The Bristol Civic Leadership Project
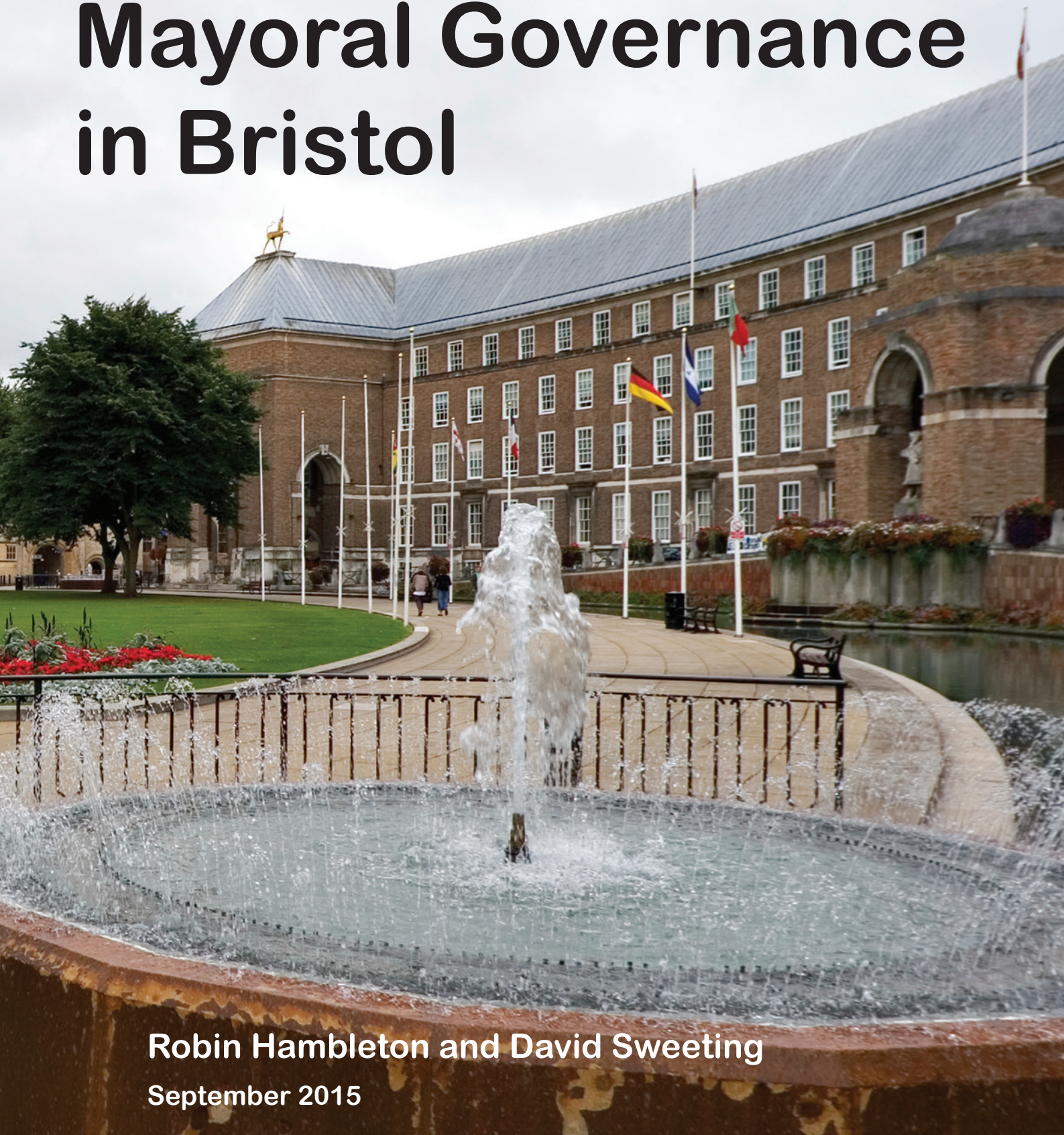
The Impacts of Mayoral Governance in Bristol

Robin Hambleton and David Sweeting

September 2015

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In a referendum, held on 3 May 2012, the citizens of Bristol voted in favour of the introduction of a mayoral form of governance by a margin of around 5,100 votes. Following a lively contest between fifteen candidates, George Ferguson, an Independent, was elected as mayor of Bristol on 15 November 2012.

The Bristol Civic Leadership Project, which started in the summer of 2012, addresses two important questions:

1. What difference does a directly elected mayor make?
2. What steps can be taken to ensure that the introduction of a directly elected mayor brings about benefits and avoids potential disadvantages?

This report – *The Impacts of Mayoral Governance in Bristol* – provides a 'before' and 'after' study of the introduction of mayoral governance in Bristol, and it identifies strategic areas for the future development of the system of governance in Bristol, towards 2025. An active collaboration between the Universities of Bristol and the West of England, the research has involved surveys of citizens and civic leaders in 2012, before the mayoral model was introduced, and again in 2014, after the election of the city's first directly elected mayor. In addition, the researchers have run various workshops and focus groups with actors from inside and outside local government, both in Bristol and nationally, and have carried out face-to-face interviews with various key actors.

Headline findings

The research has revealed valuable insights into attitudes towards the system of urban governance in Bristol that existed before November 2012, and into the way the mayoral model has performed in the period since it was adopted. It has also generated a numerous ideas on how to improve the performance of the mayoral model of governance.

Our previous report – *The Prospects for Mayoral Governance in Bristol*[1] – showed that the former system of governance, involving a council leader and cabinet, was regarded by many as being flawed in terms of visibility of the leader and effectiveness in decision-making. The introduction of the mayoral model has changed perceptions of governance in Bristol. Our headline findings now are:

- Many perceive an improvement in the leadership of the city, in areas such as the visibility of leadership, there being a vision for the city, the representation of Bristol, and leadership being more influential than previously was the case.
- However, there are areas where the model is seen as performing inadequately. There are concerns about the levels of representation of views within the city, trust in the system of decision-making, and the timeliness of decision-making.
- Frequently there are considerable differences of view about the mayoral model of governance from those situated in the different realms of civic leadership in Bristol. Councillors tend to display considerably more negative views about the impacts and performance of the new model compared to those in public managerial, professional, community and business realms.
- Members of the public in different parts of Bristol tend to think somewhat differently about the impacts of the reform. Often, but not universally, those people living in better off parts of Bristol are inclined to see the move to, and the impacts of, the mayoral model more positively than those living in less well off parts of Bristol.

With these findings in mind and, recognising the variety of views that we have encountered during this project, we have identified five strategic choices that offer capacity for development in the next ten years. We suggest that those involved with the system of governance in Bristol, in the period up to 2025, should consider reform and progression in the following areas:

- The concentration of power in the mayoral office
- The development of leadership roles for all councillors
- The revitalisation of neighbourhood governance
- The invention of new ways of including more voices in urban governance
- The creation of an effective strategy for city region governance

More information

The Bristol Civic Leadership Project aims to enhance the quality of debate about civic leadership and local democracy not just in Bristol, but also nationally and internationally. For more information on the Bristol Civic Leadership Project, visit http://bristolcivicleadership.net

1 Introduction: what this report is about

An ongoing, and important, public debate is taking place on how to strengthen civic leadership in the cities of England. One important strand in this debate relates to the desirability, or otherwise, of introducing a mayoral model of governance into cities – that is, a form of governance headed by a directly elected mayor.

The Bristol Civic Leadership Project, launched in the summer of 2012, is intended to make an evidence-based contribution to this public debate. Bristol provides an intriguing case study because, in a referendum held in May 2012, the citizens opted for a radical reform in the governance arrangements for the city. Citizens voted to introduce a mayoral model of governance and, in the period since the election of the city's first directly elected mayor in November 2012, the way the city is governed has changed significantly.

The changes have attracted both praise and criticism. Conflicting ideas about how to govern the city successfully have been given amplified voice, and the changes in Bristol have attracted the attention of the national and, to some extent, the international media. This action-research project is unusual in two respects. First, it is designed to provide a 'before' and 'after' assessment of the performance of the mayoral model – perhaps the first such study carried out anywhere in the world. Second, it is also designed to make an active and direct contribution to the public policy-making process.

Audiences for this report

We hope that this research will be of interest to three potential audiences. First, we intend it to be helpful to all those involved in reshaping the governance system of the city of Bristol – from the neighbourhood level to the level of the city region. Second, we hope that it will be useful to national policy-makers concerned to advance the development of more effective forms of city leadership in the country as a whole. Third, we believe that the analysis could be of interest to other cities in the UK, and further afield, that may be considering ideas on how to reform their approach to city governance.

Bristol's innovation in urban governance

In the 2012 referendum, the citizens of Bristol voted in favour of a directly elected mayor to lead the city by a margin of around 5,100 votes. From a turnout of 24%,

41,032 people voted in favour of a mayor, while 35,880 voted against. The voters of Bristol, unlike those in other English cities, rejected the idea of sticking with the familiar leader-plus-cabinet model of urban governance, and opted for something entirely new.

In August 2012, Bristol City Council agreed to collaborate with the two local universities in an action-research project on the governance of the city and the city region. The City Council felt it was important to arrange for an independent assessment to be carried out of the changing pattern of urban governance. Other civic leaders were brought into the conversation and a research project was developed that combined evaluation research with a high level of researcher engagement in the policy process.

The focus of the Bristol Civic Leadership Project

The Bristol Civic Leadership Project addresses two important questions:

1. What difference does a directly elected mayor make?
2. What steps can be taken to ensure that the introduction of a directly elected mayor brings about benefits and avoids potential disadvantages?

The first major report from the project – *The Prospects for Mayoral Governance in Bristol* – was published in March 2013. It provides a solid baseline of information about attitudes to the governance of Bristol **before** the mayoral election that was held on 15 November 2012. This new report – *The Impacts of Mayoral Governance in Bristol* – examines what has happened to the governance of the city in the period since the mayoral model was introduced.

It is important to emphasise that the Bristol Civic Leadership Project is attempting to evaluate the **mayoral model of governance**, not the performance of the individual who is the mayor of Bristol. Adhering to this distinction presents a challenge because, at times, it is difficult to distinguish cause and effect. This is a familiar problem in social scientific research. In such research projects the focus of research is not on trying to prove that a particular factor caused a particular outcome. Rather, the aim has to shift to focus on constructing a plausible narrative, an interpretation of events. Every effort is made in this report to present the evidence clearly and to interpret findings fairly. But readers will need to bring their own judgment to bear when it comes to identifying causal links.

Outline of the report

The report commences with a short discussion of the current debate about directly elected mayors in the UK. The next section outlines the Bristol Civic Leadership Project – this covers the concepts we are using, the questions we are addressing and the way we have carried out this research. The next six sections provide the evidence from our 'before' and 'after' research with findings structured around six key themes:

- Leadership in the community
- Effective representation of the citizen
- Legitimacy and accountability
- Effectiveness in decision-making and implementation
- Effective scrutiny of policy and performance
- Responsiveness to local people

The final section, by building on the evaluation research, develops some ideas on possible options for urban governance in Bristol in 2025. The discussion here is designed to prompt fresh thinking about future possibilities. It is not a set of recommendations; rather, it is an attempt to identify issues that deserve the attention of all those who are concerned to improve the quality of governance in Bristol and the Bristol city region.

2 Context: the debate about directly elected mayors in the UK

The evolution of the elected mayor debate

The UK debate about the strengths and weaknesses of the mayoral model of governance is not a new one. In academic circles, the debate has been going on, albeit in an episodic way, for around forty years. As long ago as 1976, Bryan Keith-Lucas argued that UK local authorities should be allowed to introduce directly elected mayors.[2] The idea first received serious attention in policy circles in 1991 when Michael Heseltine, then Secretary of State for the Environment in the Conservative Government led by John Major, floated the idea in a consultation paper.[3] The suggestion met with opposition from Conservative Members of Parliament. They feared that the new mayors could become leadership rivals in their constituencies, and the idea was quietly dropped.

In 1995, Tony Blair, then leader of the opposition, reinvigorated the elected mayor debate. He argued that new forms of leadership, including the idea of directly elected mayors, could inject new life into local government. Once elected in 1997, the Labour Government pressed ahead quickly to introduce directly elected mayors into England.[4] In legislative terms, the Greater London Authority Act 1999 started the ball rolling. It provided for the creation of a new strategic authority for the governance of the capital – an authority that would be led by a directly elected mayor. This reform is highly relevant to current debates about 'metropolitan mayors', including the idea of introducing a directly elected mayor for the Bristol city region.

In 2000, Ken Livingstone became the first directly elected political executive in UK history when he was elected mayor of Greater London. He brought high-profile political leadership to the capital and made many significant improvements – particularly in public transport, greening the city and capital investment. In the period since 2008, Boris Johnson has also exercised a bold, outgoing approach to the leadership of Greater London. Many in local government opposed the idea of introducing a mayor for London. Now, fifteen years later, few voices are raised arguing that the government should abolish the directly elected mayor for the capital.

