

Myths and Legends: Exploring Differences in Regional Governance and Collective Action in the North American City

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Abstract: In their 1986 book Goldberg and Mercer find institutional and structural differences between Canadian and American cities attributable to the different ways that political culture has affected the evolution of urban regions. The American preference for individualism and competition, for limited government intervention and for local autonomy have all contributed to a political climate that encourages local government fragmentation and renders formal metropolitan restructuring difficult. This phenomenon is institutionalized in the principle of home rule. These features of the American system are widely cited to explain the relative rarity of metropolitan forms of government. But what of metropolitan *governance*? New regionalism emerged in response to the challenges of formal government reorganization and is based on the principle that metropolitan coalitions are easier to establish and more flexible than metropolitan reform. This form of regional coordination is more compatible with local autonomy. However, in theory metropolitan collective action may also be more difficult to establish in the American context that privileges individualism and competition. This paper is structured around a series of questions: First, is metropolitan governance more difficult to establish in the American context? Second, are certain forms of metropolitan governance more common in each country, reflective of their political cultural and institutional differences? Finally, what do these findings suggest for theory building? Is one theory about the sources and determinants of metropolitan collective action sufficient? This paper hypothesizes that despite important differences it is possible to explain the emergence and form of metropolitan governance with a single theoretical framework.

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Canadians are fond of pointing out how we are different from our southern neighbors. It is the neurosis of a nation that, to external observers, lives in the shadow of the United States and shares so many of its traits. Hugh Keenleyside aptly summarized this uniquely North American division:

The boundary between Canada and the United States is typically a human creation: it is physically invisible, geographically illogical, militarily indefensible and emotionally inescapable (Keenleyside, 1929, cited in Goldberg and Mercer 1986, 1).

However, for all our similarities there are undeniably significant differences between the two countries, most evident in our divergent forms of political organization linked to unique historical experiences and distinctive differences in our founding political cultures (Hartz 1964; Horowitz 1966; Lipset 1990; Nevitte 1996) These roots run deep and provide a powerful explanation for a wide variety of developmental differences. Even as our societies grow closer together political cultural and institutional difference will persist as a dividing line and confound continentalism.

Claims of Canadian and American exceptionalism are particularly potent in the realm of urban politics. Outwardly quite similar on *most* elements of political structure, urban challenges and contemporary growth patterns (Munro 1929; Rothblatt and Sancton 1998) it is in cities that the cultural differences that underpin local order are at their sharpest. In their 1986 book Goldberg and Mercer challenge the then prevailing view that insights into American urban politics could be applied to Canadian cities, and vice versa. This was, as their title proclaims, the *myth* of the North American city. This seminal work played an important role in discrediting North American approaches to urbanism and contributed to the isolation of the study of Canadian urban affairs (Taylor and Eidelman 2010).

The central contention of the *Myth of the North American City* is that institutional and structural differences between Canadian and American cities are attributable to the different ways that political culture has affected the evolution of urban regions. The American preference for individualism and competition, for limited government intervention and for local autonomy have all contributed to a political climate that encourages government fragmentation and entrenches values of local self-government. This phenomenon is institutionalized in the instrument of home rule, which protects American local governments from state intervention in local affairs. By contrast, Canadian preference for collectivism, deference to authority, and acceptance of government intervention has reinforced the constitutional order enshrined in the Baldwin Act (Dillon's rule in the American analog), which defines local authorities as the creations, creatures and political subordinates of provincial governments.

The Dillon's Rule/home rule divide has been identified as a factor in explaining differences between Canadian and American cities in a wide variety of policy areas from local immigration and settlement policies to responses to planning policies. But it has also been used to explain differences in approaches and implementation of metropolitan government. Mercer and Goldberg (1986) argue that the institutional and political cultural differences, which can manifest in the empowering autonomy of home rule, makes local government institutional reform – and particularly the creation of metropolitan governments – very difficult in the American context. Consequently Canadian authorities have been more successful in solving the “Urban Problem” (195) of local government fragmentation and lack of regional coordination via institutional reform. While it is empirically true that at the time Canadian metropolitan and amalgamated governments

outnumbered those in the United States (Rothblatt 1994) it is debatable whether these have resulted in effective solutions to metropolitan coordination. For one, the boundaries of metropolitan governments rarely circumscribe entire functional urban regions and have never been effective barriers against spillovers from neighboring jurisdictions (Nelles 2012).

The drawbacks of and barriers to establishing metropolitan governments are well known. But what of metropolitan *governance*? New regionalism emerged in response to the challenges of formal government reorganization and is based on the principle that metropolitan coalitions are easier to establish and more flexible than metropolitan reform. This approach to regional coordination is more compatible with local autonomy and might therefore thrive in the hostile environment of US local politics. However, following Goldberg and Mercer (1986) metropolitan collective action may also be more difficult to establish in the American context that privileges individualism and competition. This paper is structured around a series of questions: First, is metropolitan governance more difficult to establish in the American context? Second, are certain forms of metropolitan governance more common in each country, reflective of their political cultural and institutional differences? Finally, what do these findings suggest for theory building? Is one theory about the sources and determinants of metropolitan collective action sufficient?

This paper hypothesizes that despite important differences between national contexts it is possible to explain the emergence and form of metropolitan governance with a single theoretical framework. This hypothesis is tested in an analysis of local institutional forms, local government autonomy and patterns of regional governance in fifty-nine large metropolitan regions (14 in Canada and 45 in the United States). Ultimately, the results of this analysis show very little variation between the prevalence or intensity of metropolitan partnerships in each jurisdiction. This suggests that while preferences for local autonomy versus public collective action may be an important contextual factor in the emergence of metro partnerships, they are not decisive.

The paper begins with a discussion of local institutional government arrangements and the link between home rule and municipal government autonomy. The second section outlines the key hypotheses and describes the 3 tests used to analyze the link between autonomy and regional collective action. The following section presents the results of these tests and highlights key findings. These findings are then discussed in the two concluding sections.

Theory

Goldberg and Mercer identify many structural and social differences between American and Canadian municipalities that argue against a continentalist interpretation of North American local development. One of these differences, addressed throughout the text, is the propensity for local government fragmentation and proliferation in the American context in contrast to the comparative openness of Canadian authorities to metropolitan reform. The sources of this key difference is linked to the gulf between the Canadian culture of peace, order and good government and the more individualistic American political tradition. These important cultural differences have profoundly shaped the institutions that govern the relationships between state and local governments, and indeed between local governments in metropolitan regions, in each context.

