

**Latin American Politics**  
**POLI 245, Winter 2020**  
**(Thursdays 9:50am-12:50pm, Merrill 134)**

Instructor: Sara Niedzwiecki

Office Hours: Tuesdays 11am-noon, Thursdays 3.15-4.15pm, or by appointment

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### **Objectives and Learning Outcomes**

This course offers a survey of political science scholarship on Latin America. The goal is to explore the central themes and issues that have animated the literature, to build students' empirical knowledge of Latin American countries, and to analyze methodological strategies developed for the study of Latin American politics. Students are encouraged to design and execute research that could contribute to scholarship on the region.

This survey course on Latin American politics is divided into three parts: 1) the state, 2) societal actors, and 3) crucial topics. In the first part of the course (Weeks 1-3), we will discuss models of economic development, authoritarian rule, transitions to democracy, political parties, and the left turn. The second part of the course (Weeks 4-5), focuses on the main societal actors shaping Latin American politics: labor, business, civil society, and social movements. The third part (Weeks 6-8) focuses on gender, race, social policy, and decentralization. Students will choose the topic and readings of Week 9, and Week 10 will be devoted to a closed workshop where students will present and receive feedback on their research papers.

By engaging in intensive study of relevant literature, this course aims to provide a foundation for fostering original research questions and innovative theoretical approaches that can contribute to Latin American scholarship. We will focus on the main theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions (and shortcomings) of the readings.

### **Course Requirements**

- **Active participation (30%)**: Attendance and active participation in all meetings of the seminar are mandatory. This is a graduate-led seminar course with no lectures and thus it requires that all students come to class prepared, having carefully completed all required readings. Every class, one seminar participant will be in charge of beginning our discussion with brief (5-10 minutes) **opening comments identifying key themes and questions**. The goal of these comments is to identify the ways in which the readings are related to each other.
- **Reading Summaries and Questions (15%)**: Please upload a one-page critical summary and at least two questions for discussion for each of the readings on Wednesdays before midnight. The questions can be theoretical/conceptual, empirical, or methodological in nature.

- **Research Paper (40%):** The research paper should be 15-20 pages long. It is intended to be a draft for a conference paper or a dissertation chapter. Topics should be chosen in consultation with the instructor before **Week 5**. A complete draft of the paper is due on **March 8** before midnight. On that date, each student should send their paper by email to all seminar participants.
- **Oral presentation and peer-review (10%):** During the last week of class (**March 12**) each student will present their research paper and receive and provide feedback from the rest of the seminar participants.
- **Memo (5%):** On **March 16**, students should submit a brief (2-3 pages) memo detailing: 1) the feedback received at the workshop and 2) the ways in which they incorporated those suggestions to the paper, or the reasons for which they did not.

## Course Materials

All required readings are available through Canvas or UCSC Library (links below)

## Campus Resources

**Disability Accommodations:** UCSC is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me privately during my office hours or by appointment, preferably within the first week of the quarter. At this time, I would also like us to discuss ways we can ensure your full participation in the course. I encourage all students who may benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at [831-459-2089](tel:831-459-2089) or by email at [drc@ucsc.edu](mailto:drc@ucsc.edu)

**Title IX:** Title IX prohibits gender discrimination, including sexual harassment, domestic and dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. If you have experienced sexual harassment or sexual violence, you can receive confidential support and advocacy at the Campus Advocacy Resources & Education ([CARE](#)) Office by calling (831) 502-2273. In addition, Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) can provide confidential, counseling support, (831) 459-2628. You can also report gender discrimination directly to the University's [Title IX Office](#), (831) 459-2462. Reports to law enforcement can be made to UCPD, (831) 459-2231 ext. 1. For emergencies call 911. Faculty and TAs are required under the UC Policy on Sexual Violence and Sexual Harassment to inform the Title IX Office should they become aware that you or any other student has experienced sexual violence or sexual harassment.

**Basic Needs:** Any student who faces challenges securing their food or housing and believes this may affect their performance in the course is urged to contact the Dean of Students for support. The Dean's office has established a [Slug Support Program](#) to help students in need. Furthermore, please notify the professor if you are comfortable in doing. This will enable her to provide any resources that she may possess.

