Open Lecture

Governing the American Metropolis

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I . The American Metropolis

Let me start by defining what a metropolitan area in the United States is. The U.S.Census Bureau defines it as a central city of 50,000 or more people, the county that the central city is located in, plus any neighboring counties that are economically and socially integrated to the central county. It would be easier to explain by giving you an example. I live in Louisville, Kentucky (Map shown). The city is here and it's a city with more than 50,000 people so this would be the starting point to define the metropolitan area. Then we add to it Jefferson County, the county that Louisville is in. So a central city of 50,000 or more is Louisville, the county that the central city is in, which is Jefferson County, and we add to that any socially or economically integrated county. The Census Bureau measures that as some level of commuting, or commuting patterns, in the region. What counties are people commuting into Louisville or Jefferson County from? And we add those into the metropolitan area by definition.

But this also means that the definition of the metropolitan area may change every 10 years because the Census Bureau recalculates this and some counties may be added into and other counties may fall out of a metropolitan area and new metropolitan areas may be defined.

After the 1980 census in Louisville, Shelby County was taken out of the metropolitan area and Scott County was added to the metropolitan area. Also one other thing to note here is that the metropolitan area of Louisville crosses the state boundary (Map). Here we see the Ohio River; that's the border line between the two states of Indiana and Kentucky. There are also cases where a metropolitan area crosses the boundary of three states. At present there are currently 273 metropolitan areas in the United States[1].

I should clarify one more point. There is no government for this metropolitan area. This is simply a unit of analysis. The Census defines the metropolitan area in order to count how many people live

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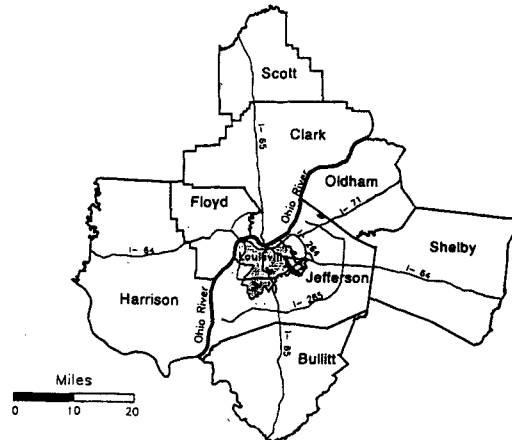
Map 1   Map of the Louisville Region

in it and in order to describe their income levels or their occupations. But this is not a jurisdiction. It has no existence in any political way. There is no government of the Louisville Metropolis.

Let me now turn to the second item on the outline, the Rise of a Multi-Centered Metropolis. In the last 50 years there have been three major trends occurring with respect to population flows that have reshaped metropolitan areas in the United States. The first trend is that the Sunbelt has grown. Population has migrated from the Northeast and Midwest to the South and West leading to rapid growth of sunbelt metropolitan areas. In the U.S. the Sunbelt is a loose term we use. Basically, we draw a line across the southern part of the U.S. (map not shown). The south has always been a rather undeveloped or underdeveloped area. That was one of the factors leading to the South's defeat in the American Civil War. So one of the major trends is that we had a lot of population moving from the Northeast and Midwest to the South and West. That is a major change in where population is located in the U.S..

The second major trend has been central city decline. Central cities of the Northeast and Midwest in particular, although this also affects cities in the South and West, have been experiencing tremendous population losses, particularly between 1970 and 1980. Those were the worst years, but also between 1980 and 1990. So the central city decline hurt cities in the Northeast and Midwest the most, but we also find that some cities in the South and West were also losing population and employment (see Table 1).

The third major change that has affected metropolitan growth and development has been suburban-ization. Suburbanization trends have been growing very rapidly everywhere: in the North and the South, in the Midwest and all over the U.S. After the year 1970 more people lived in the suburbs than in the central cities. So the U.S. is a suburban nation. And I should perhaps clarify a little the difference between a suburb here and in the U.S.. When we say suburb in the U.S. we mean low-density sprawl. We mean no mass transit and only the automobile as the form of transportation. We mean the American Dream of owning your home with at least 1/3 or 1/4 acre of land and a front yard

Table 1   Population Change in Cities and Suburbs in 25 Largest Metropolitan Areas, 1970-1990

