

T04P03 / AGENDA DYNAMICS AND POLICY CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

Topic : T04 / PUBLIC PROBLEM AND AGENDA SETTING

Chair : Felipe Brasil (University of Sao paulo)

Second Chair : Jeraldine del Cid Castro (FLACSO México)

GENERAL OBJECTIVES, RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND SCIENTIFIC RELEVANCE

This Panel's main objective is to present and discuss agenda-setting and policy change in the Latin American context. Inserted in the debate on the role of attention in pre-decision processes, this panel asks the questions: Why do policies change? And if they really change, in what ways do they change? How can we analyze and explain this process? Who are the actors, the institutions, and the information we should look at when studying Latin American systems and policies? What are the theoretical and methodological tools to understand policy change and policy dynamics in LA context? How the policy change process occurs in Latin American systems and how can we explain it?

The international literature on policy agenda setting has rapidly advanced since the first theoretical models emerged in the mid-1980s and 1990s in the United States (Kingdon, 1984; Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Over the last thirty years, frameworks, theories, and models used to analyze policy attention, policy change, and policy dynamics have been reviewed and updated.

One of the most relevant aspects of the studies of dynamics and policy change considers the diffusion that occurred in the 2000's with the application of its theoretical and methodological approaches to different societies and political systems beyond the United States (John, 2006). Consequently, another important achievement in the studies of agenda-setting and policy change must be highlighted: studies of public policies from a comparative perspective. The methodological transformations involving the mapping and analysis of governmental attention allowed not only the application of models and theories to explain processes in different countries, but also has forwarded the conduct of comparative studies across political systems.

Although agenda-setting, policy change, and policy dynamics studies have grown significantly in the international academic community, there are still some important points to be better explored when considering Latin American cases. The intention of this Panel is to open space on the international field so that researchers can discuss in greater depth this rich scope of knowledge applied to the Latin American context. In this way, we intend to build a plural space that overcomes geographic issues and that can contribute to the growing studies of agenda-setting, highlighting the processes of changes and policy dynamics in Latin America.

CALL FOR PAPERS

This Panel has as its main objective to present and discuss agenda-setting and policy change in the Latin American context. Inserted in the debate on the role of attention in pre-decision processes, this panel asks the questions: Why do policies change? And if they really change, in what ways do they change? How can we analyze and explain this process? Who are the actors, the institutions, and the information we should look at when studying Latin American systems and policies? What are the theoretical and methodological tools and theories to understand policy change and policy dynamics in LA context? How the policy change process occurs in Latin American systems and how can we explain it?

The international literature on policy agenda setting has rapidly advanced since the first theoretical models emerged in the mid-1980s and 1990s in the United States (Kingdon, 1984; Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993). Over the last thirty years, frameworks, theories, and models used to analyze policy attention, policy change and policy dynamics have been reviewed and updated. Although agenda-setting, policy change, and policy dynamics studies have grown significantly in the international academic community, there are still some important points to be better explored when considering Latin American policies and systems. The intention of this Panel is to open space on the international field so that researchers can discuss in greater depth this rich scope of knowledge applied to the Latin American context. In this way, we intend to build a plural space that overcomes geographic issues and that can contribute to the growing studies of agenda-setting, highlighting the processes of changes and policy

dynamics in Latin America.

This panel invites all the community to contribute with innovative research papers related to agenda-setting and policy change processes in Latin America. We particularly encourage researches that consider themes described below

- Beyond geographical boundaries on policy analysis.

Theoretical and methodological studies; applied case studies that go beyond geographical boundaries to explain policy changes in Latin American countries; case studies that apply models of policy analysis. National and Comparative studies focusing on policy agendas, changes. National, sub-national and supranational studies. Studies that use complex variables, actors, and institutions to explain agenda setting and policy change in LA.

- Critical reviews and advances on theories and methods in the study of policy dynamics and policy change in Latin America.

