

zde

Zentrum für
Demokratie
Aarau

Räumliche Gerechtigkeit in Agglomerationen: die (zweifelhafte) Rolle von Finanztransfers

***Präsentation an den 16. Aarauer Demokratietagen
15. März 2024***

Prof. Dr. Daniel Kübler

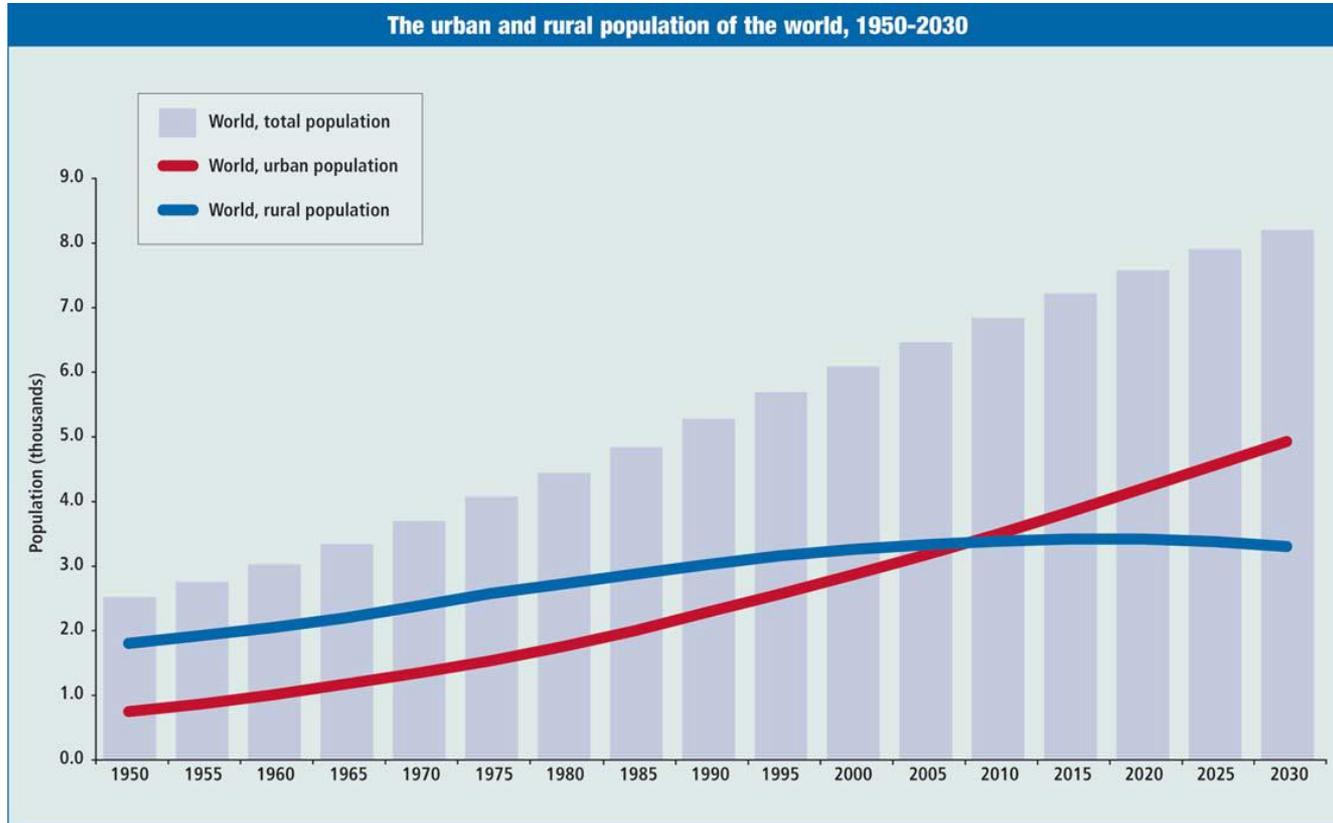
Abteilung Allgemeine Demokratieforschung

Zentrum für Demokratie Aarau

Übersicht

1. Agglomerationen und räumliche Ungleichheit
2. Theoretische Modelle: SSGI vs. 'small is beautiful'
3. Resultate einer Studie in sieben Schweizer Agglomerationen
4. Fazit

1. Agglomerationen und räumliche Ungleichheit



Quelle: World Urbanization Prospects (UNO)



