POLICY ENTREPRENEURS: ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY

EMPRENDEDORES DE POLÍTICAS: MOVIMIENTOS AMBIENTALES Y CONSTRUCCIÓN DE POLÍTICA AMBIENTAL

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ABSTRACT: This paper aims to explain both, the reasons and the ways, that policy entrepreneurs have contributed to the public policy knowledge, specifically in three countries: Mexico, Colombia, and Chile. Based on the Multiple Streams Framework that guides this research, policy entrepreneurs can also be actors or leaders within the government; however, this work is carried out only by those leaders and non-governmental organizations. Countries of interest were selected because they currently rank with the best environmental performance in Latin America, according to the Environmental Performance Index developed by Yale University. The methodology consists of a review of selected scientific research and media articles. Key findings underscore the policy entrepreneurs diversity, diverse advocacy resources and multiple discourses.

Keywords: *policy entrepreneurs, environmental policy, Multiple Streams framework*

RESUMEN: Este artículo tiene como objetivo explicar las razones y las formas en que los emprendedores de políticas han contribuido al conocimiento de las políticas públicas, específicamente en tres países: México, Colombia y Chile. Con base en el Marco de Corrientes Múltiples que guía esta investigación, los

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emprendedores de políticas también pueden ser actores o líderes al interior del gobierno; sin embargo, este trabajo lo llevan a cabo únicamente por tales líderes y organizaciones no gubernamentales. Se seleccionaron los países de interés porque actualmente se ubican con el mejor desempeño ambiental de América Latina, según el Índice de Desempeño Ambiental desarrollado por la Universidad de Yale. La metodología consiste en una revisión de investigaciones científicas seleccionadas y artículos de medios. Los hallazgos clave subrayan la diversidad de los emprendedores de políticas, los diversos recursos de defensa y promoción, y múltiples discursos.

INTRODUCTION

The change in public policy has been the subject of study for decades. Different theories and approaches try to explain when a policy changes its trajectory. Significant answers are collected in three groups: the structure, the institutions, and the agency. Although, the theories on institutions and structures disregard people as agents of change, it is undeniable that throughout human history, people, under certain circumstances, have caused significant changes.

This research tackles with how individual or collective actors modify public policies. These are the policy entrepreneurs, that although they lack extraordinary abilities, are considered strategic; because they are capable of observing and understanding their environment, which allows them to take advantage of opportunities sometimes unique to or unseen by other subjects. As individuals, policy entrepreneurs are frequent actors, that need to be timely identified because of the potential a collective entrepreneur has overshadowing them in the policy process. Collectives are organized groups that behave more or less in a coordinated manner, which is one of the reasons they can also be classified as entrepreneurs.

In social movements, there are all kinds of collective and individual entrepreneurs. In fact, there is a lack of consensus on the definition of a movement; usually it is a broad concept that only describes the diversity of its members. In a movement, some groups promote causes that they could not promote by themselves. This text delves into this phenomenon, specifically, the case of environmental movements in Latin America. For this purpose, three cases were selected for analysis: Mexico, Colombia, and Chile.

The present article is organized as follows. First, it begins with a brief review of Kingdon's Multiple Streams Framework; followed by a review of salient research on policy entrepreneurs. Then, the methodology and the case selection are explained. Next, the analysis of the three cases is presented, and finally, it concludes with reflections on the key findings.

THE MULTIPLE STREAMS FRAMEWORK: A SCARCELY-APPLIED THEORY IN LATIN AMERICA

Kingdon's seminal work (1984) has contributed importantly to understand how social problems are inserted into the public agenda. Five central concepts stand out in his theoretical proposal: problems, policies or solutions, politics, policy windows, and policy entrepreneurs. At the core of his proposal, he calls these concepts "currents"; each of them behave independently, and if they converge at the same point, a policy window opens representing an opportunity entrepreneurs can take advantage of.

In the Multiple Streams Framework (MSF), "problems" is understood as the stream of problems considered to be of public order; the stream of policies are the solutions proposed to address the problems; and the stream of policy is explained as the environment and social mood (Béland & Howlett, 2016).

