

Should Wellington become a Super-City

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Introduction

- What is the Local Government Commission proposing
- How does the proposal rate
- What are the alternatives
- Conclusions

Key theme: are we asking right question?



The LGC's Proposal

- A single unitary council
- Encompasses Wellington and the Wairarapa
- 1 Mayor with 21 Councillors
- Eight local boards
- A Maori board and a Natural Resources Management Committee



The LGC Proposal – an Assessment

Principles of Good Public Policy Design

- 1. Define the problem
- 2. Assess the costs and benefits of the options
- 3. Provide an evidence-based recommendation for the preferred option



What is the Problem?

The perceived problem is not clear and has shifted over time:

- 1. A single voice?
- 2. Performance of the Wellington region?
- 3. Lack of regional co-ordination?



A Single Voice?

- Unclear what it means
- Lobby central government?
- What if the single voice is wrong?
- A single voice or local voice?



How is Wellington Performing?

LGC analysis:

- Quotes selectively from BERL report
- BERL report omits key official data
- Does not refer to official statistics of regional GDP



How is Wellington Performing?

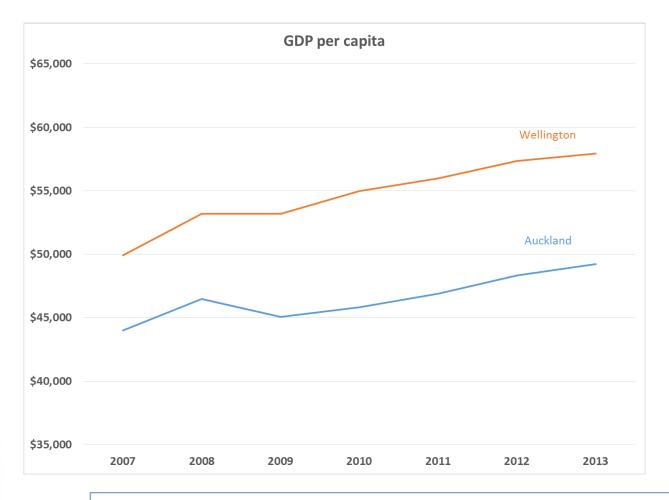
Wellington is a vibrant city

Official statistics, comparing Wellington with Auckland (2007 to 2013) show Wellington's:

- total GDP has grown slightly slower
- GDP per capita is higher
- GDP per capita has grown faster.



How is Wellington Performing? ctd





Source: Statistics NZ: Regional Gross Domestic Product (GDP) –March 2014

Regional Co-operation

- There is scope for increased co-operation
- In some areas is good co-operation:
 - Councils share water services, from collection to delivery.
 - Wellington Region Economic Development Agency
 - Integrated emergency management plan and office
 - Various other areas: eg, Silverstream and Spicer landfills; animal services
- Main area where better co-operation needed is roading and public transport



Costs and Benefits of the Options

Option	Net benefits (NPV, \$m)	Payback period (years)	Transition Costs	
Stronger Regional Delivery	199	5	129	
One Wgtn Council (no boards)	154	6	209	
One Western TA	143	5	95	
Three TAs	n/p	6	179	
One Wgtn Council (with local boards)	58	9	210	
One Hutt Valley TA	8	10	52	
One Wair, one HV plus WCC, PCC, KCC	n/p	12	84	
One Wairarapa TA	-13.7	25	32	

LGC's preferred option ranks fifth

n/p = figures not provided in LGC report;



NPV = net present value

Source: LGC, Draft Proposal for Reorganisation of Local Government in Wellington, Vol 2, p.216

Costs and Benefits of the Options ctd.

- The LGC points to wider economic and other benefits to justify its preferred option
- But the key criteria in the Act are which option best promotes:
 - i. efficient, effective, and appropriate delivery of local infrastructure, services and regulation (cost-effectiveness);
 - ii. local democracy; and
 - iii. improved economic performance.

Source: Local Government Act (2002) Schedule 3, clause 11(8), clause 12 (1) and section 10 (1).



