

Paper for the EURA/UAA City Futures III Conference

Paris, 18-20 June 2014

Leading the inclusive city - international lesson-drawing for future urban governance

Robin Hambleton, University of the West of England, Bristol

Abstract

Some commentators take the view that the growth of multi-national companies operating on a global basis is now so well developed that cities are best viewed as helpless victims in a global flow of events. Distant, unelected decision makers now determine city futures, not urban residents. This paper rejects this view and offers a fresh way of thinking about our urban future. It presents a new conceptual framework for understanding place-based civic leadership and, by drawing on evidence from innovative cities across the world, suggests that place-based leadership can shape the city according to progressive values – for example, advancing social justice, promoting care for the environment and bolstering community empowerment. In a forthcoming book, *Leading the Inclusive City* (to be published by The Policy Press, University of Bristol), the author presents seventeen inspiring Innovation Stories, drawn from cities in all continents, to underpin the argument that place-based civic leadership, when combined with radical social innovation, can help to create inclusive, sustainable cities. The paper draws on the evidence presented in the book to suggest that there are likely to be five overlapping realms of civic leadership in any given locality – political, managerial/professional, community, business and trade union. Effective place-based leadership draws insight and energy from all five realms. The paper explains the methodology used to assemble the Innovation Stories about bold civic leadership, and suggests that *The New Civic Leadership* framework may be able to assist cities improve their efforts to develop international, city-to-city learning.

Contact details:

Robin Hambleton
Professor of City Leadership
Centre for Sustainable Planning and Environments
Faculty of Environment and Technology
University of the West of England, Bristol

E: robin.hambleton@uwe.ac.uk

Also Urban Answers: <http://urbananswers.co.uk>

Introduction

City leaders face unprecedented challenges and urban scholars have provided extensive analysis of the nature of these challenges.ⁱ Some writers have a somewhat gloomy view of the prospects for cities. They believe that the growth of multi-national companies operating on a global basis is now so well developed that cities are best viewed as helpless victims in a global flow of events. Distant, unelected decision makers now determine city futures, not urban residents.

This paper rejects this view and offers a fresh way of thinking about our urban future. It presents a new conceptual framework for understanding place-based, civic leadership and suggests that, across the world, cities are taking decisive action to shape the city according to progressive values – for example, advancing social justice, promoting care for the environment and bolstering community empowerment. This paper introduces ideas that are set out at greater length in a forthcoming book, *Leading the Inclusive City. Place-based innovation for a bounded planet* (Hambleton 2015). The aim of this paper is to introduce some of the main ideas that are examined in more detail in the book.

Both the book and the paper adopt a normative stance. By introducing concepts and ideas drawn from different disciplines, and on the experience of a number of innovative cities, the paper aims to stimulate practical efforts to improve the quality of life in cities. More specifically it sets out to advance the cause of social inclusion in modern societies by highlighting the contribution that place-based leadership can make in tackling social and environmental ills.

The paper unfolds in four steps. First, it is suggested that tackling injustice is the central challenge for civic leadership in the coming period. Markets bring many benefits to modern societies but, and this lies at the heart of any effective strategy for public policy, it needs to be recognised that there are significant limits to markets. A utopian vision of the ‘inclusive city’ is outlined - one that advances the cause of justice and promotes caring for the natural environment on which we all depend. Second, a new conceptual framework, described as *The New Civic Leadership*, is presented. This framework has been used to illuminate understanding of the leadership of seventeen innovative cities that have advanced the cause of social inclusion. The third section of the paper argues that engaged scholarship is critical in bringing about enhanced academic understanding of urban challenges, and improvements in public policy and practice. The idea of the Innovation Story is presented as a new way of combining the efforts of scholars and practitioners in a process of co-creation of new knowledge that can lead to new solutions. A fourth section outlines some reflections and conclusions.

1) Tackling injustice: the central challenge for public leadership

My starting point is that, during the last thirty years or so, societies across the world have become increasingly divided. Cities are the focus of attention in this paper because most people alive today live in cities and, in the thirty years ahead, demographic projections indicate, with some certainty, that we will live in an increasingly urbanised world. Despite the fact that cities are now central to the creation of prosperity, it is the case that, even in very wealthy cities – including the famous, so-called, ‘global cities’ – social and economic inequalities are on the rise.ⁱⁱ

For some scholars the increase in urban poverty arising from current approaches to urban development is unproblematic. For example, Glaeser (2011) takes the following view:

‘The presence of poverty in cities from Rio to Rotterdam reflects urban strength, not weakness. Megacities are not too big. Limiting their growth would cause significantly more hardship than gain, and urban growth is a great way to reduce poverty’ (Glaeser 2011, p70)

It is true to suggest, as Glaeser does, that rural poverty can trap people in isolated country areas for generations. However, it does not then follow that rapid, unplanned urban growth is a sound strategy for development. Nor is it necessary, or wise, to welcome the existence of grinding urban poverty.

In contrast to so-called ‘free market’ thinking this paper argues that it is essential not only to guide and limit the way urban growth takes place, but also to create a just city in which all residents – established and newly arrived – can benefit and develop. Such an approach puts the search for equity, **not** economic growth, as the central aim of public policy. The book will draw on the works of a growing number of scholars who have suggested that an obsession with economic development in public discourse and public policy is holding back social progress (Stiglitz 2012). It is encouraging to note that the United Nations has now become much more active in focussing attention on growing inequality. Indeed, urban equity was the central theme of the World Urban Forum (WUF), held in Medellin, Colombia in April 2014. The concept paper prepared for the WUF notes that equity is now moving from the fringes of international development policy to take centre stage (UN-Habitat 2013).

In relation to scholarship on urban inequality, I wish to highlight the valuable analysis provided by Susan Fainstein (2010) in her book, *The Just City*. She provides a devastating critique of modern planning theory arguing that much of it has simply ignored the reality of structural inequalities and hierarchies of power in modern society. By drawing on Rawlsian theories of liberty and justice, as well as detailed examination of the distributional impact of urban planning in Amsterdam, New York and London, she has developed an urban theory of justice.ⁱⁱⁱ

This paper offers a contribution to these debates about city planning and urban justice by focussing on civic leadership.^{iv} This is because, as will be explained later, local leadership matters – it can make a difference to the quality of life in a given city. Put simply, leaders can address or ignore

injustice. It is worth stressing at the outset that civic leaders are not just those 'at the top' – such as directly elected mayors, political leaders, city managers and the chief officers of local government departments. On the contrary, in modern systems of local governance leadership is dispersed and is multi-level. The neighbourhood activist or social entrepreneur can make a significant contribution to place-based leadership alongside the strategic efforts of, say, the city mayor.

A major weakness of planning theory is that it has virtually ignored leadership. This paper invites urban scholars, including planning theorists, to pay more attention to the role of leadership in shaping urban environments and local life chances. City leaders are, of course, constrained by wider economic, political and environmental forces that limit their scope for political action – and we will explore the political space available for place-based leadership in Section 2 below. We can note, however, that most, if not all, civic leaders – and I define leadership broadly - have at least some scope to bring about improvements in the quality of life for urban residents. Global forces influence but do **not** determine the urban future. As we shall see, place-less power has grown over the last thirty years but it cannot dictate all that happens in the modern city.

The case for paying more attention to whether or not policies and practices are making cities more inclusive is, at root, a moral one. Dorling (2011), in his imaginative analysis, suggests that the one word that characterises the nature of human society as it is currently arranged worldwide is 'injustice'. He is right and his book explains why. Other authors have also drawn attention to the high societal costs of inequality (Lansley 2012; Stiglitz 2012; Wilkinson and Pickett 2010). However, the case for creating more inclusive societies goes beyond the moral argument. To put it bluntly, if cities become more and more unequal, the quality of life of the well off as well as the poor is threatened. Even prosperous cities can collapse, at very short notice, into urban violence. The urban riots that took place in numerous British cities in 2011 provide a recent example. It follows that a failure to address the importance of justice in the city is a recipe for political instability. Urban leaders who neglect the importance of social, economic and political inclusion enfeeble the civic foundations of their city.

