

The Brookings Institution

Metropolitan Policy Program
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Local and Metropolitan Governance: Lessons from the U.S.

April 3, 2006



U.S. Local and Metro Governance

I

What are the main forms of city governance in the U.S.?

II

What is the current fiscal condition of U.S. cities?

III

What are the existing and emerging forms of metropolitan governance in the U.S.?


IV

What are the takeaway lessons for the UK?




I

What are the main forms of city governance in the U.S.?



Mayor-Council
("Strong mayor")



Council-Manager
("Weak mayor" or no mayor)



Commission



Town Meeting

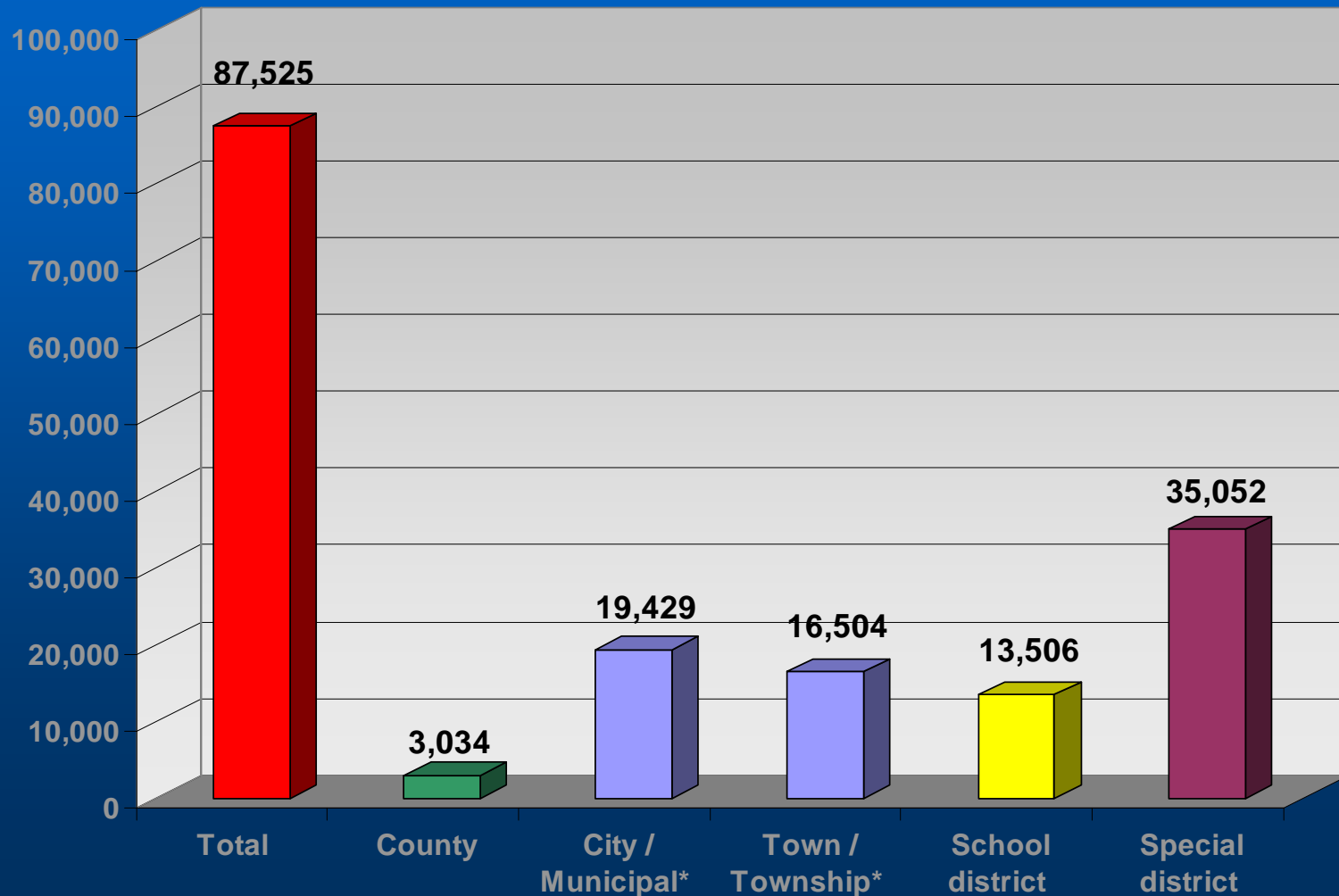


Local governments in the U.S. abound

Total number
of U.S. local
governments
by type, 2002

Source:
National League of
Cities; U.S. Census
Bureau, 2002 Census
of Governments

* Note: These two
categories vary in
meaning from state to
state. In some states,
the practical differences
between townships and
municipalities are trivial





States control the options available to cities

- ➔ Local governments are creations of individual states; the U.S. Constitution doesn't mention them
- ➔ Cities are typically created by state charter with express powers that vary from state to state. "Home rule" states give cities more power, while "Dillon's rule" states delegate less
- ➔ Justice Dillon, 1868:
Local governments are "mere tenants at the will of their respective state legislatures" and can be "eliminated by the legislature with a stroke of the pen"



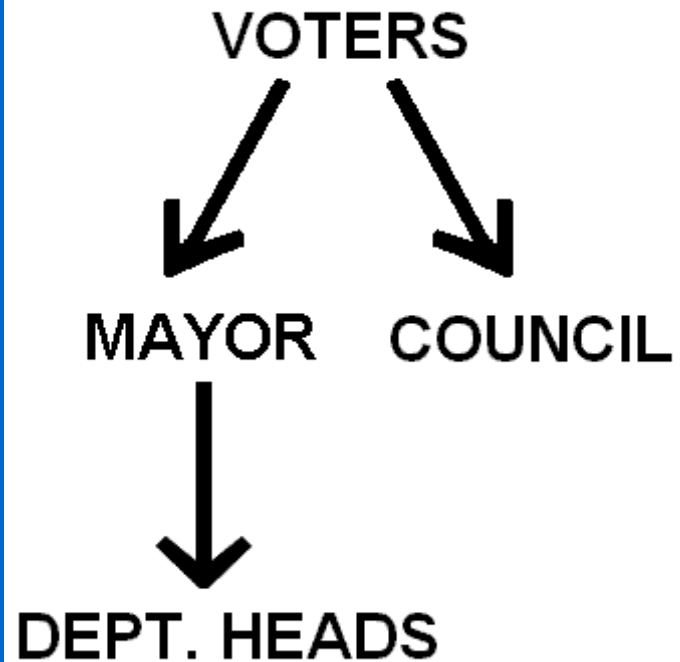
What's in a name?

Mayor	the “head of state” of a city, either elected or appointed, who possesses variable levels of power depending on the system of government
City Manager	a professional public servant hired by a council or mayor to administer the provision of local services
Council	the legislature of a city. Its members may be called councilmen, aldermen, selectmen, freeholders, trustees, or commissioners
Municipality	a local government corporation (city, town, or village) representing a distinct jurisdiction within a state



Mayor-Council Form (“Strong mayor”)

- ➔ Resembles U.S. federal government with separately elected executive and legislative branches
- ➔ Mayor is head of city government. He/she is directly elected and usually full-time and paid
- ➔ The elected council serves a legislative function and is usually small (5 to 9 members)





What does the mayor do?

Formal powers

- ➔ Direct the provision of local services, e.g. police, fire, solid waste collection, parks and recreation, libraries, youth and elderly support, and (in some cities) schools
- ➔ Oversee the administration of programs financed by state and federal governments, e.g. affordable housing, workforce development, homeland security, and community development
- ➔ Serve as chief economic development tsars of city with influence over local zoning, planning, and land use
- ➔ Hire, fire, supervise, and direct city staff



What does the mayor do?

Informal powers

- ➔ Set broader competitive vision for city, and develop policy agenda to achieve that vision
- ➔ Build partnerships and political consensus across disparate constituencies to move the agenda forward
- ➔ Advocate for necessary federal and state support
- ➔ Serve as the city's symbolic leader and representative

The mayor-council is found predominantly in large and medium-sized cities in the Midwest and Mid-Atlantic regions



Boston, Massachusetts



Philadelphia, Pennsylvania



Detroit, Michigan



Chicago, Illinois



Washington, DC



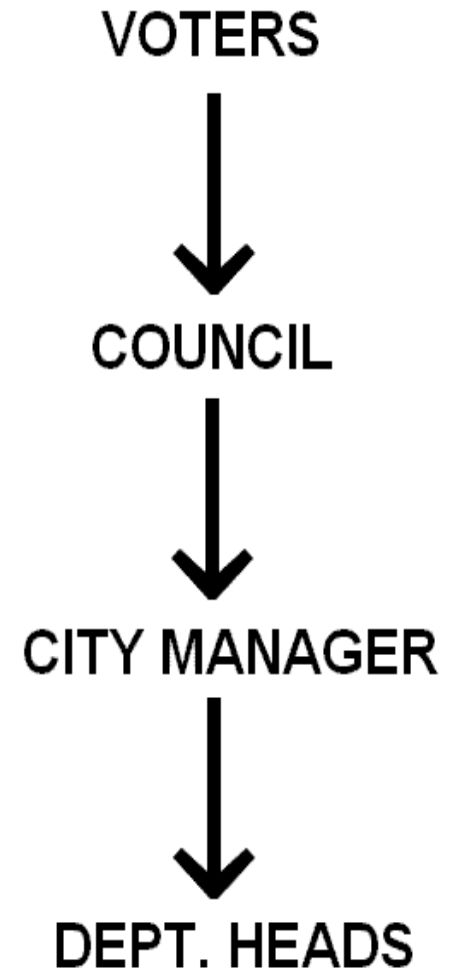
Council-Manager Form

Resembles typical corporate structure, with voters (shareholders) electing a council (board), who in turn selects a manager (CEO)

All power resides with the elected council, which hires a professionally trained city manager to oversee the administration of public services

The city manager carries out the council's policy. He/she hires and supervises city staff, oversees budget preparations, and serves as the council's chief advisor

The city manager serves at the pleasure of the council and can be terminated at any time





Is there a mayor in the council-manager form?

...Sometimes.

In some systems, a mayor is selected by the council from among its membership...

...Whereas in others, a mayor is directly elected by the people



What does the mayor do?

The mayor – where one exists – usually has no independent executive authority. However, he often has substantial informal convening and agenda-setting power

- ➔ Presides at council meetings and ceremonial events
- ➔ Serves as spokesperson for the community
- ➔ Facilitates cooperation between elected and appointed officials
- ➔ Represents the city in intergovernmental relations
- ➔ Uses influence to innovate policy and galvanize constituencies

The council-manager form is found predominantly in the Southeast, Southwest, and along the Pacific coast



Austin, Texas



San Diego, California



San Jose, California



Las Vegas, Nevada



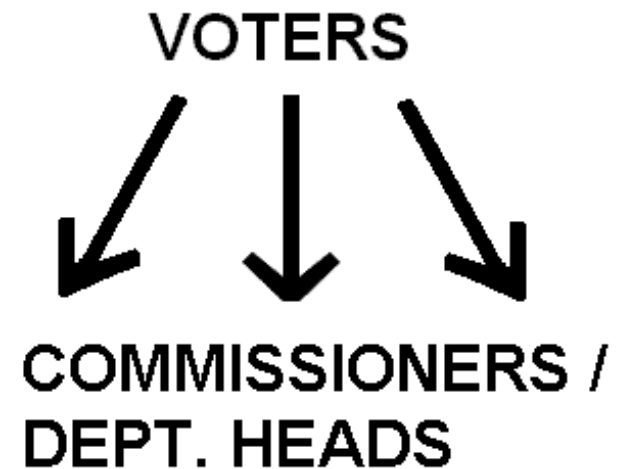
Commission

Characterized by an elected governing board of 3 to 5 members with both executive and legislative powers

Members of the board, called “commissioners,” each take responsibility for overseeing one major function of local government

Some other local officials – including sheriffs, treasurers, and clerks – are usually popularly elected

Elected mayors with limited powers also sometimes exist





The “pure” commission form is dying out...