According to Díaz Aldret (2020), the MSF approach has its roots in the garbage can model; thus, the elements of uncertainty and ambiguity are present in this theory. In addition, the author maintains that three assumptions need to be considered: each of the aforementioned currents is independent, entrepreneurs are strategic actors, and policy window open when the currents come together.

The MSF approach is attached to agent centered studies (Méndez, 2020), because it considers that there are possibilities for individuals to change their reality; thus, they do not depend solely on the structure. Entrepreneurs are actors that promote the behavior and redirect the trajectory of currents, and may be present in several of them at the same time. Assuming that entrepreneurs are actors, they can be organizations such as universities, research centers, pressure groups, civil servants, etc. Therefore, the category is broad and therefore ambiguous.

Important to say, is that MSF has been little explored in regions outside of Europe and North America. The main theoretical and empirical contributions in the field come from cases from the global north and are written in English. As Mintrom, Maurya and He (2020) mention, in the Asian region, a new agenda of studies on public policy entrepreneurs is gaining momentum. In Latin America, such a clear agenda has yet to be established; although the works of Kingdon (1984), and Zahariadis (2008) have been used to understand and

apply the agenda in a few empirical cases. One of main goals of this research work is to contribute to the literature of multiple currents by exploring whether social movements have public policy entrepreneurs in the environmental field and their actions in the policy process.

THE POLICY ENTREPRENEURS

The literature on multiple streams is vast with different approaches ranging from those that apply the streams to explain a particular empirical case to those that focus on a specific concept; in example, Howlett (1998) delved into the concept of policy in the Canadian political system. Other authors define "Policy entrepreneurs are energetic actors who work with others in and around policymaking venues to promote significant policy change" (Mintrom & Luetjens, 2017, p. 1362).

Policy entrepreneurs is a concept within Kingdon's (1995) MSF model. Still, Cairney (2018) points out that research using such theoretical framework is often superficial. In response, he proposes a theoretical merge between multiple currents and a narrative approach: entrepreneurs are the central actors providing a narrative on the problem and its solution as best suits them. Mintrom (2019) makes a series of recommendations based on the most successful implementation by policy entrepreneurs. One of them, perhaps the most well-known, is framing or reframing strategy, followed by creating networks and joining coalitions.

Mintrom & True (2022) explain that policy entrepreneurs used COVID-19 as a policy window for different purposes. The pandemic, being an event of significant impact throughout the world, had the potential to recontextualize and accentuate new and old problems. In example, the violence against women; the director of UN Women stressed out that women would be the target of domestic violence during confinement. Mintrom, Maurya & He (2020) also argue that the exclusive characteristics of policy entrepreneurs are ambition, credibility, and tenacity.

For Petridou & Mintrom (2021) the concept of policy entrepreneurs has specific characteristics different from similar concepts. More importantly, the authors hold the importance of qualitative methods to identify and analyze the strategies of entrepreneurs. However, Arnold (2021) acknowledges that quantitative studies of large "N" have been underestimated to find out if entrepreneurs have any effect on policy changes, as the literature suggests. The author finds that entrepreneurs do have an influence on the changes, although it depends on different factors for this to happen. Although, the literature warns about the differences between the policy sectors to determine the degree of

impact of entrepreneurs, Mintrom (1997) found that entrepreneurs in the education sector do indeed influence the changes that occur in the legislative branch. Although this may be true for contexts such as the United States, there needs to be more empirical evidence from developing countries, including Mexico.

Corruption represents an interesting variation among the various sectors. As for the results on the Navot and Cohen (2015) Israeli case, the impact of entrepreneurs is not limited to the changes achieved in policy, but rather to the actions of the actors themselves and the reputation they build.

Although analyses often focus on individuals, such as the entrepreneur who takes advantage of opportunity selling to drive novel ideas, a body of literature considers social movements to be relevant actors that can be studied as policy entrepreneurs. Fiori and Kim (2015) analyze the case of South Korea and how social movements influenced policy change during specific policy window.