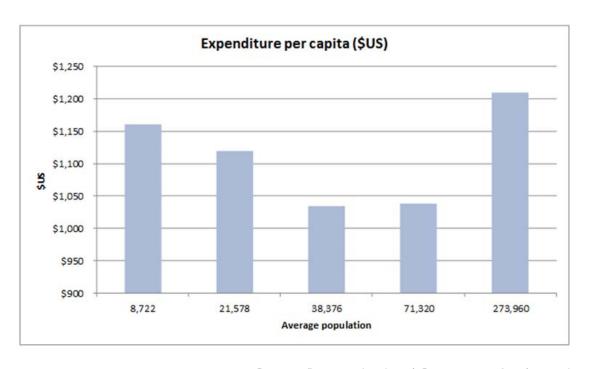
Cost-effectiveness

- Debate to date: a lack of evidence-based analysis
- TDB report for Hutt City: "Governance Options for the Wellington and Wairarapa Regions: an Economic and Financial Assessment"
- We consider:
 - the international and local evidence on the relationship between population size and local government spending;
 - expenditure data for 70 NZ councils.



International evidence

Several studies find an observable 'U-shaped' relationship between council size and cost-effectiveness.





Source: Reassessing Local Government Amalgamation, Frontier 2003

International evidence

No consensus on optimal size:

"29% of the research papers find evidence of U-shaped cost curves;

39% find no statistical relationship between per capita expenditure and size;

8% find evidence of economies of scale, and

24% find diseconomies of scale.

From this evidence alone we can conclude that there is a great deal of uncertainty about whether economies of scale exist in local government service provision."

Byrnes and Dollery, 2002



New Zealand evidence

NZIER found evidence of 'U-shaped' cost-curve

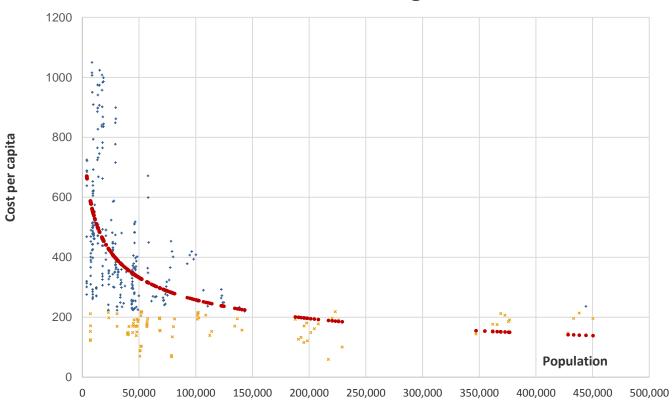
Council population	Spending per capita
20,000 to 40,000	20% higher
80,000	benchmark
100,000 to 200,000	15% higher

NZIER: Merger Options for Wellington Councils, 2012



TDB analysis: NZ evidence

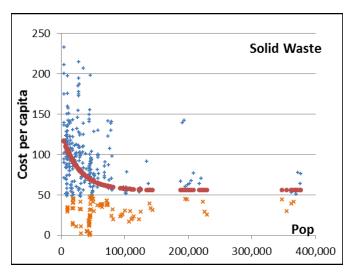
Roading

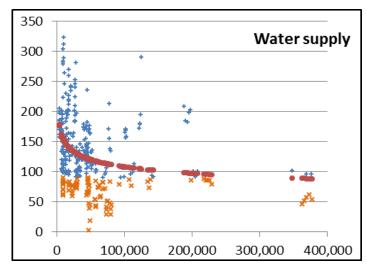


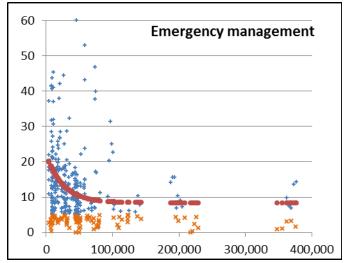


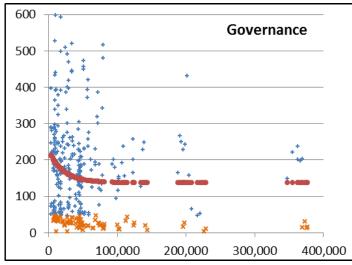
Refer: <u>http://www.tdb.co.nz/documents/reports/050813-TDB-assessing-regional-governance-options.pdf</u>

