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**THE PRESIDENCY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES: THE CASE OF CHILE 2000-
2006**

An insider's account

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Abstract

The presidency in Latin American countries is important both in politics and public policies. But the weight of the Presidency does not always translate itself into a good decision-making system with an adequate level of cooperation and coordination with the rest of the government which, at the same time, is attuned to the political and social system.

This paper considers the experience of the Division of Public Policies of the Presidency of Chile during the years 2000-2006, to see if it can shed some light on these matters.

Introduction

The strength of democratic governance is contingent upon delivering the results expected by voters, *inter alia*. Social pacts, which specify the programs to be implemented, can be functional to that end, particularly in developed countries. In developing countries, on the other hand, there is an additional consideration, putting the programs into practice. Thus, instead of one, in developing countries we have two tensions regarding public policies:

- a) first, the tension between politics and policies because authorities usually lack the expertise or the knowledge to blend political and technical considerations into policies, and because the political system is very fragmented; and
- b) second, the tension among the policy phases (origin, design, management and evaluation), as often the problem is less about finding the "right" programs, but about the difficulty of putting them into practice.

Now the good news; if the two problems have public policies as an intervening variable one may ask: is it possible that the improvement of public policies can be of help in the resolution of both problems at the same time?; under which conditions?

1. PRESIDENCIES: FORMAL STRENGTH AND OPERATIVE WEAKNESS

a) The Presidency is especially important in Latin America

The Presidency carries considerable weight everywhere, but in Latin America this is increased by the instability of the political systems.

However, the reality of the decision-making chain in government is worth acknowledging. The Constitution normally clearly prescribes the role of the different government branches and the organization of the Executive Branch is relatively simple. The President is the highest authority, followed by sectoral authorities at ministerial and regional level. There are also some independent authorities and others with lesser degrees of autonomy with regard to the ministries.

But there are differences between the regulatory principles of the decision-making process in high government circles and reality. That circle is dependent on and determined by the government system as a whole and by the political system.

On the other hand, the President is not a fully discretionary authority and issues are not solved in a clear-cut sectoral or geographic manner. Decision-making in high government circles is a process of negotiation involving many actors, who are not always in predictable positions on different issues.

To increase the efficacy of the strategic nucleus it is best to concentrate analytical and operative efforts on the most important decision-making center—the Presidency of the Republic—as well as on the respective ministries and agencies related to the policies. Furthermore, unequivocal signals must be issued to the Budget Directorate on the established priorities regarding the policies involved.

The main variable in effective leadership is to propose more demanding objectives, in a consistent, financed program, that can rely on sustained political support. Leadership involves the following tasks: identifying opportunities for innovation, good policy design, anticipating the opposition, the ability to negotiate and reach agreements, problem detection and changing plans. If social development goes hand in hand with economic development, the question is: what can be done at this level?

b) Often the Presidency works very poorly

But the weight of the Presidency does not always translate itself into a good decision-making system with an adequate level of cooperation and coordination with the rest of the government which, at the same time, is attuned to the political and social system. In Chile it works better than in most of the countries of the region.

The Presidency is often too large a word to describe a one person institution. Dozens and even hundreds of people usually work for the Presidency, but they are not the Presidency, which is essentially the one person elected by the voters. The result is a weak or inefficient Presidency, which has a lot of legal power, but it cannot put it to productive use; a lot of formal power, but less real strength.

In some cases there have been some marginal reforms. Although there is no evaluation of the efforts, it looks appear as a sad story

Thus good management of the Presidency is of the essence of politics and policies in Latin America.

c) How to organize the decision making process? A universal problem

This is not a problem specific to Latin America. In both developed and developing countries the best organization for the decision making of the Presidency is an open quest.

But even taking into account the differences among the diverse cases, the main question comes to this; a strong presidential staff, or closer work with the cabinet? Both have been tried many times in different places, without a winner. In fact, both have been often losers.

2. THE CASE OF CHILE

a) Overview

Chile has been praised as a success story among developing countries. Since democracy was recovered, back in 1990, the national product has more than doubled and the poverty rate has been halved. The Chilean economy is stable and open, free trade agreements have been signed with all its major export markets in Europe, America and Asia. Chilean society, once ruled by conservative values and military procedures has recently elected its first woman President, Michelle Bachelet, the daughter of a constitutionalist Air Force general who died in prison during the Pinochet dictatorship.