Metropolitan Area	1990 Population (1000s)		Metro Area Change		Central City Change		Suburban Change	
	Metro Area	Central City	70-80	80-90	70-80	80-90	70-80	80-90
Northeast								
New York	18,087	7,323	- 3.6%	3.1%	-10.4%	3.5%	1.7%	2.8%
Philadelphia	5,899	1,586	- 1.2	3.8	-13.4	- 6.1	5.1	8.0
Boston	4,172	574	0.8	5.0	-12.2	2.0	3.4	5.5
Pittsburgh	2,243	370	- 2.2	2.8	-18.5	-12.8	- 1.8	- 6.3
Midwest								
Chicago	8,066	2,784	2.0	0.9	-10.8	- 7.4	11.8	7.1
Detroit	4,665	1,028	- 0.7	- 1.9	-20.5	-14.6	8.4	2.5
Cleveland	2,760	506	- 5.5	- 2.6	-23.6	-11.9	0.5	- 0.3
Minneapolis-St. Paul	2,464	641	7.8	15.3	-13.8	- 0.1	20.8	21.9
St. Louis	2,444	397	- 2.2	2.8	-27.2	-12.4	6.5	6.4
Cincinnati	1,744	364	2.9	5.1	-15.1	- 5.5	10.0	8.3
Kansas City, MO	1,566	435	4.4	9.3	-11.6	- 2.9	13.8	14.8
Milwaukee	1,607	628	- 0.3	2.4	-11.3	- 1.3	8.9	4.8
South								
Washington	3,924	607	6.9	20.7	-15.7	- 4.9	14.4	27.0
Dallas-Ft. Worth	3,885	1,454	14.6	32.5	4.2	12.8	47.3	48.2
Houston	3,711	1,631	43.0	19.7	29.3	2.2	61.1	38.1
Miami	3,193	359	40.1	20.8	3.5	3.4	47.9	23.4
Atlanta	2,834	394	27.0	32.6	-14.1	- 7.3	44.1	42.4
Baltimore	2,382	736	5.3	8.3	-13.2	- 6.4	19.4	16.5
Tampa-St. Petersburg	2,086	519	46.0	28.1	3.3	1.7	80.4	40.4
West								
Los Angeles	14,532	3,485	15.2	26.4	5.4	17.4	19.0	29.5
S.F.-Oakland	6,253	1,096	12.9	16.5	- 5.4	7.6	18.3	18.6
Seattle	2,559	516	14.0	22.3	- 7.0	4.5	22.4	27.7
San Diego	2,498	1,111	37.1	34.2	25.6	26.8	49.2	40.7
Phoenix	2,122	983	55.4	40.6	35.2	24.5	85.8	58.3
Denver	1,848	468	30.7	14.2	- 4.3	- 5.1	55.6	22.6

Source: Compiled by William Frey, "The New Urban Revival in the United States," *Urban Studies*, vol. 30, Nos. 4/5, 993.

Reproduced from U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment. *The Technological Reshaping of Metropolitan America*, OTA-ETI- 643 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, September 1995), p. 75.

and a backyard. So I don't know if that is exactly parallel to what you mean in Japan when you say a "suburb".

Perhaps we can see some of these trends by examining some of the major cities in the U.S. and trace them across the chart (Table 1). These are the 25 largest metropolitan areas in the U.S.. We still have larger cities in the Northeast: 18 million in the metropolitan area of New York. The next largest is Los Angeles with over 14 million. If we look at central cities, New York has 7.3 million people so not even half of the entire metropolitan population. If we look at central city changes from 1970 to 80, look at all the negative numbers, particularly in the North. New York City lost 10% of its population; Chicago lost almost 11% and Detroit lost 20% in a 10-year period. So when we say a tremendous decline in central cities we are talking about very large numbers; for example a population loss of 27% in St. Louis in a single decade. Even cities in the South and the West were not immune to this and we find negative numbers: Washington D.C. lost over 15%, and that's the capital. The image of Atlanta is a sunbelt, growing city but the central city lost 14% of its population in that

decade.

Now some cities are growing. Obviously the population has to be moving somewhere. Some cities in the Sunbelt did grow quite a lot: San Diego (25%) and Phoenix (35%). Notice nowhere in the North grew so much. So we are having a tremendous redistribution of population occurring in the U.S.. We see even from 1980 to 1990 the negative numbers continue in some cities. There are still some serious declines: 14% decline in Detroit, 11.9% in Cleveland. But for most cities, it has stabilized by the year 1990. We take a full count every 10 years but the estimates of population from 1990 to 1995 suggest that population has stabilized in most cities, that is, the downward trend has ended with a few exceptions.

Notice that between 1970 and 1990, the suburbs all grew with one or two exceptions. Many of them grew in double digits. Even in a huge place like New York, a 2.8% increase was recorded in the suburbs and 7.1% in Chicago between 1980 and 1990. Between 1970 and 1980, in Minneapolis-St. Paul the suburbs grew by 20%. So there was tremendous suburban growth: Tampa-St. Petersburg in Florida grew by 80% in its suburban population. You can see that the Sunbelt cities in the South and the West that developed later, when they received the growth, they got growth in their central cities but they developed as different kinds of cities. They are not as concentrated as Northeastern and Midwestern cities. They were more decentralized and many of the Sunbelt cities grew as suburban cities.

This map illustrates the metropolitan area of Louisville (map). What's happening here is that the population is moving out of the city and moving into suburban areas of Jefferson County for example and they are following the interstates. Development and growth is occurring along the interstate highway systems. So we find that the counties added to the metropolitan area are those along the interstate. Because what's happening is that as one part of the region fills up, the developers move to the next part along the interstate and put their subdivisions there. As enough population comes into an outlying county, it gets included in the metropolitan area. So a metropolis is taking up more land. We can do that in the U.S. because we have land. We are taking up more space. Our cities are less dense. The population is spreading out much further. So these areas were rural less than a decade ago. There's still some farming but very little. What happens is that farmers sell their land to developers who build subdivisions and people move out there. They may commute to the central city but we find that there are less such people; they may work in the county that they live in or commute to another county but not necessarily the central city.

