W01 / Policy dismantling: linking processes and impacts

Topic : Policy Process, Policy Making

Chair : Guillermo Cejudo (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE))

Second Chair : Johabed Olvera (Penn State University)

Third Chair : María del Carmen Pardo (University of Guadalajara)

CALL FOR PAPERS

What happens when a policy stops being in effect? What impact would the elimination of government interventions, the termination of policy instruments, or a reduction in the scope or intensity of public programs have on individuals? This is an old debate that has its roots in the literature on policy termination and has been revived in both developed and developing nations experiencing the scaling back of social services, the dismantling of environmental protections, the disenrollment in health insurance, or the repeal of social policies by populist or semi-authoritarian governments.

We invite submissions on policy dismantling in any country or sector. We welcome quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods research designs exploring the social, political, economic, institutional, organizational, or individual effects of policy dismantling. We want to include both comparative and single-case studies that offer empirical support for explanations about how policy dismantling affects people, organizations, and institutions.

Among the questions for which we invite submissions are:

What is the impact of policy dismantling (such as dis-enrollment, retrenchment, or contractions of policy instruments) on the targeted population?
Are there spillover effects of policy dismantling (such as dis-enrollment, retrenchment, or contractions of policy instruments)?
What are the effects of policy dismantling on the bureaucracy?
How (former) beneficiaries cope with the reduction/elimination of benefits?
How policy dismantling leads to a reconfiguration of the policy subsystem?
What are the political effects of policy termination?
How does eliminating a policy transform the policy mix in which it belongs?
How subnational governments react to central government's policy dismantling?

ABSTRACT

What happens when a policy stops being in effect? What impact would the elimination of government interventions, the termination of policy instruments, or a reduction in the scope or intensity of public programs have on individuals? This is an old debate that has its roots in the literature on policy termination and has been revived in both developed and developing nations experiencing the scaling back of social services, the dismantling of environmental protections, the disenrollment in health insurance, or the repeal of social policies by populist or semi-authoritarian governments.

The purpose of this workshop is to connect the current research on the process of policy dismantling with an examination of its consequences. Just like any other type of policy change, policy dismantling affects the groups it aims to target, can cause organizational and institutional changes, and may set off feedback loops. We want to include both comparative and single-case studies that offer empirical support for explanations about how policy dismantling affects people, organizations, and institutions.

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Session 1

Wednesday, June 26th 10:15 to 12:00 (AULA 7)

Discussants

Marina Lazarotto de Andrade (Universidade de Brasília)

Liliana Gonzalez-Viveros (Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora)

The Effects of Losing Public Health Insurance on Prenatal and Preventive Health Care: Evidence from the Dismantling of Seguro Popular in Mexico

Guillermo Cejudo (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE))

The global financial crisis in 2008 has led to a series of retrenchments in social safety net programs worldwide, including the rollback of public health insurance programs. Recent literature has shown some of the adverse effects of losing access to healthcare insurance. Studies have found that contractions of public health insurance increase financial distress (Argys et al. 2020; Bailey et al. 2020) and behavioral healthcare hospitalizations (Maclean et al. 2020). Most of the literature on dismantling health systems comes from developed countries (in large part due to data availability). Yet, countries in the Global South are more likely to experience instability in healthcare provision due to financial constraints, administrative instability, and political volatility. The paper explores the causal effects of public health insurance contractions, by taking advantage of a plausible exogenous variation provided by the termination of Mexico's most important public health insurance program in 2020: Seguro Popular (SP). SP provided health coverage to individuals not affiliated with any social security institution and covered almost 300 interventions and more than 1500 illnesses. Specifically, we focus on the effect of public health insurance termination on healthcare utilization among vulnerable populations: low-income pregnant women and children. Studying the effects of losing access to public health insurance among this population is crucial as research has shown that public health insurance coverage improves maternal and child health (Goldin et al., 2019; Miller et al., 2019) by increasing access to prenatal care and preventive health care (Simon et al., 2017; Sommers et al., 2015).

Using a panel data set of healthcare facilities in Mexico over 2017-2022, we estimate a difference-in-differences model where we exploit variation based on the SP utilization rates before the termination of this program. Preliminary analyses show that prenatal care consults and children's check-up visits are reduced in clinics with higher levels of baseline SP utilization rates after the termination of the program. However, this result is moderated by the decision of state governments to subscribe to the new system (called INSABI). We find healthcare facilities with higher levels of SP utilization rates reduced prenatal care and check-up visits less than those with lower baseline utilization rates in states that adhered to the new system. Taken together, these results suggest that the capacity built by SP buffered the negative effects produced by the new system.

The effects of the dismantling of the health system in Mexico. The case of Jalisco.