...But two major cities – Portland, OR and Miami, FL – use a modified mayor-city commissioner model



Portland, Oregon



Miami, Florida

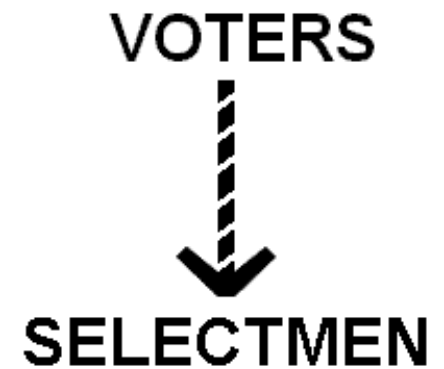


Town Meeting (or Representative Town Meeting)

→ All qualified voters gather periodically (usually 1-2 times a year) to make policy decisions, and then elect a board of selectmen to implement those decisions

→ In some towns, a manager or mayor is appointed to carry out administrative operations

→ In the “representative town meeting” form, the general electorate selects a sub-group of citizens to represent them in voting on policy



The town meeting is the purest form of democracy

➔ The town meeting (or representative town meeting) is predominantly found in New England

➔ Examples:

Bowdoin, Maine

Lexington, Massachusetts



"Town Meeting"
by Norman Rockwell



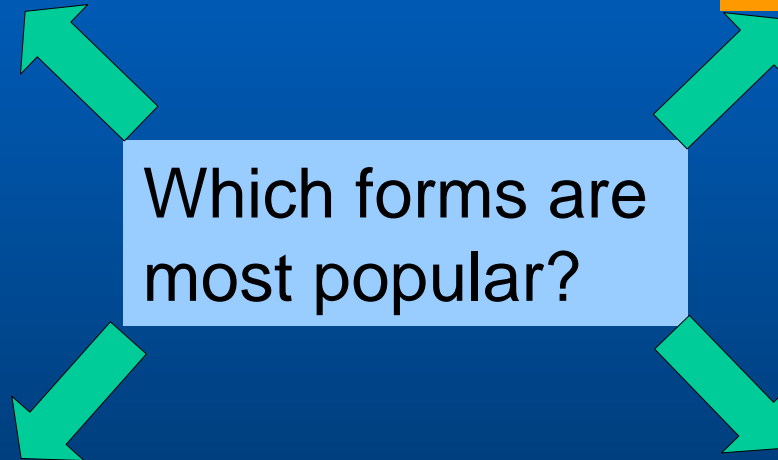
Mayor-Council
(Strong mayor)

Council-Manager
(Weak mayor
or no mayor)

Which forms are
most popular?

Commission

Town Meeting

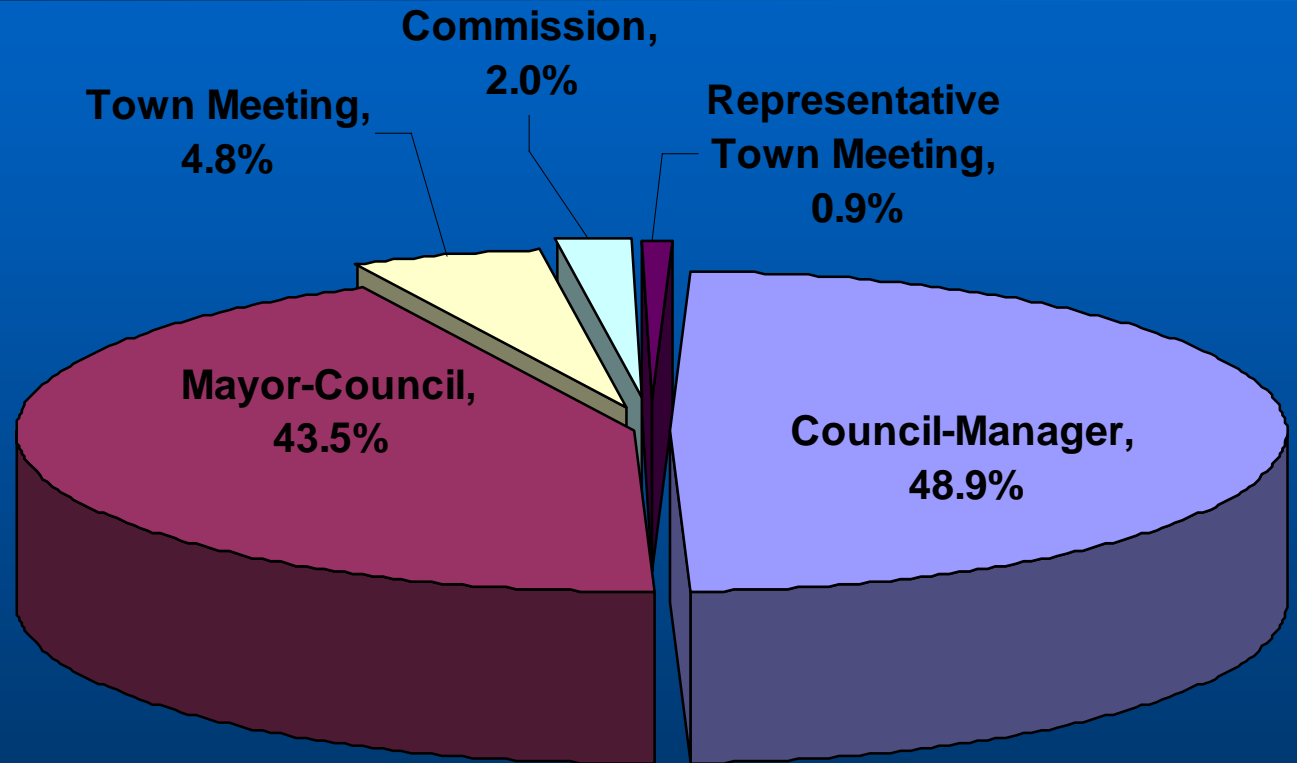




Altogether, less than half of American cities of over 2,500 people use the **mayor-council** (strong mayor) form...

Forms of government among American cities with >2,500 people

Source:
The Municipal Year Book 2005,
International City/County Management Association (ICMA)



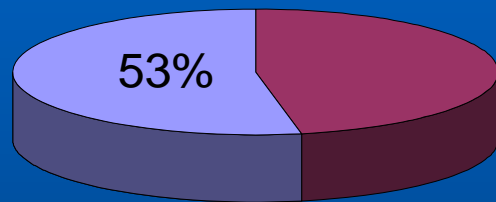
...Although even weak mayors in **council-manager** systems have considerable informal authority



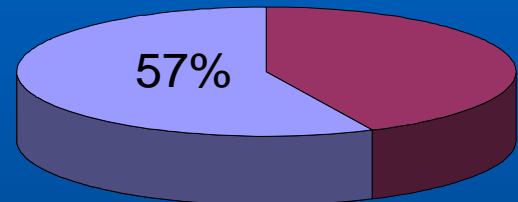
The likelihood of living under a **council-manager** (weak mayor) government actually increases with city size

U.S. population living under the council-manager form of government, 2005

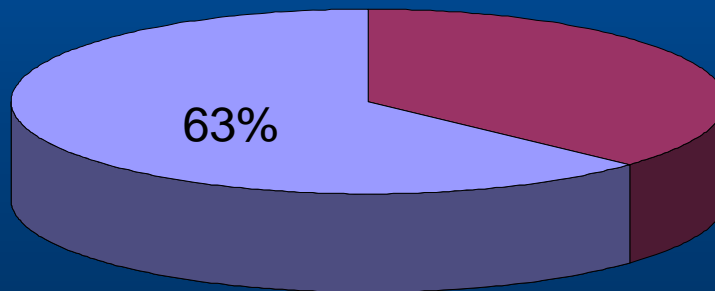
Source:
The Municipal
Year Book 2005,
International
City/County
Management
Association
(ICMA)



Cities over
5,000 people



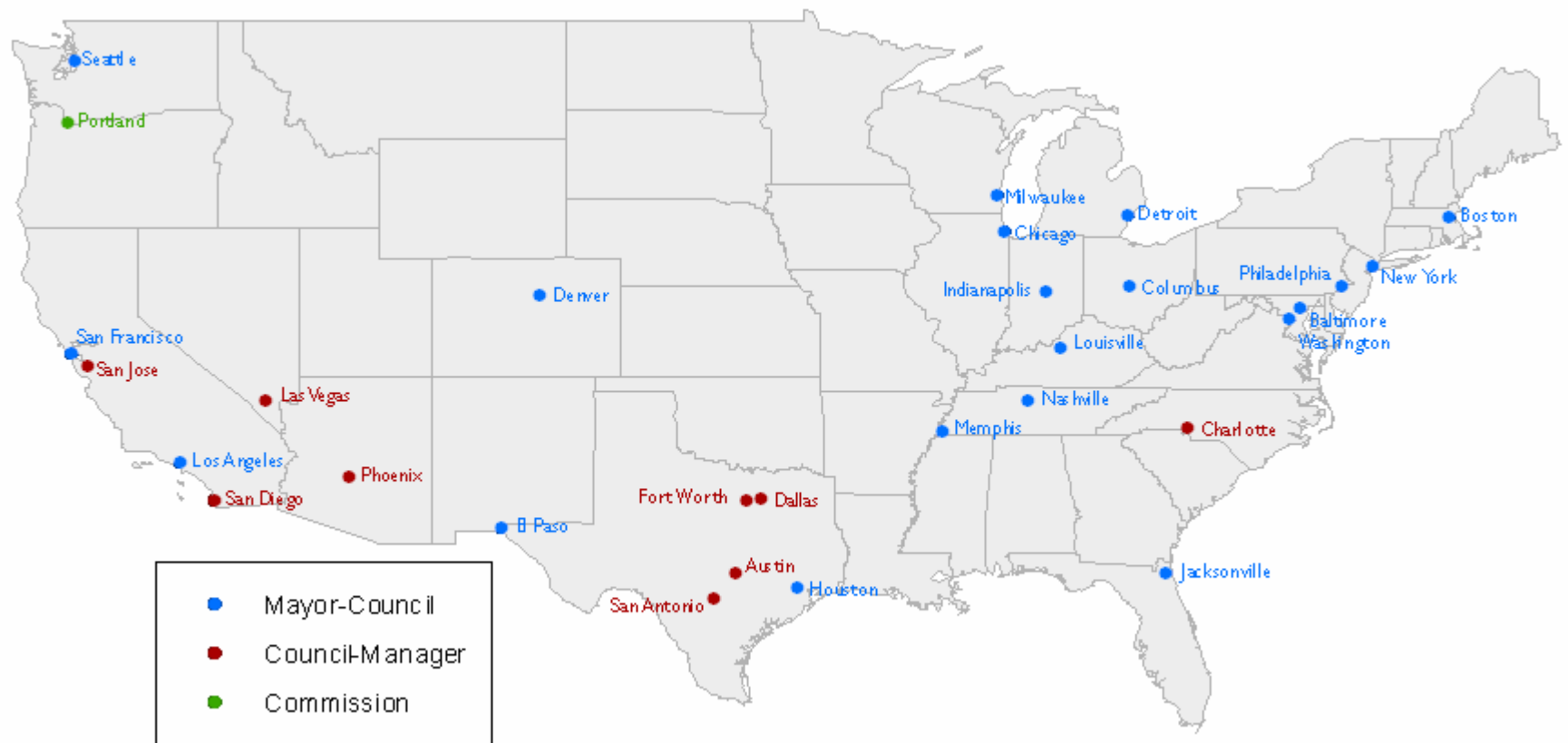
Cities over
10,000 people



Cities over
25,000 people



However, 20 of the nation's 30 largest cities use the **mayor-council** (strong mayor) form of government...