There is a growing literature on many aspects of the Chilean experience, but what is still lacking is the analysis of a pervasive attitude which has been at the root of many successful results within different sectors. This frequent attitude can be summarized as consensus-driven and oriented towards the implementation of public policies.

Consensus

Old cleavages were still prevalent within the Chilean society by the mid-eighties, but the extended period of military rule and its divisive character made them look smaller or out of date; and a growing consensus was reached among among old foes.

During the decade, there were many-sided arguments within the opposition movement to the government of Augusto Pinochet. In the nadir of social inclusion in the country some voices raised their concern for the future of Chilean society, as everybody suffered some form of exclusion from the public life

The urgent need for social, political and economic inclusion gave impulse to the political agreements between the larger political formations: the Christian Democrats, the Social Democrats, and left wing liberals in their various shades.

By the end of the eighties, the dictatorial government and the democratic Opposition had negotiated an agreed transition to democracy. On the political level there was an explicit agreement, within the framework of the 1980 Constitution this was considered a necessary cost of the transition. In the economic sphere there was a tacit acceptance by the Concertación of the extensive redrawing of property rights made during the authoritarian government: these included flawed privatizations which favored public officials close to the regime, and an intense process of economic concentration under the aegis of "politically correct" (that is, pro military government) economic groups.

The Concertación also maintained the basic policies followed by the dictatorship after the crisis of the early eighties, which were based on a free-market, open economy strategy, with exports of natural resources as the dynamic thrust. This tacit acceptance was due to the success of the Chilean economy during the second half of the eighties. At the time the

democratic Opposition's more relevant disagreements with the military government's economic strategy had been on its social costs, the resulting economic concentration and the narrowness of the export base.

With today's insight it seems clear that these agreements were so inclusive that they amounted to an overshooting; not only from the Concertación's viewpoint, but also regarding political and economic flexibility. Most probably by the end of the eighties this was unavoidable; besides, there was an understanding with the Liberal right to make the necessary constitutional amendments: this would prove unworkable.

The institutional setting has the original sin (or beneficial condition according to others) of being a product of the dictatorship period. The decoupling of ideological and functional views on the subject is a too slow process.

These ideas fitted together and they would be the key concerns of the Concertación alliance, which defeated Pinochet on his own terms, when a referendum was called in 1988 on the lengthening of his rule. The dictatorship ended in Chile at the time of the Berlin Wall collapse, the end of the Cold War.

Public policies

Although significant, this new frame of mind still needed an operational capability to be put to force and this was provided by a new approach to public policies. Due attention was systematically given to its three main aspects: political, technical and communicational, along with their four phases, respectively: origin, design, management and evaluation. Public policies rendered the objectives viable and, even more important they became a common language for the political, economic and social elites, if only for disagreeing.

Public policies played instrumental and substantive roles at the same time, as they modernized the way that decisions concerning society were reached. Thus the successful mixing of political imperatives and technical possibilities on precisely defined objectives became a public good for all Chileans.

In Chile the President is the most important political actor within the system, regardless of the person or the circumstances. He is the head of the Executive branch, co-legislator with Congress, and he nominates the candidates for the highest Judiciary courts, which have to be confirmed by the Senate.

In his capacities he directs economic policy, domestic policies, foreign affairs and the military. He is patron of the Universidad de Chile, godfather of the seventh boy in every family, and much else besides.

b)) *The case of the Direction of Public Policies of the President Lagos*

We will consider the experience of a policy group before and after they constituted the Division of Public Policies of the Presidency of Chile, during the years 2000-2006,

3. THE JOB DONE FOR THE PRESIDENT-TO-BE

The group started to work with Lagos before he was elected.

In fact the candidate-to-be-President had to act as such before the election:

- programs had to be realistic
- but within a vision of the future of the country, combined with a
- strong knowledge of the situation of public policies

The President must deliver from the first day of his government, that is, hit the ground running.

A small group of Lagos supporters worked with the candidate on these two requirements. The results were

- a book ("Mi idea de país") with a vision on the future of the country
- a complete report on the situation of almost one hundred strategic policies ("Estado de Situación al 3/11/00")

These two works were at the intersection of policies, politics and bureaucracy. A democratic leadership must deliver a

- technically realistic,
- financially possible and
- politically supported program.

This group aimed to contribute to that. When the time came, the President and the Presidency were ready.

4. THE PRESIDENT'S DEFINITION OF HIS STAFF

a) Style and experience of the President

During his professional life Ricardo Lagos valued well prepared meetings and had strong opinions about time-wasters (cronófagos, from the greek cronos (time) and fagos. to eat).

