

Policy Change in Mexican Basic Education: Politics-Policy
Tension.

A Policy Study Approach

Gloria Del Castillo Alemán

gloria@flacso.edu.mx

Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales

Sede México

International Conference on Public Policy,

Milan, Italy, 2nd July 2015

T10P11: Policy change and policy instrument change: ends, means,
process, outcomes

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction	3
1. Policy Change: a Policy Study Approach	8
1.1. Policy Change in Search of its Identity	9
1.2. Policy Change in Policy Study	13
2. Framework: Politics and Policies in Policy Change	16
3. Policy Context: Political-Institutional Arrangement	19
4. Stability and Change in Education Policy	21
5. Conclusion	23
Bibliography	

Introduction

Policy change is one of the most fascinating objects of study, but is simultaneously one of the most difficult to research. The challenges facing policy research are of a different nature: epistemological, theoretical (Capano, 2009), methodological and empirical (Howlett & Cashore, 2009), which translate into two major challenges: 1) for policy change to acquire the status of object of study within the well-matched marriage between the theories and perspectives of policy process; and, 2) for policy change to generate its own theories and perspectives, so that analytical devices can be designed exclusively from the logic of policy change.

Responding to these challenges is no easy initiative. Until now it has been difficult to distinguish and define the main objects of study of policy change: what are the best analytical approaches to capture, describe, explain, analyze and, above all, prove the multiple causality of policy change; what is the best way to capture the trajectory of policies over time; which elements affect the change processes; who are the actors who participate in the changes; where do they occur; what effects, outcomes and impacts do they have; and finally, what changes, what remains and, more importantly for policy research, how far do these changes go in resolving the problems for which they were designed? All the while recognizing that there is no linear relationship between policy change and solving public problems.

This is the set of challenges facing those who have chosen to study policy change as part of their research into public policy in an attempt to explain the persistence of public problems such as the low quality of the Mexican education system.

From an empirical view, understanding and breaking down the complexity of policy change is a highly productive and useful path of knowledge for the decision-making world, provided it can be made intelligible in practice in order to improve the decision-making processes of public policy.¹ Furthermore, understanding and identifying the singularity of the logic under which public policies swing between stability and change leads to more accurate approaches regarding what needs to be changed to improve public policy intervention in the real world, if progress is to be made solving the so-called wicked problems (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

¹ The association of knowledge gained through policy research with decision making does not mean that this paper ignores the fact that the relationship is not linear. For knowledge to be assimilated into the decision-making process there are intermediate steps, such as the willingness of decision-makers to recognize the usefulness and value of scientific-technical evidence (Weiss, 1977) even when it does not favor political stances (Dery, 1990). This reflection emphasizes the role of learning in policy change processes (Hecl, 1974; Sabatier, 1988; Hall, 1988; Rose 1988; Bennet & Howlett, 1992)

One of the *theses* (1) underlying this approach is that policy change as an object of study forces us to look at how the different components of the policy process are put together to discover how they move and, therefore, change or do not change policies, public policy programs and policy implementation strategies. This approach gives rise to a second theory (2): policy change is recognized as an object of study in policy process theories but does not have a specific field of study where the uniqueness of policy change is posited as an object of study, causing latent tension in this well-matched marriage.² However, it must be recognized that recent developments and contributions aim to fill that void, as described below.

This work fits into the framework of discussion and challenges of making visible the analytical and empirical relevance of policy change. I believe that this research provides evidence that contributes both to the foundational approaches to the role of the actors and learning in policy change (Hecló, 1974; Sabatier, 1988; Bennet & Howlett, 1992; Hall, 1988; Rose, 1991) and to the latest analytical developments (Capano, 2009; Rayner, 2009; May & Jochim, 2013; Worsham, 2013). These developments speak to an enormous effort to further the conceptualization, operationalization and verification of the impact of the political dimension of public policy on performance and outcome, where policy change garners importance as one of the main objects of study, understanding that changes which are irrelevant or absent slow or hinder the resolution of public problems. Thus, not accurately understanding the change implies not knowing the benefits or adverse effects of a specific public policy intervention.

In this research, the starting point for the analysis of policy change in education is the persistent low quality³ of Mexican basic education despite it being twenty years since one of the most important reforms in the education sector. Given the obvious non-resolution of a public problem,⁴ the questions that naturally arise are: why have no effective solutions to the problem been found since the education reform of 1992 and the public policy intervention, and consequently, why has the change dynamic adopted by basic education

² The apparently frictionless link between policy change and policy process is shown in arguments such as: “frameworks, theories, and models of the policy processes, by definition, must account for policy change” (Schlager, 2007:293).

³ For the purposes of this work, quality is associated with improvement in the learning of basic education students which is today seen as educational achievement in national standardized tests such as the *Evaluación Nacional de Logro Académico en Centros Escolares* (ENLACE), valid since 2013.

⁴ In Mexico, a high percentage (between 56.5% and 80%) of primary education students fall into two of the lowest performance categories (insufficient and basic) included in the *Evaluación Nacional del Logro Académico en Centros Escolares* (ENLACE) in 2010, (Salazar et.al. 2010:1). These data show that the changes generated since the 1992 education reform in education policy instruments have failed to produce any change in the learning of primary education students.

policy had no effect on resolving low quality education; and why has stability prevailed over the need for deeper changes?

Trying to answer these questions has led to different paths of inquiry into public policy and different approaches, in order to rebuild policy dynamics, i.e. the change, without losing sight of some of the main components (patterns of change), to understand why the quality problem has not improved despite its repeated appearance on the government agenda since 1992 to date, in order to identify a) the policy-making decisions that constitute its trajectory; and, b) the decisions on education policy that have distorted or diverted the original sense of the policy, to be able to pinpoint the poor decisions. One of the principal findings was that policy dynamics responds to a pattern of stability and change (Del Castillo & Azuma, 2009) in the meaning of Sabatier (1988).

The description of policy change allowed the posing of other questions in order to understand stability and change in basic education policies: what is the decisional logic behind basic education policy that prioritizes stability over change? And, what are the components of such logic in terms of improving decisional processes, i.e. making them more effective?

To answer these last questions, the purpose of this work is to identify the components of the decisional logic of basic education policy-making that prioritizes stability over change, in order to generate some policy lessons for other similar experiences. I am assuming that the dynamics of basic education policy respond to stability and change; that decisional logic constrains public policy-making decisions and therefore the scope of the changes originally proposed are limited. This logic responds to the tense coexistence of two rationalities, one of politics and the other of policy. The first is embodied in an institutional policy agreement (*Acuerdo Nacional para la Modernización de la Educación Básica*, 1992) and the other appears in the construction of policy instruments⁵ and responds to the rationale of New Public Management in the education sector. The result of politics-policy tension translates into a pattern of movement where policy instruments change without there being a change in the institutional policy agreement, at least until the latest education reform in 2013.

The main idea held in this research suggests that an advocacy coalition⁶ comprising a government actor and a union actor, where the latter eventually becomes a veto player⁷ and

⁵ In this work, policy instrument is taken to be the mechanism through which change is sought in individual behavior. Such mechanisms are known in political science as incentive systems and are built from the school of rational choice. They are designed, in this case by the government, to motivate (incentive) individuals to change certain behaviors that have a negative impact on a specific situation, understanding that the behavioral change contributes to resolving the public problem in question (Belmelmans, Rist & Vedung, 1998).