METHODOLOGY

The methodological strategy for this article consisted of tracking processes to reconstruct facts of the cases studied. Designed by the Yale Center for Environmental Law & Policy of Yale University, the Environmental Performance Index (EPI) was used as a criterion for the selection of the cases analyzed. The EPI compares the countries' performance in different environmental areas, as shown in Table 1.

The index is calculated annually, but change information is generated in 10-year ranges. It contains information on 180 countries grouped by region. Table 2 presents the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean according to their EPI from highest to lowest rank. It also includes the name of the country ministry, the year of its foundation, and its changes in 10 years. This information corresponds to the year 2022.

Chile, Colombia and Mexico lead the highest environmental performances in Latin America, with a score of 55.3, 52.9, and 52.6, respectively. Furthermore, all three cases are interesting for the following reasons. Mexico is the country that experienced the most changes in the last decade, with an increase of 7.4 points; Colombia has a high performance despite having few changes; that is, it has always locked a position in the high ranks. Finally, Chile stands out because, despite the logic for founding environmental ministries in Latin America during the nineties, Chile maintained another entity: a commission subordinated to another ministry. It was not until 2010, that the Ministry of the Environment was founded.

TABLE 1. ENVIRONMENTAL PERFORMANCE INDEX

Dimension	Percentage	Indicator	Percentage
Climate Change	38%	CO2	13.80%
		CH4	3.30%
		N2O	1.40%
		F-gas	0.70%
		Black Carbon	1%
		Projected GHG Emissions in 2050	13.80%
		Land Cover	1.50%
		GHG	1.50%
		GHG/population	1%
Ecosystem Vitality	42%	Biodiversity & Habitat	18%
		Ecosystem Service	8%
		Fisheries	5%
		Acid rain	4%
		Agriculture	4%
		Water Resources	3%
Environmental Health	20%	Air Quality	11%
		Sanitation & Drinking Water	5%
		Heavy Metals	2%
		Waste Management	2%

Source: epi.yale.edu

Once the three cases were selected, the methodological strategy consisted of conducting an information search to reconstruct chronologically, the facts about the environmental policy in each country. Keywords for such search included 'Mexican environmental movement', 'Colombian environmental movement', and 'Chilean environmental movement'. As mentioned, such a basis was established to explain the facts, although it resulted necessary to resort to other sources, such as journalistic articles.

TABLE 2. EPI BY 2022

Country	Ministry	Foundation	EPI	Changes
Chile	Ministerio del Medio Ambiente	2010	55.3	3.7
Colombia	Ministerio de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sostenible	1993	52.9	0.9
México	Secretaría de Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales	1995	52.6	7.4
Costa Rica	Ministerio de Ambiente y Energía	1980	52.5	1
Argentina	Ministerio de Ambiente y Desarrollo Sostenible	1991	52.2	5
Brazil	Ministerio de Medio Ambiente	1985	51.2	4.9
Ecuador	Ministerio del Ambiente y Agua	1996	51	3.9
Venezuela	Ministerio del Poder Popular para el Ecosocialismo	1977	50.3	-0.5
Uruguay	Ministerio de Vivienda, Ordenamiento Territorial y Medio Ambiente	1990	49.1	1
Cuba	Ministerio de Ciencia, Tecnología y Medio Ambiente	1994	48.4	0.8
Panamá	Ministerio de Ambiente	1998	47.3	3.3
Paraguay	Secretaría del Ambiente	2018	46.4	-4.9
R. Dominican	Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales	2000	46.3	3
Bolivia	Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Agua	1993	44.3	-0.3
Perú	Ministerio del Ambiente	2008	44	-0.8
El Salvador	Ministerio de Medio Ambiente y Recursos Naturales	1997	43.1	5.6
Nicaragua	Ministerio del Ambiente y los Recursos Naturales	1994	39.2	0.1
Honduras	Secretaría de Recursos Naturales, Ambiente	1999	37.8	6.5
Guatemala	Ministerio de Ambiente	2000	31.8	-0.3
Haiti	Ministerio del Ambiente	S/d	27	4.2

Source: epi.yale.edu

CASE OF STUDY

Mexico at the end of the 20th century

In Mexico, organized action on environmental problems has been belated. For Vargas-Hernández (2006), the first environmental movement in the country can be traced back to the eighties; except for some organizations, such as the 'Club of the 100' an organization primarily composed of members of the Mexican intellectual elite at the time, most were disjointed local movements represented by scattered neighborhood associations.

