

Evolution of Policy Analysis as a Field of Studies in Mexico

Jose Luis Mendez

jlmendez@colmex.mx

Paper to be presented at the II International Conference on Public Policy

Milan, July 1-4, 2015

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to describe the context and nature of policy analysis as a field of studies in Mexico. For that, first it defines what it understands by policy analysis and policy field. Secondly, it presents the context and nature of the study of public policies in the 1940-1988 period, when they were studied in Mexico but not through the approaches and methods of this academic discipline. The third section discusses the emergence of the policy field in the country in the 1990s and the fourth one deals with its development from the year 2000 up to the present. The text ends with two main conclusions. First, that the policy field in Mexico has overcome what Heidenheimer (1985) calls the “visibility” threshold. In other words, after its start 25 years ago, it is now a well established field with around 20 academic programs throughout the country, a continuous production of works on the subject and the presence of professional groups within academic associations. And, second, that this field still faces a somewhat unfavorable context and has yet to overcome some of the challenges it has faced from its outset (Mendez 1995), such as achieving greater theoretical coherence, producing more empirical studies and keeping its contribution to the public good without adopting a technocratic approach, by better integrating the demand for policy results with social participation.

I. What is policy analysis?

Policy analysis would be here understood as the analysis of public policy according to the purposes, approaches, methods and objects of study developed within this field. In broad terms, these can be divided up in two main areas: first, “evaluative policy analysis”, that is the analysis that aims at presenting policy evaluations and proposals through the use of certain tools (e.g. cost-benefit or stakeholders analysis); and, second, “explanatory policy analysis”, which aims at describing and explaining certain objects of study of the field (e.g. the agenda-setting, formulation, implementation and evaluation of policies), using the approaches developed within it¹.

As it is well known, the public policy field was founded by Harold Laswell in 1951, when his text “The policy orientation” was published within the book edited by himself and Lerner, entitled *The*

¹ Some of these methods, approaches and objects of study were developed by economists or political scientists, but constitute now the *corpus* that gives identity and defines the borders of this discipline as a specific field of study (although sometimes this difference is not well understood by professionals from other disciplines –e.g. economists). Thus, the policy field may include but it is not synonymous with the sole study of a policy (something that started to be done much before the emergence of the policy field both in the United States and Mexico –and continues to produce works applying other disciplines’ theoretical and methodological perspectives). For instance, an analysis of macroeconomic or industrial policies from the standpoint of the methods and objects of study of Economics would fall within this latter field, not within the policy one. The same could be said for the study of social policy from a sociological point of view, etc.

Policy Sciences; Recent Developments in Scope and Method. In that founding text, Laswell said that this new field was to be practical (contribute to the public good by helping to solve public problems) but also normative (taking into consideration human rights and dignity), which then involved a third key feature: interdisciplinarity. In other words, he argued that, being public problems multidimensional, the field had to adopt the methods of various social sciences --such as Economics, Political Science, Public Administration, History, Psychology, etc. In a second key text, Laswell (1956) studied the policy process, that is, the different "stages" through which such process unfolds: agenda-setting, formulation, implementation and evaluation. In time, the policy process would become a central object of study and thus a defining feature of the field.

Despite the fact that Laswell wrote these texts in the 1950s, the discipline would really start to expand until the end of the following decade, to a great extent as a result of the federal projects spawned by the Great Society legislation in the United States, in which large-scale federal health programs, including community mental health centers, were coupled with a mandate for evaluation. During the 1960s there were also major programs in housing, employment, community planning, urban renewal and welfare. The rapid growth of social programs in this decade created a strong demand for systematic policy evaluation and thus the first in depth works on public policy were produced on this topic, such as Suchman's *Evaluative research: Principles and practice in public service and social action programs* (1967). To that followed works such as Mishan's *Cost-benefit analysis* (1971), Weiss' *Evaluative Research: Methods of Assessing Program Effectiveness* (1972) and Rossy, Freeman and Wright's *Evaluation: A systematic Approach* (1979).

In turn, the most important in depth explanatory studies of policy began to appear in the early 1970s. Several of these works were related to the failure of some of the abovementioned Great Society social programs and dealt mainly with implementation, such as Derthick's *New Towns In-Town: Why a Federal Program Failed* (1972) and Pressman and Wildavsky's *Implementation* (1973). However, in the 1970s also was published the first in depth work on agenda setting, that is, Cobb y Elder's *Participation in American Politics: The Dynamics of Agenda-Building* (1972) as well as the influential article on that subject of Downs "Up and Down with Ecology-the Issue-Attention Cycle" (1972). In that decade also appeared Lowi's and Hecló's seminal articles on policy types and arenas --"Four Systems of Policy, Politics and Choice" (1972) and "Issue Networks and the Executive Establishment" (1978), respectively-- and the first textbooks on public policy, as for instance Jones' *An introduction to the study of Public Policy* (1970), Anderson's *Public policy making* (1975), Quade's *Analysis for Public Decisions* (1975), Stokey and Seckhauser's *A primer for policy analysis* (1978) and Wildavsky's *Speaking Truth to Power* (1979).

In the next two decades other influential in depth works of both evaluative and explanatory policy analysis were published, as for instance Dunn's *Public Policy Analysis* (1981), Patton's *Practical Evaluation* (1982), Peters' *American Public Policy: Problems and Prospects* (1982), Weimer and Vining's, *Policy analysis. Concepts and practice* (1982), Kingdon's *Agendas, Alternatives and Public Policies* (1984), Scriven's *Theory and practice of evaluation* (1987), DeLeon's *Advice and Consent* (1988), Majone's *Evidence, Argument, and Persuasion in the Policy Process* (1992), Baumgartner and Jones's *Agendas and instability in American Politics* (1993) and Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith's *Policy Change and Learning: an Advocacy Coalition Framework* (1993).

