Lessons for Charter Cities

From Decades as a City Manager in the US

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November 2020

CHARTER CITIES
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About the Author

Mark Levin has worked for four suburban municipalities in local government management in the Midwestern United States over the last 40 years. In particular, Mark served as the City Manager of Maryland Heights, Missouri from its incorporation in 1985 to 2015.

Mark Levin's duties as City Manager included the establishment of the city's administrative structure, recruiting and supervising the city management team, submitting the city's first (and each subsequent) annual budget, and overseeing the construction of a modern City Hall. Mark retired in 2015 and is now a clinical professor at Indiana University, Bloomington where he teaches graduate courses in local government management, local economic development, and municipal budgeting at the O'Neill School of Public and Environmental Affairs.

Abstract

This paper presents lessons from several decades as a City Manager in the United States. Why are lessons about city administration sorely needed in this historical moment? Currently, there are more than 120 new city developments being built around the world in response to the rapid urbanization set to occur across the Global South over the next several decades. It would be a tragic missed opportunity if these new cities end up with the same urban governance issues that plague many existing cities. Instead, these new city projects should aim to kill two birds with one stone–helping solve both rapid urbanization and poor governance, and by doing so setting the enabling conditions for long-run economic growth. To help solve poor governance issues, charter city administrations and new city developers can take inspiration from the history of municipal governance in the United States. In particular, the Council-Manager form of governance that began in the early 20th century, and is now the predominant form of local governance (outnumbering Mayor-led cities), can provide many hard-won insights. As someone who worked in city management within this Council-Manager form for forty years, I believe I am well placed to present some of these insights.

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1. Introduction

More than half the world's population now lives in cities, and by 2030 more than five billion people (60 percent of humanity) will live in cities and urban centers. Cities generate wealth and improve living standards while providing the density, interaction, and networks that make human beings more creative and productive. They are one of the key social and economic organizing units of our time, bringing together people, jobs, and all the inputs required for economic growth.[1]

To serve and protect city residents and businesses, a wide range of services must be provided, including public safety (police, fire, emergency response), public works (roads, bridges, transportation, sanitation, flood protection), utilities (water, electricity, wastewater treatment), and amenities (parks, recreation, cultural services, and public facilities). These services may be provided by a municipality, another level of government, or by either private corporations or public-private partnerships (PPPs). Additionally, cities establish and enforce regulations to protect the health, safety, and welfare of those within their jurisdiction. To do this, cities must exercise authority through a system of governance and manage services in a manner that reflects the values of efficiency, economy, effectiveness, and ethical behavior.

City governments come in many forms. In some countries the form is imposed on all municipalities by a central government, while in other countries there is some discretion that allows localities to have a say in the structure and service delivery arrangements that shape local governments. Given my experience as a City Manager, this paper focuses on the Council-Manager form of local governance that is common across the United States.

On top of elaborating on the Council-Manager model, I also provide insights and lessons learned from my professional practice as a City Manager over the course of several decades, with the hope that these lessons will be of value to those entities planning and developing charter cities. The goal of this paper is to stand as a starting point for thinking about the challenges of city management in a new city development.

In Section 2, I discuss the role of the professional local government manager, comparing this position to the elected mayor model of city governance. Section 3 then elucidates the steps to consider in developing the administrative structure of a city from scratch, as well as the key policy decisions that must be prioritized from the outset. Section 4 provides advice on how to formulate and implement a performance-based management system to effectively manage city personnel. Lastly, Section 5 gives some concluding thoughts.

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1 Richard Florida (2014), "Why Cities Matter in the Developing World." *Bloomberg CityLab,* January 14th, https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2014-01-14/why-big-cities-matter-in-the-developing-world.

2. City Managers vs. Mayors

2.1 The Council-Manager Model of City Governance: Background

The City Manager serves as the Chief Administrative Officer of a municipal corporation and operates in a form of local government called a Council-Manager plan. This idea traces its origins to the American Progressive Movement of the early twentieth-century. It reflects the view of public service first described by Woodrow Wilson in 1887 in *The Study of Administration* that there should be a separation of policymaking and policy implementation. A Council-Manager plan was intended to address the rampant partisanship and corrupt practices that prevailed in Mayor-led cities, including patronage, nepotism, bribery, and favoritism in the provision of goods and services. The Council-Manager plan reflected the corporate model popular at the time.

The first appointment of an individual to a position similar to that of today's local government manager occurred in 1908 in Staunton, Virginia, where a "general manager" was employed to oversee the administrative functions of the municipality. The first formal adoption of a Council-Manager plan took place in Sumter, South Carolina, in 1912. The following year, Westmount, Quebec adopted the plan and so introduced the Council-Manager form of government to Canada. In 1914, Dayton, Ohio, opted to use this new model, and became the first municipality of substantial size to operate under the Council-Manager plan. Sixteen years later, Durham County, North Carolina, became the first county to institute a form of government that embodied the concept of professional management.[2]

A City Manager has general superintending authority over all property and personnel, over compiling and submitting an annual budget to the City Council for approval, and over the implementation of the budget and other policies approved by Council in a professional, non-partisan manner free from political interference. State governments in the US as well as central governments in other nations have adopted statutes authorizing this form of local government. The Manager is hired by and is accountable to the Council, which is imbued with all political authority. Typically, a Mayor or Council President is an elected member of Council, and his or her powers usually include the ability to (i) vote only to break a tie, (ii) appoint members of boards and commissions with the approval of Council, and (iii) serve as the ceremonial head of government (but with no executive authority). All administrative authority usually associated with a Mayor is vested in the City Manager.

The Council-Manager model has evolved to accommodate local political preferences. Beginning in the 1960's, some Council-Manager cities began to separately elect a Mayor. Moreover, originally the number of City Council members specified in the model was small and members were elected *at-large*. More recently this has been altered, as some cities have increased the size of Council and have opted to elect members *by district*. In the U.S., this form of government is adopted or amended by a vote of the residents consistent with state statute.[3] An increasing number of states have authorized county governments to adopt a similar form.[4]

Today, most City Managers in the U.S. have a master's degree and are members of the International City/County Management Association (ICMA). ICMA members pledge to uphold the principles defined in the Association's Code of Ethics in their conduct and decisions.[5] The Council-Manager model and its derivative forms are the dominant form of municipal government in the United States and are found in cities and towns of all sizes (see Figures 1 and 2 below).

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2 International City/County Management Association (ICMA), "Information about ICMA's History, Mission, and Strategic Plan," https://icma.org/icma-history.

3 In many states, an alternative form is authorized in which the local council may authorize by ordinance the appointment of a City Administrator to serve as the assistant to the elected Mayor, whose administrative duties are delegated to the Administrator. In practice, there are few operational differences between the positions of Manager and Administrator; I have served as both.