As a minister of previous democratic governments (education and public works), Lagos often resented the lack of follow-up of his meetings with several authorities. The reception of messages was not always clear, actions were seldom taken and there were no records of the meetings.

He knew well that the President's time for decision-making is restricted and it is an asset of shortest supply in the government. How to use the President's time properly is an issue that needs to be understood and appreciated. A slot of the President's time must be reserved for issues pertaining to public policies.

b) The origins of the future Division of Public Policies

Some members of this group worked since 1990 as advisory group on Public Policies of the previous governments of the Concertación, within the Secretary General of Government. This was the nucleus of the Division of Public Policies which in March 2000 was created within the Presidency by President Lagos.

It was based on the experience of Eugenio Lahera in Princeton 1974-1979 and of later works.

On the one hand, the author inaugurated the course of Introduction to Public Policies at the Universidad de Chile and several Latin American universities.

On the other hand, the regional work experience at the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (Cepal, or Eclac in English) was important. The author of the current work worked as Regional Adviser on State Reform and Editor of the *Cepal Review* (1987-2000), including all the period, while Aníbal Pinto was its Director.

- Pinto emphasized that the oligarchic social organization of Latin American countries was a thing from the past, but a post-oligarchic system was still in the making. This called for inclusive governments based on broad coalitions.
- Fernando Fajnzylber added the instrumental aspects of achieving it: *"Governments will be able to elicit long term agreements on objectives and*

instruments in accordance with the level of pluralistic social participation, the adequacy of policies and the efficiency of its implementation”.

Another significant viewpoint within Cepal tied public policies to a renewal of planning efforts. This was the reading by Cepal Executive Secretary José Antonio Ocampo of the book *Introducción a las políticas públicas* of E. Lahera (Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002). Similar views were held by Juan Martín, Director of ILPES and Luis Lira, also of ILPES.

c) What did this group have to offer?

Based on its experience and convictions, this group believed in the joint consideration of substantive issues and policy implementation:

- politics and public policies
- public policies and administration.

----The consideration of policies without policies disregards the relevance of democratic participation

----The consideration of policies without administration disregards the need for modernization of public management

An excellent public policy involves

- Courses of action and information flows
- Link to a democratically defined public objective
- Such courses of action and information flows are developed by the public sector and, frequently entail the participation of the community and the private sector
- High quality public policy will include guidelines and contents, but also instruments and mechanisms, institutional definitions and changes, and a forecast of results

An excellent public policy is one that, using values as a starting point, proposes clear political objectives and manages to best define technical issues. The latter cannot replace policy, but they supplement it, giving it shape.

This analytical conviction led to a routine of government.

In order to improve implementation abilities it is essential to identify two crucial features of the policies and determine what steps are to be followed with regard to each

- Policies have at least four sides: a) administrative and legal, b) economic, c) communication and participation, d) political and legislative.
- Policies are always at one or more stages —not always consecutive ones— that correspond to their origin, design, management and evaluation.

Political economy and the art of government should be based on a public policy approach, according to which political, communication and management matters should be considered simultaneously in the analytical phases of the origin, design, management and evaluation of each policy.

d) The design of the UPP within the style of the President

The format of operation of the Presidency is not institutionalized in Chile and since the return to democracy there was no single format of operation for the Presidency.

The definition by the President Lagos aimed at the maintenance of a dynamic staff important in getting a job done within the terms of office.

He did not want another layer surrounding the President, in competition with other groups of the cabinet, but an informal extension of his analytical and operative capabilities. It did not carry out its own policies or operations, but only the President's.

This group did not change existing structures, although modified the interface among many of them.

Thus, some of its members had frequent connection to the President and fluent relations with the ministries and services. The group did not "intermediate" between the President and the cabinet. Its legitimacy was neither bureaucratic nor political. Its strength came from the authority conferred to it by the President.

Placing the Public Policy Advisors as part of the presidential staff made it possible to avoid being subject to a hierarchy, allowed for more flexibility, speed and efficiency and made the team less bureaucratic. Their members were highly specialized individuals without personal agendas and with the political and technical skills needed to carry out their work.

5. HOW THE DIVISION WORKED

a) Its field of work

The objective of the group was to assist the President on his agenda of priorities. As said before, it was not a power layer between the President and the cabinet. Ministers developed trust in the instrument.

