturally. The socio-economic order has a heritage that should not be overlooked. The indicators score high on manifestations of a closed society with strong inner bonds. That influences internationalization and globalization trends, as well as foreign ownership; to date, this social structure has prevented foreign companies from entering Hamburg society. Social structures, controlled by Hamburg's most important actors, try to keep Hamburg's assets in Hamburg hands. Therefore, Hamburg is a real exponent of the Coordinated Market Economy. Hamburg represents a very diversified economy, of which the maritime industry is just part. Negative economic effects with the potential to hurt maritime activities are thus mitigated by the Hamburg employment structure.

So, the study shows that dynamics that are universal for ports in Europe are absorbed in different ways and have led to different outcomes in terms of port–port city relationships. The variations result from the various political-economic systems embedded in different cultures, as operationalized by the sensitizing concepts. There is no such thing as 'the best system'. The research indicates that there are advantages and disadvantages to having a particular political-economic system. Port regions can still learn from one another. An overarching issue is the position of the port within national policy. Rotterdam has benefitted from the formal main-port policy of The Netherlands. This 'favourite' position was not bestowed on Antwerp and Hamburg. In retrospect, Antwerp could have benefitted from such a position in its relationship with surrounding municipalities. For Hamburg, this is less the case, because Hamburg as a city and autonomous city-state has much more to benefit from than only the port. What Hamburg teaches the other two cities is that heterogeneity pays off in terms of welfare for the city. Besides this economic perspective, there is the cultural attitude, articulated by the realization that a community that

has critical assets in its own hands might to be able to play its own role in port developments from which the city might benefit.

And so, this thesis has attempted to clarify port–port city relationships that are often shaped by intangible, tacit forces. This was done by generating topics (the sensitizing concepts) that are considered as expressions of these forces. The black boxes – societies that processed the incoming general dynamics and generated the outcomes – have been opened a little. This opening up contributes to a better understanding of the different outcomes in the three port–port city relationships and provides new insights for a framework that not only explains the past (ex-post), but also has the potential to deal with the future threats and challenges (ex-ante) that all European north-western ports and port cities have in common.

Dutch summary

Living Apart Together

Rotterdam, Antwerpen en Hamburg: Relaties tussen haven en stad onder druk

INTRODUCTIE

Havenactiviteiten zijn vaak het studieobject geweest vanuit een economisch of geografisch perspectief. In deze studies is veel aandacht besteed aan de resultaten van de havens vanuit verschillende disciplines, variërend van de ontwikkeling van havens in een historisch perspectief tot en met het bestuderen van de innovatieve mogelijkheden van de havens. Bij het onderzoek naar de relaties tussen de haven en de stad waarin deze van oorsprong is gesitueerd, voor zover bestudeerd, was de ruimtelijke situatie een gegeven. Dat was dan de basis voor de interesse van de functiescheiding in die haven-stadrelatie, de aanwezige arbeidsmarkt, de ruimtelijke effecten voor de stad en, in latere jaren, voor de stadsvernieuwing via de oude haventerreinen.

Niet veel studies zien de haven en de stad als een organische structuur met wederzijdse afhankelijkheden. Een aantal studies doen dat vanuit het cluster-theoretische perspectief, maar dat zijn uitzonderingen. Dit proefschrift plaatst de wederzijdse afhankelijkheid van het havencluster en de stad als een resultante van een sociaal economisch weefsel. Ze beoogt de onderliggende structuur van dit weefsel te ontrafelen, een weefsel dat mede bepaalt hoe er gereageerd wordt op mondiale ontwikkelingen die invloed hebben op de relatie tussen haven en stad. De uitkomsten hiervan verschillen per haven. De bestudeerde havens zijn de grootste van Noordwest-Europa: Rotterdam, Antwerpen en Hamburg.

Het proefschrift bestaat uit drie delen. In het eerste deel wordt de probleemstelling gedefinieerd met de bijbehorende onderzoeksvragen. In het tweede deel, de theoretische onderbouwing, wordt met behulp van verschillende wetenschappelijke disciplines een onderzoeks raamwerk gebouwd, waarmee zogenaamde 'sensitizing concepts' (richting gevende begrippen) worden ontwikkeld. Deze concepten worden in het derde, empirische, deel toegepast in de case studies.