This is not to imply that there is wide acceptance of the virtues of mayoral models of local governance. On the contrary, most local authorities in England have chosen **not** to introduce directly elected mayors, despite having had the opportunity to do so for many years. The Local Government Act 2000 required English local authorities to move away from the established committee-based structure of decision-making and choose

one of three alternative models: indirectly elected council leader and cabinet; directly elected mayor and cabinet; and directly elected mayor and council manager. The vast majority, including Bristol City Council, opted for the leader and cabinet model. By 2012, only 15 English local authorities, excluding London and Bristol, had decided to introduce a directly elected mayor – not much more than 3% of those entitled to do so.[5]

The Coalition Government, elected in May 2010, embarked on a fresh effort to encourage the large cities in England to introduce directly elected mayors. The Localism Act 2011 required the twelve largest cities in England to hold referendums on whether or not to adopt elected mayors. Two of the listed cities – Liverpool and Salford – decided to go ahead and introduce directly elected mayors under existing legislation. This meant that citizens in ten English cities participated in the referendums held in May 2012. Nine cities said 'no'. Bristol, as mentioned earlier, was the only city to vote 'yes'. The fact that Bristol citizens chose a distinctive path for local democratic reform generated national interest.

The Conservative Government, elected in May 2015, is actively promoting the idea of directly elected mayors for English city regions. The Queen's Speech, delivered to Parliament on 27 May 2015, includes proposals for a Cities and Local Government Devolution Bill, one that includes incentives for the large cities in England to introduce directly elected mayors. Greg Clark, the new Secretary of State for Communities and Local Government, is enthusiastic about the idea. He is on record as saying that: 'In short, I believe that mayors have the greatest potential of any leadership model.'[6] Tony Lloyd has already been selected as the interim mayor of the Manchester city region. He will be working with members of the Greater Manchester Combined Authority to prepare for the election of a directly elected mayor for Greater Manchester in May 2017. And other city regions in England are now actively considering the idea of introducing directly elected city region mayors.

The mayoral election in Bristol in 2012

The first mayoral election in Bristol's history was held on 15 November 2012. It attracted fifteen mayoral candidates, more than in any other mayoral election in England. Over twenty well-attended public meetings were organised by a wide variety of organisations, from community groups to business networks. These mayoral hustings provided many opportunities for lively debates about the future direction of the city, and there was a high level of media interest. Some 323,310 citizens were entitled to vote – a large electorate. A total of 90,273 votes were cast, representing a voter turnout of 27.9%

An Independent candidate, George Ferguson, won the contest by polling 37,353 votes. The runner-up was Marvin Rees, the Labour Party Candidate, who polled 31,259 votes. Mayor Ferguson formally took over responsibility for leading the city of Bristol at a

swearing-in ceremony held on 19 November 2012, three days after the results of the election were announced.

The pros and cons of directly elected mayors

The debate about elected mayors generates strong feelings. There are many arguments and counter-arguments to consider. Here, by drawing on the literature relating to elected mayors, we summarise the main pros and cons.

Arguments in favour of directly elected mayors:

- Visibility – citizens and others know who the leader of the city is, generating interest in public issues
- Legitimacy and accountability – arising from the direct election process
- Strategic focus and authority to decide – a mayor can make tough decisions for a city and then be held to account
- Stable leadership – a mayor holds office for four years and this can underpin a consistent approach to government
- Potential to attract new people into politics – creative individuals may be able to stimulate innovation in citizen activism and business support
- Partnership working – a mayor is seen as the leader of the place, rather than the leader of the council. This can assist in building coalitions

Arguments against directly elected mayors:

- A concentration of power – the model could place too much power in the hands of one person, who is overloaded
- Weak power of recall – elect an incompetent mayor and the city is stuck with this person for four years
- Celebrity posturing – the model could attract candidates more interested in self-promotion than sound policy-making
- Wrong area – the Localism Act 2011 provides for mayors to be elected for unitary authorities when many consider that metropolitan mayors on the London model are needed
- Cost – having a mayor will cost more money
- Our over-centralised state remains – without a massive increase in local power to decide things, the mayor will be a puppet dancing on strings controlled in Whitehall

In setting out these various positions we are not endorsing any of them. Rather, we are using these lists to suggest that important issues relating to the future of local democracy are at stake, issues that will remain a challenge for all those concerned with the future governance of Bristol.

In this context, it is important to note that, in 2012, over 35,000 Bristol citizens voted **against** the introduction of a directly elected mayor. This suggests that a considerable number of citizens have concerns about the mayoral model. This is one of the main reasons why this action-research project has the explicit aim – the second aim – of contributing insights designed to ensure that the introduction of a directly elected mayor brings about benefits and avoids potential disadvantages. There are different models of mayoral governance and we hope that this research can help decision-makers improve the mayoral model of governance for Bristol, one that responds to the concerns expressed by citizens, as well as to the enthusiasm that has been generated for developing this outgoing, and in the UK at least, relatively new approach to urban leadership.

3 The Bristol Civic Leadership Project

This section explains the main concepts we are using in this study of civic, or place-based, leadership; provides more detail on the two main questions the research is focussing on; and explains how the work on the Bristol Civic Leadership Project has progressed in the period 2012-15.

The realms of civic leadership

In previous research on place-based leadership in several countries, we have distinguished between three different realms of civic leadership.[7] Civic leaders operate at many geographical levels – from the street block to an entire sub-region and beyond. It is helpful to distinguish three 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 leaders 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.
- *Public managerial/professional leadership* – referring to the work of public servants appointed by local authorities, other public sector agencies, and central government to plan and manage public services, and promote community wellbeing. These officers bring professional and managerial expertise to the tasks of local governance.
- *Community and business leadership* – referring to the work of the many civic-minded people who give their time and energy to local leadership activities in a wide variety of ways. These individuals may be community activists, business leaders, social entrepreneurs, trade union leaders, voluntary sector leaders, religious leaders, higher education leaders and so on.

Our previous research shows that leaders from all three 'realms of civic leadership' can play a critical role in the leadership of a city. Those elected or appointed to senior positions in a city are certainly expected to exercise civic leadership, but leadership capacity is much more widely dispersed. The mayoral model provides an opportunity for the political leader to relate to all three realms of civic leadership in different ways to the traditional UK model of urban governance.

The three realms of leadership are all important in the civic leadership of a city. Crucially, they overlap. We describe the areas of overlap between these different

realms of leadership as innovation zones – areas providing many opportunities for innovation – see **Figure 1**. This is because **different perspectives are brought together** within these zones and this can enable active questioning of established approaches. **Figure 1** seeks to emphasise the connectivity, or potential connectivity, across the realms of civic leadership.

Figure 1: Realms of civic leadership

Political
Leadership

Public
Managerial /
Professional
Leadership

Community and
Business
Leadership

Potential innovation zones

The Bristol Civic Leadership Project uses the framework set out in **Figure 1** to guide information gathering and analysis. The model draws attention to the variety of interests that contribute to urban governance. We have used this framework in the preparation of this report. Thus, one of the surveys reported on in subsequent sections was designed to elicit the views of respondents drawn from all three realms of civic leadership. And the various workshops we have organised, as well as the interviews we have conducted, have sought the views of actors from all three realms.

By drawing on earlier research on urban governance we are using the following criteria to evaluate the governance system both 'before' and 'after' the mayoral model was introduced.[8] These criteria help us to assess the impact of the change in terms of leadership, and also analyse the impacts of the introduction of the mayoral model on different aspects of city governance processes.

1. Leadership in the community
2. Effective representation of the citizen
3. Legitimacy and accountability
4. Effectiveness in decision-making and implementation
5. Effective scrutiny of policy and performance
6. Responsiveness to local people

The details of the survey methods are set out in **Appendix 1**. In short, we drew on a survey of citizens via the *Bristol Quality of Life in your Neighbourhood Survey* and the *Bristol Citizens' Panel*, and the realms of civic leadership via a survey of those involved in the governance of Bristol. The surveys were designed to elicit views relating to all six criteria.

For the *Bristol Citizens' Panel* survey, the research attempts to assess whether people from different socio-economic backgrounds have differing views. In order to explore this aspect, we have divided our results from the *Bristol Citizens' Panel* into the following three categories: 'Better off Bristol'; 'Middle income Bristol'; and 'Less well off Bristol'. These categories have been derived from national statistics and the Index of Multiple Deprivation, cross-referenced to Bristol's 35 wards – see **Appendix 2** for more details. Wards described as 'Better off' are wards in which less than 10% of residents are 'income deprived'; in wards described as 'Middle income' between 10% and 19% of residents are 'income deprived'; and in wards described as 'Less well off', 20% or more of residents are 'income deprived'. The wards falling within each category are as set out in **Table 1** and the three categories are mapped in **Figure 2.** Some wards do, of course, contain people with widely varying levels of income. It follows that **Figure 2** provides only a broad brush picture of the socio-economic geography of Bristol.

Table 1: Bristol wards by socio-economic category

Category	Wards
Better off Bristol	Bishopston, Cabot, Clifton, Clifton East, Cotham, Henleaze, Redland, Stoke Bishop, Westbury-on-Trym
Middle income Bristol	Avonmouth, Bedminster, Brislington East, Brislington West, Eastville, Frome Vale, Hengrove, Hillfields, Horfield, Knowle, Southville, St. George East, St. George West, Stockwood, Windmill Hill
Less well off Bristol	Ashley, Bishopsworth, Easton, Filwood, Hartcliffe, Henbury, Kingsweston, Lawrence Hill, Lockleaze, Southmead, Whitchurch Park

Figure 2: Map of Bristol wards by socio-economic category
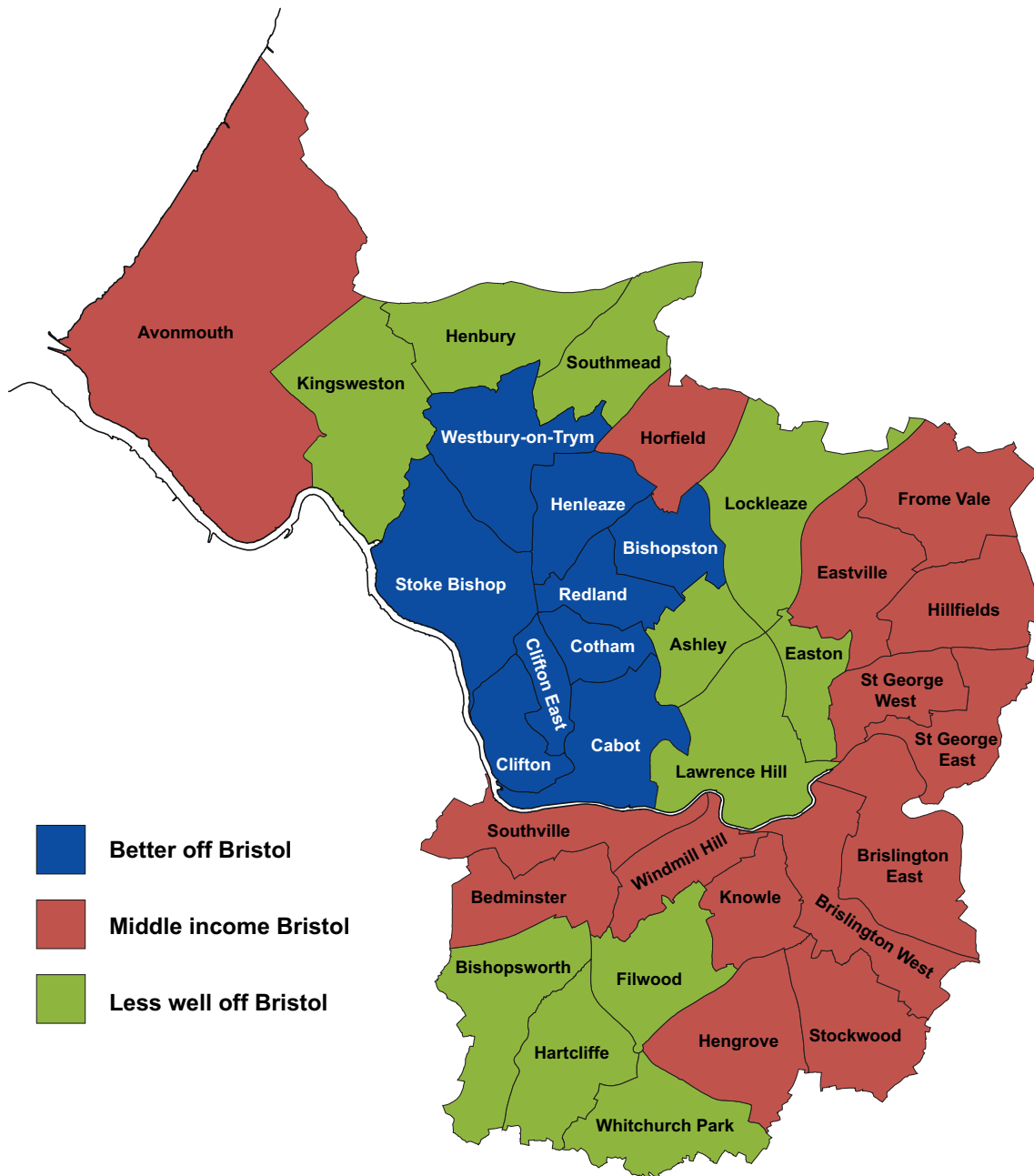
For several variables we have presented results according to these categories. A full list of these results is presented in **Appendix 3**.