This agenda was the result of the articulation of programmatic commitments, both presidential and ministerial. It was a changing, flexible agenda but with priority policies that defined the focal points for the government's action.

The main function of the group was to provide a comprehensive and professional perspective to evaluate major decisions related to the agenda, with special attention to criticism.

It is important to specify that the activities of the Division did not cover all public policies, not even all strategic public policies.

- On the one hand, most of public policies are not within the presidential agenda of priorities. Most public policies are continuities, discussed mainly in terms of budget allocation
- On the other hand, the presidential system of decision-making with regard to the presidential agenda some took other forms. Different considerations on the issues and the public policy area, as well as on interests and actors involved and the legislative processes led to another area management within the Executive Branch.
- On the other hand, the day to day agenda of the President's activities covers multiple activities. The DPP participation was normally restricted to public policies

b) Cooperation

The work of the Unidad was smoothly integrated with other sectors of the Presidency and the Cabinet. That was the case of political and press issues, within the Presidency, and the Ministry of Interior, Ministry of Finance and Secretaría General de la Presidencia on many others.

c) Personnel

The office of the public policy advisors consists of a small group of nine professionals and seven assistants: (three economists, two lawyers, one specialist in public policies, one sociologist, an historian and one journalist), all highly specialized in their fields. At the same time, joint work and group discussions meant that everybody was replaceable by inside members on short notice, for specific tasks.

Recruitment and eventual changes within the group were the direct responsibility of the Director. There was parity between men and women.

Professionals from different disciplines with a high technical profile were required. They did not hold high positions in specific political parties, although affiliation to the governing coalition and a high commitment to the administration in office were required.

Members of the office of the public policy advisors maintained a low public profile, low exposure to the press and complied with a requirement of confidentiality. Thus, personal interest and/or political or narrowly party-related interests were kept out of public policy analyses and the relationship with the President.

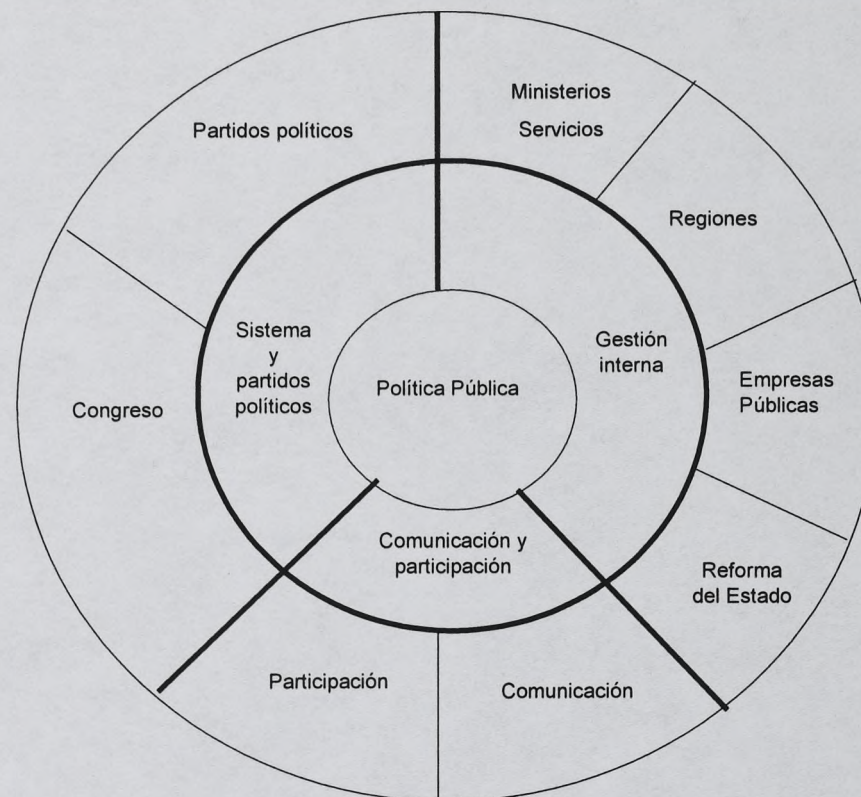
Several members of the DPP engaged in graduate studies over the years.

d) The blending of the different aspects of every policy

Policies have at least four sides: a) administrative and legal, b) economic, c) communication and participation, d) political and legislative.

All of them point out to a current characteristic of politics: there is a permanent political and electoral campaign, where the importance of the polls is often overemphasized.