Antonio Sanchez (University of Guadalajara)

Jarumy Rosas (University of Guadalajara)

Guaranteeing access to health services has become a challenge for the Mexico government in recent years. In 2019, the creation of the Health Institute for Wellbeing (INSABI, by its acronym in Spanish) was announced, replacing the Social Health Protection System (Seguro Popular), which implied a large-scale

transformation in the federal health system that had effects on the local governments. According to Sovilla and Díaz (2022), in 2017 Seguro Popular provided coverage to 48.6 million people. For its part, Jalisco had 3,014,388 insured in 2018 (Comisión Nacional de Protección Social en Salud, 2019). The INSABI scheme dismantled a health system that had a level of decentralization that shared the financial responsibility for the offer of health services to the open population between the federal and state governments and insured. The immediate effect involved a dramatic drop in health services coverage, which was reflected in the increase in the percentage of the population lacking access to health services, which went from 16.2% in 2018 to 39.1% in 2022 (CONEVAL, 2023). INSABI did not obtain the expected results, which is why in 2023 it was announced that it would be dismantled to be replaced by IMSS-BIENESTAR.

The state of Jalisco was one of the entities that did not sign collaboration agreements with INSABI or IMSS-BIENESTAR and decided to maintain control of the health system. The objective of this work is to analyze the stability of the health system of the state of Jalisco in the face of the dismantling of the federal health system. The questions that guide this work are how did the government of Jalisco face the dismantling of the federal health system that occurred in recent years? And how stable is Jalisco's health system to guarantee coverage of the Jalisco health service in the face of the dismantling of the federal health system? To answer these questions, an exploratory analysis of the case of the Jalisco health system is intended. Information will be obtained through documentary analysis and interviews with key local actors.

References:

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Session 2

Wednesday, June 26th 14:00 to 17:15 (AULA 7)

Discussants

Verónica López Guerra (CIDE, México)

Ana Diaz-Aldret (University of Guadalajara)

(Virtual) THE LOCAL EFFECTS OF ECONOMIC PARTNERSHIP AGREEMENT BETWEEN CAMEROON AND EUROPEAN UNION

Fernand Guevara Mekongo Mballa (Catholic University of Central Africa)

Cameroon was the first individual country to sign the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with European Union in the year on August 4 2014. This decision on the Cameroonian side, grants immediate-duty and quota- free access to the EU market. On the EU side, the agreement will provide access to 80% of its liberalized tariffs. Actually on the Cameroonian side, the implementation of that policy has entered its eight phase of tariffs dismantling, running from August 2023 to August 2024. It consists of 100% custom tariffs dismantling for group I and II products and 40% dismantling for group III products. So far since the beginning of the implementation of this agreement, the dismantling has focused on products that aim the wellbeing of populations like drugs, medical equipment, paper, fertilizer and seeds. It is actually aimed at those products that may boost local production like clinker for the cement industry, inputs for food production, trucks and tractors among others. So far, the purpose of this research is to investigate the effects of the dismantling policy on the Cameroonian side. What sectors, and /or industries appear to bemost affected by the implementation of the EPA in Cameroon. What are the impacts of these dismantling on the trade between Cameroon and European Union as a whole?The purposeof this work is to undertake a comparative research on the impact of the dismantling policy undertaken byCameroon on its own industry and populations and highlight the eventual negative (or positive) spillovers of that policy on thebeneficiaries of the previous protectionist policy and make suggestionsfor a better implementation the EPA agreements as a whole.

Subnational agroecological policies in Brazil: potential strategy for reconfiguration amidst uncertainty

Marina Yamaoka (Université Gustave Eiffel, France)

Agroecology is often defined as a science, a movement, and a practice (Wezel, 2009). It is presented as a potential solution for some of the multifaceted crises of today, such as climate change, hunger and food insecurity, biodiversity loss, and food shortages, among others. Brazil was internationally recognized as one of the countries that had made the most progress in building public policies for agroecology (Lamine et al., 2019; Niederle et al., 2019) and, in 2012, the National Policy of Agroecology and Organic Production (PNAPO) was created. However, with a political shift and with a right-wing government (Jair Bolsonaro’s mandate) elected in 2018, several policies and programs that supported agroecology in Brazil at the national level were dismantled (Sabourin, 2022).

Despite this articulated and interlinked process of political and institutional change, it is possible to note the recomposition of public action for agroecology at Brazil's subnational levels. Some states and cities created policies regarding public food purchases from family farmers, pesticide reduction, promotion of social

technologies, and other initiatives that strengthened agroecology. This leads to potential questions such as: Which conditions is it possible to find in these states and cities that might explain the emergence of such policies? And what new alliances and coalitions might have been formed to support the emergence of the subnational initiatives that allow for agroecology, in terms of its policies, to be resilient? The level change (from the national to the subnational) can be understood as a potential strategy for reconfiguration after a political crisis/shift, allowing for the maintenance of the system's functionality amidst uncertainty. In this way, this paper aims to contribute to one of the research questions guiding this workshop by providing insights to policymakers and policy research regarding political reconfigurations following crises (question 4).