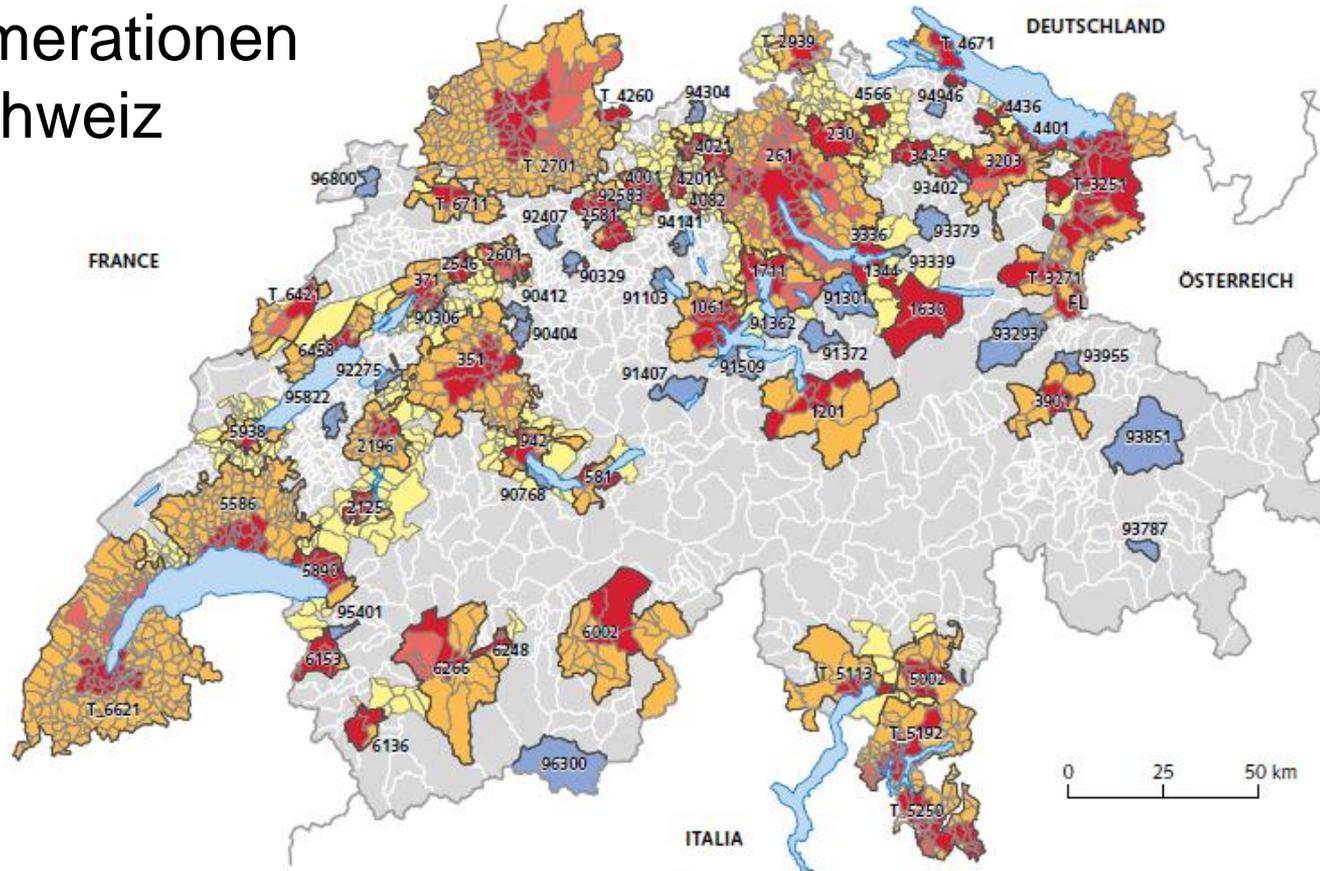
Stadt Aarau um 1612
- ca 1200 Einw.



Agglomeration Aarau heute
- ca 80'000 Einw.

