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**Collaborative Governance and Metropolitan Planning
in South East Queensland**

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Introduction

South East Queensland (SEQ) is a fast growing, mega-city region in Australia and innovative metropolitan regional planning and collaborative governance arrangements have been evolving in the region since the early 1990s (Abbott 2010). This paper outlines a broad concept of collaborative governance involving governments, the community and the private sector. However, the focus of the paper is on the collaboration of State and local governments in metropolitan planning in SEQ between 1990 and 2010.

For the period 1990 to 2003, regional planning in SEQ was based on a voluntary, partnership model between the two spheres of government with a non-statutory metropolitan plan called the Regional Framework for Growth Management (RFGM). By early 2004, general agreement had been reached between the State and local governments and other community and professional stakeholders to move to a statutory, partnership model of planning. The Office of Urban Management (OUM) was established in May 2004 to prepare the plan. In June 2005, the *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2005-2026* (the SEQRP 2005)(OUM 2005a) was released and came into effect as the first statutory regional plan for SEQ. Since 2004, the State government has become the dominant partner in metropolitan planning in SEQ.

The purpose of this paper is to outline the process by which governance and planning in SEQ evolved, by agreement of all the parties, from a voluntary model to a statutory model of metropolitan planning. The paper explores the collaborative dynamics of the partnership from 1990 to 2010 and identifies some implications for ongoing governance and planning in SEQ and in other multilevel metropolitan regions.

The South East Queensland region

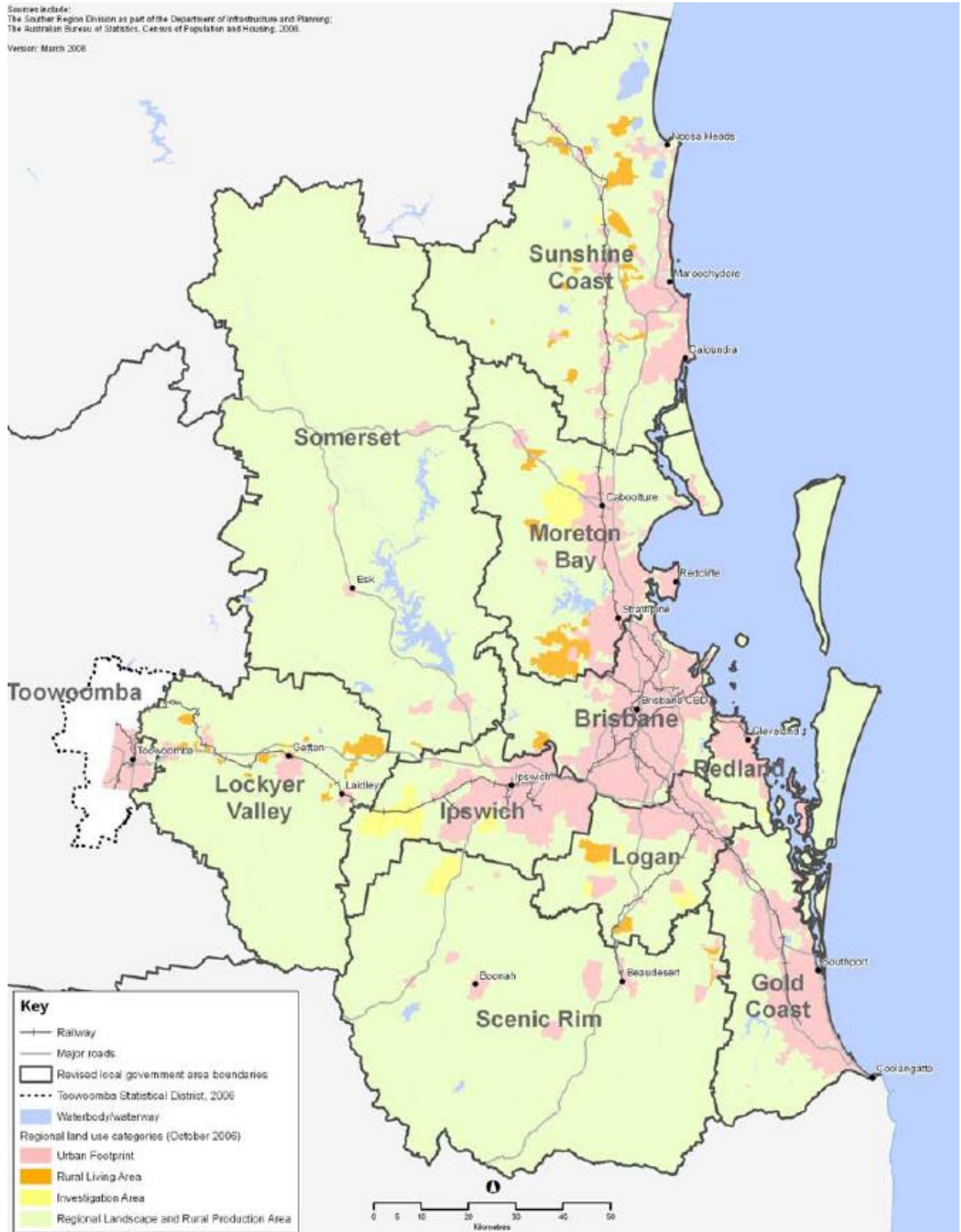
South East Queensland is the metropolitan region of Queensland. It is different to other metropolitan regions in Australia in that it consists of four major urban areas and can already be considered to be a mega-city region (Abbott 2010). SEQ includes Greater Brisbane, the capital city of Queensland, the closely linked coastal cities of the Gold Coast and the Sunshine Coast and extends west to the city of Toowoomba. Map 1 shows the SEQ region and the eleven local governments that now make up the area covered by the SEQ Regional Plan. For Toowoomba Regional Council, only the urban area around Toowoomba City is included in the SEQ region.

