W05 / Policymaking from theory and practice: Latin American-driven debates.

Topic : Policy Process, Policy Making

Chair : Norma Munoz del Campo (Chile)

Second Chair : Juan Guillermo Vieira Silva (Universidad EAFIT)

Third Chair : Melina de Souza Rocha Lukic (York University)

CALL FOR PAPERS

This panel seeks to promote a regional debate on public policy by highlighting the region's unique characteristics and contributions to public policy analyses. Thus, it encourages papers that discuss policy contributions to problem-solving with a specific case, such as cash transfers programs, participatory budget initiatives, bus rapid transit programs, metropolitan governance, infant industry development policies, and anti-corruption policies, among others. Additionally, it encourages propositions to debate empirical insights into issues from the theories of policy process when they apply to examine Latin American cases.

The previous topics should serve only as an indication of the type of discussion the panel intends to prompt. The objective is to begin a long-lasting discussion about policy studies in LA in order to recognize more fully and transparently what the region has offered and how the field can proliferate in our region. As part of the objective, the panel will attempt to seek and arrive at an editorial project.

This panel invites authors to engage with the question about the Latin American regional contribution to the field. As in many other fields of knowledge, authors in the region may have offered key developments to the field, either on the grounds of theory, methodology, or even further, in terms of an innovative epistemological approach. However, such voices may have been eclipsed or overseen somehow due to a recurrent centralization of knowledge production, placing greater emphasis on authors and ideas that are able to publish in the US and Europe.

The panel offers a unique opportunity to discuss the region's advancements and contributions to the study of public policy. Papers with the following topics are welcome:

· Well-established contributions that were allegedly developed first in LA or by an author in the region, alluding to cases of LA

· Specific policies in LA that have been regarded as worldwide valuable ideas or international contributions (ex. participatory budgets, cash-transfer programs, bus rapid transport,

· Applications of theories of the policy process (country or in a comparative way) in the LA context that have raised questions, prompted revisions, or placed key critiques on the mainstream approaches within the policy studies. Or in other words: What are the specific theoretical contributions from the Latin America? How do they contrast with Global North theories? What insights do they provide about the policy processes? How do they represent the development countries particularities?

· How have “mainstream” or “alternatives” theories of the Global North been applied, and what have we learned about the theories and the region?

· Methodological innovations in the field that have been initiated in LA may be part of the peculiar features that researchers face in the region (or due to some other reason).

· Specific features of and within policies in LA that have been shaped by the political regime, culture, or other socio-political traits available in the region

ABSTRACT

This panel seeks to promote a regional debate on public policy by highlighting the region's unique characteristics and contributions to public policy analyses from empirical and theoretical views. Thus, it encourages papers that discuss policy contributions to problem-solving with a specific case, such as cash transfers programs, participatory budget initiatives, bus rapid transit programs, metropolitan governance, infant industry development policies, and anti-corruption policies, among others. In addition, it encourages

the formulation of hypotheses to assess the applicability of policy process theories to Latin American cases. The previous topics should serve only as an indication of the type of discussion the panel intends to prompt. The objective is to begin a long-lasting discussion about policy studies in LA in order to recognize more fully and transparently what the region has offered and how the field can proliferate in our region. As part of the objective, the panel will attempt to seek and arrive at an editorial project.

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Session 11

Wednesday, June 26th 10:15 to 12:00 (AULA 19)

Discussants

Norma Munoz del Campo (Chile)

Juan Guillermo Vieira Silva (Universidad EAFIT)

The Disputes over State Capacities for Promoting Food and Nutrition Security in Brazil

Ricardo Duarte (Universidade Federal de São Carlos)

Alexandre Faria (FGV EBAPE – Brazilian School of Public and Business Administration)

The aim of this working paper is to analyze the configuration of state capacities as a process of disputes over the material and symbolic resources of the State. An important part of the literature on public policies involves understanding a public policy by identifying the actors involved in its definition and reconstructing the structure of relationships that unite them (Dubois, 2023). Among diverse notions for such analysis, the field approach of Bourdieu (1989) emerges as a powerful analytical tool. Based on that, it would be possible to avoid the dichotomy present in regarding the State as a holder or not of autonomy, framing it as a complex web of relationships without pre-defined immutable boundaries.

