This international collection provides a comprehensive overview of twin cities in different circumstances – from the emergent to the recently amalgamated, on ‘soft’ and ‘hard’ borders, with post-colonial heritage, in post-conflict environments and under strain.

With examples from Europe, the Middle East, Africa, Asia, South America, North America and the Caribbean, the volume sees twin cities as intense thermometers for developments in the wider urban world globally. It offers interdisciplinary perspectives that bridge history, politics, culture, economy, geography and other fields, applying these lenses to examples of twin cities in remote places. Providing a comparative approach and drawing on a range of methodologies, the book explores where and how twin cities arise; what twin cities can tell us about international borders; and the way in which some twin cities bear the spatial marks of their colonial past. The chapters explore the impact on twin-city relations of contemporary pressures, such as mass migration, the rise of populism, East-West tensions, international crime, surveillance, rebordering trends and epidemiological risks triggered by the COVID-19 pandemic. With case studies across the continents, this volume for the first time extends twin-city debates to fictional imaginings of twin cities.

*Twin Cities across Five Continents* is a valuable resource for researchers in the fields of anthropology, history, geography, urban studies, border studies, international relations and global development as well as for students in these disciplines.

Ekaterina Mikhailova is Postdoctoral Researcher at the Department of Geography and Environment, University of Geneva and Visiting Lecturer at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (Switzerland). Ekaterina’s work lies at the crossroads of urban studies, border studies and Russian studies.

John Garrard was Senior Lecturer in Politics and Contemporary History at Salford University (UK) until 2011. Although primarily a historian, his central teaching and research interests have bordered with political science.
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Interactions and Tensions on Urban Borders

Edited by Ekaterina Mikhailova and John Garrard
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The idea to producing the second volume of Twin Cities was approved by both editors in April 2019 when Ekaterina visited John and Eve Garrard in Manchester, UK. Hence the first acknowledgement goes to two editors' enthusiasm for studying twin cities and the Garrard family's hospitality.

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List of Contributors

Dr. Dorte Jagetic Andersen is Associate Professor at the Centre for Border Region Studies, Department of Political Science and Public Administration, University of Southern Denmark, with a background in European ethnology, European Continental philosophy and political science. Her main research interest concerns identity-formation in areas influenced by geopolitically drawn borders, focusing particularly on conflicts and their resolution and she has published widely on these issues in internationally recognized journals. Her recent work includes ethnographic studies in the border regions of Istria, Neum-Neretva and the Vukovar area in Slavonia, addressing issues like regional identity and belonging, war heritage as bordering practice and borderlands resilience.

Dr. Anna Anisimova is Senior Research Fellow in the Department of Medieval and Early Modern Studies at the Institute of World History, the Russian Academy of Sciences; and Associate Professor at the State Academic University for the Humanities. Anna holds an MA in history from Lomonosov Moscow State University, an MSt in medieval history from Oxford University and a PhD from the Institute of World History, the Russian Academy of Sciences. Anna is the author of 57 publications. Starting with her doctoral thesis, titled 'Town and Monastery in the Medieval England (on the material of South-Eastern Counties)', Anna has been researching the phenomenon of small towns, monastic towns and all aspects of their history including monastic participation in the process of urbanisation.

Dr. Anthony I. Asiwaju is Professor Emeritus of Comparative History and Borderlands Studies, University of Lagos; Fellow of Nigerian Academy of Letters, and Historical Society of Nigeria. Anthony was the First Commissioner of International Boundaries at Nigeria’s National Boundary Commission (1988–1994) and Foundation Member of the African Union Border Programme Steering Committee (2005–2016). He has authored and edited several pertinent books.

Dr. Tamar Arieli heads the Governance and Politics Program in the Tel Hai College of Israel. Tamar's research combines the study of conflict and cooperation with spatial and social manifestations of borders in national and
municipal contexts, focusing on local and national policies and practices regarding security and development.

Dr. Nick Baxter-Moore recently retired after 35 years teaching at Brock University, most recently as Associate Professor in the Department of Communication, Popular Culture and Film, and previously in the Department of Political Science. He also taught in the MA Program in Canadian-American Studies and the Graduate Program in Popular Culture. He is a former Associate Dean of Social Sciences at Brock and was founding President of the Popular Culture Association of Canada. His research interests include various aspects of popular music, local popular culture and Canadian–American relations. He recently co-edited *The Routledge Companion to Popular Music and Humor* (2019).

Dr. Michel S. Beaulieu is Professor of History, the Associate Vice-Provost Academic and Director of the Community Zone at Lakehead University. In addition, he is a Docent of Social Science History at the University of Helsinki, a Docent of Modern North American History at the University of Oulu and an Associate at the L.R. Wilson Institute for Canadian History at McMaster University. Michel's research and publications focus largely on the political, labour, and social history of Northern Ontario. He is also currently President of the Ontario Historical Society and President of the Champlain Society.

Dr. Paul Burton is Professor of Urban Management and Planning and Director of the Cities Research Institute at Griffith University. Before moving to Australia in 2007, he was Head of the School for Policy Studies at the University of Bristol. Paul's research interests include the theory and practice of public participation in planning, the emergence of new metropolitan governance and planning regimes, and the everyday professional lives of planners. He has led a research partnership on planning and growth management with the City of Gold Coast for over 12 years.

Dr. Aysin Dedekorkut-Howes is Senior Lecturer in Urban and Environmental Planning in the Griffith School of Engineering and Built Environment and a Member of the Cities Research Institute. Before moving to Australia, she taught and conducted research at Florida State University, USA and İzmir Institute of Technology, Turkey. Her research interests include climate-change adaptation and disaster resilience, water-resource management and urbanisation in subtropical areas and coastal cities. She also conducts historical research on the development history of the Gold Coast as well as current issues and problems the city is facing, such as climate change.

Dr. Munroe Eagles is Professor of Political Science and Chair of the Political Science Department at the University at Buffalo (UB) – State University of New York, where he has taught since 1989. While at UB he served almost a decade as an Associate Dean and as Director of the Canadian Studies Academic Program. He is Past-President of the Association of Canadian Studies in the
United States and is currently serving a two-year term as President of the International Council for Canadian Studies. His research interests include political geography, electoral politics, and Canadian-American relations.