Critical reviews over Policy agendas theories and methods used to explain policy change and policy dynamics in the Latin American context. Use of different and alternative methodologies, development of new perspectives and approaches to analyze policy changes

- State of the art on the study of policy agendas in Latin America.

Studies that aim to systematize knowledge about policy agenda produced in several areas of knowledge in Latin America; bibliometric studies; analyses on model applications; types of studies produced mapping of methodological uses; systematization of results found in the literature. Development of the field of knowledge

T04P03 / AGENDA DYNAMICS AND POLICY CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

Chair : Felipe Brasil (University of Sao paulo)

Second Chair : Jeraldine del Cid Castro (FLACSO México)

Session 1 Presidential Agenda in Latin America/Afternoon

Monday, July 5th 14:00 to 16:00 (012)

Discussants

Laura Chaqués Bonafont (Institut Barcelona d'Estudis Internacionals)

(Virtual) Energy Policy Agenda in Brazil: dynamics of sectoral attention in PT administrations (2003-2014)

Ana Capella (Universidade Estadual Paulista)

Cristiano Duarte (Universidade Federal de São Carlos)

paper aims to analyze the Brazilian energy policy agenda during PT's administrations at federal level. This period between 2003 and 2014 represents a relevant time cut because it comprises fourteen years of a same party in federal government: PT is a center-left party opposed of the earlier administrations which Lula won the elections of 2002 and 2006, and Rousseff was the winner of 2010's. Also, it is a moment after a crisis in Brazilian energy sector that demanded governmental action. The blackouts during 2001 and 2002 can be understood as a focusing event because put the theme on the federal electoral debates in 2002, and made it possible the rise of different actors and alternatives that competed alongside the presidential candidates. To understand PT's energy policy agenda is necessary highlight the causes of these crisis and the energy sectorial path. First, an economic crisis between 1980s and mid-1990s weakened energy's state companies and reduced the capacity to invest in infrastructure. Second, a liberal agenda in 1990s had opened the economy to privatization and concession without solid regulatory bases, affecting most of all the energy sector. And third, it had an absence for almost a decade of agencies responsible for planning and acting directly to the sector's investment. Furthermore, the 1990s are a decade which oil sector stands as a governmental priority while electricity distribution and hydropower (the main energy source in Brazil) decrease in the provision of public goods. From that context, we ask: how is PT's energy policy agenda? What are the priorities of PT and what it has less relevance? Is the energy policy agenda similar in all period? Or has it differences and specific characteristics for either each president or mandate? These questions are also relevant when we look to governmental data of energy matrix's primary production. There, we can see a rise of hydropower, and renewable and alternative energy in all PT's period. So, to what extent governmental attention follows this trend? To answer that questions, we mobilize the Comparative Agendas Project's methodology. In this sense, we collected and codified through an analysis contend and following a codebook all the laws and regulations approved by the federal executive and the legislature in Brazil between 2003 and 2014. Thus, we have seven attention indicators, divided in three institutions: Presidency, Ministry of Mines and Energy, and Congress. Therefore, we are able to capture the main policy venues of energy policy-making process to mapping and analyzing the policy agenda-setting. As results, we point out different agendas both in Executive and Congress, and by mandates, having different priorities and specific characteristics, where we found major energy priority from Executive institutions, but in different issues. With this study we are able to understand PT's energy policy agenda-setting highlighting the dynamic of attention in a moment of resumption of state action, and contribute to the policy agenda research agenda in Brazil, Latin America, and with this panel, pointing out the most important political institutions' attention behavior in a relevant policy sectoral domain.

(Virtual) Crowding out effects in Latin American Presidential Agendas

Camilo Cristancho (Universitat de Barcelona)

Felipe Brasil (University of Sao paulo)

The Covid-19 pandemic has been an unexpected shock and has involved a surprising and transformative change in public agendas worldwide. The traditional patterns of issue competition have been disrupted by a single issue which has crowded out the attention to other issues. This is especially relevant in developing countries where the presidential agenda guides the attention dynamics of the parliamentary and media agendas. A crowding out of the core issues in the agenda has important implications for developing countries in which attending poverty relief and precarious livelihoods depend on the continual attention of policy makers. Exploratory text analyses and issue coding from the Comparative Agendas Project are used in order to compare presidential agendas for five Latin American countries during 2020. We describe how attention has been allocated to the Covid pandemic and how it has interacted with other issues and with other agendas. Implications of this crowding out effect are discussed in line with the central challenges posed by salient presidential agendas.