## Schedule

### Week 1 (1/9): The Historic Evolution of Political Economy

- Valenzuela, J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment". *Comparative Politics* 10(4): 535–557.
- Collier, Ruth B. and David Collier. 1991. "Overview" and "Framework". In *Shaping the Political Arena. Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*, 3-39. Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press
- Gibson, Edward L. 1997. "The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina." *World Politics* 49 (3): 339–370.

#### Further reading

- Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. 2010. "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach." *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (12): 1543–1574.
- Cardoso, Fernando H. 1972. "Dependency and Development in Latin America." *New Left Review* 74: 83-95.
- Corrales, Javier. 2003. "Market Reforms". In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Edited by Jorge Domínguez and Michael Shifter, 74-99. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Etchemendy, Sebastian. 2001. "Constructing Reform Coalitions: The Politics of Compensations in Argentina's Economic Liberalization." *Latin American Politics and Society* 43 (3): 1-35.
- Frieden, Jeffrey. 1988. "Classes, Sectors, and Foreign Debt in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 21 (1):1-20.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1991. "A Game Theoretic Model of Reform in Latin American Democracies." *The American Political Science Review* 85(2): 371–392.
- Haggard, Stephan R., and Robert R. Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Huber, Evelyne. 2002. Ed. *Models of Capitalism: Lessons for Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Hirschman, Albert O. 1968. "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 82 (1): 1–32.
- Munck, Gerardo L. 2009. "Democracy and Development in a Globalized World: Thinking About Latin America from Within." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44 (4): 337–358.
- Murillo, M. Victoria. 2002. "Political Bias in Policy Convergence: Privatization Choice in Latin America." *World Politics* 54(4): 462-493.
- Portes, Alejandro. and Kelly Hoffman. 2003. "Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era." *Latin American Research Review* 38 (1): 41–82.
- Sachs, Jeffrey. 1989. "Social Conflict and Populist Policies in Latin America." *National Bureau of Economic Research* 2897.
- Stallings, Barbara. 1992. "International Influence on Economic Policy: Debt, Stabilization, and Structural Reform." In *The Politics of Economic Adjustment: International Constraints, Distributive Conflicts, and the State*. Edited by Stephan R. Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman. Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Teichman, Judith. 2012. "Social Forces and History: Explaining Divergent Poverty and Distributional Outcomes" and "Social Forces, States, and Distributive Outcomes". In *Social Forces and States: Poverty and Distributional Outcomes in South Korea, Chile, and Mexico*, 1-25, 97-117. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.

## Week 2 (1/16): Authoritarianism and Transitions to Democracy

- Collier, David. 1979. "Introduction" and "Overview of the Bureaucratic Authoritarian Model." In *The New authoritarianism in Latin America*. Edited by David Collier, 3-32. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press.
- Grindle, Merilee S. 1977. "Patrons and Clients in the Bureaucracy: Career Networks in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review* 12 (1): 37–66.
- Giraudy, Agustina, Jonathan Hartlyn, Claire Dunn, and Emily Carty. 2020. "The Impact of Neopatrimonialism on Poverty in Contemporary Latin America." *Latin American Politics & Society* 62(1): 73-96
- Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What do we Know about Democratization After 20 Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2(1): 115–144.
- Eaton, Kent. 2006. "Decentralization's Non-democratic Roots: Authoritarianism and Subnational Reform in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48 (1): 1-26.
- Terry, Karl, and Philippe Schmitter. 1991. "Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe." *International Social Science Journal* 128: 269–284.
- Collier, Ruth B., 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.
- Coppedge, Michael, Staffan Lindberg, Svend-Erik Skaaning and Jan Teorell. 2016. "Measuring high level democratic principles using the V-Dem data." *International Political Science Review* 37 (5): 580–593.

### Further reading

- Albertus, Michael. 2015. *Autocracy and Redistribution. The Politics of Land Reform*. Cambridge University Press.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1996. *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hagopian, Frances, and Scott Mainwaring. 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Linz, Juan J., and Alfred C. Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Anibal Pérez-Liñán. 2003. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America. Emergence, Survival, and Fall*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Malloy, James M. 1977. *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Munck, Gerardo. 2007. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. 1973. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*. University of California: Institute of International Studies.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A., Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber, and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sikkink, Kathryn .and Carrie B. Walling. 2007. "The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America." *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (4): 427–45.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. 2011. *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing World Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co.
- Schamis, Hector E. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism." *Comparative Politics* 23 (2): 201–220.
- Sheahan, John. 1980. "Market-oriented Economic Policies and Political Repression in Latin America." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 28 (2): 267–291.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1985. "State Power and the Strength of Civil Society in the Southern Cone of Latin America." In *Bringing the State Back In*. Edited by Peter Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Theda Skocpol, 317-346.

