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An International Perspective on Metropolitan Governance

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Executive Summary

This paper locates current discussions about the governance of Auckland within the international discourse relating to urban governance and metropolitan reform. It offers a commentary on the evolution of the current debate relating to the Auckland city region from the perspective of an 'outsider'. Those who arrive from 'outside' can rightly be accused of lacking local knowledge and this is certainly a limitation of this contribution. In more positive vein the claim can be made that an 'outsider' can, perhaps, bring an independent perspective to the debate.

The paper suggests that metropolitan reform is, indeed, needed if Auckland is to succeed as a livable and prosperous city in the future. The Royal Commission (RC) on Auckland Governance has carried out a remarkably thorough study in a comparatively short space of time. Its report provides an impressive analysis that will be of lasting value to all who care about the future of the Auckland city region. The Government has responded swiftly to the RC analysis with the result that the scene is now set for radical change in the governance of Auckland.

This paper draws on the Research Paper the author prepared in 2008 for the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance on *Civic Leadership for Auckland: An International Perspective*, (published in the Royal Commission *Auckland Governance Report Vol 4*). Themes relating to the multi-level leadership of the metropolis raised in that paper will be revisited here, taking account of more recent developments.

The structure of this paper is as follows. A brief introductory section sets the Auckland debate in an international context. This is followed by a section discussing why metropolitan reform is attracting interest across the world and it includes an outline of the three main approaches to metropolitan reform encountered in different continents: 1) Consolidation and amalgamation, 2) Two-tier government, and 3) Collaborative partnerships. Section 3) outlines (very briefly) the reform proposals for Auckland. This covers some of the key features of the RC analysis as well as the Government's response. Brief comments on the strengths and weaknesses of the various proposals are offered. The next section attempts to move the debate forward by outlining three key themes that should be given active consideration in the months ahead:

- Developing the innovative capacity of Auckland governance
- Strengthening civic leadership
- Building empowered communities

Section 5) offers brief reflections and conclusions.

1) Auckland governance in an international context

This paper offers an ‘outsiders’ perspective on the current debates relating to the reform of the arrangements for governing Auckland. The starting point for this discussion is that the challenges now facing the citizens of Auckland are not the same as they were in the past. In common with metropolitan regions across the world Auckland is experiencing rapid change – the economic functions of the city region are shifting, New Zealand society is transforming and the aspirations and expectations of citizens are changing. In addition, different public policy challenges – for example, sustainable development and climate change – have leapt to the top of the policy agenda putting new pressures on the established systems of government to deliver innovative approaches and solutions.

When viewed from an international perspective it seems clear that a range of forces – particularly the forces of urbanisation, international migration and globalisation – are causing cities, and particularly metropolitan regions like Auckland, to restructure both economically and socially. This process of transformation raises new challenges for those involved in leading and shaping the political institutions set up to govern increasingly complex city regions.

The very existence of a Royal Commission on Auckland Governance is testimony to the fact that the New Zealand Government recognises the significance of these changes and, indeed, the terms of reference of the Royal Commission refer explicitly to global forces: ‘... over the next 100 years, the Auckland region will face enormous change brought about by global economic, environmental, and political forces’. The text continues: ‘Local trends, including high population growth, add to the challenges and opportunities for the region. Auckland has to compete in a global market place to sell its goods and services and to attract the talented people it requires to secure a sustainable and prosperous future’.¹ Twenty years ago local governments did not have to trouble themselves with international trends and rapid shifts in global economic relations. Now they do. This redefinition of the scope of the tasks confronting city governments provides a focus for this paper on metropolitan governance.

2) Metropolitan governance – reform options

In this section we explore the movement from ‘government’ to ‘governance’ - a shift that appears to be taking place in many countries - and we examine the general arguments often put forward to justify metropolitan reform. We then outline the three main options for metropolitan reform and reflect on their strengths and weaknesses.

¹ Royal Commission (2009) *Auckland Governance Report*. Vol. 1, p740.

From government to governance

In a new book, *Governing Cities in a Global Era*, Jill Gross and I orchestrate a conversation between writers from different continents about the changing nature of urban government. In particular, we explore the suggestion that we are moving from an era of 'government' to one of 'governance'.² But what do these terms mean? For the purpose of this discussion *government* refers to the formal institutions of the state. Government makes decisions within specific administrative and legal frameworks and uses public resources in a financially accountable way. Most important, government decisions are backed up by the legitimate hierarchical power of the state. *Governance*, on the other hand, involves government *plus* the looser processes of influencing and negotiating with a range of public and private sector agencies to achieve desired outcomes. A governance perspective encourages collaboration between the public, private and non-profit sectors to achieve mutual goals. Whilst the hierarchical power of the state does not vanish, the emphasis in governance is on steering, influencing and coordinating the actions of others.

Moving to the local level, *local government* refers to democratically elected authorities. *Local governance* is broader – it refers to the processes and structures of a variety of public, private, and community and voluntary sector bodies at the local level. It acknowledges the diffusion of responsibility for collective provision and recognises the contribution of different levels and sectors. This argument suggests that approaches to leadership and public service management that may have served societies well in the past will need to be updated to meet the needs of changing times.

In our book we criticise the emergence, in some circles at least, of two opposed camps or schools of thought who seem to spend their time criticising each other rather than learning from each other. The 'government' school is suspicious of the notion of collaboration – strengthen the state so that it can intervene ever more effectively to achieve societal goals and forget about partnership working with other stakeholders they cry. For some scholars, it seems, any steps towards collaborative working will be a sell out to the forces of neo-liberalism.³ On the other side of the fence, we find devotees of the 'governance' school who claim that the state cannot 'go it alone'. They argue that working in partnership with other stakeholders can improve problem-solving capacity and bring a range of resources to bear on pressing public policy challenges. However, it must also be recognised that some advocates of governance models do have an ideological agenda - they see 'governance' as a way of weakening the role of the state.

² Hambleton R. and Gross J. S. (eds) (2007) *Governing Cities in a Global Era*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.

³ Some geographers and political scientists appear to take this view. See, for example, England K. and Ward K. (eds) (2007) *Neoliberalization: States, Networks, Peoples*. Oxford: Blackwell; Geddes M. (2005) 'Neoliberalism and local governance - cross-national perspectives and speculations'. *Policy Studies*, Vol 26 No 3 pp 359-377.

To contrast these 'schools' in this way is, of course, to present a caricature of a more complex political debate. Our point in the book, however, is to argue that, because of changes in society and particularly the globalisation of economic and social relations, we need to develop more sophisticated approaches to how we discuss the 'governing' challenges facing modern cities and city regions. Perhaps it is possible to combine the effective use of 'government' and 'governance' at one and the same time. This is, in many ways, the central challenge for modern metropolitan reformers. But we are jumping ahead and should consider the history of metropolitan reform before we go much further.

Why reform metropolitan government?

Why reorganise existing local government arrangements in metropolitan areas? While the details vary by country and regional context the simple answer is that existing governmental arrangements are, for a variety of reasons, felt to be unsuited to meet present and future societal challenges. More specifically a key governance problem encountered in many metropolitan areas is **fragmentation**. Thus, municipal boundaries, created in earlier times, often divide power and authority in an unhelpful way, with the result that effective governance of the city region is stymied. It was this line of reasoning that led to the establishment of the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance in November 2007. The New Zealand Government had become increasingly concerned about the workability of the existing pattern of local government arrangements.

