

McGill University

POLI319  
Winter 2015

**POLITICS OF LATIN AMERICA**

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Class meets: M-W-F: 1.35-2.25pm  
Class location: MAASS 112  
Office hours: M-W: 2.30-3.30pm  
TAs: Luc Franche and Émilie Noël

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**Course Description:**

This course aims to introduce students to the evolving politics of Latin America. We will define and analyze key concepts and theories in political science, and apply them to the study of the major political trends that have swept Latin America during the last century. These trends take a historical perspective, and range from populism and revolutionary movements to democratization, neoliberal reforms, and challenges of representation, participation, and inclusion.

The course is divided in three main sections. The first section focuses on the formation of Latin American states, and will briefly cover Latin American political history, starting with colonial legacies and moving to corporatism and the political and economic inclusion of the masses, and finishing with the democratic breakdowns and authoritarian regimes of the 1960s and 1970s. The second section examines democracy and democratic institutions in the region, analyzing democratic transitions, political regimes and reforms, and institutional changes in democracy, as well as the left turn that has taken place since the early 2000s. The third and final section analyzes some of the main challenges facing the region, specifically focusing on issues of representation, inclusion, and participation. Although the course will focus on issues affecting Latin America as a whole, some lectures and readings will examine how these trends affected individual countries within the region.

The class will meet three times a week. During the first few weeks, all three sessions will be based primarily on lecture, although participation and discussion are welcomed and encouraged (to the extent possible given class size). After a few weeks, two sessions a week (Mondays and Wednesdays) will continue to be lecture based, and the third session will be replaced by TA led conferences. The structure of the conferences will mostly follow a workshop model, where students will discuss a case study in small groups. Throughout the course, students will have the opportunity to deepen their analysis of different case studies in the conferences, which will use the theoretical tools discussed in class to focus on specific cases.

**Course Requirements:**

The final grade will be determined as follows:

Lottery Quizzes (and lecture attendance)	12.5%
Conference Participation (and attendance)	12.5%
Short Paper (reading report)	10%
Mid-Term (in class, Feb 25th)	25%
Final Exam (during finals week)	40%

In order to calculate your final grade, I will sum all of the points you have received in the class and convert the points into letter grades using the following scale:

85-100 = A  
80-84 = A-  
75-79 = B+  
70-74 = B  
65-69 = B-  
60-64 = C+  
55-59 = C  
50-54 = D  
Below 50 = F

I will round up scores of 0.5 and higher and round down scores of less than 0.5. No exceptions will be made to the above system of converting points into letter grades. Students who wish to contest a grade for an assignment or exam must do so in writing (by email) providing the reasoning behind their challenge to the grade received, within two weeks of the day on which the assignments are returned (assignments are usually returned electronically). In case a TA graded the assignment, the email needs to be sent to both the TA and the Prof. This procedure applies to all assignments except for the final exam. In the case of the final exam, the course will follow the Faculty of Arts procedure, as established here, under Reassessments and Rereads: [http://www.mcgill.ca/study/2014-2015/university\\_regulations\\_and\\_resources/undergraduate/gi\\_final\\_examinations#booknode-48319](http://www.mcgill.ca/study/2014-2015/university_regulations_and_resources/undergraduate/gi_final_examinations#booknode-48319)

Lottery Quizzes: At the beginning of each class period, I will run the quiz lottery. The lottery generates random numbers between 0 and 10. If the last number is 5 or less, the quiz question will pop up, so that every class there is a 50% chance that your preparation will be tested. The question is a single question meant to determine whether you have done the readings for that class. The answer to the question should be fairly obvious if you have read for class, but hard if you have not. If you are absent, you get a 0, if you are present but don't know the answer, you earn a 1, if you answer accurately, you get a 3 (if the answer is ok but has some shortcomings, it will be awarded a 2). At the end of the semester I drop the lowest score and average the rest. I use the quiz lottery in order to ensure that you do not fall behind in the readings, so that you come to class prepared.

