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Place-based leadership beyond place: exploring the international dimension of civic leadership

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Abstract

A consequence of globalisation is that place-less leaders, meaning people who are not expected to care about the consequences of their decisions for particular places and communities, have gained extraordinary power and influence. This paper explores the way various structural forces shape the political space available to city and city region leaders. A conceptual framework, New Civic Leadership, is presented. This aims to throw light on the way local leaders co-create new solutions to public problems by uniting the efforts of the various realms of leadership found within a place. Attention then turns to consider the reasons why city and regional leaders are becoming increasingly active in international city-to-city networking, learning and exchange. A discussion of the emergence and development of a relatively new international network, the Global Parliament of Mayors, helps to identify challenges and insights for leadership beyond place and, more specifically, the potential of city diplomacy for advancing the power of place.

Key words

city diplomacy; city leadership; global parliament of mayors; international networking; place-based leadership; place-less power

1) Introduction

The leaders of localities, cities and city regions face unprecedented public policy challenges. Some of these challenges are, essentially, local and place specific. However, many of the problems now confronting civic leaders arise in other localities, not just within the same country but internationally. The recent United Nations policy declaration on cities has, for example, drawn attention to the global persistence of multiple forms of poverty, growing social and economic inequality, environmental degradation, spatial segregation and the troubling consequences of the growing global climate change emergency (United Nations 2016).

National governments are, of course, concerned to address these, and other, challenges. A problem, however, is that they tend to construct their domestic public policies around sectors – such as the economy, education, health, social care, transport, agriculture, policing, energy and so on. James Scott shows how, plagued

by top down thinking and the disabling consequences of departmentalism, national governments tend to 'see like a state' (Scott 1998). Through various case studies he shows how national politicians, and their public servants, often fail to comprehend the true nature of complex modern challenges and this, inevitably, leads to the development of inappropriate, even disastrous, proposals.

Warren Magnusson builds on Scott's analysis by reminding us that the social sciences have tended to undervalue interdisciplinary studies. He suggests that scholars have been too hesitant in challenging restrictive disciplinary boundaries and that '... this timidity is bound up with an ongoing tendency to see like a state rather than see like a city' (Magnusson 2010, 41). His radical argument asserts that to 'see like a city' or, we might say, 'see like a place', holds out many benefits. It enables the impact of public policies on a locality to be assessed in the round, and it involves positioning ourselves as inhabitants, not governors. Benjamin Barber takes this argument a step further by contrasting 'dysfunctional' nation states with 'pragmatic, creative' cities. He argues that city mayors, singly and jointly, are responding to transnational problems more effectively than nation states that, he claims, are mired in ideological infighting and sovereign rivalries:

'Today... the nation state is failing us on a global scale... It is utterly unsuited to interdependence. The city, always the human habitat of first resort, has in today's globalizing world once again become democracy's best hope' (Barber 2013, 3)

Research on city and regional governance and place-based leadership has increased in recent years. There is now a growing body of literature throwing new light on the relationships between place and leadership as well as the performance of different approaches to city and regional leadership (Collinge et al 2010; Hambleton 2015; Sotarauta 2016). Much of this literature explores the role of leadership in the new forms of collaborative governance that are being developed in many cities and city regions across the world (Torfing and Ansell 2017). Those studying place-based leadership recognise the impacts of higher levels of government on the exercise of local leadership, as well as the impacts of international socio-economic forces. However, in this paper it will be argued that understanding of modern city and regional leadership can be advanced if, in the future, scholars paid rather more attention to the efforts now being made by many place-based leaders to engage with, and influence, the thinking and behaviour of, actors who are **outside** their territory. I call this place-based leadership beyond place.

This does not imply paying less attention to the important task of continuing to develop our knowledge of the way place-based leaders operate within localities, cities and city regions. Rather, it recognises that, in our rapidly globalising world, mayors and other civic leaders are becoming increasingly active in international networks and various kinds of city-to-city exchange and, in some cases, international city alliances. While this growth in international networking and city diplomacy appears to be significant, it is little understood.

The argument unfolds in a series of steps. An opening section introduces the concept of place-less power. It outlines how structural forces impose constraints on the human agency exercised by civic leaders. A simple diagram suggests that four forces shape the political space available to place-based leaders. A second section outlines the New Civic Leadership, a conceptual framework developed by the author, to throw light on how local leaders promote public innovation by uniting the efforts of the various realms of leadership found within a place. Discussion then turns to consider the 'beyond place' leadership activities of civic leaders. Here attention focuses on the reasons why city and regional leaders are becoming increasingly

active in international city-to-city networking, learning and exchange. A following section outlines the emergence and development of a relatively new international network: the Global Parliament of Mayors. The review of the experiences of this network helps to identify challenges and insights for leadership beyond place and, more specifically, the potential of city diplomacy for advancing the power of place. A final section considers the prospects for expanding the power of international city-to-city, or place-to-place, leadership. It will be suggested that universities could be playing a much more active role in supporting these international learning networks.

