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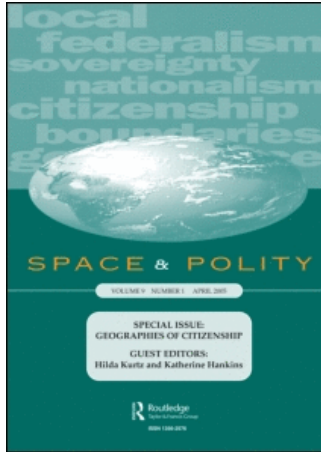
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New Region, New Story: Imagining Mobile Subjects in Transnational Space

ANNE JENSEN and TIM RICHARDSON

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Abstract. This paper investigates the changing relations between citizens and Europe's internal borders by seeing these relations as objects of governmentality of mobilities. It focuses on the particular discursive space of one transnational 'corridor in the making', studying how, through practices of visioning and strategy-making, governmental actors make new transnational governmental territories by breathing life into the imagined mobile subjects of these future territories. These mobile subjects play a central part in the politics of emergent transnational governmentalities and in legitimising potential border-crossing infrastructures. In a case study of the COINCO project (Corridor of Innovation and Co-operation), linking Oslo, Gothenburg, Copenhagen, Malmö and Berlin, it is shown how deconstructing imagined mobile subjects reveals the will to power over mobility and sheds light on how governmental practices are remaking European borders.

Introduction

This paper investigates the changing relations between citizens and Europe's internal borders by seeing these relations as objects of governmentality of mobilities. We seek to study how actors are managing conscious projects of crossing borders and creating new transnational governmental territories, which at the same time produce the imagined mobile subjects of these future territories. By this, we mean that these new territories are characterised by a reconfiguring of the potentials for mobility. Travelling across borders, materially and virtually, actually and potentially, becomes part of the everyday life of these imagined transnational spaces. And so the policy-makers, planners and other actors who act strategically to territorialise, or 'make', these spaces do so partly by populating their imagined territories with imagined mobile citizens. This practice—the production of imagined mobile subjects—allows potentially persuasive stories to be crafted about how life will be, if a range of specified interventions were carried out. Often, this means that transnational corridors (our focus here) are to be materia-

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lised in high-speed cross-border infrastructures and imagined through the stories of the citizens who will consequently enjoy the potential for rapid travel from place to place across previously impractical distances. Typically, attention is drawn to the élite traveller, who will be, if all the right things are done, able to travel from here to a far away but desirable destination, complete their business meeting and return home the same day.

In this paper, we examine how such imagined mobile subjects are produced, in the work of making a transnational corridor. By doing so, we are able to reveal one way in which Europeanised mobile subjects are being produced and how this production is taking place within governmental projects which weave them together with border-crossing infrastructures. We do this by focusing closely on the emerging transnational governmental techniques by which they are produced.

We begin with two conceptual steps: first elaborating the concept of practices of transnational governmentality; and secondly introducing the concept of imagined mobile subjects. We then turn to the particular discursive space of one transnational corridor in the making, the COINCO project. Here we seek to show how, through the mediated engagements of transnational collaborative planning, actors, 'representing' imagined transnational communities, explored ways to make 'their' transnational spaces 'thinkable', by working through networks to rescale knowledge, reframe discourses and weave new stories of their possibilities. In particular, we focus on the governmental practices which articulate a particular imagined transnational community who are expected to use and benefit from the corridor and region. We see this as a possibly crucial stage in the politics of mobile futures, where mobile subjectivities are first imagined and may subsequently become normalised as narratives, knowledges, strategies and interventions that reshape the conditions of everyday life for the future of these imagined citizens.

This paper, then, charts the genesis of new logics within these transnational discursive spaces and networks, and seeks to trace the moments of emergence of transnational governmentalities, as new subjectivities are constructed. The case provides particular insights into the emergence of new forms of mobilities of people and governance forms, on constructions of the space of the cross-border region as an imagined community (Anderson, 1991). Our emphasis in this paper is on revealing the stories of mobile subjects that are circulating in these emergent transnational spaces of governance, rather than on the practices of producing them.