4 For further details on the Council-Manager form of city (or county) governance see the following document published by the International City/County Management Association (ICMA): https://icma.org/sites/default/files/Council-Manager_Form_Brochure %28FINAL%29 10-2019.pdf.

5 International City/County Management Association (ICMA), 'Code of Ethics,' https://icma.org/icma-code-ethics.

The average tenure of a Manager in the U.S. is approximately seven years. City Managers or similar professionals are found in many nations, several of which have professional associations as well, including Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, India, the Netherlands, New Zealand, and South Africa.[6]

Figure 1: Major Forms of U.S. City Government (over time), 1990-2007

Source (Figure 1 and Figure 2): There were 3,914 cities with a population under 10,000 in 1990 and 3,926 such cities in 2007. There were 2,768 cities with a population over 10,000 in 1990 and 3,268 such cities in 2007.

All U.S. cities over 2,500 in population	1990	2007	Change		
	% (number)	% (number)	% (number)	Cities smaller than 10,000	Cities larger than 10,000
Mayor-council	54.5% (3,645)	43.5% (3,131)	-14.1% (-514)	-515	1
Council-manager	36.2% (2,420)	48.9% (3,520)	45.5% (1,100)	574	526
Other	9.2% (617)	7.5% (543)	-12.0% (-74)	-47	-27
Total	100.0% (6,682)	100.0% (7,194)	7.7% (512)		

Figure 2: Percentage of U.S. Cities Using the Council-Manager Form by Population, 1990-2007
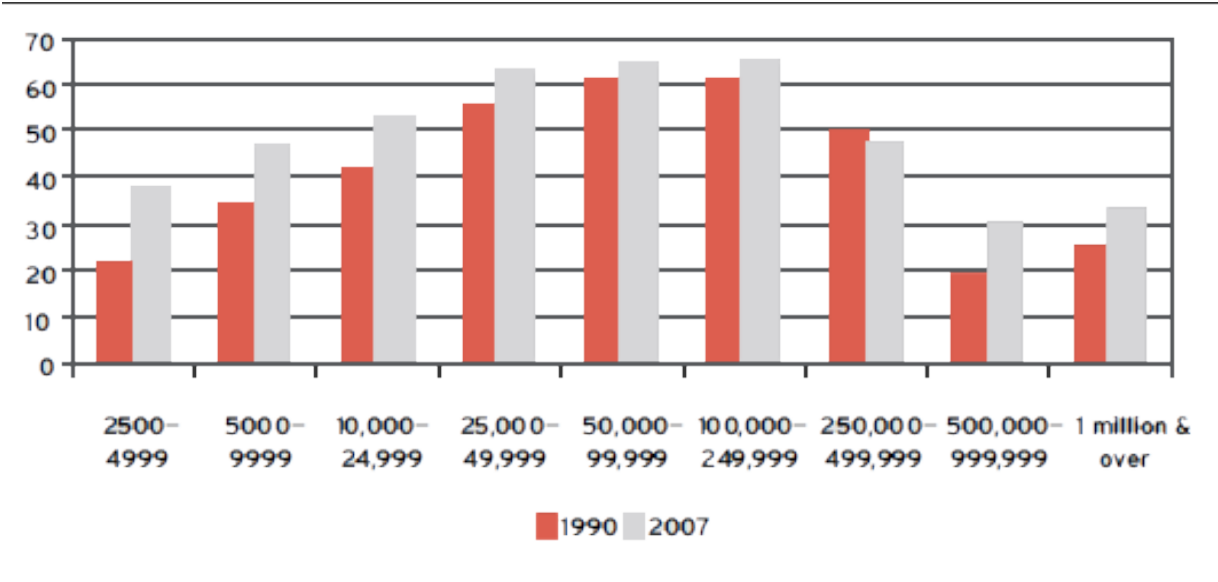
Despite widespread adoption of the Council-Manager model across the U.S., some communities have expressed reservations about the model. Among the most prominent reservations is the idea that the City Manager—in essence, the chief operating officer of a city—is not directly accountable to residents via a democratic vote amongst the people. Voters in some communities that face ongoing contentious and intractable issues oftentimes want the ability to hold a local official directly accountable, leading to the abandonment of the Council-Manager form of government in favor of an elected "Strong Mayor."

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6 Australia (https://lgprofessionalsaustralia.org.au/); Canada (http://www.camacam.ca/); the United Kingdom (https://www.solace.org.uk/); India (http://cmar-india.org/); the Netherlands (https://www.gemeentesecretaris.nl/); New Zealand (https://www.solgm.org.nz/); South Africa (https://www.ilgm.co.za/).

Notwithstanding the above reservations, a majority of U.S. cities with a population at or above 2,500 are governed by some form of the Council-Manager plan (see Figures 1 and 2). The benefits of hiring a City Manager remain the same as they were in the beginning: to have a professional, non-partisan, ethical, full-time administrative generalist responsible for day-to-day operations of the municipal corporation accountable to elected officials. Unlike a Mayor, Managers do not have a political agenda, they have no independent authority to act, they are not involved in partisan activities, and they devote themselves to the traditional canon of public administration values as put forth by the ICMA: efficiency, economy, effectiveness, equity, and ethics. Most Managers are appointed for an indefinite term by and serve at the pleasure of the Council. Beginning in the 1960s, managers have negotiated employment agreements that include terms and conditions of employment such as a severance agreement providing for compensation in the event of involuntary termination, which gives the Manager the financial security to provide the Council with his or her best professional advice.

2.2 What Do City Managers Do?

I am often asked, "What do City Managers do?" The answer always begins with the qualifier, "it depends." It depends on the services under the Manager's direction, the size and expertise of the municipal staff, and the provisions of the municipal charter. It most importantly depends on the trust and confidence that the Council places in the Manager (for more on the relationship between Manager and Council see Section 3.2, below).

Nonetheless, the best answer usually begins with a list of duties similar to those given by noted public administration scholar Luther Gulick in his 1937 paper, "Notes on the Theory of Organizations."[7] Using Gulick's rather unwieldy acronym POSDCoRB, he explained a manager's responsibilities as:

BOX 1: POSDCoRB	
Planning:	Defining goals, establishing strategies to achieve goals, developing plans to integrate and coordinate activities
Organizing:	Arranging and structuring work to accomplish organizational goals
Staffing:	Recruiting, training, compensating, retaining and disciplining personnel
Directing:	Making decisions, giving orders, making rules, and serving as a leader
Coordinating:	Managing inter- and intra-organizational relations, interacting, cooperating and collaborating
Reporting:	Informing policymakers, constituents, subordinates, media; research and inspection
Budgeting:	Fiscal planning, accounting, and control

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7 Luther Gulick (1937), "Notes on the Theory of Organization." In Gulick, Luther; Urwick, Lyndall (eds.). *Papers on the Science of Administration*. Institute of Public Administration: New York, p. 13, https://archive.org/details/papersonscienceo00guli/page/13/mode/2up.