Since the 1970s, SEQ has been the fastest growing metropolitan region in Australia and has only recently been overtaken by Greater Melbourne. In June 2010, the population of the SEQ region was estimated to be 3.0 million people and projected to grow to 4.6 million by 2031 (OESR 2011). Managing this rapid population growth, while maintaining liveability, has been the aim of regional planning since the early 1990s. SEQ includes the four largest local governments in Australia by population (at 2010), namely: Brisbane City Council (1,067,279); Gold Coast City Council (527,828); Moreton Bay Regional Council (382,280); and Sunshine Coast Regional Council (330,934) (OESR 2011).

Governance of metropolitan areas

Urban areas around the world are growing rapidly. Metropolitan areas are the largest urban areas or the capital cities of countries and states and are also growing and expanding. The UN Habitat has noted that metropolitan areas are spreading 'over different administrative boundaries' and

Map 1: South East Queensland Region with local government areas and 2005 urban footprint (pink)



creating challenges for 'governing in a city of cities' (UN Habitat 2008, 226-227).

Government is the formal system of administration and laws by which a country or local community is managed. Steytler has identified four broad approaches in metropolitan regions, as follows (2009, 403):

- A unified metropolitan local government established by amalgamation of a number of smaller local governments. This approach is uncommon;
- A second tier metropolitan local government established over a number of local governments with powers shared between the levels;
- A number of local governments with a special purpose agency or agencies established to administer particular metropolitan services, such as water supply or public transport. This could result from state or national governments devolving powers down or local governments passing powers up; and
- Direct government by a state (in a federal system) or national government with local governments playing some role.

Australia is an example of the last approach and its metropolitan regions are 'dominated by the States with local government playing essentially a supporting role' (Sansom, 2009, 17). Kübler says the role of local government in Australia is 'narrow ... but their real significance, in terms of metropolitan policy making, lies in their local control of the approval process for urban development' (2007, 634).

In public administration, scholars and practitioners have traditionally argued about two different approaches to improved metropolitan government: the 'metropolitan reform tradition' which stressed consolidation and amalgamations of local governments into a larger government entity whose boundaries matched those of the growing urban area; and the 'public choice perspective' that argued for continuation of numerous small local governments on the basis of the benefits of competition (Heinelt and Kübler 2005, 9-10). From the 1990s onward, a new perspective has developed, called new regionalism in the US and more generally metropolitan governance, which does not depend on achieving consolidation or accepting fragmentation.

This wider concept of 'governance', as distinct from 'government', incorporates informal, as well as formal, arrangements for administering, managing and planning communities and metropolitan areas (Phares 2004). Important roles are still played by formal governments but significant roles are also played by private sector organisations (business and the market) and by the community sector (community organizations and individuals). The relative importance of these different sectors in delivering good governance is a matter of ongoing debate and contention. The UN Habitat in *Planning Sustainable Cities* defines urban and metropolitan governance as 'the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private, plan and manage the common affairs of the city ... it includes formal institutions as well as informal arrangements and the social capital of citizens'. The report defines 'good governance' as 'an efficient and effective response to urban problems by accountable local governments working in partnership with civil society' (2009, 73-74).

This definition leaves raises questions about the factors that cause or facilitate governments, the private sector and the community working in partnership, or that hinder it, and what factors in the partnership cause or hinder good outcomes.

Collaborative governance

Over recent years, new forms of governance and planning have been evolving in practice and theory to replace narrow rational, adversarial and managerial modes. Salet and Thornley note that metropolitan planning strategies 'face extremely dynamic conditions of complexity and variety'

(2007, 188) and that dealing with this is not a matter of establishing 'encompassing territory government' but rather one of 'organising connectivity' between key stakeholders and with planning activities (2007, 191). Innes and Booher have noted the importance of using collaborative approaches to governance in complex, rapidly-changing, interdependent planning situations in order to build 'trust' and 'manage uncertainty' (2010, 197).

Ansell and Gash say these collaborative approaches bring 'public and private stakeholders together in collective forums with public agencies to engage in consensus-oriented decision making' (2008, 543). They define 'collaborative governance' as follows (2008, 544):

A governing arrangement where one or more public agencies directly engage non-state stakeholders in a collective decision-making process that is formal, consensus-oriented, and deliberative and that aims to make or implement public policy or manage public programs or assets.

Ansell and Gash note the importance of the collaborative process itself which is dependent on 'achieving a virtuous cycle' among the following variables: face-to-face dialogue, trust building, commitment, shared understanding, and intermediate outcomes (2008, 558-561).

