

TRAINING A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS

Woodrow Wilson Center Reports on the Americas • #3

Edited by

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TRAINING A NEW GENERATION OF LEADERS

Public Administration and Public Policy Graduate
Programs in Latin America

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The end of the Cold War, the advent of the internet, and increasing economic integration are among the many factors that are adding new complexities to the task of policymaking in countries around the world. In addition, more open governments in many places have meant that not only public officials but also decisionmakers in the private and non-profit sectors now participate in policymaking and have a stake in the outcomes across a broad spectrum of economic, political, and social policy issues. Regardless of which sector they represent, decisionmakers need broad-based policy analysis skills, both quantitative and qualitative, that will enable them to make effective, accountable choices when faced with complicated trade-offs and options. In Latin America, as elsewhere, this heightened need for skilled policymakers raises the question of where and how such individuals can obtain advanced education and training that both meet worldwide standards for the public policy field and are also relevant to regional conditions. To assess the state of public policy education in Latin America, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, DC launched a research project entitled “Strengthening Graduate Training in the Applied Social Sciences and Public Policy Analysis in Latin America” in early 1999. Funded by the Ford Foundation, the project was designed as an eighteen-month planning activity that would produce preliminary surveys of the institutional capacity for graduate level training in public policy in six Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela. Recognizing the influence of U.S. educational models in this field on Latin American institutions, the project also included a survey of graduate level public policy and public administration programs in the United States.

The seven chapters that follow are the results of this initial research. They offer an overview of public policy education in Latin America, providing a groundwork for future efforts to improve the quality of public policy education in the region.¹ Originally presented as papers at a June 1–2, 2000 meeting at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington, DC, they have since been revised for this publication. While the availabil-

ity of data varies significantly and certain elements are more salient in some cases than in others, each study includes three central features: 1) an analysis of the *educational and institutional context* for the public policy and/or administration programs in the particular country, including a discussion of the demand for such programs and their relation to other higher education offerings; 2) an analysis of the *instructional models* utilized in the various programs, particularly in regard to the kinds of advanced training offered in the applied social sciences; and 3) a discussion of the degree of *institutional development* found in the public policy and public administration fields, indicated by such factors as continuity of funding and frequency of connections to national education agencies and to other similar regional and international programs. The conclusions are mixed, but each study includes specific suggestions for strengthening national capacity to provide advanced training in the public policy field.

The first case study examines public policy programs in the United States as a model for Latin American public policy programs. U.S. programs place a heavy emphasis on quantitative and empirical analytical methods. In addition, they also include important non-economic components, such as courses on the relative importance of government, business, and non-profit sectors in the policy process. U.S. programs also have a strong practical element, typically requiring students to apply their knowledge to real-world policy issues in some form of practicum or policy analysis exercise. Closely supervised by a student's professors and peers, these exercises often lead to subsequent employment opportunities.

At present, Latin American public policy programs do not typically incorporate these elements. While Latin America has a relatively long tradition of master's programs in public administration, master's programs in public policy that follow the U.S. model—discrete interdisciplinary programs that integrate economics, quantitative methods, management, and political analysis—are much more recent. Typically, such programs in Latin America have sprung up as part of newly formed political science departments or have developed over the last decade within social science, economics, or public management faculties.

In part because they tend to be quite young in institutional terms, the Latin American public policy programs surveyed in this project exhibit several common weaknesses. First, there is often tension between the programs' academic and professional objectives. This gives the programs an

Preface

ambiguous status in university systems, which still tend to be highly segmented between professional schools and academic disciplines. Second, many programs have difficulty in attracting and retaining a sufficient number of “core” full-time faculty members. Third, in relation to the curriculum, course offerings in quantitative methods based on disciplines such as economics and statistics may be limited, often reflecting the faculty’s lack of preparation in these areas. On the student side, diagnostic tools such as entrance examinations to assess candidates’ basic knowledge of the social sciences, mathematics, and statistics, as well as their pre-existing verbal, mathematical, and analytical aptitudes and skills, are not routinely utilized as a basis for admissions. Finally, while there is an increasing use of the case method and some internships for public policy students are now available in the public sector, the traditional lecture mode and non-collaborative learning still predominate in a number of institutions. Mentoring and thesis advising may also be poorly organized or undervalued, leading to poor completion rates.

These papers make clear that graduate training in public policy analysis is in its infancy in Latin America. Overall, the higher education resources for such training vary greatly from country to country. Nonetheless, the demand for people trained in public policy analysis is strong and appears to be growing throughout the hemisphere. Moreover, in countries where new efforts are being made to add or improve such training, these innovative programs benefit from the region’s long tradition of sound teaching and social science research in respected universities and research institutions. Given the increasing demand for public policy education and the increasing number of scholars and practitioners who themselves have formal public policy training, it is highly likely that this specialization will continue to develop as an academic field within Latin American higher education institutions.

This book and the project from which it developed would not have been possible without the help of many people. We would like to thank Jorge Balan and the Ford Foundation for their generous support of the project; William Ascher and Ernest R. May, both of whom shared their expertise with great generosity; Katherine Morse, who coordinated the June 2000 meeting where the idea for this book was born; and Audrey Yao and Craig Fagan, whose attention to detail and hard work were indispensable in preparing this volume for publication. Thanks are due also to

Leah Florence for her thorough copyediting of the manuscript and to Kate Grumbacher and Derek Lawlor for their excellent work on the layout and design of this volume.

NOTES

1. With follow-up funding from the Ford Foundation, the Woodrow Wilson Center is coordinating a second project that builds on the results of this research. This follow-up project offers modest grants to four of the leading public policy programs in Latin America, located in Mexico, Argentina, Chile, and Brazil, respectively. The grants are designed to strengthen critical elements of these programs, as identified by the programs themselves in consultation with experienced colleagues in the U.S. In addition, the Wilson Center project has created a website that will be the base for a network of those interested in public policy training in Latin America. The network will facilitate the sharing of ideas and experiences among the various public policy programs in the region.

Public Policy Training Programs in the United States: Characteristics and Linkages to Latin America

JOAN DASSIN

I. PUBLIC POLICY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES

Public Policy as an Academic Field in the United States

The origins of public policy as an academic field in the United States are closely linked to the history of academic preparation for public service. Established nearly one hundred years ago, the first public service training programs served individuals most likely to become public sector employees with responsibility for administering and implementing governmental programs. The next set of programs, known as public affairs programs, included a new focus on policy issues in addition to administrative issues in public service. By the 1960s, new techniques—based largely in economics and statistics—had been developed to improve methods for assessing competing policy choices.

By the 1970s, the federal government's use of these quantitatively oriented techniques led to the establishment of new or expanded public policy programs that focused on policy analysis. Also in the 1970s, interest in policy implementation led to the creation of public management programs. Some of these programs were housed in business schools and others became public management schools in their own right, while some public policy programs added management courses to their curriculum (*APPAM Guide*: 1).

Today the public policy academic field in the United States includes schools, institutes, and programs in public policy, public affairs, public

administration, and public management (*APPAM Guide*: 1-3). The terms are often used interchangeably, but public policy schools tend to emphasize quantitative, analytical, and economic skills and subject matter, as opposed to administration and public sector management, the mainstay of more traditional public administration programs. The target audiences are also different. For example, the master's in public policy (MPP) is intended for students who expect to conduct research and analysis on public policy issues from professional positions in the public, private, and not-for-profit sector. In contrast, the master's in public administration (MPA) is primarily intended for prospective public sector managers. In practice, however, many programs are becoming more integrated as both administrative and analytical skills are seen to be complementary and necessary for the effective design, implementation, and evaluation of public sector policies and programs (*U.S. News* 1999a).

Size and Geographical Scope of the Field

The precise number of public policy programs at higher education institutions in the United States is difficult to ascertain because programs in public policy, public affairs, public administration, public management, and related fields may or may not be included, depending on the information source. Nonetheless, some materials provide useful indicators of the relevant educational "universe." For example, the 2001 rankings by *U.S. News and World Report* resulted from a survey of 259 public affairs graduate programs in the United States, including both public policy and public administration programs.

The Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management (APPAM), a leading professional organization in the field, has over fifty member graduate and undergraduate schools in public policy, public administration, and management. Ten public policy research institutions, consulting firms, and think tanks are among its institutional members, although these typically do not have teaching programs. APPAM also has an individual membership of over three hundred public policy graduate and undergraduate students, who are among 1,600 individual members overall. Using data for the 1995-96 and 1996-97 school year, APPAM compiled a *Guide to Graduate Public Policy Education and Organizations* that includes information on 54 programs, institutes, and departments at U.S. universities and colleges (one is located outside the United States) that

offer graduate level courses and advanced degrees in public policy, management, public affairs, and public administration. At the time these data were collected, these institutions employed 1,620 full-, part-time, and adjunct faculty members and enrolled over 6,500 students, including almost 800 PhD students (*APPAM Guide*: 1).

One inclusive source on the field is the *Guide to Graduate Education in Public Affairs and Public Administration*, produced by the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, another leading professional association. Based on 1996 data, the 1997-99 NASPAA *Guide* (1997) includes brief descriptions of some five hundred programs in 49 states, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia. The programs are broadly distributed throughout the United States, with clusters found in states with strong higher education institutions in general, such as New York, Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan, Texas, and California.

Types of Institutions

The “host” universities for these graduate training programs include large and small, public and private, and urban and rural institutions. Because of this differentiation, candidates can choose from among many types of graduate programs. The schools aggressively pursue “niche” marketing. Thus the prospective applicant can choose a program by considering what type of work he or she would like to do after graduate school, or by considering the program’s offerings in issue areas such as health, education, or welfare. Other factors such as location; the possibility of joint degrees or further study beyond master’s-level programs; full-time, part-time, day or evening classes; the quality of career counseling and internship placement; the availability of financial aid and other support; and different kinds of admission criteria, such as whether more or less weight is given to work experience and academic records—can all be taken into account when selecting possible schools.

Cost of Programs

Schools vary enormously in cost. Fees range from under \$2,000 per academic year for in-state tuition at California State University at Los Angeles, to \$5,000 per semester for in-state residents at the University of Michigan, to over \$20,000 per semester at private institutions such as Harvard University’s John F. Kennedy School of Government. At the public institu-

tions, tuition rates for out-of-state residents are typically much higher than those for in-state residents. Room and board costs vary considerably, depending on such factors as marital status, number of dependents, and student lifestyles. All schools have financial assistance programs, which are usually available on the basis of economic need and/or academic merit.

The graduate degree programs offered by public policy and public administration schools and programs in the United States vary widely. However, the basic professional degree in the field is a master's, usually earned in a two-year, academically and professionally oriented degree program in public policy, public administration, and/or public affairs. Most schools also offer variations on a one-year or one-year plus a summer accelerated master's degree program for mid-career professionals. Doctoral programs tend to be much smaller than the master's level programs and are intended for students with strong research and teaching interests. The doctoral programs typically involve a disciplinary specialization, usually in economics or the non-economic social sciences, in addition to work in selected issue areas such as health, education, or welfare policy. In addition, most schools offer a variety of joint degree programs with the "host" university's other graduate and professional schools, such as law, business, and public health.

The curricula of public policy and public administration programs also vary considerably. However, certain courses are found in most programs. These include micro- or macroeconomics, analyses of political and policy processes, statistics and quantitative methods, organizational theory and analysis, public and nonprofit management, and ethics. Most programs also offer courses in issue areas such as health, education, and urban or environmental policies that students typically combine with their disciplinary-based "theory" courses. As a result, public policy programs are by definition multidisciplinary, with courses taught by faculty either hired directly by the programs or—as often occurs in large universities—variously housed in different departments including economics, political science, statistics, sociology, urban studies, and even philosophy or religion (for the ethics courses).¹ Increasingly, programs also provide students with relevant courses in information technology as it applies to policy analysis. Such courses may be housed in computer science departments (*APPAM Guide*: 3).

Many programs require students to complete internships in a range of public agencies, private businesses, and not-for-profit organizations. Over

half the schools included in the *APPAM Guide*, for example, require internships of their master's-level students. Even in cases where internships are not required, most students undertake them, unless they have substantial prior work experience. The *Guide* also reports that most students conduct internships in nonprofit organizations, followed by the local government, federal government, state government, and the private sector. The emphasis on internships underscores the tendency of public policy schools to mix decision- and policy-making theory and quantitative methods with concrete public policy problems. This is done within the parameters of academic study by applying generic research, analytical, and management skills—typically based in particular disciplines—to topical issue areas. It also occurs when students are required to apply both generic skills and sector-based knowledge to real-world policy situations, either in internships or individual research projects.

Typically these programs offer students a rich array of institutional resources drawn from within the public policy schools, the “host” university, and the broader university community. In addition to extensive library and computing resources, the best-known programs provide students with exposure to numerous distinguished visitors and professors with high-level policy experience. Additional teaching resources are provided by academic research centers located both within the public policy schools and the larger university. Focusing on both domestic and international policy issues, these centers bring students into contact with the latest faculty research, provide case study materials for various student policy exercises, and offer students training in research techniques and/or opportunities for involvement in actual ongoing policy analysis projects.

Profile of Students and Faculty

Students enrolled in graduate-level public policy programs are somewhat diverse. For example, of the 6,500 students enrolled in the programs listed in the *APPAM Guide*, 60 percent are classified as white, 11 percent black, 9 percent Hispanic, and 7 percent Asian. Thirteen percent of the students come from outside the United States. The median age is 27, and almost 70 percent of enrolled students had worked full-time before entering graduate school. On the faculty side, the institutions in the *APPAM Guide* employ approximately 1,620 full-time, part-time, and adjunct faculty members. The *Guide* reports that 17 percent of the faculty members are

women and 6 percent belong to U.S. minorities. Faculty members in public policy and public administration schools often hold joint appointments with social science departments. Many combine research interests on a wide array of domestic and international policy areas with practical experience in the private and public sectors.

Career Paths

There is no one typical career path for public policy school graduates. A commitment to public service stimulates most people to choose the specialization in the first place, but graduates find employment at all levels of government and in the private and nonprofit sectors. Moreover, a small but significant minority of graduates goes on to teach in public policy programs. The type of work done by public policy graduates may also differ. Some specialize in particular issue areas, such as health or the welfare system, while others may work on a variety of topics. Some positions focus on research and analysis, others on policy implementation, and still others on single-issue advocacy or lobbying for specific legislation.

Although the field began by training individuals for public service careers in the United States, public policy graduates are increasingly working in international settings or on global issues. For example, an energy policy specialist with a broad understanding of interrelated issues such as U.S. energy policy, global warming, and international trade could make a good living at an international consulting firm by guiding the policy choices of clients as varied as automobile manufacturers, federal agencies, and international investors.

Opportunities in the private sector are particularly lucrative, with leading management consulting firms paying top policy school graduates first-year salaries of over six figures. Combined with a sharp drop-off in federal employment, high salaries may partially explain why only 41 percent of those who earn degrees from the prestigious John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard currently take first jobs in government—a 15 percent decline from the 1970s. Increased demand for policy analysis skills in the private sector is also a major factor. In keeping with the downsizing of the federal government, that has taken place since the first Reagan Administration in the early 1980s, much of the policy analysis and strategic planning once done by senior-level government staff is now outsourced to private consulting firms. Indeed, considerable amounts of day-

to-day government work are now performed by public-private partnerships or by nonprofit groups working under government contracts (*U.S. News* 1999b: 1-2).

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF TOP-RANKED U.S. PROGRAMS

Constructing the Set: Methodological Issues

One approach to creating a more in-depth profile of public policy and public administration programs in the United States is to “unpack” the overview in Section I. This entails an examination of an illustrative sample of top-ranked programs in terms of their key characteristics. These characteristics are grouped into three main categories or “sets”: institutional data, academic dimensions, and professional outcomes. The institutional data include information on the date of establishment or founding, the program’s size and status within its host university, the cost to students, and availability of financial assistance. The academic dimensions are the centerpiece of each institutional case study, and include a discussion of the program or school’s general academic objectives and “selling points,” degree programs, curricula, teaching methods, and access to scholarly resources such as libraries, research centers, and information technology.

This category also presents data on students and faculty, including student demographics and academic preparation, and a profile of the faculty’s academic and professional backgrounds, activities, and research interests. In addition, the professional outcomes, particularly graduate career tracks and professional opportunities, are discussed for each case. The degree to which the schools focus on and incorporate internationally oriented issues and resources is a cross-cutting dimension that will be considered for all three “sets” of characteristics.

By what criteria should a sample of top-ranked programs be constructed? According to Professor William Ascher of Claremont McKenna College, no authoritative rankings for graduate programs in the public policy/public administration field exist.² The annual surveys done by *U.S. News and World Report* are the only widely recognized effort in this regard. To obtain the rankings, the market research firm conducting the survey for the magazine sent out two questionnaires to each of 259 public policy and public administration programs. Respondents (a dean or department chair and a nominee) were asked to assess all the programs’ reputations for

scholarship, curriculum, and the quality of its faculty and graduate students on a 5-point scale, with 5=distinguished; 4=strong; 3=good; 2=adequate; and 1=marginal. “Don’t know” was not counted. Scores for each school were totaled and divided by the number of respondents who rated that school 1 through 5. Schools were then ranked in descending order based on their average scores (*U.S. News*, 2001a).

The low response rate (46 percent in the 2001 survey) compromises the results to some extent. Ascher finds the survey “deeply flawed” for several other reasons as well. First, it combines public policy and public administration programs in a single survey. Given the antagonism sometimes found between proponents of the two approaches, this could affect the rankings if respondents downgrade schools in the opposite “camp.” Second, alumni may have a “vested interest” in seeing their own programs rank high, which gives an advantage to the largest schools.³

These limitations notwithstanding, Ascher believes that there would be a “pretty good consensus” among professionals in the field about the top ten schools in public policy and public administration, respectively. Interestingly, the schools that he identifies as leaders by “consensus” in each category overlap significantly with the top ten rated public policy and public administration schools that appear in the report’s *combined* list.

For example, the top ten schools in the *U.S. News* 2001 survey share the top eight rankings. In descending order, these include: Harvard University (4.5); Syracuse University (4.5); Indiana University-Bloomington (4.3); Princeton University (4.2); the University of California at Berkeley (4.2); the University of Georgia (4.0); Carnegie Mellon University (3.9); the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (3.9); the University of Southern California (3.9); and the University of Texas at Austin (3.9) (*U.S. News*, 2001b).

For its part, the “consensual” list in the public policy school also includes the John F. Kennedy School at Harvard and the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton as among the top five schools. These are among the country’s most prestigious public policy programs, not, in Ascher’s view, “on a person-by-person basis, but because they are much bigger and wealthier than anybody else.”⁴ Ascher’s “consensual” top ten public policy schools also include Duke University (ranked 19th by *U.S. News*), the University of Chicago (ranked 12th by *U.S. News*), and Georgetown University (ranked 29th by *U.S. News*). On the public administration side,

the “consensual” view recognizes the pre-eminence of the Maxwell School at Syracuse, the University of Georgia, and the University of Southern California (which also includes public policy and urban and regional planning)—all included in the *U.S. News*’ top ten schools.

Given this overlap, one can justifiably assume that “crossing” the results of the *U.S. News* survey with Ascher’s “consensual” list will provide an illustrative sample of the top-ranked U.S. programs in both public policy and public administration. Due to space limitations, only a few cases have been selected for more in-depth review here. These are the public policy programs at Harvard, Princeton, and the University of California at Berkeley, and, on the public administration side, the Maxwell School at Syracuse University. Finally, because training in information and technology systems and management is likely to be ever more critical in both public policy analysis and public administration, the paper examines the H. John Heinz III School of Public Policy and Management at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. The Heinz School is ranked number one in the information and technology specialization by the *U.S. News & World Report* survey, which also includes the Heinz School among the top ten institutions in both public policy analysis and public affairs overall.

Leading U.S. Public Policy and Public Administration Schools

1. The John F. Kennedy School at Harvard University

Institutional Profile

The John F. Kennedy School of Government is the graduate professional school at Harvard University dedicated to promoting excellence in public service. Founded in 1936 as the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration, the school expanded to become an international center for scholarship and teaching on public problem solving and leadership, and was renamed the John F. Kennedy School of Government in 1966 (NASPAA *Guide*: 72).

The Kennedy School considers itself to be a “relatively small and intimate academic community” within the larger Harvard University complex. A typical Master’s in Public Policy (MPP) class has 160–170 members and a typical Master’s in Public Administration has 50–60 members.

The Mid-Career Master's in Public Administration (MC/MPA) generally has 210 members in an entering class. The Kennedy School also runs executive education programs, which annually enroll nearly two thousand public officials. Six thousand students have completed the MPP degree (John F. Kennedy School 1999a: 52, 14, 20, 22, 36; hereafter, Kennedy 1999a).

The annual budget for a U.S. student in the various master's-level programs is an estimated \$41,000 per year, including \$22,500 in tuition. The figure rises to \$46,880 per year for a U.S. mid-career student who is also expected to complete a summer program. The estimated total expenses for international students are at approximately the same levels, plus travel. Scholarships and fellowships are awarded on the basis of financial need and merit, and are highly competitive. Most Kennedy School students from the United States finance at least part of the cost of the programs through student loans. Most international students are supported by their employers, governments, or granting agencies, and use personal and family funds to supplement their external support. Limited fellowships are available for international students. International students are required to deposit funds sufficient to cover expenses for nine months in a U.S. bank before they are permitted to enroll (Kennedy 1999a: 49-50).

Academic Objectives

The Kennedy School prides itself on its global perspective; its search for effective governance across the public, private, and nonprofit sectors; and its commitment to training future leaders. It also draws tremendous cachet from its international faculty and distinguished visitors from around the world, many of whom are prominent figures "on the world stage" or individuals still engaged in key decision-making roles. In the language of the school catalogue: "We generate ideas. And then we put those ideas to work" (Kennedy 1999a: 4).

Degree Programs

The Kennedy School of Government offers five different master's programs and an extensive doctoral program. The Master's in Public Policy program (MPP) is a two-year course of study for students who want to become policy analysts and leaders in public service. The Master's in Public Policy and Urban Planning program (MPP/UP) is a two-year

Public Policy Training Programs in the United States

course of study for students who want to combine a policy background with urban planning and design. The Master's in Public Administration (MPA2) is a two-year course of study for policymakers in the early stages of their careers. Prior graduate training and at least three years of significant work experience are required. Within the MPA2 program, a new two-year course of study, the MPA/International Development program (MPA/ID), is designed for those who expect to become international development practitioners and analysts. Finally, the Mid-Career Master's in Public Administration Program (MC/MPA) is a one-year course of study for experienced professionals with at least seven years of significant work experience.

The Kennedy School also administers four interdisciplinary PhD programs jointly with Harvard's Graduate School of Arts and Sciences (GSAS). These include a PhD in Public Policy, a PhD in Political Economy and Government, a PhD in Health Policy, and two PhD Programs in Social Policy. The latter award two different degrees: the PhD in Government and Social Policy and the PhD in Sociology and Social Policy. These joint degree programs offer training in one of the two traditional disciplines as well as interdisciplinary work in social policy. Another multidisciplinary, non-degree-granting training program in Inequality and Social Policy is open to second- and third-year doctoral students. In general, the PhD programs are designed for individuals interested in teaching careers in higher education, research careers in a particular policy field, or top public or private sector leadership positions.

Additionally, students can earn joint or concurrent degrees with the Law, Business, and Medical Schools at Harvard, as well as with the Sloan School of Management at MIT, the J.I. Kellogg School at Northwestern University, New York University School of Law, and Boalt Hall Law School at Berkeley (Kennedy 1999a: 8-9).

Curricula, Teaching Methods, and Scholarly Resources

The curricula for the Kennedy School's different degree programs reflect the breadth and diversity of the various specializations. The two-year MPP program is a good example. Although there are no academic prerequisites, the MPP program assumes familiarity with college-level quantitative skills. Some knowledge of economics, statistics, and calculus is considered an advantage, although the professional orientation in the

MPP program is very different from the academic approach to these subjects. The first-year core curriculum includes courses on the markets and economic policy, quantitative analysis and empirical methods, the responsibilities of public action, strategic and financial management in public sector organizations, public policy prescription and action, and political action skills. These courses are a sample of extensive offerings in Analysis of Policies and Institutions (API), Strategic Management of Public Organizations (STM); and Political Advocacy and Leadership (PAL) that form the basis of the policy analysis curriculum. Students are also expected to take up to three credits in a specific policy area of concentration.

Under API, the economics courses stress the application of microeconomic reasoning to public policies and the use of applied tools of policy analysis such as cost-benefit analysis, political economy approaches, and policy making under uncertainty. The quantitative analysis and empirical methods courses stress techniques such as modeling, constrained optimization, probabilistic analysis, decision making under uncertainty, data analysis, and statistical inference. In more advanced courses, students learn empirical analysis techniques such as regression analysis and the advantages and disadvantages of working with different types of data in conducting program evaluations. The course in responsibilities of public policy making explores the subject from the point of view of political and democratic theory.

Under STM, the courses in strategic and financial management introduce students to analytical techniques used for policy/program implementation, managing organizational performance, and the public management of financial resources. Finally, under PAL, the political advocacy and leadership courses stress analytical frameworks applicable to different issues, organizations, and political environments, as well as improved communication and organizing skills. An explicit concern with applying analytical frameworks and techniques to practical issues of public policy analysis and decisionmaking characterizes all the offerings. In API courses, for example, students are expected to use data sets for “hands-on learning” and conduct professionally realistic integrative projects to test their quantitative and empirical analytical skills. STM and PAL courses also stress the application of analytical frameworks to issues, organizations, and real-world political environments. In addition, the Spring Exercise requires first-year students to develop and present a professional analysis of

a real policy problem during an intensive two-week period. Other classes are suspended during this time. In the Policy Analysis Exercise, second-year students evaluate and develop recommendations for actual client organizations. Done under close faculty supervision, these exercises provide students with practice in integrating the skills learned in the core curriculum and applying them to real situations and organizations.

Kennedy School master's degree candidates are also required to select a Policy Area of Concentration (PAC). The PACs include "issue areas" such as business and government policy, crime and criminal justice, international trade and finance, and the press, politics, and public policy. Students pursue PAC-related courses both at the Kennedy School and by taking electives from other graduate faculties at Harvard, including arts and sciences, law, business, education, and public health, among others, as well as at MIT and at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy (John F. Kennedy School 1999b: 7-49; hereafter Kennedy 1999b).

The master's programs are designed to meet distinct professional needs of several types of students. However, all the programs build on a common intellectual base designed to develop three kinds of skills deemed indispensable for leaders around the globe: (1) *analytical skills*, which will enable students to choose among competing policy options on the basis of empirical, economic, and institutional analysis and to assess the policies' effectiveness through the application of sophisticated analytical tools; (2) *management skills*, which will allow graduates to manage complex and resource-intensive human organizations; and (3) *advocacy skills*, which will foster students' abilities to articulate and build consensus around their policy goals. These skills are seen as interrelated and should be used seamlessly and flexibly for public service careers that increasingly include stints in both the private and non-profit sectors, as well as in traditional public sector positions.

Beyond the specific curriculum and skills building, the Kennedy School prides itself on three aspects of learning that distinguish the school from its competitors in public policy education. First, the Kennedy School sees itself as the "hub" of international policy related activities at Harvard. It makes this claim because of its fundamentally comparative approach and focus on global issues, made possible by an impressive array of scholarly resources. For example, nearly eighty internationally oriented courses are taught each year, and students have access to more than one hundred others at other Harvard schools, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and

the Fletcher School. Almost half of the teaching cases written at the school in the last two years are set outside the United States. More than forty internationally oriented scholars at the school teach and conduct research in policy areas such as international trade and finance and political and economic development. Students can also draw on the scholarly resources of the school's internationally oriented research centers, such as the new Center for International Development and the Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, in addition to Harvard's six area studies centers.

Second, the Kennedy School offers what faculty members have dubbed "being in the room"—their phrase to describe the goal of preparing students to "be in the room" when actual decisions are made and actions taken. This approach relies on a combination of teaching styles and methods, including lectures for presenting conceptual frameworks, discussions of case studies to illustrate complex policy problems, and *practica* or other experiential learning techniques to test "hands-on" solutions. The school even has a professional case-writing staff to prepare up-to-date case materials.

Finally, the Kennedy School considers one of its laurels to be the "sixth course" (beyond the four or five required courses students take each semester). This refers to the intellectual stimulation provided by the host of distinguished policymakers from around the world who participate in the school's conferences, seminars, and debates. The constant stream of famous visitors is both a result of and a factor in the Kennedy School's prestigious reputation, and constitutes a major "selling point" for the school as it attracts students from all over the world.

Other resources are also formidable. In addition to the university's nearly one hundred libraries, the Kennedy School has its own information technology (IT) department, which provides technical support to faculty, students, and administrators. IT also makes on-line and traditional training classes available to students, who can use the IT lab resources to support curriculum-driven computing, such as course-based statistical analysis and econometric studies. Students may use labs for e-mail and word processing, but are required to have a personal desktop computer and/or laptop (Kennedy 1999a: 34-55).

Profile of Students and Faculty

With more than one-third of its enrollment comprised of non-U.S. students, the Kennedy School has the most international student popula-

tion at Harvard. The percentage of international students ranges from 20 percent in the MPP Program to 60 and 70 percent in the MPA2 and MPA/ID programs, respectively. The “flagship” Mason Fellows Program, designed for leaders from developing and transitional economy countries, has an all-international student body. Women and U.S. minorities are also well represented in the various programs. A typical MPP class, for example, has 44 percent women and 34 percent U.S. people of color; a typical MPA2 class, 40 percent women and 18 percent U.S. people of color.

Another notable feature of the student profile is age distribution. While students in the MPP and MPA2 programs tend to be between 23 and 29 years of age, students in the Mid-Career Master’s in Public Administration range in age between 29 and 62, with an average age of 39. As would be expected, students in the latter program also have considerable work experience, ranging from 7 to 40 years in a typical entering class. Students in the MPA2 program tend to have both significant work experience and relevant graduate training.

The Kennedy School faculty members often hold joint appointments with other Harvard University centers and departments, as well as with other academic and research institutions in the United States and abroad. Many have held top positions in government and the private sector, and their academic and intellectual interests include a vast swath of domestic and international issues (Kennedy 1999b: 53–75).

Career Paths

Kennedy School graduates work at every level of government in countries around the world and in the public, nonprofit, and private sectors. Although there is no standard career track for graduates, the school’s emphasis on leadership skills and access to the powerful Kennedy School network of cohorts and alumni give graduates an important “boost” in seeking influential positions. The master’s programs, in particular, stress leadership for social change, while the Mid-Career Master’s in Public Administration enables individuals who may already have advanced degrees and/or professional training to develop secondary fields and specializations.

The Career Services group assists students to create comprehensive career plans and carry out strategic searches for leadership positions. In addition to maintaining a database that provides access to the school’s 19,000-member alumni network, the Career Services group offers stu-

dents counseling expertise in each of the major employment sectors, both in the United States and internationally. Students also receive customized electronic notifications about job openings, career seminars, employer visits, and other events that match their career interests and goals. Finally, the Career Services group organizes networking and mentoring events that bring together alumni and students with common professional interests (Kennedy 1999a: 52-53).

2. The Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton University

Institutional Profile

The Woodrow Wilson School (WWS) was founded at Princeton University in 1930 as the School of Public and International Affairs. In its early days, the school was a small interdisciplinary program at the undergraduate level in Princeton's liberal arts college. In 1948, the school was named in honor of President Woodrow Wilson, and a graduate professional program was added. With new funding in the 1960s, a graduate faculty was recruited and the PhD programs and a number of policy research programs expanded.

The school considers itself a "close community" that in a typical year is comprised of 125 Master's in Public Affairs (MPA) students, 20 PhD students, 15 Master's in Public Policy (MPP) mid-career professionals, 50 permanent faculty, and 20 visiting faculty and practitioners. The entering MPA class numbers approximately 65, ensuring a low student-faculty ratio. In a typical year 160 Princeton undergraduates major in the school, making it one of the university's largest departments (Woodrow Wilson School 1999b: 8).

The total annual cost, including \$25,020 in tuition and \$11,800 for the maximum stipend for living expenses, was \$36,850 in the 1999-2000 academic year. The median financial aid awards for first- and second-year students were \$35,550 and \$35,560, respectively. Ninety-two percent of the MPA students receive financial support from the school. Approximately 10 percent of the class is funded by outside scholarships. More generally, financial aid policies support 100 percent of demonstrated financial need in the form of scholarship grants. This minimizes graduate loan indebtedness and enables graduates to accept public service jobs. Students receiving

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financial awards have no obligation to serve as teaching or research assistants (Woodrow Wilson School 1999a: 18).

Academic Objectives

In keeping with its mission to “prepare talented men and women for careers in public service,” the WWS graduate program emphasizes experiential, policy-oriented research and learning. The school places an equal focus on domestic public policy and international affairs, expecting graduates who work in the U.S. domestic sphere to recognize that other countries face similar problems, while assisting those who pursue careers in international affairs to understand the domestic roots of foreign policy issues. The school’s general objective is to provide graduates with skills in political and quantitative analysis, critical thinking, and writing, thus complementing the students’ innate creativity, enthusiasm, energy, and commitment to service (Woodrow Wilson School 1999b: 3).

Degree Programs

The Woodrow Wilson School offers two master’s degrees and a PhD in public affairs. One of the master’s programs is a two-year course of study leading to the Master’s in Public Affairs (MPA). The other is a one-year program for mid-career professionals leading to the Master’s in Public Policy (MPP). Both programs can lead to joint degrees when combined with other specializations. For example, joint degrees are offered in Public Affairs and Urban and Regional Planning (MPA-URP) and Public Affairs and Law (MPA-JD). MPA students may also earn certificates in Demography or Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy. Similarly, MPP students may take courses leading to the MPP with a Certificate in Urban and Regional Planning, Demography, or Science, Technology, and Environmental Policy. The doctoral program trains researchers in public policy, particularly from the perspective of the social sciences.

The three programs emphasize policy analysis skills and quantitative techniques, but differ in terms of their target audience. For example, the MPA program trains future generalists—students who will be able to deal with a wide range of public problems. Students are taught sophisticated analytical techniques that will make them adept at administration, analysis, and evaluation. The MPP program provides training for public service professionals already employed in government agencies and nonprofit

organizations in the United States and internationally, among other public service positions. The doctoral program is intended for analysts who will be expected to apply strong research skills to further the state of knowledge about a broad range of policy problems. PhD recipients go on to positions in academia, public and private agencies, and research organizations (Woodrow Wilson School 1999b: 8-29).

Curricula, Teaching Methods, and Scholarly Resources

The MPA curriculum includes five required courses—taken in the first year—that address skills and techniques needed for the systematic study and analysis of public policy problems. The courses cover political and organizational analysis, quantitative methods, and micro- and macroeconomic analysis. The Politics of Public Policy and Psychology for Policy Analysis and Implementation are taught in a two-course sequence that teach students to analyze the political constraints and opportunities involved in formulating and implementing public policies, and to appreciate how concepts from psychology contribute to understanding how policies are formulated and affect human behavior and well-being. Quantitative methods courses emphasize statistics, with placement in courses of varying difficulty made according to each student's mathematical background. Training in economic analysis is designed to enable students to bring a working knowledge of economics to bear on diverse public policy issues, from employment and growth in the domestic economy to the rate of economic progress in developing countries. Courses in micro- and macroeconomic analysis are taught at two levels, with placement according to each student's background in mathematics and economics.

Each MPA student also selects a policy field in which to specialize. The four specializations include: International Relations, encompassing political and security affairs and international economics; Development Studies, concentrating on economic development and political and social modernization in the developing world; Domestic Policy, focusing on policymaking at the federal, state, and local levels in the United States; and the relationships among government agencies; and Economics and Public Policy, which cuts across the other three fields and requires more intensive training in economic analysis. Students can also add a supplementary concentration in a second field by taking courses offered elsewhere in the school and in associated departments of Princeton University.

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Graduate policy workshops give students the opportunity to apply the skills and substantive knowledge they have acquired in the core curriculum to a collaborative, client-oriented project. The policy workshops are taken in the fall semester of the second year. Finally, elective courses complete the curriculum and allow students to acquire more advanced analytic skills and/or pursue further study in their field(s) of concentration.

The teaching methods stress small-group interactions and integrative exercises, such as the Integrated Policy Exercise (IPE) and the Qualifying Examination (QE1), taken at the end of the first semester and the first year, respectively, that require the students to synthesize the analytic skills they have acquired and apply them to real policy problems. Typically, students are asked to identify the essential elements of a complex argument about a real policy problem and then effectively use the analytic tools needed to assess the economic, political, administrative, and quantitative elements of the problem in question.

As at the Kennedy School, visits from a continuous stream of distinguished public affairs practitioners are an integral part of the WWS program. In addition, a number of distinguished research centers provide additional resources for the school's teaching program. Faculty members often use current policy studies to provide case examples for their graduate courses. Ongoing research projects also help structure the required policy workshops, and many students become involved in research projects at Princeton in field settings outside the university.

Well-known centers include the Center of Domestic and Comparative Policy Studies, the Center of International Studies, the Office of Population Research, the Bendheim-Thomas Center for Research on Child Well-Being, the Center for Migration and Development, the Program in Ethics and Public Affairs, the Program in Science, Technology, and Environment Policy, and the Center for Arts and Cultural Policy Studies. The Princeton Survey Research Center is an important teaching asset, aiding faculty, researchers, and students to collect new data sets and enabling students to use survey methodology and gain practical experience in survey implementation. Finally, the Center for Health Care Strategies is an off-campus, privately funded center that provides work-study opportunities to MPA students with interests in health policy issues.

The WWS prides itself on its leadership in exploring computer applications in the classroom. Students are provided with computers and

receive systematic training in word processing, analytic work related to courses, research, and career goals, and in Internet access tools. The school's three computer clusters are linked to the university's mainframes and to the Internet, providing access to a centralized Unix system, high-quality printing, electronic mail and bulletin boards, as well as online library catalogs and information resources at Princeton and around the world. Course syllabi, problem sets, and data are available online. WWS students also have access to equipment and training provided at more than a dozen public sites on campus by the University's Office of Computing and Information Technology (Woodrow Wilson School 1999b: 8-45).

Profile of Students and Faculty

WWS students are fairly diverse in terms of gender, race and ethnicity, and national origin. In the past three years, 54 percent of enrolled students in the MPA program have been women and 46 percent men, while the 1999 MPA entering class was comprised of 60 percent women and 40 percent men. Among U.S. citizens enrolled from 1997 to 1999, 57 percent were Caucasian, 15 percent were African American, 11 percent were Hispanic, 10 percent were Asian American; and 1 percent was Native American. International students usually comprise 20 to 25 percent of an entering class, and come from countries around the world. The WWS student body has varying amounts of work experience, but students also tend not to enroll immediately after completing their undergraduate degrees. For example, 43 percent of students enrolled in the MPA Program have completed four or more years of work experience prior to enrollment. The average age of MPA graduate students is 26 (Woodrow Wilson School 1999a: 9-15).

There are some fifty permanent faculty members at the WWS, who hold joint appointments with the school and with other social science departments at Princeton University. These faculty members pursue research interests across a broad range of domestic and international policy issues, including media and politics in the United States, child and family law, international relations and human rights, economics and public affairs, international law, and so on. In addition to these faculty members, WWS students also work with visiting professors and lecturers from other universities and from the world of public affairs (Woodrow Wilson School 1999b: 52-65).

Career Paths

WWS graduates pursue careers as policymakers, administrators, and managers in government, non-profit organizations, and the private sector. They work in all branches and at all levels of government and public agencies in the United States and abroad. In the nonprofit sector, graduates work in nongovernmental organizations, private foundations, policy and research institutions, political and special-interest group organizations, and community groups, as well as in the media, consulting firms, industry, and financial enterprises in the private sector.

The school invests considerable resources in assisting students and graduates to find professional employment. The Office of Career Services maintains an active network of contacts in the public, nonprofit, and private sectors, and draws heavily on alumni for information about job opportunities. The office also coordinates campus visits and recruitment by prospective employers and provides travel funds for student job interviews and stipends that enable students to undertake unpaid summer internships. In addition, the school offers a variety of career services, communications, and management workshops that allow students to perfect interviewing techniques and workplace skills. These include everything from case-method interviewing skills to public speaking, dealing with the media, and leading and facilitating meetings. The school even continues to assist students after graduation by posting job notices on a restricted-access website available only to WWS alumni, and by distributing an annual directory of all graduates (Woodrow Wilson School 1999b: 42-45).

3. The Goldman School of Public Policy, University of California at Berkeley

Institutional Profile

Established in 1969 at the University of California at Berkeley, the Goldman School of Public Policy (GSPP) sought to foster “the vision, knowledge, and practical skills to empower a new generation of policy makers” (Richard and Rhoda Goldman School 1999: 4; hereafter GSPP). The school is a small unit within the larger university, with a total enrollment of one hundred students in the “core” Master’s in Public Policy (MPP) program and a small additional enrollment of PhD students.

Since the University of California at Berkeley is a state institution, student fees and tuition vary significantly between California residents and non-residents. For the 1999–2000 academic year, a California resident will pay \$4,268 in academic costs, plus an estimated \$15,108 in living expenses, for a total of \$19,376. Non-residents pay an extra \$9,804 for out-of-state tuition, bringing their total expenses for an academic year up to \$29,370, including \$14,262 in academic costs and the same \$15,108 in estimated living expenses. Students can establish California residency after one year by following relatively simple guidelines, allowing them to save approximately \$10,000 in out-of-state fees during the second year. Financial assistance, including need-based fellowships, departmental funding, and a variety of externally funded scholarship opportunities, is available on a competitive basis. Second-year students are eligible for teaching and research assistantships, and may also earn salaries from summer internships and policy analyses conducted as part of their advanced coursework (GSPP 1999: 22–23).

Academic Objectives

The GSPP prides itself on its “preeminent reputation” in the teaching of policy analysis methods, including microeconomic, statistical, political, management, legal, and computer techniques as they are applied to solving “real-world” problems. The school is “quintessentially multidisciplinary” in credentials and orientation. Faculty members represent a range of disciplines and fields from economics and political science to architecture and engineering. From a pedagogical point of view, great emphasis is placed on team projects, on sharpening students’ oral and written presentation skills, and on thinking “outside the box.” As is true of the other leading policy schools, both first- and second-year students are required to master disciplinary approaches and methodological techniques, but are also provided with opportunities to work on policy problems for actual clients (GSPP 1999: 3).

Degree Programs

The heart of GSPP is a two-year Master’s in Public Policy (MPP) program that emphasizes the practical and applied dimensions of policymaking. The MPP may also be combined with advanced degrees from other Berkeley schools, leading to joint degrees in Public Policy and Public

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Health (MPP/MPH), Public Policy and Law (MPP/JD), Public Policy and Engineering (MPP/MA), and Public Policy and International and Area Studies (MPP/MA). GSPP also offers a doctoral degree program for students who intend to pursue careers in policy research with universities or research institutions. The PhD program admits only two or three applicants each year, including those admitted from among the school's MPP students (GSPP 1999: 8-13).

Curricula, Teaching Methods, and Scholarly Resources

The MPP degree is earned in a two-year, full-time program consisting of a core curriculum, a policy internship in the summer after completion of the first year, a second-year policy analysis project, and elective courses. At the general level, the curriculum enables students to develop skills that are important at all stages of the policy process, from the definition and assessment of policy issues and alternatives to developing policy options and successful implementation strategies. More specifically, the curriculum trains students in cognitive skills, substantive knowledge, analytical techniques and specific methodologies that are relevant to the complete policy process. For example, courses stress written and verbal skills, understanding of political institutions, knowledge of the organizational and bureaucratic structures involved in program development and implementation, and familiarity with and skill in applying cost-benefit analysis and other quantitative analysis and modeling techniques, as well as the use of statistical software. Students are also expected to gain an understanding of social science methodologies for dealing with problems of data collection, analysis, and program evaluation. In addition, they are taught to apply legal analysis to public policy and to recognize the role of courts and administrative law in program development and implementation.

In the first year, students take courses in the economic and political aspects of public policy analysis, law and public policy, and decision analysis, modeling, and quantitative methods, in addition to several elective courses. After the summer policy internship, during which students work (often with pay) as apprentices to policy practitioners in federal, state, or local governments, nonprofit agencies, or private corporations, second-year students are required to complete two courses, Advanced Policy Analysis (APA) and Political and Organizational Aspects of Public Policy analysis, plus a number of electives. The APA project, usually done for a

specific client in a public or private policy organization, is an intensive study of a significant policy issue. Working with a faculty supervisor and a peer group, the student completes an APA project that also serves as his or her required thesis.

The bulk of the second-year program is made up of electives chosen from the full array of courses offered by Berkeley's academic departments and professional schools and colleges, as well as courses taught by GSPP faculty. With nearly three hundred graduate degree programs, Berkeley offers a vast range of advanced level courses drawn from departments and schools throughout the university. Courses with particular relevance for public policy students include those offered by the Energy and Resources Group, the Departments of Economics, Political Science, and City and Regional Planning, and the Schools of Education, Public Health, Social Welfare, and Business Administration. In addition, various colleges and schools offer courses in public and nonprofit management. The GSPP also offers elective courses in specific policy fields.

The MPP joint degree programs typically combine required courses in GSPP with electives, coursework, and policy analysis projects in the issue area represented by the joint degree, such as health policy, international and area studies, and law. For its part, the GSPP doctoral program emphasizes the generation of knowledge, theories, methodologies, and applications for the advancement of public policy analysis and management. Doctoral students pursue highly individualized programs of study and typically work closely with school faculty members who share the student's subject matter interest. A thorough preparation in policy analysis skills is a prerequisite for enrollment in the doctoral program.

Teaching methods utilize a mix of traditional lectures and discussions. Case studies and theoretical, empirical, and interpretative works from various disciplines are used in various courses, while case studies and statistical data sets are used in quantitative methods courses involving techniques such as computer modeling and simulation, linear programming and optimization, decision theory, and statistical and econometric analysis of policy-relevant data. Student-initiated field research, involving interviewing and primary data collection, along with peer review and close faculty supervision are the standard pedagogical approaches for applied policy analysis projects and independent studies.

Public Policy Training Programs in the United States

GSPP students can take advantage of Berkeley's status as one of the top-rated research universities in the United States, with an exceptionally large number and high percentage of the country's top-rated doctoral programs. Research units of particular interest to public policy studies include the Institute of International Studies, the Survey Research Center, the Center for Studies in Higher Education, the Center for Research in Management, and the Institute of Urban and Regional Development, among many others (GSPP 1999: 8-13).

Profile of Students and Faculty

The typical GSPP entering class is comprised of fifty students, 60 percent of them women and 40 percent men, with 26 percent from U.S. minorities. Fifty-two percent of the students are California residents; 34 percent are from out of state; and the remaining 14 percent are international students. The average age is 26, and the average years of work experience is 3.5.

Although admission to the GSPP does not require any specific undergraduate major, useful preparation for the core curriculum would include some familiarity with microeconomics, the American political process, statistics, and computers. Courses that develop written and verbal communication and some breadth in humanities and the social sciences are also encouraged. Admissions criteria include good undergraduate grades in economics, statistics, calculus, government, and history, in addition to strong letters of recommendation and high scores on the Graduate Record Examination. In terms of actual testing, good quantitative scores are given the highest priority, analytic skills are second, and verbal scores are the most variable among the students who enroll (GSPP 1999: 20-21).

Faculty members in the School of Public Policy have a wide variety of scholarly interests, ranging from domestic to international policy areas and spanning numerous policy fields. In keeping with the school's multidisciplinary approach and orientation, faculty members are trained in a wide variety of disciplines and professional fields, ranging from economics and political science to statistics, law, history, social psychology, architecture, and engineering, among others. GSPP faculty members are active in national and international professional associations, often teach and study outside the United States, and typically serve as

consultants to federal and state government agencies, private foundations, and diverse policy organizations in the United States and abroad. Most faculty members hold full-time appointments at the school (GSPP 1999: 14-15).

Career Paths

The school aims to train generalists, in the sense of providing basic policy skills needed for a variety of policy positions and across a wide variety of policy issues. Armed with their analytical skills, individual graduates pursue first jobs as program or budget analysts, staff in multilateral organizations, researchers and consultants in private firms, professional staff for high-level politicians and legislative committees or in a variety of public and nonprofit sector agencies, and a growing number of private corporations. For example, 31 percent of GSPP graduates from the class of 1998 found full-time employment in the private sector; 22 percent found positions in U.S. local government; 18 percent in nonprofit organizations; 9 percent each in U.S. state and federal government; 7 percent in international governmental organizations, and 4 percent went on to continuing education.

Specific positions include staff analyst in a regulatory agency or planning office, special assistant to a senior executive, legislative aide, project officer or program manager in an operating agency, or staff member in a nonprofit management consulting or policy research firm. For the private sector, just as individuals with MBA degrees are seen as appropriate for a firm's marketing, sales, or accounting activities, those with MPP degrees are recruited to help in firms' dealings with government and with private interest groups. In the private sector, graduates typically find employment within private consulting or management firms, as social policy analysts, governmental affairs and planning specialists, or in analytical roles within regulated industries such as energy and utilities companies. As at the other top U.S. public policy schools, GSPP offers an array of career services, from career development workshops to extensive information on potential employers, internship opportunities, job search guides, and job listings publications. Contact with GSPP alumni and presentations by public policy professionals also provide students with information about career possibilities in public policy fields (GSPP 1999: 25).

4. The Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, Syracuse University, New York

Institutional Profile

Founded in 1924, the Maxwell School at Syracuse University in Syracuse, New York, was ranked first with Harvard University in the 2001 *U.S. News and World Report* survey of U.S. graduate programs in public affairs. In addition to the public administration, international relations, and executive education professional degree programs, the Maxwell School offers MA and PhD degrees in a range of social science fields. More than six hundred graduate students are enrolled in master's or doctoral degree programs at the Maxwell School in any given semester. Public administration is the school's largest field, with about 185 students in residence. Most of the disciplines are considerably smaller, with about fifty students in various stages of study in each one. Entering classes are typically comprised of about a dozen students. Nearly five thousand students are enrolled in advanced degree programs at Syracuse University overall (Maxwell School 1999: 2-7).

For the 1999-2000 academic year, a student pursuing a Maxwell graduate degree would expect to pay \$24,767 in estimated expenses, including \$14,382 in tuition and fees and \$10,385 for housing and meals. Books and supplies, travel, summer enrollment and living expenses, plus other personal expenses, constitute additional costs. For Master's in Public Administration students (MPA), whose program is conducted year-round, total degree costs for 1999-2000 are estimated to be \$36,000. A number of merit-based and other targeted fellowships, including large programs for underrepresented groups and special awards for international students, are available to Maxwell students (Maxwell School 1999: 42).

Academic Objectives

The Maxwell School contends that it is "virtually the only school to provide professional education in public policy and administration in the academic context of the social sciences." More specifically, the goal of the "signature" Master's in Public Administration Program is to educate the next generation of leaders for all levels of government in the United States and abroad and for related nonprofit or private organizations. The program's three-pronged interdisciplinary curriculum ensures that all graduates understand the political, economic, and social context of public

administration; achieve substantial competency in organization design and analysis and in management and administrative techniques; and gain experience in applying qualitative and quantitative analysis to public policy issues (Maxwell School 1999: 8).

Degree Programs

The Maxwell School offers professional, academic, and joint degree programs. The professional degree programs include master's and doctoral degrees in Public Administration (MPA and PhD, respectively), master's and doctoral degrees in International Relations (MA and PhD), and three different Master's in Executive Education (Economics, International Relations, and Public Administration). The school also offers a Certificate in Public Administration for mid-career professionals and a two-year dual degree program leading to both the MPA and the MA in International Relations. The academic degree programs include master's and doctoral degrees in anthropology, geography, political science, economics, history, sociology, and social science (PhD only). The joint degree programs draw on the resources of Syracuse University's eleven other colleges, in addition to those at the State University of New York College of Environmental Science and Forestry (Maxwell School 1999: 2-3).

Curricula, Teaching Methods, and Scholarly Resources

The MPA core curriculum is comprised of a public affairs colloquium, courses in statistics and quantitative methods, managerial economics for public administrators, public administration and democracy, public budgeting, public organizations and management, a professional group project, and a policy/politics exercise. The remaining credit requirements are satisfied by work in topical areas that reflect students' individual interests. Typical areas include state and local government financial management, international development and administration, public and nonprofit management, technology and information management, environmental policy and administration, social policy (health, aging, and social welfare), or a "blended" program of study designed by the student. The majority of full-time students complete the MPA in a twelve-month calendar year, including summer study.