Practices of Transnational Governmentality

Our central concern (inspired by Brenner, 2004) is how the formation of new transnational European territories bears on relations between citizens and borders. In particular, we are interested in how the making of a transnational corridor is achieved, in new purpose-built transnational policy spaces, within which new governmental practices are brought to bear on the strategic work of visioning and perhaps territorialising a new transnational space.

Within these transnational governmental practices, we search for interfaces between policy and everyday life, where the visions, ideas and strategies of policy-makers capture and frame the potentials for mobility in the future everyday life of the imagined territory. Scrutinising these imaginaries, we chart moments in the genesis of governmentalities that seek to govern transnational ter-

ritories within Europe, by shaping the identities, structuring the lives and creating new conditions for 'governing the selves' of future Europeans (Rose, 1999). Studying these practices, then, provides evidence of the power of mobilities in European borderwork.

Conceptually, we draw from Foucault's conception of governmentality, understood as a 'conduct of conduct' (Dean, 1999; Foucault, 1982), that rest on particular logics being inscribed in governing. In developing various governing technologies, the conduct of social subjects is moulded through self-governing. This locates self-governing as a key to late modern governing (Rose, 1999) and the point of decisive difference between state- and market-oriented forms of governance (Sørensen and Torfing, 2005). Thus, studying governmentalities entails "the analysis of ... an attempt to govern the self ... involves deontology, concerned with who we are when we are governed in such a manner, our 'mode of subjectification'" (Dean, 1999, p. 17).

Governmentality, then, entails a particular rationality of government which orders, or at least seeks to order, how the social world becomes visible, 'sayable' and possible to act on. In this way, conditions are set for what is the problem for a policy or plan, whom and what are its active and passive subjects, and what are its basic principles (Jensen, 2006b). This is a logic of governing, which shapes a specific domain of knowledge, composed and consolidated through particular governing technologies. These technologies are forms of practices which engage certain actors in performing and embodying particular governing logics and the domains of knowledge these presume and produce. These 'technologies of government' seek to translate thought into the domain of reality and to establish "in the world of persons and things spaces and devices for acting upon those entities of which they dream and scheme" (Miller and Rose, 1993, p. 82).

Recent work within geography has drawn attention to the inherent spatiality of Foucault's work (Elden and Crampton, 2007) for the study of the relations between government, subjects, population and territory (for example, Allen, 2003; Hannah, 2000; Huxley, 2006; Murdoch, 2004; Scott, 1998; Yiftachel, 1998), in a movement that builds on Foucault's series of lectures on governmentality (Elden, 2007). The essence of the approach could be understood as "shifting the emphasis from a simple retention of territorial control to a more nuanced notion of government over a 'complex' of men and things constituted as a population" (Elden and Crampton, 2007, p. 7). What is in focus, then, is the art of government: how generalised practices of government are used to express a particular model of truth about the subjects who are governed and those who govern, about what exactly is governable and how to govern it.

For us, this approach asks 'how thought operates within our organised ways of doing things', by placing a close focus on the everyday practices of, among others, planners and policy-makers who use analytical tools, statistical data, mapping techniques or forecasting software, in the preparation of new mappings and analyses of European space (Jensen, 2006a; Richardson, 2006). The outputs of these tools have been termed 'frozen politics' (Flyvbjerg, 1998) "in that they capture and crystallise the balance of power at a particular moment in a policy process" (Richardson, 2006, p. 209). In investigating these mundane routines, or micro-politics, we are "concerned with thought as it becomes linked to and is embedded in technical means for the shaping and reshaping of conduct and in practices and institutions" (Dean, 1999, p. 18).

We make use of a discourse analytical approach to analyse governmentality (Jensen, 2006a; Sharp and Richardson, 2001), viewing policy discourses and fields of discourses as interwoven patterns of sayable statements, visibilities and practices. These authorise particular forms of policy knowledge, which are appropriated by actors engaging strategically in policy-making and planning, and may be mobilised in the more or less persuasive stories that pervade everyday planning and policy practices (Throgmorton, 1992).