The text notes that American metropolitan regions are characterized by greater jurisdictional fragmentation in contrast to its northern neighbor where “virtually every major Canadian metropolitan region is governed in part by some form of metropolitan-wide government” (Goldberg and Mercer 1986, 129). The relative ‘success’ of the metropolitan project in Canada is attributed in large part to the active intervention and innovation of provincial governments in this domain (Rothblatt and Sancton 1998).¹ This degree of state intervention is all but impossible in the United States with its “predilection for local autonomy and a fear of centralized government structures” (129). The apparent legitimacy of provincial participation in local affairs is traced to the Canadian culture of deference to authority and preference for “collective and public action” (140), which further entrenched the constitutionally subordinate position of municipal governments in the political order. In the United States, by contrast, the emphasis on individualism and competition in which pluralism is a virtual “article of faith” (146) are the foundation of the principles of local autonomy and local self-governance that contributed to the eventual insulation of municipal authorities from state intervention in state constitutions and statutes. In both cases different cultural norms influenced the evolution of complementary political institutions (such as home rule) and practices that charted very different traditions of intergovernmental interaction.

While Goldberg and Mercer make specific observations on the different state of metropolitan *government*, they do not comment on the prevalence of metropolitan *governance*.² After all, the creation of metropolitan-wide government structures is not the only way to coordinate policy across jurisdictional boundaries. Furthermore, the most recent wave of metropolitan government reorganizations (from the late 1990s to 2000s) has proved to be increasingly contentious, even in the apparently deferential Canadian context (Friskin 2007; Horak 1998; Sancton 2000). In the era of “new regionalism” (Friskin and Norris 2001; Norris 2001, 2001) inter-jurisdictional collaboration provides a more flexible and often more effective alternative to metropolitan-wide general-purpose institutional reform (Hulst and van Montfort 2007). To the extent that metro governments are only one potential solution to the “Urban Problem” (Goldberg and Mercer 1986, 195) of jurisdictional fragmentation a great deal is missed in an analysis that ignores governance solutions.

Although Goldberg and Mercer do not comment directly on the experience of metropolitan governance in Canada and the United States an extension of their arguments is still possible. If we accept the arguments laid out in *The Myth of the North American City* regarding cultural differences and their expression in institutions and practices of intergovernmental relations it still seems as though metropolitan governance would be more likely to emerge in the Canadian context than in the United States. Two different, but related, factors contribute to this conclusion. First, is the contrast between the Canadian cultural propensity for collective action and American competition and individualism. Secondly, is the institutionalization of the principle of local autonomy in American municipalities versus the accepted subordination of Canadian local authorities.

Metropolitan governance is the voluntary coordination of policy between local authorities in a metropolitan area (which may or may not also include non-governmental participants). It is essentially collective public action. The same competitiveness and pluralism that Mercer and Goldberg argue led to greater political

¹ This observation proved to be remarkably prescient as the text preceded the second era of great metropolitan reorganizations in Canada, which saw the creation of the Toronto MegaCity, and substantial metro reorganizations in the provinces of Quebec and Nova Scotia.

² Governance is defined as non-hierarchical and voluntary partnerships between public authorities for the resolution of common problems. These partnerships often include actors beyond the public sector, including businesses, associations, not-for-profit and other community actors.

fragmentation at the metropolitan scale in the United States should also be a substantial barrier to the interjurisdictional collaboration essential to metro governance. This should be reinforced by the strong tradition of local autonomy (Basolo 2003) institutionalized in constitutional and legislative provisions that (to varying degrees) protect American municipalities from state intervention in local affairs. The argument here is that the more entrenched the principle of local autonomy the more fiercely local authorities will act to preserve it (Basolo 2003). As a result, these authorities will be more likely to resist participating in voluntary partnerships that require them to sacrifice local autonomy or that appear likely to limit this “sovereignty”.³ This extension of Goldberg and Mercer’s arguments results in the same conclusions: *ceteris paribus* metropolitan *governance* should be more likely in Canadian contexts.⁴

Home rule: The institutionalization of local autonomy?

No institution embodies the American tendency to individualism, wariness of centralized government and defense of local autonomy better than home rule. While both Canadian and American local authorities have traditionally been governed by legal frameworks that subordinate local governments to state and provincial governments (the Baldwin Act and Dillon’s rule, respectively), since 1875 home rule has granted American jurisdictions some measure of freedom to govern their own affairs without state intervention.⁵ Although the adoption of home rule institutions in the Canadian context has been debated since the late 1800s (Rutherford 1971) no such measures have ever been formally implemented. The application of home rule is one of the most significant differences between Canadian and American local powers and contributes to a different set of state/local relations. Consequently, the merits of home rule and the potential advantages it confers on American jurisdictions are the subject of avid debate in the North American municipal government literature (see Boudreau 2006; City of Toronto 2000; Federation of Canadian Municipalities 2001; McAllister 2004; Milway and Nelles 2003; Swainson 1983). But for several key problems home rule would be an ideal variable in any test of the metropolitan governance hypothesis.

While home rule may be a sufficient proxy for local autonomy it is often misleading. First, not all communities in the United States are governed by home rule provisions. Some states (such as Delaware and New Hampshire) have not adopted home rule while others limit its application to counties or cities that exceed certain population thresholds. This internal variation is not especially problematic for a comparative analysis – American Dillon’s rule communities can provide an important test of the influence of political culture versus its institutionalization in provisions like home rule on the emergence of metropolitan governance. Following

³ There is a counterargument to this position that contends that local authorities with greater local autonomy granted by home rule legislation or statute will be more willing to sacrifice local autonomy to advance collective action because their jurisdictions and functions are more certain over the long term relative to their Dillon’s rule counterparts whose powers and responsibilities can be altered at any point by state or provincial authorities (and who might therefore guard more jealously the powers that they currently have) (see Nelles, 2012 and Richardson, Gough and Puentes, 2003 for more detail on this perspective).

⁴ It is possible to argue that, given that metro-wide governments already serve Canadian metros, there is less need for governance. Formal institutions already exist in metro policy areas. However, I contend that not only are genuinely metropolitan governments much less widespread in Canada than Goldberg and Mercer imply even where megacities or metro tiers exist these fail to cover the entire functional region. Therefore, some measure of coordination is still necessary between central cities (or “metros”) and surrounding jurisdictions in order to resolve complex urban problems.

⁵ Others do an excellent job of elaborating the history, application and evolution of home rule in the United States. See notably Vanlandingham (1968), United States Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations (1993, 1981) and Krane, Rigos and Hill Jr. (2001).

the logic outlined above we would expect that American Dillon's rule jurisdictions would be more likely to engage in metropolitan cooperation than home rule jurisdictions, though perhaps less likely than more collectively oriented Canadian communities.