To a great extent following the steps set out by Laswell (1951; 1956), in one way or the other all these works tried to answer research questions specific to this field, such as What is public policy? How does the policy process unfold? How does the agenda setting process work? How is a policy formulated? How should it be formulated? What are the main factors behind policy implementation? How should a policy be evaluated? Such works --and many others produced either in those same times or later, in the United States and other countries-- are those to which policy analysts refer when studying a policy and thus it can be said that now there is a clearly defined *corpus* of the public policy field dealing with the approaches, methods and objects of study of this discipline, in both areas of evaluative and explanatory policy analysis. Thanks to this, policy analysis is now considered a field on its own, related but clearly different from other ones, such as Economics or Political Science.

In this way, when describing the evolution of the policy field in a country like Mexico care should be taken in the consideration of academic works or programs, as some of them can use the term “public policy” for various reasons (e.g. attract readers or students) but cannot be really considered as part of this field. In other words, in this text an academic work or study program would not be considered within the public policy field just because it uses the term in its title, but rather because it relates to its objects of study and *corpus*, in the former case, or covers indeed its two main areas of study, in the latter.

II. Policy studies in an authoritarian political system, 1940-1990

As it was just said, the policy field emerged in the 1950s and further developed in the following decades of the Twentieth century, mainly in the United States --by then a nation with a democratic political system and a professional bureaucracy. It will be fair to say that these two features were behind the fact that social programs of the 1960s were coupled with a mandate for evaluation, producing thus a demand for policy studies. On the other hand, the basis for the supply of such studies were also present, as by that decade the United States already had a wide array of universities and research centers. Furthermore, Economics, Public Administration and Political Science were all consolidated disciplines, related to university departments where graduate programs and research activities were developed on such fields (some of these departments had been established as far back as the late Nineteen century or early Twentieth century).²

In contrast, for the most part of the second half of the Twentieth century, Mexico was a nation with an authoritarian political system and a bureaucracy developed under a spoils system. Although formally democratic and federal, throughout most of this century the country had a centralized political and administrative system. The president controlled the most important political party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional –PRI), which in turn controlled workers and peasants, to a great extent affiliated to the party. Business was organized within no-partisan chambers, but it was also controlled by the state through a variety of regulations and benefits. The Third Sector was very weak and also closely related to the state. Furthermore, there was no merit civil service (formally introduced until 2003). In a context where the PRI managed to win all the elections and civil servants own their loyalty to their bosses not to citizens, the demand for

² I am applying here to the Mexican case a “supply-demand” approach similar to the one used by Weimer (2015) to understand the evolution of the policy field in the United States.

evaluating government programs with tools such as cost-benefit analysis, or for explaining their development using public policy approaches, just was not there.

On the other hand --although probably the lack of demand was the most important factor-- it also should be noticed that between the 1950s and the 1980s such evaluations and explanations could not be easily provided either in Mexico, for at least two reasons: First, research was still very weak in most academic departments dealing with Economics, Public Administration and Political Science; second, Marxism prevailed within many of them as the preferred approach for economic, governmental or political analysis. Thus, many of the works of economists and political scientists focused on the relations of the state with social classes or capitalism. As Valenti and Flores (2009) have stated, during this time Mexican academia was discussing what development model Mexico should follow, rather than the efficiency of the state within a capitalist model.

All of the above being said, there were differences in the level of policy analysis capacity among levels and sectors of government. First, the federal government had more capacity overall than state and local governments, which rather followed federal policy initiatives (with a few exceptions, like some more developed states such as Nuevo León or Jalisco). At the federal level, the Executive branch concentrated analytical resources, as most legislative initiatives were developed there (the PRI hold the majority of seats in congress until 1997, and thus this was rather a sort of rubber stamp institution). Finally, within the Executive policy capabilities were greater in the areas related to public finance and economic development in general, which were among the few ones with the essential inputs for policy analysis --quality data, up to date hardware and software, civil servants with graduate studies, etc. It should be noticed in this sense that since 1946 the Ministry of Finance (Secretaria de Hacienda y Credito Publico) were led by experienced economists and would in time (together with the Bank of Mexico) become a technocratic and more professionalized agency.

There were also differences among (and within) the various universities regarding research capacities and the influence of Marxism, especially from the 1970s on. To mention just one example, in 1964 the Center of Economics and Demography (Centro de Estudios Economicos y Demograficos) was founded at El Colegio de Mexico, where some economic and demographic circumstances in Mexico started to be identified and studied as public problems. For instance, in 1970 the book *Dynamics of population in Mexico* (CEED 1970) was published by this Center, which together with other studies of the early 1970s were key in identifying "the demographic problem" and changing Mexican public policy in this realm³. In turn, Mario Ojeda, from the Center for International Studies (Centro de Estudios Internacionales, founded in 1960 at the same institution), published in 1976 the book *Scope and Limits of Foreign Policy in Mexico*, which studied the determinants of Mexican foreign policy.

³ Previous to this influential work, several individual studies had been published on this problem, by researchers such as Victor Urquidi and Gustavo Cabrera at the first of the abovementioned Centers of El Colegio de Mexico as well as by others at the Social Research Institute (Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales) of the Autonomous National University of Mexico (Universidad Nacional Autonoma de Mexico --UNAM), such as Raul Benitez Zenteno. For a detail discussion of the emergence in the 1970s of the demographic problem and population policy in general in Mexico see Brachet 1984.