Conference Participation and Attendance: Attendance and participation in conferences is required and students are expected to keep up with the readings. While speaking up is important, please keep in mind that it is not just quantity that matters, but also quality. Conferences will be set up once the semester begins.

Short Paper: Throughout the semester, the conferences will be structured based on case studies that will enhance your knowledge and understanding of different countries in the region. During the semester you will have to write one short paper (3-4 pages). These will be reading reports to be submitted before the conference you will discuss the topics. The reports are based on one of the recommended readings for the week in question, and they should summarize the main

arguments of the text being discussed. Here are some questions to guide you in writing the report: What is the question posed by the author/s? How does the author/s answer the question? What method do they adopt to address them? These reports must be turned in before the conference for the week they are due (TAs will assign weeks among students within each one of the conferences). LATE SUBMISSIONS WILL NOT BE ACCEPTED.

Mid-Term Exam: On Wednesday, February 25<sup>th</sup> we will hold a midterm exam covering the lectures, readings, and movies from week 2 through 7. It will include a set of short questions, a short essay question, and a few map related questions. The exam will draw on Lectures, Conferences, Readings, and Movies. Basically, all that was covered in the course until the end of week 7 can be part of the midterm.

Final Exam: During finals week there will be a final, cumulative exam. It will test your knowledge and understanding of the issues and readings for class.

I allow students with a reasonable excuse (e.g., a documented illness) to make up the midterm exam without penalty. All excuses must be presented BEFORE the midterm, without exception. The makeup exam will take place within five days of the scheduled exam at a time and date of my choosing. Students who need to miss a class due to a religious holiday should notify me at least fourteen days prior to the holiday. If you must miss a class, an examination, a work assignment, or a project in order to observe a religious holy day, you will be given an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

### **Readings:**

There is one book available for purchase at the McGill Bookstore:

- Thomas Skidmore, Peter Smith, and J. Green. 2013. Modern Latin America, 8th. Edition, Oxford University Press.

The rest of the required readings will be made available online. Students are responsible for tracking down the recommended readings (some of which will be necessary for the short paper). We will watch a few movies in class. Unfortunately, we will not have enough time to finish watching the movies (our class sessions are only 50 minutes long), but I will provide a link to finish watching them on your own time.

### **Course and University Policies:**

Integrity: McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures (see [www.mcgill.ca/integrity](http://www.mcgill.ca/integrity) for more information).

Special Needs: If you have a disability, please contact the instructor to arrange a time to discuss your situation. It would be helpful if you contact the Office for Students with Disabilities at 514.398.6009 before you do this.

Language: In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded. Note that this right applies to ALL written work that is to be graded, from one-word answers to dissertations.

Course-Evaluations: End-of-term course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works

towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the students' learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available on Mercury.

MyCourses: This course has its own website on *MyCourses*. It will be updated regularly, so you are required to check the *MyCourses* course page regularly as well. **ANALYTICAL ESSAYS MUST BE TURNED IN THROUGH THE ASSIGNMENTS TOOL IN MYCOURSES.**

**Classroom Etiquette:**

I want to create a nice and stimulating learning environment for you and your peers. To do this, I ask that you respect a few basic ground rules:

- 1- I will start class on time and expect you to arrive to class on time. I make important announcements at the beginning of class, plus there is always the chance that there will be a lottery quiz. In addition, people coming in late could disrupt the Professor and their fellow students.
- 2- Many students prefer to take notes with their laptops. This is fine; however, I expect (and kindly ask) you to refrain from activities unrelated to the class (eg. emailing, instant messaging, facebook, etc.). I reserve the right to ask you not to use your computer if I suspect you are engaging in these activities.
- 3- Please remember to turn off or silence your cell phones.

**Note:** In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change. **The privilege of additional work will not be granted.**

## SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

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### WEEK 1

#### NO CLASS!

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### WEEK 2

Monday. January 12<sup>th</sup>. Introduction to the Class.

Latin America as a region, its territory, and cartography.

NO READING!

Wednesday. January 14<sup>th</sup>. The study of Latin America in Political Science.

