

The Political Environment of Metropolitan Coordination: A Political Analysis of the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara (Mexico)

Alberto Arellano Ríos¹

Abstract

This paper makes a political analysis of the Metropolitan in Mexico coordination the studying of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, Jalisco. The text focuses on the institutional environment of the Metropolitan Government coordination. The case study is significant given that this urban area boasts with a long tradition in the planning and management of Metropolitan; in addition to be institutionally fragmented and a complex network of actors and institutions. In this way, and in a more particular way, analyzed the formulation and implementation of law of coordination Metropolitan.

Keywords: political analysis, metropolitan coordination, Guadalajara metropolitan area

1. Introduction²

Are political and institutional factors impede and/or facilitate intergovernmental coordination in areas Metropolitan of Mexico? It is the question that articulates this document. In this paper is a political analysis of intergovernmental coordination in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, Mexico. This urban space are expressed the problems facing the Mexican federal system in the area of metropolitan areas. With greater clarity in this metropolitan area, consisting of eight municipalities including the State capital and seat of 4.5 million inhabitants, has, unlike to other Mexican metropolis, a long tradition in the field of planning and establishment of some metropolitan management mechanisms. However, since the second half of the 1990s, several, State and municipal governments, have not failed to resolve the hard core of its public agenda: to) growth messy and chaotic; (b) public transport and mobility; (c) public insecurity; and (d) the problems in the management and water supply. In the above context, and in light of other macro processes, in Jalisco was adopted in 2011 the law of metropolitan coordination created by various agencies to institutionalize and make stronger metropolitan coordination. But the institutional context which gives light and explanations specific and clear to the common place to which become functional perspectives and economic in the study of Metropolitan management: the "lack of political will", lack of planning, "institutional failure", or another type of responses. The text is divided into three sections. The first concise analytical considerations of the concept of political status, the implied agendas and the institutional framework of intergovernmental coordination are made. This constitutes the basis and the framework for political analysis. In the second section it contextualizes the Metropolitan phenomenon and intergovernmental coordination in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara. Madethe above follows the third part outlining the institutional context of metropolitan coordination.

2. A Political Analysis of the Policy of Coordination Metropolitan

In the following paragraph refers to a "political analysis of politics", according to Graeme C. Moodie (1996: 60), the consideration that the Government, and Government action in general terms, is the sense that have or acquire the balance of power and struggle for power, i.e., sand policy. Award and the residue of the policy. There is thus a space where different actors and institutions agree on cooperative or conflict situations that, altogether, instituted the "political status" (Moodie, 1996: 63).

¹Professor and researcher in El Colegio de Jalisco (México). Email: aarellano@coljal.edu.mx and betoarellano14@hotmail.com

² I thank Ziayra Rivera work of assistance for the preparation of this document.

In this way the political condition in more specific terms:

"[...] puede entenderse mejor haciendo referencia a tres elementos. El primero es que se necesita (por ejemplo, debe adoptarse una política o elegirse un dirigente) si una unidad social va a tratar un problema o adaptarse a una situación nueva o cambiada. El segundo es que existe un desacuerdo en cuanto a lo que debe ser esa política o elección, desacuerdo que se hace más marcado porque se sabe que forzará tanto a los que oponen como a los que están en su favor. El tercero es que tanto la política como el dirigente elegido y los procesos de selección de una diversidad de posibilidades deben ser tales que permitan que la unidad o grupo sobreviva como una unidad" (Moodie, 1996: 63). Consequently in this account there is a marriage of political science and public policy from a premise nodal approach, which points out that in the study of how are defined the public problems by a set of actors and institutions, analysis stands at a level "mesoregional" (see Parsons, 2007: 115-138).³In this frame of mind a political analysis of the policy involves, on the one hand, a plural and participatory society in the public agenda; and the other, professional, specialized and expert institutions in public issues. This presupposes a democratic approach, where there is a State with institutional capacity and tune with civil society (Pineda, 2013: 74). And more clearly from the second half of the 1990s in this situation is present because there is a complex conglomerate of actors and institutions that make the formulation of the agenda and the complex decision-making process.

Although it should be noted that in this document although there will be an analysis of how the agenda in a particular context, is formulated from what they say a theory or proposals of any or various experts, for the case study, and Mexican context, it is necessary to consider at least two types of agenda, which converge on the theme of metropolitan coordination. First it is the institutional agenda which corresponds to the rights of the people and to the institutional responsibilities set out expressly in the current legal framework. Thus, the institutional agenda is the central body of public affairs to the formal stage (see Guillén, 2012: 69). This is important to consider it given that the metropolitan coordination acquires greater importance due to the differentiation of spheres of Government, as well as its powers and responsibilities in the federal system. Then there is the open agenda of needs which can eventually match the institutional agenda in its content or its phase of instrumentation, possibly coming together in instances, procedures or resources of the institutions of the State. This agenda even though it is not necessarily registered with any regulatory framework, its theme is very diverse and is characterized by the initiative that society itself assumes to meet their collective needs (Guillén, 2012: 69). But in the case of metropolitan coordination, and given the importance that it has acquired the phenomenon of metropolitan areas in Mexico (see Conapo-Sedesol-Inegi, 2010 and 2007), various actors institutions, have done is attempt to make these urban spaces that integrate at least two municipalities more governable.