However, the study of policies in Mexico in the 1970s, even the non-marxist ones, did not relate to the abovementioned public policy *corpus*. In fact, for several reasons it was difficult for that to happen at that time: On the one hand, as we just saw, the first in depth policy studies had appeared in the United States just a few years before in the late 1960s and early 1970s; thus, they were not so well known yet (even in that country); on the other hand, all those works were in English and, although there were a good number of Mexican researchers who could read in this language, its knowledge in Mexican academia in the 1970s was not as spread out as it would be from the 1990s onward.

In the 1970s were founded universities such as the Center for Economic Research (Centro de Investigaciones Economicas –CIDE, founded in 1974) and the Metropolitan Autonomous University (Universidad Autonoma Metropolitana –UAM, founded also in 1974). As I will mention further below, these universities would provide the basis for the emergence of public policy academic programs later on, once they consolidated in the 1980s.

The 1970s was also a decade when the country started to suffer repetitive economic crisis, in contrast with the long period of economic growth and stability experienced between 1940 and 1970. Beginning in the latter year, presidents put aside the conservative policies of the finance ministry and started to overspend. There was a first crisis in 1976, at the end of Echeverría's presidency, but an even worse one in 1982, at the end of López Portillo's administration. This led to the arrival to the presidency that year of Miguel de la Madrid, a civil servant who had worked at the Bank of Mexico and the finance ministry. His administration started to recognize the fiscal and administrative crisis of the "owner state" (Mendez 1994 and 1996) as well as the waning of the previous, "import substitution" economic model. Both of these factors would lead to a greater social and political demand for a more efficient state, which would in turn promote policy analysis.

As it can be seen, the 1980s thus provided the basis for the emergence of the policy field in Mexico, which will start to develop in the following decade.

III. The emergence of the policy field in the transition to democracy, 1990-1999

The national context

After a quite dubious election, in 1988 de la Madrid was succeeded by Carlos Salinas in the Mexican presidency. As it is known, during these years took place the Perestroika and Glasnost reforms in the USSR together with the fall of Berlin's wall. Furthermore, in 1991 México, the United States and Canada signed the NAFTA. These facts would contribute to a greater openness in Mexican academic centers to theoretical approaches different from those of Marxism (for instance those developed in the U.S.). After a series of radical although polemic reforms, Salinas' economic policies, together with the uprising of the Zapatista movement and the assassination of the PRI presidential candidate in 1994, weakened the economy to such degree that another strong economic crisis came about once more at the beginning of the following administration of Ernesto Zedillo (December 1994-December 2000) (Mendez 1995).

It should be noticed that in this decade the country made some important advances in the democratization process, first through the creation of a more independent Federal Electoral Institute and second by the emergence of stronger opposition parties and the weakening of the PRI, which lost the majority in the Chamber of Representatives in 1997 (Loeza 1999; Langston

2009; Nacif 2012; Cadena 2013; Camp 2013). Social actors like the mass media, business and NGOs also became stronger in these years (Mendez 1999; Esteinou 2009; Somuano 2011; Thacker 2012; Hughes 2012; Trejo 2014) as well as state and local authorities (especially during Zedillo's administration) (Beer 2012; Seele 2012).

Thus, in this decade, as a result of the continuous economic crisis and greater democratization, the demands for a more efficient state that emerged in the 1980s were further strengthened. Although these processes do not necessarily mean that the demand for policy analysis increased significantly in these years, or that the administrative environment within the state was favorable to it (Cabrero 2000), they certainly promoted a more favorable context for the emergence of the policy field, especially regarding what I have called explanatory policy analysis, within some Mexican universities.

Publications

It is possible that the first text by a Mexican researcher published in Mexico which considers an author of the policy field was Brachet's article "El proceso social en la formación de políticas: el caso de la planificación familiar en México" (1984). This text refers to Lowi's (1972) work on policy types to briefly argue that Mexican population policy could be introduced in the governmental agenda because it was a distributive policy. At the same time, this article did not take into account the extensive work already produced within the policy field in the 1970s, some of which was specifically on agenda setting (e.g. Cobb and Elder 1972), while still approached its object of study from the Dependency and Corporatist State perspectives.⁴

Most probably, the first text published in Mexico which will focus on an author of the policy field was "Política pública y gobierno del Estado" (1990), by Aguilar, where, among other things, he discusses Laswell's contributions and its implications for Mexico⁵. This text was followed a couple of years later by Aguilar's "Introductory Studies" to the first two collections of translated texts on public policy he edited, namely *Problemas publicos y agenda de gobierno* (1992) and *La Hechura de las políticas publicas* (1992). In the first of them, he discusses again the emergence of the policy field and Laswell's contributions, while in the second he discusses the concept of policy and the contributions of other important policy authors. In the next two years, Aguilar published Introductory Studies to his two other collections of policy texts, *El estudio de las políticas publicas* and *Implementación*, where he discusses the topics of the policy process and agenda setting in the former and the state of the art on the issue of policy implementation in the latter.

In turn, at the beginning of the 1993 the journal *Foro Internacional*, of El Colegio de Mexico (COLMEX), published my article "La politica pública como variable dependiente: hacia un analisis mas integral de las politicas publicas" (1993), where I identified an underdevelopment of public

⁴ Just as was the case with other studies of public policy published in Mexico in the 1980s, despite the fact that some of them could even mention the term policy or public policy (politica publica) (see for instance Mendez 1986).