### Week 3 (1/23): Party Systems and Left Turn

- Mainwaring, Scott. 2018. "Introduction" and "Party System Institutionalization in Contemporary Latin America". In *Party Systems in Latin America. Institutionalization, decay, and collapse*. Edited by Scott Mainwaring, 1-14, 34-70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, Steven, James Loxton and Brandon Van Dyck. 2016. "Introduction: Challenges of Party- Building in Latin America." In *Challenges of party-building in Latin America*. Edited by Steven Levitsky, James Loxton, Brandon Van Dyck and Jorge I. Domínguez, 1-35. CUP
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2002. "Social Inequalities Without Class Cleavages in Latin America's Neoliberal Era." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (4): 3–33.
- Faguet, Jean-Paul. 2019. "Revolution from Below: Cleavage Displacement and the Collapse of Elite Politics in Bolivia." *Politics & Society* 47(2): 205-250
- Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2011. "Introduction. Latin America's 'Left Turn': A Framework for Analysis". In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left. Johns Hopkins University Press*. Edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 1-28. Johns Hopkins Univ. Press.

#### Further reading

- Benton, Allyson L. 2007. "The Strategic Struggle for Patronage: Political Careers, State Largesse, and Factionalism in Latin American Parties." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 19 (1): 55–82.
- 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 (8): 881–911.
- Calvo, Ernesto and M. Victoria Murillo. 2019. *Non-policy politics. Richer voters, poorer voters, and the diversification of electoral strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coppedge, Michael. 1998. "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems." *Party Politics* 4 (4): 547–568.
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. 2010. "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America." *Comparative politics*, 42 (4): 413-433.
- Hunter, Wendy. 2010. *The Transformation of the Workers' Party in Brazil, 1989-2009*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, Mark P., and Scott P. Mainwaring. 2003. "The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems: An Empirical Measure and an Application to the Americas." *Party Politics* 9 (2): 139–166
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk A. Hawkins, Juan P. Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2010. *Latin American Party Systems*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, Steven. 2003. *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America. Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyne, Mona M. 2005. "Parties as Programmatic Agents: A Test of Institutional Theory in Brazil." *Party Politics* 11 (2): 193–216.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Timothy R. Scully, eds. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. California: Stanford University Press.
- McGuire, James W. 1997. *Peronism without Perón: Unions, Parties, and Democracy in Argentina*. California: Stanford University Press.
- Middlebrook, Kevin J. 2000. *Conservative Parties, the Right, and Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Remmer, Karen L. 2012. "The Rise of Leftist- Populist Governance in Latin America: The Roots of Electoral Change." *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (8): 947–972.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2014. *Changing Course in Latin America. Party Systems in the Neoliberal Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Samuels, David, and Cesar Zucco. 2018. *Partisans, Antipartisans, and Nonpartisans. Voting behavior in Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weyland, Kurt, Raúl L. Madrid, and Wendy Hunter. 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Week 4 (1/30): Labor and Business Politics

- Murillo, M. Victoria. 2000. "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America." *World Politics* 52 (2): 135–174.
- Kurtz, Marcus J. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons From Latin America." *World Politics* 56 (2): 262–302.
- Etchemendy, Sebastián, and Ruth Collier. 2007. "Down but Not Out: Union Resurgence and Segmented Neocorporatism in Argentina (2003-2007)." *Politics & Society* 35 (3): 363–401.
- Schneider, Ben Ross and David Soskice. 2009. "Inequality in developed countries and Latin America: coordinated, liberal and hierarchical systems" *Economy and Society* 38 (1): 17-52.
- Schrank, Andrew. 2009. "Understanding Latin American Political Economy: Varieties of Capitalism or Fiscal Sociology?" *Economy and Society* 38 (1): 53–61.
- Schneider, Ben Ross. 2004. "Patterns of Business Politics in Latin America". In *Business politics and the State in twentieth-century Latin America*, 3-19. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

