

METROPOLITAN GOVERNANCE AND MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF GUADALAJARA METROPOLITAN AREA*

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INTRODUCTION

This article aims to reflect about the analytical usefulness of the theoretical concept of the governance to understand recent trends of transformation of societies settled in territories urbanistically consolidated large, in order to assess their relevance front to the processes of change that are experiencing Latin American metropolis, the same as identify their triggers factors, their strengths and limitations as well as its opportunities and threats. For this purpose, the article focuses on the study of the recent experience of the institutional changes and public management deployed in the main metropolis of the West Central region of Mexico: Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.

The article is divided into three sections. The first one is dedicated to clarify the author's position respect the various approximations and theoretical approaches that have been produced under the notion of governance, from which the relevant public administration is emphasized as a discipline and professional practice in any process of change and social condition in mode of governance.

The second section the most significant learning are presented on the study of metropolitan policy coordination, which led to the formalization of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. Finally, some reflections on the main components, as institutional as technical, that have shaped hitherto the unfinished process of metropolitan governance in Guadalajara are advanced.

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1. THE GOVERNANCE AS THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL CONCEPT: A BRIEF RECAP

The purpose of this article is not focused on making a thorough review of the specialized literature about the governance; however, it suits clarified the position from which it is proposed to navigate through the quite a few ideas that have been proposed to define it, with the consequent result of confusion and criticism that prevails around the theoretical and analytical validity of the governance.

Indeed, the governance concept is the same is used to define product of the innovations of theories of democracy were subjected to empirical testing in various parts of the world (Meza, 2015), that for define rather inter-organizational networks and self-organizing (Rhodes, 1997), that others refer to as public policy networks (Porras, 2012) to theoretical refinements that come to be defined as “the totality of the theoretical concepts of to govern” (Kooiman, 2003: 4).

While recognizing the pioneering work of Kooiman (1993), who identified and referred for the first time this trend of change on traditional patterns of govern that it characterized by transit in one direction: from the rulers to the ruled, to pass to other pattern whose traffic is rather in both directions. In this article normative conceptions that followed, certainly under shelter and promoting various international organizations such as the World Bank (1992) and the United Nations (PNUD, 1997), which allegedly promoted and described as “good” or avoided “democratic” to the governance, for consider it a trend that was favorable, and even desirable, front to challenges of the contemporary societies.

This explicit departure from the regulatory approaches not intended to ignore the potential strengths of this reconfiguration certainly moves away from the unilateral vision of governing from the government, and tends rather to recognize the interdependence and encourage collaboration and partnership of public-private nature, in both collaborative formulas

inspired by the premise that “any actor, public or private, have the information and knowledge required to solve complex, dynamic and diversified problems, nor have enough lookout for selecting effective tools let alone enough power to unilaterally dominate” (Kooiman, 1993: 251).

However it must be recognized too, no little resistance and fruitless debates that have arisen in various academic and government circles –and as it will be shown later, the case study was no exception– for reasons that estimate as “unacceptable conduction of society in which the public power can share the decision and execution of the activity publics with private and social organizations, fact that in his opinion would have the institutional and political effect to weaken the value, meaning and the responsibility public authority” (Aguilar, 2010: 36).

Another take away imperative to do for the nature of the case study is presented and it has to do with the actual metropolitan phenomenon¹ (Arias, 2013), it is with respect on the concept of urban governance (Pierre, 1999; UN-Habitat, 2002), whose design approaches and confused with other theoretical approaches rather sociological, such as urban regime (Stone, 1989), among others.

Definitely, the approach of the governance proposed in this article attempts to go beyond the commonly accepted idea in the specialized literature that emphasizes the notion of interdependence and networks configuration between multiple actors and institutions (Kooiman, 1993; Messner, 1997; Klijin, 1997; Mayntz, 1999; Pierre, 2000; Pierre and Peters, 2000), to take a stand openly in favor of the discipline and practice professionals of contemporary public administration under the indispensable presence of “an instance of government not to drift” (Aguilar, 2006: 39), in the rough seas of the processes of change and social driving, whether or not is promoted mode of governance.

From the foregoing considerations, it is possible to recognize and appreciate the enlightening intellectual effort of PhD. Luis F. Aguilar Villanueva, for research and explore the origins and evolution of the concept of governance, which underlines and recognizes in public administration one of its intrinsic

¹ For metropolitan phenomenon it means a concrete expression of large urban concentration, around or from a historical and cultural human settlement, that maintain a sustained political, economic and social influence on an integrated territory of multiple administrative jurisdictions. This phenomenon is universal and is related to the trend of increasing urbanization of human settlements on the planet, strengthening regional markets in an open world economy and in that sense, it is a characteristic cultural product of our civilization (2013: 28).

components.² For this reason, in this article assumes as a starting point its conceptual proposal to understand the governance as the new governing process “by which the actors in a society decide its objectives –fundamentals and conjuncturals– coexistence and ways to coordinate to performed them: their sense and their leadership of direction” (2006: 90).

This way of defining governance is not only emphasizes the notion of collective decision between actors that make a society that involve the exercise of government, and that it is feasible and desirable in the broader context of the recent economic and social changes experienced by contemporary democracies; but also, the argument here is that this definition holds helps to move towards a more robust concept that bounded notion of governance narrowly defined as public policy networks (Porrás, 2012), to assess the managerial skills of local governments in a metropolitan context as is the case presented.