Recognising the limits of markets

Why are processes that promote social exclusion holding sway? Or, more specifically, why is inequality on the rise? To be sure, the growth of global connectivity in recent years has brought spectacular new opportunities to remote regions of the world. By adopting an international perspective we can see that cities, including the rapidly expanding cities and megacities of the global south, are providing billions of people with new economic and social opportunities (Campbell 2012). It follows that it is misguided to focus only on the 'problems' that cities and city regions are now facing. There are many urban success stories, and these are the focus of attention in *Leading the Inclusive City* (Hambleton 2015).

But, and this is the critical point for city leaders and community activists, social inequality is rising – both within countries and within cities. The reasons for this disturbing trend are complex but it is possible to argue that a growing obsession with market ideology is largely to blame. In the last thirty years or so many public leaders, local as well as national, came to believe that markets would provide the solutions to the problems facing their societies. In the early 1980s, politicians of the right – notably US President Ronald Reagan and UK Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher – argued that markets, not government, provided the right way forward for social and economic progress. Aided by think tanks funded by big business, these neo-liberal politicians were enormously influential – in many countries the ideological landscape slithered to the right.

As Chang (2010) explains with great clarity there is, in reality, no such thing as a ‘free market’. Every market has rules and boundaries that restrict freedom of choice. Neo-liberal ideology is, then, built around an unrealistic, idealised vision of market rule. In practice, as Theodore et al (2011) show, neo-liberalism has ‘entailed a dramatic intensification of coercive, disciplinary forms of state intervention in order to **impose** versions of market rule...’ (p16 authors’ emphasis). With some geographical variation, public policy in western countries has come to be dominated by an untrammelled belief in the virtues of markets. Thomas Piketty (2014) offers an incisive critique of the neo-liberal model, and assembles evidence to show that modern capitalism is increasing inequality at a formidable rate.

For many the financial crash of 2008 has forced a rethink – by individuals, communities and governments (Tett 2009). Michael Sandel (2012) in his acclaimed book, *What Money Can't buy*, shows why the era of market triumphalism has come to an end. He argues that the financial crisis has done more than cast doubt on the ability of markets to allocate risk efficiently. The global economic convulsions of the 2008-14 period have also prompted a deeper sense of unease, a feeling that markets have become detached from morals and a broader sense of public purpose.

Sandel notes that, for many, the solution is to rein in greed, insist on higher standards of probity in the banking industry, and to enact sensible regulations that will prevent irresponsible financial practices in the future. But his major insight is to recognise that such an approach is insufficient. Sandel argues that, while excessive greed played a major role in the financial crisis, something more troubling was actually happening:

‘The most fateful change that unfolded during the past three decades was not an increase in greed. It was the expansion of markets, and of market values, into spheres of life where they don't belong... We need a public debate about what it means to keep markets in their place. To have this debate, we need to think through the moral limits of markets. We need to ask whether there are some things money should not buy’ (Sandel 2012 p7)

Sandel offers an extended discussion of how, without quite realising it, without debating it, 'we drifted from **having** a market economy to **being** a market society.' (Sandel 2012 p9, author's emphasis). This obsession with market values can crowd out other more important values – for example, sympathy, generosity, thoughtfulness, and solidarity. The central argument that I present in this paper, that building a more inclusive city is now the most important task for urban leaders in the modern era, is aligned with Sandel's critique of modern society. He argues, rightly in my view, that there are moral limits to markets and that these have gone largely ignored. City leaders, defined broadly, can help to bring back moral judgement into public policy.

None of this is to suggest that markets are a bad thing and that they have no role in the creation of the inclusive city. On the contrary, the successful, inclusive city is one that has a vibrant and diverse economy. However, the point that needs to be emphasised here is that markets need to serve society, rather than the other way round. The civic leader interested in creating an inclusive city will welcome social and economic enterprises that enhance the quality of life of local residents. But they will also stand firm against those powerful economic interests – what I describe as place-less leaders - that are more than ready to exploit local people.^v

Imagining an inclusive city

Words like 'inclusion', 'inequality', 'rights', 'justice', 'nature', 'sustainability', 'resilience' and so on - are socially constructed. It follows that there can be no fixed and final definitions of what these words mean – they are contested concepts. Moreover, some of these terms will be unfamiliar in some countries - they are likely to have different meanings in different cultures, languages and contexts. Clearly, it serves a useful purpose to try to define terms with precision and, indeed, establishing clarity of meaning is essential for intelligent conversation. Nevertheless, it is critical to be sensitive to cultural variations, and I want to stress here that, in what follows, I am not trying to spell out a fixed definition of the inclusive city. Rather, I hope that the discussion here offers a **grammar** that the reader can revise and develop in the light of her or his own experience.^{vi}

For the purposes of this paper (and the argument presented in my book) my definition of the inclusive city is as follows:

'The inclusive city is governed by powerful, place-based democratic institutions. All residents are able to participate fully in society, and civic leaders strive for just results while caring for the natural environment on which we all depend.'

This is, of course, a utopian vision and I make no apology for that. Utopian thinking is often dismissed as offering idealistic and impractical proposals for social reform. But, this is to misunderstand the idea. I share the view expressed by John Friedmann, who argues that: 'If injustice is to be corrected... we will need the concrete imagery of utopian thinking to propose steps that would bring us a little closer to a more just world' (Friedmann 2002

p104).^{vii} My approach is consistent with his thinking, with Susan Fainstein's idea of 'realistic utopianism' (Fainstein 2010 p20), and also with the idea of 'visioning' as put forward by Dana Meadows and her colleagues:

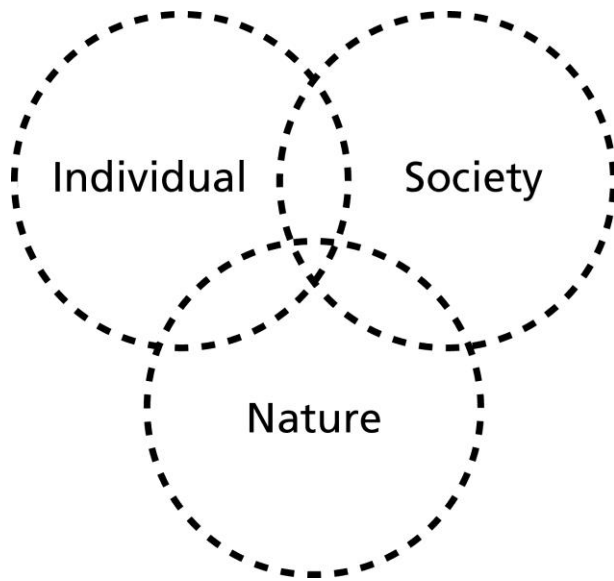
'We do not believe vision makes anything happen. Vision without action is useless. But action without vision is directionless and feeble. Vision is absolutely necessary to guide and motivate. More than that, vision, when widely shared and firmly kept in sight, does **bring into being new systems.**' (Meadows et al 2005 p 272, author's emphasis)

2) The New Civic Leadership conceptual framework

Perhaps we need some fresh vocabulary – or modified ways of thinking – that can inject new impetus into the discussion of socio-environmental futures? Firstly, how should we define leadership? My own definition draws on both the leadership literature and on my personal experience of leadership in communities, in government and in higher education in Britain and the USA: 'Leadership involves shaping emotions and behaviour to achieve common goals' (Hambleton 2007a p174).^{viii} This definition puts emotions front of stage and also emphasises the importance of leaders adopting an inclusive approach to the identification of the aims and purposes of collective endeavour.