Emerson, Nabatchi and Balogh have developed 'an integrative framework for collaborative governance' after reviewing a very broad range of research and practice. They define collaborative governance as follows (2011, 1-2):

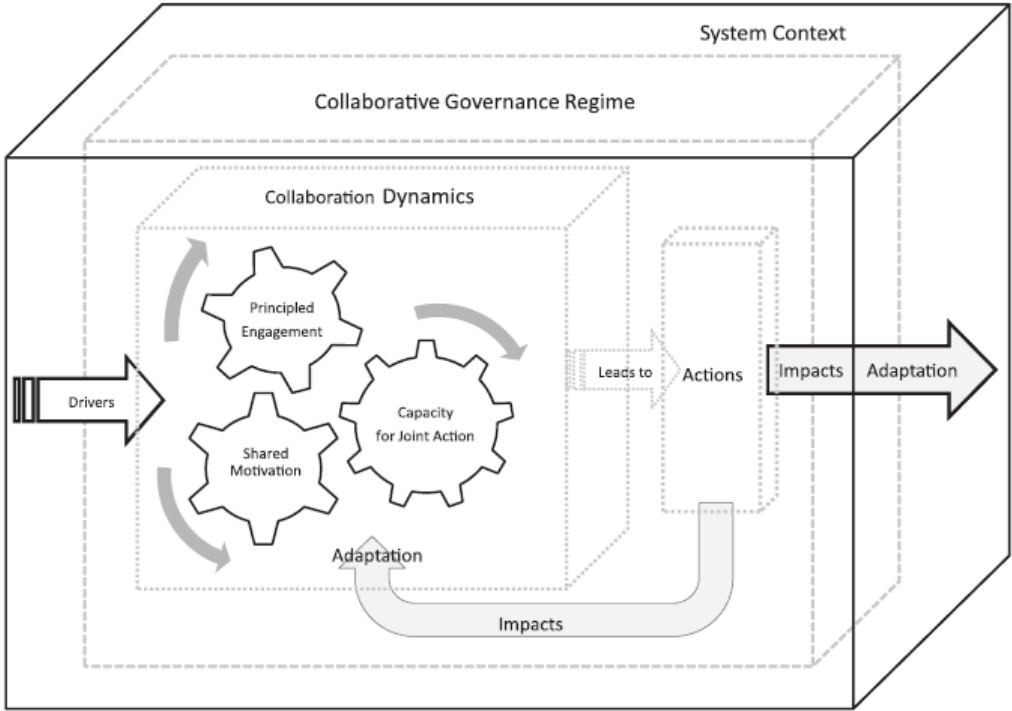
The processes and structures of public policy decision making and management that engage people constructively across the boundaries of public agencies, levels of government, and/or the public, private and civic spheres in order to carry out a public purpose that could not otherwise be accomplished.

This definition is broader and less normative than that of Ansell and Gash. It does not limit collaborative governance to processes involving government and non-government stakeholders and can include partnerships among governments or 'multi-partner governance' (Emerson et al 2011, 3). It is more descriptive and less normative as it focuses on all types of engagement and not just consensus based engagement. Given the focus of this research on the interaction of governments, this definition of collaborative governance has been used.

The framework developed by Emerson et al. consists of three nested sets of components, as shown in Figure 1. These are the overall **system context**, the **collaborative governance regime**, and its **collaborative dynamics and actions**. The system context is the environmental and socioeconomic context in which governance is occurring. From this emerge **drivers** for collaboration which include leadership, incentives (problems and opportunities), interdependence and uncertainty (2011, 5-6). At the centre of the framework are the collaborative dynamics, involving 'cyclical or iterative interactions' among the following variables: principled engagement, shared motivation and capacity for joint action. From this emerge outputs, actions and outcomes that can change the collaborative governance regime and the overall system context. Specific elements and variables within these components are shown in Table 1.

This framework is dynamic and allows for interactions and feedback as the governance regime and the system context change through time. It has been used in reviewing the development of collaborative governance and metropolitan planning in SEQ between 1990 and 2010.

Figure 1: An integrative framework for collaborative governance



Source: Emerson et al 2011

Table 1: Elements of collaborative governance

Context and Drivers		Collaborative Governance Regime (CGR)			Outcomes	
System Context	Drivers	Collaborative Dynamics			Outputs and Actions	Impacts and Adaptation
Resource conditions Policy and legal frameworks Prior failures Power relations Networks Levels of trust Socioeconomic context	Leadership Incentives to collaborate Interdependence Uncertainty	<u>Principled Engagement</u> Discovery Definition Deliberation Determination	<u>Shared Motivation</u> Trust Understanding Legitimacy Shared commitment	<u>Capacity for Joint Action</u> Institutional arrangements & procedures Leadership Knowledge Resources	Endorsements Enacting policy and law Obtaining resources Building works Management practice Enforcing compliance	Changes to the collaborative dynamics Changes to the CGR Changes to the system context

Source: Based on Emerson et al 2011

Research methods

This research has involved a review of planning and governance arrangements in SEQ and the dynamics of the process from 1990 to 2010. It has included the following methods:

- A literature and context review, including a review of articles about SEQ planning in the Courier Mail newspaper;
- A review of the main regional plans and planning reports;

- A review of the internal documents of major stakeholders, including the committee minutes of the Regional Coordination Committee (RCC), the SEQ Regional Organisation of Councils (SEQROC), and the Planning Institute Australia (Qld) (PIA);
- Interviews with 20 key politicians, government officers and community and business sector representatives who were active in the process.

The author was also actively involved in SEQ regional planning as a State government planning officer and was thus a participant observer.

Research on metropolitan planning necessarily involves referring to the names of many organizations and committees and their acronyms. To assist the reader, a list of acronyms used is included at the end of the paper.