Figure 1. The Salami of Public Policies



b) Improve communication and participation.

The purpose of communication is to generate sufficient support to govern and carry out a government program. In other words, from this point of view, what matters is the opinion of the people governed. They are the government's clients and their expectations, feelings and opinions cannot be taken lightly. The excuse that people don't understand policy issues because they lack knowledge is not valid in communication.

Usually, when a public policy is difficult to explain, it means that more thinking is required before putting it into practice. This is not always accepted by the policy makers and most of the time the blame falls on the communications team: references are made to a mistake in communications, a euphemism used to excuse bad public policy or incorrect decisions.

In Latin American governments, the President is usually the main communicator. Therefore, part of the President's agenda should be to broadcast messages that increase or preserve citizen support and trust. In addition to effective public policies, requirements such as consistency, credibility, timeliness, persistence, closeness and the ability to objectively assess the effectiveness of communication are essential to this task.

c) An improved interaction with the political system.

Determine the target groups for the pertinent work with Congress and Congress members. Systematize relationships with political party leaders and committees or functional groups related to the respective policies; keep the lines of communication open.

Increase the efficacy of the government's strategic nucleus. Provoke internal changes in the government in each analytical stage of the public policies. Most reform situations include decisions involving the President's Office, and the participation of the Ministries of the Interior, Finance, the Presidency and Government Affairs). They form what is known in Chile as the Political Committee.

Figure 2. The Mandala of Public Policies and the Strategic Nucleus



d) Check for fiscal soundness and consistency.

Within the Presidency the consciously selected interdisciplinary profile and teamwork favor public policy analysis. Sectoral compartmentalization was overcome by working as policy teams. The very nature of public policies calls for breaking the traditional disciplinary barriers. Understanding public action as a whole helps to make undetected problems visible, asking questions that other approaches tend to overlook because of their specialization or narrow approach.

Frequent discussion enriched this type of work.

An example

Defense (in fact most usually deterrence) is a public good and it must be provided by the state. On the other hand, it is not the only factor of external security. Besides, different considerations of economic reasoning must also be considered, such as the result of a military expenditure which triggers a similar one in another country; then the deterrence is the same, only at a greater price than necessary. Military planning involves other significant considerations; the necessity of investment planning, cost rationalizing and others. From a different point of view the defense of the country has to further international public goods, such as global or regional peace and order.

- The military points of career are formally restricted
- The same thing happens with funding of the armed forces, determined in the Constitution.
- However, the price surplus of the copper industry endangered the simple continuity of this rule
- Trials on the violations of the human rights advanced substantially during the two previous governments,
- Pinochet was detained in London and soon trials against him took a different course, not as a dictator, but for the thief of public funds.
- The new strategic perspectives open by the integration of the country in the international economy were also relevant from a security perspective.

e) Follow up of the analytical cycle of public policies

Policies stages – origin, design, management and evaluation - are not always consecutive nor a closed circle, even analytically.

1) Preparation: Among priority issues, which are ready for a decision? Is there a window of opportunity? Was the preparatory work done with Secretaría General de la Presidencia and the Ministry of Finance? Is it possible to move forward without involving the President? Preparation, assistance and follow-up of the meetings held by the President with Ministers and other government authorities, as well as with other people who are granted talks with him. Who is invited to the meetings? All the material must be available in advance of the meeting.

2) Decision-making. Every meeting or decision on public policies requires an aide-mémoire listing in detail the agreements to be made, the problems to be solved and the conflicts to be settled. The meeting will be attended by the public policy advisors. Its main function is to provide a comprehensive and professional perspective to evaluate major decisions with special attention to criticism and, in particular, the design or redesign of controversial issues. The variety of inputs, models and alternatives must materialize in texts that characterize the main relevant policies and