In this sense, a first consideration is worth emphasizing of the governance concept suggested by Aguilar Villanueva is the double dimension that involves the orientation process and social change:

Therefore intentional activity that involves directing society towards certain general purpose and preferred specific objectives, such as technical activity attainment of the objectives that have to do with how to define the actions considered appropriate to carry out the situations desired social (2010: 38).

This dual nature of the process of social direction of the governance leads to understand it as a process that is essentially structured doubly: both an institutional dimension as the technical way that makes possible its realization. In the words of Luis Aguilar:

[In the institutional dimension] the definition of the objectives that give direction and meaning to the action of the society and is considered to should be involves reference to a system of values, result of a long social history and that is reflected in values constitutional, legal norms

² According to the author, his concept of public administration is alien to “all forms of dichotomy or separation between administration and politics, is it understood as politics or policy” (Aguilar, 2006: 40).

of social relations and public and social institutions, as well as a diffuse but active social ethos. [And at the technical level] the achievement of the objectives required causal production standards, which come from the proven science, technology and management results (2010: 38).

However, while the institutional dimension of governance is possible to observe a clear correspondence with the contemporary trend of the public administration whose purpose, to say Aguilar Villanueva (2006), it aims to reclaim, restore and rebuild the public nature³ of the administration; in the case of technical level of the governance process corresponds and expresses in the field of the public administration, through that aimed to restore, revive and rebuild their capacity for administrative response⁴ front to social challenges trend.

Hereafter this article will refer to both contemporary trends of the public administration as the process of public management and refers, essentially, to "the managerial ability of politicians and public administrators to promote certain public policies with a strategic sense" (Arias, 2013b: 68). To express it in the words of Luis Aguilar Villanueva, the process of public management has to do with:

The intentional nature of their action aimed at achieving the goals and producing favorable results for their organizations, supporters and communities, but especially the fact that the realization of its goals is a result not only depend on its resources, skills and political will but is conditioned by the purposes and actions of the various actors in the political community and particularly those of its competitors and rivals with reasons or prejudices discursive and practically oppose their goals and courses of action and can also invest the resources necessary to block the achieved progress or reverse them by invoking the public interest or other political values (2006: 237).

³ "For recovery and revival of the public nature of public administration basically I understand the accent is now [...] gets on the legality of the election, appointment and action of authorities and officials, which means combat arbitrariness, discretionality, the exception, discriminatory treatment and impunity. I also understand the legal exercise of public resources, resulting in blocking any type of patrimonialism and corruption, access to information on government performance and the conditions of society and accountability to the public [...] the requirement that public policies and actions by the authorities persevere tirelessly in its orientation towards interest and public benefit [...] and the need for citizens to take part in the deliberation of issues" (Aguilar, 2006: 42).

⁴ "For recovery and revival of the administrative capacity of the public administration basically I understand the emphasis is now placed on the administrative structures incorporate new organizational and new management so that the governments make sense of direction to their communities methods forms, are in able to manage their adverse or favorable environments, are success factors and future agents, ensure economy-efficiency-efficacy (the E) and quality in the provision of public assets and services [...]" (Aguilar, 2006: 40).

From these conceptual clarifications is possible to establish a clear link between the concept of governance and public management, correspondence is possible to identify and observe empirically as shown below in the case study. For now just remember the number of factors or components of governance, following the Aguilar Villanueva's argument, will provide direction and structure in both its institutional dimension and a technical level.

On the institutional side, the components of the governance are the institutions of public powers, the justice system and security, the market, civil society and the system of international public institutions. For its part, the components that structure technically the governance are the system of science and technology, public policy, public finance and public administration (Aguilar, 2010: 44-45). From making theoretical position which has been outlined to understand and define the governance and its correlative governance process, it is pertinent to last two methodological details about our case study is presented below.

The first precisely has to do with the object of study is the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, whose selection should be clarified, was not motivated by some kind of yardstick by which often characterized the metropolitan phenomena. As such, the dimensions of Guadalajara both its geographical extent and its population density is below other Latin American cities that

have been classified as megacities (Aguilar, 2004) for its huge dimensions, as in the case of the City of Mexico in our country, or Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, as well as Buenos Aires in Argentina.

As metropolitan phenomenon, the case of Guadalajara not seem to offer evidence to prove markedly different from the realities observed or social and economic problems experienced in megacities or any other Latin American cities of similar size or smaller than the case It presented here. Therefore, beyond the specific configuration of the Guadalajara metropolitan phenomenon, the article focuses on the metropolitan problem, which has to do rather with:

The stiffness, failure and obsolescence of traditional political institutions of local government to plan, manage and govern effectively social harmony, economic development and sustainability of metropolitan cities and conurbations, whatever their size (Arias, 2013: 28).

Well-defined metropolitan problem, it is clear that essentially concerns directly to the State, which the need to give priority in its analysis an essentially institutional vision follows (Díaz-Cayeros, 1999).

In response to this view of the problem and following the intuition of Aguilar Villanueva about twice structuring role that owns

the Public Policy as “technical component and institutional [whereas] feature of analysis, decision and the policy operation public is that capture itself institutional-political and technical structure of the governance by integrating its components” (Aguilar, 2010: 50); The second point that was adopted was to confine the study methodologically Guadalajara Metropolitan Area analysis of public policy that was approved in Jalisco on metropolitan coordination.

2. THE METROPOLITAN POLICY COORDINATION IN JALISCO AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF GUADALAJARA

In accordance with the analytical perspective of public policies, the exposure of the case study was organized following an approach to public policy cycle (Theodoulou, 1995: 3). The first section is devoted defining the metropolitan problem in the case of Guadalajara, focusing on the process of extensive and dispersed urbanization as a result of the directive inability of municipal governments to meet the challenges of a metropolitan phenomenon.