The Royal Commission put it this way: 'Problems were perceived to centre on Auckland's fragmented governance arrangements, and the consequent inability of local government in Auckland to make and implement timely decisions for the good of the region'.⁴ If we adopt an historical perspective we can see that evolving patterns of urban development and social and economic change are bound to put strains on any given system of metropolitan government. The need to update governance arrangements has arisen in Auckland in the past and it will arise again in the future. In practice the work of the Royal Commission can be viewed as a sensible follow on to previous reform efforts.

The last major review of Auckland local government, implemented in 1989, was concerned to address problems that remain with us, albeit in different form, today. Thus, the historical analysis provided by Professor Graham Bush, in his insightful Research Report for the Royal Commission, indicates that Dr Michael Bassett, the then Minister of Local Government, was also concerned about the fragmentation of power among small units of government within New Zealand. Dr Bassett believed that his 1989 reforms, which led to a reduction in the the number of Auckland territorial authorities from 29 to seven, would result in the following benefits: '... increased efficiency, resolving of inter-authority disputes, cessation of negative

⁴ Royal Commission (2009) *Auckland Governance Report*. Vol 1 p43.

parochialism, and fostering of regional cooperation'.⁵ Those reforms worked, it is fair to say, to the advantage of the citizens of Auckland. They may not have been perfect but an antiquated system of government was swept away and replaced by improved arrangements. Societal change has continued apace with the result that further reform is now needed.

Options for metropolitan reform

We have established, then, that reorganising the governmental arrangements of metropolitan areas is not a new phenomenon. On the contrary 'reorganisation' has been an issue ever since cities began sprawling over their original municipal boundaries in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. While it is something of a simplification, it is helpful to distinguish three different approaches to metropolitan reform. In practice, it is possible to pursue a reform strategy in a given city region that borrows elements from more than one of these three approaches. However, it can help to penetrate the confusion that sometimes accompanies metropolitan reform debates if we separate out the three models, even if only at a conceptual level. The three approaches are:

- 1) Consolidation and amalgamation
- 2) Two-tier government
- 3) Collaborative partnerships

We now offer brief remarks on each of these reform options. Each has strengths and weaknesses.

1) Consolidation and amalgamation

A familiar approach to the problems created by jurisdictional fragmentation is consolidation or, to use an American phrase, 'annexation of the suburbs'. This model of local government reorganisation is still highly influential in many countries. In the United States, for example, where many metropolitan areas are extremely fragmented, 'city-county' consolidation and local authority mergers are alive and well.⁶ This approach has also been pursued extensively in the UK in recent decades. Only earlier this month, several new unitary local authorities were created in different parts of England by merging previously separate local authorities. For example, the districts and county of Cornwall have been merged into a new 'unitary' Cornwall, now one of the largest unitary councils in Europe.

As mentioned earlier, this approach to local government reorganisation has also been pursued in the New Zealand context. The 1989 reorganisation was

⁵ Bush G. W. A. (2009) *Historical Overview of Auckland Governance* in Royal Commission *Auckland Governance Report*. Vol 4, p20

⁶ Carr, J. B. and Feiock, R. C. (eds) (2004) *City-County Consolidation and its Alternatives*. Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe

a comprehensive and far reaching structural change involving a significant reduction in the overall number of elected local authorities in the country. Consolidation and amalgamation were watch-words.

2) Two-tier government

A second approach to reform, pursued in many countries in the 1960s and 1970s, involves the creation of two-tier metropolitan governments. In this model certain powers and policy-making competences are transferred to the metropolitan scale. To fit this description a true two-tier model involves two levels of government – each elected and each having its own tax raising powers. This is an approach that has been adopted in several European capitals - for example, Berlin, Paris and London.⁷

In my Research Paper for the Royal Commission I drew attention to the successful two-tier model of metropolitan government introduced in London in 2000.⁸ The Greater London Authority Act of 1999 created a new form of metropolitan government for a world city of seven million people. Introducing a strategic metropolitan authority, headed by a powerful directly elected mayor, was a significant innovation that has attracted international interest. The reform has certainly captured the public imagination. For example, the contest for the position of directly elected Mayor of London in May 2008 (and the earlier elections in 2000 and 2004) stimulated a very high level of public and media interest. We can note that the London elections in 2008 attracted a much higher voter turnout than in other local elections held across the country on the same day. As well as being popular with Londoners, the institutional design of the Greater London Authority (GLA) is widely recognised by urban scholars as one of the most effective two-tier models of metropolitan government in the world.

Not surprisingly it is the introduction of a high profile, directly elected leader for the capital that has attracted much public and media interest. It is important, however, to draw attention to a second key feature of the London reforms. The GLA is a **strategic** authority. Politicians in the GLA are focussed on strategic matters – for example, strategic spatial planning, economic development and transportation. The directly elected Mayor and the London Assembly are **not** responsible for the delivery of the vast bulk of local government services – detailed planning policy, education, social care, housing, leisure services, refuse collection and so on. These are the responsibility of the long established 32 London boroughs (the lower tier of government in the London two-tier system).

⁷ Rober, M. and Schroter E. (2007) 'Governing the Capital – Comparing Institutional Reform in Berlin, London and Paris' pp. 33–43 in Hambleton, R. and Gross, J. S. (eds) *Governing Cities in a Global Era. Urban Innovation, Competition and Democratic Reform*. London and New York: Palgrave.

⁸ Hambleton R. (2008) *Civic Leadership for Auckland: An International Perspective* in Royal Commission (2009) *Auckland Governance Report*. Vol 4, pp 515-552.

3) Collaborative partnerships

A third approach to metropolitan reform eschews structural change. It involves the creation of collaborative partnerships between independent local authorities and (sometimes) other entities. This approach, which does not necessarily require legislation by a higher level of government, is designed to bring about improved coordination and strategic collaboration among authorities that continue to remain independent. Within this model there are many variants ranging along a continuum. At one end are fairly loose and informal inter-organisational arrangements – at the other are more formal strategic partnerships and/or relationships involving formal contracts.

In the United States, because of the history of urban development and the evolution of ‘home rule’ political values, metropolitan areas are often very fragmented in terms of their local government structures. The autonomy of even very small localities is prized. For example, in the Chicago metropolis there are over 200 separate municipalities. This poses immense challenges for metropolitan leadership because the nature of politics in the US – a country with a deep commitment to the dispersal of political power in society – means that the two metropolitan reform strategies just outlined usually face great resistance. The alternative to structural change is, somehow, to orchestrate a process of collaborative decision making bringing together independent municipalities in voluntary networks or partnerships. In the Chicago context civic leaders, operating within a loose framework created by an independent organisation known as Metropolis 2020, have worked to encourage the many local governments to align their decisions with a broad metropolitan vision. These efforts are to be commended, but this approach has not been able to stop the entirely unsustainable development of the Chicago metropolis. Car oriented suburbs continue to sprawl westwards onto the prairie.

In various European countries there are examples of metropolitan collaboration that impose firmer requirements on the participating local authorities. For example, the ‘agglomeration contracts’ in France bring together the central government, the region and the *communaute d’agglomeration* or *communaute urbaine* (depending on whether the area is mainly rural or urban) in formal partnerships. In the UK Multi-Area Agreements (MAAs) are now in place in several city regions and these also provide a basis for improved coordination between independent local authorities. Partners are required to sign up to joint strategies.