⁵ The three authors of these first policy publications in Mexico (Brachet, Aguilar and Mendez) were at the time COLMEX professors who had had study or research stays at U.S. universities in the 1970s and 1980s (Wisconsin, Berkeley and Pittsburgh, respectively).

policy as dependent variable within the policy of field and, after discussing several policy approaches, I proposed a scale of policy activism as a way for better explaining public policies⁶.

In two texts appeared a few years later (Mendez 1996a and 1998a), I applied the theoretical framework developed in this article to do a comparative study of industrial policy in Nuevo Leon, Mexico, Pennsylvania, United States, and North Rhine Westfalia, Germany. In the 1990s, I also published four other texts on the subject, either on the public policy field (Mendez 1995), the federal and subnational small business policy in Mexico (Mendez 1996b and 1998b) or NGOs and industrial policy-making (Mendez 1996c)⁷.

In mid 1993 the journal of the National Institute of Public Administration (INAP), *Revista de Administracion Publica*, published a special issue on public policy, with three articles on the policy field and its relation to governance in Mexico by Moreno, Bazua and Valenti and Omar Guerrero, respectively, an article on policy alternatives evaluation by Gonzalo Robles, another on policy evaluation by Cardozo and an article by myself where I apply the policy framework developed in *Foro Internacional* to some specific policies. In turn, Garza published in this same journal the articles "Diseño de una Política Pública para la Prevención de Desastres Naturales" (1995) and "Políticas públicas, ética y seguridad en el marco de la acción del Estado. Reflexiones para el próximo siglo" (1999). In both of these texts Garza developed policy models that could be applied in disaster prevention.

In 1995 Omar Guerrero published in this same journal the article "Continuidad y terminación de políticas en Administración Pública" (1995), where he discusses the termination policy stage. The year before he had published in *Gestion y Política Publica* --a journal created at the Center for Economic Research (CIDE) in 1992-- the article "Los usos del analisis de la implementacion de las politicas" (1994); in this same journal he would publish a few years later "Las políticas públicas antes de las ciencias de las políticas" (1997). The first article was on the subject of implementation and the second one on theoretical developments for the study of policy before the Twentieth century.

Gestion and Política Pública would publish in this decade two other articles on public policy by Mexican authors, namely Juan Pablo Guerrero's text "La evaluación de políticas públicas: enfoques teóricos y realidades en nueve países desarrollados" (1995) and Arellano's article "Política pública, racionalidad imperfecta e irracionalidad. Hacia una perspectiva diferente" (1996), the first on policy evaluation and the latter on the limits of public policy analysis to understand and change policy processes. Throughout the 1990s, this journal will also publish several articles on public policy by non-Mexican authors.

In 1994, Canto and Moreno published the edited book *Reforma del Estado y políticas sociales*, published by the Autonomous Metropolitan University at Xochimilco (UAM-X) with contributions by Canto, Varela and others on the subject of social policy. In turn, in 1996 Merino (1996)

⁶ This article has been reprinted three times, by the National Institute of Public Administration (INAP), The College of Mexico (COLMEX) and the School of Public Administration of the Federal District (EAPDF).

⁷ It is possible that these were the first empirical studies published in Mexico on specific public policies applying approaches from the policy field, as in general the studies of concrete policies published in this decade by Mexican authors still did not refer to the field's *corpus* (as for instance those studying specific policies published in the 1993 issue of *Revista de Administración Pública*). For an exception see Canto 1997.

published an edited book on public policy and local management, *Política Pública y Gestión Local*, which included chapters on various issues of policy analysis by Canto, Mejía and others. The same year *Política y Cultura* (a journal created at the UAM-Xochimilco in 1992) published a special issue on public policy and NGOs, with contributions on the subject by Martínez, Moreno, Cardozo and myself. In 1999 Pineda published the edited book *Enfoques de políticas públicas y gobernabilidad*, where some chapters dealt with the study of policy, such as Moreno's.

Academic programs

Although since the 1960s there have been in Mexico graduate programs in Public Administration (i.e. those created in 1967 at the Autonomous National University of Mexico –UNAM) (Döring ----), probably the first course on public policy in Mexico was taught at the Center for Economic Research's (CIDE) M.A. on Public Administration right from its very beginning in 1976 (it seems that by Jorge Barenstein). It was not possible to retrieve the syllabus of that first course, but it was possible to look at its syllabus for the fall semester of 1983, when the course was taught by Roberto Estes, Pedro Moreno and Myriam Cardozo. It is interesting to notice that, according to the academic context of these times already discussed, this course was still somewhat influenced by Marxist approaches, as it included a text of Poulantzas in its bibliography. There was a second course on public policy right after this one, taught by Pedro Moreno and Myriam Cardozo, which included texts such as the abovementioned 1978 book *A primer for policy analysis*, by Stokey and Seckhauser. In 1995, the CIDE's M.A. was renamed to be from then on called M.A. in Public Administration and Public Policy.

The first graduate program with the term "public policy" in its title was the M.A. in Public Policy established in 1987 at the Autonomous Technological Institute of Mexico (ITAM). However, it should be said that this was rather a M.A. on economics with a focus on economic policy than properly a M.A. on public policy, as instead of having a truly interdisciplinary approach involving the consideration of the abovementioned two areas of study and *corpus* of the policy field, most of its courses were related to the different aspects of economic policy from an economics standpoint. The program has become more interdisciplinary with time, although it still focuses on economic methods.