Quelle: Aarauer Neujahrsblätter 85 (2011)

Agglomerationen der Schweiz



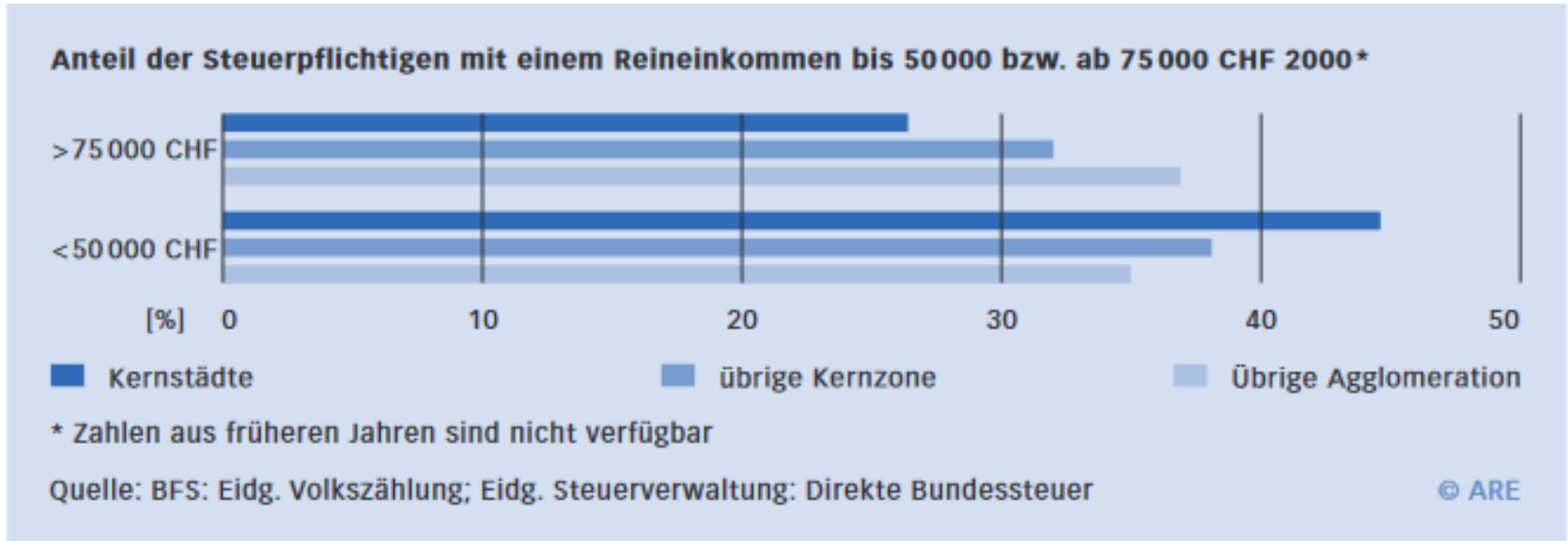
Quelle: Bundesamt für Statistik (2014)

Table 1. Demographic and Institutional Structure of Seven Major Swiss Metropolitan Areas (2012).

Metropolitan Area	Overall Population	Number of Municipalities	Municipalities per 10,000 inhabitants	Cantons Included
Zurich	1,246,210	152	1.2	ZH, AG, SZ, SH
Basel ^a	524,764	107	2.0	BS, BL, SO, AG
Geneva ^a	546,222	88	1.6	GE, VD
Bern	381,465	77	2.0	BE, FR
Lausanne	366,996	132	3.6	VD, FR
Lucerne	215,251	19	0.9	LU, NW
Lugano ^a	143,757	55	3.8	TI
Overall	3,424,665	630	2.15	14

Source. Swiss Statistical Office, Population Census Data.

a. Excluding foreign municipalities in cross-border metropolitan areas. AG = Aargau; BE = Bern; BL = Baselland; BS = Basel-Stadt; FR = Fribourg; GE = Genève; LU = Luzern; NW = Nidwalden; SH = Schaffhausen; SO = Solothurn; SZ = Schwyz; TI = Ticino; VD = Vaud; ZH = Zürich.