One of the most prominent movements was the Popular Action Movement (MAP), which also emerged in the eighties. Subsequently, the MAP became a political party that along with other organizations resulted in the United Socialist Party of Mexico (PSUM). PSUM dissolved in 1987 (Trejo, 2017), but was part of the late Mexican Socialist Party (PMS) that became the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD) in 1989.

The transformation of a movement to institutionalize itself into a political party is explained given that competing in the electoral system was necessary in order to institute its proposals on improving social reality. However, only some of the aforementioned political party mutations could faithfully uphold the original concerns of the MAP, since more than one organization was introduced every time each new political party was founded.

If movements are collective entrepreneurs, then they require individual entrepreneurs capable of transferring the disappearance of the movement when it occurs. In other words, given the impossibility of maintaining a long-term movement, individual entrepreneurs become responsible for taking innovative ideas to other policy spaces; they wait for a policy window and find new organizations.

In the Mexican case at the end of the 20th century, the policy window that policy entrepreneurs were waiting for was the construction of the environmental problem within the social, public, and government agendas. Concerns for environmental protection in the face of imminent and excessive economic development, were only recognized by a handful of scientists and activists but ignored by most politicians and the rest of the society. The possibility of influencing public decision-making would have a better outcome if the movement became a political party, then as a potentially more legitimized actor within the Mexican political system.

An example of an entrepreneur that stands out for having transcended from her activism and partisan militarism to becoming a high-ranking official in the Mexican government is Julia Carabias Lillo. Her outstanding role dates back to the MAP and the PSUM, where she promoted that environmental demands were prioritized among the variety of issues recognized by the movement/party in the eighties. At the beginning of the nineties, before the reform of the General Law on Ecological Balance and Environmental Protection driven by the Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources and Fisheries (SEMARNAP) was enacted, Carabias became appointed as the first Secretary of Environment and Natural Resources in Mexico (of Natural Resources and Fisheries, at the time) (Government of Mexico, 2017).

Although Carabias's record as an entrepreneur did not end with the termination of her tenure as Secretary of the Environment and Natural Resources,

her role as a policy entrepreneur changed during the 21st century. During this period, she has dedicated herself in the active defense of the Lacandona jungle, located in southern Mexico, along with her teaching and research activities as a professor at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM). From the academic-activist trenches, she has promoted the importance of the environment protection as a public problem in the agendas, both in the academia and in that of subnational governments.

Colombia: a story in favor of the environment

In Colombia, general concern for environmental protection has always been present. Unlike other countries whose main concern was, or still is, the effects on people of squandering natural resources, in Colombia, there has also been a genuine concern to protect the environment of its own sake. In terms of rights, such differences have terms to be described: the right to a healthy environment and the principle *in dubio pro natura* (Russo & Russo, 2009). The right to a healthy environment precisely describes the importance of protecting nature because it is the habitat of people, and if deteriorated, it will have effects on people's health, quality of life, economy, etc., this is eminently a human centrist vision. For its part, the principle *in dubio pro natura* recognizes that nature has an intrinsic value, it must be protected beyond the function, it may or may not have for human beings. An important clarification becomes necessary: law and principle are not the same and both positions are not exclusive, but represent two legalistic visions of nature.

In Colombia, a *pro natura* vision has accompanied the development of organizations, institutions, and public policies. Proof is the case of one of the main individual policy entrepreneurs, Manuel Rodríguez. He was involved in the founding of the Ministry of the Environment, which was created with the Law 99 of 1993, and, in addition, he was the first minister that took office (*La silla vacía*, 2023). Before the creation of the ministry, in Colombia, there was an institute responsible of protecting the environment, called the National Institute of Renewable Natural Resources and the Environment (INDERENA). This agency had existed since 1968, which confirms that interest in protecting the environment dates back from decades ago. In 1990, Rodríguez became director of INDERENA and promoted the creation of a ministry, because he considered that environmental problems deserved a higher rank. In Colombia, a policy window was opened and promoted externally and internally. The creation of the 1991 Constitution allowed that the problems of various sectors were accounted for, and Rodríguez took advantage of a new space to promote constitutional articles and later laws in favor of the environment.