Why study Latin America?

#### Readings:

- Modern Latin America, "Why Latin America?" Chapter 1. Pp. 3-12
- Galeano, Eduardo. 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Monthly Review Press. Introduction.
- García Márquez, Gabriel. 1998. *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. Harper Collins Publishers. Chapter 1.

#### Recommended:

- Galeano, Eduardo. 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Monthly Review Press.
- García Márquez, Gabriel. 1998. *One Hundred Years of Solitude*. Harper Collins Publishers.
- Carpentier, Alejo. *The Century of Lights (El siglo de las luces)*
- *The Mission* (film)
- Paz, Octavio. *The Labyrinth of Solitude (El laberinto de la soledad)*

## **PART 1: The Formation of Latin American States**

Friday. January 16<sup>th</sup>. The Colonial Legacy

Colonization and the Spanish and Portuguese heritage.

#### Reading:

- Modern Latin America, "Colonial Legacies," Chapter 2. Pp. 16-29.

#### Recommended:

- Chasteen, John Charles. 2006. *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*. N.Y.: W.W. Norton.
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### WEEK 3

Monday. January 19<sup>th</sup>. The Formation of the State in Latin America

Independence and oligarchic order in Latin America

Readings:

- Modern Latin America, "Colonial Legacies," Chapter 2. Pp. 29-44.

Recommended:

- Chasteen, John Charles. 2006. *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*. N.Y.: W.W. Norton.

-Miss Mary (film, 1986) directed by María Luisa Bemberg.

Wednesday. January 21<sup>st</sup>. Political Inclusion and the Populist State

Modes of incorporation of the popular rising classes, populism. The politics of populism as a mechanism for political inclusion. Populist governments in Argentina and Brazil.

Readings:

- Weyland, Kurt. 2001. "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Comparative Politics* 34 (1), pp. 1-22.

- Modern Latin America, "Argentina: Progress, Stalemate, Discord," Chapter 9. Pp. 240-261.

- Modern Latin America, "Brazil: The Awakening Giant," Chapter 11. Pp. 305-329.

Recommended:

- Martínez, Tomás Eloy. 1996. *Santa Evita* (novel).

- Eva Perón (film, 1996) directed by Juan Carlos Desanzo.

- Conniff, Michael (ed). 1999. *Populism in Latin America*. University of Alabama Press.

Introduction & Chapter by Joel Horowitz, pp.1-38.

Friday. January 23<sup>rd</sup>. The Economic Policies of Populism and Corporatism: Economic Inclusion and Popular National Policies

Import substitution industrialization (ISI), popular national development policies, corporatism and economic inclusion. Was there an elective affinity between economic policy and political system? Was there an economic explanation for the emergence of populism? The political incorporation of labor unions and how it shaped the political system in the post-war era. The bargaining between labor and political elites and its institutional expression in labor regulation and political representation patterns. The Mexican Corporatist State.

Readings:

- Kaufman, Robert and Barbara Stallings. 1991 "The Political Economy of Latin American Populism" in Rudisher Dornbush and Sebastian Edwards (eds), *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*. Chicago University Press, pp.15-42.

- Modern Latin America, "Mexico: The Taming of a Revolution," Chapter 3. Pp. 56-75.

Recommended:

- Cardoso, Eliana and Ann Helwege. 2000. "Import Substitution Industrialization," in Frieden et al (eds) *Modern Political Economy and Latin America*. Westview, pp. 155-163.

- Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 2002. "Inducements vs. Constraints: Disaggregating Corporatism", *American Political Science Review* vol. 73, No.4, pp. 967-986.

- Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena*. Princeton University

## **WEEK 4**

### Monday. January 26<sup>th</sup>. The Failure of Political incorporation: Political instability.

The failure of the populist model of social inclusion, economic causes of the failure of populism. The promise of democracy and social mobilization for redistribution and political inclusion. Political violence and political closure. The failure of democracy to channel distributive conflict.

#### Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1979. "Tensions in the Bureaucratic Authoritarian State: The Question of Democracy", in David Collier (ed). *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton University Press, Pp. 285-318. JL960 N48.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. "The Late 1960s and the Election of Allende: Socioeconomic Change and Political Crisis," in Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan (eds.) *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Chapter 2. Pp.22-49." JN94 A2 B72
- Modern Latin America, "Strategies for Economic Development," Chapter 12. Pp. 350-358.

#### Recommended:

- Che Guevara. 1987. "The Essence of Guerrilla Struggle" and "The Socialism and the Man in Cuba" in Che Guevara and The Cuban Revolution. Pathfinder.
- Wickham-Crowley, Timothy. 1989. "Winners, Losers and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements," in Susan Eckstein (ed). *Power and Popular Protest in Latin America*. University of California Press.
- Machuca (film).

### Wednesday. January 28<sup>th</sup>. Social Mobilization and Democratic Breakdown.

*The Battle of Chile* Part I (documentary) in class. (we will watch as much as we can. The film is too long for one class, so I will provide link to finish watching it).

### Friday. January 30<sup>th</sup>

START OF CONFERENCES. NO LECTURE

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## **WEEK 5**

### Monday. February 2<sup>nd</sup>. Authoritarianism in Latin America. Southern Cone

Why the military? The doctrine of national security, the cases of Brazil, Chile and Argentina. Economic development, political participation, and institutions as alternative explanations for the rise of military rule in Latin America. The emergence of Bureaucratic Authoritarian (BA) regimes.

#### Readings:

- Collier, David 1979. "Overview of the Bureaucratic Authoritarian Model" in David Collier (ed) *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, Princeton. Pp. XXX. JL960 N48
- Schamis, Hector. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism," *Comparative Politics*. 23: 2. Pp. 201-220.
- Modern Latin America, "Chile: Repression and Democracy," Chapter 10. Pp. 274-293.

Recommended:

- Walsh, Rodolfo. *La Granada/La Batalla* (theatrical play) or *Operation Massacre: seven stories* press, 2013.
- Bolaño, Roberto. *Distant Star (Estrella distante)* (1996).
- *Forgotten (Olvidados)* (2014), film directed by Carlos Bolado.
- Sentimientos: Mirta de Liniers a Estambul* (1987) directed by Jorge Coscia and Carlos Saura

Wednesday. February 4<sup>th</sup>. Authoritarianism in Latin America. Other cases

Comparing military regimes and their political underpinning. Right-wing and left-wing military rulers and state autonomy. Repression of mobilization versus political inclusion and modernization. Southern Cone versus Andean Countries. The Mexican perfect dictatorship.

Readings:

- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. "Structural Determinants of Support for the PRI", in *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press, 82-97. JL1298 R34 M34 2006
- Velasco, Juan. 2005. "The Master Will No Longer Feed Off your Poverty" in Orin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, Robin Kirk (eds.). *The Peru Reader: History, Culture, Politics*. Duke University Press. Pp. 264-270. F3431 P478 2005
- *Modern Latin America*, "The Andes: Soldiers, Oligarchs, and Indians," Chapter 6. Pp. 155-164.

Recommended:

- Vargas Llosa, Mario. *The Feast of the Goat (La fiesta del chivo)*. New York : Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001.

Friday. February 6th

CONFERENCES. NO LECTURE

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**WEEK 6**

**PART 2: Democracy and Institutions**

Monday. February 9<sup>th</sup>. Transitions to Democracy I

The loss of legitimacy and fall of authoritarian regimes. Patterns of transition, bargaining as a strategic game with uncertain results, the cost of military rule and how to deal with the legacy during transition to democracy. Challenges of consolidating and deepening democracy. Examples of the Southern Cone.

Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philip C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule : Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-48.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Anibal Perez-Liñán. 2005. "Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions," in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (eds), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*.



Cambridge University Press, 14-60. JL966 T47 2005

- Modern Latin America, Review sections on transitions to democracy in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. Pp. 259-263, 290-295, 329-333.

Recommended:

- The Official Story. 1985 (*La historia oficial*) directed by Luis Puenzo.

