

Neoliberal reform and protest in Latin American democracies: A replication and correction

Frederick Solt¹, Dongkyu Kim¹, Kyu Young Lee¹, Spencer Willardson² and Seokdong Kim³

Abstract

Do neoliberal economic reforms in Latin American democracies mobilize citizens to overcome their collective action problems and protest? A recent addition to the scholarship on this crucial question of the relationship of markets and politics, Bellinger and Arce (2011), concludes that economic liberalization does have this effect, working to repoliticize collective actors and reinvigorate democracy. We reexamine the article's analyses and demonstrate that they misinterpret the marginal effect of the variables of theoretical interest. Thus, the article's optimistic claims about the consequences for democracy of economic liberalization in the region are not supported by its own empirical results. It is argued here that its results suggest instead that protests became more common in autocracies when they moved away from markets. Rather than speaking to how people have mobilized to protest against liberal reforms in Latin America's democracies, the work's analyses illuminate only when people protested against the region's dictatorships.

Keywords

Neoliberal reform, political protest, Latin America

The latter decades of the twentieth century witnessed two dramatic transformations across Latin America: a universal, if uneven, adoption of economically liberalizing reforms and a near complete replacement of the region's autocracies with more democratic regimes. Not surprisingly, the relationship between these two processes has been intensely debated (see, e.g., Huber and Solt, 2004; Walton 2004). Many have argued that economic liberalization, by shifting decision-making power on a wide variety of matters from state to market, has limited and undercut democratic governance and so worked to demobilize civil society (see, e.g., Kurtz, 2004). Others have contended that the hardships imposed by liberalization have in fact reinvigorated democracy by spurring a variety of societal actors to organize themselves and mobilize against neoliberal reforms (see, e.g., Silva, 2009). Determining which of these perspectives more accurately depicts the relationship between economic liberalization and collective political action in Latin American democracies is central to understanding if market liberalism has successfully redefined citizenship rights as exclusively political or if instead collective actors are broadening the concept of democratic

citizenship to include social and economic rights. It speaks, in other words, to the question of which side of Polanyi's (1944) 'double movement' has gained the upper hand across the region (see, e.g., Roberts, 2008).

Bellinger and Arce (2011), in their article entitled 'Protest and democracy in Latin America's market era', provide the broadest empirical examination yet conducted on this question, examining the impacts of economic liberalization on protest in seventeen Latin American countries from 1970 to 2003. It argues for the second view outlined above, the repoliticization thesis, maintaining that grievances resulting from economic liberalization provide strong framing opportunities for diverse social actors to overcome their collective action problems and that, in the favorable