[Table 1 & 2 here]

The second, and more serious, issue with home rule is that it is very difficult to define. While Dillon's rule (and the Baldwin Act) is exclusively a rule of statutory construction, which affirms state supremacy over local affairs, home rule has been applied through both statute and legislation to confer widely varying degrees of authority to American localities (Richardson, 2011). Such variation exists in the application and interpretation of home rule – both in terms of the 'exclusive' powers granted to local authorities and to judicial and legislative practices in support or in defiance of the home rule principle – that it has been described as closer to a "state of mind" (Reed 1927, 133) than a static state. In short, not all home rule was created equally (Krane, Rigos, and Hill Jr. 2001). This paper is not alone in challenging the traditional dichotomy that situates home rule and Dillon's rule as different poles – one more permissive and the other more constrained, respectively (Bowman and Kearney 2012; Jones 1986; Richardson 2011; Smith 1986; Stewart and Smith 2006).

The variation in adoption of formal home rule – in which local authorities are not ultimately subject to the Dillon's rule framework of state supremacy over local affairs – and the adoption of various aspects of home rule, such as a degree of local autonomy and insulation from state interference in local affairs *so long as they don't conflict with state laws and are not expressly forbidden by state legislation*, is demonstrated in Tables 1 and 2. Table 1 depicts Dillon's rule adoption by state (Richardson, Zimmerman Gough, and Puentes 2003), while Table 2 lists the states (and metro regions in this study) that use the term "home rule", in state constitutions or legislation, to govern state/local relations. Thirty-nine states have adopted Dillon's rule as the rule of statutory construction to govern transfers of authority from state to local levels. Yet almost all states have adopted aspects of home rule the guide practical intergovernmental relations. Yet other analyses reveal even greater depths of variation when states are compared on the basis of the areas of local authority governed by home rule (Krane, Rigos, and Hill Jr. 2001; United States Advisory Committee on Intergovernmental Relations 1981). These reveal different very levels of *de jure* autonomy and discretion in determining local structures, functions, and fiscal instruments and limits across states. This variation has been described as the "mushy middle" (Stewart and Smith 2006), which renders deeply problematic the practice of equating home rule with local autonomy.

While home rule is certainly a powerful concept and appears to be a polarizing difference between Canadian and (some) American local jurisdictions it has limited utility in a comparative analysis of the sources of metropolitan partnerships and governance. In order to explore the effect of American individualism vs. Canadian collectivism (and other manifestations of these unique political cultures) it is more productive, if not more difficult, to employ measures that more accurately capture the different degree of local autonomy enjoyed by American communities relative to their Canadian counterparts. Several studies have outlined different methods to assess local autonomy (Carr 2006; Chapman 2003; Fleurke and Willemse 2006; Stephens 1974; Stephens and Wickstrom 2007; Wolman and Goldsmith 1990; Wolman et al. 2008). Most of these focus on one or several indicators of *de facto* structural, functional, decision-making and fiscal autonomy. Some, such as Wolman et al. (2008) use an approach that includes, alongside these typical measures, factors that get at the different power relations between local and state governments in each state as well as local government

capacity. The chief difference between these and the more sophisticated measures of home rule is that the latter assume that home rule and autonomy are synonymous while the former treat the presence or absence of home rule provisions as one among several factors that shape independent local capacity and state/local relations across jurisdictions. It is, therefore, more likely that these types of measures will more accurately⁶ reflect the institutionalization of principles of individualism, competition and local autonomy. If so, we would expect Canadian localities to score lower than their American counterparts on measures of autonomy (see Table 3, below). Furthermore, we would expect a stronger correlation between measures of local autonomy and the emergence of metropolitan governance in the United States and Canada than with alternative explanations such as home rule. Finally, following the logic established by Goldberg and Mercer linking devotion to local autonomy and reluctance to engage in publicly led collective action we would still expect metropolitan governance to be more prevalent in Canadian than American metropolitan regions.

Methodology

The preceding analysis suggests the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1a: Local governments in Canada should be more likely to participate in partnerships at the metropolitan scale than their American counterparts.

Hypothesis 1b: Local governments in Canadian jurisdictions should be more likely to participate in partnerships at the metropolitan scale than local governments in American Dillon's Rule jurisdictions because of the influence of their more individualistic and competitive political culture;

Hypothesis 2: Local autonomy is a better predictor of regional governance outcomes than Dillon's rule or home rule jurisdictions. Local governments with less scope for maneuver are more likely to participate in partnerships at the metropolitan scale.

Hypothesis 3: Despite important differences between national contexts it is possible to explain the emergence and form of metropolitan governance with a single theoretical framework;

These hypotheses are tested in 59 North American metropolitan regions – 14 in Canada and 45 in the United States. These cases were selected based on metropolitan population and include the largest metros in both countries (Statistics Canada 2010; US Census Bureau 2010). The Canadian metropolitan regions tend to be less populous than their American counterparts – only five Canadian metros figure in the combined list of top 50 metro regions. In order to include a more balanced number of Canadian cases the ten next largest Canadian metros were added to round out the list.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the effects of home rule, and local autonomy, on the emergence and character of interlocal governance partnerships at the metropolitan scale. For each case a web search was conducted to identify interlocal partnerships in the area of regional marketing and economic development.⁷ The criteria for inclusion as a metro partnership were as follows: (1) the partnership needed to include at least

⁶ But not perfectly. For practical purposes many of these studies attribute degrees of local autonomy to the state level. As a result there is no differentiation between the different capacities or autonomy of local authorities *within* states.

⁷ Eventually I intend to compare the influence of autonomy across issue areas to verify results.

three local governments *including* the central city of the metro region; (2) if the central city was not a participant the partnerships was excluded; (3) local governments must be participants even if the partnership is led by the private sector; and (4) where more than one partnership qualifies in a given policy area the more intense partnership was selected.