Reflections on the reform options

This section has outlined, in simple terms, the three main routes to metropolitan reform. It has been stressed that they are not mutually exclusive and various reform combinations are being tried out in different countries. Indeed, the Royal Commission, as we shall see later, opted for a version of the ‘consolidation’ model, but it also envisaged six local councils operating below the level of the new unitary council. This model gives ‘a nod’ towards a

two-tier solution but does not envisage an autonomous second ‘tier’ of government. Interestingly, the Commission took ideas from the third approach to reform by proposing improved partnership working with central government. The Government response, however, is firmly aligned with the consolidation route to reform – the proposals envisage the creation of a massive unitary local council.

Reference to the three models outlined above may help those involved clarify the nature of the differences between the Royal Commission approach and the Government’s proposals. They are very different. Clearly effective approaches to metropolitan reform need to be tuned to the local context. Political, cultural and legal frameworks vary among countries. It follows that it is unwise to embark on an international search for some kind ‘ideal’ approach to metropolitan reform. What works in one country could be entirely unsuitable in another.

Nevertheless, we can note one development that impacts the metropolitan reform agenda in all continents. As explained in Section 1) above, the world has changed remarkably in the period since 1990. More specifically, it has been suggested that global economic transformation and societal changes have altered the terms of the debate relating to metropolitan reform. The globalisation of the economy has turned cities into powerful engines of economic growth. One consequence is that central governments are taking a stronger interest in how their major cities are governed.⁹ More important, these socio-economic changes are altering the nature of the challenges facing those charged with governing cities. The shift from government to governance outlined earlier means that civic leaders will need to be much more outgoing than in the past. They will need to enhance their capacity to influence the decisions made by **others** in order to improve the local quality of life. Successful approaches to metropolitan reform that do not support outgoing civic leadership will, in my view, result in governments failing to meet the needs of local citizens. We will revisit this theme of civic – or ‘place-based’ - leadership later in the paper, as it lies at the heart of any successful approach to metropolitan reform.

3) The 2009 reform proposals for Auckland

In this section we outline the approach to reform adopted by the Royal Commission and compare this with the Government’s response, *Making Auckland Greater*.¹⁰ In the space available it is not possible to offer a comprehensive review of these two important documents. The aim is, fortunately, a more modest one – to identify some of the main features of the two sets of proposals. A final sub-section offers suggestions on how a more

⁹ OECD (2004) *OECD Metropolitan Regions: What role for the central governments?* Paris: OECD.

¹⁰ New Zealand Government (2009) *Making Auckland Greater. The Government’s decisions on Auckland Governance*. April.

extended evaluation of the proposals could be carried out in the next six months.

The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance

The Report of the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance is, by any standards, an impressive document. Established with broad terms of reference by the New Zealand Government in November 2007, the Royal Commission has done a remarkable job. The Commission is to be congratulated on producing an in-depth and wide ranging analysis of the challenges facing the greater Auckland region. The four-volume report, which runs to over 1800 pages, is both thorough and very well presented.¹¹ The findings were produced within 16 months following a process that involved:

- A public submission process, which resulted in over 3,500 written submissions
- Publication of two information booklets to support the call for submissions, one in English and one intended for Maori people
- Formal hearings conducted in nine locations throughout the Auckland region
- A Maori consultation programme, involving four hui
- Workshops with various communities as well as specific approaches to particular organisations
- Commissioning of twelve research papers written by experts
- Undertaking independent research, including visiting various metropolitan areas in other countries
- Promoting a website as a forum for information sharing and encouraging media coverage of the Commission's work

The report sets out the case for change in Auckland local governance and, not surprisingly, refers to the problems of fragmentation we outlined earlier in this paper. It suggests that present arrangements score badly on two counts: 1) Regional governance is weak and fragmented, and 2) Community engagement is poor. In order to guide a new approach the Commission sets out four principles:

- Common identity and purpose
- Effectiveness
- Transparency and accountability
- Responsiveness

These represent a development of the four themes the Commission set out in its initial consultation paper. The Commission considered a range of options, from retaining the status quo to establishing a single local authority with a two-tier structure (such as a large regional governing body or a unitary council with representation at a more local level) through to a larger number of empowered community boards. Despite the extensive detail in the

¹¹ The four-volume report of the Royal Commission is available at: www.royalcommission.govt.nz

Commission's report there is no paper setting out how these various models were tested against the Commission's four principles. This can be regarded as a weakness. Certainly such a paper would have clarified the reasoning the Commission employed in arriving at its recommendations and this might then have contributed to a more informed debate on the Commission's recommendations.

In any event, the Commission concluded that the establishment of a single, region-wide unitary authority – called the Auckland Council - would help to achieve strong and effective Auckland governance and overcome current fragmentation and coordination problems. This council would hold all council assets and employ all staff. The Commission stressed that there would be: '... one long-term council community plan, one spatial plan, one district plan, one rating system, one rates bill, one voice for Auckland' (Vol 2 para 30). In the media coverage this model has come to be described as a 'super city'.

Overlooked, by at least some of the popular commentary on the Commission's proposals, is the fact that the Commission envisaged a kind of lower level of government, below the level of the Auckland Council: 'In addition to the elected governing body of the Auckland Council, local democracy will be maintained through six elected local councils operating within the unitary Auckland Council' (Vol 2 para 33). These local councils would '...oversee the delivery of services by Auckland Council staff and will undertake local engagement...' (also Vol 2 para 33). Strictly speaking this is **not** a two-tier model in the sense used in Section 2) above. This is because the six lower level councils envisaged by the Commission do not have independent tax raising powers. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Commission believed that the six local councils would play a vital role in fostering the local community identity built up by the existing (seven) territorial local authorities, and that they would empower those localities within the new governing arrangements.

The Royal Commission recommended that the new Auckland Council should be led by a mayor who is directly elected by all Aucklanders. This proposal has excited a high level of public interest, and the media coverage of this aspect of the Commission's report has been extensive. For example, television news coverage has (quite wrongly) referred to the creation of an 'all powerful mayor' (27 March 2009). And, on 18 April 2009, the New Zealand Weekend Herald offered readers an aerial view of Auckland with a superman figure flying into the picture clutching a mayoral chain of office. The accompanying article, 'Situation Vacant: Super Mayor', provides extensive coverage of the potential contenders, complete with bar charts indicating the Herald's views on how 'visionary' or 'inclusive' various candidates would appear to be.

In practice **the Commission's proposal gives very little authority to the elected mayor**. Indeed, the formal authority the mayor will exercise is, when compared with mayoral arrangements in other countries, insubstantial. The Auckland mayor is likely to a lightweight, even a featherweight, figure when it comes to formal decision making authority and to international influence. This

is because the Commission makes it absolutely clear that the mayor will only be able to 'propose' the budget and 'propose' the draft council community plan. The Commission states: '**...in all cases, the final decisions should be made by the council**' (Vol 1 para 19.63, *my emphasis*)

This is a far cry from the strong, directly elected mayors found in other countries. Given I wrote a Research Paper for the Royal Commission on civic leadership I must declare an interest.¹² I set out the case for a strong directly elected mayor for greater Auckland, inspired by the London experience and my experience of working with directly elected mayors in the USA and elsewhere. It seems that the Commission accepted the case for a high profile and powerful directly elected mayor (see, for example, Vol 1 paras 19.2 - 19.6 and 19.30 - 19.33). But the Commission then decided, wrongly in my view, that this could be achieved by having a mayor with very little formal authority to make decisions. I disagree with this analysis and, in particular, I believe that the Commission's reasons for rejecting the creation of a strong, directly elected mayor are not compelling.