2) Place-less power and place-based leadership

Place-based leaders are not free agents able to do exactly as they choose. Indeed, some scholars appear to believe that elected place-based leaders and local civic actors have a negligible impact on the trajectory of city and regional fortunes. For example, Paul Peterson suggests that, owing to local resource deficits and the need to maintain their competitive position, cities have become entirely dependent on higher levels of government and private investment for their survival (Peterson 1981). A central claim of this economic theory is that cities must conceive of themselves as business corporations – as efficiency-maximizing organizations, which must strive to enhance economic productivity as determined by the needs of global capital. In this public choice theory of urban economic development the voices of the diverse communities living in cities are viewed as unimportant or, at best, marginal. A recent study of ‘global city makers’, one that examines the role of economic actors in urban development, particularly in so-called global cities, appears to be aligned with this belief system (Hoyler et al 2018). For the contributors to this edited volume it is the decisions of people working in financial services, management consultancy, real estate, commodity trading and maritime industries that matter in city making. The roles of elected city and regional governments, public professionals, social movements, trade unions and the many other actors involved in city making are barely mentioned.

A flaw, then, in at least some of the urban economic development literature is that it is peculiarly one-sided. In particular, it neglects the important role that imaginative and competent civic leaders can play in working with economic actors to shape local public policy outcomes. International comparative research on place-based leadership has advanced our understanding of the complex interplay that takes place between structural economic forces and the exercise of human agency by locally accountable civic leaders. Respected studies have shown that, contrary to neoliberal dogma, it is possible for civic leaders to bargain with business (Savitch and Kantor, 2002).

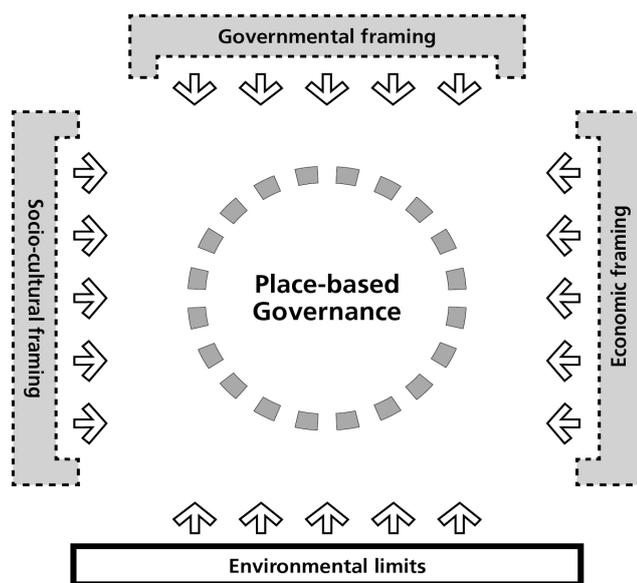
In my own research on place-based leadership I have found it helpful to distinguish between two kinds of power: place-less power and place-based power (Hambleton 2015). This distinction draws on the critique of the modern international economy presented by Michael Sandel (2012). He shows that the obsession with market driven models of decision-making crowds out other important values – for example, sympathy, generosity, thoughtfulness, concern for the planet, solidarity and so on. Stated simply, place-less leaders, in my terminology, are not expected or required to care about the consequences of their decisions for particular places and communities. The development and expansion of multi-national companies, many operating on a global basis, in the last thirty years or so has resulted in a spectacular rise in the power and influence of place-less decision-makers in modern society.

In contrast to place-less leaders, place-based leaders **do** care about the quality of life of the people living in the territories they serve. This distinction may be too simple for

some. I am not suggesting that effective leaders in many cities and city regions are failing to work with place-less power to improve the local quality of life in their areas. Rather I am suggesting that understanding the fundamental conflicts in values between place-less and place-based decision-makers is often neglected in spatial leadership studies and, more worrying, in public leadership practice.

Pressures from external economic actors are not the only forces imposing constraints on the power exercised by place-based leaders. **Figure 1** provides a simplified picture of four sets of forces that shape the world of place-based governance in any given locality, and I now refer briefly to each of these forces in turn.