In this section I present, in a series of steps, a new conceptual framework for thinking about civic leadership – a way of thinking that I describe as *The New Civic Leadership*. As a first step I provide a simple framework developed by Richard Rees, a British urban designer, as it helps to bridge the divide between social scientific and ecological perspectives. Rees argues that the essential elements of contemporary life – the individual, society and nature – have become separated out, and that they need to be reconnected. **Figure 1** is derived from his perspective and illustrates a simple way of framing my thinking about sustainable development.^{ix} Dotted lines are used to signal that the boundaries are porous.

Figure 1 The individual, society and nature



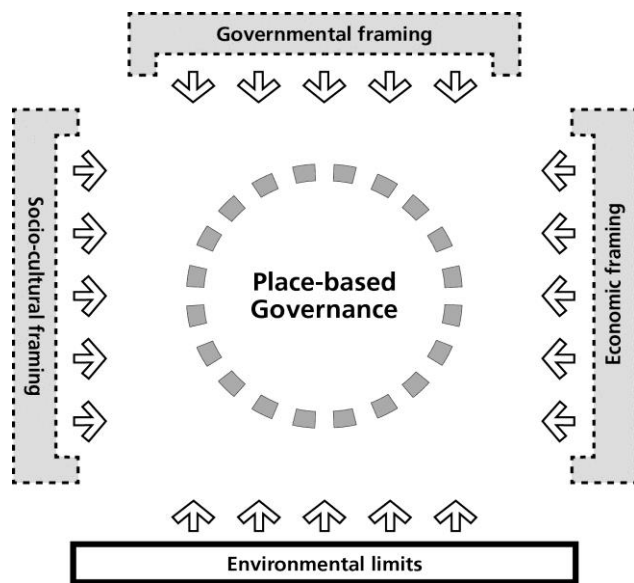
Source: Richard Rees, Urban Designer, UK.^x

Rees argues, consistent with a growing body of writers on resilient cities and communities, that city leaders, urban planners, architects, designers and others need to **embed** a fruitful co-existence with nature into urban policy and practice.^{xi} Our relationship with the natural environment should not be regarded as another policy consideration – it needs to be integral to public policy making. As Timothy Beatley (2011) observes, nature is vital to human experience and he explains how civic leaders can create what he calls ‘biophilic cities’ – that is, green cities that celebrate the wonder-expanding dimensions of nature itself. Adam Ford (2013), in his book on mindfulness and the art of urban living, extols the virtues of city gardens, allotments and green spaces in keeping us connected to plants and nature and, in passing, he refers approvingly to the guerrilla gardening movement.^{xii} The philosophical underpinnings for the approach set out in **Figure 1** – which envisages a move from anthropocentrism to eco-centrism – are well established in green political thought (Eckersley 1992). And it is a good sign that some planning theorists are starting to examine the interplay between social and ecological resilience (Wilkinson 2012).

Framing the power of place

Place-based leaders are not free agents able to do exactly as they choose. On the contrary, various powerful forces shape the context within which civic leaders operate. These forces do not disable local leadership. Rather they place limits on what urban leaders may be able to accomplish in particular places and at particular moments in time.^{xiii} **Figure 2** provides a simplified picture of the forces that shape the world of place-based governance in any given locality.

Figure 2 Framing the political space for place-based governance



Source: Author

Let's run through this figure. 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. This side of the square is drawn with a solid line because, unlike the other sides of the square, these environmental limits are non-negotiable. 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 organisations, community-based groups, citizens who vote, citizens who don't vote, children, newly arrived immigrants, anarchists and so on. The people of the 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. Some, maybe many, will claim a right to the city. 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 right hand side of the diagram are the horizontal economic forces that arise from the need for localities to compete, to some degree at least, in the wider marketplace - for inward investment and to attract talented people. Various studies have shown that, contrary to neo-liberal dogma, it is possible for civic leaders to bargain with business (Savitch and Kantor 2002). Recognising the power of economic forces, including the growth in global competition between localities, does not require civic leaders to become mere servants of private capital. For example, a detailed study of the governance of London, New York, Paris and Tokyo concluded that:

‘Global forces are not making the politics of place less important. Globalism and local governance are not mutually exclusive but are deeply entwined... important differences remain in the ways particular world city-regions are mediating international forces’ (Kantor et al 2012 p 241)

On the top of **Figure 2** 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 organisations. 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 2** simplifies a much more complex reality. This is what conceptual frameworks do. In reality the four sets of forces framing local action do not necessarily carry equal weight, and the situation in any given city is, to some extent, fluid and changing. The space available for local agency shifts over time, and a key task of local leaders is 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.

The figure 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.

Understanding the New Civic Leadership

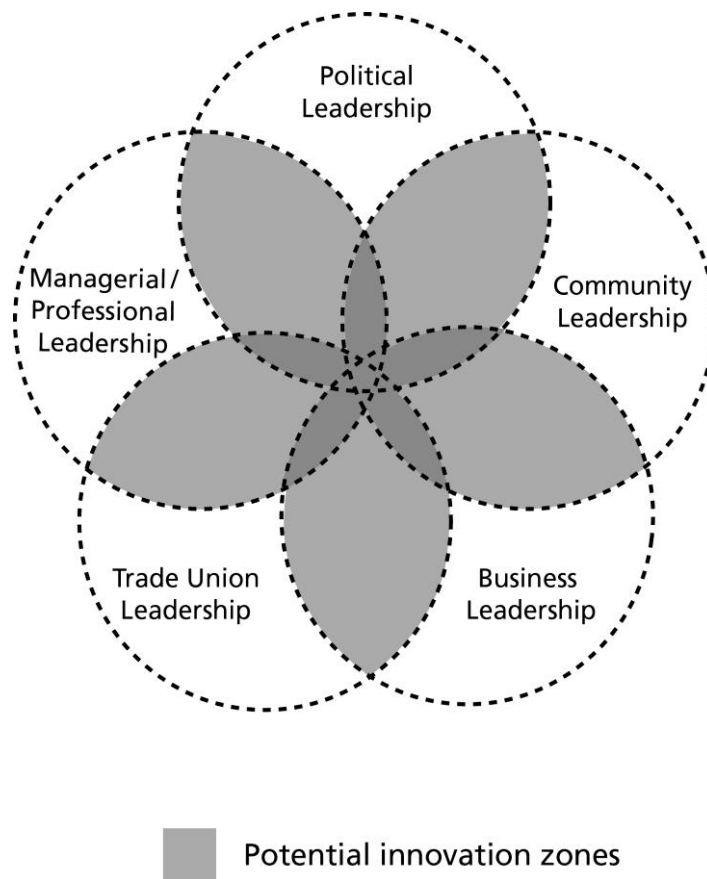
The definition of leadership put forward implies a wide range of activities aimed at generating both new insights and new ways of working together. It prizes respect for the feelings and attitudes of others as well as a strong commitment to collaboration. It is imaginative, involves risk taking and involves ‘being able to put yourself in the situation of someone else’ (Keohane 2010 p89). My approach to the study of place-based leadership is informed by this perspective, and I wish to emphasise that the feelings people have for ‘their’ place have been seriously neglected in both the leadership literature and the public service innovation literature. Following Hoggett (2009 p175) I take the view that approaches to leadership need to develop a form of ‘passionate reason’. How we feel is not a distraction from reason – on the contrary: ‘Not only are our feelings essential to our capacity for thought but they are themselves a route to reason’ (Hoggett 2009 p177). This idea of emotional engagement is central to what I call the *New Civic Leadership* (NCL).

