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Beleid, cultuur en instituties: Het verhaal van twee steden

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Summary

Policies, Cultures and Institutions – A Tale of Two Cities

Introduction

This study has been inspired by the widespread rediscovery of administrative institutions as crucial factors in the policymaking process. The rediscovery of institutions has released a great deal of creative energy among political and administrative scientists, but it has at the same time created a considerable degree of confusion, caused by a lack of consistency within the so-called 'new institutionalism'. This book is aimed to ease the confusion and to further insight into the meaning and working of administrative institutions. The book consists of a theoretical part, in which the institutional factor is being explored from various analytic angles, and an empirical part, in which the institutional factor is being traced in decision-making processes regarding the motorcar in Birmingham and Munich. These two cities present interesting material for comparative research, because they had similar opportunities for 'tabula rasa planning' at the end of the second world war, but developed policies that diverged considerably later on.

Part I - cultural and institutional approaches to policymaking combined

Chapter 2 presents an exploration of the social dilemmas that underly the motorcar problem in urban areas, as well as an overview of the ways in which urban policymakers tend to respond to the growing impact of car traffic on urban areas. Metropolitan problems such as the motorcar problem can be approached in two different ways: as matters of governance (focusing on the means and structures of policymaking) and as matters of representation (focusing on the actors and groups that influence or fail to influence urban policymaking). In this research the focus is first of all on matters of representation, ultimately leading to a non-instrumental approach of matters of governance. The representation of actors and groups in policy systems is approached from a cultural perspective, focusing on the basic values and norms which underly the multitude of policy positions that actors take. After a critical discussion of approaches that assume a dialectical cultural cosmology, a choice is made for the Douglasian cultural theory, which posits a cultural typology encompassing individualism, hierarchy, egalitarianism and fatalism as basic human cultures.

In *chapter 3* the Douglasian cultural typology is translated to the area of policymaking in general and the field of urban car traffic in particular. The result of this exercise is a set of idealtypical policy cultures (labelled as laissez-aller, research and development, que sera sera and radical change now!) that can be used as analytic tools for typifying and interpreting policy debates. Besides that, the idealtypical policy cultures can also help to explain and predict learning processes in the policy arena. The various policy cultures imply different cultu-

ral biases and different blind spots. Adherents of rivaling cultures can compensate for each other's blind spot by looking at the same issue through different cultural lenses. Thus, cultural interaction may stimulate policy-oriented learning. It may promote single loop- or functional learning (being able to detect and correct error in relation to a given set of operational norms). One step further, it may promote double loop- or substantial learning in the policy arena (being able to take a 'double look' at the situation by questioning the relevance and importance of operating norms).

In *chapter 4*, policy cultures are theoretically linked to administrative institutions. Beforehand, the various meanings and definitions of administrative institutions are being discussed, as well as the long-drawn debate about the question if and how institutions matter for policymaking. It is concluded that administrative institutions call for a multidimensional approach, which recognises the various aspects of the institutional factor in administrative life, as well as a realistic approach, which acknowledges the fact that the institutional factor is not the only factor that matters. There are also situational circumstances that, together with administrative institutions, should be taken into account when analysing patterns of collective choice. This point is formalised in a conceptual model, characterised by a triangular relationship between policy processes, situational circumstances and administrative institutions. The research focuses on the influence of administrative institutions on policymaking (more specifically, on the cultural aspects of policymaking) without ignoring the other arrows in the analytic triangle. Chapter 4 ends with a theoretical exploration of the various ways in which administrative institutions contribute to the mobilisation of cultural bias in policy processes, making a basic distinction between formative effects (generating ambitions and aspirations) on the one hand and (non)facilitating effects (helping or hindering the actualization of ambitions and aspirations) on the other hand.

Part II - two cities embedded in varying administrative systems

In *chapter 5* the postwar policies of Birmingham and Munich with respect to the motorcar are analysed and compared with the help of the idealtypical policy cultures developed earlier. The conclusion is drawn that the quality of policy-oriented learning is positively related to the degree of cultural pluralism in the policy arena. More specifically, it is argued that the degree of policy fixation is inversely related to the degree in which representatives of rivaling cultures get a chance to influence policymaking. In Birmingham, policy-oriented learning appeared to be confined to single-loop learning for most of the postwar period. Policymakers were almost invariably focused on the norm that growing car traffic should be accommodated. The car-accomodating policy was based on an implicit consensus between the hierarchical and the individualistic cultures. The egalitarian culture, which gained momentum in Munich in the 1960s, had a relatively weak position in Birmingham's traffic policy community. It was not until the end of the 1980s that Birmingham's policy community appeared to be able to take a double look at the normative premises of the car-accomodating policy. In Munich the various policy cultures interacted much earlier and more intensively than in Birmingham, where the hierarchical culture dominated policymaking in default of effective opposition. As a consequence Munich's policy community did not develop the sort of 'tunnel view' as Birmingham's policy community did. The policy community was threatened rather by the opposite of entrapment, by viscosity - endless debate about public problems that in the meantime grow bigger and bigger. On the whole, however, there is strong

evidence that Munich has gained from the tendency to take a double look at its policies. Munich is nowadays one of the more successful European cities in terms of both prosperity and liveability - something that cannot be said of Birmingham.