⁶ An advocacy coalition, consists of the convergence of different actors in a subsystem of beliefs that unite the sharing of values and interests. In the framework of a policy process, the coalition, when grounded in its constitution, acts as a bloc to drive policy change (Sabatier, 1988; Sabatier-Jenkins Smith, 1993).

an agenda setter,⁸ helps to give insight into the inefficient design and implementation of one of the policy instruments designed to improve the professionalization and performance of teachers, as one of the main routes towards improving education quality. In this partnership, the union actor plays a double role, as a veto player imposing his preferences over the best decisions on education policy, thereby blocking strategic public policy decisions (major changes) for the improvement of quality (Del Castillo & Azuma, 2011), as occurs with the design and construction of the teacher incentive program (called *Programa Carrera Magisterial, 1993-2015*); meanwhile, as an agenda setter he is able to put his interests and preferences on the political and education policy agenda, as occurs in the design of the institutional policy agreement between the government and the union (Del Castillo & Azuma, 2009), which again limits the possibility of more effective decisions towards the resolution of public policy issues.

The research is built up from the perspective of policy studies,⁹ where policy change is one of the underlying objects of study in policy process. One of its peculiarities is that it simultaneously enables the analytical grasp of the connection between the two dimensions that distinguish any policy process: the political dimension (politics) and the public policy dimension (policies), NOT to lose sight of the inherently political nature of the public policy process (Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Bardach, 1977; Majone 1989; Lindblom, 1992). The importance of the latter lies in the bidirectionality between politics and policy

⁷ From the disciplinary field of political science, particularly from game theory, a veto player is one who, within the framework of a decision-making process, has the ability to impose his own preferences over those of other players or key actors (Alemán & Tsebelis, 2002). As a result, the preferences of the other players are blocked and therefore do not materialize in decisions. The veto player concept is very productive for understanding the scope and limits of policy change. It has recently made a comeback in policy change literature as part of a decision-making model to precisely understand the stability and change of policies as a product of a policy process (Zohlnhöter, 2009)

⁸ From the agenda setting perspective, one of the founding themes is the analysis of the role of the media in the construction of public, policy and media preferences, where the agenda setter is identified as an actor with the ability to filter his preferences and interests into a media, policy or public agenda (Rogers & Dearing, 1987).

⁹ From the perspective of Harold Lasswell's conception of policy sciences, two paths of knowledge can be distinguished schematically, which, in turn, lead to two paths of public policy research better known as "knowledge of the decision process" and "knowledge in the decision process" (Lasswell, 1971). In practice, the first is identified with a specific type of research that takes shape under what is conceived as policy studies, while the second falls into policy analysis (Del Castillo, 2014). There are several differences between the two, some of which have been previously analyzed in pioneering studies in Latin America, where attention is drawn to the analytical and empirical importance of incorporating the State and its operation into policy analysis in order to identify and understand that the policy formulation process is a function of the nature of the State (Public/Private) (Bazúa & Valenti, 1993).

and this work assumes that it is politics that shape public policy-making decisions (Worsham, 2013).

The work consists of five parts. The first addresses policy change under the logic of Policy Studies in order to understand the trajectory of policy change in the field of public policy, and which elements shape policy change as an object of study in Policy Studies. The second presents the framework that helps to understand stability and change in basic education policy in Mexico. This is followed by a detailed presentation of the empirical case which illustrates the components of the decisional logic that has permeated the decisions and actions of basic education (third and fourth part). The work concludes with a dual reflection on the scope and limits of the framework used in this research and on the main findings about change in order to establish a future agenda for policy change research.

2. Policy Change: a Policy Studies Approach

In the literature, policy change as an object of study is associated with other, broader referents, such as the analytical proposals of policy process. This implies that the main aim of these approaches is not the study of policy change, in other words, the basic questions regarding the identification and comprehension of policy change, how it occurs in reality, where it is and the outcomes and impacts of policy change on the resolution of public problems are not among their primary concerns.

The above partly explains the fact that the literature on public policy contains different references to policy change under various names, including policy innovation (Westney, 1987) and policy dynamics (Bardach, 2006; Capano, 2009). Each stems from a distinct analytical approach and therefore reveals objects that are probably similar but under different names and meanings. This situation explains why policy change as an object of study underlies and/or has been part of other, broader objects of study, only recently succeeding in building its own identity.

Hence the need and relevance to bring out the singularity of the analytical perspective from which change to the Mexican basic education policy is posed, as proposed here. To that end, this section addresses two issues: the first briefly touches on the trajectory of policy change in the field of public policy, and the second establishes how policy change is adopted under the logic of a Policy Study.

1.1 Policy Change in Search of its Identity

Policy change as an object of study has appeared in the origins of what is today recognized as a field of Public Policy since the early nineteen-sixties, but without a place of its own, given that intellectual interest in the political-historical moment of these years lay in investigating how to inject rationale into decision-making in order to ensure causality

between public policy decisions and the solution of public problems; in the words of Harold Lasswell, issues of human dignity. It was not envisaged that policy decisions in themselves represented a change which would itself trigger a more sweeping change process in other levels of government, other public spheres, the composition of the power elite, the rules of the game and many other areas. Consequently, neither was there concern for building theories and perspectives aimed specifically at capturing, describing, analyzing and explaining public policy change.

Based on the above, this work argues that policy change as an object of study perpetuates the same error, i.e. it is there but remains hidden behind the intellectual priority of the time: how to reach the best public policy decision and which is the best path to take. This has caused it to become less distinct, being encompassed within another broader object of study, as described in the moments discussed below.

From this approach, at least three significant moments can be identified in the “history” of policy change. The first refers to the founding moment of policy sciences (Lasswell, 1971), where policy change is hidden in the relationship between the knowledge in and of the decision process and the resolution of the problem.

In the second, policy change appears in relation to the need to understand and bring out the complexity of the implementation process, as reported in the works of Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) and Bardach (1977). In this stage, covering up to the nineties, one of the great intellectual concerns was centered on identifying what happens between design and implementation that renders policies ineffective at resolving the problems for which they were created. From a policy cycle approach, the analytical emphasis lies in making the implementation process the major object of study. Policy change, therefore, fuses with different objects that are of interest from the analytical perspective of implementation.

However, it is impossible to overlook at this stage the emergence of various authors (Nakamura, 1987; Sabatier, 1991; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1993) who criticize and question the policy cycle as an analytical perspective for knowing and understanding the complexity of the public policy formulation process. Among their main arguments are that the policy cycle: a) is not a theory from the moment it fails to establish causal relationships between and within the stages, therefore it is not possible to establish a hypothesis within and between the stages of the cycle (Sabatier, 2007:3; b) the sequence of stages proposed is often descriptively inaccurate (Nakamura, 1987) since in reality the policy formulation process is not linear; c) it offers a more regulatory “top-down” order without leading to an understanding of the interactions between the stages of the cycle; and, d) it simplifies a highly complex process and therefore does not make visible many other objects of study (forms of governance, rules, actors, governance structures, contexts). Finally, Paul Sabatier (1991) succeeded in getting his approach to mark a turning point in the field of public policy by systematizing, in the first edition of his book *Theories of the Policy Process*, the

theory that the policy cycle perspective must be replaced by better theories and thereby bridge the explanatory gap between theory and practice.

The relevance of Sabatier's proposal is that based on his approach, policy process¹⁰ is taken as the major object of study but from analytical perspectives distinct from the policy cycle, which are today known under the generic term theories of policy process. These two decades saw the emergence and building of what today could be considered part of the foundational theories of policy process, such as the Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier, 1988; Sabatier & Weible, 2007); the Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory (True, Jones & Baumgartner; 2007); the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (Ostrom, 2007); and the Multiple Streams Framework (Zahariadis, 2007).