Associated with this idea of autonomy, the multidimensional concept of State Capacity emerged in the literature. Initially, "classic" studies highlighted the importance of Weberian bureaucracies as a key element in the state's ability to pursue "official objectives" (Rueschemeyer & Evans, 1985) but more recently, state capacity has also been related to the idea of governance, opening a path for deploying categories such as technical-administrative and political-relational capacities (Pires & Gomide, 2016). These elements are placed as conditions for governments to produce public policies and deliverables. Nonetheless, considering that the discussion on state capacities tends to undervalue the issue of power (Lindvall & Teorell, 2016), we assume that state capacities should be read as the accumulation of material and symbolic powers to socially authorize the solution of public problems (Moretti & Mello, 2017). The aim is to advance the framework on the configuration of state capacities as a result of disputes that happen in the exchanges between the political-bureaucratic space in a certain public domain and its corresponding field. So, we ask: “how take place the disputes over the configuration of state capacities aimed at promoting Food and Nutrition Security (FNS) in Brazil?”

Methodologically, as a starting point, the analysis was limited to the Federal Executive, taking the National Secretariat for Food Security as a hard core in which the FNS policy occurs. Without neglecting other elements of the field's historical reconstruction, the focus will be between 2011-2022, understood as a period capable of encompassing the moment when the state's FNS capacities went through a series of reconfiguration processes. Primary and secondary data from multiple sources were analyzed using techniques such as Content Analysis and Multiple Correspondence Analysis.

The preliminary results allow to indicate how the different stages of the power relations that involve the political-bureaucratic space of a public domain and its corresponding field are related to different arrangements of material and symbolic resources directed towards tackling a public problem. We consider this proposal suitable for the Workshop T01/W05 because even though it mobilizes two theoretical approaches from the Global North, it provides an approximation between them that are conceived in Latin America, opening reflections about parallels and contrasts. Also, it is done to shed light on an empirical problem typical of our continent, from which Latin America provided significant international contributions.

(We consider on-site presentation).

(Virtual) Public Policy Design Theory and Practice in the Global South: The case of Colombian National Planning Department and its failed push for a top-down territorial planning policy.

Johann Julio Estrada (Universidad Externado de Colombia)

Maria Monica Salazar Tamayo (Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona)

Even in the presence of the best scenarios for policy implementation, governments can grapple with complex problems environments in which they must deal with different actors, ideas and interests, where well design policies have a better chance to accomplish goals than non-design ones (Howlett; Muckherjee, 2014, Howlett et al, 2015; Howlett; Muckherjee, 2018; Siddiki, 2018). In these scenario, national policies with vertical design contexts requires great levels of administrative coordination, calibrated policy subsystems and legit governance modes to achieve policy goals through policy means (Howlett, 2009; McConnel, 2010; Howlett; Ramesh, 2014).

An integrated model that can serves to analyze the consistency of policy design through policy implementation styles and execution feedback was proposed by Tosun and Treib (2018). In this model the link between policy design and implementation can help explain the occurrence of policy failure through aspects related to governance's modes. In this context, this paper seeks to assess the model applicability to government national policies in the global south. A case of special interest emerges in Colombia, where policy design has been around since 1990s, closely tied to development planning and adopted as a flagship in the public sector by the National Planning Department (DNP). However, and until this day, some policy design elements seem to be underattended in most national policies, which leads to the research question this paper intents to answer: If policy design is based in a grounded theory, provided by a national planning agency, why implementation gaps happened and more over can derive in a massive policy failure?