In this way, the first two academic programs which can properly be considered as public policy programs were those opened in 1994 at the Autonomous Metropolitan University at Xochimilco (UAM-Xochimilco) and at the Latin American Social Sciences Faculty at Mexico (FLACSO-Mexico). The first was a M.A. in Public Policy, which opened with a cadre of 10 students. Among its founding professors were Myriam Cardozo, Pedro Moreno and Giovanna Valenti, who since then have been doing research within the policy field. The second was the M. A. in Government and Public Affairs at FLACSO-Mexico, which although does not mention the term public policy in its title, has had a focus on public policy from an interdisciplinary perspective, including courses dealing with several aspects of the abovementioned policy process.

Also in 1994, El Colegio de Mexico's B.A. program on Public Administration, founded in 1982, was changed to include for the first time three specific courses on public policy: two courses on Comparative Public Policy and one course on Policy Design and Evaluation. Those courses were taught for the first time in the 1997 January-May semester, the first Comparative Public Policy

course by myself and the Policy Design course by Leo Zuckerman and Gloria Labastida.⁸ The name of the Public Administration B.A. was changed in 2002, which from then on has been called B.A. in Policy and Public Administration (Política y Administración Pública). In 1993 this program celebrated its 20th anniversary, with the participation of several national and international professors, among them Guy Peters, Charles Lindblom, Giandomenico Majone and Peter DeLeon.

In short, in the 1990s a good number of texts on public policy by Mexican authors started to be published, three academic programs were created explicitly addressing the areas of study of the policy field and at least one more introduced policy courses. Furthermore, two academic journals were created where public policy articles began to be published, namely *Gestión y Política Pública*, *Política y Cultura* (to which we have to add *Foro Internacional* and *Revista de Administración Pública*, created before). In this way, it would be fair to argue that the policy field clearly emerged in Mexico in this decade. Next, we will see how in the next two decades it continued to grow, both in terms of publications and study programs.

IV. The expansion of the policy field in an emerging democracy, 2000-2015

The national context

In July 2000, for the first time in 70 years a candidate of a party different from the PRI, Vicente Fox of the National Action Party (Partido Acción Nacional -PAN), won the presidential election. In 2006 it was followed by another president from the same party, Felipe Calderon, who in turn was followed by Enrique Peña, again from the PRI. Although one of the losing candidates in the 2006 election claimed there was fraud, the 2003, 2009, 2012 and 2015 federal elections took place without major problems. In this way, it can be said that in 2000 Mexico started the new era of a consolidating democracy. During these years reforms were made to promote greater government transparency and accountability and a merit civil service was introduced. Several decentralized regulatory agencies and advisory councils, as well as some independent think tanks, were also created. Up to now, these reforms have faced a strong resistance from bureaucratic and political elites at both the national and local levels, as despite the regime's democratization to a great extent such elites still maintain an authoritarian and clientelistic culture (Grindle 2012; Camp 2013; Giraudy 2014). Even then, the reforms contributed to a less politicized policy-making in certain areas of the Mexican state and to some extent involved a greater demand for policy analysis. On the other hand, during this period several research centers in Mexico City increased the number of faculty members oriented toward policy analysis, such as CIDE, COLMEX and UIA, followed by several state universities.

Publications

In the last fifteen years a wide variety of works on public policy have appeared in Mexico⁹. On the topic of policy analysis in Mexico and Latin America, Cabrero published in 2000 the article "Usos y

⁸ Dirección de Asuntos Escolares, El Colegio de México, **Reporte de materias de la Licenciatura en Política y Administración Pública, 1982-2012.**

⁹ The overview of publications within the policy field presented in this section is only partial, as their number has increased quite considerably in the last years and it will be difficult to mention them all. In turn, the number of studies of specific policies which do not take a policy perspective or do not relate to the

costumbres en la hechura de las políticas públicas. Límites de las policy sciences en contextos cultural y políticamente diferentes”. On a similar topic, Valenti and Flores published in 2009 the article “Ciencias Sociales y Políticas Públicas”.

In turn, several texts were published on the relation of public policy with democracy and participation, such as Rodolfo Canto’s (2000) “Políticas públicas. Más allá del pluralismo y la participación ciudadana”. Cabrero, Uvalle, León, Garduño and Gutierrez published chapters on this topic in the book *Democracia, ciudadanía y políticas públicas* (edited by León and Mora, 2006) while Vidal Garza published in 2009 “La política pública en democracia: retos y oportunidades”.

On the other hand, a group of texts on policy evaluation were published in these years, such as Mejía’s *La evaluación de la gestión y las políticas públicas* (2003), Cardozo’s “Evaluación de políticas de desarrollo social” (2003), *La Evaluación de políticas y programas públicos. El caso de los programas de desarrollo social* (2006) and “De la evaluación a la reformulación de políticas públicas” (2013), as well as Salcedo’s *Evaluación* (2011).

If in the 1990s only a couple of authors had studied empirically specific policies using the approaches of the field (Mendez 1996a,b,c and 1998a,b; Canto 1997), in the last fifteen years several other authors started to publish such type of studies, as for instance DeLeon and Hernandez’s “El caso del programa Nacional de Solidaridad en México: estudio comparado de terminación de políticas” (2001), Rodriguez’s *Fundamentos teóricos de las políticas públicas y estudios de caso. Programas públicos en México* (2011) and *Políticas públicas; un estudio de casos* (2014), as well as Flamand and Moreno’s *Seguro popular y federalismo en México. Un análisis de política pública* (2015). In these years I published two additional texts of this type: "La política industrial en México" (2009) and "Implementing Developed Countries Administrative Reforms in Developing Countries: The Case of Mexico" (2010).

