Political Science 455
Latin American Politics
Fall 2012

Professor Edward Gibson
Time and Place: Thursdays 2-5, 201 Scott Hall
Office Hours: Wednesdays 9:30-11:30

This course provides an advanced survey of contemporary literature on Latin American politics. The readings are selected in order to introduce students to recent works on Latin American politics and to situate them in relation to long-standing debates in the field. We will pay close attention to the evolving theoretical, methodological, and substantive orientations of scholars of Latin American politics, and we will also explore the contributions and generalizability of scholarship on Latin American politics to the broader field of Comparative Politics. Despite its focus on scholarship on Latin America, the course is also appropriate for students whose primary research is on other parts of the world.

Weekly requirements: Timely reading of weekly assignments and active participation in seminar discussion. Students will also turn in a commentary on the weekly readings to be submitted at the beginning of each class. The commentaries are intended to help you unify the readings and raise questions for class discussion. They can consist of 2 or more questions on the readings, or a more general set of comments. The commentaries should reflect a critical analysis of the readings. As the semester progresses, they should reflect an 'accumulated wisdom,' that is, issues raised in earlier weeks should be brought in to challenge or analyze the current week's readings. Each student will turn in 6 commentaries in the quarter (including the week(s) for which oral presentations are made). They should be no more than one and a half to two pages double-spaced. The instructor will evaluate these on a scale of "excellent, good, fair, poor."

Student presentations: Five-minute oral presentations on selected readings to initiate class discussion (the number of presentations for each student will depend on class size). Note: the presentations are not to be a summary of the readings (everyone will have read the assigned pieces), but a set of comments or questions to get discussion rolling. This norm will be enforced ruthlessly by the instructor.

Final Assignment: You can choose between two options. A final take home exam where you will write two 5-6 page answers to questions provided by the instructor on the final day of class, or a paper (of 15-20 pages) relevant to the issues covered in the course. The paper can be an analytical paper based on the readings or topics addressed in the course (which would give you the opportunity to develop ideas that came up in your short papers or class discussion), or a research paper dealing with these issues but applying them to a particular context. Either assignment would be due on **Tuesday, December 11.**

Approximate grade distribution: class participation, weekly questions, and oral presentations: 50 percent. Final assignment: 50 percent.

Several books have been ordered for purchase at Norris Bookstore. All other readings will either be posted on our course's Blackboard website or are readily available for downloading via the NU library's electronic resources site.

The following books have been ordered for purchase:

Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).
James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
Beatriz Magaloni, *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).
Evelyn Huber and John Stephens, *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America,* Chicago University Press, 2012.
Andy Baker: *The Market and the Masses in Latin America,* Cambridge University Press (2007).
Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America,* Pennsylvania State University Press (2002).
Hector E. Schamis, *Re-Forming the State: The Politics of Privatization in Latin America and Europe,* University of Michigan Press (2002).
Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

September 27: Organizational Meeting

(NOTE: Due to a scheduling mix-up I will be out of town on this day—we will have a 20 minute organizational session on October 4 before starting class discussion).

October 4: The Long Durée: Comparative Historical Analysis of Long Term Patterns of Political and Social Development

Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), pp. 3-55, 100-6, 161-68, 353-59, 498-506, 745-74.

James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), pp. 1-54, 115-24, 183-228, 253-273.

Comment: These works are separated by a span two decades and explore different outcomes in Latin America's long-term political development. We will examine the substantive and theoretical contributions of each of these books. However, we will also look into commonalities and differences in their methodological and theoretical approaches, as well as what a comparison of the two tomes tells us about the promise and pitfalls of 'long durée' explanations of contemporary patterns of Latin American politics.

October 11: Debating Authoritarian Politics in Latin America

Charles W. Anderson, "Toward a Theory of Latin American Politics," pp 309-326 of Howard Wiarda, Ed., *Politics and Social Change in Latin America: The Distinct Tradition,* University of Massachusetts Press (1974).

David Collier, "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model," in David Collier, ed. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 19-32.

Hector E. Schamis, "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism," *Comparative Politics* 23: 2 (January 1991), pp. 201-216.