- Alcoba, Laura. 2008. *The Rabbit House (La casa de los conejos)*. London: Portobello Books.

- Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means? Elites, Political Pacts and Regime Transition in Brazil," *Comparative Political Studies* 23(2) : 147-166.

- Marissa Navarro, "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo" in Susan Eckstein and Manuel Antonio Garretón (eds.) *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. University of California Press. Pp. 241-258.

- Collier, Ruth Berins and James Mahoney. (1997) "Adding Collective Actors to Collective Outcomes: Labor and Recent Democratization in South America and Southern Europe." *Comparative Politics*, 29 (3): 285-303.

- Hunter, Wendy. 1997. "Continuity or Change? Civil-Military Relations in Democratic, Argentina, Chile and Peru" *Political Science Quarterly*.

Wednesday, February 11<sup>th</sup>. **Dealing with the Past: Individual and Collective Responsibility in Punishing Crimes of the Past**

*The Secret in Their Eyes* (movie) in class. (we will watch as much as we can. The film is too long for one class, so I will provide link to finish watching it).

Friday, February 13<sup>th</sup>

CONFERENCES. NO LECTURE

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**WEEK 7**

Monday, February 16<sup>th</sup>. **Transitions to democracy II**

Transitions in the post-cold war era. Changes in the international context and the patterns of transition. The withdrawal versus the negotiation. What is the effect of the international context on regime change and democratic consolidation? The cases of Mexico and El Salvador.

Readings:

- Magaloni, Beatriz. 2005. "The Demise of Mexico's One Party Dominant Regime" in Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring (eds.). *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*.

JL966 T47 2005

- Modern Latin America, "Central America: Within the US Orbit," Chapter 4. Pp. 97-102.

Recommended:

- Elisabeth Wood. 2001. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa & El Salvador" *Comparative Political Studies* 8 (34): 862-888.

Wednesday, February 18<sup>th</sup>. **Democratic Institutions: Partisan Political Regimes and Systems**

Presidentialism vs parliamentarism and democracy, party systems and institutionalization of political parties in the region, elections and voters in Latin America, governability.

Readings:

- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully. 1995. "Introduction : Party Systems in Latin America," in *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford University Press : 1-36. JL969 A45 B85 1995
- Hochstetler, Kathryn and David Samuels. 2011. "Crisis and Rapid Reequilibration: The Consequence of Presidential Challenge and Failure in Latin America," *Comparative Politics*.

Recommended:

- Luna, Juan Pablo and David Altman. 2011. "Uprooted but Stable: Chilean Parties and the Concept of Party System Institutionalization," *Latin America Politics and Society* 53(2): 1-27.

Friday. February 20th

CONFERENCES. NO LECTURE

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**WEEK 8**

Monday. February 23<sup>rd</sup>. New Democracies and the Politics of Economic Liberalization.

The Debt Crisis & its political consequences. The crisis of incumbent regimes. Why was democracy compatible with neoliberal reforms? Was the BA literature wrong? Why was the public supportive of neoliberal reforms? What was the make-up of political coalitions that allowed neoliberal reformers to be effective at governing and winning elections?

Readings:

- Weyland, Kurt. 1998. "Swallowing the Bitter Pill," *Comparative Political Studies*
- Murillo, María Victoria. 2001. "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America," *World Politics*. 52:2. Pp. 135-174.

Recommended:

- Stallings, Barbara. 1992. "International Influence on Economic Policy: Debt, Stabilization, and Structural Reform" in Stephen Haggard and Robert Kaufman (eds.). *The Politics of Economic Adjustment: International Constraints, Distributive Conflicts, and the State*. Princeton university Press.
- Sebastian Edwards. 1995. *Crisis and Reform in Latin America: From Despair to Hope*. World Bank. pp. 41-58.
- Edward Gibson. 1997. "The Populist Road to Market Reforms," *World Politics*.
- Stokes, Susan. 2001. *Mandates and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Wednesday. February 25<sup>th</sup>. MIDTERM IN CLASS.

