POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS IN THE TERRITORIAL DEVELOPMENT OF METROPOLITAN AREAS. THE CASE OF THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF LEON, GUANAJUATO, MEXICO.

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Abstract

Today, urban areas are exhibiting a social fragmentation and territorial dispersion. The cities are transformed, creating a new space focused partner organization, the city model that existed has been modified and now we have a model of diffuse, scattered and fragmented on city territories; the areas of influence have spread, sometimes even up to become metropolis or megalopolis. The metropolis arise when a city goes beyond its political and administrative territorial limit, to form an urban area located in two or more municipalities in which the central city is not located, but this implies that political political-institutional model that responded to the previous limit administrative, no longer responds to the new socio-spatial organization especially if you want to achieve the territorial development of this new urban area.

This paper aims to examine the territorial development problems facing major metropolitan areas in Mexico, particularly those concerning the political and institutional factors to arrive at establishing a metropolitan coordination to joint efforts to design and implement development policies territorial. The works that have been made in governance involving coordination between different levels of government are reviewed, the involvement of organized civil society and the adjustments to the regulatory framework and the tasks in territorial development.

In particular, we analyze the political and institutional factors in the territorial development of the metropolitan area of Leon, Guanajuato Mexico, one of the most important areas of the country, their experiences of management and coordination, progress and constraints for the construction of regional governance that achieves the implementation of a territorial development project.

Globalization and Metropolitan Areas in Mexico:

In recent decades it has been happening a profound transformation in the structure of the world economy, which has given rise to a new socio-spatial organization worldwide. According to Saskia Sassen, a combination of spatial dispersal and global integration that has attracted the world's major cities play a strategic role in the economic dynamics it is presented. (2001: 3)
Indeed, this author explains that the great cities of the world (New York, London, Tokyo, Frankfurt, Paris) now concentrating management in the organization of the world economy, including finance, specialized services, tertiary economic sectors are located and most important industries, markets for products and production innovations. Sassen says changes have had an impact on global economic activity and urban form. (2001: 4)

Undoubtedly, we are witnessing profound changes in urban areas, not only in big cities in the world, if not all, because they have been fading borders between town and country and because globalization is leading the coexistence of dispersion and spatial concentration of economic life, i.e., sociospatial fragmentation in all territories: towns, cities, regions, countries, regional blocs and therefore in the world, as recognized by several social scientists, including Saskia Sassen (2006) and David Harvey (2001).

New spatial organization, raised by two phenomena occurring simultaneously, namely the dispersion of production processes of transnational corporations worldwide, and concentration of commercial, service and financial operations in big cities companies promote themselves, giving rise to a fragmented space, private space of globalization. However, this does not mean that all cities have acquired the same way, but have taken on specific ways in particular places, as noted Sassen (2001).

The transformation in the world economic structure has led to the old industrial centers in the United States and England have lost weight, and in some places developing countries enterprises transnational are located, and especially commercial and financial transactions are conducted in a worldwide network, all it is altering the relationship between different territories and previous patterns of urban settings. In Latin America, urban growth has been remarkable, since the mid-twentieth century with the industrialization process experienced by the countries of the region, there was a strong migration from the countryside to the city and to the seventies already had some urban areas more largest in the world exceeded the 10 million people, including Mexico City with 10.7 million and Sao Paolo with 10.3 million.

For 2000 "... and there were 50 cities with a million inhabitants and four mega cities, namely: Sao Paola, with 17.5 million, Mexico City 16.7 million, Buenos Aires 12.6 million and Rio de Janeiro 10600000, plus three cities with more than 5 million inhabitants: Bogota, Lima and Santiago de Chile, and also several exceeding three million "(Rojas E. et al. 2005:29).

Certainly, the process of urbanization and the formation of metropolitan areas in Latin America, is relevant from the twentieth century, conceiving these areas, as all municipalities where a city of 50,000 or more inhabitants is located whose urban area, functions and activities beyond the political-administrative boundary of the municipality that originally contained, incorporating as part of themselves, or their direct area of influence, predominantly urban neighboring municipalities, with maintaining a high degree of socioeconomic integration. (CONAPO, INEGI, SEDESOL, 2004)

While metropolises grow and multiply in the region for several years, is in the context of globalization that these areas are undergoing profound changes not only in its territorial configuration (changes in morphology, structure and infrastructure), but also its organization for production, development of economic and financial activities, distribution and consumption, its social organization, cultural patterns, in the relations of the center with the peripheries, in the formation of new sub-centers in processes decentralization- concentration in the emergence of new economic and social actors, in short they are acquiring a new configuration not only space, but social, economic and even political. (Ciccolella, without date: 10)

But while Latin American metropolises share some similarities, including: expansion of urban sprawl, trends to the city-region and the reticular growth, development of services, increased social polarization, residential segregation, not all are equal, since each retains some conditions or characteristics result of historical processes, culture, identity, which as Carlos de Mattos notes have not been entirely erased by globalization. (Ciccolella, without date:11 citing Mattos, 2008).