We refer to this as the multi-centered metropolis. What's happening is that we have an older central city with suburbs growing around the central city connected by the interstate highway system. We build a bypass around the city and now people don't have to go to the central city. What eventually occurs is that we have multiple nodes of activities. We have a central city which still has important economic functions: government headquarters, corporate headquarters, finance, law and other major business activities. But we get other nodes; a retail and commercial center or an industrial park. So

that's what we mean by multi-centered metropolis. There is no longer one dominant center. There are multiple centers or nodes. These nodes have been growing in many ways at the expense of the center. This is not a planned decentralization.

When you go to the States, most of you probably visit our biggest cities like New York, Chicago or San Francisco and in those cities you still find retail shopping districts and department stores. But if you go to other cities, like my city Louisville, you can't shop in the downtown easily. You have to go out to the mall in the suburbs. There are small malls left in downtown but they are dying. There's not enough business. And this is true in most of the medium-size cities. Only in the largest cities do we still find retail shopping and that's because they get such a large number of tourists in addition to their residential population.

Now let's ask ourselves: Why did this decentralization of the metropolitan areas occur? The U.S. once had a more centralized system. We had a hierarchy of cities with New York at its top. Metropolitan areas were dominated by the central cities. Most of the population was in the central cities. What are some of the factors that led to decentralization in these metropolitan areas?

The first factor, or perhaps the most important factor, was economic restructuring. Economic restructuring is usually defined as a shift from an industrial-based economy to a service-based economy. In the U.S. this restructuring began, according to some people, as early as the 1940s. The economic restructuring meant that we have changed the kinds of jobs we would find in our cities and we changed the location of these jobs.

Just in the decade from 1980 to 1990, the largest counties lost about a million manufacturing jobs. During the same decade, 2.6 million new service jobs were created[2]. What we find is that the old jobs we lost were in the central cities and the new jobs we created in many instances were in the sunbelt and in the suburbs. So economic restructuring meant that cities ended up with a huge amount of abandoned territory. In many instances, this land was 'unusable' because of pollution problems; toxic waste from industrial production or what we in the U.S. call brownfields. The new job growth occurs in the suburbs and in the sunbelt. This caused even more problems for the central cities because as you remember in the U.S., we lack mass transportation. If you are poor and live in the central city you can't get to one of the new jobs in the suburbs. And if a factory does open up, we still have new factories, it's not going to open in central city any more because land is too expensive. If they go to the suburbs in the sunbelt, a local government will give them a tax incentive. There's less pressure on labor so they can pay lower wages. So we find that this shift in the economy has a major impact on how the metropolitan area is organized.

A new feature of the landscape of American cities is what we call *edge cities*[3]. Edge cities are very large combinations of commercial, industrial and residential developments, not necessarily built as a single project but located adjacent to each others along a main road. At an intersection of major roads near an interstate exit in a suburban area, we get an office tower and a mall and we end up

with high-rise areas in the middle of nowhere which may have more office space than the central city. We call these edge cities. They're frequently located outside the boundaries of the city but they take on some of the characteristics of the city, except they lack a center.

If you drive though American cities and you get off the interstate somewhere, they all look the same. You will start driving along the road and you will come across a strip where you will find fast food restaurants... McDonald's, Burger King, Pizza Hut. Then you will come to a little bigger development. You may not have it here but like a giant Wal-Mart or Circuit City, or Toys-R-Us. They line up along the streets. In the U.S. many of our small businesses are doing badly because they cannot compete with these giant companies that are so huge that they can buy products very cheaply and sell at low prices. They all line up along roadways leading into cities and they look the same wherever you go. Some of these office and commercial areas are big enough that we call them edge cities. This illustrates the suburbanization of jobs, in this case retail, but there are also office parks, industrial parks, factories and warehouses in the suburbs.

I would like to just quickly mention two other factors. One is the federal government which played a major role in pushing suburbanization. After World War II, or even during the war, the U.S. located its war industries in suburban areas and in cities outside of main population centers. So we began to decentralize certain industries for national security reasons. That began the push for decentralization in some areas. After World War II, we offered returning veterans subsidized loans to buy homes in new suburbs. And there was a federal government housing policy which would give loans for new homes to couples. Since central cities were all built-up these new homes usually had to be built in the suburbs and this helped push population out. We also gave a mortgage deduction on income taxes to reduce the amount of income tax. The subdivisions moved further and further out along the new interstate highways that the federal government built and this allowed population to move further out. What it did was to allow the middle class to retreat from the cities. In the U.S., again we go back to the notion of the 'American Dream' of owning your home where you have your family and your two children, you don't raise children in a city. A city is viewed as a place that you live when you are young or where you go as a tourist. But if you are going to raise a family, you wouldn't do that in a city in the U.S.. You should move out to the suburbs. What's happening is that the middle class is being given a subsidy for the housing to move out to these areas. The middle class is being given an interstate highway so they can quickly commute in their new automobile into the city and then go back home to their family in the suburbs. We'll talk about this later in the lecture in the discussion of local government but once they get out, they want to protect themselves from being brought back into the central city boundaries as well.