Students with international interests typically choose to pursue the MA in International Relations, a sixteen-month program (when pursued full time) that requires courses in international relations and microeconomic

theory and quantitative methods. The program also allows students to develop expertise in topical concentrations such as global markets or foreign policy, in addition to geographic specialization in particular world areas such as Europe, Asia, Africa, or Latin America. Alternatively, students may pursue a two-year dual degree program leading to both the MPA and the MA in International Relations. This is an integrated course of study designed to prepare graduates for careers valuing analytic and public management skills combined with global expertise, whether in government, international organizations, or consulting firms.

The Master of Arts in Public Administration (MA), initiated in 1964 and managed by the Maxwell School's Executive Education Program, was the first professional public administration graduate degree in the United States designed for mid-career executives. The degree requires successful completion of at least five public administration courses and four electives, plus a master's project. Courses include work on organizational, fiscal, and policy management, as well as courses on the context of public administration and information management. Through the electives, students match coursework with professional needs to develop extensive knowledge in a policy or process area. This may be done through programs of study in public administration, in fields such as environmental policy and administration, international and development administration, public and nonprofit management, social policy, state and local government financial analysis and management, and technology and information management. Under a second option, executive education students may combine study in public administration with concentrated coursework in other schools of the university, including the College of Law or the College of Environmental Science and Forestry, the Schools of Education, Communication, or Information Sciences, and the Maxwell Departments of Economics and International Relations. Most full-time students complete the MA degree in twelve months, including summer sessions. Part-time students design their own schedule for completion.

The doctoral program in public administration includes required coursework in intellectual history and theory of public administration, public organization theory and research, research design and methods, and two fields of specialization. Fields of specialization typically include public finance and budgeting; organization theory and public management; environment, technology, and information policy; comparative administration;

and social policy. As in the master's programs, students may also develop their own fields to match their individual interests.

The Maxwell School, like Syracuse University as a whole, regards itself as a "student-centered" research institution. Faculty publications provide up-to-date material for classroom teaching, while grants from private foundations and public sources support Maxwell faculty members and the school's research centers. Graduate students are expected to become involved in this scholarship, first as apprentices and ultimately as partners. In addition, many professors have practical experience in private industry or the public sector. They tend to draw on this experience to combine theory with practice in the classroom.

The Maxwell School has two institutes, the Alan K. Campbell Public Affairs Institute and the Global Affairs Institute, which attract visiting scholars, practitioners, and the broader community as focal points for discussion on governance and citizenship in the United States and on a wide range of global issues, respectively. Students can also become affiliated with one of several internationally known research and graduate training centers at the Maxwell School. These include the Center for Environmental Policy and Administration, the Center for Policy Research (which includes the aging students and metropolitan studies program), the Center for Technology and Information Policy, and the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts. All of the centers support multidisciplinary scholarship and team projects that engage both faculty members and students. Graduate students who become affiliated with one of the centers benefit from practical training in research techniques in a specific subject or policy area and are exposed to empirical, often computer-based, analysis. Graduate student work in these centers often leads to dissertation topics and financial support (Maxwell School 1999: 2-32).

Profile of Students and Faculty

More than six hundred graduate students work on master's or doctoral degrees in any given semester at the Maxwell School. Typically, nearly half are women, more than one-quarter are from countries other than the United States, and 15 percent of those from the United States are African American or Hispanic. For the public administration degree, students in a typical entering class of about one hundred are equally divided by gender, and come from urban and rural backgrounds in the United States and

from around the world. No particular undergraduate major or prior work experience is required, although internships are advised for MPA students who lack previous public or nonprofit service or employment.

There are 130 faculty members, many of them recognized for their research and publications as well as their excellence in teaching. Many hold research and teaching grants from outside organizations, or have received university teaching awards. In addition, many professors have practical experience in the private and public sectors. In general, both research and teaching are highly valued at the Maxwell School. This orientation is reflected in the faculty's mix of research and teaching activities (Maxwell School 1999: 4-5; 33-37).

Career Paths

Maxwell MPA alumni are in demand by all levels of government, as well as by public interest, nonprofit, and international organizations in the United States and abroad. More than six hundred graduates work in Washington, D.C., filling high-profile positions on Capitol Hill and in every federal department and agency. At the city and state level, Maxwell MPAs hold positions as city managers and budget officers. MPA alumni from outside the United States typically return to their home countries for high-ranking jobs with governments and agencies, while alumni from the Executive Education and International Relations programs also work in a wide range of government and private sector positions. Maxwell PhD recipients are employed in colleges, universities, and other research-oriented institutions across the United States and abroad.

The university's Center for Career Services helps students identify career opportunities and prepare for interviews. Services include personalized advising; résumé and cover letter assistance; on- and off-campus interviewing with employers; workshops and online advice on all aspects of the job search; a library of computerized job listings and information on employers; career and job search strategies; a credentials file for letters of recommendation and other documents; videotaped mock interviews; professional advising; weekly newsletters; and yearly career fairs. As in the other cases, the role of faculty members who put students in touch with their professional contacts and the alumni network spanning different fields is invaluable to graduate students exploring career choices (Maxwell School 1999: 14-15).

5. H. John Heinz III School of Public Policy and Management, Carnegie Mellon University

Institutional Profile

The Heinz School was founded in 1968 at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In keeping with Carnegie Mellon's origins as the Carnegie Institute of Technology, the Heinz School has developed a particularly strong specialization in technology and information systems. The 2001 *U.S. News & World Report* survey ranked the Heinz School in first place in that specialization. The school sees itself as equally directed toward problems of public policy and management, enjoying rankings among the top ten schools in both public policy and public administration. The Heinz School is a small unit within the larger university (H. John Heinz School 1999: 1; hereafter, Heinz School).

For the 2000-2001 academic year, a student at the Heinz School would pay a total estimated cost of attendance of \$32,850 for nine months, including \$23,500 in tuition and student fees. Sandy Day, Assistant Director of the Heinz School, indicated that approximately 90 percent of the 140-160 full-time public policy students receive some form of scholarship support, including full- and partial-tuition fellowships and scholarships. These are awarded based on various criteria, such as program of study, area of interest or commitment, academic merit, and volunteerism or public service.

Academic Objectives

The Heinz School graduate degree programs emphasize a combination of theory and innovative, practical solutions to public policy issues. The courses focus on sophisticated analytic and technical skills along with substantive knowledge areas, drawing on the faculty's "innovative and leading edge" research backgrounds and teaching methods. In keeping with the school's value of "market-responsiveness," it has a flexible curriculum that allows individual students to tailor a course of study to their own particular interests and needs (Heinz School 1999: 1).

Degree Programs

The Heinz School offers six different master's program options. These include the Master of Science in Public Policy and Management

(MSPPM), the Master of Arts in Management (MAM), the Master of Science in Health Care Policy and Management (MSHCPM), the Master of Science Collaborative Program in Private and Public Management and Policy with Carnegie Mellon's Graduate School of Industrial Administration, a MS/JD Degree Program with the University of Pittsburgh School of Law, and a Special Student status for part-time master's programs. In addition, the school offers a doctoral degree in Public Policy and Management that stresses an interdisciplinary approach to public policy issues and quantitative methodologies in social science research (Heinz School 1999: 1-12).

Curricula, Teaching Methods, and Scholarly Resources

The Master of Science core curriculum is designed to provide students with a broad base of analytic and managerial skills needed to structure and implement policy, as well as manage organizations. All master's students are required to take courses in policy analysis, management, political science, technology and management, and finance. The policy analysis courses include applied economic analysis, empirical methods for public policy analysis, and a policy issues seminar. The management courses include organizational design and implementation, management science, managing in a multicultural society, and professional writing and speaking. The political science course focuses on policy and politics, technology and management includes management information systems, and the finance course focuses on financial analysis. In addition, students are required to complete a systems synthesis or applied project in their second year. Master's degrees are typically completed in two years with a required internship in the intervening summer.

Beyond the skills courses, students are required to complete courses in a particular concentration area, such as policy analysis, economic development and urban planning, management, and financial management. In addition, students may add a specialization in information systems to one of the concentration areas, combining substantive policy coursework with sophisticated technology tools. Information systems courses include Java programming, object-oriented software analysis and design, database management, telecommunications management, geographic information systems, and electronic commerce. Self-defined concentrations include a focus on environmental and health policy, crime, violence and drug poli-

cy, education, poverty and welfare policy, and in the information technology field, technology and telecommunications policy.

As at the other leading schools, project-oriented courses such as the “systems synthesis” and internships are an integral part of the program. In the synthesis exercise, ten to twelve students and a faculty advisor address a public interest problem of local or national importance over the course of a year. Advisory boards of professionals in the field guide the exercise. Systems synthesis projects have included work on local social service programs and centers such as the Allegheny Country Women, Infants, and Children Program Evaluation, and the Prototype Pennsylvania Law Enforcement Geographic Information System. Similarly, internships in professional organizations allow students to apply newly developed skills to the issues confronted by real organizations. Through the internships, students develop professional contacts in their field. Internships have been sponsored at a variety of local and national public and private organizations, including some based outside the United States.

Heinz School students are encouraged to take advantage of faculty-directed research and outreach centers at the school. As at the other top-ranked institutions, the centers focus on crucial public policy issues and serve as magnets for organizations and professionals addressing those issues. The Heinz School centers include the National Consortium on Violence Research, funded under a National Science Foundation grant to study the dynamics that affect urban violence in the United States. The school also houses a Center for Economic Development, established in 1987 as an applied research center to bring academic resources to bear on key issues in regional and national economic development; the National Census Research Data Center, funded by the U.S. Department of Commerce, with a focus on public interest issues such as the relationship among environmental regulation, economic activity, and levels of pollution; and the Center for Arts Management and Technology, whose mission is to investigate emerging technologies and to stimulate thinking about their application in arts organizations (Heinz School 1999: 2-7).

Profile of Students and Faculty

The Heinz School is explicitly committed to diversity in its student body. Half the graduating students are women; more than 20 percent are U.S. minorities; and approximately one-third are international students.

Public Policy Training Programs in the United States

The school also makes a special effort to serve the needs of nontraditional students. For example, it provides financial assistance to help defray day-care expenses and offers refresher courses in quantitative skills for students who may have been away from school for several years or who may have limited previous exposure to these subjects. The objective is to make a professional public interest career accessible to the broadest possible set of people.

Student admissions policies do not include a specific profile. Rather, students must have demonstrated general academic ability, strong leadership skills, and evidence of a commitment to social welfare. For their part, Heinz School faculty members are selected for their strong academic reputations and commitment to teaching. Faculty members are expected to be accessible to students and to work closely with them as advisors in structuring educational programs (Heinz School 1999: 7-8).

Career Paths

Students pursue careers as policy analysts who determine the content, cost, and feasibility of policies and programs at federal, state, and local governments, nonprofit organizations, and at think tanks, consulting firms, and private sector organizations.

Others pursue management-oriented careers at all levels of government and at nonprofit and private sector organizations. Functions include positions as managers, planners, consultants, trainers, and liaisons for government and industry. Others find work as financial analysts in those various sectors, in positions as budget and financial analysts, finance directors, public finance and bond specialists, and bankers. In the management of information systems area, employers seek graduates to fill positions as analysts, managers, and consultants.

Graduates also design information systems to address organizational needs, such as managing the information system functions of hospitals, city governments, and federal agencies, or work for consulting firms developing solutions for information systems issues affecting public sector clients. Finally, Heinz degree holders work as economic developers and urban planners for economic and community development organizations, government agencies, banks, and research organizations. In these positions, they arrange financing for urban revitalization efforts and coordinate projects for agencies dealing with homelessness, child welfare, and other urban issues.

Among the Heinz School's 1999 graduates, 28 percent went on to employment in the private sector, 25 percent to positions in the public and not-for-profit sector, 4 percent to further study, and 43 percent to employers that bridge two or more of these sectors. As would be expected, many pursued technology and information systems-related positions. As at the other institutions, a strong Career Services groups sponsors numerous activities to strengthen students' job-seeking skills and prospects. These include on-campus recruiting activities, workshops on résumé writing, interview techniques, negotiating, conducting a job search, and panel discussions and networking events with alumni and other public policy and management professionals (Heinz School 1999: 5).

III. LINKAGES WITH LATIN AMERICA

Another central aspect of the Wilson Center project is to determine how the training models in public policy/public administration found in U.S. graduate schools are *applied to*—or the extent to which they are *found in*—Latin America. To make that determination, it will ultimately be necessary to see what the Latin American case studies in the project conclude. However, it is possible to identify three principal modes of “technology transfer” whereby educational models “travel” between North and South. The transfers occur (1) via *individual Latin American students* or mid-career professionals who pursue graduate-level studies in public policy and/or public administration in the United States; (2) via *bilateral institutional linkages* between U.S. and Latin American universities and research centers that are designed to promote scholarly exchanges and collaborative activities, including the establishment of public policy training programs in the region; and (3) via *regional networks* intended to foster multilateral collaboration in research and teaching-related activities throughout the Americas.

Individual Study

Only relatively sparse data are available at this point. However, some “framing” data can help to establish the dimensions of the “exchange” universe under consideration. According to the Institute for International Education's (IIE) *Open Door* survey for 1997-98, foreign students make up only 3.4 percent of the total U.S. higher education enrollment—despite a 1,200 percent increase in their numbers since 1954 (Davis 1998: ix). That

translates into some 481,000 students, 58 percent of whom come from the Asian region, led by Japan, China, the Republic of Korea, India, and Taiwan. Students from Latin America are the third largest regional group, after Asia and Europe, but their proportion amounts to only 10.6 percent, or some 51,000 students. Among the Latin American countries, Mexico sends the largest number of students (9,559 in 1997-98), followed by Brazil (6,982), Venezuela (4,731), and Colombia (4,345). Enrollments in U.S. universities from these countries are on an upward trend, with increases in the number of Brazilian and Colombian students particularly noticeable (*ibid.*: 16-17). Nonetheless, only about one-third (32.9 percent) of the students from Latin America who study in the United States are graduate students, and among the Latin American countries, only Argentina and Chile send more than 50 percent of their U.S.-bound students to undertake graduate studies.

Business and management are the most popular fields of study for all foreign students in the United States. Some one hundred thousand foreign students concentrate in business fields—making up over 20 percent of the entire foreign student population. Engineering, the second most popular field, enrolls some 71,000 foreign students, or just under 15 percent. The social sciences attract 8.1 percent of the total foreign student enrollment at both the undergraduate and graduate level, with public affairs accounting for 0.8 percent, or just under 4,000 students from *all* sending countries.

Also according to IIE data for 1997-98, 198 Latin American students were enrolled in public affairs/public administration programs in the United States.⁵ Of the set as a whole, 54 percent of the students were female, 46 percent were male. Nearly a quarter of the students came from Mexico, while countries in the island Caribbean sent some 15 percent of the group as a whole. One hundred twenty-eight or 65 percent of the Latin American public affairs/public administration students were in graduate-level programs, with 71 percent of those students at the master's level and 29 percent at the doctoral level. The most frequently attended university at all levels (including non-degree programs) was the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which hosted nearly 20 percent of all Latin American enrollments in the public affairs/public administration field. Universities in the Washington, D.C., area, including Georgetown, George Washington, American, George Mason, and Gallaudet, accounted for 14 percent of all enrollments. Among other single universities, New

York University, the University of Texas at Austin, the University of Pittsburgh Main Campus, Carnegie Mellon University, Indiana University at Bloomington, and Florida International University were also popular destinations.

The destinations of Latin American Fulbright fellowship holders are another indicator of which U.S. institutions receive public policy/public administration students from Latin America. According to IIE, the most popular schools in these fields for Latin American Fulbrighters over the past five years have been precisely those in the top-ranked institutions described here, namely, the Kennedy School at Harvard, the Maxwell School at Syracuse University, and the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton University. Other schools noted by IIE as popular destinations include: the School of International and Public Affairs at Columbia University, the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University, Georgetown, Stanford, Northeastern, the LBJ School at the University of Texas at Austin, the Heinz School at Carnegie Mellon University, the Wagner School at New York University, Cornell, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, the Fletcher School at Tufts University, the University of Minnesota, the University of Colorado at Denver, the University of California at Berkeley, and Indiana University.⁶

Data from the U.S.-government funded Hubert H. Humphrey Fellowship Program, designed for mid-career professionals in public policy-related fields, also show a wide range of host universities in the United States.⁷ Since 1993, 116 Humphrey Fellows from Latin America have pursued studies in some forty U.S. institutions, including nearly all those with top-ranked public policy schools. In general, this reflects the overall excellence of these institutions, which are among the most prestigious and best-endowed U.S. universities. As a follow-up research question, however, it would be interesting to know which of these Humphrey Fellows actually enrolled and/or took courses in public administration programs or schools in their host universities.

Finally, a list of 62 Latin American students placed by LASPAU⁸ since the 1970s in public administration graduate programs in the United States shows similar variation, with students attending 48 different universities. Again, most of the prestigious schools examined in this paper were among the LASPAU placements, in addition to a number of other public and private institutions. Interestingly, although 47 percent of the students placed

by LASPAU were from Mexico, there was no particular concentration of Mexican students in any one U.S. institution. In fact, only the University of Texas at Austin received more than two of the LASPAU-placed Latin American students in this particular field.⁹

This exercise demonstrates that at least some portion of Latin American students enroll in U.S. universities that enjoy high rankings in the public policy/public administration field. The fact that they also study in many other institutions indicates the depth of the field in the United States. To follow up on the impacts of this “mode of transmission,” a systematic survey could be conducted of some representative sample of Latin Americans with public policy and/or public administration degrees from U.S. institutions. The survey should elicit information about which aspects of the U.S. training have been most useful for graduates who subsequently secure employment in the public, private, and nonprofit sectors in their home countries. It would also be important to know what proportion of the U.S.-trained graduates go on to teach in Latin American institutions, and to what degree they incorporate U.S. curricular models and methodological approaches in their own graduate-level courses and research.

Bilateral Institutional Linkages

To obtain an initial idea of the nature of the existing bilateral linkages, a questionnaire with thirteen open-ended questions developed by the author was sent to thirteen U.S. universities (see Appendices I and II). The universities were identified by the National Association of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA), which is currently involved in a three-year project to foster regional cooperation among higher education institutions that have existing bilateral North American/Latin American relationships in the public policy/public administration fields. Eight questionnaires, amounting to 61.5 percent of those sent, were returned and with relatively detailed responses.

The picture that emerges from the responses is of a varied set of relationships with mutual benefits for both the U.S. and Latin American institutions. To differing degrees, the goals of the bilateral linkage programs are to develop more effective in-country training programs for public service professionals in the public, nonprofit, and private sectors; to share faculty and student learning and research experiences; to develop joint-research projects; to increase the student flows between the universities; and—as a

collateral effect—to improve the understanding and relations between the partner countries. In most cases, “exporting” an entire U.S. curricular model is not an explicit objective; rather, the U.S. institutions respond to requests for particular types of expertise.

The bilateral collaboration is generally a result of individual faculty initiatives at the U.S. institutions. Latin American graduates of U.S. programs may also solicit the linkage once they have identified a clear need at their home institutions for courses typically found in U.S. public policy curricula. These include analytical skills such as microeconomic reasoning, empirical analysis, econometrics, financial management in public sector organizations, and strategic management, but also courses on mobilizing for political action and leadership and the responsibilities of public action. Alternatively, a university or institute in the region wishing to strengthen some aspect of their program may approach a U.S. institution for short-term technical assistance.

This is the case of several Kennedy School efforts to establish executive training programs, revise masters programs, and develop case materials for public policy instruction in Latin American institutions. According to Kennedy School staff, these efforts have tended to end after two or three years because local institutions have been unable to marshal the resources and commitment necessary to institutionalize the recommended changes. Resources for the collaboration have come from in-country sources, such as the host government or university, U.S. sources such as USAID or private foundations, and from multilateral financial institutions such as the Inter-American Development Bank. In contrast to these short-term efforts, the Kennedy School has also conducted a multiyear project with the Catholic University of Bolivia to build that institution’s public policy program.

In longer-term projects, the focus is less on technical assistance and more on exchanges and joint programs that can sustain interest and generate follow-up activities. The collaboration between the Graduate Program in Public Policy and Administration at Columbia University—offered through the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA)—is a case in point. Beginning in 1993, the relationship evolved through Colombian graduates who wanted to make SIPA’s type of instruction available in their home country. In response, Columbia faculty members helped to develop a graduate-level “specialization” in public administra-

tion at the Universidad Externado de Colombia in Bogotá. About three hundred Externado students have gone through the “specialization” course, while some ten Colombians attend SIPA each year. Faculty from the two institutions have conducted joint research and consulting, have written scholarly papers together, and an Externado faculty member may soon enroll in the Columbia PhD program.

The Columbia faculty courses at the Externado involve simultaneous translators and use a combination of lectures, readings, case studies, group projects, discussion sessions, outside speakers, papers, and class presentations that are very similar to the pedagogical approach at SIPA. There is a heavy emphasis on analytical tools provided from economics, management, finance and statistics for the Colombian students. The Columbia faculty members also offer expertise in management innovation in government, particularly fostering competition, and in building public/private partnerships. The Columbia faculty’s experience with a developed federal system, strong local governments, and public safety and conflict resolution systems in the United States are of special interest to the Colombians. In addition, mutual interests have led to joint research on urban growth, ethics, innovation in government, and economic development in developing areas.

The University of Pittsburgh and the University of Texas at Austin also maintain active, long-term bilateral partnerships with Latin American institutions in the public policy field. While the partnerships differ in emphasis, both benefit from the U.S. institutions’ long history of interest in the region, as evidenced by active Latin American studies centers that play a key organizing and facilitating role, large numbers of faculty members with Latin American research interests, substantial enrollments of Latin American students in various departments and programs, and a history of exchange agreements and cooperation with a broad spectrum of institutions in the region.

For example, Pittsburgh has a comprehensive Latin American Social and Public Policy Program run under the auspices of the Center for Latin American Studies (CLAS)—a designated National Resource Center on Latin America since 1979. The overall objective of the program is to enhance and increase interchanges between University of Pittsburgh faculty, students, and staff as well as local businesspersons, public officials, and members of the general public and their counterparts in Latin America

and the Caribbean. The university considers that a Latin American studies program must have a substantial, ongoing, and direct presence in the region. Conversely, it is equally vital to have scholars and students from Latin America and the Caribbean visit and study at the program's home university.

The program includes fellowships for students from Latin American partner (and non-partner) institutions to undertake public policy studies at the University of Pittsburgh, joint conferences, and reciprocal faculty and student visits. Approximately 25 faculty members participate in the program, and about ten students are currently pursuing a Graduate Certificate in Latin American Social and Public Policy, which is obtained in conjunction with the student's major degree. The CLAS partner institutions for two joint conferences in 2000—which will focus on social and public policy issues for the region and for Brazil, respectively—are the Universidad de San Andres and the Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, in Argentina, and the Universidade Federal Fluminense in Brazil.

Overall, CLAS has initiated 73 exchange and cooperation agreements with institutions in 17 Latin American countries, dating from the 1960s. The center reports that obtaining external funding for the Latin American Social and Public Policy Program has been less difficult than for other programs, since the subject area is of interest to a broad range of institutions and foundations. Funding for the program comes primarily from the Howard Heinz Endowment, the Alcoa Foundation, and the Mine Safety Appliances Company Charitable Foundation, along with support from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation for the joint conferences.

The University of Texas at Austin (UT)—especially the LBJ School and the Government Department—has initiated multiple partnerships with Latin American institutions in the public policy and public administration field. The partnerships have two major objectives: to improve the quality of teaching and to enhance faculty research on Latin America. In UT's view, the partnerships improve classroom instruction by having Latin American faculty and students on the UT campus, which may also lead to internship and fieldwork opportunities for UT students. Faculty research in the region improves since the Latin American partners help facilitate contacts and also collaborate with UT staff in joint research projects.

Often initiated by individual UT faculty members but in some instances through Latin American academics or through LBJ School Latin

American PhD students returning to their home institutions, UT's various partnerships with Latin American institutions have lasted from five to ten years. Activities have included student exchanges, student fieldwork, and faculty visits ranging from short-term to semester-long exchanges. During a particularly intense period, UT was sending ten students a year to Brazil, although these were placed in many different agencies and NGOs. Within the LBJ School, six to eight faculty members have a serious interest in Latin America, although they are not necessarily linked to particular institutions in the region. About five faculty members at CIDE in Mexico and five at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV) in Brazil have some contact with UT.

Similar to other leading public policy schools in the United States, the LBJ School offers a professional, multidisciplinary master's degree and an academic PhD program. The professional degree incorporates microeconomics, public finance and management, quantitative analysis, and political economy and requires a professional internship experience. Elective courses are available in a wide range of areas. While the LBJ School has not explicitly tried to transfer its instructional model, the Getúlio Vargas Foundation in Brazil has been interested in adapting some of these courses, especially in the management area, to its program. Conversely, visiting FGV faculty expressed considerable interest in the UT curriculum.

Joint research stimulated under the exchanges has focused on community participation in local budgeting in the United States and in Brazil. UT faculty members are now planning to launch a new study comparing decentralization and policymaking in Brazil, Mexico, and the United States. In part because this institutional collaboration has stimulated so much interest in the region, the LBJ School is now establishing a public policy center focused on Latin America, with funds from the Hewlett Foundation.

Finally, UT's focus on Latin American public policy extends beyond the LBJ School to various social science departments. In conjunction with the Institute for Latin American Studies, both the LBJ School and various departments have launched complementary programs that strengthen the university's overall focus on Latin American public policy and increase the frequency and intensity of UT's linkages with institutions in the region. The university offers a joint degree program in public affairs and Latin American studies, and has developed seminars and courses that integrate

work on Brazilian public policy into three social science departments—government, economics, and sociology—while also strengthening the Brazilian component in the LBJ program. (The program has received substantial funding from the Ford Foundation.) This allows doctoral students in government, for example, to combine work on public policy and comparative politics with the study of Brazil in a way that is very different from the narrower policy thrust of the LBJ School. To carry out these activities, the university funds several visiting professors from Brazil and provides partial support for a chair to be held by a visiting Brazilian policy specialist. The Brazil Center within the Institute for Latin American Studies at UT has been particularly active in promoting initiatives related to Brazil in various academic departments and professional schools, including business administration and communications, in addition to the LBJ School.

Regional Networking Initiatives

Several recent efforts have been made to foster inter-American collaboration in support of public administration, public affairs, and public policy education and training. One such initiative is the Inter-American Network for Public Administration Education (IN-PAE), which is sponsored by leading schools of public affairs and administration in the United States and coordinated by the National Association of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA). Under a three-year project, to run from October 1999 to September 2001, the IN-PAE initiative links together about a dozen U.S. institutions that have relations with almost forty institutions throughout Latin America. Joint projects include developing a textbook, providing technical assistance and curriculum collaboration, and engaging in teaching workshops and a series of policy studies.

A discussion of the NASPAA IN-PAE initiative and ideas for developing new partnerships through an inter-American association was held at the November 1999 APPAM conference in Washington, D.C. Participants concurred that there was a need for research-oriented MPA and MPP degrees in Latin America. These would function as a kind of “baby doctorate” to establish a new generation of individuals with policy research and analysis skills. At the same time, since Latin American students also lack training in public management skills, the group agreed that programs in the

region should not only provide formal training in research methodology and design but also strengthen research and training in management.

Another conclusion was that public policy curricula need to be thoroughly rebuilt, since case studies and other teaching materials based on the Latin American experience—including national, cross-national, and sector studies—are virtually nonexistent. In addition, the meeting participants concurred that program development throughout the region could be assisted by a hemispheric information network and support for academic exchange programs. Finally, they pointed out that several regional associations of public administration and public policy schools already exist, such as the Latin American Center for Development Administration (*Centro Latinoamericano de Administración para el Desarrollo*, CLAD) and the Latin American Council of Administration Schools (*Consejo Latinoamericano de Escuelas de Administración*, CLADEA), although there is some disagreement over whether new networking efforts should work with the existing associations or attempt to form new inter-institutional alliances.

These data are very preliminary, but indicate that regional networking efforts to promote Inter-American collaboration in support of public administration, affairs, and policy education and training are at a relatively incipient stage. Nonetheless, insofar as decentralization and modernization of the state—among other initiatives that demand redefinition and restructuring of the public sector—continue to be important policy directions for Latin America, there will be substantial interest in strengthening the region's capacity for research in public policy and management. Improving formal training in research methodology, along with other analytical tools that are useful in policy design, implementation, and evaluation, is one important way to achieve this objective. At present, however, the regional linkages appear to be a less direct or effective “transmission mode” for U.S. policy training models than the well-established bilateral linkages between U.S. and Latin American universities—some of which have been in place for a decade or more.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Summary

In accordance with the Wilson Center project proposal, this paper has attempted a broad-gauged survey of state of the art in training in the pub-

lic policy/public administration field in the United States. Since this was a “first cut” at the problem, it was decided to start with an overview of public policy and public administration as an academic field in the United States, followed by a general description of the field’s institutional features and a discussion of the academic and professional orientation of typical graduate-level public policy and public administration programs. To delve more deeply into the institutional, academic, and professional characteristics of the country’s top-ranked programs, five cases—three leading public policy schools, one public administration school, and the top-ranked school specializing in public policy and information technology—are described in detail. Subsequently, the paper examines three “modes of transmission” from U.S. public policy and public administration programs to Latin America—namely, individual study by Latin American students in U.S.-based programs; bilateral linkages between U.S. and Latin American universities and/or research institutions; and forms of regional cooperation.

Although quite broad based, this preliminary review has produced several important findings that will be important for the next phase of the WWC project as it seeks to strengthen public policy training capacity in Latin America. These are discussed below.

The Educational Model

First, it is clear that quantitative and empirical analytical methods are a central feature of the U.S. educational model in the public policy/public administration field. Concepts and methodologies based in the disciplines of economics and statistics are key curricular building blocks. At the same time, the programs also include important non-economic components, such as courses on the policy process and on the development of advocacy skills. These are typically based in the disciplines of political science, sociology, and even psychology and history—the non-economic social sciences. Moreover, courses in research methodology and/or evaluation techniques typically include qualitative as well as quantitative methods.

Second, the programs mix disciplinary-based theory and methods courses with electives designed to increase students’ sector or issue-based knowledge, in areas such as health, education, and social policy. In programs at major research universities, these electives are often based in the relevant professional schools. Students who pursue joint degrees receive

the benefits of formal credentialing in both policy analysis and a particular sector or professional specialization, but even policy “generalists” are required to complete courses in selected issue areas.

Third, a strong focus on the policy analysis and management needs of the private and nonprofit sectors as well as the public sector drives curriculum in the leading U.S. programs. A range of courses on financial markets, new modes of service delivery, nonprofit management, and the like are examples of this trend. Part of the explanation is that public policy/public administration graduates do not automatically pursue public sector employment. On the contrary, the lucrative nature of private sector-based policy research positions exerts a strong pull on public policy graduates. For service-minded individuals, the increasingly dense and diversified nonprofit sector provides other attractive opportunities. The importance of these sectors are a consequence of government downsizing at all levels, which has led to increased “outsourcing” and more public-private partnerships across a range of economic and social areas.

Fourth, the U.S. programs have a strong practical component, not only in an academic sense with the emphasis on the applied social sciences, but also in experiential terms. Typically, the programs require some form of policy analysis exercise or practicum that places the student in a “real-world” institutional environment. This exercise requires the student to *integrate* his or her recently acquired disciplinary-based theory, sector or issue-area knowledge, research methodologies, and policy analysis skills and *apply* the resulting “policy expertise” to solve (or at least address) a “real-world” problem. This is usually done under close professorial supervision and with considerable peer support. In this way, the student is able to conduct a professional “trial run” that will enhance his or her ability to function once on the job. Contacts with potential employers are an added benefit from these policy analysis exercises.

Fifth, the leading public policy and public administration programs in the United States have a strong international focus. As the Woodrow Wilson School puts it, graduates who work in the U.S. domestic sphere are expected to recognize that other countries face similar problems, while those who pursue careers in international affairs need to understand the domestic roots of foreign policy issues. Beyond the explicit recognition that global trends affect policy issues in every country including the United States, the schools typically have high foreign student enroll-

ments—ranging from 20 to 25 percent of students in some programs to 100 percent for the Kennedy School’s Mason Fellows’ Program—its “flagship” international program. While non-U.S. cases may be underrepresented in some public policy teaching materials, the curriculum is increasingly internationalized. The high number of faculty with international policy interests is another indicator of this trend.

Finally, the leading schools provide students with state-of-the-art services in information technology and career planning. The Heinz School is exceptional in its focus on public policy and information technology systems as a subject matter specialization, but all the top schools recognize the importance of *access to* and *training in* the use of computer-based information management techniques. These have important social science applications, as in the case of students who learn to use computers for management of large statistical sets and other research databases. On the career planning side, services such as interview training, résumé preparation, and even financial support to attend job fairs, in connection with access to the schools’ alumni network, are major incentives for enrollment in a particular school, and are aggressively marketed for that purpose.

While it would be unrealistic to expect that the Latin American institutions could duplicate the sheer amount of scholarly resources and wealth available to the U.S. programs, incorporation of appropriately adapted versions of these key programmatic elements would strengthen public policy training programs in the Latin American region.

Modes of Transmission

Although research on the “modes of transmission” is still preliminary, it appears that adding resources to existing bilateral linkages would be the most direct way to strengthen U.S.-Latin American cooperation in public policy education. Increasing support for individual Latin American students to study in the United States (or elsewhere) might eventually result in an increased demand for new curricula. However, since Latin American students attend many different U.S. institutions and return to diverse institutional settings, support for individuals will necessarily have a more diffuse institutional impact. Similarly, regional networking efforts may have beneficial effects, but these tend to be at the level of the field (such as in the preparation of textbooks or teaching cases) rather than at the level of specific institutions.

In contrast, the most successful bilateral linkages have developed organically. Often initiated by individual Latin American alumni after their return to their home institutions, they have in a number of cases, such as the Columbia and University of Texas cases described here, achieved a high level of institutionalization. These institutionalized linkages include the creation of permanent fellowships or visiting faculty slots; formal and informal collaboration between the policy school and the area studies institute/s at U.S. universities; and the introduction of new required and elective courses in both the U.S. and Latin American partner institutions. Building on these ongoing relationships would be an efficient way to enhance educational resources—certain types of subject matter, expertise, and skills building, for example—in Latin American public policy courses and schools.

V. ROLE FOR THE WOODROW WILSON CENTER

The Wilson Center's comparative advantage is its ability to convene the various actors involved in public policy education. These include faculty and researchers from U.S. and Latin American universities and research centers, as well as individuals from the public, private, and nonprofit sectors who represent potential employers of public policy graduates across the region. Building on the current set of case studies, these actors could be convened to discuss the current characteristics of public policy education in Latin America. They should also be charged with generating *practical suggestions* for strengthening particular degree programs, enriching curricula, enhancing scholarly resources, recruiting highly qualified students and faculty, targeting student services more closely to the demands of diverse labor markets, and otherwise strengthening the region's institutional capacity in this important academic field.

NOTES

1. The question of where “core” faculty members are based may seriously affect the multidisciplinary character of the public policy curriculum.
2. Email to author, 27 November 1999.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Drawn from the *Profiles Data Collection 1997/98*, in response to author’s request on 2/17/00.
6. Email communication from IIE, 27 December 1999.
7. Humphrey Fellows do not necessarily study in public affairs or public policy programs, and they do not generally earn degrees
8. Academic and Professional Programs for the Americas: LASPAU is a Cambridge-based professional exchange organization affiliated with Harvard University. Data provided by LASPAU at the author’s request.
9. This tally counts students enrolled in different departments or faculties of a single university as attending that *one* university.

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APPENDIX I

Questionnaire for Public Policy Collaboration Between U.S. and Latin American Institutions

What are the overall objectives of your institution's partnership(s) with Latin American institutions in the public policy and public administration field?

What factors led you and your colleagues to develop the affiliations with Latin American institutions? When were the partnerships established, and for how long have they been active?

What types of joint activities do you conduct under the partnerships?

Approximately how many faculty and students are involved from each institution, including your own? Is there a strong demand for the activities on both sides of the partnership?

Does your institution employ a particular instructional model for the teaching of public policy or public administration? What types of skills and which disciplines are emphasized, particularly at the graduate level?

Do you expect that the collaborative activities will transfer your instructional model to your partner institutions in Latin America? Is this an explicit objective of the bilateral cooperation?

If you are conducting joint research projects with the Latin American institution(s), what is the nature of the research? Who are the primary audiences for the results?

In what ways do you expect that the affiliated Latin American institution(s) will benefit from the joint activities with your institution?

Public Policy Training Programs in the United States

Conversely, what are the principal ways in which the collaboration benefits your own faculty and students? Will it have an impact on research and teaching in your home institution?

Has your institution or an external agency carried out any evaluations of the cooperation between your public policy or public administration program and the Latin American affiliates? If so, could you briefly summarize the results?

Does the cooperation in public policy and public administration benefit from the presence of other Latin America-oriented activities at your university? If so, what are the most important points of contact and connection?

In general, what do you think is the optimal role for U.S. higher education institutions to play in building public policy expertise and public sector managerial capacity in Latin America?

Has it been relatively easy/difficult to obtain external funding for building partnerships with Latin American institutions in the public policy field? Which funding agencies are particularly responsive or proactive in this area?

APPENDIX II

List of Institutions Receiving Questionnaire⁹

LIST PROVIDED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND ADMINISTRATION (NASPAA)

California Polytechnic State University (Political Science Department)

University of Colorado at Denver (Graduate School of Public Affairs)

Columbia University (Graduate Program in Public Policy and
Administration)

Florida International University (Institute for Public Management and
Community Service)

Harvard University (John F. Kennedy School of Government)

Indiana University (School of Public and Environmental Affairs)

New York University (Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public
Service)

Portland State University (Division of Public Administration)

San Diego State University (School of Public Administration and Urban
Studies)

University of New Mexico (School of Public Administration)

University of Pittsburgh (University Center for International Studies)

University of Texas at Austin (LBJ School of Public Affairs)

University of Texas at Dallas (School of Social Sciences)

Graduate Programs in Public Policy and Public Administration in Mexico: An Evaluation

ROSALBA RAMÍREZ AND ROLLIN KENT

Mexico's educational institutions, civil associations, schools, and government have not consistently focused on training and developing professionals who can analyze and resolve public policy and administration problems. It should be stressed at the outset that there is a distinction between those professionals trained by the university system to design and implement public programs and those trained to analyze them. Public universities have focused much more on the first type of training than on the second. Many initiatives in the academic sphere have had a short life span and, in general, have had little capacity for long-term continuity. It is only in the 1990s that solid academic programs have emerged that are explicitly focused on training public policy analysts.

Many of the programs that existed in Mexico developed in response to the growth of the federal government in the first half of the twentieth century. The great demand for functionaries and public servants led to the expansion of disciplines seen as vital to the growth of this sector. Until the 1970s the key professional training for public sector servants was law. Many law schools graduates in Mexico followed a career in the public sector or pursued politically influenced private practices.

From the 1970s onwards, economics began to jockey with law for dominance in training public servants. The Escuela Nacional de Economía of UNAM was founded in the 1930s and played an important role in training political economy experts in the intervening decades. But it was only after the 1970s that economics had a tangible impact, focused above all on public finance.

Social sciences as an academic field only gained an institutional presence in the 1950s with the creation of the Escuela Nacional de Ciencias Sociales of UNAM. Its immediate antecedent was the Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales of the 1930s. Within this framework, programs were set up, such as the one in public administration, that only years later also incorporated training in political science. In the same era the federal government set up the Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública (INAP) as an entity that focused on public administration outside the university system.

The academic landscape of the social sciences was definitely changed as a result of the strong expansion of the undergraduate educational system in the 1970s and graduate education in the 1980s. There was renewed enthusiasm for graduate programs in economics and public administration. Some institutions merely made isomorphic reproductions of programs already set up in traditional institutions, generally following the standards of UNAM's departments of economics and political and social sciences. It was a period strongly imprinted by the debate between Marxism and "traditional" philosophies in the social sciences, although this debate was focused more on transforming the state than on analyzing and improving public policy.

Throughout the 1980s academic programs were founded that focused on the study of problems in other areas of public interest, such as health, education, human rights, natural resources, environmental issues, and regional development. They were mostly areas of concentration within undergraduate or graduate programs in economics, sociology, administration, or law; few programs explicitly focused on the field of public policy.

To summarize, the experience of rapid expansion, politicization, and conflict within the higher education system in Mexico had a measurable and decisive impact on the development of the social sciences as an academic field. In particular, the role of the university in training specialists in economic, political, and social affairs has been mired in strong debate. Within the context of the so-called "modernization of higher education" policies in Mexico during the 1990s, and the renewed power of the federal government to regulate the university system, wide-ranging initiatives in the field of social science have been developed; the start of graduate degree programs in public policy can be counted among them.

The intent of this paper is to examine the basic dimensions of the graduate programs in public policy and public administration: their models for teaching, their innovations, and the problems that may hinder their success. The first part of this paper highlights the nature of this expansion of graduate study in the new field of public policy, with a particular emphasis on social science programs. The second part provides a broad account of the current state of public policy degree programs and related fields, in terms of what they offer and also vis-à-vis emerging trends. The third section analyzes specific public policy, public administration, government, and public affairs programs in the following institutions: the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM), the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), and the Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública (INAP). Each program is examined in terms of institutional profile, curricular design and development, student and faculty profiles, funding sources, and ties with other institutions.

We also include as examples some programs that, without being explicitly oriented toward the training of political analysts, have contributed in a significant way to training people in highly specialized development fields of particular use to public interests, such as medicine, urban studies, economics, and sociology. Finally, we will examine the strengths, weaknesses, and tensions present in the programs that have been studied.

The data used in this work come from two sources. Primary documents, annual statistical reports, work reports, bylaws, and data about different variables were either published directly by the institutions (and therefore are part of the public record) or were provided to us upon request. The other resource was face-to-face interviews to investigate particular elements of the programs in question: admissions processes, evaluation of students and faculty, institutional politics, student and professorial support, and academic strengths and weaknesses, among other elements. It should be noted that this work has built upon previous studies by the authors and other collaborators on the development of social sciences in Mexico (see Kent, Ramírez, Alvarez, de Vries, and González 2001; Kent, Ramírez, and de Vries 1999; García de Fanelli and Kent 2000).¹

I. THE EXPANSION OF GRADUATE STUDIES IN THE NEW POLICY ENVIRONMENT OF THE 1990S

In the 1990s graduate study in Mexico underwent a period of explosive growth driven by the previous expansion of undergraduate programs, the reactivation of the flow of federal funds into graduate studies, and the new focus of governmental policies oriented toward strengthening higher education. This period of change also included forces of economic and cultural globalization, which introduced a need for greater competency in academic markets and a demand for greater dynamism in institutions.

Graduate Study as a Priority of Higher Education Policymakers

As graduate study became a priority of the higher educational system and the science and technology sectors, important resources were appropriated for its development, and channeled through distinctive paths and under criteria for fulfilling their charge. Out of this emerged many programs with implications for the development of graduate studies under the purview of various government agencies and programs: the Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (CONACYT), the Sistema Nacional de Investigadores (SNI), the Programa de Apoyo a la Ciencia en México (PACIME) of 1990, the Programa de Superación del Profesorado (SUPERA), and the Programa de Mejoramiento del Profesorado (PROMEP).²

The new network of research and graduate study centers outside of the university system, known as the SEP-CONACYT system, has been a key way to channel support for research and graduate studies.³ Students who are accepted into a program that belongs to the network automatically receive a cost-of-living grant from CONACYT. These grants are given in set amounts according to the level of the program, regardless of any other grants the student may have. In general, these programs take care of small numbers of students. Other programs in private institutions have other procedures. In these cases, CONACYT apportions resources for the receiving institutions to administer as grants, which then report on the use of the said funds to CONACYT.

SUPERA, administered by the Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior (ANUIES), seeks

to encourage professors who, because of their age and institutional obligations, cannot enter full-time graduate programs listed in the CONACYT directory. PROMEP is a central program of the government's education directive to promote the formation of a corps of academics for higher educational institutions. PROMEP has a ten-year implementation horizon (1996–2006) and intends to combine the further training of professors (encouraging them to obtain their doctorates) with the strengthening of local academic units, extracting from these a vigor for mid-range planning.

The Expansion of Graduate Studies in the Social Sciences

The panorama of graduate studies available in 1997 were characterized by substantial differences in terms of participating institutions, programs offered, orientation and quality of the programs, and the decentralization of the graduate studies offerings in the country. As shown in Table 1, there was vigorous expansion on all three levels between 1980 and 1997, in public as well as private institutions. The number of programs rose from 697 to 2,705, of which 32 percent were certification degrees, 57 percent master's, and 11 percent doctorates.

The number of public and private institutions that offered graduate programs grew substantially: from 92 to 321. There was also an important geographical expansion: in 1980, 54 percent of the programs were located in the Federal District, eight states didn't offer any graduate studies, and 15 offered between one and three, and exceptionally five. In 1997 only 25 percent of the programs were located in the capital, all states offered graduate studies, and they did so with a great number of programs. In general terms, this expansion happened across the public and private sectors, although examination of what is offered in terms of areas studied reveals differing degrees of participation.

Expansion of graduate programs did not occur with the same intensity in all areas of study. Some of the distortions that characterized expansion in undergraduate studies are reflected in the recent growth of graduate programs. For example, the domination of megauniversities and the concentration of enrollments in certain areas of study are seen today in graduate studies.

Table 1
Expansion of Graduate Studies

	1980	1997
Number of Institutions that Offer Graduate Studies	92	321
Total Number of Programs	697	2,705
Certification Programs	162	874
Master's Programs	456	1,532
Doctorate Programs	79	299
Total Enrollment	24,313	86,218
Enrollment in Certification Programs	6,131	21,596
Enrollment in Master's Programs	17,333	58,464
Enrollment in Doctorate Programs	849	6,158
Number of Graduate Programs in the Capital District	376	685
Number of Graduate Study Programs Offered at Public Institutions	567	2,010
Number of Graduate Study Programs Offered in Social and Administrative Sciences	202	839
Number of Students Matriculated in Social and Administrative Science Graduate Study Programs	10,175	37,011

Source: Database of the Seminario de Educación Superior, DIE-CINVESTAV, expanded by the ANUIES statistical yearbooks.

The number of programs in social and administrative sciences grew from 202 to 839 in the period under study and gained somewhat in their percentage of all programs. This is an expression of the rather silent expansion process of professionally oriented master's programs (Conrad, Haworth, and Millar 1993). Two-thirds of the programs in social and administrative sciences (and 80 percent of the students) are in business administration, accounting, law, finance and taxes, and sales and marketing. This does not consider the wide variety of lower profile programs that offer professional training. The growth of these fields lies squarely in the certification and master's programs, with little expansion in doctorate programs in the areas mentioned above.

In contrast, programs with a more academic and less professional focus represent a smaller percentage of this area of the social sciences. There are no certification programs in anthropology and archaeology, political science, sociology, economics, or development. If one wants to enter these fields one can only obtain a master's or a PhD. These fields represent one-

fifth of graduate studies in social and administrative sciences. In general they are programs with small enrollments, in contrast to what happens in the more “administrative” areas of the field.

Table 2 shows the number of programs in the social sciences that can be considered close to the field of public policy. This affinity is characterized in particular by their multidisciplinary nature; the training background of the students enrolled; the inclusion of public affairs in the core focus of the programs; and courses on evaluation, design strategies for problem solving, policy implementation, and so on.

Table 2
Graduate Study Programs in the Social Sciences
with an Affinity with the Field of Public Policy, 1997

Subjects	Total Number of Programs that Offer the Subject	Number of Subfields that Have an Affinity with the Field of Public Policy^a
Administration	269	22
Communication Sciences	14	2
Political Science	13	13
Sociology	56	29
International Business	14	14
Law	119	44
Economics and Development	73	34
Taxes and Finance	91	27
Psychology	115	19
International Relations	4	4
Total	768	208

Source: Database of the Seminario de Educación Superior, DIE-CINVESTAV, expanded by the ANUIES statistical yearbooks.

It seems pertinent to define what is meant by subfields that have an affinity with public policy and the programs examined in this study. Notwithstanding the marked practical orientation of programs in administration, there is a group of programs that can be considered related to the field of policy analysis, such as: public administration, state and municipal administration, administration and economics of the energy sector, legal administration, and public policy. Even in the small number

of communication sciences programs there are two in social and human development.

Many different types of programs are lumped under the heading of sociology. Because doubts exist with regard to their actual focus, these programs were not considered in this study. Although this is a field that has areas of concentration related to public policy, it is possible that these programs could be focused on more classic social analysis. Those programs we deem to have an affinity with policy analysis are urban and regional studies, demographics, industrial and labor sociology, population and development studies, social work in the health sector, and a program of U.S. studies. Something similar occurred in law: under this heading one finds programs in public, social, family, international, fiscal, finance, labor, and agrarian law.

In the area of economics and development are a great number of programs with a relationship to public policy; it is also within this field that one finds the greatest degree of differentiation. In the economics side of the field, we encounter programs focused on urban and regional studies, the environment, organizational development, international trade and politics, management of technological change, regulation of public spaces, economic and financial engineering, public administration, and the new field of urban planning and policy.

In the field of taxes and finance we find a respectable number of programs in public finance, taxes, design and evaluation of investment projects, finances and financial markets, and fiscal studies. In the area of international business and international relations, practically every program was considered related. In psychology, those programs were singled out that were related to public and occupational mental health, family, educational, social, labor, industrial, and the study of group and institutional psychology.

Fields that touch on public policy issues can also be found in areas such as education planning, evaluation, and administration and teaching practice; in architecture with urban studies programs, housing design, environmental design, the planning and design of buildings to be used for health purposes; in programs of environmental engineering, transportation, and public works and health; and in the area of health sciences, with an important group of programs found in public, mental, and family health.

Before turning to a closer examination of the small group of programs explicitly oriented to the training of public policy analysts, it is important

to point out that the development of doctoral training in this field is very weak. The field with the most doctorates available is sociology with fifteen programs, many of which are called “Social Sciences in Mexico,” with the exception of two that are more oriented toward organizational and population studies. In this group we include the FLACSO social science doctorate program with a concentration in political science.⁵ In economics and development, notwithstanding the changes that have occurred at the level of master’s programs, there are only eight doctorate programs, and four of these focus on agrarian economics and rural development. In political science and public administration, only the two programs in the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences at UNAM can be counted.

In other fields with an affinity with public policy, there is a great paucity of doctoral programs. There is only one in urban studies and one in environmental sciences, both in the field of engineering. The exception to these trends is found in the field of education, which in 1997 could already claim twenty-one doctorate programs. As mentioned earlier, the programs that fall under the generic rubric of sociology are completely opaque when one tries to figure out their actual area of concentration.

II. GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC POLICY AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

The academic institutionalization of the field of public policy is a relatively recent process in Mexico. Its direct antecedents were public administration programs designed after the 1950s to train public servants for an expanding state apparatus.

In the middle of the 1970s, the traditional format of public administration programs began to change. On one side, the Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública, run by the federal government, urged the creation of training programs at the state level in state and municipal public administrations. These changes grew out of the network of federal programs focused on reforming public administration, which emphasized a top-down methodology for planning and regulatory reform. On the other side, the field of economics was boosted by the creation of institutions and graduate study programs that introduced academic models oriented more toward quantitative training and the use of new learning techniques. These programs drew attention when

their first class of graduates from the revamped programs were rapidly integrated as key players into critical federal departments. ITAM is certainly important in this movement to renew the training of policy-oriented economists.

In some institutions, public policy programs began as an offshoot of economics, with an emphasis on political economy, but at the same time, with a clear interest in the analysis of political processes and the political system, quantitative methodology, statistics, and micro- and macroeconomics. Other programs changed their focus from public administration to public policy through incremental curricular change. Still other programs maintained a regional development focus, a theme that was more important when public administration reform at the state level became a key issue at the end of the 1970s.

Included in Table 2 above are the following groups of programs: two programs in public administration and policy (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas and Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México) and thirteen programs in public administration, for the most part only master's programs that last for a year and a half. Half of these programs are offered by private institutions. There also does not seem to be a standard in the enrollment numbers. The number of students matriculated in these programs ranges from 5 to 75. The programs in state and municipal public administration form a third group: five are located in different states of the country, and three are offered at public universities. In general, these particular programs last from one to two years. A fourth group is made up of the programs that focus on regional development, which in actuality branch off or are areas of concentration within the fields of sociology or economics. Here it is harder to establish with great certainty the number of programs that can be considered part of the field of public policy. Thus, we can tentatively speak of approximately 20 master's programs located all over the country.

The array of doctoral programs is not in any way similar to the master's level. In general, graduate programs in public policy and public administration are almost exclusively master's programs. Very few include further study for a doctorate. They do not include certification programs, and only in some cases offer an undergraduate degree.⁶ Undergraduate degrees are found in all public universities, where graduate studies have often arisen in response to pressure from undergradu-

ates who need immediate retraining or specialization (usually as a result of poor quality in undergraduate courses). Some private institutions also channel the best undergraduate students toward their own graduate programs.