To answer this question, we will focus in understanding the development of the spatial planning policy in Colombia. This policy emerged to address local governments capacities on territorial planning. Since 1998 Colombia, through the expeditions of Law 388 of 1997 and Law 1454 of 2011, has developed comprehensive legislation and regulatory policy guidelines that govern urban planning and spatial development in the country. The main results of this approach were the implementation of a spatial planning instrument developed by local governments in every city in the country, regulating the main issues around land management and use. However, this planning instrument efficiency has been questioned because 88% of them need to be updated. In this context, and intending to update them, the Colombian national government developed the Modern Territorial Plans Program.

This article aims to apply Tosun and Treib model to Colombia´s policy design in order to analyze the relationship between policy design, implementation structure and governance modes in the main stages of the policy process, also it seeks to understand how effective a top-down policy can be in improving local planning capacities in the context of the subnational government's autonomy, complex competencies distribution, and the pressure to achieve more sustainable and resilient urban settlements. The paper will contribute to the debate around the contradictions that a country faces when top-down policies are implemented without considering the stakeholders' demands, capacities, and powers, and more over how the institutional design and the political interplay impact the policy design.

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Session 22

Wednesday, June 26th 14:00 to 17:15 (AULA 19)

Discussants

Juan Guillermo Vieira Silva (Universidad EAFIT)

Norma Munoz del Campo (Chile)

Anti-poverty policy and policy analysis in Mexico

Ricardo Velázquez Leyer (Universidad Iberoamericana)

Public Policy studies have acquired a central space in contemporary Political Science. Advantages like the focus on the orientation of government action towards the solution of public problems, a process perspective with discernible phases that can serve to analyse complex political phenomena, multidisciplinary and multimethodic approaches that incorporate tools from different social sciences, and an emphasis on the need of considering the role of non-government actors in public debates and decision-making, are all factors that explain the growing popularity of policy studies around the world. Yet, most theories, models and analytical tools that can be found in the academic literature originated from case studies in North America and Northern Europe, namely countries from the capitalist core, with little contributions from other regions. The present paper shows the importance and relevance of applying Public Policy tools to Latin America. The case study that is analysed is the development of anti-poverty policy in Mexico between the 1990s and 2020s. During this period, the policy to fight poverty passed from one based on communitarian actions in the early 1990s, to programmes of conditional cash transfers from 1997 until 2018, to programmes of unconditional cash transfers after that year. The analysis that is presented in the paper applies different policy theories to explain this evolution and to identify its failures and achievements. In particular, the case study reveals, on the one hand, the usefulness of applying ideational perspectives to understand the outcomes of agenda-setting and policy formulation processes, with reinterpretations of the causes of social problems by policy entrepreneurs triggering proposals for changes, and on the other, the strong influence that street-level bureaucrats, institutional weaknesses and political clientelism can have on policy implementation, the last two issues being practically ignored in the existing theoretical framework of Policy Analysis, but that may actually shape policy development in many contexts. The paper demonstrates how policy research on a case from Latin America can represent a significant contribution to the Public Policy field, offering valuable insights to refine existing theoretical concepts and to incorporate new concepts that are currently neglected.

Using the Policy Capacity Framework to Study Latin American MPP and MPA Higher Education: unveiling the region’s contribution to the policy change debate.

Norma Munoz del Campo (Chile)

The policy capacity framework (PCF) outlined by Wu, Ramesh, and Howlett states that the development of knowledge and skills through education programs affects the functioning of public policies and is a determinant of governments' political capacity. Even though this relationship between education and political capability has been established in the academic literature, training programs have been understudied. This study aims to examine the competencies and skills that Master of Public Policy (MPP) and Master of Public Administration (MPA) programs in Latin America intend to instill in their students, as well as the efficacy of

the Policy Capacity Framework in achieving this goal. To do so, I analyze nineteen public policy master's programs that meet NASPAA's MPP and MPA degree classifications, focusing on their descriptions, objectives, graduation profiles, and curriculum structure. This study adds deontological and human capacity to the original framework's analytical, operational, and political capacities. The findings show and discuss the regional contribution to the training of future policymakers and public managers rethinking the PCF and open new avenues for studying how competencies and capabilities affect policy change using the five-component framework.