Thus emerges a set of theories, perspectives and models aimed at understanding the policy process, where once again policy change is opaqued or hidden behind larger research questions geared to understanding the process of public policy decisions and therefore subsumed in the logic of other, broader objects of study. These objects are part of the complexity surrounding the policy process: "hundreds of *actors*" (interest groups, governmental agencies, legislatures at different levels of government, researchers, journalists, and judges) with different values or interest; *time spans* of a decade or more; *policy domain* (programs); *policy debates*; *interest and values* (Sabatier: 2007:3-4).

The third moment of policy change can be located from the first decade of the millenium. In these last 15 years, it can be said that policy change studies have focused on the search for its identity, although paradoxically they do so within the analytical advances and developments relevant to the policy process. Given this effort, it becomes clear that such studies have not been in vain since they begin to put a face and features to policy change as an object of study and analytical field.

Thus, in the last five years the Policy Study Journal has dedicated at least three issues to publishing the state of the art on policy process research (Nowlin, 2011; Schlage & Weible, 2013; Petridou, 2014) where policy change is gradually gaining analytical and/or empirical relevance.

¹⁰ Policy process refers to the "process of public policy-making (where) problems are conceptualized and brought to government for solution; governmental institutions formulate alternatives and select policy solutions; and those solutions get implemented, evaluated, and revised" (Sabatier:2007:3). In other words, policy process is also known as public policy formulation and encompasses the definition of the problem, policy design, implementation and evaluation (Parsons, 2007).

There is agreement in the identification and location of what could be assumed to be part of the foundational theories and perspectives of the policy process,¹¹ the emerging perspectives (Nowlin, 2011);¹² those that have been listed as new theories (Schlager & Weible, 2013)¹³ and finally, those used by research groups to analyze applied cases, known as evolving theories (Petridou, 2014).¹⁴ I want to emphasize that among the new and growing perspectives is that of policy regime (May & Jochim, 2013), whose application for this research was very productive, as described in the construction of the framework. I cannot say the same for policy history (Rayner, 2009), a highly useful perspective for rebuilding the trajectories of public policies, especially in the analytical space occupied by the *sequence of policies* as a concept and the variable *time* in its different dimensions (Capano, 2013).

Among this renewed intellectual drive is the special edition of the Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice (2009) where the issue is The Determinants of Policy Change: Theoretical Challenges, edited by Giliberto Capano and Michael Howlett, and a chapter dedicated exclusively to the study of change under the title, “Policy Dynamics: patterns of stability and change” in one of the more recently published handbooks Routledge Handbook of Public Policy (2013) edited by Eduardo Araral Jr., Scott Fritzen, Michael Howlett, M Ramesh and Xun Wu.

The assertion that policy change as a field and object of study is in a race for its identity is also reflected in three of the latest public policy handbooks published in 2006, 2007 and 2013. In the first, The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy, only one chapter is dedicated to policy change under the name policy dynamics authored by E. Bardach (2006). This chapter shares space with other contributions in a section called “Producing Public Policy.” In this work, Bardach writes from the implementation point of view, assuming from the

¹¹ Among these: Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier, 1988; Sabatier & Jenkins, 1988); Punctuated Equilibrium (Baumgartner & Jones, 1991), Multiple Streams (Kingdon, 1984), Policy Diffusion (Berry & Berry, 1990), Institutional Analysis and Development Framework (Ostrom, 2007).

¹² Among these: Narrative Policy Framework (Jones & McBeth, 2010); Policymaking and the Bureaucracy (Workman et.al. 2009); Synthetic Framework of Policy Process (Real-Dato, 2009).

¹³ The authors note as emerging perspectives: The Institutional Collective Action Framework (Feiock, 2013); The Ecology of Games Framework (Lubbel, 2013); The Policy Regime Perspective (May & Jochim, 2013); The Robustness Framework (Anderies & Janssen, 2013); The Collective Learning Framework (Heikkila & Gerlak, 2013); and, Narrative Policy Framework (Jones & McBeth, 2010; Shanahan, Jones, McBeth & Lane, 2013).

¹⁴ In this group: Institutional Grammar; Narrative Policy Framework (Jones & McBeth, 2010; Shanahan, McBeth, & Hathaway, 2011; Shanahan, Jones, McBeth & Lane, 2013); Collective Learning Framework; Policy Regimes (May & Jochim, 2013); Robustness of Social Ecological Systems; Institutional Collective Action Framework; Ecology of Games Framework.

start that understanding policy dynamics is to approach the understanding of change. From this perspective, policy change has as much to do with the policy-making process as it does implementation. He recognizes that the “study of policy dynamics is not a field at all...” (Bardach, 2006:337), consequently, he expressly calls for encouraging this path of research. In the Handbook of Public Policy Analysis (2007), policy change has no place of its own, rather it is part of a broader objective, in this case agenda setting and implementation (Püzl & Treib, 2007), which makes sense considering that this Handbook is constructed under policy cycle logic. From this perspective and following Jenkins’ line of thought, implementation studies are characterized as policy change studies, i.e. as synonyms.

Among these developments are some definitions of policy change as a field of study: “The study of change consists of grasping the complexity of the process and in identifying which elements determine public policy change; understanding that public policies are not simple instruments or tools but a conglomerate of goals, laws, programs, decisions, effects” (Zittoun, 2009:68). What explains the change is a question answered even today in various theories, frameworks and models of the policy process, although it often occupies a secondary place in those approaches.

Another example of this effort is the appearance of the topic at this International Conference on Public Policy, Milan 2015.

1.2 Policy Change in Policy Study

The uniqueness of policy study lies in that its primary object of research is the so-called policy process, referring to the complex process involved in policy-making (Aguilar, 1992), or in other words, the interaction that occurs between the machinery of government, political actors and the public during the emergence, design, implementation and evaluation process of public policies (Petridou, 2014). At the same time, it analytically captures the link between the two dimensions that distinguish any policy process: politics and policies. Its purpose is to understand, explain and describe the complex policy process and consequently explain how policies change from the different analytical perspectives in vogue today, even though policy change does not take analytical centrality.

Under policy study logic, I find that policy change forms part of the larger object that is policy process. Although this situation plays against its identity, by sharing objects of study it does lead to the possible recovery and identification of some of the basic methodological aspects of policy change research (Howlett&Cashore, 2009), as illustrated in the following table:

Table 1: Policy Change in Policy Study

Policy Change Dimension/Analytical Perspective	Policy Study
Trigger of change	Exogenous Factors: Incidence of international bodies (Policy Transfer/Policy Difussion) Endogenous Factors: Alterations in components of thePolicy Process
Origin of the Change	Multicausal: adjustments in policy process: constitutional changes (rules), governmental changes; changes in coalition promoters (stakeholders), changes in policy programs.
Where is the change made?	In the political arena where government interacts with different society actors.
What explains the change?	The political dimension (adjustments to the governing elite; governmental change, change in policy context) constrains the policy dimension (Politics-Policy interaction)
Theories/Frameworks/Models	Theories of Policy Process
Source: Developed by the author	

One of the main aspects to consider is that under the logic of a policy study, policy change is the product of a process and as such its analytical location is that of a dependent variable, giving rise to the so-called dependent variable problem (Howlett & Cashore, 2009).