In addition to identifying the presence (or absence) of metropolitan partnerships in each case this paper also tests the intensity of those partnerships. This allows for further tests of the effect of home rule on metropolitan cooperation based on the expectation that Dillon's rule jurisdictions, or less autonomous jurisdictions, are likely to have more intense partnerships. Intensity in this context is defined as the willingness of partners to sacrifice individual autonomy to engage in collective action. Therefore, the more decision-making authority local actors delegate to the partnership the less able they will be to pursue their own ends autonomously and the more intense the partnership (Nelles 2012; Perkmann 2003). Partnership intensity is measured using a modified version of an index developed by Nelles (2012), which takes into account the scope of participation, the institutional form of the partnership and the attitude of the partners towards the partnership. The variant used in this paper preserves the first two measures – attitudes are too difficult to accurately measure in so many cases – and adds an additional variable to modify the results based on the originators of the partnership. This additional factor was added in order to distinguish cases with strong partnerships that resulted from the intervention of state actors (i.e. the creation of a metropolitan planning organization, MPO) from those that were the initiative of local actors. An intensity score is compiled for partnerships in each policy area as well as combined index. The details of the index calculation and methodology are discussed further in Appendix A.

This paper uses two sets of independent variables to test the core hypotheses: the home rule/Dillon's rule dichotomy, and local autonomy. The home rule/Dillon's rule distinction is listed in Table 2 and was determined based on whether or not the *central cities*⁸ of each metro region has what is described in the document as a home rule charter with additions of the Canadian cases by the author (all Dillon's rule). Because of the variability in the application of the term home rule discussed above this paper uses an additional measure of home rule-ness adapted from Richardson (2011) based on a stricter reading of the legal character and application of home rule in state statutes (see Table 1). Local autonomy is measured using an index developed by Wolman et al. (2008), which compiles data on local government importance; local accountability; local government structural, functional responsibility and legal scope; fiscal discretion limits; local unconstrained revenues; and the diversity of local revenue sources.⁹ Similar measures for Canadian cases were integrated into the data set and the index was recalculated (see Table 3). Methodological issues related to these calculations are discussed in Appendix B.

[Table 3 here]

Note that Table 3 shows that Canadian provinces are indeed near the bottom of the local autonomy rankings, but they are not alone. Both Delaware and Hawaii rank in the bottom tier in terms of autonomy and states like Vermont, West Virginia and New Hampshire do not perform much better on this measure. While this does

⁸ Many of these metro regions cross state boundaries – i.e. the New York-Northern New Jersey – Long Island MSA includes three states (NY, NJ and PA). The central cities were selected in order to simplify the definition of home rule vs. Dillon's rule and because the central cities, and their involvement in collective action, are the focus of this study.

⁹ It should be noted that this index measures the degree of autonomy accorded by the *state* rather than the actual degree of autonomy of each jurisdiction. Consequently, all Californian metros (for example) will have the same autonomy score.

confirm the expectation that American jurisdictions would be more autonomous than their Canadian counterparts the gap between these two groups is not terribly extensive.

Hypotheses 2 and 3 will be investigated in a series of three tests, the results of which determine the validity of the first hypothesis. The first test sorts governance outcomes into a set of simple matrices based on whether the jurisdictions are home rule or Dillon's rule. In the first matrix the sixty metro case studies will be classified into quadrants based on whether they are home rule or Dillon's rule and according to whether there are any metropolitan partnerships. In this case the hypothesis predicts that Dillon's rule metros will be more likely than their home rule counterparts to participate in partnerships and we expect that Canadian jurisdictions will, *ceteris paribus*, be more likely than American Dillon's rule jurisdictions to have established regional governance.

A second test investigates the same relationship through a correlation of legal forms and partnership intensities. This test compares the intensities for partnerships separately as well as the combined index in order to determine whether policy field has a significant impact on cooperative outcomes. Finally, the last analysis tests the third hypothesis regarding the relationship between local autonomy and regional governance intensity. This test involves a regression of the local autonomy index versus the combined intensity score.

Findings

The first object of this paper is to test the influence of home rule versus Dillon's rule on the emergence and intensity of intermunicipal partnerships. The first set of hypotheses postulate that the institutional differences between American and Canadian local government contexts should be reflected in their propensity to engage in cooperation across jurisdictional boundaries and that such cooperation should be more prevalent in the Canadian/Dillon's rule context.

Home rule/Dillon's rule and the presence of metropolitan partnerships

As a first step each metropolitan region was categorized as either Dillon's rule or home rule. As discussed above this paper uses two different measures of home rule-ness – one based on a more strictly statutory interpretation and one based on the *practice* of devolving varying degrees of authority to the local level beyond a strict reading of state statutes. It is hoped that one or the other of these characterizations will show a distinctive pattern that will link home or Dillon's rule to a greater likelihood of interlocal cooperation. The first test arrays each of the selected metropolitan regions in a quadrant based on their classification as home rule or not and whether a regional partnership was identified (or not). These results are displayed in Tables 4 and 5:

[Tables 4 & 5 here]

Table 4 compares the Richardson (statutory) interpretation of home rule and presence or absence of regional economic development or marketing partnerships. The results show a surprisingly similar prevalence of partnerships across home rule and Dillon's rule jurisdictions. In the home rule jurisdictions identified 24% do not have interlocal partnerships in this policy area, and 76% do. Similarly, in Dillon's rule jurisdictions 27% of jurisdictions have no partnerships in the area of metropolitan economic development and marketing and 73%

have evolved inter-jurisdictional alliances. These results suggest that there is little relationship between home rule, strictly defined, and the likelihood of intermunicipal cooperation. A second, and perhaps more interesting result is that, contrary to expectations Canadian jurisdictions were slightly less likely to engage in intermunicipal cooperation than their American counterparts. Overall 43% of Canadian jurisdictions do not participate in metropolitan partnerships compared to only 20% of American jurisdictions. Consequently, it does not appear that, using this definition of home rule, Canadian jurisdictions are more likely than American Dillon's rule metros to engage in cooperation.

The second measure of home rule attempts to capture more accurately the relationship between state and local governments in practice, which has in many cases involved the accretion of home rule-like practices and even legislation within what is still essentially a Dillon's rule legal framework. This classification system reverses the dominance of Dillon's rule jurisdictions and places most American metro regions in the home rule category. Not surprisingly, the results of the comparison of status and partnerships, displayed in Table 5, are practically the opposite of the first comparison. In this quadrant the proportion of home rule metro regions with cross-jurisdictional partnerships is virtually identical (78% with and 22% without). By contrast, the proportions for Dillon's rule metros have been significantly altered by the shift of US cases. In this comparison on 65% of Dillon's rule metros have partnerships while 35% do not. Still, much like the previous test these results do not suggest any obvious pattern of relationships between the practice of home rule and the prevalence of partnerships. Nor do Canadian jurisdictions seem any likelier than their American counterparts to cooperate in this policy field.

