

# T01W10 / Institutional innovation to tackle complex public problems in Latin America

**Topic :** T01 / Policy Process , Policy & Politics, Policymaking, Policy implementation

**Chair :** Cristina Zurbriggen (Universidad de la Republica)

**Second Chair :** María Mancebo (Universidad de la República)

## CALL FOR PAPERS

International Public Policy Association (IPPA)

The International Public Policy Association will hold International Workshops on Public Policy at the University of Pittsburgh from 26th to 28th June 2018. The purpose of these workshops is to allow 15-20 scholars to meet together for three days of intensive discussions of papers on a common theme.

**When**

26th – 28th June 2018

**Where**

University of Pittsburgh, USA

**Paper submission**

15th November 2017 – 30th January 2018

**Notification due**

20th February 2018

We call for papers for the workshop “Institutional innovation to tackle complex public problems in Latin America”.

Latinamerican countries face multiple development problems that, in spite of their complexity, have gained priority in the public agenda during the last two decades. Democratic governments have introduced diverse institutional innovations in public policies that require in-depth examination to go beyond existing literature and understand whether these State interventions create public value and contribute to a genuine democratization of society and government.

Many recent approaches on complexity in public issues rely exclusively on technical approaches and fail to include the political dimension. On the other hand, contemporary public policy and governance studies have started to treat decision-making processes as dynamically complex, consider erratic patterns of decision-making and pay attention to the iterative processes of social construction, problem framing and the development of policy alternatives. Nevertheless, the connection between institutional reforms, social actors' empowerment and democratic governance in Latin America has not been scientifically studied.

The workshop aims to shed light on this linkage exploring the following working hypotheses: the array of institutional innovations carried on in Latinamerican countries in the 21st century has increased participation of traditionally excluded social actors and simultaneously has started to outline new varieties of democratic governance.

Participants will contribute to the comprehension of the theme with their papers and the discussions that will take place in the workshop. Papers must be at most 20 pages in length total and should include:

- A clear description of institutional innovations in Latinamerican public policies in the 21st century.
- An analysis of the linkage between the described innovations, empowerment of social actors and democratic governance.

Papers must be empirical and theoretically-grounded, with accurate information on the studied innovations and explicit presentation of the analytical categories.

All papers must be submitted electronically via IPPA website. For more information contact:

- Maria Ester Mancebo: [memancebo@gmail.com](mailto:memancebo@gmail.com)
- Cristina Zurbriggen: [criszurbriggen@gmail.com](mailto:criszurbriggen@gmail.com)

## ABSTRACT

As part of an extremely unequal region, Latinamerican countries face multiple development problems that, in spite of their complexity, have gained priority in the public agenda during the last two decades. Democratic governments have introduced diverse institutional innovations in public policies that require in-depth examination to go beyond existing literature and understand whether these State interventions create public value and contribute to a genuine democratization of society and government.

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## Session 1 Coordination, participation and policy change

Tuesday, June 26th 10:15 to 12:15 (Posvar Hall - 4524)

### Discussants

conrado ramos (Instituto de Ciencia Política )

### Cross-policy synergies and horizontal coordination in health care reform. The Uruguayan case in comparative perspective

Jorge Papadopoulos (Centro de Informaciones y Estudios del Uruguay (CIESU))

Javier Vazquez-D'Elia (Center for Latin American Studies - University of Pittsburgh)

In 2007, after more than twenty years of failed attempts, Uruguay introduced one of the most comprehensive health care reforms recently implemented in the Latin American region. The new system rests on the complementary coexistence of public and private components, and entailed important gains in terms of institutional coherence. An important degree of institutional fragmentation nevertheless subsisted, as a price required by the political viability of the reform.

What explains the depth and shape of the reform? This paper argues that: (a) the 2007 reformist team benefited from a process of policy-learning from earlier failed attempts, particularly regarding the choice of policy options that might be most acceptable to the key actors operating in this arena; (b) prior piecemeal institutional transformations produced incremental growth in the power resources controlled by governmental actors; (c) linkage to parallel reforms in other policy areas (social security, labor market, and taxation) were a critical requisite for the institutional and financial feasibility of a paradigmatic shift in the health care sector.