In an EU context, we are interested in whether emergent governmentalities, in the making of new transnational territories within Europe, are engaged in “the reflexive creation of a Europeanised spatial narrative” (Richardson, 2006, p. 207), and a conscious attempt to create a common European cultural identity (Shore, 2000). More particularly, we aim to reveal how the will to order the mobility of citizens becomes the object of these emergent governmentalities.

Imagining Mobile Subjects

Governmentalities entail particular logics, or rationalities and particular practices, that embed certain ideas of the subjects who are to be governed, and may be traced in policy discourse. In exploring our case, we therefore ask questions of ‘what forms of person, self and identity are presupposed by different practices of government?’ (Dean, 1999). In planning terms, this means that when particular subjects are imagined in particular ways, this will play a more or less visible part in the formation of policies and plans. Articulated in policy discourses, these particular imaginaries articulate who the subjects of the plans are, what they want and how they act and become normalised, over time and through practice. Being normalised also means that for the planners and policy-makers, these subjectivities enter the journey from being merely ‘imaginary subjects’ to stand as images of real, living persons that the plans and policies are directed to.

From a mobilities perspective, we see plans reflecting ideas about how certain citizens are imagined to dream and scheme about their future lives within the modern condition of mobility. In other words, for some groups of citizens, transport and communications infrastructures are designed, and urban and regional maps are drawn to fit with the planners’ and policy-makers’ imaginaries of how these particular groups of citizens will want to move in time and space. Looking at European corridors, this entails a rescaling of levels of governance and of what can be thought of as urban (Brenner, 2004; Dabinett and Richardson, 2005).

Those subjectivities which in plans and policies are imagined in a mobility context we call mobile subjects. This means, first, that in concrete plans and policies there might be several types of mobile subjects present, each with related imagined mobilities. Secondly, it means that the governing technologies and the domains of knowledge embedded in the logic of governing may work strategically to shape these ideas of mobile subjects. Thirdly, it means that in the actual construction of infrastructures and design of urban and regional spaces, these mobile subjects and their anticipated mobilities are present, legitimising new infrastructures such as international high-speed railway projects and cross-border bridges and tunnels, and setting the conditions of what is possible for the everyday lives of citizens. In this sense, the concept of mobile subjects becomes a key to the interface between the actions in transnational governmental spaces of borderwork, and the (future) everyday life of citizens. Future mobile

subjects are imagined and narrated across the complex intertextual field of an emergent policy space. Their imagined mobilities are predicated upon, and are used to make thinkable, and normal, proposed interventions such as new high-speed transport or communication infrastructures.

In a governmentality perspective, actors emerge as different formations of selves that embody the governing logic but are not necessarily disciplined by it. Hence, from the perspective of the governed, subjectivities also denote practices of resistance and freedom (Foucault, 1988; Rose, 1999), emphasising the tension between normalising (disciplining) and freedom within Foucault's work (Triantafillou, 2004). Consequently, we do not suggest that these rather top-down policy processes of imagining mobile subjects are uncomplicated practices of governmental control. Rather, we view them as more or less concerted attempts to mobilise imaginaries to legitimise and progress a governmental project. We would expect that such interventions will vary in 'success' and in any case will result in unintended consequences and that subjects involved in or excluded from everyday mobility practices may appropriate new infrastructures or modes of mobility in unpredictable ways. This suggests the importance of paying close attention to the interfaces between the construction of mobile subjects in planning processes and the actual practices of everyday life in the corridor. This is clearly a crucial aspect of how imagined mobilities make a difference to material, practised mobilities. In this paper, however, we concentrate on early moments in the birth of the governmental project itself, rather than on the consequences or resistances resulting from the subsequent engagements between governance, territory and population. What we do seek to capture is a sense of how emergent governance of nascent cross-border territories involves routine practices of mobilising visions of future mobility that have implications for the engagement between planning and everyday life across borders. Inspired by Scott (1998), Anderson (1991) and Brenner (2004), we explore how transnational governance creates an ability to 'see' new cross-border state spaces, their territories and the imagined cross-border communities that will move among them.