The Commission claims that '**... strong mayor systems are derived from a very different political heritage than ours. The adoption of a strong mayor model in Auckland would require major institutional change and public education for it to be acceptable**' (Vol 1 para 19.56). This is precisely the argument opponents of the directly elected mayor for London employed in 1998 and 1999. The UK Government rejected these views as being backward looking. Now the London strong mayor model has been demonstrated to be such a success there are no serious commentators suggesting that the directly elected mayor does not fit our English 'heritage'. Remember, in the UK, we had never had any directly elected mayors at all until the election of the mayor of London. It really was, then, a 'major institutional change'. I would argue that it was, in fact, a **more** significant change than for New Zealand, where the idea of direct election of locality leaders has been established for decades. Successful reforms require the status quo to be challenged and the Commission should, in my view, have been bolder. The model proposed is for what political scientists call a 'weak' mayor model of leadership ie a model that gives the mayor very limited executive authority.

One area that has aroused great interest is the proposal the Royal Commission made relating to Maori representation in the future government of the city region. The Commission, having consulted most carefully on this matter, recommended that the Auckland Council should comprise 23 councillors, 10 to be elected 'at large', 10 to be 'ward based', and three to be safeguarded for Maori representatives (in line with the intent of the Local Government Act 2002).

The Royal Commission makes 169 recommendations. Many of these proposals are both wise and reasonable. Some of the recommendations are

¹² Hambleton R. (2008) *Civic Leadership for Auckland: An International Perspective* in Royal Commission (2009) *Auckland Governance Report*. Vol 4, pp 515-552.

very bold and forward looking – such as their proposals for bringing about a much closer partnership between central government and the Auckland Council through, for example, the creation of a Minister for Auckland and a Cabinet Committee for Auckland. These appear to me to be very sensible proposals capable of bringing about much closer collaborative working between the central state and the city region authorities. It is, however, beyond the scope of this paper to review all the intriguing proposals put forward by the Commission.

Making Auckland Greater – The Government's response

On 7 April 2009 the New Zealand Government published its response to the Report of the Royal Commission. Titled *Making Auckland Greater* the report – at 34 pages – is somewhat shorter than the Royal Commission report. The Government has, wisely in my view, held off making decisions on a number of specific issues set out in the report – for example, boundary issues. To react to all 169 recommendations within a matter of a few weeks would make no sense at all. The Government has, however, made a number of 'high level' decisions. In this section I attempt to summarise the main points:

- In his Forward to the report the Prime Minister, John Key, indicates that 'Not only must Auckland be very local, but it must be very national, and very international'. Somewhat surprisingly, in my view, he does not mention the fact that there will be a directly elected mayor for the metropolis. This is a little puzzling as this civic leader will be critical in achieving the international profile for Auckland the Prime Minister advocates.
- In his Introduction the Minister for Local Government, Rodney Hide, praises the Royal Commission for doing 'an admirable job' and indicates that the report contains the Government's 'high level' decisions on Auckland governance. This is an important point as Minister Hide has left himself room for manoeuvre in relation to the details of, for example, community involvement.
- The Government has accepted the proposal (albeit with slightly different boundaries) that there should be a new, big unitary authority known as the Auckland Council. This is a bold and massive move to a 'single city'.
- The Government has rejected the Commission proposal for six local councils, preferring to push virtually all local power up to the level of the Auckland Council.
- The Government proposes the creation of 20 to 30 'local boards' across the region 'as a second tier of governance'. As sketched out in the document the local boards will **not**, in fact, be a second 'tier' of governance. While there is more detail to come on this score, the implication is that these boards will not have tax raising powers and may not have very much decision making power. The report refers to

the boards developing 'operational policies' for, for example, dog control and graffiti control. Not surprisingly this aspect of the report has attracted widespread criticism on the grounds that wiping out the existing local councils and introducing feeble local boards will result in a disturbing erosion of local democracy.

- The Government rejected the proposal for Maori seats on the unitary council and this has attracted robust criticism from Maori Party leader, Pita Sharples, as well as Maori communities in various parts of Auckland
- The Government has rejected most of the creative ideas the Royal Commission put forward for improving collaborative working between central government and the new Auckland Council. The following measures are ruled out: the idea of a Minister for Auckland; the proposal for a Cabinet Committee for Auckland; the idea of a social issues board; and the establishment of a joint management structure between RTA/NZ Transport and NZ Railways Corporation.

This list of points does not do justice to the Government's response to the Royal Commission. There are other important matters not referred to here. And, in fairness, the Government indicates that: 'A programme of detailed work will be completed to implement the Government's high-level response...' This more detailed work will be absolutely crucial in determining whether the metropolitan reforms achieve the Government's stated intentions. The Government has indicated that it would like to draft legislation to put the new structures in place in time for the 2010 local government election. This is a blistering pace and, given the importance of the changes contemplated, I would recommend that this timeline be reconsidered. We can at least raise the question: Is it important to bring in the right reforms to set Auckland governance on the right path for the next fifty years, or is it more important to set up an entirely new mega authority next year?

Evaluating metropolitan governance options

My comments on both the Royal Commission's report and the Government's response set out above are based on a brief period of study while I was an International Visiting Researcher at Massey University in April 2009. They do not represent a detailed analysis, still less a thorough evaluation. My advice is to suggest that the Government give consideration to modifying the way the reform process is taken forward in the next few months. It seems to be that, given the remarkable scope of the Royal Commission analysis, it would be wise to allow for a more considered discussion of the details of the reform proposals the Royal Commission has put forward. In my view, the importance of the future of the metropolis warrants a more reflective approach. This need not take an endless amount of time. A study carried out over, say, a six month period would be invaluable for all parties. Such a study could, perhaps, evaluate the proposals put forward for improving the metropolitan governance of the Auckland city region against five criteria. To the four principles identified by the Royal Commission (and mentioned earlier) I would

add a fifth, 'strengthening civic leadership' – and I will say more about cultivating civic leadership in New Zealand communities in the next section. The suggested criteria for this review would, therefore, be:

- Enhancing civic leadership
- Creating common identity and purpose
- Ensuring cost effectiveness and efficiency
- Securing transparency and accountability
- Building in responsiveness to different communities

I make this suggestion not in the belief that progress on reform efforts should be frozen. However, from my experience of working on local government reorganisation in the UK, including co-writing national guidance for England and Wales on how to go about reorganisation in the mid 1990s, I would advise the development of a carefully constructed change management process.¹³

An important aspect of reform, one that is often neglected, concerns the **emotional dimensions** of local government change. Councillors, officers, community representatives and others invest enormous amounts of personal energy and commitment in working to serve their local communities. This emotional investment in places and local institutions is a priceless asset for the future of Auckland. A change process that resonates with people's feelings can be developed but it needs care and sensitivity. Major change in the governance of the Auckland city region **can** be accomplished in a relative short space of time – experience with reorganisation in the UK demonstrates that fairly rapid change is possible. However, it is important to develop enthusiasm for the reforms – enthusiasm for the new exciting possibilities opening up for Auckland. Support and positive attitudes to reform can be snuffed out by a poor change management process. Imposing a top down 'solution' at high speed is unlikely, in my view, to achieve the Government's stated objectives. Would holding the elections for the new Auckland Council in early 2011 rather than next year be a disaster? It would certainly provide more time to arrive at wise and lasting decisions and still be ahead of the next General Election (expected to be in late 2011).