In the 1980s, international organizations became interested promoting the creation of environmental ministries, especially in developing countries. In 1987, the Brundtland Report was presented to the UN, exposing the risks associated to economic development. A series of reports, meetings, discussions, and other activities on environment protection followed. As shown in Table 1, this context was favorable for Latin America to join the international trend.

In Colombia, Rodríguez as a policy entrepreneur took advantage of the policy window to transform INDERENA into the Ministry of the Environment. Colombia has a long-standing history regarding social movements. According to Tobasura (2003), until the beginning of the 21st century. The period of social movements dates back from the 1950s to the 1970s and was characterized by the defense of natural resources. The second period consists of roughly part of the 1970s and early 1980s with the renewed struggle for natural resources. The third period goes between the 80s and early 90s, when environmental movements took a more institutional course including, the focus on dialogue, coordinated struggle, participation of the authorities, and incidence in the institutional sector. The fourth period starts from 1992 until the beginning of the 21st century, in which environmentalism becomes even more institutional, as seen in movements becoming non-governmental organizations, and increasing legal norms created.

The Colombian environmental movement comprises different groups, formal and informal organizations. Currently, one of the most important members of the movement is the National Environmental Forum (FNA, in Spanish), which is a network of organizations for environmental protection. FNA members include the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Fundación Alejandro Ángel Escobar, Tropenbos Colombia, the Faculty of Administration of the Universidad de Los Andes, Fundación Natura, WWF, the Specialization in Environmental Law of the Universidad del Rosario, the Faculty of Environmental Studies and Rural Schools of the Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, Universidad del Magdalena, Universidad del Norte, Universidad Tecnológica de Pereira and the Institute of Natural Sciences of the Universidad de Colombia. Manuel Rodríguez chairs the Forum, along with other prominent environmentalists such as Julio Carrizosa.

Chile: politics from above

Like other Latin American countries, Chile followed the trend of opening environmental protection offices. However, unlike the cases of Mexico or Colombia, Chile did not launch a ministerial-level institution, but a commission with clearly less technical capabilities. In 1994, the enacted Law on General Environmental to the National Environmental Commission (CONAMA in

Spanish). CONAMA's main activities consisted of conducting impact assessments and enforcing the mandated environmental policies. The first director was José Goñi, under the mandate of former president Eduardo Frei. Goñi had no experience or affinity regarding the environment, a profile shared by all the CONAMA directors that followed. In 2007, the leadership figure of the presidency replaced that of a commissioner and CONAMA was given a ministry level in the government. However, the problem persisted among the now-called presidents, of not having experience in environmental issues. It was not until 2010 that CONAMA officially became the Ministry of the Environment.

In Chile, collective and individual policy entrepreneurs have behaved differently. According to Ulianova and Estenssoro (2012), in general, the environmental movement arose from groups for the protection of natural resources in the cities, and some elite groups organized themselves. In the 1990s, the environmental movement became institutionalized. At the individual level, the case of Manfred Max-Neef stands out, he dedicated his entire career to investigating environmental issues. Unlike other entrepreneurs, Max-Neef continued his career in academia, where he became Chancellor. Although, Max-Neef did not institutionalize the environmental fight nor direct the corresponding agencies, he continued as an actor of great importance when running for the presidential elections in 1993 with an environmentalist agenda.

The history of the environmental movement in Chile was affected mainly by a military dictatorship that lasted nearly two decades (1973-1990); understandably the efforts of non-governmental organizations focused on protecting human rights (Ulianova & Esenssoro, 2012). In addition, tensions increased; environmentalism was divided into local resistance regarding struggles for resources and the interests of international organizations working in Chile.