Moreover, it is considered that particularly in Latin America, the level of development that each country has influences the features and functions that have acquired their metropolis, so unlike what happens with the metropolises of developed countries, namely the concentration related to advanced services (management, direction and control of production worldwide) and also activities related to the financial sector in Latin American
metropolises productive activities are basically concentrated with a low level of specialization and activities intensive use of cheap labor. (Medina and Cotta, 2010: 10 citing Olivares Gonzalez, 2004).

In the case of Mexico, according to Jaime Sobrino, the concentration of population in urban areas and territorial distribution of human settlements it has gone through three phases that have had a relationship with economic development. In the first one, which covered the period 1900-1940, under the primary export economic model, in which the country's economy rested mainly on agriculture, but with growth in the industrial sector, particularly capital goods industries consumption (textiles, sugar, beer, tobacco products, shoes, etc.) and oil extraction with foreign investment, the country experienced an urban growth, reaching 20.1 percent; in the second phase comprised the following four decades, 1940-1980, under development model oriented import substitution, trade protection and attention to the domestic market, there was a large concentration of population in urban areas and especially started one formation process metropolitan areas, which means that some cities already exceeded its political and administrative boundaries. (Sobrino, 2011: 1)

Indeed, during this phase grew urban neighborhoods with housing people working in industries located in large cities, leading to the formation of rings around the big cities, which began the metropolitan process.

Later in the third phase began in the eighties and continues to date, in the context of the globalization process, particularly in the process of economic restructuring in Mexico, Sobrino says that is characterized by the following changes in the cities and areas Metropolitan: a) an important factor in population growth in the metropolitan area of Mexico City descent, (which had a huge growth in previous years), b) a significant population growth in cities larger within the range intermediate cities, located in the central region of the country, as in the Northern Border, c) changes in the pattern of internal migration, predominantly urban-urban flows and d) the consolidation of the metropolitan dimension, f) shaping emerging urban regions g) institutionalization of territorial planning of the country. (Ibid)

Changes in the urban pattern in this last phase have been related to the adoption of a new economic model oriented towards trade liberalization and the reduction of state economic functions. In fact, the production system was oriented towards global trade, and the relocation of industry to rural areas and the media, which has led to a new configuration of metropolitan areas. (Sobrino, 2011: 1)

Precisely at this stage, in the big cities financial sector activities and specialized services, but also industrial activities, reconfiguring its economic base and develop their territorial form.

Undoubtedly, in recent decades, in Mexico both urban areas and rural have experienced an accelerated process of change, larger cities have decreased their population and urban growth, intermediate cities have become important, and formed rapidly metropolitan areas. De Mattos explains, in the case of Latin American countries, the metropolitan location of some specialized activities, has contributed to the expansion of the metropolis, as these activities are overflowing the above limits, occupying rural areas, resulting in processes of suburbanization and polycentric structure with fuzzy boundaries. (De Mattos, 2001: 2)

Currently in Mexico there are 59 metropolitan areas, which account for 57% of the population, and a megalopolis with 24% of the population, meaning it a large urban area whose center of its development to a big city, usually greater than the 5 million inhabitants, around which various urban and rural clusters, which together represent a significant economic and practical importance in the national and international economy are grouped.
It is noteworthy that these metropolitan areas are diverse in size in terms of land area and population size, and that among the most important are: Valley of Mexico, Monterrey and Guadalajara.

However, the formation of metropolitan areas has involved not only the concentration of population in some parts of the country, but a variety of problems or needs to satisfy in these large urban centers such conglomerates as a peripheral growth messy, informal settlements, strong pressure to provide basic public services such as water, sewage and electricity, job creation, insufficient and inefficient public transportation, lack of urban infrastructure and damaged equipment, housing, education, health services, security, urban fragmentation, loss public space, social disintegration, increasing environmental degradation, loss of quality of air and water, loss of natural resources, low level of qualification of human resources, and demands for democratic progress.

Social demands primarily aimed at achieving an improvement in the quality of life of the inhabitants of these areas, but difficult to meet because local governments have reduced budgets. Especially considering that exhibit large metropolises problems such as increased levels of poverty and even social exclusion, crime and also environmental pollution.

While metropolitan areas share many similarities in the problems and challenges they face, are not equal, varies its economic growth, productivity, its ability to position itself in the markets, poverty levels, infrastructure, etc. Moreover, great differences between municipalities that comprise them, some have greater goods and services, costs of production, natural resources, available labor, among other factors, accounting for some of these advantages and others, disadvantages, in such a way that between them compete for resources and achieve better integrated into the world market, in the same way that occurs between the metropolitan areas themselves.

In fact, economic restructuring has led to several metropolitan areas, since the industry has spatially distributed differently, and has led to different joints in these areas in their economic relations, both within themselves and with the other regions, which has led to changes in the systems of cities and urban hierarchy.
This, coupled with the reduced with featuring local governments budgets the task of establishing collaborations between them to achieve to have better conditions for greater competitiveness, in other words new institutional arrangements are urgently required has become indispensable, that is, the formation of metropolitan governments. This task is urgent, especially because the changes that are occurring both in urban areas and rural areas have occurred in the context of a process of state reform has meant the implementation of policies of financial adjustment, privatization of services public and political, economic and administrative decentralization.