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. It is helpful to distinguish four realms of place-based leadership reflecting different sources of legitimacy:

- **Political leadership** – referring to the work of those people elected to leadership positions by the citizenry. These are, by definition, political leaders. Thus, directly elected mayors, all elected local councillors, and Members of Parliament are political leaders. Having said that we should acknowledge that different politicians carry different roles and responsibilities and will view their political roles in different ways.
- **Managerial/professional 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.
- **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. These may be community activists, social entrepreneurs, voluntary sector leaders, religious leaders, higher education leaders and so on. The potential contribution to civic leadership of an independent and engaged voluntary and community sector is important here.
- **Business leadership** – referring to the contribution made by local business leaders, 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 in public, private and voluntary sector organisations. Elected by their members these leaders enjoy democratic legitimacy within their organisations.^{xiv}

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 inventive behaviour – see **Figure 3**. This is because **different perspectives are brought together within these zones** and this can enable active questioning of established approaches. Heterogeneity is the key to fostering innovation. Civic leadership has a critical role in creating the conditions for different people to come together – people who might not normally meet – to have a creative dialogue, and then to follow through on their ideas. I present the circles in **Figure 3** as dotted lines to emphasise the connectivity, or potential connectivity, across the realms of civic leadership.

Figure 3 The realms of place-based leadership



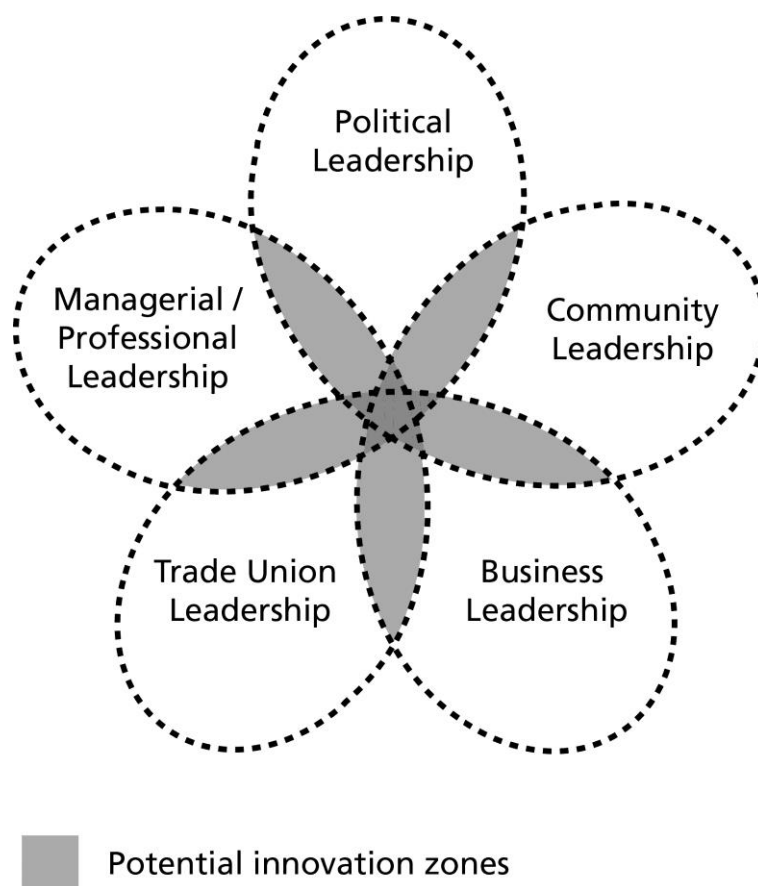
Source: Author

It can be claimed that the areas of overlap that in **Figure 3** are conflict zones, not innovation zones. It is certainly the case that these spaces often provide settings for power struggles between competing interests and values. And it is important to acknowledge that, within these settings, power is unequally distributed.

It is possible that formalized partnership settings – administrative arrangements designed to link local stakeholders together in order to further collaboration - can operate as innovation zones. But in my experience this is often not the case. Recent research on public service innovation suggests that it is the more informal, open-ended, personal interactions that matter in a creative process (Hambleton and Howard 2012; 2013). This creativity can be cultivated if leaders step out of their own 'realm' of authority and engage with the perspectives and realities of others. This means going into what one public service leader in our Anglo-Dutch research project described as one's 'ZOUND' – or Zone of Uncomfortable Debate. Here, different approaches, values and priorities collide.^{xv}

A limitation of **Figure 3** is that, while it shows clearly enough that the realms of civic leadership overlap, it gives the appearance of essentially separate fields of action. In practice the process of place-based leadership is much more dynamic than the figure implies – effective public leaders in a city are cutting across the realms of civic leadership on a day-to-day basis. **Figure 4** is a reworking of the same figure. The shape of each realm is now shown, not as a contained circle, but as a petal that is inextricably linked to the other four realms. The line outlining the realms of civic leadership is a single line. This is designed to signal **the importance of unifying the separate realms of civic leadership in a single purposive process**. This idea of unified action resonates with the notion of ‘as one’ behaviour advocated by other writers on leadership (Baghai and Quigley 2011).

Figure 4 Unifying the realms of place-based leadership



Source: Author

Wise civic leadership is critical in ensuring that the innovation zones – sometimes referred to as the ‘soft spaces’ of planning (Illsley et al 2010) or ‘space for dialogue’ (Oliver and Pitt 2013 pp 198-199) – are orchestrated in a way that promotes a culture of listening that can, in turn, lead to innovation (Kahane 2004). New ideas emerging in the field of urban planning resonate with the argument I am putting forward. For example, Balducci and Mantysalo

(2013) suggest that successful urban planning involves the creation of 'trading zones', meaning arenas within which different stakeholders exchange ideas for action without necessarily developing shared agreement on core values and motives. This notion of trading zones is close to the idea of innovation zones set out in this book.

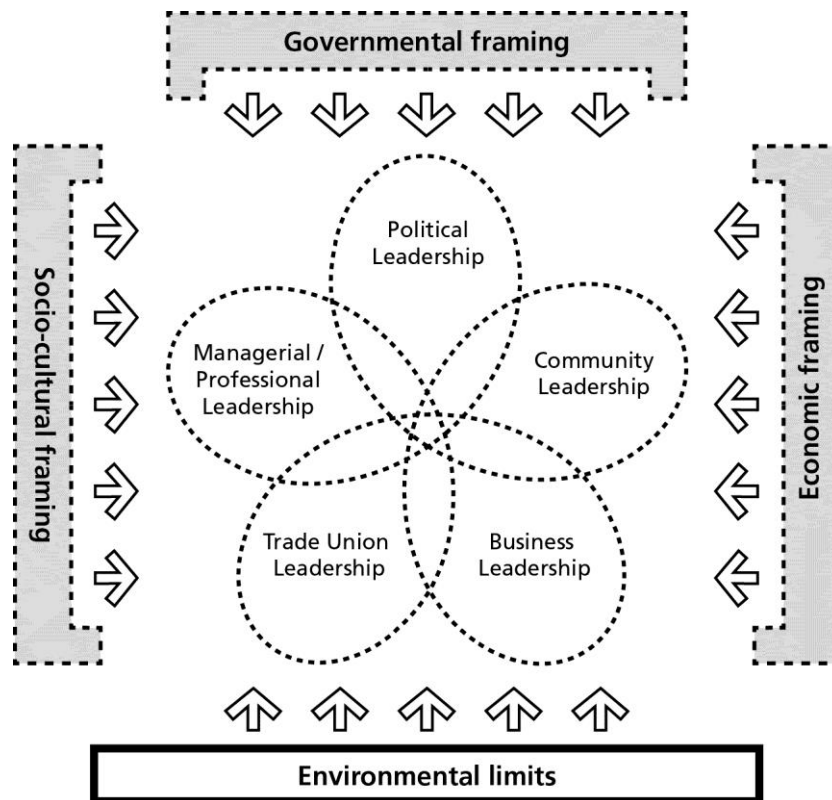
The point I wish to highlight from this discussion of innovation zones, or trading zones, is that place-based leadership can shape the quality of the exchanges that take place in these spaces. It is true that these arenas are often experienced as conflict zones – there are many clashes of values in the modern city. The role of leadership is to orchestrate a process of social discovery within these zones that is constructive and forward looking. Adam Kahane puts it this way:

'We have to bring together the people who are co-creating the current reality to co-create new realities. We have to shift from downloading and debating to reflective and generative dialogue. We have to choose an open way over a closed way' (Kahane 2004 p129)

In sum, 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. **Figure 4** simplifies a more complex reality. It is not intended to show how the dynamics of local power struggles actually unfold. The relative power of the five realms varies by locality. Moreover, the realms shift in influence over time. The interactions across the realms are also complex and, of course, there are many different interests operating within each realm. Nevertheless I believe that the notion of five different realms – with leadership stemming from different sources of legitimacy within each realm – provides a helpful way of framing discussion about civic leadership.

Earlier in this paper I explained how various forces shape the context within which place-based leadership is exercised and I set this out in diagrammatic form in **Figure 2**. Having now explained the five realms of place-based leadership it is possible to advance the presentation by locating the five realms within this broader context – see **Figure 5**.

Figure 5 Place-based leadership in context

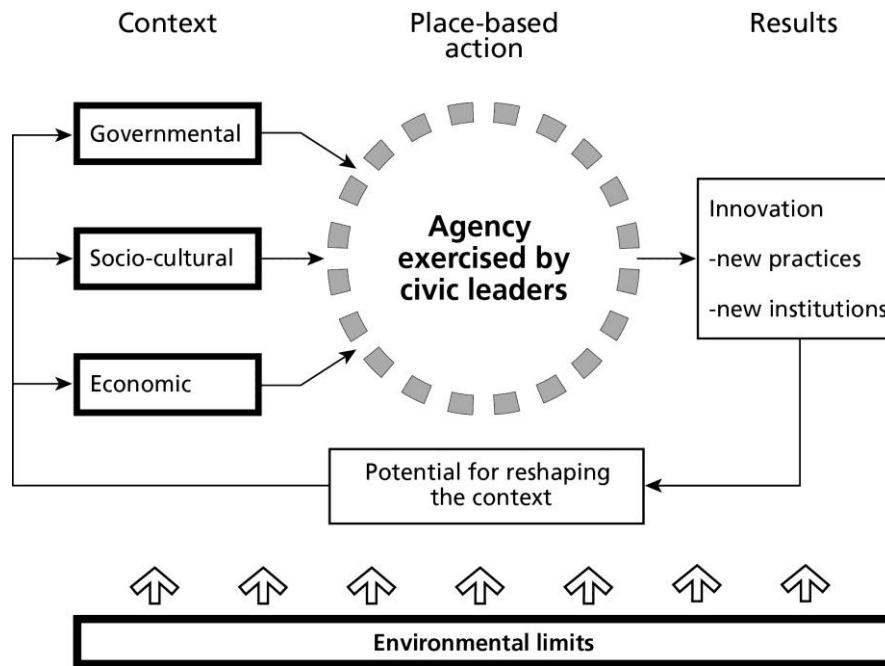


Source: Author

Skelcher et al (2013 p24) provide an interesting framework, a kind of flow chart, for the analysis of governance transitions. In their model they identify two forces shaping the agency exercised by local actors: ideational context and the institutional legacy. They argue that, aside from the imaginative agency of individuals and groups, governance change is driven by two factors – the big ideas that take hold within a community of actors (the ideational context) and the normative logics inherent in the institutions of government (the institutional legacy). An attractive feature of their model is that they show how emergent practices can, in turn, reshape the big ideas and the institutional legacy.

My own model is aligned with their approach – see **Figure 6**. The main differences are that I suggest that four forces, not two, shape the space for local action. My analysis suggests that environmental limits are critical, and I also try to bring out the tensions between the political and the economic drivers of local change, rather than collapsing them into one ideational driver. **Figure 6** has the benefit of highlighting the dynamic possibilities for place-based leadership.

Figure 6 A process model of civic leadership



Source: Author

In this section I have outlined a conceptual framework for understanding place-based leadership – or, in a phrase I am using here, the *New Civic Leadership*. In my forthcoming book this model is used to throw light on changing thinking relating to leadership, and seventeen Innovation Stories of inspirational civic leadership in different cities around the world are presented to illustrate how the model can be applied in practice (Hambleton 2015).

3) Engaged scholarship and the co-creation of Innovation Stories

Scholars and practitioners tend to reside in separate worlds. A consequence is that they often fail to communicate very well with each other to the disadvantage of both. In this section I introduce the idea of engaged scholarship, a phrase that is familiar in American higher education but one that has not yet established itself internationally. It provides an important part of the intellectual underpinning for the analysis of urban dynamics and public leadership presented in my book.

Ernest Boyer, President of The Carnegie Foundation, had a significant impact on the evolution of conceptions of scholarship in US higher education, and his insights provide a good entry point to a discussion of engaged scholarship. In his influential report, *Scholarship Reconsidered*, he concluded:

‘What we are faced with, today, is the need to clarify campus missions and relate the work of the academy more directly to the realities of contemporary life... We proceed with the conviction that if the nation’s higher learning institutions are to meet today’s urgent academic and social

mandates, their missions must be carefully redefined and the meaning of scholarship creatively reconsidered' (Boyer 1990 p13).

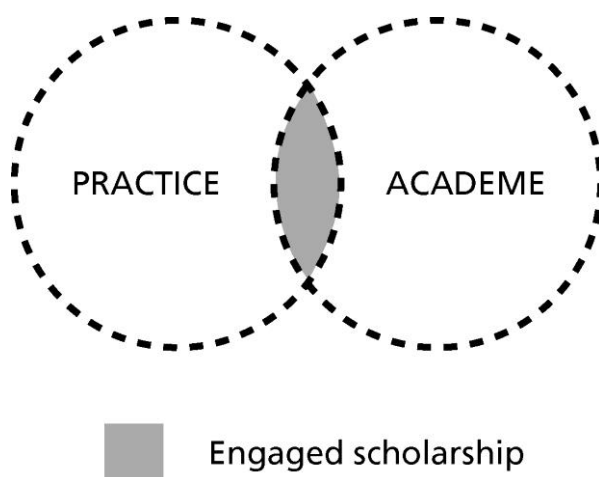
In a later article he indicated that:

'The scholarship of engagement ... means creating a special climate in which the academic and the civic cultures communicate more continuously and more creatively with each other' (Boyer 1996 p148).

For the purposes of this paper I define engaged scholarship as the co-creation of new knowledge by scholars and practitioners working together in a shared process of discovery. This approach, which resembles systemic action research, recognises that there are different ways of knowing (Burns 2007). There is a substantial body of literature on the nature of knowledge, and many typologies have been developed. One helpful distinction is that between 'explicit' knowledge (sometimes described as formal, scientific or professional knowledge) and 'tacit' knowledge (knowledge stemming from personal and social experience that cannot be codified) (McInerney and Day 2007). Engaged scholarship attempts to draw, in an intelligent way, on both categories of knowledge.^{xvi}

Figure 7 illustrates how practice and academe are brought together in engaged scholarship. Effective collaboration in the area of overlap between practice and academe requires good relationships to be constructed. In my experience this involves creating spaces in which participants can take risks, raise doubts, always knowing that their views will be respected. Adventurous explorations of this kind can only be productive if co-creators trust each other – this is easy to say, not always easy to do. As with the other figures presented above I use dotted lines in this figure to emphasise permeability.