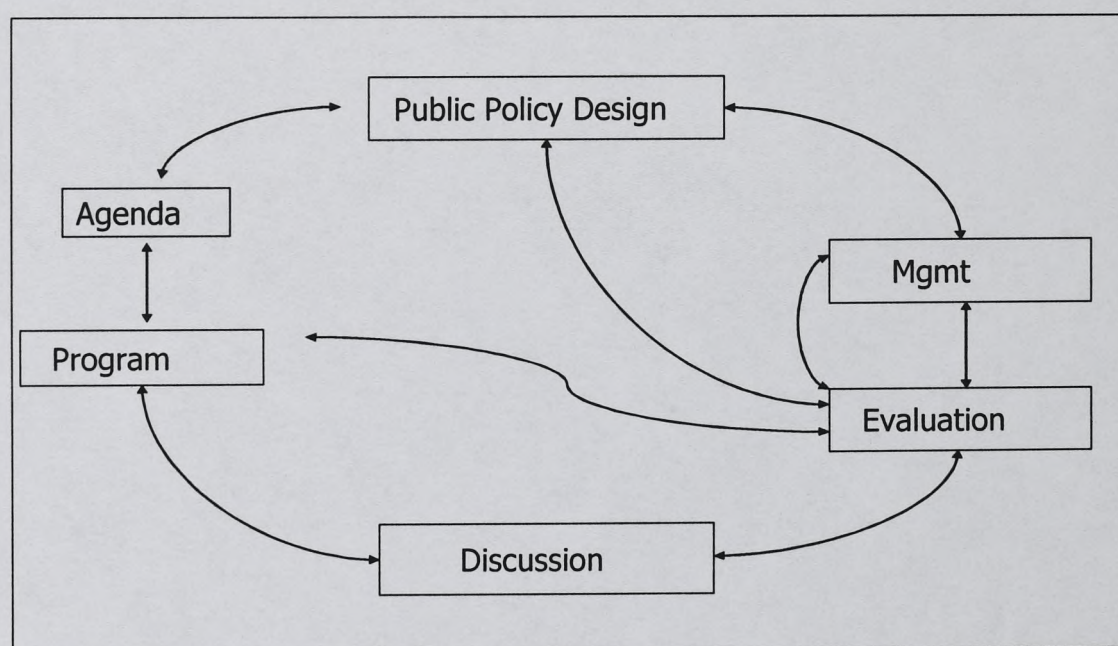
that suggest the changes or innovations needed. The concepts of the "garbage can model" and of "windows of opportunity" apply here.

3) Minutes of the meeting or decision were drawn, specifying the issues addressed and the decisions made, as well as the pertinent responsibilities and deadlines.

4) Responsibilities and deadlines were monitored by the office of the public policy advisors. Follow-up on public policies is made by each person in charge of a given area at different levels according to the decisions made by the President. This work is carried out in coordination with other government sections, particularly the Ministry of the Presidency and the Budget Directorate. The evaluation of delivery was made through different channels, beyond the traditional progress reports.

5) A review of their implementation. Reports on "bottlenecks" are required, tensions between agencies or problems that call for presidential attention in the implementation of priority policies already defined (or to be defined because a new problem has arisen). Policy assessment is a supplementary task to the annual evaluation conducted by the Budget Directorate, which includes efficiency and efficacy aspects, not only financial matters.

_____. Analytical Cycle of Public Policies



Source: Eugenio Lahera (2002), Introducción a las políticas públicas, Fondo de Cultura Económica, Santiago.

An example. An interesting case of the budget cycle is the following. In this regard the office of the public policy advisors maintains a fluid connection with the Ministry of Finance (through the Budget Directorate), the different ministries and the President. It

thus conducts a follow up of presidential priorities. Furthermore, it keeps sectoral discussions with the President from being limited to requests for funds.

Each administration faces a problem of resource allocation which is essentially similar to that faced by any private economic agent: assigning scarce resources to multiple ends that must be prioritized.

In this field, the office of the public policy advisors helps verify whether or not a "list of objectives", defined for a given period of time, represents a series of mutually consistent goals and if these can be achieved in the corresponding period of time. Perhaps several lists of objectives coexist at the same time, ranked in priority according to time, that are technically feasible. Choosing those to be implemented will be a fundamental decision, based on a more political type of consideration.

The centralization of decisions becomes crucial. Because the President of the Republic makes the final decisions, it is important for him to have all possible analyses and information at hand.

A fact to always bear in mind is that, through the entire process there is a power game where, what is at stake is the allocation of public resources. This is because the different institutions involved have different missions and objectives. It is therefore important to have a more comprehensive view, an overview of the country that cuts across sectoral objectives.

The office of the public policy advisors favors this climate since it centralizes all information from different sources. It covers the preparation of the national budget and its dissemination mechanisms throughout the year, the margins of flexibility for reallocating resources, the connection between resource allocation and the government's strategic objectives and the operational goals of each of the public agencies, the role of the regional and local governments in allocating public resources, budget control in state-owned companies and the mechanisms that regulate transfers between these companies and the central government.

f) Instruments

The Public policy advisors work with documents in a defined format, addressed usually to a single user, the President. The documents are intended to obtain a decision, and are noted for their briefness, assertiveness and focused nature. These documents are:

Summons and Agenda (S&A): Formal summons to meetings. The summons states the purpose and the issues that the President wishes to analyze. Prior delivery of pertinent material is requested.