Home rule/Dillon's rule and partnership intensity

One possibility is that, while partnerships have emerged relatively equally across both home rule and Dillon's rule contexts, these two types of jurisdiction may differ in the intensity of those partnerships. This hypothesis is tested by exploring the relationship between the two different classifications of home rule to the intensity of metropolitan partnerships. These results are displayed in Table 6 (Richardson vs. partnership intensity) and Table 7 (Charter vs. partnership intensity).

[Table 6 & 7 here]

Unfortunately, these results offer few insights. The darkest bands are the most intense partnerships and each successive lighter band denotes a relatively weaker partnership. On the Richardson measures Dillon's rule metros have the stronger intensities, although largely due to numerical advantage. Almost 25% of the Dillon's rule jurisdictions were in the highest intensity range (3.0+) compared to only 8% of home rule. The distribution of the highest intensity partnerships between home rule and Dillon's rule was more consistent in the charter comparison: 25% of the home rule metros were in the highest intensity bracket compared to 33% of Dillon's rule metros. If anything, Dillon's rule metros have a slight advantage across both comparisons. However, neither of these constitutes a decisive pattern.

Local autonomy and metropolitan partnerships

The preceding analysis suggests that there may be more effective explanations for cooperation and non-cooperation. The second hypothesis of this paper is that local autonomy may be just such an explanation. The

final test explores the correlation between local autonomy and the presence and intensity of metropolitan partnerships. The first finding is that jurisdictions with higher scores on the autonomy index were only slightly more likely to engage in partnerships at the metropolitan scale. Finally, the relationship between this measure of local autonomy and the intensity of metropolitan partnerships was weak ($r=0.1021$) and not statistically significant ($p=0.4417$).

These findings have three potential interpretations. First, the hypothesis may be wrong: there may be no significant relationship between the autonomy of the participant local authorities and their likelihood to engage in relatively intense partnerships at the metropolitan scale. A second possibility is that the measure of autonomy used here fails to reflect the critical dimensions of “local autonomy” that may influence the decision of policy makers to engage in or resist participation in these kinds of partnerships. A third possibility is that the policy area of regional marketing and economic development alone does not provide enough data. It is possible that a very different set of relationships may be observed if we vary and compare different policy areas.

Summary and Reflections

The preceding analysis invites several interesting conclusions. First, the uniformly weak relationship between the presence of metropolitan partnerships and the different independent variables tested – home rule, strictly and liberally interpreted, and local autonomy – suggests that local autonomy alone has little bearing on the emergence of metropolitan governance. That is, Canadian jurisdictions are no more likely to produce metropolitan partnerships than American jurisdictions and where they occur they are not likely to be stronger in Dillon’s rule (or more constrained) jurisdictions. Although these findings do not conform to our initial expectations based on the extension of Goldberg and Mercer’s findings they offer some important insights into the drivers of metropolitan cooperation in the absence of general purpose authorities at the regional scale.

First, metropolitan partnerships are clearly much more widespread than general purpose metropolitan governments in both national contexts, and their numbers are increasing (Katz and Bradley 2012). Their prevalence alone suggests that metropolitan partnerships and governance arrangements that have emerged at that scale as alternatives to metro reform are worth taking seriously in urban political science. Secondly, the emergence of metropolitan partnerships is plainly not subject to the same forces and factors as the establishment of metropolitan governments. While state and provincial actors have played a role in metropolitan partnerships the majority have formed from the bottom-up and around coalitions of public, private and not-for-profit actors. As such there are likely to be additional, or alternative, explanations beyond institutions of intergovernmental relationships (see Feiock 2009; Nelles 2012). Understanding the genesis of regional partnerships across a wide variety of contexts will provide policymakers the tools to replicate the successes playing out in other jurisdictions and with a clearer understanding of the socio-political forces and interests at play to ensure that they effectively and transparently interface with public mechanisms and serve the public good.

Conclusion

Three decades since the publication of *The Myth of the North American City* the sources and the merits of the differences between Canadian and American local politics are still debated. One of the most important

arguments of this seminal text challenges the intellectual tradition of North American continentalism, arguing instead that American and Canadian communities cannot be effectively compared without reference to their unique cultural contexts. While this paper recognizes the importance of political culture in comparative political science it challenges the contention that the emergence of regional governance at the metropolitan scale cannot be explained by a single theory applicable to jurisdictions in North America, and beyond.

This contention is borne out by the findings of this paper, which do not show any decisive difference in the rates or intensities of metropolitan governance partnerships across the two nations. Judging from this brief survey metropolitan partnerships do not appear to be any more difficult to establish in the American context than in the Canadian. Nor are metropolitan governance arrangements strikingly more common in one context than in another. While Canada certainly has a history of producing metropolitan government arrangements these do not appear to have precluded metropolitan partnerships. The lack of any decisive relationship between American local autonomy (both institutionally and functionally defined) and the emergence or intensity of metropolitan partnerships suggests that other factors may more effectively account for variation in metropolitan experiences. While this doesn't invalidate the very important arguments that Goldberg and Mercer make it does suggest that, at least in this area, these findings do challenge the suggestion that urban theory building is will therefore be more difficult in the continental (and by extension, global) context.

One interesting outcome of this analysis concerns the relative power of institutional vs. political cultural explanations for variations in experiences of metropolitan governance. In the original text political culture was found to heavily influence political institutions and practices resulting in very different intergovernmental relationships in each country. In this case institutions were regarded as the consequence and outgrowth of cultural norms and functioned to reinforce distinctive practices. While Goldberg and Mercer did not explore in depth the institutions of metropolitan government the structure of this study permitted a partial disaggregation of institutional and cultural factors in the different 'forms' of home rule. Home rule can be discussed as an institution or as a culturally-informed practice. In the former the values of local autonomy and resistance to intervention in local affairs are firmly entrenched in state statute, while in the latter these are encoded in legislation and practice. Examining the impact of both types of home rule – the strict statutory interpretation and the more varied practice – serves as a crude proxy for institutional vs. cultural explanations for observed differences. Unfortunately, in this study neither of these has emerged as a more persuasive relationship than the other in this study. However, this methodology may be of use to future studies that want to comparatively explore the cultural versus institutional impacts of local autonomy.

Another contribution of this project has been to highlight the complexity of measuring local autonomy. In a recent article Bowman and Kearny (2011; 2012) found that state legislators, city managers, executive directors of state municipal leagues and executive directors of county associations held different perceptions about the relative distribution of authority and its magnitude over time (increasing or decreasing) across different policy areas. This suggests that the actual mechanisms of devolution of authority and the *perceptions* of local decision-makers about their autonomy can differ substantially. This raises the question of which dimensions of local autonomy (if any) are the most meaningful in the comparative study of metropolitan governance: *de jure*, *de facto* or *perceived*. It is possible that levels of perception of local autonomy are similar across Canadian and American jurisdictions and that may be a better explanation for the lack of observed variation in this study. Drilling deeper into the differences between these definitions of local autonomy may yield more insights into the relationship between culture, institutions and metropolitan structures.