De probleemanalyse

Vanaf de jaren '60 hebben maritieme studies zich beziggehouden met drie mondiale ontwikkelingen die in verschillende modellen werden weergegeven. Deze ontwikkelingen waren het gevolg van a) schaalvergroting; b) containerisatie, en c) globalisering en agglomeratievorming. In deze studie worden deze drie ontwikkelingen als de algemene dynamieken gezien die de relaties tussen de haven en de stad hebben beïnvloed. Zij beïnvloedden de groei en de situering van de haven en dit leidde tot een scheiding tussen haven en stad. Dit fenomeen vormde de inspiratie voor deze studie. Vanuit deze wetenschap volgt de volgende centrale vraag:

Hoe kunnen we de relatie tussen haven en stad begrijpen als reactie op internationale haven gerelateerde ontwikkelingen?

De drie havenclusters – Rotterdam, Antwerpen en Hamburg- zijn alle drie door dezelfde ontwikkelingen beïnvloed maar zijn daarmee op verschillende wijzen omgegaan. Deze studie plaatst dit binnen drie verschillende sociaalpolitiek-economische systemen die mede verantwoordelijk zijn voor die verschillende uitkomsten.

Het theoretische deel

Om een beter begrip te krijgen van de dynamieken die tot die verschillende uitkomsten leidden, is een onderzoeksmodel ontwikkeld. Dit model is het resultaat van inzichten uit de ruimtelijke economie (het onderzoek naar clusters), de bestuurskunde en de sociale wetenschappen. Vanuit die inzichten is een interdisciplinair instrument ontwikkeld om de het empirisch onderzoek te structureren. Omdat het object van studie een onderliggend, niet direct herkenbaar weefsel betreft, is de methode van grounded theory gekozen als de wetenschappelijke aanpak. Een interpretatie van deze methode volgend, betekent dat dat er ‘sensitizing concepts’ nodig zijn. Die concepten zijn afgeleid van de theoretische inzichten zoals hierboven genoemd.

Clustertheorie beschrijft clusters vanuit hun historische ontwikkeling, hun samenstelling, hun veerkracht met betrekking tot veranderingen van buitenaf en (hoewel onderbelicht) de mate waarin de overheid invloed heeft. Op deze wijze verschaft clustertheorie een raamwerk om de haven-stad relatie te beschrijven in termen van complementariteiten en gemeenschappelijkheden, heterogeniteit en ‘locked-in’ situaties. De bestuurskundige benadering verschaft sensitizing concepts als zakelijke relaties, vertrouwen, eigenaarschap, en het bijdragen van bedrijven aan de gemeenschap. Tot slot dragen de sociale wetenschappen bij met de sensitizing concepts ‘economie van de het persoonlijk contact’, en ‘stilzwijgende kennis’. Als een samenbindend concept dat is gebruikt door cluster theoretici maar voor deze studie is geherformuleerd, zodat het als een fenomeen kon dienen waarbinnen de genoemde concepten zich manifesteren, dient het begrip ‘gedeelde waarden’.

Bestuurskundigen bestuderen hoe aansturing, communicatie en het leerproces kunnen worden gebruikt als instrumenten voor het besturen. Met name in de laatste drie decennia heeft New Public Management grote aandacht gegeven aan de efficiëntie en effectiviteit van besturen. Bestuurskunde krijgt aandacht in deze studie vanwege de invloed die deze benadering de laatste twee decennia heeft gehad op de verzelfstandiging van havenbedrijven.

De sociale wetenschappen dragen bij aan de ontwikkeling van het raamwerk institutionele arrangementen van waaruit de sensitizing concepts zijn afgeleid die voor een beter begrip zorgen van de rol van gedrag en cultuur.

Politiek economische structuren belichten de mogelijke aanwezigheid van politiek-economische contexten: de Liberale Markt Economie, de Gecoördineerde Markt Economie, en een Latijnse Markt Economie. Dit proefschrift gaat ervan uit dat deze drie variaties van economische modellen bijdragen aan de verklaring van de verschillende uitkomsten in de haven-stad relaties die ontstonden als gevolg van de algemene dynamieken zoals geformuleerd in de probleemanalyse.

Het empirische deel

De empirie bestaat uit twee delen. Het eerste deel wordt gevormd door drie monografieën van Rotterdam, Antwerpen en Hamburg. Deze laten zien hoe het verleden een stempel heeft gedrukt op de situatie van nu en de ontwikkelingen die nog steeds plaatsvinden. Natuurlijk heeft geografie in de zin van locatie ervoor gezorgd dat bepaalde ontwikkelingen in de ene havenstad meer voor de hand lagen dan de andere. Het maakt nogal een verschil of de haven aan zee is gelegen of 80 kilometers landinwaarts. Maar historische verbintenissen binnen Europa bepaalden mede de economische positie en samenstelling van de steden, tot op de dag van vandaag. Het feit dat Rotterdam, door de overheid werd beschouwd als economische motor van Nederland, heeft haar effect gehad op de economische structuur van de haven en de stad. De ontwikkeling van de haven van Antwerpen en de relatie tussen haven en stad, werd en wordt bepaald door de politieke structuur en context van het land. Dat beperkt zich niet tot de invloed van de nationale overheid maar behelst ook de politieke relaties tussen gewesten, provincies, steden en dorpen in de buurt van Antwerpen. Deze multi-level issues hebben een direct effect op de haven en de stad Antwerpen. In Hamburg, een van de meest belangrijke Hanzesteden, ontwikkelde zich gedurende eeuwen een kaste van handelaren en andere zakenmensen, gekenmerkt door een sterke onderlinge band, een zeer internationale oriëntatie, en relaties met de (plaatselijke) overheid. Dit leidde tot een sociale structuur die nog steeds aanwezig is met een eigen mores en gedrag.