Aide-Mémoire (AM): A document containing background data and definitions that the President wishes to solve at a meeting. The office of the public policy advisors collects and systematizes the information, submitted to evince focal points for discussion and definitions to be obtained, stating existing opinions and including its own recommendations.

Delivery Report (DR): This report on any difficulty in the implementation or management of a public policy, recommending a definition in terms of management or evaluation.

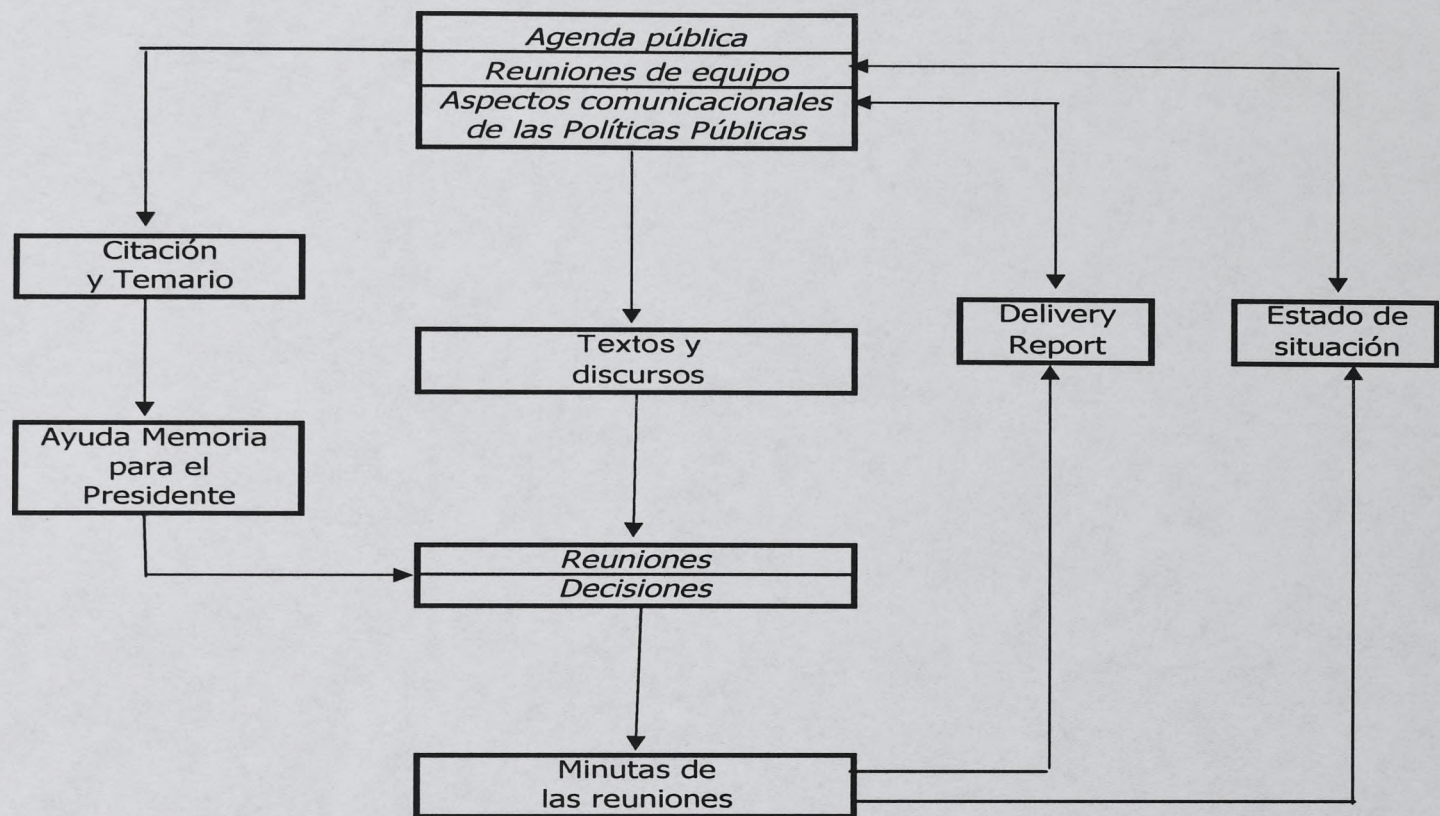
Minutes: Transcription of the discussions that arise during a meeting. At the end, the outstanding commitments stemming from the meeting are listed for which the office of the public policy advisors does a follow-up and monitoring.