4) Beyond structures – governing the 21st Century city

In this section I outline three themes that deserve consideration in the months ahead. These themes are all important regardless of the structural changes the Government may decide to pursue:

- Developing the innovative capacity of local governance
- Strengthening civic leadership

¹³ Hambleton R. and Holder A. (1994) *Shaping Future Authorities*. London: Local Government Management Board. This guidance was issued to all local authorities in England and Wales. Andrew Holder and the author provided in-house change management workshops for numerous councils and also trained other facilitators to use the 'shaping' guidance.

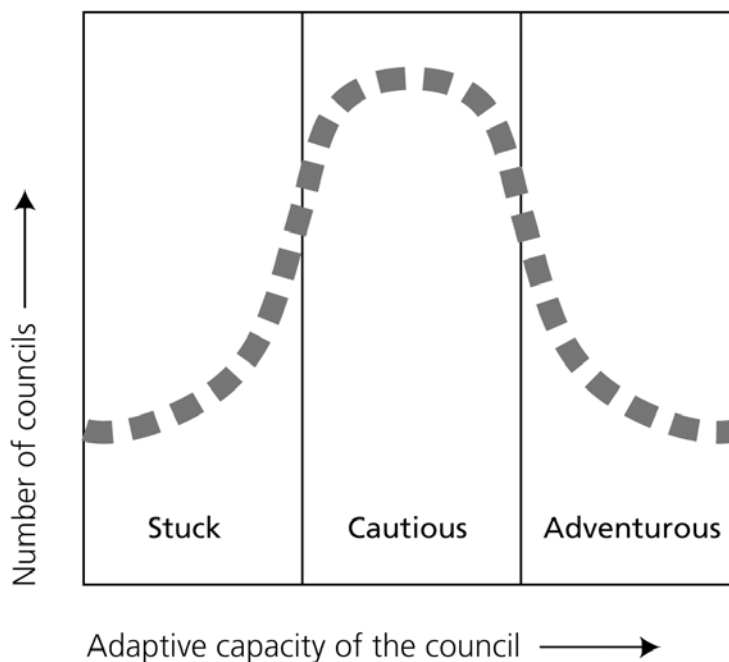
- Building empowered communities

Developing the innovative capacity of local governance

Recent research on local governance in the UK suggests that developing the innovative capacity of local authorities – whatever their form and size – deserves more active consideration. I offer some remarks on the public service innovation agenda now opening up.

To ensure that reform efforts relating to innovation are well suited to the local context it is helpful to think of an **innovation curve** in local governance. First developed in 1998 the notion of an innovation curve suggests that the readiness of different localities to take on the innovation challenge varies considerably.¹⁴ This work identified three kinds of local authority in the UK context and these ideas may apply in the New Zealand context– see **Figure 1**.

Figure 1. The innovation curve 1998



‘Adventurous’ councils were eager to exploit opportunities available to them. They set demanding aims for themselves, and welcomed the chance to compete (in the UK context) for ‘Beacon status’. Most councils, it was suggested at the time, could be described as ‘cautious’. They tended to adopt a ‘wait and see’ approach, and moved to adopt new approaches only after taking account of the experience of the pioneering councils.

The term ‘stuck’ was used, perhaps unkindly, to describe councils who were furthest back on the innovation curve. These authorities were, for a variety of

¹⁴ Hambleton R. and Holder A. (1998) ‘The price of change’, *Municipal Journal*, 2 October, pp 20-21

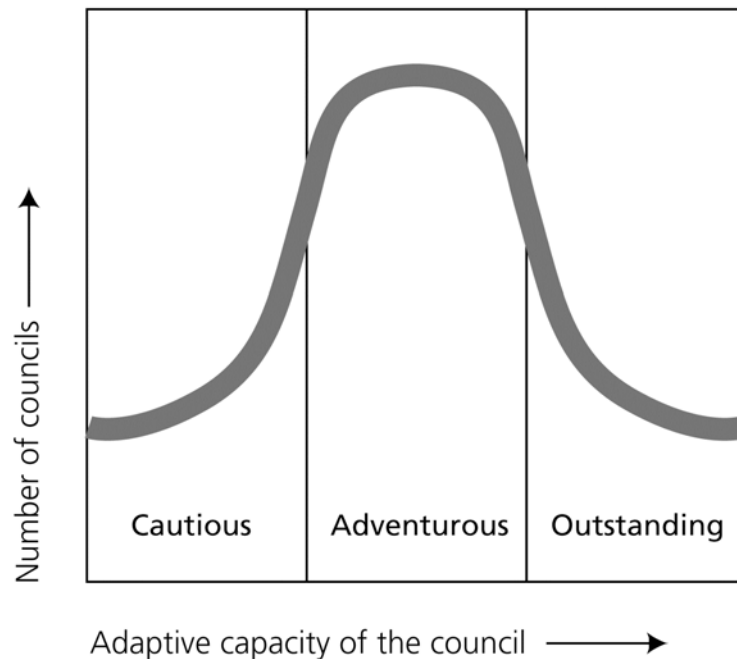
reasons, resistant to change. They tended to be backward-looking and seemed intent on either ignoring or attacking the modernisation agenda. The 1998 article acknowledged that this framework was a simplification – for example, different parts of the same authority could be at different points on the innovation curve. The analysis did, however, highlight two points that are still relevant today.

First, councils are not at the same starting line when it comes to their capacity to innovate. Councils, and this is a point well recognised by the Improvement and Development Agency (IDeA) for local government over the years, at different points on the innovation curve need different kinds of support and encouragement.

Second, as mentioned earlier, more attention needs to be given to the emotions of councillors and officers. Winning the intellectual argument for change is not enough. While the literature on ‘emotional intelligence’ is relatively young, it does at least offer the insight that emotions matter. Leaders who manage their own emotions appear to be better equipped to understand the emotions and feelings of others. Leadership involves change and successful leaders inevitably generate opposition. It follows that they need to be both sensitive to the feelings of others but also resilient in the face of opposition.

Fast forward ten years and the picture (in the UK at least) is rather different – see **Figure 2**.

Figure 2. The innovation curve 2008



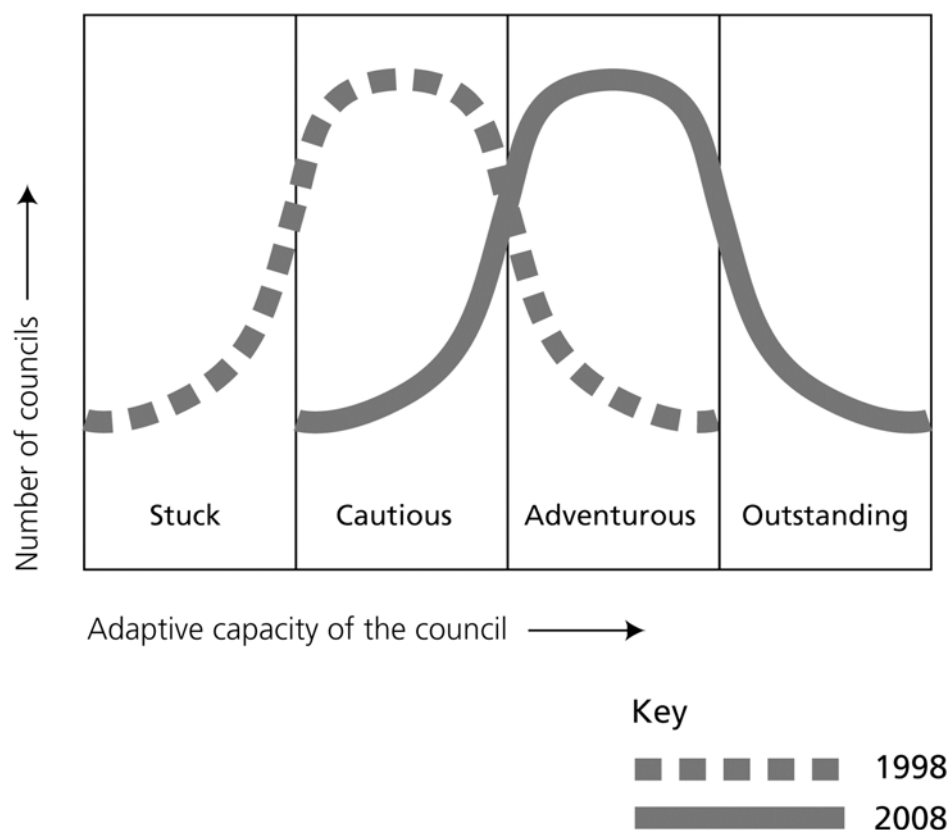
The least innovative councils can now be described as 'cautious'.¹⁵ Given the improvements of the last decade, no council in the UK is now 'stuck' in the sense used in **Figure 1**. This is progress, but the cautious councils are followers – it is unlikely that they will startle their peers by breaking entirely new ground.