**Omri Elmaleh** is a PhD candidate at Tel Aviv University. Omri is the recipient of Rotenstreich outstanding doctoral student fellowship, and his research has been supported by the S. Daniel Abraham Center for International and Regional Studies, the Sverdlin Institute for Latin American History and Culture and the Moshe Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies. He has published several articles on the Lebanese diaspora in the Triple Frontier region.

**Dr. Hilda García-Pérez** is a researcher and professor in El Colegio de la Frontera Norte (Mexico). She is a demographer and received a PhD in epidemiology from the University of Michigan. Her research and teaching focuses on the social determinants of health in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands through evidence-based, transcultural and community-based approaches. Her current research evaluates the efficacy of school-based programs to prevent substance-abuse among adolescents, as well as the emotional impact of immigration policies on high-school students in border cities. She has authored many articles in peer-reviewed publications and has served as a consultant in several border-wide projects.

**John Garrard** was Senior Lecturer in Politics and Contemporary History at Salford University (UK) until 2011. Although primarily a historian, his central teaching and research interests have bordered with political science. In 2019 John co-edited volume 1 of Twin Cities: Urban Communities, Borders and Relationships over Time (Routledge).

**Cathrine Olea Johansen** is a teacher of English, Norwegian and Social Science at an upper secondary school in Tromsø. She has a master’s degree in English literature from UiT – The Arctic University of Norway. She wrote her thesis on *Border Theory: A New Point of Access into Literature* (2018), where she did a border-theoretical reading of China Miéville’s *Un Lun Dun, The City & the City and Embassytown*.

**Professor Simrit Kahlon** is current Chair in the Department of Geography at Panjab University, Chandigarh (India). Simrit’s doctoral thesis examined the state of housing in Indian cities. Subsequent research publications are located at the crossroads of Population, Environmental and Urban Geography. Her stint as Lecturer at the Centre of Women’s Studies at the Guru Nanak Dev University, Amritsar, early in her career, exposed her to gender issues within geography and stimulated wider interest in the sub-discipline of cultural geography. She offers master’s courses in urban, cultural and social geography alongside teaching a compulsory course on the philosophy of geography. Her current research interests focus on the shifting power dynamics and their material expression in space, particularly regarding urban spaces.
Jenna L. Kirker is a PhD candidate in history, working in the Wilson Institute for Canadian History at McMaster University. In 2019–2020 she was the Canadian Council for the Advancement of Education and TD Insurance Fellow and is currently the Advancement Coordinator at the Northern Ontario School of Medicine.

D.Sc. Vladimir Kolosov is Deputy Director of the Institute of Geography of the Russian Academy of Sciences and Head of its Laboratory of Geopolitical Studies. He is Past-President of International Geographical Union and Vice-President of Russian Geographical Society. He has been for five years Professor at the University of Toulouse (France) and Visiting Professor at a number of foreign universities, head of the teams participating in international projects funded by European Framework Programmes and other foreign and national foundations.

Dr. Verena La Mela is Junior Researcher at the Department of Social Sciences (Social Anthropology Unit) of the University of Fribourg, Switzerland. As a member of the research project ‘Roadwork: An Anthropology of Infrastructure at China’s Inner Asian Borders’ she focuses on infrastructure, logistics and the Belt and Road Initiative. For her PhD she conducted long-term field research at the Sino–Kazakh border with a focus on women, trade and social networks. Her PhD was supported by the Max Planck Institute for Social Anthropology in Halle/Saale, Germany, and the University of Zurich, Switzerland. Verena is particularly drawn to border studies and the informal economy of the former socialist countries.

Dr. Francisco Lara-Valencia is Associate Professor and Director of the Transborder Policy Lab at Arizona State University. As a border scholar of space and territory, his scholarship is situated at the intersection of urban studies, community development, and cross-border cooperation. He is the author of several articles on cross-border cooperation, border environmental policy and urbanization, and cross-border governance and planning. His most recent writings engage the topics of identity and borders in North America, local responses to crisis and disruption, and the pedagogy of borders. He is also former President and current Executive Secretary of the Association for Borderlands Studies.

Dr. Clémence Léobal is a sociologist and a permanent member of the French National Center for Scientific Research. She belongs to the Lavue (Nanterre University). Her work on French Guiana began in 2009, when she was employed by the Saint-Laurent-du-Maroni town hall to prepare its Center for the Interpretation of Architecture and Heritage. In her PhD thesis, defended in 2017, she analyzed together the implementation of urban policies and their reappropriation by bushinenge inhabitants. Her current research focuses on the way in which the border takes on concrete consistency through the diversity of the administrative network and its uses on the Maroni.

Emeritus Professor Thomas Lundén is in Human Geography at Södertörn University and former director of its Centre for Baltic and East European
Studies, CBEES. His scholarship includes articles in political and social geography, border interaction and the history of geopolitics and Baltic relations.

**Dr. Tony Michell** is an experienced consultant on all Northeast Asia issues and managing director for Asia for EABC Ltd, responsible for local offices. Consultancies include the World Bank, UNDP, ILO and EU. Tony holds a Cambridge University Regional Development PhD. He has taught at Hull University, KDI School of Public Policy and Management, and has been visiting scholar at European, US and Asian universities. He publishes mostly on Northeast Asia business and economic development.

**Dr. Ekaterina Mikhailova** is Postdoctoral Researcher at the Department of Geography and Environment, University of Geneva and Visiting Lecturer at the Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies (Switzerland). Ekaterina's work lies at the crossroads of urban studies, border studies and Russian studies. She is an author of over 40 English and Russian publications on twin cities, cross-border communities and transfrontier cooperation, border tourism, governance and migration. Ekaterina has done fieldwork and analysed cross-border interactions along Russian borders with Norway, Finland, Estonia, Belarus, Ukraine and China, as well as at the Swedish-Norwegian and Spanish-French borders. She worked in several international research projects including the FP7 research project EUBORDERREGIONS (2012–2014) and The Transformation of Soviet Republic Borders to International Borders (2018–2019). In 2019 Ekaterina co-edited volume 1 of Twin Cities: Urban Communities, Borders and Relationships over Time (Routledge).