Although, the environmental movement has overcome challenges and gained space to shape environmental management and policies in Chile, key changes were achieved due to international pressure rather than local activism. According to the Chilean Ministry of the Environment (2023), the OECD, in 2005, recommended increasing the power of CONAMA. Consequently, under the government of Michelle Bachelet, the leadership figure of CONAMA's 'president' was created, and with that, it gained greater autonomy. It was not until 2010 that CONAMA was reformed and became the Ministry of the Environment. In other words, it was a process that was influenced by international recommendations and adopted by the government in turn that finally translated into institutional changes.

ANALYSIS

This paper analyzed the role of public policy entrepreneurs in the environmental sector in Mexico, Colombia, and Chile. According to the literature review conducted, there are two types of policy entrepreneurs: individual and collective. The first type promotes causes, ideas, problems, or policies so they are integrated into some level of the agenda. The second type conducts the same activities but as groups, collectives, or organizations. Both, individual and collective, policy entrepreneurs are part of a broader concept that is the social movement, the relevance of which lies in understanding whether the environmental movements in the countries studied was somehow transformed into the formulation of policies, institutions, and organizations in the environmental sector.

This work answers the pressing issue regarding if social movements can be analyzed as policy entrepreneurs. In doing so, it also demonstrates that environmental movements mobilize different kinds of resources, mainly by taking advantage of international or local policy window. With more or less presence, salient elements were identified in the three environmental movements studied including organizations, local resistance, international pressure, institutionalization pathways; more importantly, public figures (i.e., scientists, politicians, activists, officials) and citizens.

Mobilized resources by environmental movements are as diverse as environmental movements can be; they include street protests and publications in media outlets, among others. However, in the cases analyzed it was observed that none of this had as much influence as opening a policy window. Most of the time, the environmental movements open such a window positioning an environmental problem on the agenda with the supporting persuasion of the masses; occasionally, the window comes from abroad as a result of reports and recommendations for improvement by international organizations. In sum, according to the countries studied each environmental movement had a greater or lesser influence on the creation of agencies, legal norms, and public policies.

Mexico

Mexico is characterized by the reluctance to understand or publicly accept that environmental problems exist beyond the idea of people's health affected. An anthropocentric approach has been the main characteristic of environmental policies during almost the entire 20th century: nature is protected to the extent that damage to health is reduced. The precarious presence of environmental movements had its splendor with the Popular Action Movement; in the following decades, few large-scale organizations had an active presence recorded by media outlets. The defense of natural resources is currently present

in local environmentalism, led by organizations focused in specific issues, such as CEMDA or CEIBA that support civil society in matters involving environmental law and towards achieving environmental sustainability.

For the period studied, the most outstanding achievement of the environmental movement was the creation of SEMARNAP (currently SEMARNAT) and the integration of Julia Carabias as its first Secretary, because her profile (i.e., experience and affinity). Apparently, a weak and little-understood movement at the time in Mexico took advantage of the policy window resulting from international pressure to create the ministry. It was a public space mainly granted by the authorities to please a foreigner organization; and simultaneously, to silence the social demands that, although scarce, were on the rise. The next Secretary modified specific strategic points, and the current governmental entity, as SEMARNAT emerged. However, since 2003 to date, politicians without any type of training or vocation for environmental defense have been appointed to lead the Secretary. At least, it suggests in Mexico a case of organizational hypocrisy (Brunsson, 2002), by attracting the discourse of entrepreneurs and international recommendations to build an environmental public sector fitting the image of a government that complies with the standards of the 21st century, but which in practice fails to solve public problems.

Colombia

Of the three cases analyzed, Colombia is the one that has had the best results in terms of environmental public policy. First, its environmental movement can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th century, with the defense of territories and natural resources in various Colombian regions. This is not a minor issue; it means that environmental deterioration was already understood as a public problem itself and not only because of the effects on people's health. Although, both issues are not intrinsically exclusive, the protection of nature itself is a valuable objective. This concern was reflected in the creation of INDERENA in 1968, an achievement that in other countries, like Chile, would take more than two and a half decades later to institutionalize.

The public character of environmental policy in Colombia was also made clear by integrating policy entrepreneurs into the ruling government. Progress in this matter could not be considered solely as policies top-down, because external pressure opened a policy window, in order to strengthen the public sector of environmental management. Certainly, it is not a complete result of a Colombian environmental movement either, since local organizations had less influence in lobbying than some foreign foundations or the most prestigious universities in the country.