In the remainder of part II, an attempt is made to understand the contrast between Birmingham and Munich in terms of policymaking and policy-oriented learning by exploring the context in which policy decisions had to be taken. In *chapter 6* the contrasting patterns of policymaking are first associated with varying circumstances external to the realm of administrative institutions. These circumstances are approached from various angles derived from the social and spatial sciences. At the end of this chapter, the conclusion is drawn that situational differences outside the administrative realm can only partially account for the contrasting policies of Birmingham and Munich. Policy communities did not work as black boxes, translating objective facts of urban life into perfectly logical policy lines. Policy communities added values to this process, values that can be understood by applying the cultural-institutional framework developed in the first part of the book. This is done in the next two chapters.

In *chapter 7*, the local institutional structures that contributed to the mobilization of bias in the policy communities of Birmingham and Munich are being analysed. With respect to Birmingham, it is argued that the present disenchantment with the city's urban environment can for a great deal be attributed to the insufficient institutionalisation of cultural counterweight in the past. The institutions that guided postwar policymaking in Birmingham were much more propitious to resolute and vigorous projectmanagement in favour of the motorcar than to reflective and sensitive reconsideration of policy premises. The structures, rules and routines of Birmingham's municipal government contributed to the formation and facilitation of a strong hierarchally biased road building sector, which could hardly be corrected by outside forces. In Munich, postwar policies with respect to the motorcar were formed in an institutional context, which countered the tendency to close policy communities, and which more or less forced policy actors with different views to interact creatively. The relationships between technocrats, bureaucrats, politicians and citizens were organised in ways that stimulated checks and balances across different domains. Very important in this respect was the institutionalisation of a competitive planning bureaucracy (deliberately instilled with overlapping responsibilities) parallel to the institutionalisation of an interactive type of planning for the public domain (called 'offene Planung'). In this process, new institutions like the 'Münchner Forum' were formed, while older institutions like the 'Bezirksausschuß' and the 'Bürgerversammlung' were given a new lease of life.

The urban institutions are part and parcel of institutions that make up the state. The development and the functioning of the former are related to the development and the functioning of the latter, as it is argued in *chapter 8*. In this chapter, the focus is on the administrative structures at the meso level, on the institutional fields surrounding the national units responsible for traffic management, on the procedures that guide the planning and budgeting of traffic infrastructures, as well as on the state traditions and the constitutional patterns that structure politics and policy in fundamental ways. Eventually, attention is drawn towards Lijphart's distinction between power-centralising and power-concentrating Westminster-democracies on the one hand and power-diffusing and power-sharing consensus-democracies on the other hand, in order to make sense of the institutional patterns that have been traced in a bottom-up way. The British system is typically majoritarian, power-

concentrating and power-centralizing in nature. Systems like these are well-equipped for resolute programme implementation. They are considerably less well-suited for reflective and critical programme reconsideration. In systems like these there are relatively little opportunities to stop or reverse the juggernaut once it has been set into gear. The risk of getting entrapped in once-established policies is therefore very real. The decentralised intertwined polity of the Federal Republic of Germany, on the other hand, stimulates interaction within government and between government and society in various ways. Politics and policymaking in the Federal Republic is characterised by a strong need for consensus building, invoked by a high level of interdependency among the various units of the state and by the common practice of coalition building between different political parties. In Germany, there is a far more limited role for non-negotiable policies than in Britain, where government *can* abandon preferred consultative procedures and have it all its own way.