Friday. February 27<sup>th</sup>.

NO CONFERENCES

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**WEEK 9**

## READING WEEK (NO CLASS!)

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### WEEK 10

#### Monday. March 9<sup>th</sup>. Responding to Economic Liberalization: the case of Venezuela.

*The Revolution Will Not Be Televised* (documentary) in class. (we will watch as much as we can. The film is too long for one class, so I will provide link to finish watching it).

#### Wednesday. March 11<sup>th</sup>. The Rise of the Left in the 2000s

The context of the “left turn.” From free-markets to electoral socialism? The radicalization of policies in Latin America. Typologies of the Latin American left: moderate/institutionalized (Brazil, Chile, Uruguay) vs. radical (Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador).

- Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts. 2011. “Latin America’s Left Turn: A Framework for Analysis,” in *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 1-30.
- Maya, Margarita. 2011. “Venezuela : Hugo Chavez and the Populist Left,” in Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts (eds.) *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 213-238.

#### Recommended:

- Murillo, M. Victoria, Virginia Oliveros, and Milan Vaishnav. 2011. “Economic Constraints and Presidential Agency,” in Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts (eds.) *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp.
- Kaufman, Robert. 2011. “The Political Left, the Export Boom, and the Populist Temptation” ,” in Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts (eds.) *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp.
- Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts. 2011. *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Introduction & Conclusion.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2011. “The Left: Destroyer or Savior of the Market Model,” in Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts (eds.) *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp.

#### Friday. March 13<sup>th</sup>.

CONFERENCES. NO LECTURE

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### WEEK 11

#### **PART 3: The Challenges to Democratic Governance**

#### Monday. March 16<sup>th</sup>. Democratic Politics in Latin America: Presidentialism and its Problems

The effect of free-market reform on democratic institutions. The institutional weakness of the new Latin American democracies even without military coups. Elections and accountability.

### Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*
- Samuels, David and Matthew Shugart. 2012. "Parties' Presidential Dilemma in Brazil and Mexico," in *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*. Cambridge University Press. JF229 S26 2010

### Recommended:

- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, and Andrea Castagnola. 2009. "Presidential Control of High Courts in Latin America: A Long-term View (1904-2006)," *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 1, 2, 87-114.

### Wednesday, March 18<sup>th</sup>. Democratic Politics and Political Representation

The crisis of representation in the new democracies. Political parties as channels for representation and their limitations to include new actors and to institutionalization participation. Democratic stability versus political inclusion. Check and balances versus majoritarianism. The emergence of political outsiders.

### Readings:

- Burgess, Katrina and Steven Levitsky. 2003. "Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America: Environmental and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela," *Comparative Political Studies* 36, No. 8 (October): 859-880.
- Roberts, Kenneth. 2013. "Market Reform, Programmatic (De-)Alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies*. 46 (11). Pp. 1422-1452.

### Recommended:

- Hunter, Wendy. 2010. *The Transformation of the Workers Party in Brazil, 1989-2009*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 2006. "The Crisis of Representation in the Andes," *Journal of Democracy* 17/3 (July).

### Friday, March 20<sup>th</sup>

CONFERENCES. NO LECTURE

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## WEEK 12

### Monday, March 23<sup>rd</sup>. The Inclusion of Ethnic Identities in the Political System

The impact of ethnic politics on the political systems of the region. Identity versus distributive politics: overlapping or alternatives? How to build successful political coalitions along ethnic lines.

### Readings:

- Madrid, Raul. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. Chap. 1 and 6.
- Yashar, Deborah. 2006. "Ethnic Politics & Political Instability in the Andes" in Paul Drake and Eric Hershberg (eds) *State and Society in Conflict*. Pittsburgh. JLI866 S83 2006.

### Recommended:

- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2007. "Latin America's Indigenous Peoples," *Journal of Democracy* 18,

No.4 (October).