In a second time deals with the formulation stage of the policy of metropolitan coordination in the institutional features that are configured from the constitutional reform approved in Jalisco are highlighted. The third section gives an overview of the main difficulties that involved a long and winding process of implementation of the policy in the case of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.

2.1. DEFINITION GUADALAJARA'S METROPOLITAN PROBLEM

The fundamental institution of the Mexican State to the territorial organization of power is the Free Municipality, which in accordance with the respective constitutional requirements “is the basis of the territorial division and political and administrative organization” (Article 115 of the Constitution of the United Mexican States and 73 of the Constitution of the State of Jalisco).

By virtue of that, it can be noted that the governments and municipal public administration that currently make up the geographical area formally recognized as a Guadalajara Metropolitan Area, the most significant for governance institutional components, since they define the rules and modes of social interaction, economic and policy over the

5 “The question about the ability and effectiveness of the governments policy has been placed in the center of the disciplines that study the government and in the heart of public concern. [...] The list of management flaws governments can spread and be itemized, but their common denominator is the relative ineffectiveness of government in the performance of public functions and the achievement of the objectives of social, with the result that there has been growing the skepticism managerial capacity of the governments” (Aguilar, 2010: 5).

6 “Fragmentation between” is defined as the government’s situation is characterized by the disparity between the various government agencies that “sharpens and becomes in a dissociation when due to laws, regulations, policies, practices and administrative bodies become self-contained, distance themselves from each other and operate independently from other government agencies, with perhaps having communication but no collaboration” (Aguilar, 2013: 128).

vast metropolis territory. Therefore, capacity and managerial effectiveness⁵ is at the root of the metropolitan problem.

Conceptually this capacity and managerial effectiveness of the governments and the municipal public administration is strongly conditioned by the phenomenon of “fragmentation of the decisions and actions of the government” (Aguilar, 2013: 125), which is motivated by both the institutional framework which they operate as the prevailing administrative structure, both conditions that:

Adversely affect the efficiency and quality of government management while numerous opportunities to improve social life are lost and many social problems remain unresolved, worsen harmfully if the government does not act integrated into the articulation of policies and resources form, and to establish forms of coordination and partnership between member entities and between the governments (Aguilar, 2013: 126).

Empirically it can establish strong implications of the institutional framework in force in the municipalities that make up the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara in its everyday performance face a double challenge. On the one hand, it faces the fragmentation⁶ between departments and agencies belonging to other levels of government, as federal or states that among the councils themselves.

The most outstanding feature of the fragmentation among governments that fosters the current institutional model resides in its weakness to generate an effective metropolitan coordination that, at the same time, is explained by the absence of incentives to coordinate among municipal governments, rather they seem answers to the conditions prevailing political and economic competition in the local context (Caro, Gatica and Ruiz, 2013: 68).

On the other hand, the municipal governments appear to face difficulties arising from the fragmen-

tation within⁷ their public administrations. The most telling feature of this kind of fragmentation resides in the inability to develop and consolidate internally an administrative system based on civil service of career that to ensure the compliance with the principles of neutrality, equality, ability and merit in assessing the performance of the administrative system municipal public servants (Arias, 2010: 93).

Among the main causes of fragmentation between and the municipal governments stands the political-electoral dynamics of competition. According to the most recent studies on the electoral dynamics of Jalisco (Gutiérrez Mora, 2011), the model of political competition in the current entity since 1994, reconfigured a very similar behavior electoral scenario is seen in an electoral market duopoly nature by virtue of the strong competition between the two political parties with greater presence in the state: the National Action Party and the Institutional Revolutionary Party. This dynamic just beginning to be modified following the eventual emergence of a third political force with the real capacity to compete as it was possible to verify this during the election of 2015 in which the Citizen Movement Party won important electoral victories.

Beyond the election results, which want to emphasize in this context of highly competitive elections are the political incentives that the municipal governments that share a metropolitan context face. In particular, recent research has shown that political incentives motivate lax regulations in the real estate development process, increases the polarization of land use and consequently increases the polarization of income and economic activity, which in turn exacerbate the problems of collection and provision of public assets that the municipal governments on the periphery of a Metropolitan Area face (Caro, Gatica and Ruiz, 2013).

The conditions prevailing of fragmentation among and the municipal governments, together with his short constitutional period of just three years that motivates politicians to favor the results of short-term solutions on greatest encouragement, have led to a very limited institutional capacity in the municipal

⁷ The "fragmentation within" is defined as the present government situation "a lot of administrative units, whose the hierarchical-bureaucratic authority organization and work, internal regulations, management style and administrative practices make internal drives become you self-contained, separated, indifferent to each other and are independent in their operation with respect to the other units" (Aguilar, 2013: 128).

8 The municipalities that currently make up the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara are nine, in alphabetical order: El Salto, Guadalajara, Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos, Juanaacatlán, San Pedro Tlaquepaque, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, Tonalá, Zapopan and Zapotlanejo.