In any project there are paths not taken, questions left unanswered (and unasked), and avenues of inquiry that, in hindsight, offer fruitful opportunities for discussion. For instance, many of the metropolitan regions in this analysis sprawl into several different states such that local authorities may be governed by very different institutions and conventions of intergovernmental relations. Some regions, like that centered on Washington D.C. have jurisdictions that are governed by different orders entirely. What influence does this have on the emergence and character of metropolitan partnerships? Do partnerships that include both home rule and Dillon's rule localities face different challenges than their more homogeneous counterparts? And what about the different sources of metropolitan partnerships? Some are the initiatives of state actors while others are local efforts centered on local governments. Still others are led by the private sector and include local public interests as only a minority of governing boards. One interesting question would be to explore whether certain structures of local partnerships are more common in the American context than in the Canadian. Perhaps the private sector enjoys more legitimacy in metropolitan coalition building than local authorities in the U.S., which should be reflected in the geneses of the partnerships. Finally, there are normative issues related to these alternative forms of metropolitan coordination concerning whether they are an appropriate solution and degrees of public transparency and accountability. These issues continue to be debated in the governance literature and are important to consider critically as metros increasingly turn to networked forms of coordination. Furthermore, the effectiveness of these partnerships has also been called into question. Rothblatt (1994) described the partnerships he observed in American cities as toothless relative to governmental structures. Very little scholarly attention has been devoted to the tradeoffs between these flexible governance arrangements and governing outcomes. Further work in this area of research could explore the influence of different regimes of local autonomy, the cooperative structures that do or don't emerge (and their alternatives), and outcomes.

The Myth of the North American City made an important contribution to the study of urban politics on the continent by highlighting the many differences that have affected urban evolution in both nations. However, in the process it also arguably stifled comparative research on Canadian and American cities. In the almost thirty years since its publication there has been a resurgence of interest in comparative study on and beyond the continent. The findings of this paper provide further support for this trend and the potential value of intensifying comparative research in the North American context.

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TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 1: Dillon's Rule and Home Rule States in the United States [Adapted from Richardson, Zimmerman Gough and Puentes (2003)]

Dillon's Rule	Home Rule
Alabama	Alaska
Arizona	California
Arkansas	Illinois
Colorado	Indiana
Connecticut	Iowa
Delaware	Kansas
Florida*	Louisiana
Georgia	Massachusetts
Hawaii	Montana
Idaho	New Jersey
Kentucky	New Mexico
Maine	Ohio
Maryland	Oregon
Michigan	South Carolina
Minnesota	Utah
Mississippi	
Missouri	
Nebraska	
Nevada	
New Hampshire	
New York	
North Carolina	
North Dakota	
Oklahoma	
Pennsylvania	
Rhode Island	
South Dakota	
Tennessee	
Texas	
Vermont	
Virginia	
Washington	
West Virginia	
Wisconsin	
Wyoming	

Table 2: States (and metro regions) that have adopted home rule measures

Dillon's rule	Home rule city charter
Alabama	California (Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana; San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont; Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario; San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos; Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville; San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara)
Idaho	Illinois (Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI)
Montana	Georgia (Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta)
Nebraska	Texas (Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington; Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, San Antonio-New Braunfels; Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos)
New Hampshire	Pennsylvania (Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD; Pittsburgh)
North Carolina	District of Columbia (Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV)
Vermont	Massachusetts (Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH)
Virginia (Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC; Richmond, VA)	New York (New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA)
West Virginia	Florida (Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL; Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater; Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford; Jacksonville, FL)
	Alaska
	Arizona (Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale)
	Arkansas
	Colorado (Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO)
	Connecticut (Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT)
	Delaware*
	Hawaii*
	Indiana (Indianapolis-Carmel, IN)
	Iowa
	Kansas
	Kentucky (Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN)
	Louisiana
	Maine
	Maryland (Baltimore-Towson, MD)
	Michigan (Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI)
	Minnesota (Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI)
	Missouri (St. Louis, MO-IL; Kansas City, MO-KS)
	Nevada (Las Vegas-Paradise, NV)
	New Jersey
	New Mexico
	North Dakota
	Ohio (Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN; Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH; Columbus, OH)
	Oklahoma (Oklahoma City, OK)
	Oregon (Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA)
	Rhode Island (Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA)
	South Carolina
	South Dakota*
	Tennessee (Nashville-Davidson--Murfreeseboro--Franklin, TN; Memphis, TN-MS-AR)
	Utah
	Washington (Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA)

Wisconsin (Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI)
 Wyoming

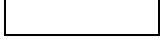
Table 3: Local autonomy index [calculated using Wolman et al. 2008]

State	Index total
NEW YORK	5.838511407
TENNESSEE	3.702634752
COLORADO	3.605967104
FLORIDA	3.578878671
OHIO	3.410124391
KANSAS	3.21671316
MARYLAND	3.022861825
CALIFORNIA	2.787943542
TEXAS	2.66579834
ILLINOIS	2.572956085
MASSACHUSETTS	2.442294069
WYOMING	2.43186545
MISSOURI	2.154458195
LOUISIANA	2.090409845
SOUTH CAROLINA	1.99441424
IOWA	1.668371834
ALASKA	1.639662266
ALABAMA	1.534116089
NEW MEXICO	1.485896464
VIRGINIA	1.382440532
UTAH	1.358557791
GEORGIA	1.293980777
NEVADA	1.047227778
MAINE	1.042770788
SOUTH DAKOTA	0.984636437
NORTH CAROLINA	0.943007052
ARIZONA	0.816207215
OREGON	0.535900816
NEW JERSEY	0.535247808
MONTANA	0.135662131
INDIANA	0.103934869
OKLAHOMA	0.036050111
MISSISSIPPI	-0.033479298
ARKANSAS	-0.168897621
MICHIGAN	-0.171495661
NEBRASKA	-0.211829752
WISCONSIN	-0.408254087
KENTUCKY	-0.539701078
MINNESOTA	-0.583640959
CONNECTICUT	-0.608958006
RHODE ISLAND	-0.654838562
WASHINGTON	-0.658935025