The COINCO Case: Emergent Cross-border Governmentality

In 2005, regional and local politicians representing an area stretching from Oslo and Gothenburg to Copenhagen–Malmö and Berlin initiated the COINCO project (Corridor of Innovation and Co-operation). The project was co-financed by the EU and 18 municipalities, under the ScandiInterreg IIIB programme. The project aims to create a new north–south corridor, through transnational co-operation on strategic infrastructure investment and through building networks of planners and stakeholders across three existing cross-border regions: the Öresund region, the Gothenburg–Oslo region (the GO region) and the Berlin–Brandenburg region (the BB region).¹

From the start, the aim was to create a transport corridor where flows of goods and people would run smoothly, in the anticipation that this would promote cohesion of the included regions and promote a (knowledge-based) innovation that would benefit the overall development of the area. Through focusing on efficient freight transport systems and rail and sea transport, the corridor further aimed at adding to sustainable development.

The project partners, participating political and planning authorities, viewed the project as relatively successful when it ended in the spring of 2007. By then,

the project was being termed COINCO I and a model for COINCO II had been drafted; also, financial commitments had been secured from participants for a new Interreg project in early 2008.

The mode of transnational working was a key feature of the initial project design, with strong consensus-seeking principles shaping the design of all three phases. The first phase concentrated on formulating a common vision for the corridor through action research, with a strong emphasis on futures workshops. The result was the Visions Document (COINCO, 2006b), intended to serve as the common frame of reference for the rest of the project. During the second stage, four themes for transcorridor co-operation were identified to be developed further by thematic working groups. Planners representing the project partners and selected private- and public-sector stakeholders were invited to join the working groups, aiming to articulate elements of a joint strategy that could realise the overall vision. In the third and final phase, a common *COINCO Strategy 2025* (COINCO, 2007) was formulated, negotiated and agreed, grounded in the vision and the thematic recommendations.

The resulting COINCO vision is of becoming 'one of the most competitive regions in the world', symbolically represented by a 'green aubergine' that crosses external and internal boundaries of Europe (by incorporating parts of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Germany) and respects EU aims of sustainable development and knowledge-based innovation. More practically, the vision imagined journeys on new high speed infrastructures from Oslo to Gothenburg in 2 hours, from there to Copenhagen in 2 hours and then to Berlin in 3 hours: the '2 + 2 + 3 corridor'.

The overall 'philosophy' (COINCO, 2006b) behind making this happen is metaphorically coined as 'the COINCO triangle', balanced on one apex. The triangle represents synergies between targeted and profound co-operation between the partners (the bottom tip), which will lead to greater, more efficient and higher-quality infrastructure investments and transport systems perceived to be the backbone of the corridor and will connect it along the rail line running from Oslo, via Gothenburg and Malmö–Copenhagen to Berlin (the top left tip). This will promote innovation within particular businesses that match the 'green aubergine' image, including creative industries and renewable energies (the top right tip) and which will enhance and expand co-operation between partners.

Imagined Mobile Subjects

Our approach is to look at how the corridor is being performed through the COINCO collaboration, to see how the future mobilities are being imagined and 'staged'. Our departure point is to locate the actors, working in policy spaces, doing the imagining. This is especially important because, as we will see, these imaginaries represent, for the actors involved, an acceleration or intensification of 'what we are doing now'. In other words, the vision of future mobility is about taking the rather elite forms of mobility enjoyed by the policy actors in their practices of working across borders to bring COINCO to life, as a model for everyday life in the corridor. We identify three basic types: roving bands of planners, entrepreneurs and new urbanists.