Epilogue

Administrative institutions matter. They contribute to the mobilisation of cultural bias in policy communities, which in turn influences the course that policy processes take. This point, developed in the previous chapters, is highlighted in the book's epilogue. In addition, it is stressed that the institutional factor should be seen as a pluriform and compound factor. It has many faces, which should be viewed in relation to each other in order to get a good picture of the institutional effects, which tend to be mutually dependent and supportive. The institutional ensemble - the whole of institutions that shape policies - can be seen in at least eight different guises. It can be seen as a collection of cultural cristallisation points, as a set of cognitive schemes, as a reservoir of conventional wisdom, and as a distributor of roles, duties and interests - all referring to the formative aspects of institutions. The institutional ensemble can also be seen as a playing field fenced in by some basic rules of the game, as a set of barriers and boundaries, as a political opportunity structure, and as a distributor of resources and dependencies - all referring to the (non)facilitating aspects of institutions. In all these guises, institutional ensembles influence the mixture of, as well as the interaction between, cultural biases in policy arena's. In this connection, a plea is made for a 'perspectivistic democracy', which gives every perspective on policymaking from the very outset equal opportunities to be put forward and to be thoroughly discussed. The final chapter contains both normative and pragmatic arguments for such a democracy. At the end of the book a few warnings are given regarding attempts to make democracy work better through administrative reform. Administrative reform can rarely change more than a relatively small part of the institutional whole. The few administrative institutions that can be changed will only increase the probability of certain effects. Guarantees cannot be given, and success at one point can be offset by failure at another point. Attempts to prevent viscosity may lead to a situation inviting entrapment, and *vice versa*. Manoeuvring between the perils of viscosity and the dangers of entrapment is one of the great challenges to administrative reformers of our time.

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Interviews/Respondenten

Duitse casus

- Dhr. W. Arz* Planungsverband äußerer Wirtschaftsraum München.
- Dhr. H. Böhle* Direktorium Landeshauptstadt München, Hauptabteilung Verwaltung und Recht.
- Mw. I. Breu-Müller* Stadtplanungsreferat Landeshauptstadt München
- Dhr. N. Dezasse* ADAC München/SüdBayern.
- Dhr. G. Gattnar* Bürgerforum im Münchner Westen e.V.; eerder betrokken bij de Projektgruppe Altstadttring Nord-Ost.
- Dhr. W. Grossmann* Kreisverwaltungsreferat Landeshauptstadt München.
- Mw. H. Haisch* Bürgerinitiative Maxvorstadt.
- Dhr. P. Hoffmann* Planungsbeauftragte Offene Planung Lehel.
- Dhr. K. Klühspies* mede-oprichter van het Münchner Forum; thans zelfstandig adviseur voor ökologische Stadt- und Verkehrsplanung.
- Dhr. J. Keller* Kreisverwaltungsreferat Landeshauptstadt München.
- Dhr. T. Lange* SPD-gemeenteraadsfractie; eerder wijkvertegenwoordiger Lehel.
- Dhr. D. Lippert* Münchner Verkehrs- und Tarifverbund GmbH.
- Dhr. J. Lorenz* Umweltschutzreferent namens Bündnis '90/Die Grünen sinds 1993; voorheen gemeenteraadslid en betrokken bij het Regionale Planungsverband München.
- Dhr. C. Mager* Stadtplanungsamt Landeshauptstadt München, Büro der Stadtbaurätin.
- Dhr. R. Münch* stafmedewerker van het Münchner Forum.
- Dhr. H. Naumann* Geschäftsführer van het Münchner Forum van 1969 tot 1978; thans vertegenwoordiger van de SPD in de Beierse Landtag.
- Dhr. U. Schulz* Umweltschutzreferat Landeshauptstadt München.
- Dhr. W. Schwertfäger* Stadtplanungsreferat Landeshauptstadt München.
- Dhr. P. Stromski* Umweltschutzreferat Landeshauptstadt München.
- Dhr. U. Zech* Stadtbaurat van de gemeente München van 1970 tot 1990.

Britse casus

- Dhr. F. Amos* Chief Executive Officer van de gemeente Birmingham van 1973 tot 1976.
- Dhr. C. Bishop* Department of the Environment, Regional Urban Planning Office.
- Dhr. J. Bottonly* Friends of the Earth Birmingham.
- Dhr. P. Cockcroft* Technical Services Department, gemeente Solihull.
- Dhr. C. Creen* Friends of the Earth Birmingham.
- Dhr. I. Cuthbert* SURE; voorheen Birmingham For People.
- Dhr. T. Errington* Transport Policy Division, gemeente Birmingham.
- Dhr. P. Field* Planning Department, gemeente Wallsall.
- Dhr. J. Finney* Strategic Forum West Midlands Region.
- Dhr. C. Haynes* City Engineers Department, gemeente Birmingham.
- Mw. L. Jones* Birmingham United Against Motoring Plans.

Dhr. P. Langley Department of Transport, West Midlands Regional Office.

Dhr. T. Magrath Planning & Information Manager van de Public Transport Executive CENTRO.

Dhr. G. Morran Strategic Forum West Midlands Region.

Dhr. J. Newson Birmingham for People.

Dhr. N. Partridge Strategic Planning and Research, gemeente Birmingham.

Dhr. G. Shaylor Directeur van het Department of Planning and Architecture van de gemeente Birmingham van 1974 tot 1990.