### Participatory innovation in Public Policy: Spaces for Change?

Lizbona Cohen Alexandra (Department of Political Science, School of Social Sciences , Universidad de la República/Universidad Nacional de San Martín)

Dominique Rumeau (University of British Columbia )

Cristina Zurbriggen (Universidad de la Republica)

In the last twenty years participatory innovations have flourished in Latin American countries. These new ways of participation, such as, participatory budgeting, public national conferences, citizen assemblies, are not necessarily in conflict with the traditional schemes of participation of representative democracies, rather they might function as new mechanisms for deepening democracy. Participatory institutional innovations in its multiple forms have the potential of deepening democracy by virtue of including the affected people in the decision-making process of public policies. Rather than a model of governance dominated by a technocratic component, as it was the dominant model of the 90's, innovations might prompt a new model of democratic governance in which the complex interactions of different systems could be taking into account by including the voices of all the actors affected.

In this paper we analyze the institutional innovations used by the Uruguayan government between 2005-2017 to promote citizenship participation in the management of water resources. A Citizens' Jury was used for the first time in this country to include the voice of people usually excluded from the policy-making processes. Particularly, we will analyze whether this specific institutional form did actually empowered

people and to what extent the internal design of the Jury improved the representation of citizens. It is our contention that the institutionalization of the mechanism, the phase of the policy making process, the type of inclusion of the social actors affected by the issue, and the coordination between the state agencies responsible for the management of water resources, constitute key dimensions to understand the degree of success of the Citizens' Jury. Finally, although Latin American countries consolidate a variety of participatory innovations, Citizens Juries were not used along the region. Thus, we take a comparative approach to compare the Uruguayan experience against other democracies with consolidated welfare states, such as Germany, Denmark and Canada.

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## Session 2 Experimentation and programmatic intermediation in the policy cycle

Tuesday, June 26th 13:45 to 17:00 (Posvar Hall - 4524)

### Discussants

Javier Vazquez-D'Elia (Center for Latin American Studies - University of Pittsburgh)

### Experimentation in policy design: challenges for public sector

Cristina Zurbriggen (Universidad de la Republica)

This paper seeks to provide some evidence off experimentation in public policy through the analysis of a case aiming sustainable agriculture: the Uruguayan soils conservation management plans (SUMP). More specifically, it will focus on identifying emerging patterns of innovation in public policy and the practices that contributed to the journey of public managers and their organizations in designing soils conservation and management plans. In this way, it aims to contribute to the discussion on new forms of governance to achieve sustainable development that can deal with complex, interconnected, cross-cutting, uncertain issues by linking experimentation in public policy and resilience thinking.

We draw inspiration from recent approaches to innovation in public policy as an experimental process in which cross-sectoral collaboration promotes critical reflection on strategies to address complex and systemic challenges (Peters, 2017, Ansell and Bartenberger 2016, Ansell and Geyer 2017, Ansell and Bartenberger 2017). Likewise, resilience thinking emphasizes the need to foster complex adaptive systemic thinking and develop systems of governance that are capable of coping with uncertain and unexpected changes. Governance systems need to be more polycentric, flexible, adaptable, with real ability to respond to change, as well as learning capacity to design and implement strategies to overcome both current and future adverse conditions (Chapin et al. 2009).

This paper updates the results from a research that was part of a regional analysis on innovative public policies regarding sustainable development and natural resources in Latin America. For that purpose, the recently implemented policy of soil use and management plans in Uruguay was selected and examined between November 2015 and November 2016 and reassessed between March and April 2017. The research conducted was guided by the following leading questions: Which emergent patterns in policy-making can be identified as innovative in overcoming hierarchical and fragmented decision-making? How can experimentalist approaches contribute to better frame public complex problems? What type of knowledge do they produce and what are the effects to policy making? What are the challenges for emergent types of public governance?

The paper is set out as follows: First, we describe the most relevant transformations in the agricultural sector in Uruguay in order to have a systemic perspective. The second section focuses on the cultural-historical process of the soil conservation policy. Next, we present the emergent patterns of innovation in SUMP design. Finally, the paper concludes with a discussion about the challenges in governance systems regarding complex problems.

## **Credit claimers as political agents from the center. A particular case of programmatic intermediation**

Conrado Ramos Larraburu (Universidad de La República)

Alejandro Milanesi Camejo (Universidad de la República - Uruguay)

Martín Freigedo (Instituto de Ciencia Política, Universidad de la República)

This article seeks to contribute to the discussion on political intermediation, providing evidence for the Uruguayan case on the forms of action of the territorial political actors that the recent literature on patronage has denominated "credit claimers", in contrast to the traditional brokers. The arrival of the Frente Amplio to the national government in Uruguay in 2005 provoked a change in the way policies landed in the territory. While various policies strategies for territorialization coexist, they all have a common factor: the presence of these new local actors, generally party supporters, responsible for implementing policies.