...Including the nation's five largest cities



Michael Bloomberg,
New York



Antonio Villaraigosa,
Los Angeles



Richard M. Daley,
Chicago



Bill White,
Houston

John Street,
Philadelphia





Charter reform processes continue to innovate a multiplicity of variants...

Mayor-council systems are adopting features to improve management and administration, such as hiring professional, nonpartisan CAOs who perform city manager-like tasks.

Council-manager systems are adopting features to increase responsiveness and political leadership, such as providing for an empowered mayor.

...Such that the basic categories are beginning to lose their meaning

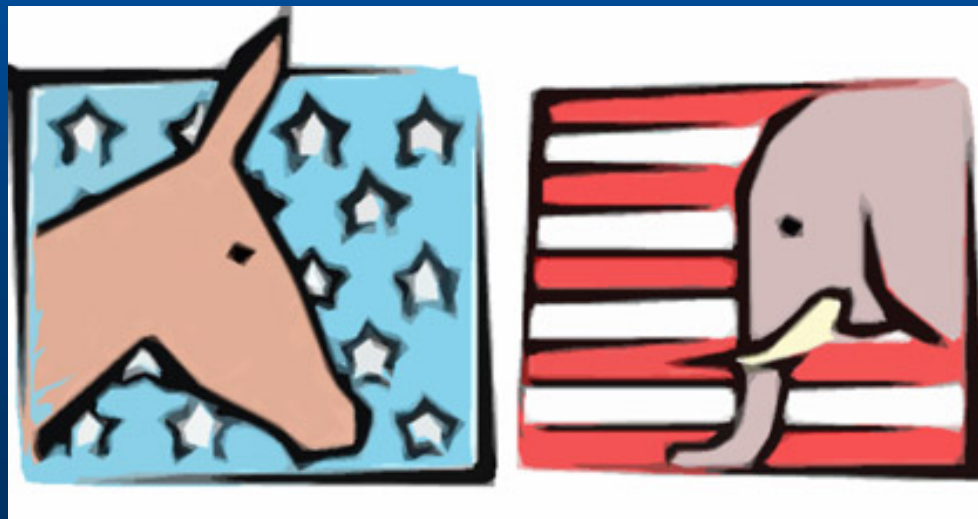
Source: DeSantis and Renner (2002)



Most cities have non-partisan elections

23% of cities have partisan elections for mayors and council members

77% of cities have non-partisan elections



Source:
National League
of Cities, 2001
survey



Cities also vary on their geographical basis of representation

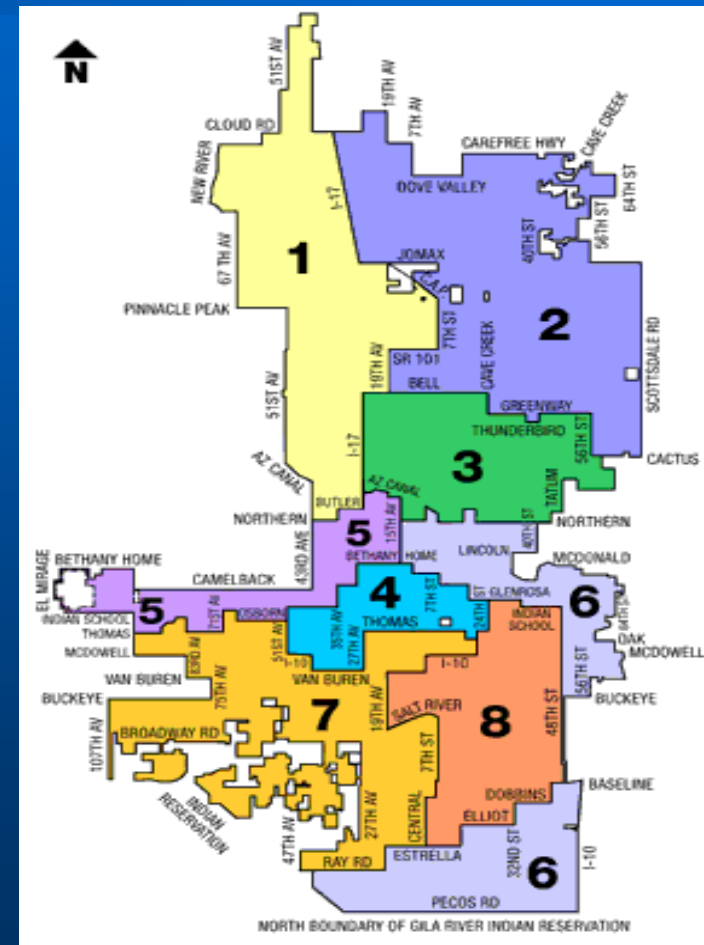
DISTRICT SYSTEMS

Council members stand for election from a particular ward to represent the voters within that ward

AT-LARGE SYSTEMS

Council members do not represent a specific district, but rather the city as a whole

...And mixed systems combine elements of both



Phoenix, Arizona



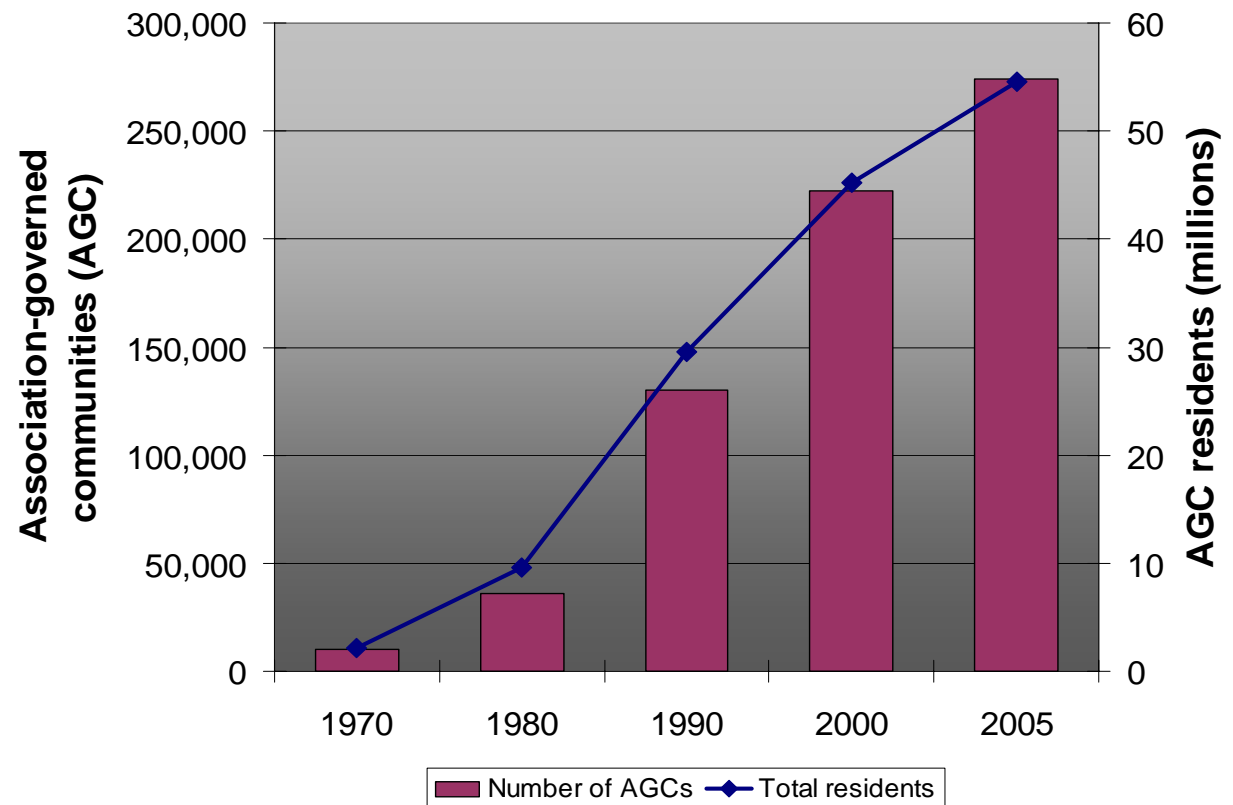
The story of U.S. local governance is also complicated by a steep rise in the size and powers of **private governments**



The number of residential “association-governed communities” is fast increasing, and more than 1/6 of Americans now live in an AGC

Number of association-governed communities (AGCs) and total residents, 1970-2005

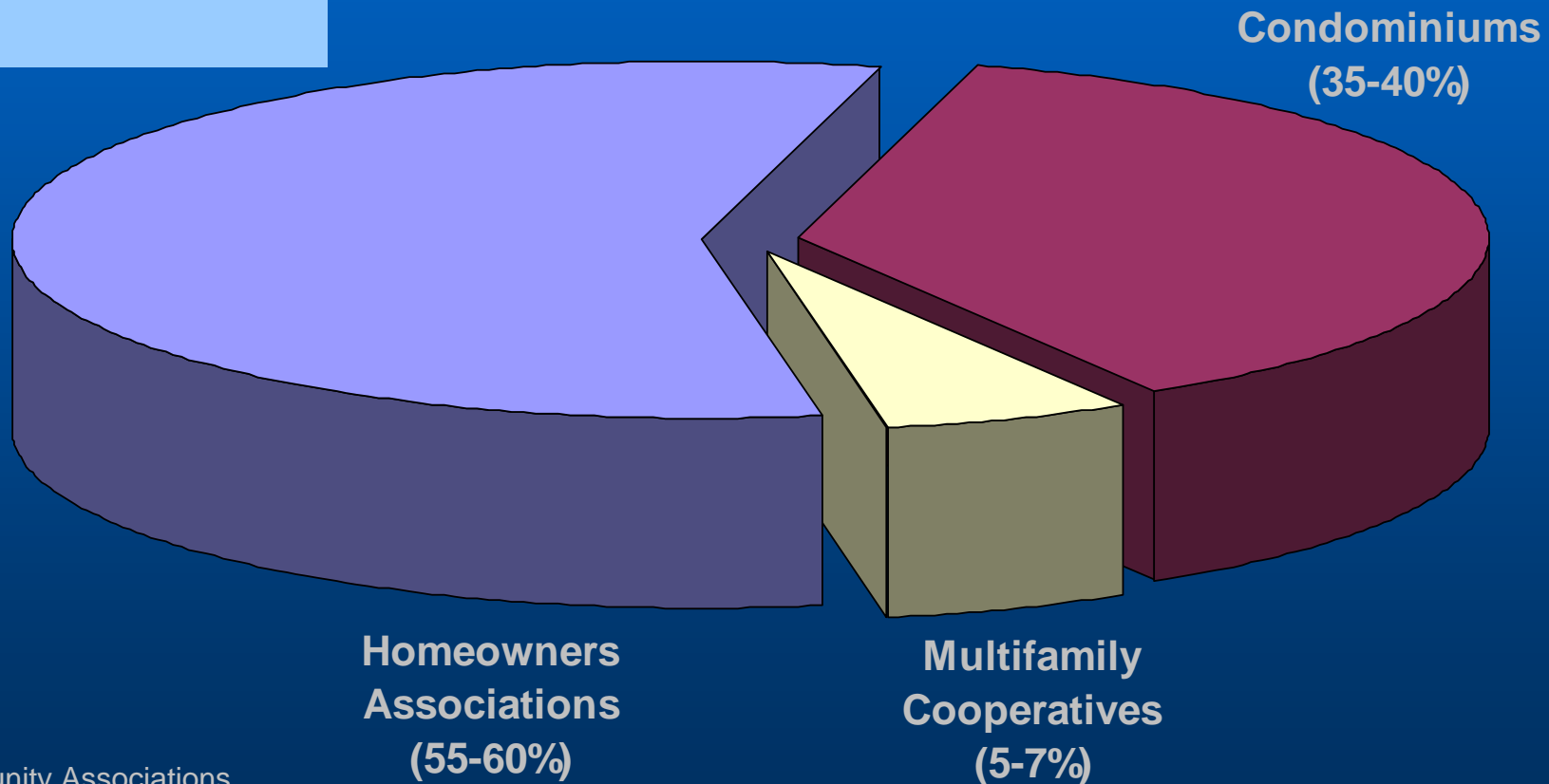
Source:
Community Associations
Institute, 2006





Most association-governed communities are homeowner associations, although AGCs also include condos and co-ops

Type of association-governed community as share of total, 2005



Source: Community Associations Institute, 2006



Homeowners associations (HOAs) are a kind of exclusive, neighborhood-level government...