**Dr. Ruben Moi** is Associate Professor at UiT, Arctic University of Norway in Tromsø where he also belongs to the Border Aesthetics research group. He has published widely in English and Norwegian on borders and contemporary culture, and the imaginative arts of writers like Seamus Heaney, Derek Mahon, Ciaran Carson, T.S. Eliot, Samuel Beckett, Martin MacDonagh and Irvine Welsh. He is current President of the Norwegian Society for English Studies, treasurer of the Nordic Irish Studies Network, and member of the Norwegian Academic Council for English. He was chairman of Ordkalotten, Tromsø’s International Literature Festival, for many years.

**Dr. Dario Musolino** is Researcher in Economic Geography and Lecturer in Economic Prospects at the Bocconi University (Milan, Italy), and at the Università della Valle d’Aosta (Aosta, Italy). He holds a PhD from the University of Groningen (the Netherlands). He has been a Board Member of the Italian Regional Science Association, and he is Editor and Co-Founder of EyesReg, the Italian online journal of regional science. Dario’s academic interests include territorial competitiveness, development of peripheral and rural areas, agri-food value chain, industrial clusters and socio-economic impact of natural disasters. He is an author of over 120 national and international publications.

**Dr. Paul Nugent** is Professor of Comparative African History at the University of Edinburgh (UK). He holds a European Research Council Advanced Grant
for the AFRIGOS project, comparing transport corridors, border towns and port cities across four regions of Africa. He has published *Boundaries, Communities and State-Making in West Africa* (CUP, 2019), comparing border dynamics in Ghana/Togo and Senegal/Gambia. He has also worked on border towns in Kenya/Uganda. Paul was a member of the Institute of Advanced Study in Princeton in 2015–2016. He is Founder/Chair of the African Borderlands Research Network (ABORNE). Paul is a member of the Africa-Europe Strategic Taskforce on transport and connectivity, supporting the collaboration of the European and African Unions. He is currently completing a history of South African wine.

**Dr. Valerià Paul** is Associate Professor at the Geography Department, University of Santiago de Compostela (Spain). Previously, he was Assistant Professor at the University of Western Australia (2014–2015). He holds a PhD in Geography from Barcelona University and has received its Special Awards both for Bachelor Studies (2002) and Doctoral Studies (2007). His research interests include regional planning and management focusing on open spaces, protected and mountain areas and development; historical and cultural geography of landscape; agriculture, food and rural studies; political geography; and tourism (specifically, cultural, natural and rural tourism). He has participated in numerous projects, usually working on inter-disciplinary rural and regional studies; these were funded by the European Union and the Australian, Spanish, Galician and Catalan governments.

**Luigi Pellegrino** is a policeman at the Police Headquarters in Aosta with 13-year-long and meritorious service. In 2003–2008 Luigi served as a Volunteer of the Italian Army participating in the UN peacekeeping missions in Lebanon. In 2020 he completed his master's degree in Economics and Politics of the Territory and Enterprise at the Università della Valle d'Aosta, where he successfully defended his master's thesis ‘Towards a Bi-Regional city? An Application of the Delphi Policy to the Realization of the Integrated Area of the Strait of Messina’. Since then he has continued researching the Messina Strait area.

**Dr. Lena Poschet El Moudden** is Head of Section in the Office for Spatial Development of the Swiss government. She holds a degree in Architecture and Logistics Management and completed her PhD on transformation of urban space in border towns using the case of Haiti and the Dominican Republic as an example. Lena participated in the Swiss National research program ‘Mitigating Syndromes of Global Change’ and led several research projects with focus on transport and urbanization at the Federal Polytechnic School of Lausanne.

**Dr. Fabio Santos** is Assistant Professor of Sociology at the Institute for Latin American Studies at Freie Universität Berlin (Germany). He previously taught as Guest Professor of International Development at the University of Vienna (Austria) and earned his PhD at the International Research

Dr. Gianluca Simi is Creative Project Manager for global design agency Superside. He has a PhD in critical theory and cultural studies from the University of Nottingham (UK). Previously he worked as a teaching assistant at the University of Nottingham as well as a reporter and editor for independent publications both in Brazil and in the UK. His research focuses on the semiotics of everyday life, especially the construction of meaning and the uses of discourses on categories such as ‘internationality’ and ‘cultural diversity’ as they are expressed both through the consumption of material objects and the adoption of ‘cosmopolitan’ practices; as well as, at the same time, circumstantial re-bordering practices that feed into broader discourses on ‘border control’.

Ganeshwari Singh is a PhD candidate in the Department of Geography at Panjab University, Chandigarh, India, and is currently Assistant Professor of Geography at the Department of Higher Education, Haryana. She was previously adjunct faculty at Department of Geography, Panjab University, Chandigarh, where she taught courses in disaster management, human geography and environmental geography. Her research interests span the fields of cultural geography, urban geography and environmental geography. She is currently working on discourse, socio-spatial dialectic, and production of space in the context of Chandigarh, the first planned city of independent India. Her research focuses on cultural landscapes, power relations and feminist geography. She is particularly interested in the dynamics of power relations and how these materialise in space.

Dr. Juan-Manuel Trillo-Santamaría is a Lecturer in the Department of Geography at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Spain) and currently a Co-Editor for Europe of the Journal of Borderland Studies. His research has benefited from research stays in international centers in France, the Netherlands and the UK. Juan-Manuel holds a PhD in humanities from the University Carlos III of Madrid and defines his research as multidisciplinary. His approach to border studies has emphasized the geographical tradition with a comprehensive spatial analysis of social, political, economic and cultural processes related to the production and reproduction of borders. Juan-Manuel’s academic interests include cross-border cooperation and multilevel governance, historical and cultural geography, tourism and geopolitics.

Roberto Vila-Lage is a PhD candidate in the Department of Geography at the University of Santiago de Compostela (Spain). He holds a BA degree in economics from the University of A Coruña, a BA degree in geography and spatial planning and an MA in spatial planning, management and development from
the University of Santiago de Compostela. Roberto’s doctoral project focuses on the study of cooperation across external (Galicia-North of Portugal) and internal (Galicia-Asturias/Galicia-Castile and Leon) Spanish borders and is funded by a research grant from the Spanish Ministry of Science, Innovation and Universities obtained through a publicly competitive process.
Figure 00.a Frontispiece. Logo of Twin City, Georgia (USA)

Source: Eileen Dudley, by permission.
1 Introduction
Towards a global overview of Twin City Studies

Ekaterina Mikhailova

This is the second volume about twin cities around the world. Like its predecessor Twin Cities: Urban Communities, Borders and Relationships over Time (Garrard and Mikhailova 2019), it aims to advance the theoretical foundations for the cross-national comparative study of twin cities and to assemble empirical studies from around the globe. It seems natural to start by recapitulating and elaborating some of the key points made in the first volume, including the definition, classification and distinctive features of twin cities.

