

A Study on the Management System of Metropolitan Areas - Concurrently Discusses the Metropolitan Management System Reform of C City, China

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Abstract: With the universal trend of urbanization the Urban-rural integration, this paper reviews the previous research on the management system of metropolitan areas at home and abroad, and then summarizes the different theories and policies in this field. Next, this paper analyzes some successful cases of developed countries and regions to sum up their realistic experience. At last, as one of the most significant economic center in the Southwest China, C City is provided with some recommendations for the reform of management system that are based on the analysis about the evolution process and characteristics of C City metropolitan area in China by this paper, which may have certain reference for management of metropolitan areas, especially in developing countries.

Keywords: Metropolitan areas, Management system, reform.

INTRODUCTION

After the Second World War, with the rapid development of the global economy, the achievements of scientific and technological revolution brought about a worldwide urbanization which gradually becomes the dominant trend. Some world-class metropolis like London, New York and Tokyo have emerged in developed areas, such as Western Europe, North America and Eastern Asia. Part of scholars in developed country began to research on the theory and application of metropolitan management system in the academic field.

The urbanization of China is later than the developed countries, and the rapid process of urbanization starts after the reform and opening-up in 1978. During this period, Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Hongkong and other cities with international competitiveness have springing up all over the country, as well as the city-and-town concentrated areas such as Yangtze River Delta, Pearl River Delta, Beijing-Tianjin-Hebei region, the central and southern Liaoning, etc.

But China's metropolitan areas which are affected by the ingrained administrative divisions differ greatly from western developed countries'. And China missed the golden age of global industrialization which became a vital opportunity of urban development. So there exist many problems in formation and management system of China's metropolitan area, which create a thicket of issues like the duplication of interregional industrial structures, the redundant

construction of infrastructure, the contradiction of land development, and environmental pollution. Urban problems also emerge in core cities, such as wrong orientation of spatial extension, population expansion, house price inflation, the increase in unemployment and many more. In a word, current problems in China's metropolitan areas are still difficult to achieve regional coordination.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The concept of the Metropolitan Area was coined by the OPCS (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys) in America, which includes the central city with a population of more than 100 thousand and surrounding areas within a distance of less than 10 miles. The definition from the United States Coordination Committee is widely adopted by the academic circles, that is, the metropolitan area is the combination of a big urban core and its surrounding area which has close social and economic link and integration tendency with the core. It is a basic spatial unit used to do statistic and research activities of cities. Zhou Yixing, a professor at Peking University, first put forward the general concept of China's metropolitan area whose tectonic element is the county., which consist of two rudimentary parts, one is the urban core with a large population, the other is an adjoining community with a highly socio-economic integration of this core [1].

On the aspect of the management system, academia has carried out long-term theoretical research

and practical exploration, three stages of study are listed as follows.

At the beginning of the 20th century, influenced mainly by Woodrow Wilson and Frank J. Goodnow, regionalism school advocated the separation of politics and administration, as well as administrative efficiency. At the same time, establishment of a single metropolitan area government was emphasized by regionalism school in order to improve government efficiency. Chester Maxey, believes that the division of metropolitan government power seriously hinders the consummation of public facilities, traffic network, government services and city schematization [2].

Paul Studenski points out that the urban core and its surrounding suburbs must be a single economic and social metropolitan area, but in fact they are divided into municipalities, prefectures and counties. Without the guidance of the higher authorities or the comprehensive plan for controlling urban growth, metropolitan areas will be disorganized [3].

Public choice school prevailed from 1930s to 80s, it mainly uses economic analysis methods to study political issues such as government decision-making, it discusses the management system reform of metropolitan areas from structural aspect to the management policies and measures. Through the research on the city housing, it is found that the number of local governments was proportional to immigration rate of citizens, so taxpayers as rational economic man would rather choose the district with more jobs, higher migration efficiency, better public service to live, which is known as "voting with their feet" [4]. Subsequently, Vincent Ostrom systematically explains the theory of the local government, admits the polycentric governance, and regards the metropolitan area as a huge public market, residents decide whether to stay or not depending on whether the community meets their needs and whether it can provide fair prices, which is an act of converting personal preferences into social decisions [5].