Governance and planning in South East Queensland 1990 to 2010

In 1990, there were no arrangements and no State government role in regional planning in Queensland. Planning, meaning land use planning, was firmly the responsibility of local governments. However, a new State Labor government elected at the end of 1989 wanted to become involved in a regional approach to planning. Over the subsequent 20 years, innovative collaborative governance and planning arrangements have been evolving and changing in SEQ. These will be outlined in terms of five periods as discussed below.

Initiating voluntary regional growth management: 1990-1995

The new Minister for Local Government, the late Tom Burns, recognized the need for a regional approach to manage the rapid population growth occurring in SEQ and he understood the importance of the role of local governments. He commenced negotiations with the Moreton Regional Organisation (MRO) of Councils in July 1990. Tom Burns expressed it this way,

'We could either fight them or work with them and the simple answer was to work with them ... I said we are going have to work together and plan this area ... if we don't, the government will have to step in and do it ... I don't want a government authority, what about we work together? ... everyone said yes'. (Interview 25/1/2006).

Minister Burns wrote to all SEQ Councils on 22 August 1990 and confirmed the meeting outcomes that State and local governments would work cooperatively and jointly to prepare a non-statutory regional strategy and there would be no statutory State planning authority. This agreement formed the basis of collaborative planning in SEQ up to the end of 2003.

Following the SEQ 2001 community conference in December 1990, the State Government announced in April 1991 that a Regional Planning Advisory Group (RPAG) would be established to develop the growth management strategy. RPAG was a high-level committee of State Ministers, Mayors, a Commonwealth officer and community sector representatives. In July 1991, under new Lord Mayor Jim Soorley, the MRO reconstituted itself as the South East Queensland Regional Organisation of Councils (SEQROC), consisting of 20 Councils. After this, three sub-regional organisations of Councils or Sub-ROCs (NORSROC, SouthROC and WESROC) were also formed covering parts of the region. Minister Terry Mackenroth replaced Minister Burns as chair of RPAG at the end of 1992. Over the period 1991 to 1995 through the SEQ 2001 process, State and local governments and the community sector worked together through the above committees and many RPAG Working Groups to prepare the first non-statutory regional plan for SEQ called the *Regional Framework for Growth Management 1995* (RCC 1995). This was formally endorsed by all three spheres of government - local, state and Commonwealth: an historic achievement (Abbott 2001, 116).

Cr. Noel Playford, Chair of NORSROC at the time, summed up the achievement as follows,
'It was a pretty monumental feat, actually getting an RFGM signed off ... if you had tried to introduce something with real teeth, at that time, it would have been open warfare ... Councils would have rebelled and said we will not cooperate' (Interview 22/2/2006).

Consolidating and implementing voluntary regional growth management: 1996-2000

In February 1996, there was a change of State Government in Queensland. The Coalition parties had not traditionally supported regional planning, so 'the future of SEQ 2001 was ... in doubt' (Abbott 2001, 116). The new government suspended implementation of all regional planning programs, including the RFGM 1995 and the SEQ Regional Open Space System (ROSS) program, and initiated a broad review. Following strong support by SEQROC, in April 1996 the State Government endorsed the continuation of regional planning. The full reviews of the RFGM 1995 and the ROSS took over twelve months. Although some of the impetus for implementation was lost, the endorsement of the new government meant that support for regional planning policies in SEQ was now bipartisan.

The major focus of implementation of the RFGM 1995 was the development of integrated regional sectoral strategies. The most important of these were as follows: transport; air quality; water resources and water quality; key regional centres; economic development; and nature conservation. Progress with these strategies varied between State agencies. In June 1998, after an election, Minister Mackenroth returned as Planning Minister and demonstrated continuing strong, bipartisan State government support. This was shown by his early agreement to support a new RFGM 1998, which had been endorsed by the RCC under the previous Government. A further updated RFGM 2000 was prepared and launched in December 2000 at an SEQ 2001 Ten Year Conference.

Reflecting at the December 2000 conference, Chair of SEQROC, Jim Soorley said that SEQ 2001 had,
'Laid the framework for one of the most successful models of regional cooperative planning ... (but) we still have a long way to go' (Soorley 2000, 1-2).

A comprehensive review and agreeing to a statutory regional plan: 2001-2003

Following a State election in February 2001, Minister Nita Cunningham replaced Minister Mackenroth as the Planning Minister and Chair of the RCC. The next phase of regional planning was to be a comprehensive review of the regional growth strategy, to be called SEQ 2021: A sustainable future and to be funded equally by State and local governments.

Initial work on the SEQ 2021 project involved scoping where new regional policy development was required and where previous policy work was adequate. New areas, such as energy, greenhouse gases and sustainability indicators were identified. An overall Policy Development and Integration Committee (PDIC) and eleven SEQ 2021 Working Groups were established. These committees produced discussion papers about policy options and an overall planning challenge paper which were used as a basis for community consultation in mid-2003.

While this officer level work was proceeding, at the political level in local government and in some professional and community groups, a number of factors were feeding into concerns and rising frustrations about lack of State government commitment to SEQ regional planning and to the implementation of endorsed regional policies. Some of these factors were as follows:

- Lack of attendance of State ministers at RCC meetings in 2002 and 2003 led to discussions at SEQROC and letters to Premier Beattie.
- A sense that regional planning issues were off the agenda with the State government, as evidenced by a very junior Planning Minister, Nita Cunningham, who did not demonstrate commitment to the new SEQ 2021 planning process at RCC meetings.
- Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) efforts to close down the Regional Landscape Strategy (RLS) and its associated Advisory Committee (the RLSAC) were announced

unilaterally at the RCC in July 2002. After this, RLSAC Chair, Darryl Low Choy, and other members started a community campaign to raise awareness of the threat to the committee and to SEQ open space (Interview with Steve Macdonald, 2/8/2011).