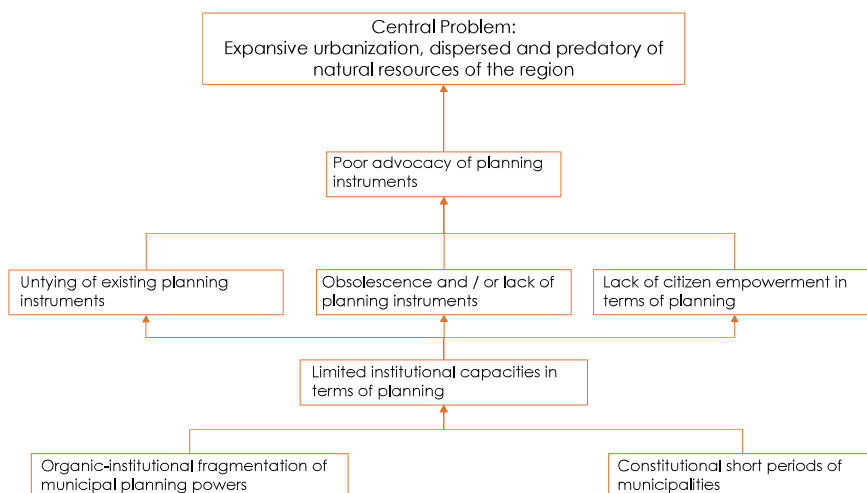
9 The changes in land use in the period between 1990 and 2011 reveal that the urban area was by far the most widely increased passing from 29,694 to 59,893.1 hectares. This is 30,198.3 hectares in a decade. In contrast, most land use decreased during the same period was fed agriculture with 12,121.7 hectares least 9518.1 hectares less than scrub and forests with 8,534.6 hectares less (Gutierrez *et al*, 2013: 120).

governments to manage the wide powers available, by constitutional mandate, in terms of land use and urban planning.

The limited institutional capacity have led in turn, several critical issues ranging from the separation of municipal planning instruments for any public policy purpose sought to be promoted on a metropolitan scale, such as obsolescence or lack of the municipal instruments most basic urban planning, to the lack of citizen empowerment in urban planning, critics all of which have resulted in the lack of political incidence of the planning instruments and high prosecution of urban development processes in virtually affairs all municipal territories that make up the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara.

The net result of these critical factors results in a crucial problem expressed through the dynamics of urbanization that has historically been expanding scattered in the municipal territories that make up the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara,⁸ with consequent rapid resource depletion natural available in your region.⁹ In the next picture the causal lines described around Guadalajara Metropolitan problem illustrated, following the analysis technique known as tree's problem (Roe, 2013):

Figure 1. Causes of the extensive urbanization, dispersed and predatory of natural resources of the dominant region in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area



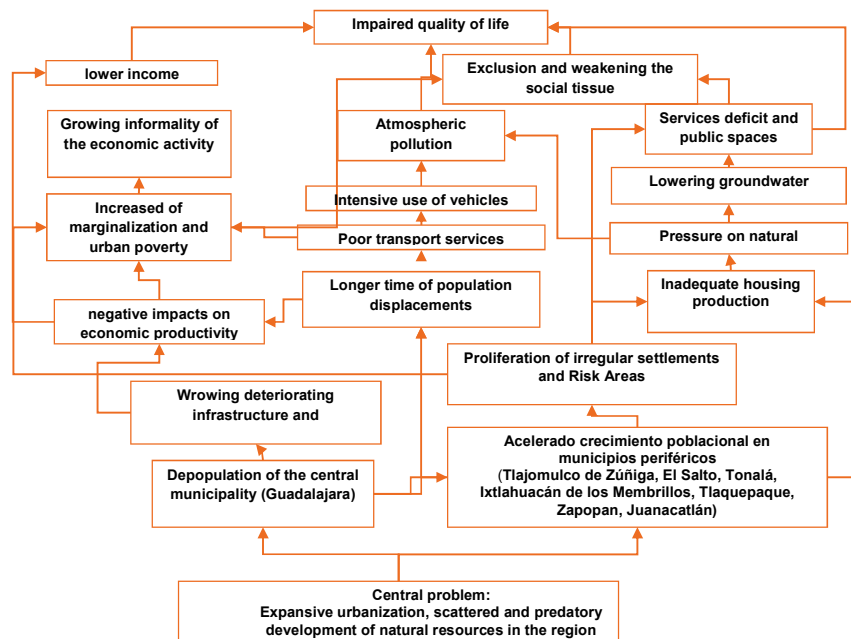
Source: Made by myself.

For reasons of space we do not enter the particular analysis of the multiple consequences of the model of expansive, scattered and predatory natural resource development. For now it suffices to stress the relevance of the metropolitan problem has taken to the agenda of the federal government, as it finds the current National Development Plan for the period 2013-2018, recognizing that “sprawl some metropolitan areas in Mexico has translated in cities where distances are a barrier to the flow of people and assets into the jobs and markets in which it can generate the highest benefit” (Presidency of the Republic: 17).

In the case of the Guadalajara metropolitan phenomenon, this urban sprawl has reinforced the continuing trend of depopulation of the state capital that has been observed since the beginning of the decade of the nineties of the twentieth century, and the subsequent accelerated repopulation that to face the peripheral municipalities.

In correspondence with the analysis technique used (Corzo, 2013), in the image below graphically illustrate some likely consequences of this territorial dynamic cause of the social and economic dynamics of the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara. What matters now is to emphasize the processes of social exclusion and loss of economic opportunities that affect and threaten the productivity and sustainability of the quality of life of the inhabitants of the metropolis:

Figure 2. Consequences of the extensive urbanization, dispersed and predatory development of natural resources of the dominant region in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area



Source: Made by myself.

2.2. POLICY FORMULATION OF METROPOLITAN COORDINATION

In order to better understand the scope of the metropolitan policy of coordination that took shape after the addition of Article 81 Bis of the Constitution of the State of Jalisco, it's relevant since the formation of local public powers in both institutional component of the governance.¹⁰ The aforementioned constitutional provision states:

Article 81 Bis. -In the case of municipalities within the same metropolitan area, they will be coordinated, in the exercise of its constitutional powers, according to the general rules on metropolitan coordination issues the State Congress.