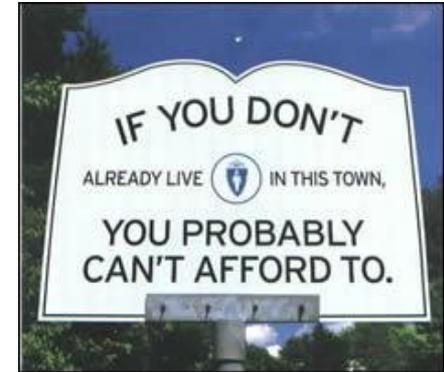


Quelle: Bundesamt für Raumentwicklung (2009)

Kernstadt



Speckgürtel



Quelle: Marchand & Meffre (2013)

2. Theoretische Modelle

Modell 1: Metropolitan Reformers / SSGI

- Räumliche Ungerechtigkeit, wenn Gemeinden autonom über Dienstleistungen entscheiden:
 - Gemeinden mit finanzschwacher Bevölkerung fehlen die Mittel
 - Gemeinden mit finanzstarker Bevölkerung schwelgen im Überfluss- > Social Segregation and Government Inequality ('SSGI')
- Was ist zu tun: Umverteilung der Ressourcen durch Zentralisierung (Hill 1974, Neimann 1976, Rusk 2003, Orfield 2002 u.v.m.)

Modell 2: 'Small is beautiful'

- Effizienz der öffentlichen Dienstleistungen (Ressourcenallokation)
- BürgerInnen «stimmen mit den Füßen ab» über Verhältnis von Steuern und Dienstleistungen:
 - > Wettbewerb unter autonomen Gemeinden (Tiebout, 1956)
- Bedingung: keine Spillovers (z.B. Zentrumslasten)
 - > Lastenausgleich
- Was ist zu tun: Autonomie stärken, Lasten abgelten mit Transfers (Ostrom 1983, Oates 2005, Wright et al. 2011 u.v.m.)

3. Studie in sieben Schweizer Agglomerationen

Article

Fragmented Governance and Spatial Equity in Metropolitan Areas: The Role of Intergovernmental Cooperation and Revenue-Sharing

Urban Affairs Review
2019, Vol. 55(5) 1247–1279
© The Author(s) 2018
Article reuse guidelines:
sagepub.com/journals-permissions
DOI: 10.1177/1078087417753079
journals.sagepub.com/home/uar



Daniel Kübler¹ and Philippe E. Rochat¹

Abstract

This article focuses on policies seeking to address social inequalities in metropolitan areas, where the allocation of resources to places with needs often clashes with the politics of redistribution in fragmented local government systems. Scholarship on metropolitan governance has yet to overcome the opposition between proponents of consolidation and defenders of polycentrism. The crucial open question is whether and how intergovernmental cooperation and revenue-sharing can redress spatial equity in institutionally fragmented metropolitan areas. This article

Table 3: Social needs, fiscal resources, political preferences, and social policy effort in municipalities of the seven major Swiss metropolitan areas, by type of municipality

		Core cities	Inner suburbs	Affluent suburbs	Periurban suburbs	Overall
Unemployment (percent seeking job)	Mean	3.3	2.6	2.0	1.8	2.1
	S.D.	1.1	0.8	0.6	1.0	1.0
Social welfare (percent with benefits)	Mean	5.2	2.9	1.0	1.3	1.7
	S.D.	2.4	1.6	0.9	1.1	1.5
Median income equivalent (in 1000 CHF)	Mean	34.32	36.855	50.266	37.364	38.633
	S.D.	2.047	4.146	8.040	5.693	6.978
Municipal revenues from own sources (in 1000 CHF per capita)	Mean	9.713	4.515	6.536	4.065	4.510
	S.D.	4.603	1.751	3.138	2.409	2.541
Municipal tax effort (tax rate index)	Mean	97.8	95.3	83.2	98.9	96.2
	S.D.	13.9	11.4	15.5	11.7	13.0
Municipal revenues from transfers (in per cent of overall revenues)	Mean	11.4	12.6	5.3	15.7	13.7
	S.D.	8.7	8.3	4.5	11.8	10.8
Vote for left parties (in percent, centred to cantonal mean)	Mean	18.7	3.7	-3.0	0.3	0.9
	S.D.	10.5	5.7	5.8	8.2	6.9
Social expenditures in municipality (in 1000 CHF per capita)	Mean	1.972	1.148	1.262	0.800	0.954
	S.D.	1.037	0.623	1.031	0.597	0.701
Population	Mean	158,624	8,781	4,487	1,440	5,436
	S.D.	104,608	7,206	4,450	1,445	19,883
Observations		7	164	70	389	630

UV 1 'SSGI'

UV 2 'sm i be'

KV 'autonomie'

AV

Table 4. Predictors of Per Capita Social Expenditure (z-Score per Canton) in Metropolitan Municipalities (Mixed-Effects Linear Regressions).