Dhr. D. Sheppard Department of Transport, West Midlands Regional Office.

Dhr. B. Toon Community Forum Birmingham.

Dhr. A. Wenban-Smith Department of Planning and Architecture; gemeente Birmingham.

Expert interviews

Dr. J. Braun Technische Universität München, Lehrstuhl für Verkehrs-und Stadtplanung.

Dr. A. Benz Universität Konstanz, Fakultät für Verwaltungswissenschaft.

Dr. G. Cherry Birmingham University, School of Geography.

Dr. P. Dunleavy London School of Economics, School of Government.

Dr. M. Hajer Ludwig Maximilians Universität München.

Dr. G. Jones London School of Economics, School of Government.

Dr. A. Norton Birmingham University, Institute of Local Government Studies.

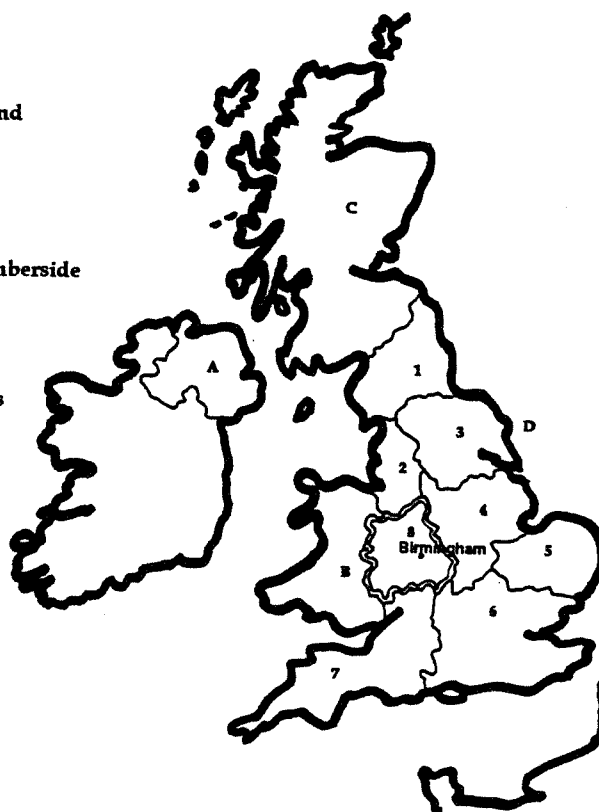
Dr. H. Davis Birmingham University, Institute of Local Government Studies.

Dr. E. Rüegg Universität Konstanz, Fakultät für Verwaltungswissenschaft.

Het Verenigd Koninkrijk: (standaard) regio's

Verklaring tekens

A	=	Northern Ireland
B	=	Wales
C	=	Scotland
D	=	England
1	=	Northern
2	=	North West
3	=	Yorkshire/Humberside
4	=	East Midlands
5	=	East Anglia
6	=	South East
7	=	South West
8	=	West-Midlands