**Political Model Institutional Challenges Facing Metropolitan Areas:**

It is important to describe the current structure of the Mexican state and its laws to understand the reasons why this model does not adequately address the problems and challenges now facing the metropolitan areas of Mexico. The Mexican State is a federation that consists States Books and Sovereigns and recently by Mexico City (formerly Federal District), States that have as a basis for their territorial division and its political and administrative organization the Free Municipality.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Federal SovereignState</th>
<th>Federal Entities</th>
<th>Free Municipality</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent Political Constitution of the United Mexican States Articles 39 to 114</td>
<td>Free and Sovereign with regard to its internal system states, united in a Federation Constitution U.M.E. Article 40 and 116</td>
<td>Constitution U.M.E. Article 115</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Public Power of States to exercise is divided into executive, legislative and judicial. States have political constitutions and state laws regulating the structure of the State and Municipal governments, his administration and the powers of their organs. The Constitution of the United Mexican States defines administrative policy for each of the three branches of government responsibilities, responsibilities either shared or differentiated among the three.

So that metropolises are fragmented by political and administrative jurisdictions (states or municipalities) within them, making necessary coordination of government at different levels is generated to address metropolitan problems.

The main articles of the Constitution define the powers particularly the responsibility of the municipalities, or to be performed concurrently with the States and the Federation are: 3rd, 4th, 5th, 21, 26, 27, 31, 36, 73, 105, 108, 115, 116, 117, 123, 128, and 130. in particular Article 115 indicates that it is up to the municipalities, formulate, approve and administer zoning and municipal urban development plans; participate in the creation and administration of their territorial reserves; control and monitor land use in their territorial jurisdictions; intervene in the regularization of urban land tenure; granting permits for construction and licensing and participate in the creation and administration of ecological reserve zones. (INAFED, legal framework)

Although, in the same article in its Section VI decreed that “When two or more urban centers situated in municipal territories of two or more states form or tend to form a demographic continuity, the Federation, the states and municipalities respective in the scope of its powers, plan and regulate jointly and coordinated development of these centers with adherence to the federal law on the matter .” (Ibid)

Also, Article 11 in Section VI of the Constitution states that the respective local and municipal governments each other and between them and the Federation for the planning and execution of actions in conurbations may sign agreements for the creation of metropolitan commissions those who attend and participate in accordance with its laws.

What is the legal basis for possible collaboration and Metropolitan Coordination Based on this law, Congress, in its LXI Legislature passed October 2, 2003, the creation and integration of the Commission on Metropolitan Development as ordinary legislative committee, taking the first step to provide the legal framework required public action and concerted action with the private and social sectors, aimed at promoting sustainable development in metropolitan areas of the country. The Commission aims to promote, facilitate and provide the oriented adaptation and updating of the federal legal framework which would govern, regulate and sustain development with social equity and sustainable foundations of Mexican metropolis legislative process.
In fact, recognizing the dynamics of the metropolitan phenomenon, in the late nineties and early twenty-first century, begin to constitute the Metropolitan Coordination, as in the case of the two examples presented here, namely: the Metropolitan Coordination the Federal District and the State of Mexico who sign a Coordination Agreement and Joint implementation actions to work in a coordinated manner in the planning and execution of actions in the contaminations, especially in the field of civil protection, public security, environmental conservation, environment, management and control of trade, rural development and transformation of urban image for the benefit of the community. (Coordination Agreement)

Likewise, Metropolitan Development Coordination Hidalgo State, created in 2008, which was created to promote the development of metropolitan areas within this State, and integrated between the State of Mexico, Hidalgo and the Federal District. Among the attributions this coordination are: a) To promote among the public, social and private coordination of actions for the development within the metropolitan areas sectors; b) enter into agreements in the Federal, State and Municipal level to enable to effectively carry out the programs and actions established in the field of developing Metropolitan; c) To promote, coordinate and evaluate the dependencies and decentralized agencies of the State, Municipal and Federal Public Administration, actions and development oriented programs in metropolitan areas; d) To assist in the care of the problems concerning planning, regional, urban and rural development, conurbation, metropolization and land use which presents the state of Hidalgo; and f) Establish, under the State System of Democratic Planning, coordination mechanisms between the public, private and social sectors for the implementation of programs and actions on regional, urban and rural development. (Decree of Metropolitan Development Coordination Hidalgo).

Metropolitan Coordination according to Moreno (2006: 9) correspond more to a model of inter-municipal government, which is characterized by its indirect legitimacy, since it resides in the municipal authorities, financial autonomy (their funding comes from the municipalities or good of the federation), powers are defined by local governments themselves, although in these cases if they have jurisdiction established by the law, which is a characteristic of supramunicipal model that differs from the previous one, since it is characterized by direct election its metropolitan authorities, own funding and powers provided by law.

It should be noted that although have created these MetropolitansCoordination, this has not meant a real and effective interagency collaboration for actions aimed at achieving territorial development as a whole in the metropolis, ie that promote social competitiveness, environmental, economic, and even the best management and governance. This is due to several reasons including: that there is a vision and metropolitan identity or political authorities, or people who do not think of metropolitan dimension several serious problems affecting all people, nor responsibility and due collaboration and governance of metropolitan character; and other causes that we will be addressing.