One of the key advantages of addressing policy change from the logic of polic study is that it does not lose sight of the original sense of policy sciences (Lasswell, 1971), i.e. the relevance of producing and using knowledge to improve decision-making.¹⁵ Thus, there is a very important vein of scientific production on policy change whose analysis revolves precisely around the role played by knowledge and learning in policy change processes (Heclo, 1974; Sabatier, 1988; Jenkins, 1988; Rose, 1991; Hall, 1988; Bennett & Howlett, 1992). From this viewpoint, it is proposed that although there is no linear relationship between knowledge (information) and policy change, what does explain change is the way

¹⁵ It must be remembered that policy sciences were born from the diagnosis that the failures to resolve public problems held a close relationship with the fact that decision-making occurred without robustly-constructed and proven evidence (Lasswell, 1970). Given this, its founder proposed a fruitful path to inject rationality into the government decisional process. How? By the scientific-technical construction of useful and pertinent evidence for decision making, for which Lasswell distinguished between the knowledge of the decision process and knowledge in the decision process; the first path has been identified with policy studies while the second with policy analysis (Aguilar, 1992; Bazúa & Valenti, 1993; Del Castillo, 2014).

in which governments decide to push policy change, that is, what makes governments initiate change. In this case, two types of literature can be identified, the classic, beginning with Sabatier (1988) and the more recent advances known as policy diffusion (Berry & Berry, 1990&2007) and policy transfer (Dolowitz & Marsh, 1996 and 2000; Dussauge, 2012). In these latest analytical developments, it should be said that although they may respond to what explains change, its singularity lies in the origin and trigger of change.

A second advantage is the ability to classify the literature on policy change in terms of the role played by the actors in the change process, i.e. *the actor vein: triggers of change*. Here once again, it is the proposal of Paul Sabatier (1988)—not to overlook the contributions of H. Hecló (1974)—with the advocacy coalition model that identifies two types of actors as key components; the policy broker responsible for coordinating or merging the tense positions of the coalition advocates, and the coalition advocates themselves. The role of these coalitions in the framework of a policy process is to drive or resist public policy change. From Sabatier's viewpoint, policy change has two origins: the change of beliefs of an advocacy coalition and an outside impulse. The first produces a gradual, incremental change in the sense of Lindblom (1992), and the second a radical paradigm shift. For Sabatier, the first is far more feasible and adheres to what happens in the processes of change in the world of public policy decisions.

Furthermore, some contributions to the literature assume that the stakeholders are agents of change for different reasons: for their leadership capacity, identifying them as entrepreneurs (Kingdon, 1984); for the position they hold in a policy subsystem, under the name political broker or policy broker (Sabatier, 1988; Christopoulos & Ingold, 2011) or for their abilities to challenge adverse contexts and respond with policy innovations (Mintrom&Norman, 2009).

Thus, although policy change still lacks its own perspective, that has not prevented this great object of study from being left outside the policy research agenda. In this sense, policy studies are the medium that welcomes the reappearance of analytical approaches to make policy dynamics an object of study (Rayner, 2009). Furthermore, Policy Studies are now the most productive path of knowledge for grasping the complexity of the process and policy change *without losing sight of the aim to resolve public problems* (Del Castillo, 2014), i.e. without leaving aside one of the main attributes and singularities of Lasswell's foundational proposal called policy sciences (Lasswell, 1970).

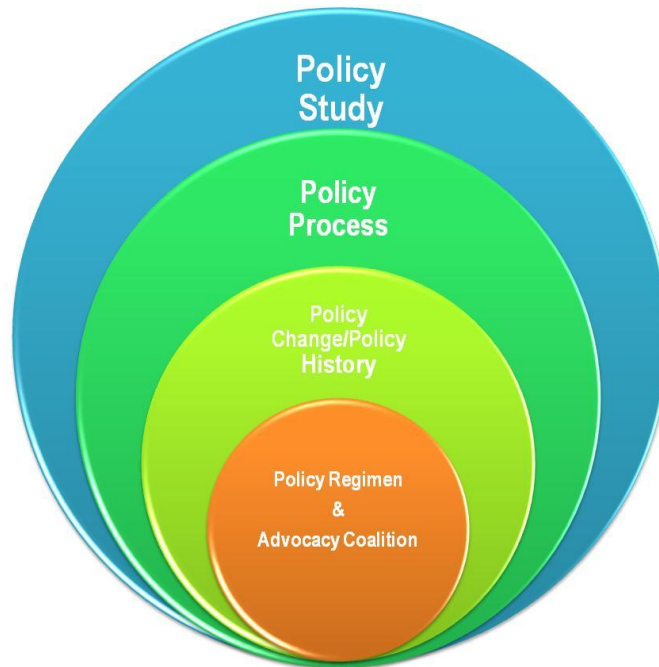
2. Framework: Politics and Policies in Policy Change

Given that the development of policy change occurs under policy process theories, it makes sense to construct a framework that is organized under the logic of a policy study. However, to aid its identity it is designed to have policy change as the focus of attention and not policy process. From this perspective, policy change is assumed to be a process and therefore it is recognized that public policies are in constant motion and their nature is inherently dynamic (Bardach, 2006, Capano 2009 and 2013). Here then, public policy is taken to refer to “the set of intentional and causal actions aimed at the realization of an objective in the public interest/benefit, whose lines of action, agents, instruments, procedures and resources are consistently and coherently reproduced over time. The stable organization of its actions over a certain time is what is specific and distinctive about this set of government actions” (Aguilar, 2010:29).

The framework is constructed to identify and understand the reasons behind stability and change in basic education policy in Mexico. It is distinguished as a hybrid analytical construct that favors the convergence of different views, maintaining public policy change as the backbone. The perspectives converging under the logic of policy study are four: the theories of *policy process*, which include the analysis of change as a result of a process; *policy regime* to make visible the political dimension of public policy; the *advocacy coalition framework* together with the veto player and agenda setter concept to identify the role of the principal actors who drive the changes in education and basic education policy; and, *policy history*, to return to the idea that history is important in public policy change in the sense that knowing the past is essential for understanding current changes (Reyner, 2009:85) when addressing a study period of twenty years.

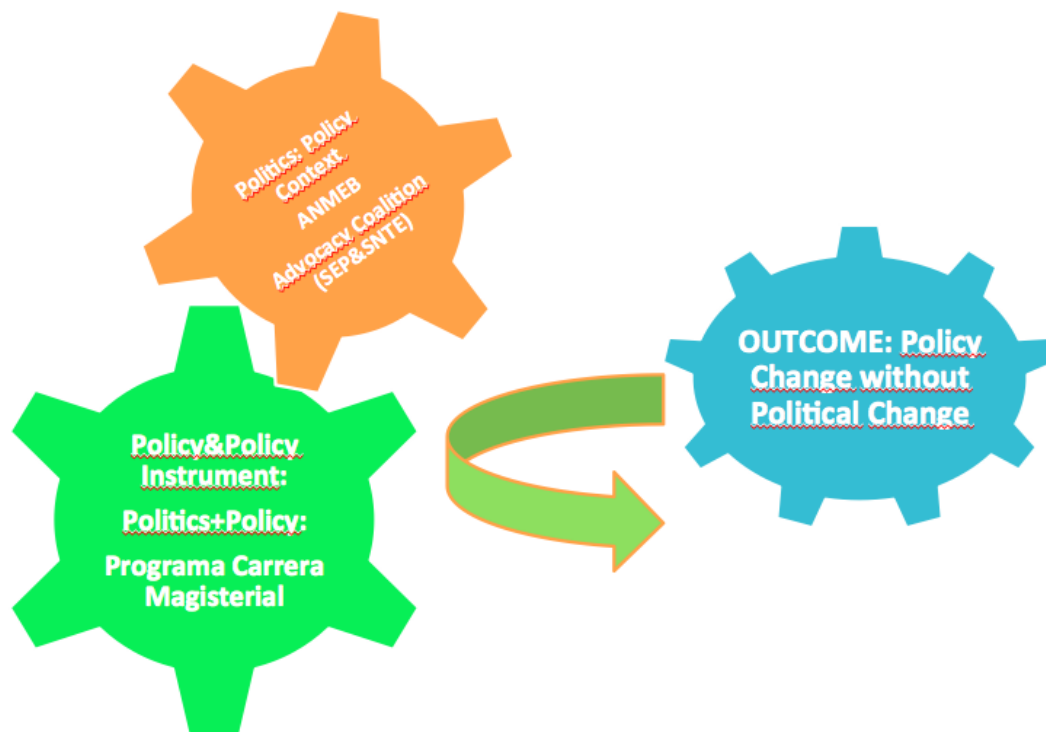
Schematically, the analytical views that converge in the framework of this research look like this:

Figure 1: Analytical Convergence in the Study of Policy Change



The convergence of views enables the construction of a logical and consistent argument that helps to explain the features of change in basic education policy in Mexico based on the link between the political and policy dimensions, as illustrated in Figure 2. The outcome of politics-policy interaction gives rise to what is here called policy instrument change without political change.