After 1990s, the reform of metropolitan areas has become the focus in Europe, leading to the emergence of new regionalism. David Rusk insists that in order to maintain prosperity, the urban core must annex the surrounding suburbs to expand its geographical scope, ultimately become a "city without suburbs" [6]. As well, Henry Cisneros is convinced that we should not overemphasize the difference between the urban core and suburbs, on the contrary, we should pay more attention to the commonness [7]. A study conducted by the National Urban Alliance shows that there is a positive correlation between the level of economic growth in the urban core and the suburbs, the greater

income gap between urban and rural areas is, the slower growth of employment is [8].

Traditional regionalism solves the problem of government Balkanization, but ignores the background of long-term local autonomy, so the expected goal of reform is difficult to achieve. the research on metropolitan management system from the public choice school breaks the limits which set to establish formal institutions so that it promotes democracy, but the prerequisite hypothesis "vote with their feet" is not in conformity with the reality, it considers a variety of factors such as cultural environment and living expenses, the hypothesis that people don't need to work but live on the interest is too idealistic. Both traditional regionalism and new regionalism advocate establish regional government, but in addition to intergovernmental cooperation, new regionalism emphasizes more on non-governmental public and private partnerships.

China's study in this field is later than that the Occident, which is mostly influenced by western developed countries. Liu Junde conducts a public economic analysis of metropolitan government organization and management, sum up the managerial experience in western urban government [9]. Zhang Jingxiang and Huang Chunxiao compare the management system in China with which in western countries. They find that the current management system weakness in China are serious superior government offside, lack of governments that execute regional functions, decision behavior that is based on self-interest and fuzzy division of functions [10]. Xie Shouhong proposes the metropolitan area's issues like repeated infrastructure held up because of administrative segmentation, she learns from western management system and then puts forward three solutions: establish the single government in the metropolitan area; establish a specialized institution in a particular area, such as fire protection, water supply and waste disposal; local governments set up regional coordinating organization according to the principle of voluntary participation [11].

Obviously, the literature about the metropolitan management system in developing countries like China is still scarce at present, most of the existing studies focus on the experience of western developed countries. There is less research on management system in the specific metropolitan area.

CURRENT SITUATION AND PROBLEMS IN C CITY METROPOLITAN AREAS

From ancient times to the present, C City lies on a vast plain. So there were advantageous terrain, abundant water resources and humid climate in C City metropolitan area. It formed a natural farming

advantage in the small-peasant economy era, which became the basis of population accumulation. Because of the intervention of political functions in each dynasty, the urban spatial structure was affected by human beings, showing a slow spot evolution during this period. To the early 1980s, the main expansion trend was to the northeast and southeast, then basically formed a radial, annular urban pattern. After the reform and opening up, C City gradually achieved functional division from axial expansion to inward filling, and formed a single central city structure. After 90s, the urban spatial structure of C City moved from single centripetal agglomeration to a mixture of centripetal agglomeration and centrifugal diffusion, the formation of C City metropolitan area came into being. There are striking evidence that C City began to enter the stage of urbanization in the suburbs: suburban population growth rate is higher than that of central city, the industry moves out on a large scale, retail extends to the suburbs [12].

The characteristics of C City metropolitan area are circular trend, centrality, openness, integration and networking. With the development at a high speed, C City metropolitan area is faced with a series of problems simultaneously as follows.

First, the governance concept lags behind. Most developing countries attach importance to infrastructure but ignore the creation of cultural environment. At the same time, they regard development as merely economic growth and material expansion, and regard governance as a single act of the government. The independence of non-governmental organizations is not strong, and the degree of participation is limited.

Second, compulsory administrative segmentation causes the "administrative regional economy". There is often a lack of coordination between the administrative regions and economic zones, which breeds the tendency of selfish departmentalism and administrative obstacles, conflicts of various interests become too sharp to restrain the sustainable development of metropolitan areas.

Third, metropolitan areas are short of unified organ of authority and overall planning. As the C City's development and Reform Commission has no legal authority, in other words, it has limited power to coordinate economic, social and environmental development in the metropolis. Since C City has no metropolitan authority, it has no direct contact with the national government, all contacts and decisions are made through the provincial government, which reduce management efficiency and suppress economies of scale. Without unified planning and construction, the

industry orientation of small towns is not suitable, also appearing disordered development.