Het tweede deel is de resultante van interviews met 36 vertegenwoordigers, actief of voorheen actief, uit de havenwereld, het havenbedrijf, en de politiek. De sensitizing concepts welke werden onderscheiden in het theoretische deel, geven structuur aan deze interviews. Naast de interviews vormen de jaarverslagen van de drie havenbedrijven een bron van analyse waarbij een selectie van de sensitizing concepts de tekstanalyse stuurt. Statische gegevens uit diverse bronnen zijn aanvullend aan

de analyse van interviews en jaarverslagen en illustreren of onderbouwen de conclusies.

Relaties tussen havens en havensteden

De bevindingen van de analyse, gebaseerd op de toegepaste concepten, ondersteunen de plausibele argumentatie dat de verschillen tussen de drie havenregio's kunnen worden verklaard vanuit hun inbedding in verschillende politiek economische systemen. De geconstrueerde narratieven voor elke haven-stad relatie verduidelijken dat de wijze waarop haven reageerde op ontwikkelingen kan worden teruggevoerd tot de aard van de eigen supra structuur, hun sociaal-culturele inbedding. Er bestaan verschillen tussen de drie havens zoals weergegeven in tabel S1.

Na de Tweede Wereld oorlog, kan een verschuiving worden gezien van een sterk ondernemerschap, geworteld in Rotterdam, ten gunste van de gemeenschap om de nationale economie op te bouwen, naar een meer op zichzelf staande haven met zijn eigen economische belangen, welke buiten de stad is gelegen. Die verschuiving was niet alleen ruimtelijk, maar ook mentaal en vond vanaf 1990 haar beslag in een veranderende bestuursstijl, geïnspireerd door New Public Management. Het havenbedrijf werd onafhankelijker en de scheiding tussen haven en stad werd groter. Die scheiding was ruimtelijk richting het Westen, maar mentaal in termen van een vermindering van het gevoel bij elkaar te horen en naar gezamenlijke doelen te streven. Sociaaleconomisch gezien maakte, de stad, mede door de structuur van de arbeidsmarkt, een zware tijd door. De ontwikkeling in het zuiden van de stad bleef achter. Dit werd nog versterkt door de influx van niet-westerse immigranten met slechte economische vooruitzichten. De scheiding van de verschillende functies van de haven, van oudsher gelegen in de stad, werd versterkt door toonaangevende bedrijven zoals in de container terminal sector. De consolidatie in deze sector leidde tot invloedrijke en internationaal georiënteerde entiteiten die minder binding hebben met de Rotterdamse havenwereld (zie de score op 'foreign ownership'). De sociale structuur werd minder op persoonlijke relaties gebaseerd en economische belangen werden meer dominant (zie de scores op 'economy of touch' en beide typen van 'shared values'). Deze meer Liberale markt Economie staat nu meer ter discussie en de roep om een sterkere binding met de stad te krijgen, wordt luider.

Table S1: The presence of the sensitizing concepts and the political-economic structure

	Rotterdam	Antwerp	Hamburg
Foreign ownership	++	++	-
Investment in society	+/-	+/-	++
Economy of touch	-	++	++
Closed community	-	-	++
Trust as reliability	++	+	++
Trust as personal trust	-	+/-	++
Shared values cultural	-	+/-	++
Shared values economic	+/-	+	+

In Antwerpen is de dynamiek van globalisering op zelfde wijze gearticuleerd als in Rotterdam. Verschillen kunnen worden gevonden in persoonlijke relaties, deels geëntameerd door het havenbedrijf, en de banden tussen de havenactoren en de stad zijn sterker en meer op elkaar afgestemd. De politieke invloed, wat zich laat kennen in de aanwezigheid van politici in het college van toezichthouders van het havenbedrijf, moet niet worden onderschat en draagt bij aan de band tussen haven en stad. Dat betekent niet dat er een algemeen gedeelde opvatting met betrekking tot de richting van de havenontwikkeling. Er is een zekere mate van wantrouwen tussen aan de ene kant de haven en de stad Antwerpen en aan de andere kant de omliggende kleinere gemeenten. Dat is het strijdperk waarbinnen de haven en de stad opkomen voor hun eigen belangen. Politiek speelt nog steeds een rol in de haven-stad gemeenschap en daarop is de situatie van Antwerpen een afspiegeling van de Latijnse Markt Economie.