Twin cities are adjacent, mostly independently founded but closely interrelated urban pairings on either side of a border. They see themselves, and are seen by others, as especially adjacent, thereby having a special relationship if not necessarily a friendly or functional one. Twin citizens see this relationship with regret, pride or some blend of both, with the balance, mostly from the first to the second, changing over time.

Twin cities can be defined according to where and how they arise. They can emerge within one country and be separated by a municipal and/or federal-state border (hence called internal or intranational twin cities) or straddle international borders (consequently called external or international twin cities). Internal twin cities are often points where the implications of conurbanisation are first and most urgently observable. External twin cities are intense thermometers, even barometers, for what is happening in the wider urban world – globally, around and across international borders. They are trans-shipment points for legitimate and illegitimate trade, and the interface and interchange of cultures and peoples. More recently, they have become points of stress where the implications of, say, international mass migration and the political responses to/exploitations of this phenomenon are experienced with particular intensity (see more below).

Based on how twin cities arise, they can be classified into:

1. twin cities that grow (‘crash’) into each other (e.g., Minneapolis and St. Paul, USA; Garrard and Mikhailova 2019, chapter 1);
2. twin cities that arise on either side of a normally river-defined and/or internationally defined border and expand outwards, the growth of one often stimulated by the presence of the other (e.g., Manchester and Salford, UK; ibid., chapter 2);
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3. **partitioned twin cities** originating from initially one city divided by a later imposed boundary (e.g., Görlitz, Germany/Zgorzelec, Poland; Chapter 7, this volume);

4. **duplicated twin cities**, one of which is the reason for the foundation of the other by duplicating it due to a change of the boundary and resettling of some inhabitants to a new place in order to keep their jurisdiction as before (e.g., Laredo, USA/Nuevo Laredo, Mexico; Garrard and Mikhailova 2019, chapter 11) or due to strategic factors such as defence or trade (e.g., Narva, Estonia/Ivangorod, Russia; ibid., chapter 16);

5. **twin cities of mixed origins** emerging as a result of both partition and duplication (e.g., Svetogorsk, Russia/Imatra, Finland; ibid., chapters 18–19);

6. **planned twin cities** – somewhat more distant entities that are perceived by central or federal-state governments (e.g., Ahmadabad-Gandhinagar, India; ibid., chapter 7), to be rapidly spreading towards each other and are legally declared twins in order to take planning control of the merging process – so as to reduce chaos and take economic advantage of it by ensuring complementarity;

7. **engineered twin cities** – again, more distant but still neighbouring urban places whose special relationship arises from the development of transport technology (like the Øresund Bridge that includes a bridge, an artificial island and a tunnel connecting Copenhagen, Denmark/Malmö, Sweden);

8. **nesting twin cities** – thus-far rare examples where one city for historical or other reasons comes to be located inside another (e.g., Taipei–New Taipei, Taiwan; see more in this book’s conclusion).

This eightfold classification points to the great variety and globality of twin cities as a peculiar urban form spread around the world. We suggest approaching them as a **twin cities’ family** that, despite the diversity of its members, have important resemblances defined as twin-city features. They are:

1. economic, social and political **interdependence from the start** of their mutual existence;

2. **tensions between inwardness** – orientation to the parent state and itself – and **openness** – orientation across the border, towards the other city, cross-border region, the neighbouring state or the broader outside world;

3. **mostly unequal relationships**, enhancing already-inbult inter-city conflict;

4. **ongoing formal and informal negotiations** due to the need for coordination, the overlap of jurisdictions and the high number of stakeholders with border-straddling interests (particularly in external twin cities) based in either twin city or in both, and representing various sectors from business to civil society to criminal gangs;

5. **persistence**, understood as endurance of pressures from the growing conurbations around them.

For a more detailed overview of these five essential and mutually reinforcing characteristics and their interrelation with previous attempts to characterise twin cities, see Garrard and Mikhailova (2019, 9–17).
This volume, like its predecessor, sees twin city relationships as dynamic and constantly changing, with ups and downs, periods of discord, even confrontation, followed by more peaceful and collaborative phases. Consequentially, the manifestations of each twin-city characteristic could alter over time, influenced by, or independent of, each other. The dynamism of twin-city relationships derives from twin cities situations of durable and intensive neighbourship.

To the best of our knowledge, there is no complete inventory of twin cities. While assembling and editing the two volumes, time and again we have been coming across new cases and case studies previously unknown to us. At the moment of writing (April 2021), we estimate that there are at least 250 twin-city examples, or 500 cities in twinned relationships across the world. Their number is increasing within individual states and on international borders. The reasons for ongoing twin city breeding can be roughly summarised as follows:

1. **Continuous boundary changes**, i.e. (re)drawing international and administrative boundaries that affects the relations of close-by urban settlements. All partitioned twins, and the majority of duplicated twin cities, have emerged due to large international boundary changes including the Mexican-American treaty of 1853, the 1918–1919 Versailles Settlement, the post-1945 peace settlement and others.

2. **Recurrent changes of border regimes.** Fluctuations in border porosity, known as re-bordering and de-bordering, often influence border twin cities. Following the end of the Cold War, Europe witnessed the increasing permeability of international borders stimulating more interactions between border twin cities at the boundaries of the Capitalist and Socialist blocks. Exploring Hungarian-Slovakian border twin cities, Tamaska calls this period a ‘reintegration stage’ in twin cities’ history (Garrard and Mikhailova 2019, chapter 13). Meanwhile, the collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia in the early 1990s led to rebordering among their former republics. This resulted in the transformation of former internal twin cities, such as Valga, Estonia/Valka, Latvia (ibid., chapter 16), or Slavonski Brod, Croatia/Brod, Bosnia-Herzegovina (Chapter 9, this volume) into external ones.