Faludi has pointed to the emergence of a new generation of public urban and regional planners and developers, identified as a 'roving band of planners', who are creating a European network and Europeanised doctrine of planning

ideas and practices (Faludi, 1997). In COINCO, they are strongly present in two senses. First, they are actors in the production of COINCO as a collaborative, transnational project. They are involved in the routine practices of international workshops, regular partner meetings and thematic working groups. In the thematic working groups, the participants also involve other planners whom they know from other (transnational) networks. 'Planners' refer in this case to actors who engage with planning and development between the national and the local levels, thus reflecting the composition of participants in the COINCO project.² In general, these actors are urban and regional civil servants who engage with the strategic planning of regions and metropolitan cities. They represent a variety of educational backgrounds and professional disciplines, but for many, their work is somehow related to transport, traffic or logistics and many of them have experience of transnational or international working.

Secondly, planners are specifically targeted in the visions and policy recommendations around which the COINCO stories evolve. From the very start, planners are a targeted 'category' of actors in the project. In the TN regional future workshop, working with transnational institutional structures of co-operation was singled out as a visionary issue (COINCO, 2006b). Subsequently planners are regarded as the managers of network governance, who need to move around in 'their' networks and meet with local and regional planners and businesses, and with each other. This requirement for co-presence gets emphasised as the stories develop in the thematic working groups. For example, knowledge transfer, learning from best practice and the development of common approaches, become dependent on practices that entail regular or *ad hoc* meetings of the roving band. In this way, a new generation of 'Europeanised' municipal planners is envisioned, who will work with added layers of transnational networking, skills and understandings.

The second type of actor identified is a highly skilled labour force, who will be the entrepreneurs, the creative driving-force of the region. The elements of the stories that articulate particular ideas of passenger transport, city networks and innovation are aimed at generating, attracting and sustaining citizens who can participate in knowledge-intensive work. Creating these conditions for a knowledge economy is supported by explicit reference to Richard Florida's thesis of attracting innovative human resources via the 'three Ts'—tolerance, talent and technology (Florida, 2005).

Highly skilled labour is presented as the key to innovation and development. Workers are imagined to have high career expectations and a high work-related mobility. The creation of a considerable labour market, 'obtaining the critical mass', is seen as a precondition in order to attract these citizens to the region. Research and development personnel belong to this type, which adds a considerable workplace mobility to the imaginary; in order to place research and innovation in the forefront, a milieu of researchers and developers must be the setting for these people to meet at seminars, workshops and development meetings. Innovation therefore becomes a matter of 'getting the right people together' (Christoph, 2004) and, like the planners, of creating potentials for co-presence. This fuels the need to create a critical mass of these industries in order to feed this imagined creative and dynamic RandD milieu. Within the COINCO project, the way of achieving this critical mass is imagined by tying together the metropolitan city-regions with short time-distances. Here the '2 + 2 + 3' story emerges: a region where intercity, cross-border journeys between Oslo, Gothenberg,

Copenhagen and Berlin become possible in reduced times that make routine daily journeys a possibility (COINCO, 2006b).

Other future citizens of the corridor who are not part of these select groups of planners and entrepreneurs, but are identified in the COINCO vision, are imagined as belonging to a more fuzzily framed group of 'new urbanists'. They are imagined, again, as a highly skilled population, adopting an urban lifestyle in places that hold vast opportunities, high cultural diversity and where 'everything is just around the corner' (COINCO, 2006b). Working life is mixed with family life and leisure time. These new urbanists are seen as very modern people for whom the attractiveness of place, the availability of networks and transport access at all scales play a decisive role in their choices of where to live and move, and which jobs to take. They are imagined to *want* to move increasingly along the corridor—on an everyday basis in their leisure time, their daily life and work, and as they make work and home life-choices.

Whereas the highly skilled labour force is seen as a precondition for economic growth in the post-Lisbon era, entrepreneurs and businesses are seen as those who will make it happen. In developing the strategy, collaboration between different business actors was emphasised as a way to promote clusters. In the thematic working group on innovation, common potential positions of strength were identified, between which synergies would flow from collaboration. It was framed as a matter of 'getting the right people together', where the 'right people' were those who could enter knowledge partnerships to create successful business initiatives that would trickle down and benefit 'COINCO—the creative corridor' (COINCO, 2007).

