Metropolitan Governance in Spain: The case of Madrid

Moneyba González-Medina

Department of Political Science and International Relations
Institute of Local Law and Government

London (ON), July 24, 2024

UAM
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Western Centre for Urban Policy and Local Governance

idl UAM
Instituto de Derecho Local

Outline

My idea is to pose interactive questions during the presentation!

1. Background & Spain in Figures
2. Overview of metropolitan governance in Spain
3. The metropolitan area of Madrid
4. Demand of metropolitan institutionalization
5. Enabling and hindering factors
6. Final question (open debate)

Background

- The Institute of Local Law and Government (IDGL-UAM)
- Local Government and the Changing Urban-Rural Interplay (LOGOV Project)
- **My specific interest in the Canadian case?**: to know more about your dynamics and institutional arrangements at metropolitan level.
- My starting point: the Spanish case, which is very anomalous in the European context.

Spain in figures: 48.692.804 inhabitants in 506.030 km²

Do you think that Spain is a rural or an urban country?

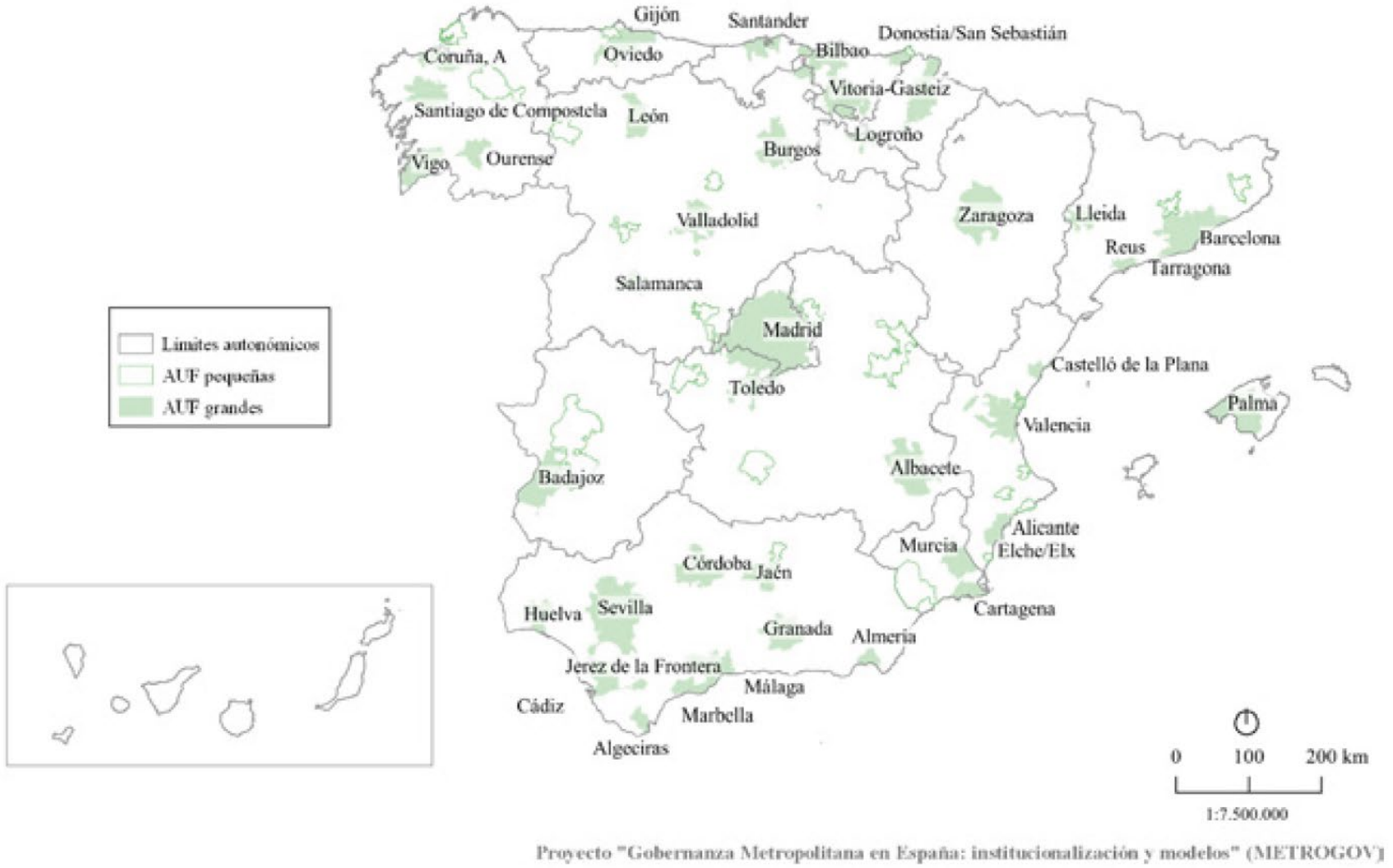
- A quasi-federal country with 17 *Comunidades Autónomas* + 2 autonomous cities (Ceuta and Melilla), **8.131 municipalities** (**85% =<5000 pop**. / 4%>20.000=100.000 pop. / 0,07% >500.000 pop.)
- "Spain has an urban society in a predominantly rural territory" (territorial cleavage: the 'Empty Spain'-). The **80%** of population is settled in the **20%** of the territory, mainly in urban areas and along the coast (Spanish Urban Agenda, 2019).
- In 2016, Spain identified statistically **70* Functional Urban Areas** (Eurostat/OECD), **45** of them are considered **"big FUA":** population centre >100.000 pop. (approximately 70% of the whole Spanish population).