There is thus a significant convergence between the institutional agenda and open agenda the issue of metropolitan coordination needs. This "issue" is of utmost importance; as will be seen in the analysis of the case study. But structurally and institutionally, and related federal system given the importance that has the municipality in our system of political organization at least formally, the convergence of both agendas lies in that there are "exclusive and concurrent" matters between different levels of Government. We can say with clarity that the urban issue is an exclusive competence of the municipalities, and here, perhaps, is where lies the main problem, as councils have such as attribution of land use change. In other issues, Federation, States and municipalities have concurrent powers so the design of public policies that in principle advocates of intergovernmental coordination. At least, and clearly, the following topics in public policy: economic development planning, urban planning, land use and human settlements; environment; public safety; promotion and regulation of housing; and social policy (see Guillén, 2012: 78-90).

³ This level of analysis includes the stages of "choose or decide", recognition of the problem and formulation of alternatives, public recognition, the inclusion of issues in the agenda and presentation of demands, as well as the initiation and information. At this level of analysis the focus of public policy is focused on the analysis of problems and how are formed and framing problems, and is becoming (or not) in hot springs or issues on the agenda of public policies. It also cares about the genesis of a public policy, the recognition of a problem. What underlies much of the analysis of the establishment of the agenda and the definition of the problem is the controversy around the idea of the existence of an objective, knowable world. The question of when an issue becomes a political problem or of public policy confronts the idea of the objective with the subjective nature of reality. Thereby the following theoretical perspectives can be identified: a) the positivist approach, b) the study of sociological approaches to social problems, c) symbolic interactionism, d) approach of natural history to social problems, and e) approach to problems and social movements (see Parsons, 2007: 115-138).

And at first glance, the institutional framework considers the Metropolitan problem relates primarily to the question of the municipality. On the other hand, decentralization and democratization processes have made the federal system to be put into practice and intergovernmental relations are more complex and placed the question of making substantial changes in the political and academic debate. Thus the discussion that occurs between the defenders of the free municipality and those seeking the establishment of metropolitan and regional governments has led to that you discussed the federal system. However, and despite the fact that the problem have multiple and complex edges, consensus says there is a problem of institutional design. This would force us to make a journey of design and institutional changes in municipal matters to the Metropolitan question, but most that so emphasis that the Mexican federal system should be so far only allows coordination and intermunicipal associations (see Arellano, 2013a). In such a way that in Mexico, and in the field of urban development and institutions of metropolitan character, there are gaps or contradictions. The institutional mechanism that allows them to make them governable is, for good or for evil, the associationism and the intermunicipal coordination. And in this design institutional equal must analyze practices, incentives and political relations that take into account the conflict and cooperation in metropolitan coordination.

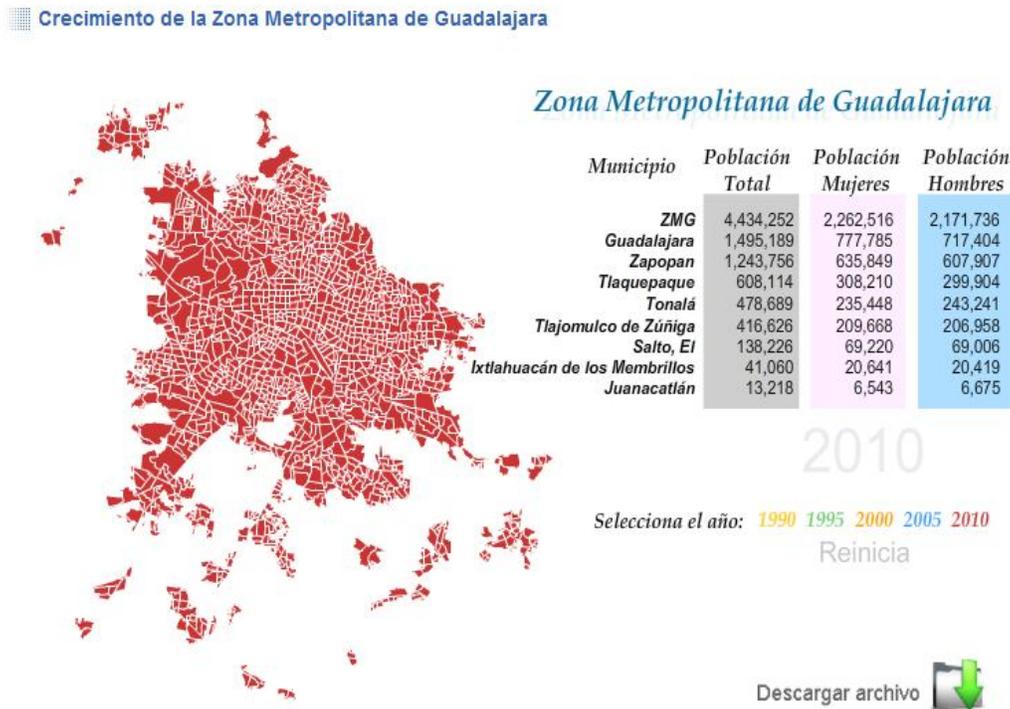
That is why this article carry out an analysis, and political account of political junctures, the struggle for leadership and the "partidización" on the theme of metropolitan coordination. It is true that complex intergovernmental relationships are instituted, but this text is political analysis by placing in their fair dimension proposed theoretical and policy of 'governance', which is more discursive than real, at least in Jalisco. The conflict, and not so much context harmonious cooperation between actors and institutions involved in the metropolitan coordination, has located the scope and limitations of this theoretical proposal and public policy. The political analysis of the public policy on the issue of metropolitan coordination in Guadalajara, Mexico, which intends to produce is closest to neo-institucionalism proposals in March and Olsen (1997) and the Knight (1992), or as what prescribed analytical models as the field of Bourdieu (2000, 1993 and 1989) and Otto Maduro (1980). Such proposals with their differences, theoretical or epistemological roots at the methodological level focuses on giving logical coherence to the conflict as the central element of the political condition. And if cooperation between actors and institutions, this is the result of a relationship between forces strategic type and specific calculations that a challenge a priori of harmony and cooperation. Outlined some analytical considerations for the study of metropolitan coordination continues now to contextualize the politics of metropolitan coordination in the second urban area in the country.