Within a “common-interest development,” where some facilities are jointly owned by all residents, HOAs exist to administer and maintain shared spaces

Decision-making is usually carried out by an elected board of volunteers, who in turn hire staff to provide certain desired services

HOAs are particularly prevalent in fast-growing Sunbelt states (CA, FL, TX, AZ)



...And they are usually invested with considerable legal power

All property owners are automatically members of the HOA and pay an annual assessment

Property values are protected in the land deeds through covenants, conditions, and restrictions (CC&Rs), which dictate land use and design and are enforceable by HOAs

Rules can only be changed by a supermajority of all property owners

Some HOAs can even foreclose on properties for non-payment of dues or fines





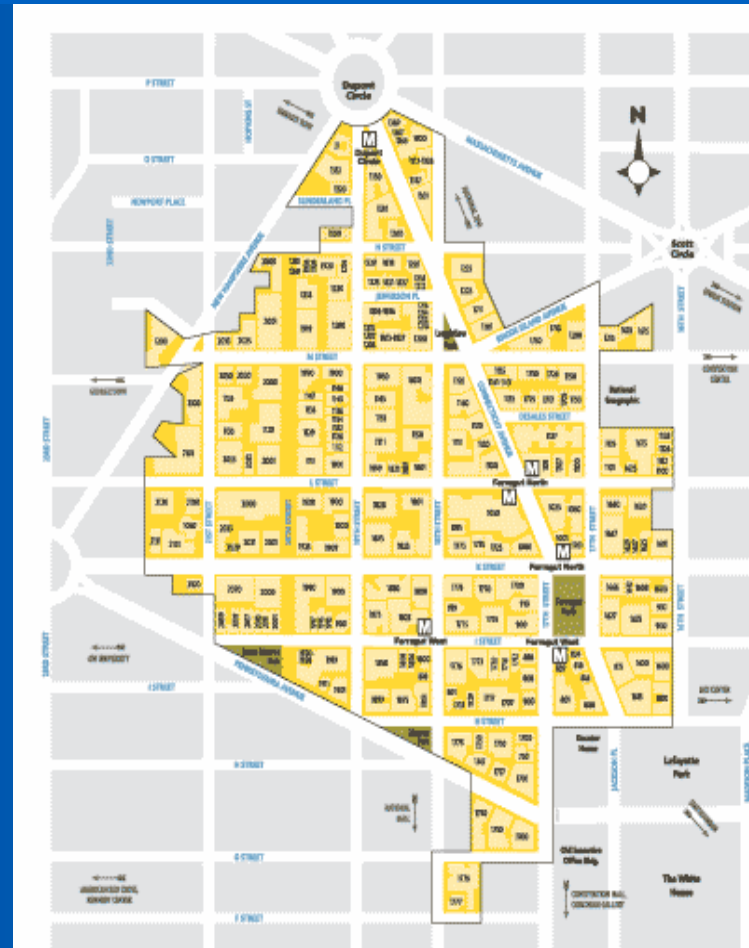
In commercial areas, business improvement districts (BIDs) have emerged as a flexible form of private governance

BIDs are public/private partnerships in which businesses tax themselves to jointly maintain a defined geographical district

They are usually administered through a separate, non-profit entity

Services include hospitality, marketing, landscaping and beautification, litter pickup, economic development, and public safety

Because BIDs are separate from local government, they have greater flexibility to make decisions and hire/fire staff



Golden Triangle BID, Washington, DC



Many of America's best-known retail districts are managed by BIDs

Times Square Alliance

- Founded in 1992 and one of 52 BIDs in New York City alone
- Manages 50 Sanitation Associates, 50 Public Safety Officers, private K-9 patrols, and a tourist information center
- Develops and maintains signage, street lighting, bathrooms, and other public spaces
- Oversees major events, including New Year's Eve, the VJ-Day Celebration, and "Taste of Times Square"
- Promotes the area's brand and image





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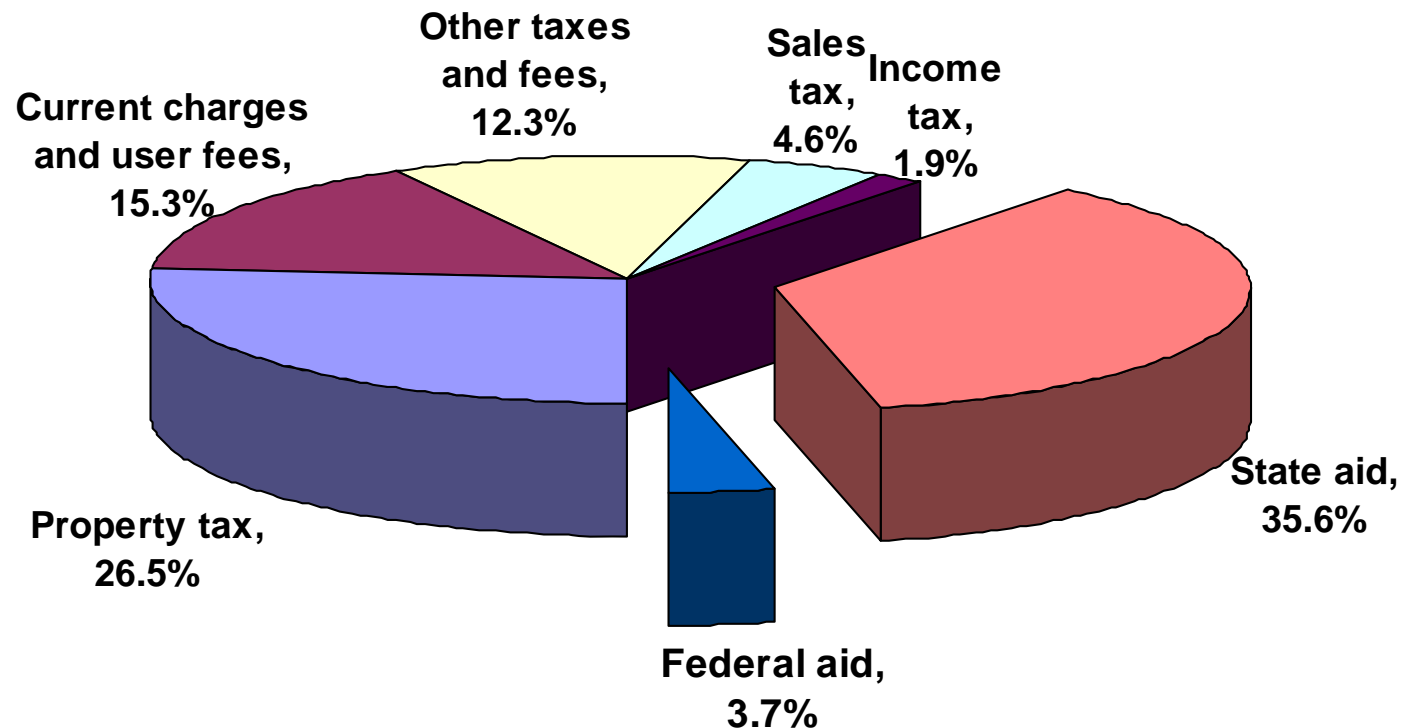
What are the takeaway lessons for the UK?



...Local governments receive over 60% of their funds from “own-source” revenues, including property tax, sales tax, and user fees

Sources of local government revenue, 2001

Source:
Tannenwald (2004),
U.S. Census Bureau
data

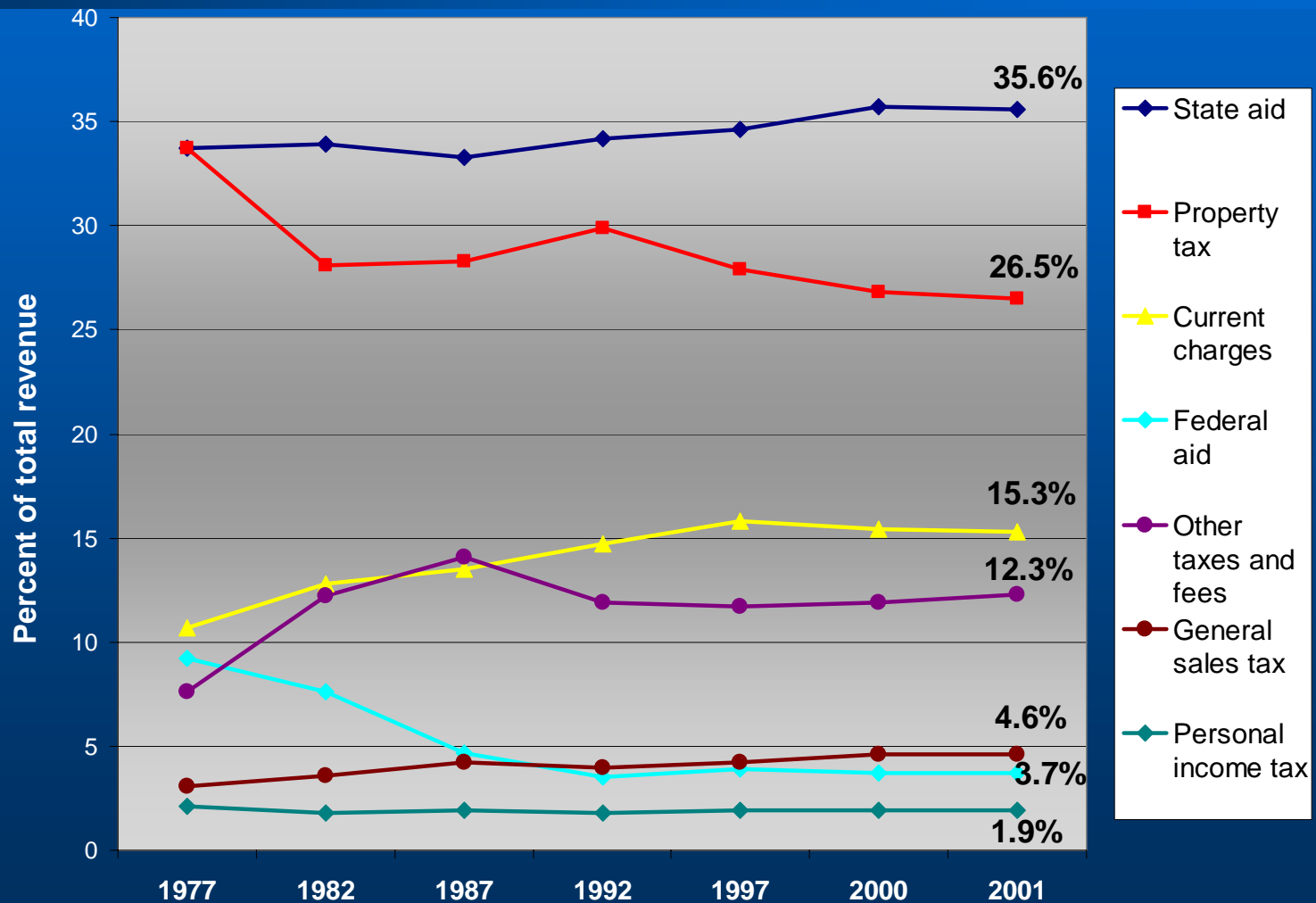




Local reliance on state aid and current charges is increasing, as revenues from property tax and federal aid decrease