The dedication needed to succeed in the programs is highly variable: some graduate programs are rigorous in their application of requirements, others are not. This also applies to admissions: there are institutions that are diligent and careful in this process and others for which the enrollment of students is a bureaucratic formality.

With respect to the teaching methods, in general graduate programs in public policy use the methodology of case studies more and more, and require students to have internships in public institutions.

III. THE SOCIAL SCIENCE PROGRAMS IN CONACYT'S DIRECTORY OF GRADUATE PROGRAMS

The chaotic experience of higher education's nonregulated expansion in Mexico in the 1970s and 1980s created teeming diversity, which has more recently been perceived as rather problematic. In the 1990s, the reaction was to develop and apply standards of excellence, and to publish a directory of programs that met those standards. This has made an important impact. The basic parameter used by governing institutions for determining quality in a graduate program has been the production of original research by its professors, an idea borrowed from U.S. research universities.

All programs included in the directory have an academic rather than a practical or professional focus. A large number of programs are excluded from this grouping. Two fields in the social and administrative sciences are more represented in the Directory of Superior Graduate Programs than others: sociology (the focus of over half of the programs in the directory), and economics and development (the orientation of close to a quarter of the programs in the directory). There are nine programs listed under the field of administration, which correspond to graduate programs with an academic orientation in subjects like environmental management and organizational studies; there is only one doctorate program in administration listed in the directory, that of the Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey (ITESM). Of the total number of programs in

the social sciences listed in the directory, there are only six in private institutions, distributed in only four private schools: ITSEM, the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México, the Universidad de las Américas-Puebla, and the Universidad Iberoamericana.

Table 3
Social Science Programs in the CONACYT
Directory of Superior Graduate Programs

Field of Social & Administrative Sciences Program	Total Number of Programs in Mexico	Number of Programs in the Directory	Number of Programs in the Directory at Private Institutions
Administration	269	9	2
Communication Sciences	14	4	1
Political Science	13	7	1
Sociology	56	27	0
Economics and Development	73	17	2
Latin American Studies	7	1	0
Geography	4	0	0
International Relations	4	2	0
Total	440	67	6

Confronted with the great diversity of missions and organizational formats of graduate study programs, educational policymakers set standards of excellence focused on investigative graduate study programs. This has spurred a debate about how to create a diverse definition of excellence in graduate programs, allowing for different societal and academic functions.⁷ This debate over how to evaluate, accredit, and finance graduate study programs in such a heterogeneous educational system is particularly relevant to the field of public policy, a situation that can often be found in the tricky intersection of theory and practice. It is a debate that has not been fully argued in Mexico, or rather, one only examined by the few involved in programs deemed excellent. According to the definition provided by CONACYT, excellent programs are dedicated to research. It is evident that in the current context such a definition is too narrow to account for the actual array of graduate programs in Mexico.

IV. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND MANAGEMENT OF GRADUATE STUDY PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC POLICY AND ADMINISTRATION

This section analyzes basic dimensions of selected programs in public policy and administration. It aims to identify conditions for strengthening and improving the programs, the problems they face in their operation, and the changes in their orientation. The analysis will center on four master's programs: the Master's in Public Policy at the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) and at the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE); the Master's in Government and Public Affairs of the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO); and the Master's in Public Administration at the Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública, A.C. (INAP). Since public policy is a growing field in Mexico, it is important to understand that the institutional sample covered here touches only on the most established programs. Universities such as the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana in Mexico City are in the midst of developing and reforming MPPs. We will also include information about other programs that serve an important role in furthering the development of graduate study in this field with programs in subjects that have an affinity with public policy, such as sociology, economics, and urban studies.

1. Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM)

The Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México (ITAM) is a private institution that is widely recognized as a leader in the field of economics. Founded in 1946, at the initiative of Raúl Bañeres, a distinguished Mexican businessman, it began with a fairly small offering in undergraduate study; today it offers degrees in administration, economics, political science, international relations, law, and accounting, and has a program in telematic engineering. Its undergraduate student body numbers slightly over 4,000, a fourth of whom are matriculated as economics majors. The visibility of ITAM has grown since the middle of the 1970s due to its strength in applied economics. Many of its graduates have become important players in the federal government.⁸

Graduate study at ITAM is concentrated in five master's programs that closely follow the offerings for undergraduate work: administration, inter-

national management, economics, finance, and public policy. In 1997 there were 624 students matriculated in the five programs, with 85 percent of the students enrolled in the administration and finance programs. Public policy usually has the lowest enrollment, which fluctuates between 11 and 22 students each year (in comparison, economics maintains approximately 25 students).

ITAM is recognized as an institution that has “renounced growth” in its search for excellence and leadership in the fields of economics and public policy. It is attempting to create an alternative focus in teaching these subjects. As with other Mexican institutions, the graduate program in public policy at ITAM resulted from the institutional evolution of the program in economics. An important antecedent was the Centro de Análisis e Investigación Económica (CAIE), created in 1983 to analyze principal economic trends in the country and government programs from the viewpoint of economics, and to undertake analysis of opportunities. Ten years later, the center created the Centro de Investigación Económica (CIE), dedicated to scientific research in the field of economics.

The master’s program in economics started in 1980, followed by the public policy program in 1987. At the beginning of 2000, ITAM initiated a new doctorate in economics, which is offered in conjunction with two other institutions: the Universidad Torcuato di Tella in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and the Universidad de Chile in Santiago, Chile.

The Master’s in Public Policy (MPP) grew out of the need ITAM felt to explore the reach and the implications of politics in economic issues. Today the program has been opened up to include other areas of political activity, but it still maintains a strong economic slant.

Objectives of the Master’s in Public Policy (MPP)

The MPP at ITAM was the first to be offered in Mexico with an emphasis on the study of decisions in public affairs. Other programs in economics and political science at that time had a more theoretical emphasis, and those in administration and public policy were centered on a more traditional vision of public administration.

The purpose of the program is to contribute to the training of professionals in public service as well as the academic profession. A recent change is the emphasis on academic research. The program works to attract students with high academic performance who are interested in

teaching and research in the area. To succeed in this goal, it relies upon the academic resources and faculty of ITAM's other graduate programs. It also operates an academic exchange program, and organizes seminars and conferences led and attended by outside experts and practitioners.

Structure and Management of the Curriculum

The MPP is a two-year program with twenty-five courses distributed over seven trimesters. There is a rigorous selection process, whose primary elements are an exam and a preparatory course that lasts a month and focuses on economics, mathematics, and English. From the exam, the school evaluates the capacity of the student to solve mathematical problems and the level of reading comprehension; the course is structured to test the dedication of the student to a highly rigorous academic program. Applicants come from many different disciplines; ITAM does not require previous experience in the field (either professional or academic), nor does it require students to arrive with a defined research project. Enrollment in the program is annual.

The areas of emphasis of the program are quantitative (analytic instruments, mathematics, and statistics), economic (theory and applications of micro- and macroeconomics), institutional (institutional analysis, politics and law, public choice, and public administration), public policy (the foundational theory of formulating and implementing policy), humanities (the political process in Mexico: economic and political variables, ethics, and the exercising of public policy), and a major field (students choose a field that makes up one of the other master's programs at ITAM)

In the first two trimesters there is a strong emphasis on quantitative methods and microeconomic theory. In this first phase, ITAM includes introductory courses in political-institutional analysis and public policy. In the third trimester the emphasis shifts; on one side it is on applied economics and macroeconomic theory, and on the other on election theory and constitutional law. The fourth trimester has no coursework; the student is placed in a public agency and activity is centered on a professional internship. In the fifth and sixth trimesters, courses focus primarily on administration and public policy: in the fifth, there is work on social evaluation of projects, public sector economics, and administrative law; in the sixth on public service philosophy and the political-economic history of Mexico.

In addition to this coursework, MPP students choose a major area of study from one of the other graduate programs at the ITAM. This occurs in the last two trimesters when students need to take three elective courses that pertain to the major field of study. In the last trimester, in addition to the elective coursework in the major, students also take a thesis seminar and more public policy coursework.

A thesis project is mandatory for completion of the MPP. Its requirements vary: it can consist of either theoretical or empirical research, it can consist of the creation of a model or in the application of certain economic or mathematical theorems, but it must be an original work that helps to amplify understanding of the field. Students work on their project in their last semester while enrolled in the special thesis seminar class. Students can opt to expand upon a paper presented in an earlier course—which is always supposed to be written with this in mind—or they can embark on an entirely new research project. Once the final trimester of coursework is over, however, there is no formal method in place to keep up with the students and urge them to finish the thesis. Late student arrival, and the difficulty that the institution has in finding the right incentives to make students write the thesis, have negatively affected completion rates.⁹ In the Master's in Economics at ITAM, which has a similar curriculum design with respect to the thesis project, the last class had a graduation rate of approximately 60 percent.

The most popular themes for a thesis project in the MPP program are: regulation of telecommunication monopolies, evaluation of investment projects, decentralization, agrarian politics, and social policy themes such as poverty, education, health, and environment. Although there have not been many thesis projects focusing on the field of political economy, notwithstanding its role as a critical component of the curriculum, this may be because the field of research is fairly well covered by ITAM's Master's in Economics.

Profile of the Students

The MPP student is typically fairly young and recently graduated from an undergraduate program. The great majority of the students are between 23 and 25 years old. For the most part, they have not had significant practical experience, with the exception of a small cadre of students between 35 and 45 years of age who come to the program in mid-career.

The MPP program takes in students from all around the country, and some from abroad—principally from Central America and the northern parts of South America. A plurality of the students comes from the Mexico City metropolitan area. Just as many students hail from private as public universities. The state universities that have the greatest representation of graduates enrolled in the MPP program are the Autónoma de Nuevo León and the Universidad de Guadalajara. Of the students from the capital region, the institutions with the highest concentration of graduates are UNAM and the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, with the majority of these students holding bachelor's degrees in economics. Approximately 25 percent of the students who enroll in the MPP program earned their bachelor's degree at ITAM.

The MPP does not feed into a doctorate program in the same field. The only doctorate that ITAM offers is in economics and, as mentioned above, it has only recently been launched. Those students who wanted to pursue a doctorate in economics or public policy have gone to UCLA, Harvard, MIT, Columbia, Yale, Stanford, University of California at Berkeley, University of Chicago, Cornell, or Princeton.

Profile of the Faculty

Eighty percent of the professors who teach in the MPP program are full-time faculty, but they are actually members of another department: economics, political science, mathematics, or statistics. All hold a doctorate. There are usually 10 to 12 professors who elect to be a part of the MPP program, primarily from the economics department; 20 percent are part-time lecturers who teach specific courses as needed. The graduate program in economics supplies most of the MPP's faculty.

The Economics Department has 24 full-time PhDs on the faculty. The majority of these are recently earned doctorates, young scholars who are just starting their academic careers. The procedure to enter ITAM as an academic is highly selective: one must have completed the doctorate, be recommended by a recognized expert in the field, and present a seminar at ITAM.

Of the actual rolls, 15 academics were trained in the United States (at some of the previously listed schools, as well as New York University, University of Illinois, and University of Southern California) and 8 were trained in England, Spain, or Italy. The majority began teaching in the

1990s. On average, they remain at the institution for four years. One of the reasons for this high turnover rate is that they often obtain attractive jobs at institutions abroad. There is little detailed information about salaries, but a young professor who is just starting his or her academic career receives approximately \$2,200 a month at ITAM. Another possible reason for the high turnover is a heavy teaching and advising load that leaves very little time for independent research—on average professors teach two courses a trimester (in the undergraduate and or graduate programs) with the obligation of teaching on average four courses a year.

The system is very much a meritocracy. Professors are evaluated at different periods of the year by different groups. Students evaluate at the end of each course. The institution evaluates each year for the first three years: administrative evaluations for the first two years and academic evaluation for the third. In the last one, teaching, research, and administrative activities are all examined, and those who come through the process successfully can remain at the institution.

Funding Sources

The primary funding resources for graduate programs at ITAM are private and mostly come from student tuition. The Master's in Public Policy costs approximately \$14,900 and the Master's in Economics costs about \$12,425. This includes enrollment and tuition costs, which are calculated by the institution on the basis of course-hours. The programs do not receive regular federal subsidies as do the public universities. Only a small part of ITAM's finances come from government sources in the form of grants to students. Very few private graduate study programs are listed in the Directory of Superior Graduate Programs published by CONACYT, and this MPP program is one of them. Because of this it receives scholarship funds from CONACYT. ITAM administers the funds based on the needs and merits of the candidates in order to guarantee using these funds in the long run. With similar strictures, ITAM also receives funds from other public organs, like the Banco de México.

The Master's in Public Policy is not a financially self-sustaining program. Student numbers are kept fairly small, and consequently the program cannot usually fill its market quota. Not wanting to take itself out of the market, ITAM looks to reduce the costs for the students through various grant options, which range from covering only a small amount of the

costs to full scholarships covering the total cost of the program. ITAM also supports some of its students in their applications for complementary funding from foundations and multilateral organizations such as the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur, William and Flora Hewlett, and Ford Foundations, as well as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

Despite small enrollment numbers, the institution provides cross subsidies because of its goal to advance the field of public policy analysis. Moreover, because it is an interdisciplinary program, the MPP also can access the academic resources of other departments: economics, political science, mathematics, and statistics (especially the first).

Links with Other Institutions

The MPP is part of the Alfa Program of the European Union, which supports exchange of students and faculty. Member schools of this program are University of Bologna, Italy; University of Chile; Torcuato di Tella University in Buenos Aires; University of São Paulo; University of Pavia, Italy; Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium; University of Birmingham, England; Pompeu Fabra University; The Institute of Pure and Applied Mathematics in Brazil; New University of Lisbon; and Delta in France.

A constant resource for the MPP program is the Master's in Economics at ITAM, not only for the faculty who teach in the MPP program, but also for the joint activities that they develop and the existence of agreements that indirectly benefit the MPP. The economics department has student and faculty exchange programs with Brandeis University, in Massachusetts; Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada; the Centro de Estudios Macroeconómicos de Argentina (CEMA), Buenos Aires; and the Stockholm School of Economics, Sweden.

Among the noteworthy joint activities that have been developed was the 1999 Sociedad Econométrica Conference held in Cancún, Mexico, which was attended by scholars from all over Latin America, Canada, the United States, and Spain.

2. Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE)

The Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE) is a public institution founded in 1974 that is part of the SEP-CONACYT system.¹⁰

It was created to train qualified professionals in the fields of economics and administration for public service, at a time when administrative reform took hold as a general policy in the Mexican federal government. Very few academic institutions offered graduate training in these subjects at the time.

CIDE is a research and teaching institution. For many years its efforts were centered on two master's programs, which have been in place as long as the center has been active: public administration and political economy (today called public policy and economics). Currently three other programs are offered as well. The undergraduate program was established in 1993 (offering degrees in economics and political science/international relations) and uses the Colegio de México as its model. A Master's in Economics of Health was created in 1997 in collaboration with the Instituto Nacional de Salud Pública. The formats of both undergraduate programs are exceptions to what is usually found in public sector institutions: they take in small numbers of students, have a highly selective admissions process, have high performance standards, and students are taught and advised by the same professors who teach in the graduate programs. CIDE does not offer a doctorate. The number of students matriculated in the undergraduate program in 1996 was 152, and graduate programs had slightly less than 100 students. Consequently, CIDE is an interesting institutional case that has evolved from purely graduate study and research to offering undergraduate programs as well.

Along with ITAM and the Colegio de México (COLMEX), CIDE has been noted for training economists who play important roles in public sector institutions, such as the Secretary of the Treasury (*Hacienda y Crédito Público*).

CIDE is divided into five academic divisions: public administration, economics, international studies, political studies, and history. In each of these divisions research is carried out, but not always in conjunction with teaching activities. The Department of Economics is the largest at CIDE and it manages the undergraduate and graduate programs in economics and the graduate program in economics of health. The Master's in Public Policy is managed by the Department of Public Administration and the undergraduate degree in political science/international relations is a joint effort of the Departments of Political Studies and International Studies.

CIDE's Department of Public Administration focuses on the study of governmental activity from the perspective of organizational theory and

public policy analysis. It aims to parse out the nature of public policy, its organizational configuration, and decision structures. In addition to teaching activities, faculty undertake research financed by the Ford Foundation, CONACYT, and the World Bank. Some of the themes that are of particular interest to the department are the politics and strategies of modernization and change in public administration in Mexico; the politics of modernization in local and municipal administration; forms of social participation and their impact on government performance; analysis and operation of the budget and public spending in Mexico; and delinquency and institutional responses to crime.

Objectives of the Master's in Public Policy (MPP)

The objective of this program is to train professionals to design and evaluate complex public policy problems, with an interdisciplinary focus, incorporating materials from political science, economics, history, organizational theory, and public policy, among others. A strong component in the training is the study of the organizations that enact policy, and/or evaluation of economic, political, and administrative reforms.

The MPP wants its graduates to have the proper technical and analytical tools to evaluate complex political problems from various perspectives and propose solutions. Although the MPP focuses on training professionals for the public sector, recently a large percentage of the graduates have started looking to continue with doctoral studies in the country or abroad.

One of the more important changes to occur in the master's program is revealed in the recent name change from "Public Administration" to "Public Policy." One program leader expressed it this way: "The master's began to take on a focus much more oriented toward decision making, it became more instrumental and acquired a profile that was much more strongly oriented toward public policy, which is a fairly new arrival in our country as an academic discipline.... In many countries this isn't that new a thing, but in Mexico we are talking of a period of only ten years" [Interview #15].¹¹ This has brought with it a strengthening of the formal analytical and quantitative aspects of the program: the introduction of coursework in statistical analysis and econometrics, and a greater importance of microeconomics.

Structure and Management of the Curriculum

The MPP program takes two years to complete. It consists of 19 required courses, distributed over four semesters. In the fourth and final semester there is a thesis seminar. There is a rigorous selection process for entry, centered on an exam, interviews, and a preparatory course. The exam is set up to test logical and mathematical ability, as well as one's ability in written communication and argument focused on the solution of a real public administration test case.¹² The interview attempts to round out the profile of the applicant. The introductory course (3 assignments) is the final filter in the admission process, in that it assesses the basic knowledge the candidate has in certain disciplines. They do not need previous experience in teaching and research, nor do they need to have a specific research project in mind upon entry. Enrollment is an annual process.

In the first two semesters there is a double-edged emphasis: on quantitative methods and microeconomics, on the one side, and on theoretical foundations, namely in political science and organizational theory, on the other. Since the beginning of the program CIDE has included courses that teach students about the juridical structure of the State of Mexico, starting with the organizational basis of its public administration and the organization and function of the Mexican political system. In the second semester there is a course entitled "Organizational Intervention" whose purpose is to develop the student's capacity to practice interventions in concrete rather than theoretical organizations. This course is completed by a summer internship with an organization that allows the student to develop and apply policy. In this second semester there is a course offered that is unique to CIDE, in which students review and discuss advances in the field and the implications that these changes have with respect to the adoption of certain models, as well as the practical aspects of the application of these revised models on public administration in the country.

Coursework in the third and fourth semesters focuses on overarching themes in the field of study: public finances, public management, comparative institutional and public policy, and formal models for political analysis. Lasting over the two semesters of this second stage there is a course dedicated to the examination of specific public administration themes, such as regional industrialization and telecommunication regulation. These "advanced topics in public administration" are covered in special mini-seminars by professors who are actively doing research in these

fields. In this way, the program attempts to prepare the students in selecting subjects that may be later expanded into mini-thesis form and for which the students will find a thesis advisor. The fourth and final semesters are specifically designed to bring the final project to completion.

The MPP at CIDE actually offers two different options for successful completion of the degree program: either the completion of a mini-thesis (a short work, with the only requirement being that the subject matter must be drawn from one of the areas of research of one of the faculty members in the Department of Public Administration) or an analytical examination of public policy. Students have until the last semester to decide which option they prefer. Those with a more professional bent may work in a public sector institution for ten weeks. At the end of this period of time, students are required to undertake a close analysis of a problem that they have encountered there. At the end of the semester they turn in a document that must contain a diagnostic analysis of the problem and proposed solutions. Through this project the students actively demonstrate that they are capable of putting into action the theoretical foundations and practical learning that they have acquired in the degree program. The elaboration and submission of this paper is advised as much by the supervisor from the public institution as by professors from the Department of Public Administration.

The graduation rate has varied greatly from class to class in the MPP program, which has produced 350 graduates so far. The highest level was 87 percent of the class of 1986-90, but has been around 65 percent in the last two years. This lower rate is attributed to the difficulty students have encountered in initiating a research project when the academic course load is already so heavy. In order to alleviate this, a movement has been made to lower the course load in the last semester in order to give precedence to the thesis seminar.

Profile of the Students

Typically there are 35 students total enrolled in the MPP program, including those in their second year. Approximately 20 students enter each year.

One of the most marked elements has been the decrease in the age range of entering students. During the first ten years of the program, the median age was 30; it now stands in the 24 to 26 range. In contrast, the

1990s have seen a noticeable increase in applicants, with very high peaks in some years. One of the faculty proposed the following hypothesis to account for this change: “The inclusion of the master’s program in the CONACYT directory makes it much easier to obtain scholarship funding for graduate study here, which is a great incentive to attend this program, and so, instead of entering the work force first, younger students are opting to pursue graduate study” [Interview #16].

The undergraduate training of the students who enter the MPP program is varied, but certain disciplines are dominant: economics, public administration, political science, and, more recently, law.

There has been a considerable shift in the geographical and institutional background of the students in recent years. At its inception, 40 percent of the students in the MPP program were foreigners, predominantly from Latin America, another 40 percent from various states of the country, and 20 percent from Mexico City. At the end of the 1980s the Latin American presence diminished to 6 percent in the class of 1998–2000, while the number of Mexican students from the states and the capital district grew to equal proportions (with the exception of the class of 1997–99 with 67 percent from the capital versus 22 percent from the states).

There has also been a growth in the numbers of students who come from private institutions: from an average of 4 percent in the 1980s to between 10 and 22 percent in the 1990s.

Profile of the Faculty

The faculty of the MPP is made up of 21 professors: 7 with doctorates, 2 doctoral candidates, and 11 with a master’s.¹³ All have done their graduate work in public policy or in fields that are analogous, such as economics of development, public management, organizational science, economics and international politics, politics, or planning and development.

One weakness in the faculty base, as pointed out by an interviewee, is that because of the numbers of professors involved in the doctoral completion program, the first year of the program is heavily dependent on adjunct faculty to teach courses.

With regard to the institutions of origin, six professors are graduates of the MPP program at CIDE and three got their degrees at other national institutions (Colegio de México and Colegio de la Frontera Norte). Of the 12 remaining faculty, eight received their training in the United States

(University of Pittsburgh, University of Colorado, University of Chicago, University of Texas in Austin, University of Colorado in Denver, University of California at Berkeley, and University of Southern California), two in Spain, and two in France.

An applicant for an academic post is required to present a research project before an interdisciplinary committee of CIDE researchers. This committee evaluates the merits of the project to decide if the scholar demonstrates solid analytical skills and also to see if the applicant will fit into the research areas of the different departments. If they determine this to be so, the scholar is given a one-year contract. In order to obtain tenure an applicant must have the doctorate in hand, have spent at least five years under contract with CIDE, and must pass a new global evaluation process. Salary levels for a person who has the PhD range from \$1,800 to \$2,000 a month.

Professors are evaluated through student surveys, administered by the academic dean (*Coordinación de Docencia*). Students in all of the programs at CIDE participate in these surveys.

Funding Sources

CIDE is a public center that relies to a large extent upon federal funding, which accounts for 70 to 80 percent of its income. Each department raises the remaining 20 to 30 percent by charging consulting fees or gaining outside funding for specific projects from CONACYT or other sources. Student tuition and fees cover a very small percentage of costs. Fees for four semesters are approximately US \$2,400. It is not clear if this only applies to foreign students, as is the case with other such public centers in Mexico. Neither is it clear if Mexican nationals have their tuition taken care of by CONACYT in addition to scholarship aid to students who are enrolled in programs included in its directory of excellence.

The long-term economic stability of the institution is a recurring concern and is a perceived weakness that leads people to search out external funding, sometimes as a group, sometimes individually. A full-time professor spends approximately 30 percent of his/her time teaching, 30 percent in research, and 40 percent in outside consulting projects. As mentioned above, the Department of Public Administration is involved in many projects with funding from international, national, and regional sources.

Links with Other Institutions

CIDE has many different types of institutional ties due in part to collaborative research projects. Some of these are research contracts with organizations such as the Ford Foundation, the World Bank, and federal, state, and municipal governments, among others.

There are also agreements expressly designed to further the development of the graduate study programs. The MPP has a student exchange agreement with the Graduate School of Public Affairs of the University of Colorado in Denver; an agreement with French universities, financed by the Secretaría de Educación Pública, CONACYT, and the government of France; cooperation agreements to establish thematic networks with Spanish institutions, with the Universidad de los Andes in Colombia and the Universidad Torcuato di Tella in Argentina; student and faculty exchange agreements with the Institute of Political Studies in Paris; and an exchange program for professors with the Irving B. Harris School of Public Policy Studies at the University of Chicago.

Other links develop from CIDE professors who go abroad to obtain their doctorate, principally with institutions in England, France, or the United States.

One of the difficulties in the actual implementation of these exchange agreements has been the deficient language skills of graduate students. CIDE is beginning to emphasize language training as part of its basic requirements. Another difficulty has been the absence of clear institutional channels for promoting and managing student exchanges, which have up to now depended on individual decisions by students and their respective academic advisors.

An important informal link that CIDE has developed with other Mexican universities bears mention. As new MPPs are established at other institutions, especially in the provinces, they turn to CIDE for advice on curriculum and academic organization, for reading lists and for visiting professors. Academics at leading institutions such as CIDE, but also ITAM and FLACSO, are playing an invisible but important role in nursing along budding programs elsewhere. The fact that these relationships are usually informal does not diminish their importance in the development of public policy training programs in Mexico.

3. Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO)

The Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), an autonomous section of an internationally recognized regional organization, was created via the cooperation of UNESCO and the governments of Latin America and the Caribbean. The section in Mexico was founded in 1976 as a result of an agreement between FLACSO and the Mexican government. FLACSO-Mexico is a member of the SEP-CONACYT system.

FLACSO graduate offerings started with a Master's in Social Sciences. Because of its Latin American focus, this graduate program has been unique in Mexico. For a long time, FLACSO only offered the Master's in Social Sciences, which currently enrolled its thirteenth graduating class. In the 1990s the number of graduate programs expanded, and they joined with other institutions and organizations to create other programs. In addition to the previously mentioned master's program, they now offer a Master's in Population Studies (created in 1993) and a Master's in Government and Public Affairs (1992). The Latin American Program of Graduate Study in Disaster and Risk Management was created in 1999 in coordination with the network of Estudios Sociales en Prevención de Desastres en América Latina and with the financial assistance of the Humanitarian Office of the European Community. It also offers a PhD in Political Science, started in 1995 in association with Georgetown University, Washington, DC, and the University of Salamanca, Spain.

Objectives of the Master's Program in Government and Public Affairs (MGAP)

In this program FLACSO seeks to offer training in applied social science with specific applications to public affairs and to the operation of government. The MGAP declares that its aim is to give students the conceptual, methodological, and technical skills they will need to design, put into practice, and evaluate public policies. The program is not oriented to give training for an academic track—or at least that is not a stated intent—but rather to train graduates to enter into high-level decision-making positions in public affairs.

Following the regionally focused tradition of FLACSO, the MGAP emphasizes public policy analysis in the Latin American context. This orientation is a trait peculiar to the programs at FLACSO.

The Master's in Government and Public Affairs declares that its graduates develop an all-around vision, with diverse disciplinary inputs. The idea is that graduates should be capable of focusing on specific issues as well as carrying out interdisciplinary work.

Structure and Management of the Curriculum

The MGAP is characterized by its interdisciplinary nature: it accepts students from many different academic backgrounds (sociology, political science, economics, social psychology, anthropology, and communications). The program is included in the CONACYT directory, which provides its students with scholarship assistance. It requires full-time attendance for two years. There is a rigorous selection process, centered upon the evaluation of previous academic achievement and work experience, as well as an exam that tests ability and knowledge of statistics, mathematics, law, methodology, economics, political theory, and English. The result of this exam is the deciding factor used by the admissions committee. One does not need to present a research project in order to enter the master's program, but the student must describe and declare a major field of study upon entry. The purpose of this is to learn the capacity of the candidate to describe and analyze the prevailing political conditions of his/her country. Applications are taken every two years rather than annually. FLACSO prefers that its candidates be under 35 years old.

As mentioned above, the curriculum is interdisciplinary and includes elements of economics, political science, law, history, administration, mathematics, and statistics. The courses are distributed over six trimesters and organized in the following areas: basic training (courses focused on political and social theory, organizational theory, economics and mathematics); theory and public policy techniques (courses focused on public policy theory, history, political science, law, and the study of quantitative methods); specialized study seminars (courses during the last two trimesters focus on the design and application of political fields chosen by the students). The fifth class (2000–2002) could choose from the following specialized study seminars, given in master class style: Theory of Political Economy, Operational Research, Economics of Regulation, Econometrics.

In addition to the coursework, at the end of the first year of study students undertake a professional internship in an agency in the public, pri-

vate, or social sector. In order to ensure that all students can participate in this process FLACSO has worked out collaboration agreements with many different institutions. At the end of the program, at the same time that they are taking their advanced seminars, students sign up for and take two thesis seminars. The objective is for them to develop a project that builds upon the experiences they had in their professional internship.

Students are also given short workshops throughout the program on specific skills, such as statistics, writing, English, and computers.

Profile of the Students

The master's program is in high demand. Of the five class enrollments to date, the last two have had 346 and 422 applications and admitted 21 and 25 students, respectively. In general, between 40 and 50 percent of the students are from other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, but in the last three classes there has been a marked diminution of these numbers. Although it is slightly premature to speak of this definitively as a trend, it seems that FLACSO–Mexico's niche in the market has already begun to change. Not only has the presence of students from Mexico risen in the MGAP, but the institutions where they did their undergraduate work have become more diverse. The most recent class enrolled in the master's program (2000–2002) includes for the first time students who attended private universities (Universidad de las Américas, Intercontinental, and Valle de México) and a wider slate of public institutions (UNAM, Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, Instituto Politécnico Nacional, Universidad de Guadalajara, among others). These changes are also happening at CIDE.

Interviewees attribute this reconfiguration of the student population attending the MGAP to various factors. On the one hand, there is a generalized increase in demand for graduate studies in public policy, which FLACSO has capitalized on, with the additional attraction of scholarships from CONACYT for Mexican students. On the other hand, FLACSO's focus on Latin American issues makes it attractive to a wider non-Mexican audience.

The great majority of the students in the MGAP program at FLACSO are under 35 at admission, as specified in the program announcement. Only 6 of the 91 students that have entered the MGAP program have been between 36 to 40 years old. The most recent class of students is especially young, with 40 percent of the students under 25.

The principal fields studied by incoming students are economics, public administration, political science, and economy and law; to a lesser extent international relations, sociology, education, philosophy, business administration, industrial engineering, and computer science are also represented.

Profile of the Faculty

A few years ago FLACSO initiated changes in its academic profile, and in the composition of its full-time faculty. This coincided with the expansion of the institution into new programs of study. Today most of the professors are hired only to teach courses. Of the 43 who taught in the most recent cycle of the MGAP, three are full-time, one is part-time, and the rest are adjunct professors. Thirty have their master's degrees and 13 either hold their doctorate or are doctoral candidates. Eleven have degrees in public policy; seven in economics; six in political science and administrative science; six in mathematics, statistics, and operational research; three in sociology; two in law; two in Latin American studies; and the rest in history, engineering, or planning.

The MGAP has managed to have highly qualified faculty who are actually employed by other institutions or organizations. A good part of the faculty received their training at universities in the United States or England (13 and 8, respectively). An equal number earned their degrees in Mexico, at institutions like FLACSO, COLMEX, ITAM, and UNAM (this last one was the more popular place for mathematics and statistical training). It is interesting to note the previous institutions where these professors hailed from: 16 were from ITAM, the UAM, and UNAM; 4 from COLMEX, ITESM, CIDE, and UIA; 17 from various secretaries of the state or private consulting companies; 4 from FLACSO; and 2 are recent graduates with no prior affiliation.

Although a large part of the faculty hired to teach in the MGAP are highly trained academics, the lack of full-time professors is one of the weaknesses of the program. This hinders the generation of long-term research projects.

Funding Sources

Most of FLACSO's income comes from the Mexican government. Because of its inclusion in the CONACYT directory, Mexican students

are aided with grants, and students from other countries receive support from the institution to solicit grants from international organizations.

4. Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública (INAP)

The Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública (INAP) is one of the oldest institutions dedicated to the training of public administration professionals. It was founded in 1955, closely connected to the public sector. Since its creation, the central objectives have been the updating and training of public servants in public administration and policy analysis and implementation. INAP is a major player in the development of a professional public service sector at the federal, state, and municipal levels. Today it undertakes multiple activities: it offers a Master's in Public Administration, certification degrees, certificate courses, workshops, seminars, and interinstitutional courses through an extensive network of institutes.

INAP's primary goal is to train active professionals for public service. It is one of the important institutions in the country explicitly dedicated to this task.¹⁴ The faculty who develop INAP's diverse activities are specialists from academic institutions and high-level public servants directly involved in public administration in Mexico. The current method is for academic coordinators to design different thematic study modules and bring together the necessary specialists to teach them. Thus, there is not a traditional full-time faculty. A good part of the coordination and professional training is undertaken by high-level public servants: undersecretaries, secretaries, and directors.

Various elements distinguish INAP from the rest of the institutions examined here. It is not a traditional academic institution with traditional academic goals; rather, it focuses very specifically on professional training for public service.¹⁵ Its emphasis is on the process of implementing public administration programs, not on the analysis of public policy. It is an institution closely connected to the government. The presence of and role played by public servants gives the training a special imprint: in the themes that are chosen for teaching, in the focus of analysis, in the pragmatic slant of the training, as well as the ambiguity of the academic and political role to be played by its members.

Two other elements differentiate it from the other four institutions analyzed here. First, the Master's in Public Administration is the only one

that does not require total dedication to the program (through full-time enrollment), allowing professionals who want to further their career to continue working while they enroll in the graduate work in public administration. Second, its critical role in training the people who work in different important public entities in the country has led to the creation of a wide network of institutes.¹⁶

INAP Has an Extensive Array of Activities

Master's in Public Administration: Especially directed to public service personnel in middle- or upper-range positions, but it does not exclude students interested in administration. The program lasts for two years, with courses over six quarters meeting at night or on Saturday. In order to enroll, students need to have a bachelor's degree from an accredited institution, knowledge of English, present a curriculum vitae, and pass an interview.

Public Agency Executive Development Program: This is focused on preparing high-level employees who can identify and design economic, social, and political scenarios; another objective is to develop leadership and hone abilities in problem-solving and other challenging situations. This program lasts for approximately 370 class hours.

Certification programs: These are oriented to training public servants in specific areas of the field of administration: personnel development, public finances, advanced training in government information systems, investment projects, administration of public resources, and the inter-American course on the Life Cycle of Investment Projects (OEA-NAFIN-INAP, formed in conjunction with the three institutions). These certification programs last for approximately 260 class hours.

Certificate courses: These courses last between 120 and 260 class hours and are focused on building skills in document and archival administration, public administration process re-engineering, computer center administration, state and municipal finances. Through the certificates, INAP attempts to address demands for training in emerging themes and strategic issues in public administration such as government and urban administration, federalism in the reform of the state, all levels of government administration, regional development and intergovernmental relations, law for public servants, public management and control, parliamentary administration and practice, analysis and management of political

entities, organization and development of nonprofit institutions, instruments and politics of public security, women in public administration and policy, politics and instruments for the agrarian sector and rural development, administration of electoral processes, migration policy and administration, and national security.

There are also training courses (between 70 and 75 class hours), as well as workshops and seminars (generally 12 to 40 hours).

In order to support training, INAP has a public library devoted to public administration, the Antonio Carrillo Flores Library (24,850 titles); access to the Red Latinoamericana de Información en Administración Pública (REDIA–CLAD); resources for public administration study (7,560 books and specialized titles); and more than a hundred national and international journals, all accessible in their own library.

INAP regularly publishes the *Revista de Administración Pública*, the *Gaceta Mexicana de Administración Pública Estatal y Municipal*, the book which wins the INAP prize (judged annually since 1976), as well as textbooks and field manuals.

INAP maintains close ties with the Ecole National d'Administration Publique (ENAP), a part of the Université du Québec, founded in 1969, which has a similar mission to INAP, with the addition of research into public administration. Another important relationship is with the Centro Latinoamericano de Administración para el Desarrollo (CLAD), an international institution founded in 1972 through a multinational initiative, with Mexico as one of the participating nations. This organization, created upon the recommendation of the UN as a way to modernize public administration, counts 25 member nations in Latin America, the Caribbean, and the Iberian Peninsula. Mexico participates via INAP. These are only two of INAP's important ties with foreign organizations. One of its defining characteristics is the extensive network of relationships it has set up with organizations at different levels of the government, academic institutions, international organization, and sister institutions abroad.

At INAP, there is tension not between the professional or academic orientation of its programs, but between two visions—the traditional public administration practice versus the analysis of public policy. There is no research to speak of at INAP and the focus is more on solving problems in the public arena rather than analyzing them.

5. Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública: an Association with Academic Impact.

The Colegio Nacional de Ciencias Políticas y Administración Pública is a voluntary civil association founded in 1974 that promotes professional training for middle- and upper-level public administrators who work in the federal, state, or municipal governments. It is an organization that brings together professionals from the fields of political science and public administration in the country. It offers many different certificates in themes of great contemporary relevance. One of the more important ones is the Certificate in Fiscal Federalism and Ranching Relations in Mexico, tied to the debate about the extent of federalism and the channeling of public resources to support public (state and municipal) ranches in Mexico. This course lasts for 164 class hours distributed in the following manner: a preparatory course (8 hours), six modules lasting 20 hours each, and twelve conferences (36 hours).

There is also the Certificate in Social Federalism, the objective of which is to train experts in the area of knowledge, design, and application of socially oriented public policies in the field of social development; and the Certificate in the Politics of Federalism, which aims to establish knowledge about the operation and function of the current federal system and the means by which it can be transformed into a new brand of federalism. This course lasts for 112 class hours. There is also a national Certificate in Public Policy that lasts for 72 hours.

Like INAP, the Colegio Nacional offers short courses (usually lasting 20–30 hours) of particular relevance to the field today: Public Management Re-Engineering, Public Policy and Local Governance, Political Culture, Current State of and Perspectives on a Civil Service Career in the National Government, Responsibilities of Public Servants, Studies in Municipal Fiscal Issues, Regulatory Issues and Problems in Municipal Administration, Basic Concepts of Quality and Strategic Planning in Municipal Management, and Techniques to Improve Project Management. There are also two short certificate courses: Workshop on Political and Administrative Negotiation, and High-Level Municipal Leadership.

These courses have played an important role in bringing up to date not only public administrators, but also professors who teach in the master's

programs in political science and public administration in the state universities. In one of the Colegio's important programs, state university professors discuss the current international literature in public policy, thus providing academic renewal for professors in the more traditional schools of public administration. Other incentives for university professors are the academic and professional contacts with high-level academics and public servants that emerge in these courses.

6. Other Graduate Programs in the Field of Public Policy

An ample variety of programs have contributed to the development of this field via diverse disciplines and subject inputs, without being explicitly oriented to training analysts in public policy per se. These are graduate programs in various academic fields that have provided training in specific subjects that pertain to policy analysis, to the development of new academic fields, and to the debate about contemporary public issues. A few of these programs are mentioned below. They show some different models of graduate study that are not oriented towards public policy analysis, yet can help to amplify this rich field of study.

The Centro de Estudios Demográficos y de Desarrollo Urbano (CEDDU) at the Colegio de México (COLMES), since 1964 has been developing a group of programs of research and teaching on population and urban issues. They offer a PhD in Population Studies, with an option for a Master's in Demographics, a Master's in Urban Studies, a Program in Advanced Studies in Sustainable Development and Environment (LEAD – México), and a Program in Reproductive and Social Health (aimed toward academics, employees of nongovernmental organizations, and health services professionals).

The goal of the PhD in Population Studies is to train specialists in formal demographics and in the interdisciplinary aspects of population studies: population and work, survival and living conditions, reproductive dynamics and social change, migration and population distribution. The Master's in Urban Studies is geared toward academics and planners interested in the themes of the urban dynamics, administration, and politics of the city and its environment. This master's program, which is recognized for its interdisciplinary nature, offers three areas of concentration that today are considered priorities for academic specialists and those who par-

ticipate in the public, private, and social sphere: economy of urbanization, city planning and management, and urban environment.

LEAD International, a nongovernmental and nonprofit organization founded in 1991 by the Rockefeller Foundation, has the basic mission of building the capacity of people to select leaders who will contribute to the resolution of problems of development and environment. It has a program in sustainable development and environment.

In this same terrain of interdisciplinary master's programs there are others, such as the Master's in Population Studies at FLACSO. It has a similar format to the CEDDU graduate program, and is focused on the study of population dynamics in relation to job markets, health, natural resources, and environment.

Also worth mentioning are the graduate programs offered at the Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Sociales (FCPS) in association with the Centro de Investigaciones Sobre América del Norte (CISAN), both at UNAM. The collaboration between research and teaching centers to develop graduate programs is an innovation at this megainstitution, where innovation has generally been the exception. The Department of Political and Social Sciences has suspended traditional master's programs in political science and public administration and sociology, and has created a Program in Political and Social Studies and a Program in Government and Public Affairs with the academic support of CISAN.¹⁷ This center is interdisciplinary, and brings together researchers from many disciplines: sociology, economy, law, international relations, history, urban studies, and others, with the goal to undertake research into the many issues found in the field of U.S.-Mexican relations.

Other graduate programs of note are those in the field of public health. In 1997 in Mexico there were 37 graduate programs (31 master's programs and 6 certification programs) in occupational health, work, environment, reproductive health and family security, epidemiology and mental health, as well as a master's oriented towards research in health services. There were 24 different institutions offering these programs. For the most part they were public universities, although there were four private universities and the Escuela de Salud Pública de México (ESPM)—which only offers 6 programs. The 16 entities that offer the greatest number of graduate study programs in public health are concentrated in Jalisco (where the academic field of health is well developed); in the Capital

District at UNAM, UAM, and IPM; in the state of Morelos (the Escuela de Salud Pública de México is located there); in the state of Mexico at the Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, the Escuela Nacional de Estudios Profesionales Iztacala (a part of UNAM), and the Instituto Estatal para el Desarrollo de la Seguridad en el Trabajo. There are also entities in Baja California Norte, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Durango, Guanajuato, Nuevo León, Puebla, Sonora, Tamaulipas, Tlaxcala, Veracruz, and Zacatecas that offer either one or two programs in public health.

It is interesting to note the importance given to the field of mental health. In 1997 there were three master's programs in the field in the entire country: at ESPM, in the Instituto Tecnológico de Sonora, and in the Universidad de Guanajuato (where it is offered under the name of Mental Health and Psychiatry). Recently UNAM and the Instituto Mexicano de Psiquiatría began to offer a Master's and PhD in Public Mental Health. Once again, this is an interdisciplinary program directed toward graduates of different fields: biological and exact sciences, health, sociology, and humanities.

V. CONCLUSIONS

Although it is clear that graduate study in the field of public policy is a fairly recent phenomenon, dating from the early 1990s, there existed previously a variety of programs oriented toward the study of public processes and problems. These diverse disciplines were the base from which evolved the new, interdisciplinary focus. We have a lot of information about graduate programs in public policy, a young field whose intention is to fill the newer demands for specialized training of master's candidates. Less is known about public administration programs. There are at least 20 graduate programs in public administration (state and municipal), principally offered in public universities, and which fall outside the purview of CONACYT. We do not know their academic reach and the way in which they contribute to the training of professionals in the local and regional contexts. We still do not know that these programs carry out very little research and are staffed by professors at state universities with a relatively traditional public administration focus. It is also true that these academics have increasingly participated in upgrading programs offered by INAP.

Regional issues, and more recently urban issues, are themes that have gained greater importance in recent years and are studied not only from the point of view of public administration, but also economics and sociology. Moreover, there have emerged many programs in areas of concentration that by all indications are training people who can analyze and implement health, education, natural resource, regional, population, and environment policies.

Tensions Between the Professional and Academic Realms

Public policy programs are training students to follow an academic career path, going on to attain a doctorate or become teachers or researchers. It is a minority of these students who choose to enter the public sector workforce. Graduate programs in public policy show acute tensions between professional and academic training. The oldest program, that of the Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE), began as one in public administration (the declared field for training public sector employees) but the current focus is much more academically oriented.

Entering students in public policy programs are getting younger all the time, with many of them recent undergraduates. We do not know to what extent the current policies of granting funds to those who enter programs in the CONACYT directory is driving this trend. A positive side is that students can continue with graduate work and begin their academic careers at a fairly young age. The greater numbers of people active in the field can lead to the further institutionalization of public policy and change the composition of the faculty.

An aspect to consider is that the academically stronger programs do not recruit an important sector of the market: active professionals. They are more preoccupied with the pursuit of quality and research than with upgrading service practitioners. This may be a choice forced on the institutions by current policy in CONACYT, but it does reveal a division of labor between institutions bent on producing high-level academics and institutions with a training orientation. In a field such as public policy this may be an unfortunate choice, and a greater blending of theory and practice is to be desired both in the curriculum and in the types of institutions involved in this field.

Training of Academic Faculty

A critical point in the process of creating a solid academic environment for a new disciplinary field of study is the training of the first generation

of scholars, who will be the ones to teach those who will follow. The programs analyzed here have had different degrees of difficulty and chosen different strategies to build a solid base of scholars. ITAM, despite having a great number of full-time positions in both economics and public policy, has a high turnover rate in its faculty. They are constantly undergoing job searches, and while they would prefer their faculty members to have received training in one of a group of selected institutions in the United States, this constant movement leads to a certain degree of instability that undermines the ability of ITAM to undertake institutional projects. At CIDE, although they hire national and foreign academics, they also hire many people who only hold a master's and then encourage them to take leave and earn their doctorate abroad. Those who return with their PhD who had started in a track at the institution can regain their position.

Entry requirements for faculty have had an enormous weight on the development of the programs. In the case of FLACSO, the affair was more complex. The institution opened a number of programs that offered credentials in multiple fields and did so in very little time. Teaching activities in the Master's in Government and Public Affairs have relied on outside academics, and although these are highly qualified specialists with degrees from prestigious institutions, FLACSO is essentially relying on circumstances and people who are outside of their control to develop strategic initiatives. This does not bode well for its programs.

Changes in the Orientation and Content of the Programs

In some programs, the theory taught has not changed; what has been modified is the preference for certain themes of political analysis. In others the change has been substantive, such as when the program moves from public administration to policy analysis in a MPP. For the most part, these changes began before being formalized through curricular change.

Changes in Incoming Students

Two institutions, CIDE and FLACSO, have experienced important changes in the make-up of the student population enrolled in their master's programs. Before, the institutions received a high proportion of students from Latin America. These numbers have dwindled in recent times. At the same time, the number of students who did their undergraduate work in private institutions has increased. There is a change in incoming

students that has a direct effect on the mission of the institution, particularly in the case of FLACSO, recognized for its Latin American focus. In this area there is an institutional balance between the new profile of the students who are enrolling in the master's programs and what is taught in the curriculum.

Requirement of a Thesis without Providing Conditions that Encourage Students to Finish

Many students leave programs without having finished their thesis. This is due to many factors. The tension between professional and academic orientations of the programs can sometimes relegate to lower priority the acquisition of proper study skills to undertake research, although this is required for the students to graduate. Another factor is the ambiguous definition of what is expected of a thesis project. Although it is understood that the work has to be original in scope, what is unclear is whether it should be empirical or theoretical research, the creation of a model, or the application of certain techniques. In some programs, the curriculum is structured in such a way that the students do not start their project until their last trimester. And, often the type of project required lacks suitability. Only one institution allows two different types of projects, and leaves the choice of a professional or academically oriented project up to the student.

Teaching and Learning Methods

There have been innovations in both teaching and learning methods. The methodology of using case studies is increasingly being incorporated into the field of public policy. There is also an emphasis on using external practical internships as a part of formal training. The four programs examined in this paper all included as part of training professional internships in many different areas of the public sector.

Without a doubt, one of the problems is the school, vertical, lecture, or master-class style of instruction that characterizes all of the programs. There is an interest on the part of those who coordinate the programs in generating models that lead to a more participatory learning experience.

Academic Models Travel Along Different Paths

One of the more important ways in which academic models travel, which has a direct impact on the programs studied, is through the hiring of aca-

demics who were trained abroad. In some cases the Mexican institution will hire its own graduates when they finish their degree program abroad; in other cases, the institution makes a decision to hire scholars who studied at specific schools because these schools favor specific academic models.

There is no major tension in the curriculum focus of the older programs or those in which the faculty is more heterogeneous. They already have training models and methods that do not always converge, and have generated new hybrid models, that are not exclusively teaching or research oriented.

Another way in which models diffuse is through partnerships that institutions establish. In the cases analyzed, these are generally student and sometimes faculty exchange agreements. It should be noted that professorial exchange is not systematically used as a resource by the institutions. It is more a theoretical possibility than reality, and when it does happen, it tends not to be done through coordination of the programs to discuss exchange standards, complementary supports, and possible implications in the orientation and content of the programs.

Admissions Process for Students

In general, the graduate study programs that require exclusive dedication (full-time attendance) on the part of their students have rigorous selection procedures. The application process uses a series of steps: exams, interviews, the presentation of research projects in a few cases, and knowledge of English. Some exams concentrate on testing ability and basic knowledge; others test knowledge in specific areas of study.

No students are admitted to these programs if they do not pass the previously mentioned requirements. Outside this small number of programs there are a great number of graduate study programs that have variable requirements for entry. Some apply part of the requirements mentioned above; others do not even administer an entrance exam. Enrollment standards are up to the institution rather than a normative affair regulated across the board. Admission standards seem to be determined based on the academic status of the institution rather than through national enrollment standards.

The Centro Nacional de Evaluación (CENEVAL), an organization dedicated to designing and applying evaluative instruments, began to administer the EXANI III (Examen Nacional de Ingreso al Posgrado) in

1997. The purpose of the exam is to evaluate a student's general ability to successfully navigate graduate study. It is not focused on evaluating field-specific ability. EXANI III "intends to exclusively measure and compare" the greater or lesser presence of: logic, verbal, and mathematical abilities; the capability to use complex problem-solving skills; to test the student's awareness of changing conditions in the world and in Mexico; and the degree of familiarity with two languages—English and computers. It also intends to test basic research skills. This last part is vital for graduate programs oriented toward research. In a sense there is a certain similarity to the Graduate Record Exam (GRE) used by universities in the United States. Although more and more institutions are requiring it, EXANI III is currently an optional instrument for institutions and individuals. CENEVAL is very emphatic that this exam can be an excellent diagnostic tool, and is encouraging institutions to use it to help them select their students. It is an exam whose growing application depends upon the benefits that the institutions see in its use. Offering the EXANI III does not constitute a policy of graduate study standards per se. The programs that have had the most applicants are education (principally for secondary schools), business administration, and law.

New Necessities for Diagnosis and Coordination

It is evident that this is a field that is very dynamic and is responding in different ways to the demands of the marketplace and of governmental policies. It is also clear that many decisions are being made with little systematically acquired information about the needs of specialists in the field, and with little interaction between institutions in the same region or focusing on the same fields. At the same time, there are not any common standards nor is there interchange about different curricular models or teaching methods. This issue has interesting ramifications for governmental and institutional politics.

NOTES

1. It is important to point out that since this study was written in late 1999, at least five new programs in public policy were established at public and private institutions in Baja California, Jalisco, San Luis Potosí, and the Monterrey Technical Institute. This information came to our attention during the preparation of the final edition. Suffice it to say that public policy programs in Mexico are expanding.

2. PACIME is the program directed by CONACYT for the support of science. It contains programs specifically oriented to support research, graduate studies, the formation of resources for different fields, grants, and the repatriation of academics living abroad, among others.

3. See note 9.

4. The idea of affinity is not drawn from exhaustive inquiry but is inferred from the name of the programs. Our purpose was to get a general idea of the degree to which different fields are examining themes similar to the field of public policy. The objective is to demonstrate the diversity of graduate programs that from the perspective of different disciplines and thematic approaches contribute to the formation of resources for different works in the public interest.