Overview of Metropolitan Governance in Spain (I)

Is it possible to create metropolitan governments in Spain?

- The **1978** Constitution establishes that the **municipalities** and **provinces** are the basic entities of local government.
- The Law 7/**1985**, that regulates the Local Regime, defines **metropolitan areas** as "local entities constituted by municipalities of large urban agglomerations between whose population centers exist economic and social links that make joint planning and coordination of certain services and works necessary" (art. 43).
- The approval, regulation and suppression of metropolitan areas, prior audience to the affected councils and municipalities, is attributed to the ***Autonomous Communities*** (= Canadian provinces).

Functional Urban Areas in Spain



Fuente: Elaboración propia a partir de INE (2021).

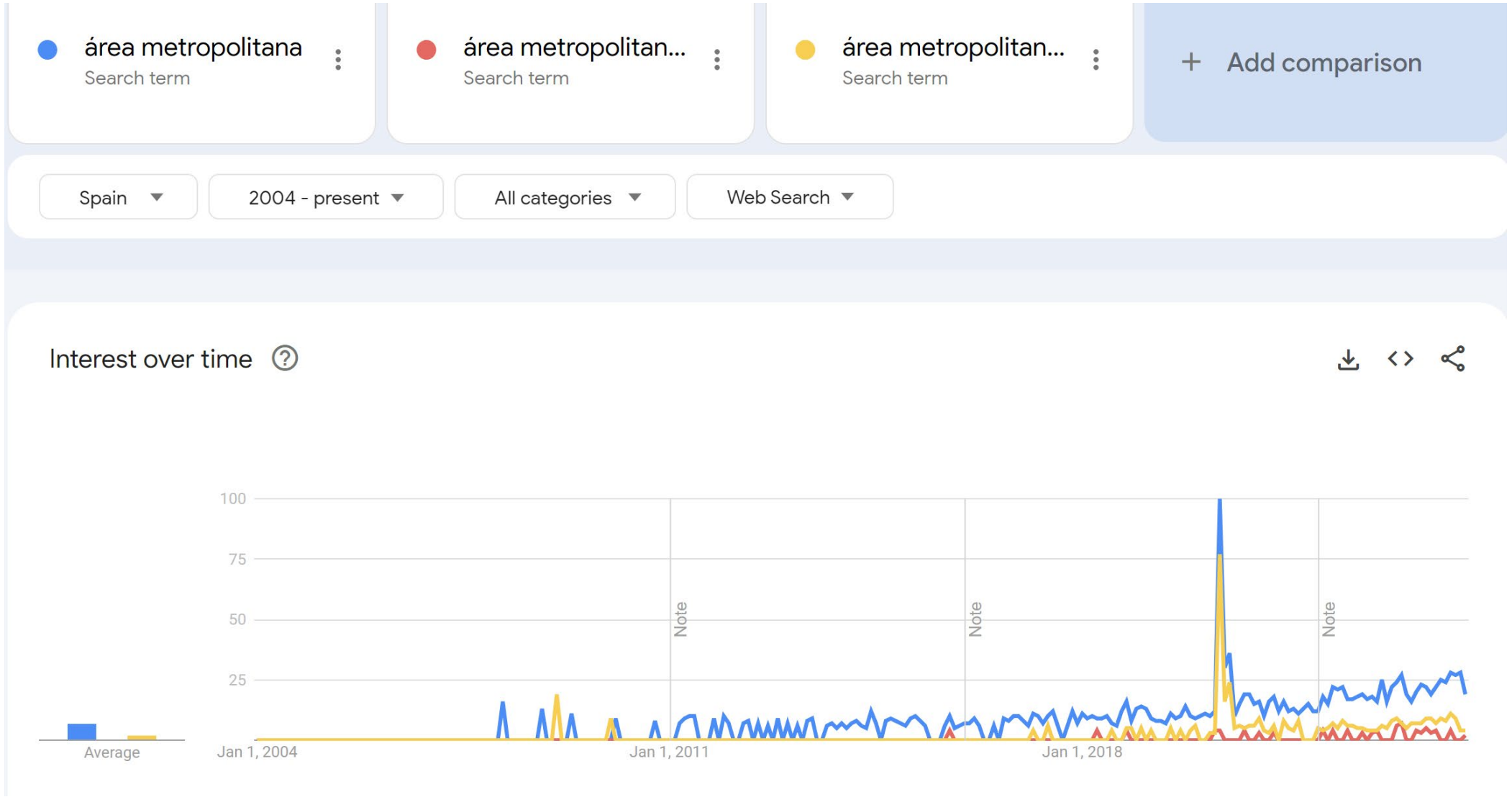
Overview of Metropolitan Governance in Spain (II)