Independent Variables	Model 1: Social Needs	Model 2: Fiscal Resources	Model 3: Political Preferences	Model 4: Full
<i>Fixed part</i>				
<i>Variables at level 1 (municipality)</i>				
Unemployment (% seeking job)	0.173*** (0.045)			0.088* (0.042)
Social welfare (% with welfare benefits)	0.170*** (0.030)			0.208*** (0.028)
Own-source municipal revenues (per capita, in 1,000 Swiss Francs)		0.218*** (0.017)		0.211*** (0.016)
Transfer revenues (% of overall municipal revenue)		0.042*** (0.011)		0.044*** (0.011)
Votes for left parties in 2011 (mean-centered per canton)			0.012* (0.004)	-0.006 (0.005)
<i>Variables at level 2 (canton)</i>				
Strength of cantonal redistribution regime		1.320* (0.564)		1.317* (0.573)
Constant	-0.516*** (0.096)	-1.227*** (0.155)	0.103* (0.051)	-1.685*** (0.164)
<i>Cross-level interaction</i>				
Transfer Revenues × Strength of Cantonal redistribution regime		-0.143*** (0.039)		-0.160*** (0.038)
<i>Random part</i>				
Variance cantonal level	1.24×10^{-7}	0.004	0.005	0.008
Variance municipal level	1.015	0.795	1.120	0.691
Number of cantons	11	10	11	10
Number of municipalities	611	612	616	606
Deviance test	71.505***	216.24***	3.954*	304.28***
Intraclass correlation	1.22×10^{-7}	0.00499	0.00486	0.0109

Note. The table entries are restricted maximum-likelihood estimates, with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Significance tests of random parts based on profile likelihood.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

4. Fazit

Fazit

Höhe der Sozialausgaben in Gemeinden von sieben CH-Agglomerationen

- ...hängt von Steuereinnahmen der Gemeinden ab
 - > SSGI-Modell hat recht
- ...hängt von Transferzahlungen ab
 - > 'small is beautiful'-Modell hat auch recht
- ... hängt nicht mit politischem Willen der WählerInnen zusammen
 - > Gemeindeautonomie unwichtig

Fazit

- Transfersysteme spielen eine wichtige Rolle bei der Abfederung von sozialräumlichen Ungleichheiten in den Schweizer Agglomerationen
- > Unterschied zu USA (s. Jimenez 2014)
- Gemeindeautonomie ist dabei aber ziemlich irrelevant
- Spannungsverhältnis zwischen Autonomie und Umverteilung bzw. Zwischen Freiheit und Gleichheit
= > Basiskonflikt des Schweizer Finanzföderalismus

Literaturverweise

- Bundesamt für Raumentwicklung (2009): Monitoring urbaner Raum, Bern: Bundesamt für Raumentwicklung.
- Bundesamt für Statistik (2014): *Raum mit städtischem Charakter 2012. Erläuterungsbericht*. Neuchâtel: Bundesamt für Statistik.
- Hill, Richard Child (1974): Separate and unequal: governmental inequality in the metropolis. *American Political Science Review* 68, 1557-1568.
- Jimenez, Benedict S. (2014): Separate, unequal and ignored? Interjurisdictional competition and the budgetary choices of poor and affluent municipalities. *Public Administration Review* 74(2), 246-257.
- Kübler, Daniel und Philippe Rochat (2019): Fragmented governance and spatial equity in metropolitan areas: the role of intergovernmental cooperation and revenue sharing. *Urban affairs review* 55(5), 1247-1279.
- Marchand, Yves und Romain Meffre (2013) *The Ruins of Detroit*. Göttingen: Steidl Verlag
- Neimann (1976): Social stratification and government inequality. *American Political Science Review* 70(March), 149-154.
- Orfield, Myron (2002): *American Metropolitcs: the new suburban reality*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press.
- Ostrom, Elinor (1983): The social stratification-government inequality thesis explored. *Urban affairs quarterly* 19(1), 91-112.
- Rusk, David (2003): *Cities without suburbs*. Washington (DC): Woodrow Wilson Center (2nd edition).
- Tiebout, Charles M. (1956): A pure theory of local expenditures. *Journal of political economy* 44, 416-424.
- Wright, Bradley E., Michael D. McGinnis und Elinor Ostrom (2011): Reflections on Vincent Ostrom, Public Administration and Polycentricity. *Public Administration Review* 72(1), 15-25.