Sources of local government revenue, 1977-2001

Source:
Tannenwald (2004), U.S.
Census Bureau data

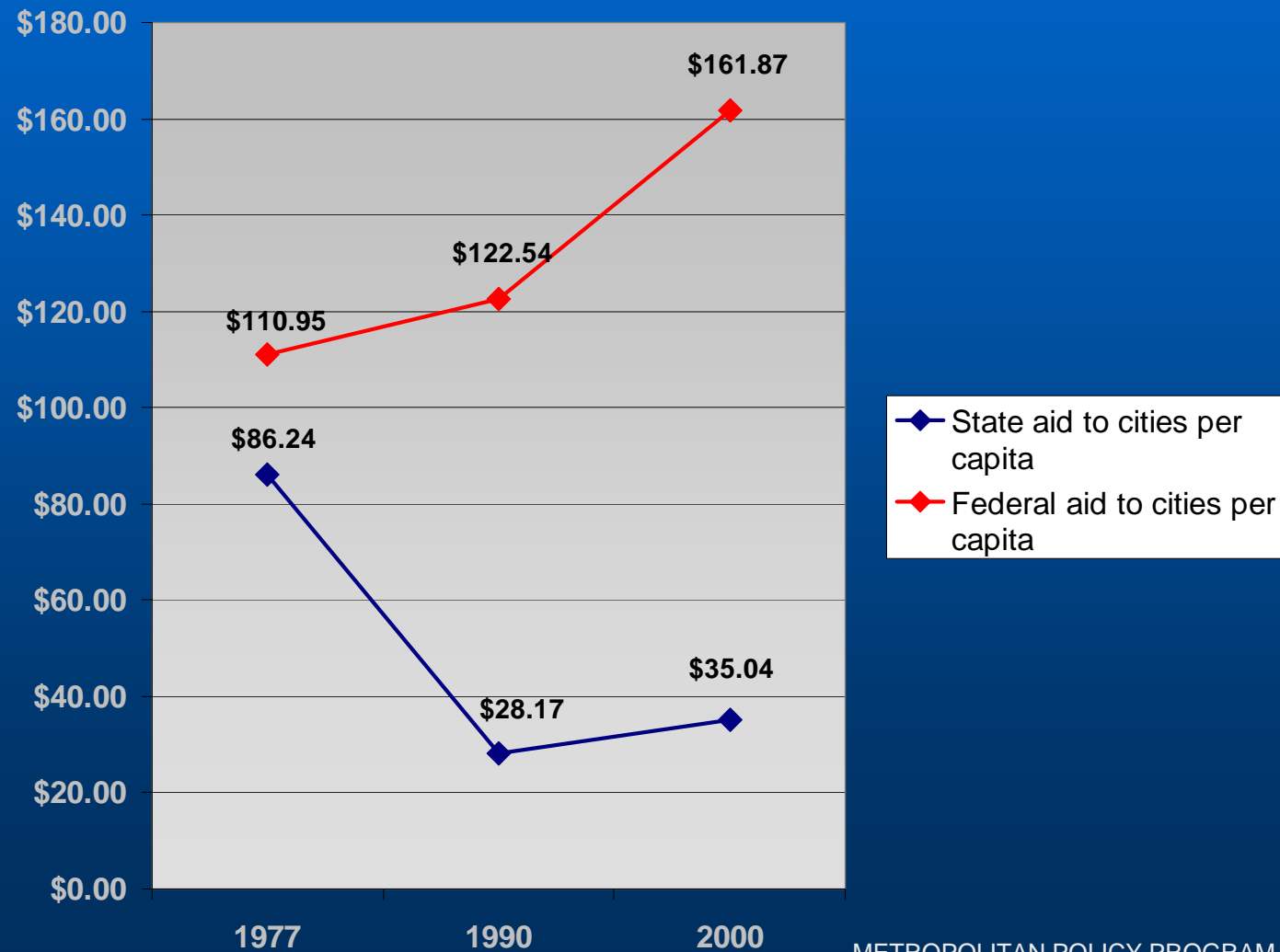




Both federal and state aid to cities per capita have increased since 1990...

Aid per capita to
U.S. cities, 1977-
2000

Source:
Wallin (2005)

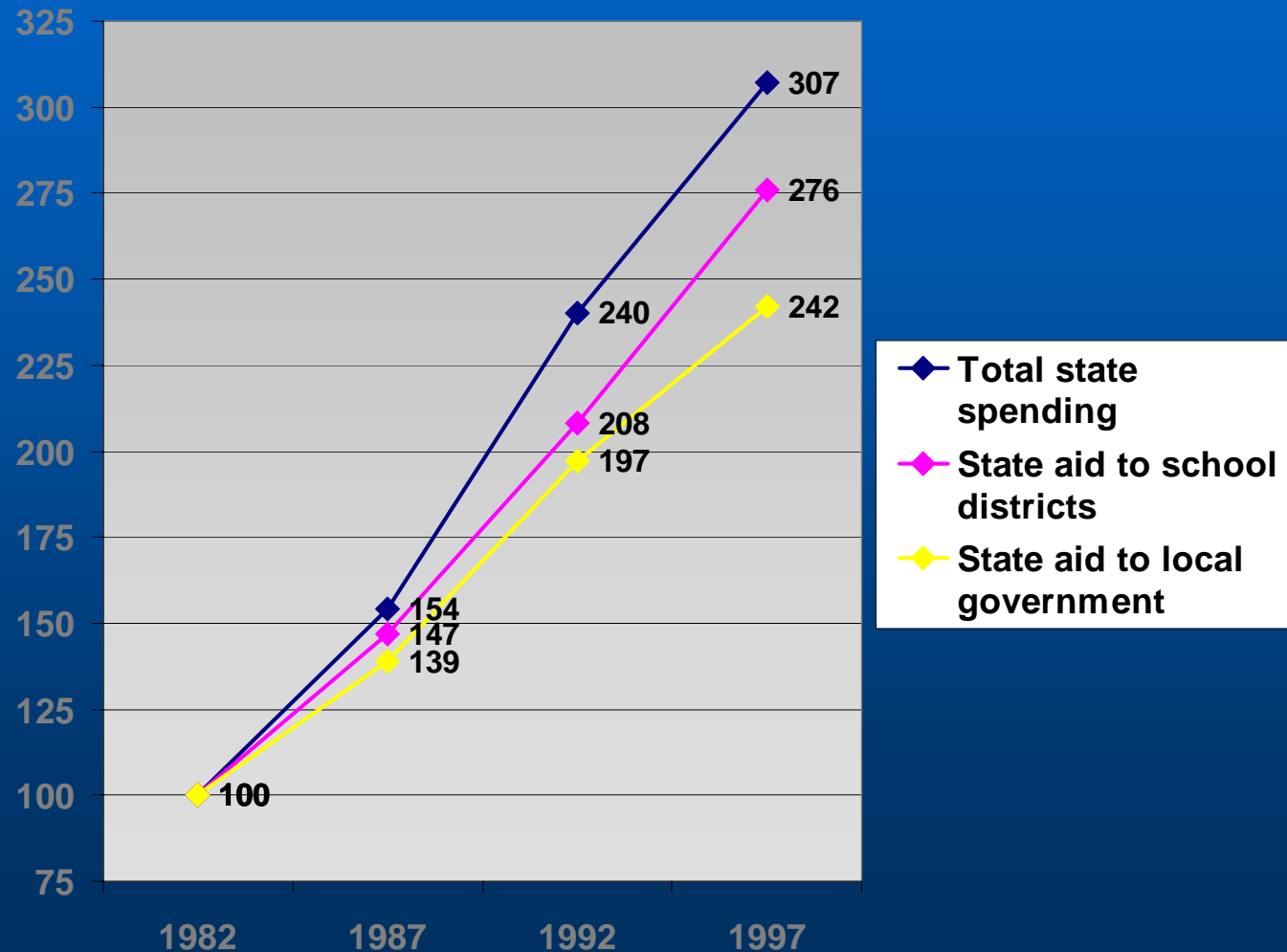




...However, state aid to local governments has grown more slowly than state spending as a whole

Growth in state spending since 1982
(1982=100)

Source:
Tannenwald (2004)

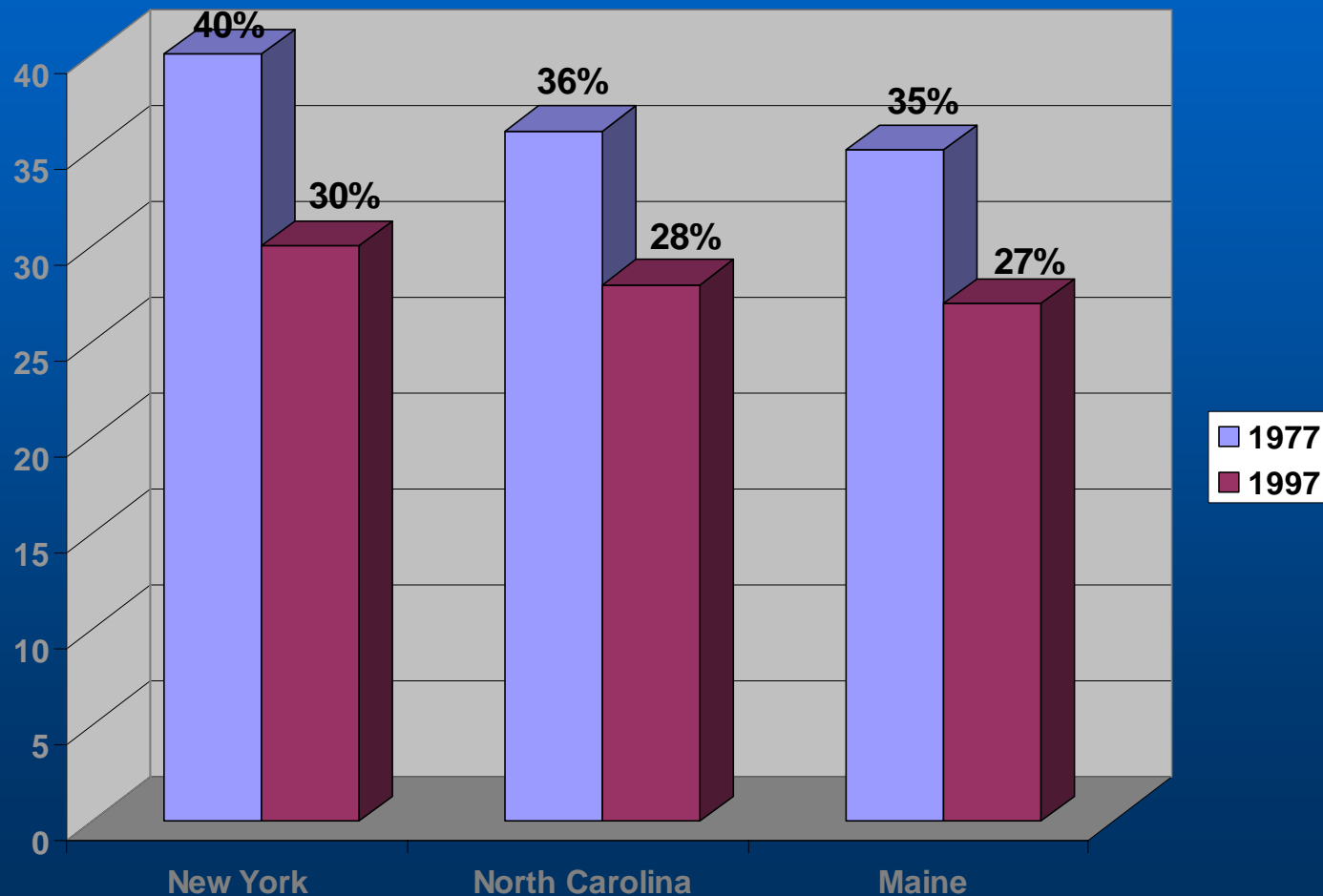




These numbers mask great regional variation. In some states, cities have seen declining levels of state aid

Share of local government revenue from state aid, 1977 and 1997

Source:
Tannenwald (2004)





Cities have recently experienced several lean fiscal years...