### Further reading

- Burgess, Katrina. 1999. "Loyalty Dilemmas and Market Reform: Party-Union Alliances under Stress in Mexico, Spain, and Venezuela." *World Politics* 52 (1): 105–134.
- Burgess, Katrina. 2004. *Parties and Unions in the New Global Economy*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Collier, Ruth B., and Samuel Handlin, eds. 2009. *Reorganizing Popular Politics: Participation and the New Interest Regime in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Etchemendy, Sebastian. 2004. "Repression, Exclusion, and Inclusion: Government-Union Relations and Patterns of Labor Reform in Liberalizing Economies." *Comparative Politics* 36 (3): 273–290.
- Conaghan, Catherine, James Malloy, and Luis Abugattas. 1990. "Business and the 'Boys': The Politics of Neoliberalism in the Central Andes." *Latin American Research Review* 25 (2): 3-30.
- Houtzager, Peter, and Marcus J. Kurtz. 2000. "The Institutional Roots of Popular Mobilization: State Transformation and Rural Politics in Brazil and Chile, 1960-1995." *Society for Comparative Study of Society and History* 42 (2): 394–424.
- Kay, Tamara. 2005. "Labor Transnationalism and Global Governance: The Impact of NAFTA on Transnational Labor Relationships in North America." *American Journal of Sociology* 111 (3): 715-56.
- Mares, Isabela. 2003. "The Sources of Business Interest in Social Insurance: Sectoral versus National Differences." *World Politics* 55(2): 229–58.
- Murillo, M. Victoria. 2005. "Partisanship amidst Convergence: The Politics of Labor Reform in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 37(4): 441-58.
- Murillo, María V. and Andrew Schrank. 2005. "With a Little Help from my Friends: Partisan Politics, Transnational Alliances, and Labor Rights in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 38 (8): 971–99.
- Niedzwiecki, Sara. 2014. "The Effect of Unions and Organized Civil Society on Social Policy. Pension and Health Reforms in Argentina and Brazil (1988-2008)". *Latin American Politics & Society* 56 (4): 22–48.
- Niedzwiecki, Sara. 2015. "Social Policy Commitment in South America. The Effect of Organized Labor on Social Spending from 1980 to 2010." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 7 (2): 3–42.
- Schamis, Hector. 2000. "Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America," *World Politics* 52 (2): 135-74.
- Schneider, Ben Ross. 2008. "Economic Liberalization and Corporate Governance: The Resilience of Business Groups in Latin America". *Comparative Politics* 40 (4): 379-97.
- Schrank, Andrew, and Marcus Kurtz. 2005. "Credit Where Credit Is Due: Open Economy Industrial Policy and Export Diversification in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Politics & Society*, 33 (4): 671–702.
- Silva, Eduardo, and Francisco Durand. 1998. *Organized Business, Economic Change and Democracy in Latin America*. Miami: North-South Center Press
- Snyder, Richard. 2001. *Politics After Neoliberalism: Reregulation in Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Week 5 (2/6): Indigenous Politics and Social Movements

- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2010. "Indigenous Peoples' Politics in Latin America." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13 (1): 385–405.
- 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 Pizarro Leongómez, 257-84. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Madrid, Raúl L. 2008. "The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America." *World Politics* 60 (3): 475–508.
- Rice, Roberta and Donna Lee Van Cott. 2006 "The Emergence and Performance of Indigenous Peoples' Parties in South America: A Subnational Statistical Analysis." *Comparative Political Studies* 39 (6): 709–732.
- Anria, Santiago. 2019. "Origins and ascendance to power". In *When movements become parties. The Bolivian MAS in comparative perspective*, 62-97. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eaton, Kent. 2007. "Backlash in Bolivia: Regional Autonomy as a Reaction against Indigenous Mobilization." *Politics & Society* 35 (1): 71–102.