Figura 2: Framework of Policy Change



The basic components of the framework are as follows:

- The political dimension (politics) comes to life through the concept of policy context, which is borrowed from the perspective of policy regime. It refers to the political-institutional arrangement (Howlett, 2009; May & Jochim, 2013; Worsham, 2013) that is built—in an attempt to generate change without putting the stability of the education system at risk—in the framework of a policy process with the participation of different actors who, for various reasons, share the need to respond to a public problem. In the case dealt with here, the political-institutional arrangement consists of the rules that shape the basic education policy formulation process.¹⁶ This concept returns to the political dimension associated with the *politics of the policy* in the manner of policy agreements or pacts that promote the implementation of specific public policies.

In this research, the political-institutional arrangement par excellence is the National Agreement for the Modernization of Basic Education (ANMEB for its initials in

¹⁶ This policy study assumes that the policy formulation process comprises the set of decisions that are taken throughout the policy cycle, from the definition of problems and agenda to design, implementation and evaluation.

Spanish),¹⁷ a framework within which the advocacy coalition is built between the Ministry of Public Education (SEP)¹⁸ and the National Teachers Union (SNTE).¹⁹ The two constitute a single advocacy coalition in the view of Sabatier (1988) since they share values, for different reasons, regarding the stability of the Mexican education system. Both actors benefit from stability; the SEP gains governability and the SNTE benefits for its members. However, during the first decade of the millennium, the latter became a veto player and agenda setter, which explains the scope and limits of changes within education policy.

- Policy dimension refers to education policy aimed at improving education quality. This policy comprises different policy instruments that represent the government response to the problem of low quality. These instruments take shape in specific programs geared to generating change in individual behavior. This work chose to analyze one of the main policy instruments, the teacher incentive program (Programa Carrera Magisterial, PCM), which is the principal incentive system for primary education teachers and responses to NPM.
- Outcome refers to policy change as a process, product of the interaction between politics and policy, whose dynamic is characterized by the stability before change threatens the governability of basic education management, as a result of which ANMEB constrains public policy decisions.

Below is an empirical analysis of the case in question.

3. Policy Context: Political-Institutional Arrangement

The aim of making the policy context of change visible is basically to respond to the following questions: What triggers change? Where was it constructed? What was its origin? And what were the first changes to originate with the education reform of 1992?

ANMEB was constructed in the midst of a specific situation that combined an acute economic crisis (three-digit inflation with economic stagnation) with a delicate political situation for Mexico's stability: a highly competitive electoral process, strongly questioned by the opposition, in which the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) had won the

¹⁷ *Acuerdo Nacional para la Modernización de la Educación Básica.*

¹⁸ *Secretaría de Educación Pública.*

¹⁹ *Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación.*

presidential elections with a historically unusual percentage, the same party that had governed this country from 1929 to 2000.²⁰

From a government perspective, the need for an agreement of this nature was justified by the diagnosis that change was warranted in the Mexican education system, at a time when the country's integrated development model was being updated, and of which education formed a strategic part. It was of great importance, therefore, to trigger a process of change in the Mexican education system, and especially in the subsystem of basic education.

It was implicitly recognized that the government could not do this alone given the current situation in Mexico and, therefore, joined forces with the organized teaching profession; it was said that, "Teachers and their union organization play an essential role in this great transformation" (ANMEB, 1992). Thus began the rebuilding of a strategic partnership from the past between the SEP and the SNTE, which although at first responded to the need to create conditions of stability for government administration and the desired changes, it was not long before the said partnership and political agreement acquired constitutional status through the formalization of the General Education Law (LGE) in June 1993, a year after the signing of the ANMEB.

The challenges identified in the diagnosis alluded to by ANMEB included coverage, the poor quality of basic education and the existence of an inefficient government administration derived from centralization and excessive bureaucratic burdens (ANMEB, 1992). In light of these issues, a strategy was designed to improve quality and coverage, from which the following measures would later become public policy: increased allocation of public resources to education; more class days; the design of suitable programs (curricular reform); improvements in textbooks (new books); and properly motivated teachers (ANMEB, 1992). All this, under the umbrella of a reorganization of the Mexican education system.

To implement the above, the strategic policy to be followed was agreed within the framework of the ANMEB. The strategy contemplated three lines of intervention: the reorganization of the Mexican education system; the reformulation of educational content and materials, and the reevaluation of the teaching function. The proposals and contents of each one were formalized in the LGE. For our purposes, this work focuses only on one of the paths that led to the reevaluation of teaching: the teacher incentive program (PCM),

²⁰ This context is helpful in understanding, in part, the origin of the power of veto granted to the SNTE, which, although in existence at that time (Loyo, 1997; Arnaut, 1999; Ornelas, 2008), had not been formalized in any agreement, much less in law. The importance of this is better grasped by remembering that its signing cost the replacement of the head of the SEP at the time and, following the removal of Jonguitud Barrios who had led the SNTE for 15 years (1974-1989), the appointment of Elba Esther Gordillo, who became the lifelong leader of the SNTE on July 7, 2007 in the framework of the XXIII Extraordinary National Political Council.

which is the incentive system aimed at improving the professionalization and performance of teachers and, consequently, improving education quality.

Thus, the ANMEB as a policy context represents a policy and political agreement. Its importance lies in that it is at once a political strategy and an education policy strategy. In terms of the first, the Agreement and its formalization in the LGE in 1993 outlines and defines the axes (reorganization of the education system, reformulation of educational content and materials and reevaluation of the teaching function) that have guided policy reform and ensure and/or do not threaten the interests of the union actor. It also establishes, through the LGE, the procedures for implementing some strategic policies derived from those axes; such is the case of the ongoing training policy and the incentive system for teachers in service, the PCM (Del Castillo, 2012:8).

The ANMEB has succeeded in institutionalizing the collaboration between the leadership of federal education authority, i.e. the Ministry of Public Education and the SNTE. Hence, the ANMEB has become a factor that simultaneously promotes and hinders change towards improvement in education quality. It promotes change in the sense that policy decisions emanating from it have succeeded in terms of coverage, as have many changes that have impacted the improvement of teachers' working conditions and salaries after going through a of loss of purchasing power; and hindering in terms of quality, since the benefits granted to teachers by the education authority were at no point structured to criteria that would ensure the quality of teaching-learning processes. The latter is exactly what awakens the idea that the prevailing logic in the changes has been "governance for coverage" rather than "governance for quality" (Del Castillo & Azuma, 2012; Del Castillo, 2013).

4. Stability and Change in Education Policy in Mexico

Finally, this section describes how the politics-policy relationship translates empirically. This can be observed by looking at the implementation of the ANMEB, which for the purposes of this work focuses attention on the ANMEB-Teacher Incentive Program relationship as part of the ongoing training policy, understanding that the latter represents one of the main policy instruments geared at reversing teachers' loss of purchasing power in 1992 and stimulating their professionalization and performance in favor of better education quality.