5. This doctoral program grew out of an association with the University of Georgetown. Actually there were two cooperation agreements that led to this degree: with the University of Georgetown Political Science Department and Latin American Studies Center, and the Universidad de Salamanca in Spain. The cooperation takes into account the courses given by faculty at the foreign institutions and areas of research chosen by the FLACSO students in said institutions.

6. In general, this happens in public administration, not in public policy. Among doctorates in public administration are included those of UNAM—one offered in the Faculty of Law and one other in the Faculty of Political and Social Science—and more recently one at the University of Anáhuac, with which the university brings together three levels of graduate training in the field: certification, master's, and doctorate.

7. Boyer (1995) develops a solid argument in favor of having a wide-ranging scale to define academic excellence.

8. Levy (1995) has done an interesting study of the academic, economic, and political (including ideological) ties of many of these institutions.

9. Statistics are available on the graduation rate of the MPP, but program leaders expressed their concern over this problem in interviews.

10. The SEP-CONACYT system was formally founded in 1992. One of its primary missions is the decentralization of scientific and technological activities. It is made up of small basic and applied research institutions that concentrate on training future researchers in a non-university setting, with a clear focus on regional development. It is made up of twenty-seven institutions; twenty-four have graduate study programs, and most of these are listed in CONACYT's

Directory of Superior Graduate Programs. In the area of humanities and social sciences there are nine institutions: Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas (CIDE), Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropología Social (CIESAS), the Colegio de la Frontera Norte (COLEF), the Colegio de México (COLMEX), the Colegio de Michoacán (COLMICH), the Colegio de la Frontera Sur (ECOSUR), the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO), the Instituto de Investigaciones José María Luis Mora (MORA), and the Centro de Investigación Científica “Ingeniero Jorge L. Tamayo” (TAMAYO). (See <http://www.conacyt.mx/dacssc/index.html>).

11. Interviewees remain anonymous by agreement with the researchers.

12. The first part of the exam is multiple choice, similar in structure and content to the GRE.

13. CIDE began a program in 1992 to support those professors to obtain a doctorate abroad. At present, eight people have completed their PhD under this program and fourteen more are in the process of doing so.

14. Another professional training institute is the Instituto Matías Romero, part of the Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores, which focuses solely on diplomatic training offering a Master’s in Diplomatic Studies.

15. “INAP has consolidated its role as an important forum for reflection and debate about the Administrative Sciences.” Comment made by Ernesto Zedillo on the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of INAP, 7 February 1995.

16. In 1973 INAP initiated the creation of the Institutos Estatales de Administración Pública (IAPs) to encourage the study of local public administration. From that point until 1979, thirty IAPs were set up under the Coordinación de Relaciones Estatales. In 1983 it created the Centro de Estudios de Administración Municipal, with the goal of giving renewed vigor to the study of local governance. In 1989 these two organizations were merged to create the Centro de Estudios de Administración Estatal y Municipal.

17. Preliminary Convocation as printed in *Reforma*, July 9, 2000.

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Public Policy Education in Venezuela

**JANET KELLY WITH THE COLLABORATION
OF ABELARDO DAZA**

This study reviews the current state of public policy graduate studies in Venezuela. It forms part of a larger project aimed at all of Latin America, whose purpose is to assess public policy studies in the region, determine their strengths and weaknesses, compare them to similar programs in the United States, and analyze the potential for collaborative improvement. There is no doubt that the poor functioning of the state in Latin America contributes to underdevelopment, fosters corruption, creates barriers to economic growth, and generates a perilous loss of respect for government in general. Although citizens around the world tend to complain about their governments—and the United States is no exception—in Latin America, the low esteem that public administrations enjoy is especially critical, in particular at a time when democracy itself is being tested.

Within Latin America, Venezuela has a particularly poor reputation for bureaucratic functioning. According to an annual study of competitiveness presented by the International Institute for Management Development (IMD) in 2000, the country ranks as number 46 among the 47 countries surveyed for overall competitiveness, with only Russia being lower. The poor rating of various aspects of the government plays an important part in the low score. Venezuela is behind all the other Latin American countries surveyed: Chile, Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Colombia. Venezuela consistently receives low ratings in evaluations of corruption, such as those carried out by Transparency International. It even falls below countries like Colombia and Mexico, where serious problems are also known to exist.

Over the years, problems of the public sector in Venezuela have led to various attempts to remedy its well-known ills. The last concerted effort was undertaken in the early 1990s, when a reform-oriented government

attempted, unsuccessfully, to carry out a root-and-branch program of economic, social, and administrative changes. Political resistance brought the downfall of the government and, with economic crisis dominating the public agenda after 1993, the impulse for reform was lost and government effectiveness continued to drop. Faith in the system reached such a low that the proposal by Hugo Chávez to overhaul the state and virtually destroy existing institutions through a new constitution and a political and social “revolution” gained an overwhelming majority at the polls. Now the new constitution is in place, having been approved by referendum at the end of 1999, but it is no secret that the public administration continues to look much the same. It is in this context that an analysis of the educational support structure for the training of public officials takes on a certain urgency. Improvement in the quality of public administration must be a key feature of any attempt to change the efficiency and efficacy of government.

I. FORMING PUBLIC OFFICIALS IN VENEZUELA: AN INTRODUCTION

Background of Public Officials in the Venezuelan Tradition

As in most countries, high-level public officials in Venezuela traditionally were expected to have a good general education, and little formality existed for specific skills or knowledge beyond those required for a profession such as law. In the last half of the nineteenth century, the challenge was to provide for minimum public education at the primary level, a goal that is still elusive today, in a country where the average educational level is only close to the completion of primary schooling. Secondary education was considered to be the realm of the elite; until recently, the title of “bachelor” was one of distinction, meaning that the person had graduated from high school. Only after the consolidation of the democratic system in 1958 did university education begin to spread, and new universities were founded in the more important cities of Venezuela outside of the capital of Caracas.

The most important professions for work in the public sector were generally considered to be law and engineering; the lawyers took charge of legislative and administrative duties, and the engineers undertook public works. Areas such as international affairs would have

been in the hands of the humanists—historians and writers considered to know the wider world. Government was perhaps an informal activity, but it was also the responsibility of the elites. Military dictatorships were the rule from 1900 until 1958, so military training was also a suitable route to public administration. At the same time, the tasks of government tended to be relatively simple, since the concept of social policy was virtually unknown. In Venezuela, the growth of the oil industry also tended to reduce the complexity of government, since oil income made it unnecessary to build a fiscal system to collect and distribute taxes. The government depended principally on royalties and income taxes from oil and on revenues from foreign trade. This may explain in part the relative backwardness of public administration in the country.

Even with the establishment of democracy in 1958, government continued to be the province of non-specialists, although the Constitution of 1961 required the approval of a law establishing a formal career system for the public sector, with rules for selection, promotion, transfer, suspension, and removal of public servants. The Civil Service Law (*Ley de Carrera Administrativa*) was approved in 1970. It is generally considered that, despite the formalization of the civil service system, the quality of public servants and of government did not improve. The growth of government and the amplification of public services and state activities put a heavy burden on public employees, who now had greater responsibilities, but without specific training for them. The recently approved Constitution of 1999 reiterates the terms of its predecessor, calling for a Statute on the Public Function, adding however the injunction that the law should determine the requisites for jobs in the public sector (Art. 144). It also specifies that entry to career positions in the bureaucracy, that is, professional and technical jobs, will require competitive processes, and that promotions and other personnel decisions will be based on “scientific” methods (Art. 146).

The Civil Service System and Problems of Quality of Human Resources in the Public Sector

A number of times over the last 40 years, major efforts have been undertaken to evaluate the Venezuelan bureaucracy and its functioning. Perhaps the first important studies were those carried out by the World Bank and

United Nations at the end of the 1950s, when major recommendations were made for formalizing the fiscal system and upgrading quality. The Venezuelan government established the Public Administration Commission to study alternatives and make recommendations. At that time, the highest priority was to establish rules for government procedures and greater formalization and transparency, after ten years of military rule.

The Public Administration Commission tended to lose force during the course of the 1960s, but was revived in different forms by successive governments. The first government of Rafael Caldera (1969-74) was particularly dedicated to administrative reform, and a new version of the Public Administration Commission was created. This commission played a role in the approval of the Civil Service Law of 1970 mentioned above and made recommendations for new regionalization and planning organizations. It also created the first, but short-lived, *Escuela Nacional de Administración Pública* (National School for Public Administration). The succeeding government of Carlos Andrés Pérez (1974-79) disbanded the Public Administration Commission and attempted its own reform organization, similarly called the Commission for the Integral Reform of the Public Administration. Its main focus was on structural reforms to establish clearer hierarchies among the multiple state institutions that proliferated in that era when the oil boom of the 1970s suddenly spurred a huge expansion of the public sector, particularly in state-owned enterprises and autonomous institutes (not-for-profit government bodies with independent budgets) charged with a wide variety of economic and social objectives. Employees of state-owned enterprises were not technically public employees, although some rules of public service applied to them as well. The autonomous institutes were, however, part of the public personnel system. Most observers would argue that a decline in quality of the public bureaucracy could be traced to this period, when the number of public employees increased, without a parallel improvement in either control or training. It is worth noting that, while public employment grew during the 1970s, Venezuela's public sector is not particularly large in international terms. Public employment accounts for just over 20 percent of total employment.

At the end of the 1970s, the oil boom petered out and Venezuela entered a long period of economic instability and decline. Per-capita income, despite occasional spurts, tended to fall for the next 20 years.

Government deficits became the rule, with the inevitable increase in inflation. The governments of Luis Herrera (1970-84) and Jaime Lusinchi (1984-89) both reverted to the expedient of government controls and economic intervention in their efforts to stabilize the public and private economy, policies that would require strength and honesty for minimum success. Under Herrera, the thread of administrative reform was lost for a time, while efforts to improve the institutions of government and reduce corruption were superseded by a more moralistic and legal approach with the approval of the Law for Safeguarding the Public Patrimony in 1982, which seemed to try to resolve the problem of bureaucratic failure by simply criminalizing acts of corruption, and even negligence that resulted in loss of public assets. It is usually considered that the only effect of this law was to freeze any spirit of initiative on the part of civil servants and make it very unlikely that anyone with significant private wealth would dare join the public service (the law requires a declaration of assets on entering and leaving public service, with the aim of detecting unexplained increases in wealth during that period).

Lusinchi, whose government is judged to have been perhaps the most corrupt in Venezuelan history, actually initiated one of the most important efforts to reform the public sector, creating the Presidential Commission for State Reform (COPRE). This commission was composed of a significant number of sincere reformers, some of whom began to promote the idea that a reduction in state intervention and its substitution by market mechanisms would be a prerequisite of adjusting government objectives to government capabilities. This commission also undertook various studies of the civil service system, although no real reforms would be carried out until the following Perez government (1989-93), in which some of the COPRE reformers played a significant role as ministers or heads of other state institutions and companies. However, no significant civil service reform was carried out either in this government or its successor under the second Caldera government (1994-99). Most progress was made indirectly, through the elimination of price and exchange controls, the privatization of many public enterprises and the creation of regulatory agencies, although this process is still to be completed. It is yet to be seen whether the current government of Hugo Chávez will achieve what its predecessors could not, but

the new constitution and announced plans of the government point to a new wave of efforts to improve the public service. Indeed, Chávez continued the policy of privatization and creation of new regulatory bodies.

History of Movement to Create Formal Systems of Education for the Public Sector

Venezuela has no national school of public administration or public policy, despite sporadic efforts to create such an institution. The university system generated a good supply of lawyers specializing in public law, political scientists, economists, and the like and for a long time no particular need was seen for such a school. The creation of such institutions may even be seen as a threat by the universities. Individual universities do try to create programs suited to the government's needs, however, often seeking a captive audience for their services. From time to time, individuals may have interest in convincing the government of the necessity of creating its own training organization, opening up opportunities for possible directors and professors who might prefer such employment. Indeed, public officials sometimes see the advantage of promoting government-financed research and training organizations, which may be comfortable redoubts for their retirement. While this observation may sound cynical, there is ample evidence of organizations in Venezuela that have been created in such a way. This is not to say that the resulting organizations are superfluous; it is only useful to understand the institutional dynamics that might favor the creation of public sector training schools.

Government-university collaboration: It is also important to take into account that pressures from international organizations or aid programs can play an important role in generating new academic institutions. In the reform era following the 1958 return to democracy, there was no move toward the creation of a national public administration school. Perhaps the influence of the U.S. government is significant, in the sense that the United States depends mostly on the university system for public service training. The political unrest in the universities did create concern in the early 1960s that the main national universities, particularly the Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV), was not a propitious place for future civil servants: the program of studies seemed more conducive to training Marxist revolutionaries and

student strikers. As a way around the unrest at the UCV, various new institutions were founded in the mid-1960s. At the UCV itself, the autonomous Centro de Estudios del Desarrollo (Cendes) was founded in 1961 as a collaborative effort between the university and the Ministry of Planning, offering graduate programs in development studies. In 1965, a private institution, the Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración (IESA), was founded as the result of an alliance that united multiple organizations: Standard Oil Company of Venezuela, the Ford Foundation, the U.S. government, the Venezuelan national government, and the local private sector. IESA offered master's programs that allowed specialization in either private or public administration.

The creation of government schools: This decentralized approach to government service training was attenuated somewhat by the government of Rafael Caldera after his election in 1969. Where the two former democratic governments had looked to the United States for inspiration, the Caldera government had a distinctly European orientation, grounded in its links with Christian Democratic organizations on the continent, particularly in France, where a good number of its ministers had studied. The Public Administration Commission of that time was clearly inspired by the then-dominant forces in France: the *École Nationale d'Administration* (ENA) and the regional plan proposed by de Gaulle. The reforms instituted by the Commission followed the same pattern and the Venezuelan *Escuela Nacional de Administración Pública* (ENA) was created. This was an autonomous school that offered a master's program in public administration and attracted an enthusiastic student body, although never big, and graduated a few classes. Another institute existed at the time for the training of personnel for the Ministry of Finance (the *Escuela Nacional de Hacienda* [ENH]) although it was not a full-fledged graduate school, but rather a training center. When the Christian Democratic government left office, the ENA lost its support and tended to fade away, although it was later merged with the ENH to create the *Escuela Nacional de Administración y Hacienda Pública* (ENAH), which still exists (although it took on the simpler character of the Finance School, limited to training; it has recently added a graduate program in cooperation with several universities).

The idea of a national school of public administration did not entirely die out, however. The Presidential Commission for State Reform began to resuscitate the idea at the end of the 1980s under the Pérez government. A presidential decree on February 28, 1991 created a new foundation for the development of the Instituto para el Desarrollo de Alta Gerencia Pública, a proposal that resulted from multiple studies within COPRE on the problem of the civil service. In fact, such ideas had been debated for some years within the COPRE, especially under the leadership of Carlos Blanco, where the influence of the Consejo Latinoamericano para la Administración del Desarrollo (CLAD), under the direction of Bernardo Kliksberg, was important. Kliksberg, an expert on public administration, spent many years in Venezuela as director of CLAD (Kliksberg 1981; Kliksberg and Arapé Morales 1983) and close collaborator of the Lusinchi, Pérez and Caldera governments. COPRE developed the concept of the “necessary public manager,” which led logically to thinking about how to develop such a person. By that time, COPRE was beginning to decline as an organization, and the creation of such an institute would no doubt be beneficial for COPRE employees who wanted to continue to work in the area of public administration. Once again, however, political vagaries would doom the new institute to a quiet death even before it could start to operate, although a director was named and plans were made. The fall of the Pérez government and the succeeding economic difficulties of the second Caldera administration sealed the fate of both COPRE and the institute, which was created on paper but never financed. However, the School for Social Management, an organization with a more limited mission, was created and continues to function.

It is worthwhile noting that one model for the organization of the institute suggested that it would be unwise to try to found a complete school with its own full-time faculty. Given the existence of diverse programs in the university system, it was thought that a smaller strategic institution could well work as the center of a network of programs that it would coordinate. Needless to say, the universities preferred this model, while some people within COPRE argued for a full-scale public administration school.

In the meantime, Bernardo Kliksberg was named head of the Social Development Institute (INDES) at the Inter-American Development

Bank in Washington, DC where he continued to show interest in the creation of a government school in Venezuela, even suggesting that INDES establish a branch in Venezuela as a first step toward the creation of an Institute for Public Management. Plans were developed for training Venezuelans in Washington who would be future professors at such an institute. With Kliksberg's separation from the IDB, however, it was possible that the project, which had the support of Venezuela's Vice-President Adina Bastidas (former representative at the IDB) and of Minister of Science and Technology Carlos Genatios, would be redesigned.

In the meantime, some public organizations simply founded their own schools with specific ends in mind. The Foreign Ministry, traditionally dependent almost exclusively on hiring graduates in international relations from the UCV, founded an Institute for International Affairs in 1977, which was converted into the Pedro Gual Diplomatic Academy in 1984. This academy limited itself to training and research for the ministry itself, but in 1991, it was upgraded as an institute of higher education, the Pedro Gual Institute for Advanced Studies in Diplomacy, which would grant master's degrees in foreign relations, economic diplomacy, and frontier diplomacy. This institute ran into initial resistance from the faculty at the UCV, which feared losing its virtual monopoly on supplying future diplomats to the ministry. In reality, there is a high level of collaboration, and professors from the UCV participate as teachers; indeed, such outside teaching is probably viewed as a good way to legally supplement income for the poorly paid professors.

The Ministry of Planning (Cordiplan) also set up its training institute, the Instituto Venezolano de Planificación (Iveplan), in 1983. This project, in which the CLAD also had a role, was conceived by the Planning Minister Maritza Izaguirre in the Luis Herrera government, and carried out by her successor in the Lusinchi government, Luis Matos Azócar. Iveplan was to provide short courses and graduate programs in planning and public administration in general, and has continued to exist today.

The National Comptroller's Office (Contraloría General de la República) founded its own Gumersindo Torres Center for Advanced Studies in State Auditing, which thus far has limited itself to providing specific management development programs in areas related to public finance.

Another initiative for special training came from the oil industry, which has formed a succession of training institutions since nationalization in 1976, mostly devoted to technical training for the petroleum industry, but increasingly interested in general management development. After a large consulting project with Arthur D. Little, the national oil company, *Petróleos de Venezuela (PDVSA)* decided to make an important investment in creating what it would call a “corporate university,” the International Center for Education and Development (CIED), with a clear ambition to eventually include graduate programs in its offerings. While it expanded its management development programs to include participants from both the public and the private sectors, it was increasingly seen as very costly. Its main competitive advantage was that it had access to generous financing to import professors from foreign (and national) universities. Its disadvantage was that there was resistance to the idea of setting up a true academic institution, an activity far from its “core” business. Yet CIED did offer at least one graduate program, a Specialization in Tax Management, in collaboration with the ENAHP and the Instituto Universitario de Tecnología (IUT). With the arrival of the Chávez government in 1999, the oil industry underwent an evaluation by new management that initially took a skeptical view with regard to many of the initiatives of the former administration of the company. A decision was taken to reduce the autonomy of CIED and merge its training activities into the industry again, although CIED would retain its separate identity. It is yet to be seen what final role will be accorded CIED and whether it will continue to develop graduate degree programs.

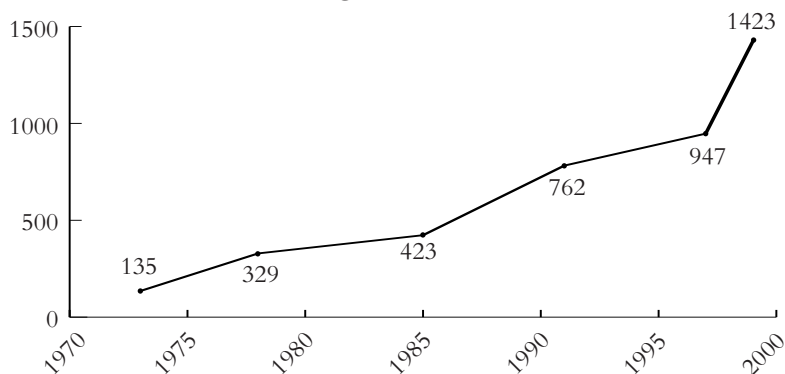
Efforts emerged from the pro-decentralization movement to create special institutes for the training of state and local officials. A few state governments have created schools and at least one municipal school was founded in Zulia state. These schools tend to work in collaboration with professors from local universities. Zulia, the largest state, has been most active in the educational area, having founded the Instituto Zuliano de Estudios Políticos Económicos y Sociales (IZEPES). Other state governors have expressed interest in founding their own training institutes, and it is likely that more will appear over the next few years as state and municipal governments expand their activities.

Emergence of Relevant Programs at Universities and Institutes of Higher Education

The history of public policy studies is one of progressive specialization in university programs. The first step was the growing availability of graduate programs in general, something which became increasingly common in the 1980s and 1990s. Graduate programs were interesting especially for public universities, since they could charge tuition at the graduate level, but not at the undergraduate level. Indeed, all academic institutions came to see the expansion of graduate programs as a profitable activity, and students seemed to be available in all areas. As Figure 1 shows, graduate offerings increased more than sevenfold between the 1970s and the 1990s.

Some 37 institutions currently offer at least one graduate level program, although relatively few can be classified as relevant for public policy, since the great majority correspond to the fields of health sciences, engineering, education, basic sciences, and law (see Table 1). The Consejo Nacional de Universidades (CNU) publishes data on the number of graduate programs accredited or authorized to operate at each university that has registered graduate programs, although it does not publish which programs specifically have been authorized or accredited.

Figure 1
Evolution of Graduate Programs in Venezuela
(Number of Programs Offered 1973–1999)



Source: Alvaray (1983); CNU (1997). The figure indicated for 1999 is an estimate made by Salcedo, Ruzza and Zerpa for Fundayacucho (1998) and projected by Sojo (2001); the (smaller) number of programs in prior years represents those actually registered with the CNU.

Table 1
Total Venezuelan Graduate Programs by Field, 1997

Field	Specialization	Master's	
		Degrees	Doctorate
Education	45	84	6
Economics	5	9	2
Urban Development – Environment	5	8	1
Political Science	0	3	4
Management/Finance	64	38	4
Law	50	9	2
Philosophy/History	1	11	4
Public Administration and Policies	8	4	1
Psychology/Sociology	1	6	2
Public Health/ International Affairs	5	5	0
Basic Sciences	11	45	16
Humanities and Art	10	22	1
Agriculture and Oceanic Sciences	13	25	3
Other Social Sciences	16	15	2
Total	470	407	70

Source: Consejo Nacional de Universidades 1997.

There are few graduate programs in economics, and the nine master's programs that do exist are concentrated at just six universities. Of these, only two programs offer traditional economics training, and the rest are specializations in specific fields such as business economics, agricultural economics, and the like. One program in economic policy is offered at the Universidad Católica Andrés Bello (UCAB). Economics training has been traditionally weak in Venezuela, having been dominated for many years by more institutionalist or structuralist approaches without sufficient requirements in mathematics and statistics. Those schools that have tried to reform their programs have nevertheless had difficulty attracting students at the graduate level, who more often look for more practical programs in management. Not many years ago there were scarcely any economists in the country with PhDs, although this situation has changed somewhat in recent years.

Likewise, graduate law degrees tend to permit lawyers to specialize in specific fields, although there are four graduate programs in public administrative law and one in law and economics at the UCAB. They focus on

public policy issues, particularly with respect to the economic impact of law and regulation.

While there are a fair number of programs in administration or management, there is no listed graduate program in public administration as such. Four of these programs offer studies in areas related to hospital management and public health. A program offered jointly by the UCAB and the Escuela de Gerencia Social is called Management of Social Programs. One explanation for the lack of programs in public administration is that the very phrase “public administration” has come to have such poor connotations in Venezuela that it is considered unattractive as a career alternative. The Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Administración offered an option in public administration during the 1970s, but changed its name and focus as interest in the field waned.

Another area related to public policy developed by some universities is that of evaluation, so there are programs in Environmental and/or Health Impact Evaluation (University of Yacambú, Cendes) and in Educational Evaluation.

Closer to public policy are six graduate programs in political science, although these programs only recently have begun to offer policy studies and virtually none makes any significant attempt to be interdisciplinary. An important one-year graduate program in defense studies is also offered by the Instituto de Altos Estudios de la Defensa Nacional (IAEDEN), which includes both military officials and nonmilitary participants in its student body.

Finally, there are a few programs that traditionally aim to train more generalist policy analysts or policymakers. Cendes offers several programs in development studies, development planning, and regional development. The Universidad del Zulia offers a program in public policy, and IESA offers a Master’s in Public Policy, perhaps the only program that fully integrates economics, quantitative methods, management, and political analysis. The political science master’s program at the Universidad Simón Bolívar offers an option to specialize in public policy, although there are few professors there who specialize in the field.

The Importance of Programs Abroad

Although the number of graduate programs has ballooned in Venezuela, many students who seek rigorous programs at the graduate level prefer to study

abroad. Hardly any graduate programs in the country are full time and many suffer serious deficiencies in the attention given to students, the resources available, and in the quality of professors. However, a national scholarship program, the Fundación Gran Mariscal de Ayacucho (Fundayacucho), founded in the 1970s with the oil wealth of the period, began offering full scholarships to thousands of Venezuelans who wished to study abroad. Over time, the program was modified to stress graduate education, since problems arose with younger, ill-prepared students sent abroad for undergraduate studies. At the urging of the World Bank, the scholarships were transformed into educational credits, with long payback periods and low interest rates that still allowed even poorer students to be able to study abroad.

The opportunities offered by Fundayacucho, while providing a significant improvement in the academic level of its beneficiaries, also acted as a brake on the development of high quality master's level studies in Venezuela, since it tended to siphon off the best students who would benefit not only from the foreign programs themselves, but who would also gain the advantage of learning foreign languages, especially English. The majority of Fundayacucho students went to the United States (in 1999, almost 50 percent of the 1,118 students abroad were in the United States), although a significant number also went to Spain, France, and England. Since its inception, Fundayacucho has financed some 63,000 students. The importance of this group has led some to speak of the "Fundayacucho generation" that has contributed to bringing a cosmopolitan culture to Venezuela and had a major effect on upgrading personnel in local universities.

Fundayacucho's financing of doctoral students has had a positive effect on public policy studies. It not only finances graduate studies abroad, but also gives credits to graduate students within Venezuela, which enables local students to study with fewer economic pressures. In recent years, Fundayacucho's budget has been squeezed, affecting students both abroad and in Venezuela. Given the higher tuition at private institutions, this reduction in funding is now favoring graduate study at public universities, where tuition may amount to only a quarter of what students must pay at private institutions like IESA.

Although many of the students sent abroad by Fundayacucho specialize in the hard sciences, administration, and education, a small but significant number have chosen economics and public policy. Traditionally, economics was not very popular and public policy virtually unknown. In particu-

lar, Venezuelans had difficulty in getting accepted in doctoral programs abroad, due to their poor preparation in mathematics and lack of English. The small number of highly trained economists in Venezuela became a matter of concern, so that a special program was designed, in collaboration with the Economics Institute of Colorado, to raise the number of doctorates by sending selected groups for a preparatory year in English and basic economics skills and help in testing. As a result, a greater number of Venezuelans enrolled in U.S. institutions and the first graduates are now coming off the production line. This program had the unexpected result of also producing doctorates in public policy. Some students at Colorado discovered that they preferred policy-oriented programs to theoretical PhDs. The numbers involved are not great and, as is usual, a fair number desist from finishing (or even starting) their doctorates. But in a small community like Venezuela's academic system, the addition of even twenty or so doctorates can have great impact on improving the available public policy and applied economics programs. The problem now is ensuring that they obtain attractive job offers, since academic salaries are absurdly low for people with doctoral training. Many seek instead to work in international organizations in Washington in lieu of the prospect of salaries of some \$30,000 per year at the private universities, and perhaps \$20,000 at public universities. Additionally, the programs that might hire such professors are so small and so few (as will become clearer below) that they cannot absorb many new doctorates.

II. THE INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

The Higher Education System

The Venezuelan university system has grown from an elite group of a few public universities in major cities to a complex of private and public universities spread throughout the country. In 1997, there were 773,312 active university students, 45,803 enrolled at the graduate level. According to the World Bank, higher education enrollment as a percentage of the relevant age group was 25 percent, considerably higher than Mexico (16 percent), but lower than countries like Argentina and Chile (42 percent and 30 percent, respectively). As in the United States, universities vary widely in quality, with rankings established among them by informal means. The Universidad Central de Venezuela (UCV) is the oldest and

largest of all, located on a sprawling campus in Caracas and offering the widest variety of fields of study. Other important public universities are the Universidad del Zulia, the Universidad de los Andes, the Universidad de Carabobo, and the Universidad de Oriente. In the 1960s, a more specialized university was founded in Caracas, the Universidad Simón Bolívar, often considered the most rigorous (the MIT of Venezuela), whose undergraduate programs tend to be limited to engineering and the sciences. The public sector accounts for 60 percent of all students in higher education in the country, and 79 percent of all students in universities (this concept excludes specialized technical institutes, junior colleges, military schools, and the like).

The most important private university is the Catholic University (UCAB), followed by the Universidad Metropolitana (dedicated mostly to engineering and administration), and the Universidad Santa María (USM), which is known for its large law school, but which is considered to be academically inferior to the UCAB or the UCV. IESA is an atypical institution in that it is a so-called “university institute” and operates only at the graduate level, both in management and in public policy, although it is widely recognized as the best in its field. (Fundayacucho commissioned a study of the reputation of schools in management and public policy that showed IESA to be the top-rated school in both fields, although its relative reputation in management was higher than in public policy, which is consistent with the fact that it educates a much higher number of students in private management.)

The chief difference between private and public universities is tuition. Public universities may not charge tuition at the undergraduate level, which tends to put private universities at a competitive disadvantage. Tuition is unregulated at the graduate level, however, which places private and public universities on a more equal footing. Public universities are much cheaper than private universities and are designed for people who are working, so that the economic sacrifice of enrolling in one of these programs is negligible. Studying full time at IESA in a program that costs \$9,000 per year is significant, especially when the opportunity cost of not working is factored into the equation. The other private universities fall between the public institutions and IESA in terms of the tuition cost, although IESA may cost three times as much as the private universities.

The public universities have their basic budgets covered by state subsidies, which gives them a cost advantage in theory, although a social cost accounting comparison would show that the real cost per student is much higher than tuition would indicate. Comparisons of costs in general show that the public institutions spend more per student than the private ones. In practice, they operate under tight resource restriction and offer little access to high technology or special programs. The public universities, particularly the better ones, complain that private institutions do not invest in research (although this is not the case for IESA or the UCAB). The comparison is not entirely just, since the public universities offer costly programs in medicine and the sciences that require greater investment in laboratories and infrastructure that are not needed in the social sciences. As we shall see below, most universities fail to invest sufficiently in their graduate programs, so that graduate students usually have poor access to bibliographic resources, computer networks and, most seriously, to their professors, which leads to the poor graduation rate in most programs.

According to the Law of Universities, three types of graduate programs exist in Venezuela: graduate specializations, master's programs, and doctoral programs. These may be offered by universities, university institutes (which do not have to have the minimum number of "faculties" or schools to offer higher education), and technological institutes (which may range from the equivalent of junior colleges to full-scale colleges). This paper will not analyze doctoral programs, since these are not aimed at forming public officials, and since few exist in the public policy field (one program at Cendes in development studies).

The difference between specializations and master's programs is not very great in terms of the minimum requirements of the law. The difference, in theory at least, is more related to the purpose of the programs, since both require the same minimum number of credit hours (24, or 8 courses with 48 class hours each). Specializations are meant to provide graduate training for professional objectives, while master's programs have a more purely academic intent. A specialization tends to be the equivalent of a one-year MSc in the United States, or an executive MBA. In practice, specializations are usually considered to be less academically rigorous than master's programs, although this is not necessarily the case in terms of courses taken. Additionally, a master's program may require more credit hours than the legal minimum. Many specializations emerged as "solu-

tions” for students who failed to complete the thesis requirement of existing master’s programs, since specializations originally did not require the thesis. Over time, however, an effort was made to ensure the quality of specializations, perhaps due to the perceived competition with the more exacting master’s programs. The rules were changed during the 1990s to require a thesis for specializations as well, although the thesis only required that the student demonstrate his or her competence in the corresponding field; the master’s thesis should indicate research capabilities.

Accreditation

As graduate programs proliferated in the 1980s, concern grew that there was virtually no control over quality. Just about any authorized university could create new graduate programs and these were subject only to the internal controls at each institution. Although professors should have degrees at least as high as the degree program in which they taught, violations were common. The best universities viewed these developments with scorn, and perhaps with a bit of competitive spirit. Thus, in 1993, standards for graduate programs were approved by the Consejo Nacional de Universidades (CNU), the body charged with general oversight of all institutions of higher education (CNU 1993, 1996). This involved the creation of the National Advisory Council for Graduate Studies, a national system of accreditation of all graduate programs, and the specification of minimum requirements in each, which were defined in 1996.

Since graduate programs had created a certain anarchy up to the time of the approval of the new rules, it would take some time for the CNU to bring order to the system. Indeed, that goal has not been fully reached today. First, it appears that there are quite a few graduate programs nesting in diverse universities and institutes that are not even registered with the CNU. The CNU itself has been somewhat slow in tabulating what information it does have. If, according to a Fundayacucho study, there are 1,423 graduate programs in existence, only 231 have been accredited, 92 authorized to operate, and a small number of programs are pending authorization.

Registry is only the first step: the program may obtain preliminary authorization to function, followed by accreditation, which is a much slower process for which the CNU does not seem to have sufficient resources. The accreditation system requires the naming of independent

peer boards for each program, and a bulky report by each as well, which should include course and credit requirements; objectives; syllabi; curricula vitae of all professors in the program; data on library, computing, and other resources available; as well as information on physical infrastructure, internal regulations, evaluation systems and decision-making structures. The requirements are reasonable, although archaic—reports must be typed on difficult forms instead of entered by computer. There is a natural tendency of the reviewing boards to be generous with the institutions under evaluation, given the small-town character of the Venezuelan higher education system. This is not to say that all programs get approved, however, although the usual solution when a program fails to pass muster is to make recommendations for improvement and delay making definitive judgments.

The most serious difficulty results from the sheer size of the accreditation process. Years may go by after a university hands in its materials, and by the time the evaluating board gets named, much of the information may no longer be valid. Updating is not an easy task, given that the information is prepared on typewriters. Naturally, universities balk when, after having waited for perhaps four years to get evaluated, the evaluators ask them to update their materials! For this reason, the CNU grants authorization to operate to programs that have not completed the accreditation process. Nevertheless, the creation of specific rules of the game has contributed somewhat to limiting the further proliferation of deficient programs. Recently some institutions have seen their operations suspended when flagrant violations of minimum rules have been detected, but it is still the case that many programs simply ignore applying for accreditation and continue to operate without any sanctions. In general, prospective students are unaware of the existence of the accreditation system. Even a respected university such as the Catholic University offers 22 graduate programs, only 3 of which are accredited and only 5 of which are authorized. The UCV offers 352 graduate programs, of which 86 are accredited and 17 authorized. The Chávez government appointed Luis Fuenmayor as head of the Office for University Planning. A former rector of the Central University and an influential member of the Chávez team, Fuenmayor began to press for higher standards and a few minor universities had their programs suspended pending improvement.

One of the chief benefits of an accreditation system is that it provides information to “consumers.” Unfortunately, the CNU does not make use of the quantity of information it possesses in order to increase transparency, nor does it require the programs to indicate their accreditation status in their promotional materials. While it does publish lists of accredited programs, it considers the information it has on faculty, graduation rates, and course programs to be confidential. Information on the programs covered in this paper was not available through the CNU and is not even easily available from the universities themselves. Although the larger universities now have web sites, these do not provide much information.

III. GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC POLICY: AN OVERVIEW OF AVAILABLE PROGRAMS

This section reviews the most important program from each institution listed on the basis of information available with regard to program, students, faculty, institutional infrastructure, financing, measures of success/failure, and overall evaluation. Table 2 provides a list of the graduate programs related to public policy, the university or institute that offers them, and their geographical location.

1. Master’s in Public Policy, IESA

IESA’s master’s program in public policy has been in existence in different forms since its founding in 1965. Originally, IESA granted only one graduate degree, a Master’s in Administration, which offered options in public and private management and shared a certain number of core courses and different higher-level courses. Later, the MPP was created in 1996, and four specializations were offered as well. The master’s program (MBA and MPP) has graduated 1,551 students since its founding, and 375 students have completed their specializations (these programs are only a few years old).

In the 1970s, with declining interest in public administration, new options were offered in Integration (the heyday of the Andean Pact, with support from the Inter-American Development Bank [IDB]) and in Management of State Enterprises and Services. With the liberalizing

Table 2
Venezuelan Graduate Courses in Public Management and Public Policy, 1997

Master's Degree	University	Location
Master's in Public Policy	IESA	Caracas
Magister Scientiarum in Public Management	Universidad del Zulia	Maracaibo
Magister Scientiarum in Public Management Barquisimeto	Universidad Fermín Toro	
Magister Scientiarum in Public Management	Universidad Nacional Experimental Francisco de Miranda	Coro
Magister in Management of Social Programs	Universidad Católica Andrés Bello	Caracas
Magister Scientiarum in Development Planning	Cendes, Universidad Central de Venezuela	Caracas
Magister in Policy Design	Universidad Central de Venezuela`	Caracas
Magister Scientiarum in Regional Development Planning	Universidad de Oriente	Barcelona
Master's in Social Program Management	Ministerio de Planificación y Desarrollo	Caracas
Master's in Political Science, specialty in Public Policy	Universidad Simón Bolívar	Caracas
Specialists Degree	University	Location
Specialist in Government and Public Policy	Universidad Central de Venezuela	Caracas
Specialist in Public Management	Universidad del Zulia	Maracaibo
Specialist in Public Sector Management	Universidad Católica Andrés Bello	Caracas
Specialist in Public Management	Instituto Venezolano de Planificación, IVEPLAN	Caracas
Specialist in Public Management	Universidad Rafael Urdaneta	Maracaibo
Specialist in Public Management	Universidad Nacional Experimental Francisco de Miranda	Coro
Specialist in Municipal Management	Universidad Santa María	Caracas

Source: Consejo Nacional de Universidades 1997; UCY, public course offerings.

trend of the 1980s and the decline of integration schemes, the option was converted into Public Policy and the program was structured much as it is today. In 1995, the IDB began to support the public policy program in the form of scholarships for non-Venezuelan students. In response to student demand, the program was converted into a Master's in Public Policy (MPP) with basically the same program as was offered as an option in the Master's in Administration. Indeed, it is still possible to obtain the degree in Management with a mention in Public Policy, although in practice, students all opt for the MPP. IESA's Master's in Administration (concentration in Public Policy was accredited by the CNU), and its Master's in Public Policy (which is essentially the same program) is authorized for operations, with accreditation pending. The same program was formerly accredited fully as an option within the Master's in Administration.

IESA's program reflects the strong tradition of the school in quantitative approaches and economics. Since the program is parallel to the MBA and students share core courses with the MBA (and may take electives in any graduate program at the school), there is also a marked emphasis on management and practice, more than on theory. Today, IESA also offers four specialization programs (in Finance, Marketing, Corporate Law, and Operations) and is planning to add a specialization in Public Policy designed for active public officials who can only study part-time. It is also relevant that IESA has a large program in executive development (some 5,000 participants per year) and a significant number of these are designed for the public sector, either for individual ministries or organizations or as open programs for public sector executives. Thus, professors obtain first-hand knowledge of public sector training needs.

The courses offered in the master's program are presented in Tables 3 and 4. In addition to the common courses as shown, students must complete three additional courses for a major in Applied Economics or Public Management. In Applied Economics, they must take Microeconomics II or Industrial Organization, Econometrics, and one other economics course. In Public Management, they must take Public Management, Decentralization or State Reform and one other related course as approved by the Public Policy Center.

Students from any IESA graduate program may enroll in MPP courses as electives and they often do so, particularly in economics

Table 3
Master's in Public Policy, IESA
(By Academic Quarters)

	• Financial Mathematics*	
I	• Quantitative Methods I • Public Organizations • Presentations Workshop	• Microeconomics • Financial Accounting
II	• Quantitative Methods II • Political Economy • Managerial Communication (1/2)	• Macroeconomics • Finance I
III	• Elective • Public Law	• Public Finance • Elective
IV	• Elective • Elective • Leadership Workshop	• Elective • Elective
V	• Thesis tutorial • Strategy & Structure • Elective	• Social Project Evaluation • Public Policy Analysis • Ethics Workshop
VI	• Management Practices in the Public Sector • Elective • Information Systems (1/2)	• Elective • Elective (1/2) • Negotiations Workshop

**Taken as an intensive required course that is offered before the start of the full first quarter. Students who have low scores in mathematics on their entrance exams must have already passed a preparatory course in mathematics that is offered during the summer prior to their final admission.*

and public finance. All students must complete a thesis to graduate, a process that includes a tutorial course under the direction of a professor. The success rate for students undertaking the thesis is close to 100% within the MPP, and similar to that level in the MBA. This is highly unusual in Venezuela, and can be explained by the fact that most students are full time and form a compact group that graduates together. Students receive support and pressure to write their theses, and peer pressure undoubtedly also plays a role. The thesis may be individual or the product of a team of two students, each of whom must clarify his or her contribution to the paper. The requirement is that the paper indicate capacity for research, writing skills, and organization.

Table 4
Elective Courses* by Area in Public Policy
(Offered in the Last Five Years)

Economics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Macroeconomics II • Industrial Organization • Human Capital and Economic Growth • Venezuelan Economy • International Economics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Labor Economics • Law and Economics • Information Economics • Latin American Economies • Money and Banking
Political Science	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional Analysis of Democracies • Latin American Political Systems 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political Economy and Public Policy • Venezuelan Political Systems
Sectoral Policies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Services • Agricultural Policy • Competition Policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Technological Innovation and Policy
State Reform	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State Reform and Decentralization • Municipal Topics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Policy and Non-Profit Organizations • Public Management
Social Policy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education Policy • Social Policy 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health Policy • Social Marketing
Supporting Disciplines	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Econometrics • Decision Theory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Game Theory

*In addition to this group, students can take any of the main and elective courses of the IESA's MBA program. *Source:* Academic Coordination Office. IESA. Several years.

Student Body

The Master's in Public Policy is small in relation to the MBA at IESA, usually comprising some 15 percent of all master's students. IESA had 167 students in its master's programs in 1999, 26 of which were enrolled in the MPP, and 283 students in its specializations. Most students in the MPP come from the public sector, or enroll in the program directly out of college.

Because of its admission standards, IESA receives many more applicants for its programs than are accepted. The same academic standard is applied to the MPP as the MBA, where the acceptance rate is about from 1 in every 2-3 applications. Acceptances are lower in the MPP, generally due to the poorer preparation of applicants from the social sciences in compari-

son with engineering and science graduates (who are more common in the MBA). Once accepted, about 60 percent graduate (see Table 5). Practically all students who fail to graduate are retired from the program by the end of the first two quarters; all students who have survived the first year have graduated. This is markedly different from other Venezuelan graduate programs, where students often finish their courses but do not complete their theses.

English is not a requirement for acceptance at IESA, although students are advised that reading skills are almost obligatory, since most course bibliographies depend heavily on sources in English. Students may enroll in English classes that are offered outside of the curriculum.

Scholarship support from the IDB for non-Venezuelan students has enabled IESA to internationalize its program, although few non-Venezuelans attend IESA without such support. In order to ensure inter-

Table 5
Enrollment and Alumni: MPP, IESA, 1996-2001

Period	Total Applications	Accepted	Enrolled	Graduated or in Course
1996-1998				
Venezuelans/other	38	11	11	6
Latin Americans	76	21	17	9
1997-1999				
Venezuelans	59	16	12	5
Latin Americans	108	27	20	12
1998-2000				
Venezuelans	40	12	12	6
Latin Americans	8	4	4	1
1999-2001				
Venezuelans	13	8	10*	10
Totals 1996-2000				
Venezuelans	137	47	45	37
Latin Americans	192	52	41	22
Final total	329	99	86	59

*The number enrolled may be greater than the number of students accepted, since some MBA students opt to change to the MPP or to complete the requirements for both the MPP and the MBA. Equally, some students opt for the MBA and drop out of the MPP.

national students, IESA engages in a broad exchange program through which its students may study abroad for one quarter or one semester, and IESA receives students for similar periods from its partner schools, mostly in the United States and Europe.

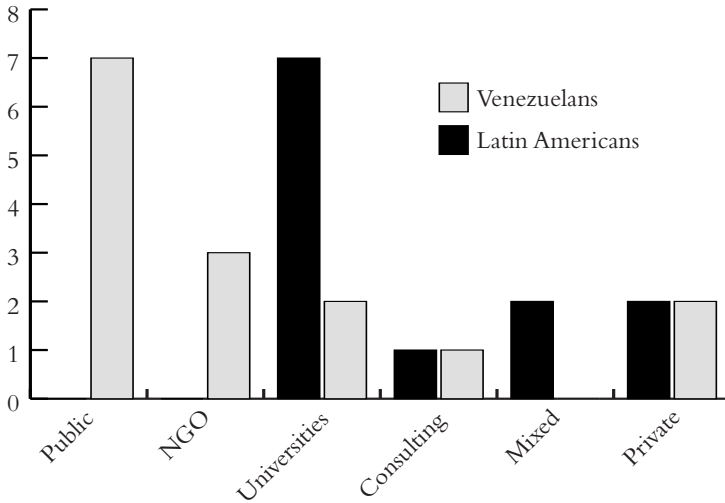
Faculty

IESA has a total of 38 full-time academic personnel divided between professors (more than 60 percent have PhD degrees) and researchers (who have master's degrees and who must acquire doctorates in order to remain on the staff; most researchers are enrolled in PhD programs in Venezuela or abroad). The faculty is organized in centers, and MPP professors tend to be members of the Public Policy Center, where there are any. Part-time personnel account for about 40 percent of master's courses offered. IESA is known in Venezuela for the high quality of its faculty, which creates some retention problems due to opportunities for faculty to join the government or international organizations, to accept offers in universities abroad or to work with consulting firms. In recent years, a number of faculty have served as ministers, vice-ministers or directors of public organizations, such as the Economic Advisory Office of the National Assembly, the Venezuelan Investment Fund and the Anti-Monopoly Superintendency. IESA is also known for its emphasis on policy research, and its professors publish frequently in the field (even its professors from other centers at the institute).

Graduates

MPP graduates generally work in the public sector or in academic positions related to their specialty, although the vagaries of the public sector and poor salary prospects often force graduates to seek work in the private sector (Figure 2). The Latin American students financed by the IDB seem particularly likely to teach in their country of origin, where public policy experts may not be common. Those who work in the private sector tend to continue to work in areas related to the public sector, particularly in large companies that have staff analysts for planning or political analysis or in consulting firms that deal with the public sector. Some graduates also go on to doctoral programs abroad, in first line universities such as MIT, London School of Economics, Maryland, etc.

Figure 2
Placement of Public Policy Students by Origin and Institution Type, IESA, 1998-2000



Source: IESA internal documents, 2000.

2. Development Planning, Cendes

Cendes is an independent school of the UCV, with its own building near the main campus, its own library, and considerable autonomy in its operations. Founded in the 1960s, Cendes gained a reputation as a research center on development, and attracted important scholars from Venezuela and abroad, often benefiting from the exodus of intellectuals from other Latin American countries during periods of military repression. Fernando Henrique Cardoso was at Cendes, as were many other well-known researchers in the so-called dependency school. It carried out important research in economics, politics, and sociology, with early support from MIT. Some would say that Cendes had entered a certain intellectual decline by the 1980s, when structuralist approaches came under question, so that it was no longer considered to be at the cutting edge of the debate over development. Indeed, its programs today still bear the stamp of the institution's origins in development planning and urban studies. Cendes seemed for a time to have changed less than the intellectual environment, although younger

researchers and new leadership have contributed to renewal. This is a result of generational change. Interest has also revived in development problems because Venezuela and other countries of economic reforms have failed to reduce poverty or improve income distribution. Cendes suffers from the university context in Venezuela as well, since real salaries have declined precipitously, thus driving the best academics elsewhere.

Compared to many other graduate programs in Venezuela, Cendes offers an intellectual environment, a library, and a devotion to research that enrich its offerings. Its main professors are academics by vocation. According to its Annual Report for 1999, some 17 students completed their theses that year in master's (5) and specialization programs (12). About 45 new students enter per year on average. Cendes offers seven graduate programs in all.

Program

The curriculum offered by two master's programs at Cendes, presented in Tables 6 and 7, are concentrations within the general master's in Development Planning (which has two concentrations in General Planning and Regional and Urban Problems.) Although the Master's in Development Planning ostensibly last two years (five or six quarters), it can be seen that the second year is devoted mostly to research seminars and the thesis. This means that the student typically takes some twelve formally structured courses and then embarks on independent study in his or her particular field of interest. Thus, the Cendes program has a strong research orientation, and less stress on the practice of public policy. The program tends to be more theoretical, for instance than the IESA program in public policy, and more focused on the specific problems of social and urban policy. Although students receive information on methodology and, presumably, in statistical methods, the emphasis on quantitative skills is light, and economics training is oriented toward grand country-wide models than to microeconomics, regulation, and the like. Similarly, thesis projects are often more institutional and theoretical, although their greater length and depth in comparison to IESA—should the student finish—are consistent with the amount of the program devoted to their development.

Table 6
Master's in Development Planning (Social Policy), Cendes

1st Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning Models • Development Theories • Macroeconomics 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Problems in Latin America
2nd Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sociopolitical Analysis • Instruments and Techniques of Planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysis of Social Problems • Formulation of Social Policy
3rd Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Methodology • Strategic Planning • Evaluation of the Impact of Social Programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management of Social Programs
4th Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thesis Workshop 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elective Seminars
5th Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Workshop I 	
6th Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Workshop II 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thesis

Source: Information supplied by Cendes.

Table 7
Master's in Development Planning (Local Problems), Cendes

1st Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planning Models • Development Theories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Urban Development • Legal and Institutional Factors
2nd Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sociopolitical Analysis • Instruments and Techniques of Planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local Planning and Development • Elective Seminar
3rd Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Research Methodology • Strategic Planning 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management of Organizations and Environment • Formulation of Local Projects
4th Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thesis Workshop • Elective Seminars 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Evaluation of the Impact of Local Programs • Research Workshop I
5th Quarter	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thesis 	

Source: Information supplied by Cendes.

Cendes also offers a specialization in Planning and Local Management, composed of 12 courses of a practical bent, within a three-quarter period. It also has a planning orientation, and students must take one course in public finance or local economics (although prior training in economics

and finance is not required). This specialization costs US\$880 for the year (versus \$9000 at IESA for a similar program).

Students

Students at Cendes are more likely to come from the public sector and to combine work and study. Like IESA and most other graduate programs in Venezuela, ample financing for students has been available through Fundayacucho, although educational credits have been limited in the last year or two due to financial restrictions at Fundayacucho. This, of course, is not of great importance in influencing student decisions, since tuition is relatively low. (Fundayacucho has been supported over the last decade by World Bank loans, which were discontinued. The World Bank wished to use its credit to influence educational policy and indicated that Venezuela should reform higher education by moving to a system of charging tuition, which goes against the historic tradition of free education through undergraduate university education. The new Venezuelan constitution of 1999 explicitly forbids tuition, and it is likely that the World Bank will step back from its demand and renew its support at some time in the future. As is usual with the arrival of new governments, negotiations with the international lending institutions came to a virtual halt after the election of Hugo Chávez to the presidency at the end of 1998, although a renewal of relations is likely in the future.)

Graduation rates at Cendes appear to be about 40 percent in recent years according to the 1999 Annual Report. On the whole, the academic environment at Cendes enables more students to finish there than at lesser institutions, although fewer than at IESA where the graduation rate is almost 70 percent, and where most students who do not graduate are retired close to the start of their studies. The fact that Cendes offers a PhD in Development Studies also contributes to academic productivity. Cendes receives a large number of applications and thus can be selective in choosing students, which also ensures better performance among them. (This author observed, through reading some theses produced at Cendes, a marked tendency to stress the importance of large societal factors, and to apply theoretical approaches more than applied methodologies of policy analysis.)

Faculty

According to figures from the beginning of the 1990s, Cendes has about 40 full-time researchers and faculty. Cendes faculty engage in

research and have good relationships with government, often working on government projects. A prominent Cendes professor, Jorge Giordani, was named Planning Minister in the government of Hugo Chávez, thus reasserting Cendes influence over government thinking. In the debate over such questions as “neoliberalism” and globalization, Cendes can often be found on the side of the “anti-neoliberals,” although, as in any academic institutions, different approaches can be found among the faculty.