3. The Phenomenon Urban and the Metropolitan Coordination in Guadalajara, Mexico

In the field of planning, and in the second urban area of the country that is known in the field of planning as "Guadalajara metropolitan area" (Conapo-Sedesol-Inegi, 2010 and 2007), either, and as a result of the law of metropolitan coordination, legally as "Guadalajara metropolitan area", there is, unlike other urban areas of the country, a long tradition. However, the situation but if it is area or metropolitan area is not less since it conditions a very interesting debate, but the article will not focus on such concerns, but barely noted that discussion, as well as involve a conceptual precision from the academic field, already addressed to the formal issue and actions of the State determines how it is formulated and understood the problem (see Arellano, 2014b). In regards to the urban history of the Guadalajara metropolitan area, there are three moments (see Arias and Arellano, 2013: 29-38; and Arias, 2010: 27). The first ranging from 1950 to 1980. In this period the city experienced its best moments of economic development and urban growth as a result of a planning or more control (Arias, 2010: 27). Should be noted that there is a longing in the political and even academic environment by the last situation, but it is necessary to remember that the situation was of a less complex society and under the control of a hegemonic party system. It was followed by the second time which goes from 1980 to 1999, which was a transitional phase where urban conditions are transformed and raised great social change which brought multiple urban and economic problems (Arias and Arellano, 2013: 29-38). In terms of urban design is went through a model of open one closed "fraccionamiento" (see Nuñez and Álvarez, 2009). And, finally, in the third phase which is given from the year 2000 to date (2014), is when in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara has been formed an enormous, complex, discontinuous and conflictive Metropolitan space (see Arias and Arellano, 2013: 29-38; and Arias, 2010: 27).

The net result is that zone or area, Metropolitan Guadalajara is comprised of eight municipalities: Guadalajara, the capital of the State, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá, Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, El Salto, Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos and Juanacatlán. In whose urban area inhabited in 2010 4, 434, 252 people (see image).

Image 1: The Metropolitan Zone of Guadalajara (2010)



Source: www.jalisco.gob.mx/wps/portal/coepo

In the above context, the enactment of the law on metropolitan coordination of the State of Jalisco, as well as the establishment of its metropolitan planning Institute (Imeplan) and the appointment of first director, even though it has resulted from an environment where there is consensus on the urgency for a metropolitan vision via intergovernmental coordination, political conditions say that it was not an easy enterprise. But there is a tradition by instituting mechanisms for coordination in the history of the Metropolitan management of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara. In such a way that the Guadalajara metropolitan area prides itself on having a solid institutional path in the field and on the national stage. At the crossing of metropolitan coordination, history says that in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, and compared to other urban areas of the country, there are more solid institutional in the matter; although seen problems from the local level and the present situation, it seems it is not progressing as it should be. The problem is that now the institutional context and intergovernmental relations are more complex than ever before. Thus the Metropolitan theme as phenomenon is part of the open agenda of needs, but the institutional agenda includes only in the field of intergovernmental coordination or intermunicipal associations. In a historical line in 1947, the Congress of Jalisco had enacted a "law for urban improvement of Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque and Chapala". Perhaps the first instrument that seen the Metropolitan question to the limited to the promotion of works of collaboration: Incipiently be seen already the process of conurbation. Then in 1967, was created the Committee on coordination urban of the "Valle de Atemajac" which, although it had no legal character, was the first attempt of intermunicipal coordination in Jalisco. For 1978, the Congress of Jalisco issued the statement of conurbation; and that same year was created the Commission for Regional urban development of Guadalajara.⁴ In 1978 the intercity "Sistema de Agua Potable y Alcantarillado" (Siapa), was created in replacement of the board of trustees of services of water supply and sewerage in the city of Guadalajara (formed at the same time in 1952). In 1980 the Commission for Regional urban development of Guadalajara developed and approved in 1982 the Urban Regional Plan of Guadalajara, and the Plan of management of the area suburbs of Guadalajara (Cabrales, 2010: 85).

⁴This instance was presided over by the general Secretary of Government and integrating by 19 municipal Presidents.