How many metropolitan areas have been formally constituted in Spain?

- In practice, there is **only 1***: the Metropolitan Area of Barcelona (Catalonia, 2011)
  *(The Metropolitan Area of Vigo (Galicia, 2012) is blocked).
- In 1980s, the **existing metropolitan institutions** in Barcelona, Madrid, Bilbao and Valencia were **abolished by the regional parliaments** (the new regional governments did not want to cede power to large agglomerations and the municipalities neither. In addition, the national government has been absent in the institutional management of a metropolitan system).
- Nowadays, there is a **variety of formulas** (hard and soft) **to deal with metropolitan challenges** through cooperation instruments (intermunicipal multi-purpose/single-purpose authorities, multilevel partnerships, and public-private agreements).

However, is this metropolitan governance or rather modes of governance within metropolitan areas?

Metropolitan awareness in Spain



Google Trends (July 23, 2024)

Metropolitan awareness in Spain

Interest over time

Interest by subregion

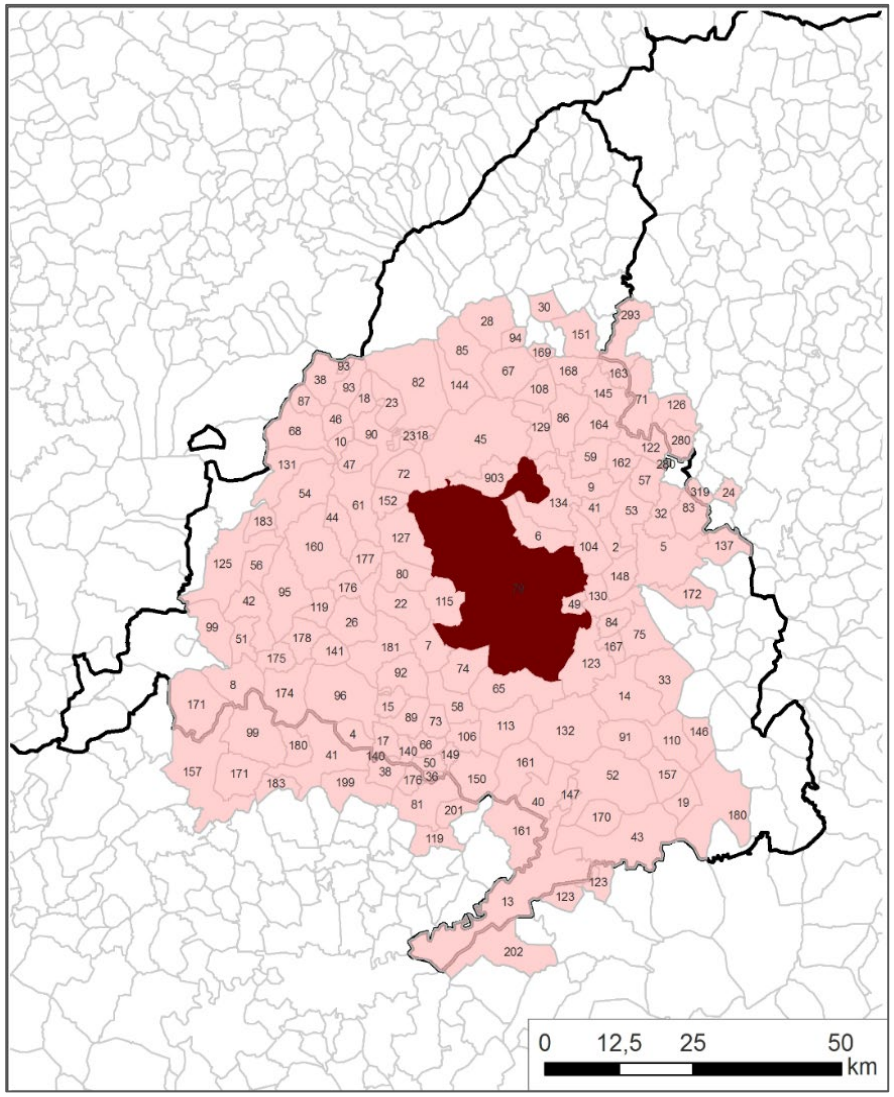
Subregion

1	Catalonia	100
2	Galicia	68
3	Andalusia	47
4	Valencian Community	42
5	Navarre	36

Google Trends (July 23, 2024)

The metropolitan area of Madrid (I)

- It is unique case in that it began as a formal metropolitan authority (1963). This preexisting institution was one of the reasons that justified the formal creation of the region of Madrid (1983).
- The FUA of Madrid has 7.005.286 inhabitants, an extension of 7.882 km^2, and integrates 166 municipalities (INE, 2020), while the region of Madrid comprises **179 municipalities**.
