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Metropolitan Governance in the U.S.: Dominant Paradigms from 1850 to 2000

1. Theoretical Forms of Governance

- 1.1 Three Foundations for a Typology of Forms of Governance
- 1.2 Eight Ideal-types

2. Paradigms of Metropolitan Governance in the U.S.

- 2.1 Creative Governance: Entrepreneurial Cities and Aesthetic Imperialism
- 2.2 Communitarian Governance: Ecological Regionalism
- 2.3 Centralized Government: The Metropolitan Reformer
- 2.4 Concerted Governments: State-induced Coordination
- 2.5 Competing and Contracting Governments: The Public Choice Approaches
- 2.6 Communitarian, Civic and Creative Governance: Revival and Variety of Constitutionalist Approaches to Metropolitan Governance in the 1990s

3. Summary and Conclusion

Part I: Theory

Three Theoretical Foundations for a Typology of Forms of Governance

1. The ontological foundation of theory:
Holism versus Particularism
 - collectivism versus individualism but also
 - Parsons versus Luhmann
2. The structural differentiation of society:
(Territorial) Segments versus Functions
 - Durkheim: Mechanic versus organic solidarity
 - Identities versus Interdependencies
3. The relationship between actor and structure:
Instrumental versus Constitutional
Forms of Governance

Instrumental versus Constitutional Conceptions of Institutions/Forms of Governance

	Instrumental	Constitutional
Action theory	Homo Oeconomicus: strategic action	Homo Sociologicus: social action
Role of institutions	Steering/Regulation	Orientation/Motivation
Functions of institutions	Facilitating <u>Transactions</u> : information, decision-making, control	Facilitating <u>Interactions</u> : identification, mobilisation, coherence
Relationship between actor + institution	Differentiated: autonomous/external	Fused: interdependent/internal
Relationship between social + political system	Differentiated: <u>Government</u>	Fused: <u>Governance</u>

Ideal-types I: Instrumental Forms of Governance

	Segments	Functions
Holism	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Centralized Government</i> Integrated instrument for the self-determination of political collectives</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>(Majority) Vote</i> rules for aggregation and decision-making</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Concerted Governments</i> Coordination and mutual control within fragmented socio-econ. + politico-administrative systems</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Bargaining</i> assignment of competences and coordination rules</p>
Particularism	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Competing Governments</i> Individual autonomy and control of the political-administrative agents through the social principals</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Entry/Exit</i> rules of membership</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Contracting Governments</i> Co-development and mutual control through division of labour and multiplicity of exchange partners</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><i>Choice</i> rules of market-making</p>

Ideal-types II: Constitutional Forms of Governance

	Segments	Functions
Holism	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Communitarian Governance</i> coherence through a common nature/culture <i>Normative action</i> Symbols and Myths</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Civic Governance</i> coherence through a shared convention <i>Communicative action</i> Dialog and Arguments</p>
Parti- cularism	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Creative Governance</i> coherence/divergence through attractive constructions <i>Performative action</i> Projects und Images</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Cogent Governance</i> coherence/divergence through convincing frames <i>Prospective action</i> Projections und Scenarios</p>

Part II:
**An Empirical Analysis of
the Transformations of
Metropolitan Governance
Paradigms in the U.S.**

Entrepreneurial Cities and Aesthetic Imperialism (1850-1920)

Context	Expanding Scales (Frontier) and Migration: Mercantilist Competition among States and Cities
Goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Attract Investors and Immigrants • Assimilation of Lower Classes • Annexation of Territory
Instruments	Parks, "City Beautiful" Attractive Constructions by transforming Nature into Culture
Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Segmental Differentiation between Metropolitan Communities; • No Differentiation between Economic and Political Elites
Major Protagonist	Frederic Law Olmsted, Landscape-Architect, Co-Founder of the American Social Science Association: Central Park, Campus of Harvard, Stanford...
Paradigm. Example	Chicago 1893: <i>World Exposition</i> ; 1909: <i>Plan of Chicago</i> (60 km)
Form of Governance	Creative Governance: Integrated clique of economic and political elites used aesthetic/symbolic projects/plans to make their metropolitan areas attractive and expand the political boundaries of the central cities

Regional Planning and Garden-Cities (1920-1930)