- Cities experienced a fiscal recession from 2001 to 2004
- Expenditures on infrastructure, public safety, and employee health care and pensions have risen
- Tax revenues have not kept pace with increased costs – and most cities are required to balance their budgets
- State-level budget pressures have imperiled state aid to local governments

Source: National League of Cities



...Although things are now looking up



More than 3/5 of surveyed municipal officials believe their cities are now in better fiscal health than they were in 2004

Source: National League of Cities



...But steps should be taken to prevent further problems

- ➔ Diversification of revenue base
(taxes/fees/intergovernmental grants)
- ➔ Greater local tax authority from the state
- ➔ State/local taxation of sales over the Internet
- ➔ Curtailment of unfunded mandates from the federal government



Cities have experimented successfully with financial and fiscal innovations

Tax Increment Financing (TIF)

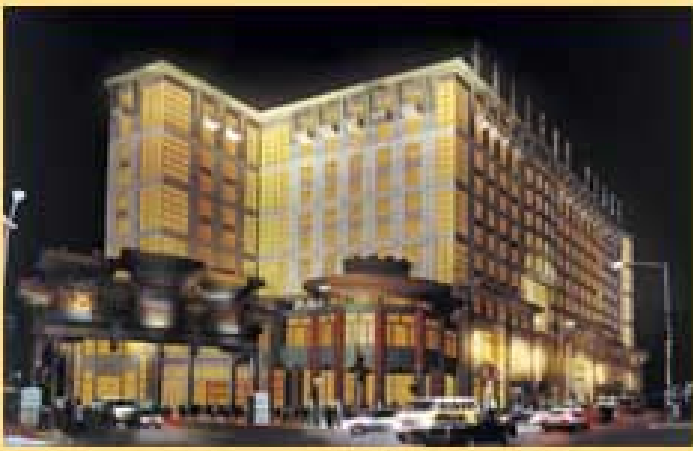
An economic development tool that allows jurisdictions to finance a desired development by selling bonds backed by the expected tax increment (i.e., future increased tax revenues) that would result from the development. It exists in 48 states

Can be used to:

- Redevelop “blighted” areas
- Build housing for low- and moderate-income families
- Finance public investment in infrastructure
- Provide other economic development incentives



Tax increment financing is now used for many different kinds of projects



Gallery Place, Washington DC

Mixed-use urban entertainment complex in Chinatown (7th & H Streets NW)

DC's first and largest TIF project (\$73.6 million in TIF bonds sold in 2002; approved Dec. 1999)

New baseball stadium, Washington DC

The incremental tax revenues generated within a TIF district around the new baseball stadium – after accounting for debt service – will go into a \$450 million “community development fund” for schools, parks, and libraries





However, TIF is also hugely controversial

- TIF originated as a way to encourage redevelopment of “blighted” areas. However, the definition of “blight” has been abused
- TIF is now often used to offer incentives in areas where development would happen anyway
- Where government is fragmented, TIF catalyzes interjurisdictional competition for new tax revenue (e.g., by luring development away from other communities)
- By sheltering property tax for many years, TIF can deplete the tax revenues flowing to school districts
- “Eminent domain” is sometimes exercised for TIF projects



Other forms of fiscal innovation

→ Bonding of dedicated revenue streams for express purposes, such as affordable housing development

Example: Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa recently proposed a \$1 billion bond to fund the city's Affordable Housing Trust Fund

→ Revenue diversification through user fees and service charges



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What are the takeaway lessons for the UK?



II

What are the existing and emerging forms of metropolitan governance and cooperation in the U.S.?

Formal governance

1. Consolidated city-county governments
2. Counties
3. Cities with annexation power

Functional governance

4. Metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs)

Informal governance

5. Metropolitan mayors' councils
6. Labor market intermediaries
7. Regional housing corporations



What is a metro?

“A large population nucleus” plus adjacent communities having a “high degree of social and economic integration” with the core.

A metropolitan statistical area (MSA) can be one or more counties. The U.S. Census Bureau figures out which counties to include in each metro by looking at job and commuting patterns

The U.S. has 361 MSAs, which collectively include 83% of the country’s population

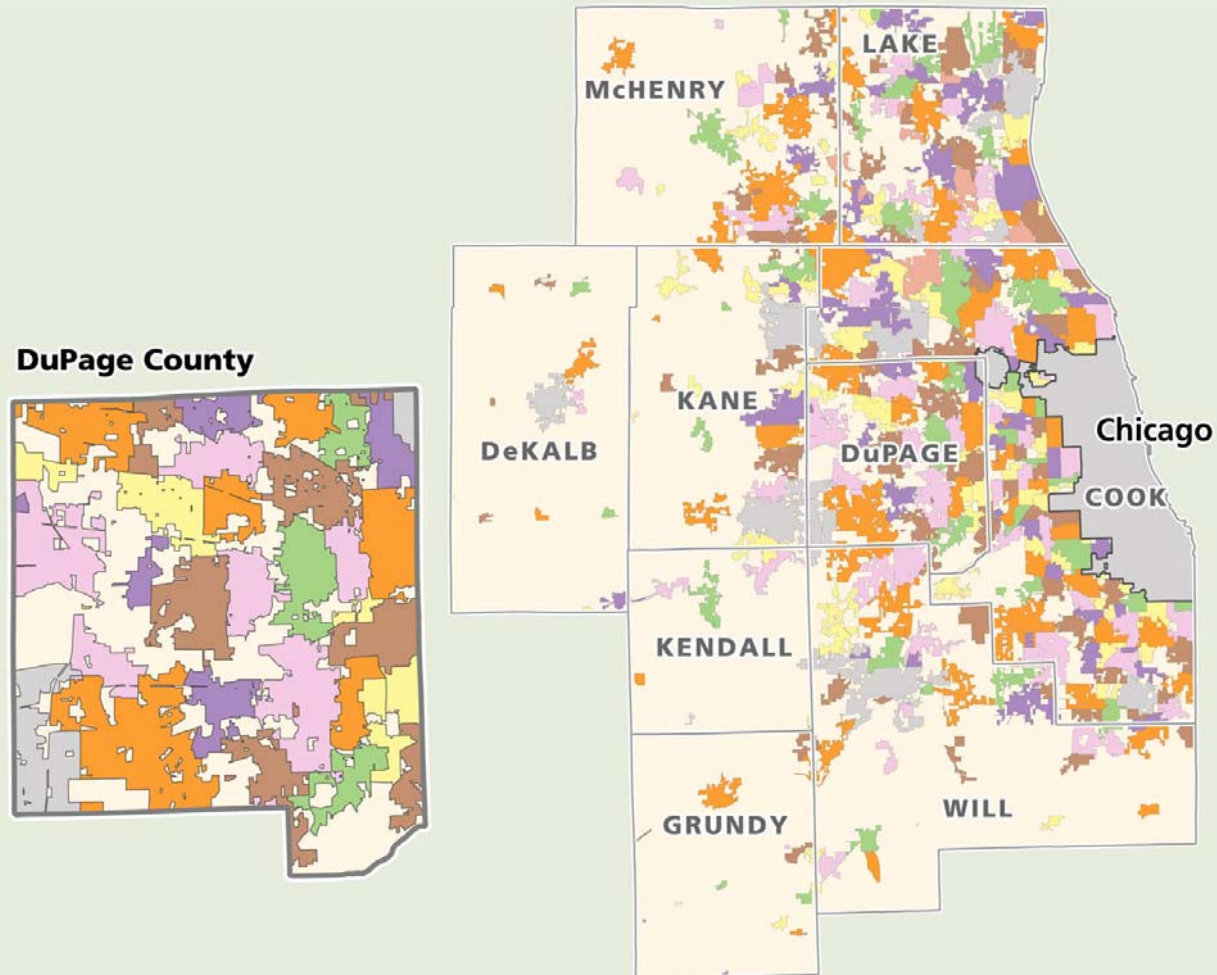
Essentially, U.S. “MSAs” = U.K. “travel to work areas”



Metropolitan areas in the U.S. are extraordinarily fragmented, particularly in the Midwest and Northeast...

...The Chicago
PMSA has
464 local
governments
(counties,
municipalities,
townships)

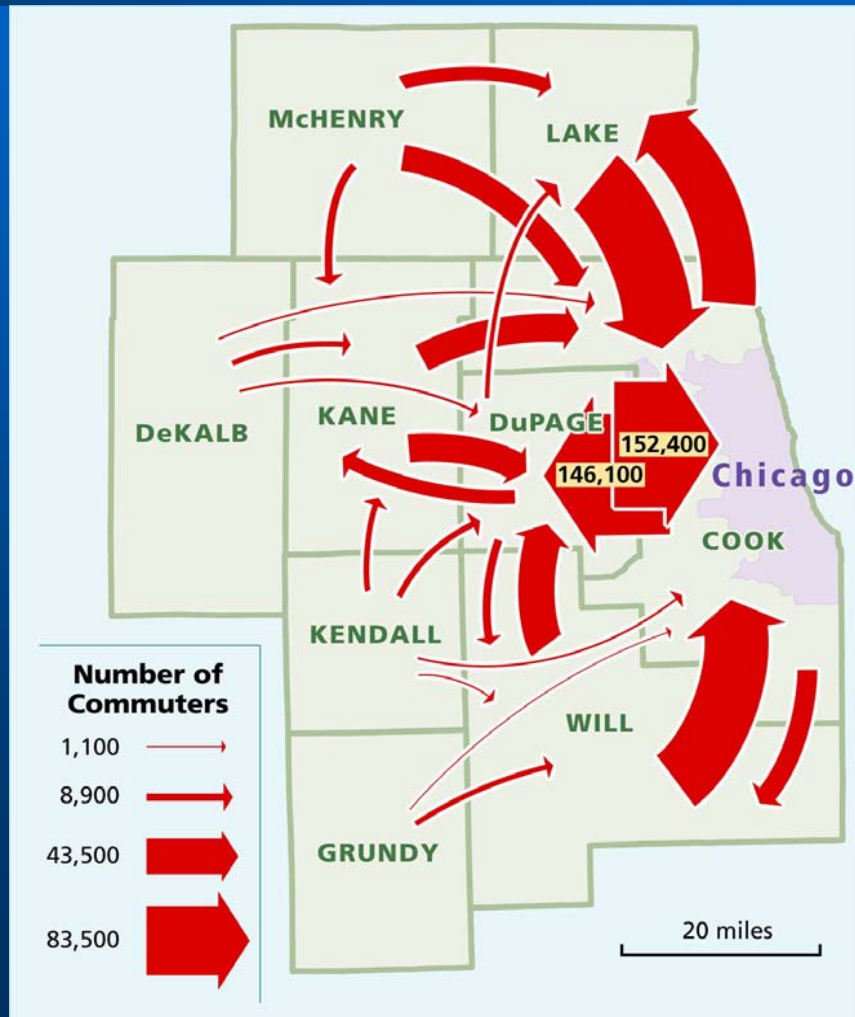
Local
governments in
the Chicago
PMSA, 2000





...Despite the fact that people live their daily lives on a regional scale

County-to-county worker flows in the Chicago PMSA, 2000





Why govern regionally?