Fourth, top-down hierarchical systems lack the horizontal coordination mechanism. The city-governing-county system leads to the complexity of urban management, the expansion of institutions, the increase of administrative costs and the decrease of administrative efficiency, and the administrative system of "appointing cadres" is a waste of administrative resources. At the same time, current appointment system requires the civil servant to responsible for the cadre which leads to a waste of administrative resources. In such a hierarchical system, there is no regional coordinate organization to assume corresponding functions.

PRACTICAL EXPERIENCE OF EXISTING METROPOLITAN AREAS

a) New York metropolitan area, USA

New York metropolitan area consists of five districts: Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens and Richmond, with an area of 780 square kilometers and an urban population of more than 7 million. It has a total population of more than 20,000,000, including the suburbs population.

In the context of the presidential republic, the United States shows strong checks and balances between local autonomy and concentration of power. The metropolitan area in USA usually establishes unified metropolitan governments as well as coalition governments with surrounding cities. Based on horizontal cooperation, New York metropolitan area establishes a loose joint organization whose members are local government to carry out appropriate administrative adjustment. New York metropolitan area also defines accurate right of urban planning and makes an effective balance system of interests in all-level departments, which can meet the demands of not only local residents but also urban development.

b) London metropolitan area, UK

Under a chronic background of constitutional monarchy, the management system in London has undergone a tortuous process, from a single government to a two-level government system, finally to a reunification.

Founded in 1999, Greater London City Hall is a metropolitan authority that governs the entire London and its 14 districts. Greater London City Authority consists of directly elected mayors and 25 parliamentary. The responsibilities of it include traffic (London traffic), the public security (London Police Department), fire and emergency control (London Fire Department), Economic Development (London Development Agency), etc. As a branch of Greater

London City Authority, London Development Agency is responsible for economic affairs and has a certain financial power. It succeeded in making London attracting high-end services, especially in financial industry. London Development Agency's goal is to make London a global financial center and to maintain London's leading positions as one of the world's greatest cities. With the support of the £ 300 million budget each year, London Development Agency has established close relationships with the industrial department, the public department, volunteer organizations and local governments, promote and support all kinds of economic activities and help the poor areas in London metropolitan area to rebuild industry. The board of directors of London Development Agency is appointed by the mayor, and is responsible for the economic development strategy of the Greater London area.

c) Tokyo metropolitan area, Japan

Tokyo metropolitan area has an area of 36,274 square kilometers, with center Tokyo and a radius of 100 km, including Tokyo, Saitama, Kanagawa, Chiba, Ibaraki Prefecture, Gunma County, Tochigi Prefecture and Yamanashi Prefecture County, accounting for 9.6% of the total area in Japan. The population is 40.4 million, accounting for 32% of the total population. Tokyo metropolitan area's GDP accounts for about 1/3 of the country, the proportion of the manufacturing and service is as high as more than 60%, urbanization level of 80% or more. The urbanization rate has reached over 80%.

Under the background of parliamentary monarchy, Japan's overall social participation is less vigorous than that of the United States and the United Kingdom. Therefore, Tokyo metropolitan area built a metropolitan government from the bottom to up and implement a unified management system. Sub-districts just get limited rights. The distribution of jurisdiction is becoming increasingly centralized. The public participation is always led by the government. Due to the evolution of the dual political system formed in the Tokugawa period, the two-level system is practiced in administrative divisions. Japan's local government is both an administrative institution and a cabinet appointed organ. This metropolitan area implements the centralized management system, secondary administrative region that has limited rights deals with matters closely related to the residents. However, functions like water supply and fire control and even financial rights are received to the Tokyo metropolitan government.

SOME SUGGESTIONS ABOUT METROPOLITAN MANAGEMENT SYSTEM REFORM OF C CITY

Drawing lessons from the management experience of metropolitan areas in developed

countries, the improvement of C city management system should consists of two aspects: organizational structure and function divisions.