To this end, 46 semi-structured qualitative interviews were conducted in four different localities in Brazil: two at the state level (Ceará and Minas Gerais) and two at the municipal level (Sobral and Juiz de Fora) concerning the emergence or continuation of policies that promote agroecology at the subnational level. The questionnaire was developed to reveal the dynamics and elements of the public action pentagon (actors, representations, institutions, processes, and results) (Lascoumes & Le Galès, 2018). The main lessons learned that will be explored in the paper are: (1) regarding actors: new alliances were developed, mainly with the legislative branch; coalitions were maintained, but with beliefs and resources changed; the role of bureaucrats and the importance of balancing technical and political expertise; (2) regarding institutions (frameworks), they are similar to the existing institutions at the federal level, but they are more permeable to the representations - or face less opposition - in terms of qualification of issues, ideas, values, symbols, allowing for the promotion of agroecology. I am considering to present on-site.

Double-speak populism and the dismantling of climate policies in Mexico: the linkage between discourse and (in)action

Israel Solorio (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

In Mexico, public policies under the ruling of Andrés Manuel López Obrador (AMLO) have been characterized by a double-speak populism: a practice in which political leaders use the traditional populist rhetoric to disguise their true policy intentions (Dussauge-Laguna, 2021). This strategy has been specially employed to justify budget cuts in the public administration and the dismantling of several policies, as has been the case of climate policies in Mexico (Solorio, 2021). A similar blame-avoidance strategy has been observed with the government of Jair Bolsonar in Brazil (Milhorance, 2022) and some other populist governments both in Europe and in Latin America. However, whereas the discursive strategy for dismantling has caught the analysts attention, very few have explored the consequences of dismantling. Placing attention on two climate sub-policies, the renewable energy policy (mitigation) and disaster management (adaptation), this research aims to bridge the discussion of the strategies with the consequences of dismantling. In particular, it analyzes the double-speak populism employed for blame-avoidance together with the institutional effects of dismantling in relation to climate change mitigation and adaptation (both in terms of policy density and intensity). This research follows a two-tiered qualitative approach: frame analysis is employed to analyze the double-speak populism (strategy), whereas process tracing is applied to explore the institutional results of dismantling (effects). This paper’s hypothesis is that double-speak populism comes together with the diminution of public administration capacity to face complex problems such as climate change.

FORGOTTEN POLITICIES: THE RISE AND DISMANTLING OF PROFESSIONALIZATION IN THE MEXICAN FEDERAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

María del Carmen Pardo (University of Guadalajara)

The proposal of a Professional Career Service (CPS) as a public policy arrived in Mexico with the trends of the New Public Management. As the public administration grew and became more complex, the need for a body of civil servants capable of fulfilling the objectives and tasks inherent to their responsibilities/positions became more visible. During the processes of decentralization of the governmental apparatus in the 1980s and 1990s, professionalization was also a necessary condition to guarantee the effectiveness of the actions of officials in subnational governments. For this reason, professionalization has seemed since then to be a task that is not only necessary, but indispensable, first at the level of the federal administration, but then, if possible, more urgently, in the state and municipal governments (characterized by the lack of development of their human capital). For this demand for an increasingly professional and competent bureaucracy, the SPC at all three levels of government should have become a crucial input for the Mexican government's modernization policies, a situation that was practically unfeasible because the most visible efforts were only made at the federal level.

This proposal was implemented with the enactment in 2003 of a law that would apply only at the federal

level. The purpose of this paper is to discuss and analyze the gradual process of dismantling the professional civil service in the federal administration, even if the Career Professional Service Law is still "in force" and formally applied. The paper will that that a series of decisions in three different administrations led to a reduction in the capacity of the system to guarantee that middle and senior management positions in the federal government are selected by competence and merit. Instead, they returned to a spoil system where positions are filled by political loyalty or friendship as a guiding criteria.

I will argue that the government of President López Obrador has taken a series of decisions that, far from strengthening the capacities and resources of public officials, have contributed to reducing the conditions in which they work. Thus, professionalization efforts have are at a standstill, as a direct consequence of the current government's disdain for the public administration, its officials and the need for them to improve their performance. In the last five years, the policy of professionalization and its materialization in career services have been forgotten and effective.