- Other unilateral actions by State agencies, particularly in relation to the location and timing of new infrastructure such as school sites, where no regard was taken of RFGM 2000 policies or local government planning; and
- A view held by influential members of the PIA and some key local government politicians that the voluntary model had run its course and to get better outcomes a statutory regional plan was required. PIA President, Gary White says by 2002, this was 'singularly my biggest objective' (Interview 18/8/2011).

Initiatives by PIA and RLSAC members provided a catalyst for broader community concerns from other professional, academic, development and local government groups and individuals. Many meetings and discussions were convened in coffee shops and these led to the initiation of a community campaign by the Courier Mail newspaper and the Brisbane Institute called 'Our Future: Your Say' around the issues of greenspace, transport and regional planning. During the second half of 2003, the Courier Mail ran over 80 high profile articles on these issues by community group members and academics and invited the wider community to email in their views. These articles were linked to well publicised and attended public meetings in Brisbane (two), the Sunshine Coast and Ipswich. The campaign resulted in widespread community support for improved greenspace and transport outcomes in SEQ and calls for the State government 'to lead regional planning' (Courier Mail editorial, 29/10/2003). This campaign placed considerable pressure on the State and local governments to be seen to be taking some action on regional planning issues.

A special summit of SEQ Mayors was held at City Hall on 5 December 2003, prior to the regular SEQROC meeting, and a document outlining the key outcomes sought by SEQROC from the SEQ 2021 plan was discussed and agreed. This was passed unanimously at the formal SEQROC meeting. It spelt out four desired outcomes and one condition for future regional planning, as follows (Minutes of SEQROC meeting, 5/12/2003):

- A regional plan that provides certainty in relation to future urban areas, open space and infrastructure;
- A statutory plan that binds State and local governments and the private sector;
- Effective implementation of the plan and joint involvement of State and local governments;
- Alignment of infrastructure provision with the regional plan; and
- No regional planning authority or regional council.

This was an historic change of policy for SEQROC which then began to advocate for a statutory regional plan to the State government. SEQROC Chair, Tim Quinn, summed up the argument and position as follows:

'Regional planning to date has been good planning, but lacking effective implementation ... now it's time to show some real commitment and give the plan some teeth'. (SEQROC media release, 10/12/2003).

Preparing the statutory SEQ Regional Plan: 2004-2005

A State election was announced in January 2004 and in the campaign, Premier Beattie announced that the Labor government, if re-elected, would:

- Complete a statutory regional plan for SEQ;
- Amend IPA to require State agencies and Councils to take proper account of the regional plan in their infrastructure programs and planning schemes; and

- Establish a new Office of Urban Management and Infrastructure Coordination, reporting to the Deputy Premier and Treasurer, that will inform the budget process regarding infrastructure requirements (ALP 2004).

This was the commitment to a statutory regional plan linked to infrastructure planning and funding that local government and the community groups had been seeking. With the government re-elected, Terry Mackenroth came back as Minister for planning in SEQ and also as Treasurer and Deputy Premier, and this gave local government great confidence that it would all be delivered.

Minister Mackenroth and Premier Beattie met with SEQROC Mayors in February 2004 and announced an accelerated timetable for completion of the draft SEQ 2021 regional plan by October 2004 and its finalisation by mid-2005. The Mayors agreed to collaborate in preparing the new plan in accordance with the Minister's tight timelines. The Office of Urban Management (OUM) was established as a powerful and independent Office within the State government in May 2004. Michael Kerry was appointed as Executive Director on secondment from the Brisbane City Council. Specialist staff were seconded from State agencies and local governments and this provided an important two-way flow of information.

The preparation of the draft plan built on the SEQ regional planning framework that had been developed over the previous 14 years. The definition of the Urban Footprint based on detailed allotment boundaries and the preparation of the first ten year infrastructure plan for SEQ, were major new pieces of work. The *Draft South East Queensland Regional Plan* (the Draft SEQRP)(OUM 2004) was released for public consultation on 27 October 2004. The Regulatory Provisions, that prohibited urban development outside of the Urban Footprint, came into effect immediately. The Draft SEQRP was on public exhibition for four months until February 2005. An extensive public consultation program occurred and 8460 formal submissions were received and had to be analysed and reviewed. The *South East Queensland Infrastructure Plan and Program 2005-2026* (SEQIPP 2005)(OUM 2005b) was released in May 2005 as part of the Queensland Budget papers. The final *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2005-2026* (the SEQRP 2005)(OUM 2005a) was released on 30 June 2005.

In September 2005 a further change occurred to the governance arrangements in SEQ, when SEQROC changed its role and became the Council of Mayors SEQ (COMSEQ). SEQROC was a comprehensive organisation which dealt with a wide range of issues in SEQ. In line with the stage of regional planning, the focus of COMSEQ would shift to implementation and advocacy. It would be a more strategic organisation and advocate to the State and Commonwealth governments on a number of key issues and projects.