Among the edited books on public policy which appeared in this time there were Aguilar’s *Política Pública* (2010), Mendez’s *Los Grandes Problemas Nacionales. Políticas Públicas* (2010) as well as Merino and Cejudo’s *Problemas, decisiones y soluciones* (2010). Finally, among the texts discussing in general the policy process were Arellano and Blanco’s (2013) *Políticas públicas y democracia* (2013) and Merino’s (2013) *Políticas Públicas. Ensayo sobre la intervención del Estado en la solución de los problemas públicos*.

Academic programs, journals and associations

In 2000s several additional public policy academic programs were opened in Mexico city, such as the M.A. in Government and Public Affairs (in place of the previous Master in Public Administration) at the Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales (FCPS-UNAM) and the M. A. in Public Policy at Instituto Tecnológico de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM) in 2000, the P.h.D in Public Policy at CIDE and the M.A. in Public Policy at Universidad Iberoamericana (UIA) in 2007, as well as the M.A. in Public Policy at Universidad Panamericana (UP).

In this period public policy academic programs were also created at universities in several Mexican states, as for instance Universidad de Guadalajara, ITESO-Universidad Jesuita de Guadalajara,

abovementioned policy corpus has also increased, although they were not considered in this text for the reasons specified above.

Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Escuela Libre de Derecho de Puebla, Universidad Autónoma de Sinaloa, Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur, Universidad Autónoma de Ciudad Juárez, Universidad Autónoma de Coahuila, Universidad Autónoma de Sonora (-) and Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo del Estado de Michoacán.

Furthermore, in addition to CIDE's, UAM's and COLMEX's journals, several UNAM's journals (Estudios políticos, Revista Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales and Revista Mexicana de Sociología) started to publish texts on public policy. Finally, it is also worth noticing that in 2014 a research committee on public policy was created within the Mexican Association of Political Science (AMECIP).

Conclusions

After this review of the evolution of the public policy field in Mexico, it is fair to say that today it has overcome in this nation what Heidenheimer (1985) called the "visibility" threshold. In other words, after a development of 25 years, it is now a well established field with around 20 academic programs throughout the country, a continuous production of works on the subject and professional groups within academic associations. Of course, despite the relative advancement of democracy and public accountability in the country, the field still faces a somewhat unfavorable context, as both clientelism and private interests are still quite present in the Mexican policy making process. Furthermore, despite its progress, the field has yet to overcome some of the challenges it has faced from its outset (Mendez 1995; Arellano 1996), such as achieving greater theoretical coherence, adding more empirical studies to its initial rather theoretical trends, and better integrating the demands for policy results with social participation, so that the field can keep contributing to the public good without adopting a technocratic approach.

References

- Aguilar, Luis F., "Política pública y gobierno del Estado", La revista de El Colegio, Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública, October, 1990.
- , "Estudio Introductorio", en Luis F. Aguilar (comp.), Problemas públicos y agenda de políticas públicas. México, D.F., Miguel Angel Porrúa, 1992.
- -----, "Estudio Introductorio", en Luis F. Aguilar (comp.), El estudio de las políticas públicas. México, D.F., Miguel Angel Porrúa, 1992.
- -----, "Estudio Introductorio", en Luis F. Aguilar (comp.), La hechura de las políticas públicas. México, D.F., Miguel Angel Porrúa, 1993.
- -----, "Estudio Introductorio", en Luis F. Aguilar (comp.), La implementación de las políticas. México, D.F., Miguel Angel Porrúa, 1994.
- -----, "Introducción", en Luis F. Aguilar (ed.), Política Pública. México, D.F., Escuela de Administración Pública del Distrito Federal-Siglo XXI, 2010.
- (comp.), Política Pública. México, D.F., Escuela de Administración Pública del Distrito Federal-Siglo XXI, 2010.

- Arellano, David, "Política pública, racionalidad imperfecta e irracionalidad. Hacia una perspectiva diferente", in *Gestión y Política Pública*, 1996.
- ----- and Blanco, ---, *Políticas públicas y democracia*. México, D.F., Instituto Federal Electoral, 2013.
- Baumgarther Frank and Bryan Jones, *Agendas and Instability in American Politics*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press, 1993.
- Bazua, Fernando and Giovanna Valenti, "Hacia un enfoque amplio de política pública", in *Revista de Administración Pública*, May, 1993.
- Beer, Caroline C., "Invigorating federalism: The Emergence of Governors and State Legislatures as Powerbrokers and Policy Innovators", in Roderic Ai Camp (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Brachet, Viviane, "El proceso social en la formación de políticas: el caso de la planificación familiar en México", in *Estudios Sociológicos*, Vol. 3, Nos. 5-6, May-December, 1984.
- Cabrero, Enrique, "Usos y costumbres en la hechura de las políticas públicas. Límites de las policy sciences en contextos cultural y políticamente diferentes", en *Gestión y Política Pública*, segundo semestre, 2000.
- Cadena, Jorge and Miguel López (eds.), "El PRD: orígenes, itinerario, retos", México, D.F., UNAM-IIS/Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias/Ficticia Editorial, 2013.
- Camp, Roderic, *Politics in Mexico*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Canto, Manuel and Pedro Moreno (eds.), *Reforma del Estado y políticas sociales*. México, D.F., UAM-X, 1994.
- -----, "Introducción a la ciencia de políticas públicas", in Mauricio Merino (ed.), *Política Pública y Gestión Local*. México, D.F., Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública. 1996.
- Canto, Rodolfo, "México. Los alcances de la política industrial", in *Revista de Economía* 49, second semester, 1997.
- -----, "Políticas públicas. Más allá del pluralismo y la participación ciudadana", in *Gestión y Política Pública*, segundo semestre, 2000.
- Cardozo, Myriam, "La evaluación de las políticas públicas: problemas, metodologías, aportes y limitaciones", *Revista de Administración Pública* 84, May, 1993.
- -----, "Evaluación de políticas de desarrollo social", in *Política y Cultura* 20, Otoño 2003.
- -----, *La Evaluación de políticas y programas públicos. El caso de los programas de desarrollo social*. México, D.F., Miguel Angel Porrúa, 2006.
- -----, "De la evaluación a la reformulación de políticas públicas", in *Política y Cultura* 40, otoño 2013.