These categories together encompass a highly educated and skilled urban élite, and necessarily exclude the remaining citizens, who are simply missing subjects. In his critique of the uptake of Florida's creative class in urban strategy-making, Peck puts it this way

Elite-focused creativity strategies leave only supporting roles for the two-thirds of the population languishing in the working and service classes, who get nothing apart from occasional tickets to the circus. A new generation of entrepreneurializing subjects is formed (Peck, 2005, p. 767).

COINCO's vision is subject to Peck's critique, being strongly centred on a transnational hypermobile élite with no reference to the mobility, or immobility, of the missing subjects. Indeed, the subjects 'missing' from the COINCO construction may conceal differentiated mobilities, but the vision also overlooks the potentially increased mobility of less 'desirable' categories, for example, as organised criminals find ways to take advantage of the opportunities offered by transnational infrastructures and networks.

Imagined Mobilities

The COINCO policy discourse imagines a mixed élite of transnational mobile subjects that echoes the subjectivities of the policy actors. Each type of mobile subject is articulated in a particular way, each with an assumed need or desire for mobility which COINCO's imagined future can fulfil. These imagined mobile subjects are therefore inscribed with, and are carriers for, the governing logic of transnational corridor mobility. We now examine the imagined mobilities to enrich our analysis

of this governing logic. We find a common story framing the mobility that these future citizens are assumed to want, to practice and to live by. The story is structured around three markers: connectivity, thick co-presence and the re-production of relations between inside and outside the transnational corridor.

First Marker: Connectivity

In the COINCO philosophy, collaboration is based on high mobility which in turn necessitates high connectivity. Rather than suggesting simply rapid mobility over long distances (Lash and Urry, 1994), connectivity implies particular proximities, which may in part be created through the structuring of transnational and global networks. Certain actors and places become increasingly connected and strategic interventions in infrastructures can play a part in this process. In COINCO, in spite of an emphasis on 'smart growth', connectivity simply translates into an emphasis on 'improving transport infrastructure', which is further developed into two transport themes: 'sustainable freight transport systems' and 'interregional passenger transport systems' (COINCO, 2006b). Both themes emphasise high mobility between the major urban centres, represented as a way of tying the different parts of the COINCO region together within what is initially articulated in a rhetoric of sustainable development

Distances between the four metropolitan areas are significant. A closer collaboration within the corridor will need an increased mobility of persons and of goods, and thus also improvements in transport infrastructure. But thinking in terms of smart growth implies that increased mobility can be obtained in many ways and that efficient transport solutions or even transport elimination through careful planning and through the use of ICT should be part of the strategy (COINCO, 2006b, p. 4).

However, the emphasis throughout the policy discourse is on the crucial and unavoidable significance of the car, the high-speed train and the aeroplane, in connecting the region. The underlying logic is one of increasing transport-related mobility, which leads to a project focus on substantiating a coherent and joint strategy for infrastructure investments, in particular for high-speed rail (COINCO, 2006b), which forms the backbone of the COINCO region as a 'green aubergine', where connectivity is imagined to increase by removing barriers to mobility. Examples are the 'one-region-one-ticket' idea, encouraging smooth transfer between transport modes and across borders (COINCO, 2006a, pp. 9–10), and also the continued attention paid to what could be termed a 'speed link' between Denmark and northern Germany, either as a new bridge across the Fehmarn Belt or, alternatively as an hourly catamaran ferry service between Gedser and Rostock.

However, while the earlier quote from the *Visions* document is open to the possibility of increasing mobility while reducing transport movements, this is not present in the *COINCO strategy 2025* document. Within the final strategy, proposals for transport infrastructure, although still framed within a language of sustainable development, are principally targeted on high-speed train connections between the four metropolitan areas (COINCO, 2007). Overall, COINCO's infrastructure interventions are designed to support increasing transport-related mobility between the urban centres, strengthening cross-border intercity

connectivity, but with a risk of creating nodes and shadow areas along the '2 + 2 + 3 corridor'.