Beatriz Magaloni, *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

Comment: Studies of authoritarianism in Latin America have a long pedigree. We start this week with one of the 'smarter' pieces from the late modernization scholarship, which sees Latin American politics as driven by "power resources" rather than institutions. This, and most of the literature on authoritarianism that followed it, sought causes of authoritarianism in the intrinsic characteristics of the region's politics, political economy, or culture. The "Bureaucratic Authoritarian" debate is representative of a focus on Latin America's unique political economy dynamics, and places strong emphasis on macro factors and political coalitions. In Magaloni's book we see a new form of scholarship, which, while focused on Mexico has more generalizing aspirations, and looks more to the micro-foundations of authoritarian control and popular support. It also focuses on new (or perhaps not so new) patterns of authoritarian politics—politics where elections and voting play a key role. This week we will consider the different emphases placed by authors over time on actors, institutions, coalitions, and socioeconomic processes in Latin American authoritarianism, as well as the potential to generalize their theories beyond Latin America.

October 18: Debating and Studying Party Systems in Latin America

Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully: "Introduction: Party Systems in Latin America," in Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, Eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America,* Stanford (1995).

Kenneth Roberts and Erik Wibbels, "Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Latin America: A Test of Economic, Institutional, and Structural Explanations," *American Political Science Review* 93.3 (Sept. 1999).

Jason Seawright, *Party System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela,* Stanford University Press (2012): Selected Chapters

Read at least *two* of these articles on party system collapse or transformation:

Michael Coppedge, "Prospects for Democratic Governability in Venezuela," *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 36, 2 1994.

Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile,* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pp: 3-49.

Ronald P. Archer, "Party Strength and Weakness in Colombia's Besieged Democracy," chapter 6 in Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, Eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America,* Stanford (1995).

Comment: Parties and party systems in Latin America have often been studied in terms of instability, volatility, or rupture. The works we are looking at this week do this from different perspectives. Jay Seawright's new book tackles the issue of party system collapse from various novel theoretical and methodological perspectives, and its forthcoming publication gives us a great opportunity to study it in light of the literature that has preceded it, which has focused primarily on institutionalist angles and socioeconomic forces.

October 25: Debating "Neo-Liberalism"

Kurt Weyland, "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reforms in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 31: 5 (October 1998), pp. 539-568.

Marcus J. Kurtz and Sarah M. Brooks, "Embedding Neoliberal Reform in Latin America," *World Politics* 60 (January 2008), pp. 231-280.

Edward L. Gibson and Ernesto Calvo, "Federalism and Low-Maintenance Constituencies: Territorial Dimensions of Economic Reform in Argentina," *Studies in Comparative International Development,* Fall 2000, Vol. 35, No. 3, 32–55.

Andy Baker: *The Market and the Masses in Latin America,* Cambridge University Press (2007). Selected Chapters

Comment: The wave of neo-liberal economic reforms of the 1990s posed a 'puzzle' to most of the literature—how could manifestly "unpopular" policies be successfully carried out under democratic regimes? We will examine some of the more prominent explanations of how this was done, as well as the nature of popular 'resistance' to these policies. In the 2007 book by Andy Baker, however, we encounter a different perspective, one with looks at public responses to neo-liberalism through the lens of "consumers" in Latin America.

November 1: Political Actors in Democratic Politics—The Right

Edward L. Gibson, *Class and Conservative Parties: Argentina in Comparative Perspective,* Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996. Introduction and Conclusion.

Kevin Middlebrook, Ed., *Conservative Parties and the Right in Latin America,* Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. Selected chapters.

Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira, Eds., *Bringing the Right Back In: The Politics of Conservative Strength Amidst Latin America's Turn to the Left.* Unpublished manuscript, 2012, selected chapters.

Comment: The role of the "Right" in Latin American democratic politics has long puzzled political observers. During the transitions to democracy that began in the 1980s scholars feared that its alienation from democratic politics would destabilize fragile democratic regimes. More recently interest of scholars has centered on just how "the Right" has managed its way through democratic political regimes in which, contrary to expectations, it has done quite well. We will examine the latest work on the Right as an established actor on the democratic scene, as well as earlier work that addressed its more tentative prospects after the end of the authoritarian wave of the late 29th century. As we will see in these readings, work on the Right over the last 20 years continues to grapple with unresolved questions about what, in fact,

constitutes "the Right," its historical importance to regime development, and its modes of political action and power in democratic political systems.