The importance of the ANMEB lies in that the policy-institutional arrangement implies a logic of policy strategy that not only permeates policy design but also the implementation of basic education policies; this is the case of the ongoing training policy and the incentive system for teachers in service known as the teacher incentive program (*Programa Carrera Magisterial*). Thus, the involvement of the union and its members, within the coalition with the SEP, succeeds in becoming a veto player in the implementation processes related to the provision of ongoing education and in the joint commissions where horizontal promotions

are assessed within the framework of the PCM (Del Castillo & Azuma, 2009 and Del Castillo, 2012)

The privileged situation of the union actor is due to the SNTE maintaining two kinds of power sources, one formal (Arnaut, 1999) and the other informal. The formal sources are located in the ANMEB, in the contents of the LGE and the regulations that govern the PCM. One of the three guiding axes of the ANMEB is “the reevaluation of the teaching function,” through which teachers in service are granted economic benefits as a way of recognizing the teacher as the “protagonist of education transformation in Mexico.” The benefits consist of salary review and increase, an aspect that has become a permanent annual demand; the creation of a housing promotion program; and, the most important because of its explicit connection with education quality, the creation of the PCM, in response to a specific demand from the SNTE.

The connection between the PCM and education quality is that the first consists of an incentive system that results in a positive relationship between five factors based on the latest reform of 2011, which took place in the framework of the Agreement for the Universal Evaluation of Basic Education Teachers and Directors in Service, under the umbrella of a new agreement, the Alliance for the Quality of Education of 2008, while recognizing the validity of the ANMEB. A total of 100 points are distributed between the five factors, as follows: academic achievement based on student performance in standardized tests (50); ongoing training, which prioritizes training paths and academic scores (20); professional training, referring to evaluation of the content of study plans and programs (5), length of service and experience (5) and curricular activities, which include out-of-class activities performed by teachers based on the Annual Work Plan (20). Thus, the higher the score in these areas, the higher the economic remuneration. This design enables horizontal promotion based on the work of the teacher i.e. it favors the individual but not quality. The strategic importance of this incentive program is that it is closely linked to the ongoing training policy. Teachers in service who participate in ongoing training courses are ensured, almost automatically, of increasing their PCM scores and, therefore, their salaries.

The evaluation processes to award and validate the scores and results are the responsibility of the SEP-SNTE Joint Commission, the highest government body of the PCM formed by joint commissions and working groups, in turn made up of representatives of the SNTE and the SEP, but predominantly the former (Santibáñez, 2008:435).

Among the privileges granted to the SNTE under the LGE is the inability to apply sanctions against teachers for established offences. In addition, as part of one of the main political triumphs in the midst of negotiations to implement the decentralization process, is that the SNTE maintains entitlement in the salary reviews with the Mexican states.

Informal sources have been mentioned as having strengthened the SNTE as a veto player, since they allow its influence to reach beyond the education sector (Del Castillo & Azuma, 2011). Thus, the SNTE acted as the main mediator with the SEP under the aegis of Elba Esther Gordillo, resulting in a positive influence on the professional career of teachers in service; i.e. the SNTE intervenes as a workers union in defence of its members, in the allocation of positions, vertical and horizontal promotions, transfers, evaluations and changes of affiliation, among other aspects, thus acquiring political value in its relationship with teachers, directors and school supervisors (Loyo, 1997; Arnaut, 1999).

An analysis of the SNTE's influence beyond the bureaucratic structure of the basic education subsystem found that—in the Education Commission of the Chamber of Deputies, legislatures 2000 to 2006, and in the SEP-SNTE National Commission—union participation favors the making of educational decisions but to its own benefit, acting as a guardian in constant defence of its political interests. For example, of 302 initiatives brought before the Commission, only eleven were approved and none addresses the quality of education, instead the coverage of preschool education (Santibañez, 2008), a measure that favors an increase in job positions.

It is evident then, that the link between these two types of power source explains to a large extent that the SNTE neutralizes, minimizes and abates the momentum and scope of the changes pushed since the 1992 education reform, which is detrimental to any improvement in quality.

From a distance, one of the most evident policy agreements in the negotiation of the ANMEB was the assurance of the SNTE's interest in maintaining the centralization of those aspects which are today strategic for improving quality, such as a kind of “governance to survive.” However, it must be said that today a new teacher professionalization policy is at the center of the 2012-2013 reform, whose purpose is to remove the old perks and replace them with new criteria that prioritize merit and performance, which has not been the motive behind a new policy agreement between education authority and the leadership of the SNTE, as occurred in 1992, with the endorsement of a new political pact between the country's main political-partisan forces (Del Castillo, 2014a).²¹

²¹ Note that what is apparently very recently changing following the 2013 education reform and the future of which is too early to predict, today faces an obstacle. At just a few days from the midterm elections of June 7, 2015 in the midst of threats from the teachers union dissidents to disrupt the electoral process in three Mexican states, the SEP unexpectedly announced on May 29 the “...indefinite suspension of [previously scheduled] intake, promotion and permanence evaluations” of the teaching profession; a change in the policy instruments that were envisaged as the great change of this 2013 reform. This speaks to the possibility that major changes are at risk of being paralyzed before jeopardizing the (old) governability of the Mexican political system.

5. Conclusions

Before moving on to the lessons of politics and policies, it has to be said that the framework built for this research has several advantages, among them the ability to articulate different analytical viewpoints that aid in understanding why stability is more feasible than change. Central to its construction was the methodological view of the more recent analytical developments (Capano, 2009), since to a large extent it helps to answer basic questions that aid in outlining change as an object of study and the scope of the research itself. It should be reiterated, therefore, that the scope of this work has been more analytical and explicative.

Among the findings that draw attention to the analytical developments concerning policy change and that are useful in practice for decision-making are:

- Based on the dimensions of change looked at under a policy study, it was found that policy change in basic education has been triggered by the Mexican government through the SEP; its origin takes place at a historical-political conjunctural moment, and responds to a broad diagnosis that includes three areas of intervention, one of which has been addressed in this work: change that is built under a political logic that hinders change in education policy. The lesson is this: until we identify and understand with sufficient information and certainty what we want to change, why, and what outcomes and impacts will be generated, the history of failed change will continue to be the pattern in Mexican education policy; thus confirming the theory that in long policy change processes, stability is more feasible than change (Sabatier, 1988).
- Policy change is closely related to the construction and composition of advocacy coalitions, which in some way obstruct deeper changes in favor of their own interests. In this sense, policy changes adhere to a political component that is essential to consider in practice when planning major change. The theory that there is no policy change without political change is still valid (Bardach, 1977; Sabatier, 1988). It is essential, then, to distinguish between political change and policy change. The lesson is this: any planning of policy change should not be done without identifying and understanding the map of coalitions and potential advocacy or resistance coalitions, to explicitly build a political change strategy. This of course includes a strategy to communicate the sense of the change and the policy changes.
- In twenty years, there has been no record of what is called policy learning; the same failures are produced because there has been no in depth analysis of the outcomes

and impacts of the 1992 reform and, above all, the benefits and undesirable effects of the Teacher Incentive Program. This is the result of implementing change processes that are not accompanied by causal models that help to previously identify the relationship between policy intervention and the outcomes and impacts on the public issues in question. Lesson: the change has been institutionalized (Sabatier, 1988).