### Further reading

- Anria, Santiago, and Sara Niedzwiecki. 2016. "Social Movements and Social Policy. The Bolivian Renta Dignidad." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 51 (3): 308–327.
- Eisenstadt, Todd A. 2011. *Politics, Identity, and Mexico's Indigenous Rights Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Arturo Escobar, and Sonia Alvarez, eds. 1992. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. New York: Routledge.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn, and Elisabeth J. Friedman. 2008. "Can Civil Society Organizations Solve the Crisis of Partisan Representation in Latin America?" *Latin American Politics & Society* 50 (2): 1–32.
- Lucero, José Antonio. 2006. "Representing 'Real Indians': The Challenges of Indigenous Authenticity and Strategic Constructivism in Ecuador and Bolivia." *Latin American Research Review* 41 (2):31-56.
- Madrid, Raúl L. 2005. "Indigenous Parties and Democracy in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47 (4): 161-179.
- Mallon, Florencia E. 1992. "Indian Communities, Political Cultures, and the State in Latin America, 1780-1990." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (S1): 35-53.
- Niedzwiecki, Sara, and Santiago Anria. 2019. "The Participatory Politics of Social Policies in Bolivia and Brazil." *Latin American Politics & Society* 61(2): 115-137.
- Trejo, Guillermo. 2009. "Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 103 (3): 323–42.
- Trejo, Guillermo. 2014. "The Ballot and the Street: An Electoral Theory of Social Protest in Autocracies." *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (2): 332–352.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000. "Explaining Ethnic Autonomy Regimes in Latin America." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (4): 30–58.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America." *Latin American Politics & Society* 45 (2): 1–39.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yashar, Deborah J. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America." *World Politics* 52 (1): 76–104.
- Yashar, Deborah J. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge Studies in Contentious Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Week 6 (2/13): Gender Politics

- Htun, Mala. 2016. "Introduction: Politics of Inclusion in Latin America". In *Inclusion without Representation in Latin America. Gender Quotas and Ethnic Reservations*, 1-19. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Htun, Mala. 2014. "Political Inclusion and Representation of Afrodescendant Women in Latin America". In *Representation. The Case of Women*. Edited by Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon and Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, 118-134. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 4 (3): 393–425.
- Blofield, Merike. 2009. "Feudal Enclaves and Political Reforms: Domestic Workers in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 44 (1): 158–190.
- Martínez-Franzoni, Juliana. 2008. "Welfare Regimes in Latin America. Capturing Constellations of Markets, Families and Policies." *Latin American Politics & Society* 50 (2): 67–100.
- Beer, Caroline. 2019. "Multilevel Causation in Gender Policy. Abortion and Violence Against Women Laws in the Mexican States". In *Inside Countries. Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*. Edited by Agustina Giraudy, Eduardo Moncada and Richard Snyder, 156–178. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Htun, Mala. 2019. "Promoting Diversity and Inclusion through Engagement: The APSA 2018 Hackathon." *Political Science & Politics* 52 (4): 677–683.

### Further reading

- Alvarez, Sonia E. 1990. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Baldez, Lisa. 2002. *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Baldez, Lisa. 2004. "Elected Bodies: The Gender Quota Law for Legislative Candidates in Mexico." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29 (2): 231–258.
- Beer, Caroline, and Victor Cruz-Aceves. 2018. "Extending Rights to Marginalized Minorities. Same-Sex Relationship Recognition in Mexico and the United States". *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 18 (1): 3–26.
- Blofield, Merike, and Liesl Haas. 2011. "Gender Equality Policies in Latin America." In *The Great Gap: Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution in Latin America*. Edited by Merike Blofield, 278-310. University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2011.
- Friedman, Elisabeth J. 1998. "Paradoxes of Gendered Political Opportunity in the Venezuelan Transition to Democracy." *Latin American Research Review* 33 (3): 87-135.
- 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 (4): 29–59.
- Htun, Mala. 2003. *Sex and the State: Abortion, Divorce, and the Family under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Htun, Mala. 2004. "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 39 (1): 60–89.
- Htun, Mala and S. Laurel Weldon. 2018. *The Logics of Gender Justice: State Action on Women's Rights Around the World*. Cambridge Studies in Gender and Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Htun, Mala. 2004. "Is Gender Like Ethnicity? The Political Representation of Identity Groups." *Perspectives on Politics* 2 (3): 439-458.
- Navarro, Marysa. 1989. "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo." In *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. Edited by Susan Eckstein, 241-285. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie A. 2006. "Still Supermadres? Gender and the Policy Priorities of Latin American Legislators." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (3): 570–585.
- Viterna, Jocelyn. 2012. "The Left and "Life" in El Salvador." *Politics & Gender* 8 (2): 248–254.