The third factor that we should mention is technology. It played a major role in decentralizing the metropolis. First, there is the automobile itself and the technological innovation to build the interstate highway. New industries with improved and advanced technologies often located in the sunbelt; aerospace, for example NASA located in Texas and Florida. Remember in the U.S. between 1960 and 1970 our mission was to put a man on the moon. A tremendous amount of money was put in this

new industry. There is the computer industry, located especially in Silicon Valley. There is the energy industry in Texas. You may have seen the series Dallas which involves the booming oil industry. But it isn't just industry. It is also the way we organize production. We developed new technologies which invented new forms of corporations. We invented the conglomerate. We invented the multinational corporations. We may not have invented them but we've certainly adopted them. In this new way of organizing business it meant that we could separate production from the headquarters of the plant. Originally in our industrial cities we had the factory and right next to the factory was the company headquarters. The General Motors corporate headquarters was next to GM's auto plant. But communication technology allowed us to use fax machines and other kinds of advanced methods and now the Internet. These allowed us to create more distance between production and administration. We began to shift many economic functions out of our city. We might keep our headquarters in the city but we might move the factory out to the suburbs. Once we move out we realize that it's not so hard and then we might move it to overseas, or to another part of the country. Then we begin to realize that we didn't have to have a factory for a single product. What we can do is to make a factory that assembles products and have other factories at other sites scattered around the country that made those parts. All of this meant that we could decentralize more and more our metropolis. Decentralizing industry was decentralizing our metropolitan areas[4].

II. Local Government in the U.S.

Let me now turn to local governments in the U.S.. We'll see how this is connected to the fragmented metropolis. There are two main features of local government in the U.S. that I want to highlight. One is that the U.S. has a federal system of government. When I say a federal system of government, I mean that in the U.S. the Constitution divides the power and gives some to the central government and some to the state governments. What happens is that our system of local government is created by the state governments, not the central government. We have 50 states now, and that means we have 50 systems of local governments. Not one but 50.

The second point is that we have a fragmented system of local government. In the U.S. we have 84,955 units of local governments. That means that we divide our territory into very many small parts. Many of these local governments overlap with each other and it creates a certain amount of confusion in the delivery of public services and raising questions about efficiency in service delivery.

The basic form of government we have at the local level are counties, cities, towns and townships, special districts and special kind of special districts that we call school districts (see table 2). The county government was the most basic government we had in the U.S.. States would divide their territories into counties and counties would provide state functions at a local level.

The kind of services that the county would provide were basic things like recording births and deaths, marriages and property transfers. And remember that the U.S. was predominantly a rural country in the earlier years, so the most basic unit of government would have been the county government.

Table 2   Description of Local Government

	Description	Services provided	Comment
Counties	A general purpose government that is a subdivision of a state set up to carry out traditional state functions at the local level. In some states it is referred to as a borough (Alaska) or parish (Louisiana). All but two states have this unit of government.	Tax assessment and collection, official record keeping of property transfers, registering births, deaths, marriages, divorces, elections, road maintenance, law enforcement, jails.	Traditionally, counties were the only government in a rural area. In more modern times, counties have added additional services reflecting the urban populations they now serve. These include health care, mass transit, pollution control, social services, and economic development.
Cities	A general purpose government set up to provide urban services to more densely populated areas. These cities, or *incorporated places* (a municipal corporation) are set up under state law. This usually involves citizens petitioning the state legislature to formally establish a municipality. The legislature will then grant that city a charter that specifies the boundaries, organization, and powers of the municipality.	Police, fire, sewers, garbage collection, zoning, urban renewal, parks and recreation, roads.	Cities typically were created because urban residents demanded a higher level of public services than that provided by rural county governments. Population growth on the fringe of the city was often brought within the boundaries of the city by a process known as *annexation* where the territory would be appended to the city, usually after a *referendum* (a vote of the affected citizens). In most instances today, a *dual majority* vote requirement (a majority must favor in the area to be annexed as well as in the city as a whole) results in the defeat of the annexation proposal as suburbanites almost always vote against it. Cities are often created in the suburbs to prevent an older central city from annexing territory. This way more affluent residents can isolate themselves from the central city and its taxes and problems.
Towns and town-ships	These are general purpose governments set up as subdivisions of counties that carry out county type services in a subset of the county. These may be rural or urban type services.	Roads, law enforcement	This type of government is found in 20 states in the northeast and midwest. In some states they are more significant than in others.
Special Districts	Special purpose governments are designed to carry out selected functions or services in specified geographic areas. These may be created for any purpose one can imagine, limited only by state law or the state constitution. In some instances, the state may grant city or county government the right to create special districts.	Fire, water supply and management, library, sewers, urban renewal, mosquito control (Florida).	In most cases, these governments are insulated from direct control of the voters with appointed board members making decisions. The rationale for this is that these governments deal with technical issues where it is thought that professional expertise should guide action. This type of government has been increasing greatly in the last several decades.
School Districts	A particular type of special district with an elected board which oversees the public school system.	Setting educational standards and building, maintaining, and operating the public elementary, middle and high schools.	In some cases, city governments may provide this service. In addition, there may be more than one school district in a county. In the 1970s, many middle class whites withdrew their children from public schools or moved to the suburbs to avoid *busing* and school integration. Many school consolidations occurred because of the high expense of providing this service.