Figure 1: Framing the political space for place-based governance



Source: Hambleton (2015) p 114

At the bottom of the diagram, are the non-negotiable environmental limits. Ignoring the fact that cities are part of the natural ecosystem is irresponsible, and failure to pay attention to environmental limits will store up unmanageable problems for future generations (Bulkeley 2013; Stern 2010; Wollersheim 2017). This side of the square in the figure is drawn with a solid line because, unlike the other sides, these environmental limits are, despite the claims of climate change deniers, non-negotiable.

On the right hand side of the diagram are the economic forces I have just discussed. The global economy, as it stands at present, requires localities to compete, to some degree at least, in the wider marketplace - for inward investment and to attract talented people.

On the left hand side of the diagram are socio-cultural forces – these comprise a mix of people (as actors) and cultural values (that people may hold). Here we find the rich variety of voices found in any city - including the claims of activists, businesses, artists, entrepreneurs, trade unionists, religious organizations, community-based groups, citizens who vote, citizens who don't vote, children, newly arrived

immigrants, anarchists and so on. Places have traditions and identities that are built up over a long period of time (Bell and de-Shalit, 2011). The people living in a given city will have different views about the kind of city they wish to live in, and they will have differential capacity to make these views known (Davies and Imbroscio, 2010). Some, maybe many, will claim a right to the city (Brenner et al, 2012). We can assume that, in democratic societies at least, elected leaders who pay little or no attention to these political pressures should not expect to stay in office for too long. Expression of citizen voice, to use Hirschman's term (1970), will see them dismissed at the ballot box.

On the top of **Figure 1** we find the legal and policy framework imposed by higher levels of government. In some countries this governmental framing will include legal obligations decreed by supra-national organizations. For example, local authorities in countries that are members of the European Union (EU) are required to comply with EU laws and regulations, and to take note of EU policy guidance. Individual nation states determine the legal status, fiscal power and functions of local authorities within their boundaries. These relationships are subject to negotiation and renegotiation over time.

It is clear that **Figure 1** simplifies a much more complex reality. The space available for local agency varies by country and is always shifting. A comparison of place-based leadership in Finland and Australia provides a helpful illustration of these international differences (Sotarauta and Beer 2017). A key task of local leaders is, then, to be alert to the opportunities for advancing the power of their place within the context of the framing forces prevailing on their area at the time.

Figure 1 indicates that place-based governance, shown at the centre, is porous. Successful civic leaders are constantly learning from the environment in which they find themselves in order to discover new insights, co-create new solutions and advance their political objectives. Note that the four forces are not joined up at the corners to create a rigid prison within which civic leadership has to be exercised. On the contrary the boundaries of the overall arena are, themselves, malleable. Depending on the culture and context, imaginative civic leaders may be able to disrupt the pre-existing governmental frame and bring about an expansion in place-based power.

3) New Civic Leadership – a way of conceptualizing place-based leadership

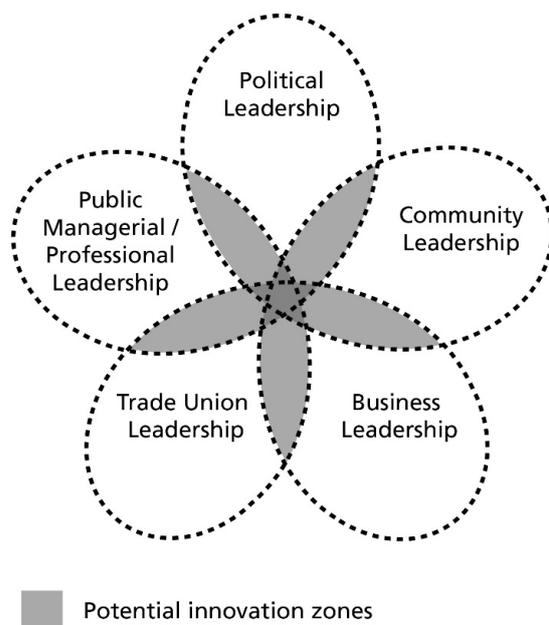
Before turning to explore the idea of place-based leadership beyond place I should set out what I mean by place-based leadership. Elsewhere I have suggested that we are witnessing the emergence of a New Civic Leadership (NCL) in many cities and city regions across the world (Hambleton 2015). Variations on this model are being developed in many countries and different civic leaders and scholars may use slightly different vocabulary to describe it. To enhance understanding of the approach I have provided a case study of the way NCL is being implemented by civic leaders in Bristol, UK (Hambleton 2019). Here, in this section, I outline the main elements.

In essence NCL offers a clear alternative to the outdated concept of New Public Management (NPM) (Bovaird and Loeffler 2015). NCL involves strong, place-based leadership acting to co-create new solutions to public problems by drawing on the complementary strengths of civil society, the market and the state. The NCL conceptual framework highlights the role of local leaders in facilitating public service innovation.