First of all, we should establish an authoritative institution in C City metropolitan area, several models used to build metropolitan government we can learn from the developed countries are listed as follows:

a) The political entities in the metropolitan area set up associated agency. For instance, Britain established the Greater London Parliament, including London and 32 municipalities, this kind of institution is merged by district power. The six district governments of C City, together with the surrounding municipalities and county governments may establish associated agencies, in the form of either an independent administration or a coalition government so that it is possible to solve the problem that the administrative region division leads to the difficulty of coordination.

b) Central cities merge suburbs. The scheme is based on the merger strategy of the city and county in the United States under the background of a high degree of autonomy, that is, in C City metropolitan area, the district, county and town of peripheral areas and the potential peripheral areas can be selectively incorporated into the precinct of the central city, which will achieve the purpose of avoiding fragmentation.

c) Metropolitan political entities sign a cooperation agreement. Some small precincts do not want to merge with the big city government, also would not like to join the associated agency, so they can sign an agreement to coordinate region issues such as economic policy implementation, land use and public service provision. In short, no matter what kind of organization model is adopted, the organization must be feasible so as to stabilize the position and function of its authoritative institution and not become a mere formality. Therefore, this organization must have considerable financial resources, whose funds originate from tax within the scope of the metropolitan area and cooperative members' apportionment. It also needs to have a strong power when making decision, such as allocation of funds, investment approval, supervision of lower government, the right to negation and so on. There is a considerable authority, the planning of the lower levels of government supervision, implementation and denial.

Besides the establishment of a unified government, it can adopt a double-tier management system when organizing the government in order to meet the public's needs and preferences better, which will help to improve the management efficiency of the metropolitan area after its space expansion. The

superior government which is the metropolitan area's authoritative organization, together with the city and county's governments as the inferior government, coordinate respective functions. The superior government is responsible for the problems that can't be solved by individual areas such as transportation network planning, regional economic framework construction, ecological environment management, etc. The inferior government that is mainly responsible for specific public affairs shares functions of large government departments, such as the small street renovation, community road planning, convenience service for public and so on.

When the C City metropolitan area has an expanded size and a large geographical scope, double-tier management system cannot meet the requirements of its' economic and political development, it can flexibly establish the triple-tier management system. That means setting up a specialized agency with regional service functions between the superior government and inferior government, as an intermediate organization responsible for regional issues that cannot be solved or poorly resolved by individual district in metropolitan areas, such as water supply, development and management of space resources, waste disposal, etc. Through ordered organization of the authoritative institution, the cooperation of the central six districts governments as well as the surrounding cities and counties governments with specialized agencies, C City metropolitan area may successfully forms a hierarchical management system on the basis of the double-tier system.

Secondly, in terms of assurance of organization, we can learn from the United States for its metropolitan coordination mechanism: a) The semi-official organization jointly established by the local government, such as ABAG in San Francisco metropolitan area); b) The coordinating agency with special functions among local governments such as PA and MTA in New York metropolitan area, AQDM in Los Angeles metropolitan area; c) The functional merger, such as thing-regionalism in USA. Wherein, the functional integration is a more innovative organization model, that is, after local governments negotiate with public affairs, cities and counties with stronger economic power provide infrastructure services to surrounding areas, the surrounding areas pay for it which achieves the scale economies effect on infrastructure supply.

Moreover, it is necessary to change the functions of the government radically and change it from a regulation type to a service type with a market orientation. For the reduction of government's direct intervention in the economy, the government is responsible for the overall planning, enterprises and

social organizations responsible for the production and operation. Then, it matters that government should reduce the intervention in advance and strengthen the subsequent supervision of social affairs. Government had better introduce competition mechanism to improve the management efficiency.

Finally, China should also increase the intensity and efficiency of the participation of non-governmental organizations in the management of metropolitan areas. The main difference between China and the developed countries in the management of metropolitan areas is the participation of private association and multi interest groups. Many large metropolitan areas in developed countries have reputable public-private partnerships that play a key or sometimes dominant role in metropolitan management. For example, the private association in Chicago has played a major role in reversing the downward trend in the population of the Chicago metropolitan area, and the London Civic Forum (LCF) has an important influence on the coordination of social functions.

In a word, in order to improve or reform the management system of the metropolitan area, it is indispensable to make coordination and communication between departments and between industries consummate through a strategic planning guidance, formulate correct industry location and development focus. By the regional system reform, the city-governing-city system will be cancelled or modified, to a certain extent, to reduce the negative impact of weak autonomy but serious administrative segmentation since ancient times in China. Ultimately, not only China, but also most of developing countries need to change the administrative region economy which is dominated by government with lots of obstacles to the geo-economics which is dominated by market with openness, change the competition in the vicinity to the benign domestic and international competition.

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