Future Research Agenda

- To continue with the efforts to build analytical frameworks that seek to salvage the theoretical, empirical and methodological weaknesses of the studies that exist today built from other logics. One path that would have to be further explored is the causality between change and the resolution of public problems. Impact assessments are extremely useful, but would have to be complemented by identifying what worked in favor of the change and the obstacles that worked against it. This leads to looking at public policy governance and management processes. This means incorporating governments and their decisional processes into the policy analysis as objects of study to the extent that they influence the performance and outcome of public policies.
- To build and promote public policy research that specifically addresses policy change as an object of study, under the premise that we cannot change what we do not know and understand, in this case, decisional processes. From this perspective, the intention is to encourage broad and comprehensive analytical constructions that do not fragment change processes at the expense of understanding. To recover as far as possible the perspective of policy history, under the premise that what happens today is a product of what happened yesterday.
- Research of the kind required by policy change also requires the existence of programs that promote multi and interdisciplinary professional training on the analysis and study of public policies as processes.

Bibliography

Anderies, John M and Marco A. Janssen (2013). “ Robustness of Social-Ecological Systems: Implications for Public Policy”, in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 41, Issue 3, pp. 514-537

Aguilar, Luis F. (comp.) (2010). Introducción, in Luis F. Aguilar, **Política Pública**, Mexico: BBAPDF. pp. 17-60

Aguilar, Luis F. (1992). Estudio Introductorio, in Luis F. Aguilar (ed.), **El Estudio de las Políticas Públicas**, Mexico: Miguel Angel Porrúa. pp. 15-74

Alemán, Eduardo y George Tsebelis (2002), “Agenda control in Latin American Presidential Democracies”, paper for Annual Meet American Political Science Association.

Araral, Eduardo, Jr., Scott Fritzen, Michael Howlett, M Ramesh and Xun Wu (ed.) (2013), **Routledge Handbook of Public Policy**. USA: Taylor & Francis Group.

Arnaut, Alberto (1999). La federalización educativa y el Sindicato Nacional de Trabajadores de la Educación, in María del Carmen Pardo (coord.). **Federalización e innovación educativa en México**. Mexico: El Colegio de México. pp. 63-100

Bardach, Eugene (2006). Policy Dynamics, in Michael Moran, Martin Rein y Robert Goodin (ed.). **The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy**. USA: Oxford University Press. pp. 336-366

Bardach, Eugene (1977). **The implementation Game: What happens after a Bill Becomes a Law**. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Baumgartner, Frank and bryan Jones (1991). “Agenda Dynamics and Policy Subsystems”, in **The Journal of Politics**, vol. 53, Issue 3. Pp. 1044-1074

Bazúa, Fernando y Giovanna Valenti (1993). “Hacia un enfoque amplio de política pública”, in **Revista de Administración Pública**, Mexico, INAP, number 84. pp. 25-82

Bennet, Colin and Michael Howlett (1992). “The lessons of learning: Reconciling theories of policy learning and policy change”; in **Policy Sciences**. Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers. Vol. 25, pp. 275-294

Belmelmans-Marie Louise, Ray Rist and Evert Vedung (1998). **Carrots, Stick & Sermons. Policy Instrument & Their Evaluation**. USA: Transactions Publishers, New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Berry, Frances Stokes and William D. Berry (2007). Innovation and Diffusion Models in Policy Research, in Paul Sabatier (ed.), **Theories of Policy Process**. USA: Westview. Second Edition. Pp. 223-260

Berry, Frances Stokes and William D. Berry (1990). “State Lottery Adoptions As Policy Innovation: An Event History Analysis”, in **The American Political Science Review**. Vol 82, Issue 2. pp. 395-415

Capano, Giliberto (2013). Policy Dynamics and change: the never-ending puzzle, in Eduardo, Araral Jr., Scott Fritzen, Michael Howlett, M Ramesh and Xun Wu (ed.), **Routledge Handbook of Public Policy**. USA: Taylor & Francis Group. Pp. 451-461

Capano, Giliberto and Michael Howlett (ed.) (2009). “The Determinants of Policy Change: Theoretical Challenges, in **Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice**, vol. 11, number 1, Special Issue, march.

Capano, Giliberto (2009). “Understanding Policy Change as an Epistemological and Theoretical Problem”, in **Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis. Research and Practice**. UK: Routledge, vol. 11, number 1, march. pp. 7-32

Christopoulos, Dimitrios and Karin Ingold(2011). “Distinguishing between political brokerage and political entrepreneurs”, in **Procedia Social and Behavioral Sciences**, vol. 10. Pp. 36-42

Del Castillo, Gloria (2014a). Servicio Profesional Docente: entre la lógica de la eficacia y la gobernabilidad del sistema educativo, en Gloria Del Castillo y Giovanna Valenti (coord.), **Reforma Educativa ¿Qué estamos transformando? Debate informado**. Mexico: Flacso. pp. 13-17

Del Castillo, Gloria (2014).” Una perspectiva analítica de política pública para el análisis de problemas públicos complejos”. Conference in the **IV Congreso Nacional de Ciencias Sociales**, Consejo Mexicano de Ciencias Sociales, march.

Del Castillo, Gloria (2013). “El desempeño docente y el logro educativo en el centro de las políticas: ¿hacia una gobernabilidad para la calidad?, in Rodolfo Ramírez (coord.). **La reforma constitucional en materia educativa: alcances y desafíos**. Mexico, Senado de la República, Instituto Belisario Domínguez. pp. 57-76

Del Castillo, Gloria (2012), “Las políticas educativas en México desde una perspectiva de política pública: gobernabilidad y gobernanza”, in **Magis, Revista Internacional de Investigación Educativa**, vol. 4, number 9, january-june. Colombia. Pp. 632-652.

Del Castillo, Gloria y Azuma, Alicia (2011). **Gobernanza Local y Educación. La supervisión escolar**. Mexico: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Mexico.

Del Castillo, Gloria y Azuma, Alicia (2009). **La reforma y las políticas educativas. Impacto en la supervisión escolar**. Mexico: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Sede Mexico.

Dery, David (1990). **Data and Policy Change. The Fragility of Data in the Policy Context**. USA: Springer-Science+Business.

Dolowitz , David P. and David Marsh (2000). “Learning from Abroad: The Role of Policy Transfer in Contemporary Policy Making”, in **Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration**, vol. 13, number 1, pp. 5-24

Dolowitz, David P. and David, Marsh (1996). “Who Learns What from Whom? A Review of the Policy Transfer Literature”, in **Political Studies**, vol. 44, Issue 2, pp. 343-357

Dussauge-Laguna, Mauricio (2012). “On the past and Future of Policy Transfer Research: Benson and Jordan revisited”, in **Political Studies Review**, UK:Political Studies Association. vol. 10.pp. 313-324

Feiock, Richard (2013). “The Institutional Collective Action Framework”, in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 41, Issue 3, pp.397-425

Fischer, Frank, Gerald J. Miller y Mara S. Sidney (ed.) (2007). **Handbook of Public Policy Analysis. Theory, Politics and Methods**. USA: CRC Press/Taylor &Francis Group.

Hall, Peter (1988). “Policy paradigms, social learning and the state”, paper presented to the International Political Sciences Association, Washington, D.C.

Heclo, Hugh (1974). **Modern Social Politics in Britain and Sweden: From Relief to Income Maintenance**. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Heikkila, Tanya and Andrea K. Gerlak (2013). "Building a Conceptual Approach to Collective Learning: Lesson for Public Policy Scholars", in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 41, Issue 3, pp.485-513

Howlett, M (2009). "Governance Modes, Policy Regimes and Operational Plans: A Multi_level Nested Model of Policy Instrument Choice and Policy Design", in **Policy Sciences**, vol. 42, number 1, pp. 73-89

Howlett, Michael and Benjamin Cashore (2009). "The Dependent Variable Problem in the Study of Policy Change: Understanding Policy Change as a Methodological Problem", in **Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice**, vol. 11, number 1, pp. 33-46

Jones, Michael D. and Mark A. McBeth (2010). "A Narrative Policy Framework: Clear Enough to be Wrong?", in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol 38, Issue 2. Pp. 329-353

Kingdon, John (1984). **Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies**. Boston; Little, Brown and Company, second edition.

