THINKING HOLISTICALLY ABOUT THEME THREE

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Governing at the Intersection



Many Calls to Integrate and Join-up

- Improving governance the way society collectively solves its problems and meets its needs – is at the core of government strategies to reconcile economic prosperity, social cohesion and environmental progress. Civil society and the corporate sector are invited to participate in collective decisions and are encouraged to translate their involvement into concrete initiatives" (OECD 2001, Local Partnerships for Better Governance)
- "We are entering a period of experimentation and designing new civic intermediaries to address regional challenges that transcend the ability of government, business, or community institutions to address by themselves. These intermediaries – which can be institutions or ad hoc alliances – work across multiple political jurisdictions, organizations, and networks" (Henton et al. 2004, Civic Revolutionaries)

Many Calls ...

"The complex issues facing today's city leaders – particularly leaders of major cities – are sometimes international in scope (global trade, foreign immigration); sometimes national (public security); often regional (transportation); and always local (parks, housing, garbage). Managing these issues effectively requires "constructive entanglement" with myriad actors. City leaders must embrace partnerships with local community and business groups to accommodate the vested interests of diverse parties" (Conference Board of Canada, 2007, Mission Possible: Cities)

"Effective local leadership must engage the whole authority in pursuit of strategic objectives. However, the problems which face local areas today will only be addressed, and opportunities grasped, when local leadership can mobilize many actors and interests to work in partnership, creating the collaborative capacity to attain shared goals" (CLGF 2007, Delivering Development through Local Leadership) Joined-up Governance in City-Regions

Three broad questions:

1. Why the call to join-up now?

2. Is there a theory and practice of joined-up governance?

3. What are the implications for the MCRI research?

Why Join-up?

Cities as the strategic spaces in the global age

- OPPORTUNITIES: Density and diversity supply an "innovative milieu" for adding value through knowledge to all urban development processes
- CHALLENGES: Converging stressors income inequality and 'poverty by postal code', immigrant and Aboriginal exclusion, congestion and sprawl – create an "insecure milieu" for many residents
- COMMON REALITY IN CITIES: Opportunities and challenges are complex, interdependent, and numerous different authorities and actors hold part of the solution
- COMMON MESSAGE FROM CITIES: Tap local knowledge, leverage community assets, align authorities and actors, integrate public policies

But Not So Fast ...

Much academic analysis of cities says: "The economy determines, business decides" form and substance of urban development

- Paul Peterson City Limits (1981) the unitary interest of the city in corporate property development; diversity and inclusion may benefit from "trickle down" in development
- Stepan Kipfer and Roger Keil "Toronto Inc.?" (2002) neoliberal restructuring enforces mega-project growth; diversity and inclusion undermined in development

These analyses conclude that the pursuit of single track, fast economic growth is inevitable in cities.

The Debate Continues: Making the Joined-up Case

Various literatures now make a different case: culturally diverse and socially inclusive places are also more economically innovative.

- Robert Putnam (1993): Making Democracy Work connects social capital and regional economic performance
- Manuel Pastor et al. (2000): Regions that Work connects spatial equity and metropolitan growth
- Richard Florida (2002) The Rise of the Creative Class connects cultural diversity and knowledge-based innovation
- OECD (2006) Competitive Cities in the Global Economy connects urban quality of life and national competitiveness

So What?

- This new research is having an impact: city regions are drawing on these arguments and findings to test out new governance frameworks and policy approaches.
- We now encounter a range of urban development trajectories more complicated and unsettled than the "neo-liberal city limits" envisioned.
- It follows that careful study of local governance arrangements is required, specifically processes of collective action and institutional design in the face of complexity.

Joined-up Governance: Scholarly Frameworks

Three American studies focused on urban economic development:

- Clarence Stone (1989) Regime Politics
- Laura Reese and Raymond Rosenfeld (2002) The Civic Culture of Local Economic Development
- Hank Savitch and Paul Kantor (2004) Cities in the International Marketplace

Three European studies ranging across wider governance processes:

- Patsy Healey (1997) Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies
- Philip Cooke and Kevin Morgan (1998) The Associational Economy
- Gerry Stoker et al. (2002) Towards Holistic Governance: The New Reform Agenda

Stone's Urban Regimes

- Governing coalitions required to "get things done" in complex settings
- Incentives exist to join up: "power to" not "power over"
- Economic development always a local priority but multiple agendas possible
- "Civic capacity" determines agendas: Atlanta connected economic development to racial integration; El Paso linked economic development to social inclusion
- Distinctive urban regimes coalesce: business development, middle class progressive, lower class opportunity expansion

Reese and Rosenfeld's Local Civic Culture

- Economic development strategies formed through distinctive local civic cultures
- Local civic culture composed of three elements:
 - 1. Economic development organizational structure
 - 2. Locus of decision making power among governmental and societal actors
 - 3. Decision making styles integrated, diffuse, rational, ad hoc
- Some cities have no stable governing coalitions and therefore no regimes
- Where regimes exist they are embedded in larger civic cultures which explain local policy choices

Savitch and Kantor's Multi-level Frameworks

- Many cities now pursue economic development that balances "capital and community"
- National urban policy is crucial in helping cities achieve such balance
- National capacity for constructive urban policy varies
- Only some countries replace top down one size fits all frameworks with appropriately enabling supports
- Prominent multi-level strategies include: bringing an urban lens to sectoral policies; negotiating tri-level framework agreements for area-based projects