These were the first planning instruments with which this metropolitan area has been as a tradition in the field of planning. However, the reality comes to point out that the planning is more indicative than Executive and that the problem is not from planning but from management (see Arias and Arellano, 2013: 36-38).⁵ 1989 was the Guadalajara Metropolitan Council as a body of governmental and social, composed of the eight outlying municipalities and several State and federal agencies. But from 1995 when clearly entering a new phase of metropolitan coordination. Previously in 1993 the law of urban development defined by the Metropolitan Council as a coordinating administrative body and as an instance of legal sanction of the intercommunal urban plans. 1997 began to operate the Metropolitan Fund for the financing of large-scale infrastructure projects, although it was not until the year 2000 when he ran from the agreements made in the bosom of the Council Metropolitan. But institutionally in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara two organisms are those who have proved to be solid and have some stability. These are the Siapa and the Guadalajara Metropolitan Council. Its solidity and institutional stability is due to a regulatory framework or by a political practice. While it is true that both initially respond to an intermunicipal cooperation vertically induced the Government of Jalisco, there have been some significant changes, since the context is another (see Arellano 2013b). For example, already not overwhelmed the hegemonic party system, and as a result of the phenomenon of alternation and the political plural as well as some constitutional changes and processes of decentralization and federalization, intergovernmental relations in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara have complicated. In this framework, the mechanism of cooperation and the intermunicipal association had repercussions on the existing metropolitan institutions and allowed development of more horizontal relationship (Arellano, 2013b: 93-94).

In the case of the Metropolitan Council arose that the normative framework, but in the category of an agreement between the parties, their strength is in terms of practices and political incentives. It formally has responsibilities for planning, urban development, roads and environmental issues, but for metropolitan Management Council has a nodal function: decide and determine public works. It is true that by not having legal instruments more solids have been at risk several resources for reasons of political situation, "partidizacion" or fight for the leadership, but prior to the design of the new metropolitan institutions, the Metropolitan Council was the political space where is decided and remember the great works of Metropolitan infrastructure (Arellano, 2013b: 94). As in the case of the Siapa although this organism is of cooperation and intermunicipal coordination within the framework of municipal associations (see Jalomo, 2013, Gomez 2013; and Arellano, 2013b: 94). The basic changes were that in the new framework he respected that the Agency remained a decentralized public agencies: with autonomy heritage and resources, but also gave him tax powers to collect debts. This sought to compensate the main problem that has had this institution: the financial. To be a body in which municipalities had on the faculty, the State Executive was pushed aside and if any of its dependencies were referred to in its Board of Directors they were only entitled to voice (Arellano, 2013b: 94).⁶

But now, and being analysis of this text, at the beginning of the second decade of the 21st century, three institutions were designed as a result of the law of metropolitan coordination of the State of Jalisco. The first is a political institution that would be on the Board of metropolitan coordination; the second would be a technical institution that would be the Metropolitan Planning Institute; and finally an institution that address the demand for citizen participation: citizen Metropolitan Council. But already institutional study is, whether as a case study or contrasting it with other mechanisms of institutional design Metropolitan at the subnational level (Arellano, 2014, 2013a, and 2013b; Arias and Arellano, 2013), the following pages will focus more on the study of the political status of metropolitan coordination in Jalisco. In the notion or idea that there is a metropolitan policy, there is conflict and disagreements, as well as a diversity of actors and institutions (Moodie, 1996: 63). But not it is worth recalling the institutional design of metropolitan coordination. *Grossomodo* institutions formulated the law of metropolitan coordination promulgated in January 2011 are integrated by three instances: a policy, a technique and another citizen. Metropolitan coordination design thought in Jalisco and to the urban area in particular lies in three agencies: the Board of metropolitan coordination, the Metropolitan Institute of planning and citizen Metropolitan Council (Arellano, 2013b: 89-93). The Metropolitan Coordinating Board is comprised of the municipal Presidents of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara.

⁵In that same year, 1980, was born of the metropolitan area transport system. Then in 1983 came into operation the Intermunicipal Directorate of public security, but only for a period of three years. These actions are placed in shares of metropolitan character, however, were not as far-reaching as the others.

⁶ However, it was recently valor the returned from the State executive body to multiple institutional and financial problems.

In General and formal terms is responsible for designing and implementing, inter alia, the Metropolitan Agenda; coordinating and monitoring the implementation of the "Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial", metropolitan development and program projects that shed, map of risk, planning and programming instruments; approve and publish call for proposals to select members of the Metropolitan Council citizen; constitute the Metropolitan trust (the Fund's resources); approve the annual investment program for metropolitan projects, among other powers (Arellano, 2013b: 91). The Metropolitan Institute of planning the technical body headed by a director appointed by the Board of metropolitan coordination and Technical Secretary at the meetings of this turn. It is responsible for developing and proposing to the Board of coordination Plan de Ordenamiento Territorial metropolitan, metropolitan development and program projects that shed, risk Metropolitan map, planning instruments; evaluate metropolitan planning instruments; prepare technical documents entrusted by the Coordinating Board; execute agreements and resolutions of the Board of coordination, among other attributions (Arellano, 2013b: 91). Finally, the citizen Metropolitan Council is the organ of citizen participation, has powers to elaborate opinions, consultations, making proposals and recommendations to municipalities and to the Board or to the Metropolitan Institute of planning; point out anomalies and supervising the operation of instances of coordination, among other competencies (Arellano, 2013: 93). But was pages ago what matters in this document is to make a political analysis of the policy coordination Metropolitan (Moodie, 1996: 63), or to be precise the "lack of coordination" or "insufficient metropolitan coordination" from a notion of Metropolitan policy, and disagreement among a diversity of actors and institutions.