PENNSYLVANIA	-0.805777565
IDAHO	-1.717848748
NORTH DAKOTA	-1.822349831
NEW HAMPSHIRE	-2.363338321
WEST VIRGINIA	-2.918173134
VERMONT	-3.585849404
Alberta	-4.72133705
British Columbia	-4.722430706
DELAWARE	-4.885907523
Manitoba	-4.893183023
Nova Scotia	-5.116980314
HAWAII	-5.646109641
Ontario	-5.890619591
Quebec	-8.929566443

Table 4: The presence or absence of metro partnerships using Richardson, Zimmerman Gough and Puentes (2003) classification of home Rule and Dillon's rule jurisdictions

	NO PARTNERSHIP	EXISTING PARTNERSHIP
HOME RULE	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH
	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA
	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA
		San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA
		Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL
		Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA
		Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA
		Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL
		San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA
		Columbus, OH
		Indianapolis-Carmel, IN
		Jacksonville, FL
		24%
DILLON'S RULE	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Toronto, Ontario CMA
	Ottawa-Gatineau, Ontario/Quebec CMA	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA
	Winnipeg, Manitoba CMA	Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ
	Edmonton, Alberta CMA	Montréal, Quebec CMA
	Hamilton, Ontario CMA	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA
	London, Ontario CMA	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI
	Victoria, British Columbia CMA	St. Louis, MO-IL
	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	Baltimore-Towson, MD
	Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO
		Vancouver, British Columbia CMA
		Pittsburgh, PA
		San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX
		Kansas City, MO-KS
		Las Vegas-Paradise, NV
		Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC
		Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX
		Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC
		Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN
		Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI
		Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN
		Richmond, VA
		Oklahoma City, OK
		Calgary, Alberta CMA
		Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT
		Québec, Quebec CMA
	Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo, Ontario CMA	
	St. Catharines-Niagara, Ontario CMA	
	Halifax, Nova Scotia CMA	



27%



73%



Table 5: The presence or absence of partnerships using *de jure* measures of home ruleness

	NO PARTNERSHIP	EXISTING PARTNERSHIP
HOME RULE	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH
	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA
	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA
	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA
	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA
	Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL
		San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA
		Columbus, OH
		Indianapolis-Carmel, IN
		Jacksonville, FL
		Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA
		Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX
		San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX
		Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX
		Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD
		Pittsburgh, PA
		Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ
		Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO
		Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT
		Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN
		Baltimore-Towson, MD
		Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI
		St. Louis, MO-IL
	Kansas City, MO-KS	
	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	
	Oklahoma City, OK	
	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	
	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	
	22%	78%
DILLON'S RULE	Ottawa-Gatineau, Ontario/Quebec CMA	Toronto, Ontario CMA
	Winnipeg, Manitoba CMA	Montréal, Quebec CMA
	Edmonton, Alberta CMA	Vancouver, British Columbia CMA
	Hamilton, Ontario CMA	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC
	London, Ontario CMA	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC
	Victoria, British Columbia CMA	Richmond, VA
		Calgary, Alberta CMA
		St. Catharines-Niagara, Ontario CMA
		Halifax, Nova Scotia CMA
		Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo, Ontario CMA
		Quebec City, Quebec CMA
	35%	65%

Table 6: Intensities of metro partnerships arranged using the Richardson, Zimmerman Gough, and Puentes (2003) classification of home rule

NO PARTNERSHIP	EXISTING PARTNERSHIP
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA
	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA
	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL
	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA
	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA
	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL
	San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA
	Columbus, OH
	Indianapolis-Carmel, IN
	Jacksonville, FL
Highest intensity: 8%	Lowest intensity: 0%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Toronto, Ontario CMA
Ottawa-Gatineau, Ontario/Quebec CMA	Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA
Winnipeg, Manitoba CMA	Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ
Edmonton, Alberta CMA	Montréal, Quebec CMA
Hamilton, Ontario CMA	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA
London, Ontario CMA	Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI
Victoria, British Columbia CMA	St. Louis, MO-IL
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	Baltimore-Towson, MD
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO
	Vancouver, British Columbia CMA
	Pittsburgh, PA
	San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX
	Kansas City, MO-KS
	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV
	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC
	Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX
	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC
	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN
	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI
	Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN
	Richmond, VA
	Oklahoma City, OK
	Calgary, Alberta CMA
	Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT
	Québec, Quebec CMA

	Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo, Ontario CMA
	St. Catharines-Niagara, Ontario CMA
	Halifax, Nova Scotia CMA
Highest intensity: 24%	Lowest intensity: 7%

Table 7: Intensities of metro partnerships classified by the *de jure* measure of home rule

	NO PARTNERSHIP	EXISTING PARTNERSHIP
HOME RULE	Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI
	Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH
	Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA
	Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA
	Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA
	New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL
	Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA
	Memphis, TN-MS-AR	Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA
	Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL
		San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA
		Columbus, OH
		Indianapolis-Carmel, IN
		Jacksonville, FL
		Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA
		Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX
		San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX
		Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX
		Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD
		Pittsburgh, PA
		Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ
		Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO
		Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT
		Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN
		Baltimore-Towson, MD
		Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI
		St. Louis, MO-IL
	Kansas City, MO-KS	
	Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	
	Oklahoma City, OK	
	Nashville-Davidson--Murfreesboro--Franklin, TN	
	Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	
	Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	
	Highest intensity: 25%	Lowest intensity: 6%
DILLON'S RULE	Ottawa-Gatineau, Ontario/Quebec CMA	Toronto, Ontario CMA
	Winnipeg, Manitoba CMA	Montréal, Quebec CMA
	Edmonton, Alberta CMA	Vancouver, British Columbia CMA
	Hamilton, Ontario CMA	Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC
	London, Ontario CMA	Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC
	Victoria, British Columbia CMA	Richmond, VA
		Calgary, Alberta CMA
		St. Catharines-Niagara, Ontario CMA
		Halifax, Nova Scotia CMA
		Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo, Ontario CMA

	Québec, Quebec CMA
Highest intensity: 33%	Lowest intensity: 16%

Appendix A: Cooperative Intensity of Metropolitan Partnerships

Metro Area	Intensity Score
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	2.464285714
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	2.232142857
Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo, Ontario [35541]	2.169642857
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	2.151785714
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	2.089285714
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	2.0625
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	2.0625
Calgary, Alberta [48825]	2.053571429
Pittsburgh, PA	2.053571429
Oklahoma City, OK	2.053571429
Jacksonville, FL	2.044642857
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	1.97172619
Columbus, OH	1.933035714
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1.919642857
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1.919642857
Montréal, Quebec [24462]	1.919642857
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	1.919642857
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	1.919642857
St. Louis, MO-IL	1.919642857
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	1.919642857
Baltimore-Towson, MD	1.919642857
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	1.919642857
Halifax, Nova Scotia [12205]	1.919642857
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	1.90625
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.819196429
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	1.804511278
Toronto, Ontario [35535]	1.776785714
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1.776785714
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	1.776785714
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	1.776785714
Richmond, VA	1.685267857
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1.669642857
Kansas City, MO-KS	1.669642857
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	1.566964286
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1.544642857
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	1.419642857