The objective of this paper is to analyze the intermediation role of these credit claimers, arguing that, despite the fact that, similar to brokers, are able achieve the political loyalty of the beneficiaries of the goods and services they offer, the limited margin of discretion with which they count to define the form and content of their interventions in the territory, added to the absence of mechanisms of direct coercion, makes them different to traditional brokers. It can be affirmed that while they do not obey a Weberian logic of street level bureaucrats, they are not agents that fit within the typical clientelist policies so frequent in the region. Through a qualitative methodological approach we will study in 3 departamentos of the country how this process of intermediation of policies occurs between credit claimers and beneficiaries.

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## Session 3 Innovation and governance in the educational field

Wednesday, June 27th 09:00 to 12:15 (Posvar Hall - 4524)

### Discussants

Cristina Zurbriggen (Universidad de la Republica)

### **Institutional innovations versus path- dependence in the educational arena. Uruguay 2005-2017**

María Mancebo (Universidad de la República)

Unlike other Latin American countries that carried on decentralization reforms in the 90's, Uruguay has maintained strong centralization in the structure and operation of its educational system. The adopted model, based on the French system, is highly hierarchical and most decisions are taken by authorities located in the capital city, Montevideo. ANEP (Administración Nacional de Educación Pública) rules compulsory and teacher education and is responsible for the provision of public education that has been predominant for decades.

Within the Uruguayan institutional arrangement teachers have two main channels of participation: unions and Teachers' Technical Assemblies (ATD); ATDs are bodies with power of initiative that play an advisory role to educational authorities. The student movement has been very weak during the years covered by this paper (2005-2017) and participation mechanisms of parents and the external community have been historically limited.

The 2008 Law of Education sought to transform the non-participatory feature of the system through two new rules: the inclusion of teachers' representatives in the government of education and the creation of Participation Councils per school. In addition to these legal innovations, one of the most important recent educational policies has fostered decentralization to promote educational inclusion, in the so-called "System of Protection of Educational Trajectories" (SPET).

The paper will provide a systematic description of the Uruguayan educational system in in three dimensions: its level of decentralization, the role of State in the provision of the educational service and the role of teacher organizations and other relevant actors in decision making. Secondly, it will present a thorough description of the referred institutional innovations in the period 2005-2017. Finally, the document will attempt to disentangle their incidence on the empowerment of actors excluded from policymaking in the past and on traditional educational governance.

The argument of the presentation is that the arrival of a "progressive" party (Frente Amplio) to the national government in Uruguay in 2005 opened a new window of political opportunity for the introduction of decentralization and participation policies, with the resulting incorporation of social and political actors in the decision-making process. However, hierarchical governance could not be altered and institutional inheritance became a solid obstacle for large-scale educational change.

From the theoretical point of view the article will rely on Historical Institutionalism and on approaches to change in public policies.

## **Innovations on the secondary education system: how to overcome low quality and increase democratic governance in federal nation-states**

Filomena Siqueira e Silva (Fundação Getulio Vargas - EAESP FGV)

Laura Silva (Fundação Getulio Vargas)

The Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) indicates that Latin America should improve both access and quality on their education system. Brazil is one of countries with the lowest performance. In 2015, Brazil occupied the 63 position among the 70 countries in the science ranking, 65 in mathematics and 59 in readings. The science results means a difference equivalent to minus 3 years of schooling between Brazil and the OECD benchmark countries (IDB/PISA, 2015).

Since the re-democratization of Brazil in 1988, primary and secondary schooling is responsibility of the constituent states, not the national government, and because of this the subnational level deals with complex problems facing access, quality and conclusion.

The rate of enrollment on secondary education, in 2016, was 62.7% and the conclusion rate was 58.5%, so nearly half of Brazilians with 19 years-old have not completed elementary education. On the quality area, the rate of teachers with proper qualification on the subjects they teach is only 54,9%.

How to overcome this problem and ensure quality on the secondary education?

To try to tackle this problem, states have launched a new policy offering a full time secondary school in which the students will have the common national curriculum and also elective courses aiming to improve both cognitive and emotional and social skills.