In order to understand what people in the different realms of leadership feel about the mayoral model of governance, we surveyed 70 people each from the political realm, the public managerial/professional realm, and the community and business realm in our survey of civic leaders. Details of this survey, including response rates, are provided in **Appendix 1.** The results from this survey are presented by realm in **Appendix 4.**

In addition to the surveys, we have undertaken a number of activities that aim to bring out the views of different interests in more depth than surveys allow, as follows:

- In October 2012, we organised a *Prospects Workshop* to bring together an invited group of civic leaders, drawn from inside and outside local government, to share ideas on the future possibilities for mayoral governance in the city. This was a productive session and the research team produced a *Report on the Prospects Workshop* that was circulated to a wide audience.
- In February 2015, we organised two focus groups – one for leaders in the community and voluntary sector and one for business leaders. Each had 11 participants.
- In addition, the researchers have carried out 15 interviews with civic leaders drawn from the three realms of leadership, and have also interviewed stakeholders outside Bristol – in, for example, neighbouring unitary authorities and in Whitehall.

Members of the research team have been active in contributing to public debates about civic leadership in Bristol throughout the project. Here we mention some of these activities. We have attended numerous meetings during the course of the research and provided advice and suggestions. For example, we helped the Overview and Scrutiny Management Committee of the City Council organise an Inquiry Day into *Overview and Scrutiny in Mayoral Bristol* held on 14 September 2012. On 18 October 2012 we also attended the relevant committee meeting of the Council after the Inquiry Day to offer inputs.

In September 2014, as part of the *Bristol Festival of Ideas,* the researchers organised an event at The Watershed, Bristol on *Leading the Green City: An International Exchange.* Dr Christine Cheyne, Massey University, spoke about green mayoral leadership in New Zealand, and she also participated in a private seminar for senior councillors and officers.

In October 2014, we produced the first 'before' and 'after' findings in a *PolicyBristol* Policy Briefing (published by the University of Bristol).

In March 2015, the researchers organised, in collaboration with the *Institute for Government*, two high level events in London on *Mayoral Governance in England.* Bristol mayor George Ferguson and Sir Peter Soulsby, mayor of Leicester, shared thoughts on the strengths and weaknesses of mayoral governance at a public event attended by 70 participants. A private seminar for 25 invited national stakeholders explored themes relating to national policy for mayoral governance in England.

To coincide with the Institute for Government seminars, the research team prepared a short Policy Report titled *Mayoral Governance in Bristol: An Initial Assessment of the Impacts.* Published by *PolicyBristol,* the report attracted interest from the media.

The researchers, both residents of Bristol, have also been participant observers of the changes that have taken place and have attended various public meetings in the city. We have made numerous contributions to the media – radio, television, newspapers and news websites – about the research project. We have also created a research project website to facilitate information sharing and debates about leadership approaches for Bristol: http://bristolcivicleadership.net

This approach to research is called 'engaged research' in the US context.[9] It involves a redefinition of the nature of scholarship and we hope that, over time, the Bristol Civic Leadership Project will continue to contribute new ideas on how scholars and practitioners can co-create new knowledge and understanding by developing a partnership approach to social discovery.

Sections four to nine now present findings relating to each of the six evaluation criteria presented above. Each section includes evidence derived from our surveys of citizens and civic leaders, and from our focus groups, workshops and interviews.

4 Leadership in the community

We included several questions in our surveys about leadership in the community. One asked to what extent respondents agreed or disagreed with the statement 'The city of Bristol has visible leadership', and another whether they agreed that 'The leadership of the council has a vision for the city'. In 2012, we asked whether the introduction of the mayoral system would improve the leadership of the city. In 2014, we asked if the introduction of the mayor had actually done so.

In overall terms, in the opinion of our survey respondents – both members of the public and civic leaders – leadership of the city has improved in terms of visibility, and in terms of having a vision for the city. A majority of citizens also agree that leadership has improved in the city.

From the *Bristol Citizens' Panel* surveys (see **Table 2**) there is a clear and dramatic improvement in responses between 2012 and 2014 for two statements relating to leadership in the city. More than two-thirds of the public in Bristol agreed that the city of Bristol had visible leadership in 2014, after the introduction of the mayor, compared with less than one quarter before – a rise of 45%. Similarly, in 2014, well over half of Bristol residents agreed that the leadership of the council had a vision for the city, compared with just over one quarter in 2012 – a rise of 31%.

These are startling figures and provide evidence of positive change. They indicate that an outward- and forward-facing form of leadership has been introduced in a relatively short space of time. However, residents' views on whether the mayoral model has delivered improved leadership suggest that, for some, the aspirations have not yet been met. In 2012, 63% of Bristol residents agreed with the suggestion that the introduction of the mayoral model would improve the leadership of the city. In 2014, 54% felt that it had, in fact, done so. While this is a drop of 9%, it remains the case that over half those who responded thought that the mayoral model had delivered improved leadership. The evidence presented in **Table 2** suggests that the mayoral model has given a real boost to civic leadership in the city.

Table 2: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014, leadership in the community, percent agree

Statement	2012	2014	Difference
The city of Bristol has visible leadership	24.1	68.6	+44.5*
The leadership of the council has a vision for the city	25.2	56.3	+31.1*
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d the leadership of the city	62.9	53.8	-9.1*

* Significant at the 1% confidence level

However, a note of caution about the leadership advantages of the model needs to be introduced. Issues for attention arise when results are analysed according to the socio-economic background of respondents. The results taking account of this variable are shown in **Figure 3**. This shows that, in 2012, there was a high level of optimism across all income categories about the prospects for the new model. In all cases over 60% anticipated that the mayoral model would improve civic leadership. However, in 2014, **Figure 3** shows that in each socio-economic category fewer people were likely to agree that leadership had actually improved, and agreement drops with income. Indeed, there is a statistically significant relationship between income and perception of leadership improvement in 2014, after the introduction of the mayoral system, where there was none in 2012. Put simply, less well off people tend to believe that the mayoral model has not delivered the hoped-for leadership benefits.

Figure 3: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014. A directly elected mayor will/ has improve/d the leadership of the city, percent agree, by ward socio-economic category
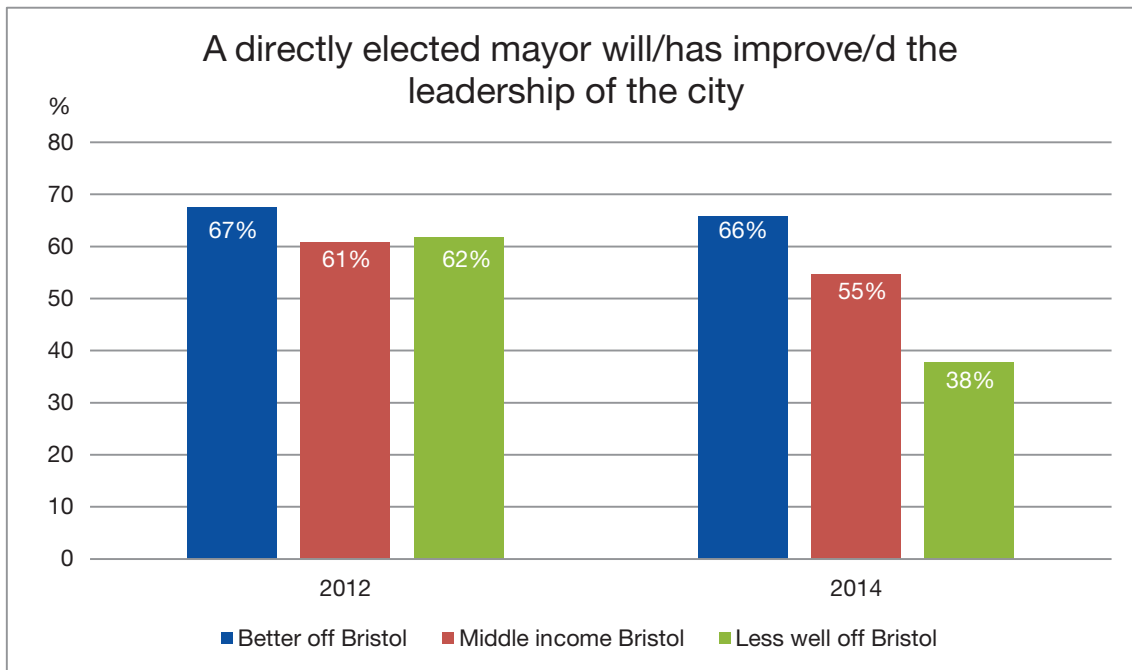
Table 3 shows that there are some interesting differences between the realms of civic leadership in the city in relation to the leadership benefits of the mayoral model. There is widespread agreement that the model has delivered spectacular results in relation to visible leadership. In 2012, some 23% of public managers thought that the city had visible leadership and this figure leapt to 94% in 2014. Civic leaders from the community, voluntary and business sectors are even more impressed with the change in leadership visibility, with their figures jumping from 25% to 97% between surveys – a staggering increase of over 70%.

Table 3: Civic Leaders' survey, 2012 and 2014, leadership in the community, percent agree

	Political realm			Public managerial and professional realm			Community and business realm		
	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference
The city of Bristol has visible leadership	55.8	78.1	+22.3*	22.6	94.1	+71.5**	25.0	97.2	+72.2**
The leadership of the council has a vision for the city	67.4	56.3	-11.1	50.0	76.5	+26.5*	32.6	75.0	+42.4**

* Significant at the 5% confidence level
** Significant at the 1% confidence level

Table 3 also shows that, in 2012, those in the political realm were more likely to consider that the former, pre-mayoral system delivered visible leadership than those in other realms. But even politicians agree that the visibility of leadership has increased. In 2014, 78% felt that the city had visible leadership compared with 56% in 2012.

In relation to the leadership of the council having a vision for the city, there are considerable rises for both the public managerial realm and the community and business realm with, in 2014, levels of agreement at around three-quarters for both these groups. However, the level of agreement of those in the political realm has fallen, from around two-thirds agreement in 2012, to a little over half in 2014.

The differences in perceptions between the three realms of leadership come over most plainly in their responses to the questions about the improvement of leadership in the city. As **Figure 4** shows, in 2012, many councillors (the political realm) did not believe the introduction of a mayor would improve leadership of the city, and they did not believe it had done so in 2014. This contrasts with the views of those in the public managerial and professional realm, and those in the community and business realm; in 2012, a substantial majority of people in these two realms thought that a directly elected mayor would improve leadership, and in 2014, substantial majorities thought that it had done.

Figure 4: Civic Leaders' survey, 2012 and 2014. A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d the leadership of the city, percent agree, by realm

## A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d the leadership of the city
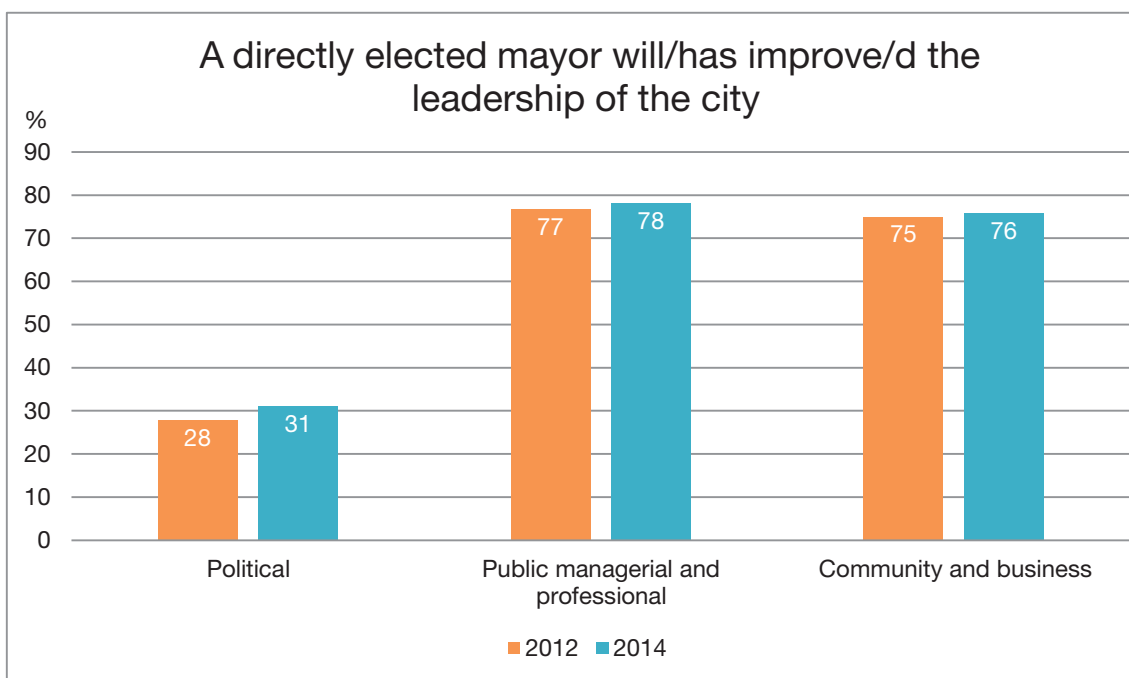
The impression from the interviews and focus groups on the introduction of mayoral governance was that there was general agreement that the mayoral model had increased the visibility of leadership of the council, and in turn the city, with the mayor acting as a focal point, locally, nationally and internationally. On the previous system, one respondent from our community and business realm commented:

'There was a lack of any clear leadership, lack of profile, lack of articulation of where the city was going, very parochial, always pulling the city inwards... the hope was that this new model would provide leadership.'