And we have 3,043 counties.

Then, the next unit of government is city. Cities, and also counties, are general purpose governments. They provide more than one service or function so we call them general purpose. We have cities that provide urban-type services. When we get more dense population, we might need more policing or fire protection. So the cities are created to provide urban services.

Each state has a different process to set up cities. They set up their own classification of cities and they decide how much power to give to cities. So a city in one state may have different powers than a city in another state. There are 19,279 cities.

Towns and townships we find mostly in New England, or the Northeast area. The best way to define them is as a subdivision of a county. They perform some county-type services at a smaller level.

Table 3   Local Governments in the United States

Type of Local Government	Number
County	3,043
Municipality	19,279
Town/Township	16,656
School District	14,422
Special District	31,555
Total	84,955

Source: 1997   Statistical Abstract of the United States

The next unit, special district is a special purpose government created to carry out a single function or a single service. The states decide what kind of special districts they want to create and they pass a law for this purpose. When they set up a special district they'll decide what its boundaries are and how it operates. We might create a special district to carry out fire service, or, my favorite example in Florida is a mosquito control district. There were 31,555 special districts as of 1997. Special districts generally do not have elected leaders and are run by an appointed board. So sometimes we refer to special district governments as invisible governments. Often, people aren't aware of their existence or that they are providing services for them. It is also one of the kinds of government that was growing the fastest over the last several decades. More and more we are relying on special districts to carry out functions in the metropolitan area.

The final government is the school district. In most places in the U.S. a special school district is created to operate and maintain schools. School districts are usually run by an elected board. There are 14,422 school boards or districts.

You can see that there are a lot of governments. I should mention that it is more confusing than this. These are the basic things we count but we have other things that we don't know where to put. We have regional authorities in some places and other things that don't fit neatly into these categories. Again, you have to remember that each state can do what it wants. There are no limits except those in the state constitution. A state can create a government for anything permitted under the state constitution.

Let me go back to the map of Louisville. This is my county Jefferson County and the city of Louisville. In the Jefferson County there are 95 cities and Louisville (pop. 269,000) is one of them. The county has about 660,000 people and the metropolitan area has just under 1 million. Forty percent of the county population lives in Louisville, 20% lives in these small cities and 40% live in *unincorporated areas*. I don't think you have such areas here in Japan. It means that they don't live in a city. So if you live in the unincorporated area, the only government that you receive services from is the county government and any special districts that might provide these services. Jefferson County does not provide fire services. The city of Louisville provides fire service but people living in small cities or in unincorporated areas do not get fire services from the city. So we set up special districts that provide fire protection. Then we have other special districts for other purposes. Some

citizens want services that a big city provides but they cannot get it because they don't live in a city. They want the county to provide the service but the county cannot provide a service to somebody out here. So to provide urban services to people out here we have to create special districts.

In the case of Jefferson County, most of the 95 cities are very small. In fact a number of them have only 300 people. What this illustrates for you is another term we use, *defensive incorporation*. Remember the trends we talked about in terms of population flow. One of them was the exodus from the central city out to the suburb. Once people get out to the suburbs they don't want the central city to expand the boundary and take them back in. So if they set up their own city they can prevent the central city from taking them over. We call it a 'defensive' incorporation. Most of these cities were created after 1950 when we started to see the movement of the people out.

III. The Quest for Metropolitan Government

Let's turn to the discussion of metropolitan government now that I have given you a background why and how regional cooperation can be problematic in the U.S.. Our metropolitan areas are very fragmented by lots of governments. What happened is that in the 1940s and 1950s, the central cities made up about 70-80% of the metropolitan area. By the 1980s and 1990s the central cities may hold as little as 40% of the metropolitan area. So the problem of metropolitan governance in some ways is new because it is a function of the spreading metropolis. When most of the population was in the central city we didn't need to worry about metropolitan government because if you were not in the city you were probably in the rural area.

In the 1960s the population was still inside the county boundaries. So the county government could serve as a functional metropolitan government. What we find is that county governments began to provide urban-type services because the residents in the unincorporated areas were not getting urban services. The county government could became de facto metropolitan governments in many metropolitan areas.

But by the time we got to the 1980s and 1990s, we could see that was no longer going to work as metropolitan areas extended far beyond the single county, taking in 5 or 6 counties in many instances. So there is no longer a unit of government that can serve as a surrogate for a metropolitan government. As these trends began to occur in cities following the 1950s we had efforts in many areas to restructure the local government and movement to create our own version of metropolitan government. One of the most prominent cases was in 1957 in Miami. We created Metropolitan Miami –Dade government. This government was set up on a two-tier model, the first model of metropolitan government I want to discuss. We took the existing county government, Dade County, and we turned it into a metropolitan government. This new metropolitan government would provide regional-type services for the area. The existing city governments, including the City of Miami, would provide municipal-type services.

A second model that we looked at was city-county consolidation. It is the unification of a city with a county. Usually they are between the large central city and the county government. When we do a city-county consolidation we often leave out the smaller suburban city governments.