4. The Political Status of Metropolitan Coordination

This section will be the political analysis of the political status of metropolitan coordination, i.e., they made the actors and institutions correlated. Also the shape and the way in which were "open", and "institutional" agendas as well as the process of implementation of actions and decisions taken. To understand the political condition of metropolitan coordination analysis is procedural and diachronic in the formulation and implementation of metropolitan coordination Act. The emphasis on these issues lies in that the formulation and implementation of this law, and in the light of institutional and open agendas, cannot understand it if he is not the network of relations established between different actors and institutions. In this sense, the political condition that explain the true scope and limitations of metropolitan coordination not only in Jalisco but in much of the country will be drawn.

It must be said that Enrique Alfaro Ramírez along with Jorge Aristóteles Sandoval Díaz, Governor of Jalisco to the 2013-2019, are central politicians who explain the impulse and the obstacles that the Metropolitan theme has had in recent history. These politicians in relation to other groups and factions inside the Party Institutional Revolutionary (PRI), National Action Party (PAN) and Party Movement Citizen (PMC) in different positions, and in relation to other actors and institutions in the Metropolitan arena, we are forced to try to clarify it. For the moment should be say that the urgency of metropolitan coordination, and even a metropolitan governance, is present in the politically correct both between the authorities of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, as between the social actors, but how difficult is its implementation.⁷ Already it has been noted that Guadalajara has been a tradition in terms of metropolitan coordination, beamed, is missed greatly by the political environment, public opinion, and even academic. It is true, in Guadalajara, there was not only a tradition of considering the metropolitan vision and design mechanisms and instances of planning, but at the time were really effective. But it must be said with emphasis since when the alternation partisan and at the national level a process of decentralization, which made more complex intergovernmental relations in the federal system. The stagnation that feel that you living in the metropolitan area since the 1990s many attribute it to the ineffectiveness of electoral democracy: you have legitimate via vote but lousy government performance.

⁷ See for example the statement by Jorge Aristoteles when he was municipal President of Guadalajara, "Aristotle stresses the importance of creating the law of metropolitan coordination", or Miguel Castro, in that then Mayor of Tlaquepaque, "Called Castro Reynoso to define a metropolitan Institute", *El Informador*, on November 18, 2010. Either the Metropolitan theme in election campaigns is recurrent: "Bread candidates presented Metropolitan Agenda of employment and family income," *La Jornada Jalisco*, 10 may 2012; "The candidates of MC presented Metropolitan mobility agenda", *La Jornada Jalisco*, May 16, 2012; "Aristotle presents his project"City for all", *La Jornada Jalisco*, 27 May 2012;""The PRI guarantees a nonpartisan metropolitan coordination: Aristotle", *La Jornada Jalisco*, may 28, 2012; "It is urgent create metropolitan development programme, match municipalities" *La Jornada Jalisco*, October 21, 2012.

In this way, since the 1990s the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, not unable to resolve the hard core of its public agenda: messy and chaotic urban growth, public transportation and mobility, public insecurity and problems in water management. Thereby, in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, there is consensus on what are the central issues of his agenda. However, this has at least two decades exist and problems which all agree has not been solved. Much failure is attributed to the inability of local governments: State and municipal to coordinate and find solutions. Interestingly the inability intensified when the electoral dynamics made real and effective alternation, in addition because the tapatio electorate crosses strategically vote, adding to the formal-institutional fragmentation, political fragmentation among political groups and forces (see Arellano, 2014c). In this regard, it is true that there are problems of institutional design, as the no-reelection of municipal Presidents, among others, but in the case of the metropolitan area illustrates that the partisan variable does not guarantee metropolitan coordination. Now Roberto Arias (2013a: 113-142; and 2013b) had designated it when on the theme of metropolitan coordination in the formulation of a metropolitan agenda and implementation of solutions, there was a municipal shed (2004-2006 and 2007-2009) and other legislative aspect. In both the idea of creating a metropolitan Institute of planning occupied a central place. In this regard, it must be said that the first was driven by the municipal Presidents of the metropolitan area where an agreement was signed to solve the problems of this urban area; While in the second, which was raised at the Congress of Jalisco, resulted in the creation of metropolitan coordination Act (Arias, 2013b: 15-20).

Seen the problem in more detail at this time, there were two moments in which vision and metropolitan coordination really give from the Party (1995-1997 and 2007-2009) but did not happen. The bread was dynamited that possibility when taking control of the municipalities of Guadalajara, Zapopan, Tlaquepaque, Tonalá and Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, as Governments that import and weigh in the Metropolitan arena, and along with the control of the Government of the State simply didn't. Of course there are nuances that should be attentive to political junctures and election rhythms. Even if a party has had a majority in the municipalities of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, the existence of another actor of different partisan affiliations and occupying a central position, they have made coordination alike is not carried out. This is the case of the periods 201-2012 and 2012-2015 where the PRI had control of most of the mayoralties, but did not have control of the governorship or a municipal Presidency, respectively (see table 1). Ultimately the dynamics between the groups and factions inside the parties and Governments, and following their networks and interactions, explain better the problems for metropolitan coordination.