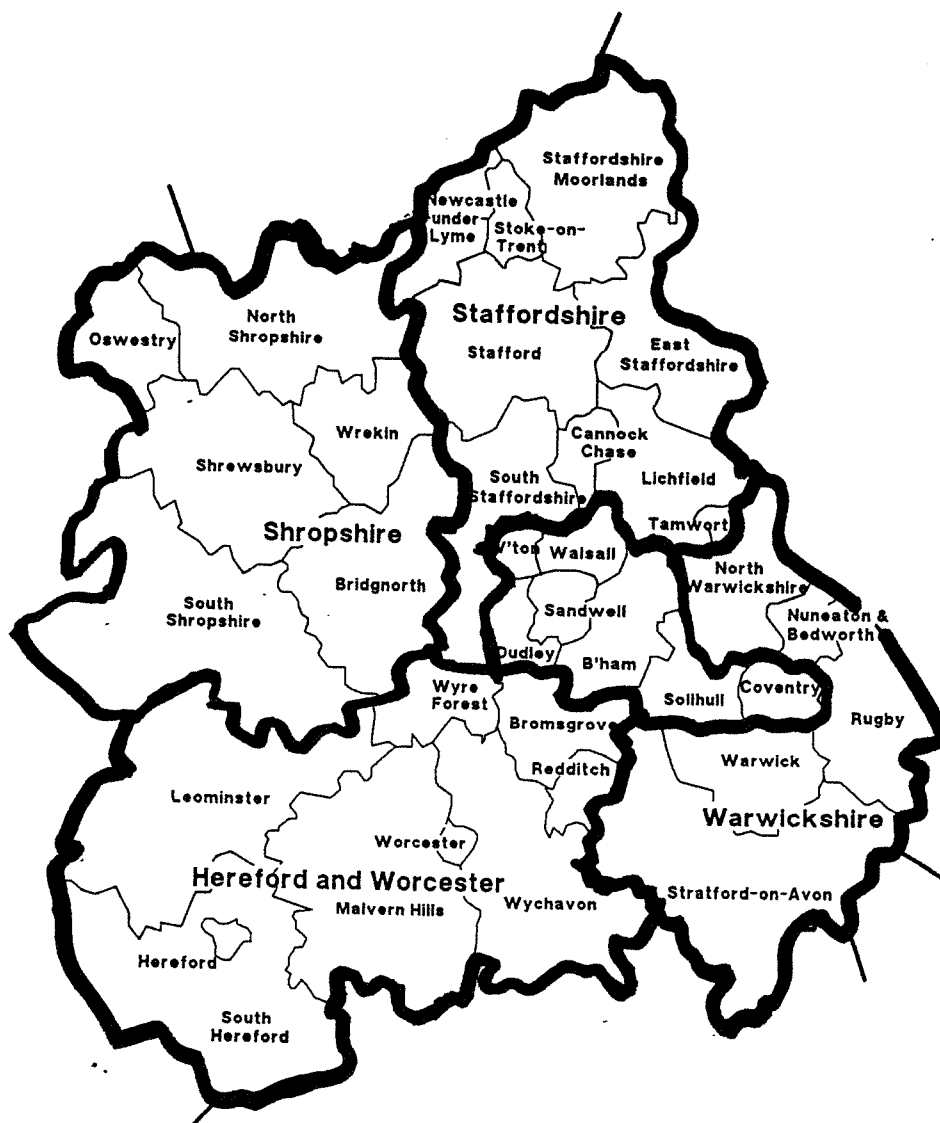


Toelichting bestuurlijke kaarten Engeland

Het Verenigd Koninkrijk bestaat uit vier grote territoriale eenheden: Engeland, Schotland, Wales en Noord-Ierland. Voor de laatste drie gebieden zijn op nationaal niveau speciale bestuurlijke voorzieningen getroffen. Engeland is opgedeeld in acht *standard regions*, die primair een administratieve functie hebben. Een democratisch gelegitimeerd, integraal regio bestuur ontbreekt. De West Midlands Region, waar Birmingham onder valt, kent wel een platform voor (vrijblijvende) discussie over regionale vraagstukken: het West Midlands Regional Forum. Het lokaal bestuur in Engeland bestaat uit twee lagen: een laag met *counties* en een laag met *districts* (gemeenten).

De West Midlands Standard Region kende tussen 1974 en 1986 vijf counties: vier shire counties en een metropolitan county. Na de opheffing van de West Midlands Metropolitan County Council (waar Birmingham samen met zes buurgemeenten onder viel) werd de agglomeratieproblematiek overgedragen aan een Joint Committee van bestuurders en een reeks van Joint Boards voor sectorale vraagstukken. In het bestuur van de gemeente Birmingham zijn de gemeenteraadscommissies, en daarbinnen de commissievoorzitters en de hoofden van de ambtelijke diensten, dominant. De gemeente is opgedeeld in 39 wards, die tot 1991 vooral dienst deden als kiesdistrict en als administratief verlengstuk in de wijk.

West Midlands Standard Region: counties en districts



Bron: West Midlands Regional Forum

De Bondsrepubliek Duitsland:



Toelichting bestuurlijke kaart Duitsland

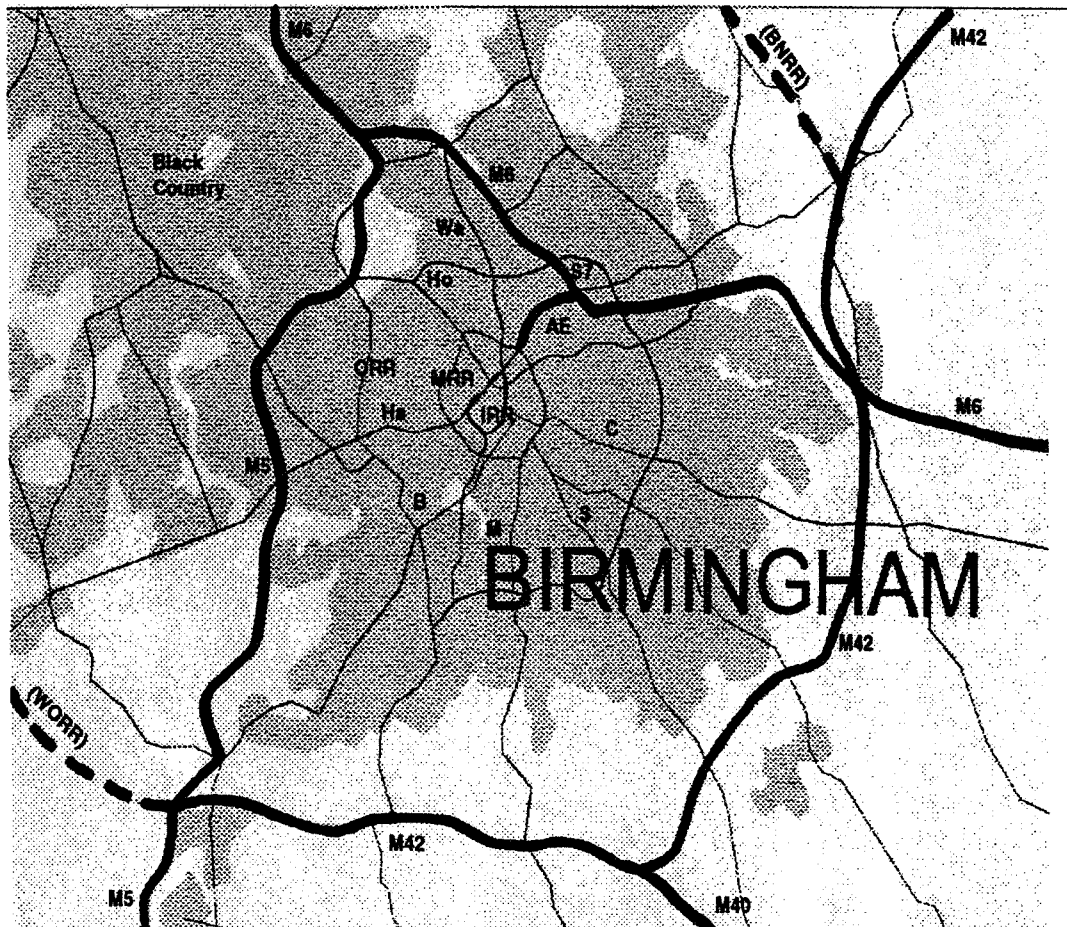
Sinds de hereniging van West-Duitsland en Oost-Duitsland kent de Bondsrepubliek 16 *Länder*. De Duitse deelstaten zijn democratisch gelegitimeerde middenbesturen, die in internationaal vergelijkend perspectief als bijzonder sterk ontwikkeld naar voren komen. De Freistaat Bayern (waar München de hoofdstad van is) kent drie niveaus van lokaal bestuur: De Gemeinde, de Kreis en het Bezirk. Het Bezirk is tegelijk de bovenste laag van het lokaal bestuur én de middelste laag van het deelstaatbestuur. München valt binnen het Bezirk Oberbayern. De Kreis is tegelijk de middelste laag van het lokaal bestuur én de onderste laag van het deelstaatbestuur. Een grote stad als München is Kreis en *Gemeinde* tegelijk. De 'Kreisfreie Stadt' München en de acht daaromheen liggend 'Landkreise' vormen gezamenlijk het gebied van de Planungsregion, waarbinnen het Regionale Planungsverband München. De gemeente München wordt bestuurd door de gemeenteraad, in samenwerking met de Oberbürgermeister (en zijn 'Stelvertreter'). De gemeente is onderverdeeld in 36 Stadtbezirke, waarvan de vertegenwoordigende organen (de Bezirksausschüsse) een belangrijke rol spelen in de politieke wilsvorming.

Freistaat Bayern: Regierungsbezirke, Planungsregionen, Kreise/Kreisfreie Städte



Bron: Bayerisches Staatsministerium für Landesentwicklung und Umweltfragen

Grootstedelijk gebied en wegennet Birmingham (1992)