We had some experience with city-county consolidation in the past. In the 1800s or early 1900s, some of our largest cities had unified with counties. That occurred in New Orleans, Boston, Philadelphia, San Francisco and New York.

Since world war II, there has been a push to consolidate many of our cities. In most instances the consolidation movement failed. A few of the cases where it occurred were Nashville, Jacksonville and Indianapolis. They are the most prominent cases of consolidation.

A third kind of metropolitan government was represented by Minneapolis-St. Paul, or what we call the Twin Cities Metropolitan Council. It was created in 1967. The best way to think about this one is as a three-tier metropolitan government. First there are cities, the second-tier would be the counties, and the third-tier would be this metropolitan council that is over 6 or 7 counties and primarily concerned with planning.

One of the simpler strategies was to pursue annexation. But in most cases after 1950s that was not a feasible approach. As the population was shifting to the suburbs, state legislators began to favor those voters. In addition in the U.S. until the early 1960s state legislatures were malapportioned. They overrepresented rural interests. There was a famous Supreme Court case that called for "one man, one vote". What happened was that we had state legislatures dominated by rural state senators. We might have one senator representing a district of 10,000 people in a rural area and a city might have one state senator for 100,000 people. So rural interests were greatly overrepresented. They combined with suburban interests to block urban interests. So it was one factor in preventing central city expansion.

In the U.S. there are basically two positions on metropolitan government. First there are advocates of metropolitan government. Their argument is that the metropolitan area is too fragmented, that there are too many local governments which leads to inefficient service delivery and waste because there is too much competition and duplication among local governments in providing services. They argue it leads to some residents receiving no services at all. Also, they argue it leads to inequitable tax systems and or inequity in the fiscal system because one city might have a higher tax rate but not much to tax another city might have a low tax rate but receive much more revenue because of businesses being there. So the 'metropolitan government school' argues that we need more efficient and effective government and we need more accountable government; accountable because the current system is too confusing. If you have 117 governments you don't know who you are voting for or why. You don't know who to hold responsible when something isn't working. This was the basic philosophy behind those who pushed metropolitan government. In fact one of the biggest concerns was that our fragmented system of government was isolating problems in the central city where we

had the poor and minorities and we had this government boundary and out here in the suburbs we had the middle class with the resources. We needed to find the way to bring these resources back into the central city. Metropolitan government would be a way to make the middle class and the suburbanites take responsibility for inner city problems and not let them run and escape and create their own government and isolate themselves.

Regardless of whether this is a good idea or bad idea, in the U.S. it wasn't practical and it wouldn't work. The only way we could create metropolitan government was for people living out here in the suburbs to vote for it but they wouldn't. In addition, as more minorities were concentrated in the central city they began to question whether they should consolidate. They saw consolidation as minority dilution or a way to reduce the power of minorities. If your group is 80% of a central city and you consolidate you might drop to 40% and you cannot elect your people. There are many obstacles in creating metropolitan government in the U.S.. Also a lot of our metropolitan areas straddle state lines.

The second position is what we label public choice or polycentrism. This is a philosophy or a view based on a market model. Under this view the argument is that bigger isn't better. A more centralized system will not necessarily promote greater efficiency and effectiveness. In fact greater centralization may create bloat, waste, over-taxation, and poor services without accountability. The argument that the public choice school made was to say look at our biggest cities in the U.S.. Look at New York, look at Chicago. These cities lost huge population because they were bad at providing services. They were taxing too much, they weren't providing quality services. The middle class left because they were not good places to live any more. As they moved out to the suburbs the city governments were disciplined by the market place. They've recognized that they need to provide a good service, they need to keep their tax rates low so the businesses would want to locate there and people would want to live there. They saw all the people and businesses leave and they recognized that they needed to change. And they changed. New York City now provides better services. It improved its transit system, it made sure that garbage did not pile up on streets any more and they tried to address these complaints. They tried to lower their taxes. This is the public choice argument. The argument is that we need the ability of the people to vote with their feet. Let people choose where they want to live based on the quality of services and the taxation. Local governments will meet that challenge. They will provide what citizens want. An area that cannot find its niche in the market will die. But the public choice people say it should. In the process these areas will become more efficient. The market will discipline them.

So they see fragmentation as good because it provides people choices. They would argue that if we need regional services or if we have problems at a regional level we can create special districts to address those particular problems but we don't need an overarching metropolitan government because it will get too big, too wasteful, and we don't get the economy of scale because politicians will become corrupt lining their pockets or else building projects that nobody wants.