November 1: Political Actors in Democratic Politics—The Left

Francisco Weffort, "Why Democracy?" in Alfred Stepan, Ed. *Democratizing Brazil,* Oxford University Press, 1990.

Evelyn Huber and John Stephens, *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America,* Chicago University Press, 2012. Selected chapters.

Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts, "Latin America's 'Left Turn': A Framework for Analysis," in Levitsky and Roberts, eds., *Latin America's Left Turn*, Johns Hopkins University Press (2011).

Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts, "Conclusion: Democracy, Development, and the Varieties of Left Government in Latin America," in Levitsky and Roberts, eds., *Latin America's Left Turn,* Johns Hopkins University Press (2011).

Comment: And now the Left has held power in many of Latin America's most important countries. The debates of the 1980s about the Left focused on the 'logic' of its acceptance of democratic politics, and the 'tradeoffs' between accepting the democratic game and moderating its reform agendas in a region of massive economic inequality. This week we will examine the left as an actor in electoral politics as well as its impact over time on social policy in democratic politics.

November 8: Perspectives on State Formation and the State in Latin America

Miguel Angel Centeno, *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America,* Pennsylvania State University Press (2002). Selected chapters.

Hector E. Schamis, *Re-Forming the State: The Politics of Privatization in Latin America and Europe,* University of Michigan Press (2002). Selected chapters.

Guillermo O'Donnell, G., "On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Issues," *World Development* 21: 8 (1993), pp. 1355-1369.

Daron Acemoglu, James Robinson, Rafaél J. Santos, "The Monopoly of Violence: Evidence from Colombia," Unpublished manuscript, 2009.

Comment: This week we compare studies of state formation in very different time periods. Centeno provides a "long durée" perspective on the formation of the state in Latin America and challenges theoretical models based on European state building experiences. Schamis looks into the formation (or "re-formation") of the state in the contemporary period, using the privatization wave of the 1990s to explore how fundamental attributes of the state are transformed and often enhanced. O'Donnell similarly focuses on the contemporary period raising questions about the state's uneven presence across political and territorial spaces. We will explore the theoretical tensions and convergences between these approaches.

November 15: Decentralization and Subnational Politics

Richard Snyder: "Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, 1 (Spring 2001).

Falleti, Tulia: "A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective," *American Political Science Review* 99, 3, (August 2005).

Carrol, Leah Anne, *Violent Democratization: Social Movements, Elites, and Politics in Colombia's Rural War Zones,* Notre Dame University Press, 2011.

Edward L. Gibson and Julieta Suarez Cao, "Federalized Party Systems and Subnational Party Competition: Theory and an Empirical Application to Argentina," *Comparative Politics* 43, 1 (October 2010).

Anonymous (ms. under review), "Breaking the Clientelist Monopoly: the Workers' Party's Challenge to Conservative Rule in Northeastern Brazil."

Optional: Edward L. Gibson, Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries, *World Politics* (2005) (Most of you have read this already. If you haven't, give it a quick look).

November 29: Popular Politics: "Bad" and "Good"

Ruth Berins Collier and Samuel Handlin, "Introduction: Popular Representation in the Interest Arena," and "Situating the Analysis" in Ruth Berins Collier and Samuel Handlin, eds., *Reorganizing Popular Politics: Participation and the New Interest Regime in Latin America* (University Park: Penn State University Press, 2009), pp. 1-60.

Susan Stokes, "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics

with Evidence from Argentina," *American Political Science ReviewI* 99, 3 (2005).

Javier Auyero, "The Logic of Clientelism: An Ethnographic Account," *Latin American Research Review* 35, 3 (2000).

Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 3-82.

Raúl L. Madrid, "The Rise of Ethnopopulism in Latin America," *World Politics* 60, 3 (2008).