P11 / Politics and Policy in Metropolitan Context: Actors, Narratives and Instruments

Topic : POLICY FORMULATION, ADMINISTRATION AND POLICYMAKERS

Chair : Maïmouna Ndong-Etroit (Science Po Grenoble)

Second Chair : Jeanne Chauvel (Sciences Po Rennes)

GENERAL OBJECTIVES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

Several institutional reforms around the world have built new metropolitan governments in the past decades (Brenner, 2004). Those metropolitan governments have various shapes according to national, cultural, political, institutional backgrounds. Despite these differences, there are three dominant models of metropolitan government: the reform school, the public choice school and the new regionalism. In fact, we have moved from theories advocating cooperation between main cities and their peripheries, to a reformist movement that defends competition between municipalities and efficiency that better pull them up (Tomàs, 2013). And finally the third theory considers as ineluctable "the creation of large polycentric urban areas with high mobility of citizens and products, or post metropolis" (Soya, 2000). This theory based on an intermediate principle between the reformists and the public choice theory, proposes to go beyond the institutional aspect (Douay, 2010) by focusing on the role of actors' networks that participate in "regional coalitions" (Mitchell-Weaver & Al, 2000).

Considering, as Lefèvre argues, that political actors can play an active role in metropolitan governance to find solutions to local economical, social, political, and environmental issues (Lefèvre, 1998). This panel tends to explore the impact of politics on two aspects of metropolitan governments : the institutional construction (of a public policies' space) and the link between planning or transport policies through urban projects (more coordination between various actors without institutional reform) and institutional policies oriented towards bigger simplification, better coordination of private and public actors involved in metropolitan governance.

CALL FOR PAPERS

Yet few insight has been put on the actors promoting metropolitan reform (may it be towards more coordinative or more integrative processes). As a result, observing the process at work upstream will enlighten on how reforms are built. If central States are acknowledged as playing key roles in the implementation and success of metropolitan reforms (Kübler & Lefèvre, 2017), few is known about what is behind the generic term of « State » : who are the ministers, the high civil servants, the experts promoting such reforms ? To what extent do local representatives favor metropolitan reforms? And what about civil participation: is there a demand in the urban population for metropolitan reforms? How international organizations such as the World Bank, OECD, UNHabitat, the European Union, play an active role in promoting metropolitan rescaling?

Then, which policy instruments are chosen by reformers to promote their vision of the metropolis? Do they use expertise, communication, law…?

Those questions raise a second point of investigation on metropolitan institutional policies. Which are the narratives and the visions justifying such reforms? Are they linked to electoral, regulative or democratic purposes? This second axis of the panel focus on the role of ideas in shaping public policies.

Third, how are metropolitan institutional reforms implemented? What about processes of reforms? Do they follow and precede coordinative processes of planning projects?

Forth, it seems interesting to question the mechanisms leading to failures of certain public policy. What alternatives do actors have to go beyond the metropolitan institution? How other cooperations are structured around metropolitan areas?

Communications addressing the above mentioned issues in monographies or comparative fields are welcome. We put on interest in the different stages of institutionalization through long-lasting, new or under-construction cases.

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Session 1

Thursday, June 27th 10:30 to 12:30 (MB 2.255)

Dilemmas and challenges in local infrastructure governance: PPP's as instrument for transport policies

Everardo Chiapa (Tecnológico de Monterrey / Universidad Autónoma del Estado de Hidalgo)

Culebro Jorge (Metropolitan Autonomous University)

The evolution of public-private partnerships as suppliers for public services has been increasingly used as an instrument for improving public policy, mostly when it comes to reduce costs and improving public transportation. For instance, the transport sector at subnational level in Mexico has taken PPP's as the most convenient response to urban mobility/transport problem, although it has been poorly studied. The purpose of this paper is to carry out a comparative analysis between two metropolitan areas in Mexico and to identify the main causes that explain the performance and difficulties of a hybrid supplying model (public-private), in the context where several reforms on public services provision have taken place in México at all levels.

Our point of departure is that, in the absence of metropolitan authorities, the governance in big cities has been assumed as a state level responsibility. At the same time, PPP projects in Mexico has been characterized by the appearance of a set of political formal and informal arrangements in collaboration with multiple private enterprises, depending on the stage in which they intervene. The roles of consulting companies in a planning process and the constitution of contractors' companies in the operative phase are determinant on the success (or failure) of a policy. The transport sector was chosen not only for its great importance but also due to the great impact it has in the Mexican metropolitan dynamic, as well as because of its representativeness to highlight the specificities of PPP's. In general, the Latin-American and the world-wide experience has shown that infrastructure projects tend to underestimate their costs and to overestimate their demand, even with supposed formal validation processes. In this sense, despite the fact that PPPs has been generally promoted by international organizations, such as the World Bank (WB) and the OECD, there is a prevailing need to explore the implications and challenges that emerge from this kind of governance tools in Latin America.

To achieve this, the institutional and organizational characteristics of PPPs are addressed in the first place. Subsequently, the case in transport sector is presented, specifically in the states of Puebla and Hidalgo, in a comparative analysis of bus rapid transit system, finally we present a set of general considerations. A discussion is held about its possible implications in terms of its performance, transparency and accountability.