The metropolitan coordination will carry out through the following instances:

- I. An instance of political coordination for each of the metropolitan areas, which the State Governor will integrate the mayors of the municipalities of the respective metropolitan area and, prior agreement. Its members will define the legal status of these bodies.
- II. An instance of a technical nature which shall consist like a public agency with legal personality and assets denominated Metropolitan Planning Institute, which must be made by the respective municipalities metropolitan area; and
- III. An advisory and citizen participation instance honorific for each of the metropolitan areas, which may participate in the evaluation and monitoring tasks.

The rules for the organization and functioning of the bodies of metropolitan coordination will be established by law on the subject issued by the Congress of the State of Jalisco.

Both the formulation of the Constitution and the secondary legislation passed by the State Legislature was due to an intense agenda promoted during the period 2007-2009 in which:

¹⁰ The formation of the government is structured by rules that define both the process of choosing the headlines as the respective scope of the democratic constitutional State and of the government and determine the relations between governments and public authorities with the citizenship and, as Aguilar Villanueva warns, "is evident or thinkable that not will be as the process of governing in parliamentary systems than in presidential, in the federalist (or autonomy) in the unit, in the uni or the bi-chambers, regimes politicians with limited or extensive freedoms citizens" (2010: 45).

The metropolitan issue also followed a legislative path that led to the creation of a Commission on Metropolitan Affairs whose work during this first period, they were implemented in approving an amendment to the Constitution of the State of Jalisco,¹¹ the approval of Law Coordination Metropolitan¹² and approval of the Decree approving the declaration of "Guadalajara Metropolitan Area", comprising the municipalities of Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, El Salto, Juanacatlán and Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos¹³ (Arias, 2013: 18).

As it can be deduced from the preamble to the initiative presented to the plenary session of the State Congress of Jalisco during its regular meeting held on August 30, 2007,¹⁴ with the approval of the constitutional reform sought to encourage a fundamental change in the way that it had come board that metropolitan problematics.

The emphasis is clear, at least to a level of argumentation it focuses on making a difference for the constitutional reform from previous institutional formulas approved and tested for the public management of metropolitan issues in Guadalajara, same as they are rated as inadequate and, in many cases, as frankly obsolete:

The absence of satisfactory institutional responses has to do with the inefficiency of government processes to design and implement policies that provide solutions to major metropolitan lags. The obesity and the rigidity of the administrative apparatus, lack of technical expertise, the discretionary policy decisions, the lack of inclusive management mechanisms and the lack of development planning, have hindered long-term vision and postponing solutions (Exposure, 30/08/2007).

¹¹ Decree No. 22137 / LVIII / 07 of the State Congress amending articles 35, 50,74, 80,81-bis and 87 of the Constitution of the State of Jalisco published in the Official Gazette of the State of Jalisco date added May 1st, 2008, number 13, section III, pp. 3-7.

¹² Decree No. 23082 / LVIII / 09 issued by the Metropolitan Coordination Law of the State of Jalisco adopted on December 11th, 2009.

¹³ Adopted on July 17th, 2009, and published in the Official Gazette of the State of Jalisco on December 26th, 2009.

¹⁴ At work the idea that public policy analysis at least three basic features to share any discipline or methods with which it is undertaken is assumed (Merino, 2010: 10), so largely legal-political arguments on the question has been analyzed are taken up.

¹⁵ From the perspective of public administration discipline, the aforementioned formulas within the ambit of public management (Bozeman, 2006: 23), which in this article referred to as public management (Aguilar, 2006: 15). In general, these alternatives focused their attention on the reorganization and operation of government machinery in order to increase the administrative capacity of the public administration.

¹⁶ The necessary presence and relevance of the public administration due, to say Aguilar Villanueva, two factors: the fact that the form of organization and work processes within the public administration determine the effectiveness and efficiency of the governance and by the fact that the current public policies are carried out with the involvement of multiple public organizations; however that "social effectiveness, cost efficiency and inter-mainstreaming are principles of action that does not ensure the public administration of traditional hierarchical bureaucratic configuration" (2010: 52).

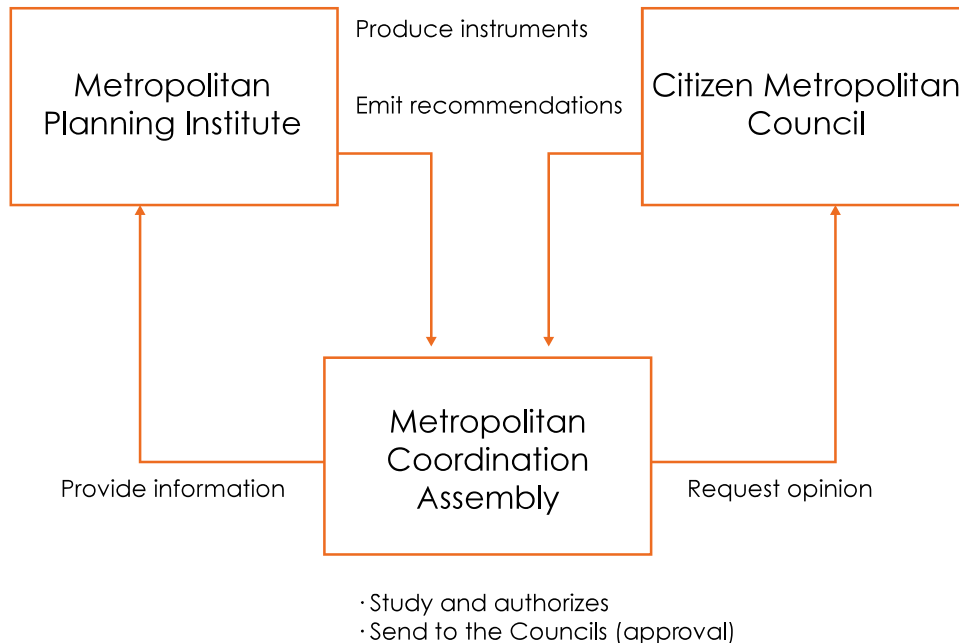
The institutional responses to the preamble refers have to do the same with the Intermunicipal Water System and Sewerage (SIAPA –for its acronym in Spanish–), the Public Transport System in the Metropolitan Area (SISTECOZOME –for its acronym in Spanish–), passing for the Council of Guadalajara Metropolitan Area and its various financial instruments such as the Metropolitan Escrow, to the former and questioned Intermunicipal Department of Public Safety.¹⁵