One of the main reasons is that the Metropolitan Coordination continue to rely on the institutional political model that does not match metropolitan problems, as noted by Moreno citing Pedro Pírez (2006: 5), not dispense full of jurisdictional boundaries, so that they can really effectively address metropolitan issues, so they have to have the political-institutional apparatus that transcends local boundaries.

Especially considering that the metropolitan problems do not recognize jurisdictional, such as prevention and control of environmental pollution, exploitation of scarce sources of drinking water, under the management of multiple organisms, sewage disposal, drainage, collection territorial boundaries, treatment and disposal of solid hazardous waste, management and use of water, transport deficiencies, improvement and construction of roads, fighting crime, housing market, providing adequate public services for the population, as suggested by Moreno. (2006: 5-6)

Another important cause is the lack of plans for metropolitan territorial development, which would have from a diagnosis of the territory, which should consider the diversity of resources, geographical and environmental characteristics, conditions, culture, environment, production structure, population, labor market, education, development of science and technology, institutions, etc. In other words, the territorial capital, which has each of the municipalities that make up metropolitan areas, coupled with this, I would have analyzed the ways and extent to which each of the municipalities involved in the local economic dynamics, national and even global, to know what the winning municipalities and which the losers are, explain these different positions and be able to identify the factors that enable or limit their competitiveness, to build policies and strategies that promote greater territorial development for all the metropolitan area as a whole.
This would lead to the implementation of policies, projects and directed to municipalities differentiated programs, but with a comprehensive view of the area, which would be developed and implemented an integrated approach, but particularly at the same time, and most of the time applying principles of subsidiarity.

In fact, it would be recognized that the cities are different, each has its own characteristics and configuration processes metropolization are varied and therefore plans, policies, projects and aimed at each metropolitan area differentiated programs would be implemented. He would have to know what the function exercised by the metropolis in their regional space, diversity or economic-functional specialization, not only her but also the municipalities that make up, and the interrelationships between municipalities and their relations with the outside. This requires not only knowledge of the configuration and transformation occurring in the metropolis, but the identification and construction of new forms of territorial management and construction of new institutional arrangements.

A relevant institutional political factor in the development of metropolitan areas was the creation of a Metropolitan Fund in 2006, a fund was established for to meet the needs of the metropolis, due to increase in these areas, and the requirement to deploy actions and particular policies by the Mexican State and the imperative of competition and coordination of the three levels of government. (Iracheta, 2014: 45).

In the Operating Rules of the Fund to provide resources to the metropolitan areas the creation of a Council for Metropolitan Development, supported by a Technical Committee of the Trust, which manages the resources provided and a Technical Project Evaluation Subcommittee states. (2014: 63)

The costs of the Fund were incorporated into the Expenditure Budget of the Federation since 2006, with an allocation of one billion pesos, and reached 9.9 billion pesos in the Budget 2014, profit of 47 metropolitan areas nationwide. (Iracheta, 2014: 13-14)

This fund represents an advance in public policy for the development of metropolitan areas because resources assigned to the metropolis. The Fund aims to finance and equip the execution of studies, plans, assessments, programs, projects, activities and infrastructure in any of its components for metropolitan areas and states that these actions have to "... fulfill several characteristics: a) be feasible and sustainable; b) promote regional and urban development, and proper land management planning; c) boost economic competitiveness, sustainability and productive capacities of metropolitan areas; d) contribute to their viability and mitigate vulnerability to natural, environmental and fostered by demographic and economic dynamics phenomena; and e) encourage urban consolidation and optimal use of the competitive advantages of regional, urban and economic operation of the territorial space of metropolitan areas. "(Ibid). Although in reality, much of the resources have been devoted particularly to the construction of roads (but mainly for private and not public transport), leaving other serious problems unattended, such as unemployment, water supply quality, social segregation, etc., as discussed below.

### Metropolitan Background. Total Resources by Type of Project, 2009.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project Type</th>
<th>Number of Projects</th>
<th>Total amount</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Environment</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$34,604,990.00</td>
<td>0.58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publicspace</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$100,290,369.51</td>
<td>1.67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Study</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>$214,765,645.00</td>
<td>3.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hydraulic</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>$1,199,696,574.49</td>
<td>20.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NR</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$155,000,000.00</td>
<td>2.59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE Hydraulic</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$1,400,500.00</td>
<td>0.02%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Transport PE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>$10,000,000.00</td>
<td>0.17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PE Roads</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>$19,550,800.00</td>
<td>0.33%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety and Civil Protection</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>$215,340,000.00</td>
<td>3.60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>$181,330,000.00</td>
<td>3.03%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Transport</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>$1,217,772,295.00</td>
<td>20.34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highways</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>$2,638,277,733.00</td>
<td>44.06%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>$5,988,028,907.00</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Iracheta A. 2010. Evaluation of the Metropolitan Fund
While this Metropolitan Fund was created to carry out development projects for cities, which should be directed necessarily to address metropolitan problems under new schemes of intergovernmental collaboration and citizen participation in an evaluation of these Funds, 2010, the ColegioMexiquense, A.C. coordinated by Alfonso Iracheta. (2014) found that actually, ". . . a) that there is no adequate conceptualization of the metropolitan phenomenon and its problems, b) that the Fund's decisions do not respond to integrated policies, and c) that the rules of operation of the Fund not they are the most appropriate to address the problem of the metropolitan phenomenon. (2014: 15)