Another commented:

'... the City Council was just a blob, people didn't know what it was... most people in the city couldn't say who the leader was.'

Some respondents felt that the council was ruled too much by 'party politics', and that the broader interests of Bristol were sometimes lost as a result of political 'points scoring', or 'political squabbling'. One civic leader from our community and business realm commented 'People are weary of a council where politicians fail to work together for the good of the city'.

In contrast, the mayoral model was seen as enabling leadership and change. For example, the ability to make decisions and push them through, even in the face of disagreement, was seen by many as positive and a considerable break from the previous system. A business sector representative commented:

'We wanted someone who would not worry about what people thought of him and would love the city enough to do things that might not be popular.'

The mayoral model was seen as providing the opportunity for someone to take potentially 'difficult' decisions that others had shied away from in the past.

Yet while the general mood around the issue of the new system enabling the exercise of leadership was positive, some took a more ambivalent view. For example, one councillor commented that increased visibility was 'not the be all and end all' of leadership, and that power was 'too concentrated' around the mayor, a view echoed by many other councillors. A common theme was that the role of councillors in exercising leadership had been unnecessarily restricted. Moreover, this sentiment was not limited solely to councillors. One voluntary sector respondent, lamenting the concentration of power in the position of the mayor, stated 'Councillors are less visible, it's a mayor and officer council now'.

Finally, we refer to findings from the *Bristol Quality of Life Survey*. As explained in **Appendix 1,** this is a large-scale annual survey sent out to 24,000 randomly selected residents in Bristol, by Bristol City Council. Respondents have now been asked in 2012, 2013 and 2014 to agree or disagree with the statement that the mayor will improve/ is improving the leadership of the city. The level of agreement with this statement has remained fairly steady (2012: 41%; 2013: 38%; 2014: 40%). However, the level of disagreement increased in 2014 (2012: 22%; 2013: 22%; 2014: 31%). Interpreting this data is not straightforward. Sometimes effective leadership requires leaders to take decisions that may be unpopular.

Mayor Ferguson has, for example, pushed ahead with ambitious policies to change patterns of behaviour in the city – the introduction of a Residents Parking Zone scheme in parts of the city is an important example. Citizens may perceive policies of this kind as an unwelcome disruption to established patterns of living, and may express negative views on the leadership of the city. However, this does not necessarily mean that mayoral leadership is faulty. Sometimes wise political leaders push at the boundaries of what is generally seen to be acceptable. For example, London mayor Ken Livingstone introduced a congestion charge on vehicles entering central London in 2003, and this was bitterly opposed by many at the time. However, once implemented, Londoners were pleased with the environmental and public transport benefits arising from the introduction of the charge. No serious politicians are now advocating the abolition of the congestion charge.[10] It remains an open question whether Mayor Ferguson's strong leadership on environmental issues will be viewed as positive or negative in the longer term.

5 Effective representation of the citizen

In our surveys of Bristol residents, we used several statements to test opinions in relation to the criterion of effective representation of the citizen around issues of involvement, the representation of city-wide views, the representation of individual views, and the representation of the interests of Bristol, as shown in **Table 4**.

Table 4: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014, effective representation of the citizen, percent agree

Statement	2012	2014	Difference
There are many opportunities to get involved in decision-making in important affairs in the city	27.4	33.0	+5.6
City-wide views are well represented by the council	18.3	23.7	+5.4
A directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d my views are better represented	38.0	26.6	-11.4*
A directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d the interests of Bristol are better represented	66.6	53.6	-13.0*

* Significant at the 1% confidence level

The responses to the first two statements show a marginal improvement between 2012 and 2014, but a decline in relation to the other two statements. Citizens appear to have different views about representative arrangements **in** the city as compared with representation **of** the city. In relation to the first three statements – about involvement in decision-making, the representation of city wide views, and the representation of individual views – all figures are low – under one-third in each case. These results are troubling for advocates of the mayoral model as they indicate that most people do not feel that involved in decision-making and are not convinced that their views are better represented.

Citizens are, however, more positive about the way a directly elected mayor can represent the interests of the city. In 2012, some two-thirds thought the mayoral model would score well on this criterion and, in 2014, most thought that the model had, in fact, done so.

In relation to the statement that the introduction of the mayoral system would ensure 'my views' would be better represented, we have been able to analyse whether there are differences of view between different socio-economic groups in the city. The results are presented in **Figure 5**.

Figure 5: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014. The introduction of a directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d my views are better represented, percent agree, by ward socio-economic category

The introduction of a directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d my views are better represented
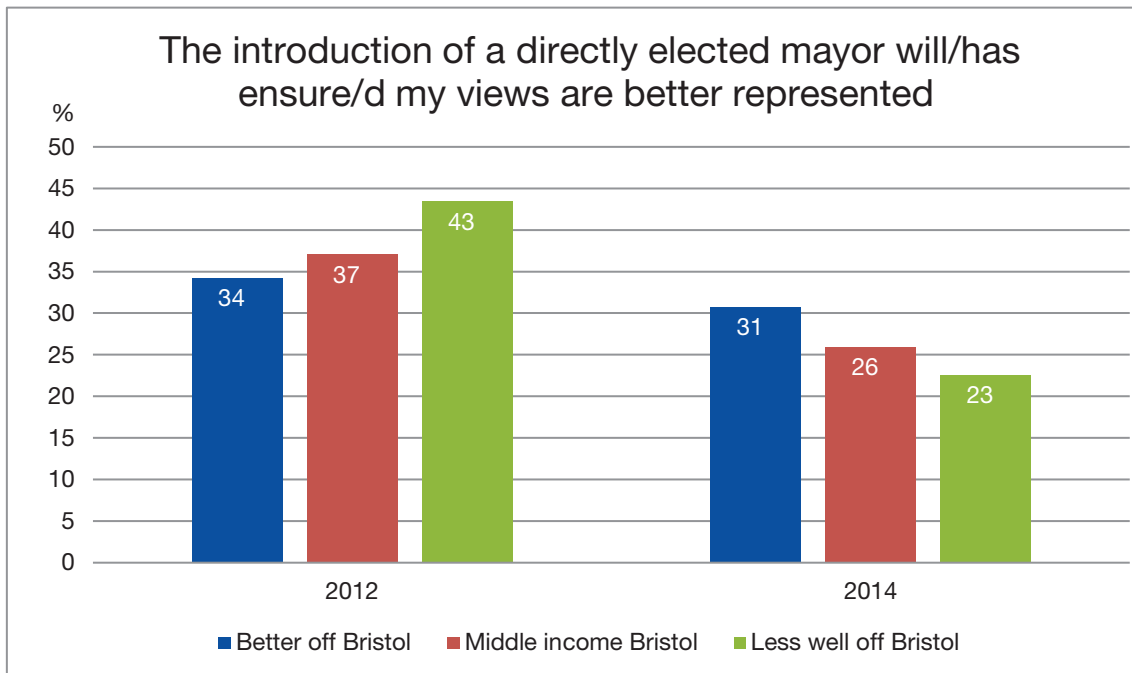
The 2012 responses to this question indicate that that, in broad terms, people in the less well off parts of Bristol tended to feel slightly more optimistic about being represented in the mayoral governance system than those people in the better off parts. However, by 2014, fewer people tended to report that the introduction of mayoral governance had led to better representation of their views. Moreover, the association had reversed, i.e. those people in the better off parts of Bristol tended to report feeling better represented than those in the less well off parts. As with results about the exercise of leadership, these differences between different socio-economic groups suggest that more effort is needed to advance the cause of social inclusion in the democratic governance of the city.

Issues of representation and involvement reveal different assessments between different realms of civic leadership – see **Table 5**. For the statement 'There are many opportunities to get involved in decision-making in important affairs in the city', nearly two-thirds of those in the political realm agreed with the statement in 2012, compared to about half of those in the public managerial and professional realm, and about a third of those in the community and business realm. By 2014, after the introduction of the mayoral system, levels of agreement dropped to under one-fifth in the political realm, remained largely unchanged in the managerial and professional realm, but went up to over half in the community and business realm.

Table 5: Civic Leaders' survey, 2012 and 2014, effective representation of the citizen, percent agree, by realm

	Political realm			Public managerial and professional realm			Community and business realm		
	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference
There are many opportunities to get involved in decision-making in important affairs in the city	65.1	18.8	-46.6**	48.4	44.1	-4.3	36.4	52.8	+16.4
City-wide views are well represented by the council	58.1	31.3	-26.8*	35.5	36.4	+0.9	25.0	25.0	0.0
A directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d my views are better represented	16.3	16.7	+0.4	16.7	28.1	+11.4	45.0	42.4	-2.6
A directly elected mayor will/ has ensure/d the interests of Bristol are better represented	32.6	33.3	+0.7	70.0	78.1	+8.1	80.0	78.8	-1.2

* Significant at the 5% confidence level
** Significant at the 1% confidence level

For the representation of Bristol, though the views before and after the introduction of the new system have remained largely unchanged, the differences between the realms are striking. Only a third of councillors agree that the interests of Bristol are better represented following the introduction of the mayoral model, compared to approaching four-fifths of respondents in the other realms.

Councillors tended to argue that the governance of the city as a whole is less representative as a result of the introduction of the mayoral system. It should be mentioned here that Mayor Ferguson introduced a 'Rainbow' cabinet, meaning a group of senior councillors drawn from the different political parties on the council, to assist him with strategic policy-making for the city. Some of the councillors serving in the

cabinet believe that the mayoral model supports a more decisive approach to decision-making. One senior councillor expressed the view that the 'Rainbow' cabinet works effectively:

> 'It works well. Members of cabinet have changed their behaviour. It is very collegial. You get personal relationships across parties. We are all focussing on what's good for Bristol, not party politics.'

Another senior councillor agreed with this view but also noted:

> 'In 2012 my main fear was that if you concentrate all the power in the hands of a mayor you could get a kind of dogmatism and… even an overbearing approach. The mayoral model under the Localism Act does not have sufficient checks and balances.'

Many actors, from both inside and outside the council, are not convinced that the current structures and processes are delivering effective representation of different viewpoints, of both citizens and different interests in the city. For example, one voluntary sector representative stated:

> 'The route into influence is not clear and the "Rainbow" cabinet doesn't make it representative. We had an assistant mayor at a public meeting and he stood up and said "I can advise the mayor but I have no power".'

Another voluntary sector representative suggested that the individualised leadership structure was 'not reflecting the views of the 400,000 people across the city'. One public manager focussed on the difficulties of getting things on the agenda that were outside the mayor's sphere of interest:

> 'No mayor can be interested in everything. So what should be done with things that they are not interested in? One person can't carry everything.'

In line with the survey data, many of our interviewees thought that Bristol was benefiting from a higher profile after the introduction of the mayoral system. Council officers mentioned greater access to central government, including with senior central government Ministers, including the Prime Minister. This was supported by a Whitehall civil servant, who commented:

> 'My impression is that Bristol has had more access as a result of having a mayor, and it has helped its profile. For example, there was a meeting with the PM around the Green Capital. I'm not saying that wouldn't have happened without a mayor, but the fact that there was gave it more profile than if there wasn't.'

Moreover, an increased international profile has contributed to Bristol being one of only four European cities to be invited to join the network of 100 Resilient Cities, run

by the Rockefeller Foundation in the USA; designated European Green Capital in 2015; and recognised for Urban Innovation in an award from the Chinese City of Guangzhou.

Also, a senior officer from a neighbouring local authority thought that the increase in Bristol's national visibility, as a result of the introduction of a directly elected mayor, was of broader benefit to surrounding areas. They commented:

> 'A real positive has been around raising the profile of Bristol to the benefit of the sub-region, with government... Bristol is one of the major cities.'

6 Legitimacy and accountability

We included three statements to explore issues of legitimacy and accountability in our surveys. The first was about clarity of decision-making; the second about trust in decision-making; and the third about public confidence in decision-making. The results from the Citizens' Panel surveys are shown in **Table 6**.

Table 6: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014, legitimacy and accountability, percent agree

Statement	2012	2014	Difference
It is clear who is responsible for making decisions at the council	17.5	38.2	+20.7**
I trust the council to make good decisions	18.5	22.7	+4.2*
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d public confidence in decision-making in the city	57.4	33.4	-24.0**

* Significant at the 5% confidence level
** Significant at the 1% confidence level

In relation to these variables, comparing the previous leader-and-cabinet system to the new mayoral system, we find a mixed picture. Between 2012 and 2014, there was a considerable rise in the proportion of people who agreed that responsibility for decision-making is clear – a sizable proportion believe that clarity of responsibility for decision-making has improved. The survey data also suggests that there has also been a modest increase in the proportion of citizens who trust the council to make good decisions. However, in both cases, overall figures remain worryingly low, especially so in the case of trust, at 23%.

In relation to perceptions relating to public confidence, the optimism before the introduction of the mayoral system has dissipated somewhat in the intervening period – in 2014, only about one-third of Bristol citizens thought that public confidence in decision-making had improved. Differences in socio-economic background seem less marked for legitimacy and accountability variables than some other variables. For example, no statistically significant relationship exists between responses relating to clarity of, or trust in, decision-making and income group.