The different emphasis to enter the via of metropolitan coordination refers to its oriented public policy approach, as is clear from the purpose of contributing socially "to resize the public policy and orient them according to the demands and needs of residents metropolis, thus facilitating the integration mechanisms and social cohesion 'and, in the strictly political sphere', to establish new instruments accountability and democratic control" (Exposure, 30/08/2007). In light of this alleged oriented toward the public policy is appropriated to address the scopes of the Constitutional Reform from Public Administration like technical component of the governance.¹⁶

From a perspective of the Public Administration projects a structuring of the governance process around metropolitan issues emphasized more the establishment of a clear distinction between political functions, technical and consultative that took shape after the creation of three coordinating bodies metropolitan clearly defined, their engagement and eventual potential of the governance cultivated on relationships between these groups.

In the following outline the main relationships between the three instances of metropolitan coordination which are deducted from their legal basis are illustrated:

Scheme 1. Major Relationships between Instances of Metropolitan Coordination



Source: Prepared by myself as provided by Article 106 of the Urban Code of the State of Jalisco, in (Arias and Arellano, 2013: 43).

As the diagram above illustrates, the Metropolitan Coordinating Board as political body plays a central role in technically structuring the governance's process, making it possible to establish that, in essence, follows a line of response based on the premises of the governance, while is based on the capacity of government's actors involved to guide to the society (Aguilar, 2010: 24).

With respect to the Metropolitan Planning Institute as a technical instance of the metropolitan coordination suffice to say that its configuration as a decentralized public agency intermunicipal obeyed an observable trend in public discussion of metropolitan problem that arose during the years before and was prompted by the experience of another failed initiative intermunicipal nature,¹⁷ intended to form the Planning Institute of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.¹⁸

¹⁷ On this initiative that is available (Arias, 2013).

¹⁸ Intermunicipal Coordination Agreement and Rules Planning Institute of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Zone.

Moreover, it should be noted the change in corporate guidance of the policy coordination metropolitan arose during the final phase of its development. In principle, the constitutional reform and the set of legal instruments initially approved by Congress of the State of Jalisco, sought to influence the configuration of the public authorities in order to promote sufficient political incentives within the municipalities to promote coordination tools metropolitan through a governance process encouraged from the sphere of the public power of the state.

This hypothesis is deduced from the powers conferred both legislative and executive powers to initiate the corresponding processes to issue declarations of the respective metropolitan area in the case of the Congress of State and Gauteng Metropolitan in the case of the Governor. In this regard, sustained legal hypothesis initially sought to raise an implementation process of the policy coordination oriented "top-down",¹⁹ while, as referred to in Article 81 Bis of the local Constitution, members of a Metropolitan Area municipalities –previous analysis and formal declaration by the Congress of the State– would have to attend a coordination scheme in accordance with established constitutional basis and existing regulatory standards in this area.

However, this hypothesis has not prospered under the observations made by the state governor to the Metropolitan Coordination Law passed by the State Congress, prompting that was not published and came into force (Observations, 21/12/2009). In this sense, as has already been mentioned in previous studies:

The observations of the state governor created the conditions for a change in orientation initially adopted, since the Commission on Metropolitan Affairs of the new state legislature approved submit a new agreement of Measure Metropolitan Coordination, whose resulted in legislative work a new law Metropolitan Coordination of State of Jalisco was finally published in the official newspaper "the State of Jalisco" of February 3th, 2011 (Arias, 2013: 19).

¹⁹ For an overview of deployment models such as "top-down" are available Ballart and Ramió (2000).

Unlike the first version of the Metropolitan Coordination Law, the legislation current was based and recognized principles of municipal autonomy, consensus, coordination and effectiveness as its guiding principles, which reorients the “bottom-up”²⁰ processes of metropolitan governance exist based on coordination arrangements between municipal authorities in the first instance and later with the executive head of State.