## Week 7 (2/20): Decentralization and Subnational Politics

- Giraudy, Agustina, Eduardo Moncada, and Richard Snyder. 2019. "Subnational Research in Comparative Politics: Substantive, Theoretical, and Methodological Contributions." In *Inside Countries. Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*. Edited by Giraudy et al, 2-54. CUP.
- Niedzwiecki, Sara, Sandra Chapman Osterkatz, Gary Marks, and Liesbet Hooghe. 2018. "The RAI Travels to Latin America. Measuring regional authority under regime change." *Regional & Federal Studies*, 1-27.
- Falleti, Tulia. 2005. "A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 99 (3): 327–346.
- Eaton, Kent. 2014. "Recentralization and the Left Turn in Latin America: Diverging Outcomes in Bolivia, Ecuador, and Venezuela." *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (8): 1130–1157.
- Gibson, Edward L. 2005. "Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries." *World Politics* 58 (1): 101–132.
- Giraudy, Agustina. 2013. "Varieties of Subnational Undemocratic Regimes: Argentina and Mexico." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48 (1): 51–80.

### Further reading

- Arretche, Marta. 2007. "The Veto Power of Subnational Governments in Brazil." *Brazilian Political Science Review* 1 (2): 40–73.
- Borges, André. 2007. "Rethinking State Politics: The Withering of State Dominant Machines in Brazil." *Brazilian Political Science Review* 1 (2): 108–136.
- Cornelius, Wayne A., Todd A. Eisenstadt, and Jane Hindley, eds. 1999. *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico*. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.
- Eaton, Kent. 2004. "Risky Business: Decentralization from Above in Chile and Uruguay." *Comparative Politics* 37 (1)
- Eaton, Kent. 2006. "The Downside of Decentralization: Armed Clientelism in Colombia." *Security Studies* 15 (4): 533
- Eaton, Kent. 2008. "Paradoxes of Police Reform: Federalism, Parties and Civil Society in Argentina's Public Security Crisis." *Latin American Research Review*, 43 (3): 5-32.
- Gervasoni, Carlos. 2010. "A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy, and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces." *World Politics* 62 (2): 302-340.
- Gibson, Edward. 2004. *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*. The John Hopkins University Press.
- Grindle, Merilee S. 2007. *Going Local: Decentralization and the Promise of Good Governance*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Harbers, Imke. 2010. "Decentralization and the Development of Nationalized Party Systems in New Democracies: Evidence From Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (5): 606–627.
- Heller, Patrick. 2001. "Moving the State: The Politics of Democratic Decentralization in Kerala, South Africa and Porto Alegre." *Politics & Society* 29 (1): 131-163.
- Montero, Alfred P. 2010. "No Country for Leftists? Clientelist Continuity and the 2006 Vote in the Brazilian Northeast." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2 (2): 113–153.
- Montero, Alfred P., and David J. Samuels. 2004. *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America*. Notre Dame, IN: The University of Notre Dame Press.
- O'Neill, Kathleen. 2003. "Decentralization as an Electoral Strategy" *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (9): 1068–1091.
- Samuels, David. 2002. *Federalism, Ambition, and Congressional Politics in Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Snyder, Richard. 2001. "Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (1): 93–110.
- Sugiyama, Natasha B. 2011. "Bottom-up Policy Diffusion: National Emulation of a Conditional Cash Transfer Program in Brazil." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 42 (1): 25–51.

## Week 8 (2/27): Social Policy

- Huber, Evelyne, and John D. Stephens. 2012. "Introduction" and "Neoliberal Reforms and the Turn to Basic Universalism". In *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*, 1-12, 155-207. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Niedzwiecki, Sara. 2018. "Politics of Social Policy in Decentralized Countries." In *Uneven Social Policies. The Politics of Subnational Variation in Latin America*, 1-26. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, Alisha. 2017. "Introduction", "An Electoral Theory of Forbearance" and a Chapter of your choice. In *Forbearance as redistribution. The politics of informal welfare in Latin America*, 1-63 and your choice of Chapter. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

**You are invited! 1.30-3.05pm (Stevenson 175): Virtual Talk by Santiago Anria (Dickinson College) on the Political Crisis in Bolivia.**