(Virtual) policy priorities and policy perspectives in executive agendas in Latin America

Ana Aranda-Jan (University of Cambridge)

Felipe Brasil (University of Sao paulo)

Jeraldine del Cid Castro (FLACSO México)

PABLO JOSÉ AGUIRRE (International University of Ecuador)

In this paper, we explore the executive priorities of the Mexican, Brazilian and Ecuadorian governments in time. We do a systematic descriptive analysis of executive policy agendas to find patterns and policy symbols in executive agenda-setting. We start our analysis by identifying which are the issues that catch most of the attention - policy priorities. We try to understand the factors explaining policy priorities. "politics matters" approach may be useful to explain some of the changes occurring in executive agendas, perhaps the effects of democratisation, elections and change in partisan colour. We explore if there is an effect or not of these variables in policy priorities. We examine if changes in executive agendas respond to changes in public problems, and this having an effects on policy and executive agendas. Partisan and institutional characteristics from these countries may or not be important, it may be that government powers and other factors are those defining policy responsibility, priorities and symbols.

T04P03 / AGENDA DYNAMICS AND POLICY CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

Chair : Felipe Brasil (University of Sao paulo)

Second Chair : Jeraldine del Cid Castro (FLACSO México)

Session 2 Sectorial Policy Analysis in Latin America/Afternoon

Tuesday, July 6th 16:30 to 18:30 (012)

Discussants

Camilo Cristancho (Universitat de Barcelona)

(Virtual) Exploring the dynamics of presidential policy attention during the administrations of Uribe and Santos (2002-2018)

Juan Guillermo Vieira Silva (Universidad EAFIT)

Jeraldine del Cid Castro (FLACSO México)

This paper presents an exploratory example of two of the databases of the nascent Colombian political agendas project (COL-PAP): bills and CONPES documents. The COL-PAP objectives are: 1) to collect and codify the political agendas of various institutions, especially in the executive, legislative and judicial branches, as well as the media and public opinion, in order to analyze their interactions and dynamics over time, 2) to introduce the study approaches of the political agendas associated with the Comparative Agendas Project to analyze the Colombian political dynamics, while broadening the comparison horizon within the CAP community to developing countries. Pursuing the first objective the example discussed explores the dynamics of presidential attention in the period 2002-2018, especially the attention distributed among public policy issues over time, and its allocation among two policy instruments: bills and CONPES. Although both instruments are different in nature, Bills are mediated by Congress and CONPES are an administrative and unilateral resource, we maintain that each instrument involves a particular structure of opportunity that affects the allocation of attention to policy issues, which implies for the presidents an effort to process information on the political and policy contexts, on their situation in them and on the possibilities that each instrument offers for their public policy objectives. We also argue that the character of the instruments does affect the prioritization of issues, and that the presidential decision process to combine issues and instruments is also influenced by other contextual and institutional factors such as the character of the presidency and the political time. The study shows that attention varies among issues, but also that it is assigned differently between instruments, according to the opportunity structure of each. The study also allows us to approach the dynamics of political attention of the only two Colombian presidents who have governed consecutively for 8 years each, advancing towards a better understanding of their agendas, but also of their impacts.