3. **Institutional encouragement.** Twin cities could be seen as a symbolic tool to ameliorate binational relations and/or a pragmatic problem-solving tool to provide better living conditions for twin-city communities and their hinterland. No wonder the tendency towards twin city breeding in the 20th and 21st centuries has been originating at different administrative levels – municipal, regional, national, macro-regional and international. Manifestations of institutional encouragement for twin-city cooperation include the EU’s ambition for European integration, related cross-border cooperation policies of EU member-states and states seeking EU membership, alongside the domestic policies of some states aiming to control rapid urbanisation in the modern world (as in India).

4. **Developments in fast-transit engineering.** The advance of transportation systems and technologies enables relatively proximate cities to become more and ever-faster connected. The shrinking of effective distances has already
given birth to some new cross-border regions, like the already-mentioned bridge-induced Øresund Region twins with 3,700,000 inhabitants. More regions are considering such investments, including Helsinki and Tallinn across the Gulf of Finland that consider exploring a Hyperloop – an experimental high-speed vacuum transportation technology where passengers and goods are propelled in magnetically levitated capsules through low-pressure underground tubes at speeds of around 1,000 km/h. In September 2017, the Estonian Prime Minister and representatives of the Hyperloop One company (later renamed Virgin Hyperloop) signed a letter of intent aimed at working together within the Tallinn-Helsinki tunnel project (Baltic Course 2018).

5. Economic incentives and encouragement from global economic players. Increasing global territorial competition stimulates nearby places to cooperate to obtain better visibility and improve their chances of attracting investment, new industries, jobs and residents. In 2020 Nova Gorica won the Slovenian national competition to become a European Capital of Culture in 2025 (outperforming Ljubljana, Slovenia’s capital) thanks to teaming up with its Italian twin city, Gorizia. The award-winning bid used the slogan ‘Go! Borderless’ and listed transforming Nova Gorica and Gorizia into ‘one cross-border European city’ as its first priority (GO!2025 Team 2020, 10).

Due to increasing international trade, some infrastructural projects connecting border twin cities are funded by faraway state and non-state actors wanting to be primary beneficiaries of growing international flows. Thus, today the most debated issue regarding Helsinki and Tallinn’s connectivity project across the Gulf of Finland (which has now returned to the original rail-tunnel possibility) is whether to involve the Chinese-backed Finnish venture proposing a $17 billion investment. This is due to strategic security concerns of outside (e.g., the USA and NATO) and inside actors (Eglitis 2021).

The other example of external investments stimulating twin-city interactions comes from Brest and Terespol, twin cities on the Belarus-Poland border. Since 2016, when Russia’s blockade of rail transit via Ukraine started, most cargo flows between China and Europe run through Belarus and Poland and are unloaded from wide-track onto European standard-gauge trains in Brest and Malaszewicz trans-shipment terminals. Malaszewicz is located in Terespol administrative district, 9 km from Terespol, and is one of the largest ‘dry’ ports in Poland and the EU. The terminals’ limited capacity has been repeatedly named among major bottlenecks on the prospective fast-train link planned for implementation within the Belt and Road Initiative (Jakobowski et al. 2018). To partially solve the problem, in 2015–2017 the Chinese government granted Belarus modern X-ray equipment for inspecting goods transported by rail to be installed in Brest. Simultaneously, the Malaszewicz terminal modernisation project was implemented with around 40% of funding coming from the EU (Railway Pro 2020).

6. The mix of all or some of the aforementioned factors. Often, the establishment of twin-city relationships between somewhat distant cities relies both on
institutional and economic incentives as well as new transport infrastructure enhancing inter-city interactions. If this occurs across a previously ‘hard’ border – one barely possible to cross due to its predominant barrier function in contrast to a ‘soft’, highly porous border primarily functioning as a point of contact – the border regime change becomes a necessary prerequisite. If one twin city is located in a highly centralized state, governmental support of twinning becomes a crucial factor. All these reasons facilitated the twinning of Nikel, Russia/Kirkenes, Norway (Garrard and Mikhailova 2019, chapter 17).

To conclude this section on definitions, it is worth touching upon the decades-long heated debate on the ‘twin-city’ term itself. Academic debate regarding its appropriateness has centred on external twin cities and the metaphor of ‘twins’ or the so-called ‘Gemini complex’ (Arreola 1996, 356). The criticism typically concentrates around three points: the gap (often significant) in the dates of cities’ foundation; their lack of genetic inter-connections; and their stark visual and other contrasts, sometimes described as ‘cartoonish’ (Vanneph and Mouroz 1994, 13). Besides, the manifold disciplinary backgrounds of authors studying twin cities have fuelled the terminological disputes. Several alternative terms have been coined as more neutral and hence accurate descriptors – such as ‘coupled settlements’, ‘paired border cities’ (Arreola 1996), ‘double cities’, ‘neighbouring cities’, ‘border-crossing cities’, ‘binational cities’ (Buursink 2001), ‘cross-border conurbation/agglomeration’, ‘transborder metropolis’ (Herzog and Sohn 2014) and others. However, none has gained sufficient traction, and ‘twin cities’ remains the most widespread term to designate the phenomenon of nearby urban pairings on municipal and international borders. Interestingly, many languages have produced their own equivalents of the ‘twin-city’ term (see Table 1.1), suggesting a common need to name this phenomenon and differentiate it from other types of urban interrelations.

Further evidence of the twin-city term’s deep roots is the fact that for over a hundred years there have been at least two places officially called twin cities. They are Minneapolis and St. Paul on the Mississippi River in Minnesota, and the city of Twin City in Georgia, USA. Given that the former is a far larger and populous urban area than the latter (the Minnesota Twin Cities metropolitan area is 28,422 sq km with a total population of around 4,000,000 inhabitants in 2019, while Twin City, Georgia has an area of 9.3 sq km with 1,701 inhabitants in 2019), Minnesota’s Twin Cities have naturally enjoyed greater visibility both nationally and internationally.