- DeLeon, Peter and José Hernandez, "El caso del programa Nacional de Solidaridad en México: estudio comparado de terminación de políticas", in Foro internacional 164 , v. 41, no. 3 (jul.-sept. 2001.).
- Downs, Anthony, "Up and Down with Ecology-the Issue-Attention Cycle", Public Interest, 28 Summer 1972.
- Döring, Erika, "La enseñanza de la administración pública en México", en Revista de Administración Pública, INAP, ----.
- Dunn, William, Public Policy Analysis. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1981.
- Esteinou, Javier and Alma Alva (eds.), "La Ley Televisa y la lucha por el poder en México". Mexico, D.F., UAM-Xochimilco, 2009.
- Flamand, Laura and Carlos Moreno, Seguro popular y federalismo en México. Un análisis de política pública. México, D.F., CIDE, 2015.
- Garza, Mario, "Diseño de una Política Pública para la Prevención de Desastres Naturales", in *Revista de Administración Pública* 89, Mayo, 1995.
- -----, "Políticas públicas, ética y seguridad en el marco de la acción del Estado. Reflexiones para el próximo siglo", in *Revista de Administración Pública*, 1999.
- Garza, Vidal, "La política pública en democracia: retos y oportunidades", in Freddy Mariñez Navarro y Vidal Garza (coords.), *Política pública y democracia en América Latina: del análisis a la implementación*. México, D.F., ITESM-Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2009.
- Giraudy, Agustina, *Democrats and Autocrats: Pathways of Subnational Undemocratic Regime Continuity within Democratic Countries*. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2015.
- Grindle, Merilee S., *Jobs for the boys. Patronage and the State in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2012.
- Guerrero, Juan Pablo, "La evaluación de políticas públicas: enfoques teóricos y realidades en nueve países desarrollados", in *Gestión y política pública*, primer semestre, 1995.
- Guerrero, Omar, "Políticas públicas: interrogantes", in *Revista de Administración Pública*, May, 1993.
- -----, "Los usos del analisis de la implementacion de las politicas", in *Gestión y Política Pública*, segundo semestre, 1994.
- -----, "Las políticas públicas antes de las ciencias de las políticas", in *Gestión y Política Pública*, 1997.
- -----, "Continuidad y Terminación de políticas en Administración Pública", in *Revista de Administración Pública*, 89, 1995.
- Heidenheimer, Arnold, "Comparative public policy at the crossroads", in *Journal of public policy*, October, 1985.

- Hughes, Sallie, "Democracy in the Newsroom: The Evolution of Journalism and the News Media", in Roderic Ai Camp (ed.), Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Jones, Charles O., An introduction to the study of Public Policy, Ed. Duxbury Press, USA, 1970.
- Langston, Joy, "The PRI's 2006 Presidential Campaign", in Consolidating Mexico's Democracy: The 2006 Presidential Campaign in Comparative Perspective, edited by Jorge I. Domínguez, Chappell Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno. Maryland, Johns Hopkins University Press , 2009.
- , "Strong Parties in a Struggling Party System; Mexico in the Democratic Era", in Party Politics in New Democracies, edited by Paul Webb and Stephen White. Oxford: Oxford University Press , 2007.
- Laswell, H., "The policy orientation", in H. Laswell and J. Lerner (eds.), The Policy Sciences; Recent Developments in Scope and Method, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 1951.
- , "The Decision Process: Seven Categories of Functional Analysis". College Park, Maryland: University of Maryland Press, 1956.
- Leon, Juan Carlos and Salvador Mora (eds.), Democracia, ciudadanía y políticas públicas. México, D.F., UNAM, 2006.
- Loaeza, Soledad, El Partido Accion Nacional: la larga marcha, 1939-1994. Oposicion leal y partido de protesta. Mexico, D.F., Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1999.
- Lowi, Theodore, "Four Systems of Policy, Politics and Choice" (1972), Public Administration Review, July-August, 1972.
- Majone, Giandomenico, Evidence, Argument, and Persuasion in the Policy Process. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.
- Mejía, Jose, "Evaluación de políticas públicas", in Mauricio Merino (ed.), Política pública y gestión local, México, D.F., Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública, 1996.
- , La evaluación de la gestión y las políticas públicas. México, D.F., Miguel Angel Porrúa, 2003.
- Méndez, José Luis, Modelos de desarrollo en América Latina. México, D.F., Universidad Iberoamericana-Departamento de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales, 1986.
- , "La política pública como variable dependiente: hacia un análisis más integral de las políticas públicas", en Foro Internacional 131, January-March, 1993.
- , "Elementos teóricos para un análisis más integral de las políticas públicas", in Revista de Administración Pública, May, 1993.
- , "Mexico Under Salinas: Towards a New Record for One Party Domination?", in Governance, vol. 7, Num. 2, 1994.