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Session 3

Thursday, June 27th 09:00 to 12:15 (AULA 7)

Discussants

Denise Direito (Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada - IPEA)

Fernando Nieto Morales (El Colegio de México)

The dismantling of a childcare program: exploring the social effects on time use

Liliana Gonzalez-Viveros (Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora)

The analysis of policy dismantling has become increasingly relevant in the study of public policies. Scholars approach this topic from various perspectives, including the examination of the motivations behind the dismantling process, the institutional constraints and opportunities for carrying out these actions, and the strategies used by actors to achieve dismantling (Bauer & Knill, 2014; Bauer & Knill, 2012; Jordan et al., 2013). Political costs associated with dismantling have also been studied, but less attention has been given to examining social costs (Bauer & Knill, 2012, p. 33). Our paper analyzes the effects of active dismantling on the welfare of the target population, such as the abolition of policies or instruments or a reduction in substantial intensity (Bauer & Knill, 2012, p. 46).

Our study focuses on the effects of actively dismantling the Childcare Program to Support Working Mothers (PEI) in Mexico. The program aimed to provide childcare services to working, studying, or job-seeking women from poor families without social security. After 12 years in operation, the program was terminated in February 2019, under President Lopez Obrador’s administration. We hypothesize that the closure of daycare centers due to the program's termination has negatively impacted women's well-being. We recognize that an individual's well-being depends not only on income or consumption but also on how time is used (Krueger et al., 2009). Therefore, we expect that women will spend more time on domestic and unpaid care work. At the same time, there will be a decline in the time devoted to professional activities and personal gratification time. We also anticipate that women will experience a more significant increase in the number of hours spent on unpaid work than men due to the sexual division of labor and that these effects will vary depending on household composition.

To test our hypotheses, we use a panel database of all the municipalities of Mexico between 2012 and 2021, and a difference-in-differences model. As PEI is a federal policy and was terminated simultaneously throughout the country, we could not construct a control group in the strict sense. Instead, we compared municipalities with more eligible populations against those with fewer populations before and after the program's termination. Preliminary results show that after dismantling PEI, time in homes dedicated to childcare increased by 5.4 hours per week.

Nudges and Health Behavior: What Happens When Conditional Cash Transfers End the Conditionality?

Johabed Olvera (Penn State University)

Improving the health of disadvantaged groups has been the focus of health and social policy interventions around the world. Given the importance of financial resources for achieving and maintaining good health throughout the lifespan, conditional and unconditional cash transfer policies have become predominant in low- and middle-income countries (LMICs). Cash transfers aim to reduce poverty or vulnerabilities by enabling recipients to build human capital (including better health), accruing savings to purchase productive

assets, and obtaining access to loans with better conditions (Arnold 2011). Conditioning the transfer to certain behaviors or actions has been shown to positively impact health outcomes (Bastagli et al. 2016). As a transaction cost, however, conditionality might lead to lower program participation and greater levels of administrative burden (Pellerano and Barca 2013), reducing the effectiveness of the intervention. To date, little is known about the extent to which changing this policy feature might affect health behavior and health outcomes. Understanding the impacts of this type of policy change is important given the current policy landscape, where governments are looking for policy features that increase program effectiveness while reducing costs (for example, the changes in Medicaid eligibility requirements).

In this study, we address this gap in the literature by investigating the effect of eliminating the health behavior requirement of one of the biggest conditional cash transfer programs in LMICs: Mexico's Progresa/Oportunidades/Prospera program. This program, which started in 1997, conditioned the transfer to poor families on children's school attendance and family visits to health clinics. The health-care component provided access to preventive care to the family, a transfer, and nutritional supplements for children between the ages of four months and two years, and pregnant and lactating women. To receive the cash transfers, all members of beneficiary families had to comply with a regular schedule of clinic visits, which was tailored to the age and gender of family members. Studies on the impacts of this program find positive effects on child and maternal mortality (see Parker and Todd 2017 for a review of this literature). Starting in 2019, however, the federal government dismantled Prospera and created a new transfer (Becas Benito Juárez), which remained conditioned to school enrollment but removed the health behavior requirement from the program.

We study the effect of eliminating the health behavior conditionality on preventive care. To do this, we use a panel data set of all healthcare facilities from 2013-2020. Given that Prospera is a federal policy and the health behavior requirement ended simultaneously throughout the country, we cannot construct a control group in its strict sense. Instead, we compare preventive care utilization in clinics with more baseline Oportunidades' rate utilization against those in clinics with fewer baseline Oportunidades' rate utilization before and after the program's change.

The effect of direct transfers on the double and triple roles of women: An analysis using Differences-in-Differences Models

Verónica López Guerra (CIDE, México)

In Mexico, the Federal Administration modified its care policy by redirecting resources previously allocated to childcare facilities towards direct support delivery. This shift in focus in childcare and welfare policy, through direct transfers, prompts reflection on the effects of such transfers on managing the multiple demands of the double and triple roles assumed by women.