Figure 7 Engaged scholarship



Source: Hambleton and Howard (2012) p9

In 2011 Joanna Howard and I carried out research examining place-based leadership in three cities – two in the UK and one in The Netherlands (Hambleton and Howard 2012). This research project provides an example of engaged scholarship, and it is also the source of a key concept that is used extensively in my book – the idea of an Innovation Story. The Anglo-Dutch study involved co-creating new knowledge in two senses. First, it bridged the worlds of academe and practice – researchers collaborated actively with practitioners to construct an Innovation Story documenting the leadership of public service innovation in each city. Second, the research develops new understanding by engaging in international dialogue. People from the two countries, with different experiences, shared their ideas and co-created new ways of thinking about civic leadership.

What, then, is an Innovation Story? It is a short, structured narrative describing a particular innovation. It attempts to throw light on how change was brought about and tries to draw out leadership lessons for others. This approach can be applied widely in the public, private and non-profit sectors. It provides a way of exploring the relationships between leadership and innovation – a process that, even now, is not well understood. In my book I focus on a particular kind of Innovation Story – that is, stories that advance understanding of the role of place-based leadership in spurring innovations that help to create an inclusive city.^{xvii}

In summary, an Innovation Story employs engaged scholarship and, ideally, it should have the following characteristics:

- *Short.* Busy practitioners and activists may not have the time to read lengthy case studies. An Innovation Story provides the reader with a concise summary but, by citing sources and providing web-links, it offers the reader a way of investigating further if they wish.
- *Factual and practical.* Much of the literature produced by city authorities – and place-marketing has much to answer for – is designed to promote, or sell, the city. Being economical with the truth, as some city promotion presentations are, is unhelpful. An Innovation Story needs to be based on evidence, and should produce practical knowledge that stands up to scrutiny.
- *Inspirational.* Innovation Stories are not intended to ‘prove’ that the approach presented is ‘the right’ way to lead change in the modern city. Rather a good Innovation Story enhances understanding and stimulates a creative response from those hearing the story.

In my experience, and I draw here on my work with cities in a variety of countries, change agents tend to be outward looking in their attitudes, and they are often very interested to learn about creative initiatives tried out in other places. Typical questions are: Why did they do it? What was the impact? Who benefited and in what way? How cost effective was it? These are all good questions, but the one that is most often asked is: **How** did they do it? Practitioners are **action oriented** – they seek ideas on how to bring

about change. An Innovation Story may not always be able to generate clear answers to this question but it should be suggestive. This is why I believe that the use of the word 'story' is helpful. Story telling in public policy analysis is a valuable approach to the documenting of experience that can provide inspiration as well as practical insights for public service leaders and activists (Yapp 2005).

There are, however, dangers with the story telling approach and Daniel Kahneman, in his insightful book *Thinking, Fast and Slow*, discusses two of them: the 'narrative fallacy' and the 'halo effect'.^{xviii} Narrative fallacies arise from our continuing struggle to make sense of the world:

'The explanatory stories that people find compelling are simple; are concrete rather than abstract; assign a larger role to talent... than to luck; and focus on a few striking events that happened rather than on the countless events that failed to happen' (Kahneman 2012, p199).

Kahneman argues that stories don't just simplify, they can also mislead. The halo effect can, unfortunately, boost the power of the narrative fallacy. It refers to a common bias that plays a significant role in shaping our view of people and situations. Psychological researchers have shown how 'first impressions' really do influence our judgements – in both a positive and a negative way – even to the point where we filter out good evidence, received at a later point, that contradicts our first assessment.

Kahneman, by drawing on his understanding of these mental processes, argues that the many business books about so-called successful leaders and companies consistently exaggerate the impact of leadership style and management practices on firm outcomes. To the embarrassment of the authors, who lavish praise on particular business leaders, the admired firms often do not perform that well over time. This is because luck plays a big role in business success but our minds have difficulty in accommodating this fact. The insights that Kahneman provides suggest that we should be very careful in how we interpret the meaning of any Innovation Story. The focus needs to be on what I call relevant lesson drawing, not a spurious attempt to identify best practice or heroic leadership.

4) Reflections and conclusions

In this paper I have opened up an exploration of the possibilities for strengthening place-based leadership in a rapidly globalising world. Some of my vocabulary may be unfamiliar, but I hope that the argument I am presenting can stimulate fresh thinking about how to promote the creation of inclusive cities – cities in which civic leaders, defined broadly, strive for just results while caring for the natural environment on which we all depend.

My over arching concern is that current economic and social trends are creating increasingly unequal societies, divided societies, unhappy societies, unsustainable societies. In the era of globalisation – the one that we all now live in – place-less leaders, that is, 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 power needs to be challenged, and people living in particular localities need to regain the authority to decide what happens to the quality of life in their area. To reignite the power of communities in particular places may seem a forlorn hope in an era in which multi-national companies appear to be taking over the reins of international power.

But the argument presented in my book is not a pessimistic one. The place-less power of modern capital - the power to shift investments internationally, and engage in the ruthless exploitation of peoples in different countries and places – is no longer seen as reasonable conduct by many people. Growing concerns about climate change and the rapid acceleration of unsustainable development are attracting a backlash against the neo-liberal model of economic development. The need to develop a more responsible form of capitalism now attracts international support, and there is an expanding literature on how to advance prosperity without destroying the planet (Jackson 2009; Hopkins 2011).

Societies, and international organisations like the United Nations, are seeking ideas on how to develop more sustainable futures. I have suggested that Michael Sandel (2012) has identified the root cause of many of the troubles that face us today – he shows how, in many countries, we have drifted from having a market economy into being a market society. This obsession with market values is crowding out more important values – notably thoughtfulness, solidarity, caring for others and appreciating the natural environment. It follows that new ways of responding to societal needs, ones that challenge the dominance of market-driven values, are needed.

In many ways place-based leaders – city leaders, voluntary organisations, community activists, public professionals, local business leaders – are already developing an influential role in shaping future possibilities. The paper has suggested that the following themes are critical in contributing to this agenda: place in public policy; public leadership and community activism; and innovation in public management. Building on these ideas the paper has articulated a utopian vision of an 'inclusive city' – one in which powerful, place-based democratic institutions enable all to participate, and in which just results and concern for the natural environment guide decision making, not economic growth per se. An effort has been made to refresh the discussion of sustainable development by arguing that **inclusion** should be the new watchword for urban decision-making. Many cities across the world are advancing the cause of the inclusive city, and I present seventeen Innovation Stories from innovative cities in all continents to support this claim. I have outlined a new conceptual framework – *The New Civic Leadership* – to help us understand these achievements and, in particular, to bring out the relationships between place-based leadership and public service innovation. Ideas about engaged scholarship and ways of constructing new knowledge have been outlined.

In summary, this paper introduces a way of discussing place-based leadership that aims to do more than advance thinking and understanding relating to leadership and public service innovation in a rapidly changing world. It also seeks to provide direct assistance to grassroots activists, busy policy makers and practitioners who want to promote the development of inclusive cities.

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge the important contribution made by Jo Howard to the ideas presented in this paper.