It was also noted that the operation of the Fund primarily involved federal representatives: Ministry of Social and Human Development (SEDESOL) and Ministry of Environment and Natural Resources (SEMARNAT), officials of state governments, with little government involvement municipal and extremely little or no public participation. (Iracheta, 2014: 68-69)

In such a way, that institutional organizations specifically for the operation of the Fund are not created, but it becomes more activity develop at different instances of state governments. Also, the operation of the Councils, Committees Metropolitan Development and Subcommittees Trust subscribes to conduct assessments of financial nature without delving into the results of projects and actions in social, economic, environmental, territorial, and a key aspect it is that the governors, usually are the ones who decide the projects to be carried out. (Iracheta, 2014: 69-70)

Undoubtedly, the main difficulties encountered for the Fund to truly help resolve the metropolitan issues and the development of the territory, was the lack of coordination between different government agencies, lack of concordance between the different views, locally , state and federal, as well as the lack of larger spaces and mechanisms for citizen participation, in other words, the lack of a comprehensive vision of territorial development of the metropolis, the lack of a metropolitan government, as well as new management schemes , governance.

**Metropolitan Area of Leon, Guanajuato: Political and Institutional Factors in its Territorial Development.**

In 2008 the Metropolitan Area Leon was decreed, (ZML) Guanajuato, composed of four municipalities: Leon, Silao, Purisima del Rincon and San Francisco del Rincon, delimitation by the Planning Institute of the State of Guanajuato (IPLANEG, 2011 ), but meanwhile the National Institute of Statistics and Geography (INEGI, 2005) identified two metropolitan areas in this territory, composed of the municipalities of Leon and Silao, and the other by the municipalities of San Francisco del Rincon and Purisima del Corner.

In this paper, we opted for the delimitation of the ZML the IPLANE, since has formed an urban area with features of urban sprawl, in this territory, which comprises a central city (in this case León), and units political-administrative contiguous thereto. (San Francisco del Rincon Purisima Del Rincon and Silao), which maintain a socio-economic relationship between them and in particular with the central city. In addition, because this area is delimited according to specific criteria and objectives of economic policy in order to achieve maximum efficiency in the implementation of programs and strategies, ie, it corresponds to the so-called "region-plan". This area is located in the western state of Guanajuato, occupying an average total area of 3087 km2.
Metropolitan Area Leon, Guanajuato:

The ZML ranks number seven among 59 metropolitan areas in the country, the volume of its population, with 1,791,869 inhabitants in 2010.

Total Population of the Metropolitan Area of Leon.

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metropolitan Area of León</td>
<td>1,097,084</td>
<td>1,305,707</td>
<td>1,414,196</td>
<td>1,584,337</td>
<td>1,791,869</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>León</td>
<td>867,920</td>
<td>1,042,132</td>
<td>1,134,842</td>
<td>1,278,087</td>
<td>1,436,480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Purísima del Rincón</td>
<td>30,433</td>
<td>34,779</td>
<td>44,778</td>
<td>55,910</td>
<td>68,795</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>San Francisco del Rincón</td>
<td>83,601</td>
<td>97,269</td>
<td>100,239</td>
<td>103,217</td>
<td>113,570</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Silao</td>
<td>115,130</td>
<td>131,527</td>
<td>134,337</td>
<td>147,123</td>
<td>173,024</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Certainly ZML is the largest urban and demographic conglomerate entity; It presents an economic-functional specialization and the physical expansion of some municipalities over others, exceeding its legal and administrative boundaries. It is important to note that the four municipalities have different characteristics and are heterogeneous in terms of area and population.

Area, which undoubtedly has been experiencing economic, social, political and environmental transformations propitiated largely by the globalization process. Here only briefly we mentioned some.

First we note that in this area there is a large concentration of population and economic activities, but simultaneously dispersal and fragmentation, which gives rise to a diffuse urbanization and new centers or moving of the most important by other second hierarchy. As for the population, there is a huge concentration especially in the city of Leon, and in urban locations. Second, we find that while the economy grew in Guanajuato 7.6%, unmet labor demand is very wide. And that economic specialization is diverse, with respect to the municipalities of the ZFM, the activity of Leon, San Francisco del Rincon Purisima del Rincon and is predominantly tertiary, while economic activity is diversified Silao (Guanajuato PED 2030).

In fact, in the ZML there is a social and territorial fragmentation, because many of their rural communities are not integrated into the economic dynamics of the central city; in addition, there are imbalances between the municipalities within it. It is a fact that their rural localities do not have economic growth, but on the contrary, there is poverty and exclusion, largely as a result of abandonment of agricultural activity in the region.