Table 1: Party at the State and Municipal Governments in the Metropolitan area of Guadalajara, 1995-2015*

Gobierno	1995-1997	1998-2000	2001-2003	2004-2006	2007-2009	2010-2012	2012-2015
Estatal	PAN		PAN		PAN		PRI
Guadalajara	PAN	PAN	PAN	PAN	PAN	PRI	PRI
Zapopan	PAN	PAN	PAN	PRI	PAN	PRI	PRI
Tlaquepaque	PAN	PAN	PAN	PRI	PAN	PRI	PRI
Tonalá	PAN	PRI	PRI	PRI	PAN	PRI	PRI
Tlajomulco de Zúñiga	PAN	PRI	PRI	PAN	PAN	PRD-PT	PMC
El Salto	PAN	PRI	PAN	PAN	PRI	PRI	PRI

Source: own elaboration.

*processing: excludes the municipalities of Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos and Juanacatlán because, besides being the municipalities in economic terms and smaller demographic, in the Metropolitan arena their involvement and position in the Metropolitan political condition is less. It could even be excluded to the municipality of El Salto. Its weight is economical and socio-demographic in the urban area but not political. In the period of 2010-2014, and taking into account the political and institutional conditions (table 1), it is possible to nominate governmental actors that would explain why the formulation in their interaction and which mandates the law of metropolitan coordination has been messed (table 2).

Table 2: The Political Actors of the Metropolitan arena (2010-2015)

Gobierno	2010-2012	2012-2015
Estatal	Emilio González (PAN)	(Aristóteles Sandoval) PRI
Guadalajara	(Aristóteles Sandoval) PRI	(Ramiro Hernández) PRI
Zapopan	(Héctor Vielma) PRI	(Héctor Robles) PRI
Tlaquepaque	(Miguel Castro) PRI	(Alfredo Barba Mariscal) PRI
Tonalá	(Antonio Mateos) PRI	(Jorge Arana) PRI
Tlajomulco de Zúñiga*	(Enrique Alfaro) PRD-PT	(Miguel del Toro) PMC
El Salto	(Gerardo González) PRI	(Joel González) PRI

Source: own elaboration.

*: The city of Tlajomulco de Zúñiga is controlled by the same political group regardless of the party. Has leadership Enrique Alfaro, who after having lost the 2012 election for Governor aspires to run for municipal President of Guadalajara. Recent history says that who holds the post of Governor of Jalisco, previously served as Mayor of the capital Guadalajara. They have been the cases of Francisco Ramírez, Emilio González and Aristóteles Sandoval. To start, you should reiterate that if the design and enactment of the law was more tortuous, it will be its implementation. Even a previous version was vetoed. That law was slowed down by the Governor Emilio González Márquez. The Governor vetoed it front of the LVIII legislature local, in which the time Enrique Alfaro Ramírez was a member of local and Chairman of the Committee on metropolitan Affairs. Then the Governor argued that it was inconsistent and contradictory on integration of metropolitan areas; that the coordination process should be common to all metropolitan areas, not exclusive to Guadalajara; and proposed to create two different grouping schemes: one to Guadalajara and another for the rest of metropolitan areas to the interior of the State. In order not to discuss the same mistakes, the committees of constitutional issues, urban development and metropolitan affairs that ruled the law, held subsequently Forum of consultations with municipal authorities and experts in the field. Enrique Alfaro, now as municipal President of Tlajomulco de Zúñiga, demanded that the observations were taken.

After the consultation process on January of 2011, the House of the local Congress approved law of metropolitan coordination. Confidence in the legal instrument was broad, the bases already it had sat and the process was very clear and defined in the law. In this context, the first political acts and media were in door and some municipal Presidents signed an "agreement for metropolitan governance". On that occasion the mayors were fixed within 120 days for the creation of three agencies covered by the Act: the Board of metropolitan coordination, the Metropolitan Institute of planning and citizen Metropolitan Council. It was July and the reality ordered that the process would not be easy. A clear indication that it would be as well, was the absence, although they sent representatives, of the municipal Presidents of Guadalajara, Zapopan and Tonalá, Aristóteles Sandoval, Héctor Vielma and Antonio Mateos, respectively; as well as the presence of the Secretary-General of the Government of Jalisco, Fernando Guzmán Pérez Peláez (*El Informador*, 10/07/2011).⁸ The central citizen Assembly for Metropolitan Governance, artifice and collective group organization in the design and formulation of the law of metropolitan coordination, regretted the absence of some of the mayors, but the damage and the political message was given. Beside the political issue, it was the financial issue of the Metropolitan agreement. Although the municipal Presidents made some arrangements, formulae, amounts, conditions of execution, times and other aspects relating to the contributions in financial resources, this was a constant problem for the project servicing. Similarly, not enough with the signature of the municipal Presidents, as the agreement would have to go through the ratification of the respective municipalities. Thus, it was giving the ratification, and to count drops the delivery of agreed resources.⁹

⁸An explanation of this snub is that you were in door the internal processes of the PRI for the selection of candidates face local elections in 2012. Since it was perceived that coordination would affect the differences between the internal groups of the PRI even when the law marked a path clear. The PRI group rooted in Tlaquepaque, headed by Miguel Castro Reynoso and Alfredo beard Marshal, headed by politically the issue of coordination. This explains why after the PRI of having "a political boss" in the figure of the Governor the metropolitan vision did not prosper.