- The Madrid **Regional** Transport Consortium (CRTM, 1985) covers 181 municipalities from other 2 Autonomous Communities.



The metropolitan area of Madrid (II)

Historically, what was the "metropolitan issue" in Madrid?

- The **increasing migrant pression** on Madrid (from rural areas) entered the national political agenda in the 1950s.
- The *Ley sobre el Área Metropolitana de Madrid* (1963) was approved in response to the need to review the **urban and territorial planning** competences in the metropolitan area.
- The **region of Madrid** was formally constituted in **1983** and assumed competences over **territorial planning**. Its uniprovincial character favored identification of the metropolitan area with the Madrid region in terms of government action and policy implementation.
- In the 1980s, the "coordination issue" increasingly lost relevance on the agenda, in favor of the **promotion of economic development** (the spatial planning issue remained as a secondary topic).

Madrid(s)

	Madrid (Region)	Madrid (City)	%/Region
Population	7.005.286	3.334.730	**48%**
Surface	7882 Km^2	694 Km^2	**9%**
GDP	261.713 M€ (2022)	168.913 M€ (2022)	**64%**
GDP per capita	38.435€	**47.000€**	
Budget	27.558 M€ (2024)	5.939 M€ (2024)	

1€ = 1,5 CAD

In 1995, under the **political leadership of the Popular Party** (liberal-conservative party) started the emergence of a 'successful' pro-growth metropolitan regime (Pierre, 1999).

Demand of metropolitan institutionalization (I)

Currently, is there any “metropolitan demand/awareness” in Madrid?

europapress / madrid

Actualizado 13/05/2019 12:2

Carmena propone crear 'Madrid Área Metropolitana' para planificar la movilidad entre Ayuntamiento y Comunidad