Key words: Policy Capacity Framework, Policy change, MPA and MPP Education, Teaching Public Policy, Latin America.

(Virtual) Who could stay (at home)? Similar policy responses to COVID-19 pandemic in the first six months, yet different results: a Latin American and European comparison

Manuel Torres Lajo (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)

Early COVID-19 responses in many parts of the world were quite similar: just to name a few, people were ordered to remain at home to avoid contagion, and only essential businesses stayed open. It seemed like a coordinated global response, irrespective of the particularities of the countries. In Latin America, for example, most countries shut down their economies in an attempt to protect their health systems, just like their European counterparts did. Notwithstanding the noble purpose, key characteristics of the region were not considered, which might have prevented an important part of its population to comply with policies such as staying home. These include, but are not limited to, the mostly informal nature of their economies (with workers living day-to-day) or the unsuitable housing infrastructure where people were supposed to remain to protect themselves from the virus. In comparison, the safety nets already in place in most European countries potentially allowed its population to comply with a certain ease.

This article aims at establishing a comparison between the policy responses to the COVID-19 pandemic and the results yielded by those (in terms of economic impact and health indicators) in the first semester of 2020 in a sample of Latin American and European countries. Most of the data analysed will be extracted from the CoronaNet dataset, a Technical University of Munich-based project that collected policy response data from around the world. The results of the comparison are set to provide an explanation on why not considering the particularities of Latin American countries might have been counterproductive in the goal of preventing contagions. The population might have wanted to comply, but the cruel dilemma—protecting themselves from the virus and not earning money, or vice versa— they were put into, called for a different policy response that considers those realities.

By highlighting the importance of considering the particularities of Latin America when designing public policy responses, it is expected to provide suggestions for policymakers to consider in the design of policies in future emergency scenarios. One particularity the article focuses on are solidarity networks. These are a way of organisation of civil society by coming together to try to tackle some of the shortcomings of their countries' policymakers. These include the provision and distribution of food, medicine, or even personal services. Their experience with extreme situations even before the pandemic might have helped to avoid a worse scenario in some Latin American countries and its understanding could be useful to comprehend the need for considering the local particularities for policy making.

The article will initially focus on Peru and Spain, two countries that had a similar response at the same time. Given that this is a work in progress, other countries are intended to be included in the final version, such as Italy and Argentina, and Germany and Chile. Presentation would be suitable for either format.

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Session 33

Thursday, June 27th 09:00 to 12:15 (AULA 19)

Discussants

Norma Munoz del Campo (Chile)

(Virtual) A Substantivist Conception of the Economy in Public Policy. Insights from Public Procurement for Solidarity Economy in Ecuador

María José Ruiz-Rivera (Université Catholique de Louvain)

Ecuador has constitutionally acknowledged a plural economy comprising private capitalistic and public statist forms of economic organization as well as a solidarity economy (SE) sector. SE organizations are collective initiatives undertaking the production of goods and services whose aim is not to maximize profit but to sustain the livelihoods of their members or the community and enhance democratization (Hillenkamp et al., 2013). They have emerged through historically particular institutional paths: the cooperative tradition, associations supported by the Catholic Church and development-oriented NGOs, and more recent expressions embedded in social movements (Ruiz-Rivera & Lemaître, 2019).

The incorporation of the Buen Vivir paradigm in the constitution has led to debates on its operationalization, especially in public procurement programs—a flagship policy for Buen Vivir. The Buen Vivir discourse stands as a beacon of holistic development, emphasizing the well-being of individuals and communities over mere economic output (Caria & Domínguez, 2016). Despite the constitutional commitment to a substantive economy (Polanyi, 1977), policy implementation relies on formal indicators, revealing a tension between innovative constitutional principles and pragmatic governance.