The second group in **Figure 2** is described as 'adventurous'. This could, perhaps, be an optimistic view. However, there is evidence to suggest that a good deal of innovation is taking place in UK local government.

But being adventurous is now no longer enough. The truly innovative councils of today have raised their sights beyond the targets suggested by national performance regimes and are striving to be 'outstanding'. By this I mean operating at an exceptional level when compared with the other localities internationally.

While I recognise that it is a dramatic simplification of a more complex reality I suggest, in **Figure 3**, that the **innovation curve** is in the process of moving in an international direction.

Figure 3. The innovation curve 1998-2008



¹⁵ Hambleton R. and Holder A. (2008) 'A decade of innovation', *Municipal Journal*, 2 October, pp 32-33

There is evidence to show that New Zealand local authorities are innovative. For example, the Local Futures Research Project reports on how councils have been adapting to the new strategic planning requirements of the Local Government Act 2002.¹⁶ But in changing times it is difficult to over estimate the importance of keeping innovation ‘front of stage’ in the thinking of local leaders and managers. In this context a recent UK report, bringing together many contributions written by local government practitioners (politicians and officers) may be of interest.¹⁷ One thing is clear, the future Auckland authorities need to position themselves to the right hand side of the ‘innovation curve’ and this will mean creating a culture that values risk taking and community empowerment.

Strengthening civic leadership

I have already suggested that the Government would be well advised to consider enhancing the executive authority of the proposed new mayor of Auckland. As outlined in the present proposal, the mayor will not be anything like the ‘super mayor’ imagined in the local media. In my view, to leave the proposals unchanged will be to miss a marvellous opportunity to strengthen the strategic leadership of the Auckland city region. In international terms the set up proposed (by both the Royal Commission and the Government) resembles the model introduced in Toronto in 1998. In that city a massive unitary authority was created along the lines of the Auckland Council, and it is now plagued with parochialism.¹⁸ Mayor David Miller succeeds as a city leader, to the extent that he does, despite, rather than because of, the institutional design of Toronto metropolitan government. Auckland does not need to emulate this unsatisfactory model.

My Research Report on civic leadership for the Royal Commission did not just set out the case for a directly elected strong mayor. I also suggested that steps should be taken to strengthen the multi-level civic leadership of the city.¹⁹ I am very pleased to see that the Royal Commission has responded in positive vein to many of these ideas and their report contains a portfolio of suggestions designed to improve civic leadership in the metropolis (see Vol 1, Chapter 19). In particular, the Commission believes that a multi-sector approach to leadership development ‘would be very useful’ (Vol 1 para 19.95).

In this section I recap on some of the arguments put forward in my report, updated to take account of more recent developments. I define civic

¹⁶ Local Futures Project (2006) *Local Government, Strategy and Communities*. Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.

¹⁷ Parker S. (ed) (2009) *More than good ideas: the power of innovation in local government*. London: IDeA/NESTA.

¹⁸ Frisken F. (2007) *The Public Metropolis*. Canadian Scholars Press.

¹⁹ Hambleton R. (2008) *Civic Leadership for Auckland: An International Perspective* in Royal Commission (2009) *Auckland Governance Report*. Vol 4, pp 515-552.

leadership broadly to embrace all leadership activity that serves a public purpose in a given locality. It is, in my view, helpful to distinguish leadership that is committed to enhancing the quality of life in a particular 'place' from other kinds of leadership that do not share this objective. In simple terms we can, then, distinguish leadership that is 'place-based' from other kinds of leadership that are 'place-less'.

Civic leadership is 'place-based' leadership meaning that those exercising decision-making power have a concern for the communities living in a particular 'place'. Some of the most powerful decision-makers in modern society are 'place-less' leaders in the sense that they are not concerned with the geographical impact of their decisions. Thus, for example, senior figures in multi-national companies are, on the whole, unconcerned with the fortunes of particular localities. They serve a different agenda - that of their shareholders. The fact that some areas decline if they withdraw their investment carries little or no weight in their calculations. Civic leadership is different – it is driven by the needs and concerns of particular communities in particular places. My Research Report uses this definition as a starting point and develops six sets of suggestions for improving civic (or 'place-based') leadership in Auckland.

In my view, successful leadership is inspirational and collaborative. In previous work, I have defined leadership as 'shaping emotions and behaviour to achieve common goals'.²⁰ This implies a wide range of activities aimed at generating both new insights and new ways of working together – it prizes respect for the feelings and attitudes of others as well as a strong commitment to collaboration.

Civic leaders are found in the public, private, and community/voluntary sectors and they operate at many geographical levels – from the street block to an entire sub region and beyond. The three kinds of civic leadership discussed in this study are as follows:

- **Political leadership** – referring to the work of those people elected to leadership positions by the citizenry. These are, by definition, political leaders. Thus, all elected local councillors are political leaders, although we should acknowledge that different councillors carry different roles and responsibilities and will view their political role in different ways.
- **Managerial leadership** – referring to the work of public servants appointed by local authorities, central government and third sector organisations to plan and manage public services, and promote community wellbeing. These officers bring professional and managerial expertise to the tasks of local governance.

²⁰ Hambleton R. (2007) 'New leadership for democratic urban space' in Hambleton R. and Gross J. S. (eds) *Governing Cities in a Global Era*. London/New York: Palgrave. P 174

- **Community leadership** – referring to the work of the many civic-minded people who give their time and energy to local leadership activities in a wide variety of ways. These may be community activists, business leaders, voluntary sector leaders, figures in religious organisations, higher education leaders and so on. Particularly important here is the potential contribution to civic leadership of an independent and engaged voluntary and community sector.

These roles are all important in cultivating and encouraging public service innovation and, crucially, they overlap. I describe the areas of overlap between these different realms of leadership as **innovation zones** – areas providing many opportunities for innovation.