Labor and housing markets are metro-wide

The fiscal, demographic, and economic differences between cities and suburbs are becoming less important than their similarities and interdependence

Metros are the new units of competition in the global economy, and collaborative governance is necessary to help them adapt and compete



1. City-county consolidated governments

→ Consolidated city-county governments are simultaneously an administrative division of the state (county) and a local government corporation (city)

→ Such governments aggregate and exercise all powers that would normally accrue to cities and/or counties, including powers of taxing, spending, and planning

→ Consolidations aim to streamline and economize government through coherent planning and economies of scale

→ Consolidations are rare; they are often rejected by voters

1. City-county consolidated governments


Metro Louisville, Kentucky

- City-county merger approved by referendum in 2000
- The first consolidation in the U.S. in thirty years
- Now the country's 16th biggest city
- Metro Mayor plus Metro Council of 26 members elected by district
- Consolidation eliminated duplicative services, increased the tax base, and made Louisville a more efficient place to do business







2. Counties




Counties (aka “boroughs” or “parishes”) are formal subdivisions of their respective state governments. Their powers vary from state to state



Most counties operate under a commission form of government (“board of supervisors”). However, council-manager (“commissioner-administrator”) and mayor-council (“council-executive”) forms are increasingly used



In many states – particularly in the West – counties are responsible for the provision of many core public services, including economic development, planning and zoning, workforce training, consumer protection, transportation and roads, public safety, and utilities



In some areas where formal city/county consolidation is unviable, cities have instead formed functional partnerships with counties

2. Counties

Miami-Dade County, Florida

- A “two-tier” local government: the City of Miami and 34 other towns provide a lower tier of services (e.g. fire, water/sewer, parking, zoning), while the county provides the upper tier (e.g. schools, public housing, regional transit, emergency management, airports)
- Some services (like parks and recreation) are provided at both levels
- Both levels of government levy taxes
- The county has an Executive Mayor, a mayor-appointed County Manager, and a County Commission
- The county also provides lower-tier services for unincorporated areas

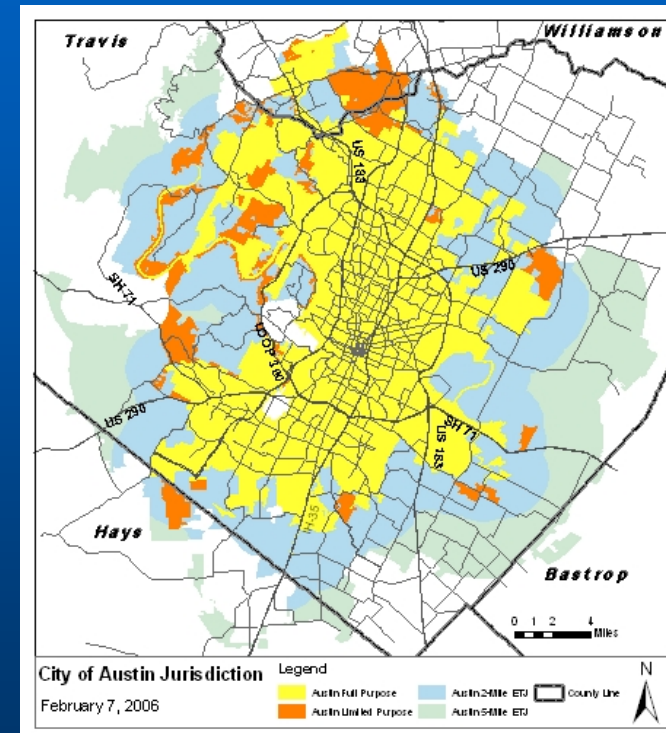


3. Cities with annexation powers

Annexation powers allow cities to expand their territorial limits outward without state government approval

Rusk (1993) argues that such “elastic cities” are more economically robust because they share in new growth and development occurring on the urban fringe

Between 1950 and 1990, more than four-fifths of the 500+ central cities in the U.S. expanded their boundaries by 10% or more

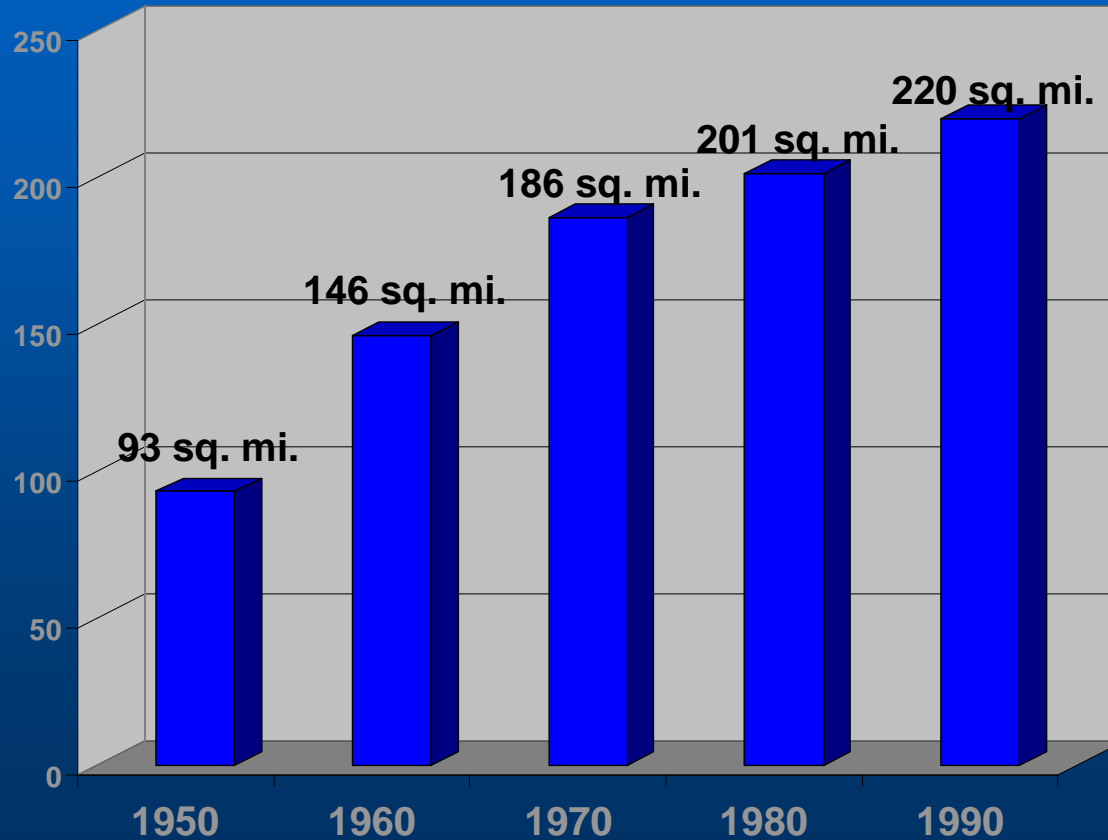


Source: Rusk (1993)

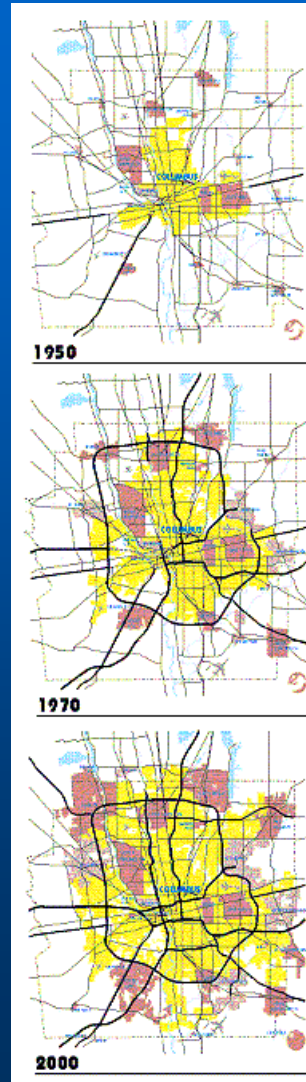
3. Cities with annexation powers

Columbus, Ohio

Land area
in
Columbus
(square
miles),
1950-2000



Source:
City of Columbus
Planning Division





However, in regions where formal governance would prove politically infeasible, municipal leaders are beginning to experiment with forms of **functional governance** at the metropolitan level



4. Metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs)

→ MPOs exist in every U.S. metro of 50,000 persons or greater, and represent innovative experiments in functional collaborative governance

→ Their formal role as mandated in ISTEA (1991) is to draw up regional transportation plans; however, they also conduct demographic research and provide services to local government on a contract basis

→ MPOs are progressively being delegated more power by their constituent local governments

→ Most MPOs can't tax and spend...yet

4. Metropolitan planning organizations (MPOs)

Metro Portland, Oregon

- The most powerful MPO in the country – a directly elected regional government across 3 counties and 25 cities
- Created by charter, November 1992
- Not only oversees transportation planning, but also manages parks and open spaces, land use planning, civic facilities, and the urban growth boundary (UGB)



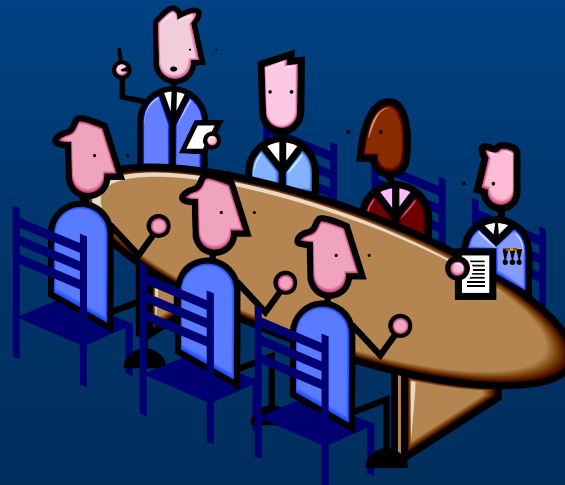


Communities are also experimenting with various forms of **informal governance** through the private and nonprofit sector in order to solve metro-wide problems

5. Metropolitan councils and caucuses



Permanent, voluntary, non-governmental associations of local governments that meet on a regular basis to discuss and seek agreement on various issues



5. Metropolitan councils and caucuses

Metropolitan Mayors Caucus Chicagoland

- Founded by Chicago Mayor Richard M. Daley in 1997
- Forum for public policy discussion, information sharing, and consensus building
- Includes 272 municipalities across 6 Illinois counties (and 9 smaller “suburban municipal associations”)





6. Labor market intermediaries (LMIs)

→ Act as bridges between job opportunities and the available workforce, often specifically low-income workers

→ Can be public or private, non-profit or for-profit

→ LMIs identify employers and clusters with available jobs; tailor skills training efforts in target communities to the employers' needs; work with local government on strategies to connect employers and job seekers; and develop strategies for transportation and other work supports (e.g. child care)

6. Labor market intermediaries (LMIs)

Metro Milwaukee

W-2, the Wisconsin state welfare program, funds five private LMIs to provide one-stop services for displaced, unemployed, and underemployed workers

LMIs provides childcare, computer training, job placement, and access to employment recruiters, caseworkers, and legal advocates





