

**Latin American Politics in Comparative Perspective**  
**POLS8434**

Spring 2012

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**Description and Objectives**

This course introduces students to major theoretical approaches to the study of Latin American political-economy, and to specific issues of political and economic reform from the 1980s to the present. The theoretical approaches focus on the economic and political impact of international constraints, economic interest groups, and representative institutions and electoral politicians. The discussion of contemporary reform explores the relation between democratization and market-oriented economic and social policies implemented during the last decades.

**Organization and Requirements**

The course deals with five sets of issues: 1) historical origins and path dependence; 2) democratization and democratic institutions; 3) political representation; 4) economic policy reform; and 5) social policy reform.

Grades for the course will be based on three 10-15 page papers on assigned topics, due as indicated in the syllabus below.

**Readings**

The following books are recommended for purchase. All other reading assignments are available a) on reserve, b) on the Sakai page, or c) through the electronic journals collection of the library.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Johns Hopkins University Press 1986.

Ruth Berins Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. (Cambridge University Press 1999)

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton University Press 2008

Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes after the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press 2010

Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, *Latin America's Left Turn*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Reading Assignments**

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### **Friday, January 20: Introduction**

An excellent general survey of contemporary Latin American politics and economics is provided by Michael Reid, Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul Yale University Press 2007. It raises many of the issues we will be discussing in this seminar in a sophisticated, but readable way.

Other useful background reading is available in the following:

Carol Wise and Riordan Roett, eds. Post-Stabilization Politics in Latin America: Competition, Transition, Collapse. Brookings Institution Press, 2003. pp 1-56.

Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring, eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-63.

I would recommend that you look at one or two of the country chapters in either of these books to familiarize yourselves with developments within specific national settings.

### **Friday, January 27: Historical Determinants of Underdevelopment: Are they doomed from the start?**

Engerman, Stanley L. and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. 2000. "Institutions, Factor Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World," *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14, 3 (Summer): 217-232.

Stephen Haber, "Politics and Banking Systems: Evidence from New World Economies." In Stanley Engerman and Kenneth L. Sokoloff, *Economic Development in the Americas Since 1500: Endowments and Institutions* (Cambridge University Press, November 2011).

Lange, Matthew, James Mahoney, and Matthias vom Hau, "Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies," *American Journal of Sociology*, 111,5 (March 2006), 1412-62.

Coatsworth, "Inequality, Institutions, and Economic Growth in Latin America," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40 (2008).

#### **Recommended**

James Mahoney, Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Latin America

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation," *American Economic Review*, December, 91, 5, 1369-1401

Rafael Dobado Gonzalez and Hector Garcia Montero, "Colonial Origins of Inequality in Hispanic America? Some Reflections Based on New Empirical Evidence," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American History*. 28:2:253-277.

Kohli, Atul. 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **Part I: Democratic Politics**

**Friday, February 3: Transitions: Role of Elite Compromises/Mass Pressures**

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter, *Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Pp. 3-73

Ruth Berins Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America* (Cambridge University Press 1999), pp. 1-35; 110-166; 166-199.

Recommended.

Dietrich Reuschmeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy*

**Friday, February 10: Political Institutions: Are Presidential Systems Prone to Instability?**

Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: The Case of Latin America (Comparative Perspectives)* (Johns Hopkins 1994), pp. 3-151. (Linz critique of presidentialism, plus Valenzuela on Chile.

Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart, *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press 1997), Chapter 1 (pp. 12-55), Chapter 8 (pp. 300-321).

Recommended.

Jose Cheibub, "Minority Governments, Deadlock Situations, and the Survival of Presidential Democracy," *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 284-312 (2002)

Anibal Perez-Linan, "Democratization and Constitutional Crises in Presidential Regimes: Toward Congressional Supremacy?" *Comparative Political Studies* 2005. 38: 51-74

**Friday, February 17: Democracy and Inequality: Does Inequality Affect Transitions to Democracy? Does Inequality Undermine Democracy in Latin America?**

Acemoglu and Robinson, *Economic Origins of Democracy and Dictatorship*, pp. 1-87

Ansell and Samuels, "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach" *Comparative Political Studies* 43:12 (December 2010).

Christian Houle, "Inequality and Democracy: Why Inequality Harms Consolidation but Does Not Affect Democratization," *World Politics* 61:4 (October 2009).

Haggard and Kaufman, "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule."

Recommended

R. Kaufman, "The Political Effects of Inequality: Some Inconvenient Facts"

**February 24: Micro Perspectives**

Brian Cramer and Robert Kaufman, "Views of Economic Inequality in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* September 2011.

Ansell and Samuels, "Inequality and Democratization: Individual-Level Evidence of Preferences for Redistribution under Autocracy" Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 2011.

Noam Lupu and Jonas Pontusson, "The Structure of Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution," *American Political Science Review* 105: 2 (May 2011)

### **Friday, March 2: Competitive Authoritarianism**

Levitsky and Way, *Competitive Authoritarianism*, pp. 1-85, 130-181.