Some faculty members have doctorates from abroad, although few of the younger generation have doctorates from top-ranking universities abroad. The fact that Cendes offers its own doctoral program enables young academics to obtain their doctorates without having to leave the country. Thus, some inbreeding occurs. That this is so is seen in the faculty assigned to the Specialization in Planning and Local Management, where most degrees held are from the same institution.

Overall, Cendes can be considered one of the more successful institutions in Venezuela in offering graduate studies in programs that have a stable history and successive graduating classes. The research orientation of Cendes ensures a good level of academic debate, which inevitably benefits its students. Research on important public policy issues also results in enriching the classroom and bringing significant problems into the discussion. There have been efforts to modernize, although these have been insufficient in terms of ensuring adequate training in economics, finance, and management.

3. Master’s in Management of Social Problems, Iveplan (Ministry of Planning)

Iveplan is a planning institute affiliated with Cordiplan, the Ministry of Planning. Iveplan offers both short courses and graduate programs leading to specialization and master’s degrees. It has a small staff of its own, and depends mostly on faculty drawn from local universities and the public sector. This reduces its prestige as an academic institution, since its modus operandi is one of offering classes without the benefit of a broader academic environment.

As Table 8 indicates, the Master’s in Social Programs Management has a practical orientation for the training of public officials. Course programs

Table 8
Master’s in Social Programs Management, Iveplan
(By Semester)

1st Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public and Social Policy in Venezuela • Administration and Public Finance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Planning and Management • Ethics
2nd Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Formulation and Evaluation of Social Programs • Social Information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elective I • Practicum • Projects/Application
3rd Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Programs • Organizational Development in the Social Sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elective II
4th Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economics • Change Management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Thesis Seminar • Thesis

Source: Iveplan brochure, n.d.

at Iveplan vary in quality. Some, given by university professors, have bibliographies and assigned topics, while others appear to have low academic content. An introductory preparatory course is required of all students before the start of the program. Oddly enough, Iveplan’s Specialization in Public Management appears to be more demanding than the master’s program, with a much more complete treatment of typical problems that confront the public manager, although with little or no emphasis on policymaking itself (see Table 10). Its emphasis on managerial skills comes at the expense of economics and finance, a bias common to practically all programs related to public policy that prepare administrators more than policymakers or analysts. Iveplan has one specialization accredited with the CNU, and its master’s program is still not included in the official list of accredited or authorized programs.

Hard data on students in the Iveplan master’s program were unavailable, but data were supplied on students in the Specialization in Public Management, which is likely to have a similar performance profile to the master’s program. Indeed, it may have a better profile, due to the fact that master’s programs are more time consuming and require a more advanced thesis. Iveplan appears to seek synergies among its programs, considering its staff as available for different degree programs and requiring overlapping

Table 9
Enrollments in the Specialization in Public Management,
Iveplan

Year	Applicants	Enrolled	Students Who		Degrees Granted	Withdrawn
			Completed Classwork	Students with Thesis Pending		
1992-95	30	30	24	8	6	16
1995-96	18	18	18	12	—	—
1996-97	13	13	11	10	3	2
1997-98	17	17	16	16	3	3
1998-99	23	23	23		—	

Source: Iveplan, internal document, October, 1999.

course programs between the master's and specialization programs. In any case, as Table 9 indicates, most specialization students finish their coursework (in the specialization) and hardly any finish their theses—surely a result of the part-time nature of the faculty, who are not readily available for consultations, especially in the informal situation in which students who finish classes return to their place of work and do not have much continuing contact with the institution. Iveplan lists as professors with almost full-time dedication persons who are also full-time professors at universities, which is one of the ways the Venezuelan system increases real academic salaries. In a list of nineteen professors drawn up by Iveplan in 1997, eight were listed as having doctoral degrees, although the doctorate is sometimes a soft concept in Venezuela, including doctorates from local programs with low standards, doctorates with the “thesis pending,” or degrees obtained in France, for instance, when France offered doctoral programs for students from abroad that were distinctly different from the “state doctorate” that confers high academic standing to French academics.

Tuition and Student Financing

The cost of the master's program is approximately \$2,800. In general, students are sent by sponsoring agencies that pay the full cost of the course. A few cases of self-financing also exist. In theory Fundayacucho may finance students, although students have not used this option. In effect, Iveplan has a captive audience of public officials for whom studying is an easy option, financed by the state, with time allowed for class attendance.

**4. Master’s in Regional Development Planning,
Universidad de Oriente**

This program is offered in the eastern part of the country at the principal public university in Barcelona. The program began to be offered in 1996 and has had four groups of students. The influence of new policies for decentralization and greater responsibilities for state governors has been a factor promoting the development of this kind of program in the interior of Venezuela. Information about course offerings was not available, although it is likely that the orientation is similar to that of Cendes, given the emphasis on planning.

Student Profile

Although this graduate program has been functioning since 1986, information is only available since 1992. During this period there were 61 applicants and 47 students who registered. Only 10.6 percent of the students have graduated, due to difficulties in finishing the thesis. The program is designed for part-time students who work.

**Table 10
Program in Specialization in Public Management, IVEPLAN**

1st Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Management as a Problem • Management • Systems Approaches • Research Methodology 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Information Systems I • Public Sector as an Organization • Political Environment • Economic Environment
2nd Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal Environment and Constitution • Political Parties and Groups • Strategic Management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizational Development • Information Systems II • Productivity Management • Social Problems in Venezuela
3rd Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Budgeting • Project Management • Human Resource Management • Decision Making Models • Negotiation Strategies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Ethics and Organizational Culture • Communication and Leadership • Thesis
Electives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Recognition in Work • Communication in Work Groups 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management by Objectives • Motivation for Work

Tuition and Financing

The tuition for this program is approximately US\$1,000, which is paid by the students. No information was available with respect to student financing from Fundayacucho or public institutions, although it is likely that local government offices sponsor their employees.

5. Master's in Political Science, Specialization in Public Policy, Universidad Simón Bolívar (USB)

This program has enough students that its option to specialize in public policy can be considered a program in itself. Students must take a basic set of five courses in political science: Political Theory, Elements of Political Analysis, International Political Economy, Research Methods, and Thesis Seminar. They must also take five courses in public policy. These courses may vary over time; the fall quarter 2000 offered: Public Policy Models, Public Policy Evaluation, New Perspectives on Health Policy, Sociopolitical Actors, Crisis of Democracy and Constitutional Process, Urban Political Systems, Strategies in Urban Policy, and Individual Study.

In addition to these ten courses, two additional courses are taken in complementary areas and the equivalent of credit for three courses is given for the thesis. As can be seen from the course offerings, the program requires little in the way of economics training, although the strength of the department in survey techniques enables the student to have good access to social science methods, especially because two of the other mentions are in Political Sociology and Research Methods. The student may take up to three years to complete the program of fifteen courses. The USB has a trimester system, allowing full-time students to accumulate credits quickly.

The cost of the program is low. Each trimester course costs less than US\$100, according to students currently enrolled. The flexible nature of the program makes it possible for students to build their credits over time. Each quarter's offerings in political science are listed as fulfilling the requirements of one or more specializations in the master's program.

The political science group at Simón Bolívar University is comprised of about a dozen professors, most of whom have doctorates, many of them from outside of Venezuela. In practice, a fair number of professors from outside of the university also offer courses. The program is relative-

ly popular, a result of the fine reputation of the university, the flexibility of the program, and its low cost. According to the coordinator of the public policy subprogram, the Master's in Political Science has a total enrollment of approximately 130 students. Since they may spend several years before completing their studies, it can be concluded that some 40 students per year may start their studies, of which only some 20 percent choose the public policy option. Thus, as at other institutions, the number of students in public policy is rather small.

**6. Specialization in Municipal Management,
Universidad Santa María (USM)**

This program is one of twenty-two specializations offered by the Universidad Santa María, a private (and apparently for profit) university in Caracas, with seventeen branches in the interior of the country. USM is known for its poor quality, part-time faculty, and relatively low tuition for a private university. Its Specialization in Municipal Management is designed to attract students from local governments in the area. Two groups have finished their courses, which last one year and are offered in the evenings. Students take four two-hour courses per 16-week semester, meeting two nights a week (which apparently falls below the legal minimum of 48 hours per course.)

The program of this specialization, shown in Table 11, seems to capitalize on some courses offered at the USM law school, plus some management courses. Professors are generally practitioners who share their experience with students; few have completed graduate degrees related to the

**Table 11
Specialization in Municipal Management (USM)**

1st Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal Aspects of Municipalities I • Budget Management • Human Resource Management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social and Political Environment of Municipalities
2nd Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal Aspects of Municipalities II • Management Control in Municipalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special Topics • Strategic Planning and Decision Making

Source: Universidad Santa María. Decanato de postgrado, documents registered at the Consejo Nacional de Universidades, 1999.

topics they teach. The course in special topics has no particular content, but rather is a workshop in which students prepare a paper on the topic of their interest. According to a currently enrolled student, the classes have had about 15 students per group, and of the two groups who have finished their classes, only three students have completed their theses for graduation. Practically no support is given to the students for the thesis beyond what might be considered the guidance they receive in the Special Topics course offered in their second semester.

7. Specialization in Public Management, Universidad Rafael Urdaneta

Universidad Rafael Urdaneta is a private university located in the city of Maracaibo, the second largest city in Venezuela. No information was available on this program beyond the list of courses published on the university's web site (see Table 12). Its orientation is eminently practical, with an emphasis on effective implementation and management skills and little attention to public policy formulation and analysis, as evidenced by the lack of requirements in this area, or in economics or quantitative or statistical skills.

Table 12
Specialization in Public Management,
Universidad Rafael Urdaneta

Semester I	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Management and Human Resources • Organizational Behavior and Development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ethics, Leadership and Culture
Semester II	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Budget Management • Organization and Structure of Public Institutions 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Decentralized Public Management • Quality in Public Management
Semester III	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Policy Formation • Negotiation in the Public Sector • Strategic Planning and Planning in the Public Sector 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Field Practice: Applied Public Policy Evaluation and Formulation
Semester IV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analysis, Control and Management of Public Policies • Public Policy Management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project Management • Thesis

Source: [www.htp.www.uru.edu/Agerencia.htm](http://www.uru.edu/Agerencia.htm)

8. Specialization in Government and Public Policy, Universidad Central de Venezuela

This specialization has been offered since 1996 and six groups of students have been admitted. It is offered as a part-time program within the Faculty of Law and Political Science of the UCV. The purpose of the program, according to its brochure, is to provide a capacity for critical thinking on public policies in Venezuela with a view to preparing the student for effective policy implementation.

This program is designed for public officials who work while they study. Although an admission exam has been used, currently only an interview is required, since the program's director is working for the government at this time. Priority is given to public officials. In the last four years, the program has had 445 applicants; 161 were accepted and 102 were enrolled.

Program

Table 13 indicates the required and optional courses offered in the specialization. The program reflects the political science orientation of the professors from this faculty at UCV and provides general preparation for problems of public policy, without much interdisciplinary focus.

Students

Despite the fact that it has enrolled more than one hundred students since its start, this program has not produced a single graduate. There have been programming problems such that students find that they need one or another course which is not being offered at the time when they need it. As is common in the universities, there are insufficient professors available for tutoring students at the thesis level, and it is also possible that very high standards are being required for the thesis, for which the students are unprepared. What is more, students who come from the public sector may have insufficient motivation since their salary scales hardly recognize the value of graduate degrees. Thus, while there may be incentives to enroll—virtually no cost to the student and release from work for classes—there are no incentives to finish.

Table 13
Specialization in Government and Public Policy, UCV

Required Courses	
1st Semester	• Introduction to Political Analysis* • Venezuelan Political System
2nd Semester	• Behavior of Public Sector Organizations I • Elective • Problems of the Contemporary State I
3rd Semester	• Behavior of Public Sector Organizations II • Elective • Problems of the Contemporary State II
4th Semester	• Thesis • Elective • Elective

* Required only for non-political scientists.

Elective Courses	
• Approaches to the Study of Public Policies	• Negotiating Techniques
• Empirical Methodology for Public Policy Analysis	• Public Policy Analysis
• General Techniques for Solving Problems of Governability	• Quantitative Methods for Public Policy Analysis

9. Specialization and Master's in Public Management, Universidad del Zulia

This program began in 1993 and six groups have been admitted since then. The program is offered on a part-time basis and students have up to four years to finish (see Table 14). Students are selected on the basis of an interview, and all of them must complete a preparatory course before enrollment. The preparatory course requires the completion of four modules: Introduction to the Theory of the State, Economics, Quantitative Methods, and Introduction to Management.

Information is not currently available on the course program. The University of Zulia, like most universities in Venezuela to date, does not yet make use of its web page to provide useful information about programs to its students or the public. Universities also fail to prepare course catalogs or provide information about faculty. In fact, most universities have difficulties in planning the use of faculty, since many are part time. Nevertheless, the University of Zulia has made efforts to promote research, and produces a journal dedicated to problems of government, whose quality is a sign of the academic orientation of the faculty. The uni-

Table 14
Student Enrollment and Graduation, Zulia

	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
Applicants	33	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	16
Enrolled	18	18	20	20	34	N.D.	14
Graduates					2	11	3

Source: Universidad del Zulia.

versity maintains close ties to both state and municipal governments and to the oil industry, which has extensive operations in the region.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

Public policy studies have grown in Venezuela, although there is still only a weak recognition of the field. Only one master's degree is offered specifically in public policy, at IESA, although other programs in public management and in development planning cover public policy questions, among which Cendes is the best example. Public policy is a specific option within political science at the Simón Bolívar University. Public management, an outgrowth of public administration, is more widely available as an option for graduate studies. Various conclusions can be drawn from this review of public policy graduate programs in Venezuela.

Financial and Career Incentives Affecting Students

Enrollment in public policy and public management programs in Venezuela is low. No institution attracts a large number of students, so it is difficult to attain the critical mass necessary for varied course offerings. Most programs are hybrids, with core courses often taken together with students in related fields. This strategy enables academic institutions to offer more courses, although at the expense of coherence. Low enrollments signal problems at the level of incentives for studying in this field. Within the public sector itself, there is no clear career path for graduates, nor are there organized systems for recruiting. This means that the student who decides to pursue a graduate degree is taking a certain risk, although it is usually possible to obtain some position on graduation. Higher-level positions in the public sec-

tor offer little security and are often obtained through informal means, contacts, and the like. As a result, most students in public policy and related fields tend already to be working in the public sector, and seek programs that offer part-time study. It is unlikely that this situation will change, unless a deep reform of the public administration were to take place, with clearer career paths available to professionals with specialized training.

Mismatch Between Curriculum and Career Needs

The various curricula reviewed here offer generalist overviews of the problems of public administration. The programs that make an explicit effort to cover substantive problems, such as planning at Cendes, show a strong sociological orientation, with emphasis on regional planning and social policy. IESA trains its students in economics, management and finance, as well as in specific areas related to public policy and administration, with a larger number of required courses. In general, each program grew out of some perceived need at different times. Newer programs often stress local government, in line with the decentralization process initiated in Venezuela at the end of the 1980s.

One of the common assumptions made in Venezuela is that the poor functioning of the state is attributable to weak management, which explains the existence of programs in public management at most universities. Most of these are “specializations,” equivalents of one-year graduate programs. By the same token, the scarcity of programs dedicated to public policy might indicate that there is little felt need for training students in analytical, as opposed to management, skills. It is as if the country were saying that it is capable of knowing which policies are best, what policy design is optimal, and what has worked. These assumptions are surely overly optimistic, since there is ample evidence that the public administration is weak in analysis, design, and evaluation. There would even appear to be distrust or suspicion of certain analytical frameworks, especially approaches based on economic analysis. Yet public policy analysis generally grounds itself firmly in microeconomics, a field scarcely offered in any of the public policy programs reviewed here. Public policy usually implies comparative methodologies that require the study of different countries; most programs in Venezuela appear to be stubbornly anchored in local reality.

Low Graduation Rates and Faculty Shortcomings

One of the most notable aspects of graduate programs in Venezuela is the low completion rate at many institutions, although differences do exist. CNU requires a thesis for master's degrees and a long paper for specialization degrees. The most common problem is that of students who complete coursework, but fail to write the required thesis. There are a number of causes for this. Students who enroll in graduate programs may have a variety of motives, but there is little incentive to complete a graduate degree in order to advance in public service. Thus, students may feel that they have learned what was useful from courses, and that the thesis will not add much more than that. At the same time, writing a thesis is very different from attending classes. Although a part-time professor may be perfectly able to communicate experience and knowledge in the classroom, full-time academics are needed to guide students in their theses. Indeed, professors who are not primarily academics have few incentives to help students do their theses and may not themselves have research skills.

Thus, only at institutions with full-time professors who themselves do research is it likely that students will find the proper supervision for their theses. For this reason, high graduation rates are found at the schools whose professors have doctorates and work full time as academics, such as IESA. At some institutions, like Simón Bolívar University, an effort was made to define the nature of the thesis, so that students and professors alike would understand that the purpose was to develop a manageable research project, after it was shown that one of the problems leading to low graduation rates was that the students were trying to study problems far too ambitious for the master's level. As a result, graduation rates improved. It might be tempting to question the requirement of the thesis for a professional degree, but at the same time, it is a way of ensuring that graduates have minimum skills in writing and policy argument.

Possible Solutions

Public policy studies need to be increased in Venezuela and more students should be prepared in the field. High government officials frequently complain about the scarcity of talented professionals to fill posts in ministries, state and local governments, and government agencies, but it would appear that the remedy is complex. As long as the public sector offers little stability and low pay to government officials at the higher levels, incen-

tives to prepare for such a career are weak. On the other hand, many young people with a certain interest in politics and policy—without clearly differentiating between the two—perceive that they will benefit from the ability to claim that they have specialized training. They may not know what route their careers will follow, but they are willing to pursue different opportunities and jump from one post to another, in different parts of government or outside of it, for instance as consultants. Yet it will be necessary to promote the idea that public policy studies form people specially equipped for the complexity of the public sector. This may be even more the case should the current situation persist whereby professionals in the public sector tend to have careers that are more patchwork than linear.

Although the ideal solution is to wish that the entire system of public bureaucracy be reformed and that merit and training be criteria for promotion, there is little prospect that such an outcome is at hand, even with the best of intentions and new laws in prospect as required by the Constitution of 1999. Of course, the growth of a small public policy elite would help to create a sort of lobby for public sector reform and for the creation of better incentives for education. But even in the somewhat chaotic context of today, there is no doubt that a larger pool of well-trained public policy experts will still contribute to the availability of skilled personnel for positions that require the combination of analytical power and political sensibility that a good program in public policy provides.

What additional elements would contribute to the improvement of public policy studies in Venezuela? Without doubt, the availability of professors who themselves have good grounding in the field would have a multiplier effect. For the time being, this implies support for doctoral studies abroad in public policy programs.

With regard to professional studies within Venezuela, some mechanisms should be created to institutionalize government support for public policy studies. Oftentimes, public managers are loath to send their own personnel to master's programs, since their best employees are too useful to let go for long periods of time. Yet, a program whereby young professionals were to be chosen for support near the start of their careers, with funding from the public organizations where they work, would create the incentives that are currently lacking. Although full-time programs are preferable, it would

also be possible to create part-time programs that allow for work time to be used partially for study. Degree programs with evaluation are likely to be more efficient than mere non-degree training programs, where incentives are lacking for individual study.

If government support is needed to increase and improve public policy studies, it is a good question whether or not the government should try to found its own graduate school for public administration and policy. As we have seen, some government agencies have their own specialized schools, but the only attempt to create a multipurpose school of public administration failed in the 1970s. At the current time, the low enrollments in existing programs would indicate that there is more supply than demand and that the government could well take advantage of this fact by using local institutions before making an expensive commitment to founding new institutions, whose success is not guaranteed. Thus, any government school of public policy and administration should make use of the existing network of institutions, especially the stronger ones. Support should be given to public administrators to enroll in these programs on a part-time basis, with scholarships/loans for tuition to be cancelled with equivalent years of service or paid on withdrawal from public jobs. If possible, the government should support younger officials for full time study.

Another observation that suggests its own solution in this review of public policy programs is the problem of curriculum. There appears to be little assurance that graduates of the programs reviewed here have sufficient grounding in mathematics, statistics, and economics, particularly microeconomics. There is no reason to think that the academic institutions feel pressured to change their programs or to require more analytic content. Such pressure would have to come from the outside, for instance in the form of accreditation or membership in associations of public policy schools. Another route would be the encouragement of associations between local schools and public policy programs at institutions abroad, including partnered programs and student exchanges; if language was a barrier, associations could exist among Latin American or Hispanic institutions. Of course, exchanges with non-Spanish speaking institutions would encourage the more global outlook that is also lacking in many programs in Venezuela. Too few public sector employees speak other languages, and their access to information is thereby severely restricted.

The problems of Venezuela are not unique. Many of the weaknesses of the public sector and of public policy studies are common to other Latin American countries. Without a doubt, international collaboration would allow greater awareness of the need for better training for the public sector, and more contact among public policy schools within Latin America and from developed countries would contribute to a better understanding of the specific educational needs in the field.

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Public Policy Analysis at the Graduate Level in Brazil: A Case of Institutional Underdevelopment

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Higher education, and science and technology have been the target of public policymaking in Brazil since the 1930s (Schwartzman, Krieger, Galembeck, Guimarães, and Bertero 1995). This was an effect of the import substitution policies that were then implemented, which assumed that subsidies and barriers against foreign competition would protect infant industries. This strategy led to a pattern of autarkic industrialization policies, and tended to reduce intra- and inter-industry competition. It based its success in the world market mainly on the comparative advantages to be found in basic production factors, such as natural resources and the abundance of cheap unskilled or semiskilled labor.

In such a protected environment, Brazilian technology policies were not primarily concerned with cost or quality, but rather aimed at freeing national industries from alleged technological encirclement by foreign governments and multinational firms. Such policies mostly valued the search for a genuine national technology path, even when that meant “reinventing the wheel,” irrespective of higher costs and lower efficiency.

Even though Brazilian governments never sought to advance a “national science,” their most important goal was to develop adequate scientific capability in every field. The strategy adopted was then centered on huge investments in a few large technological projects. Policymakers hoped that with such large projects, technological and scientific capabilities would in time succeed in trickling down to the economy and the

society at large. Little attention was to be paid to the technology diffusion process (Schwartzman et al. 1995).

As for higher education, the main policy goal was to generate an elite of outstanding scientists and engineers needed to implement the large projects that were at the core of the country's science and technology policies. This, in turn, led to policies that concentrated resources and quality control at the top of the educational pyramid, while paying little attention to the middle and lower layers. Indeed, since the early 1970s the federal and state governments have made strong investments to expand elementary education, both in terms of facilities and enrollment. Nevertheless, little concern was directed to the quality of education offered at the elementary level. Analysts are unanimous in diagnosing a sharp decline in quality paralleling the expansion of basic education (Ribeiro 1990; Castro 1985).

The Brazilian Higher Education System: A Brief History

The Brazilian higher education system has been the target of two great reform programs in the twentieth century: the first in the 1930s, and the second in 1968. The time between the 1930s and the 1960s was a crucial era in Brazilian contemporary history. The state-building process grew rapidly, leading to major centralization. Strong institutional building marked the period, and new patterns of relationships between federal and state levels were established.

Before the 1930s the major operational units of Brazilian higher education were the professional schools, which provided training and credentials for a limited number of recognized professions. The University Regulation bill of 1931 adopted a multi-school university model as the desirable paradigm to be pursued by all higher education institutions. In order to be accredited as a university, higher education institutions were supposed to combine a faculty of philosophy, sciences, and languages with an array of professional schools, most often law, medicine, and engineering. The faculty of philosophy and sciences was not intended to conduct basic research, but to train teachers for the secondary level.¹

Thus, this regulation and subsequent decrees and laws reinforced the notion that the primary role of higher education was to provide training and certification for the established professions. Those laws and regulations had a lasting effect upon the Brazilian higher education system. Since cre-

dentials were to have the same value nationally, the federal government took great pains to assure that all institutions in the country adopted a single curriculum for each profession. At the federal level, this principle entailed building an elaborate system of bureaucratic controls and regulations. At the institutional level, this system left little room for innovation and autonomy. From the societal point of view, the association of educational credentials with access to protected job markets made it desirable to attain such credentials, irrespective of the knowledge content of the degree. Within this overall framework, the lack of vitality in Brazil's higher education institutions and the absence of major concerns about quality education at the undergraduate level are easily understood.

The period between 1930 and the early 1960s was also the time when diversification of the higher education sector took root. The State of São Paulo, the most economically dynamic state, founded its own university in 1934 with large support from the state's cultural and economic elite. It was the first university to follow the federal legislation of 1931, even though it remained under state (not federal) supervision. Benefiting from the social crisis in Europe, especially in Germany and Italy, it successfully attracted scholars from abroad, both teachers and researchers, who had a lasting influence upon the university's ethos. The University of São Paulo (USP) quickly became the first to conduct research as an important institutional activity. To the present day, USP is still the most influential institution in the Brazilian higher education system, with almost 50 percent of all students enrolled in research-oriented graduate programs. In 1996, this single university accounted for 37.4 percent of all doctoral degrees granted in the country (MEC 1996). It is also estimated that USP accounts for about 40 percent of all the research results published by the Brazilian science community.

A network of federal universities was also established after 1945, covering roughly all states in Brazil. This subsector had started in the 1930s with the federalization of several state and private schools in major capital cities. In the 1950s, growth was enhanced by the notion—later adopted as a new constitutional principle—that every state was entitled to host a federal university. The Catholic Church also took its first steps as a serious player in the Brazilian higher education system in 1940, when the Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro was founded; by 1960 a network of Catholic universities covered the entire country.

The second major reform of Brazilian higher education took place in 1968, the year the federal government, then under military rule, enacted a bill seeking to reorganize the entire Brazilian higher education system after the U.S. model. The University Reform Bill replaced the old chair system with the department model, adopted full-time contracts for faculty, regulated graduate programs, and substituted the credit system for the sequential course system.²

The 1968 reform was enacted amid an explosive increase in the demand for higher education. In 1960 there were 95,691 students enrolled in undergraduate courses; ten years later this number jumped to 425,478. As everywhere in Latin America and many Western countries, this expansion was partly due to an increase in the number of secondary students seeking higher education. It was also due to the incorporation of new population segments, especially females and adults, who struggled for enhanced credentials for advancement in the labor market.

This huge growth, with all it entailed, was not foreseen by the reform decisionmakers. The total expansion was only partially absorbed by the public sector, leaving most of the increase to be accommodated by the private sector. By the end of 1968 a decision was taken by the National Council on Education to allow for the creation of a large number of private schools to absorb the bulk of the expansion; from 1960 to 1980—when enrollment began to level off—the percentage of students registered in the private sector rose from 43.96 to 64.26 (Durham 1998a). This sector grew mostly as isolated, minor teaching-oriented schools, understaffed and based on part-time, low-quality faculty, and offering mostly evening classes.

The public sector, mainly the federal and the State of São Paulo systems, made the most consistent efforts to implement the 1968 reform. Federal and state investments grew, and most of the funds were used for building new facilities, extending full-time contracts to all faculty, and creating research infrastructure and improved graduate programs. Entrance exams were used to limit pressures for teaching-load expansion. Thus, contrary to other countries where the expansion of the public sector was partially financed by lowering the costs per student, in Brazil the growth of public higher education coincided with a sharp increase in overall institutional costs (Schwartzman 1993; Paul and Wolyneec 1990; Castro 1985).

I. THE GRADUATE LEVEL: ADDING A NEW LAYER TO AN OLD SYSTEM

The foundations of the graduate “layer” in the Brazilian higher education system can be traced to early experiences within the cathedral system adopted by the University Regulation bill of 1931. With the foreign scholars attracted to Brazil in the 1930s came the first institutional model for doctoral training. Pursuant to that model, graduate studies were conceived of as an apprenticeship. Central to this paradigm was the tutorial relationship between a full professor and a few candidates (who were supposed to assist the professor as teaching and/or research assistants), the extended time deemed necessary to complete the training, and the pre-eminent role accorded to the doctoral dissertation. Such graduate studies were regarded by society at large as one (but not the exclusive) mode of entry into the academic career. This training could only be found at the best universities, like USP, the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, the Federal University of Minas Gerais, at Belo Horizonte, and a few other academic institutions with relevant scientific traditions.

These features affected the graduate ethos when the new layer was created as a result of the 1968 reform. Actually, graduate education was conceived as a new level of training three years earlier, and its main organizational features were first sketched in 1965 by Report 977 of the Federal Council of Education, the so-called Sucupira Report (*Parecer Sucupira*).³ It was to include two major steps: the master’s and the doctoral degrees. In the 1968 reform, graduate studies were placed under the authority of a college. The tutorship of the old cathedral model was preserved, but relations between the candidate and her/his tutor were now to be supervised by the college graduate program. To complete the program, candidates were supposed to follow a specialized curriculum to be complemented by public defense of a thesis before a board of examiners—three in the case of a master’s degree, and five for the doctoral degree.⁴

These institutional measures were coupled with new sources of funding prompted by governmental awareness of the strategic role played by science and technology in the country’s development. The entrance of economic planning agencies into the field, lasting for almost a decade, for the first time brought the money necessary to build up the

infrastructure for research and advanced training. From the late 1960s on, a great amount of resources was directed toward the consolidation of graduate studies in Brazil. Money was provided for direct support to graduate programs and many scholarships and fellowships were created for graduate studies both at home and abroad. Support for doctoral granting programs was so large that in 1996 nearly all students enrolled at the graduate level were supported by some kind of scholarship. Contrary to the experience in other domains, the Brazilian government and the academic community took great pains to assure quality in this layer. The Fundação Coordenadoria de Aperfeiçoamento do Pessoal do Ensino Superior (CAPES), the agency of the Ministry of Education in charge of graduate education policymaking and implementation, created a sophisticated peer review system for program evaluation based on objective data provided by the graduate programs themselves and site visits from experts. It successfully connects performance with support, and stands in striking contrast to other policies adopted since the 1968 Reform (Castro and Soares 1986).

Thus, after 1968, graduate education and research experienced dramatic expansion. Graduate programs were created in all prestigious academic institutions; enrollments rose from almost zero in the early 1960s to more than forty thousand by the late 1980s. Direct support for graduate programs provided by CAPES and other agencies allowed doctorate holders to participate in these growing programs (Oliveira 1984), which became the main site for institutional research in the Brazilian higher education system.

Since the quality of academic backgrounds of faculty and the number of their publications are at the core of the evaluation of graduate programs, the overall effect on Brazilian graduate education has been beneficial. A virtuous circle developed in which the rule is “the better you are, the more support you get.” This is in clear contrast with other policies regarding higher education in Brazil, in which the government has not yet succeeded in relating performance to rewards. Nevertheless, the very success of such policies has also been the source of its weakness. In the 1970s and the 1980s, support for graduate programs was so great that in many universities these programs actually separated from the departments, leaving undergraduate education with scant support from the most qualified faculty (Castro 1985).

II. GRADUATE SOCIAL SCIENCE PROGRAMS IN BRAZIL

Graduate studies in all social science fields in Brazil go back to the first French academic missions to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo in the 1930s. As a result, graduate activities have been linked to the chairs of sociology and anthropology at both the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and at the University of São Paulo.

In time other centers, like the Federal University of Minas Gerais, also developed similar graduate activities, usually informally organized and revolving around the chair holders. Candidates were supposed to work as assistants to a chaired professor, and their training program consisted of attending a few informal seminars taught by the professor and, mostly, in working on their own dissertation. The advisory authority of the professors was then almost absolute: it was their sole responsibility to assign assistants their load of academic work, to determine the acceptable subjects and methodologies, and to establish a standard of quality for the dissertations. Most important, this pattern of graduate activities, organized as a threshold to the institution's academic career, made a permanent appointment at the institution highly prized. Thus, inbreeding became a valued status quo pursued by every institution.

In all social science fields, this heritage has shaped the expected roles of both the candidates and the tutors. After 1968, graduate activities became semiautonomous programs in the newly organized departments. Nonetheless the institutionalization of such programs remained precarious, especially in the most prestigious and academic-oriented institutions. In most cases, the graduate program revolved mostly around the dissertation with little attention paid to the organization of a structured training program. Candidates were supposed to negotiate the dissertation's subject and the methodology with the tutor alone prior to being accepted as a graduate student; after that, they were expected to work in solitude until they completed their studies.

A change in this framework began to take form in the 1970s, when the first wave of political exiles and graduate students sent abroad after the military coup of 1964 started coming back home. Some of them found it difficult to apply for a position in the older and more prestigious universities given the ideological controls over academic recruitment established by the military government. Their most conspicuous alternative was to

organize private research centers with support from international foundations such as the Ford Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, and other such funding agencies. This was the origin of the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP) in São Paulo, and the University Research Institute of Rio de Janeiro (IUPERJ).

Socialized abroad, these scholars brought to Brazil a whole new research-oriented agenda with fresh theoretical perspectives, methodologies, and bibliographical references. They also carried different institutional perspectives on graduate education that stressed the importance of a more regular training program, standardized entrance examinations, and instruments for collective control over the quality performance of the candidates. In the early 1970s, IUPERJ started its own program of graduate studies in sociology and political science at the master's level, the first comprising a minimum curriculum and a more structured research environment for the students. IUPERJ has had a great effect on other programs, especially in political science.⁵

After 1976, CAPES officially undertook graduate program accreditation and evaluation responsibilities. As well as in other research areas, prestigious scholars in the social science fields were brought in as consultants to evaluate and rank the graduate programs. These committees had a major impact on the institutionalization of social science research in Brazil. They were a major forum for legitimizing subjects, theories, and methodologies; for establishing quality standards for research and academic careers; and for evaluating international links and publishing patterns (Coutinho 1996). This procedure was very helpful in expediting the institutionalization of research fields. However, as the process lacked international peer review, it often resulted in crystallizing old-fashioned or dead-end practices and/or research standards.

III. THE PLACE OF PUBLIC POLICY ANALYSIS IN BRAZILIAN SOCIAL SCIENCE

Public policy analysis as a field of systematic academic research in Brazil started in the 1970s as a result of two main incentives. First, the new institutes adopted a more applied orientation for their research agenda; lacking unrestricted governmental budget support, they were compelled to seek a clientele for their research outputs. Second, the government's emphasis on

policy planning created new employment opportunities (including consultancies) for social scientists and developed a new demand for a more applied research-oriented agenda.

CEBRAP's publication *São Paulo, crescimento e pobreza*⁶ can be taken as a reference for that period. The usual subjects were urban problems and policies and public planning, dealing with urban spatial zoning, services distribution, and land occupation. Education, housing, public transportation, and health—especially public health—were also explored in these early studies. A special focus was demographic studies, including trends in population growth, birth control practices, morbidity, and so on. Regional development planning and social policies and practices were also popular subjects.

New concepts and perspectives were adopted that reflected the international background of the scholars involved in the new agenda. Many works appeared in that period that dealt with the typology of policy arenas, analysis of the decision-making process and access channels, the implementation process, and the socially unexpected (and expected) impacts of public policy. In the more academic-oriented social science graduate programs in the 1970s, university faculty who were collaborating in the new research centers also became involved in research dealing with public policy analysis and started orienting theses and dissertations toward the new subject.

Undergraduate students working part time as junior research assistants in public policy analysis projects were often attracted to a more academic environment. There they sought to translate their research experience into an academic degree. Social scientists working at government planning offices were also brought in by the new opportunities opened by the willingness of academics to advise dissertations on new popular subjects. As time went by, public policy analysis became a widespread subject for dissertations in all Brazilian political science graduate programs. For instance, an average of two master's theses and one doctoral dissertation dealing with public policy analysis have been presented every year since 1986 in the USP political science graduate program. There were also peaks of popularity for this subject by the late 1980s and the mid-1990s. These figures are relevant because the graduate programs offered by USP and IUPERJ are the only doctoral programs in political science in Brazil today.

As for the thesis and dissertation contents, they often include analyses of specific policies, most of them presented by students with some previous job experience in a particular policy area. They also include seasonal themes influenced by the country's political circumstances; in the 1970s a great number of dissertations dealt with specific public policies such as health, agriculture, and urban programs, most of which were meant to denounce the perverse effects of the economic growth policies adopted by the military government.

One interesting case of thematic popularity in that period is the remarkable development of social studies related to health, prompted by the converging influence of a growing awareness of three issues. The first was the mutual entanglement of underdevelopment and public health. Second, the new interest in traditional medical professions and new professions involved with public health policies in assessing their own social roles. And last, but not least, the growing involvement of partisan politics with grassroots movements made possible by the adoption of participative methods in social medicine. For a number of sociologists, anthropologists, and political scientists, the demand for applied research in this area provided a fresh—if not a first—experience in applied social science. Many found an entry for a new career at academic social medicine departments and at governmental agencies that until then had been averse to social scientists.

In the 1980s, the democratization process brought a new interest in popular movements, in their emancipating effects upon the actors involved in such movements, and in the paths for their manipulation by conservative forces. By the early 1990s, the fresh successes of leftist parties in local elections inspired a score of studies about the peculiar traits of the new local administrations and their constraints in dealing with conservative local forces. By the mid-1990s, as the neoliberal wave spread over the country, public policy studies switched to the analysis of state reform programs to denounce their conservative features or analyze their impact and constraints.

Nonetheless, the impetus to incorporate public policy analysis and applied social research in general was never so strong as to lead to an institutionalization of independent graduate programs in public policy analysis, which usually was only one among many courses offered by social and political science graduate programs. A few important features should be

underlined in the analysis of the experience of introducing public policy analysis in major political science graduate programs.⁷

First, we can note a lack of systematic formal training in public policy analysis. Most graduate programs center around a framework in which students are supposed to complete a set of required and optional courses before their formal qualification to work on their dissertation. Public policy analysis is never included among the required set of core courses, which usually cover topics in political theory, Brazilian political institutions and history and, sometimes, research methodology. At the Federal University of Minas Gerais' Master's Program in Political Science, for instance, students are required to take methodology, political analysis, and political theory. At the University of São Paulo, students study political theory, methodology, and Brazilian politics. The same pattern can be found at the IUPERJ.⁸

Public policy analysis is usually presented as one of the elective courses, outside the regular schedule and usually not designed as a systematic presentation of the subject and its methodologies. Often it is based on the teacher's research interests and is centered on a few topics relevant to his/her research theme.

Another feature is the absence of a structured collective research environment for students who elect public policy analysis as the theme for their dissertation. At the department level, they cannot count on the availability of more experienced scholars or fellow students working on similar subjects. A tutor may provide a more structured research environment if he/she is him/herself involved in a collective research project. More often students must find a training and research environment by working at research centers as research assistants. Such centers (called *núcleos de pesquisa*)⁹ were formally incorporated into the university structure by the late 1980s. They are supposed to group scholars from different departments working on the same (or similar), usually interdisciplinary, subject. Such centers are created on the basis of voluntary gathering of individual scholars and as such they are not dependent upon departmental authority. They are autonomous organizations, evaluated and accredited by the central university authority, and are not supposed to be supported by the university budget. They are rather assumed to be self-sustaining units from money they raise through research, consulting, and other outreach activities.

It is not unusual for graduate and undergraduate students to find temporary assignments at these centers as junior research assistants. It is also not unusual for these assignments to evolve into more formal associations as students choose to present their work as dissertation projects in the department's graduate program. Students then apply to be accepted by the same professors they assisted at the university research center, now in their faculty capacity. In this sense, research centers operate as a channel for recruiting candidates to the graduate programs while providing a more structured research environment for such students. However training at the research centers takes the form of an apprenticeship term. Students are not as a rule exposed to more formal or systematic learning procedures. Since they cannot find it in the department's graduate program either, their qualifications as public policy analysts are usually perfunctory and rather fragmented.

University research centers are not supposed to, nor are they allowed to, organize their own graduate programs. Besides, Brazilian social science departments usually are resistant to diversifying their graduate programs. They offer just one program each, mostly centered on their core discipline, and accommodate interdisciplinary pressures via marginal elective alternatives to the main field. That is, incidentally, the fate shared by public policy analysis and international relations studies in the political science departments.

The causes for this are diverse. First, in many cases departments lack the academic density to offer more than one program. They are based on a small number of teachers, there is no incentive for a more collective research endeavor, and teachers tend to elect their subject of study on the basis of personal inclinations, past experiences, and the individual rapport they forge with the external and even the international environment.

Second, there is a bureaucratic impediment: individual professors' contracts are based on a standard teaching load. Greater loads do not entitle them to additional material or symbolic incentives. For the department, teaching diversification does not warrant any reward, as the lack of diversification implies no penalty. Finally, and more seriously, the predominant academic culture in the social sciences is averse to competition.¹⁰ As such, diversification is usually regarded as a threat since it could entail a more competitive environment at the department level and among different programs.

The net result of such contradictory tendencies imposes great limitations upon the institutionalization of public policy analysis as an autonomous field at the most prestigious Brazilian graduate social science programs. It explains how public policy analysts failed to create a distinctive professional profile in Brazil. As a result, research on public policy blurred its knowledge frontiers and became a no man's land, where everyone is entitled to work, advise, and evaluate, regardless of his/her previous academic and research experience.

In 1998 Brazil's National Research Foundation, the CNPq (Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico), did an inventory of all research groups, formally or informally organized at public universities.¹¹ Of the total, 1,480 groups indicated public policy analysis as one of their main activities. Analyzing the profile of 50 randomly chosen groups, we found nine with a disciplinary core in sociology; seven in education, six in economics, five in geography, five in demography; four in architecture, three in law, three in public health, three in biology and chemistry, two in environmental research, and only two in political science.

Yet, even though sociology seems to predominate, there is no provision for teaching public policy analysis in any graduate sociology program in Brazil. The same observation could be made for any other field listed above, except political science. The only common trait found in the reports from all groups considered was consulting activities for governmental agencies and/or outreach activities dealing with social movements and NGOs. One may then wonder if, in Brazil, outside the narrow community of political scientists, policy analysis is not taken as a synonym for consultancy to governmental and/or NGO agencies.

IV. STUDIES IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION: A RATHER SUCCESSFUL EXPERIENCE

A branch related to public policy analysis in Brazilian graduate studies is public administration. There are two major programs in this area: one at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV), in São Paulo, and the other at the João Pinheiro Foundation (FJP), in Belo Horizonte. The master's program offered by FGV is oriented toward the training requirements of professionals working as managers in public service and the private sector. Contrary to the political science graduate programs, which hardly formu-

late clear objectives and have no target audience, the FGV's Master's in Public Administration has a rather distinctive orientation: training professionals and scholars to advise in the formulation and implementation process, and monitoring and evaluating the implementation of public policies.

The program emphasizes a structured curriculum with a consistent schedule of courses oriented toward developing managerial capabilities in its alumni. The general orientation also incorporates the new perspectives opened by recent developments in administration practices, such as total quality principles, new organizational paradigms, marketing, decision theories, and flexible routines in management. It consists of four required courses: Research Methodology, Brazilian Government Organization, Public Policy Analysis, and Theory of Organizations; four optional courses: Public Policy II, Methodology, Consulting Strategies, and Teaching Techniques in Administration; and about fifteen elective courses.¹²

In order to complete the program, students are supposed to finish all required courses, at least one optional, and a variable number of elective courses. It should be noted that not all the elective courses are offered each term. After completing the courses, students are supposed to present a research project that, once approved, must be implemented and presented within eighteen months.

Three things should be stressed in assessing this program. First, the emphasis is on a structured schedule of courses; clearly, the center of gravity is class attendance, not the research project. Second, the program's overall orientation targets the improvement of the student's managerial capabilities, so it places less stress on the administrative side of the public policy formulation and implementation process. Finally, the course titles are generic enough to accommodate different teachers' interests, so content may change significantly from one term to another.

The FGV program also has a more structured environment for research and consultancy, with institutionalized collaboration channels linking it to the most prestigious international programs in public administration. In contrast with the programs in political science, the FGV experience shows a healthy propensity to diversify its academic activities and target publics. It has a structured network of initiatives for training and retraining professionals in short evening classes and for organizing consulting activities and outreach initiatives. It also organized new programs such as the Program

for Studies in Social Management and the International Research Center on Sustainable Development, which cater to the training and research demands in the third sector (civil society).

The School of Government of the João Pinheiro Foundation is funded by the government of the State of Minas Gerais. Its graduate program is a major player in the area of public administration in the country. The FJP is mainly committed to fulfill the state government's needs in social and economic research, statistics, and human resources development.

Its Master's Program in Public Administration is professionally oriented, combining both general administration and specific training in the management of social and economic policies and policies for information technologies. The program involves three major groups of courses: basic management of public organizations, mandatory courses for each thematic area, and a choice of optional courses: special topics in information technology, management of social programs, and economic management, comprising emerging issues in each of the major areas.

The basic required courses include Organization Theory, Information Systems, Administrative Law, Public Finance, State and Society in Brazil, and Macroeconomics. The thematic area of information technology requires the following courses: Programming Methods, Data Banks, Computerized Systems, Computer Networks, and Software Engineering. In the area of social policies management, the required courses are Planning and Management of Social Policies; Brazilian Social Structure; Public Policies, Social Welfare, and the State; Methodology for the Evaluation of Social Programs and Socioeconomic Inequalities; and Analytical Models and Indicators. In economic management, the mandatory courses are Microeconomics, Macroeconomic Management, Recent Regulatory Trends, Economy of Organizations, and Evaluation of Projects and Public Policies. All disciplines require 30 hours of classes during a three-month term.

Although the master's programs at FGV and FJP might be regarded as the most effective cases of programs oriented toward developing expertise in policy analysis, their experience did not spread throughout the Brazilian higher education system. Even if business schools are present in almost every public and private university in Brazil, and master's degrees are common, graduate programs specifically oriented toward public administration are seldom found. In all the other cases the structural pat-

tern is similar to that described above for the social sciences. The graduate program revolves around the disciplinary core, in this case, business, and special needs for more specific training are met with the offer of elective courses. Sometimes these courses are articulated with a more structured research environment provided by research centers related to the graduate program. Nevertheless, business schools tend to show a more diversified learning structure. They offer short-term programs oriented toward special topics, and taught master programs in more specialized areas. These are generally labeled MBAs, which are highly regarded credentials in the labor markets and often provide opportunities for consultancy and outreach activities for the faculty and graduate students.

Another experience worth mentioning is the twofold graduate program for training civil servants offered by the National School of Public Administration (ENAP), presently attached to the Federal Ministry of Budget and Planning. One program deals with training experts in public policy and government management, and the other with training in budget and planning analysis. These programs cater to an audience of the federal government's top bureaucrats and offer basic training for strategic careers. The Public Policy and Government Management Program is committed to developing diversified managerial expertise and dealing with recent issues in public administration, such as the notion of total quality, strategic management in the public service, management of public agencies, and regulation. It requires a total of 900 class hours. The major limiting factor of this program is its marginality in the current Brazilian higher education system: ENAP is a highly specialized structure, organized to provide the skills needed for the administrative reform implemented by the federal government. For that reason, its programs are not open to students outside the federal civil service. It offers short-term training programs attended by civil servants from all federal branches. It has also a program for collaborative activities using tailor-made training programs for specific ministries and other federal agencies. In 1999 21,371 students attended such programs. Its more ambitious teaching activities are the two taught master's programs mentioned above. A total 224 students graduated in 1999, 131 in Public Policy Management, and 94 in Planning and Budgetary Procedures.¹³

Evaluating the overall results of ENAP's training programs is a difficult task because of its role in offering credentials for career advancement

inside the civil service. Nevertheless, ENAP undoubtedly experienced a deep process of modernization during the Cardoso Administration, enhancing its strategic role in the creation of a new bureaucratic culture in the country, in order to meet the requirements of Brazilian state reform.

V. CONCLUSIONS

1. In contrast to a well-structured and widespread graduate training system in basic social sciences, training in applied social sciences, particularly in public policy analysis, is marginal, fragmented, and ill structured in Brazil's graduate education system. The reasons are varied and are due to long-standing practices as well as to the lack of specific policies. The most important feature of the Brazilian public system of higher education is that it responds to a legal national model rather than to social demands. The adoption, the reform, and the development of new policies result from internal pressures arising from within the academic community, or more often from the government, and not from external expectations and incentives of the society at large.

As a whole Brazilian policies for higher education and science and technology have given priority to basic research, expecting it to spill over into society's needs for applied research and development. Brazil's most prestigious research-oriented graduate programs in the social sciences are no exception. Not only do they favor basic research, but they also have no incentives from public funding agencies to develop applied research. Whenever a demand exists, originating either from governmental needs to evaluate its programs or from societal awareness of the relevance of public policy assessment, that demand is often translated into an academic response.

2. Graduate programs tend to offer a rather similar generalist curriculum, centered on core courses, lacking any incentives to diversify for either bureaucratic reasons or for their aversion to competition. Moreover, specializations tend to be restricted to marginal elective courses, without the benefit of a structured educational and research environment. As a result, applied research areas like public policy analysis do not find a favorable environment in which to crystallize as an autonomous discipline. Therefore, public policy research tends to be the object of a very wide

variety of methodological and theoretical assumptions deriving from different disciplines and professional backgrounds, only a minor part of which includes any kind of training in political science.

3. Wherever a need exists to respond to an actual demand for applied social research—in the new university research centers (*núcleos*) and the less recent private institutes—the institutional capacity to create graduate programs in public policy research are lacking. And the other way around: wherever the institutional capacity exists—in the social sciences departments of the research oriented universities—neither the need nor the willingness appears to respond to such demands.

4. On the whole, innovative initiatives in graduate public policy studies should not be expected to create fresh new programs, since the research groups cannot and the departments are not willing. A possible solution could consist of creating a bridge between the two through specific training activities that would enhance their respective assets: formally structured teaching in the graduate programs and applied research-oriented scholarship in the research groups. As a relevant portion of graduate students already develop their theses and dissertation research in the *núcleos* and *institutos*, often under tutorial orientation from the graduate program's faculty, the bridge's groundwork already exists.

5. Specialized training in methodological and theoretical issues in public policy research could be offered to students enrolled in existing graduate programs in political science by the *núcleos* or *institutos*. The graduate programs would benefit from additional training given by the *núcleos* to the programs' students and from complementing (or alleviating) their teaching load. The *núcleos* and *institutos* would benefit from additional training to their research team and from the presence of visiting scholars.

6. The Brazilian graduate education system might also benefit from a demonstration effect from the strengthening and modernization of the graduate layer of higher education in other Latin American countries. The organization of a network of graduate centers dealing with the analysis of public policies around the hemisphere should have a strong impact on the Brazilian system. The current processes of regional integration in the hemi-

sphere will certainly challenge the Brazilian higher education system. The institutional isolation of the Brazilian experience cannot last forever. The increasing competitiveness in the labor and academic markets, resulting from the recent success of the modernization processes in Latin American higher education, establishes the limit for such isolation.

NOTES

1. For an overview of Brazilian educational policies in this period, see Schwartzman (1992).

2. For an overview of the 1968 Reform, see Klein (1992) and Durham (1998b).

3. For a detailed history of Brazilian graduate education institutionalization see Durham (1996).

4. Expected content, connection with research, and other features of the written output vary widely with the disciplinary and institutional setting of each program. For an analysis of such differences, see Balbachevsky (1999).

5. For a critical evaluation of the social science field in Brazil, see Reis (1995).

6. *São Paulo: growth and poverty*, a widely publicized and highly praised study contrasting modernization and impoverishment in Brazil's most industrialized urban area, was undertaken by CEBRAP at the request of São Paulo's Archbishop.

7. We analyzed the political science graduate programs at USP, the State University of Campinas (UNICAMP), the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG), and IUPERJ.

8. This is the basic program structure; each may vary in minor details from one year to another. This description is based on the 1999 call for new applicants in each of those programs.

9. Well-known examples of such research centers related to public policy analysis are the Núcleo de Políticas Públicas (Research Center on Public Policy—NEPP) at UNICAMP; the Núcleo de Estudos sobre a Violência (Research Center on Violence—NEV), the Núcleo de Pesquisas sobre Ensino Superior (Research Center on Higher Education—NUPES), and the Núcleo de Pesquisa em Relações Internacionais (Research Center for International Relations—NUPRI) at USP; and the Núcleo de Estudos sobre Ensino Superior (Research Center on Higher Education—NESUB) at the University of Brasília.

10. An analysis of the prevailing values in Brazilian academic culture may be found in Schwartzman and Balbachevsky (1996) and Balbachevsky (1999).

11. These include roughly half of all undergraduate and substantially all graduate enrollments in the country.

12. In 1999, the list of these latter courses included Human Resources Management, Financial Administration, Organizational Diagnosis and Modeling, Public Sector Economics, State and Society, Ethics of Organization, Strategic Management, Management of Programs and Projects, Marketing in Public Organizations, Governmental Budgetary Process, Public Administration Theories, the Brazilian Political System, Informational Systems for Management, Theory of Decision, and Topics on Organization and Management. A brief presentation of the FGV program may be found at www.fgvsp.br/cursos.