IV. Metropolitan Governance Without Government

So on the one hand, some say we should have metropolitan government but it's not practical. We can't create it. On the other hand, we can have all this fragmentation but the public choice people mislead us into thinking we can have governance without government in some way. We don't get those regional approaches that the public choice people say will automatically happen.
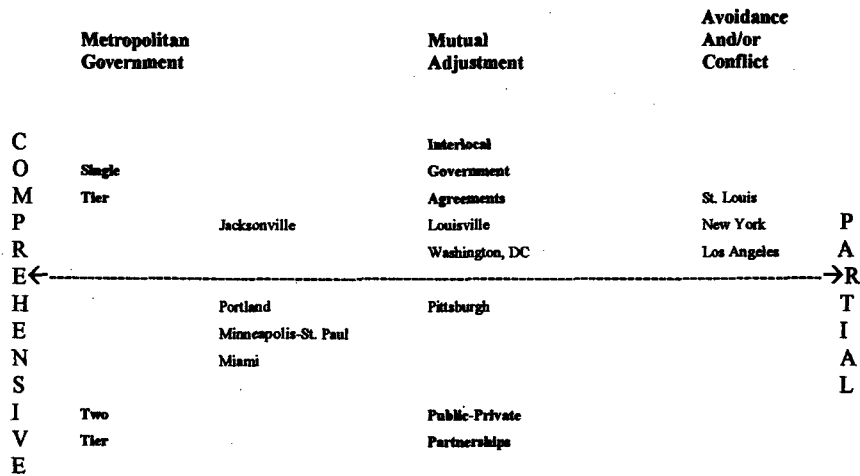
So we are given two kind of choices that won't work. Either we can say we can have metropolitan government but it's not a real option or what we have is clearly not good. So Professor Savitch and I said that there may be more choices than that (see Figure 1)[5]. Maybe there is something in the middle. In the U.S. there has been a lot of effort to create regional cooperation. It isn't a function of a market process. It occurs for different reasons in different regions. But there is more choice out there.

We identified three options. There are some places that call themselves metropolitan government, but they are weak examples of the model. At best they are metropolitan governments in a county boundary or we have two cases that cover more than two counties-Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Council and Portland Metro. Minneapolis-St. Paul doesn't have an elected council. It's an appointed one and it is weak and frequently bypassed. Miami-Dade is basically a county government. It has more power than other counties but it is only one county in a larger metropolis.

Then we have some areas where it's almost hopeless. The level of conflict in New York, St. Louis or Los Angeles is so high; the source of those conflicts are divisions-racial, class, and very fragmented government, more than elsewhere. When you put that altogether it is hard to see much evidence of anything that would allow you to feel optimistic about creating regional cooperation. We have examples of specific actions here and there. But they don't add up.

The most interesting case is in the middle here, what we call mutual adjustment. This mutual adjustment may be stronger than you would think here. I think in Japan you would think of mutual adjustment as that public choice school. What I refer to here is more comprehensive mutual adjustment than public choice, or more reasoned effort to create cooperation. There are two ways to do it. One is through agreement among localities and secondly, public-private partnerships.

There are many examples of deliberate efforts to fashion regional cooperation in American metropolises relying on interlocal government cooperation or public-private partnerships. For example, in my community, Louisville, the city and county agreed in 1986 to a compact for 12 years that provides for tax-sharing of the local occupational tax (similar to a proportional income tax based on place of employment) and a resorting of services between the two governments. The county took on full responsibility for financing and managing some services including health services, air pollution control, and land use planning and the city took on disaster and emergency services, human

	Metropolitan Government		Mutual Adjustment	Avoidance And/or Conflict
C			Interlocal	
O	Single		Government	
M	Tier		Agreements	St. Louis
P		Jacksonville	Louisville	New York
R			Washington, DC	Los Angeles
E	← --- →			
H		Portland	Pittsburgh	
E		Minneapolis-St. Paul		
N		Miami		
S				
I	Two		Public-Private	
V	Tier		Partnerships	
E				

(Right vertical axis: **P A R T I A L**)

Source: Reproduced from H.V.Savitch and Ronald K.Vogel,eds.,Regional Politics: *America in a Post-City Age* (Thousand Oaks,CA:Sage,1996),p.13.

Figure 1   A Continuum of Regional Governance

relations commission, and the zoo and science museum. Several other services-economic develop-ment office, transit authority, sewer district, and libraries-are provided by joint agencies under the control of the mayor and judge-executive (similar to mayor for the county). This agreement was reached after two failed efforts at city-county consolidation and battles over annexation of unincor-porated areas[6].

V. Conclusion

Let us get to the bottom line and then have discussion on some of these issues. Based upon our study of 10 city-regions and knowledge of other cases, there is evidence of increasing cooperation among local governments in American metropolises similar to that which I described in Louisville. Although the American metropolis lacks formal metropolitan government in most instances, a system of *metropolitan governance without government* is evolving. Contrary to the public choice perspective, this metropolitan governance without government is not a function of the marketplace but a prag-matic effort on the part of local public and private officials to create regional service delivery approaches and to develop regional solutions to metropolitan problems. Comprehensive restructuring of local government and the creation of formal metropolitan governments are elusive goals. How-ever, an incremental strategy to create metropolitan or regional institutions and foster coordination and cooperation among local governments is possible. The Minneapolis-St. Paul Metropolitan Council and Portland Metro, for example, although not full-fledged metropolitan governments, have slowly been evolving in that direction; both are the product of long-term incremental processes[7].

However, it must also be admitted that a number of metropolitan areas have not developed effective arrangements for metropolitan governance and reflect a situation of conflict and avoidance. Unfor-tunately, this includes some of the largest metropolitan areas including New York, Los Angeles, and St. Louis[8].