The perceptions of civic leaders on issues relating to legitimacy and accountability are shown in **Table 7**.

Table 7: Civic Leaders' survey, 2012 and 2014, legitimacy and accountability, percent agree

	Political realm			Public managerial and professional realm			Community and business realm		
	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference
It is clear who is responsible for making decisions at the council	39.5	40.6	+1.1	41.9	63.6	+21.7	30.2	35.3	+5.1
I trust the council to make good decisions	44.2	16.1	-28.1*	25.8	48.5	+22.7	14.0	23.5	+9.5
A directly elected mayor will/ has improve/d public confidence in decision-making in the city	34.9	3.3	-31.6**	53.3	31.3	-22.0	57.5	30.3	-27.2*

* Significant at the 5% confidence level
** Significant at the 1% confidence level

The proportion of those agreeing that it is clear who is responsible for decision-making at the council has gone up in the public managerial and professional realm, but remained largely unchanged – and at low levels – in the political realm, and the community and business realm. Amongst councillors, trust in decision-making has dropped dramatically, and the view that the mayoral model would lead to an improvement in public confidence in decision-making has plummeted to 3%. Respondents from the other realms of civic leadership also report lower levels of public confidence in decision-making in 2014, following the introduction of the mayoral model, than in 2012.

Many councillors expressed frustration at the ability of the mayor to make decisions in the face of councillor preferences. One councillor said:

> 'Seventy elected councillors can stand up and say "You've got it wrong" and legally he or she can turn round and say "I hear what you say but the law says I make the decisions". And so one person can overturn the will of an elected council. That is not democracy.'

A common complaint from this group is that there is no means either to remove the mayor from office between elections, or for the City Council to replace the mayoral system in the city. This is because the mayoral model in Bristol has been introduced under the Localism Act 2011.

There is considerable ambivalence on the issue of accountability across all three realms of civic leadership. On the one hand, many recognise that it is important for the directly elected mayor to have a degree of freedom to enable the post holder to exercise political leadership. On the other, many also wish to see an appropriate level of oversight to enable the mayor to be held to account and to be required to listen to, for example, the expressed preferences of the City Council. One voluntary sector representative stated:

> 'There's a worry in my mind that we just end up going round in circles. One of the hopes I had about the mayor was that it would unblock the logjam. Now the worry is that it is too unaccountable... which means we end up going round in circles and creating logjams again. I'm worried that we're striving for a utopia that doesn't exist.'

7 Effectiveness in decision-making and implementation

For effectiveness in decision-making and implementation, we asked about timeliness of decision-making, about perceptions of influence over other governmental and non-governmental interests, and about improvement in decision-making more generally. The results from the Citizens' Panel surveys are shown in **Table 8**.

Table 8: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014, effectiveness in decision-making and implementation, percent agree

| Statement		2012	2014	Difference
Decisions are made in a timely way by the council		13.1	15.5	+2.4
The leadership of the council can influence…	Central government	12.5	19.3	+6.8*
	Other local public service providers	38.8	45.7	+6.9**
	Neighbouring authorities	26.2	31.0	+4.8*
	Business interests	35.8	44.3	+8.5**
	The voluntary sector	39.7	48.3	+8.6**
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d decision-making in the city		58.3	41.3	-17.0**

* Significant at the 5% confidence level
** Significant at the 1% confidence level

Public perceptions of the timeliness of decision-making at the council have changed little as a result of the introduction of the mayoral model. They were low in 2012, and remained so in 2014, despite a marginal rise. Public perceptions of influence over other interests, however, have risen in each case between 2012 and 2014. Though none of these increases is dramatic, it is noticeable that these are across the board increases, indicating the public impression of a more outward-facing, influential council. For improvement in decision-making, the optimism that improvements in decision-making that the mayoral model would bring have again somewhat dissipated. Though 41% of Bristol's citizens thought that decision-making had improved in 2014 – a considerable proportion of citizens – this figure is less than the 58% who in 2012 thought that the mayoral model would improve decision-making.

Moreover, in common with perceptions of leadership and representation, the perceptions of improvement in decision-making are associated with the socio-economic background of respondents. **Figure 6** shows that, in 2012, a relatively high proportion of respondents, over 56%, in all three socio-economic groups thought that

the mayoral model would improve decision-making in the city. In all cases, the 2014 figures suggest that, in relation to improved decision-making, the model has delivered less than had been hoped. Interestingly the Less well off group seem to be particularly disappointed about the performance of the mayoral model on this indicator.

Figure 6: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014. A directly elected mayor will/ has improve/d decision-making in the city, percent agree, by ward socio-economic category
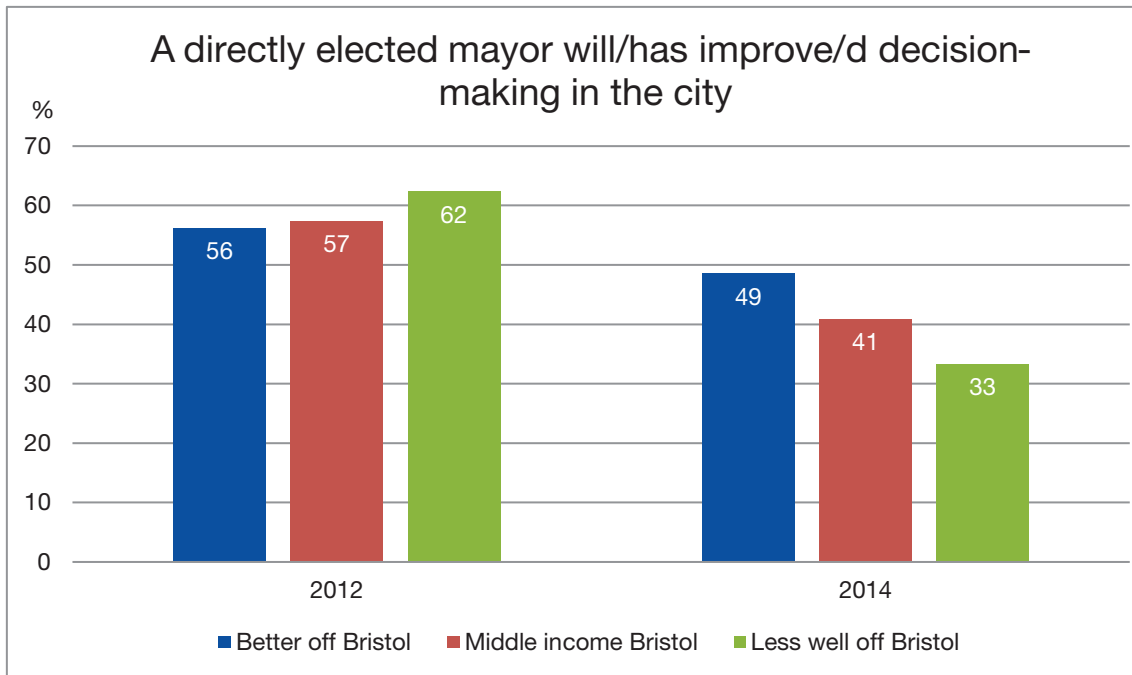
Perceptions around the effectiveness of decision-making bring into sharp relief the differences in opinion between different realms of civic leadership, as shown in **Table 9**. Taking, for example, the statement about whether a directly elected mayor would improve decision-making, in 2014 fewer than one-quarter of those in the political realm thought that the introduction of the mayor improved decision-making in the city, compared to over one half in each of the public managerial and professional realm, and, the community and business realm.

The differences between the perceptions of the different realms are also evident in their views on influence of the leadership of the council over different interests. **Figure 7** shows that more respondents in both the community and business realm, and the public managerial and professional realm, thought that the leadership of the council was more able to exercise influence over the five actors listed in our survey in 2014, compared to 2012. In contrast, and with only one exception (influence over business interests), fewer respondents in the political realm thought that the leadership of the council was able to influence those same actors in 2014 compared to 2012. The political realm tended to see the leadership of the council becoming less influential

Table 9: Civic Leaders' survey, 2012 and 2014, efficiency in decision-making and implementation, percent agree

Statement		Political realm			Public managerial and professional realm			Community and business realm		
		2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	
Decisions are made in a timely way by the council		44.2	6.3	-37.9**	16.1	36.4	+20.3	9.3	14.7	+5.4
The leadership of the council can influence…	Central government	28.6	9.7	-18.9*	13.3	43.8	+30.5**	14.6	42.4	+27.8**
	Other local public service providers	39.5	26.7	-12.8	33.3	69.7	+36.4**	43.9	57.6	+13.7
	Neighbouring authorities	34.9	16.1	-18.8	26.7	30.3	+3.6	24.4	27.3	+2.9
	Business interests	25.9	41.9	+16.0	13.3	54.5	+41.2**	19.5	39.4	+19.9
	The voluntary sector	51.2	45.2	-6.0	53.3	60.6	+7.3	43.9	54.5	+10.6
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d decision-making in the city		32.6	23.3	-9.3	66.7	59.4	-7.3	72.5	51.5	-21.0

* Significant at the 5% confidence level
** Significant at the 1% confidence level

Figure 7: Civic Leaders' survey, influence of the leadership of the council, differences between 2012 and 2014, by realm
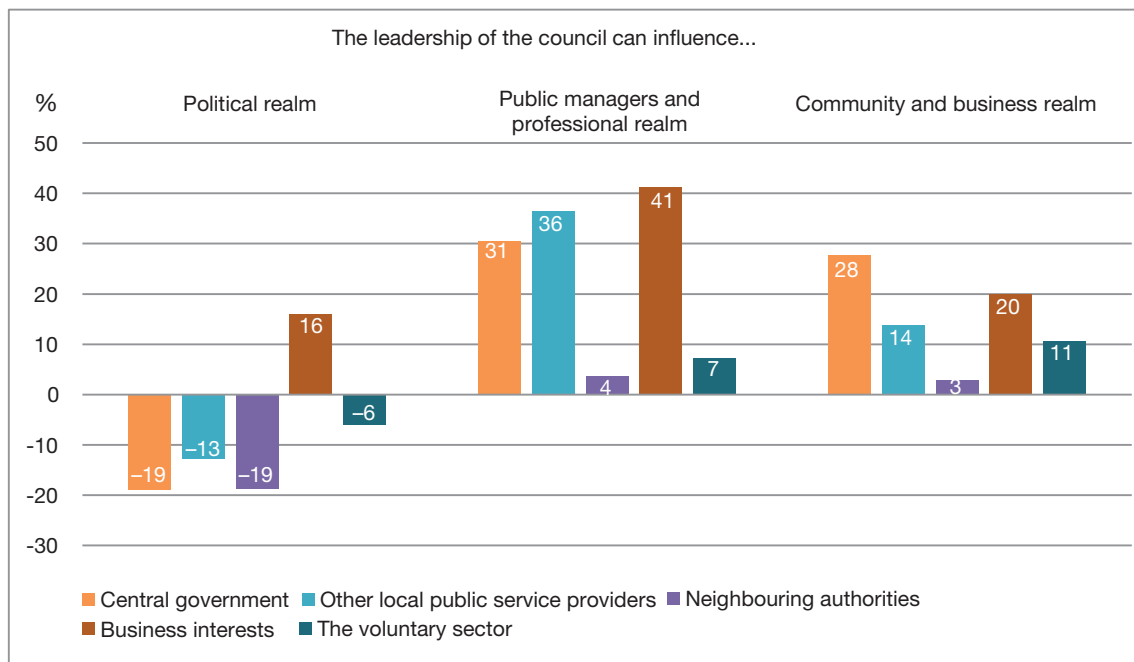
with the move to mayoral governance, while other sectors saw it becoming more influential.

The issue of timeliness is more nuanced. Our survey of civic leaders showed a collapse in councillor perceptions of timeliness of decision-making at the council, from 44% in 2012 to 6% in 2014. Conversely, while figures remain low, in the other realms of leadership, more people were likely to agree that decision-making was timely after the introduction of the mayor. On the whole, councillors were more likely to argue that decision-making was proceeding with undue haste, without the necessary and proper, consultation, debate and scrutiny of decisions. However, one senior councillor put the counter-argument:

> 'Local government has a natural ability to delay decision-making… it is almost designed to slow things down. What the mayoral model says is "Let's cut all this out. Let's make things happen".'

Others, often from outside the council, were also minded to view the increase in the speed of decision-making positively. One business sector representative commented:

> 'Having an elected mayor, things move faster, not always in the right direction perhaps, but any decision is better than nothing.'

In our focus groups and interviews the view was often expressed that the introduction of the mayoral model has helped to ease relationships not just with business, but also with other cities, especially internationally, facilitating external relationships.

There was unease, however, at the centralisation of decision-making in the position of mayor. Some of this unease was about formal decision-making powers resting with the mayor, rather than cabinet members, and the ability of the mayor to appoint (and dismiss) cabinet members. More broadly, there was concern about overloading the position of the mayor, creating bottlenecks, and a lack of capacity and resource around the institution of the mayor. Even though we were told that "We've had to create a much larger office for the mayor than we ever would have had for a council leader", there was still the impression externally of the mayor acting without sufficient support. This situation is, perhaps, accentuated by the fact that the current mayor is an Independent and does not, therefore, have the backing and support of a political party. One business representative commented:

> 'Clearly there is a bottleneck around the mayor… Who is advising him? Who is helping him? He doesn't have much of a personal staff.'