2.3 Manager or Mayor?

Ultimately, the question as to which form of city governance performs better—Mayor-led vs. Council-Manager—is both an empirical question and a political preference. There are certainly examples of well-run municipalities throughout the world that are led by elected Mayors and there are many nations that do not authorize the hiring of a City Manager. On top of my (somewhat biased) preference in favor of professionally-managed local governments, there have been several studies that examined this question more objectively.

In 2007, an article in *Public Management* identified the myriad ways in which professional managers add value to municipal organizations.[8] Moreover, another study concludes that when compared with Mayor-Council cities, Council-Manager cities are more likely to have greater efficiency, sounder finances, and stronger management performance. Council-Manager cities have also been shown to have more minority groups represented in city personnel positions, to prioritize and pursue longer-term rather than short-term goals, to leverage strategic planning, to provide public goods and services based on need (not political considerations), and to utilize more innovative management practices.[9]

Additionally, a report by IBM Global Business Services shows that "cities with city manager forms of government are nearly 10 percent more efficient than cities with strong-mayor forms of government, a finding which validates the assumption that placing executive authority with a professional manager who is not involved in the politics of running the city leads to more efficiently managed communities."[10]

Despite the above benefits touted by professional associations and the private sector, the academic literature has been largely quiet on the question as to whether Council-Manager cities are better managed than Mayor-led cities.[11] This is unfortunate for several reasons, the most significant reason being that the economics literature points overwhelmingly to governance and governing institutions as one of the key determinants of long-run economic growth.[12] This gap in the literature, alongside the vast consequences for long-run growth, suggests that this should be a prioritized avenue for future research not just in developed countries like the U.S., but also in developing nations where poor governance is pervasive and growth has proven tragically elusive. It is therefore encouraging that organizations like the Charter Cities Institute are aiming to fill this gap.

Considering my experience, the above literature, and the avowed objective of charter cities to improve governance and in turn spur long-run economic growth, the Council-Manager form of governance seems to be a promising model from which charter cities can take inspiration. Given the daunting array of challenges involved in building a new city from scratch (to which I can personally attest), petty political squabbles can serve more as a distraction and source of unnecessary conflict than as a mechanism to effectively formulate and implement city policies. There will be challenges in establishing the administrative structure, regulations, policies, and procedures that govern the city. There will be unexpected problems in the recruitment of a competent, professional management team. There will be difficulties in bridging the priorities of the local government, new city developers, and internal and external stakeholders. All of these challenges call for an experienced, competent professional who understands the nuanced complexities of public administration, who is held accountable by the city Council, but who is *not* subject to the same ever-changing whims of public opinion as are many local politicians and can therefore better prioritize the *long* term interests of the city.

Having provided some background on the Council-Manager form of city governance, I now turn to discuss some of the above-mentioned challenges and provide some guidance for implementation based on my decades of experience as a City Manager in the U.S.

8 James Keene, et al. (2007), "How Professionals Can Add Value to Their Communities and Organizations." *Public Management*, https://icma.org/documents/how-professionals-can-add-value-their-communities-and-organizations.

9 James Svara, et al. (2008), "Taking Stock of the Council-Manager Form at 100." *Public Management*, https://icma.org/documents/taking-stock-council-manager-form-100.

10 David Edwards (2011), "Smarter, Faster, Cheaper: An Operations Efficiency Benchmarking Study of 100 American Cities." *IBM Global Business Services White Paper*, p. 8, http://www.coj.net/city-council/docs/consolidation-task-force/2013-10-10-ibm-report---smarter-faster-cheaper.aspx.

11 Jered Carr (2015), "What Have We Learned About the Performance of Council-Manager Government? A Review and Synthesis of the Research." *Public Administration Review*, 75(5), pp. 673-689, https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/puar.12415?saml_referrer.

12 Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James Robinson (2004), "Institutions as the Fundamental Cause of Long-Run Growth." NBER Working Paper no. 10481, https://www.nber.org/papers/w10481; Douglass C. North, John Joseph Wallis, and Barry R. Weingast (2009), *Violence and Social Orders: A Conceptual Framework for Interpreting Recorded Human History*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

3. Implementation

Let us now assume we are starting a new city from scratch. This section elaborates on the most important aspects that should be prioritized at the beginning of any charter city development. In particular, I discuss (i) the city charter and the initial governing institutions, (ii) the relationship between the City Manager and the Council, (iii) the most important administrative policies, and (iv) the training and professional development of city personnel.

3.1 The City Charter & the Establishment of Key Governing Institutions

First and foremost, a city charter must be drafted that is consistent with the national authorizing legislation. It may be advisable for new city developers to retain the services of experienced consultants or legal advisors to provide guidance and assistance in this start-up phase.[13] Several early actions are needed to maximize the likelihood of the city's success.

An initial Council and Council leader should be appointed. The method of appointment is up to the stakeholders involved in any new city development, but it's typically expected that the method of selection of Council members will be determined by negotiation between the city developer and the host jurisdiction. Another initial decision to be made is the respective roles of the development corporation and the municipal corporation in the funding and provision of municipal services, which can be delivered in several ways and by several entities. Given the significant amount of upfront investment needed for new city developers to get these cities up and running (easily running into the hundreds of millions, if not billions, of dollars), it makes economic sense that these developers should maintain majority control over the projects over the short- and medium-term. If this type of control at the beginning of these new city projects is not granted to the developers, it is hard to see why developers would be incentivized to make the kind of large-scale investments necessary for success. At minimum, the Charter should lay out the timing and conditions for transferring governing authority to the Council.

Additionally, the new city developer may also wish to consider indentures on the land that set forth minimum development and maintenance standards, as well as common maintenance and governance fees for a defined period after which the city's regulations will govern. Setting a baseline level of development and maintenance standards as well as initial maintenance/governance fees in advance (as well as *when* they'll be superseded by city regulations), serves three purposes. First, it provides incoming firms with a sense of predictability around what is expected of them, which reduces business uncertainty. Second, the imposition of set fees provides predictable revenues for the planning and provision of needed public goods and services. Third, it allows the charter city administration some time to monitor and evaluate which areas are most in need of regulations and what those regulations should look like (information that is difficult to know *ex ante*, before any firms or residents have set up in the city).