In the region, family policies have prioritized allocating subsidies to households facing greater social vulnerability (Daly and Ferragina, 2018). Prior research in this area has demonstrated that direct transfers to households contribute to poverty reduction (Garganta et al., 2017) and stimulate the political participation of their members (Schober, G., 2019). However, gender imbalances persist in the domestic sphere, hindering the reconciliation of work and family spheres (Tepichin, 2010).

My objective is to examine the impact of social policies through direct transfers on the reallocation of domestic reproductive tasks, considering the context of the dismantling of the care policy in Mexico. It is crucial to distinguish the effects of policies among different household members, as these environments are neither uniform nor democratic; internal disparities persist in resource access and task allocation (Melgar, 2016). I employ a differences-in-differences methodology, enabling the analysis of the causal relationship between transfers and the reduction of caregiving time, utilizing data from the National Household Income and Expenditure Survey. The approach allows for segmenting women based on household type and employment status.

I find that direct transfers have not facilitated a redistribution of caregiving tasks within the home. However, a significant change is observed in households where other members benefit from these resources. This suggests that the impact of direct transfers on female employment is closely linked to household dynamics and the distribution of roles among its members.

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Schober, G. (2019). Conditional Cash Transfers, Resources, and Political Participation in Latin America. Latin American Research Review, 54(3), 591-607. doi:10.25222/larr.143
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The effects of dismantling full-time schools on female labor participation

Alejandra Penilla Diez de Bonilla (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas)

What happens when a policy stop being in effect? This is an old debate that has its roots in the literature on policy termination (Brewer, 1974; 1978) and has been revived in both developed and developing nations experiencing the scaling back of social benefits, the dismantling of environmental protections, or the repeal of social programs by populist or semi-authoritarian governments. However, most of the literature has focused on the process of dismantling, its causes and motivations, and the strategies pursued to dismantle policies (Bauer and Knill, 2014; Jordan, 2013). However, a different dimension has been largely overlooked: the effects of policy dismantling. In this paper, we aim to address this gap.

To do this, we take advantage of the massive termination of policy instruments that are happening under the current administration of the Mexican federal government. In particular, we analyze how the government's decision to abolish a policy that extended the school day by 3.5 hours in elementary and middle schools affects the female labor market. Female labor force participation in developing countries increases with access to affordable childcare. In Mexico, a federal program was launched in 2007 to increase the number of hours children spend in school, Full-Time School Program (PETC for its Spanish acronym). The federal government, through the Ministry of Education, provided an annual fixed stipend for operating costs and a variable fund based on the number of teachers and students in each school (Cabrera-Hernandez, 2015). The program began in 2007 with 500 schools from 15 of Mexico's 32 states. By 2017, the program had reached 25,134 schools nationwide (CONEVAL, 2018). Evaluations of the program have been significant and positive in terms of school outcomes, women's work, and children's nutrition. Despite these results, in February 2022, the Mexican federal government announced the dismantling of PETC. The lack of support for the program began in 2020 with a budget cut of almost 50%. In 2019, 11.5 thousand million pesos were allocated to the program, while in 2020 only 5.6 thousand million pesos were approved for PETC. In February 2022, the Mexican government announced the elimination of PETC.

We base the empirical analysis on a panel database composed of all the municipalities of Mexico in the period 2016 - 2021. Using survey and administrative data, we explore the effects on number or weekly hours worked by women. To identify the causal effect of PETC termination on the variables mentioned above, we use a difference-in-differences model. Given that PETC is a federal policy and ended simultaneously throughout the country, we cannot construct a control group in its strict sense. Instead, we compare municipalities with more eligible populations against municipalities with fewer eligible populations before and after the program's termination.

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Session 4

Thursday, June 27th 14:00 to 17:15 (AULA 7)

Discussants

Israel Solorio (Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México)

Marina Yamaoka (Université Gustave Eiffel, France)

Dismantling public policy. The case of science, technology and innovation policy in Mexico in a democratic backsliding scenario.

Enrique Cabrero (University of Guadalajara)

Ana Diaz-Aldret (University of Guadalajara)

A recurring characteristic of several Latin American regimes is the deliberate intervention of political factors in public programs. These are governments that show effective difficulty to implement public programs. Instead, they often rely on temporary institutional structures that are weakly designed, have a restricted range of tools at their disposal, and struggle to maintain long-term political support and resources for their execution. Frequently, their programs function primarily as symbolic declarations of intentions for public action rather than as practical directives for decision-making over a public issue.