We follow a process tracing as a methodological technique within a comparative approach using qualitative and quantitative information. Information from the transport sector was provided by key actors of both sates Puebla and Hidalgo, interviews (2016-2017), and public documents and databases.

The patrimonialism in the policy: the case of "Fondo Metropolitano" in Mexico. How politics criteria affect the metropolitan policies.

Moises Israel Iraheta Avila (CIDE Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas A.C.)

The formulation of public policies implies a technical-political process, however, it is recurrent that in developing countries policy decisions are taken under predominantly political-patrimonial criteria.

In Mexico, policies with a pretension to metropolitan reach were inaugurated in 2005 with the establishment of the Metropolitan Fund, which can be considered as the first institutional effort (accompanied by economic resources) to build a metropolitan governance; however, its formulation process was dominated by political

factors that generated a bag of resources with "discretionary" use, which not necessarily reflect the needs of metropolitan areas.

For the present work table: "Politics and Policy in Metropolitan Context: Actors, Narratives and Instruments", I take as a case study the policy of the Metropolitan Fund in Mexico and analyze its design and implementation process from the year 2005 to the year 2019. I argue that public policy was designed from political negotiations of local governments (elected officials) of the Metropolitan Zone of the Valley of Mexico and the federal government (designated officials), without establishing technical criteria that justify the federal transfer or the amounts optimal allocation that consider elements of metropolitan governability, leading to negotiations between politicians who determine the amounts and projects to be financed with the Metropolitan Fund.

For the realization of the work I make a documental review of the debates diaries of the Commission of Metropolitan Development of the Congress of the Union (Legislative Power), journalistic notes and technical reports of the first exercises (Executive Power). The research reveals that in addition to not having technical criteria for the design of the policy, there were also lacking minimum rules for its management, which left the fund's allocations in political discretion, giving rise to the patrimonialization of the management of the fund and affecting the construction of institutions for metropolitan governability.

The work is inserted in the table given that:

a) I point out the actors: officials of the high bureaucracy (Federal Executive Power), elected officials (Subnational Executive Power), legislators (Federal Legislative Power); who participated in the construction process of the policies and institutions (Metropolitan Fund) for metropolitan governability.

b) I identify the Metropolitan Fund and its characteristics as a type of policy instrument that promotes a vision of metropolitan spaces.

c) I rescue the rhetoric of the actors in the process of construction of the Metropolitan Fund policy.

d) Finally, I indicated the failure of the Metropolitan Fund policy since in its formulation process political factors prevailed over technical criteria for metropolitan areas, giving rise to patrimonial management of the fund.

Transport policies in the metropolitan process in Marseille and Lyon: an analysis of the discursive construction

Maïmouna Ndong-Etroit (Science Po Grenoble)

In France the new decentralization legislation between 2010 and 2014 brings an important change in the urban landscape. In the case of Marseille and Lyon many actors were mobilized during this period to define the perimeters, public policies and the conditions of cooperation. These actors played an important role in the two areas with differences in the institutional process.

In fact the arrival of the metropolis upsets the organization which had been negotiated before. This new institutional transformation comes along with a redefining of the public policies of transport which were stabilized. Through a justification of the necessity to readapt the transport policy to the territory, policymakers build a new institutional scale.

This communication aims to contribute to combine public policy theories and narrative approaches with the field of territorial science which emphasizes much in the spatial aspect of territorial reforms. The condition of emergence of a public policy such as transport in a context of changing has its particularity. Because we analyze a public policy which is carried by actors whose institutions are not stabilized in spaces of cooperation, the study tends to report arrangements, conflicts and alliances. To study the transformation of territories, the discursive analysis seems to be a way to understand the process. It is through a meticulous discourse analysis that we try to answer to our hypotheses. One of these hypotheses consists in considering that the Metropolis of transport precedes the territorial reform and its success or its failure was determining in the definition of the metropolitan perimeter.

This work is based at first on an important press review and interviews were realized with diverse actors. The productions of documents (reports, map, etc.) by technical services and administrations are also used in the discursive analysis.

Behind a contested airport project: the local dynamics to build a territorial consensus in Metropolitan context

Dounia Khallouki (ENTPE)

Lots of big infrastructure projects led to conflicts and tensions with the local population in the past few years.

We argue that those tensed projects are very relevant situations to analyze policy making. Indeed, conflict shows decision and mobilization processes in a way sharper than other situations. The case of the Notre-Dame-des-Landes project is a relevant case of such a tensed situation. The strong conflict between proponents and opponents finally led to the end of the project in January 2018.
Located in the north of Nantes metropolitan area, the project of the new airport aimed at replacing the actual Nantes airport. The opposition to the project was strong, but so was the coalition of its supporters, who were mainly territorial actors and local elected representatives. Indeed, for the Nantes metropolitan area representatives, this big infrastructure project was not only an airport project, but also a part of the territory development and the local transportation strategy. This project set in motion dynamics of local negotiation between the different territorial collectivities that led to a large territorial consensus around the project opportunity.
Our intention in the paper is to understand, by studying discourses, practices and argumentative strategies, how actors work to build a territorial coalition around the opportunity of an iconic and contested infrastructure project. Local project entrepreneurs developed argumentative strategies to interest and enroll other local actors: we will study those processes at local, regional and inter regional scales. We argue that transportation projects related to the airport were an important part in the argumentative strategies and in the construction of a large territorial consensus around the airport project.
We will pay a very precise attention to the Nantes agglomeration actors and their involvement in this coalition and to what extend the airport was a part of their strategy in the construction of a metropolitan area. We will also be careful to citizen involvement in this construction.