Under this institutional weakness reorientation of Metropolitan Coordination Board as political authority is more than obvious, whenever regardless of the express constitutional right to have their members to define their legal nature, formally this instance cannot go beyond being a “commission” or “conference” is often the handiest formal mechanism to promote intergovernmental coordination.²¹

This organic policy configuration instance of metropolitan coordination could not be otherwise under institutional constraint derived from the Mexican federal government and the constitutional principle of “municipal freedom”. In particular, the principle whose reason to be back to the post-revolutionary period, established a constitutional guarantee for the exercise of municipal powers to the effect that they were carried out by “the city exclusively and no intermediate authority whatsoever between this and the State government “(Article 115 of the Constitution of the United Mexican States).²²

2.3. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE POLICY OF METROPOLITAN COORDINATION IN THE GUADALAJARA METROPOLITAN AREA

If the process of deliberation and political agreement²³ was key to enable the constitutional reform in Metropolitan Coordination in Jalisco—even despite the institutional constraints and techniques for governance arising from the formation of the government and the public administration in the state—civil so-

20 For an overview of deployment models such as “bottom-up” view are available Ballart and Ramió (2000).

21 That kind of foral mechanisms are often made up of public officials or by elected politicians who belong to different levels of government and “who meet to discuss and eventually agree on the issues that have charge” (Jornada, 2001: 45).

22 For further discussion of the federalism as important institutional component of the metropolitan governance analysis can be reviewed (Arias and Velázquez, 2014 and Arias, 2013a).

23 For a review of the paths followed by political deliberation metropolitan coordination on the introductory study is available at (Arias, 2013).

²⁴ The civil society is recognized as an institutional component of the governance under which "it is proved that the organizational forms of the civil society are essential to produce moral and emotional ties that make individuals and families, promote organizational forms of solidarity and mutuality and increase in the people a civic sense of belonging and concern for the welfare of society as a whole" (Aguilar, 2010: 47).

²⁵ The Assembly by the Metropolitan Governance and the collective of citizens and organizations was formalized in November 2011 and completed its work shortly after the signing of the Coordination Agreement by the local authorities, under which decided to grant a vote of confidence the team of professionals who subsequently joined the transitional Metropolitan Coordination Commission. This experience can be found (Arias, w/d).

²⁶ The procedure ends on February 3th, 2012 with the public appointment of the team of professionals who would form the Transitional Commission by the Metropolitan Coordination, mainly composed of members of the Assembly by the Metropolitan Governance (Mural, February 4th, 2012).

ciety²⁴ became a key factor triggering of the implementation process of its implementation in the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.

Indeed, the process of sustained dialogue and cooperation between local authorities and the plural group of citizens, civic organizations, business organizations and professional associations coalesced around the Assembly for the Metropolitan Governance, it resulted in several political agreements that opened the opportunity for the Convention Metropolitan Coordination Guadalajara Metropolitan Area between municipal authorities and of the State was finally signed on January 26th, 2012.²⁵

The relevance of the experience displayed by the Assembly by the Metropolitan Governance is the level of advocacy that failed to reach at the time and that was expressed in the very Coordination Agreement which was signed by the local authorities, where they joined some of the recommendations developed and approved by the Assembly, as the adaptation of public procedure for the establishment and integration of the transient by the Metropolitan Coordination Commission as the body responsible for issuing operating bases of the future coordination mechanisms for the case of the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.²⁶

According to the Coordination Agreement signed by the authorities, the transient by the Metropolitan Coordination Committee were formally in charge with the following tasks:

1. The extent and scope of intervention of the Instances Metropolitan Coordination in planning, programming, budgeting, implementation, monitoring, review and evaluation, in the functions and municipal public services that perform by or metropolitan coordination schemes association.
2. The powers reserved to the municipalities in municipal utilities and functions carried out by metropolitan coordination schemes or association.

3. The contributions of financial, human and material resources that will make the Parts for each function or municipal public service carried out by metropolitan coordination schemes or association.
4. The contributions of financial, human and material resources that individual Parts for running Instances Metropolitan Coordination.
5. The rules, if any, of the establishment and operation of a Trust Metropolitan.
6. The settlement rules of the Instances Metropolitan Coordination and compliance or termination of expected obligations in the event of termination of the Convention Metropolitan of Coordination the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area.
7. The organic statute of the instances of Metropolitan Coordination.
8. The establishment and functions of the Institute of Metropolitan Coordination (sic), and
9. The necessary studies for the Metropolitan Coordination (Arias, 2013a).

The formal works of the Commission were not without difficulties arising from the electoral context for which it was transited; however, for the purposes of this article it is relevant for now emphasize the potential inability to complete the task on the rules for the eventual establishment and operation of a Metropolitan Trust.

Beyond the difficulties arising from the electoral environment that affected the rhythm of work of the Commission, the resistances are explained by the strong barriers that involved the *status quo*²⁷ of public finances²⁸ for funding to metropolitan development. In short, local authorities decided not to take the risk of changing the rules of met-

²⁷ The metropolitan existing mechanisms currents financing through a longstanding figure colloquially called Metropolitan Council, had recently undergone a substantial change in the way to operate, not only by sustained increases in resources and diversification of works and public funded projects (Sánchez, 2015), but by nature "focused" for new projects began to be financed at the initiative of the mayors to the Metropolitan Council, the implementation of which ran under the responsibility of the municipal authorities, so development finance metropolitan resulted in an apportionment of resources among municipal governments with the resources available were sprayed at the detriment of funding for other projects with a metropolitan scope and impact. In the same line, recent evaluations of metropolitan and regional funds operating nationally (e Iracheta and Iracheta, 2014, and Moya, 2014), suggest precisely that resources are allocated to the implementation of truly metropolitan projects through a defining transparent and co-metropolitan priorities, plus some proportion of resources being channeled contestable ways to boost competition and intergovernmental associations is privileged, as well as comprehensive and long-term strategies.