New Zealand evidence











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New Zealand Evidence

Other Council functions: the relationship between population and costs per capita

Weak	None
Wastewater	Transportation
Environmental protection	Culture
Planning & regulation	Recreation and sport
Support services	Property
	Community development
	Economic development
	Other activities



New Zealand evidence

TDB found:

- for capital-intensive, network activities like roading and water there is a good case for amalgamation for those activities;
- for the other local government functions (2/3rd of expenditure) little or no evidence of economies of scale or scope; and
- for small councils (up to around 50,000) there is some evidence of efficiency gains from amalgamation.

Overall conclusion- bigger is not necessarily better.



The Costs of Transition

LGC estimate the transition costs at \$210m

Transition costs	\$m
Transition board	10.3
New council start-up	10.3
IT system delivery	127.5
Business process changes	45.2
HR costs and other	13.3
TOTAL	\$210m

Source: LGC, Draft Proposal for Reorganisation of Local Government in Wellington, Vol 2, p.216

- The actual costs may well be higher: eg Auckland IT experience:
 - budgeted \$70m and completed June 2016;
 - latest estimate: \$140-\$170m cost and 12 months late.



.... and the Benefits may well be Less than Expected

 The hoped for efficiency improvements in Auckland have not been realised yet

Auckland Council	Staff numbers	Staff costs
ATA projection (2009)	Decline by 1,200	Decline by \$100m p.a.
Outturn (2014)	No change	Increase by \$90m p.a.

- The amalgamated Auckland council may only have a single CEO to pay
- But the number of staff paid over \$100,000 a year has risen by an incredible 53% over the past two years.



Local Democracy

- Difficult to see how LGC proposal promotes local democracy:
 - nine local councils being merged into one supercity
 - Local boards will hold limited budget and power, and the few decisions they can make are "subject to approval" from the central council
 - New Zealand councils (average 67,000 people per council) are already larger than in almost all western countries. Expand
 - If Wgtn a super-city, half the country's population will be in 2 councils



Local democracy ctd.

NZ councils are already large on average by western standards

Country	Average population per council
France	1,600
USA	< 9,000
Other European countries	1,700 to 66,000
Australia	37,000
New Zealand	67,000
England & Wales	123,000



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Local Democracy

Do local boards retain local democracy?





Source: Auckland Council Annual Report, 2014

Economic Performance

- No evidence presented by LGC of a relationship between the structure of local government and a region's economic performance
- Not surprising the drivers of economic performance are largely outside the control of local government
- A single unitary plan could mean lower compliance costs and lower rates but this has not been the experience of Auckland, with a 1,000 page plus Plan and ongoing rates increases



Economic Performance

- Council policies matter
- What evidence is there that a bigger council will have better policies?
- Note loss of contestability of policies with consolidation
- As noted above, Wellington is already doing well in key measures of per capita income, rates of business formation, high tech exports



Financial Impacts

- Communities will see significant changes in average rates and average debt
- Regions with higher rates and high debt levels will benefit, while regions with lower rates and low debt levels will suffer
- In greater Wellington debt servicing/total costs range from 13.5% in Kapiti to 3% in HCC and rates/\$1,000CV range from \$3.55 in South Wairarapa to \$5.99 in Porirua
- Auckland Council standardised rates across the region on the basis of capital value – some households have seen rates rise by 10% p.a. in each of the last three years and some are facing continued large rises



Conclusions

- The LGC's proposal does not meet the three statutory criteria:
 - LGC's own analysis shows it is not costeffective
 - it does not promote local democracy
 - no evidence it will promote economic performance
- The Super-City is an inferior and high-risk option:
 - has the highest transition costs
 - net financial benefits, if any, are nine years away



Conclusions ctd.

- There are smarter alternatives
- The evidence indicates:
 - consolidate the roading and public transport networks
 - consolidate the three small Wairarapa councils
 - Rest leave as is
- Bigger is not necessarily better in local government