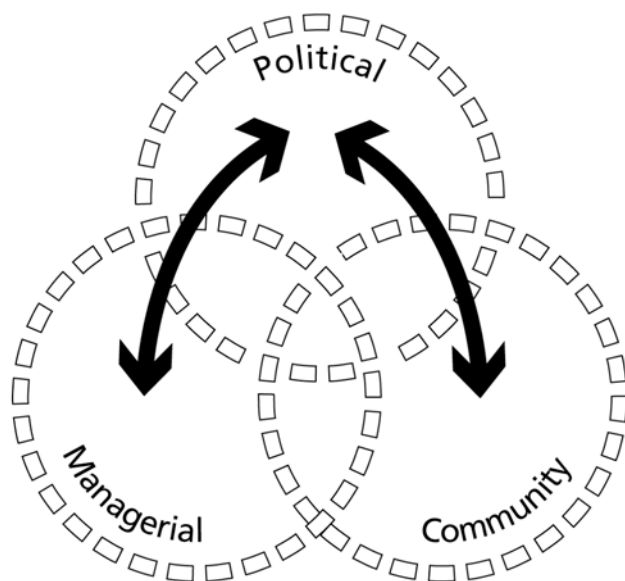
Figure 4. Civic leadership
- a conceptual framework



It can be claimed that effective civic leadership in the coming period is likely to involve leadership behaviour that spans the boundaries between our three realms of civic leadership. Moreover, this approach takes it as read that inspirational leadership can emanate from any of the three realms of civic leadership, and innovation is likely to emerge through a conversation or series of conversations between them, in the spaces of overlap. Leadership capacity in modern society is **dispersed**. Our systems of local governance need to respect and reflect that diversity if decisions taken in the public interest are going to enjoy legitimacy. Further, more **decentralized** approaches both across localities and within each realm of civic leadership can empower informal leaders to be part of the dialogue. The Royal Commission refers to these three realms of civic leadership and suggests that Auckland needs a high-calibre contribution from all three kinds of leaders. (Vol 1 paras 19.12-19.13).

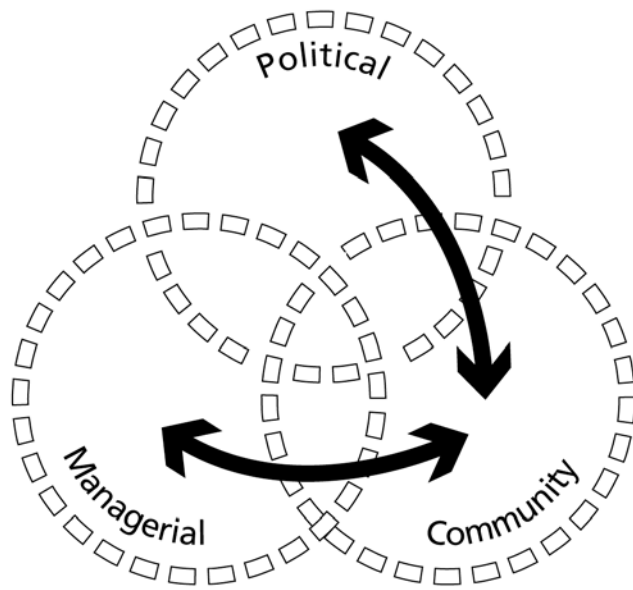
For the future, then, I would encourage the Government and other stakeholders in Auckland to consider the detailed suggestions made by the Royal Commission in relation to leadership development and to cultivate the emergence of leaders within all three realms of civic leadership. To emphasise the interactive and dynamic nature of civic leadership I offer three simple illustrations. In **Figure 5** I depict a process of politically inspired innovation. In this example, it is politicians who take a lead in shaping the emotions and behaviour of their officers and their partners in the community. The process is, of course, two-way. Effective political leaders are quick to learn from those they are attempting to influence.

Figure 5. Politically inspired innovation



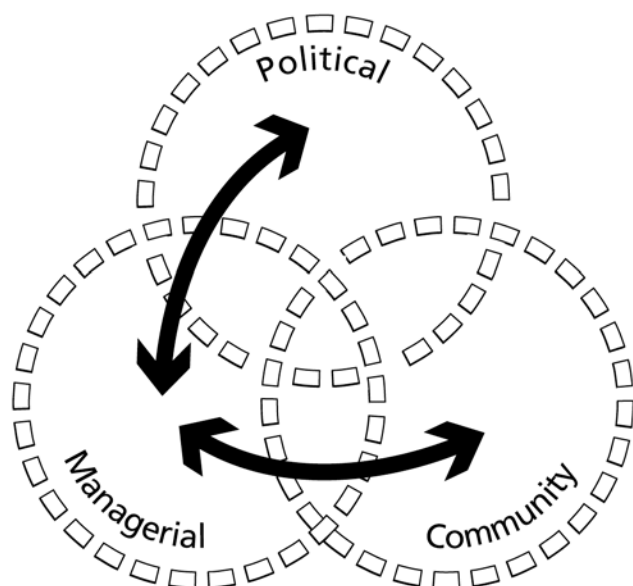
In **Figure 6** I picture a process of community inspired innovation. In this example, it is actors from **outside** government who are the main drivers. By working with elected politicians and appointed officials, leaders from the community shape the trajectory of local policy and action. This leadership can come from the grassroots as well as universities, commerce and intermediary bodies of the third sector. Grassroots leadership is crucial in developing the social capital that strengthens democracy and underpins sustainable local development. In multi-cultural city like Auckland this cultivation of grassroots leadership is particularly important.

Figure 6. Community inspired innovation



It is also the case that appointed officers – for example, an inspiring chief executive or service director, a neighbourhood manager or area police officer – can set the tone of local leadership. In **Figure 7** I envisage a process of managerially inspired innovation. Here the officers work closely with political figures and community stakeholders to bring about transformative change. Street-level workers can play a key role in promoting dialogue over time that stimulates creative solutions to local problems.

Figure 7. Managerially inspired innovation



All the diagrams I present in this section represent a drastic simplification of a more complex reality and are not intended to show how the dynamics of local

power struggles actually unfold. The relative power of the three realms varies by locality and this would imply different sized circles, whereas I have kept them all the same size. Moreover, the realms shift in influence over time. The interactions across the realms are also far more complex than implied by **Figures 5, 6 and 7** – and, of course, there are many different interests operating within each realm. Nevertheless I believe that the notion of three different realms – with leadership stemming from different sources of legitimacy within different realms – provides a helpful way of framing discussion about civic leadership.

Building empowered communities

In his Foreword to the *Making Auckland Greater* report Prime Minister Key indicates that he wants to see a process unfold that will lead to ‘community control of what matters in our neighbourhoods’. This objective can be advanced by developing sound arrangements for both ‘representative’ democracy and ‘participatory’ democracy. A high quality approach to both these aspects of democracy is needed if community empowerment is seen as an important objective.

If we take ‘representative’ democracy first we can note the importance of: encouraging a diversity of people to stand for public office; having representative structures that are clear to citizens; ensuring elected councillors are well supported in exercising their various representative roles; having a sufficient number of councillors to represent the different communities in the city; and for the decision making arrangements within the new Auckland Council to be sufficiently decentralised to enable councillors in different areas of the city to be responsive to the varying needs of different localities.

These concerns relating to the quality of representative local government are, of course, familiar to policy makers, local government politicians, officers and community activists in New Zealand. An excellent review of the changing roles of New Zealand councillors is, for example, provided by Dr Jean Drage.²¹ This analysis explains how it is important for New Zealand councillors to be supported in developing new skills as community leaders – and we have referred to some of these in the discussion of civic leadership above – and, at the same time, to assist councillors stay connected to their communities. Her study examines a number of themes that are now enlivening local debate in the Auckland context. For example, she discusses the merits of different ‘representative ratios’, the ward versus at large representation debate, the idea of sectional representation, and the varying roles of councillors in decision-making. These are all important matters that were examined by the Royal Commission and they now deserve careful and detailed consideration if the reforms are to deliver the requirement imposed by the Prime Minister – ‘community control of what matters in our neighbourhoods’.