- Yashar, Deborah. 2003. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Yashar, Deborah. 2005. "Indigenous Mobilization in Latin America," in *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America : The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 54-82.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2005. "Institutions, Party Systems and Social Movements," in *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 22-48.
- Rousseau, Stéphanie. 2011. "Indigenous and Feminist Movements at the Constituent Assembly in Bolivia: Locating the Representation of Indigenous Women," *Latin American Research Review* 46(2): 5-28.

Wednesday. March 25<sup>th</sup>. The Rise of Evo Morales in Bolivia.

*Cocalero* (documentary) in class. (we will watch as much as we can. The film is too long for one class, so I will provide link to finish watching it).

Friday. March 27<sup>th</sup>

CONFERENCES. NO LECTURE

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**WEEK 13**

Monday. March 30<sup>th</sup>. New Types of Political Participation: Identity Politics

Political participation and identity politics. From class to gender and sexual orientation. Identity versus distributive politics.

Readings:

- Viterna, Jocelyn. 2012. "The Left and "Life" in El Salvador," *Politics and Gender* 8 (2) June. Pp. 248-254.
- Htun, Mala and Juan Pablo Ossa. 2013. "Political Inclusion of Marginalized Groups: Indigenous Reservations and Gender Parity in Bolivia," *Politics, Groups, and Identities*. 1:1. Pp. 4-25.
- Corrales, Javier. 2012. "The region has made great strides in a new frontier of social inclusion: protecting and advancing the rights of the LGBT community. How did it happen?" *Americas Quarterly*. 88-94.

Wednesday. April 1<sup>st</sup>. Democratic Inclusion? Poverty, Exclusion and Social Inequality.

Neoliberal Policies and social inequalities, social inclusion policies. Social Investment policies (Bolsa Familia, Oportunidades) and requests/responses of social movements.

Readings:

- Handlin, Samuel. 2013. "Social Protection and the Politization of Class Cleavages During Latin American Left Turn," *Comparative Political Studies*.
- Madrid, Raul L., Wendy Hunter and Kurt Weyland. 2010. "The Policies and Performance of the Contestatory and Moderate Left," in *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. Cambridge University Press. Pp. 140-179.

Recommended:

- Sugiyama, Natasha Borges and Wendy Hunter. 2013. "Whither Clientelism? Good Governance

and Brazil's Bolsa Familia Program," *Comparative Politics* 46(1): 43-62.

Friday, April 3rd

**GOOD FRIDAY (NO CONFERENCES ON FRIDAY!)**

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**WEEK 14**

Monday, April 6th

**EASTER MONDAY (NO CLASS!)**

Wednesday, April 8<sup>th</sup>. **Democratic Politics and the Rule of the Law**

The unevenness of the rule of the law in the new Latin American democracies. Political representation versus effective citizenship. Majority rule, state capacity, and the importance of check and balances beyond presidential politics.

Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems," Issue 192 of Kellogg Institute Working Papers.
- Auyero, Javier. 2000. "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina. An Ethnographic Account," *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 35, No.3.

Recommended:

- Brinks, Daniel. 2006. "The Rule of (Non) Law: Prosecuting Police Killings in Brazil and Argentina" in Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky (eds.) *Informal Institutions and Democracy*. John Hopkins University Press. Pp. 201-226.
- Levitsky, Steven and Maria Victoria Murillo. 2005. "Theorizing About Weak Institutions: Lessons from the Argentine Case" in Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo (eds.) *Argentine Democracy. The Politics of Institutional Weakness*, Pennsylvania State University Press.

Friday, April 10th

**CONFERENCES. NO LECTURE**

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**WEEK 15**

Monday, April 13<sup>th</sup>. **Democratic Threats in Latin America?**

Is democracy, with all its problems, here to stay? Does the left turn in the region signal a deepening of democratization or is this democratic reality of the last few decades in the region just a stage and authoritarianism will make a comeback?

Readings:

- Weyland, Kurt. 2013. "The Threat from the Populist Left," *Journal of Democracy*. 24:3. Pp. 18-32.

Tuesday, April 14th

**Review for the Final Exam: all the questions you did not dare to ask before.**