In addition, the development experienced in the area, it presents environmental problems, including air and water pollution, solid waste generation intense, and the effect on soil quality. (PED Guanajuato 2030).
With regard to the institutional political organization that exists in the State of Guanajuato and is related to the planning and execution of programs and actions to promote the development of ZML, we find that this entity was a great success having created the Institute planning of the State of Guanajuato (IPLANEG) in 2007, with the intention of having an innovative agency for conducting a strategic planning system aimed at generating comprehensive development policies and sustainable land use planning for the entity.

Planning Law for the State of Guanajuato and the Land Code for this entity and its municipalities gives the IPLANEG the following powers: a) To develop, update, monitor and evaluate the National Development Plan, b) To participate in processes inter state development planning, c) Ensure participation of representatives of organized society, through the state council; d) Promote the signing of agreements for the achievement of the objectives of integral development of the entity, e) To act as a consultative body in the field of development planning of the state to the federal, state and municipal governments, f) Advise municipalities in the development of municipal planning instruments and technical personnel training.

So with the creation of this Institute, the state government pioneered institutionalizing planning and promoting social participation in Mexico, and it began gathering activities and systematization of information, development of indicators and projects and reflected commitments government.

Since its inception in 2007, the Iplaneg has had a Citizen Council, as an organ of consultation and opinion, with respect to its functions and powers set out in the various legal instruments, taking steps in implementing a governance model state of Guanajuato, although it is still quite limited citizen participation because they do not take part in the decisions of the Institute.

Now this Institute is responsible for promoting the State Planning System, the State Information System, Statistics and Geography, to generate the Metropolitan Policy and Manage the Metropolitan Fund for Metropolitan Areas of Guanajuato, and create a strategic alliance the metropolitan area of Bordeaux.

He has also worked in the Municipal Systems Planning at the State Policy Cities with Human Face, in the Social Management System and Citizen Participation in the Integrated Mobility System and the State Program of Urban Development and Ecological Management Territorial.

In recent years, its main works include: the development of the State Development Plan, Plan 2035, Regional Programs Vision 2018 and the Government Programme Update 2016-2018, which incorporate two approaches to development, namely human development and territorial, why establishes a development model that includes four strategic to work and deploy actions in these dimensions: 1) human and social, 2) public administration and rule of law, 3) economy and 4) environment and territory. For each dimension arising in the implementation of projects with cross-cutting strategies. All with citizen participation.

Although several of its approaches are based on the territorial approach to development and construction of governance, and that several of its projects and actions aimed at achieving better standards of living of the population of Guanajuato, this has had several limitations and lack realize much of what is conceived and proposed. In addition, we found that many of the actions are for welfare and not necessarily creating conditions and capabilities to achieve better social and economic position.

This is explained by that in order to run both the Development Plan of the State, as the Government Program, the Municipal Programs and many other projects, a shared vision of development is required by all political bodies, which until now, it has not been achieved. Another need that state resources are allocated to actions that actually improve the production structure, enough to carry out many programs and projects, or at least that priority projects be established.

It should be noted that the state government, in accordance with the provisions of the National Development Plan 2030 with regard to the strengthening and promotion of policies for land use, and recognizing the existence of a system of cities characterized by the centrality and hierarchy regional of conurbations and metropolitan areas, states aimed at promoting regional development with long-term vision, with a metropolitan approach, promoting urban development planning and land use planning in the state, including the deployment of strategies, programs and actions directed in particular to address the phenomena of conurbation and metropolis, although it should be noted
that all due largely to the creation of the metropolitan Fund and the allocation of resources to metropolitan areas in the state of Guanajuato.

It notes that the rules of operation with the Metropolitan Fund is managed establish the need to establish a Council for Metropolitan Development, according to federal and local rules, which will aim to define the objectives, priorities, policies and strategies for the development of the metropolitan area.

Regarding the ZML, the Council of Metropolitan Development, was created on May 23, 2008, by Governmental Agreement No. 76, published in the Official Gazette of the State Government, number 83, third and the Technical Committee for the trust Fund for the zone itself, bodies that have to register with a secretariat of the Federation, and specifically to the Sub secretariat for Urban Development and Land Management.

But later, in 2011, the Government Agreement No. 76, by which the Council was established for the Development of the Metropolitan Area Leon abrogates, to make way for the establishment of a Council for the Development of Metropolitan Areas in the State of Guanajuato (COMETRO, Gto.) (Government Resolution 274, published in the Official Gazette of the State Government, number 48, dated March 25, 2011) which is seen as an institutional mechanism for coordination and management the strategies, programs, projects and actions for the development of each of the metropolitan areas that comprise the State, whose intention is to involve and intergovernmental synergy and society for planning, urban development and planning territorial, under the principles of solidarity, subsidiarity and responsibility.

The Council for the Development of Metropolitan Areas in the State of Guanajuato is comprised of representatives from different levels of government, mainly from the state ministries: the Secretary of Government, who will serve as Chairman; Secretary of Finance and Administration; Secretary of Public Works; Secretary of Social and Human Development; the General Coordinator of Planning and Public Investment Management; the Director General of the Institute of Ecology; a representative of the Ministry of Social Development, preferably of the Secretariat of Urban Development and Planning; a representative of the Secretariat of Environment and Natural Resources, preferably with functions in metropolitan development; the Director General of the Planning Institute of the State of Guanajuato, who will act as Technical Secretary; a representative of the Metropolitan Development Commission of the Chamber of Deputies of the Mexican Congress; and the presidents of the municipalities that are part of a metropolitan area in the state legally constituted.