(Virtual) Case study: what did Rafael Correa say? Comparing political attention across 10 years of the Ecuadorian president's discourses

PABLO JOSÉ AGUIRRE (International University of Ecuador)

The “citizen revolution” was a political project executed mainly between 2007 and 2016 by the former president of the Republic of Ecuador, Rafael Correa Delgado, under the paradigm of 21st century socialism. The main characteristic of this project was to introduce a new political agenda to the country that was differentiated from past agendas, by focusing on issues such as the recognition of new rights, improvements to education, instituting a new economic model, and strengthening government and sovereignty, among others. Under this context, this work aims to analyze the political attention of the ex-president, explaining why some issues are more important than others, and why they varied over time. Based on a conceptual framework that takes ideas from the agenda-setting theory, the areas on which the political agenda

concentrates are measured by the Shannon entropy index, and its various changes are explained as the results of preferences, institutional factors, and external events. The analysis is based on extensive database analyses of 10 years (covering Rafael Correa's presidency) of government speeches, which are coded according to the methodology of the Comparative Agendas Project (CAP). To the best of our knowledge, this paper is the first work to apply the CAP methodology in Ecuador.

Regularisation of informal settlements: a comparative case study of agenda dynamics and policy change in Argentina and Mexico

Felipe Bosch (Groupe d'études géopolitiques - Le Grand Continent)

This paper analyses the process of policy-making leading to the regularisation of informal settlements in Latin America. It offers a comparative case study of regularisation policies in Mexico and Argentina based on qualitative research including primary (24 semi-structured interviews) and secondary (specialised academic literature) sources. On the one hand, the influence of international organisations' recommendations on policy-making at the national level must be acknowledged: in the context of neoliberal restructuring, their positions have evolved from an exclusive focus on granting legal security of tenure to the promotion of a comprehensive package of urban integration measures. However, it is essential to understand regularisation policies in their specific socio-political contexts. They are strategies of governance, and as such the question of informal settlements acquires a privileged position on the public and political agenda at times characterised by threats to the political system's stability and/or its low levels of legitimacy. The approaches and instruments adopted must be analysed as tools, the efficiency of which is shaped by the need to respond to these challenges.

On the one hand, the social organisation of informal settlements' dwellers, which may take the form of disjointed neighbourhood organisations with sporadic conflictive actions or their coordination through a social or societal movement, influence the political system's stability. To understand their capacity to represent a threat to the political system's stability, the role that alliances with other actors, whether from civil society or government, play within their strategies should be analysed. These strategies must be framed more broadly in a context characterized by urgencies that informal settlements' dwellers need to address. On the other hand, the political system's legitimacy among the most vulnerable impacts the process of policy-making leading to the regularisation of informal settlements. The role that governmental actors assign to such a process as a consolidator of their legitimacy among the most vulnerable is crucial. However, it is also important to take into account how the consolidated middle classes perceive policies aimed at the latter. Regularization policies might contribute to reconfiguring the political system's variables, leading to a more adverse context to maintain the sustainability of the informal settlements' issue on the agenda.

This paper is the result of the research work carried out by the author to obtain a Master's degree in Urban Studies from El Colegio de México, within a double degree program with Sciences Po entitled "Comparative Urban Governance". That research work was supervised by Clara E. Salazar (El Colegio de México), M. Cristina Cravino (Universidad Nacional de General Sarmiento) and Ann Varler (University College of London).

Marriage equality and morality politics. Preliminary reflections on causal conditions for policy change in Latin America

Carlos Alza (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)

This paper presents the preliminary results of a study about morality politics and policy change in marriage equality in Latin America. Explanations about policy change have been done based on party politics, religiosity and, mainly, the relevant role of activism, among other factors. This paper suggests, departing from a QCA analysis and theoretical frameworks on marriage equality, morality politics and agenda setting, a set of combinations of causal conditions explaining policy change in Latin America. In this region, conservative elites, and churches within high religious societies with weak political systems (that I call a "structural policy monopoly") moralised issues to radically impede positive policy changes in favour of LGBTIQ+ people. The concept is discussed from a review of Baumgartner & Jones' "policy monopoly" idea, as a concept that is insufficient to study what has been happening in Latin America. In addition, in these processes, human rights activists and defenders react to the moralization of issues, rationalizing (based on human rights, inclusion or democracy principles) values. Judicial activism appears like a new hypothetical explanatory factor for policy change.