In Mexico, as an element of a more coordinated democratic transition that was backed by a multitude of political actors in the 1990s, an endeavor was undertaken to ensure a more consistent federal public policy agenda. While occasional alterations driven by the political goals of different national administrations were made, a process of institutionalization was underway to establish and solidify certain strategic public policies for the country. Some of the aforementioned policies encompassed poverty alleviation measures, financial and budgetary policies, healthcare policies, economic liberalization and modernization, energy policies, and advancements in science, technology, and innovation. The initiatives of the PRI and PAN administrations were assigned differing levels of significance throughout their respective terms in office. However, they somehow managed to make incremental progress and implement gradual changes. This approach involved extensively engaging human capital experts in various fields and advocating for legal reforms that would build upon previous accomplishments. Over a span of more than 20 years, this process created the perception that Mexico was acquiring proficiency in policymaking. Despite the absence of a well-defined civil service career, several fields of public policy were gradually establishing a pool of knowledgeable professionals. While the occurrence of this phenomenon was not widespread across the public policy agenda, it was evident in certain specific policy domains, as previously indicated. There seemed to be evidence that suggested that advancements were being made towards a democratic system that enabled government based on public policy rather than only on politics.

In 2018, when López Obrador's populist administration came into power, a deliberate and consistent process of dismantling the institutional framework began and continued throughout the whole tenure. The disintegration of the so called “neo-liberal” agenda and institutions mostly occurred via eradicating their capabilities. Broadly speaking, the process of dismantling involved four main actions: (1) disrupting established policy networks and excluding non-governmental actors under the pretext of combating policy capture; (2) significantly cutting budgets under the guise of "budgetary austerity," which helped redirect more resources towards the President's large-scale projects; (3) a severe overhaul of the expert groups that had previously overseen policies and reforms. This enabled the new administration to allocate numerous government positions to individuals within their political party, regardless of their lack of qualifications for the roles; and (4) the undermining of the legal and regulatory structure by implementing legal and normative

frameworks that centralized all authority in the executive branch. Consequently, the significance of independent regulatory institutions, which had required substantial effort to establish, was reduced or eliminated. In this instance, the populist administration's main objective was to eliminate established public programs and safeguards, rather than proposing a new model as an alternative. That seems to be the case given the consistent failure of most ideas and actions attempted. Instead of disassembling for the purpose of replacement, there has been a deliberate effort to dismantle to disrupt the apparatus' functioning, disrupt policy networks, and "reclaim" the consolidation of power in the President's hands. This analysis examines the case of the Science and Innovation institutions and policies that draw back fifty years (1970) and revisits Bauer's classification regarding the policy dismantling processes (Bauer and Knill, 2013). However, considering dismantling processes that take place in democratic backsliding scenarios (Milhorance, 2022; Morais, 2022) it draws upon studies that have observed the dismantlement of policies in populist regimes (Fleury *et al.,* 2023) to shed light on certain aspects of the Mexican case.

Dismantling policies: mandatory aspects and strategies of envolved actors

Denise Direito (Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada - IPEA)

What elements are needed to dismantle a public policy? The political project of the extreme right it is translated, among other aspects, into the restriction and reduction of public policies that contribute to social welfare, such as social assistance policy. In Brazil, since 1988, this policy has migrated from a model based on charity to one that provides services and benefits comprehended as a social right. Since them, deliberative forums, with parity between governmental and non-governmental actors, are central to defining the policy's direction. The neoliberal and authoritarian political project rose in Brazil after 2015 with the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff - elected by a collision of the center-left -, the assumption of Michel Temer and then the election of far-right president Jair Bolsonaro. From that moment on, the dismantling of this policy began, with de-funding and the deconstruction of the deliberative process, among other initiatives. We aimed to analyze the result of three studies conducted from 2015 to 2022 considering different perspectives but with the same goal: understand the strategies that state and non-state actors used to encourage or block the dismantling process. The first study investigated the influence that political projects have on state actors (Hassenteufel, 2011), leading to changes in perceptions about social assistance policy itself and the relevance of social participation (Direito, 2021). The second analyzed the changes that occurred in the deliberative forums during Bolsonaro's administration. The analytical framework used were the categories proposed by Charles Tilly (2013) to analyze democratization/democratization processes, with the Covid-19 pandemic being considered as a non-voluntary intervening factor in this process (Pinheiro and Direito, 2023). Finally, based on the dimensions proposed by Bauer and Knill (2012) - policy density and policy intensity - we analyzed the strategies of the social movements present in the participation forums to resist the different forms of dismantling. It became clear that when the dismantling is default, that means without a government explicit decision, it is more difficult to have a strong or coordinated reaction of civil society. On the other hand, when the dismantling decision it's active, the civil society's reaction is easier to identify and perceive (DIREITO, 2023). The combined analysis of these three studies provided a more complete picture of the dismantling process over the years. Some conclusions: first, the effective action of state actors (bureaucracy) is mandatory, mainly state actors that provide the socio-state interface in deliberative forums. Second, non-state actor will act more effectively when they understand the dismantling process and will have fragmented action or less effectively strategies when they have a high dependence of state actors. In resume, part of the dismantling occurred due to governmental definition, such as norms or even budgetary contents, but in public policies that have multi-stakeholder deliberative mechanisms, the dismantling will be partial if it is not possible to change the composition and perspectives of the state and non-state actors present in this process.