Implementing the statutory SEQ Regional Plan: 2006-2010

Implementation of the SEQ Regional Plan since 2006 was overseen by the RCC and by the Regional Planning Committee (RPC) which replaced it in December 2009. However, a number of changes and external factors and some decisions by the State government have weakened the collaborative partnership with local governments in SEQ.

An immediate change was the resignation of Minister Mackenroth from the State government and from politics in July 2005, after completion of the SEQRP 2005. A number of Planning Ministers have followed but no strong champion for SEQ regional planning. The abolition of the OUM in May 2008 and the absorption of staff and functions into the Department of Infrastructure and Planning, meant the loss of a coordinated SEQ focus and area of knowledge and expertise in the bureaucracy

Some aspects of the SEQ Regional Plan like the Urban Footprint, in a sense, implement themselves. Interviews indicate that the Urban Footprint is considered to be one of the major successes of the statutory regional plan. It has stopped uncontrolled urban sprawl and expansion, allowed

infrastructure provision to catch up, and allowed Councils to focus their attention on promoting infill development rather than fighting battles on the urban fringe. In the review of the SEQRP in 2008-09, which resulted in the approval of the *South East Queensland Regional Plan 2009-2031* (the SEQRP 2009)(DIP 2009), no overall net changes were made to the Urban Footprint. Local government commitment to the SEQRP 2009 remains strong and this was confirmed at the Queensland Growth Summit held in March 2010.

High housing prices and high migration rates resulted in the preparation of the Queensland Housing Affordability Strategy by the State government in July 2007. State involvement in structure planning for local urban development areas and use of the new Urban Land Development Authority (ULDA) has created tension with local governments about planning roles. Planning for water supply, new water entities and water price issues have also created tensions with SEQ local governments.

In August 2007, the State government announced local government amalgamations and that the number of Councils in SEQ would be reduced from 18 to 11 from March 2008. The lead up to this decision and its implementation caused distraction and disruption to SEQRP implementation. One of the intentions of the amalgamation was to create larger, more capable and better resourced local governments able to engage in strategic planning and regional planning. Strategic planning currently being carried out by SEQ local governments will provide a sub-regional level of planning and feed into future reviews and iterations of the SEQRP.

Collaborative dynamics

The model of collaborative governance developed by Emerson et al (2011) provides a dynamic framework for reviewing and learning from the SEQ experience between 1990 and 2010 (See Figure 1 and Table 1).

Over the whole of this period the rapid population growth and associated urban development in SEQ has been the overriding driver and incentive for State and local governments to collaborate. Another overall driver has been the recognition of the interdependence of the State and local government planning roles. Minister Burns recognised this at the start of the process and later the need to prepare and implement regional plans has reinforced it. Uncertainty, caused by broader factors like the change of State government in 1996 or by the planning process itself (Abbott 2009) has also been an ongoing driver. Leadership by Minister Burns and the State government was a critical driver in initiating the joint SEQ 2001 regional planning process in 1990. Leadership is both a driver of collaboration and part of the collaborative dynamics.

In terms of collaborative dynamics, the establishment of RPAG, SEQROC, the Sub-ROCs and the RPAG Working Groups in 1991-92 created the institutional arrangements and procedures and thus a capacity for joint action. Councils had been reluctant starters when Minister Burns made them an offer to get involved that they could not refuse. The dynamics changed with new Lord Mayor, Jim Soorley, who was keen to get involved in regional issues. His leadership was important in establishing SEQROC and delivering a unified SEQ local government view. The meetings of RPAG and its groups operated on wide representation, open communications, and consensus decision making and thus constituted principled engagement. Regular face to face meetings allowed for the views and values of other stakeholders to be heard and understood. Agreement to joint actions also allowed mutual trust and commitment to develop. This process of collaboration resulted in actions and outputs such as: the endorsed policies for regional growth management set out in the RFGM 1995; resources for its implementation; and the establishment of the ongoing Regional Coordination Committee (RCC) in 1994 to replace RPAG.

In 1996, with the uncertainty of the new State government, SEQROC Chair, Jim Soorley, provided leadership by local government in advocating for the RFGM 1995 and this showed a high level of commitment to regional planning. Apart from the initial policy reviews, the collaborative dynamics in this period were similar to the previous period and involved meetings of the RCC, SEQROC, the Sub-ROCs, and associated networks. The meetings of the RCC and its groups operated on wide representation and consensus decision making. Regular face to face meetings allowed for agreement to joint actions and allowed mutual trust and commitment to continue develop. This process resulted in actions and outputs, such as: endorsement of the RFGM Update 1996; endorsement of regional sectoral strategies for transport, air quality and economic development; endorsement of updated strategies in the RFGM 1998 and RFGM 2000; resources provided by the State for implementation, including funds for the development of a bus rapid transit system in Brisbane; and at the end of 2000, State and local governments showed a high level of commitment by agreeing to allocate \$3m (on a 50/50 basis) for the new SEQ 2021 regional planning project.

In 2002-03, the collaborative dynamics changed with the establishment of new SEQ 2021 groups and, more importantly, with a growing perception of a lack of leadership and commitment by the State government and Minister Cunningham and ineffective implementation of the RFGM 2000. Frustration in local government and community groups resulted in discussions in community forums and in the Courier Mail newspaper about the nature of governance and planning required to manage rapid growth in SEQ. Leadership and ideas from community groups provided a new driver to change the collaborative dynamics.