In its declaration of constitution, it stipulates that the members of Guanajuato COMETRO have the right to speak and vote, except for municipal presidents only have the right to speak. (Official Gazette of the State of Guanajuato No. 48, March 25, 2011).

Which it means you really decisions on development of metropolitan areas lies with the state executive power, leaving out virtually mayors, and we believe that there are no effective mechanisms for participation and intergovernmental synergy.

While, in its agreement constitution, states that the municipalities that are part of a metropolitan area in the State may apply studies, plans, assessments, programs, projects, activities, infrastructure and equipment, presenting initiatives and proposals in the under the object and purpose of Metropolitan Fund can only do so when matters within their jurisdiction, competence and interest are discussed, which means they cannot submit proposals that exceed their political and administrative boundaries, which limit proposals truly metropolitan character . (Official Gazette of the State of Guanajuato No. 48, March 25, 2011).

The main responsibilities of COMETRO are: a) Propose to existing Metropolitan Areas in the State policies, programs, strategies, and actions for this; b) Support the planning, promotion and management of metropolitan and regional development; c) To represent the State in the Federation and to other states, in the case of metropolitan areas; d) Join the Councils for the Development of Metropolitan Areas that are interstate; e) Contribute to adequate intergovernmental coordination for the implementation of studies, plans, assessments, programs, projects, activities and infrastructure and equipment, aimed at solving a timely, effective, efficient and strategic manner, priority areas for development metropolitan areas in the State; f) Establish criteria for prioritizing and priority plans, studies, assessments, actions, programs, projects and infrastructure and equipment to be submitted to the consideration of the
technical sub-project evaluation and technical committees trusts that every metropolitan area is incorporated. (Official Gazette of the State of Guanajuato No. 48, March 25, 2011)

It should be noted that the role of the IPLANEG in the implementation of projects and programs for metropolitan areas is central, since the owner, at the same time serves as Technical Secretary of COMETRO GTO, and its powers are: a) Assistant to the President (Governor) in the performance of their duties; b) To represent the Council on the technical committees and subcommittees technical evaluation of projects of trusts that are instituted in favor of metropolitan areas in the State; c) To serve as a facility for the receipt and review studies, plans, assessments, programs, projects, activities, infrastructure and equipment to be submitted for consideration by the COMETRO GTO of any of the existing metropolitan areas in the state, meet with the requirements of the operating rules for the Metropolitan Fund resources; d) Corroborating studies, plans, assessments, programs, projects, activities, infrastructure and equipment who apply, are aligned to the objectives, priorities, policies and strategies of the plans and programs of regional and urban metropolitan development in accordance with the criteria for that purpose issue the COMETRO GTO; e) Review studies, plans, assessments, programs, projects, activities, infrastructure and equipment are consistent with the criteria established by the metropolitan impact COMETRO GTO; f) Integrate for each metropolitan area in the state, a portfolio of studies, plans, assessments, programs, projects, activities, infrastructure and equipment presented to COMETRO GTO having metropolitan, economic and social impact and environmental sustainability.

In sum, the director of IPLANEG, is key to the integration of the portfolios of plans, programs and projects to be implemented in metropolitan areas actor. Surely IPLANEG has played an important role with respect to what has been done or not doing in terms of Territorial Development ZML because as we mentioned, is the state institution responsible for managing and implementing the measures to metropolitan areas come from metropolitan funds.

Since 2006 the state government has received funding for its four metropolitan areas (León, Laja - Bajío, Moroleón- Uriangato- Yuriria and state-inter La Piedad - Pénjamo) from the Metropolitan Fund, in 2014, the company received more 400 million pesos to be implemented in four areas, 2015 he received the amount of 477 million 161 thousand 213 pesos in total for all metropolitan areas. Of this amount to the ZML they were assigned 418 000 000 562 000 469 pesos, that is, that most of the budget was allocated to this area. (Iplaneg, 2016)

Although the budget allocated to the ZFM is important, we found that certain percentages should be used for certain items, according to the Iplaneg, 65% should apply to public works, 25% to land reserve and 10% for studies and projects, implying severe restrictions for use in economic, social and environmental development.

To exercise these resources, IPLANEG has been developing a portfolio of projects for each metropolitan area portfolio to be delivered to the Metropolitan Development Commission of the Congress of the Union. It should be noted that there is a trust through which the resources of the Metropolitan Fund are managed by the State, for the development of projects that have an impact in metropolitan areas. It also has a Technical Committee of the Trust for the Development of the metropolitan area of Leon, Fimetro Leon, who sends the proposal to the implementation of the resources of the Metropolitan Fund, the Secretariat of Finance and Public Credit for verification and approval, what it really means a financial dependence.