Regarding land indentures, Rwanda is an illustrative case. The government of Rwanda has used conditional freehold titles. Under such title arrangements, the Rwandan government issued 20- to 30-year leasehold titles that, at the end of the lease, would transition into freehold titles conditional on the title holders meeting some agreed-upon levels of development and construction work on their land. The Rwandan government favored this conditional title for two main reasons. First, being a form of freehold title, it is more secure than typical leasehold title and thus signaled lower risk to banks and financial intermediaries who in turn were more willing to accept it as collateral (increasing access to credit). Second, the conditional title provided a legal mechanism for the land to revert back to the governmen if it was not being put to productive use at the end of the lease. [14]

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13 A good place to start is the *Model Charter* published by the Charter Cities Institute. See here: https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/post/model-charter. For a more US-focused model, see the National Civic League's *Model City Charter* (2014) here: https://www.nationalcivicleague.org/resources/model-city-charter-8th-edition/#:~:text=The%20Model%20City%20Charter%20serves,responsibilities%2C%20functions%2C%20and%20processes.
14 Paul Collier et al. (2017), "Secure, Legally Enforceable, and Marketable Land Rights for Urban Development." *International Growth Centre*, p. 15, https://www.theigc.org/publication/secure-legally-enforceable-marketable-land-rights-urban-development/.

On the whole, deciding governance issues at the outset will reduce conflicts that can later arise between the new city developers and the municipal authority. In my experience, not all development plans are implemented as originally envisioned. Sometimes a developer fails to fully deliver on improvements and amenities. As an example, I managed a city in which a housing developer abandoned a project after constructing only half of the planned homes, leaving the public street unfinished. This resulted in angry homeowners who blamed the city—and by extension, me. Ultimately, a clear delineation of duties and responsibilities between the two entities—the city development corporation and the municipal corporation–is essential and must be agreed upon at the outset to prevent such conflicts from arising.

3.2 Maximizing Council-Manager Effectiveness

Once the city charter and the governing entities have been established, let's assume the city now has a City Manager and a Council. The essential factor that will either promote success or bring about failure in any new city development is the quality of the relationship between the Manager and the Council. While each city is unique, from my experience and from studies across many Council-Manager municipalities, there are relatively consistent expectations that should be established between the Manager and Council members that, taken together, lead to significantly better outcomes.[15] A lot of the advice I provide, below, when it comes to relationship management—as with most relationships—is more art than science.

Specifically, I review a set of seven proven expectations that Managers and Councils should abide by when it comes to their working relationship: (i) the Manager is an organization capacity builder; (ii) the Manager is a valued, *unbiased* advisor to the Council; (iii) relationships between Council members and city personnel are carefully managed; (iv) the Council acts as a unitary body and is dealt with as a unitary body; (v) the Manager and Council members give each other a fair chance to prove themselves; (vi) the Manager and Council give and seek feedback from one another; and (vii) the Manager and Council work together to promote civility and transparency.

While these seven expectations are great jumping-off points, the ICMA and academics have also published many fantastic resources highlighting best practices when it comes to making the relationship between City Managers and Councils as effective as it can be.[16] These resources should also be consulted.

3.2.1 Expectation 1: The Manager is an Organization Capacity Builder

One of the main rationales for the adoption and spread of the Council-Manager form across the U.S. since the early 20th century is that City Managers bring their technical expertise and their ability to inject modern management techniques (and adapt these techniques as needed over time) into the city organization (see section 2.1, above).

This includes ensuring the implementation of up-to-date processes when it comes to human resources management, finance (e.g., payroll, purchasing, and/or contracting), strategic planning, benchmarking against similar cities, and performance management and program evaluation (see section 4, below).[17] The ability of the City Manager to institute these management practices has a direct impact on the overall capacity and competence of the city administration, and on the degree to which the city is able to innovate and adapt over time. Not only do city agencies and personnel benefit, but the above management practices improve the ability of the City Manager to offer the Council advice, policy recommendations, and decisions based on *objective* evidence. Such evidence-informed policymaking helps build the Council's capacity and competence.

Ultimately, strong Managers make for strong Council members (and it may be useful to remind Council members of this fact when members feel diminished, threatened, or put off by granting various powers to a City Manager).

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15 This section (including the seven expectations) is largely inspired by Kimberly Nelson & Carl Stenberg (2018), *Managing Local Government: An Essential Guide for Municipal and County Managers.* CQ Press: Thousand Oaks, CA, p. 137-48. The authors cite several studies across Council-Manager municipalities. I was an initial reviewer for this book and highly recommend it to City Managers and Councils everywhere.

16 See Kevin Duggan & Michael Conduff (2016), "Making it Work: The Essentials of Council-Manager Relations." *ICMA,* https://icma.org/articles/article/making-it-work-essentials-council-manager-relations.

17 For a more in-depth review of key management practices to master as a City Manager, see Nelson & Stenberg (2018): p. 206-225. The practices covered include strategic planning, performance measurement, program evaluation, budgeting for results, and succession planning.

3.2.2 Expectation 2: The Manager is a Valued, Unbiased Advisor to the Council

When offering advice to the Council, the Manager should always remain balanced and impartial. That is, *all* relevant information must be presented and recommendations must be based on accepted ethical, professional, managerial, and legal principles, *not* on personal ideology. If the Manager is suspected of cherry-picking preferred information or allowing implicit biases to impact his/her advice, this could lead to significantly reduced credibility for the Manager in the eyes of the Council, it could erode trust and by doing so it could impede overall administrative effectiveness.

I want to highlight two situations in particular that arise during the careers of most City Managers and are notoriously difficult to navigate in a balanced, impartial manner. First, when the Council is engaged in especially heated debates related to information and advice provided by the Manager it is important (yet exceedingly hard) to remain both non-defensive and in control. Second, at times the Manager may quite publicly and openly be in favor of a particular course of action, only to have the Council go against this advice. The Manager's role is to effectively implement the policies decided on by the Council. Therefore, once a decision is made, the City Manager (and city personnel) must get behind it. If the Manager believes the course of action to be so bad or misguided that they cannot, in good conscience, implement it, the other option is to resign.

3.2.3 Expectation 3: Relationships Between the Council and City Personnel are Carefully Managed

It is common that residents and businesses reach out to Council members to communicate a problem they'd like resolved. In such instances, it is important that expectations are set around how Council members interact with city personnel, and that a chain of command through which to report such problems and issues is respected. On the one hand, Council members demanding immediate action from city personnel to resolve particular problems can serve to confuse city staff, muddy priorities and objectives set by supervisors and the Manager, and waste valuable time and resources. On the other hand, this does *not* imply that Council members should be prohibited from engaging in periodic contact with city personnel, whether to report on a particular problem or simply to ascertain information from those who possess the best data or knowledge.