Chile

Paradoxically, Chile is a country with significant advances in environmental matters for two main reasons. First, the country has an impact evaluation system that prevents the socio-environmental effects resulting from an investment project. Conducting impact evaluations are recommended in all three countries studied; they are usually legislated and implemented by both, public or private entities. However, their uses and results are often criticized for being considered as another administrative requirement and not as a 'golden test' to grant authorization, or not, for a project implementation. Both, the Ministry of the Environment and CONAMA, share the top three responsibilities directing Chile's impact assessment system.

Another issue highly debated to guarantee environmental justice is the creation of specialized courts. Chile is one of the few countries that has this type of court. For this reason, it is understandable that in this aspect, the performance of the country is generally high in EPI, unlike other countries. However, outcomes like the specialized courts were achieved by a dynamic resulting from collaboration between authorities and international organizations, not from policy entrepreneurs as such. Even though, an entrepreneur may be a group or individual from the same government, there is no indication that this was the case in Chile. Former President Bachelet was in charge of the legal and institutional improvements in 2007 and 2010. However, she is not an environmentalist, nor has she shown any special inclination towards an environmental problem on her agenda; nor was it the case with the other directors, later on presidents, of CONAMA or of the Ministry.

Out of the three cases analyzed, Chile is the only one where no environmentalists outside the government managed to integrate as an official. In Mexico, Julia Carabias became the first Secretary (Minister) of SEMARNAP, and in Colombia, Manuel Rodríguez had already directed INDERENA and was later appointed the first Minister of the Environment. In contrast, Chilean Max-Neef was in exile during the militar dictatorship. Despite being an active environmentalist and even running for office in the presidential elections in 1993, he remained relegated from the political milieu and decided to work solely as an academic. Chile is an example of top-down policies which is surely not synonymous with failure, but it does expose low public participation in its policies, therefore their low public nature.

TABLE 3. DIFFERENCES AND SIMILARITIES

	Mexico	**Colombia**	**Chile**
Individual entrepreneur	Julia Carabias	Manuel Rodríguez	Manfred Max-Neef
Collective entrepreneurs	X	Foro Nacional Ambiental	X
Window Opportunity	International stimulus	International stimulus and internal impulse	International stimulus
Strategies	Collaboration with government, scholars, and social society.	Close collaboration with social sectors	Follow international recomendation
Incidence	Institutionalization of social demands about environment (low)	Institutionalization of social demands about environment (high)	Institutionalization of social demands about environment (low)

Source: The Author.

FINAL COMMENTS

Mexico is probably the most complex case to analyze among the studied cases, for several reasons. In one hand, Mexico appears to integrate policy entrepreneurs into the government and institutional design, in attention to the demands of the population and international recommendations; but in practice, it has legal regulations that exceed technical capacities and political will. On another hand, it has an environmental ministry that ended up co-opted by politicians, with dubious technical capacities for impact assessment, without any initiative to expand enforcing capacity, like the environmental courts in Chile. Last, it only has issue-specific environmental movements at present, except for the multiple local resistances that remain usually ignored by both, the federal and state governments.

Colombia is a country where entrepreneurs clearly took advantage of policy window, as a result of several converging factors. First, nature and its protection are recognized as an important public problem. Second, local demands and international pressures have been integrated to keep the environmental sector afloat. On a very different route, Chile is internationally represented as a country excelling in environmental performance resulting from decisions solely top-down decisions, where social demands and entrepreneurship failed to advance. Regardless, it has two of the most important institutional designs: environmental courts and a solid impact evaluation sector.

About the theoretical framework, it can help to understand how motivated people impact policy decisions. The dominant perspective in Latin America is related to the policy cycle, specifically in program design and program evaluation. Political perspectives can show us that policy failure or success depends on people, public servants, or social movements, not only by technical

knowledge. For Latin American researchers, policy entrepreneurs represent an opportunity to know program implementation and improve new ways to study public policy. Future agenda can include how leaders work but also, as new authors like Cohen & Aviram (2021) do, street-level bureaucrats into the policy.

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