San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	1.328125	
Québec, Quebec [24421]	1.31547619	
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreeseboro--Franklin, TN	1.276785714	
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	1.084449405	
St. Catharines-Niagara, Ontario [35539]	1.053571429	
Vancouver, British Columbia [59933]	0.991071429	
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	0.991071429	
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	0.933035714	
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	0	
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	0	
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	0	
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	0	
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	0	
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	0	
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	0	
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	0	
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	0	
Ottawa-Gatineau, Ontario/Quebec [24505 35505]	0	
Edmonton, Alberta [48835]	0	
Winnipeg, Manitoba [46602]	0	
Hamilton, Ontario [35537]	0	
London, Ontario [35555]	0	
Victoria, British Columbia [59935]	0	

The cooperative intensity of metropolitan partnerships was calculated using a similar methodology to Nelles (2012). Partnership intensity is a measure of the degree of commitment of the participants to the partnership. This is evaluated on three dimensions: scope of participation, institutional integration, and partnership initiator. On each dimension the higher the value, the more local “sovereignty” has been sacrificed in engaging in the partnership and the more intense it is.

Scope of participation measures the buy-in within the region. It is the ratio of total participants in the partnership to the total number of communities in the metro region (either CMA or MSA, depending on the country). This value can be greater than 1 if the partnership includes jurisdictions outside of the statistically defined metropolitan region.

Institutional integration refers to the degree of authority and control sacrificed by each party to collective control. It is also the degree to which the partnership has gained autonomy from participating local authorities. It is also related to the types of actors that are included in the partnership and the distribution of authority over decision-making. Types of institutional designs are ranked from weakest to strongest and assigned values accordingly: no cooperation (0), ad hoc cooperation (1), coordination (2), public control (3), public majority (4), consensus decision-making (5), non-political majority (6), and non-political control (7) (see Nelles, 2012: 185-187 for further discussion of these categories).

Finally, the partnership initiator measure identifies what type of actors initiated the partnership: state or provincial actors (0), private sector (1), public private partnership (2) and public actors (3). This scale penalizes partnerships that were established by actors other than local authorities and rewards partnerships where collective action was a local initiative.

Appendix B: Calculating the local autonomy index

Metro Area	Intensity Score	Index total
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	2.464285714	0.943007052
Louisville/Jefferson County, KY-IN	2.232142857	-0.539701078
Kitchener-Cambridge-Waterloo, Ontario [35541]	2.169642857	-5.890619591
Milwaukee-Waukesha-West Allis, WI	2.151785714	-0.408254087
Austin-Round Rock-San Marcos, TX	2.089285714	2.66579834
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	2.0625	2.66579834
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	2.0625	3.605967104
Calgary, Alberta [48825]	2.053571429	-4.72133705
Pittsburgh, PA	2.053571429	-0.805777565
Oklahoma City, OK	2.053571429	0.036050111
Jacksonville, FL	2.044642857	3.578878671
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	1.97172619	0.535900816
Columbus, OH	1.933035714	3.410124391
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	1.919642857	-0.805777565
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	1.919642857	1.382440532
Montréal, Quebec [24462]	1.919642857	-8.929566443
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	1.919642857	-0.583640959
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	1.919642857	2.787943542
St. Louis, MO-IL	1.919642857	2.154458195
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	1.919642857	3.578878671
Baltimore-Towson, MD	1.919642857	3.022861825
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	1.919642857	3.578878671
Halifax, Nova Scotia [12205]	1.919642857	-5.116980314
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	1.90625	0.816207215
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	1.819196429	-0.658935025
Hartford-West Hartford-East Hartford, CT	1.804511278	-0.608958006
Toronto, Ontario [35535]	1.776785714	-5.890619591
San Jose-Sunnyvale-Santa Clara, CA	1.776785714	2.787943542
Indianapolis-Carmel, IN	1.776785714	0.103934869
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	1.776785714	2.787943542
Richmond, VA	1.685267857	1.382440532

Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	1.669642857	2.787943542
Kansas City, MO-KS	1.669642857	2.154458195
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	1.566964286	2.572956085
Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News, VA-NC	1.544642857	1.382440532
Sacramento--Arden-Arcade--Roseville, CA	1.419642857	2.787943542
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	1.328125	2.66579834
Québec, Quebec [24421]	1.31547619	-8.929566443
Nashville-Davidson--Murfreeseboro--Franklin, TN	1.276785714	3.702634752
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	1.084449405	2.442294069
St. Catharines-Niagara, Ontario [35539]	1.053571429	-5.890619591
Vancouver, British Columbia [59933]	0.991071429	-4.722430706
Las Vegas-Paradise, NV	0.991071429	1.047227778
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	0.933035714	1.293980777
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	0	5.838511407
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	0	2.787943542
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	0	2.66579834
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	0	3.578878671
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	0	-0.171495661
Cincinnati-Middletown, OH-KY-IN	0	3.410124391
Cleveland-Elyria-Mentor, OH	0	3.410124391
Providence-New Bedford-Fall River, RI-MA	0	-0.654838562
Memphis, TN-MS-AR	0	3.702634752
Ottawa-Gatineau, Ontario/Quebec [24505 35505]	0	-5.890619591
Edmonton, Alberta [48835]	0	-4.72133705
Winnipeg, Manitoba [46602]	0	-4.893183023
Hamilton, Ontario [35537]	0	-5.890619591

London, Ontario [35555]	0	-5.890619591
Victoria, British Columbia [59935]	0	-4.722430706

This index of local autonomy was calculated using a similar methodology to Wolman et al. (2008). This method calculates local autonomy based on five different sub-categories: local government importance; local accountability; local government structural, functional responsibility and legal scope; fiscal discretion limits; local unconstrained revenues; and the diversity of local revenue sources. The combined index was calculated using the original data set compiled by Wolman et al. (2008) with similar data for six Canadian provinces (collected for the same year 2002-2003).

For each of the sub-categories a principal factor component analysis (PFCA) was conducted to determine the factor loadings for each sub-category variable. These factor loadings were then multiplied by the corresponding z-scores for each observation to determine an autonomy index for each of the five sub-categories. These were then summed (with no weighting) to calculate a total index score for each case. These are displayed in the table above.