(Virtual) Dismantling digital: changes and reorientation of digitalization and telecommunications policy in Mexico during the period 2018 - 2024

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On June 11th, 2013, a constitutional reform on telecommunications and competition was published in the Mexican Official Gazette of the Federation. The reform established the obligation of the State to guarantee the right of access to information technologies, broadcasting and telecommunications services, defining these services as of public nature of general interest so that their provision was subject, from then on, to specific standards also monitored by the State.

The constitutional reform also established the precepts and the general institutional

framework for designing a public policy on digitalization and telecommunications from the guarantor State perspective. Enrique Peña Nieto's administration (2012-2018) strongly promoted this public policy with the active participation of several agencies of the Federal Public Administration, including the Ministry of Communications and Transportation, as the head of the sector; the Federal Telecommunications Institute, as the sectoral autonomous constitutional body; and the National Digital Strategy Coordination Office of the President's Office.

With the beginning of President Andrés Manuel López Obrador's (2018 - 2024) administration, the relevant position of digitalization and telecommunications policy changed. Facing the complexity of modifying or eliminating several aspects of this policy, established in the Constitution, the Executive Branch opted to transform the legal and institutional aspects that are within its direct reach under its powers and to reduce the material and operational capacities of some of the critical agencies for its implementation. Based on the former, the current administration has sought to reorient state agencies' policy objectives and actions towards a markedly different vision.

This paper aims to identify practices and processes developed by Andrés Manuel López Obrador's administration to dismantle the digitalization and telecommunications policy promoted during the previous administration, considering the restrictions posed by the fact that the Mexican Constitution mandated the general structure of the policy. It also analyses the implications of the changes in the development of telecommunications, the digitalization objectives set out since 2013, and the effects that organizations and actors experienced as consequences of these changes.

The study of the Mexican case is relevant to identifying the alternatives and processes considered by a specific administration to dismantle a policy with a solidly established legal basis (at the constitutional level) and considerable institutional roots. To achieve the proposed objectives, we analyzed official documents available concerning the public policy of digitalization and telecommunications during the two administrative periods observed; a review of secondary sources related to the different perspectives and visions regarding the elements that constitute the policy; and in-depth interviews with relevant actors during the process of its implementation and in the framework of its dismantling.

Resisting the Tide: The Role of Organizational Routines in Sustaining Open Government Under Policy Dismantling in Mexico

Fernando Nieto Morales (El Colegio de México)

Drawing on insights from organizational theory, this paper explores the role of entrenched organizational routines in resisting policy dismantling, specifically in the context of open government efforts in Mexico before and after 2018. It examines how routines can act as a bulwark against arbitrary shifts in political priorities and democratic backsliding.

Organizational routines are repetitive, recognizable patterns of interdependent action carried out by organizational actors/subunits (Pentland & Haerem, 2015; Becker, 2004). Routines encompass formal and informal components, weaving into the fabric of organizational behavior. As critical elements within public agencies, routines significantly influence the direction and effectiveness of policy decisions (Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). Their impact on policy implementation is dual-faceted: on the one hand, routines may impede the process when they are overly rigid or not in alignment with new policies (Uittenbroek, 2015; Klein et al., 2010). On the other hand, they can be instrumental in facilitating policy execution by contributing to a stable environment, clarifying expectations and power relations, and shaping the performance and behavior of public sector employees (Trondal, 2022; Feldman & Pentland, 2003).

Central to this study is the hypothesis that routines in public organizations act as protective "dikes," effectively mitigating the impact of policy dismantling attempts. In the context of Mexico after 2018, this study observes that, despite political maneuvers aimed at weakening transparency policies and institutions, budgetary restrictions, and congressional neglect, the enduring practices embedded within public agencies have maintained rules, practices, and expectations and, thereby, policy objectives. This resilience is due to integrating specific open government procedures and components into the routine operations of public agencies over 20 years of policy implementation.

The paper explores how routines safeguard policy elements from dilution and contribute to advancing specific policy objectives, even in the face of unsupportive leadership and an adverse political environment. In other areas, the absence of such organizational routines renders goals and policy components more susceptible to dismantling. We employ data from the Open Government Metric (Spanish: Métrica de Gobierno Abierto), a biennial assessment that gauges the state of open government across various public organizations in Mexico. Utilizing a mixed-methods approach, we analyze the evolution of critical components of open government (transparency, citizen participation, and open data availability) across different organizations and examine the long-term effects of routinization.

The study contributes to our understanding of the interaction between policy dismantling, bureaucratic capacities, and organizational resistance. The Mexican case provides important insights for other regions grappling with similar challenges. Moreover, the paper highlights potential directions for future comparative research, further illuminating the dynamics of policy dismantling and the power of organizational routines in public administration and policy implementation.