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Mónica Serrano



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Neoliberalism Revisited Gerardo Otero, 1996-04-04 Examining the challenges brought about by the liberalizing of the Mexican economy at a time when multiple organizations of civil society are demanding a democratic political transition contributors identify the key social and political actors both domestic and international involved in promoting or resisting the new economic model and examine the role of the state in the restructuring process Each chapter traces recent structural transformations within the central social relationships in Mexican society and anticipates their future prospects Mexico Mónica Serrano, 1997 Although the early 1990s witnessed great optimism with regard to the economic and political reforms introduced by the Salinas administration the 1994 95 economic crisis raised doubts about the viability of market oriented growth and political stability in Mexico This book looks at the impact of economic reform and political liberalization on political institutions state society relations and economic policymaking The contributors are Alberto Arnaut Fernando Escalante Soledad Loaeza Gabriel Martínez Victoria Murillo Mónica Serrano Fernando Solís Carlos Urzúa Alejandro Villagmez and Jos Woldenberg The Reinvention of Mexico Gavin O'Toole, 2010-01-01 The Reinvention of Mexico explores the ideological conflict between neoliberalism and nationalism that has been at the core of economic and political development in Latin America since the mid 1980s Grappling with a wide variety of issues generated by the dismantling of the statist economy and subsequent climate of market reforms this timely volume shows that Mexico's transformation in the 1990s has broader implications for the study of nationalism A welcome contribution to the literature on Latin American history The Reinvention of Mexico offers important insight into national responses to globalization and the most appropriate vision of political economy in Latin America Politics After Neoliberalism Richard Snyder, 2001-06-18 Richard Snyder's study offers an analysis of politics after neoliberalism **Mexico in Transition** Gerardo Otero, 2013-07-04 Mexico in Transition provides a wide ranging empirical and up to date survey of the multiple impacts neoliberal policies have had in practice in Mexico over twenty years and the specific impacts of the NAFTA Agreement The volume covers a wide terrain including the effects of globalization on peasants the impact of neoliberalism on wages trade unions and specifically women workers the emergence of new social movements El Barzón and the Zapatistas EZLN how the environment especially biodiversity has become a target for colonization by transnational corporations the political issue of migration to the United States and the complicated intersections of economic and political liberalization Mexico in Transition provides rich concrete evidence of what happens to the different sectors of an economy its people and natural resources as the profound change of direction that neoliberal policy represents takes hold It also describes and explains the diverse forms of resistance and challenge that different civil society groups of those affected are now offering to a model the downsides of which are becoming increasingly manifest **Market Reforms in Mexico** Mark Eric Williams, 2001-07-17 The last two decades saw a host of governments abandon statist development models for more market friendly ones However not all reform attempts fared equally well Why

do some governments succeed in implementing market reforms while others fail Why might the same government succeed in one policy area but not another Market Reforms in Mexico explores these central questions by examining Mexico's reform experience in privatization deregulation and environmental policy More than simply a book on Mexican politics this study speaks to the broader political dynamics behind the success or failure to implement reforms first by assessing new policy initiatives in multiple arenas across presidential administrations in Mexico then by comparing Mexico's privatization experience to that of Argentina's Through structured focused comparison of select case studies the author argues that the fate of dramatic reform initiatives turned on coalition politics both inside and outside the state and explains how institutional dynamics and the capacity to solve the problem of policy costs strongly affected reformers' prospects of success

State Policy, Distribution and Neoliberal Reform in Mexico Manuel Pastor, Carol Wise, 1997 **Neoliberalism and Commodity Production in Mexico** Thomas Weaver, James B. Greenberg, William L. Alexander, Anne

Browning-Aiken, 2012-06-15 Neoliberalism and Commodity Production in Mexico details the impact of neoliberal practice on the production and exchange of basic resources in working class communities in Mexico Using anthropological investigations and a market driven approach contributors explain how uneven policies have undermined constitutional protections and working class interests since the Mexican Revolution of 1910 Detailed ethnographic fieldwork shows how foreign investment privatization deregulation and elimination of welfare benefits have devastated national industries and natural resources and threatened agriculture driving the campesinos and working class deeper into poverty Focusing on specific commodity chains and the changes to production and marketing under neoliberalism the contributors highlight the detrimental impacts of policies by telling the stories of those most affected by these changes They detail the complex interplay of local and global forces from the politically mediated systems of demand found at the local level to the increasingly powerful municipal and state governments and the global trade and banking institutions Sharing a common theoretical perspective and method throughout the chapters Neoliberalism and Commodity Production in Mexico is a multi-sited ethnography that makes a significant contribution to studies of neoliberal ideology in practice

The Punitive City Markus-Michael Müller, 2016-06-15 In the eyes of the global media modern Mexico has become synonymous with crime violence and insecurity But while media fascination and academic engagement has focussed on the drug war an equally dangerous phenomenon has taken root In *The Punitive City* Markus Michael Müller argues that what has emerged in Mexico is not just a punitive urban democracy in which those at the social and political margins face growing violence and exclusion More alarmingly it would seem that clientelism in the region is morphing into a private political protection racket Vital reading for anyone seeking to understand the implications of a phenomenon that is becoming increasingly widespread across Latin America Attitudes Toward Economic Reform in Mexico Robert R. Kaufman, Leo Zuckerman, 1996

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