References

Baghai M. and Quigley J. (2011) *As One. Individual action, collective power.* London: Penguin

Balducci A. and Mantysalo R. (eds) (2013) *Urban Planning as a Trading Zone.* New York: Springer

Beatley T. (2011) *Biophilic Cities: Integrating nature into urban design and planning.* Washington DC: Island Press

Benton-Short L. and Short R. (2013) *Cities and Nature.* 2nd edition. London: Routledge

Berners-Lee M. and Clark D. (2013) *The Burning Question. We can't burn half the world's oil, coal and gas. So how do we quit?* London: Profile Books

Boone C. G. and Modarres A. (2006) *City and Environment.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press

Boyer E. L. (1990) *Scholarship Reconsidered. Priorities of the Professoriate.* New Jersey: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

Boyer E. L. (1996) 'The Scholarship of Engagement' *Journal of Public Service and Outreach* Vol 1, No 1 pp11-20

Brenner N., Marcuse P. and Mayer M. (eds) (2012) *Cities for people, not for profit. Critical urban theory and the right to the city.* Abingdon: Routledge

Bridge G. and Watson S. (eds) (2011) *The New Blackwell Companion to the City.* Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell

Bulkeley H. (2013) *Cities and Climate Change.* Abingdon: Routledge

Campbell T. (2012) *Beyond Smart Cities. How cities network, learn and innovate.* London: Earthscan

- Chang H. (2010) *23 Things They Don't Tell You about Capitalism*. London: Penguin
- Cooper D. (1976) *The Grammar of Living*. Harmondsworth: Penguin
- Dannenberg A. L., Frumkin H. and Jackson R. J. (eds) (2011) *Making Healthy Places*. Washington, DC: Island Press
- Davies J. S. and Imbroscio D. L. (eds) (2010) *Critical Urban Studies. New Directions*. Albany: State University of New York Press
- Davis M. (2006) *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso
- De Blij H. (2009) *The Power of Place. Geography, Destiny and Globalisation's Rough Landscape*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Dorling D. (2011) *Injustice. Why social inequality persists*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Droege P. (2006) *The Renewable City*. Chichester: Wiley
- Eckersley R. (1992) *Environmentalism and Political Theory. Toward an ecocentric approach*. London: UCL Press
- Elkington J. (1997) *Cannibals with Forks. The triple bottom line of 21st Century business*. Oxford: Capstone Publishing Limited
- Eversole R. (2012) 'Remaking participation: challenges for community development practice', *Community Development Journal*, Vol 47, No 1, pp 29-41
- Fainstein S. S. (2010) *The Just City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press
- Ferman B. (1985) *Governing the Ungovernable City. Political skill, leadership and the modern mayor*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press
- Flanagan R. M. (2004) *Mayors and the Challenges of Urban Leadership*. Lanham MD: University Press of America
- Flint J. and Raco M. (eds) (2012) *The future of sustainable cities. Critical reflections*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Ford A. (2013) *Mindfulness and the Art of Urban Living. Discovering the good life in the city*. Lewes: Leaping Hare Press
- Friedmann J. (2000) 'The Good City: In defence of utopian thinking', *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol 24, No 2, pp 460-472

- Friedmann J. (2002) *The Prospect of Cities*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Gehl J. (2010) *Cities for People*. Washington, DC: Island Press
- Giddens A. (2009) *The Politics of Climate Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Girardet H. (2008) *Cities, People, Planet. Urban Development and Climate Change*. Second Edition. Chichester: John Wiley
- Glaeser E. (2011) *Triumph of the City*. New York: The Penguin Press
- Grint K. (2005) *Leadership: Limits and Possibilities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Hambleton R. (2007) 'New leadership for democratic urban space' pp163-176 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
- Hambleton R. (2009) 'Civic Leadership for Auckland. An International Perspective' pp 515-552 in *Royal Commission on Auckland Governance*. Vol 4, Part 11
- Hambleton R. (2015) *Leading the Inclusive City. Place-based innovation for a bounded planet*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Hambleton R. and Howard J. (2012) *Public Sector Innovation and Local Leadership in the UK and the Netherlands*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation
- Hambleton R., Howard J., Buser M. and Taylor M. (2009) *International Insights on Civic Leadership and Public Service Innovation*. Report for the Local Authority Research Council Initiative (LARCI). Swindon: LARCI
- Hamnett C. (2003) *Unequal City: London in the global arena*. London: Routledge
- Hirschman A. O. (1970) *Exit, Voice and Loyalty*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Hoggett P. (2009) *Politics, Emotion and Identity*. Boulder, CO; Paradigm
- Hopkins R. (2011) *The Transition Companion. Making your community more resilient in uncertain times*. Totnes: Green Books
- Iveson K. and Fincher R. (2011) "'Just diversity" in the city of difference' pp 407- 418 in Bridge G. and Watson S. (eds) (2011) *The New Blackwell Companion to The City*. Chichester: Blackwell

- Jackson T. (2009) *Prosperity without Growth. Economics for a Finite Planet*. London: Earthscan
- Kahane A. (2004) *Solving Tough Problems. An open way of talking, listening and creating new realities*. San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers
- Kahneman D. (2012) *Thinking, Fast and Slow*. Penguin: London
- Keohane N. O. (2010) *Thinking about leadership*. Princeton, NJ; Princeton University Press
- Kantor P., Lefevre C., Saito A., Savitch H. V. and Thornley A. (2013) *Struggling Giants. City-region governance in London, New York, Paris and Tokyo*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press
- Lansley S. (2012) *The Cost of Inequality. Why equality is essential for recovery*. London: Gibson Square
- Lewis M. and Conaty P. (2012) *The Resilience Imperative. Cooperative transitions to a steady-state economy*. Canada: New Society Publishers
- McInerney C. R. and Day R. E. (2007) *Rethinking Knowledge Management*. New York: Springer
- Meadows D., Randers J., and Meadows D. (2005) *Limits to Growth. The 30-Year Update*. London: Earthscan
- Miliband E. (2011) *Speech to the Labour Party Conference*. 27 September
- Monaghan P. (2012) *How Local Resilience Creates Sustainable Societies. Hard to make, hard to break*. Abingdon: Routledge
- Newman P., Beatley T. and Boyer H. (2009) *Resilient Cities. Responding to Peak Oil and Climate Change*. Washington DC: Island Press
- Newman P. and Jennings I. (2008) *Cities as Sustainable Ecosystems. Principles and Practices*. Washington DC: Island Press
- Nightingale C. H. (2012) *Segregation. A Global History of Divided Cities*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Oliver B. and Pitt B. (2013) *Engaging Communities and Service Users. Context, themes and methods*. Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2008) *Growing Unequal: Income Distribution and Poverty in OECD Countries*. Paris: OECD
- Piketty T. (2014) *Capital in the Twenty-First Century*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University

- Rosenzweig P. (2007) *The Halo Effect*. New York: Simon and Schuster
- Sandel M. (2012) *What Money Can't Buy. The Moral Limits of Markets*. London: Allen Lane
- Sandercock L. (1998) *Towards Cosmopolis. Planning for Multicultural Cities*. Chichester: John Wiley
- Sandercock L. (2003) *Cosmopolis II. Mongrel Cities of the 21st Century*. London: Continuum
- Sassen S. (2001) *The Global City. New York, London, Tokyo*. Second Edition. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- Savitch H. V. and Kantor P. (2002) *Cities in the International Marketplace. The political economy of urban development in North America and Western Europe*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press
- Skelcher C., Sullivan H. and Jeffares S. (2013) *Hybrid Governance in European Cities. Neighbourhood, migration and democracy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave
- Stiglitz J. (2012) *The Price of Inequality: How today's divided society endangers our future*. New York: W. W. Norton and Company
- Taleb N. N. (2007) *The Black Swan: The impact of the highly improbable*. New York: Random House
- Tett G. (2009) *Fool's Gold: How unrestrained greed corrupted a dream, shattered global markets and unleashed a catastrophe*. London: Little Brown
- Theodore N., Peck J. and Brenner N. (2011) 'Neoliberal Urbanism: Cities and the Rule of Markets' pp 15-25 in Bridge G. and Watson S. (eds) *The New Blackwell Companion to The City*. Chichester: Blackwell
- UN-DESA (Department of Economic and Social Affairs) (2012) *World Urbanisation Prospects: The 2011 Revision*. New York: United Nations
- UN-Habitat (Human Settlements Programme) (2010) *State of the World's Cities 2010/2011 – Cities for All: Bridging the Urban Divide*. London: Earthscan
- UN-Habitat (Human Settlements Programme) (2011) *Cities and Climate Change: Global Report on Human Settlements 2011*. London: Earthscan.
- UN-Habitat (Human Settlements Programme) (2012) *State of the World's Cities 2012/13: Prosperity of Cities*. World Urban Forum Edition. Nairobi: United Nations

