

McGill University

POLI648
Winter 2018

LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

Professor Manuel Balán
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Class meets: Thurs 1.35-4.25pm
Class location: LEACOK 520
Office hours: Thur-Fri: 10-11am

Course Description:

This course is a graduate-level introduction to Latin American politics. We will discuss both historical and contemporary issues, analyzing methodological strategies developed for the study of Latin America and comparative politics more generally. The course is designed to provide a foundation for fostering original research questions and innovative theoretical approaches that can contribute to Latin American scholarship. The debates and theoretical currents that we will examine have been central not only in the study of Latin American politics but also in the development of the sub-discipline of Comparative Politics over the last thirty years.

Objectives:

The aims of this course are three-fold:

1. To acquaint students with some of the most important recent debates and analyses of Latin American politics
2. To teach students how to critically evaluate and design theoretically-oriented research
3. To train students to carry out several types of writing assignments that political scientists are frequently required to perform.

On Readings:

This is a reading-intensive seminar, and students are expected to come to class having completed the readings beforehand. The reading load is substantial. For each theme, I have selected a set of articles and book chapters. Of course, there is a lot more to read on each of the topics, and I can suggest further reading on these issues if you are interested.

Here is a list of Books available for purchase at Paragraph:

- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, eds. 2006. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Phillippe Schmitter 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*.
- Huber, Evelyne, and John Stephens. 2012. *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Chapters TBD.
- Weyland, Kurt, Raul Madrid, and Wendy Hunter. 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*.
- Centeno, Miguel and López-Alves, eds. 2000. *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory Through the Lens of Latin America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press

Course Requirements:

- **Participation (20%)**: This is a discussion seminar, and the success of the seminar will depend first and foremost upon the active engagement of students. You will be required to participate regularly in class discussions. Each week, 1-2 students will be responsible for helping facilitate the discussion of that week's readings. During class we will critique each book or article assigned for that week. You must contact me ahead of time if you plan to miss a session.

* Iron law of participation: Every student has to make at least one substantive comment in each class session; I will call on students in case that should be required.

- **3 sentence summaries (5%)**: One of the fundamental capabilities that political scientists need is finding out the basic argument and theoretical contribution of a text and summarizing it in three sentences—literally! Therefore, you will write 3-sentence "summaries" of the basic argument and contribution of three of the readings for week one. If all three "summaries" are good, you will get an "A" for the exercise and be done. If any of the three "summaries" is not that good, you will write three "summaries" for week two; if all three of those summaries are good, you will get an "A-" and be done. If not, you will try again, and get a B+ if you succeed; if not, you'll continue.

- **A 3-4 page peer review (15%)**: this assignment should provide an analysis of one of the articles assigned for week 8. Students should write the analysis as if they were refereeing the article for a major political science journal. You should evaluate the importance of the theoretical and empirical contribution, the soundness of the methodology, and the persuasiveness of the empirical evidence. Due in class on March 1st.

- **A 4-5 page Book Review of Handlin's new book: *State Crisis in Fragile Democracies: Polarization and Political Regimes in South America* (15%)**: the review should summarize and analyze the theoretical arguments and empirical evidence presented in the book and it should assess the book's main strengths and weaknesses. You should write this review as if it were for publication in an academic journal. Due in class on March 15th

- **An 8-10 page review essay (15%)**: this assignment should analyze at least 5 of the readings assigned for one of the following weeks: 12, 13, or 14. The essays should compare and contrast the articles assigned for that week, pointing out theoretical, methodological, and empirical problems. It should assess the strengths and weaknesses of the literature on the topic in question, and identify a research agenda for the future. Look at LARR review essays for reference. The essay is due in class on the session for which you are writing.

- **A 15-20 page Research Proposal (30%)**: The proposals should identify a research question, discuss the theoretical literature on this topic, present some plausible hypotheses, and describe a feasible means of testing these hypotheses. With my permission, students may write a research paper instead of the research proposal. **Students will also need to prepare a 1-2 page summary of their research proposal and distribute it to the class via e-mail by XXX.** This summary, which will not be graded, should identify your research question and present some preliminary hypotheses. Due on April 26th.

- **Mock Comprehensive Exam (extra credit, but mandatory)**: This exercise is a rehearsal of the comprehensive exams taken by PhD students in Political Science. You will be provided a set of 3/4 questions, and you will choose one of these questions and answer it in a 1.5hour period. This "exam" is closed book, no notes, no internet. Your answer will be graded as a comp answer: high pass, pass, fail. This is a mandatory exercise that everyone in the class has to complete, but it is only worth extra credit. The mock exam will take place on April 19th.