Nevertheless, some officers in the council welcomed the perceived clarity of purpose and direction that the new system is able to offer. One officer commented:

> 'From some points of view, it has been a very freeing and liberating experience. Officers still work closely with members, but there is a clearer

line of sight re decision-making, and more clarity about where we are going.'

Another said:

'The degree of clarity about values and priorities makes it easier to understand where to invest the team's time and efforts... there is more freedom within the agenda that's been set.'

This in turn was has knock-on effects to the way that Bristol is perceived externally. A Whitehall civil servant stated:

'I think the existence of the role – and the way the current mayor has gone about it – has made a difference to the way Bristol is viewed. It has given the officers a longer-term perspective, and they seem to be a lot more prepared to be innovative. In the past – probably over five years ago – my impression was that Bristol punched beneath its weight. Now it is doing interesting, radical things, and in some areas is a national leader. My impression is that this innovation has thrived because there is a longer-term vision and more continuity in leadership.'

The mayor chooses not to delegate decision-making powers to cabinet members. One consequence of this approach is that the power of officers to make decisions increased significantly in the period immediately after the election of the mayor. Councillors expressed concerns about this shift and, in recent times, senior officers have become more active in working with cabinet members.

8 Effective scrutiny of policy and performance

For effective scrutiny of policy and performance, we included three statements in our surveys, on clarity over who to approach in the case of not being happy with local issues, on whether ward councillors provide an effective check on council leadership, and whether the introduction of a directly elected mayor has made performance review of the council easier. The results from the Citizens' Panel surveys are shown in **Table 10**.

Table 10: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014, effective scrutiny of policy and performance, percent agree

Statement	2012	2014	Difference
It is clear who people should approach if they are not happy with local issues	36.3	34.1	-2.2
Ward councillors provide an effective check on Council leadership	20.6	19.6	-1.0
A directly elected mayor will/has make/made it easier to review the performance of the Council	49.5	30.7	-18.8*

* Significant at the 1% level

In overall terms, there is little difference between 2012 and 2014 for the first two statements. A little over a third of people agreed both before and after the introduction of the mayoral system that it is clear who people should approach if they are not happy with local issues, and around a fifth of people thought that ward councillors provide an effective check on council leadership both before and after. A little under one-third of respondents after the introduction of the mayoral system thought that its introduction made it easier to review the performance of the council, compared to about one-half beforehand. The 2014 figure of 31% for the number of people who agree that the introduction of the mayoral system has made it easier to review of the performance of the council is to be welcomed. Nevertheless, this is lower than the 2012 figure, and the results for the other two variables are disappointing for supporters of the mayoral model of governance.

Additionally, there is an association between the responses to these variables in 2014 and the socio-economic geography of Bristol, as shown in **Figure 8**. In short, in relation to all the variables relating to effective scrutiny of policy and performance, those people in the better off parts of Bristol are more likely to respond positively than those people in the less well off parts of the city.

Figure 8: Citizens' Panel survey, 2014, effective scrutiny of policy and performance, percent agree, by ward socio-economic category
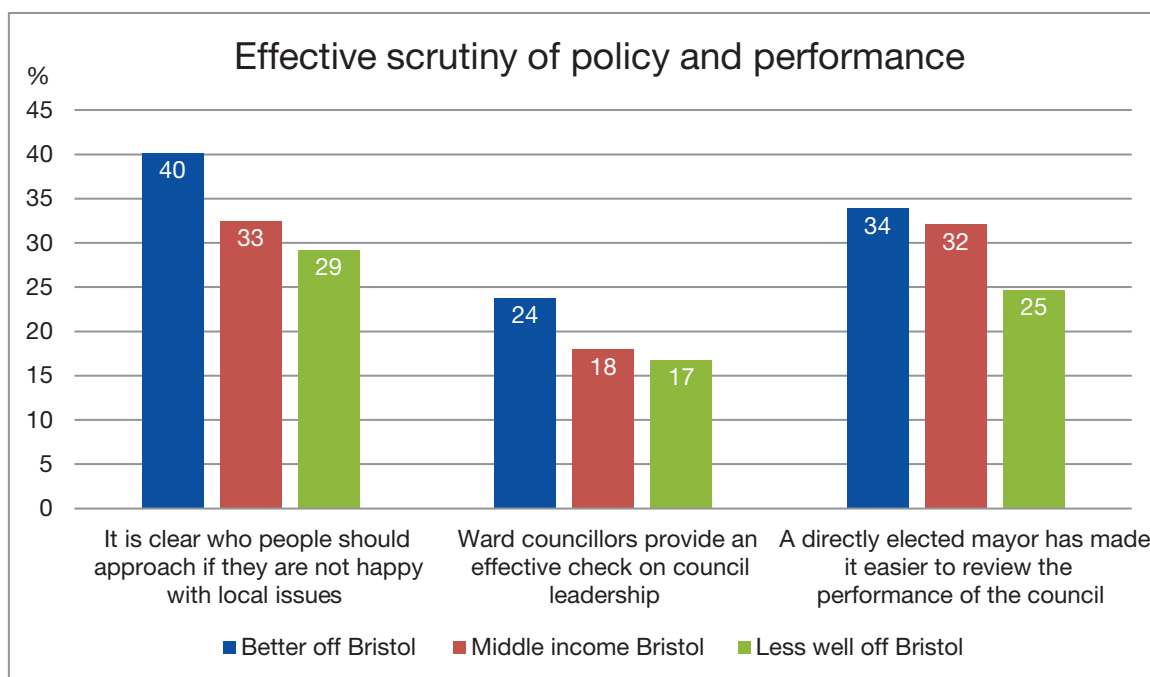

Table 11 shows the results for the variables about effective scrutiny of policy and performance according to the survey of civic leaders. For this set of variables there are few obvious patterns. It is, however, noteworthy that councillors are more likely than other groups (including the public) to perceive that they are able to provide an effective check on council leadership. Those in the public managerial and professional realm are most likely to agree that it is clear who people should approach if they are not happy with local issues, and for the business and community realm, the widespread hope that performance review would be easier under the mayoral system has dissipated.

The general view from councillors was that their ability to scrutinise policy and decision-making under the mayoral model was less so than under the previous system. One councillor described the process of scrutiny as 'listen and ignore' as legal provisions located decision-making in the mayor, rendering scrutiny weak.

The Overview and Scrutiny function

Under the Local Government Act 2000, Bristol City Council is required to establish an Overview and Scrutiny function. In the summer of 2012, the council recognised that arrangements for Overview and Scrutiny activities would need to be adapted to suit the requirements of the incoming mayoral model of governance. The Overview and Scrutiny Management Committee organised an Inquiry Day on 14 September 2012, ahead of the mayoral election that took place in November that year, to explore possibilities. Attended by over 60 councillors and officers, and chaired by Professor Robin Hambleton, the event identified a high level of agreement on the vital role of

Table 11: Civic Leaders' survey, 2012 and 2014, effective scrutiny of policy and performance, percent agree

	Political realm			Public managerial and professional realm			Community and business realm		
	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference
It is clear who people should approach if they are not happy with local issues	55.8	40.6	-15.2	54.8	63.6	+8.8	37.2	25.3	-11.9
Ward councillors provide an effective check on council leadership	51.2	46.9	-4.3	16.1	24.2	+8.1	20.9	21.2	+0.3
A directly elected mayor will/has make/made it easier to review the performance of the council	18.6	6.9	-11.7	20.0	15.6	-4.4	65.0	21.2	-43.8*

* Significant at the 1% confidence level

Overview and Scrutiny in ensuring local accountability, involvement and governmental transparency in mayoral Bristol, and developed a number of suggestions.

One area that needed to be addressed concerned the constitution of the City Council. The council spent time in 2013/14 developing an improved constitution, and full council adopted a new constitution in June 2014. As part of this work, the Centre for Public Scrutiny (CfPS) was commissioned to carry out an external review of scrutiny at Bristol City Council. This resulted in a series of recommendations that fed into the development of new arrangements for scrutiny. Under these, an Overview and Scrutiny Management Board (OSMB) is required to agree a single Overview and Scrutiny work programme at the start of the municipal year. This new approach, one supported by Mayor Ferguson, was intended to help develop a more strategic and forward-looking approach to Overview and Scrutiny.

In December 2014, CfPS was invited back by the council to evaluate the progress made since the original review and to make recommendations. This work, similar to the first review, involved interviews with members including the mayor, party group leaders, assistant mayors, and members and chairs of the scrutiny commissions, as well as observation of a number of meetings.

The review concluded that there was widespread, although not unanimous, agreement that scrutiny had improved since 2013. Areas where positive progress was noted

included an improvement in the quality of scrutiny reports, improved access to information, particularly in relation to the budget, improved communications and relationships, and an increased desire to develop a more strategic and longer-term approach to scrutiny.

CfPS identified twelve areas of development, including clarification of the council's approach to confidentiality and increased ownership of the scrutiny work programme by the OSMB. CfPS specifically focussed upon the development of the scrutiny work programme and recommended the following:

> 'In developing their work programme, members should seek a balance between "overview" and "scrutiny" and to do less, but do it better and do it differently, and once agreed, the work programme should be actively monitored by OSMB and Chairs held to account.' (Recommendation 8, *Centre for Public Scrutiny Report*, 2015)

This recommendation was used as the basis for a Scrutiny Workshop held on 19 June 2015. Facilitated by CfPS, discussions at this workshop enabled councillors to agree a scrutiny work programme for 2015/16. This identifies a number of important strategic issues for attention, for example, housing in the city. In our judgement, the new arrangements for Overview and Scrutiny should lead to an improvement in the quality, relevance and effectiveness of the scrutiny function in the coming period.

9   Responsiveness to local people

Table 12 shows the responses to the Citizens' Panel surveys on responsiveness to local people.

For the statement on responsiveness, and the statement on the representation of my community, there is some improvement, albeit from low starting points. The number of people who think that the introduction of the mayoral system has increased the drive for service improvement is 44%. While this is more positive than the figures for the other two variables, it is still somewhat less than that 2012 figure of 59%.

Table 12: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014, responsiveness to local people, percent agree

Statement	2012	2014	Difference
The leadership of the council ensures that council services are responsive to local people's needs	17.9	24.4	+6.5*
The needs of my community are well represented in decision-making in the city	16.2	22.5	+6.3*
A directly elected mayor will/has increase/d the drive for service improvement in the city	59.3	44.4	-14.9*

* Significant at the 1% confidence level

As with several other variables, there is an association with the socio-economic geography of Bristol in these responses, specifically for community representation in decision-making, and in the drive for service improvement, with in each case, those in better off parts of Bristol responding more positively than in worse parts of Bristol. For civic leaders, views tend to diverge according to realm. For councillors, there are very large drops in relation to the statements on responsiveness and representation between 2012 and 2014, whereas in other realms, the differences are not so large. Similarly, while the 2014 figure for whether the introduction of the mayoral system has increased the drive for service improvement is 20% in the political realm, it is around 40% in the other realms, again indicating the different perspectives across those involved in Bristol's governance.

Some felt there was potential for neighbourhood governance to offer a route fostering a more responsive system capable of reflecting diverse viewpoints from across the city. There was, however, no clear view of how such a system might be developed, in what ways the mayor might be involved, what the roles of councillors might be, or how residents could meaningfully and effectively participate. Some of the difficulties

Table 13: Civic Leaders' survey, 2012 and 2014, responsiveness to local people, percent agree

	Political realm			Public managerial and professional realm			Community and business realm		
	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference
The leadership of the council ensures that council services are responsive to local people's needs	51.2	18.8	-32.4*	41.9	45.5	+3.6	23.3	30.3	+7.0
The needs of my community are well represented in decision-making in the city	58.1	18.8	-39.3*	32.3	26.5	-5.8	27.3	33.3	+6.0
A directly elected mayor will/has increase/d the drive for service improvement in the city	32.6	20.0	-12.6	30.0	40.6	+10.6	53.8	42.4	-11.4

* Significant at the 1% confidence level

in this area include administrative, legal and constitutional aspects of decision-making. For example, what machinery might need to be in place for the devolution of decisions now legally residing with the mayor? Other aspects of this discussion take place at a more fundamental level, and concern the purpose of any neighbourhood governance arrangements, the relationship of ward councillors within them, the capacity of different neighbourhoods to take on greater roles and responsibilities, and the extent to which services are suitable for decentralisation.

10 Strategic choices for urban governance in Bristol in 2025

In this final section of our report we draw on the analysis presented in the previous sections to identify five topics that could deserve the attention of those concerned to improve urban governance in Bristol, and the Bristol city region, in the next ten years. Before introducing these topics, we wish to highlight two points.

Setting the scene: engaged scholarship and a wider view

First, the suggestions made here are not 'recommendations' in the sense used in conventional policy analysis. This is not a 'management consultancy' report on the governance of the city. It has a more scholarly ethos – it is intended to open up fresh ways of thinking, not to provide precise answers. Solutions to the challenges we have identified need to be co-created by the various stakeholders, including people from all the 'realms of civic leadership' we have identified, working on the challenges in a collaborative fashion. We believe that the local universities have a contribution to make to this conversation – this is what we mean by engaged scholarship.