Wilkinson C. (2012) 'Social-ecological resilience: Insights and issues for planning theory' *Planning Theory*, Vol 11, No 2, pp 148-169

Wilkinson R. and Pickett K. (2010) *The Spirit Level. Why Equality is Better for Everyone*. London: Penguin

Yapp C. (2005) 'Innovation, futures thinking and leadership', *Public Money and Management*, Vol 25, No 1, pp 57-60

Young I. S. (2000) *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Endnotes

ⁱ The following texts provide useful overviews of the challenges now facing cities: Benton-Short and Short 2008; Boone and Modarres 2006; Bridge and Watson 2011; Dannenberg et al 2011; Davies and Imbroscio 2010; De Blij 2009; Fainstein 2010; Friedmann 2002; Gehl 2010; Girardet 2008; Nightingale 2012; UN DESA 2012; and UN-Habitat 2010; 2011; and 2012.

ⁱⁱ The evidence to support the argument that cities and societies are becoming more unequal is substantial. See, for example: Davis 2006; Dorling 2011; Hamnett 2003; Nightingale 2012; OECD 2008; Sassen 2001; and Wilkinson and Pickett 2010.

ⁱⁱⁱ Numerous other scholars have contributed to the discussion of social equity in cities. See, for example: Brenner et al 2012; Friedmann 2002; Iveson and Fincher 2011; Nightingale 2012; Sandercock 1998 and 2003; and Young 2000.

^{iv} In this paper I am introducing themes relating to the leadership of localities. The arguments apply to rural and semi-urban areas as well as cities. At times the phrases 'urban leadership', 'city leadership', 'civic leadership' and 'local leadership' are used to refer to the same idea – they are all versions of 'place-based leadership'.

^v In his speech to the Labour Party Annual Conference in 2011 Ed Miliband, the Leader of the UK Labour Party, made a similar distinction between different kinds of business. He argued that the main political choice today is not between parties who are pro-business or anti-business – all parties must be pro-business. He suggested that the real choice now facing citizens is: 'Are you on the side of the wealth creators or the asset strippers? The producers or the predators? Producers train, invest, invent, sell.... Predators are just interested in the fast buck, taking what they can out of the business.... We must learn the lesson that growth is built on sand if it comes from our predators and not our producers' (Miliband 2011). In the period since this speech was made the leaders of other UK political parties have developed similar rhetoric, often referring to the need for a more responsible form of capitalism.

^{vi} I draw this idea of developing a grammar, or series of grammars, from Cooper (1976). His presentation invites the reader to break the 'rules' and invent new possibilities.

^{vii} This position also gains support from Anthony Giddens who suggests that policy relating to climate change should be seasoned with a dash of utopian thinking: 'Why? Because however it happens, we are moving our way towards a form of society that essentially will be quite different from the one in which we live today' (Giddens 2009 p13). See also Friedmann (2000).

^{viii} I recognise that leadership is a contested concept. Discussion of the nature of leaders and leadership should always take account of historical processes and the social context.

Nevertheless there is, for the purposes of this book, virtue in a ten-word definition because it provides a reasonable degree of clarity about how I am using this slippery term.

^{ix} This framework departs from the familiar presentation of sustainable development in the literature and in policy circles. The established model of sustainable development also comprises three overlapping spheres – but these are usually labelled as environmental, economic and social. Policy prescriptions stemming from this conceptualisation often advocate thinking in terms of ‘a triple bottom line’ – achieving economic prosperity, environmental quality and social justice (Elkington 1997). But, as examined in more detail in my book, while many companies and governments may espouse these principles actual performance in implementing the principles often leaves a lot to be desired.

^x Richard Rees and I spoke at a conference on *Places in Transition* in London on 21 January 2010 organised by the UK Resource for Urban Design Information (RUDI). I draw here, with his permission, on his presentation titled *Re-thinking places: The individual, society and nature in city design*.

^{xi} Spurred on by concerns about climate change, the wasteful consumption of vast quantities of fossil fuels, fears about food and water shortages, and in recognition of the need to develop renewable energy strategies and a steady state economy, the literature on urban resilience is expanding. A number of useful texts are now available – see, for example, Berners-Lee and Clark (2013); Bulkeley 2013; Droege (2006), Flint and Raco (2012), Hopkins (2011), Jackson (2009), Lewis and Conaty (2012), Monaghan (2012) and Newman et al (2009). For overviews of the city as an eco-system see Girardet (2008) and Newman and Jennings (2008).

^{xii} Ford (2013 pp48-49) explains how guerrilla gardening is an umbrella term covering a range of activities – from individuals and small groups, who make seed bombs or plant flowers and herbs in small public patches of earth, through to highly motivated groups who illicitly adopt abandoned or neglected land and cultivate it for the benefit of all.

^{xiii} Research on the performance of US city mayors lends support to this claim. For example, Ferman (1985 p197) shows how ‘...leadership strategies must be examined in the context in which they are executed’. And Flanagan (2004), in the light of his examination of the performance of nine American city mayors, highlights how timing is critical – the political space available to civic leaders, the relationship between structural forces and the power of agency, varies over time.

^{xiv} The idea of realms of civic leadership was first developed in work the author carried out on leadership for the Royal Commission on Auckland Governance (Hambleton 2009). These ideas were further developed in a scoping report for the Local Authority Research Council Initiative (LARCI) (Hambleton et al 2009); and in a report the author co-authored with Jo Howard for the Joseph Rowntree Foundation (Hambleton and Howard 2012).

^{xv} I am grateful to Katherine Rossiter, then Managing Director of the Society of Local Authority Chief Executives and Senior Managers (SOLACE), for this insight, provided at an Anglo-Dutch Workshop on Place-based Leadership that Jo Howard and I co-organised on 9 November 2011. SOLACE would like to acknowledge the source of this concept as The Cranfield School of Management. For further information and to read Dr Catherine Bailey’s discussion of the ‘ZOUND’, go to: <http://www.som.cranfield.ac.uk/som/dinamic-content/media/knowledgeinterchange/topics/20110404/Article.pdf>

^{xvi} A parallel can be drawn with community development practice. Participatory approaches often encounter friction around the question: Whose knowledge counts? Eversole (2012) discusses how to blend ‘expert’ knowledge with ‘indigenous knowledge’ in community development practice.

^{xvii} The Anglo-Dutch study develops three Innovation Stories and each story is presented under the following headings: 1) Introduction and overview, 2) Aims and objectives, 3) Urban

governance context, 4) Unfolding the Innovation Story, 5) Understanding the impact of the innovation, and 6) Explaining the role of leadership in the innovation (Hambleton and Howard 2012). In my book I use a less elaborate framework.

^{xviii} Kahneman explains that Taleb (2007) developed the 'narrative fallacy'; and that the 'halo effect' was presented in a book by Rosenzweig (2007).