Reflections on the metropolitan governance of Brasilia, Brazil

Luiz Fernando Bessa (Universidade de Brasília)

Brasília, capital of Brazil, built in 1960, by state decision, has been the scene of a very peculiar situation in the Brazilian metropolitan issue: difficulties in reaching a consensus on its nature and limits of urbanity, as well as on its institutionality for the development of integrated metropolitan public policies. From a political-administrative point of view, Brasilia is a Federal District, indivisible in municipalities, but with the contiguous municipalities of the State of Goiás around it forms a metropolitan fact, but not a fact of law. According to the Brazilian Constitution, Brasilia could not legally constitute itself in a metropolitan region, since only the member states of the federation could create them within its political-administrative boundaries. Although this obstacle was circumvented in 1998 with the institution by the central government of the Integrated Economic Development Region (RIDE) of the Federal District and Surroundings, it is argued that, in practice, this structure hardly solves the metropolitan issue (SOUZA , 2017). Several studies have pointed out the need for a metropolitan governance structure for Brasília and its immediate region of influence.

These difficulties turn out to be a fertile field for thinking about metropolitan challenges from new analytical perspectives. The present work aims to analyze the main political forces involved in the process of building the institutionalization of the metropolitan space of Brasília, as well as the narratives and visions can take the problem of metropolitan governance, to be constituted as public.

From a pragmatist matrix, particularly seen from the perspective of French sociology, we bring to the center of the discussions a look at the notion of public (Dewey, 1927) as the main category of analysis of social relations and relations between State and Society. For Dewey, the public is that set of people, organizations, and institutions indirectly affected by the shared perception of undesirable consequences of a problematic situation and who engage to try to elucidate and solve it. The understanding of what can be understood as public in the theme of metropolitan governance seems to be much more persecuted from the reinterpretation of what the "public" is in the following terms: why the public does not fill, assume, occupy even the very few spaces that they are given, granted, created for the resolution or treatment of problems considered as of public relevance to the metropolitan level of government? Which is the set of actors, with quantitative and qualitative relevance, that advocates the importance of this problem, attributing it the public quality? Without public there are no problems of metropolitan dimension, within a democracy.

When we bring a focus to an analysis from the actors as promoters of the metropolitan reform, be them actors of the central government, local representatives or civil society, their narratives and visions from the case of Brasilia metropolitan governance, which is under construction, we intend to contribute for the debate on politics and policy in metropolitan context.

Public Health Metropolitan Governance - Advances and challenges in the Integrated Development Region (RIDE) of the Federal District and cities surrounding Brasilia

Renata Santos (Universidade de Brasília)

Lucio Magda (University of Brasilia)

Cecília Aguiar Silva Palau (University of Brasília - UnB)

This paper aims at analyzing public health governance actions in the Brazilian metropolitan region, identifying the negotiations and common actions in this segment, which are guided by the conurbation and inter-municipal division of population's daily life. Urbanization, an accelerated phenomenon of city growth and a way of life specifically associated with it, promoted processes of metropolization around the world and exponentially increased the number of metropolitan regions. This phenomenon has been increasing in Brazil since the 1970s, with a high emergence of metropolitan regions after the 1988 Constitution. As an empirical area of studies for this paper we chose the Integrated Economic Development Region of the Federal District and Surrounding Cities - which have Brasilia, the capital of Brazil, as a metropolis. The municipalities that make up the respective area of study are, however, from other states of Brazil (Goiás and Minas Gerais), which generates difficulties of governance of the area itself. In view of this scenario, this study questions how the stakeholders involved with health governance in this regional territory promote the identification of the problems related to this sector and build the respective public policies that attempt to solve them. The State is formally responsible for the emergence of metropolitan regions, but it is no longer a responsibility of the federal government and is now an attribution of the state government. In this sense, Brasília – Brazil's Federal Capital and Metropolis – must coordinate management forms with two other governments, negotiating roles, responsibilities, diagnosing contexts and seeking fiscal adjustments for health governance in the region. In order to achieve the established objective, besides analysing joint projects and programs, several minutes of meetings between local stakeholders were also analyzed. In order to understand the epistemology about governance, a bibliometric analysis was carried out in a universe of 240 papers, where 70 were defined as important for understanding the concept. In view of this concept, we sought to understand how public actors and agents, and even civil society, in the praxis of metropolitan health governance, coordinate between themselves to promote the health of the population and define their public policy instruments. This paper, therefore, converges with the subject proposed in the topic when analyzing the metropolitan health governance through its stakeholders and instruments, which also the subject-matter of this topic.