⁹ For example, until June 2012 Guadalajara City Council allocated three million 307 thousand 200 pesos for the operation of the technical body, which required a total of 8 million pesos that had to complete other municipalities in the metropolitan area. See the report, June 6, 2012.

This was necessary because the eight city councils would have to approve the document which would contain the Organic Statute which will regulate the internal life of the Metropolitan Institute of planning. Several were formal steps that had to comply on the fly was emerging; on the one hand, the political conditions of position and interests remarked that a good institutional design was not enough when persistence and inertia to release power were present; on the other hand, which had a financial problem. Another aspect was that the Metropolitan subject formally to racing him and gave preponderance to the municipalities required the support of the State Government.¹⁰ One of the pitfalls of not franked, to two years of approved the law of metropolitan coordination and little more than one year of signed the agreement between some mayors, was that the Congress of the State had not issued the Declaration of validity and creation of the Metropolitan Area of Guadalajara that turns as the Executive branch. This formal requirement was essential so that everything else could have legal support. Made the declaration of metropolitan area was one of the agreements between the municipal Presidents to create a tecnico-transitorio group which will give form to the work of the technical body, in areas such as planning, infrastructure, public services and environmental, and the organic foundations of the board of coordination, of the Institute of Planning and Citizen Council (*La Jornada Jalisco*, 4/02/2012). That team was integrated by Alberto Orozco Ochoa, Alfredo Hidalgo Rasmussen, Roberto Arias, Mario Silva and Francisco Borja, due to their recognition as experts in planning, mobility, public policy, law and urban planning.¹¹

After last the 2012 election and being another political conditions, the Mayor of Tlaquepaque, Miguel Castro Reynoso, who presided over the work for the creation of the Imeplan delivered the change municipal President of Guadalajara.¹² Sometime later when the Metropolitan Coordination Board was installed in August of 2012-2015, and now with the elected mayors for the 2012-2015 (see table 2), principal remained the creation of the Imeplan. It now new municipal President of Tlaquepaque, Alberto Barba Mariscal will lead the board of metropolitan coordination. It should note that the group or faction of the PRI, to which he belonged from the beginning was interested in the subject of the Metropolitan. This fact may explain why from the governorship there was that initial and strong metropolitan coordination support. The pre-electoral and electoral process of 2012 (March-July), inauguration of the new mayors, and up to the first reporting period of Government of the municipal Presidents of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara (month December 2012), had only shown an issue: that there was no real concern for metropolitan coordination, because up to August 2013 the creation of the Imeplan and citizen Metropolitan Council still they do not concretizing (see *La Jornada Jalisco*, 19/09/2013).¹³ The awaited Agency began to take shape when the Statute of the Institute's planning was finally published in the official newspaper of Jalisco (*La Jornada Jalisco*, 19/02/2014).

¹⁰ The city also issued a trade so Jalisco Governor Emilio González Márquez, authorize the use of 1% of the contributions that make the Councils in the Metropolitan Fund (around 400 million pesos), as the Imeplan initial budget, in particular for its equipment and payments to the staff. See "Guadalajara ratifies Convention of metropolitan coordination", *El Informador*, on August 29, 2011: and "The Metropolitan Planning Institute already has headquarters", *El Informador*, on November 17, 2011.

¹¹ Alberto Orozco Ochoa was appointed the coordinator of the team, and eventually the first director of the Imeplan, had a master's degree in urban planning and expert in policies on public works, transportation. One fact to consider is to be grandson of former Governor Alberto Orozco Romero. Alfonso José Borja Arias is an attorney with different diplomas in the field of law. Alfredo Hidalgo Rasmussen, architect and specialist in different urban and social issues. He was President of the Assembly by metropolitan governance and official in the municipality of Zapopan with Hector Robles Peiro. Roberto Arias de la Mora is Professor and researcher in El Colegio de Jalisco, consultant and columnist for the newspaper Milenio Jalisco, as well as public and consultant. Finally, Mario Ramón Silva Rodríguez is an expert in the design of projects and programmers for the development of sustainable, activist and leader of the Jalisco ecological collective. In this period the Mayor of the Jalisco capital was Francisco Ayón López who replaced Aristóteles Sandoval, who was waiting to take office as Governor.

¹² In this period the Mayor of the Jalisco capital was Francisco Ayón López who replaced Aristóteles Sandoval, who was waiting to take office as Governor.

¹³ This despite the fact that publicly in December 2012 the Metropolitan mayors had defined seven Metropolitan work areas such as: 1. recover the peace and collective security; 2. a mobility safe, dignified and efficient; 3. sufficient drinking water and adequate sewage treatment; 4. a system of green areas, public and recreational to ensuring the public character. 5 healthy environment to contribute to an air of quality; complete the adequate management of solid waste (collection, transfer, treatment and final disposal) and a bout decided to pollution; 6 complete as soon as the establishment of the Metropolitan Institute of planning and citizen Metropolitan Council; and 7. The coordination of criteria of awareness and universal accessibility throughout the city, in public buildings and public works. The transcendental in terms of public opinion is that they pledged to create the Imeplan in January 2013. See "Mayors defined Metropolitan agenda", *La Jornada Jalisco*, December 6, 2012.