As explained in Section 1), this study has two specific aims: 1) To assess what difference the mayoral model has made to the governance of Bristol, and 2) To identify steps that can be taken to improve the performance of the urban governance system. The previous sections address the first aim. They provide solid 'before' and 'after' evidence on the difference the mayoral model has made – as viewed from different perspectives. We hope that these findings are useful.

This final section focuses on the second aim: it tries to identify issues, or choices, that now lie ahead for those who want to improve the quality of local democracy in the city and, more broadly, to enhance the overall effectiveness of urban governance. While the suggestions we make are based directly on the action-research we have carried out, in collaboration with actors in the city, we have also tried to take account of the changing national context. In particular we believe that the Cities and Local Government Devolution Bill, now before Parliament, could open up new possibilities for reshaping urban governance in Bristol.

Second, we hope to encourage a conversation about how to improve the governance of Bristol over the next ten years. We are well aware of the fact that there will be mayoral and City Council elections in May 2016, and that the votes cast in these elections will have a very important impact on the way the city is governed through to 2020. We hope that our research can contribute to the debates that will take place in the coming

months in the run up to the local election. But our primary purpose is to encourage the development of a more reflective, longer-term conversation about how we, in Bristol, wish to be governed.

There are, of course, many areas deserving attention. However, to avoid sinking into a sea of detailed issues, we want to highlight just five topics for consideration and debate in Bristol. These are all, in our view, strategic and, in all cases, there are important local choices to be made. The five inter-related topics are:

1. The concentration of power in the mayoral office
2. The development of leadership roles for all councillors
3. The revitalisation of neighbourhood governance
4. The invention of new ways of including more voices in urban governance
5. The creation of an effective strategy for city region governance

1) The concentration of power in the mayoral office

There are sound arguments for concentrating power in the executive office of the mayor. It is clear that the process of direct election gives a mayor a very high level of personal legitimacy. While the Localism Act 2011 does not grant directly elected mayors any additional executive powers, there can be no doubt that the positional authority of a directly elected mayor is substantial. The evidence suggests that the directly elected mayor is a highly visible political figure, certainly a much more visible figure than the typical council leader, and that citizens expect the elected mayor to get on and make things happen. The citizens will assess the personal performance of the mayor as the city leader come the next local election. For all these reasons one might expect a directly elected mayor to adopt a highly centralised model of decision-making.

However, a number of respondents have suggested that the way the mayoral model of governance in Bristol is working at present is too centralised. The argument has been presented to us that if too much power is concentrated in the hands of one individual, councillors and other stakeholders can come to feel excluded from the local policy-making process. This, in turn, may weaken the legitimacy of the decisions taken by the mayor and diminish support for important initiatives. There is also the problem of overload on the centre. Even a remarkably talented and energetic directly elected mayor can only do so much. There is a risk that the mayor's office becomes a bottleneck in the decision-making process or, worse than that, important topics do not receive the appropriate level of analysis and attention.

Clearly a balance needs to be struck between, on the one hand, appropriate centralisation of power around the strategic objectives set by the directly elected mayor and, on the other, delegation of authority by the mayor to other players to act on his or her behalf. It is desirable for the mayor and others to consider options for decentralising some powers from the mayor's office – to, for example, the assistant

mayors serving in the cabinet, to ward councillors, and to the Neighbourhood Partnerships operating within the city.

2) The development of leadership roles for all councillors

Bristol City Council has seventy councillors elected on a ward basis. These elected politicians bring energy, enthusiasm, knowledge and wisdom to the process of governing the city. Our research suggests that many councillors are frustrated with the way the mayoral model is working in Bristol. An unsympathetic view would suggest that councillors who are critical of the mayoral model are just resistant to change, that they are unwilling to adapt to changing circumstances. This is not a constructive approach. Rather, active attention should be given to developing and strengthening the role of all councillors in the city.

Councillors put themselves forward for election for a variety of reasons but all of them are committed to public service, and to working to enhance the quality of life of those who live in, work in or visit the city. It follows that efforts to re-imagine the roles of councillors, and to come up with new ways of tapping the talents of all local politicians are vital. It should be possible for councillors to develop more productive and fulfilling roles within the mayoral system of governance than appears to be the case at present.

Clearly councillors need to take a lead in developing this agenda. Our research suggests several potential avenues for reform. First, and this relates to point 1) above, the roles of assistant mayors in the cabinet should be reviewed. The experience of cabinet members in other mayoral local authorities in England could be examined and a reshaping of responsibilities of assistant mayors in Bristol could be explored. Second, the changing roles of ward councillors should also be reviewed. As the city adapts to changing political, economic and social pressures there are opportunities for all councillors to operate across the realms of civic leadership shown in **Figure 1**.

3) The revitalisation of neighbourhood governance

Bristol City Council introduced Neighbourhood Partnerships in 2008 as a form of neighbourhood governance. The partnerships brought together local councillors, neighbourhood police teams, community groups and local residents. Over the years the Neighbourhood Partnerships have evolved and, in 2013, the City Council ran a consultation exercise on how to improve them. This survey work revealed that, while there is considerable variation across the city, four out of five respondents did not consider that enough decisions about council services were made locally, and over half wanted to be more involved in local decision-making.[11]

There is an opportunity here to examine ways of strengthening the roles of Neighbourhood Partnerships within the context of the mayoral model of governance. This suggestion ties in with the idea of exploring ways of enhancing the roles of ward councillors mentioned above.

4) The invention of new ways of including more voices in urban governance

Mayoral governance in Bristol has provided opportunities for experimentation in bringing new voices into the process of governing the city. Mayor Ferguson set up, for example, an Ideas Lab in November 2013. It invited proposals to improve the quality of life in Bristol, to be put forward to the Bloomberg challenge – an initiative to develop and share ideas between cities on various urban issues. It generated more than 300 proposals from different interests on a wide variety of topics, and attracted 1,300 comments and 3,300 ratings for the ideas. The 'learn, grow, and eat' proposal from Bristol was shortlisted in the competition.

Also in 2013, Mayor Ferguson announced the establishment of five Mayoral Commissions to look at key priorities for the city. The topics chosen were: Education and Skills; Fairness; Homes; Sports; and Women. Chaired by independent people, and including many knowledgeable people from outside the City Council, the commissions provided substantial reports in the spring of 2014. These efforts to widen participation in the governance of the city are to be applauded.

Such initiatives, and others, need to take place in an awareness of the context where less well off areas in Bristol tend to report lower levels of involvement and representation than better off areas. One response would be to strengthen representative structures in neighbourhoods where involvement appears less relative to others, and thus ties in with our suggestions in point 3), re-energising neighbourhood governance. There is also clearly a role for councillors within this context, and therefore it ties in with point 2), the development of leadership roles for all councillors. Our broader point, however, is that support for mayoral governance, and the sectors on which it draws on for support, need to be seen to be broadly based, reflecting different realms, sectors and interests in the city.

5) The creation of an effective strategy for city region governance

The governance of the Bristol city region is relatively fragmented. As shown in **Figure 9**, four unitary authorities contribute to the governance of the city region: Bath and North East Somerset, Bristol, North Somerset and South Gloucestershire.

The total population of the four unitary authorities is 1.1 million. Bristol, with a population of 442,000, contains around 40% of the population of the city region.

Figure 9: Map of the Bristol city region

272,000
South Gloucestershire

442,000
Bristol

208,000
North Somerset

182,000
Bath & North East
Somerset

Population ▮
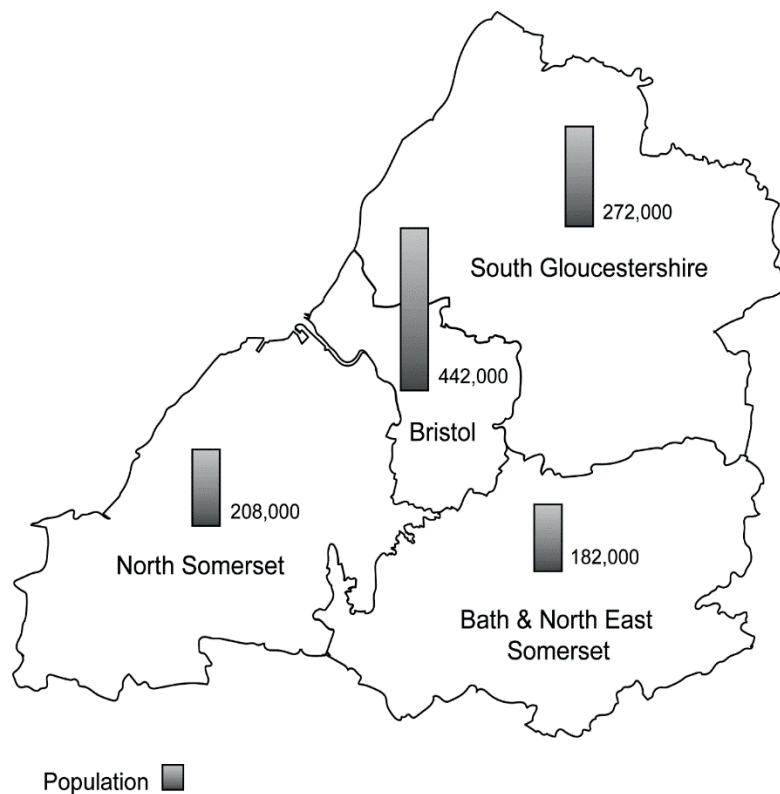
The Government is actively encouraging local authorities across the country to form alliances in order to benefit from so-called 'devolution deals'. The Cities and Local Government Devolution Bill, currently before Parliament, is intended to provide the legislative framework to enable groups of local authorities to form 'combined authorities' that can bid for enhanced powers. The Bill does not envisage granting additional tax raising powers to localities and it is also the case that Ministers plan to reduce rather than increase local government spending. This means that the new legislation will impose major constraints on local leaders. However, if local authorities are able to work effectively together, they may be able to win new powers covering, for example, transport, planning, housing, skills, public health and economic development. Given that some of the major challenges facing Bristol and the other local authorities in the city region require planning and action at the city region scale, there is an opportunity to win additional powers from Whitehall for the benefit of the local population.

Notes

1   Hambleton R., Howard J., Marsh A. and Sweeting D. (2013) *The Prospects for Mayoral Governance in Bristol.* Bristol: UWE Bristol

2   Keith-Lucas B. (1976) 'What price local democracy?', *New Society,* 12 August, p 341

3   UK Department of the Environment (1991) *Local Government Review: The Internal Management of Local Authorities. A Consultation Paper.* London: HMSO

4   Hambleton R. and Sweeting D. (2004) 'US-style leadership for English local government?', *Public Administration Review*, Vol 64, No 4, pp 474-488

5   Fenwick J. and Elcock H. (2014) 'Elected mayors: Leading locally?', *Local Government Studies*, Vol 40, No 4, pp 581-599

6   Paine D. (2015) 'A compassionate and flexible fan of mayors', *Local Government Chronicle*, 14 May, p 2

7   Hambleton R. (2009) 'Civic Leadership for Auckland. An International Perspective' in *Royal Commission on Auckland Governance,* Vol 4, Part 11, pp 515-552; Hambleton R. (2011) 'Place-based leadership in a global era', *Commonwealth Journal of Local Governance*, Issue 8/9: May-November

8   These six criteria are a development of the criteria used in: HM Government (1993) *Community Leadership and Representation: Unlocking the Potential.* Report of the Working Party on the Internal Management of Local Authorities in England. London: HMSO. They were used by Hambleton in his study of local political management arrangements in the USA, New Zealand and Norway: Hambleton R. (1998) *Local Government Political Management Arrangements – An International Perspective.* Edinburgh: The Scottish Office. Sweeting also used them in his study of local government in Spain: Sweeting S. (2012) 'Analysing local political management in Spain', *Local Government Studies*, Vol 38, No 2, pp 231–247

9   We have drawn insight from Boyer E. L. (1990) *Scholarship Reconsidered. Priorities of the Professoriate.* Princeton, New Jersey: The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

10 See Hambleton R. (2015) *Leading the Inclusive City. Place-based Innovation for a Bounded Planet.* Bristol: Policy Press, pp 209-211

11 Howard J. (2013) *Participatory Governance in Bristol: What is the contribution of Neighbourhood Partnerships to deepening democracy?* MSc Dissertation, School for Policy Studies, University of Bristol, September

Appendix 1: Survey research methods

The survey data presented in this report comes from three 'before' and 'after' sources:

- Surveys of Bristol residents, via the *Bristol Quality of Life in your Neighbourhood* surveys, in 2012 and 2014
- Surveys of Bristol residents, via the *Bristol Citizens' Panel* (September 2012 and January 2014)
- Surveys of *civic leaders* (September 2012 and December 2014)

1) Bristol Quality of Life in your Neighbourhood surveys (2012 and 2014)

In 2012, the *Bristol Quality of Life in your Neighbourhood* survey was sent to 24,000 randomly selected residents in Bristol, by Bristol City Council. 4,764 people responded to the question, a response rate of 18%. In 2014, a response rate of 14% was achieved.

In 2012, the question asked was:

'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the view that a directly elected mayor will improve leadership of the city?'