Figure 2 suggests that in any given locality place-based governance is likely to comprise five overlapping realms of place-based leadership, with leaders in each realm drawing on different sources of legitimacy:

- **Political leadership** – referring to the work of those people elected to leadership positions by the citizenry
- **Public managerial/professional leadership** – referring to the work of public servants appointed by local authorities, governments and third sector organizations to plan and manage public services, and promote community wellbeing
- **Community leadership** – referring to the many civic-minded people who give their time and energy to local leadership activities in a wide variety of ways
- **Business leadership** – referring to the contribution made by local business leaders and social entrepreneurs, who have a clear stake in the long-term prosperity of the locality
- **Trade union leadership** – referring to the efforts of trade union leaders striving to improve the pay and working conditions of employees

Figure 2: The realms of place-based leadership



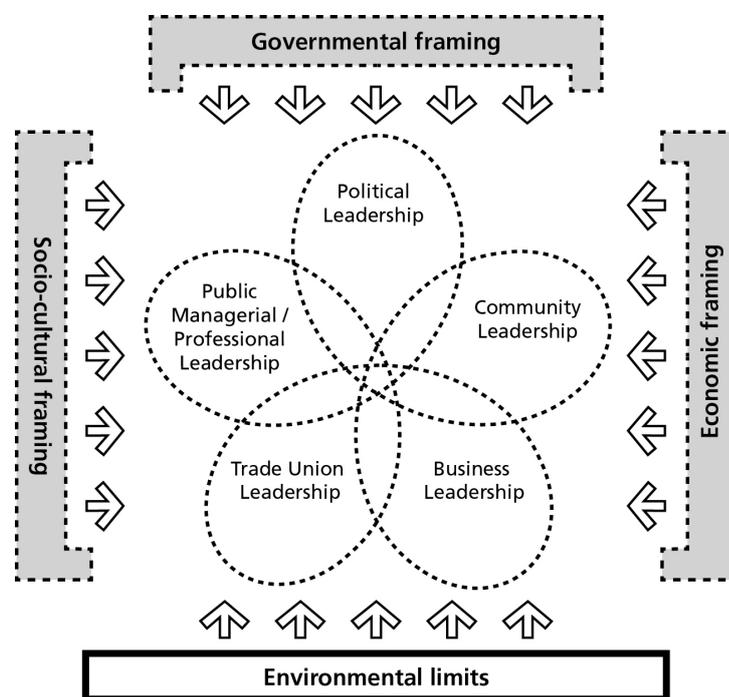
Source: Hambleton (2015) p 127

These leadership roles are all important in cultivating and encouraging public service innovation and, crucially, they overlap. The areas of overlap can be described as innovation zones – areas providing many opportunities for inventive behavior. This is because different perspectives are brought together in these zones and this can enable active questioning of established approaches.

It is fair to say that the areas of overlap in **Figure 2** are often experienced as conflict zones, rather than innovation zones. These spaces do, of course, provide settings for power struggles between competing interests and values. Moreover, power is unequally distributed within these settings. This is precisely why place-based leadership matters. The evidence from my research on urban governance is that civic leadership is critical in ensuring that the innovation zones are orchestrated in a way that promotes a culture of listening that can, in turn, lead to innovation. Civic leaders are, of course, not just ‘those at the top’. All kinds of people can exercise civic leadership and they may be inside or outside the state. My definition of leadership is: ‘Shaping emotions and behavior to achieve common goals’ (Hambleton 2007, 174). This definition puts emotions centre stage and stresses the importance of the co-creation of new possibilities.

Having explained the five realms of place-based leadership it is now possible to advance the presentation of the NCL framework by locating the five realms within the broader context outlined in the previous section – see **Figure 3**.

Figure 3: Place-based leadership in context



Source: Hambleton (2015) p 128

4) Place-based leadership: the international agenda

We now turn to consider the idea of place-based leadership beyond place, and we will consider the main reasons why international city-to-city networking is on the rise. International comparisons of approaches to public policy have existed for centuries. Most of these efforts at comparative inquiry have tended to focus on examining and contrasting the policies and practices of nation states, not cities or localities (Hantrais 2009). However, since the late 1980s, interest in international policy exchange and

networking among **sub-national** units of government has grown rapidly, particularly in Europe. The number of international city-to-city networks has mushroomed. Take one example: founded in 1986, EUROCITIES, initially a grouping of six cities, is now an influential international network of around 140 European cities, with over 45 partner cities outside Europe. Campbell (2012) provides an insightful overview of the global growth of city-to-city networking in the last thirty years or so. He notes, correctly, that effective urban networking involves far more than attempting to enhance spatial competitiveness by trying to attract global talent and develop so-called 'smart city' strategies. Rather, he suggests, successful city leaders go beyond 'smart city' thinking and, I would add, conventional city marketing strategies, to create, foster and strengthen lasting city-to-city relationships that can achieve breakthroughs in learning and innovation.