7. Regional housing corporations

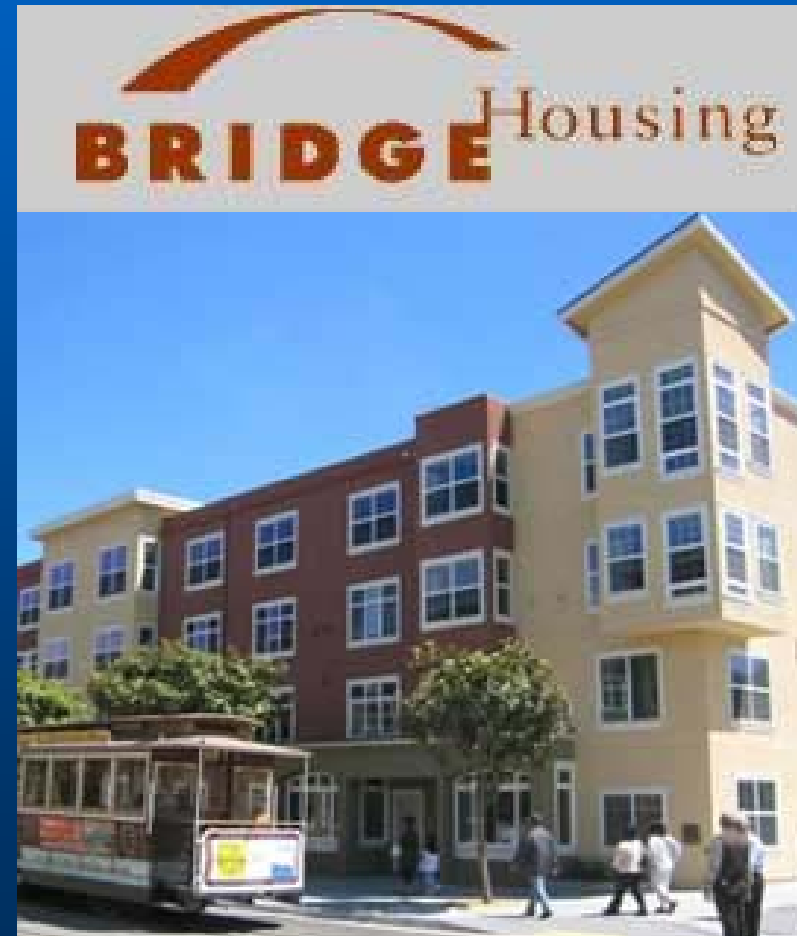
→ Regional, non-governmental corporations (usually non-profit) that produce and preserve affordable housing in areas of fast-growing employment

→ Serve as source of observation and intelligence on regional housing markets

7. Regional housing corporations

BRIDGE Housing Corporation California

- Founded in 1983 in San Francisco
- The leading developer of affordable housing for working families and seniors in California (11,000 homes to date)
- Builds both low- and high-rise developments in both urban and suburban areas





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What are the takeaway lessons for the UK?

- ➔ 1. At the municipal level, strong fiscal powers matter more than governance structure
- ➔ 2. At the metro or “city-regional level” – where the economy is – governance matters
- ➔ 3. The relationship between governance structure and economic growth must be thought through carefully



1. Municipal level: fiscal powers matter



Governance structure reform should be accompanied by a devolution of fiscal powers – including the ability to levy tax and determine local expenditures



Fiscal power is the foundation of entrepreneurial government

Fiscal devolution will help to:

- Enhance government flexibility and responsiveness
- Reward local innovation and success
- Restore the broken fiscal circuitry, so that local development produces local tax revenue that can be reinvested locally
- Promote an inclusive urban renaissance



Does the form of city governance matter for economic competitiveness? ...Probably not


→ The practical differences between mayor-council and council-manager government forms are getting smaller and smaller

→ Deno and Mehay (1987) concluded that both governance forms should be equally efficient and responsive

→ DeSantis and Renner (2002) caution that political structure does not have a direct impact on economic outcomes

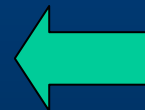
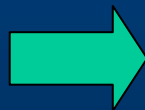


2. Metro level: governance matters



Communities throughout the United States are beginning to explore the relationship between regional governance structures and economic competitiveness

GOVERNANCE



GROWTH



But which is better at promoting economic growth,



or

Decentralized government?





Some say that decentralization of governance promotes efficient government, which in turn encourages economic growth...

The polycentric or “public choice” school

Decentralization helps promote efficiency by...

- Constraining the cost of government through competition
- Offering employers and taxpayers greater choice among different communities' service and tax/fee bundles
- Rewarding fiscal innovation and development through increased tax revenues

...Producing a diversity of fiscal environments to meet a diversity of preferences

Source: Tiebout (1956), Eberts and Gronberg (1990), Akai and Sakata (2002), Stansel (2004)



...Others say centralization of governance is better

The centrist school

Centralization helps promote efficiency by...

- Standardizing rules and procedures across municipalities, making the marketplace simpler
- Eliminating needless duplication of resources
- Pooling together resources to achieve economies of scale
- Delivering certain services (i.e. transportation) at their most sensible geographic level

...Governing as people live their lives: across municipal boundaries

Source: Dolan (1990), Zhang and Zou (1997), Nelson and Foster (1999), Hamilton, Miller, and Paytas (2004)



However, research shows that political decentralization undermines core economies

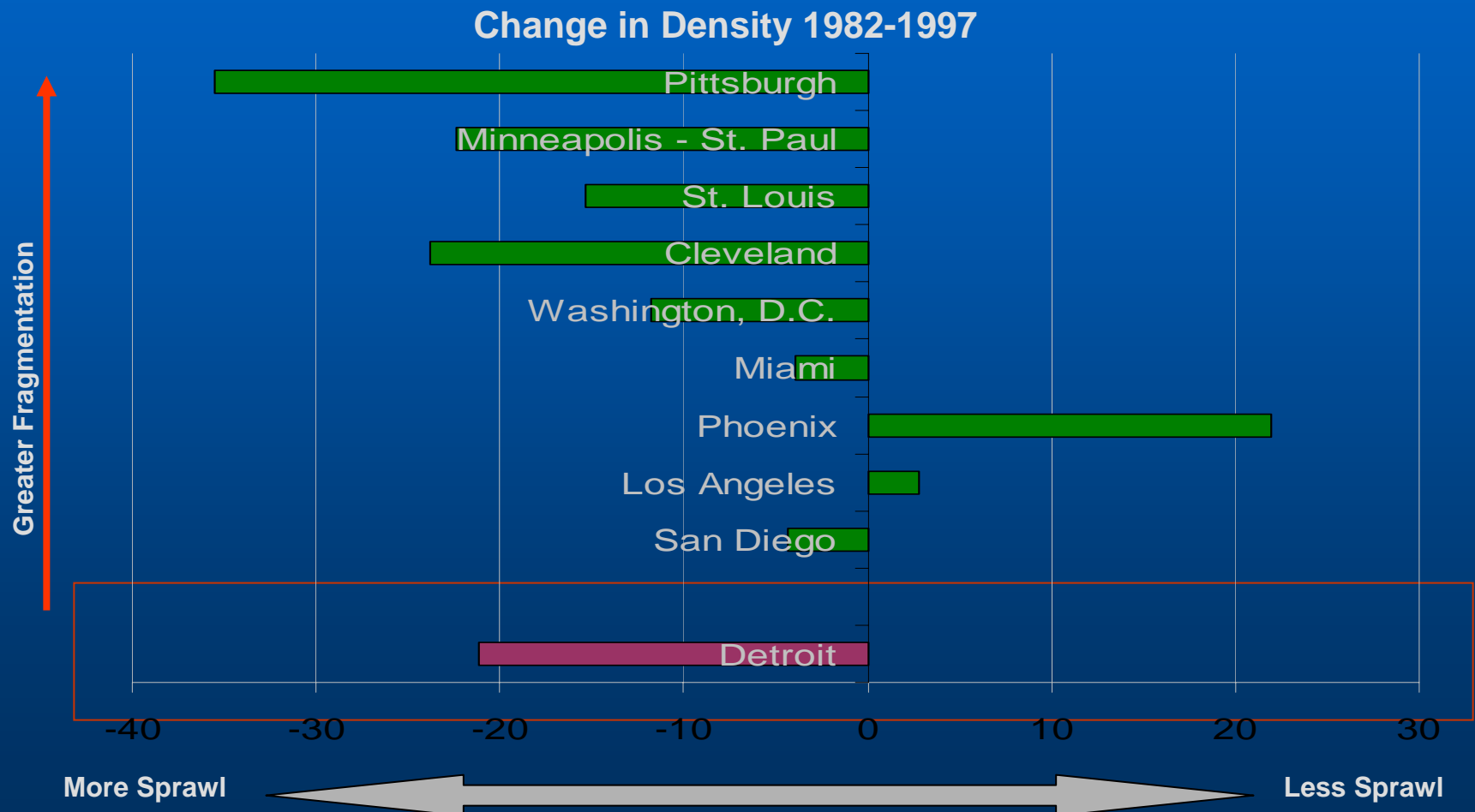
The centrist school

Lewis (1996): high political fragmentation undermines regional development goals

- Large numbers of decision points, actors, and units of government make it easy to block actions and ultimately preserve status quo
- Large units of government and unified decision points (e.g. regional districts) function to promote growth, allow for progress, and reduce spillovers
- Fragmentation results in decreased shares of office space in central business districts, less “centrality,” longer commute times, more “edge cities,” and more sprawl



And it is clear that decentralization of one kind correlates with decentralization of another



Source: William Fulton, et. al. "Who Sprawls Most? How Growth Patterns Differ Across the U.S." Brookings, July 2001.



➔ That is, **fiscal and governmental** decentralization produces **physical** decentralization, as well as socioeconomic and racial stratification...

➔ ...And these decentralizing and stratifying trends inhibit the responsiveness and long-term competitiveness of the metro economy

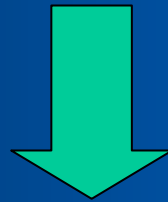
“The current decentralization trend in metropolitan governance...may be reducing the ability of these regions to remain competitive and generate growth over the long term.”
(Hamilton, Miller, and Paytas 2004)



Regional challenges need regional responses


The regionalist school

Whether your local government comes in “big boxes” (centrist school) or “little boxes” (polycentric school)...



...What matters is that challenges at the metropolitan or “city-regional” level – public transportation, pollution, land use planning, economic development – are addressed at that level

Source: Nelson and Foster (1999)




What are some steps that the UK might take with regard to “city-regional”-level governance?



Metro mayors might be one option

Directly elected “city-regional” mayors could...

- 
- Provide a visible center of accountable leadership
 - Develop a competitive, transformative vision for the future of each city-regional area
 - “Connect the dots” between artificially distinct yet interrelated programs and problems
 - Work with central government to deliver on national priorities
 - Build partnerships across constituencies
 - Make hard choices and execute tough decisions



Metropolitan councils of local governments are another idea

Example: Minneapolis Metropolitan Council

→ Holds significant control of infrastructure including the region's transportation and wastewater treatment systems

→ Provides affordable housing opportunities for low- and moderate-income individuals and families

→ Engages communities in planning for smart growth and provides planning, acquisitions and funding for a regional system of parks and trails



Government should also engage with the private and voluntary sectors



Build up a network of business, not-for-profit, and other leaders who can contribute to planning the trajectory of regional growth

- Community development corporations
- Business alliances
- Leading employers
- Universities
- CEOs
- Charities
- Hospitals



Example: **Chicago Metropolis 2020 Plan**

100+ business leaders resolved that their future corporate development will take into account:

- Community zoning, building, and land use policies that allow for the construction of affordable housing for workers
- Reliability and accessibility of mass transit, particularly mass transit near work sites



“Governance” need not mean formal “government”.
Informal collaboration is also a promising route

- ➔ Metropolitan caucuses or councils of government
- ➔ Voluntary associations
- ➔ Regional housing trust funds and corporations
- ➔ Labor market intermediaries



3. Governance vs. Economic Growth

Employment

Investment

Skills

Enterprise

Innovation

Competition

Where does governance
structure matter for growth?



Keep your eyes on the prize



The debate over governance structure should not inhibit discussion of other public interventions that could stimulate local and regional growth



Devolution should not be an excuse for central government disengagement...



...Nor is devolution advisable for functional areas where central planning remains prudent



Governance isn't everything.
Arguably, a high-speed rail
connection to Manchester would
have more economic impact than any
government reshuffling



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