Biography:

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Notes:

1) Metropolitan Areas (MAs) may be further distinguished as *Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs)*, *Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs)* and *Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSAs)*. Essentially, MSAs are free standing metropolitan areas. CMSAs are metropolitan areas that have grown together and must have a population of 1 million or more people. In this case, two or more *Primary Metropolitan Statistical Areas (PMSAs)* are designated which make up the CSMA. As of June 1996, there were 273 MAs including 255 MSAs and 18 CMSAs. Within the 18 CMSAs were 73 PMSAs.

2) See U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment. *The Technological Reshaping of Metropolitan America*, OTA-ETI-643 (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, September 1995), p.80.

3) J. Garreau, *Edge City* (New York: Doubleday, 1991).

4) See Paul Kantor, *The Dependent City*: The Changing Political Economy of Urban America (Glenview, IL: Scott, Foresman/Little Brown, 1988).

5) H.V. Savitch and Ronald K. Vogel, eds., *Regional Politics: America in a Post-City Age* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, Urban Affairs Annual Reviews 45, 1996).

6) H.V. Savitch and Ronald K. Vogel, "Louisville: Compacts and Antagonistic Cooperation in *Regional Politics: America in a Post-City Age*, pp. 130-158.

7) These two cases are discussed in *Regional Politics: America in a Post-City Age*.

8) These three cases are also discussed in *Regional Politics: America in a Post-City Age*. New York City consolidated with its boroughs in 1898 creating a metropolitan government. However, New York City now is a municipality of about 7 million people in a larger metropolis consisting of 24 counties in 3 states with more than 18 million people and 1,787 local governments.

アメリカの大都市統治

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I　アメリカの大都市

　アメリカの大都市地域（メトロポリス）は、中心都市と、その都市と経済的・社会的結びつきの強い周辺地域から構成される。しかしこの都市地域を統治する単一の行政体はなく、地域内には都市、郡、町、郡区(township)、特別区など、多数の小さな地方政府が存在する。また一方で、多心型構造もアメリカの大都市の特徴である。過去数十年間に、1）アメリカの人口は北東部・中西部から南部・西部に移動し、2）北東部・中西部の主要都市の雇用と人口は減少し、3）各地で大規模な郊外化が進展した。この背景には、経済の構造的変化、つまり製造業中心の経済からサービス型経済への移行があり、さらに連邦政府の政策や技術革新なども要因として挙げられる。

　無数の小さな政府、人口の分散化、強力な大都市・地域政府の不在という現状をみると、アメリカの大都市は果たして統治されているのだろうかという疑問が起こる。この問題に関しては、2つの見方がある。第1は、大都市圏政府を設立すべきだとするものだ。大都市圏政府の支持者は、大都市が分裂すると、裕福な住民が郊外地域に流出して、中心都市の都市問題への責任を放棄したり、貧困層や少数民族との接触を避けるようになり、さらにこれが都市サービスの非効率・非有効性にもつながると主張する。これらの解決策である大都市圏政府の形態としては、都市と郡の統合（例：ジャクソンビル）による一層構造か、二層構造（あるいは三層：ポートランド、ミネアポリス－セントポール、マイアミ－デード大都市圏）の政府が考えられる。

　一方、市場モデルを重視する公共選択（public choice）主義者は、大きな政府は必要ないと主張する。この考え方によると、大都市の分裂は悪いことではなく、むしろ小さい政府がたくさんあれば、人々は各政府の税金の額やサービスの中身などに基づいて、自分の住みたい地域を自由に選べる。多くの都市は、1970年代から80年代にかけて無駄遣いをし、サービスの効率も悪かったために、住民や企業がよそ

に移動してしまった。これらの都市はその後、市場原理にさらされるようになった。さらにこの立場の人々は、地域レベルでのサービスの提供が必要となるならば、特別区（special district）を設立すればよいとしている。

　大都市政府の設立は、アメリカでは概ね実現不可能である。現状は公共選択学派の主張する線に近いものとなっており、一部の地域では、地域レベルの意思決定を行う際に、「対立」や意見の「回避」がみられる（セントルイス、ニューヨーク、ロサンゼルスなど）。一方、最近の研究において、サビッチ教授と筆者は「相互調整」（mutual adjustment）という第3の選択肢に注目した。地方政府同士の協力、官民パートナーシップなどを通じて地域間協力を図ろうという例は数多く見られる。実際、我々の研究は、大都市圏内の地方政府間の地域間協力が増えていることを裏付けるものであった。大部分の大都市圏には、正式なかたちでの大都市圏政府はないものの、「政府なき大都市圏統治というシステム」（a system of metropolitan governance without government）が増えている。公共選択の見方とは逆に、「政府なき大都市圏統治」は市場の作用によって生まれたものではない。むしろ、「効果的な公共サービスを提供し、地域的視点から大都市問題と取り組もう」という、地域の政府当局者と民間パートナーの実際的な努力の結果として生まれたものだ。地方政府の抜本的な構造改革や、大都市圏・地域政府の設立は、まず達成不可能な目標だ。だが、大都市圏・地域機関を設置して、地方政府間の調整や協力を促進していくのは可能であり、事実、アメリカの大都市地域で実際に進行しているのである。