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W01 / Policy dismantling: linking processes and impacts

Chair : Guillermo Cejudo (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE))

Second Chair : Johabed Olvera (Penn State University)

Third Chair : María del Carmen Pardo (University of Guadalajara)

Session 5

Friday, June 28th 09:00 to 12:15 (AULA 7)

Discussants

Alejandra Penilla Diez de Bonilla (Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas)

Resilience strategies: the response of food and social policy coalitions to the pandemic and democratic backsliding in Brazil

Marina Lazarotto de Andrade (Universidade de Brasília)

The literature points that external events are a possible – and sometimes necessary – source for policy change (Jenkins-Smith et al. 2018). Since multiple crises have become a reality and a challenge to both the organization of socioeconomic life and public action (Harris e Varellas 2020; Monteiro Neto, Colombo, e Rocha Neto 2023), there is growing interest, in the policy field, in issues related to policy resilience, its determinant factors, and its dynamics (Bauer, Peters, e Pierre 2021; Capano e Woo 2017). As it was previously argued, resilience is seen not only as an institutional feature, but also as the intentional and creative action actors engage to preserve institutional functions and goals. (Almeida 2020; Bezerra et al. 2022; Milhorance et al. 2023).

In this paper we explore the action-relational dimension of policy resilience by shedding light to the strategies coalitions undertook during the Covid-19 and the democratic erosion crises. The research questions guiding this study were: how have crises re-shaped coalitions? And What kind of strategies have coalitions developed to promote policy resilience? We engage in a productive dialogue with the literature on social movements and public policy to include new perspectives about the relationship between state and non-state actors in times of crises (Abers, Serafim, e Tatagiba 2014; Barcelos, Pereira, e Silva 2016; Della Porta 2017; Von Bülow 2014; Zaremberg e Almeida 2021), as well as with the literature on policy coalitions to identify coalitional change during periods of instability. Finally, our contributions are related to raising new insights to policymakers and policy research about agency dynamics along crises.

The methodological approach consists in the development of four within case studies of the main programs in the combat hunger and poverty agenda of the federal government. The selected cases are: (i) Food Purchase Program (PAA); (ii) Bolsa Família Program (PBF); National School Feeding Program (PNAE); and (iv) Cistern Program (PC). We identified in the literature the coalitions before the crises and we mapped the coalitions during the events. We conducted over 20 interviews with key actors and document analysis (laws, technical notes, infralegal rules, reports).

Preliminary results have confirmed that crises reconfigure coalitions (Andrade et al. forthcoming; Milhorance et al. 2023). We have observed a movement of both expansion and dichotomization. Whether this reorganization will last is still unanswered. In addition, in a scenario with more than one crisis, we noted that they interact not only to reinforcing each other, but also as an opportunity for the coalitions that are acting in both fronts. As an illustration, in the Bolsa Família case, the pandemic was an opportunity to unprecedentedly increase its budget and reach more people. However, the political crisis has used the program as an electoral platform, changing the goals and symbols. Therefore, multiple crises deepen the ambiguity in the institutional context, creating space for organized and coordinated action. Finally, we would like to discuss with the colleagues the created resilience strategy typology based on the empirical findings.

(Virtual) The impact of self-reinforcing and self-undermining policy feedback on Mexican social policy: the end of the conditional cash transfer programme

Viviana Ramírez (Universidad de las Américas - Puebla)

Ricardo Velázquez Leyer (Universidad Iberoamericana)

The conditional cash transfers programme (CCT) for poor families was terminated in Mexico in 2019. CCTs seek to fight poverty under a social investment logic by promoting the formation of human capital through the compliance of behavioural conditionalities. The programme – the first of its kind introduced at national level - accomplished several achievements and was maintained and developed by three successive federal administrations. As the backbone of anti-poverty policy for more than two decades, its achievements included delivering positive results to a significant proportion of the population; and triggering the expansion of social policy beyond social insurance. As a result, it was emulated by governments across the globe. A programme of these characteristics would have been expected to generate path dependency and policy stability, yet it was swiftly terminated with practically no opposition. This article applies a framework of historical institutionalism to analyse the feedback effects developed during the duration of the programme from the perspectives of beneficiaries, in order to contribute to the explanation of its termination. The research is based on qualitative empirical data from interviews with former beneficiaries. Our findings show that self-undermining mechanisms linked to a ‘hard’ design and implementation of conditionalities counterbalanced the self-reinforcing mechanisms derived from the benefits supplied by the programme, causing beneficiaries to become apathetic towards its continuity or termination. Conclusions yield theoretical insights that might serve to examine policy feedback in similar contexts, as well as lessons for policy-makers regarding the design and implementation of social programmes.