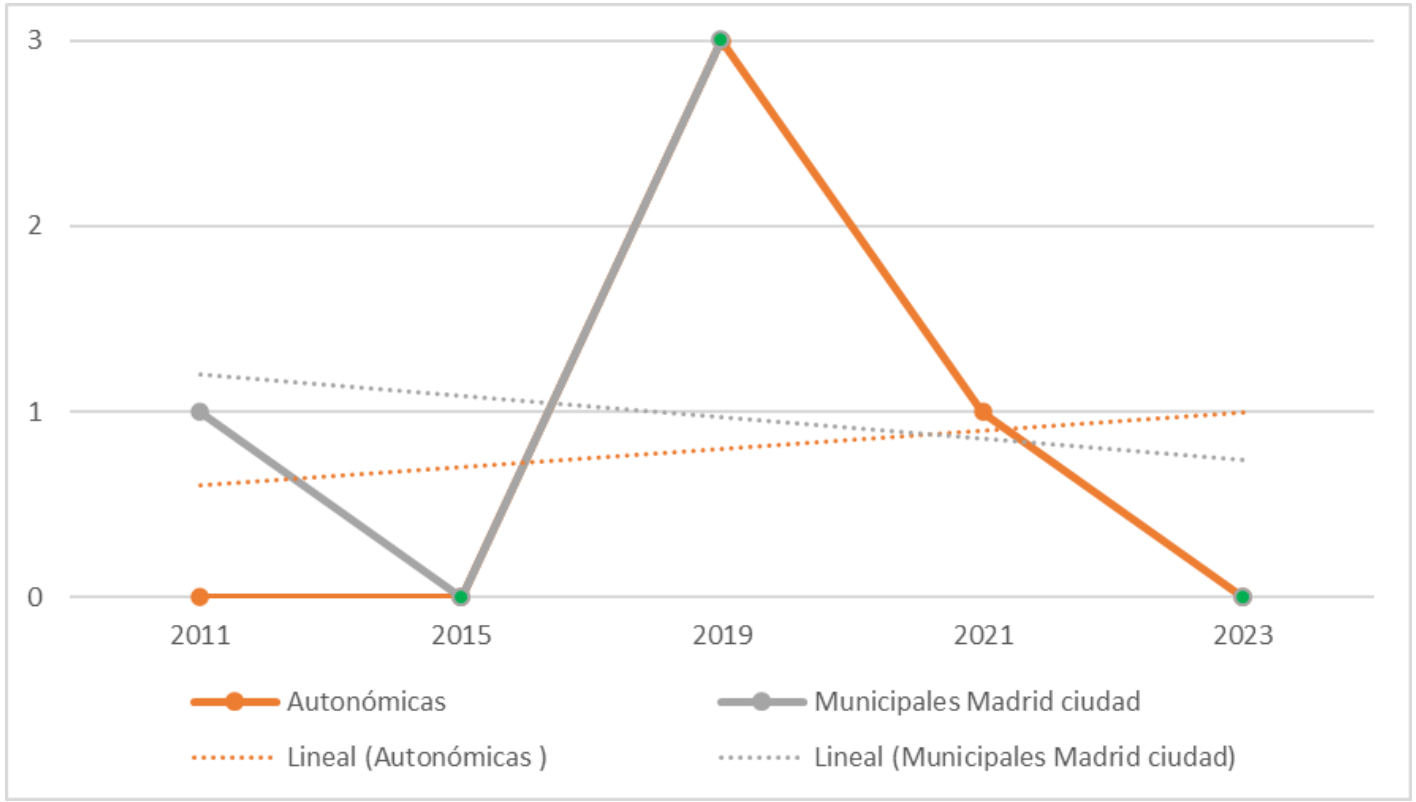
Tribunal Eclesiástico Metropolitano de Madrid

Demand of metropolitan institutionalization (II)

And what about the political parties?

Analysis of metropolitan demand in regional/municipal electoral programs of political parties regarding Madrid during the period 2011-2023.

(i=mentions to the metropolitan issue)



Demand of metropolitan institutionalization (III)

- The topic was **introduced recently** and widespread during the 2019 regional and municipal elections. In this moment, the PSM (socialist party), Ciudadanos (liberal-moderate), Más Madrid (left-wing) and the Madrid en Pie (left-wing) formation expressly incorporated the issue in their electoral programs, but not the PP (liberal-moderate/right wing).

- The parties more committed to greater **institutionalization spread the metropolitan approach to all territorial** policies (housing, social cohesion, territorial planning, etc.) which require greater coordination.

- This generates **tensions between the pro-growth metropolitan regime** that has dominated the **region and the rationalization of territorial policies to address social cohesion and environmental issues**. In addition, 'metropolitan' municipalities prefer to keep their competences in urban planning without coordination at metropolitan level.

Enabling factors

Factors	Madrid
Laws/regulations that allow (or promote) global agreements	No
Supra-level governmental support (e.g. providing incentives)	No
Political support from all local governments in the metropolitan area (or a critical number of them), including the central city	No
A clear division of functions between levels of government/local bodies	No
Availability of reasonable institutional, administrative or financial capacity	Yes
Success experiences in the territory about coordination of service/infrastructure management	Yes

Source: Own elaboration, adapted from Andersson (2015)

Hindering factors

Factors	Madrid
Laws/regulations that limit or prohibit governance initiatives/metropolitan mechanisms	Yes
Discourage higher-level government (for example, due to different agendas)	Yes
Parochialism and fragmentation of governance (lack of local support)	Yes
Opposition by wealthier local governments and their constituents to participating and sharing decisions/powers sub-delegated to metropolitan agreements	No
Uncertainty about “who is responsible for what”; overlapping expense responsibilities	Yes
Limited institutional, administrative or financial capacity at the local level	No
Lack of success stories in the concrete coordination of service/infrastructure management	No

Source: Own elaboration, adapted from Andersson (2015)

Final question

Compared to the Canadian context,
which similarities/differences do you find?

Thank you!

moneyba.gonzalez@uam.es

Merci!

LOGOV