Many city charters in the U.S. have "work-through-the-manager" language that requires Council members to deal with city personnel *through* the City Manager. Manager-run cities that do not explicitly have such language typically have a widely respected norm that goes something like, "direct communication between Council members and city employees is neither strongly discouraged nor prohibited, but city employees are advised to inform a supervisor when contacted by a Council member."[18]

The most practical arrangement is to allow (even encourage) direct interaction between Council members and city staff for more routine questions and quick requests that don't significantly impact administrative workloads, while submitting more time—or resource—intensive requests through the City Manager. The Manager can then decide what to do with the request from there.

3.2.4 Expectation 4: The Council Acts as a Unitary Body and is Dealt with as a Unitary Body

Despite particular Council members oftentimes having their own unique agendas or motivations, individual members have no autonomous authority in the Council-Manager form. By law, the Council takes (or doesn't take) action as one body. These two facts sometimes conflict with each other.

From my experience, City Managers are typically open to discussing suggestions from individual Council members, provided these suggestions are not at odds with the Council as a whole. If there is a conflict, the Manager should ask that the Council member put the suggestions before the whole body.

The main principle here is that all Council members should be treated equally by the Manager, as even perceived favoritism can lead to a breakdown or discord in the Council-Manager relationship. My advice here is to ensure that any interactions with individual Council members are communicated to *all* members. Additionally, I recommend a weekly email to all Council members to keep the body informed on day-to-day municipal operations. Another practice that's become more popular is to leverage various social media channels to communicate with and receive feedback from the Council.

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18 See Nelson & Stenberg (2018): p. 142.

3.2.5 Expectation 5: The Manager and Council Members Give Each Other a Chance to Prove Themselves

In the Council-Manager form of government, as with all governments, Council members come and go. At times new members may view the City Manager as a barrier to progress or otherwise tied to an outdated status quo. In such times of turnover (especially if several new individuals become Council members simultaneously), it is important for City Managers to withhold premature judgements on new members. Relatedly, it's also important to realize that some new members will have already (fairly or unfairly) formed judgements about the City Manager.

In these instances, the best action a City Manager can take is to put his or her head down and prove (perhaps slowly) to new members that he/she can, in fact, serve this new Council just as competently and professionally as past Councils. More practically, during times of turnover, a common activity organized by the City Manager is a retreat for the Council. A retreat can serve to educate new Council members on city policies, finances, practices, and other pertinent municipal issues. Moreover, this retreat can be an appropriate time for the Manager and the Council to clarify and agree on the respective roles and responsibilities of Council members, the Manager, and city personnel. For example, the retreat would be the ideal opportunity to communicate and get buy-in on this list of seven expectations. I also recommend hiring a third-party facilitator (outside of the city government) to run the retreat, as this brings necessary neutrality to the occasion.

3.2.6 Expectation 6: The Manager and Council Give and Seek Feedback

Annual evaluations of both the City Manager and Council members should be carried out, as they help provide valuable feedback on both strengths and weaknesses, feedback that's often necessary to spur overall improvements. Such yearly evaluations can also be a way to build trust between the City Manager and the Council, and to avoid unnecessary surprises down the road.

The ICMA has a model employment agreement that sets out recommended (minimum) standards when it comes to these evaluations.[19] In this ICMA model employment agreement, Council members "are asked to complete a written form prior to the evaluation session with the Manager, rating the Manager on how well he or she exercises general organization management responsibilities; works with the [Council]; carries out goals and objectives set by the Council; develops and executes the budget; provides leadership; relates to the community; deals with the media and external audiences; communicates, delegates, and supervises; and performs other key areas."[20] The Manager should also complete a self-assessment, which is shared with Council members. These two documents become the basis for the evaluation meeting (oftentimes led by an outside facilitator).

3.2.7 Expectation 7: The Manager and Council Work Together to Promote Civility and Transparency

While this seventh expectation may strike some as overly platitudinous, it is of crucial importance and must be taken seriously. Citizens oftentimes take cues from their political leadership about the types of behavior that are acceptable in public settings (and vice versa). If citizens witness a polarized, disrespectful, or immature Council or City Manager, over time this can result in reduced civic participation, lowered public support for city projects, negative citizen attitudes being expressed in the media about city officials, declines in the voluntary spirit of the city's residents and businesses, broader citizen apathy, and even reductions in the number of individuals in younger generations interested in getting involved in city government. Promoting a culture of civility and transparency can help avoid these troubling trends. Embodying this culture is the role of both the Council and the City Manager.

First, when it comes to civility, I recommend a few small things that can go a long way. When the Council is first assembled (or when new Council members come on board), both Council members and the City Manager should set time aside as a group to review the city's protocols, rules, and procedures that govern their deliberations. If these rules and procedures have not worked very effectively in the past, this review should be taken as an opportunity to amend these procedural rules to foster greater civility and constructive dialogue between Council members, the City Manager, and city personnel. An ideal time to perform such a review is at the retreat organized by the Manager.

19 International City/County Management Association (2003), "ICMA Model Employment Agreement." *ICMA*, https://icma.org/sites/default/files/306199_ICMA-Model-Employment-Agreement.docx.
20 See Nelson & Stenberg (2018): p.150. See also the ICMA Model Employment Agreement (section 12, p. 7) linked to above.

Second, to encourage greater transparency, the city must leverage recent advances in technology and the ubiquity of social media platforms. One of the most common ways citizens are lost to apathy or flooded with a sense that they have no voice in city decisions that impact their lives is when they have no idea where, when, or how they can participate. The Council, City Manager, and city personnel must all make a concerted effort to leverage modern technologies (e.g., smartphones, social media, widespread internet connectivity) so that citizens keep informed on community activities and events, on agenda items deliberated on by Council, on the contact information of all involved in city government, on the city's overall finances and strategic plans, and on up-to-date key performance indicators of city agencies. In addition to being a source of information, technologies should connect people to city services. For example, citizens should be able to transparently pay city bills, to register for various events, to make enquiries, and to otherwise add their own comments and voice to the broader city dialogue, all from an internet connection in their own home or workplace (avoiding time-consuming trips to city hall that discourage participation).

A great example of a jurisdiction that promotes civility and transparency is Rwanda with its National Dialogue (also called *Umushyikirano*). The National Dialogue occurs yearly, is chaired by the President and allows citizens to publicly question their leaders and hold them accountable for policy promises. Additionally, "once a participant has asked a question, either in person, via Twitter, Facebook, SMS, the web or phone, the leader responsible for that area responds. All questions asked are recorded."[21] Rwanda's National Dialogue and its norm-building around civility and transparency is all the more impressive given the country's tragic (and relatively recent) 1994 genocide. Such practices build a sense of shared ownership amongst citizens that is integral to city success and should be a source of inspiration for charter cities.