²⁸ The public finances is a component that is the same time institutional and technical to the extent that allows "sufficient financially support government action in order to be able to sufficiently develop policies, programs and public services that should mandatory offer, as constitutionally and legally prescribed" (Aguilar, 2010: 48-49). And under an array of governance is "combined with the financial situation of the economic society, with the force of popular and commercial banking and investment funds with risk capital available for investment in long-winded and disposal of assets of capital" (Aguilar, 2010: 49).

ropolitan financing under extraordinary eventual economic benefit for local authorities that represented preparing the Pan-American Games in 2011 and its immediate implications for the electoral process that concluded in 2012.

The party alternation in ownership of the Executive Power of the State that resulted from the local electoral process in 2012 also had its political implications on the direction of the metropolitan policy coordination. Directly, these implications are expressed in the way that the formation of the technical²⁹ and advisory³⁰ instances to Guadalajara metropolitan coordination and, indirectly, decided on the political commitment of elected local authorities in favor of a particular normative view urban of the governance supported internationally through the United Nations for the Human Settlements Program (UN-Habitat)³¹ which meant a significant turning point on the process of implementation of the policy of metropolitan coordination.³²

CONCLUSION

The case study focused on the analysis of the trajectory of the metropolitan coordination policy as for its formulation at the level of the State of Jalisco as its implementation's process for the particular case of the most important in the state metropolitan phenomenon: the Guadalajara Metropolitan Area. The case study was proposed as well, to show the analytical potential of a particular concept of the governance developed from the perspective of the discipline of public management

²⁹ The political process surrounding the creation of the Metropolitan Planning Institute is mainly characterized by revolve around the closed political negotiations that provoked the appointment of its director, which was not free of the characteristics of the various expressions of power groups tensions within the Institutional Revolutionary Party, long tradition and strong family roots (Hurtado, 1993).

³⁰ The final decision of local authorities for the creation of the first Citizen literally Metropolitan Council did not take into account the recommendations issued by the Transitional Commission by the Metropolitan Coordination and rather chose to reduce to a minimum expression the representative nature of this figure, with the consequent negative effect that this measure brought about its potential for innovation in favor of a process of metropolitan governance newly stamp.

³¹ This fact constituted a concrete expression of the institutional component of the governance expressed through the system of international public institutions (Aguilar, 2010), whose incidence is expressed through an international regime with strong regulatory capacity while integrates the same principles and norms then rules and procedures on decisions and issues relevant to international relations between States, which often converge the interests of various actors, as governmental and as non-governmental.

³² Between the scope of the Contribution Agreement signed between the Government of the State of Jalisco and the representation of UN-Habitat in order to estimate the conditions of Guadalajara from the perspective of urban prosperity driven by the international agency (2012), highlights the interest in influencing on the basis of an eventual Metropolitan Development Program, one of several planning instruments by the newly created Metropolitan Planning Institute.

in order to assess their relevance and potential to explain the processes of change observed in the metropolitan phenomena of the region Latin-American.

Obviously the study highlights the specific expression could be observed about the way some of the components of the governance influenced the sense of direction and the ability of social direction to face the challenges of the particular problem metropolitan case of Guadalajara. However, the analytical potential of the theoretical definition of governance adopted in this paper also identifies some notable absences in the studied case.

At the institutional level the failure of the policy of metropolitan coordination has been evident to influence on urban planning mechanisms in force, whose laxity and weak regulatory capacity has led to a growing trend among property developers to favor the courts³³ to settle quite a few conflicts arising from economic activity in real estate, with the resulting uncertainty and legal insecurity that prevails even today.

The directive inability of municipal governments resulting from the ineffectiveness of the planning instruments with the observable trend towards greater liberalization³⁴ of the real estate industry came to detonate the urbanistic sprawl of cities in Mexico,³⁵ with consequent effects negative and social conflicts that have already been illustrated by the definition of the metropolitan problem in the case of Guadalajara.

Finally, it is worth noting that the theoretical definition adopted in this article is extremely useful to demonstrate, beyond the components of the governance, the observable trend in how publicly discussed the many metropolitan affairs that seem to favor more technical aspects of the governance to the detriment of the sense and orientation of the aims and objectives that is pursue.

The main lesson to be drawn from the fleeting experience around the Assembly by the Metropolitan Coordination precisely resides in its ability to focus their advocacy work on precise goals and objectives and provide guidance that will enable other potential governance

33 Recall that one of the institutional component of the governance has to do precisely with the system of justice and security, since "the administration of justice and fair, honest and expeditious administration of justice against crimes and litigation, by prosecutors and judges of state and preventive and coercive work of the police are essential to our lives unfold in an environment of legal certainty and stable public safety" (Aguilar, 2010: 46).

34 According to the theoretical concept adopted, the markets are another institutional component of the governance to the extent that "it is proven that [...] are the key resource for the production of wealth in both utilitarian and competitive nature stimulates in various forms productivity, innovation and therefore prosperity sustained" (Aguilar, 2010: 47).

35 The globalizing market trend obeyed to a fundamental decision almost thoughtlessly from 2000 by the government of the Republic for the purpose of lowering the deficit sensible formal production of affordable housing.

processes and perhaps this is the main feature that distinguishes it from other civic and social promoters of a narrower metropolitan affairs bounded capacity building and social practices calendar movements, this is a technical level governance.

This tendency to favor the technical level to the detriment of the sense of more corporate guidance of the governance, was also clearly observable between the authorities and civil servants of the case study, as by means of various technologies to promote mass transit, the promoting alternative means of non-motorized mobility, the recovery of public space through the promotion of recreational and cultural prevention and control of crime activities as well as the rehabilitation of degraded areas and urban facilities.

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