Context	Rapid Industrialization and Urbanization: Hygienic and Environmental Crisis Development of the Social Sciences: Differentiation between Theory and Praxis
Goals	Taming of urbanization Reintegration of the city into its natural environment
Instruments	Steering/Control of Urbanization through Greenbelts and Garden-Cities Regional Planning, Education of People/Stakeholders, No Formal Institutions
Structure	Collaboration between Private and Public Sector but major Role for the Public Sector: e.g. Communal Ownership of Land in Garden-Cities
Major Protagonists	Regional Planning Association of America (RPAA) : Clarence Stein, Lewis Mumford, Benton MacKaye
Paradigm. Example	<i>Report of the New York State Commission of Housing and Regional Planning</i> (1926) -> Tennessee Valley Authority
Form of Governance	Communitarian Governance: Joint and holistic development planning of an ecologically defined region which integrates city/culture and countryside/nature

The Progressive Reformer and the Consolidation of Formal Organizations (1930-1960)

Context	Mass production and bureaucratization (Taylorism, Fordism) Nationalization of identities and institutions (World Wars)
Goals	Effective steering of the socio-economic system/ effective problem solving Increased social welfare and homogenized public services
Instruments	Professionalization/Rationalization of Public Administration Territorial consolidation of municipalities/ Comprehensive organization for the metropolitan area
Structure	Separation of the politico-administrative system from the social system Single, hierarchical, large metropolitan organization with strong capacities
Major Protagonists	Scholars of Public Administration/Political Science: Frank Goodnow, Paul Studenski, Charles Merriam, Victor Jones, Luther Gulick National Municipal League, Committee for Economic Development (CED)
Paradigmatic Example	1898: Greater New York (pre-paradigmatic model) 1957: Miami-Dade County (Urban County)
Form of Governance	Centralized Government: Strong and comprehensive formal organization/government as an instrument to enhance the welfare of the metropolitan community

The Federal Government and Regional Coordination of a Functionally Fragmented Bureaucracy (1960-1980)

Context	Dominance of the Federal Government Picket-Fence Federalism
Goals	Coherence among functionally fragmented public policies and institutions
Instruments	Federally mandated comprehensive planning, regional clearinghouses, material incentives, context steering (top-down) Council of Governments (bottom-up)
Structure	Two- and Three-Tier Structures Cooperative Federalism, <u>Multi-Level Governments</u>
Major Protagonists	U.S. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Affairs (ACIR)
Paradigm. Example	Metropolitan Council of the Twin Cities (St. Paul/Minneapolis)
Form of Governance	Concerted Governments: Vertical and horizontal coordination of governments through formal procedures

Two Public Choice Approaches: Particularistic Revolutions within the Instrumental Perspective (1980-1993)

Context	Individualization; anti-etatist rebellion and libertarian ideologies (left + right) Shifting centre of gravity in the U.S.: From East Coast to West Coast
Goals	Efficient public service production/provision (reduction of costs) Individual autonomy and responsive governments
Instruments	a) Sorting + “Voting with the feet” b) Efficiency through small scale and small scope + Differentiation between service provision and service production
Structure	a) Polycentrism I: Territorial segmentation (Many municipalities) b) Polycentrism II: Functional fragmentation (Single Purpose Districts, Residential Community Associations + Private Service Companies)
Major Protagonists	a) Charles Tiebout, Fischel: “Homevoter Hypothesis” b) V. + E. Ostrom, Roger Parks/Ronald Oakerson (Indiana Workshop)
Parad. Ex.	County of Los Angeles: Lakewood Plan = “Cities by Contract”
Forms of Governance	a) Competing Governments: Competition between Segmental Governments for Investors NOT CUSTOMERS (Homeowners) b) Contracting Governments: Contracting between Service Provider Organizations and Service Producer Organizations (public -> private)

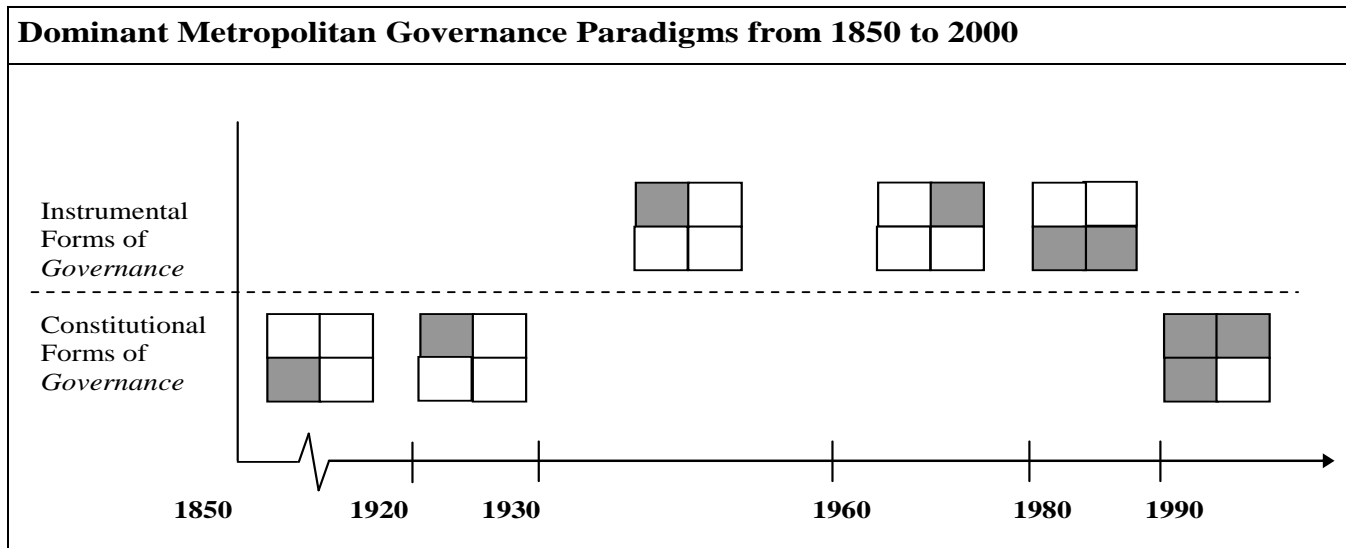
Revival of Constitutionalist Approaches to Metropolitan Governance (1993-2000)