Minneapolis and St. Paul are the iconic example of internal twin cities. While maintaining a deeply conflictual relationship until the 1960s, they have been labelled (first colloquially, then officially) ‘Twin Cities’ since at least the 1890s. From early on, this label was used by and for outside audiences since the local identity was greatly reliant on the antagonism of the two cities. St. Paul was established in 1841, developed as a transport and trade hub on the Mississippi River and since 1849 has served as Minnesota’s capital. Minneapolis was established in 1854 next to the St. Anthony Falls and soon became an important
By the 1880s, Minneapolis’s population overtook St. Paul’s; however, this has not affected the latter’s administratively dominant position. St. Paul still remains Minnesota’s state capital. The relocation of a major baseball league team from Washington, D.C., to Minneapolis and St. Paul and its renaming to become the Minnesota Twins in 1961 marked an important milestone on the way towards more harmonious twin-cities’ coexistence and was one of the first local associations using the ‘twin cities’ label for local audiences.

The city of Twin City, Georgia is a historical example of twin cities. It was founded in 1921 after the merger of two urban settlements of Summit and Graymount trying to survive the effects of the Great Depression. The website of the city of Twin City (2021) asserts that ‘although a touch of rivalry remains between “Summit” and “Graymont” neighborhoods, today’s residents of Twin City are warm, friendly, and proud of their roots’ – pointing at the persistence of
the twin city breed. Recently for marketing purposes, Twin City produced a logo
(that became the frontispiece of this volume and its predecessor) and a motto
‘Twice as friendly, twice as nice’.

A trawl through digitalised academic sources (e.g., via Google Scholar), covering as far back as the mid-20th century, reveals the ‘twin-city’ term being applied to internal close-by urban settlements both in Europe and Asia. For instance, researchers writing on the Polish urban system used the term to describe Gdansk and Gdynya (Osborne 1959, 204), just as Lundén does in this book (Chapter 7). In the late 1950s, both American professor of political science Clifford Grant (1958) and British sinologist Victor Purcell (1959) called Saigon (today’s Ho Chi Minh City) and Cholon twin cities. Cholon, initially a neighbouring independent Chinese settlement, expanded to Saigon by the 1930s, inducing its merger with the latter under the name ‘Saigon-Cholon’, two decades later shortened to ‘Saigon’. Today, Cholon is one of Ho Chi Minh City’s neighbourhoods and typically presented to tourists as its Chinatown.

Exploring the same digitalised academic sources, we come across the late-19th century book on the twin cities of Brownsville (Texas, USA) and Matamoros (Tamaulipas, Mexico) (see Chatfield 1893) and the mid-20th century doctoral dissertation on another twin-city pair – El Paso (Texas, USA) and Ciudad Juarez (Chihuahua, Mexico) (see D’Antonio 1958). The book was compiled by Lieutenant W.H. Chatfield, who uses the term ‘twin cities’ in the title – The Twin Cities of the Border and the Country of the Lower Rio Grande – and throughout the text. Chatfield writes that Brownsville and Matamoros ‘became in fact as well as in name, “The Twin Cities of the Border”’ during the 1861–1865 American Civil War. Then the two cities served as warehouses for exporting ‘immense quantities of cotton and other accumulated products of the South’ and importing ‘munitions of war and the food staples’ (Chatfield 1893, 2), other southern ports of the Confederacy being under blockade.

The doctoral dissertation on twin cities, by Italian-American sociologist William D’Antonio at Michigan State University, hardly features the term ‘twin cities’. However, when justifying the case-study selection, D’Antonio refers to ‘very high interaction rates’ (D’Antonio 1958, 37) between the El Paso and Ciudad Juarez communities and gives multiple examples of constant formal and informal negotiations between the two, along with their inequality and interdependencies. For instance, in the mid-1950s, two of three Spanish-language newspapers serving El Paso were printed in Juarez (ibid., 61), and 10–15% of the Juarez labour force worked in El Paso (ibid., 63). Summarising, D’Antonio writes that ‘while only a dry river-bed separated Juarez from its neighbor for most of the year’ (ibid., 62), their urban growth, economy and socio-cultural characteristics differed considerably.

As the title of both edited volumes suggest, we find the ‘twin-city’ term credible and academically productive. Both volumes treat twin cities as a diverse phenomenon with various degrees of similarity and difference in how they look, evolve and behave. Overall, we hope this helps make earlier terminological debates obsolete.
Notwithstanding twin cities’ age-old existence – some are over seven centuries old (see Chapter 2) – they have been chronically under-researched in the constantly growing fields of urban studies and border studies. The shift from sporadic references to twin cities to examining them as a self-contained unit of research occurred in the 1960s. From then onwards, there has been a gradual increase in twin-city publications. However, for a long time, twin-city literature has largely involved applying the lens of exceptionalism, with attempts at theorisation confined to a few case studies. This particularism is evident in the numerous publications on particular twin cities and cross-border agglomerations. The first comparative studies addressed various aspects of twin cities on the US-Mexico border (e.g., Sloan and West 1977). In Europe, one of the first comparative studies of cross-border agglomerations and their theorisation focused on Lille and Geneva (Raffestin and Servin 1978). Efforts to overcome the field’s fragmented state intensified from the 1990s, with multiple publications on cross-border urban areas in particular regions (see Lundén 2004, Jańczak 2013 for Europe; Herzog 1990, Vanneph and Mouroz 1994 for North America; Dilla et al. 2008 for South America; Nugent 2019 for West Africa).

The emergence of cross-regional comparisons marked an important milestone in the maturation of Twin City Studies. Such comparisons include thematic special issues (like Geojournal 2001, Geographica Helvetica 2007 and Journal of Borderlands Studies 2017) and individual research studies (Herzog and Sohn 2014). The most recent indicator of where Twin City Studies are today has been Twin Cities: Urban Communities, Borders and Relationships over Time (Garrard and Mikhailova 2019) and this volume. The global authorship, broad case-study coverage and the novel approach involved in treating internal and external twin cities as one phenomenon, we think, make these volumes a significant breakthrough in the field.

It is unsurprising that the two enthusiasts of Twin City Studies – John Garrard and myself – have produced the two volumes on the subject. On the one hand, as it will be evident in the conclusion, the abundance of twin cities across the globe and the seriously fragmented state of Twin City Studies strongly suggests the necessity of at least two volumes wherein to present twin cities as a particular urban form in all its variety. On the other hand, for the two co-editors in their dedicated pursuit of paired settlements, it has been quite natural to have two volumes complementing each other.