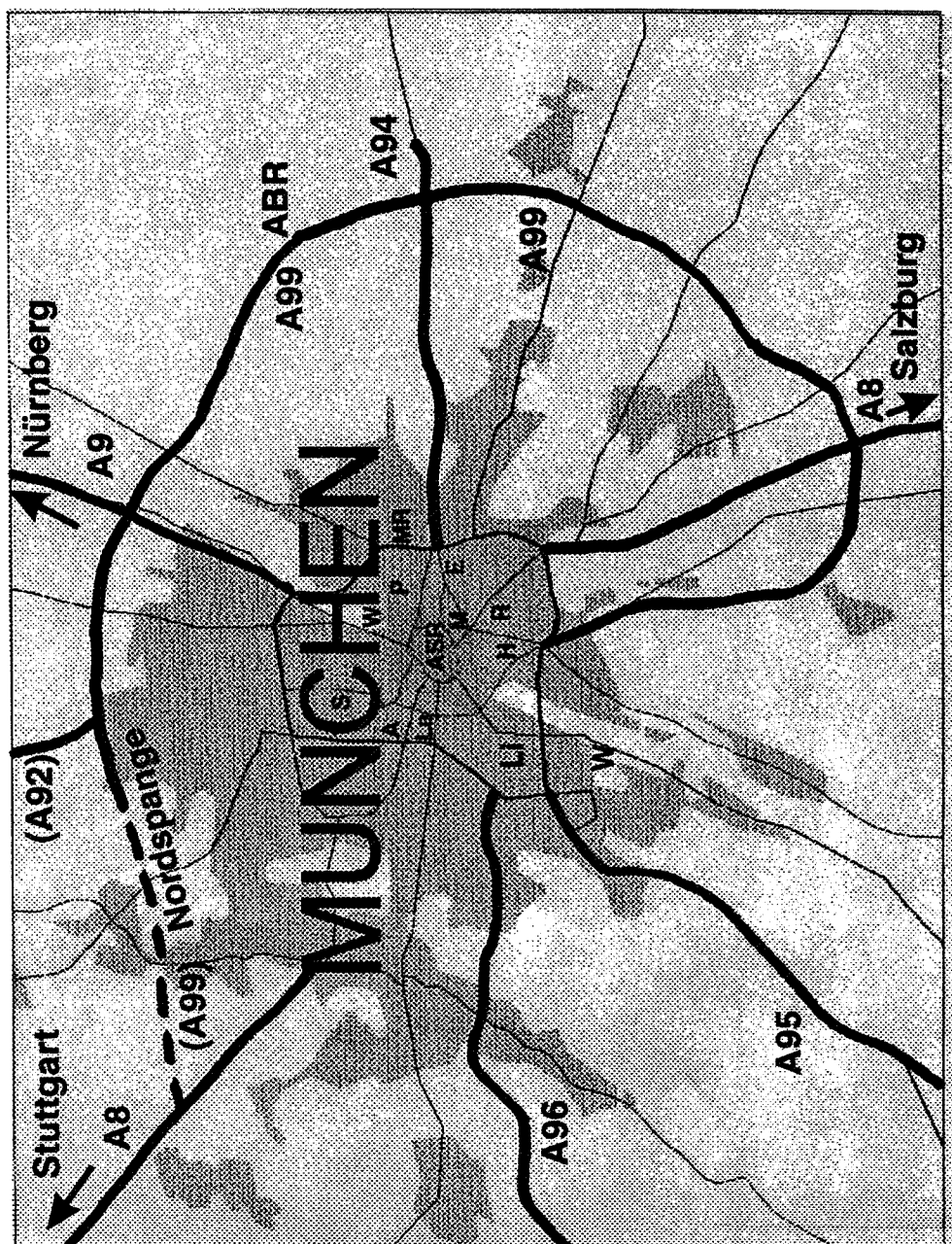


Bron: ADC Worldmap, verzorgd door
Interstation Benelux

Verklaring tekens

Ha	=	Hagley Road
B	=	Bristol Road
M	=	Moseley Road
S	=	Stratford Road
C	=	Coventry Road
Wa	=	Walsall Road
Ho	=	Holyhead Road
AE	=	Aston Expressway
SJ	=	Spaghetti Junction
IRR	=	Inner Ring Road
MRR	=	Middle Ring Road
ORR	=	Outer Ring Road
BNRR	=	Birmingham Northern Relief Road (gepland)
WORR	=	Western Orbital Relief Road (gepland)

Grootstedelijk gebied en wegennet München (1992)