Second Marker: Thick Co-presence

The second marker is co-presence, in particular what John Urry terms the 'thick' form of co-presence expressed in a 'compulsion to proximity' (Urry, 2002), rather than other, more virtual forms of co-presence. Thick co-presence (and the potential for it) is a crucial element in the story of the corridor: COINCO is about innovation and (following Florida) this relies on meetings. In COINCO's policy discourse this in turn requires infrastructure. The central idea is that an hourly high-speed train will create the basic conditions for innovation, as the '2 + 2 + 3 corridor' is born. The idea prevails that everything is just around the corner (COINCO, 2006b), as, by 2025, a potential for frictionless mobility is created between the key cities, seen as beads on a string. The idea of the '2 + 2 + 3' business traveller emerges as the central character, enjoying a cross-border, intercity mobility.

This view of mobility hinges on the high-speed train that forms the spine of the imagined region, connecting the cities. Other modes of transport also figure strongly in the visions, sometimes in ways that create tensions in the policy discourse. Alongside high-speed rail, COINCO is also prefigured as an automobile region, where "the main passenger transport mode in COINCO is and will continue to be the passenger car—no other means of transport can compete with the combination of flexibility and speed of the car"; and as an aero-mobile region, where "In order to support a closer integration between actors within the COINCO corridor, the supply of flight connections has to be improved" (COINCO, 2006a, pp. 9–10).

Overall, there is a strong sense that increasing the connectivity of the corridor through the provision of new infrastructures will provide the conditions for intercity, cross-border mobility and consequently will create the potential for a particular new form of thick co-presence of those 'who live their life in the corridor' (COINCO, 2006a).

Third Marker: Inside and Outside

The production of new potentials for connectivity and co-presence *within* COINCO raises implications for the mobility of subjects beyond the corridor. We now turn our attention to the constitution of this 'quasi-region' (COINCO, 2007) in a European and global context. Our third marker shows how the policy discourse engages with 'inside' and 'outside' mobilities.

Imagining COINCO as a 'green aubergine', within which regional growth and development is anticipated to flow from a connected and highly sophisticated transport system, is based on the constitution of an outside. This othering is manifested in the emphasis on common cultural features, almost approaching a common identity, and common strengths in knowledge-intensive industries, such as 'the (renewable) energy corridor' or 'the creative corridor'. This inside–outside logic resembles the nation-forming articulations of the 19th and 20th centuries (Walker, 1993). However, in a competitive European space of emergent transnational regions, it is not possible to sustain an internally focused discourse on mobility. COINCO's policy discourse therefore also seeks to locate the region

strongly within European and global networks, and so carry the twin messages of internal connectivity creating a competitive region and external connectivity allowing the region to be fully competitive.

COINCO's internal infrastructure network centres on nodes that connect simultaneously to global networks, especially its airports. *COINCO strategy 2025* places significance on integrating international airports in the regional transport systems, with special emphasis on the high-speed rail system and the urban metros to achieve this. This applies particularly to Copenhagen International Airport and the planned Berlin Capital Airport BBI, where capacity and significance are expected to match that of Frankfurt airport. Airports constitute competitive mobility spearheads when seen in a European context that stresses competition between transnational regions.

One particular infrastructure project, the planned Fehmarn Belt Bridge between Denmark and Germany, is continuously stressed as fundamental to the strategy (personal communication). This fixed link would bind COINCO's network into the transEuropean transport network (TEN-T) and is one of the EU's priority projects in this respect. However, in spite of being a crucial element for the Scandinavian partners, the fixed link was fiercely opposed by northern German partners, who saw it as channelling transport towards Hamburg and western Germany, creating a north German 'Mezzogiorno', a blind spot on maps of economic development (Christoph, 2004). Instead, they proposed an equally integrated, fast and frictionless connection between the small Danish town of Gedser and Rostock in north Germany. These types of connection are regarded as absolutely necessary between Scandinavia and continental Europe. Through more complete physical integration with European and global mobility networks, COINCO becomes more 'COINCO': a unified regional space of co-operation, innovation and infrastructure.