### **Part II. Political Representation**

#### **Friday, March 9: Patterns of Representation in the Neoliberal Era (FIRST PAPER DUE)**

Kurtz, Marcus J. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in an Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America" *World Politics*, 52, 2 (January): 262-302.

Machado, Scartascini, and Tomassi, "Political Institutions and Street Protest in Latin America," *Journal of Conflict Resolution*

Hagopian, "Accountability and Representation in Latin America," Kingstone\_

Levitsky, "Informal Institutions and Politics in Latin America," in Kingstone\_

#### **Recommended.**

Collier and Handlin, chapters 4-8.

#### **Friday, March 16: Spring Break**

#### **Friday, March 23: Representation and the Rise of the Left:**

Murillo, Oliveros, and Vishnaiv, "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation?" *Latin American Research Review* 45:3 (2010)

Levitsky and Roberts, chapters to be assigned.

#### **Friday, March 30: Clientelism**

Kitschelt, Herbert 2000. "Linkages Between Citizens and Politicians in Democratic Polities," *Comparative Political Studies*, 33,6/7: 845-879.

Auyero, Javier. 2000. "The Logic of clientelism in Argentina: An ethnographic account," *Latin American Research Review* 35(3): 55-81.

Weitz-Shapiro, "Why Some Politicians Opt out of Clientelism"

Brusco, V., M.Nazareno and Stokes 2004, "Vote buying in Argentina," *Latin American Research Review*, 39, 2: 66-88.

Recommended

Calvo, Ernesto and Maria Victoria Murillo 2004. "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market," *American Journal of Political Science* 48, 4.

Stokes 2005, "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina," *APSR* 99, 3 (August 2005): 315-325.

**Friday, April 6: Ethnic Politics (SECOND PAPER DUE).**

Yashar, Deborah. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America." *World Politics* 52 (October): 76-104.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America." *Latin American Politics and Society (Latin American Politics and Society* 45, 2 (summer).

Madrid, Raul 2007. "The Resurgence of the Left in Bolivia: Origins and Implications of the Rise of the Left in Bolivia."

Guillermo Trejo, "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Mobilization in Mexico," *APSR* 103, 3 (April 2009).

Ollie A. Johnson III, "Race, Politics, and Afro-Latin Americans," in Kingstone\_

Jose Antonio Lucero, "Indigenous Politics: Between Democracy and Danger," in Kingstone

**Part III: Market and Social Reforms**

**Friday, April 13: Executive Power, Party Competition and Market Reforms**

Javier Corrales, "Neoliberalism and its Alternatives," in Kingstone

Haggard and Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, Introduction and Chapter 5.

Hector Schamis, "Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America" *World Politics*, January 1999

Joel Hellman, "Winners Take All: The Politics of Partial Reform in Post-Communist Transitions" *World Politics*, January 1998

Grigore Pop-Eleches, "From Crisis to Reform: Partisan Responses to Economic Crisis in Latin America and Eastern Europe."

Recommended

Andy Baker, "Why is Trade Reform so Popular in Latin America? A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Policy Preferences" *World Politics* April 2003

Gibson, Edward L. "The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina" *World Politics* April 1997

Ben Ross Schneider, "Organizing Interests and Coalitions in the Politics of Market Reform in Latin America," *World Politics* April 2004

**Friday, April 20: Reorganizing Social Safety-Nets and Investing in Human Capital**

Haggard and Kaufman, *Development, Democracy, and Welfare Systems: Latin America, Eastern Europe, and East Asia*.

Huber and Stevens, *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Redistribution in Latin America*, Chapters 4 and 5.

De la O, "The Politics of Conditional Cash Transfers"

Zucco, "Redistribution without Backlash? The Case of Conditional Cash Transfers in Brazil."

**Recommended**

Lopez-Calva and Nora Lustig, "Decline of Inequality"

Marcus Andre Melo, "The Politics of 'Hard Wiring': Social Policy and the Transformation of Brazilian Federalism," manuscript on web page

Brown, David S. 2002. "Democracy, Authoritarianism and Education Finance in Brazil," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 34, 1 (February): 115-41.

**Friday, April 27: Globalization, Partisanship, and Social Policy Reform: External Influences: Diffusion and Pressure**

Weyland, Kurt Gerhard, "*Theories of Policy Diffusion: Lessons from Latin American Pension Reform*" *World Politics*, January 2005

Sarah Brooks. "Social Protection and Economic Integration: the Politics of Pension Reform in an Era of Capital Mobility." *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 35, 5: 491-525.

Susan Stokes, "Globalization and the Left in Latin America"

**Recommended.**

Robert R. Kaufman and Alex Segura-Ubierno, "Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America, 1973-1997: A Cross-National, Time-Series Analysis." *World Politics*, July 2001.

Eric Wibbels, "Global Imperatives and Domestic Priorities: Internationalization, Business Cycles, and Social Spending in Latin America" (course page).