13. See ENAP (2000).

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Public Administration and Public Policy Graduate Programs in Argentina and Their Relation to the U.S. Model of Public Policy Training

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Public policy and public administration graduate programs play a major role in strengthening democratic governance, shaping public policy, advising government, and helping run public and private nonprofit institutions. In recognition of this, the first Master's Program in Public Administration was created in 1986 at the University of Buenos Aires (UBA), one of the largest and most important public universities in the country. Although master's programs in the social sciences have been expanding since the mid-1980s, this has particularly intensified since the 1990s, when public policy and public administration programs first began. Today there are eight public administration programs in public and private universities, and many other public policy programs that are actively engaged in training students to conduct research and to solve public policy problems though they are not specifically labeled a "Master's in Public Policy." In particular, during the 1990s, many public and private universities founded master's programs in health management and, by the end of the decade, new master's programs in education management were also offered.

This paper presents some preliminary research on the characteristics and organization of these programs in Argentina. Three kinds of data were collected: first, documentary evidence, including prospectuses, charts, and other material provided by the four programs we investigated in depth; second, quantitative data gathered by the National Evaluation and Accreditation Committee (CONEAU) on seven out of a total of eight

master's degree programs in public administration in Argentina; and finally, information from the nineteen social science master's programs that we analyzed in the "Social Sciences Graduate Courses in Argentina and Mexico," a project funded by the Ford Foundation.¹

After a brief description of the Argentine higher education system in Part II, we analyze the institutional and financial conditions necessary to develop the graduate level. Part III focuses on public administration and public policy programs in Argentina, analyzing objectives, curricula, funding sources, and faculty, student, and alumni profiles. Finally, we reflect on the flaws at the graduate public policy level and on how to strengthen the nexus among applied knowledge, teaching, and learning in the context of public policy and public administration programs.

I. THE EDUCATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT FOR GRADUATE PROGRAMS IN ARGENTINA

The Argentine Higher Education System

During the 1990s, the Argentine university sector experienced significant institutional diversification and enrollment expansion; ten new public universities were created, and the number of private ones almost doubled. As of 1997, there were 99 university institutions (48 private), and 1,636 non-university tertiary institutions (801 private).² The increasing number of universities contributes to the heterogeneity in the new structure of the higher education system, and both the private and public institutions are highly diverse in terms of the size³ and age of the institutions; the relative importance of teaching, research, and service functions; the development of graduate studies; and the prestige and quality of their activities.

The average annual growth rate in undergraduate public university enrollment during the last decade (4.4 percent between 1985 and 1998) is explained by their tuition-free and open-admission policies. Although about 85 percent of total enrollment is in public universities at the undergraduate level; at the graduate level, 26 percent of students attend private universities. In the non-university tertiary sector, nearly 40 percent of the total enrollment is at private schools (see Table 1).

Higher education coverage in Argentina ranks highest among the Latin American countries, reaching a gross enrollment rate in 1991 that encompassed 40 percent of the 20 to 24-year-old group; the gross tertiary enroll-

Table 1
Enrollment in Argentine Higher Education

Sector	Enrollment
Undergraduate Level 1998	
Public universities	918,674*
Private universities	169,937*
Public university enrollment growth rate**	4.4%
Private university enrollment growth rate**	6.9%
Non-university public tertiary education	233,520
Non-university private tertiary education	150,640
Total enrollment at the undergraduate level	1,482,671
Tertiary gross enrollment rate	47%*
Proportion of private enrollment in the university sector	16%
Proportion of private enrollment in the nonuniversity sector	39%
Graduate Level 1997	
Public universities	23,598
Private universities	8,316
Total enrollment at the graduate level	31,914
Proportion of private enrollment at the graduate level	26%

*Estimate.

**1985-98

Source: Author's calculations based on statistical data from the *Anuario de Estadísticas Universitarias* (www.me.gov.ar).

ment rate in 1998 is estimated at 47 percent. However, it is important to take into account that enrollment data in Argentina are not completely reliable. Public university statistics often overestimate the number of students, since dropouts are seldom eliminated from registers. A large proportion of the total student body is enrolled in the first year, when dropout rates are known to be very high. Compared to higher education structures in Europe and elsewhere in Latin America, the undergraduate level in Argentina is quite developed, whereas graduate education is rather underdeveloped (see Table 2).

Institutional and Financial Conditions Affecting the Development of the Graduate Level

Why are there more than one million students at the undergraduate level and only just over thirty thousand at the graduate level? The institutional and financial conditions that explain the underdevelopment of the graduate level in Argentina can be summed up as follows: poor internal effi-

Table 2
Some Indicators of Enrollment
at the Undergraduate (level 6) and Graduate Levels (level 7)

Countries Selected	Number of Students		
	per 100,000 Inhabitants	Level 7	Level 7/Level 6
Latin America			
Argentina	3,117	31,914	0.03
Brazil	1,094	234,276	0.11
Chile	2,546	9,381	0.05
Colombia	1,768	13,701	0.03
Mexico	1,586	45,899	0.04
North America			
United States	5,339	1,847,240	0.28
Canada	5,997	104,045	0.11
Europe			
Spain	4,017	36,233	0.03
France	3,600	179,283	0.17
Italy	3,103	61,052	0.04
United Kingdom	3,135	169,073	0.24
Asia			
China	473	84,158	0.06
Korea	5,609	86,911	0.07
Hong Kong	1,635	11,660	0.21
India	642	469,063	0.12
Israel	3,598	22,440	0.46
Japan	3,139	98,650	0.04
Africa			
Egypt	1,900	77,376	0.17
South Africa	1,664	35,822	0.17

Source: UNESCO (1998) and the *Anuario de Estadísticas Universitarias* (www.me.gov.ar).

ciency at the undergraduate level.⁴ Only 20 percent of those who enter graduate within six years. About 45,000 students finally graduate each year.

Unlike the undergraduate level, graduate education is almost totally self-financed through the tuition students pay. The tuition charged depends on the total cost of the program. Indeed, it has to cover professors' fees as the labor market dictates. For example, the total cost or tuition of graduate programs in the social sciences can range from US\$3,000 to US\$15,000 with an average cost of US\$4,000 (García de Fanelli 2000). In

the absence of sufficient scholarships, this tuition represents a real burden on students and their families.

The only available scholarship programs target young, full-time students, whereas most graduate students are in their thirties and only study part time. Admission to doctoral and master's studies is based on successful completion of a university degree usually obtained after more than five or six years; available statistics on the average duration of study seem to suggest that it is closer to nine. This can be explained by the fact that many students combine study and work. Thus, by the time students complete their undergraduate degrees, they are about 27 years old.

Neither the doctorate nor the master's degree was a requirement for entry into and promotion within the academic career until the 1995 Higher Education Act. The vast majority of university teachers—especially in the social sciences—entered the profession without graduate education or research experience. Most of them are engaged on a part-time basis (87 percent) and work in conditions that offer little scope for professional advancement. They are too old to qualify for scholarships to take graduate courses, and they are not able to study full time. They may not even have the financial incentive to do so; the average monthly salary for a part-time professor is US\$95.00 (García de Fanelli 2000 b).

The first tier of instruction and degree completion emphasizes specialization and professional qualifications, with physicians, lawyers, and public accountants particularly overrepresented among higher education graduates. Labor-market conditions in these professions do not require a doctoral degree. Within these groups, “specialized courses” only became important during the last two decades.

Graduate training is a relatively neglected area in terms of political visibility. As university authorities are elected by professors, undergraduates, and alumni, the undergraduate level is the only one that matters in this process. Moreover, the power of university authorities to negotiate annually the grant with Parliament and the Ministry of Education depends on the number of undergraduate students enrolled in the schools. What Clark (1993:356) said for higher educational systems in general can be applied to the Argentine case in particular: “The first degree level has historical primacy, predominates numerically and possesses a deep hold on traditional thought and practice. It comes first in budget determination, public attention and the concerns of governments. Graduate or advanced educa-

tion is then prone to develop at the margin as an add-on of a few more years of unstructured work for a few students.”

In sum, the graduate level should be viewed as a structure that may become formalized in the Argentine higher education system, but for now it is independently managed and receives limited institutional and financial support. However, this disadvantage has brought some benefit to the higher education system. Financial stringency, bureaucratic inertia, and corporate interest in the undergraduate structure seldom favor innovation and change, whereas the autonomy enjoyed by graduate programs allows them to implement new ways to organize and fund higher education. It could be said that there are two different logics here: one at the undergraduate level and the other at the graduate level (see Table 3).

An important element in the context of graduate programs is the amount of money devoted to research and development; total investment in Argentina falls far below the levels in developed countries and according to percentage of GDP in Brazil and Chile (see Table 4).

During the last five years, the graduate level received some special monies from the Fund for the Improvement of Quality in Universities

Table 3
Academic and Financial Policies at the Public University
Undergraduate and Graduate Levels

	Undergraduate Logic	Graduate Logic
Admission	No selective entrance exam or fixed number of openings.	Selective, with entrance exams and fixed number of openings.
Finance	Tuition free. The federal government is the major and almost only source of financing for public universities.	Almost full-cost tuition.
Faculty Appointments	Open juried competition to obtain a tenure contract. Although this is formally true, many of these competitions are quite behind.	The graduate program authorities choose faculty according to their academic and professional experience. The labor contract is limited to the length of the course.
Faculty Wages	Structured salary system according to faculty rank, seniority, and dedication.	Salary per hour according to the length of time spent on lectures and supervisory activities.

Source: García de Fanelli (1996).

Table 4
Research and Development Indicators
in Some Selected Countries c.1997

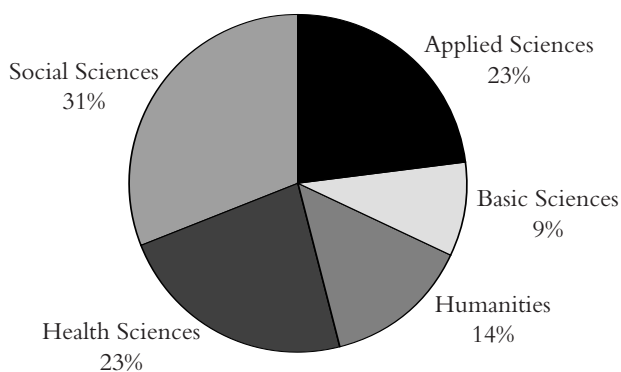
Countries	% of GDP	R&D per Inhabitant US\$	Percentage of R&D Expenditures Executed by the University Sector
Latin America			
Argentina	0.38	35	29.8
Brazil	0.76	35	43.5
Chile	0.64	32	46.8
Mexico	0.31	10	45.8
North America			
Canada	1.56	365	21.1
United States	2.32	686	14.3
Europe			
Spain	0.89	141	31.6
Portugal	0.69	94	41.0

Source: RICYT (1999).

(FOMECE). FOMECE gives financial support to the processes of reform and betterment of the quality of national universities in an attempt to enable them to provide improved education. The distribution of resources is carried out through competitive procedures destined to back proposals that have specific goals; for instance, some graduate programs received funds for scholarships and to hire professors from abroad. Although graduate programs received 40 percent of the US\$195 million that this program allocated for scholarships and equipment between 1995 and 1998 (Trombetta 1999), the social sciences received barely US\$7.5 million of the total. Other sources of possible funding are fellowships from the National Research Council (CONICET) that target candidates in graduate training programs. Nonetheless, the amount of the scholarships and the coverage is not very high.

Another important policy that affects the graduate level is accreditation. As a consequence of the sudden and disorderly growth in the supply of graduate programs, the 1995 Higher Education Act decreed that all graduate courses should be periodically accredited by the National Committee of University Assessment and Accrediting (CONEAU). The standards were established by the ministry together with the Council of Universities. The importance of this policy is that CONEAU can influ-

Figure 1
Argentine Graduate Courses by Discipline, 1997



Source: Trombetta (1999).

ence curricula via defining standards of quality. The problem is that peer reviewers seldom apply different standards to measure quality in academic research programs and in professional qualification upgrading courses.

The Expansion of Master's Programs in the Social Sciences

The number of social science graduate programs grew in relation to graduate programs in other fields during the 1990s, with social science programs representing 31 percent of all graduate programs in 1997 (see Figure 1). This growth was a factor of increased demand: nearly 40 percent of graduate students are registered in social science programs. In this field in particular, the participation of the private sector is as important as the public one (see Table 5).

The most striking trend in social science graduate programs over the last two decades was the “boom” in the master’s degree (see Figure 2). This growth was not the product of government planning or decision-making; rather it was related to the increasing globalization and transnationalization of graduate studies and by the influence of those faculty who had studied in the United States.

In the Argentine (European) model, the master’s falls somewhere between the undergraduate degree (*licenciatura*) and the Ph.D.; however, its function is not very clear since, unlike in the American model, fifth- or sixth-year students can earn a first degree that allows them to work in

Table 5
Argentine Graduate Students by Discipline and Sector, 1997

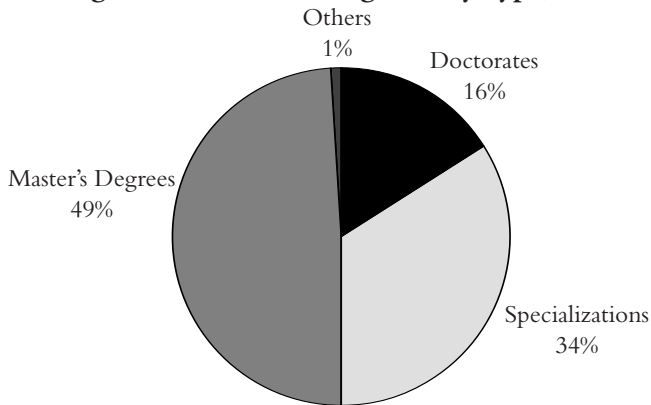
Discipline	Public Universities		Private Universities		Total University	
	Enrollment	%	Enrollment	%	Enrollment	%
Technological Sciences	4,152	17.6	358	4.3	4,510	14.2
Basic Sciences	2,630	11.1	101	1.2	2,731	8.6
Human Sciences	4,270	18.1	595	7.2	4,865	15.3
Health Sciences	6,318	26.8	1,194	14.5	5,512	23.6
Social Sciences	6,228	26.4	6,011	72.8	12,239	38.4
Total	23,598	100.0	8,259	100.0	31,857	100.0

Source: Trombetta (1999).

their professional fields. On the one hand, the American model of master’s education increasingly has come to be viewed as an important means to enrich the knowledge and skills of professionals in an information-centered society; on the other hand, and as a consequence of the absent or underdeveloped doctoral level, the master’s degree has become a way for social science professors to improve their educational credentials and access to and qualifications for academic promotion.

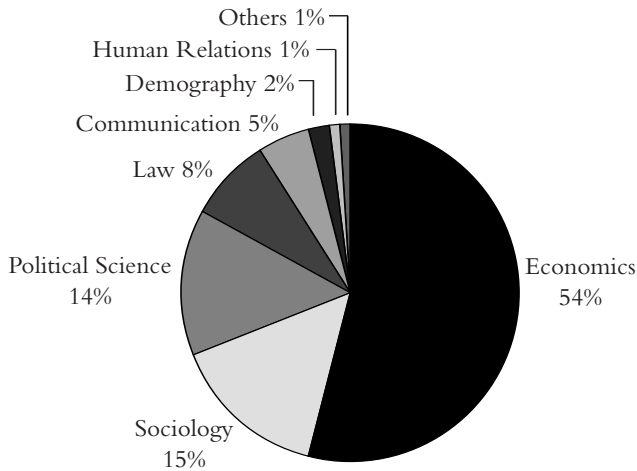
As Figure 3 shows, the majority of master’s degrees in 1997 were granted in economics (which includes public administration and business

Figure 2
Argentine Graduate Programs by Type, 1997



Source: Trombetta (1999).

Figure 3
Argentine Social Science Master's Programs by Discipline, 1997



Economics also includes business administration and public administration.

Source: Trombetta (1999)

administration), with sociology and political science about tied for second place. There was also a proliferation of new subfields, which included many interdisciplinary academic areas such as social science and health policy, NGO management, environmental studies, urban problems, management and quality assurance of education, public administration and public policy, and women's studies.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF ARGENTINE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION AND PUBLIC POLICY MASTER'S PROGRAMS

Many characteristics of the public policy and public administration graduate programs are common to the other social science master's degrees. Particular attention should be paid to the fact that the majority of them were launched during the 1990s; for example, four of the seven Master's in Public Administration (MPA) programs that applied to CONEAU in 1999 were established between 1998 and 1999. Although there are only eight programs in Argentina labeled "public administration," many other social science professional and applied programs should be included under "public policy" because they target students who expect to do research

and analysis on public policy issues; for example, master's degrees in health policy, management of educational institutions, educational policy, social policy, management of the nonprofit sector, and science, technology, and public policy. Moreover, the so-called MPAs do not clearly distinguish between an "administration" and a "policy" orientation.

The increased importance of different types of MPA or Master's in Public Policy (MPP) programs in Argentina is related to deficiencies in the background of many who are now working as policymakers, policy analysts, and public servants in general. In particular there has been a growing interest since the 1990s in management issues within the public policy debate, and this has led to the creation of different types of applied public policy master's degrees.

The Social Policy Program at the University of Buenos Aires was launched in 1993 as a Specialization Program in Planning and Management in Social Policy. It originated from the collaboration between the National Technical Assistance Program for the Management of Social Services (PRONATASS, funded by Banco Internacional de Reconstrucción (BIRF)) and the University of Buenos Aires, with the main objective of training public officials and NGO managers. PRONATASS gave support in the form of scholarships for full-time students. A few years later, the master's program was launched and the specialization became an intermediate degree. As with other MPP and MPA programs in Argentina, the curriculum's specialization lacks methodological and economic training; neither does it include internship programs. The more academic orientation of the master's program has as its main objectives to promote the development of research on social policy, to train professors in this area, and to transfer relevant knowledge to public intervention in social problems

The Master's in Social Sciences and Health was initiated in June 1997 at the Center for the Study of State and Society (CEDES) in collaboration with Latin American Social Science Faculty (FLACSO-Argentina). This two-year program offers graduate training in theoretical perspectives and methodological tools in the social sciences with the aim of enhancing the understanding of the social and cultural dimensions of the health/illness process among public officials and other decisionmakers, providers, and researchers working in the field. It grants two degrees: a specialization and a master's degree. The syllabus includes courses in methodology, health

economics, and related courses that study the structure of the Argentine health care system, the main public policies devoted to this sector, and the most critical issues.

Although all these programs are relevant to the training of public policymakers, we focus here on MPA and MPP programs, many of which also offer the two specializations as a joint degree.

We have quantitative data on seven of the eight MPA programs, gathered by CONEAU.⁵ By way of illustrating the main features of these programs, we will also add qualitative analysis of the following four master's degrees programs at leading public and private universities:

The Master's in Public Administration at the University of Buenos Aires (*Maestría en Administración Pública, Universidad de Buenos Aires, UBA*), the first master's program of its kind in Argentina. The authorities of this program, which was established in 1986, have been encouraging the development of similar MPA programs in other regions of the country. Toward this end they offer technical assistance. With an enrollment of forty students in 1998, it has graduated 59 students since it began.

The Master's in Public Administration and Public Policy (MPA and PP) at the University of San Andrés (*Maestría en Administración y Políticas Públicas, Universidad de San Andrés*), was created in 1998 at this new private and elite university. The advisory committee includes scholars from New York University, the Kellogg Institute at the University of Notre Dame, and the Center for International Affairs at Harvard University. There are 38 students in the first class.

The new Master's in Public Policy and Management of Development (M.P.P. and M.D.) at the National University of San Martín (*Maestría en Políticas Públicas y Gerenciamiento del Desarrollo, Universidad Nacional de San Martín, UNSAM*). Although this only just began in 2000, what makes this program particularly interesting is its joint degree with Georgetown University; it is the first MPP in Argentina to do so.

The Master's in Government Economics (MGE; *Maestría en Economía de Gobierno*) is offered simultaneously at the public University of Buenos Aires and three private ones: the University of San Andrés, Di Tella University, and the University of CEMA. Applicants can choose the institution they prefer after passing the entrance exam. This program was founded by the Ministry of Economy in 1994. With an enrollment of 45 students in 1999, it has graduated a pool of 146 students.

Using CONEAU's quantitative data and the qualitative analyses of our four cases, we will examine seven dimensions of these master's programs: objectives, curricula, funding sources, faculty profile, student profile, and alumni profile.

1. Objectives

An important feature of Argentine graduate education is the absence or underdevelopment of a structured PhD program in the social sciences. The few doctoral programs at the main public or private institutions follow a European model consisting principally of a few core or elective courses and the sole and often poorly tutored activity of writing an original thesis. Compared with the United States (from whom Argentina imported the "master's model"), there are virtually no well-organized doctoral programs. This explains why many MPP and MPA programs have both professional and public policy training objectives and various other academic purposes that form part of PhD programs in the United States. These different and sometimes conflicting objectives produce a tension between training students to teach and conduct research and training them to design, implement, and evaluate public sector policies. The confusion is carried over into the curriculum: is education or training the purpose of a master's degree? Is it to obtain detailed knowledge of a range of topics related to a research area, or to incorporate training in professional, communication, personal, and technical skills? Argentine master's programs try to serve several missions at the same time: they offer remedial work, as a consequence of deficiencies at the undergraduate level; train future faculty in the subject area by filling in the void left by the lack of structured Ph.D. programs; and train policymakers and public servants to improve the institutional capacities of public sector management and decision making. Four cases illustrate this situation.

The MPA at the University of Buenos Aires was created in 1986 in partnership with the Secretary of Public Affairs at the Executive Branch. It has both academic and professional objectives. The degree is intended for students interested in research careers in public administration and public policy who wish to become the next generation of teachers in programs of these types and need training in public sector management. According to its brochure, the MPA offers rigorous theoretical and

methodological training suitable to academic reflection and empirical research activity, training in management techniques, knowledge of the main public policy issues, and tools to make a situation analysis of public policies.

The Master's in Public Administration and Public Policy at the University of San Andrés shows a more clearly professional purpose. The degree covers both specializations and its main objective is to prepare students for positions as public servants and public policy analysts. After completing the program, graduates will have acquired a clear understanding of public issues; the state, its complex organization and behavior; and of course, analytical and technical tools for management and public policy analysis, and a commitment to public good and high ethical standards.

Similar goals are set by the new Master's in Public Policy and Management of Development at the National University of San Martín, whose main objectives are training graduates and public officials in public policy analysis with technical and research tools.

Established in 1994 at the initiative of the Ministry of Economy, the Master's in Government Economics provides quite a different and innovative graduate educational program for those who want to work as economists in the public sector. The central objective of the program is to train the future generation of government practitioners and analysts. This program is sponsored and managed by the Institute of Government Economists (ISEG), which is also in charge of the Government Economist Career.⁶ It was established after recognizing the deficiencies in the background of many public servants at the Ministry of Economy, and the importance of providing them with a fuller understanding of applied economics as a useful tool to understand world economies.

An outside evaluator of the program, Professor Arnold Harberger of the University of California, Los Angeles, noted the importance of these programs, not only for Argentina but also for other industrialized countries

In spite of the fact that the most direct lineage of modern economics goes back to people like Adam Smith, David Ricardo, John Stuart Mill, Alfred Marshall, etc. - all of whom were deeply interested in economics as a science relevant for economic policymaking - the fact remains that the typical training of an economics student today does not go very far in this direction. In fact, today's typical programs have much less policy relevance than did the programs of two or three decades ago (at least at the institu-

tions that were then the “best”). What has happened is that as economics has become more “technified,” the study programs of most economics departments have followed this trend. Including more things from the “technified” branch of our subject quite naturally meant reduced emphasis on other parts. As things worked out, the parts of economics that most suffered from this reduction in emphasis were those that dealt directly with economic policies, plus those that focused on the simple, old-fashioned economic tools that put economists in the position to diagnose the situation in which an economy finds itself, to define the main problems that it faces, and to suggest a prescribed policy that can help solve those problems. . . . I see a strong need for special programs that aim specifically at providing the kind of economic education most suitable for future policymakers and for future public-sector economists in general. (Harberger 1996:1)

This brief analysis of the main purposes of these programs reveals that they show similarities with the new mode of knowledge production. The relevant contrast here is between problem solving which is carried out following the codes of practice relevant to a particular discipline and problem solving which is organized around a particular application. In the former, the context is defined in relation to the cognitive and social norms that govern basic research or academic science. Latterly, this has tended to imply knowledge production carried out in the absence of some practical goal. In Mode 2, by contrast, knowledge results from a broader range of considerations. Such knowledge is intended to be useful to someone whether in industry or government, or society more generally and this imperative is present from the beginning. Knowledge thus produced is always produced under an aspect of continuous negotiation, i.e., it will not be produced unless and until the interests of the various actors are included. (Gibbons 1998:7)

If, according to their objectives, they are trying to produce applied knowledge in a transdisciplinary domain, these programs should develop their own distinct theoretical structures, research methods, and modes of practice, independent of Mode 1—or the traditional form of producing knowledge—in order to understand the complexity of the main public policy problems. A study of these practices and the real objectives formally stated in the brochures requires an examination of the curricula of each of these programs.

2. Curricula

Most master's programs in Argentina are designed to be finished after two years of coursework and the completion of a thesis. The MPA-MPP programs at UBA, San Andrés, and UNSAM require 18 months of coursework. Like the majority of social science graduate courses in Argentina, many of the MPA and MPP programs permit part-time enrollment, allowing students to work while studying. The UBA program originally began as a full-time program, but as a consequence of the reduction in public funds, it could not guarantee financial aid to its students. The UNSAM program is full-time but also admits students on a part-time basis. In this case students may require an additional six months to attend the research practicum. The ISEG program was originally a full-time, two-year program, but changed to a nine-month, full-time program plus a three-month, part-time specialization period.

The curricula include both required and elective courses. As shown in Table 6, however, the number of elective courses tends to be few. One of the reasons why these programs are not particularly flexible is the lack of financial resources or alliances with other universities. As pointed out before, the main source of funding at the graduate level, both in the public and private sector, is tuition, and none of the programs has enough scale to sustain elective courses. Also, domestic interuniversity agreements about course sharing are few. As the competition for students (the main source of funding) increases, programs prefer to establish formal agreements with foreign universities, which do not compete within the same niche and improve the reputation of the degree. As a consequence of

Table 6
Required and Elective Courses in MPA, MPP, and MGE Programs

Program	Required Courses	Elective Courses (Concentration Areas)	Total Number of Courses
Public Administration-UBA	15	4	19
Public Administration and Public Policy-San Andrés	17	—	17
Public Policy and Management of Development-UNSAM	11 (33 credits)	9 (27 credits) of Research Practicum (seminar)	20
Government Economy-ISEG	12	1	13

Source: CONEAU (1998) and García de Fanelli (2000 a).

weak institutional support and market conditions, it is also difficult for a program that is running a surplus to subsidize another.

All the curricula follow the American model of “credits” and include tutorial activity to guide students in the thesis process. The MPA or MPP syllabi have some common features: one or two quantitative and qualitative methodology courses; two economics courses: public sector economics and public finance; in the MPA at UBA and the MPP at San Andrés there are also two law courses, both related to the public sector; public policy general courses; sociology or theory of public organizations; public policy or public administration from a comparative perspective, and other public policy or public administration courses specifically about Latin American problems or issues.

In the Master’s in Public Policy and Management of Development at UNSAM, students elect a major and a minor area of concentration from public policy, comparative policy, and management of development and international agencies.

The curriculum of the Master’s in Government Economics (MGE), which is quite different, is mainly composed of advanced courses in macroeconomics, microeconomics, applied statistics, econometrics, and some courses within the main specialties relevant to those who will work in government (labor economy, public finance, evaluation of projects, organization and industrial policy, economy of regulation, financing the public debt, economics of the environment, and economy of education).

Another difference between MPA or MPP programs and the MGE is the admission process. In general, all the programs are selective with a maximum number of openings ranging from 30 to 45. The general requirements for admission to the MPA and MPP are a *Licenciatura* (the Argentina first-level degree), proficiency in English, letters of recommendation, and an interview and examination of the curriculum vitae. The MPA admission process at UBA also includes exercises in comprehension and logic, contemporary general knowledge, and ability to resolve a public problem.

None of these programs includes any kind of examination to measure students’ knowledge of political science, mathematics, or microeconomics. This is a serious flaw, specially taking into account that undergraduate students in social sciences in Argentina do not receive rigorous training in these subjects, particularly in mathematics, economics, and statistics.

Moreover, since public administration and public policy is an interdisciplinary endeavor, students represent a variety of undergraduate degrees and professional backgrounds, many of which do not incorporate sufficient undergraduate social science training.

In contrast with these cases, the selection process for admission to the MGE includes an entrance examination that is a written evaluation in the areas of microeconomics, macroeconomics, mathematics, statistics, and English. Applicants attend special courses organized by each of the universities to help prepare for these exams. Until last year, it was not necessary that applicants come from the public sector. This changed in 1999; now students must be civil servants. This decision reduced the possibility of improving the public sector by recruiting the best candidates from among the pool of all first-degree graduates.

As a consequence of part-time study and the scarcity of public and private funds for research, another general problem in social science programs is that students are not really engaged in research activity during their graduate coursework. Additionally, at the end of the coursework, they generally have to confront the writing of the thesis alone. Although they usually have tutors, often these are neither well-paid nor full-time faculty members. Some of the master's programs try to mitigate the lack of research experience through seminars and thesis workshops, but the low graduation rates indicate that these courses are not enough to solve the problem. The best way for students to acquire knowledge of research activity is through intensive work in research groups with faculty and advanced students. MPA and MPP program faculty usually carry out some research, but not necessarily at the same institutions as those offering the master's degree. According to the CONEAU data on seven MPA programs in Argentina, 60 percent of the faculty admit they do research but at "other places."

In brief, some weaknesses of the MPA and MPP curricula are: the rigid structure of required courses; lack of flexibility to attend courses in other programs at the same institution or at others; half or more of the enrollment is on a part-time basis; students do not receive enough training in economics and quantitative methods; admission processes do not include entrance examinations covering basic social science knowledge, quantitative methodologies, and mathematics proficiency; and students have little exposure to research programs, data collection and analysis, and the writ-

ing of papers and reports. These flaws are related to funding problems, since most MPA and MPP programs depend on tuition for economic survival. In contrast, the Master's in Government Economics is completely financed by the Ministry of Economy, which also provides full scholarships for students.

Despite these weaknesses, many programs try to develop innovative and quite interesting training experiences through the use of internships and case-based methods, and requiring theses that try to resolve a problem of a real-world client. Let us examine these briefly.

Both the MPA at UBA and the Master's in Government Economics include internships in the curricula. In the former, internships could be in government, a nonprofit organization, or an academic institution; in the latter, only in the public sector. The MPP at San Andrés also developed an innovative approach to the thesis based on the Policy Analysis Exercise at the Kennedy School of Government of Harvard University. Students examine an existing public- or nonprofit-sector problem presented by a client organization, and develop the thesis in the form of a recommendation that the client can implement. The work is supervised by faculty advisors. One global trend in graduate education is the growing importance of transnationalization through joint programs between local and foreign universities. An example is the November 1998 agreement between Georgetown University in Washington, DC, and the National University of San Martín (UNSAM), under which Georgetown University participates in the admission process and the faculty of the Georgetown Public Policy Institute offer some of the main courses.

Another aspect of internationalization is the agreements between local universities and foreign institutions providing students with internship experience in the latter. In the Master's in Public Policy and Management of Development at UNSAM, top students can participate in an intensive six-week program at institutions like the World Bank, the IMF, the Brookings Institution, and the Overseas Development Council. Students from the Master's in Government Economics can also do internships at the École Nationale de Administration (ENA) and OCDE, France; Civil Service College and the Government Economic Service (GES), United Kingdom; Ministerio de Economía y Hacienda, Ministerio de Industria y Energía, Agencia Tributaria y el Cuerpo de Economistas de Gobierno, Spain; Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID), United

States; Foundation Konrad Adenauer, Germany; IMF, World Bank, and Work Bank Institute, United States; and the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC), Chile.

3. Funding Sources

The principal source of funding for Argentine social science programs is student tuition. With a few exceptions (e.g., the Master's in Public Administration at UBA and the Master's in Government Economics), this is also the case in the majority of the MPA and MPP programs. The university provides funds to partially cover infrastructure and other facilities. Most of the funds from tuition are devoted to wages and a small part to maintenance or partial scholarships for needy students.

On average, tuition fees in social science master's programs are US\$4,077 in public universities and US\$9,341 in private ones (see Table 7). For MPA programs the average tuition fees in the public sector is lower as a consequence of two programs that do not charge tuition fees (see Table 7): one is the Master's of Public Administration at UBA; the other is the Master's in Government Economics carried out simultaneously by UBA and three other private universities (San Andrés, Di Tella, and CEMA). In both cases, the main source of funding is the public sector.

As mentioned above, an important flaw in social science master's programs is that most students attend part time because of the scarcity of financial assistance for graduate students. Federal financial aid programs are limited and social science candidates find them difficult to apply for. They cannot always meet FOMECA's requirement that universities must

Table 7
Average Tuition Fees in Argentine Social Science Master's Programs

Master's Program	Public Universities	Private Universities
Social Sciences	4,077	9,341
Public Administration	2,352	8,110
MPA at UBA	Free	
MPP at San Andrés		10,000
MPP and MD at UNSAM	10,000	
MGE at UBA,CEMA, Di Tella, San Andrés	Free	Free

Source: CONEAU (1998) and García de Fanelli (2000 a).

guarantee full-time academic posts to those who finally graduate. This is almost impossible to achieve unless the undergraduate human resource policy changes. Most social science faculty work part time owing to a policy at the undergraduate level that combines open admission and cost-free education with public funds that do not grow at the same rate. The result is an extremely low expenditure per student in public universities (US\$2,000 per year).

According to CONEAU data, 24 percent of social science master's programs in public universities and 34 percent in private ones do not offer any kind of financial aid to their students (CONEAU 1998). The situation at the four cases reviewed here is as follows:

The MPA at UBA is tuition free. In the first six classes of students, the program offered ten to fifteen US\$800 scholarships, awarded on the basis of competitive entrance exams. In the seventh class the program only had funds to provide eight US\$400 scholarships and two for US\$200, which were granted to needy students. In the last class the program could not grant any scholarships but enrolled five students who had scholarships from other sources.

In the MPP at San Andrés, 70 percent of the students receive scholarships (merit and need-based aid) that cover 50 percent of the tuition. No additional support exists.

In the Master's in Public Policy and Management of Development at UNSAM, some scholarships are awarded at different levels of funding. Out of a total enrollment of 35 graduate students, five will be granted scholarships that cover both tuition and room and board, and ten given financial assistance that covers only tuition.

The Master's in Government Economics is tuition free and all students receive financial aid. Participants drawn from the government can continue to receive their salaries during the program, while those from the private sector receive a scholarship sufficient to cover their living expenses while studying. In return, they commit to a fixed period of government service once they have completed the program.

In sum, the only program that guarantees that students can actually study full time is the MGE. At the UNSAM program only one-third will be in the same situation, and in the MPA at UBA, the situation changes according to the availability of public funds. Because social science master's programs are heavily dependent on tuition fees, the cost-burden for graduate education falls on the students and their families. This also means

that public policies oriented to funding these programs are very weak or nonexistent. Consequently, there is ample room for the implementation of policies whose purpose it would be to exploit the positive externalities generated by public policy-oriented programs.

4. Faculty Profile

With few exceptions, most graduate faculty in the social sciences are hired on a contract basis.⁷ The contract is limited to the time he or she teaches in the graduate program. This contract is quite flexible; for example, if the results of the students' evaluation are negative, the professor may not be rehired. This also indicates the possibility of personnel overlap—professors who teach simultaneously in different programs at diverse public or private institutions.

Professors receive a per-hour salary according to the duration of the coursework and the tutorial activity they cover. The per-hour salary ranges from US\$50 to \$100. This means that an hour or two of teaching at the graduate level is equivalent to a month's salary of a part-time professor at the undergraduate level. Therefore, professors have economic incentives to move up to teach at the graduate level; this movement means more money and prestige, but less job stability.

Academic faculty of public administration graduate programs have an average of 22 professors (García de Fanelli 2000 a). In the case of the new Master's in Public Policy and Management of Development at UNSAM, eight out of 16 professors are visiting scholars from Georgetown University, three are teaching at other Argentine and Chilean universities, and only five are professors at UNSAM itself.

To characterize the academic level of these faculty members, we use one of the indicators for which data are available: the highest degree achieved. According to the 1995 Higher Education Act, professors at all levels of higher education must have completed degrees at least at the same level they are teaching. Table 8 shows that almost 37 percent of social science master's professors do not meet this requirement; nearly 29 percent are in the same situation in the MPA programs. Professors in the master's programs in economics have the best qualifications: 62 percent hold PhDs and nearly 23 percent have a master's (García de Fanelli 2000 a).

In general, the faculty profile in the four cases studied here is academically above average. The faculty profile in the MGE is similar to other

Table 8
Distribution of Social Science Master's Professors According to Highest Academic Degree, Achieved, 1998

Master's Program*	1. Under-graduate	2. Professional Specialization	1+2	Master's	PhD
All social science programs	20.0	17.3	37.3	25.9	36.7
Administration	28.2	12.8	41.0	29.2	29.9
Economics	1.8	13.3	15.1	22.6	62.4
Political Science	11.5	26.3	37.8	22.8	39.6
Other Social Sciences	17.0	21.6	38.6	22.9	38.4
Only Public Administration	11.8	17.1	28.9	30.3	40.8

*Administration includes public administration and MBA programs.

Source: CONEAU (1998) and García de Fanelli (2000 a).

master's in economics, and the faculty of the MPA and MPP show a higher percentage of master's and Ph.D. graduates than the average faculty in public administration programs. The low percentage of Ph. Ds is related to weaknesses in Argentine doctoral programs in social science and the lack of formal recognition of the importance of this degree as a requirement for teaching at the university.

One dimension of transnationalization of master's degrees is that many political science and economics professors obtained their PhDs from U.S. universities, in particular, the three directors of the MPA and MPP at UBA, San Andrés, and UNSAM.

5. Student Profile

On average, graduate students in Argentina are older than those in the United States and most study on a part-time basis. Students in social science master's programs average 34 years of age, with the average maximum over 40; the only exception are students in the master's programs in economics, who are usually younger than the others (CONEAU). For example, in the Master's in Government Economics, there is a minimum (26) and a maximum (33) age for admission; 55 percent of the students are younger than 29, and 45 percent fall between 30 and 35. In contrast, 30 percent of the MPA students at UBA are older than 35 (Nosiglia 1995) and the average age at the San Andres program is 36.

The distribution of students by gender is quite equitable, both in the MPA at UBA (45 percent female) and in the MPP-PA at San Andrés (52 percent female). In the case of the Master's in Government Economics, nearly seven out of 10 students are male, a situation quite common in economics-oriented programs.

Students in all these public administration and public policy programs come from varying professional and academic backgrounds, especially from social and human science undergraduate degrees.

According to CONEAU (1998) data, all students in the social science master's programs work; 90 percent of public administration students are employed mainly in the administrative, economic, and legal sectors. In the MGE 32 percent came from the public sector, 36 percent from the private sector, and 32 percent were unemployed. This last figure, though striking, is understandable in the context of the high unemployment rate of the Argentine labor market (14 percent in 1999). Many graduates choose to go on studying in order to improve their opportunities in the labor market. Graduate programs also serve as a way to contact well-known professionals.

Briefly, graduate students in public policy and public administration programs are young adults (over 30) who both study and work. Quite probably, many of them consider that the master's degree will provide them with useful skills and knowledge for a better job and advancement in their professional and academic careers. It is also quite important that these programs open the possibility of finding a mentor.

Table 9
Theses Submitted in Social Science Master's Programs
Until 1998 by 100 Freshmen

Number of Theses per 100 Entrants	Number of Master's Programs in Each Interval
Fewer than 9 theses	8
Between 10 and 19 theses	2
Between 20 and 29 theses	4
Between 30 and 39 theses	3
Between 40 and 49 theses	3
Between 50 and 59 theses	2
Between 60 and 69 theses	2
Total	24

Source: García de Fanelli (2000 a).

6. Alumni Profile

By the end of the 1990s it was evident that there were problems concerning the completion of the social science master's programs, given that the proportion of candidates submitting the thesis was quite low. In a sample of 24 programs, over half registered fewer than 30 master's theses per 100 entrants five years before (see Table 9).

Many reasons could explain the low efficiency of some of these programs. Most students attend part time. When they finish their coursework, they lose contact with the program, except for a sporadic visit to a tutor. Students are not really engaged in research training until they have to write the thesis. In addition, the deadlines for delivery of the thesis are ambiguously set or the periods are too long; and there is great demand on students to produce original work.

It was only possible to obtain information about this issue from two of the public policy programs selected as case studies here because the others are too new. In the two cases where data are available, the efficiency rate is much higher than in the average social science programs: the rate of theses per entrants is 58 percent in the MPA at UBA, and 90 percent in the MGE. The high completion rate of the MGE is a consequence of well-funded students studying full time. In the MPA at UBA, students not only did not pay tuition, but some of them even received scholarships for expenses. All this contributes to the hypothesis that full-time candidates seem more likely to complete the program than part-time candidates.

Where are these master's graduates working? It is surprising that many social science master's programs do not have any kind of alumni follow-up. Luckily this is not the case of the MPA at UBA and the MGE at the four public and private universities. Information gathered from interviews with MPA alumni of the UBA shows that most are managers in the public sector (41 percent) or researchers or professors in the academic sector (34 percent). The rest have maintained or improved their previous careers as professors or researchers in public universities, continued their studies abroad, or work in the private sector. As was mentioned before, many master's programs serve to train future teachers and researchers as a consequence of the absence of a PhD program that can carry out this task.

Most of the alumni of the MGE are now working as public servants. Out of a total of 134 graduates in the three cohorts of students, 116

Table 10
Distribution of MGE Graduates in Federal Public Sector

Public Sector	Graduates	(%)
Ministry of Economy	101	87.1
Secretary of Coordination	2	1.7
Secretary of Treasury	14	12.1
Secretary of Programming	38	32.8
Secretary of Agriculture	15	12.9
Secretary of Energy	2	1.7
Secretary of Transportation	3	2.6
Secretary of Public Works	1	0.9
Secretary of Trade	26	22.4
Other Federal Public Sectors	15	12.9
Ministry of Education	4	3.4
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	3	2.6
Chief of Cabinet	2	1.7
Secretary of Social Development	3	2.6
Secretary of Tourism	1	0.9
The Executive	1	0.9
Federal Trust Fund	1	0.9
Total	116	100.0

Source: ISEG, Ministry of Economy (unpublished data).

became public servants: 87 percent at the Ministry of Economy and Public Works and 13 percent at other ministries (see Table 10).

One general weakness of MPA and MPP programs in Argentina is the lack of employment assistance to help alumni in their job search. In general, it may be necessary for universities to increase their exchanges with other public, private, and not-for-profit organizations in order to adjust the curricula of their programs and the relationship between supply and demand in graduate jobs. Certainly, the value of a graduate qualification in the labor market could be confirmed by a comparison of first-destination statistics for first degree and master's degree graduates; however, these kinds of data are not available in Argentina. But due to the demand for more highly skilled public servants and public consultants to enhance public sector effectiveness and accountability in an increasingly global market and the strengthening of democracy, graduate employment prospects for MPA and MPP alumni appear set to continue to improve for the remainder of the decade.

III. SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS: OVERCOMING POLICY AND CURRICULAR FLAWS

1. Flaws at the Graduate Public Policy Level

There are three main problems: underfinanced programs, the unclear mission of the master's degree in the Argentine higher education system, and the scarcity of social science faculty with academic training.

Underfinanced programs. In Argentina, where MPA and MPP programs heavily depend on tuition fees, the burden of graduate education costs falls on the students and their families. In particular, the scarcity of financial aid for graduate students explains why the majority attend part time and many do not finish their theses. The high completion rate of the Master's in Government Economics is a consequence of well-funded students studying full time. Given the importance of MPA and MPP programs to Argentine democracy and government management, there seems little question that these programs create positive externalities. It seems urgent then to develop a scholarship program to overcome this deficiency.

Unclear mission of the master's degree. The United States reflects a clear distinction between undergraduate liberal arts education at the first-degree level (the bachelor's degree) and graduate programs in which master's and doctoral degrees are earned. In contrast, in Argentina the *licenciatura* allows graduates to work in their professional fields. Moreover, entrance examinations and admission processes at the master's level in social sciences are not based on undergraduate records or performance on an examination that, like the GRE, takes into account previous knowledge acquired at the undergraduate level. As a consequence, graduate students' academic capacity and discipline are quite heterogeneous, and the master's programs are not well articulated with the previous level. At the same time, the social sciences do not offer a structured Ph.D program to train future teachers and researchers. After the incorporation of the American model in the 1980s, the master's level incorporated this mission in addition to the professional one. At the same time, in many programs, the master's degree is not a prerequisite for the doctoral level. In sum, it seems important to promote the reform of the undergraduate and graduate levels to establish clear-cut missions for the *licenciatura*, the master's, and the doctoral degrees.

Scarcity of social science faculty with academic training. A highly trained academic staff is essential for improving the quality of graduate education in the social sciences. The rapid growth of the master's level during the 1990s increased the number of opportunities in teaching but surpassed the capacity of many programs. One consequence of this is personnel overlap: professors teach simultaneously in different programs at diverse public or private institutions. A policy for the medium term is to improve Ph.D programs in the social sciences in order to train future teachers and researchers, a function that, until now, has been performed poorly by the master's programs. To achieve this objective, and as a short-term measure, joint programs with institutions in other countries for the exchange of teaching staff and information sharing should be strengthened.

2. Suitable Changes in the Curriculum

It is possible to distinguish five aspects of the MPA and MPP curricula that should be improved: the admission process; the importance of training in quantitative methods and economics; intensification of training experiences through internships, case-based methods, and problem-solving activity in groups; improvement of supervision and student research activity in order to improve efficiency rates; and further information and linkages with the labor market.

Admission process. As a consequence of weak social sciences at the undergraduate level and its heterogeneous demand, the MPA and MPP programs should include some kind of entrance examination to test basic knowledge of the social sciences, mathematics, and statistics. Courses could be offered to help students with these exams, as does the MGE program.

Training in quantitative methods and economics. The inclusion of more quantitative and microeconomic courses in the MPA and MPP curricula would improve the ability of graduates to manage information and their capacity to understand public financial issues and cost-benefit analysis.

Intensification of training experience. Many programs try to develop innovative and interesting training experiences through internships, case-based methods, and thesis projects that try to resolve the problem of a real-world client. All this is of extreme importance in graduate programs aimed at problem-solving. Some means by which MPA and MPP programs can improve this task is by strengthening links between these pro-

grams and Argentine public and NGO institutions, and between local higher education institutions and centers of scientific excellence worldwide. For example, some programs in Argentina incorporate internship experiences at international institutions in other developing and developed countries. Computer-based technologies could also help in this regard. Networks and new forms of teaching media reduce intellectual isolation while providing increased (and ever-faster) access to the latest scientific information.

Improving efficiency rates. One of the main problems of social sciences at the graduate level is that many students who pass the required courses do not finish their theses. A necessary condition to promote the completion of the thesis requirement seems to be well-funded students studying full time. However, this alone is not sufficient. It is also important to strengthen tutorial and supervisory activity as well as to engage students in problem-solving research activity while attending courses. Experiences like the Policy Analysis Exercise at the Kennedy School of Government can be useful to accomplish this task.

Information and linkages with the labor market. One general weakness of MPA and MPP programs is the absence of employment assistance to help alumni in their job search, as well as an alumni-follow up mechanism. Information about the labor market and about the availability of jobs is required by public decisionmakers and individuals, respectively. In the first case, this information could help curriculum innovation and upgrading, as well as the allocation of public funds to these programs. In the second case, knowledge of the job market could help individuals to assess the best way to carry out their advanced learning. Tracer or follow-up studies are not only useful to collect information about the labor market but also to compare the success with which different educational institutions prepare future public leadership, consultants, and public servants.

3. Some Guidelines to Improve MPP and MPA Programs in Latin America

As a result of the flaws outlined above and the scarcity of human, financial, and physical resources, an important measure to enhance these programs is to promote cooperation between Latin American and worldwide centers of academic and professional excellence. It is also necessary to build net-

works among Latin American MPP and MPA programs. What would be gained from this?

First, it would be possible to take advantage of highly qualified teachers, especially in those areas in which Latin American programs are most deficient: quantitative methods, case-study methodology, and the development of standardized tests for admission. Second, the collaboration between Latin American programs, in the form of exchange of teachers, students, and research findings, would make it possible to resolve some problems of scale and to share common experiences in public policy design and implementation. Finally, internship experiences would be strengthened through agreements between local programs and foreign public and NGO agencies to provide students with practical knowledge about the design and implementation of public policies.

NOTES

1. ANUIES (Asociación Nacional de Universidades e Instituciones de Educación Superior) in Mexico will publish the results of this project under the supervision of Ana M. García de Fanelli and Rollin Kent Serna.

2. Taken from statistical data from the Anuario de Estadística Universitaria (www.me.gov.ar).

3. While average enrollment in public universities is 22,000, there is one mega university (University of Buenos Aires) with 180,000 students, and three more with about 90,000. Others register less than 4,000.

4. Measured in terms of graduation rates and the time required to graduate.

5. According to the 1995 Higher Education Act, all graduate courses must be accredited before receiving official recognition. Graduate courses were first accredited in 1999.

6. The ISEG is a decentralized public agency at the Ministry of Economy in charge of providing high quality human resources in some critical areas of federal public administration. As a result of budget cuts, the program will be closed as soon as the last cohort graduates. When this happens, the ISEG will also close. This is a decision taken by the Ministry of Economy in June 2000.

7. Some public and private universities are trying to hire undergraduate professors on a full-time basis. Within the private sector, this is the case at San Andrés and Di Tella; in the public sector, this applies to some new public universities in Greater Buenos Aires like Sarmiento, San Martín, and Quilmes.

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Graduate Training in Public Policy in Peru and the Role of the Social Sciences

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Paradigmatic changes in the social sciences have coincided with a series of recent economic, political, and institutional reforms that have taken place in Latin America, particularly in Peru. These reforms are changing the role of the state and, consequently, public policy, which calls for changes in training professionals to work on the creation and management of public policy. The aim of this study is to provide as detailed a survey as possible of the existing graduate programs in public policy, political science, and related fields in Peruvian universities. In the long term, our interest would be to assess how these programs have adapted to the above-mentioned reforms, and the role that the social sciences are playing in the process.

Historically, public policies in Peru have been formulated in an unsystematic way, and with very little relation to university programs in public policy, government, or political science. Even in the years prior to 1990, under strong and decisive state intervention, those programs were relatively few and weak. It is somewhat surprising that in recent years there has been a rapid proliferation of graduate programs in public policy at various universities, while the state is shrinking and its functions are being reduced. One hypothesis is that all of the programs aim at achieving greater professionalism, especially regarding social and environmental policy, since neoliberal state reforms demand more attention to these aspects. As a consequence, social science-related programs have had to reform their curricula, their course content, and their emphasis in order to provide theoretical support for those changes. This last issue falls outside the purpose of the present work.

In the first part of this survey, we offer a brief history of the programs related to public policy: their origins, evolution, and the major universities involved. In the second part, we give a complete list of the programs that exist at the different Peruvian universities and provide a detailed description of the most important ones: their objectives, characteristics, faculty and student profiles, program length and costs, and the proportion of social science courses in their curricula, based on available data. In the third part, we analyze the Social Science Network Program (comprised of the Universidad Católica, Universidad del Pacífico, and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos), whose aim is to improve the content of the social science courses with a clear orientation toward the issues of governance and development. In the fourth part, we examine a small group of personalities who have decisively influenced policy decisionmaking in recent years to show what their training has been, where they have studied, and what—if any—studies in social sciences they have done. We suspect that, in the Peruvian case, public policies have structured to privilege individual decisions that are supported by politicians or public officials rather than by institutions. This suggests that a public policy program, similar to those created in Chile and Argentina (see the chapters in this book by Mizala and de los Ríos and García de Fanelli) is urgently needed in Peru. We conclude with a few considerations regarding the Peruvian case, and some questions that have emerged from our work that deserve further research.