Partly because of the wider globalisation of economic, social and cultural relations referred to earlier, and partly because of the very rapid development of global communications technologies, city-to-city networking has grown exponentially. Most sizable cities now have a dedicated international office and an international strategy. A rising number of big city leaders, as well as some leaders of smaller cities, see themselves as, at least in part, international leaders. Beal and Pinson (2014) suggest that mayors engage in international activities for two main reasons. First, there is a 'politics logic' - here mayors see these efforts as strengthening their electoral support and political legitimacy. Second, there is a 'policy logic', which reflects a desire to produce better policy solutions to urban problems. These authors believe that the latter has become a more prevalent reason than the former with, they believe, many mayors feeling that international exchanges can make a significant contribution to their own approach to policy design and policy innovation.

There are now more than 170 formal networks of cities operating in national and international affairs (Acuto and Rayner 2016). Aside from these formal networks there has been a spectacular expansion of city-to-city informal networks, not to mention a rapid rise in internet-based exchanges among policy professionals and urban and regional scholars working with cities. The situation is complex and dynamic. Nevertheless, we can, perhaps, identify three main, albeit overlapping, reasons why place-based leaders engage in these international activities: 1) International lesson drawing, 2) International relationship building, and 3) Enhancing place-based power. This categorisation builds on the two logics identified by Beal and Pinson (2014). It supports their claim that the policy logic is becoming increasingly important, as well as their suggestion that mayors' international activities are more and more driven to mobilise resources for urban projects and to develop long-term systems of stakeholders. We now consider each of these purposes in turn.

International lesson drawing

First, a key reason for much modern city-to-city international networking is lesson drawing for public policy. This involves examining experiences in cities and regions in one or more other countries in order to discover relevant new insights for policy and practice. These insights, or lessons, might relate to technical matters, policy and practice or, in some cases, governance (Hambleton 2015, 321-325). Rose (2005) identifies a variety of reasons why policy makers engage in, what he describes as, 'instrumental' learning from other countries. He observes that an advantage of this approach is that learning can focus on actual accomplishments in another setting. This, he argues, can provide a better basis for policy innovation than merely making ideas up and speculating about what might happen if they were adopted.

In previous research I have suggested that international city-to-city lesson drawing can deliver a number of potential benefits for policy makers (Hambleton 2015, 315-317). First, experience abroad can act as an invaluable source of practical and useful ideas. Second, while cities may, as mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, be faced with common problems, it is clear that these problems do not produce identical policy responses. It is the differences in responses that different cities make to shared problems that can provide stimulating, even inspiring, insights for civic leaders. Third, in a world in which unprecedented numbers of people are now migrating across national boundaries cross-national exchange can lift the level of local inter-cultural knowledge, awareness and understanding.

Ideally, international policy exchange should be underpinned by independent evaluation of how well the policies and practices under consideration for transfer actually perform. Universities can, and do, play a role in supporting cities in their international policy exchange efforts. However, it would appear that universities could be playing a more active role and we will return to this theme in the conclusion to this paper.

It is important to note the increasingly important role played by various international organisations in funding and facilitating cross-national research on urban challenges, public policy innovations, local governance and related matters. In Europe the EU deserves great credit for supporting a significant body of comparative urban and regional research that has had a beneficial impact on urban policies in the continent. Interestingly, the EU has recently launched a new International Urban Cooperation (IUC) programme to enable European cities to engage in city-to-city cooperation with cities in other regions of the world.¹ Other influential international organisations supporting cross-national lesson drawing for cities and city regions include the United Nations, the World Bank and the OECD.