Status Report: Selection and organization of the President's priority public policies. Identifications of achievements and tasks pending.

Speeches and other texts. The DPP was in charge of drafting of speeches and texts for the President. The Ministry of Government Affairs and the Press Department of the Presidency worked together with the office of public policy advisors in broadcasting the government's public policies.

Press selection. A daily world wide selection was made of press and other international documents regarding public policies discussions. Resources were available to buy relevant publications, which went into a library.

Documents prepared by the Public policy advisors for the President



Fuente: elaboración propia.

6. CONCLUSIONS

- a) The goal of the Presidency was achieved: President Lagos ended his mandate with an approval rate of more than 70%.
- b) The Chilean case of recent years shows that developing countries can overcome underdeveloped public policies, where unrealistic objectives are matched by inefficient administrations. Public policies can be improved quickly
- c) It also shows that the tension between cabinet and staff to support the President's decision-making process can be overcome. The relevant factors are a low profile for the staff and a complete avoidance of disclosure about its recommendations. Personnel of good quality abounds in Latin America.
- d) The working of this decision making process was facilitated by the presence of certain preconditions and externalities, such as a strong-willed President and a stable political system. Attempts to copy it without adaptations would surely be fruitless.
- e) State reform is necessary but not sufficient to improve the management of Presidency. An analytical and operative change based on public policies is also required.

7. GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS AND PROPOSED REFORMS

Considerations

There are some general lessons which can be drawn from the Chilean experience

- "Right" policies are not enough; they must be combined with matching institutions and functional political processes
- Rules of the game must be precise, but also transparent and perceived as fair.
- Both institutions and policies must strengthen competitive markets and not accommodate uncompetitive structures.
- The quality of governmental activity, including its accountability, must be judged in the context of specific roles for the public sector and not by across the board management performance indicators. And
- Most important of all, the political economy of reform is chiefly based upon the relationship between the government and the governed. This includes how the political agenda is set and how public policies are specified. This should be achieved by a broad coalition which agrees on a representative, consistent, and financially sound program. This implies putting together the technical and political aspects of every public policy. In the medium and long terms, a good economic governance is a democratic one, which allows for both stability and flexibility to evolve and confront the new challenges.
- In developing countries, too, public policies can be better implemented.

Actions

The achievement of these results depends on several developments which must be active and consciously pursued:

- the strengthening of the strategic capability of the Executive office to design and monitor public policies
- Congress should open the process of law making and increase professional advisory staff
- the reengineering of the political parties' advisory committees. Political parties must strengthen their programmatic capabilities. They must educate experts and congressional advisory teams, labor unions and popular organizations that are capable of dialogue with entrepreneurs' organizations. Political parties should be mandated to open themselves to citizens, and adopt participatory practices.
- Governments should increase participation and establish a more open management style. To strengthen the public policy analytical and empirical capabilities of civil society organizations, with a clearer understanding of the inner workings of both the political and the public policy systems. Within traditional democratic practices, the unorganized stakeholders are usually

underrepresented. However, in the case of working democracies within the region, the profile of unorganized, usually invisible stakeholders has been successfully raised through social participation and communicational appeals. This practice can be replicated.

- think tanks could enrich their analysis with more realistic considerations on public policies.
- Interaction between public policy designers, managers and evaluators on the one hand, with political party directives, as well as with stakeholders of public policies
- Academic pluralism is of the essence of democracy
- Multilateral organisms and specialized agencies should go further into policy considerations.

Expected results

The main achievements that can be expected from these efforts are:

- a lasting improvement of the ways democracy can further public policies of excellence; the mutually reinforcing improvement of democratic policies and politics.
- Within traditional democratic practices, unorganized stakeholders are empowered
- the willingness of the main actors to engage in negotiations with regard to specific policies, or broader political agreements. This willingness by itself could change the overall democratic context and it certainly will address the weakness of governance.
- an ameliorated ability to seize the opportunities for new policies (windows of opportunity) and improving the odds of good results

This integrated approach puts politics and policies within the same field of action, blending two usually different lines of research and of social action. The old Ockham razor applies here.