Lasswell, Harold (1971). **A Pre-View of Policy Sciences**. EUA: American Elsevier.

Lasswell, Harold (1970). "The Emerging Conception of Policy Sciences", in **Policy Sciences**, vol. 1. pp. 3-14

Lindblom, Charles (1979 1992). "Todavía tratando de 'salir del paso'", in **La hechura de las políticas**. Luis F. Aguilar Villanueva (ed.), Mexico: Porrúa. pp. 227-254

Lubell, Mark (2013). "Governing Institutional Complexity: The Ecology of Games Framework", in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 41, Issue 3, pp.538-560

Loyo, Aurora. (1997). "Sindicalismo y educación en México: las voces de los líderes", in **Revista Mexicana de Sociología**, vol. 59, number 3, pp. 207-235.

Majone, Giandomenico (1989). **Evidence, Argument and Persuasion in the Policy Process**. USA: Yale University Press

May, Peter y Ashley Jochim (2013). "Policy Regime Perspectives: Policies, Politics and Governing", in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 41, Issue 3. pp.426-452

Mintrom, Michael y Phillipa Norman (2009). "Policy Entrepreneurship and Policy Change", in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 37, Issue 4. 649-667.

Moran, Michael, Martin Rein y Robert Goodin (ed.) (2006). **The Oxford Handbook of Public Policy**. USA: Oxford University Press.

Nakamura, Robert (1987). "The Textbook Process and Implementation Research", in **Policy Studies Review**, vol. 1. pp. 142-154

Nowlin, Matthew (2011). "Theories of the Policy Process: State of the Research and Emerging Trends, in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 39, number S1. pp. 41-60

Ornelas, Carlos. (2008). El SNTE, Elba Esther Gordillo y el Gobierno de Calderón, in **Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa**, vol. 37, number 13, pp. 445-463

Ostrom, Elionor (2007). "Institutional Rational Choice: An Assessment of the Institutional Analysis", in Paul Sabatier (ed.), **Theories of policy process**. EUA: Westview. Second edition. pp. 21-64

Petridou, Evangelia (2014). "Theories of the Policy Process: Contemporary Scholarship and Future Directions", in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 42, number S1, pp. S12-S31.

Pressman, Jeffrey y Aaron Wildavsky (1973 1984). **Implementation. How Great Expectation in Washington Are Dashed in Okland**. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Püzl, Helga and Oliver Treib (2007). Implementing Public Policy, in Frank Fischer, Gerald J. Miller y Mara S. Sidney (ed.) (2007). **Handbook of Public Policy Analysis. Theory, Politics and Methods**. USA: CRC Press/Taylor & Francis Group. Pp. 89-107

Rayner, Jeremy (2009). "Understanding Policy Change as a Historical Problem" in, **Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis. Research and Practice**. UK: Routledge, vol. 11, Issue 1, march. pp.79-95

Real-Dato, Jose (2009). "Mechanisms of Policy Change: A Proposal for a Synthetic Explanatory Framework", in **Journal Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice**, vol. 11, Issue 1, pp. 117-143

Rittel, Horst y Webber, Melvin (1973), "Dilemmas in a General of Planning", in **Policy Sciences**, Issue 4. pp. 155-169

Rogers, Everett and James Dearing (1987). " Agenda setting research: where has it been, where is it going?, in **Communications Yearbook**, 11. pp. 555-594

Rose, Richard (1991). "What is Lesson-Drawing", in **Journal of Public Policy**. UK: Cambridge University Press. Vol. 11, Issue 01. pp. 3-30

Sabatier, Paul (2007). "The Need for Better Theories", in Paul Sabatier (ed.). **Theories of the policy process**. USA: Westview. Second edition. pp. 3-20

Sabatier, Paul and Christopher Weible (2007). The Advocacy Coalition Framework: Innovations and Clarifications, in Paul Sabatier (ed.) **Theories of the policy process**. USA: Westview. Second edition. pp.189-220

Sabatier, Paul (1991). "Toward Better Theories of the Policy Process", in **PS:Political Science and Politics**, vol. 24, Issue 2. pp. 147-156

Sabatier, Paul (1988). "An Advocacy Coalition Framework of Policy Change and The Role of Policy Oriented Learning", in **Policy Sciences**, vol.21, pp. 129-168

Sabatier, Paul y H. Jenkins-Smith (ed.) (1993). **Policy Change and Learning: An advocacy coalition approach**. Boulder, Westview Press.

Salazar- Elena, Rodrigo (coord.), Ulises Flores, Nelson Florez, Marisol Luna y Giovanna Valenti (2010). **Desempeño escolar México 2010. Un enfoque en la calidad con equidad**. Mexico, Flasco. Policy Report.

Santibáñez, Lucrecia. (2008). Reforma Educativa. El papel del SNTE, in **Revista Mexicana de Investigación Educativa**, vol. 37, number 13, pp. 419-443.

Schlager, Edella y Christopher M. Weible (2013). New Theories of the Policy Process, in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 41, Number 3. pp. 389-396

Schlager, Edella (2007). A comparison of Frameworks, Theories, and Models of Policy Process, in Paul Sabatier (ed.), **Theories of policy process**. EUA: Westview. Second edition. pp. 293-319

Shanahan, Elizabeth, Michael Jones, Mark McBeth and Ross R. Lane (2013). “An Angel on the Wind: How Heroic Policy Narrative Shape Policy Realities”, in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 41, Issue 3, pp.453-484

Shanahan, Elizabeth, Michael Jones, Mark McBeth (2011). “Policy Narrative and Policy Process”, in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 39, Issue 3, pp. 535-561

SEP-SNTE (2011). Acuerdo para la Evaluación Universal de Docentes y Directivos en Servicio de Educación Básica. México, SEP.

SEP-SNTE (2008). Alianza por la Calidad de la Educación. México, SEP.

SEP-SNTE (1992). Acuerdo para la Modernización de la Educación Básica. México, SEP.

True, James, Bryan Jones and Frank Baumgartner (2007). Punctuated-Equilibrium Theory: Explaining Stability and Change in Public Policymaking, in Paul Sabatier (ed.), **Theories of policy process**. EUA: Westview. Second edition. pp.155-187

Workman, Samuel, Bryn D. Jones, and Ashley E. Jochim (2009). “Information Processing and Policy Dynamics”, in **The Policy Studies Journal**, vol. 37, Number 1, pp. 75-92

Worsham, Jeff (2013). “Tilling at Windmills: Constructing Policy Regimes”, in **The International Conference on Public Policy**. Grenoble, Francia. 26-28 junio.

Weiss, Carol (1977).”Research for Policy Sake: The Enlightenment Function of Social Research”, en **Policy Analysis**, vol. 3, number. 4. pp. 531-545

Westney, Eleanor (1987). **Imitation and Innovation. The transfer of Western Organizational Patterns to Meiji Japan**. USA: Harvard University Press.

Zahariadis, Nikolaos (2007). “The Multiple Streams Framework: Structure, Limitations, Prospects”, in Paul Sabatier (ed.), **Theories of policy process**. EUA: Westview. Second edition. pp. 65-92

Zittoun, Phillipe (2009). "Understanding Policy Change as discursive problem", in **Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice**, vol. 11, number 1, pp. 65-80

Zohlnhöter, Reimut (2009). "How Politics Matter When Policies Change: Understanding Policy Change as a Political Problem", in **Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis. Research and Practice**. UK: Routledge, vol. 11, Issue 1, march. pp.97-114