International relationship building

If international lesson drawing is carried out well it can lead to international relationship building. Such relationships can be binary pairings, as in sister-city or town-twinning arrangements, or clusters of cities focussing on a particular topic or theme, for example, tackling the climate change emergency. Campbell (2012, 56) develops a typology of city learning that is useful in this context. His learning types reflect different levels of relationship building. These are: 1) Individual cities, one on many (when a city engages in a deliberate learning mission); 2) Individual cities, one on one (when cities engage in episodic visits or encounters); 3) City clusters on clusters (cities that share common programme objectives or campaigns); 4) Cities in active networks (cities that are members of regional or global associations - an example would be EUROCITIES); 5) Cities in passive networks (cities that engage casually in conferences, events and network bulletins). Campbell rightly observes that:

‘One of the key outcomes of putting effort into learning is that common ground is formed, where participants from a city who take part in their city’s learning engage inadvertently or deliberately in the interpersonal transfer of values. This exchange and exposure lies at the heart of learning’ (Campbell 2012, 57)

Some relationship building activity is focussed explicitly on creating mutually beneficial economic and cultural relationships. City branding and city marketing efforts, provided they are two-way in conception, can represent a form of international relationship building.

Enhancing place-based power

Earlier in this paper I suggested that place-less power has grown significantly in the last thirty years ago. This expansion in the power of distant decision-makers, often working for multi-national companies located in far away cities, has diminished the power of elected place-based leaders in many countries. The growing centralisation of legal and fiscal power within some nation states is a further driving force that is weakening the power of place in some countries. For example, in England the ruthless cutting of financial support to elected local authorities since 2010, coupled with a super-centralisation of detailed decision-making in Whitehall, has brought about a shocking decline in the power of place (Hambleton 2017).² Faced with external threats of this kind many city leaders are fighting back by working with colleagues in other countries to expand the power of all places. Thus, some of the international networks linking cities together represent deliberate efforts to strengthen the power of cities and city regions in the dynamics of global governance. This growth of city diplomacy is becoming increasingly visible.³

International academic analysis of modern city politics suggests that, as cities expand and become internally more diverse and externally much more connected, the very nature of 'local' politics is changing and becoming less place-centric. For example, Stren and Friendly (2019) provide a perceptive analysis of the way modern big city mayors operate at local, national and international levels. In short, they suggest that local politics in many large cities is no longer purely local:

'Influences from the outside through migration, trade, tourism, and policy networks are enlarging the political perspectives of elected officials, and particularly elected mayors. While much of these mayors' concern is still with local issues and running a city, increasingly their own constituents and their political networks pursue interests nationally and internationally' (Stren and Friendly 2019, 176)

City international diplomacy is on the rise and these authors suggest that cities will need to prepare for these new challenges and organise themselves for a more robust international role.

5) Modelling leadership beyond place: the Global Parliament of Mayors

We now take the discussion forward by examining, albeit briefly, the recent experiences of one particular international city network, the Global Parliament of Mayors (GPM).⁴ This international network is chosen for three main reasons. First, the GPM is relatively young. It has been created to tackle the pressing challenges now facing cities. It follows that the ethos of the network could, perhaps, be fairly well tuned to the concerns of those actually leading cities today; it is, for sure, unencumbered by a long history. Second, it is a network of city leaders. GPM events are, at least in part, designed to help existing city leaders develop their leadership networks, knowledge and skills. Third, the GPM is explicitly concerned to advance the power of places in our rapidly globalising world; it sees itself as a global city rights movement.

The GPM is, then, explicitly concerned to counter the growth in place-less power referred to earlier in the paper. There is no suggestion here that the GPM is more important than other international city-to-city networks.⁵ On the contrary, there are numerous international city networks that have a higher profile and far greater resources than the GPM, for example United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG). Rather, the aim here is to use the experience of the fledgling GPM to explore the changing dynamics of international city-to-city networking and city diplomacy.

Benjamin Barber, a respected American social scientist, deserves credit not only for setting out the intellectual argument for having a GPM, but also campaigning tirelessly, with others, to co-create this new network.⁶ In his book, *If Mayors Ruled the World*, Barber includes a final chapter proposing the creation of a global parliament of mayors (Barber 2013). In his view, as expressed in 2013, existing international city networks were already well down the road towards creating a form of global governance with both a democratic and a local face:

‘My proposal for a parliament of mayors is no grandiose scheme... It is rather a brief for cities to lend impetus to informal practices they already have in place; to give institutional expression and coherence to emerging cooperative relationships; to amplify their collective voice and by focussing on the bottom-up role cities already play in deliberating and deciding and voluntarily implementing policies and reforms that meet the interdependent challenges of the twenty-first century’ (Barber 2013, 338).

Barber’s central claim is that, to govern their cities effectively, city leaders should play a highly visible and influential role in governing the world in which their cities have to fight to survive. He was, then, in my terms, an advocate of place-based leadership beyond place.