Healey's Collaborative Planning

- Critique of rationalist, modernist planning discourse and practices
- Need to reflect diversity in municipal planning processes (participative) and goals (integrated sustainable development)
- Collaborative planning engages community stakeholders in deliberative dialogue
- Professional planners facilitate broad participation and consensus building
- Reflected in the EU's European Spatial Development Perspective and in the UK's Regional Sustainable Development Frameworks

Cooke and Morgan's Associational Economy

- New strategies required for economic innovation and social cohesion
- City-region key spatial scale for economic innovation
- But regional innovation strategies cannot fully address unemployment and social exclusion
- "Innovative labour market concepts" required: social economy, sheltered economy
- They propose a "twin-track strategy for economic renewal through innovation and social justice through job creation"
- New forms of multi-level governance can deliver the "repertoire of policies"

Stoker et al.'s Joined-up Governance Typology

Stoker et al. provide four measures in assessing the "depth of integrated working"

- SCOPE: the number of organizations/agencies involved
- INTENSITY: resources shared between organizations/actors
- BREADTH: the relevant range of activities brought together
- EXPOSURE: the degree to which integration impacts the core business of each organization/actor involved

Leads to a continuum of joint working

- COORDINATION: "taking into account impact on others"
- COOPERATION: "exchange of information, agreement on shared goals"
- COLLABORATION: "long term join planning and joint working on major projects in new structure"

Practising Joined-up Governance: Policy Frameworks

- Alongside this scholarly work, we have seen rapid spread of practical urban policy frameworks, much of it inspired by the Melbourne Principles
- In 2002, 40 municipal and civic representatives from around the world met under United Nations auspices in Melbourne Australia to develop principles for the sustainable city
- The Melbourne Principles have since been translated by numerous governments, both national and local, into the Four Pillars of Urban Sustainability: economic, social, cultural, environmental
- The pillars are interdependent: acting on one leads to action on the others, and trading off among pillars is not sustainable

Policy Frameworks (1): Advocacy Networks

Conference Board of Canada:

- Four Cornerstones of Successful Cities: strong knowledge economy; up-to-date connective infrastructure; environmentally sound growth; socially cohesive communities.
- "Globally competitive cities focus on reinforcing each of these cornerstones; Canada's cities must do the same."

CEOs for Cities ("A cross sectoral network of urban leaders dedicated to speeding innovation in cities"):

- Four Dimensions of Success: Talented City; Innovative City; Connected City; Distinctive City.
- "Cities thrive as places where people can easily interact and connect. Cities must embrace the four dimensions of vitality, use indicators as a diagnostic first step and benchmark against peers."

Policy Frameworks (2): National Governments

Government of Canada, Integrated Community Sustainability Planning:

"A long-term plan, developed in consultation with community members that provides direction for the community to realize sustainability objectives it has for the environmental, cultural, social and economic dimensions of its identity. ICSPs are therefore intended to engage community members in a dialogue on the sustainable future of their city or community where sustainability is achieved not through a variety of discrete actions in diverse sectors, but rather by finding integrated approaches that produce multiple impacts and benefits. A portion of the gas tax allocation can be used to develop an ICSP" (IC/Natural Step, 2005)

Policy Frameworks (2): National Governments

United Kingdom, Regional Development Agencies and Regional Economic Strategies:

The Regional Development Agencies Act 1998 sets the framework for the RDA to adopt an integrated policy approach, bringing together economic, social and environmental objectives, to produce more effective policymaking. Taken together, promotion of these objectives can be mutually reinforcing. In short, the Government expects the RDA in developing the integrated policy approach that will be set out in its Regional Economic Strategy, and in the delivery of the strategy, to ensure that it contributes to the policies and targets set out in the Regional Sustainable Development Framework" (DTI, 2002).

Policy Frameworks: City-Regions

Toronto City Summit Alliance

- Private and Community Sector driven collaboration (50 civic leaders)
- Government representation on strategic projects in ten issue areas

Calgary Regional Partnership

- Government-driven inter-municipal collaboration (19 municipalities)
- Multi-sectoral representation on nine projects aimed at sustainable environments, sustainable prosperity and sustainable municipal services.

There are many others: Ottawa(OCRI), Halifax (GHP), London-KW (SWEA), Montreal (CE).

But This is Hard Stuff ...

Despite all the exhortation and emerging policy practice, the scholarly literature reminds that joining up and integrating involves substantial *social innovation* and remains challenging "work in progress" for all cities

Three key obstacles:

- 1. SILOS PERSIST: within and between governments, and across public-private-voluntary sectors
- 2. DYSFUNCTIONAL LEGACIES: municipalities as creatures of the provinces and upper level governments in one size fits all mode
- 3. POWER MATTERS: asymmetry inside collaborations makes managing conflict a priority

Lesson: some cities may not be joining up and integrating, and there may be little evidence of a governing coalition, much less an enduring urban regime

The MCRI's Opportunity? Bringing Canada In

The fact that Canada is so lightly represented in the urban governance and local economic development literature provides this MCRI's opportunity.

- Increasing incidence of joined-up urban governance across all 15 city regions. What is the degree and form of collaboration? (Stoker, Healey)
- How are these new institutions structuring development strategies? (Reese and Rosenfeld)
- What is the relationship on the ground between economic innovation and the other three cornerstones/pillars/vitals of urban sustainability? (Cooke and Morgan)

The MCRI's Opportunity...

When forged at the local scale – Toronto City Summit Alliance, Calgary Regional Partnership – are urban regimes in formation? (Stone)

When driven by federal/provincial initiative – Integrated Community Sustainability Planning, Urban Development Agreements – what is the form of multilevel interaction? (Savitch and Kantor)

But so far little systematic analysis of the new Canadian institutions and governance processes