We hope the two volumes from an assembled group of multi-disciplinary specialists demonstrate that enduring twin-city features, although at varying intensity, remain present regardless of their geographical location, genesis, morphology or duration of coexistence. This book, alongside its predecessor, showcases the diversity and constancy of twin-city characteristics with examples covering the entire globe – 70 cases of twin cities, or over 140 cities in twinned relationships in 40 countries (Figure 1.1): from the Baltic Sea region in the North (Prussian twin cities, Chapter 7, this volume) to Australia in the South (Gold Coast-Tweed Heads, Chapter 4, this volume).
Meanwhile, this volume fills some of the remaining gaps in Twin City Studies. First, it focuses on areas unvisited or under-covered in (Garrard and Mikhailova 2019). Notably, it sheds light on Latin-American twin cities. A quarter of the book (6 of 24 chapters) cover case studies on Brazil’s borders with Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay and French Guiana, as well as the borders of French Guiana-Suriname, Haiti–Dominican Republic and USA–Mexico. Furthermore, this volume develops the twin-city study of Africa and Asia, featuring examples on the borders of Ghana-Togo and Nigeria-Benin, plus examples on China’s borders with Russia, Kazakhstan and North Korea. Finally, and importantly, this book for the first time extends twin-city debates to Australia and to a fictional imagining of a twin city. This volume also explores twin cities in different circumstances.
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on the edge of emergence or recently amalgamated, in post-conflict environments and under stress. It gives further consideration to the contemporary pressures to which border twin cities are increasingly subject, often originating far away, like mass migration, surveillance, international terrorism, the rise of populism, East-West tensions, international crime, rebordering trends and, with the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, very possibly increasingly significant epidemiological risks.

The systematic closure of national borders recurring from the start of the pandemic called ‘Covid-fencing’ (Medeiros et al. 2020) has brought great media coverage to external twin cities as arenas of civic protests and high-risk frontliners suffering the consequences of disrupted socio-economic ties. For instance, in Europe, Konstanz (Germany)/Kreuzlingen (Switzerland) often appeared in news headlines for repeatedly hosting demonstrations against and in favour of restrictive COVID measures (SwissInfo 2020) and for scenes of families and couples divided by the fence (BBC 2020). In North America, mass media were reporting on Hyder (Alaska, USA)/Stewart (British Columbia, Canada), tiny Northern twin cities 2 km apart and significantly remote from anything else. The two communities claimed they were used to isolation from the outside world but they ‘don’t want to be isolated from each other’. Instead, they sought permission to create ‘their own bubble’ (Chan 2020, The Economist 2020) – a special arrangement to avoid covid-fencing since Hyder, the smaller town, depends on Stewart for firewood and provisions to get through the winter. In Africa, Goma (Democratic Republic of Congo)/Gisenyi (Rwanda) were often presented as points of high risk as well as places where border closure reinforces inequality and hits vulnerable populations worst (e.g., Congo’s disabled border-couriers reported by Reuters 2021).

What follows is the summary of chapter content and commentaries emphasising the distinctive ongoing characteristics of twin cities that give unity to the two volumes we have assembled and edited with an eye to those distinctive commonalities.

This volume has three parts – first, on internal twin cities; second, a more extended section on external twins, and third, on twin cities in fiction and editors’ dreams about real-world twins. As in Garrard and Mikhailova (2019), this volume begins with intranational city pairs. Part I with its five chapters comprises a considerable geographic variety (three continents – Eurasia, North America and Australia), time span (700 years) and evolutionary range – from the embryonic (but economically complementary) through the fully evolved and planned, to amalgamated twin cities. Their inter-relations are mostly dominant-subordinate and sometimes mutually resentful (even when, or perhaps because, they were planned). In two cases, relations are complicated by having to be conducted across federal-state as well as municipal borders.

In Chapter 2, Anna Anisimova explores English monastic twin towns (relatively small urban centres under monastic lordship) and examines how they emerged and coexisted during the 13th–15th centuries, finally tracing their fortunes into the 20th century. Anisimova concludes that each twin-town situation
had different factors at play like origins, layouts, lordship, economic profile and connectivity. This impacted inter-twin interactions and degrees of conflict. She reminds us that, while dominant-subordinate relationships are distinctive features of her twin towns even in the Middle Ages, this should not be exaggerated: despite quarrels, twins cooperated for economic reasons and were riddled with kinship ties enhancing trends towards cooperation.

Michel Beaulieu and Jenna Kirker in Chapter 3 present the case of historical Canadian twin cities – Fort William and Port Arthur – that, after almost 80 years of rivalry, merged into the City of Thunder Bay in 1970. Their history, strongly imprinted by competition, at times, almost bankrupting both cities, showcases how thorny and protracted the path to harmonious coexistence could be. Besides, the chapter testifies to the fact that amalgamation does not neutralize rivalry; indeed, creating one new city with two historic cores is a tough undertaking, requiring multi-faceted planning and other efforts to unify twin-city residents. Even then, it can leave damaging residues: twin cities, even when amalgamated, take a long time to die.

In Chapter 4, Paul Burton and Aysin Dedekorkut-Howes examine Australian twin cities at the Queensland–New South Wales federal-state border. They critically review the impact of the two states’ contrasting planning and local government regimes on the development of what has become Gold Coast/Tweed Heads twin cities. The chapter concludes that, apart from annoying anomalies like the seasonal time-difference and railway-gauge discrepancy, the conurban growth of this contiguous built-up area has not produced significant political conflict between the respective local governments, even while the two state governments have often been in conflict. Indeed, twin-city interactions have been favourably impacted by the ‘faraway’ character of one state capital, Sydney.

The other case study of internal twins, again divided by federal-state borders, comes from India. In Chapter 5, Ganeshwari Singh, Simrit Kahlon and I draw attention to Chandigarh (Union Territory), Panchkula (Haryana) and Mohali (Punjab), colloquially known as the Chandigarh tri-city. Despite being deeply divided by three jurisdictions, different ethno-religious and linguistic composition, the tri-cities are nevertheless very interdependent. The authors show that, while over time relationships within the tri-city have evolved from dysfunctional conflict to complementarity, with each city developing a distinctive character, their ability to cooperate on mutually beneficial joint planning is still limited, due to rivalry involving both cities and states, and remains a hindrance to cohesive development.