Please remember: grades are NOT an evaluation of your intelligence/worth. They are simply an assessment of how well you did in the assignments. Nothing more, nothing less.

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 for more information).

Special Needs: As the instructor of this course I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and the Office for Students with Disabilities, 514-398-6009.

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." (approved by Senate on 21 January 2009 - see also the section in this document on Assignments and evaluation.)/ "Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté."

Course-Evaluations: End-of-course evaluations are one of the ways that McGill works towards maintaining and improving the quality of courses and the student's learning experience. You will be notified by e-mail when the evaluations are available. Please note that a minimum number of responses must be received for results to be available to students.

Use of Technology: I have a strong preference for a computer free environment in seminars and lecture courses. That said, I recognize that some of you may want to consult the readings during the seminar. Therefore, I will not ban computers in the classroom. Rather, their use is limited to course related purposes such as consulting the readings or looking for information related to the ongoing discussion. Please, no email, social media, etc. during seminars.

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.

SCHEDULE AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

WEEK 1

Thursday January 11th. INTRODUCTION

Readings:

- The Economist. 2010. "So near and yet so far: a special report on Latin America," Sept. 11. 5
 - [Mainwaring, Scott and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2007. "Why Regions of the World are Important." In Gerardo Munck, ed. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.](#)
 - Przeworski, Adam. 2012. "Latin American Political Regimes in Comparative Perspective." In *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*. New York and London: Routledge Press.
 - Munck, Gerardo, and Richard Snyder. 2007. *Passion, Craft and Method in Comparative Politics*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapter 9: Guillermo O'Donnell. Pp. 273-304.
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WEEK 2

Thursday January 18th. STATE FORMATION

Readings:

- Oszlak, O., 1981. "The Historical Formation of the State in Latin America: Some Theoretical and Methodological Guidelines for Its Study," *Latin American Research Review*, 16:2, pp. 3-32.
 - Centeno, Miguel Angel. 1997. "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America" *American Journal of Sociology* 102:6, pp.1565-1605.
 - Thies, Cameron. 2005. "War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America," *American Journal of Political Science* 49:3, pp.451-465.
 - Dell, Melissa. 2010. "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita." *Econometrica* 78 (6):1863-1903.
 - Domínguez, Jorge I. 2001. "Samuel Huntington and the Latin American State" in Centeno and López-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory Through the Lens of Latin America*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, pp.219-239.
 - [Kurtz, Marcus. 2013. *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*, chapters 1-2.](#)
 - [Soifer, Hillel. 2015. *State Building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-2, 4.](#)
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WEEK 3

Thursday January 25th. DEVELOPMENT, DEPENDENCY, AND ISI

Readings:

- Hirschman, Albert O. 1968. "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 82:1, pp.1-32.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. 1979 [1971]. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, pp.vii-xxv, and pp.149-216.
- Dos Santos, Theotonio. 1970. "The Structure of Dependence," *American Economic Review*, 60:2, pp. 231-236.
- Valenzuela, J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment" *Comparative Politics* 10:4, pp.535-557.

- Adelman, Jeremy. 2001. "Institutions, Property, and Economic Development in Latin America" in Centeno and López-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory Through the Lens of Latin America*, pp.27-54.
 - Montecinos, Verónica and John Markoff. 2001. "From the Power of Economic Ideas to the Power of Economists" in Centeno and López-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory Through the Lens of Latin America*, pp.105-150.
 - Wibbels, Erik. 2006. "Dependency Revisited: International Markets, Business Cycles, and Social Spending in the Developing World" *International Organizations* 60, pp.433-468.
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WEEK 4

Thursday February 1st. REGIME CHANGE: AUTHORITARIANISM AND DEMOCRATIZATION

Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*, Chapters 1 and 2. (Or, read his "Modernización y golpes militares: teoría, comparación y el caso argentino" *Desarrollo Económico* 12:47 Oct-Dec 1972, pp.519-566.)
 - Hirschman, Albert O. 1979. "The Turn to Authoritarianism in Latin America and the Search for Its Economic Determinants" in David Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, pp.61-98.
 - Lipset, S.M. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," in *American Political Science Review* 53:1, pp.69-105.
 - Huntington, Samuel 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late 20th Century*, Chapter 2.
 - O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Phillippe Schmitter 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*.
 - [Mainwaring, Scott and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2014. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2, 9.](#)
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WEEK 5