Barber saw the existing international city networks, impressive as they are, as being fragmented and, at best, merely intriguing. His book contains specific suggestions on how to constitute a GPM, but these details need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that he stressed that a GPM should provide a megaphone that could strengthen the national and international voice of cities. Both before and after the publication of his book, Barber spent a lot of time and energy networking with city mayors in different countries interested in the idea of a GPM. The concept proved popular and the Inaugural Convening of the GPM took place in The Hague, The Netherlands in 2016. A declaration was developed and a secretariat for the GPM was created. Two Annual Summits of mayors have been held since then – in Stavanger, Norway in 2017 and in Bristol, UK in 2018 – and the third Annual Summit will be held in Durban, South Africa in November 2019.

The GPM provides a platform for mayors to agitate for change on a wide range of issues. For example, the GPM Annual Summit, held in Bristol in October 2018, attracted 67 mayors from 36 countries, along with representatives from twelve international networks. The mayors participating in the Summit agreed a ‘Bristol Declaration’. This includes robust statements covering the benefits of migration to cities, the role of cities in strengthening urban security and the importance of cities in delivering good population health. The Declaration also offered a wide range of suggestions on ‘Empowering cities as drivers of change’.

In terms of the three purposes underpinning modern international city-to-city networking referred to earlier, the GPM is, it seems, trying to advance practice on all three fronts at once. First, it is clear that the mayors participating in GPM Annual Summits, as well as via virtual exchanges supported by the GPM website, are interested in practical lesson drawing from each other.⁷ However, this process is not as yet very well developed. It is entirely informal and there is scant evidence to suggest that the GPM has been able to facilitate research-based city-to-city lesson drawing. This is not a criticism, rather it is early days for the GPM, and it is important to recognise that the resources available to this new network are slender.

Second, in contrast to research-based lesson drawing, it is clear that the GPM has been very effective in international relationship building. Mayors attending GPM summits develop strong interpersonal relationships with other mayors. This is partly because the GPM culture, orchestrated by those leading the GPM, is very inclusive and purposeful, rather than transactional. But it is also because the GPM is values driven. GPM members demonstrate a solid commitment to the importance of place and, to use the phrase I introduced earlier, these mayors, 'see like a city' (Magnusson 2010). They understand the value of seeing the problems facing communities in the round and are keen to learn from each other. At the GPM Annual Summit in Bristol there was, for example, a strong pattern of global south-north dialogue with, in particular, mayors from Africa, notably female mayors, contributing energetically to the conversation about the future of city leadership at the global scale.

Turning to the third purpose of enhancing place-based power, this was centre stage at the GPM Annual Summit in Bristol in 2018. The city leaders participating in this conference were explicit in arguing that the way to take on the angry populism that is disfiguring politics in many countries at the present time is to assert the power of place. The 'Bristol Declaration' is a bold, progressive statement. Consistent with the aspirations set out by Benjamin Barber the GPM is striving to enhance the voice and influence of cities in national and international politics against the impositions of place-less power.

6) New horizons for place-based leadership

In cities and city regions across the world we are witnessing a remarkable growth in collaborative approaches to public problem solving at the local level. Research on innovative cities and city regions in different countries suggests that place-based leadership is now playing a vital role not just in stimulating and encouraging these collaborative efforts, but also in energising and promoting the power of place.

In this paper it has been suggested that modern place-based leaders need, somehow, to marry together two overlapping forms of leadership at one and the same time. These two approaches to leadership are not in conflict, but they can be in tension. To simplify, on the one hand, civic leaders are required to keep a sharp focus on addressing local challenges, on cultivating local networks and developing the leadership capacity of their locality. This means demonstrating a genuine, day-in day-out, commitment to listening to local opinions, including the voices of groups who are often excluded from public policy making, and to mobilising new resources and energies to tackle the problems identified by local communities and civic stakeholders. In line with well-established theories of local democracy we can, perhaps, call this 'localist leadership', an approach that amplifies public and local stakeholder participation in civic life (Wills 2016).⁸

On the other hand, successful place-based leaders, although they are working from the vantage point of particular spatial jurisdictions, need to respond to the wider social, environmental, economic and political context in which they are embedded. At least some of the time they need to transcend the communities they serve (Frederickson 2005). In this paper I have characterised this approach to leadership as place-based leadership beyond place. This kind of leadership arises within nation states. In addition, as discussed in this paper, it can attempt to address global concerns that span international frontiers. When it does this we can think of it as 'internationalist leadership'.

This paper has argued that the processes of globalisation have led to a remarkable growth in place-less power, meaning the exercise of power by decision-makers who are not expected to care about the consequences of their decisions for particular places and communities. This is a troubling development given that distant decision-makers are incapable of solving many of the problems facing modern societies. The paper has offered a way of visualising the political space available to place-based leaders, and has set out a way of conceptualising modern place-based leadership, described as New Civic Leadership. It is hoped that these frameworks can assist in developing fresh thinking relating to how civic leaders can cultivate and draw strength from the spirit of place – or *genius loci* as some describe it (Bell and de-Shalit 2011).