As it has been seated, the metropolitan coordination Act entered into force in 2011, but was delayed operation of two of three instances that sorts this legislation by a series of political constraints and incentives arising from institutional design that hinder cooperation. This explains that the Imeplan has taken to entering operations. But also the problem was financial. The political problem that will later be added of economic resources. The Imeplan dragged debts by the municipalities of Zapopan and Tonalá in the first stage. Since the coordination agreement was signed in January 2012 to date, of the 8 billion pesos that the municipal Presidents agreed that they would provide for the transitional stage, had only received 5.88 million pesos (*Milenio Jalisco*, 20/02/2014). But in these subtle warnings establish and formalize greater metropolitan coordination, of course, the first instance that seemed to do it with this intention was the Board of metropolitan coordination. Due to its characteristics and institutional functions, it was natural that it constituted to be integrated by the eight municipal Presidents and the Governor. The reproach in all cases was that political will and simply work not derived in clear and concrete actions to address Metropolitan problems and compliance with what stated the law of metropolitan coordination. However, with the publication of the Statute were given deadlines so it will operate the Imeplan and citizen Council. Immediately stipulated that the Imeplan would have as early works the creation of five Metropolitan shares and would have a budget of 12 million pesos from the eight municipalities that make up the metropolitan area (*La Jornada Jalisco*, 19/02/2014).¹⁴

Ultimately, the underlying problem that prevents that transit to greater metropolitan coordination and enable greater planning and make manageable areas or metropolitan areas in Mexico, is considered in the constitutional article 115, and it consists of the change of land use. And the truth is that hard councils leave. The expectations in terms of the scope of the law on metropolitan coordination and the Imeplan were broad, but once Roberto Arias mentioned that how much that would help is to homogenize urban plans. But to be more conclusive, and pessimistic sense, already warned that the design of metropolitan coordination responded to a matter of governance rather than governance. It was alleged the development that had the Imeplan in public opinion, which was neglecting the other two instances of metropolitan coordination. So be warned that this would result limitations of political-institutional. The first would be the importance of the Board of metropolitan coordination as a political body, would have to give the municipal authority a central role with regard to the functions of management of the territory and urban development would continue to prevail where planning discretionary decisions, abuse of authority, and omissions in the discharge of public duties. As a result, being this most important body, the other two instances that accompany the Metropolitan Institute would broken their aspirations of a metropolitan governance (see Arias and Arellano, 2013); and experience showed that it was so.

5. To Conclude

Institutional coordination and intermunicipal associations are unique mechanisms in Mexico to make governable metropolitan areas. However, the metropolitan coordination is limited by the valuation of municipal autonomy in urban affairs. In the allocation of land use change is the incentive that prevents councils to cooperate and coordinate. This is because they don't want to and the attribution is the origin of urban disorder and chaos. Already up in the case study, and to have analyzed the political condition of metropolitan coordination, analytical intention departed from placing political and institutional elements that account for the location of the problem. In the case of the metropolitan area of Guadalajara its governance is conditional on minimum cooperation mechanisms in the national context are seen as laudable. This is because there is a long tradition of considering the metropolitan vision in the metropolitan area of Guadalajara, management mechanisms, are however out and others are in the stage of formulation and implementation.

¹⁴ The first works of the Imeplan considered were the creation of metropolitan planning instruments consist of the land use Plan, the development program, risk map and information system. After designed, these would be submitted to the Board of coordination and, once authorized, sent for discussion, and where appropriate endorsement, town councils and the Executive of Jalisco. According to the agreement which breached with the contribution was descontaría the appeal of State contributions. The municipality should bring more will be 4'592, Guadalajara 650.55 pesos; Zapopan with 3'358, 386.64 pesos; Tlaquepaque with 1'535, 300.55 pesos; Tonalá with 1'043, 017.95 AV; Tlajomulco with 800,602.71; Jump with 456,541.75 of weights; Ixtlahuacán de los Membrillos with 95,619.65 of weights; and Juanacatlán with 37,881.20 pesos. See the *Jornada Jalisco*, 19/02/2014.

In this urban area there is a political and administrative fragmentation which make complicated Metropolitan management, intergovernmental relations and political interaction are complex since the 1990s when democratization and decentralization processes happened, but in the metropolitan area are noticeable advances, stagnations, and situations in which drives of new account the Metropolitan subject as an "issue" of policies. The difficulty which arises in this urban space is that Live eight municipalities and the Government of the State, as well as a numerous and complex conglomerate of actors and political, social and economic institutions. In the Metropolitan arena there was a sample of this constellation and how institutional and open agendas converge, and how they are formulated. Also speeches are left aside and intentions policy to find elements or reasons why really is adopted the Metropolitan policy, manifests the disagreements and agreements as well as the groups involved with the aim of observing the dimension and location of the problem. Metropolitan coordination model responds to metropolitan governance and not to metropolitan governance as it flies and looking for with effort. However, the mayors have these spaces and instruments are already a are formally required to comply with the law.

6. References

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