This paper aims to analyze public procurement programs in Ecuador as a prominent policy for SE promotion in Latin America. In particular, we elucidate the underlying economic rationales and normative references behind the evaluation criteria (i.e., technification, localization, formalization, and positive discrimination) underpinning public procurement and whether these criteria are rooted in a substantive understanding of the economy or a more conventional interpretation, according to Polanyi (1977). Through an inductive approach (8 months of ethnographic fieldwork, e.g., 36 semi-structured interviews and 6 focus groups conducted with government officials and SE organization members), our study explores discursive repertoires used by state authorities and practitioners' perceptions.

Our findings reveal contradictions between SE organizations' ideals and policy foundations, leading to tensions within organizations and their institutional environment. A formal vision of the economy tends to overlook particular features within SE organizations. For instance, capacity assessments in public procurement programs focus on technification and professionalization, favouring modern technology over traditional knowledge and practices. Likewise, the emphasis on economic consolidation through specialization implies a minimalist view of organizations centred on production function efficiency over social aims.

By combining macro-institutional (based on context analysis) and meso-level analyses, this research contributes to the debate on policy implementation in Latin America by advancing empirical research in the Ecuador of Buen Vivir paradigm. Our study highlights the tensions between a substantive approach to the economy and formal indicators in policy implementation and provides insights into the challenges in translating constitutional ideals into practical governance.

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(Virtual) Explaining work-family policy expansion in Chile: Framing to consensus

Shiao Wang (Tsinghua University)

Since the late 1990s, Latin American countries have taken an increasing interest in social policy, but the post-retrenchment expansion is difficult. Chile is a country where neoliberal resilience has made social policy expansion hard to occur. While pro-welfare reforms staged in traditional arenas like pension or healthcare insurance, work-family policies as the provision of childcare and early education and parental leave policies have been adopted or expanded in Chile since the early 2000s thanks to a gradual process of policy change with transversal political support. How was this possible? This article intends to explain the puzzling case of Chilean work-family policy change by discussing the policy framing strategy adopted by policy entrepreneurs which successfully disentangled the problem definition from welfare burden to social investment. This article contributes to discussions about policy change driven by ideas by focusing on the childcare service program implemented under the socialist president Michelle Bachelet’s government (2006-2010) and the extension/adoption of parental leave during right-wing government under Sebastian Piñera(2010-2014). The analysis is based on an array of data sources including semi-structural interviews with key actors, newspaper reports, and legislative proceedings.

Social Game Theory: Towards a Latin American Theory of the Public Policy Process

Juan Guillermo Vieira Silva (Universidad EAFIT)

In a previous paper (Vieira, 2017), I wondered whether Carlos Matus' social game theory, elaborated to support his proposals for the sciences and techniques of government and situational strategic planning, could be considered a public policy process theory, perhaps the first in Latin America. I first analysed whether it fitted the definition of theory, and then the definition of public policy process theories in the tradition of Sabatier and Weible (2017, 2023), both of which I found no buts. Finally, I exploratively reviewed whether traditional explanatory factors of public policy theories, such as actors, institutions, ideas, networks, socio-economic factors and focal events, had a place in their conceptual framework. I found that in principle all these elements could be part of social game theory as policy process theory. The 2017 exploration is an important advance, it shows the potential of a theory, starting from its conceptual framework, but it does not advance in specifying social game theory as policy process theory, what dimensions of the process it explains, with what hypotheses and through what methods it operationalises its concepts. In this paper, I explore these aspects and advance their specification with a view to outlining the formulation of a proposal for analysis, the first empirical test of a policy in the light of social game theory as an explanatory framework for the dynamics of public policy in Latin America.