I. DESCRIPTION OF THE FIELD

Historical Background

The first program aimed at “preparing students to pursue a political career and to perform functions in public administration” (Manco 1986: 227) was the Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Administrativas, founded in 1875 at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, at a time when the modern Peruvian republican state was being created. In 1920, its name was changed to Facultad de Ciencias Políticas y Económicas, and in 1928, it was changed again, to Facultad de Ciencias Económicas. The predominant intellectual influence was European, not only because of the courses and professors who replicated the contents and debates of classical political economy and the marginal European currents (Gonzales and Glave

1999), but also because the models of political and state organization came from Europe. The purpose of those studies was to prepare people for dealing with the financial, economic, and political problems of the Peruvian state; as such, they were closely related to economics, more than the other social sciences, and to law.

In 1917, the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (PUC) was created. Its influence on the public scene started in the 1930s and has continued until the present time. Important numbers of politicians, public officials, and policymakers started in the faculties of law and economic sciences at “the Católica”; along with San Marcos, PUC has been the most influential in this respect.

An explosive growth of public and private universities started in the 1960s, none of which had undergraduate or graduate programs in public policy or public management that could satisfy the demands of a state that was to experience rapid growth between the 1960s and the 1980s. Starting in the late 1950s, the Peruvian state had begun to increase in size and function as a result of the industrialization/urbanization processes, and the influence of the ideas of the Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean (ECLAC). To respond to the demand for qualified professionals, several bureaucratic institutions were created, all of them specializing in public management. The Instituto Peruano de Administración Pública (IPAP) was created in 1958 for the advanced training of public officials and employees. In 1964, the Oficina Nacional de Racionalización y Capacitación de la Administración Pública (ONRAP) combined the old IPAP with a second branch dedicated to administrative development.² Later, in 1968, the Instituto Nacional de Planificación replaced the IPAP and, at the same time, the Escuela Superior de Administración Pública was formed. In 1973 the Instituto Nacional de Administración Pública (INAP) was created, which survived until 1994, when neoliberal reforms deactivated it. During those thirty years, there was interest in generating a “public career” that would be confined to institutions specially created for that purpose. However, that was never achieved.

It was only in the mid-1960s that some universities started to create graduate programs in their social science departments and law schools; some of them related to public policy, although none specialized in public policy or management as a separate field or discipline.³ During the 1990s,

maybe due to the neoliberal reforms, various graduate programs in public policy, social management, and related fields appeared in private and public universities.

Paradoxically, during the years of fast growth of the state, the universities did not offer specific training in public policy. In contrast, during the 1990s, when the size and functions of the state are decreasing, more programs have been created. This might be explained by the fact that when the curricula of undergraduate studies are analyzed for careers such as economics or sociology in the years prior to 1990, almost all universities were training professionals to work in public administration (macroeconomists, planners, specialists in social or sectoral policies, etc.; see Gonzales and Glave 1999). Those who wanted to work in the private sector went to business or management schools.

Comprehensive List of Universities Offering Public Policy Related Programs, Directly or Indirectly

Currently, there are 73 universities in Peru, 29 are public and 44 private, with a student population that borders on four hundred thousand. There are no undergraduate programs dedicated to governance or public policy. Graduate studies do exist, either as part of departments such as economics, law, or sociology, or housed in graduate schools. Eleven universities offer such programs, seven in Lima and four in provinces; while three are private and eight are public (see Table 1). Most programs were created recently.

The most prestigious is the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, not only because of the recognized quality of its studies, but also because a large number of professionals who hold or have held public office graduated from there.⁴ Graduate programs directly or indirectly concerned with public policy are offered in many areas, including economics, sociology, political science, international economic law, economics and labor relations, and social management. The Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, the oldest in Peru, offers two master's degrees in social policy: one specializing in gender, population and development; the other in the management of social projects. The Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, which has a technical orientation, has two master's degrees related to public management or public policy: the Program in Planning for Urban and Regional Development (under the department of architecture); and the Program in Management for Development (under the department of eco-

Table 1

Peru: Universities with Public Policy-Related Studies

Universities—Lima	Graduate Studies	Status
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú	Economics, Sociology, Political Science, International Economic Law, Social Management, Economics and Labor Relations Law, Intellectual Property Rights and Competence, Education Management	Private
Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos	Social Policy, Geography	State
Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería	Planning and Management for Urban and Regional Development, Management for Development	State
Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia	Public Health, Health Governance and Management	Private
Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal	Education Management, Management and Administration of Education, Political Science, Social Administration and Management, Municipal Management, Environment Management, Economics (Doctorate), Public Health (Doctorate)	State
Universidad Inca Garcilaso de la Vega	Economics, Social Management and Development	State
Universidad Ricardo Palma	Ecology and Environmental Management	Private
Universities—Provinces	Graduate Studies	Status
Universidad Nacional de Piura	Rural Development	State
Universidad Nacional de Cajamarca	Development Planning	State
Universidad Nacional del Altiplano (Puno)	Rural Development	State
Universidad Nacional de Cusco	Rural Development, Economics, Administration, Public Health, Education Management	State

conomic engineering). The Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia, which specializes in medicine and health sciences, has been the first to offer graduate studies directly related to public policy in health: the Master's in Public Health and the Master's in Health Governance and Management.

The Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal has a wide range of master's programs with offerings in political science, social management, municipal management, environmental management, and educational management. It also has doctoral programs in economics and public health. The Universidad Inca Garcilaso de la Vega offers a Master's Program in Economics, specializing in social management and development; and the Universidad Ricardo Palma has one in ecology and environmental management. In the provinces, state universities in Piura, Cajamarca, Puno, and Cusco offer programs oriented toward the formulation of rural development policies, development planning, ecology, and environmental management .

As mentioned above, there are still no programs in governance and/or public policy in Peru like those in France and the United States. The supply of graduate studies oriented toward the formulation or execution of public policy is rather sectoral—health, education, environmental problems—and or the most part emphasizes administration and management, rather than policymaking.

Private universities began graduate programs earlier than the state universities: the Universidad Católica created its first programs in the 1970s, Cayetano Heredia in the 1980s. State universities started in the 1990s. Although the origins of these programs were not studied, it is probable that the private universities were driven from the supply side, as part of their own academic development, while the public universities created programs in order to fulfill certain academic requirements—the University Law requires that associate professors must hold a master's degree, and principal professors must hold a doctorate. In addition, in the 1990s neoliberal state reforms started to generate new demand for professionals specializing in specific policies (health, education, and environment).

Access to the various programs is segmented because of economic or social considerations. The most prestigious universities (Católica, Cayetano Heredia) are expensive, and thus attract students who have high-income levels, scholarships, or financing from the institutions where they work. The state universities typically attract students with medium or low income, but in recent years, the quality of some of these programs is increasingly attracting students from higher income levels.

II. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GRADUATE PROGRAMS RELATED TO PUBLIC POLICY

This section analyzes only those programs explicitly or implicitly related to public policy, and does not include those oriented toward management and administration of public programs. Table 2 summarizes all graduate programs offered currently at Peruvian universities.⁵ The lack of information regarding some universities is due to two reasons: either programs of study are still being implemented, or the quality of the programs is not competitive, so the universities choose not to publicize them.

1. Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

The Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú offers several policy-oriented or related programs. Public policy studies are given as specialties within disciplinary programs such as economics, sociology, and political science. Specific studies are rather in public management or management of public policies. The Católica is also planning to create a Master's Degree in Public Policy, which would be the first of its kind in Peru.

Master's in Political Science

This program was created only two years ago. Its primary aim is to train professionals specialized in the tasks of government, public management, and social development who will be able to contribute to the efficiency of public institutions, social development, and the consolidation of democracy. It also trains academics devoted to teaching and research in the area of political science, contributing to the discussion regarding new forms of politics. Three specializations are offered: public management, public policies and civil society, and comparative politics. These studies are rather academically and theoretically oriented, with very little practical application.

Student Profile: public officials working at different levels of government, aldermen and municipal officials, professionals working in NGOs or other nonprofit organizations, social scientists, and professionals in related areas. Reading ability in English is desirable.

Faculty Profile: 25 faculty and seven invited professors who hold masters and doctoral degrees in sociology, economics, political science, public policy, philosophy, law, and history. Most are Peruvians, with degrees obtained

Table 2
Peru: Public Policy Master's Programs

Program	Goals	Faculty	Academic Degree
Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú (Lima)			
Sociology	Advanced studies in sociology	Social Sciences	Master's in Sociology with Specialization in Social Policy, Development Management, and Social Research
Economics	High level professional training, research and policy-oriented dissemination	Social Sciences	Master's in Economics, with 3 specialties, one of them Public Policy and Regulation
International Economic Law	Promotion of critical thought on the specific field, professional training to be hired by private and public sector, by domestic and international institutions	Law	Master's in Law with Specialization in International Economic Law
Economics and Labor Relations	Interdisciplinary economics/law training for research	Law and Economics Departments, and a Latin American and European University Network	Master's in Economics and Labor Relations
Political Science	Professional training for government, public management and social development	Social Science	Master's in Political Science
Social Management	Professional training for social management programs	Graduate School	Master's in Social Management

Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos (Lima)		
Program	Goals	Faculty Academic Degree
Social Policy	High level professional training, research and policy-oriented dissemination, gender, population and development-oriented	Social Sciences Master's in Social Policy with Specialization in Gender, Population, and Development
Social Policy	High level professional training and research in social projects and evaluation of social policies	Social Sciences Master's in Social Policy with Specialization in Management of Social Projects
Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia (Lima)		
Program	Goals	Faculty Academic Degree
Public Health	Improve and innovate health management, research, teaching and promotion through a technical and strategic education of professionals coming from different fields. Professional education to develop creative and new public health strategies. Contribute to development of a new and modern public health system.	Public Health and Administration Master's in Public Health
Health Governance & Management	Versatile education and training for professionals with governmental responsibilities and high level management in the private sector	Public Health and Administration Master's in Health Governance and Management
Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería (Lima)		
Program	Goals	Faculty Academic Degree
Planning for Urban and Regional Development	Training of experts in planning, management, promotion and administration of urban and regional development	Architecture Master's in Planning and Management for Urban and Regional Development

Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal (Lima)

Program	Goals	Faculty	Academic Degree
Political Science	Training of professional analysts	Graduate School	Master's in Political Science
Municipal Management	Training of professionals to administer and promote local development. Educate local leaders and promoters of efficient public services.	Graduate School	Master's in Municipal Management

Universidad Nacional de Piura (Piura)

Program	Goals	Faculty	Academic Degree
Rural Development	Professional training to analyze, research, and formulate technical and public policies for rural development	Graduate School	Master's in Sciences with Specialization in Rural Development

Universidad Nacional de Cajamarca (Cajamarca)

Program	Goals	Faculty	Academic Degree
Rural Development Planning	Professional training for environmental and public management	Graduate School	Master's in Sciences with Specialization in Environmental and Public Management

Universidad Nacional del Altiplano (Puno)

Program	Goals	Faculty	Academic Degree
Rural Development	Professional training to analyze, research, promote, and formulate technical and public policies for rural development	Graduate School	Master's in Sciences with Specialization in Rural Development

Graduate Training in Public Policy in Peru

in Peru, Belgium, Chile, Germany, Uruguay, Spain, England, France, Mexico, and the United States. Invited professors are mostly from the United States (an extensive list is provided).

Courses: Courses include common topics for the three specialties, such as Political Theory and Analysis, Globalization and Nation-States, Economic Analysis for Public Management, Civil Society, Social Capital and Development, Democracy and Governance, Public Finance, Decentralization and Local Government, Comparative Political Institutions, Research and Evaluation Methods, and Political Systems in Latin America.

Specialized courses for public management include Public Finance, Strategic Management, Ethics and Government, Leadership and Decisionmaking. Specialized courses for public policies and civil society include Strategic Management, Public Spaces and Networks, Opinion and Marketing for Organizations, Theory of Democracy and Governance. Specialized courses for comparative policy are Theory and Practice of State Reform, Party Systems and Electoral Systems in Latin America, International Relations, Citizenship and Comparative Civil Culture.

Admission to the program is based on an interview. The only requirement is a bachelor's degree. The fees vary according to an assessment of the students' income levels. The relation to the social sciences is strong and the studies are of very high quality.

Master's in Sociology

Offers advanced state-of-the-art training in sociology, command of methodological and technical instruments for social diagnosis and research. Graduates should be able to produce knowledge for the implementation of social policies and the management of development programs. Three areas of specialization are offered: social policy, organization and management for development, and social research.

Student Profile: Bachelor's degree or professional title in the social sciences (sociology, anthropology, economy), law, humanities, administration, social work. Proficiency in one foreign language (English, French, or German). Peruvian and foreign students are accepted.

Faculty Profile: 24 professors, master's or doctoral degrees in sociology, public administration, public policy, business administration, law, applied science. Some of them are outstanding in their fields.

Courses: Courses include Methodology, Macrosocial Analyses, Economic Processes and Economic Institutions, Public Policies and Development, Social Actors and Social Systems, Development Programs and Projects, Organizational Development and Management.

Specialized courses for social policy include Gender and Development, Rural Development, Urban Planning and Management, Social Inequality, Poverty and Human Development. Those for organization and management for development include Organization and Entrepreneurial Leadership, Sociology of Work and Management of Human Resources, Strategic Planning and Strategic Management, Conflict Resolution.

This is a high quality, mixed program in social sciences that involves theoretical matters and practical applications through workshops and working groups. Admission to the program is based on the evaluation of the candidate's curriculum vitae and a personal interview. The fees vary according to the students' income levels.

Master's in Social Management

This is a new program, heavily oriented toward the management of public policies. It offers training to professionals interested in the design, organization, reorganization, and direction of social programs and projects, according to social demands and globalization. Graduates will be able to work in directive, executive, and research activities in public and private organizations. Its main focus is social management with an emphasis on the planning, management, and evaluation of social services, projects, and programs.

Courses: Courses include Economic Globalization and Social Reforms, Development Views, Social Management, Ethics, Strategic Planning, Management of Human Resources, Management of Social Welfare Programs and Systems, Social Balance, Financial Management, Social Marketing, Planning, Management, Follow-up and Evaluation of Social Programs and Projects.

Student Profile: Bachelor's degree (majors not specified); fluency in English.

Faculty Profile: 19 professors, with master's and doctoral degrees in sociology, social anthropology, business administration, economy, industrial engineering, urban and regional planning, philosophy, public health. Invited professors from Spain, Colombia, and the United States.

Graduate Training in Public Policy in Peru

Admission is based on the evaluation of the candidate's curriculum vitae and a personal interview. The cost of the program is U.S. \$4,560, which covers only the fees.

Master's in Economics

This was the first graduate program in economics in Peru. Its purpose is to train high-level professionals in economics, specializing in Latin American economic problems. Graduates receive solid knowledge in economic theory, mastery of quantitative methods and instruments for economic analysis, and research. They should be able to work in the private sector, assuming direction, management, or consulting responsibilities; in the public sector, in the design and application of economic policies; in universities, as professors or researchers; in NGOs; and as independent consultants.

This program is similar to those in American or European universities. It has a strong theoretical and methodological component, which is considered sufficient to enable graduates to design economic policies. It has three areas of specialization: regulation of public policies, finance and capital markets, and international economic relations.

Student Profile: Bachelor's in economics or related areas. Reading proficiency in English is required. Many students come from the provinces. The Interuniversity Council of the French Belgian Community offers two full scholarships to professors of provincial universities with the highest scores on the admission test. Some students have their tuition financed by their employers.

Faculty Profile: 28 professors, nine master's and 17 PhDs, many of them from foreign universities (Brazil, United States, Mexico, Argentina, France, Belgium, and Holland). Some of them are outstanding professionals in their fields. Most are economists, one is a social scientist, one is a development studies specialist, and two are historians.

Courses: Common courses include Advanced Microeconomics, Advanced Macroeconomics, Advanced Econometrics, Industrial Organization, Monetary and Banking Theory, Information and Decision-Making Economics.

The specialty in regulation and public policy includes Regulation Theory, Public Economics, Labor Economics, Regional and Environmental Economics. The specialty in international economic relations covers

International Economics, International Finance, Integration and Trade Policy, International Political Economy. The specialty in finance and capital markets includes Financial Theory, Corporate Finance, International Finance, Markets and Financial Innovation Instruments. The relation to the social sciences is strong. Admission is based on a written exam similar to the GRE and a personal interview. The cost of the program is US \$6,080 (fees only).

Master's in Law, Specialty in International Economic Law

This is one of the few programs that offer training in the design of public international policies from a juridical perspective. It offers training in the study and research of contemporary juridical-economic problems. Graduates should be able to work in the private and public sectors, international organizations, and universities.

Student Profile: Bachelor's degree in law. Proficient in English. Self-financed. Alumni include Santiago Fujimori (President Fujimori's brother, who is credited with recruiting some of his colleagues for public office—e.g., Congresswoman Martha Chávez and Congressman Raúl Muñiz, among others).

Faculty Profile: 24 professors with master's or licensed in law, one doctorate degree. Some outstanding professionals, among them, Peruvian Ambassador to the OAS Beatriz Ramacciotti, former Foreign Affairs Secretary and Ambassador to the United Nations, and recently elected Vice-President Francisco Tudela. Most of the faculty hold degrees obtained in Peru, England, the United States, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Canada, or Chile.

Courses: Courses include International Trade, International Economic Organizations and Relations, Macroeconomics, Methodology, International Funding, International Private Law, Integration Processes, Public and Private International Conflict Resolution, Investment Regulation, Stock Market Regulation, Peruvian Foreign Policy, International Contracts.

The relation of this program to the social sciences is very weak. Admission is based on an evaluation of the candidate's curriculum vitae and a personal interview.

2. Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos

The Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos was the first institution to create undergraduate programs related to public policy, but it has been

slow in creating graduate programs. The oldest are only ten years old, and only some of them are directed toward public policy.

San Marcos offers a Master's Degree in Social Policy specializing in Gender, Population and Development, and one specializing in the Management of Social Projects.

Master's in Social Policy, Specializing in Gender, Population, and Development

The main goal of this program is to train professionals who will be able to design, manage, and follow-up social programs, and to evaluate social policies from the perspective of gender, population, and development. Also, it intends to promote interdisciplinary studies that include social science and gender studies. Important issues are: human rights from a gender perspective, sexual and reproductive rights, and reproductive health.

Student Profile: Students must hold a bachelor's degree in social sciences, humanities, or health, and take an exam that covers issues such as human rights, gender, citizenship, sexual and reproductive health, development and social policies, the state, public spaces, and gender relationships. Very affordable fees make this program accessible to students of different income levels.

Faculty Profile: Faculty includes 19 professors, some of them outstanding professionals, researchers, and activists in their respective fields. Their areas include anthropology, sociology, political science, history, law, medicine, development, and management.

Relationship to the social sciences is very important, with a heavy emphasis on gender issues.

Master's in Social Policy, Specializing in the Management of Social Projects

The program offers training in the areas of design, management, and follow-up of social programs and projects, and in the evaluation of social policies. It promotes interdisciplinary research, including the social sciences. It also intends to develop alternative social policies in various areas. Important issues are: development, social policies, social and institutional management, quantitative analysis, poverty, rural development, design, execution, follow-up, and evaluation of social programs.

Student Profile: Students must hold a bachelor's in sociology or social work, or be professional titleholders in related areas—such as economics, anthropology, history, medical sciences, law, social communication,

humanities—that include basic knowledge of social policy. Affordable fees also make this program accessible to students of different income levels.

Faculty Profile: Faculty includes 15 professors, includes some outstanding professionals and researchers. Their areas include anthropology, sociology, political science, history, law, international relations, strategic planning, rural development, medicine, management, and business administration

The program has an important relation to the social sciences. Emphasis is on the management of social projects.

3. Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia (Lima)

This university offers two graduate programs, which were the first of their kind in Peru.

Master's in Public Health

This program specializes in public policy, properly speaking. The purpose of the program is to train professionals capable of planning and evaluating health interventions from a social and strategic point of view; managing health services and programs for efficiency, quality, and equity criteria; coordinating and executing health development programs; and conducting research in the field.

Student Profile: Bachelor's degree or professional titleholders who are or have been working in public health or related areas; basic computer skills and reading ability in English are required.

Financial resources may be obtained from the institutions at which the students are working; some scholarships are provided by national and international agencies.

Courses: Courses include Information and Decisionmaking, Health Services Management, Strategic Analysis, Health Promotion, Policy and Development. Students can concentrate in different areas, including epidemiology, health services management, mother-child, sexual and reproductive health, project management, mental health, nutrition, development of human resources.

Unfortunately, its relation to the social sciences is quite weak.

Master's in Health Governance and Management

The program offers training for professionals in high-level directive or

management positions in government, the health sector, or in public or private institutions. Graduates should be able to work in management positions in public or private institutions, or as high level public officials, or in national or international institutions that are devoted to technical or financial cooperation, or in academic institutions. The programs combine on-campus and off-campus activities.

Student Profile: Students are directors or high-level directive staff in private or public institutions; managers of public or private health services involved in institutional modernization or reforms; faculty or researchers in academic institutions; or other health workers who require this kind of training, for professional or institutional reasons.

Faculty Profile: Most faculty come from within the university, with other professors recruited from different universities to cover the fields of economics and management.

Courses: Courses include Public Policy and Strategic Planning, Health Strategic Management, Leadership and Decisionmaking in Health, Epidemiology, Economics, Management and Evaluation of Health Services, Social Marketing in Health.

Again, its relation to the social sciences is very weak.

4. Universidad Nacional de Ingenieria (Lima)

Master's in Planning and Management for Urban and Regional Development

The Department of Architecture created this program, in collaboration with other departments. It has contributed an important contingent of specialists who are hired by municipalities, the ministries of housing and transport, and the private sector. It intends to train high-level experts capable of designing viable projects in the areas of planning, promotion, and management of urban development and the environment, in the public or private sectors.

Student Profile: Architects and other professionals interested in planning and regional planning and management.

Courses: Courses include Public Management, Environmental Management, Urban Planning and Development, Regional Planning and Development, National Development, Environmental Impact, and Environmental Risk Evaluation.

The relation of the program to the social sciences is weak.

5. Universidad Nacional Federico Villarreal (Lima)

This public university has recently created a series of master's programs, probably due to its need to qualify its own faculty. Information about the programs oriented toward public policy is scarce.

Master's in Political Science and Master's in Municipal Management

The objectives of both programs are unclear. No information regarding the courses, faculty, or students is available, so it is not possible to establish the program's relation to the social sciences

6. Universidad Nacional de Piura

This public university has one of the best reputations of all the provincial institutions, and is strongly identified with the issues of rural and regional development.

Master's in Sciences with Specialization in Rural Development

The aim is to train professionals capable of analyzing the economic, social, political, and cultural reality of rural areas, identifying change possibilities, and implementing strategic plans for integral rural development.

Student Profile: Graduates in agronomic sciences, business administration, anthropology, education, economics, veterinary sciences, zootechnics. Basic command of English is required.

Faculty Profile: Resident professors, master's or doctorate holders (but no list is available). Visiting professors from Peruvian universities.

Courses: Courses include Statistics, Socioeconomic Analysis, Rural Planning, Ecology and Rural Development, Technology Transference.

The relation to the social sciences is moderate.

7. Universidad Nacional de Cajamarca

This university is located in an agricultural region, characterized by its high poverty levels. Its program tries to promote rural and regional development.

Master's in Development Planning

This program has three areas of specialization: environmental management, entrepreneurial management, and public management. No information regarding the students, faculty, or courses is available.

8. Universidad Nacional de Altiplano (Puno)

Puno is located at 4,000 meters above sea level and is an area with serious development limitations. This notwithstanding, this public university has been able to establish several graduate programs, among which the Masters in Rural Development is the most prestigious.

Master's in Sciences with Specialization in Rural Development

Its aim is to train professionals in research, management, and promotion of rural development, specializing in the Andean region.

Student Profile: Bachelor's degree in agriculture, economics, social sciences, health sciences, education, others. At least two years working experience in areas related to rural development. Proficient in English.

Faculty Profile: Master's in mathematics, rural development, economics, agrarian development, ecology, agrarian sciences, production systems. Two PhDs in agriculture and agrarian sciences. Degrees obtained in universities in Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, and United States.

Courses: Courses include Economics, Society and Culture, Natural Resources and Environment, Peasant Economy and Social Structure, Development Planning, Production Systems, Theories of Development, Rural Development Strategies, Design and Evaluation of Rural Development Projects.

Relation to the social sciences is apparently strong; quality is unknown.

III. THE DOMESTIC CONNECTION: THE SOCIAL SCIENCE NETWORK FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

Social scientists, especially sociologists and anthropologists, played an important role in the formulation and execution of public policies during the 1970s, when state intervention was high. Starting in the 1980s, and even more during the 1990s, economists took their place in the formulation of public policies and neoliberal reforms (Conaghan 1998).

Somehow, the social sciences evolved following the economic and social changes in Peru. Economics advanced first and sociology and anthropology lagged behind as far as content, courses taught, and research. This phenomenon was even worse at the public universities, that most Peruvian students attended. Interestingly, political science as a particular discipline was not taught in any Peruvian university until the second half of the 1990s. In sharp contrast, some private universities in Lima, such as the Universidad Católica and the Universidad del Pacífico, maintained international standards in social sciences and economics. They tried to spread those advances to provincial universities through exchange programs, but their efforts were limited. So, these two universities and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (the oldest and most prestigious institution devoted to research on social problems in Peru) decided to create a network oriented to overcoming the problem of the unequal development of the social sciences in Peru.

The Network and Its Objectives

The Network for the Development of the Social Sciences in Peru, the first of its kind in Peru, was developed by the Pontificia Universidad Católica (PUC), the Universidad del Pacífico (UP), and the Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP), for: (1) conceptual renovation, professional modernization, and academic development of the social sciences in Peru (including political science, sociology, economics, history and anthropology); (2) the improvement of teaching and the encouragement of original scientific research in the social sciences, in order to produce integrated views of the country and its problems; (3) the encouragement of exchanges among universities and research centers, local or foreign; and (4) the replenishment of faculty and researchers in the social sciences. Those purposes would be achieved through activities shared by the three participant institutions: seminars, publications, exchanges with public universities throughout the country, academic exchanges with international institutions, and “reinsertion” scholarships for young academics who graduated abroad and wanted to return to Peru.

The project described a situation in which Peru had undergone a critical period of dramatic social, political, and economic changes that required new interpretations from the social sciences. The old paradigms had either weakened or disappeared and new conceptual tools were need-

ed to address issues—such as the persistence of authoritarianism, institutional weakness, the roots of poverty and social inequality—and to produce practical alternatives to those problems. At the same time, teaching and research in the field had clearly deteriorated in the public universities during the 1980s, due to the economic and political crisis that drove away important numbers of professors and researchers. In many public universities, the remaining faculty adopted a radical dogmatic authoritarian view, which seriously impoverished the analysis of social problems. This situation was even worse in public universities in the provinces.

The beneficiaries of the network were state universities in the provinces, particularly, those which had prior relations with the PUC, UP, and IEP. The most important activities were:

1. Research seminars, using new perspectives and analytic methods, on issues considered relevant to Peruvian society: civil society, institutions and citizenship, poverty and social policies, labor and enterprises, social and cultural aspects of the young, globalization and culture. The participants were mostly professors from public provincial universities.
2. Creation of a basic library on the social sciences. Another crucial objective of the project was to edit a collection of texts and readings to orient the teaching of introductory courses and offer new contributions to the knowledge of the Peruvian reality. The collections would be of three kinds: basic textbooks (Introduction to the Social Sciences, Introduction to Andean Anthropology, Introduction to the Peruvian Economy, Introduction to Political Science, and a Handbook on Peruvian History), reading anthologies, and other fundamental books.
3. Exchange with provincial universities, with the purpose of contributing to a conceptual renovation of the social sciences in those universities, especially those that had relations with the participant institutions prior to the establishment of the network.⁶ The idea was to create a network of cumulative cooperation. Activities included bibliographic packages for the provincial universities; scholarships for outstanding students with academic potential, so that they could obtain Diplomas in Anthropology, Sociology, or Gender; extension courses to facilitate the conceptual renovation, and assist with professional update and academic development; and

internships in one of the network institutions, so that professors of the beneficiary universities could develop research projects with adequate direction and advice.

4. Reinsertion of young Peruvian professionals who, having finished their graduate studies, were working or planning to stay abroad. Due to difficulties in the Peruvian labor market, it was decided that one of the participant institutions would enroll these professionals for a year, so that they could develop a research project, finish their theses, and, at the same time, formulate projects to stay in Peru for a longer period.

5. Exchange with DUNCPLAS (the Latin American studies programs at Duke University and the University of North Carolina). It was proposed that six or eight young Peruvians travel for four to six weeks to make contacts with their American counterparts, and take part in a seminar or workshop, presenting a working paper of their own. Sixteen American doctoral students would be invited to develop research activities at one of the network institutions (either in Lima or in the provinces), and offer seminars and give lectures to Peruvian professors and students. Permanent electronic exchange with DUNCPLAS would also be established.

Initial Achievements

After the first three years, financed by the Ford Foundation, the results were promising, and the participant institutions decided to proceed to a second phase. The homogeneous academic level of the three institutions has been the base of the advances achieved so far; according to outstanding Peruvian intellectuals and academicians, if the network did not exist, it would have to be created to support the development of the social sciences in the provinces.

The main achievements so far have been, first, that a constellation of provincial universities and professors has connected to the network and its main professors and researchers. This could be the beginning of the creation of a scientific community in the Peruvian social sciences. Second, an international network has been created that links American universities with Peruvian universities and research centers. This can generate many externalities and reduce the gap in issues and content, especially now that those activities can be followed up via the Internet. Third, a basic bibliog-

raphy is being created to support the teaching of the social sciences, especially in sociology, anthropology, history, and political science, oriented toward the most important social problems in contemporary Peru.

However, although its objectives have been met in quantitative terms,⁷ the network has started to confront the problem of the academic disparity between private and public universities in Lima and the provinces. In the future, the most important challenges for the network seem to be how to achieve academic excellence while reducing the academic gaps; how to adjust the courses and content to meet the present requirements of the labor markets; and how to transfer the knowledge to national and regional policymakers.

The network started a second phase (2000–2002), in which a deeper and more selective impact is expected, especially on the qualification of professors in the social sciences. The real impact of this remarkable effort will be susceptible of evaluation in a few more years.

IV. THE INTERNATIONAL CONNECTION: WHERE ARE PERUVIAN POLICYMAKERS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATORS REALLY TRAINED?

Our hypothesis is that people with good training and informed criteria about social problems normally design good public policies. That is the result of adequate superior education, in which the social sciences play a central role (since they provide theories, interpretations of reality, and normative proposals). The social sciences can be considered essential for democratic governance and development; this is why it is important to know if, and to what extent, real policymakers are working within this ideal model.

Due to the limited program of studies on public policy in Peru, many people have had a hybrid background of undergraduate studies in Peru and graduate study abroad. As a first approach to this issue, we have created Table 3, which shows a selection of Peruvian presidents, ministers, congresspersons, important government officials, and advisors; although not statistically significant, it gives an idea of their professional training.

Two of the last three presidents come from a technical background (an architect, an agricultural engineer), and one from the humanities (a lawyer); only the latter followed studies related to public policy (political

Table 3
Professional Training of Peruvian Public Officials

President	Studies	Degree	Positions	Public Policy Studies
Fernando Belaúnde	Architecture	Architecture (University of Texas)	President of Peru (1963-68, 1980-85)	None
Alan García	Law and Political Science	Law (San Marcos University)	President of Peru (1985-90)	Political Science (Complutense University, Madrid, and Sorbonne University, France)
Alberto Fujimori	Agricultural Eng. and Mathematics	Master in Mathematics (University of Wisconsin)	President of Peru (1990-2000)	None
Ministers	Studies	Degree	Positions	Public Policy Studies
Juan Carlos Hurtado	Agricultural Engineering and Economics	Master in Sciences (Agriculture, Iowa University)	Minister of Agriculture (1983-85), Minister of Economy (1990-91), Minister of Industry (1999-)	Master's in Public Admin. and Management (Harvard University)
Carlos Boloña	Economics	PhD (Oxford University)	Minister of Economy (1991-92)	None
Liliana Canale	Economics	Licentiate (Catholic University of Peru)	Minister of Industry and Commerce (1991-1995)	Master's in Economics (Catholic University of Peru)
Congress	Studies	Degree	Positions	Public Policy Studies
Martha Chavez	Law	Master in Law (Catholic University of Peru), PhD Law (Private University of Tacra-Peru)	Congresswoman (1995-2000)	None

Victor Joy Way	Economics	Master in Economics (Williams College)	Congressman, President of Peruvian Congress, Minister of Industry and Administration (U.S.) Minister of Economy (1998-99)	Studies in Public Administration (U.S.)
Lourdes Flores	Law	Law (Catholic University of Peru)	Representative and Congresswoman (1985-2000)	Doctorate (Complutense University of Madrid, Spain)
Carlos Torres y Torres	Law	Law (San Marcos University)	Congressman	Humanities and Law (Catholic University of Peru)
Henry Pease	Sociology	Licentiate in Sociology (Catholic University of Peru)	Vice-Mayor of Lima and Congressman (1985-2001)	Master in Sociology (Catholic University of Peru)
Important Official Studies				
Manuel Estrela	Economics	Economics (University of Chile)	Head at the Tax Office, Director IADB and FMI, and Central Bank of Peru Board (1990-1992)	Doctorate (University of Paris I)
Carlos Santistevan de Noriega	Law	Law (Catholic University of Peru)	Ombudsman (1996-2000)	Certificate in Law and Development (U.of Wisconsin)
Carlos Aramburú	Anthro. and Demography	Anthro. (Catholic University of Peru)	President, National Population Council (1992-1994)	Master in Demography (London School of Economics)
Advisers				
Roberto Abusada	Economics	PhD (Cornell University)	Vice-Minister Economy (1981-82), Chief Adviser to the Economy Minister (1993-98)	Public Policy Studies
Santiago Fujimori	Law	Law (San Marcos University)	Principal Adviser to the President of the Republic (1990-97)	Master in International Relations (Catholic U. of Peru)

Source: Cavanagh (1997).

science, in Europe). Of the three ministers selected, all have studied economics; two of them followed graduate studies, one in public administration (Harvard), the other in economics (Universidad Católica del Perú). Congressmen/women of different political tendencies, mostly lawyers, followed graduate studies related to public policy, two of them abroad, and three at PUC.

The three public officials, an economist, a lawyer, and an anthropologist, followed graduate studies abroad in areas related to public policy. And of the two most important advisers to the current regime, only one (the president's brother) followed public policy related studies, at PUC.

As can be observed, (1) most of these selected policymakers pursued graduate studies in some specialty directly or indirectly related to public policy; (2) most of them studied abroad; and (3) those who studied in Peru did so at PUC, for the most part. Moreover, most of them did their undergraduate studies at the PUC or San Marcos.

If something can be proposed about the influence of the social sciences on Peruvian policymakers, it is that it has come through their studies abroad; this is only a working hypothesis.

V. FINAL REMARKS

Studies oriented toward public policy, which have existed in Peru since the nineteenth century under various names, content, and orientation, have had two main characteristics: they have lacked continuity for prolonged periods and have undergone reforms or changes from time to time; and there have not existed, and still do not exist, university departments or careers directly specializing in governance, government, or public policy (except for political science, which was created only recently). What exists is a variety of graduate studies oriented to sectoral public policies, such as education, health, environment, rural development, or municipal management.

All these programs are multidisciplinary and permit different departments and faculty of different specialties to interact. There is no typical model for the graduate programs and their quality is uneven.

The graduate studies indirectly related to public policy are not more than 30 years old, and those directly related are not older than 15. This is to say, in Peru professional educational programs in this area are in the process

of being created. The relative boom of these studies during the 1990s coincides with neoliberal reforms that are redefining the role of the state and, as a consequence, generating a new demand for trained people in the areas where the state has to intervene. According to the Washington consensus, these areas are education, health, infrastructure, and environment.

It is obvious that Peru needs public policy programs, and that conditions are ripe to create them: infrastructure, faculty, and capable institutions. The central issue here is what model should be appropriate for a country with Peru's social and political characteristics.

Only in the 1990s have some graduate programs in political science been created, although no undergraduate programs exist yet; here, too, the Universidad Católica and San Marcos have the most prestigious programs. Such a delay in a specialty so basic for governance requires serious attention.

The master's programs in sociology, anthropology, law, and—above all—economics have constituted the main training centers for policymakers over the last thirty years. The Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, followed by the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, have been the most important providers of professionals who have held public office at various levels. The different masters programs summarized here are of uneven quality. Few enjoy excellent reputations or are internationally competitive; most are not of such good quality. This invites hypotheses about the possibilities for improvement in certain programs, about interrelations among universities at both levels, and about their convergent or divergent levels of quality.

In order to standardize and improve the quality of the graduate programs, an accreditation system should be created. This implies improving admissions through standard tests, similar to the GRE, having specialized and well-qualified faculty, revising graduation requirements, and improving the educational infrastructure.

The segmentation that seems to exist between graduate programs may be based on two issues: the cost of studies, and the reputation of the universities. This segmentation seems to affect the labor market for policymakers: those who come from expensive and prestigious universities acquire directive and decision-making positions, while the others can only aspire to intermediate positions, without much decision-making responsibility. Unfortunately, a program's reputation may be related more to good marketing strategies than to quality.

The qualifications of faculty who teach in the better-established graduate programs are very good: they hold at least a master's degree, and most of them even doctorates. There does exist the problem of double employment: many professors teach at both: San Marcos and PUC, which reduces the critical mass necessary for a greater standardization in study programs.

Due to the heterogeneity and academic inequality between public and private universities, and between universities located in Lima and the rest of the country, there is also a problem of the quality level of the social sciences being taught. The most standardized discipline seems to be economics; sociology suffers from backwardness. Anthropology, history, and political science also vary in academic quality. This has obvious repercussions on the preparation of professionals oriented toward a public career or politics. This is why the Network for the Development of the Social Sciences in Peru has been an important step toward a greater standardization of the social sciences and, above all, toward an improvement in the quality of course content.

In the various public policy programs, the weight of the social sciences is limited, mostly due to their bias toward management and to limited offerings in the applied social sciences. The importance of the social sciences in the graduate programs in public policy is not clear, not only because the weight of the courses in the curricula is low, but also because we have not been able to analyze the criteria used to select the courses in each particular specialty.

Given the fact that Peru does not have public policy programs like those existing in other countries, we were interested in knowing how and where Peruvian policymakers are trained. In a small sample of policymakers and high government officials we found that an important proportion of them pursued graduate studies abroad after graduating from PUC or San Marcos. Those who did their graduate studies in Peru did so at PUC, in specialties such as law and economics. The issues that this small survey raises for future research are whether there is a difference between the course content of their degrees if they study abroad or if they study in Peru, and whether the public policy models that are learned abroad have an influence or not on the design and formulation of public policy in Peru.

The creation of public policy programs in Peru could benefit from the recent experiences of countries like Chile and Argentina; from well-established American programs, such as Harvard, Duke, Princeton, or the

University of California, Berkeley; and from the Mexican experience of interinstitutional relations, which could be used by the universities belonging to the social science network to propose a cooperative model that would involve several universities and higher education institutions.

NOTES

1. I wish to thank Joan Dassin, Joseph S. Tulchin, and Pilar Gavilano for their helpful comments.

2. See “Proyecto de Gestión Pública” reports from 1983 and 1985 in Giesecke (1985).

3. The only public policy-oriented programs were the Academia Diplomática and Centro de Altos Estudios Militares (CAEM). The latter was created by the military government to train military personnel who were to perform duties in the government.

4. In almost every government, PUC graduates have been ministers, congressmen/women, high officers in the central bank, the tax office, and regulatory agencies, or top advisers for public policymakers.

5. Information regarding the various programs is incomplete. A comprehensive guide to graduate studies in all Peruvian universities does not exist. Our analysis is based on information we have collected from each university.

6. Universidad Nacional Pedro Ruiz Gallo (Chiclayo), Universidad Nacional de Cajamarca, Universidad Nacional San Cristóbal de Huamanga (Ayacucho), Universidad del Altiplano (Puno), Universidad Nacional del Centro (Huancaayo), Universidad Nacional San Agustín de Arequipa.

7. During the period 1996-99, the network offered 14 courses at provincial universities (273 academic hours in total), benefiting 15 professors from Lima and 29 from the provinces, plus 132 non-academic social scientists. Fifty scholarships have been awarded, 80 lecturers have been mobilized, and five books (readers) have been published, with the participation of 70 authors.

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Public Policy Programs in Chile: Characteristics, Requirements, and Expectations for Future Development

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I. PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAMS IN CHILE: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

The Origin of Public Policy Programs: Context

Chilean universities only started offering public policy programs in the early 1990s, and today there are not very many. Their relative youth must be understood within the broader context of postgraduate programs in the country. In the first place, postgraduate programs in Chile came into existence during the 1960s and 1970s within traditional universities,¹ and only appeared once some of the universities consolidated and began to tackle more ambitious kinds of scientific work and research. In fact, the first postgraduate programs to appear were sponsored and supported by international institutions and foundations, which began by training academics, who then went on to create postgraduate programs within these universities. Among the organizations involved were the Ford Foundation's Plan Chile California (a scholarship program that allowed Chileans to study in the University of California system), the Humboldt fellowships, the Rockefeller Foundation program, the University of Exeter's plan with the Catholic University, the DAAD program with the University of Concepción, and the International Development Agency's program (Altbir 1996).

A second factor stimulating the creation of postgraduate studies was the Science and Technology Commission (known as Conicyt), created in the late 1960s, which worked with the Ministry of Education and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to strengthen the government's commitment to scientific and technological research.

Table 1
Postgraduate Enrollment and Graduates in Chile, 1990, 1993

		1990	1993
Admissions (each year)	Master's	955	1,249
	Doctorates	64	104
Total Enrollment	Master's	2,376	3,416
	Doctorates	246	457
Graduates	Master's	207	363
	Doctorates	26	40

Source: Altbir (1996).

These strategies for national and international cooperation were essential to the specialization of academics working at Chilean universities and to beginning systematic scientific activity that later permitted the creation of the first postgraduate programs.

Thus, Chile's experience in the area of postgraduate studies is no more than four decades old. The programs are relatively small in an international context, and cover three basic areas: sciences, humanities and arts, and professional programs. These last include public policy programs. An analysis of some of the figures available shows that in 1990, registration in postgraduate studies, including both master's and doctoral programs, had reached 2,622 students, with 233 graduates. By 1993, this had risen to 3,873 students, with 403 graduating that year. Trends indicate that registration rose by 48 percent and the number of graduates rose by 73 percent during that period (see Table 1). In spite of this increase and positive trends during the past decade, only a very small number—perhaps no more than three percent of the total student population—goes on to do postgraduate work.²

From our perspective, there are at least three reasons why these programs emerged in Chile in the past decade. First, the development of the Chilean economy stands out, as it quickly achieved very significant growth rates in the Latin American context. The success of the economy, which saw Chile turning into a dynamic and innovative regional center, generated interest in neighboring countries wishing to see their professionals go on to specialize with relative success in societies that faced similar difficulties.

A second factor contributing to the creation and consolidation of these programs was the incorporation of the discourse of modernization from

the international community, especially countries like the United Kingdom, New Zealand, Australia, Sweden, and Canada. This first took shape as a range of initiatives to reform the state, and thus became a factor strongly encouraging these kinds of programs. Finally, the return to democratic government at the end of the 1980s culminated in the election of a broad coalition of center-left parties that created fertile conditions for new initiatives to stimulate social participation and reflection, within which, once again, public policy programs became very important.

Consolidation of Institutional Economic Reforms and Their Impact on Emerging Public Policy Programs

Toward the end of 1989, Chile managed to overcome the crisis of the early decade, generating a general reorganization of the economy. The country was able to restructure productive activities toward the foreign sector in a very short period of time, as well as stimulate the investment and competitiveness necessary for enormous growth in exports. These changes were possible in a context of profound institutional transformation that began with a series of cutback initiatives followed by reforms to trade, the financial system, and the state (Muñoz 1999).

During the early 1990s, GDP grew seven percent annually, more than during the previous government and considerably more than other Latin American countries in the same period. This growth held steady until the late 1990s, being interrupted only by the Asian crisis in 1998. Throughout the decade, inflation fell gradually from 27 percent to three percent in 1999, according to figures from the Finance Ministry and the Central Bank. Investment also improved, averaging almost 28 percent from 1990 to 1999.

From the social perspective, the population's welfare improved considerably. Productive capacity helped to reduce unemployment to about six percent of the workforce, excluding the period affected by the Asian crisis. Similarly, purchasing power improved, growing an average real four percent annually. Poverty also declined significantly, falling from 45 percent of the population during the 1980s to half that toward the end of the 1990s.

These achievements have been recognized internationally, making the economy a model for many Latin American countries that have begun structural reforms similar to those carried out in Chile during the 1980s.³ Consolidation of these reforms, combined with strengthening of the democratic system, has made Chile's economy and society a point of

interest for other Latin American countries. In the past ten years, this has led to a significant number of Latin American professionals, some commissioned by their own governments, to go to Chile to study the reform processes. Chile's experience has been particularly useful in the degree to which it has been able to inform those interested of the difficulties and costs of reforms as well as their eventual fruits. In fact, these economic and social transformations have encouraged different kinds of innovation. This ongoing interest has focused on issues ranging from trade to social policy, and has generated an active demand for public policy programs among public service employees in other countries.

Reforms to State Agencies and Their Importance in Consolidating the Supply of Public Policy Programs

It is well known that the authoritarian regime that ruled from 1973 to 1989 applied a range of measures to reduce public and governmental spending in order to reduce or restrict the state's role, particularly as direct financier or supplier of goods and services. Throughout this period, many initiatives contributed to a deep reduction in the state, which also led to an extreme bureaucratization (Aninat 1996). For the military government, administering the state apparatus was a "necessary evil," thus creating conditions unfavorable to the development of significant public policy. The degradation of the image of the state and its functionaries made it difficult to modernize public services and reverse the decline in those institutions.

However, in the 1990s, the state's apparatus and actions begin to reposition it as an active player in the public realm. The newly reborn democracy made the state and its organizations a challenge for the transitional government that assumed power at the start of the decade. In 1990, the return of an elected government allowed new political sectors to demand effective, dynamic state action, forcing the new government to respond.

During the decade, a modernization process began that attempted to redefine the functions and actions of state agencies whose activities had until then been characterized by a series of anomalies and difficulties. An important number of governmental agencies had no organic vision defining their institutional goals. Public services and entities were generally characterized by low levels of responsibility and a lack of visibility within a series of diffuse organizational structures. In many cases, state agencies functioned as part of highly centralized structures that prevented a better

response to citizens' real demands. Finally, since there were few instances of evaluating institutions and staff, "ritualistic practices" were generated, centered on existing regulations rather than institutional performance (Marcel 1994).⁴

Starting in 1992, the Finance Ministry, through its Budget Management Area, began a series of pilot projects to introduce modern administrative techniques to public services. Thus, proposals arose for improving state administration by defining goals and objectives for public agencies, identifying clients and/or users, characterizing products, defining organizational structures, promoting autonomy and flexibility, creating innovative administrative structures, introducing payment systems tied to productivity, and so on. As part of these reforms, participants also underlined the need for decentralizing management, expanding the powers of regional and city governments, and systems for measuring productivity, effectiveness, and efficiency of public sector administration. In 1993, toward the end of the first transitional government, the concern for modernization appeared as a top policy priority for the government:

Undoubtedly the administrative apparatus of the Chilean State requires modernization, to bring it in line with the needs and urgencies of the contemporary world and to make it more agile, capable, responsible and efficient. This is no easy task. Nor will it be achieved by announcing more or less spectacular "reforms." . . . [M]y government is working on the relevant studies and hopes to achieve realistic and positive conclusions that will allow us to leave the new government with a useful contribution in this important and delicate field. (Aylwin 1993)

With the arrival of Eduardo Frei's government, the modernization project became a reality with a range of public services developing experiences in this sense. Several of these early experiments were very successful, among them reforms to the Internal Revenue Service, the Civil Registry (Registro Civil, responsible for registering births, deaths, etc.), the National Health Fund, and the National Pension Program (Instituto de Normalización Previsional). Similar processes followed at other state agencies, leading to the creation of an Interministerial Committee for the Modernization of the State (Comité Interministerial de Modernización del Estado). This committee has been in charge of coordinating reforms since 1994, developing key initiatives, among them the government's electronic purchasing system and the use of digital signatures in the public sector.

All these reform initiatives created an environment in which public policy programs have developed, as well as expressed a fundamental demand for these programs.⁵ The need for professionals with enormous technical and leadership ability to deepen these reforms has become a crucial factor in the consolidation of these programs at the national level. Similarly, experiences in state reform are an essential part of postgraduate programs, as they offer a direct source of learning and a subject for study. Thus, state reform has become a crucial area for the analysis of public policies and public administration courses inevitably address these issues.⁶

The Return to Democratic Government and the Availability of Public Policy Programs

Toward the end of the 1980s, Chilean society recovered democratic government after seventeen years of authoritarian rule. This process occurred within a world context encouraging democratization in many other societies, including those elsewhere in Latin America. In 1974, only 39, that is, one of every four, countries was governed democratically; today, two of every three countries, for a total of 117, hold free elections to choose their authorities (World Bank 1997).

Chile during the 1960s experienced a process of political polarization that ended in the destruction of the conditions that make citizens' democratic interaction possible. This social breakdown culminated in the traumatic military coup of 1973. What followed led to the total retreat of all forms of social and political organization, which only managed to regroup somewhat toward the end of the 1970s. Economic crisis in the early 1980s triggered enormous social discontent, favoring the reactivation of a democratic opposition that played a major role in favor of a peaceful political transition. Toward the end of that decade, these groups defined a strategy for overcoming the military regime and returning to a representative democracy.

Little by little, the coalition of parties that triumphed in the 1988 plebiscite took shape, a process that culminated in the election of the national president and congress in 1989. This recovery of democratic government helped to generate consensus and stimulated an enormous variety of social and intellectual initiatives, among them the creation of several public policy programs. These programs arose in a context in which there is an enormous need to contribute to the development of democra-

Table 2
Social Sciences and Humanities Master's Programs Available

Area	Number of Programs
Administration/Finance	4
Urban Settlement/Development and the Environment	2
Political Sciences and Law	2
Social Sciences	5
Economics	5
Education	10
Philosophy and History	6
Management and Public Policy	5
Psychology and Sociology	2
Other (Public Health, Rural Development, International Studies)	3

Source: Table derived by author from information in Comisión Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (1999).

cy and citizens' rights. Democracy, as an opportunity for recognizing social diversity, has in turn stimulated the creation of a range of public policy study programs that have contributed to Chilean and Latin American society.

To varying degrees, democracy is a necessary although insufficient condition for these programs to consolidate within society, contributing new opportunities for dialogue about and criticism of state action. In fact, by training, researching, and permitting the critical interaction of its members, each of these programs has sought to open up spaces of influence within society and the state apparatus in a context of ongoing continental and world exchange.

II. PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAMS AVAILABLE IN CHILE

Of the total number of master's programs available in Chile (44), most (10) are in education, followed by philosophy and history (6), and finally by economics, social sciences, and public policy (five each).

The geographic distribution of programs is also interesting. Table 3 indicates that most (three-quarters) of the programs available are offered in Greater Santiago. In the case of public policy programs the situation is even more extreme, given that only one of the five is taught outside Greater Santiago.

Table 3
Geographic Distribution of Available Programs

Area	Santiago	Regions
Administration/Finance	3	1
Urban Settlement/Development and the Environment	2	0
Political Science and Law	2	0
Social Sciences	3	2
Economics	4	1
Education	6	4
Philosophy and History	5	1
Management and Public Policy	4	1
Psychology and Sociology	2	0
Other (Public Health, Rural Development, International Studies)	2	1
Total	33	11

Source: Table derived by author from information in Comisión Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (1999).

In Chile's case, it does not make much sense to separate public policy programs from those in public administration or public management, given that the availability of both is so limited. This selection of five public policy programs has been flexibly applied to include two offered by Arcis University and the Austral University that do not necessarily meet the strict definition of a Master's in Public Policy. In spite of this, we find they are relatively similar to the other three and fit better here than in any other categories.

Table 4 provides a complete list of public policy programs available in Chile, along with the university, school, and region in which they are located. Two of the five programs are offered by the University of Chile, through its Political Science Institute and its School of Physical Sciences and Mathematics. Only one, the Master's in Regional Economics and Administration, is taught outside Greater Santiago by the Austral University. Four of the programs are taught by traditional universities, the exception being Arcis University, which was one of those created after educational reforms in the 1980s. Additionally, if we wish to consider categories among public policy and administration programs, only the one offered by the University of Santiago focuses on administration, while the others emphasize the analysis and implementation of public policy.