²¹ Drage J. (2008) *A Balancing Act. Decision-making and Representation in New Zealand’s Local Government*. Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, Victoria University of Wellington.

In 2006 the UK Government established a Councillors Commission to review the incentives and barriers to people standing and serving as councillors. Chaired by a very experienced councillor – Dame Jane Roberts – the Commission reported in December 2007.²² The ‘Roberts Report’ rejected calls for full time professional councillors – with Dame Jane arguing that ‘Councillors need to be reasonably normal human beings’. Research carried out for the Commission found that most councillors in the UK are white, male and retired, and a key theme in the Roberts Report concerns the need to reach a better balance across class, age, ethnicity and gender in the make-up of the typical council.

Turning to the theme of ‘participatory’ democracy we can, again, record that there have been significant advances in New Zealand local government over the years. For example, Dr Christine Cheyne, in her insightful study of the historical development of public involvement in New Zealand local government, shows that major steps forward have been made over the decades.²³

The movement towards ‘New Public Management’ in the 1990s, which took different forms in the different countries where it was tried out, sometimes resulted in a narrowing of thinking in relation to community involvement. In many instances public service providers were encouraged, even required, to view service users as ‘consumers’ or ‘customers’, not ‘citizens’ with democratic rights. Elsewhere I have written a fairly extensive critique of these reforms and argued that local government is better served by a concept I describe as ‘new city management’.²⁴ This approach recognises that, at different times, it can be helpful for public service providers to view service users as ‘consumers’ or ‘customers’. There is good practice in the private sector that can be drawn on. However, there are serious limits to this approach which individualises the public service encounter. Many of the most important challenges now facing governments (central and local) – from climate change to public safety, from responding to the world economic recession to promoting sustainable transport – require collective consideration and action by communities. This means creating new kinds of participatory processes that enable all voices to be heard. At root, successful approaches to community empowerment – and there are many examples to draw on internationally – respect people as citizens with democratic rights. Managerialism can enhance public service effectiveness and can achieve ‘efficiency’ gains, but the watch-word for successful local government reform should be ‘democratic renewal’.

²² Councillors Commission (2007) (Chaired by Dame Jane Roberts) *Representing the Future*. London: Department of Communities and Local Government.

²³ Cheyne C. (2002) Public involvement in Local Government in New Zealand: A historical account, in Drage J. (ed) *Empowering Communities. Representation and Participation in New Zealand’s Local Government*. Wellington: Victoria University Press, pp116-155

²⁴ Hambleton R. (2007) New Leadership for Democratic Urban Space in Hambleton R. and Gross J. S. (eds) *Governing Cities in a Global Era. Urban Innovation, Competition and Democratic Reform*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave.

These ideas are, perhaps, relevant to ongoing discussions about the desired role for the 'local boards' that are planned for the Auckland region. Previous research on neighbourhood management and community involvement in the UK suggests that, to be effective as instruments of community empowerment, these boards must have significant decision-making power.²⁵ This research has also shown that there is no contradiction between enhancing the representative role of local councillors and community empowerment – successful models blend the two approaches. For example, participatory budgeting, in some versions at least, can achieve this creative mix of representative and participatory democracy.²⁶

5) Reflections and conclusions

The Royal Commission on Auckland Governance has carried out a first class study. The consultation process pursued by the Commission has been impressive and, in addition, the Commission has assembled a valuable collection of research materials on the Auckland city region and its governance. The Royal Commission makes 169 recommendations and these proposals are backed up with extensive evidence and reasoning. The four-volume report is, by any standards, a very thorough policy analysis report on metropolitan governance. The Commission is to be congratulated on executing such a major and far-reaching study in 16 months and, moreover, presenting complex findings in a readable and accessible series of documents.

The Government has reacted very quickly indeed to the report of the Royal Commission. The major recommendation of the Royal Commission, relating to the creation of a single, large, unitary authority for Auckland (the Auckland Council), has been accepted. And the idea of introducing a directly elected mayor for the metropolis is also supported. Other proposals are also accepted - for example, those relating to a special Waterfront Development Agency. Other proposals set out by the Commission have, however, been rejected by the Government. For example, the Royal Commission proposal for six 'local councils' below the level of the Auckland Council has not been accepted. The Government is, instead, exploring how to create a system of 20 to 30 'local boards'. Concern has been expressed that these changes will result in an erosion of local democracy. Much depends on the powers and functions of the new local boards and this matter deserves very careful consideration.

In my view the proposal for a directly elected mayor for the city region is a positive step forward. However, I am concerned that the Government is about to create a 'featherweight' mayor when Auckland really needs a 'heavyweight'

²⁵ Burns D., Hambleton R. and Hoggett P. (1994) *The Politics of Decentralisation*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave; Taylor M. (2003) *Public Policy in the Community*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave; Taylor M. (2007) 'Community participation in the real world: opportunities and pitfalls in new governance spaces' *Urban Studies*. Vol 44 No2.

²⁶ Pearce J. et al (2008) *Here the people decide? New forms of participation in the city*. Research Briefing. Bradford: International Centre for Participation Studies.

mayor if it is to perform on the international stage. The three main reasons for creating a strong, directly elected mayor are as follows:

- 1) Visibility and accountability. It makes it clear who is leading the city and this clarifies accountability. In the London case this also increased voter turnout in the local elections.
- 2) Legitimacy to lead. A direct mandate from the people provides the mayor with enormous legitimacy and influence. In the Auckland case more people will have voted for the mayor than for any other politician in the country, including the Prime Minister.
- 3) Authority to decide. A strong mayor is empowered to take decisions - to take on vested interests and make things happen in the public interest. The elected council needs to hold the mayor to account but the power to act must rest with the mayor.

The Commission's and the Government's proposals for Auckland score well on the first two criteria but fail on the third one. A consequence is that the Mayor of Auckland will be a 'weak' mayor in terms of authority to act.²⁷ I urge the Government to consider strengthening the powers of the mayor as it develops its detailed proposals.

This paper suggests that institutional design is important - the arrangements can impair or enhance local leadership and democracy. However, it is also the case that 'structure' is not everything when it comes to metropolitan reform. I have suggested three themes that should be given increased attention in the coming period regardless of the metropolitan government structure the Government chooses to introduce:

- Developing innovative capacity
- Strengthening civic leadership
- Building empowered communities

Global pressures and changes in society are putting new pressures on local governance systems across the world - particularly our systems of metropolitan governance. Auckland is well placed to make a global breakthrough. But the decisions the government makes need to be right rather than rushed.

²⁷ The term 'weak' is used here in the sense used in political science. It refers to the relative powers of the mayor vis-à-vis the council (or 'assembly' as it is called in some countries). It does not, of course, imply any comment whatsoever on the personal qualities of any given mayor.

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Robin Hambleton is Professor of City Leadership, Cities Research Centre, University of the West of England, Bristol and Director of Urban Answers - a consultancy set up to assist city leaders. He has worked in local and central government in the UK and has been an advisor to Ministers in UK central government, as well as Committees in the House of Commons and the House of Lords. He was the founding President of the European Urban Research Association and has been a Special Adviser to the European Committee of the Regions. His last position was as Dean of the College of Urban Planning and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois at Chicago (from 2002-07), a role that involved working with Mayor Richard Daley. He has written ten books and over 300 articles as well as national guidance for UK local authorities. His latest book, co-edited with Jill Gross of City University, New York is *Governing Cities in a Global Era* (published by Palgrave in 2007).