Dario Musolino and Luigi Pellegrino’s Chapter 6 is inspired by the so-called ‘twin-city model’ and speculates on constructing twin cities across the Strait of Messina with the use of planning, like in India. Contemplating what they see as the ‘embryonic twins’ of Reggio Calabria and Messina, the authors seek complementarity instead of competition and the pooling of resources and economies of scale. They suggest approaching these two important South Italian cities as natural partners for close social and economic ties. They outline the potential for partnership and explore future integrative scenarios and strategies for implementing this ambitious project by using the Delphi technique – qualitative
forecasting relying on opinions from an expert panel. The chapter concludes that applying the ‘twin-city model’ to Reggio Calabria and Messina requires improving transport networks and services in the Messina Strait to make it easy, safe, fast and efficient to move between the two urban areas.

Part II has far more chapters and covers five geographical subsections: (a) Europe, (b) Middle East and Africa, (c) Asia, (d) South America and (e) North America and the Caribbean. This part shows two contrasting things. First, cross-border inter-twin relationships can be more positive and fruitful than internal twins often are, due especially to the para-diplomatic roles assigned to cross-border twins by their respective nation states, and to the cross-border movements of people in pursuit of their own interests and agendas, sometimes quite independently of national centres. Second, and contrastingly, Part II (particularly Chapters 9, 10, 13 and 21) also underlines how cross-border twins can often become major points of stress due to developments originating elsewhere.

European subsection ‘a’ has three chapters, each following the tradition of comparative Twin City Studies. Thomas Lundén’s Chapter 7 takes us back in time and provides over a dozen examples of Prussian border cities, some with a cross-border twin. He explores their changing fates from the 18th century to the present in the context of first Prussian and then German expansion and conquest, and then post 1945. Lundén proves that both internal and external twin cities are long-existent, and they endure and evolve, like the societies in and around which they originate.

Chapter 8, by Juan-Manuel Trillo-Santamaría, Valerià Paül and Roberto Vila-Lage, compares and contrasts cross-border inter-urban projects labelled ‘eurocities’ on the Spain-Portugal border that institutionalised their twinning in 2007 and 2018. The authors suggest these cross-border inter-urban projects come in two generations: the first based on bilateral agreements, and the second operating as a network of twin cities under the umbrella of joint governing structures composed of supra-municipal political bodies. Commonalities of related languages, daily interactions of peoples along the ‘soft’ Spanish-Portuguese boundary plus EU-funding availability for developing common projects all contributed to border inhabitants’ empathy towards eurocities and their initiatives.

Dorte Andersen in Chapter 9 sets her discussion of twin-city development in post-conflict environments in former Yugoslavia, speculating about similarities and differences between, on the one hand, twin cities (like Slavonski Brod/ Brod on the Croatia/Bosnia and Herzegovina border) and divided cities on the other – those that have undergone traumatic urban partition along ethnic lines following civil war (like Vukovar in Croatia). Andersen shows that twin and divided cities have significantly different ways of conceiving and constructing divisions, born both of history and of the cross-border twin-city trends we see elsewhere. Internally divided Vukovar is an inward-looking community maintaining asymmetries between ethnic groups in everyday life, while the twin city of Slavonski Brod/Brod, although also impacted by the civil war, nonetheless attempts to open up for interaction, realising their interdependence and the fragility of peaceful coexistence.
Tamar Arieli’s Chapter 10 continues the theme of post-conflict twin-city relationships, also opening subsection ‘b’ on the Middle East and Africa. By examining Eilat (Israel)/Aqaba (Jordan) in a conflictual region, within the context of the 1994 Israel–Jordan Peace Treaty that set the background and expectations for cross-border cooperation (CBC), Arieli argues that cross-border twin-city development in conflict and post-conflict environments is ‘a slow, subtle, and even reversible process rather than a permanent state’. This is due to its political sensitivity and how nationally originating priorities and politically driven necessities can so easily intrude on much-needed CBC. Deference by local authorities to national directives alongside social mistrust limit CBC to low-key, low-visibility problem-solving in non-controversial areas with not much spill-over into social cross-border ties outside of the important but ever-threatened commute of Jordanian workers into Eilat hotels.

Paul Nugent, in Chapter 11 on the twin cities of the decidedly dominant Lomé, capital of Togo, and the distinctly subordinate Aflao, the adjacent Ghanaian border town, vividly exemplifies how their interactions entail both cooperation and friction, and how they have been impacted by another variable common in several of the following chapters – the post-colonial legacy of rival European powers. By examining the twin cities’ distinct historical and demographic trajectories and their close economic ties along this indistinguishable, fluid conurban border, Nugent shows how the twins’ destinies have been intertwined since the 19th century through and beyond independence, and are reliant on mutual advantages arising from trade and associated livelihoods.

Anthony Asiwaju’s Chapter 12 adds tribal identity to rival French and British colonial legacies in the cross-border twin-city mix of variables on the Benin-Nigerian border. He draws on the twin-city ties of Ketu and Imeko, two leading Yoruba ancestral cities, the former being the capital of the ancient Yoruba kingdom and the latter evidently prominent but of vassal status. Asiwaju points out that, despite the separating impact of rival European colonial rule and post-colonial nation-building traditions in keeping the cities apart, today’s Ketu and Imeko remain closely interlinked by shared culture, dialect and jointly celebrated festivals, kinship ties and rapidly expanding cross-border businesses centring on the border-straddling city of Ilara.

Sub-section ‘c’ unpacks the peculiarities and continuities of twin-city dynamics in Asia. It comprises three chapters, each covering the twin cities of China and her neighbours – North Korea, Russia and Kazakhstan. All three show how, on the one hand, the central state and tremendous geopolitical changes have been determining factors in twin-city interactions. On the other hand, these chapters also evidence the prevalence of economic ties, with the Chinese twins typically deriving major benefits and dominating twin-city relationships, thereby causing resentment and security concerns in subordinate partner cities and their parent states.

In Chapter 13, Tony Michell uses Dandong (China)/Sinuiju (DPRK) across the Yalu River to illustrate how susceptible cross-border twins are to external pressures originating both nearby and faraway. Linked by a steel railway bridge