Table 4
Public Policy Programs in Chile

Name	University	School	Region
Master's in Management and Public Policy	University of Chile	School of Physical Sciences & Math.	Greater Santiago
Master's in Government and Public Management	University of Chile	Political Science Institute	Greater Santiago
Master's in Public Administration	University of Santiago	School of Admin. and Economics	Greater Santiago
Master's in Social Policies and Local Administration	Arcis University	School of Social Sciences	Greater Santiago
Master's in Regional Economics and Administration	Austral University of Chile	School of Economic and Administrative Sciences	Region X of the Lakes

Source: Table derived by author from information in Comisión Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología (1999).

It is interesting to note that the Pontifical Catholic University of Chile has not developed a postgraduate program in the public policy area. Given that this is one of the most important universities in terms of both teaching and research, this absence is particularly significant, above all because the university enjoys great prestige and has extensive background in the disciplines that have converged in this field, among them economics, sociology, and political science. To date, the programs offered by this university are complementary to the issues involved in the public policy field, focusing on specific topics like economics and political science. For example, the School of Economic and Administrative Sciences offers three master's programs with specialization in economic sciences, applied economics, and business administration. Along with these master's programs, the School of Economic and Administrative Sciences also offers several diplomas and postgraduate programs, among them the Postgraduate Program in Business Administration, the Interamerican Course on Project Evaluation (CIA-PEP), the Interamerican Program on Applied Macroeconomics (PIMA), and the Diploma in Human Resource Management and Labor Economics.

PIMA stands out in particular. The Inter-American Development Bank, with the support of several Latin American central banks and finance ministries, encouraged this study plan to train highly qualified specialists in applied macroeconomics who can enhance the administra-

tion of central banks, ministries, academic centers, and other public or private institutions associated with the financial-economic area.

Similarly, the Catholic University's School of History, Geography, and Political Science offers a Master's in Political Science with specialization in Institutions and Political Processes, and International Relations. Other postgraduate programs offered by the Catholic University consist of specialized disciplines in a range of areas covering issues only tangentially related to public policy. This indicates that the Catholic University has developed programs associated with specific disciplines rather than a specific program focusing on public policy issues.

Chile has developed an ongoing supply of master's programs in business administration (MBAs). A growing number of universities offer these programs, which tend to focus on training professionals for the private business sector. Administration and business schools do not provide training in public policy. Unlike other countries, there are no administration programs oriented to the activities of nonstate public organizations, which train people in issues of social or public interest. This is understandable, given the relative youth of postgraduate programs in Chile in general. The supply of programs in Chile tends to be rather traditional, incorporating training alternatives in disciplines for which there is already considerable demand and profitability. Furthermore, interest in state and nonstate public sector activities has arisen only recently, so there is no consolidated, permanent demand in these areas.

III. THREE EXPERIENCES WITH PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAMS

1. Master's in Management and Public Policy, Industrial Engineering Department, University of Chile

Academic Goals

The Industrial Engineering Department of the University of Chile and the Corporation for Economic Research on Latin America (Corporación de Investigaciones Económicas para Latinoamérica, CIEPLAN) created in 1993 the Master's in Management and Public Policy.⁷ Five generations have graduated from this program to date.

The purpose of this master's is to train professionals interested in designing, implementing, and evaluating public policies who can be effec-

tive in public and private institutions and in the legislative and executive branches of central, regional, and local governments. The program's goal is to give graduates the skills necessary to understand the overall functioning of the state, the political and economic relationships that they will try to influence, and the decision-making and policy application processes going on in different areas of the state apparatus.

Study Program

The master's program lasts three full semesters and requires full-time study. Students must take eleven required courses, choose eight elective courses lasting a half-semester each, and write a thesis analyzing a public management and/or public policy problem. The elective courses deal with public management, public policies and the private sector, social policies, and natural resources and the environment. A two-semester thesis workshop encourages systematic work based on a series of reports on the thesis progress. On average, the total number of required classes reaches 1,000 hours, about 20 hours a week. Given that this is a full-time master's program, the rest of the time is used for reading, research, and similar activities.

Since students' origins are pretty diverse, there are three preparatory courses to help generate the basic analytical capacity required to meet the program's standards. These take place seven weeks prior to beginning the program and include economics, mathematics and statistical analysis, and an introduction to the social sciences. Work includes classes, tests, and individual and group projects. There is no formal internship involved, although there are seminars and visits to relevant public institutions. The program takes a multidisciplinary approach, teaching a wide range of subjects, among them management, political science, economics, sociology, and law. The fact that students come from different professions and countries contributes to the multidisciplinary approach. Required coursework includes seven subjects lasting a full semester and four lasting half a semester. The program's general curriculum follows (see Table 5).

Academic Profile

The Industrial Engineering Department (DII) has extensive experience in both teaching and research. The program's team is composed of professors at DII and outside faculty from other schools of the University of Chile and state agencies.

Table 5
Curriculum: Master's in Management and Public Policy
Industrial Engineering Department–University of Chile

First Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economics and Public Policies I • Quantitative Methods • Management and Public Policy Seminar I • Public Management • Ethics and Government* • Role of the State: Economic Aspects* 	
Summer Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elective 1* 	
Second Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economics and Public Policies II • Role of the State: Socio-Political Aspects* • Management and Public Policy Seminar II • Political Analysis and Governance • Development Strategies* • Elective 2* • Elective 3* • Thesis Workshop I 	
Third Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elective 4* • Elective 5* • Elective 6* 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Elective 7* • Elective 8* • Thesis Workshop II

* These are half-semester courses

Seventeen full-time professors belong to the DII: 13 hold doctorates, two are doctoral candidates, and two hold master's degrees. External faculty include those from the faculties of economic and administrative sciences and law. Faculty specialize in a range of areas, concentrating on issues such as economics of education, economic regulation, international economics, industrial organization, human resources, labor economics, management abilities, and so on. Outside academics work in a variety of areas, among them, public management, sociology, and law.

A significant number of the part-time professors also work in the public sector, where they hold important posts.⁸ For example, several held key positions in Eduardo Frei's government (1994–2000), including Pilar Armanet, President of the National Television and now Head of the Higher Education Division at the Ministry of Education; Alejandro Jadresic, Minister of the National Energy Commission; and Cristián Toloza, Studies Director for the Presidency. Many professors also hold

important posts in the government of Ricardo Lagos (2000–2006), among them, Claudio Orrego, Minister of Housing and Public Properties; José de Gregorio,⁹ Minister of Economics, Energy and Mining; Mario Marcel, Director of the National Budget; Carolina Tohá, Undersecretary of the General Secretariat Ministry of the Government; and Patricia Politzer, Director of Communications and Culture. In addition, Eugenio Lahera, professor for the public management course, coordinates the new government's team of presidential advisors. In short, this Master's in Management and Public Policy is taught by a team of professors enjoying enormous academic and professional prestige, directly linked to reforms being applied within the government and important advisory and research groups associated with the government.

Table 6
Master's in Management and Public Policy Students'
Place of Origin, 1995–2000

Country	Total	%
Argentina	3	1.8
Bolivia	15	8.8
Colombia	13	7.6
Costa Rica	16	9.4
Chile	41	24.0
Ecuador	9	5.3
El Salvador	4	2.3
United States	1	0.6
Guatemala	2	1.2
Haiti	5	2.9
Honduras	2	1.2
Mexico	3	1.8
Nicaragua	17	9.9
Paraguay	7	4.1
Peru	18	10.5
Dominican Republic	2	1.2
Uruguay	2	1.2
Venezuela	11	6.4
Total	171	100.0

Source: Data obtained in authors' interviews with public policy program administrators.

Student Profile

Program data reveal that although students' origin in terms of disciplines varies widely, most have backgrounds in economics (37 percent), law (18 percent), or the social sciences (14 percent). Men account for 59 percent of students, women 41 percent; by age, 74 percent are between 25 and 35 years of age. With regard to their country of origin, 24 percent are Chilean, the remaining 76 percent come from other Latin American countries, particularly Peru, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Bolivia. Fewer come from the continent's major countries, among them Mexico, Argentina, and Brazil, which have programs similar to this master's (see Table 6).

Total fees for the program are US\$12,300, usually financed by scholarships from national and international foundations and organizations and by the students themselves. Student aid until now has come primarily in the form of scholarships provided by the Interamerican Development Bank, which has supported more than 60 percent of students. Other funding sources, in order of their significance, are scholarships provided by the program itself (10.8 percent), students' own resources (10.5 percent), the Canadian Agency for International Development (CIDA, 9.4 percent), and the Konrad Adenauer Foundation (2.9 percent; see Table 7).

Program Results

The program lasts a total of 19 months, including completion of the thesis. To date, 171 students have entered the program; 26 will graduate in December 2000. Of the remaining 145 students, 130 graduated and 15 did not.¹⁰ The high percentage of graduates is commendable; only a small number of students (10 percent) fail to complete this program, a very small percentage compared to other, equivalent postgraduate programs.¹¹

Job Market for Graduates

The information provided by the master's program indicates that most graduates return to their countries to work in the public sector or institutions related to it. Of the 100 graduates whose current occupation is known, about 75 percent are working in public sector institutions in their respective countries; some are working in public sectors in other Latin American countries.

Distinguished graduates include, among others, María José Jarquín, in charge of modernization of the state in Nicaragua; Ana González, National Director of the Youth Movement in Costa Rica; William Toro,

Deputy Minister of Promotion of Women and Human Development in Peru; Ana María Gúemez, Director of International Affairs for the Senate, in Mexico; and Arturo Barrera, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, in Chile.

Research and Thesis Study Areas

Research areas vary among the team of professors associated with this master's. The main topics are regulation, bidding systems, economics and foreign trade, economics of the environment, quality of services, and economics of education. Research developed in these fields has led to books and publications in prestigious national and international periodicals.¹² Students' areas of study reflect the interests of governmental agencies in different Latin American countries. The more systematic research areas to date have been economic development, decentralization, modernization and state reform, social policies, and regulation and governance

Program Infrastructure

Classes are taught on the campus of the DII, which consists of buildings housing classrooms, researchers' offices, an auditorium equipped with

Table 7
Master's in Management and Public Policy,
Students' Funding Sources, 1995–2000

Funding Source	Number	%
Canadian Agency for International Development (CIDA)	16	9.4
Agency for International Cooperation (AGCI), Chile	1	0.6
IDB	104	60.8
IDB JAPAN	1	0.6
CONICYT	1.5	0.9
Own resources	18	10.5
Ayacucho Foundation (Venezuela)	1	0.6
W.E. Kellogg Foundation	1	0.6
Konrad Adenauer Foundation	5	2.9
Master of Public Policies and Administration	18.5	10.8
OAS	1	0.6
President of the Republic Scholarship for Postgraduate Studies (Chile)	3	1.8
Total	171	100.0

Source: Data obtained in authors' interviews with public policy program administrators.

video and simultaneous translation equipment, computer room, library, and cafeteria. The department has an area reserved for the exclusive use of the program, available to teaching staff, and provides direct access to the university's Faculty of Physical Sciences and Mathematics. The DII library is open weekdays, and handles 12,000 transactions a year involving books and magazines. It has 4,035 volumes and also provides interlibrary loan services and book exchanges to facilitate the work of teachers and professors.

At the beginning of each semester the program gives students a syllabus with the required readings for each course. This has been a welcome policy, since students take these lists back to their home countries and use them at their work afterwards. The program is now committed to publishing class notes from most courses.

The master's program includes a weekly seminar in which interesting issues from different areas are discussed, such as health, education, and decentralization. There are 25 to 30 seminars per year, excluding regular international conferences carried on within the program.

Program Links Abroad

The Master's in Management and Public Policy signed an agreement with the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University in 1995, to encourage exchanges of theses/case studies. Information available indicates that the ties between the two programs have been partial, with only sporadic exchange experiences limited to specific studies of interest to both sides. This agreement has been limited by difficulties associated with translating theses for the interested parties. However, information about the case studies developed at both schools is regularly exchanged.

A second link consists of the Public Policy and Administration Postgraduate Network (Red de Posgrado en Gerencia y Política Pública—REDAPP) led by the Latin American Center of Administration for Development (Centro Latinoamericano de Administración para el Desarrollo—CLAD), and the United Nations Regional Program for the Modernization of State Organization and Administration. Its purpose is to link the different master's and doctoral programs in Latin America and exchange experiences on the problems of the wide range of state apparatuses. This network is trying to generate professor, student, publication, and teaching material exchanges, which to date have not been fully effec-

tive. Among the most important participants in this network are universities in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Venezuela.

A third link has been developed with the Instituto Tecnológico Autónomo de México—ITAM. The ITAM agreement is attempting to generate exchanges between Mexican and Chilean students in similar programs in both countries. To date, a visit from two Mexican students interested in some of the master's program courses in Chile is being prepared.

A fourth link is the Fund for Studying Public Policies, created by the master's program in 1998 and administered by the program with funding from the Ford Foundation.¹³ The purpose of this fund is to promote academic research on public policy issues important to the country. This fund seeks to promote the accumulation of useful knowledge, associating academic and research-oriented institutions with governmental bodies. Projects financed have been varied, among them those examining issues regarding justice, senior citizens, income distribution, and municipal administration. A list of projects supported by this fund is given in Table 8.

Strengths and Weaknesses

This master's program enjoys significant strengths. In the first place, its team of academics is composed of full-time researchers and professors in the Industrial Engineering Department, professors currently working in top positions in the public sector, and teachers from other schools and departments of the University of Chile. The heterogeneous nature of students, both in cultural and professional terms, is another strength and opportunity within the program. This diversity is deliberately encouraged, as it opens the lines of communication among different disciplines in the search for general solutions to the problems facing Latin American countries.

The program provides solid training in economics and policy. Students learn to apply systematic methods to the different problems that face professionals working in the public sector in Latin America. Master's graduates handle information and possess solid knowledge about many areas, since the program is aware that training overly-specialized professionals runs the risk of obsolescence and works against the flexibility needed in the public sector.

Students learn about designing public policies, understanding that technically impeccable design is not enough. Rather, policies must be feasible and match the administrative ability available to implement them.

Table 8
Projects Financed by the Fund for Studying Public Policies

“*Poder judicial, acción de los privados y agencias públicas*” (Legal power, private action and public agencies), by the Research Center, Faculty of Law, Diego Portales University.

“*Evaluación de resultados de las comunidades terapéuticas del Hogar de Cristo*” (Evaluation of the results of therapeutic communities run by the Hogar de Cristo), by the Hogar de Cristo Charitable Foundation itself.

“*Adultos Mayores: Diversidad y Política Públicas*” (Senior Citizens: Diversity and Public Policy), by the University of la Frontera.

“*Adultos Mayores, Ciudadanía and Organización Social*” (Senior Citizens, Citizenship and Social Organization), by the non-governmental development foundation, Años.

“*Cambio climático, permisos transables e implementación conjunta: Implicancias para Chile*” (Climate change, tradable permits and joint implementation: implications for Chile), by the Industrial Engineering and Systems Department, Pontifical Catholic University of Chile.

“*La Distribución del ingreso en Chile 1990-1996: Análisis del mercado del trabajo y las políticas sociales*” (Income Distribution in Chile, 1990-1996: Analysis of the job market and social policies), by the Economics Department, Faculty of Economic and Administrative Sciences, University of Chile.

“*Interlocución entre Estado y Sociedad en la implementación del plan de igualdad de oportunidades para las Mujeres*” (Cooperation Between the State and Society in the Implementation of an Equal Opportunities Plan for Women), by the Centro de Estudios de la Mujer.

“*Experiencias exitosas en administración municipal. Lecciones y desafíos en cinco áreas claves*” (Successful experiences in municipal administration. Lessons and challenges in five key areas), by Asesorías para el desarrollo.

“*Negociación de la Reforma Laboral: Evaluación de actores y estrategias mediante la aplicación de diferentes modelos analíticos*” (Labor Reform Negotiations: Evaluation of the players and strategies using different analytical models), by Arcis University.

“*Organización escolar y adopción de prácticas educativas innovadoras*” (School organization and adopting innovative educational practices), by the Participa Development Foundation.

“*Mecanismos de control social sobre los servicios públicos. Una aplicación a la atención primaria de salud*” (Mechanisms for social control over public services, as applied to primary health care), by the Signos development foundation.

“*Propuesta de política pública con enfoque de género: fiscalización de condiciones de higiene y seguridad en empresas pesqueras de la X Region*” (Public policy proposal for a gender focus: enforcement of hygiene and safety conditions in fishing businesses in Region X), by Arcis University.

Public Policy Programs in Chile

“Análisis de los procesos de participación ciudadana en la elaboración y aplicación de planes y normas ambientales” (Analysis of processes of citizens’ participation in developing and applying environmental regulations), by Casa de La Paz.

“Ciudadanía y juventud. Análisis de los perfiles de oferta y demanda de las políticas sociales ante la nueva realidad juvenil” (Citizenship and youth. Analysis of supply and demand profiles for social policies given the new reality among young people), by the Instituto de Estudios Avanzados, University of Santiago of Chile.

“Factibilidad de la formulación e implementación de un fondo de redistribución de riesgo para el sistema de seguros de salud chileno” (Feasibility of creating and implementing a risk distribution fund for the Chilean health insurance system) by the Centro Latinoamericano de Investigaciones en Sistemas de Salud.

“Sistema de prevención mediante ocupación del tiempo libre y recuperación del espacio público” (Prevention system through use of free time and recovery of public space), by the Paz Ciudadana Foundation.

The ethics of public administration are emphasized as an element that must be strengthened in the training of public sector professionals. Thus, students are encouraged to discuss and reflect on the ethical issues of public service, as well as their relevance in designing, approving, and implementing public policies.

The program is linked to the Chilean public sector and institutions carrying out research in the area of public policy through its professors and the Fund for Studying Public Policies. This initiative has contributed to improving the knowledge available for designing, managing, and evaluating public policies. It encourages institutions studying these policies and those applying them to associate and interact; and it systematizes and publicizes experiences in the Chilean public sector relevant to decision making in this field, as well as creating an opportunity for quality public debate of issues of national concern.

Some weaknesses exist, however. The program is still not sustainable from the financial point of view. The countries from which foreign students come apparently have few resources to send their staff to study abroad and must therefore depend on scholarships from the IDB and other international organizations and foundations; far from increasing, these have fallen over time. The program has received excellent evaluations in the areas of economics, social sciences, and public policy, but graduates express less satisfaction with the public administration area. Apparently, there is a gap between expectations and the current structure;

as a result, public administration courses are currently being strengthened. Overall, former students are very pleased with program results. However, some believe that some of the elective courses could have been more demanding.

2. Master's in Government and Public Management, Public Policy Analysis Center and the Political Science Institute, University of Chile

Academic Goals

The University of Chile's Public Policy Analysis Center and the Political Science Institute created the Master's in Government and Public Management in 1998. Only one generation has graduated from the program, so few conclusions can be drawn. The master's is designed to provide advanced training to professionals involved in governmental tasks, implementing policies, and administering public services. The program stands out because of professors' practical experience in the government and public service. This distinction was relevant to the program's design, given that it differentiates between the government apparatus, composed of organizations belonging to the executive branch, and other public institutions, including the legislature and the legal system. This program focuses on the government apparatus itself, that is, the executive branch in all its diverse modes of operation.

The offers advanced, multidisciplinary training in areas of knowledge relevant to government action. It is oriented toward students with a very high academic and professional level and attempts to improve their ability to work within government and public administration at intermediate and higher levels, as well as strengthening teaching and research abilities.

The program expects students to be highly motivated and to be working or looking for work in or with the government. Graduates are expected to develop knowledge and experience in government activities and to perform well in dynamic public posts, for example, as ministerial advisors, in a policy application program, or the like.

Study Program

The program consists of three academic semesters and a fourth semester of developing and defending a thesis. Students cannot remain in the

program for more than seven academic semesters starting from when they enter the program. Classes are taught in the evenings, and give priority to seminars, lectures, and other activities of an interactive nature. Class hours dedicated to coursework and seminars, and requiring attendance, total about 600 hours. Required courses are very structured, but there is more flexibility in terms of seminar content. Some seminars change from semester to semester, as their emphasis is on reinforcing specific issues not dealt with in the required courses, among them strategic planning, communications policy, and so on.

Courses are organized on a semester system, with three required courses and some seminars taught in each semester (seminar-style courses last a half-semester). In the first semester, five seminars are offered, one of which is required. The second and third semester require choosing two seminars from among three or four. This method ensures a common knowledge base and still permits work in new areas of interest. The purpose of many seminars is to provide students with knowledge of a broad range of issues and to put them in contact with different professors.

For required courses, students must write an essay based on a recommended bibliography and pass a test on their knowledge of course content; for the seminars, a knowledge test or concrete exercises are required, depending on the course and the professor.

Writing a thesis is required by the University of Chile, although the director of this program does not consider this a good tool, since the master's program is professionally-oriented and students cannot dedicate much time to developing an area of research.

Nonetheless, the first generation was highly motivated to meet this requirement given that the academic degree opens the way to improving their position with regard to jobs. The basic structure of program is given in Table 9.

Academic Profile

This program has 16 regular professors on staff.¹⁴ Some belong to the Political Science Institute, others to departments within the university, and still others are distinguished functionaries of international and governmental agencies.

Among the regular professors in the program are Eugenio Lahera, with a PhD in Public Affairs from Princeton University, who currently coordi-

Table 9
Master's in Government and Public Management,
Public Policy Analysis Center and Political Science Institute,
University of Chile

First Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Contemporary Socioeconomic Transformations • Modernization of the State • Formulation and Implementation of Public Policies <p>Seminars:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economics and the Public Sector; • Legal Aspects of Government Action; • New Forms of Public Management; • Organizational Design; • Values, Ethics and Government*
Second Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Administration • Managing Economic Policies • Managing Social Policies <p>Elective Seminars (two):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administration and Information Technology; • Administration and the State's Regulatory Role; • Public Service Regulation
Third Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management and Strategic Planning • Managing Public Finances • Managing Human Resources <p>Elective Seminars (two):</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regional Government and Management; • Municipal Government and Management; • Foreign Economic Policy • Elements of Foreign Policy

*Required seminar.

Source: Information obtained in authors' interviews with public policy program administrators.

nates President Ricardo Lagos' advisory team; and Carolina Tohá, Deputy Minister of the Presidency. Other professors include professionals who participated actively in state reform processes and in sector programs for overcoming poverty. Among them are Marianela Armijo, from the Finance Ministry's Budget Management Area, and Clarisa Hardy, who is with Chile's Ministry of Planning and Cooperation. The program director expects academics to work, preferably outside the university, and to hold important positions within the government. This means program professors are expected to have considerable experience in key public sector

positions, have a good academic background, and build a way of facing problems with a common focus. Most professors are hired for a specific number of classes and have no ongoing academic ties with the University of Chile or the Political Science Institute. This makes it hard to create systematic research teams to deal with government topics on an ongoing basis.

To date, the program has preferred professors to participate actively in Chile's public sector, to ensure they can communicate to students not only facts but also the experience of how to work and how to assume responsibilities when one holds a management position within the public sector. To achieve this and to maintain an up-to-date group in this sense, the selection of academics may vary from one semester to the next.

Student Profile

The program's newness makes any attempt at constructing a student profile preliminary and tentative. The initial information does not lend itself to any exhaustive conclusions, but does allow for some initial observations. All students are Chilean and most have no access to grants. Only two of the 37 students who began the program in 1998 and 1999 were foreigners and one dropped out. No students from either class received scholarship funding. Although the students' professional backgrounds are quite diverse, some professions predominate: 35 percent of the entering students are public administrators, 16 percent are teachers, 11 percent are lawyers, and another 11 percent are commercial engineers. Gender distribution in this program is also noteworthy: 73 percent of students are male, 27 percent female. Researchers unfortunately had no access to information about students' ages. Sixty-seven percent of the students work for government or other public institutions, as professionals serving ministries, municipalities, and universities. A small percentage come from the private sector or nongovernmental organizations.

Program Results

Only one class has finished the required coursework. Of the 21 students who entered in 1998, seven dropped out for reasons we were unable to determine; 16 students entered in 1999, and to date all have remained. Considering that the program is just starting up, at this stage it is best to avoid drawing conclusions that could prove inaccurate once the program

has consolidated. It is also difficult to determine the effective duration, since the first class to graduate has not yet received diplomas.

Job Market for Graduates

At this point, it is impossible to determine if there has been job mobility among the graduates. The director believes there is a tendency for students to continue in the same job areas, but with more stability and a better position. Many graduates hope for more horizontal mobility thanks to the increased room to maneuver that a degree like this allows. There are specific cases of students who have graduated from the program and now hold excellent jobs in either the public or private sector. The top student from the first class, for example, is now director of the Chile Barrio, an interministerial program to eradicate urban shantytowns in Chile. Another distinguished graduate is now the Chief of Information Technology for Telefónica Chile and does some private consulting for other firms.

Research and Thesis Study Areas

The program director says students are mostly interested in designing public policy. In general, they have not delved into more specific or emerging topics because the program itself does not focus on these. The fact that classes are held at night means it is hard to define a more specialized program. Up to now, emphasis has been on formulating public policy without concentrating on managing or applying it. At this point, the first class has registered master's theses and will finish them this year. Since thesis registration is the initial part of the process, and some that are registered may not ever be written, the different topics students have chosen to research are not indicated here.

Program Infrastructure

Fees for the program total US\$5,400. To pay, most students opt for loans from Corfo, a government production promotion agency that has an attractive credit system for undergraduate and graduate education. A few are financed by their own institutions. The Political Science Institute offers four to six scholarships that cover half the tuition.

The program operates out of the University of Chile's Political Science Institute and has its own classroom and library. The university's Center for

Public Policy Analysis has also made its 1,500-volume library and documentation center available to students, who receive a required and recommended reading list at the beginning of each semester.

Program Links Abroad

The program has developed a solid relationship with ESAN in Barcelona and there are plans to start a student exchange program. The program's professors have made informal contact with faculty at Ortega and Gasset University's Master's in Public Administration program in Madrid, and this could lead to future exchanges. There are also academic connections with master's students and professors at Grenoble University in France. These institutional contacts have all grown out of personal networks, rather than from formal agreements promoted by the university. To date, no academic relationships or exchanges have been developed with other Chilean graduate programs.

Strengths and Weaknesses

One of the great strengths of the Master's in Government and Public Management program is that it teaches students how the Chilean government works, what its main labors are, and how government policies and programs are managed—always with the focus on the executive branch and its ministers, undersecretaries, staff, and so forth.

Another strength is that the faculty has a wide range of experience in the public sector, at many different government institutions. Professors in this master's program have served as everything from close presidential advisers to functionaries in charge of major public sector reforms. The program makes it a point to select professors who work for the government so it can offer students the most pertinent and up-to-date education possible.

A third strength is that the program operates out of the Political Science Institute and has an excellent relationship with the Center for Public Policy Analysis, which provides a strong institutional backing and a perspective of its own. Its focus on government and public policy design stands out, because most other programs center on economics or management.

The program also has several weaknesses in terms of the training it provides. Because it is only part time, the planned course material does not always satisfy all the expectations that the program itself has generated. Although it demands much more of its students than most evening pro-

grams, there is so much to cover that sometimes the professor can only scratch the surface. Financing is another weakness, since most students pay tuition from their own pockets. This limits access to the program and also creates an unstable source of financing for the program itself.

It is important to keep in mind that only two classes have participated to date, making it hard to clearly identify strengths and weaknesses. The 30 percent dropout rate is worrying. Another important consideration is that there are no distinctive patterns of research or internships that could help to define a specific academic identity for the program.

3. Master's in Public Administration, Faculty of Administration and Economics, University of Santiago (Chile)

Academic Goals

The University of Santiago's Master's in Public Administration began in 1996 and has graduated three classes to date. Its primary objective is to teach management skills by emphasizing policy implementation for programs, budgets, projects, and regulations. The academic focus is more policy implementation than design, and graduates are thoroughly trained in the administration of different state agencies, including the central government, public services, and private nonprofit organizations.

Program directors expect graduates to be able to recognize the most crucial issues facing a community and make them priorities for state agencies to resolve; evaluate alternatives, assume risks, and make decisions with a full awareness of both political and bureaucratic mindsets; establish a system of interaction that facilitates decision making; make necessary corrections to government decision making; and uphold public service as a protector of peoples' interests, making it necessary to establish a code of ethics.

The program teaches skills to implement, rather than to design, policies that will become concrete programs and projects. The director believes the program has a professional rather than an academic focus.

Study Program

The master's takes four semesters and classes are offered on weekday nights, for a total of 550 classroom hours. Students must attend at least 70 percent of classes to pass. The minimum passing grade is five (out of seven) for all classes, and a written thesis must be defended before an ad hoc committee.

Table 10
Master's in Public Administration
School of Administration and Economics—University of Santiago

First Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizational and Administrative Theory • Public Economics • Political Sociology • Social Research Methods I • Leadership and Authority*
Second Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Psychology • Public Finances and Public Budgets • Administrative Law • Social Research Methods II • Regulatory Policies* • Quantitative Methods Applied to Public Administration*
Third Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Public Policies and Strategic Planning • Administrative Controls • Human Resource Management • Public Marketing
Fourth Semester	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negotiating Techniques • Administrative Reform Processes and the State • Public Management Processes • Thesis Seminar • History of Political and Institutional Thought in Chile*

*Electives.

The program has a total of 16 required courses and four electives, which are generally broken down into four required courses and one elective per semester. The student thus graduates with 20 course credits.

Classwork involves attending lectures, taking tests, and completing group and individual projects. Although there are no formal internships, the program organizes a series of seminars that cover the most relevant issues affecting public policy. Given that the degree emphasizes management, political science, economics, sociology, and methodology, any hands-on experience in these areas is highly valued. The general structure of the curriculum is given in Table 10.

Academic Profile

The program is run out of the Faculty of Administration and Economics (FAE) of the University of Santiago (Chile), which has con-

siderable experience in offering graduate programs and is known for the quality of its faculty and research. The professors come from the FAE and from other university departments. Several guest lecturers are brought in from the public sector and from international organizations. The program also has three foreign professors.¹⁵ Professors with experience in the public sector include Gonzalo Martner, Undersecretary of Decentralization and Regional Development under Patricio Aylwin; Germán Correa, Minister of Transportation and Telecommunications under Aylwin and Interior Minister during the first year of the Frei government; and Rony Lenz, Director of the National Health Care Fund (Fonasa) during the Aylwin administration. There are also several professors who have worked for international organizations, including Ignacio Pérez and Luis Santibañez, from the United Nations Development Program (UNDP).

Coursework covers a wide range of topics, including administration, human resources, marketing, strategic management, development, and organizational change. The program focuses mainly on organizational management as applied to the public sector. More than half of the program's professors have done consulting work in the private sector, gaining direct organizational management experience that they can apply to their teaching about the public sector.

Program Director Ignacio Pérez says the faculty for this master's program is first rate, both academically and professionally, and have been directly involved in the execution of governmental policies and reforms in Chile and abroad.¹⁶

Student Profile

Students come from a wide range of backgrounds, including public administrators, teachers, civil engineers, accountants, commercial engineers, and social workers. Table 11 provides a summary.

As the table indicates, almost half the students are teachers, public administrators, and auditors/accountants. Commercial engineers and social workers also have a significant participation. It is worth noting the number police officers who have passed through the program. Only one-third are women. Researchers had no access to information about the ages of the students.

In general terms, the program is designed for public servants of the central government, public services, public enterprises, and regional and

Table 11
Master's in Public Administration
Students' Characteristics 1996–1999

Profession	
Educators	18%
Public Administrators	15%
Accounts	12%
Commercial Engineers	11%
Police Officers	10%
Social Workers	9%
Others ¹⁷	25%
Total	111

Gender	
Men	67%
Women	33%

Source: Author's elaboration based on information provided by the program.

local governments. Ninety-two percent of the students are Chilean; eight percent come from other Latin American countries—Mexico, Bolivia, Peru, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic.

The program's tuition is US\$8,600, and different scholarships are available to cover costs. The program itself grants one scholarship to the best student to graduate from the Public Administration program at the University of Santiago. University employees pay only half tuition. Other grants are available from organizations like AGCI and OAS, since the program is accredited with the Council of University Presidents. Nonetheless, students take little advantage of these opportunities: 94 percent pay for the program themselves or with help from their institutions, without applying for Chilean or foreign funding.

Program Results

To date, 111 students have entered the program, with 22 still in class. Of the remaining 89, 71 (67 percent) have completed coursework, but only 11 (12 percent) have graduated.¹⁸ Twenty percent of the program's students drop out, but one-third of them eventually reenter the program. Dropout rates seem to correlate with evening coursework, which makes it

Table 12
Master's in Public Administration Program Results 1996–1998

Class	Students entering	Students leaving	Graduates	Reincorporated	Drop-outs
96–97	29	12	9	2	6
97–98	20	12	1	2	5
98-99	40	36	1	2	1
99-2000	22	—	—	—	—
Total	111	60	11	6	12
Percentage		67%	12%	7%	13%

Source: Author's elaboration based on information given by the program.

difficult for people who work during the day, especially when it comes to writing the thesis.

The program lasts four academic semesters, although it is possible to alter this number in specific cases. Researchers did not have access to information that would have made it possible to determine the program's effective duration or, rather, the number of semesters it actually takes students to finish, on average.

Job Market for Graduates

Although the program's administrators have not systematically kept track of graduates, they have observed that most come from the Chilean public sector and return there after graduation to take on jobs involving more responsibility. Among the public agencies where graduates currently work are municipalities, the police force, the Labor Bureau, hospitals, the Internal Revenue Service, the Solidarity and Social Investment Fund (Fosis), the postal service, the treasury, and the National Training Service.

Distinguished graduates include the current director of the Police Force Health and Pension Fund (Dipreca), who was named to this post as soon as he finished the master's. Another student did an excellent public marketing project with the Municipality of Santiago and later worked with the program director on a manual for municipalities.

Research and Thesis Study Areas

Thanks to information provided by the program's administrators, certain topics of particular interest can be identified. These include the eval-

uation of state institutions, a diagnosis of public policy implementation, citizens' participation and how it affects quality of life, local and municipal realities, and the ethical aspects of action within public institutions. Although these appear to be areas of particular interest, the students have carried out no additional research or publications to develop them further, beyond the normal coursework and research as part of writing their theses.

At this point, a total of seven theses have been accepted, on topics ranging from administrative indicators in public agencies, to curricular and administrative changes in the Chilean education system, administration of regional labor bureaus, strategic management of the postal service, and a budgetary model for the Chilean police force. Since so few students have finished their theses, it is impossible to determine what specific topics the program has most heavily promoted, although it appears that institutional administration remains the most important issue.

Program Infrastructure

The program is housed in the University of Santiago's Department of Administration and Economics, and has classrooms, offices, reading rooms, study carrels, a library, and a cafeteria. The faculty library has all the recommended reading material, but given the characteristics of students entering the program, they also receive a suggested reading list for each course at the beginning of each semester. The department has also made a computer lab available, and all classrooms have an overhead projector, a television, and a data show.

There is an alumni network organized by a coordinator from each class, who is expected to keep up-to-date information about all graduates. This is a good way for graduates to stay in touch.

Program Links Abroad

Conversations are currently underway with the Graduate School of Public and International Affairs at the University of Pittsburgh and the Brazilian School of Public Administration (EBAP) of the Getulio Vargas Foundation to set up cooperation agreements.

The University of Santiago, and specifically this school, is part of a university exchange program between Spain and Latin America, sponsored by the Spanish government's Iberoamerican Office for International

Cooperation (Secretaría de Estado de Cooperación Internacional para Iberoamérica).

In 1999, an agreement was signed with the Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public Service at New York University, which will allow graduates to apply to its doctoral program in public administration.

Program administrators have also signed an agreement with the Iberoamerican Union of Municipalities (UIM), whose training center (CEMCI) is in Granada, Spain. This agreement created three scholarships for graduates to do a one-month internship and explore a specific local or municipal issue. The scholarship pays all fees and living expenses while students are in Spain, and they finish with a diploma in Local Public Administration given by CEMCI. Three graduates have already received diplomas from this program.

The purpose of these international contacts is to provide students with a more in-depth perspective on issues that concern them while giving them the best education possible. The program has not yet developed relationships with Chilean public institutions, and according to the directors, there is little interest in doing so.

Strengths and Weaknesses

The program's most important strength is the high quality of the faculty, who are well trained in the areas they teach. The faculty is composed of academics, professors who have worked in the private sector, and public servants—a blend that gives the program a distinct personality and has proven to be a successful combination. The participation of foreign academics is also worth noting. University professors from Europe and North America have been invited to offer courses, and their input has helped the students keep abreast of the most important issues facing public policy administration, especially since these change rapidly.

The program is designed for middle- and upper-level public servants, and the results have been very positive, since the program has improved the strategic ability of state agencies. The fact that the program has concentrated on management and implementation of public policy means that it has promoted direct action, rather than theoretical or global studies.

The internship opportunities are another strength, since they allow students to learn about decentralization in Spanish municipalities and give them the chance to delve more deeply into specific topics of interest.

One characteristic weakness of this program is that it operates in the evening and is oriented toward working professionals. This is directly related to the fact that students have to pay their own way, as required by the university. The program coordinator believes this makes a rigorous selection of students impossible, given that at least 30 students must enroll each year to keep the program operating.

In addition, the Master's in Public Administration's graduation rate is low. In fact, only 10 percent of the students complete the full program. Many more do not finish their thesis, a fundamental part of the educational process.

A final weakness observed in the program is that no more than 10 percent of the students receive any sort of scholarship. Although those in charge of the program do not consider this situation problematic, it limits access, given that those who might be interested in the program are unlikely to receive financial aid.

IV. SIMILARITIES AND DIFFERENCES IN PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAMS

All programs began to appear in the second half of the 1990s and have reached various stages of consolidation. Of the three, the oldest is that offered by the Industrial Engineering Department of the University of Chile, which has produced graduates for five years. The University of Santiago's program has graduated three classes, while the most recently inaugurated program, the Master's in Government at the University of Chile, has graduated only one class.

It is important to highlight certain differences in the focuses of each program. The Master's in Public Policy and Administration has placed special emphasis on the design, formulation, and evaluation of policies in the public sector, considered broadly as more than just the central executive power. The Master's in Government and Public Management, on the other hand, focuses on the government apparatus and the use of executive power. Finally, the Master's in Public Administration offers a broader view of the state that goes beyond the executive branch, but focuses on the practical and the operative, rather than policy design and formulation.

The curricula share some areas of concern, in terms of public and governmental administration, negotiation, and leadership. At the same time,

some programs concentrate more on policy aspects, such as the Master's in Government and Public Management, while others include courses on strategic planning and marketing, as does the University of Santiago's Master's in Public Administration. The Master's in Management and Public Policy adopts an economic perspective, which makes itself felt throughout the curriculum in both required and elective courses.

Another difference related to curriculum is whether classes take place during the day or evening. Only the Master's in Management and Public Policy is designed as a full-time program with a course load exceeding 1,000 classroom hours. The other two are night school programs with noticeably lower classroom requirements.

Academics' profiles also vary in some noteworthy ways. An established university supports each of these programs, and academics from these institutions are therefore present to some degree. The most notable case is the Master's in Management and Public Policy, which can draw on a vast array of permanent professors at the University of Chile. In fact, these academics undertake a great deal of research, some of it closely linked to the program and to the theses produced by master's students. The other two programs, especially that of the Political Science Institute, have access to fewer academics, which impedes the development of a more complete study program. Undoubtedly, however, a strengthening of the relationship between this program and the Public Policy and Analysis Center could reverse this trend, allowing for greater synergy between teaching and research activities.

Research capability also varies among the programs. In fact, only the Master's in Management and Public Policy has the institutional capacity to link teaching and research activities. This can be seen from the regular publication of working papers by the program's professors, as well as the most outstanding student theses from each graduating class. This capacity for research should be encouraged as a means of recording emerging concerns in Latin America.

All three programs rely on external professors who are actively engaged in government service, some of whom teach in more than one program. It is important to recognize that care is taken to maintain an updated list of these professors, which may also include professors from the private sector, as is the case of the University of Santiago's Master's in Public Administration Program.

Student profiles also vary from program to program. The Master's in Public Administration and the Master's in Government and Public Management are oriented toward Chileans currently working for the government. Most of their students come from public administration and education, and this is clearly the sector that generates demand for the courses. In contrast, the Master's in Management and Public Policy has a significant number of foreign students, mainly from economics and the social sciences, although medical doctors and architects have also enrolled. The Chilean students in this program are not necessarily civil servants, but young people who wish to enter the public service or design public policies.

All three programs primarily attract male students, a common occurrence in all graduate programs in Chile and worldwide. However, 40 percent of the Master's in Management and Public Policy students are women. Less than a third of the students in the other two programs are female, possibly because they are offered at night.

Educational orientation also varies. The Master's in Management and Public Policy sets out to train professionals, developing their analytical design abilities, as well as their capacity for implementing public policies, while the Master's in Government and Public Management attempts to produce professionals who can understand and operate within the executive branch. The Master's in Public Administration concentrates on forming capable administrators of government institutions and programs.

Costs range from US\$5,400 to US\$12,000, that is, the most costly program is more than twice as expensive as the cheapest. However, price differences can be explained in part by the difference in class hours. The programs also differ according to the student aid available. Only one currently offers access to scholarships; the others have not yet included this option or rely upon it only partially. The lack of national and international scholarships may partly explain the relative quality of students who enter each program, as the programs' own directors recognize.

As for program results, the Master's in Management and Public Policy graduates and awards degrees to 90 percent of its students. Although 67 percent of the Master's in Public Administration program's students finish the courses, no more than 12 percent receive degrees. This is similar to the Master's in Government and Public Management, in which 70 percent of first-generation students finished their courses but are still working on

their theses. These differences can be partially explained by the fact that they are evening programs, which makes producing a thesis considerably more difficult.

Graduates of all three programs tend to work in the public sector. Therefore, obtaining a graduate degree strengthens graduates' position within their institution and in some cases allows for professional mobility within, as well as outside, the sector in which they were working upon entering the program.

Infrastructure tends to be similar among the programs, inasmuch as each of them is located within a traditional university with certain basic resources. In general, there are no significant differences in the services provided to students in each program.

Available information indicates that all three programs have established, to a greater or lesser extent, relationships with universities outside of Chile. Their experiences with Harvard University, New York University, and the Unión Iberoamericana de Municipios are examples of the efforts made in this direction. Nevertheless, they do not make the most of these initiatives and have not consolidated them within programs to the point where they can offer a meaningful and systematic association between countries and institutions. One novel initiative is the use of student exchanges by the Master's in Public Administration program; shortly the Master's in Management and Public Policy will also start a student exchange program. These activities could generate higher levels of communication and exchange internationally.

V. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

There is no trend emerging in public policy programs in Chile. Rather, there is a mosaic of issues tending to acquire more or less impetus, depending on economic, political, and social circumstances. Nevertheless, some concerns that tend to persist on the national scene have attracted the attention of each of these programs.

One of these emerging themes is transparency in public administration, derived from the growing interest in studying problems related to corruption in public and political decision making. This concern has centered on the need to generate control and accountability mechanisms, which can reduce the risks associated with the "capture" of or improper influence on

government officials. In particular, the ethical dimension of government work tends to attract a great deal of interest and study.

Although concern about minorities has been slow to emerge within public policy programs, it undeniably constitutes a cutting-edge topic, given the political importance of the demands of indigenous and other groups in Chile and other Latin American countries. In the Chilean case, the evolution of conflicts in the Araucanía region has forced onto center stage the Mapuche population's demands for autonomy, environmental preservation, and self-government. So far, the government has proven unable to resolve these issues and there is no consensus on possible solutions.

The issue of improving gender equality has become a permanent area of interest in the programs, which tends to be examined from a more general perspective or by focusing on health, working conditions, or other similar issues. In particular, the creation of the National Women's Service has brought institutional support for decades of work carried out by non-governmental organizations that have studied and debated this issue.

Another emerging issue is governance in countries like Chile that have reinstated democratic systems. On this point there is great interest in strengthening the exercise of citizenship in the sense of improving social dialogue and democratic problem solving. The evident fragility of Latin American democracies and their precarious level of consolidation and legitimacy among important sectors of society is shared by many countries in the region.

The issues mentioned above do not exhaust the agenda, but rather form part of a dynamic body of concerns within Chilean society. This makes it possible to highlight certain areas where national and international cooperation could strengthen the public policy programs presented here.

An initial proposal is to stimulate student, professor, and teaching material exchanges. Student exchanges, particularly for the programs attended mainly by Chilean students, are attractive, in that they could open a channel for sharing experiences among Latin American countries, as well as with other countries such as the United States. Exchanges of professors, specifically visits by specialists from other countries, would intensify contacts among researchers while adding a significant educational resource to each program. This kind of design would improve the teaching of cutting-edge issues in the different subject areas. Exchanging teaching materials,

such as theses, case studies, working papers, comparative studies, and the like, could provide wider dissemination of knowledge with great potential impact, without necessarily implying significant costs for the institutions and their respective programs.

For Chile, these types of institutional exchange are more meaningful than simply sending students to study in the United States, Canada, or Europe. Training academics abroad is not a top priority for Chile, given the reasonably large domestic pool of professors capable of mentoring postgraduate programs. Because there is a solid group of Chilean academics in the public policy field who can satisfy the demands of these graduate programs, there is less need to develop overseas study as a key part of international linkages. What is more, Chilean civil servants and professors already have access to a scholarship program, called the President of the Republic's Scholarship for Foreign Studies, to finance tuition and living expenses for study abroad. Given this context, exchange and support activities to improve public policy programs within Chile will be more meaningful than the strengthening of individual links provided by foreign study.

Building bilateral or multilateral networks among public policy programs or between programs and public policy centers could have a major impact to the extent that they involve a wide variety of individuals in long-term institutional cooperation. This networking could work as an exchange between Latin America and the United States or other developed countries, such as the quite successful Redes Alfa (Alfa Networks) experience linking countries of Latin America and Europe.

Programs should also develop joint activities among Latin American countries. Seminars, conferences, and workshops on topics such as those mentioned above could help to disseminate available information and stimulate useful debates for reaching better solutions to current public policy issues in participating countries. The impact of such programs could be considerable insofar as they offer an opportunity to compare experiences among countries facing similar conditions.

Despite the existence of these alternatives for strengthening links among public policy programs, it is worrisome that these programs face increasing external pressure to self-financing. At the same time, foreign aid to countries like Chile, which have achieved relatively higher levels of development, has tended to drop. Although international and government-

tal policy on this issue is fueled by powerful arguments, at least two situations are worth taking into account.

First, cutbacks will lead to fewer program offerings or cost reductions that may affect the quality of programs and their basic services. This is untenable considering a growing interest among the region's countries in initiating and consolidating public sector reforms that require trained professionals and analysts capable of rising to the challenges involved. Second, income tends to rely solely on tuition, which is often not enough to cover all program activities. Faced with these kinds of choices, programs tend to restrict spending in areas of lower priority and concentrate on basic teaching functions to the detriment of seminars, journal publications, field trips, and the like.

Therefore, obtaining financing for specific projects could be an important goal within each program. One alternative would be to strengthen the degree-granting process, primarily the preparation of theses or the equivalent. The information available indicates that this area is particularly weak in two of the Chilean programs analyzed, given that ultimately few students fulfill the degree requirements. The low degree-granting rate in two of the three programs is disturbing and indicates that students do not have the support they need to complete the master's level. This also impedes the evaluation of students' analytical ability, which thesis work uniquely demonstrates. Although there are many possible explanations for this situation, a key factor in improving graduation rates would be support systems created specifically with this in mind.

In contrast, the high rate of completion in the Master's in Management and Public Policy program can be explained largely by the fact that it has had a thesis coordinator in charge of supervising students' progress. In addition, resources have been allocated to give students access to top-flight tutors. This arrangement puts the program at an enormous advantage.¹⁹ As efforts in this direction tend to be costly for programs with scarce resources, their priority is notoriously low. However, assigning suitable resources to these activities would produce valuable results. It is also important to emphasize that thesis development and similar studies represent a valuable attempt to document experiences in addressing public policy concerns in Chile and other Latin American countries. The programs themselves cannot finance distributing theses; if resources cannot be found to fund these activities, they run the risk of remaining marginal.

On the other hand, dissemination of these experiences could be of great value to other countries, as others become familiar with relatively successful public policy design and execution processes in Chile and Latin America. Given the shared language, the distribution of theses to similar programs in Latin America would be relatively simple; however, a broader exchange of experiences is urgently needed, both to and from more developed countries. In addition, the exchange of theses could be a very attractive option for programs that use teaching cases. With a clear definition of responsibilities and objectives, these kinds of activities could benefit everyone involved.

Another suggestion involves joint activities between programs, government bodies, and the working world. Experience shows that the government apparatus and the public sector are focused on day-to-day tasks and have few opportunities to project medium- and long-term needs. In this regard, strengthening the relationship between the public sector and public policy programs would be an appropriate way to expand the vision of political actors beyond the limits of everyday contingencies.

All these possibilities for cooperation require resources, which do not seem readily available to the programs or sponsoring institutions. Efforts to strengthen ties between these programs and their counterparts in other countries are limited. As mentioned above, current discourse tends to pressure the programs to achieve full financial self-sufficiency, without recognizing the enormous potential benefits of the initiatives suggested here or the difficulties involved in their achieving internal financing. As a result, it probably will be necessary to concentrate on funding sources that can make these activities possible and achieve a more systematic interchange among countries and programs.

Better links, cooperation, and exchange between public policy programs all require instances that facilitate the recognition of degrees among countries and particularly those of Latin America, Europe, Canada, and the United States. To the extent that there is a global supply of public policy programs, a system for public policy program accreditation will be necessary to facilitate the movement of students and graduates. An initiative of this nature must necessarily have a system providing information on the organization and structure of educational systems in general, admissions procedures, recognition of academic requirements and grades, and a general acceptance of regulatory standards governing the quality of

programs in different countries. To the degree that initiatives develop in this direction, links and exchanges between different programs, as with those regarding public policies generally, can consolidate and prosper.

Program accreditation is basic to gain access to funding for students and for programs themselves. This is particularly important given that many countries lack the capacity to fund the training of professionals and particularly those associated with the state apparatus. To the degree that there are financing alternatives for students interested in public policy programs, there will be a significant contribution to improving the human capital of developing countries, and this will become the most effective way of sharing experience and knowledge on these issues.

Along with student grants, cooperation on specific projects contributing to the progress and continual upgrading of these programs is vital. Funding for visits from foreign professors, publication of theses and research results, periodical publications, and research could enormously improve the quality of programs that, without funding, tend to remain low priorities in academic terms.

NOTES

1. "Traditional universities" refers to the eight universities that existed before the 1980 reforms that allowed the existence of private universities. These include the University of Chile, the Pontifical Catholic University, the State Technical University/University of Santiago, the Federico Santa María University, the University of Concepción, the Austral University, the Catholic University of the North, and the Catholic University of Valparaíso.

2. This estimate is from Altbir (1996) for 1993, with information on students at 25 universities represented in the University Presidents' Council.

3. This is not to deny problems stemming from poor income distribution, which is among the worst on the continent; see IDB (1998).

4. Modernization has been strongly influenced by similar processes in several developed countries. Among the more important have been the experiences of Canada, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand, which had to reform their states in the context of enormous cutbacks to government spending. For more information, see specific country cases in (1996).

5. However, there is no explicit governmental support for these programs.

6. This point is developed more thoroughly in section III, where the characteristics of some public policy programs are described.

7. In 1996, CIEPLAN left the program, since most of its researchers went to work for the government.

8. There are 35 professors from outside the DII. Of these, 23 hold doctorates, two are doctoral candidates and 10 have master's degrees.

9. José de Gregorio is a professor in DII, University of Chile.

10. Students who have left the program without graduating are those who have not completed their theses.

11. This issue is more easily understood by reading later sections of the paper.

12. Up to 1999 and thanks to support from the Andrew W. Mellon foundation, 42 summaries of outstanding case studies have been published.

13. The master's program does not receive funds from the Ford Foundation for research in public policies, but rather organizes an annual competition to finance studies in this area.

14. Eugenio Lahera, Mario Drago, Carolina Tohá, Marianela Armijo, Luciano Tomassini, Clarisa Hardy, Héctor Assael, Francisco Zúñiga, León Guzmán, José Sulbrandt, Raúl Herrera, Federico Smith, Jaime Torreblanca, Héctor Vega, Paulo Hidalgo, Gabriel Gaspar.

15. Jorge Etkin, Joan Prats, and Jorge Tapia.

16. Fernando Duque has served as an advisor to the Interministerial Committee for the Modernization of Public Administration. Rony Lenz has worked as a consultant for the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, and for Latin American countries like Ecuador. Rolando Pantoja was Chief of Investigations at the Comptroller General's office.

17. Other professions include medicine, architecture, and agriculture.

18. In Chile, students do not receive the degree until their thesis has been accepted.

19. The Master's in Management and Public Policy's case studies program was made possible by a grant from the Mellon Foundation. However, in 1999, the Mellon Foundation stopped funding projects in Chile, undoubtedly placing this program at risk.

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