And in 2014, the question was:

'To what extent do you agree or disagree with the view that a directly elected mayor is improving the leadership of the city?'

2) The Bristol Citizens' Panel surveys (2012 and 2014)

The *Bristol Citizens' Panel* is a statistically representative sample of people from across Bristol. In September 2012, Bristol City Council sent out the first survey to the Panel. 658 responses were received (either by post or online) from 1,863 Citizens' Panel members, a response rate of 35%. In January 2014, Bristol City Council sent out the second survey to the Panel. It went to 2,104 people and received 1,013 responses, a response rate of 48%. The figures reported in the tables are the sum of agree and strongly agree.

In both 2012 and 2014, the questionnaire sent to Panel members included all the questions set out below under the heading 'Civic leadership in Bristol questionnaire'.

3) The surveys of civic leaders

To gather data from *civic leaders* in the three realms of civic leadership (see **Figure 1** in the report), we surveyed all 70 councillors, and 35 people each from Bristol City Council officers, and Bristol-based members of the public, private and third sectors in September 2012 and in December 2014. Bristol City Council administered this survey on behalf of the research team. The responses are shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Responses to survey of civic leaders

Sector	Response in 2012	Response in 2014
Political realm	43 (61%)	32 (46%)
Public managerial and professional realm	35 (50%)	35 (50%)
Community and business realm	45 (64%)	36 (51%)
Total	123 (59%)	103 (49%)

For the surveys of civic leaders, the questionnaire included all the questions set out below under the heading 'Civic leadership in Bristol questionnaire'.

Civic leadership in Bristol questionnaire

Below is the text used in the surveys as sent out by Bristol City Council for both the Bristol Citizens' Panel surveys and the surveys of civic leaders.

For all questions, responses were on a five-point scale: strongly agree; tend to agree; neither agree nor disagree; tend to disagree; strongly disagree; or don't know.

We would like to know your views on the city at the moment. Please tell us whether you agree or disagree with the following statements.

The city of Bristol has visible leadership

The leadership of the council has a vision for the city

There are many opportunities to get involved in decision-making in important affairs in the city

City-wide views are well represented by the council

It is clear who is responsible for making decisions at the council

I trust the council to make good decisions

Decisions are made in a timely way by the council

It is clear who people should approach if they are not happy with local issues

Ward councillors provide an effective check on council leadership

The leadership of the council ensures that council services are responsive to local people's needs

The needs of my community are well represented in decision-making in the city

To what extent do you agree or disagree that the current leadership of the council can influence the decision-making of:

Central government

Other local public service providers

Neighbouring authorities

Business interests

The voluntary sector

We would like to know what you think the likely impact will be of the directly elected mayor in Bristol. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

A directly elected mayor will:

Improve the leadership of the city

Ensure my views are better represented

Ensure the interests of Bristol are better represented

Improve decision-making in the city

Improve public confidence in decision-making in the city

Make it easier to review the performance of the council

Increase the drive for service improvement in the city

Improve opportunities for community participation in public affairs

Appendix 2: Socio-economic geography of Bristol

Index of Multiple Deprivation rank and percent income deprived [1], by ward, Bristol

Ward	Index of Multiple Deprivation 2010 – Bristol ward rank (1=most deprived)	% people income deprived	Income deprivation – Bristol rank (1=most deprived)
Filwood	1	35%	2
Lawrence Hill	2	36%	1
Southmead	3	25%	4
Hartcliffe	4	25%	3
Whitchurch Park	5	24%	5
Lockleaze	6	24%	6
Henbury	7	21%	10
Kingsweston	8	22%	7
Ashley	9	22%	8
Easton	10	21%	9
Bishopsworth	11	21%	11
Hillfields	12	19%	12
Avonmouth	13	18%	13
St. George West	14	17%	14
Windmill Hill	15	15%	18
Frome Vale	16	16%	16
Eastville	17	16%	15
Hengrove	18	16%	17
Knowle	19	14%	19
Southville	20	13%	22
Cabot	21	9%	27
Bedminster	22	12%	23
Horfield	23	14%	20
Brislington East	24	13%	21
Stockwood	25	12%	25
St. George East	26	12%	24
Brislington West	27	10%	26
Redland	28	4%	31
Clifton East	29	5%	30
Cotham	30	4%	32
Bishopston	31	5%	29
Clifton	32	4%	34
Westbury-on-Trym	33	6%	28

Ward	Index of Multiple Deprivation 2010 – Bristol ward rank (1=most deprived)	% people income deprived	Income deprivation – Bristol rank (1=most deprived)
Henleaze	34	4%	33
Stoke Bishop	35	3%	35

[1] The Index of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) measures deprivation using a variety of indicators. Income deprivation measures 'the proportion of the population in an area experiencing deprivation related to low income' (DCLG, 2011, p13). It is calculated using several indicators related to the receipt of state benefits and income. For full details, see:

Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG) (2011) *Neighbourhoods Statistical Release. The English Indices of Deprivation 2010.* London: DCLG, available at https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/6871/1871208.pdf, downloaded 10/7/15.

In **Table 1** of the report, wards described as 'Better off' are wards in which less than 10% of residents are 'income deprived'; in wards described as 'Middle income', between 10% and 19% of residents are 'income deprived'; and in wards described as 'Less well off', 20% or more of residents are 'income deprived'.

Appendix 3: Citizens' Panel survey, 2012 and 2014, percent agree, by ward socio-economic category

2012				2014							
	Overall 2012	Overall 2014	Difference 2012-14	Better off Bristol	Middle income Bristol	Less well off Bristol	Significance (pearson chi square)	Better off Bristol	Middle income Bristol	Less well off Bristol	Significance (pearson chi square)
The city of Bristol has visible leadership	24.1	68.6	+44.5**	25.4	21.8	26.7	0.43	77.3	69.1	57.3	0
The leadership of the council has a vision for the city	25.2	56.3	+31.1**	26.1	24.5	25.4	0.92	64.7	54.9	48.0	0
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d the leadership of the city	62.9	53.8	-9.1**	67.4	60.8	61.7	0.33	65.8	54.7	37.8	0
There are many opportunities to get involved in decision-making in important affairs in the city	27.4	33.0	+5.6*	25.6	27.0	29.8	0.66	39.4	30.6	28.7	0.01
City-wide views are well represented by the council	18.3	23.7	+5.4*	17.8	16.3	22.3	0.25	25.9	24.9	19.1	0.13
A directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d my views are better represented	38.0	26.6	-11.4**	34.3	37.1	43.4	0.19	30.7	25.9	22.6	0.09
A directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d the interests of Bristol are better represented	66.6	53.6	-13.0**	69.1	63.4	69.1	0.31	61.0	53.1	45.1	0
It is clear who is responsible for making decisions at the council	17.5	38.2	+20.7**	18.8	18.2	15.2	0.61	40.4	36.7	37.8	0.58
I trust the council to make good decisions	18.5	22.7	+4.2*	19.4	16.4	20.8	0.46	26.3	21.0	20.8	0.17
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d public confidence in decision-making in the city	57.4	33.4	-24.0**	59.7	56.4	56.9	0.78	38.9	34.3	25.3	0
Decisions are made in a timely way by the council	13.1	15.5	+2.4	12.8	13.1	13.5	0.98	19.7	14.2	12.3	0.04

	Overall 2012	Overall 2014	Difference 2012-14	2014				2012			
				Better off Bristol	Middle income Bristol	Less well off Bristol	Significance (pearson chi square)	Better off Bristol	Middle income Bristol	Less well off Bristol	Significance (pearson chi square)
The leadership of the council can influence…											
Central government	12.5	19.3	+6.8*	10.0	13.4	13.7	0.48	19.5	15.8	15.7	0.35
Other local public service providers	38.8	45.7	+6.9**	39.9	36.2	42.1	0.43	49.0	42.7	46.1	0.25
Neighbouring authorities	26.2	31.0	+4.8*	26.7	24.4	28.9	0.56	33.4	29.6	30.2	0.52
Business interests	35.8	44.3	+8.5**	33.9	33.4	41.6	0.17	47.9	44.0	40.4	0.2
The voluntary sector	39.7	48.3	+8.6**	45.8	34.4	42.2	0.04	54.0	46.5	44.1	0.04
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d decision-making in the city	58.3	41.3	-17.0**	56.2	57.3	62.3	0.45	48.5	40.8	33.3	0
It is clear who people should approach if they are not happy with local issues	36.3	34.1	-2.2	42.5	33.4	34.8	0.12	40.2	32.5	29.2	0.02
Ward councillors provide an effective check on council leadership	20.6	19.6	-1.0	25.0	18.0	20.2	0.19	23.8	18.0	16.8	0.07
A directly elected mayor will/has make/made it easier to review the performance of the council	49.5	30.7	-18.8**	47.2	48.8	53.1	0.51	33.9	32.1	24.7	0.05
The leadership of the council ensures that council services are responsive to local people's needs	17.9	24.4	+6.5**	16.6	16.7	21.5	0.36	26.3	25.6	20.0	0.16

| | Overall 2012 | Overall 2014 | Difference 2012-14 | 2014 | | | | 2012 | | | |
				Better off Bristol	Middle income Bristol	Less well off Bristol	Significance (pearson chi square)	Better off Bristol	Middle income Bristol	Less well off Bristol	Significance (pearson chi square)
The needs of my community are well represented in decision-making in the city	16.2	22.5	+6.3**	19.9	12.9	18.0	0.1	31.0	19.0	17.2	0
A directly elected mayor will/has increase/d the drive for service improvement in the city	59.3	44.4	-14.9**	57.9	57.1	64.4	0.28	50.2	45.5	35.6	0

*Significant at 5% level, using pearson chi square score

** Significant at 1% level

Appendix 4: Civic Leaders' survey, 2012 and 2014, percent agree, by realm of leadership

	Political			Public managerial and professional			Community/business		
	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference
The city of Bristol has visible leadership	55.8	78.1	+22.3*	22.6	94.1	+71.5**	25.0	97.2	+72.2**
The leadership of the council has a vision for the city	62.8	43.8	-19.0	32.3	82.4	+50.1**	29.5	75.0	+45.5**
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d the leadership of the city	27.9	31.0	+3.1	76.7	78.1	+1.4	75.0	75.8	+0.8
There are many opportunities to get involved in decision-making in important affairs in the city	65.1	18.8	-46.3**	48.4	44.1	-4.3	36.4	52.8	+16.4
City-wide views are well represented by the council	58.1	31.3	-26.8*	35.5	36.4	+0.9	25.0	25.0	0
A directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d my views are better represented	16.3	16.7	+0.4	16.7	28.1	+11.4	45.0	42.4	-2.6
A directly elected mayor will/has ensure/d the interests of Bristol are better represented	32.6	33.3	+0.7	70.0	78.1	+8.1	80.0	78.8	-1.2
It is clear who is responsible for making decisions at the council	39.5	40.6	+1.1	41.9	63.6	+21.7	30.2	35.3	+5.1
I trust the council to make good decisions	44.2	16.1	-28.1*	25.8	48.5	+22.7	14.0	23.5	+9.5
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d public confidence in decision-making in the city	34.9	3.3	-31.6**	53.3	31.3	-22.0	57.5	30.3	-27.2*
Decisions are made in a timely way by the council	44.2	6.3	-37.9**	16.1	36.4	+20.3	9.3	14.7	+5.4

	Political			Public managerial and professional			Community/business		
	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference	2012	2014	Difference
The leadership of the council can influence… Central government	28.6	9.7	-18.9*	13.3	43.8	+30.5**	14.6	42.4	+27.8**
Other local public service providers	39.5	26.7	-12.8	33.3	69.7	+36.4**	43.9	57.6	+13.7
Neighbouring authorities	34.9	16.1	-18.8	26.7	30.3	+3.6	24.4	27.3	+2.9
Business interests	25.9	41.9	+16.0	13.3	54.5	+41.2**	19.5	39.4	+19.9
The voluntary sector	51.2	45.2	-6.0	53.3	60.6	+7.3	43.9	54.5	+10.6
A directly elected mayor will/has improve/d decision-making in the city	32.6	23.3	-9.3	66.7	59.4	-7.3	72.5	51.5	-21.0
It is clear who people should approach if they are not happy with local issues	55.8	40.6	-15.2	54.8	63.6	+8.8	37.2	25.3	-11.9
Ward councillors provide an effective check on council leadership	51.2	46.9	-4.3	16.1	24.2	+8.1	20.9	21.2	+0.3
A directly elected mayor will/has make/made it easier to review the performance of the council	18.6	6.9	-11.7	20.0	15.6	-4.4	65.0	21.2	-43.8**
The leadership of the council ensures that council services are responsive to local people's needs	51.2	18.8	-32.4**	41.9	45.5	+3.6	23.3	30.3	+7.0
The needs of my community are well represented in decision-making in the city	58.1	18.8	-39.3**	32.3	26.5	-5.8	27.3	33.3	+6.0
A directly elected mayor will/has increase/d the drive for service improvement in the city	32.6	20.0	-12.6	30.0	40.6	+10.6	53.8	42.4	-11.4

* Significant at 5%, level using pearson chi square score

** Significant at 1% level

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http://www1.uwe.ac.uk/press/keycommentators/professorrobinhambleton.aspx

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