3.3 Administrative Policies

Once the city charter and the governing institutions have been established, formal administrative policies, regulations, and ordinances are necessary to ensure that the City Manager has the authority, autonomy, and discretion to manage the city's operations efficiently, effectively, and ethically. The City Manager, Controller and City Attorney should be tasked with drafting/finalizing these documents, which should eventually be approved officially by the Council.

Provisions of transparency and accountability must be included to check and balance the Manager's authority. These provisions, along with the Charter, will separate policy and administration, making it difficult for any individual or faction to interfere with the management of the city. I focus on what I view as the six key administrative policies to prioritize at the outset: (i) a personnel code, (ii) a purchasing code, (iii) an administrative code, (iv) financial policies, (v) an annual budget, and (vi) a separate capital budget.

3.3.1 Personnel Code

The Personnel Code should designate the City Manager as the ultimate appointing authority for all personnel. This includes imbuing in the City Manager the powers to recruit, select, promote, discipline, remove, and generally supervise all city employees subject to the regulations contained in the code. The priority at the beginning of any new city should be putting in place the municipal management team. This should begin with the City Manager, who then hires a Controller (Chief of Finance), Municipal Attorney, Municipal Secretary (Town Clerk) and necessary clerical staff.

In addition to the above, typical provisions include a prohibition of discrimination, a definition and prohibition of nepotism, the granting of authority to department heads to establish rules and procedures applying to their departments' operations. In terms of staffing, city-wide policies and procedures should be passed by Council that stipulate all positions in the charter city administration be based on merit. These policies and procedures should also establish a system of classifying positions, should compensate all positions consistent with a Council-approved payment scheme, should lay out how city employees are disciplined, their hours and working conditions, authorized forms of leave and other employment benefits including a retirement plan, medical insurance, a procedure for appeals of discipline and grievances, and employee health and safety standards. A search for "City Personnel Manual" on Google will produce dozens of examples. Two resources that I have found useful when it comes to best practices in formulating a city personnel code are the Society of Human Resource Management[22] (SHRM) and the Institute of Municipal Personnel Practitioners of South Africa (IMPSA).[23]

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21 For more on Rwanda's National Dialogue see http://umushyikirano.gov.rw/about-3/.
22 See https://www.shrm.org.
23 See https://www.impsa.co.za.

3.3.2 Purchasing Code

The Purchasing Code should authorize the position of Purchasing Agent, which initially can be the City Manager. This code should set forth the city's basic procurement goals for establishing ethical and procedural guidelines for the expenditure of city funds for goods and services. In my experience an optimal purchasing code includes at least the following five key elements. First, the purchasing code should provide that contracts be awarded to the lowest, responsible, responsive vendor. Second, it should establish procedures that may become more restrictive as the anticipated cost of items to be procured increases. Third, it should set a maximum amount that the Agent can authorize above which the City Manager or the Council would need to approve the purchase. Fourth, it should define and authorize emergency purchases. Fifth, it should set forth policies and procedures

for acquiring professional services, for regulating and reimbursing travel that covers both employees and city officials, and for authorizing the manner for disposal of surplus property (surplus property can be a source of corrupt practices if not regulated appropriately). For examples of best practices around these five key elements of a purchasing code see the Institute of Public Procurement[24] and *Public Procurement Guidance for Practitioners* published by the EU.[25]

3.3.3 Administrative Code

The Administrative Code should establish the organizational structure of the charter city, including the Office of the City Manager and the operating departments necessary to provide services, enforce regulations, and administer the city. Typically, these would include public works or operations, city planning, parks and recreation, building and code enforcement, human resource management, and finance. Additionally, given a charter city is granted significant devolved authority from regional and central governments, it will likely also need to establish departments for police, fire, emergency operations, and utilities (water, wastewater, refuse collection and disposal, telephone, and broadband). Alternatively, instead of being provided directly by the charter city administration, some of these functions could be contracted with an independent agency or private company. Such contracting would likely be an especially attractive option at the beginning of a charter city development when the charter city administration is in its relative infancy. Departments are headed by a Department Director or Chief Officer appointed by and under the direction of the City Manager. This Administrative Code should contain a brief description of each department's responsibilities and may include the power to authorize specific subunits within the departments. A good example of an Administrative Code is that of Chesterfield, Missouri.[26]

3.3.4 Financial Policies

Financial Policies should set forth the dates of the fiscal year, the *basis* of accounting (accrual, which is the better practice, or cash) and *form* of accounting (typically fund-based in governments), the requirement that the budget must be balanced (and the definition of "balance"), financial reporting requirements, how specific revenues are generated, and the requirement for an annual independent city audit to be submitted to Council. It should be noted that U.S. cities have a much wider range of available revenues than are found in other countries, but I presume charter cities will also be granted wide leeway when it comes to local, own-source revenue mobilization. The system of accounting and reporting must be consistent with generally accepted accounting principles, which are designed to bring consistency to accounting language, practices, and statements. The main reporting standards to use are the International Financial Reporting Standards (IFRS), which are promulgated by the IFRS Foundation.[27]

3.3.5 Annual Budget

The Annual Budget should include an Operating Budget that sets forth anticipated or estimated revenues and expenditures for municipal administration and services. Municipal budgets most commonly follow a program budget format that includes a breakdown of items by objects of expenditure (Personnel, Contractual Services, Commodities, and Capital) for each operating

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24 See https://www.nigp.org.
25 See https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/guides/public_procurement/2018/guidance_public_procurement_2018_en.pdf.
26 See https://ecode360.com/CH3266-DIV-03.
27 See https://ecode360.com/CH3266-DIV-03.

program. Budget categories should align with the accounting system to ensure that all expenditures authorized in the budget are accounted for. Applicable performance measures for each department should be included for each program so that it is clear what work the program's budget will pay for and how program managers will be held accountable. The Annual Budget must include the revenues to pay for all expenditures and should include the payments for debt service. For illustrative Annual Budgets see, for example, the budget of Maryland Heights, Missouri[28] and that of Corpus Christie, Texas.[29]

3.3.6 Capital Budget

A separate Capital Budget is considered a best practice. This budget should include expenditures for *large* items that are often *nonrecurring*, that have an anticipated life of greater than one year, and that have a minimum anticipated cost above a predetermined amount. Examples would be infrastructure, buildings, large construction equipment, telephone and other technology systems and major operations software systems. The Capital Budget should be the first year of a multi-year (typically five-years) Capital Improvement Plan (CIP). The Capital Budget of Maryland Heights, Missouri provides a good example.[30]

In my annual presentations to local officials I would remind them of four basic principles of budgeting:

BOX 2: Four Principles of Budgeting

Nothing lasts forever: Roads and bridges, vehicles, and office equipment have an expected useful life, after which they need to be replaced. Repair and replacement costs need to be included in a city's financial plan.