To implement this new policy for the secondary education many states are counting on the support of civil society organizations. Another innovation is the improvement on monitoring and evaluation system, so the schools can better monitor the student's performance and report to the state secretary of education. This mechanism has the potential capacity to increase democratic governance, both because of the involvement of non-state actors and the improvement of monitoring system.

However, this new policy imposes challenges regarding implementation and state capacity to guarantee the good governance of this institutional arrangement involving their own bureaucratic staff, schools and civil society organizations. To develop this discussion, the study will ground its theoretical framework on the international literature of governance and implementation (HILL & HUPE, 2002; ROTHSTEIN & TEORELL, 2008; ROTHSTEIN & TEORELL, 2012; PIERRE & PETERS, 2005; FUKUYAMA, 2004).

To analyze this policy innovation the empirical object of this research will be four Brazilian states: Pernambuco, Santa Catarina, Mato Grosso do Sul and Ceará. The methodology is qualitative with field research and interviews with the bureaucrats responsible for the policy implementation and schools headteachers. The reason to choose these states is that all them are implementing the full time secondary schools based on nine hours of schooling, with common curriculum and elective courses. However, these states offer different frameworks and specific institutional design on which the same policy can be implemented

The purpose of this article is to analyze this policy and identify categories that justified why this policy represent a new framework for secondary schooling and an institutional innovation for the states. Such mapping may collaborate to systematize this policy process and create a benchmarking for secondary education reforms in Latin America.



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## Session 4 Implementation of innovative policies

Wednesday, June 27th 13:45 to 17:00 (Posvar Hall - 4524)

### Discussants

María Mancebo (Universidad de la República)

### **New perspectives of indigenous public policies as a wicked problem approach in Latin America: the case of Bolivia**

Laura Silva (Fundação Getulio Vargas)

Marcela Corrêa (Fundação Getulio Vargas)

Vitor Tramontin Tornello (Fundação Getúlio Vargas)

Diego Chavez Rodriguez

The international debate on the rights of indigenous people and nations is a matter that has gained institutional support and greater visibility in the last two decades. The legal framework for inclusion of indigenous people as a target for specific public policies is given by the Convention 169 of the International Labor Organization (ILO) as well as the Universal Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples of the United Nations (UN), ratified in 2007.

In this context, Latin American countries seek to align initiatives to the international agenda, as the case of Ecuador, Peru, Colombia and Bolivia. This last Latin American country, since 2009, began a transformation process in its political regime with the promulgation of the new Political Constitution of the State, considered as an institutional and symbolic innovation, inaugurating the Plurinational State of Bolivia. The indigenous in Bolivia became considered as a social and political subject, guaranteeing, in theory, its self-determination and the opportunity to self-government, from the formalization of the so-called Gobierno Autónomo Indígena Originario Campesino (GAIOC), as a metaconcept, "Native Indigenous Peasant Autonomous Government". For the first time, they are included in the government structure.

Therefore, this research aims to understand the implementation dynamics of the GAIOCs considering the current Bolivian legislation, its governance structure as well as the relationship that is built historically with indigenous social organizations and movements. In order to achieve such a proposal, this paper has a qualitative methodological approach, namely, the construction of the correlation between the State-Social Movements-Native Indigenous Peasants, in regards to their multiple tensions and the formation of wicked problems (Roberts, 2000) with these actors and their networks. In addition to the aforementioned methodological tool, this study uses an exploratory field analysis (Gil, 1987; 2007) and an ethnographic approach (Spradley, 1997) considering the case of an specific Bolivian indigenous community called Raqaypampa with the purpose of illustrating the research problem previously raised and the forms of organization of its public life. The choice of this community is justified given its recent formal consolidation as a GAIOC and the existence of a series of demands among the Central Government.

After this in situ research, it has been noticed that, among the objectives of the Central Government and the activities of a public nature in the GAIOC, there is an eminent paradox here categorized by the models State-Legal Autonomy and Cultural-Ancestral Autonomy. It is noteworthy that after the methodological exercise of mapping networks of influential actors in the analysed process and their correlations of forces, it was possible to notice that certain difficulties in this local government are mitigated by state and non-state actors.

In sum, the present study aims to establish a critical and analytical analysis of the in progress construction of possible public policies perspectives for the Latin American indigenous nations and people. The process of implementing the GAIOCs in Bolivia can be understood as a possible solution replicable in the other Latin American countries whose indigenous rights issue emerge as a guideline in the public agenda.