Context	Third Industrial Revolution (Information Society) Scale Expansion (Globalization, Regionalization = NAFTA) Problem Intensification: Segregation, Sprawl and Economic Competition
Goals	Reestablishing the Metropolitan Region as an Important Level of Political Problem Solving
Instruments	Communicative Mechanisms for Gaining Awareness, Changing Perceptions and Producing Collaborative Action
Structure	New Combinations/Networks of Actors Across a) Territorial, b) Functional and c) Sectoral Boundaries
Major Protagonists	a) David Rusk/Albuquerque; Myron Orfield/Minnesota b) Brookings Institution/A. Downs, Congress for the New Urbanism, NCL c) Neal Pierce, National League of Cities, R. Florida/New Economic Geography
Parad. Ex.	a) Twin Cities b) Portland/Oregon c) Many Regions
Forms of Governance	a) Communitarian Governance: Reshaping Interests/Institutions in order to create a metropolitan community of mutual awareness and political majorities b) Civic Governance: Providing Information about regional Interdependencies in order to create policies for a sustainable development c) Creative Governance: Reconstruction of Identities/Images in order to create innovative combinations for successful competition

Comparison of the Constitutionalist Approaches in the 1990s

Paradigm	Communitarian Governance	Civic Governance	Creative Governance
Problem Definition	Segregation and Social Deprivation	Sustainability and Sprawl	Scale of Economic Competition
Communicative Strategy	Educating Politicians about Common Interests and the Meaning of Universal Ideals	Providing Objective Information about Interdependencies between Economy, Ecology and Society	Create Attractive Images which allow for the Identification of/with New Combinations
Structure of Cross-boundary Collaboration	Cross-territorial Alliances between Municipalities for Political Majorities	Cross-functional Deliberation in Civic Forums/Movements for Policy Learning	Cross-sectoral Partnerships for Synergetic Complementation
Leaders	Idealists	Stewards	Entrepreneurs

Ideal-types: Forms of Governance		
Instrumental Forms of Governance		
	Segments	Functions
Holism	<i>CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT</i>	<i>CONCERTED GOVERNMENTS</i>
Particularism	<i>COMPETING GOVERNMENTS</i>	<i>CONTRACTING GOVERNMENTS</i>
Constitutional Forms of Governance		
	Segments	Functions
Holism	<i>COMMUNITARIAN GOVERNANCE</i>	<i>CIVIC GOVERNANCE</i>
Particularism	<i>CREATIVE GOVERNANCE</i>	<i>COGENT GOVERNANCE</i>



Conclusion and Outlook

1. **The contribution of the governance typology for a better understanding of metropolitan governance in the U.S.:**
 - Differentiation/ more precise understanding of the “Old Regionalism”
 - Differentiation/ more precise understanding of the Public Choice Approaches
 - Differentiation/ more precise understanding of the “New Regionalism”

⇒ **What is new about the “New Regionalism”?**

 - NOT: From hierarchical/vertical to cooperative/horizontal government, poly-centric and multi-level systems, bargaining and contracting
 - BUT: The revival of constitutionalist governance concepts which are focused on the communicative construction of problems, policies and politics and on the reflexive co-production of public policy by socio-economic and politico-administrative systems/actors in various trans-boundary networks
2. **Further uses of the governance typology**
 - International and interregional comparisons of metropolitan governance paradigms and realities
 - Analyzing governance paradigms and realities on other levels