Thursday February 8th. ECONOMIC CHANGE: NEOLIBERALISM AND ITS CRITICS

Readings:

- Williamson, John. 2000. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform." In *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*. Edited by Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor and Michael Tomz, 83-9. Boulder: Westview Press.
 - Williamson, John 2004. "The Strange History of the Washington Consensus" *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* 27:2, pp.195-206.
 - Geddes, B. 1995. "The Politics of Economic Liberalization" in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 195-214.
 - Corrales, Javier. 2012. "Neoliberalism and its Alternatives." In *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*. New York and London: Routledge Press.
 - Kurt Weyland. 1998. "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reforms in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 31, 5 (October): 539-568.
 - Huber, Evelyne, and Fred Solt. 2004. "Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism." *Latin American Research Review* 39, no. 3: 150-164.
 - Weyland, Kurt. 2004. "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record." *Latin American Politics and Society*, no. 1: 135-157.
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WEEK 6

Thursday February 15th. **INSTITUTIONS, PARTIES, AND PARTY SYSTEMS**

Readings:

- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully. 1995. "Introduction: Party Systems in Latin America," in Mainwaring and Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, pp.1-34.
 - Morgenstern, Scott and Javier Vázquez-D'Elia- 2007. "Electoral laws, parties, and party systems in Latin America," *Annual Review of Political Science* 10, pp.143-168.
 - Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk A. Hawkins, Juan P. Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Zechmeister Elizabeth J. 2010. *Latin American Party Systems*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 3.
 - [Lupu, Noam. 2015. *Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3.](#)
 - [Roberts, Kenneth M. 2015. *Changing Course in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3.](#)
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WEEK 7

Thursday February 22nd. **DEMOCRATIC PERFORMANCE AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS**

Readings:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo 1994. "Delegative Democracy?" *Journal of Democracy* 5:1, pp.55-69.
 - Steven Levitsky and Victoria Murillo 2013. "Building Institutions on Weak Foundations," *Journal of Democracy* 24:2, pp.93-107.
 - Mazzuca, Sebastián L. 2010. "Access to Power Versus Exercise of Power: Reconceptualizing the Quality of Democracy in Latin America." *Studies in Comparative International Development*. Volume 45, Issue 3, pp 334-357
 - Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, eds. 2006. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006. Chap. 1.
 - Stokes, Susan C.2006. "Do Informal Rules Make Democracy Work?" In *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Edited by Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, 125-39. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
 - Brinks, Daniel M. 2006. "The Rule of (Non)Law: Prosecuting Police Killings in Brazil and Argentina." In *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Edited by Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, 201-226. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
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WEEK 8

Thursday March 1st. **THE NEW LEFT IN LATIN AMERICA**

Readings:

- Castañeda, Jorge G. 2006. "Latin America's Left Turn" *Foreign Affairs* 85:3, pp.28-43.
- Cleary Matthew R. 2006. "A 'Left Turn' in Latin America? Explaining the Left's Resurgence." *Journal of Democracy* 17:4, pp.35-49.
- Gustavo Flores-Macias 2010. "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America," *Comparative Politics*, pp.413-433.
- Weyland, Kurt, Raul Madrid, and Wendy Hunter. 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. Intro, Chapter 1.
- [Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2011. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left, introduction pp.1-28*.](#)
- Lupu, Noam. 2010. "Who Votes for Chavismo? Class Voting in Hugo Chávez's Venezuela," *Latin*

American Research Review, pp.7-32.

- Mazzuca, Sebastián L. 2013. "The Rise of Rentier Populism." *Journal of Democracy* 24 (2): 108-22.

- Balán, Manuel and Françoise Montambeault, eds. Forthcoming. What's Left? The Promise and Reality of Inclusive Citizenship in Latin America. Chapters TBD.

WEEK 9

Thursday March 8th. **READING WEEK. NO CLASS!**

WEEK 10

Thursday March 15th. **STATE CRISIS IN FRAGILE DEMOCRACIES?**

Readings:

- [Handlin, Samuel. 2017. *State Crisis in Fragile Democracies: Polarization and Political Regimes in South America*. Cambridge University Press. Whole book.](#)

WEEK 11

Thursday March 22nd. **INEQUALITY AND SOCIAL WELFARE**

Readings:

- Brown, David, and Wendy Hunter. 1999. "Democracy and Social Spending in Latin America, 1980-1992," *American Political Science Review*.