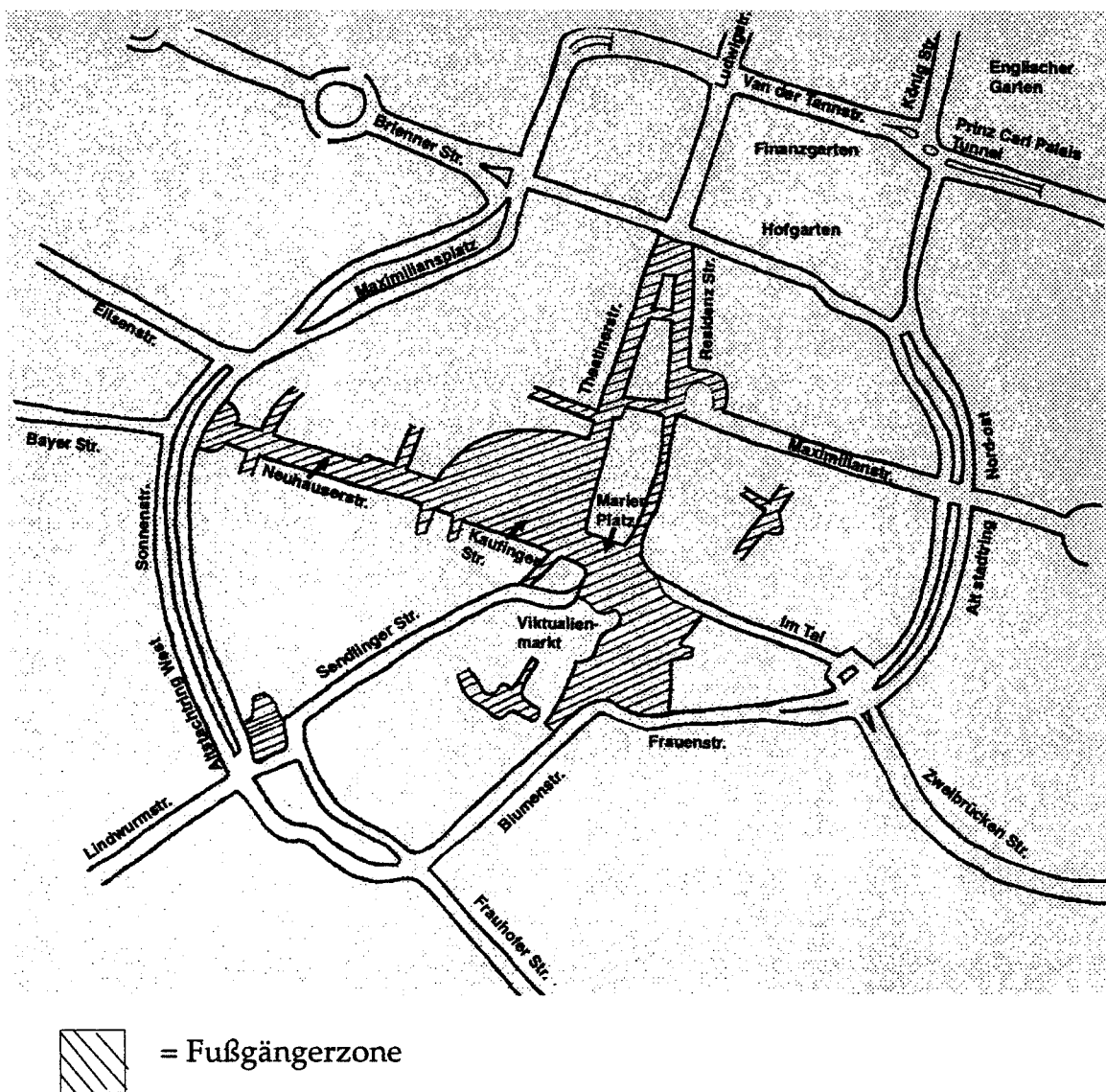


Verklaring tekens (München e.a.)

P = Prinzregentenstraße
 M = Maximilianstraße
 Lu = Ludwigstraße
 B = Brienner Straße
 Li = Lindwurmstraße
 R = Rosenheimer Straße
 H = Humboldtstraße

E = Einsteinstraße
 A = Arnulfstraße
 La = Landsberger Straße
 S = SchleiBheimer Straße
 ASR = Altstadttringstraße
 MR = Mittlere Ring
 ABR = Autobahnring

Centrum München: de Altstadttring (1990)



Curriculum vitae

Frank Hendriks werd op 27 augustus 1966 geboren te Rotterdam. Van 1985 tot 1990 studeerde hij bestuurskunde aan de Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam en de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden. In deze periode werkte hij regelmatig als student-assistent voor de Rotterdamse vakgroep bestuurskunde. In 1988 verbleef hij een half jaar in de Verenigde Staten, waar hij onderwijs volgde aan de School of Public and Environmental Affairs van Indiana University en daarnaast ook stage liep bij de Mayor's Office van de stad Fort Wayne. Na korte tijd als projectsecretaris bij het Ministerie van VROM werkzaam te zijn geweest, legde Frank Hendriks in 1990 het doctoraal examen af te Rotterdam met een scriptie over ministeriële verantwoordelijkheid. Van eind 1990 tot midden 1995 was hij verbonden aan de vakgroep bestuurskunde van de Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, eerst als A.I.O. later als onderzoeker. In deze periode verrichtte hij onderzoek naar grootstedelijk en regionaal bestuur in Nederland en Europa, uitmondend in verschillende (internationale) publicaties. Sinds 1995 is hij als universitair docent bestuurskunde werkzaam bij de Katholieke Universiteit Brabant, Faculteit der Rechtsgeleerdheid, Vakgroep Staatsrecht, Bestuursrecht en Bestuurskunde.