- -----, "El campo de estudio de las políticas públicas: promesas y peligros", en Carlos Massé y Eduardo Sandoval (coords.), Políticas públicas y desarrollo municipal, México, El Colegio Mexiquense-Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, 1995.
- , "Federalismo y política industrial en Nuevo León, México y Westfalia del Rhin del Norte, Alemania", en Carlos Alba (ed.), México y Alemania: dos países en transición. México, D.F.. El Colegio de México, 1996.
- , "¿Del Estado propietario al Estado promotor?" La política hacia la micro, pequeña y mediana industria en México, 1988-1994", in Foro Internacional, vol. 36, núm. 143-144. México, D.F. El Colegio de México, 1996b.
- , "Reforma del Estado, democracia participativa y modelos de decisión", in Política y Cultura, núm. 7. México, D.F. UAM-Xochimilco, 1996c.
- , "Las regiones como actores económicos: el caso de Pennsylvania, Estados Unidos (con referencias generales a los casos de Nuevo León, México y Westfalia del Rhin del Norte, Alemania)", in Carlos Alba, Ilán Bizberg and Hélène Rivière (eds.), Las regiones ante la globalización. México, D.F.. El Colegio de México/CEMCA /ORSTOM, 1998.
- , "La política industrial en México", in Lorenzo Meyer e Ilán Bizberg (coords), Al filo del siglo XXI: cambio y resistencia (1968-2000). Distrito Federal. Océano, 2009.
- -----, "Civil Organizations in Mexico: Recent Evolution and Prospects", in Voluntas, vol. 10, núm. 1, 1999.
- -----, "Introducción General", in José Luis Méndez (ed.), Políticas Públicas. Los grandes problemas de México. México, D.F., El Colegio de México, 2010.
- (ed.), Políticas Públicas. Los grandes problemas de México. México, D.F., El Colegio de México, 2010.
- , "Implementing Developed Countries Administrative Reforms in Developing Countries: The Case of Mexico", in Jon Pierre y Patricia Ingraham (eds.), Public Sector Administrative Reform and the Challenges of Effective Change. Ottawa, McGill University Press, 2010.
- and Rogelio Ríos, "Organizaciones civiles y política industrial en México: el caso de ADMIC", in José Luis Méndez (Coordinador), Organizaciones civiles y políticas públicas en México y Centroamérica. México, D.F. Miguel Ángel Porrúa / Academia Mexicana de Investigación en Políticas Públicas / International Society for Third Sector Research, 1998b.
- Merino, Mauricio (ed.), Política pública y gestión local. México, D.F., Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública, 1996.
- and Guillermo Cejudo (comps.), Problemas, decisiones y soluciones. México, D.F., CIDE, 2010.
- -----, Políticas Públicas. Ensayo sobre la intervención del Estado en la solución de los problemas públicos. México, D.F., CIDE, 2013.

- Moreno, Pedro, "Exposición Crítica de los Enfoques Estadounidenses para el Análisis de las Políticas Públicas", in Revista de Administración Pública, May, 1993.
- -----, "Organismos civiles y elaboración de políticas públicas", in Política y Cultura, Otoño, 1996.
- , "La implementación talón de Aquiles en la elaboración de políticas sociales", in Juan Pineda (coor.), Enfoques de políticas públicas y gobernabilidad, México, D.F., Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública, Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México y Universidad Anáhuac, 1999.
- Nacif, Benito, "The Fall of the Dominant Presidency: Lawmaking under Divided Government in Mexico", in Roderic Ai Camp (ed.), Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Nelson, Bárbara, Making an Issue of Child Abuse: Political Agenda-Setting for Social Problems, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984.
- Pineda, Juan (ed.), Enfoques de políticas públicas y gobernabilidad. México, D.F., Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública, 1999.
- Polsby, Nelson, Political Innovation in America. The Politics of Policy Initiation. Nueva Haven , Yale University Press, 1984.
- Robles, Gonzalo, "La evaluación de alternativas en el análisis de políticas públicas", in Revista de Administración Pública, May, 1993.
- _Rodríguez, Francisco, Fundamentos teóricos de las políticas públicas y estudios de caso. Programas públicos en México (2011). Puebla, Instituto de Administración Pública del estado de Puebla, 2011.
- -----, Políticas Públicas. Un estudio de casos. México, D.F., Plaza y Valdés, 2014.
- Salcedo, Roberto (comp.), Evaluación. México, D.F., Escuela de Administración Pública del Distrito Federal-Siglo XXI, 2011.
- Seele, Andrew, "Municipalities and policymaking", in Roderic Ai Camp (ed.), Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Somuano, Fernanda, Sociedad civil organizada y democracia en México. México, D.F., El Colegio de México, 2011.
- Suchman, E. A., Evaluative research: Principles and practice in public service and social action programs . New York: Russell Sage, 1967.
- Thacker, Strom C., "Big bussiness, democracy and the Politics of Competition", in Roderic Ai Camp (ed.), Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics. Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Trejo, Raul, "Televisa: viejas prácticas, nuevo entorno", in Nueva Sociedad 249, enero-febrero, 2014.

- Valenti, Giovanna y Ulises Flores, "Ciencias Sociales y Políticas Públicas", in Revista Mexicana de Sociología 71, December, 2009.
- Valverde, Miguel Angel and Mary Hilderbrand (eds.), ¿Transformación, lo mismo de siempre o progreso lento y con tropiezos? Reformas recientes al sector público en Mexico. México, D.F., Miguel Ángel Porrúa, 2012.
- Weimer, David L., "La evolución del análisis de políticas públicas en Estados Unidos: cuatro fuentes de análisis", en Foro Internacional 220, Abril-Junio de 2015.
- Weiss, Carol H. Evaluative Research: Methods of Assessing Program Effectiveness (1972)
- Wildavsky, Aaron, Speaking Truth to Power. Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1979.