Verschillen Rotterdam en Antwerpen in zekere mate van elkaar, de situatie in Hamburg is compleet anders. Economisch, sociaal en cultureel is het glorieuze verleden van Hamburg nog steeds nadrukkelijk aanwezig. De sociaaleconomische structuur is een niet te missen erfenis. De onderscheiden indicatoren scoren hoog op de aanwezigheid van een 'closed society' met sterke onderlinge banden. Dit beïnvloedt zowel de trends internationalisering en globalisering, als 'foreign ownership'. Tot de dag van vandaag heeft deze sociale structuur voorkomen dat buitenlandse bedrijven toegang krijgen tot de Hamburgse gemeenschap. Sociale structuren, beheerst door Hamburgse prominenten, proberen de belangrijkste bezittingen in Hamburgse handen te houden. Zodoende is Hamburg een echte exponent van de Gecoördineerde Markt Economie. Hamburg heeft een sterk gediversifieerde economie waarvan het maritieme gedeelte 'slechts' een onderdeel is. Negatieve effecten die in principe de

maritieme activiteiten zouden kunnen schaden, worden aldus gemitigeerd door de Hamburgse werkgelegenheidsstructuur.

Het onderzoek toont aldus dat de universele krachten die van invloed zijn op Europese havens op verschillende wijzen zijn geabsorbeerd, hetgeen leidde tot verschillende uitkomsten in termen van de haven-stad relatie. De verschillen zijn mede te herleiden tot de variaties in politiek-economische systemen welke zijn ingebed in verschillende culturen zoals geoperationaliseerd met behulp van de 'sensitizing concepts'. Er is niet zoiets als 'het beste systeem'. Het onderzoek geeft aan dat er voor- en nadelen zijn met betrekking tot de aanwezigheid van een bepaald politiek-economisch systeem. De havenregio's kunnen van elkaar leren. Een overkoepelend issue is de positie van de haven binnen het nationale beleid. Rotterdam heeft voordeel gehad van de positie van het nationale main-port beleid. Deze bevoorrechte positie kenden Antwerpen en Hamburg niet. Terugkijken zou Antwerpen daar een voordeel aan kunnen hebben gehad in haar relatie tot de omliggende gemeenten. Voor Hamburg geldt dat minder, daar Hamburg, als een stad en autonome stadsstaat, van meer activiteiten de vruchten plukt dan alleen de haven. Wat Hamburg de andere steden kan leren is dat heterogeniteit in de economische structuur zich uit in het welzijn van de stad. Naast dit economisch perspectief is er de door de cultuur bepaalde opvattingen leidend tot het besef dat een gemeenschap die de belangrijkste activiteiten in eigen handen houdt wellicht haar eigen rol kan spelen in havenontwikkelingen waar de stad van kan profiteren.

Op deze wijze heeft dit proefschrift getracht de relaties tussen haven en stad te verduidelijken. Relaties die vaak zijn gevormd door ontastbare, stilzwijgende krachten. Dit is gedaan door concepten te genereren die kunnen worden gezien als uitingen van deze krachten. De zwarte dozen, gemeenschappen die op hen afkomende generiek voorkomende krachten moesten verwerken hetgeen tot bepaalde uitkomsten leidde, zijn wat geopend. Dit openen van deze zwarte dozen draagt bij tot een beter begrip van de verschillende uitkomsten van de haven-stad relaties en geeft nieuwe inzichten voor een raamwerk dat niet alleen het verleden verklaart (ex-post) maar ook de mogelijkheid in zich draagt met toekomstige bedreigingen en uitdagingen (ex-ante) waarmee alle Europese havens en steden worden geconfronteerd, om te gaan.

About the author

Jos Vroomans (1955) studied educational and political geography at the Vrije Universiteit of Amsterdam. After graduating in 1983, for over 25 years he worked in marketing and sales departments of PTT Post (TNT Post, Post NL) and SelektMail (Deutsche Post). Since 2004, he was active in teaching Marketing and Sales at the Faculty of Business, Finance and Marketing at The Hague University of Applied Sciences. For the department International Business Studies, he was involved in workshops teaching an international group of students how to assess business problems and business opportunities.

Since September 2020 he is retired and will find new ways of conducting his energy.