You get what you pay for: There is usually a correlation between the quality, utility, and durability of products, services and employees and their cost.

2 + 2 = 4 (no matter who is asking): Facts are not altered by politics.

There is more to government than what you see: The public rarely sees the people, equipment, and material necessary to maintain a city. Mechanics, technicians, clerical staff, maintenance facilities and pipes in the ground all need to be in the budget.

3.4 Professional Development

Whether senior managers or frontline workers, all city employees must continually develop their knowledge and skills to remain current with best practices in their respective fields and thereby maximize productivity. To this end, professional organizations exist to serve many of the different fields and disciplines found in a charter city administration, and each of these organizations provide publications, in-service training opportunities and conferences. Many of these organizations provide professional certifications as well. Individual city departments can also provide job-specific skills training to employees, which may be either mandatory or encouraged. A minimum annual requirement for professional development should be established for all employees (40 hours per year is the standard that I instituted as City Manager).[31]

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28 I was the City Manager of Maryland Heights, Missouri from 1985 to 2015. See http://www.marylandheights.com/departments/finance/budget-information.
29 See http://www.marylandheights.com/departments/finance/budget-information.
30 See http://www.marylandheights.com/home/showdocument?id=25221.
31 The following organizations may be useful in developing a program of professional development as well as general information about the management of various municipal government functions: (i) American Public Works Association (https://www.apwa.net/); (ii) Chartered Institute of Government Finance Audit and Risk Officers (www.cigfaro.co.za); (iii) Government Finance Officers Association (https://www.gfoa.org/); (iv) International City/County Management Association (https://icma.org/); (v) International Institute of Municipal Clerks (https://www.iimc.com/); (vi) Public Risk Management Association (https://primacentral.org/); (vii) Southern Africa Association of Accountants (https://www.saaa.co.zw/); (viii) South African Institution of Civil Engineering (https://saice.org.za/).

4. Performance Management

> "In theory, there is no difference between theory and practice. In practice, there is."
>
> Yogi Berra (Baseball player)

4.1 Two Uses of Performance Management: Accountability & Improvement

As stated earlier, performance measurements should be included in the annual budget and periodically reviewed and reported to senior management, elected officials, and the public. As a City Manager, it was my practice to review a monthly report of each department and submit a quarterly report to the Council. A comprehensive annual report is considered a best practice. There are numerous theories about what should be measured and how to interpret and use the results. There are performance management recommendations in many professional publications, although there is frequently disagreement about definitions, methods, and appropriateness of those measurements. There are two distinct uses of performance measures: (i) accountability and (ii) performance improvement. Many local governments use their measures for the first purpose, but *fewer* for the second. I therefore focus on this second use.

Programs issue reports about their performance and include measures in their budgets for greater accountability, but these efforts do little to influence *actual* changes in performance. Only when performance information is used in a serious effort to *improve* results is a program, department, or organization engaging in performance management.[32] To this end, there is a trend toward ever more sophisticated and expensive measurements and performance reporting software programs.

Despite this trend, my advice is to start slowly. Before the beginning of each fiscal year, put in place performance goals for each department. Begin by counting things that are easily counted and explained before moving to more complex performance management systems. No two cities are alike and comparing cities is difficult and often frustrating. Therefore, instead of these cross-comparisons, a better approach is to analyze year-to-year trends *within* the city and identify opportunities to increase efficiency and effectiveness. That is, over time strive to improve first what is measured, and *then* strive to improve actual performance (the ultimate aim of performance management).

As a City Manager, it was my practice to ask department directors to develop the measurements that would best report their departments' performance and then question them about the meaning of the measurements and precisely what they measure. Each year this iterative process produced increasingly accurate and more usable reports. Reports of departmental performance were submitted to me monthly. I reviewed them and identified areas of concern, which then formed the basis for quarterly meetings with each department director to clarify and understand the numbers and to mutually agree on any corrective actions that should be undertaken.[33]

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32 David Ammons (2015), "Getting Real About Performance Management." *International City/County Management Association*, https://icma.org/articles/pm-magazine/pm-article-getting-real-about-performance-management.
33 Note that the development of performance goals and measurements for individual employees is a separate but related process to the one outlined here.

4.2 SMART Goals & the Different Types of Performance Measures

> "If you don't measure results, you can't tell success from failure."
>
> Osborne and Gaebler in *Reinventing Government*

Developing sound goals is critical to managing performance. Each year, department heads should be asked to set goals for the upcoming year/evaluation period. These goal statements should meet SMART goal standards. A SMART goal is defined as one that is specific, measurable, achievable, results-focused, and timebound.[34]

In addition to formulating SMART goals, City Managers should be aware of the different *types* of performance measures. There are eight main types. First, *input measures* monitor the number of resources used to develop, maintain, or deliver a product, activity, or service. Second, *output measures* monitor how much was produced or provided. Third, *demand measures* report *external* factors requiring or affecting services such as weather, inquiries, or complaints. Fourth, *efficiency measures* monitor the relationship/ratio between the amount produced and the resources used. Fifth, *service quality measures* are used to determine whether customer expectations are being met. These can include timeliness, accuracy, meeting regulatory requirements, courtesy, and meeting customer needs. Sixth, *trends* measure the performance of a program over time. Seventh, *outcomes (effectiveness) measures* are used to determine the extent to which a core function, goal, activity, product, or service has impacted its intended audience. Eighth, *satisfaction* is measured by asking customers/recipients to rate the services they received. Effective performance measures typically combine both quantity-and quality-type metrics.

Related to these last performance measures around satisfaction, there is a growing use by local governments of citizen surveys to identify emerging issues, to gauge overall satisfaction with city services, to ascertain information on the evolving needs of residents and businesses, or to measure likely support of new programs or revenues.[35]

Ultimately, the uses of performance management measures differ by user. The Council will use them to determine program success and relative priorities, and to hold the City Manager accountable. The Manager will use the data to improve the effectiveness of the city administration and hold department heads accountable for departmental performance. The public uses the data to hold the city administration accountable for service delivery and to hold city officials accountable for their promises.