Regarding the implementation of the resources of the Metropolitan Fund highlights that are distributed unevenly among the municipalities that make up the ZFM, the city of Leon, where the central city is located receives the highest percentage, and the other in much lesser extent, for example in 2014, was distributed as follows: 201 million 192 thousand 394 pesos for works and metropolitan projects in León, equivalent to 49.7%; 77 million 880 thousand 681 pesos equivalent to Purisima Rincón to 19.2%; 53 million pesos for San Francisco Rincón equivalent to 13.1% and 72 million 726 000 218 equivalent to 18.0% for Silao de la Victoria pesos. (Newspaper The Daily, June 27, 2014)

However, most of these resources are used for the construction or repair of roads, an example is that by 2014, resources allocated to the city of Leon, 178 million were applied 947 000 997 pesos to the following items: one bikeway, payment of rights of way in the Boulevards Timothy Lozano and XXI Century, Metropolitan Axis-Leon Silao (ComanjillaSilao-section) and San Francisco Leon road. (Rodriguez, 2014) This means that much of the resources are used in roads, and although this involves improving connectivity are not used for other projects that could be more comprehensive, and greater social benefit.
With regard to 2015, resources were allocated to projects related to mobility in the metropolitan corridor (transport, cycle tracks and pedestrian paths), with technical and financial resources to build a regional center of urban solid waste studies, watershed recovery hydrological, wastewater sanitation. Also contemplated improve connectivity corridor between Purisima del Rincon and Silao, infrastructure and transport. (Daily Herald, 1 November 2014)

As can be seen in the following chart we find that much of the Fund's resources are used for the construction or repair of roads.

**Metropolitan Leon Fund. Resources Allocated by Care Setting:**

![Pie chart showing resource allocation](chart.png)


In 2015, the portfolio of projects submitted by the IPLANEG to use resources from the Metropolitan Fund ZML, was composed of the following projects: Metropolitan Center for Integrated Solid Waste Management Urban, Intermodal Park for Automotive Cluster System Integral Mobility, Regional Program Cycle routes.

In fact, based on the Metropolitan Fund, with which it was approved and allocated 2.4 million pesos to finance works and projects for the ZML, making several proposals were contemplated, including: the construction of a Metropolitan Axis with investment of 800 million pesos, with the aim of creating an alternative access to the north of Leon, connecting the northern arc of Silao, the Inner Harbour, Comanjilla, until arriving at boulevard Towers and Plaza Mayor; the construction of the road Leon Salamanca to operate in 2016. Another project was also the Ecobulevar that in addition to the 41 million Metropolitan Fund receives an investment of 190 million pesos. Another plus is the distributor road Rincón (vehicular bridge over the railroad tracks), the Treatment Plant Metropolitan Wastewater San Jeronimo, Tranches: Juan Alonso de Torres Axis Bulevar Delta Metropolitan-Avenue and Olympic Boulevard Airport-Timothy Lozano; Entronque stretch Silao-San Felipe Road-Highway and RamalComanjilla Guanajuato Puerto Interior.

In general, it is projects that respond again to meet the needs of certain sectors of the population, motorists, cyclists, to automotive companies, and waste management, but projects that address structural problems in the area are proposed.

It is noteworthy that is recently IPLANEG, undergoing changes, the most important is that you are giving greater weight in its work to develop a system of statistical and geographical information, which has even led to change its name to Institute planning, Statistics and Geography, with what has been downplaying its work in development planning.

Another change was the appointment of a new head of the agency, and the creation of a new Council called Strategic Analysis, composed of businessmen, academics and for the first time by citizens of the Institutes of Municipal Planning representatives and holders nine state-level agencies: Ministry of Social and Human Development, Ministry of Education, SDES, Ministry of Government, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Transparency and Counseling and Liaison Gubernators.
But it is not clearly noted that the Council granted capacity decisions on programs and actions to take in the Metropolitan Areas, members of civil society.

Conclusions:
As we have seen, the ZML has institutions and institutional political bodies that can perform actions that serve the metropolitan problem, but despite that there are plans and programs for state and municipal development, still cannot build a metropolitan vision, nor attend the problems based on a comprehensive and truly metropolitan approach, since its main actions are designed to address some demands of mobility, but that favor the use of motor and no public transport or to certain problems, such as the shortage of water in the area, but no actions that reflect improvements in environmental economic, social and a half competitiveness of the metropolis as a whole.

This is due to the fact that even when it has institutions and agencies that could affect the development, implementation and evaluation of plans, programs and projects of metropolitan character, does not have the legal support necessary to enable a genuine intergovernmental synergy, since decision lies primarily with the state executive and his secretaries, not, in municipal presidents, or citizens, although have mechanisms of participation, only consulted but have no vote.

In fact, the ZML not have a metropolitan planning, although it has developed a Land Management Plan of the State of Guanajuato, there is no Plan Development ZML as such, which promotes the state government or municipalities carry out works and projects as each sees fit, without establishing a dialogue and agreements between different government agencies to address common problems that affect the whole metropolis.

Hence the need for new institutional arrangements, identification and construction of new forms of territorial management, with the necessary legal amendment. In fact, it is to build a metropolitan government, to overcome the fragmentation of state and municipal authorities planning and management problems that are not bounded political-administrative current limits.

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