- Kaufman, Robert, and Alex Seguro-Ubiergo. 2001. "Globalization, Domestic Politics, and Social Spending in Latin America: A Time-Series Cross-Section Analysis, 1973-97," *World Politics*.

- [de la O, Ana. 2015. *Crafting Policies to End Poverty in Latin America: The Quiet Transformation*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 2-4.](#)

- [Garay, Candelaria. 2016. *Social Policy expansion in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 & 2.](#)

- Huber, Evelyne, and John Stephens. 2012. *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Chapters TBD.

- [Holland, Alisha C. 2015. "Forbearance as Redistribution: The Politics of Enforcement Against Latin America's Urban Poor." Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 2 and 6.](#)

WEEK 12

Thursday March 29th. **CLIENTELISM, VOTE BUYING, AND PATRONAGE,**

Readings:

- [Stokes, Susan C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, Valeria Brusco. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. NY: Cambridge UP. Chapters 2-4.](#)

- Auyero, Javier. 1999. "From the Client's Point(s) of View": How Poor People Perceive and Evaluate Political Clientelism." *Theory and Society* 28.2. pp. 297-334

- Gay, Robert. 1999. "The Broker and the Thief: A Parable (Reflections on Popular Politics in Brazil)." *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 36.1. Pp. 49-70

- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2012. "What wins votes: Why some politicians opt out of clientelism." *American Journal of Political Science* 56.3: 568-583.

- Larreguy, Horacio. "Monitoring political brokers: Evidence from clientelistic networks in Mexico". Working Paper.

- Zarazaga, Rodrigo S. 2014. "Brokers Beyond Clientelism: A New Perspective Through the Argentine Case." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56, no. 3: 23-45.

- Hagene, Turid and Iñigo González-Fuente. 2016. "Deep Politics. Community Adaptations to Political Clientelism in Twenty-First-Century Mexico," *Latin American Research Review* 51(2).
 - [Grindle, Merilee S. 2012. *Jobs for the Boys: Patronage and the State in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press. Chap. TBD.](#)
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WEEK 13

***Thursday April 5th*. GENDER AND SEXUALITY**

Readings:

- Htun, Mala. 2003. *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. Chapters TBD.
 - Jones, Mark. 2008. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence From the Latin American Vanguard," *Comparative Political Studies*.
 - Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2006. "Still Supermadres? Gender and the Policy Priorities of Latin American Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 50, no. 3: 570-585.
 - Baldez, Lisa. 2004. "Elected Bodies: The Gender Quota Law for Legislative Candidates in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29, no. 2: 231-258.
 - Friedman, Elisabeth J. 2012. "Constructing "The Same Rights With the Same Names": The Impact of Spanish Norm Diffusion on Marriage Equality in Argentina." *Latin American Politics & Society* 54, no. 4: 29-59.
 - [Diez, Jordi. 2015. *The Politics of Gay Marriage in Latin America: Argentina, Chile and Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters TBD.](#)
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WEEK 14

***Thursday April 12th*. ETHNIC AND RACIAL POLITICS**

- [Yashar, Deborah J. 2006. "Indigenous Politics in the Andes: Changing Patterns of Recognition, Reform, and Representation." In *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Edited by Scott P. Mainwaring, Ana M. Bejarano and Eduardo P. Leongómez. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press \(pp. 257-84\).](#)
 - Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2010. "Indigenous Peoples' Politics in Latin America." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, no. 1: 385-405.
 - Madrid, Raúl L. 2008. "The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America." *World Politics* 60, no. 3: 475-508.
 - Tockman, Jason and John Cameron. 2014. "Indigenous Autonomy and the Contradictions of Plurinationalism in Bolivia," *Journal of Latin American Politics and Society* 56(3): 46-69.
 - Rice, Roberta, and Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2006. "The Emergence and Performance of Indigenous Peoples' Parties in South America: A Subnational Statistical Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 39, no. 6: 709-732.
 - Telles, Edward, and Stanley Bailey. 2013. "Understanding Latin American Beliefs about Racial Inequality," *American Journal of Sociology* 118:6, pp. 1559-1595.
 - Htun, Mala. 2004. "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil," *Latin American Research Review* 39:1, pp.60-89.
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