Thus, COINCO is imagined as both a strongly networked intercity cross-border territory and as a sub-component of European and global networks. Yet these intertwined configurations are exclusionary in nature. As they draw together the cities of the corridor and bind them more strongly into European and international networks, there are clear marginalising effects: a risk of shadow areas within the corridor because of the heavily urban bias; and a strategy for competitive domination with unimagined consequences for the peripheral parts of Norway, Sweden, Denmark and Germany beyond the corridor.

Conclusion

In COINCO, we have traced how the imagining of transnational mobile subjects plays a central part in the production of emergent transnational governmentalities. In these policy imaginaries, a specific community of citizens enjoys a new cross-border intercity lifestyle involving high levels of connectivity and thick co-presence, especially within the designated territorial space of the corridor. For this urban élite, all aspects of life relate to the corridor and everything is 'just around the corner'. Yet these imaginaries emphasise the drawing together of key cities and select types of citizens within them, possibly at the expense of other citizens, cities and more peripheral places inside and outside the corridor. They present an imaginary transnational urban mobility, enjoyed by an élite citizenry, in which national borders become less relevant to mobility and daily life, and where a new edge, of the corridor itself, reconfigures the potentials and meanings of mobility.

The corridor establishes its own life, as it seeks to redefine the conditions for mobility both within and beyond its territory. Its borders are reconfigured by corridor transnationality and their meanings are altered. Corridor subjectivities are produced. Local struggles and resistances play a part. Making, or territorialising, COINCO rests on forming a particular governmental domain of knowledge and practice which lends its framing and strength to articulating, representing and performing the imagined corridor.

The transnational corridor is one of the new practices of European space-making, of Europeanisation. It requires and creates a new space for governmentality that reconfigures the relations between territory, mobility and population in a very particular way, reconstituting subjects within it—albeit initially in imagined ways. The practices of making a transnational corridor, then, can be seen as the reproduction of a new model of truth, as the incremental institutionalisation of a European spatiality. Yet the transnational corridor is more than this. The construction of the corridor as a spatial practice does not simply materialise a European spatial logic—it also creates its own logic. Imagined mobilities are selectively distributed, reshaping mobilities and immobilities both inside and outside the imagined space of the region. In other words, as actors start to play with the potentials of creating a new transnational region, they do not simply follow the logic of the abstract machine of Europeanisation (Jensen and Richardson, 2004). The dominant discourses of ‘Europe’ are never completely put to work and the production and reproduction of the meanings of ‘Europe’ and ‘Europeanisation’ are reshaped through this engagement between imaginaries. Whilst the business of producing future mobile subjects may provide a powerful and politically persuasive means of articulating a transnational spatial project, it does not follow that these mobile subjects actually stand for future citizens, or determine their future mobile practices. What we have concentrated on in this article is, in a sense, the moment of birth of a strategy to create a particular set of meanings of future mobility. It should not be read as a full account of the politics of mobility: it is but one part of the story of the contested production of future transnational mobility in Europe.

Nevertheless, this case does show how future mobilities are being put at stake in the remaking of European territories, with implications for places, citizens and the relations between them. As a consequence, the significance of European borders is changing, as new more transient borders come into play and as emergent governmentalities reach across them in seeking to remake mobilities. Imagined mobile subjects are mobilised both in the politics of building new material infrastructures and in the politics of making new territories. These imagined transnational mobilities, which may over time become crystallised in new practices of governmentality, are not clearly addressed within the deliberations that take place in and around these governmental spaces. The serious nature of the consequences of pursuing certain transnational mobile futures at the expense of others suggests a need to pay critical attention to the imaginaries circulating among those in the business of making European space.

Notes

1. The Gothenburg–Oslo (GO) region crosses the external EU border between Sweden and Norway; the Öresund region crosses the member-state border between Sweden and Denmark; the Berlin–Brandenburg region crosses the *länder* border between the City *Länder* of Berlin and the *Länder* of Brandenburg.

2. Partners participating in the transnational regional future workshops and the thematic working groups.

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