The idea of a statutory regional plan was not new to local government and they had previously rejected it. This was a difficult and complex matter for SEQROC with many considerations. Interviews with politicians and officers indicate some of these were as follows:

- A view that a lot of good joint regional and local planning had been done but if it was to be properly implemented, more powers of compliance were required on all parties – State agencies, other local governments and private developers;
- A desire to bind the State and its agencies to the regional plan but an understanding this meant local government would have to be bound as well.
- A desire to get more certainty and coordination of State infrastructure provision with land use and tying this to agreement about a statutory regional plan;
- A view that the State can (and may be going to) prepare a statutory plan anyway so local government should be proactive and try to negotiate it on the conditions it wants;
- A fear that agreeing to a statutory regional plan would lead to excessive use of State powers.

Overall, SEQROC's unanimous decision to support a statutory regional plan in December 2003, and to advocate for this, reflected a strong leadership and commitment by local government to ongoing regional planning on a collaborative basis.

During the 2004 election, the State government agreed to produce the statutory SEQ regional plan with local governments and afterwards Minister Mackenroth showed leadership by moving quickly to take control of the process, establish OUM and set tight timeframes to complete the plan. Local government had a high level of confidence and trust that Minister Mackenroth would deliver the desired outcomes. The collaborative dynamics change again in this period with a strong leadership role by the State government and the establishment of OUM. Under changes to IPA, the Minister becomes responsible for making the statutory SEQ regional plan. Meetings of the RCC generally operated on the basis of wide and open communication and consensus decision making. However, the RCC was not briefed on the full details of the regional plan, such as the Urban Footprint boundaries. Local government showed leadership in establishing COMSEQ in 2005. This process of collaboration resulted in significant actions and outputs in 2004-05, such as: the Urban Footprint came into effect with the Draft SEQRP; the SEQRP 2005 became an endorsed plan; the SEQIPP 2005

was endorsed by the State government; SEQIPP 2005 was integrated into the State Budget and affected infrastructure funding for projects; the governance and institutional arrangements in SEQ changed with the establishment of OUM and COMSEQ. Overall, the State Government became the dominant partner in regional planning in SEQ, with the agreement of local government.

After 2006, implementation of the statutory SEQRP was occurring and preparation of a new SEQRP 2009. The collaborative dynamics changed in 2008 with the abolition of the OUM. This meant there was no focal point for SEQ growth management in the State bureaucracy and this has reduced the capacity for joint action. Also several changes in Ministers responsible for the RCC has weakened continuity and leadership. The meetings of the RCC still operated regularly and on the basis of consensus decision making, however the use of the RCC to openly discuss hard issues and resolve conflicts has declined. The amalgamation of SEQ local governments caused disruption to collaboration processes. Commitment to the SEQRP 2009 policy directions remains strong in local government. However the State government is perceived to have taken some unilateral decisions about matters relating to the SEQRP and this has reduced mutual trust and respect. Resulting actions and outputs in 2006-10 were: the SEQRP 2009 became an endorsed plan; the Urban Footprint remained in effect and substantially unchanged in the SEQRP 2009 and this constituted an ongoing endorsement; the SEQIPP was developed and endorsed annually by the State government; the SEQIPP was integrated into the annual State Budget and directly affected resources for infrastructure. Overall by 2010, the State remains the dominant partner in regional planning, as agreed, but local government feels less involved in collaborative governance processes.

Conclusions and recommendations

Conclusions

Based on this research, the following conclusions can be made about collaborative governance in SEQ:

- Collaborative governance and metropolitan planning in SEQ have responded to the imperative of managing rapid urban growth and have successfully evolved since 1990 based on leadership by State and local governments and shared experience, knowledge and commitment to the development and effective implementation of SEQ regional plans.
- At a critical point in 2003, leadership by community and professional groups also played a key part in moving local and State governments and metropolitan planning on to a new statutory basis.
- Experience, knowledge and commitment built up during the period of voluntary, non-statutory regional planning from 1990 to 2003, allowed for the statutory SEQRP 2005 to be prepared quickly and for a high level of commitment to its policies to be achieved from State and local governments.
- Meetings of the SEQ RCC and SEQROC (in their various forms) and their associated committees have allowed for the development of shared experience, knowledge and commitment to metropolitan planning policies by SEQ politicians, officers and community group members. Open discussion around difficult growth management issues and consensus decision making in these forums was central to achieving this shared commitment.

The RCC was central to collaboration between State and local governments and SEQROC was critical to collaboration between local governments and provided a unified local government view to the RCC meetings and to the State government.

These forums also allowed for State and local politicians to develop and show leadership on regional issues.

- The outputs of collaborative governance and metropolitan planning in SEQ since 1990 have been extensive and have included: three endorsed (by State and local governments) non-statutory regional plans (RFGMs) and two endorsed statutory regional plans (several of which have won PIA State and National Awards of Excellence); linked annual SEQ Infrastructure Plans (SEQIPP) that form part of the State Budget; a large number of linked regional sectoral plans for transport, natural resource management, water supply, rural futures, etc; and changes to legislation and institutional arrangements to set up the statutory framework for the regional plan and the role of the RCC.
- Collaborative involvement of State and local governments in metropolitan planning in SEQ since 1990 and leadership by both State and local governments at different times have created a more resilient governance framework in SEQ that has been able to respond to changing circumstances.