4.3 Performance Management Measurement: Some Concrete Suggestions

> "What gets measured gets done."
>
> Lord Kelvin

In 2017, the ICMA developed a set of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs) that cities of all sizes could use to benchmark their performance in a range of service areas and made these KPIs available to all.[36] Some examples of performance management measures suggested are below (varied by type and service area)

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34 (i) **S**pecific: Goals should be simplistically written and clearly define what you are going to do – the What, Why, and How of the SMART model; (ii) **M**easurable: Goals should be measurable so that you have tangible evidence of whether the goal has been accomplished; (iii) **A**chievable: Goals should be achievable; they should be a stretch but defined well enough so that they can be met. Achievable goals motivate employees. Impossible goals demotivate them; (iv) **R**esults-focused: Goals should measure outcomes, not activities; (v) **T**ime-bound: Goals should be linked to a timeframe that creates a practical sense of urgency, or results in tension between the current reality and the vision of the goal. Without such tension, the goal is unlikely to produce a relevant outcome.

35 Some examples of city government use of citizen surveys to gauge satisfaction include Dallas, Texas (https://dallascityhall.com/departments/budget/Pages/community-survey.aspx); San Antonio, Texas (https://www.sanantonio.gov/gpa/CommunitySurvey); Topeka, Kansas (https://www.topeka.org/citymanager/citizen-satisfaction/); Parker, Colorado (http://parkeronline.org/Document-Center/View/24260/2017-Citizen-Survey-Results?bidId=); and the KwaZulu-Natal citizen survey in South Africa (http://www.kznonline.gov.za/images/Downloads/Publications/Report-03-00-072015.pdf)

36 ICMA (2017), "ICMA Open Access Benchmarking Key Performance Indicators." https://icma.org/documents/icma-open-access-benchmarking-key-performance-indicators.

Figure 3: ICMA Sample Key Performance Indicators

Measure Type	Service Area	Measure
Outcome	Code Enforcement	Code Enforcement cases resolved through forced compliance
Outcome	Code Enforcement	Average calendar days from inspection to forced compliance
Outcome	Code Enforcement	Average calendar days from inspection to voluntary compliance
Input	Streets	Expenditures on paved road rehabilitation
Efficiency	Streets	Expenditures on road rehabilitation per paved lane mile
Output	Information Technology	Help desk (IT): Number of requests received
Efficiency	Parks & Recreation	Park maintenance expenditures per park, per acre, per playground
Outcome	Human Resources	Total time to fill a vacant position
Output	Public Works	Total street worker overtime hours
Outcome	Risk Management	Number days lost to injury: all departments
Output	Risk Management	Number of workers' compensation claims
Efficiency	Facilities	Custodial expenses per sq. foot
Satisfaction	Solid Waste	% of customers rating service excellent and very good

Of course, while there are clear benefits to effective performance management, there are also several limitations. First, unlike private businesses, the government does not have a "bottom line," so some measures and outcomes are necessarily more difficult and complicated to quantify. Second, there is no profit and loss statement for a city like there is for a private firm. Third, the cost of data collection may sometimes exceed the value of collecting it.

Based on my time as a City Manager and keeping the above limitations in mind, I would distill my advice on performance management into three key lessons:

BOX 3: Three Rules of Performance Management	
Keep it simple:	Too many systems collapse under the weight of complexity.
Build the performance measurement system over time:	Start with the simple counting of units of service and basic inputs before moving to outcomes.
Citizen/customer opinions matter:	Data alone will not convince residents. Ultimately, the perceptions of residents and businesses in the city will influence policymakers (even if they don't align with the data), so it is necessary to have an understanding of what those perceptions are.

5. Conclusion

Charter cities represent an incredible opportunity to rethink city governance in many areas of the world where governance issues have historically hampered economic prosperity. At no other time in modern history has local governance been more important. Over 2.5 billion more people are set to move to cities between now and 2050 and most of this increase will be concentrated in the Global South, where urban governments largely lack the capacity to manage such a rapid influx of new residents.[37]

If these challenges weren't difficult enough for already strained city governments, 2020 has added to them the massive disruptions wrought by the coronavirus pandemic. Even in high-income countries, cities are reeling. For example, in the United States cities, towns and villages are expected to have unprecedented local budget shortfalls of $360 billion from 2020 to 2022 and it's projected that more than *one third* of the three million municipal employees in the U.S. may be furloughed, laid off, or suffer pay decreases leading to significant cuts to city services.[38] The stakes are even more dire in low-income cities of the Global South, with their dense informal settlements and urban slums that often lack adequate water, sanitation, and public health infrastructure. Further exacerbating these challenges is the fact that just when developing city governments are faced with increased demands to combat the pandemic and put plans in place for more resilient futures, these cities are also facing major declines in own-source revenues.[39]

In the current context, *every dollar counts*. This is why forms of governance that prove to be more efficient in their management of scarce city resources should be trumpeted from the rooftops. These forms of governance are needed now more than ever. From my experience, the Council-Manager model–with executive authority vested in a professional, experienced, and non-political City Manager–fits this bill, and therefore can and should be used as a source of inspiration for the governance structures of charter cities. On top of my personal opinion, more objective studies have shown that in the U.S. City Manager-run cities are about 10 percent more efficient than Mayor-run cities.[40] For many families in many cities across both high-income and low-income countries, 10 percent is a hugely consequential sum in this current historical moment.

In addition to providing a brief review of the Council-Manager form of governance, this paper has attempted to illustrate that starting a city from scratch is not for the faint of heart. There will be many challenges and frustrations, and I've provided several lessons that I've learned over four decades to help minimize these headaches. It will take more planning, time, and effort than anticipated. Many competing values and perspectives must be balanced.

The good news is that, in addition to this paper, there are many available resources and examples to draw on from around the world–some of which I've referenced throughout. New communities are being built in many forms throughout the Global South. Individuals have demonstrated a strong willingness to relocate to places that offer opportunities to thrive.

In my experience, there is great satisfaction in creating a place where residents and businesses can flourish, where the quality of life is satisfying, where city services are provided efficiently, effectively and equitably, and where citizens and businesses have trust and confidence in their local officials.

37 Jeffrey Mason & Mark Lutter (2020), "Introduction to Charter Cities." Charter Cities Institute, https://www.chartercitiesinstitute.org/post/introduction-to-charter-cities.

38 Anita Yadavalli et al. (2020), "What Covid-19 Means for City Finances." National League of Cities, https://covid19.nlc.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/What-Covid-19-Means-For-City-Finances_Report-Final.pdf.

39 Astrid Haas et al. (2020), "Property Taxes in a Pandemic World." International Growth Centre: Cities that Work, https://www.theigc.org/blog/property-taxes-in-a-pandemic-world/.

40 David Edwards (2011), "Smarter, Faster, Cheaper: An Operations Efficiency Benchmarking Study of 100 American Cities." IBM Global Business Services White Paper, p. 8, http://www.coj.net/city-council/docs/consolidation-task-force/2013-10-10-ibm-report---smarter-faster-cheaper.aspx.

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