Why is it important for the leaders of cities and regions to pay attention to developments in other countries? In this paper it has been suggested that place-based leaders engage in international activities for three main reasons: international lesson drawing; international relationship building; and enhancing place-based power. These are not, of course, mutually exclusive activities and a growing number of mayors and civic leaders are engaging in all three activities at once. This categorisation may be helpful to city leaders, as well as those working in international relations offices in city halls. All three purposes are important, and a sound international strategy for a city or city region should combine elements of all three.

In closing this chapter I refer, briefly, to the changing role of universities in modern society and, more specifically, to ways in which universities may be able to help improve the international performance of place-based leaders who wish to lead beyond place. In some countries, notably the USA, many universities are already heavily involved in place-based leadership and public problem solving. For example, most American public universities see themselves as institutions rooted in place, and their core mission includes, alongside advancing high quality research and teaching, a solid commitment to civic engagement (Boyer 1990). European universities, some of them drawing lessons directly from US experience, are developing their distinctive ideas on how to become 'civic universities' (Brink 2018).⁹ However, in many localities universities are not as active in relation to this agenda as they could be. Indeed, in the UK context, I have suggested that universities can be described as the sleeping giants of place-based leadership (Hambleton 2018).

Higher education institutions across the world are, in various ways, attempting to respond, at one and the same time, to global and local pressures for relevance, support, influence and standing. This marrying of territorial and international aspirations is, in my view, rather similar to the dual leadership challenge I have outlined for the leaders of cities and city regions. Perhaps it can be suggested that university leaders and academics should be encouraged, using the terms I introduced earlier, to see themselves as both 'localist' and 'internationalist' actors. In any event, it is possible to imagine universities playing a much more active role in contributing to the collective intelligence of the place where they are located. This can be to their own institutional advantage as well as the advantage of local communities and stakeholders. Academics can, for example, bring research skills to the task of improving international city-to-city lesson drawing. Action research collaborations in this area should be encouraged. They can be expected to lead to advances in scholarly understanding of city and regional leadership as well as improvements in the practice of urban and regional governance.

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Endnotes

¹ With nearly 80 million euro funding Horizon 2020 (2014-2020) is the biggest ever EU Research and Innovation programme. Many of the cross-national projects funded by this programme relate to cities and city regions. This programme has focussed on international exchange within the EU. But, interestingly, the relatively new EU International Urban Cooperation (IUC) programme is designed to help European cities collaborate with cities in Asia, Latin America and the Caribbean and North America. More: <http://iuc.eu/about/>

² The super-centralisation of power within England is extreme. However, the situation across the UK is more complicated. The Scotland Act 1998 devolved a range of powers to a new Scottish Parliament, and the Government of Wales Act 1998 devolved powers (not so many as to Scotland) to a new National Assembly for Wales. Local authorities in Scotland and Wales still suffer from the super-centralisation of fiscal power in Whitehall, but the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly have taken what steps they can to protect local councils from the imposition of, what some scholars have described as, super-austerity by the UK Conservative Government (Lowndes and Gardner 2016).

³ The Chicago Council on Global Affairs provides a noteworthy example. It organises regular international networking opportunities for city leaders to engage in city diplomacy. The 2019 Pritzker Forum on Global Cities, held in Chicago in June 2019, provides a recent example: <https://www.cvent.com/events/2019-pritzker-forum-on-global-cities/>

⁴ For more information on the Global Parliament of Mayors visit: <http://globalparliamentofmayors.org>

⁵ In my recent book I list, as an introduction, 22 international networks relating to cities (Hambleton 2015, pp. 347-350).

⁶ Dr. Benjamin Barber was the founder of the Global Parliament of Mayors (GPM). In the period 2012-2017 he worked energetically to promote the idea internationally. He passed away in 2017 and is now honoured by the GPM via the 'Dr. Benjamin Global Cities Award'. This award is given annually to a mayor who has given an outstanding contribution to furthering global urban governance.

⁷ The author participated in the GPM Annual Summit held in Bristol in October 2018.

⁸ There is now a substantial body of international evidence on the benefits of local democracy. For example, United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), based in Barcelona, publishes reports from the Global Observatory on Local Democracy (GOLD). More: <https://www.gold.uclg.org>

⁹ A recent national report on how to improve the performance of British universities sets out a range of ideas on how to promote collaborative working between universities and non-campus actors in the place where they are located. See Civic University Commission (2019).