Recommendations

This review of past experience in SEQ supports the continuation and strengthening of the collaborative governance arrangements between State and local governments for metropolitan planning in SEQ in the future.

In Australia, approaches to the governance of metropolitan regions vary considerably (MCU 2011, 211). Given the strategic importance of metropolitan regions and the interdependent nature of the roles of State and local governments in metropolitan planning, this review also supports improved collaborative governance arrangements between State and local governments in other metropolitan regions. This recommendation has a number of implications:

- Keeping the channels of communication open
The channels of communication between spheres of government need to be kept open and interactive. Open flow of information, issues and proposals is the life blood of collaborative governance and, without it understanding, trust and commitment deteriorate.
- Organising connectivity
The open flow of information cannot be left to chance and opportunities for connectivity need to be organised and supported at all levels.

In particular, high level 'metropolitan forums for collaboration' should be investigated and established where senior politicians from the different spheres of government can meet, discuss issues and agree on joint approaches and projects in open and consensus based processes. These metropolitan forums need to be properly resourced with senior secretariat and professional staff and funds for projects.

Forums for local government collaboration also need to be organised and resourced through regional organizations of councils or similar structures and linked to the metropolitan forums.

- Responsibility of a senior politician
Metropolitan governance and planning is strategic and is about managing a wide range of linked issues to deliver desired long-term futures. It not just about land use planning. Linking metropolitan governance to a junior politician with a narrow land use focus is a recipe for failure as the SEQ experience demonstrates.

In Australia, metropolitan governance and planning should be the responsibility of a senior State government minister, who could be the land use planning minister or who could equally be the Treasurer or transport minister. This senior minister would chair the metropolitan forum.

In other multilevel metropolitan areas, an appropriate senior political leader would need to emerge and be endorsed as chair as part of the process of establishing the metropolitan forum.

- Facilitating joint action

A metropolitan forum for collaboration can contribute to the preparation and implementation of metropolitan strategies and associated sectoral strategies, as happened with the RCC in SEQ. In the framework of Emerson et al, it creates a 'capacity for joint action' (2011, 14). The form this action takes will depend on the stage of metropolitan planning and the past history of collaboration in that region. Proposals and joint projects need to be identified and resources provided. By working together State and local governments and their officers can build understanding and joint commitment.

- Avoiding unilateral decisions

In a collaborative governance process about metropolitan planning, matters that are centrally related to the preparation and implementation of the metropolitan strategy and key related strategies should be discussed and agreed jointly. If a decision contrary to the strategy is to be made, discussions should be held and reasons explained. Unilateral decisions about important issues undermine a sense of collaboration and joint commitment. This is a particular danger in Australia where State governments have overriding powers in relation to metropolitan planning.

- Facilitating wider community input

The focus of this research is on building links and arrangements for collaboration between State and local governments. However, all models of collaborative governance and planning (Phares 2004, Innes and Booher 2010) emphasise the importance of informing and involving the community sector and relevant community and professional groups. This raises challenges at the metropolitan level. In relation to the matters being discussed here, the activities of the metropolitan forum and associated projects and committees provide opportunities for informing and engaging with the wider community and for direct representation.

The experience in SEQ provides evidence of positive outputs from collaboration. It also provides guidance for improving arrangements between State and local governments in metropolitan planning in Australia. Collaboration requires a greater recognition by State governments of the potential benefits and legitimate role of local government to be involved. It also requires local governments to organise themselves in forums to deliver unified positions on important issues to the metropolitan forum and to the State government. Overall, collaborative governance arrangements require time and resources for joint policy positions to be developed by discussion and consensus. The benefits of this will be a high level of commitment to implementation of metropolitan policies by governments and involved individuals that will endure.

This paper is part of a work in progress and comments on the paper and the conclusions and recommendations are welcomed.

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List of acronyms used in the paper

ALP	Australian Labor Party (political party)
BCC	Brisbane City Council
CGR	Collaborative governance regime
COMSEQ	Council of Mayors SEQ
DIP	Queensland Department of Infrastructure and Planning
DLGP	Queensland Department of Local Government and Planning
EPA	Queensland Environmental Protection Agency
IPA	Integrated Planning Act
MRO	Moreton Regional Organisation of Councils
NORSROC	Northern Sub-Regional Organisation of Councils
OESR	Queensland Office of Economic and Statistical Research
OUM	Office of Urban Management
PIA	Planning Institute Australia, Queensland Division.
PDIC	Policy Development and Integration Committee
RCC	SEQ Regional Coordination Committee
RPC	SEQ regional Planning Committee
RFGM	Regional Framework for Growth Management (non-statutory plan)
RLS	Regional Landscape Strategy
RLSAC	Regional Landscape Strategy Advisory Committee
RPAG	Regional Planning Advisory Group
ROSS	Regional Open Space System
RRU	Regional Resource Unit of SEQ 2001
Sub-ROCs	Sub-Regional Organizations of Councils
SEQ	South East Queensland region
SEQ 2001	The SEQ 2001 regional planning project
SEQ 2021	The SEQ 2021 regional planning project
SEQIPP	South East Queensland Infrastructure Plan and Program
SEQROC	South East Queensland Regional Organisation of Councils
SEQRP	South East Queensland Regional (statutory plan)
SouthROC	Southern Regional Organisation of Councils
ULDA	Urban Land Development Authority
UN	United Nations
WESROC	Western Sub-Region Councils