### Further reading

- Arza, Camila. 2018. "Cash Transfers for Families and Children in Argentina, Brazil and Chile: Segmented Expansion or Universal Benefits?" *Journal of International and Comparative Social Policy* 34 (1): 58-75.
- Carnes, Matthew, and Isabela Mares. 2014. "Coalitional Realignment and the Adoption of Non-Contributory Social Insurance Programs in Latin America." *Socio-Economic Review* 12 (4): 695-722.
- Castiglioni, Rossana. 2005. *The politics of Social Policy Change in Chile and Uruguay. Retrenchment versus Maintenance, 1973-1998*. New York: Routledge.
- Cruz Saco, María Amparo, and Carmelo Mesa-Lago. 1998. *Do Options Exist?: The Reform of Pension and Health Care Systems in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- De la O, Ana Lorena. 2015. *Crafting Policies to End Poverty in Latin America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Filgueira, Carlos, and Fernando Filgueira. 2002. "Models of Welfare and Models of Capitalism: The Limits of Transferability." In *Models of Capitalism: Lessons for Latin America*. Edited by Evelyne Huber, 127-58. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Garay, Candelaria. 2017. *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Holland, Alisha, and Ben Ross Schneider. 2017. "Easy and Hard Redistribution: The Political Economy of Welfare States in Latin America." *Perspectives on Politics* 15 (4): 988-1006.
- Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 2008.
- Huber, Evelyne. 1996. "Options for Social Policy in Latin America: Neoliberal versus Social Democratic Models." In *Welfare States in Transition: National Adaptations in Global Economies*. Edited by Gøsta Esping-Andersen, 141-91. London, Thousand Oaks Calif: SAGE.
- Huber, Evelyne, and John D. Stephens. 2010. "Successful Social Policy Regimes? Political Economy, Politics, and Social Policy in Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and Costa Rica." In *Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Edited by Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, 155-210. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- López-Calva, Luis F., and Nora Lustig. 2010. *Declining Inequality in Latin America: A Decade of Progress?* Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press
- Madrid, Raúl L. 2003. *Retiring the State: The Politics of Pension Privatization in Latin America and Beyond*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Martínez-Franzoni, Juliana, and Diego Sánchez-Ancochea. 2016. *The Quest for Universal Social Policy in the South. Actors, Ideas and Architectures*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McGuire, James W. 2010. *Wealth, Health, and Democracy in East Asia and Latin America*. CUP.
- Niedzwiecki, Sara, and Jennifer Pribble. 2017. "Social Policies and Center-Right Governments in Argentina and Chile." *Latin American Politics & Society* 59 (3): 72-97.
- Blofield, Merike, ed. 2011. *The Great Gap: Inequality and the Politics of Redistribution in Latin America*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Pribble, Jennifer. 2013. *Welfare and Party Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Week 9 (3/5): TBD. Readings to be chosen by seminar participants

You are invited! 1.30-3.05pm (Stevenson 175): Virtual Talk by Rossana Castiglioni (Universidad Diego Portales) on Inequality and Protests in Chile.

Great books we did not have time to cover (i.e.: possible suggestions for Week 9)

- Brinks, Daniel M., Steven Levitsky, and Maria Victoria Murillo. 2019. *Understanding Institutional Weakness: Power and Design in Latin American Institutions*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brinks, Daniel M., Steven Levitsky, and Maria Victoria Murillo (ed.). 2020. *The Politics of Institutional Weakness in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cyr, Jennifer M. 2017. *The Fates of Political Parties. Crisis, Continuity, and Change in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De La O, Ana Lorena. 2015. *Crafting Policies to End Poverty in Latin America. The Quiet Transformation*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Garay, Candelaria. 2017. *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- González Ocantos, Ezequiel. 2016. *Shifting legal visions : judicial change and human rights trials in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Eaton, Kent. 2017. *Territory and Ideology in Latin America. Policy Conflicts between National and Subnational Governments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Helmke, Gretchen, and Steven Levitsky. 2006. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Htun, Mala and S. Laurel Weldon. 2018. *The Logics of Gender Justice: State Action on Women's Rights Around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Morgan, Jana. 2011. *Bankrupt representation and party system collapse*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Hujo, Katja, and Nicola Piper. 2010. *South-south migration: Implications for social policy and development*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mayka, Lindsay. 2019. *Building participatory institutions in Latin America. Reform coalitions and institutional change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pribble, Jennifer. 2013. *Welfare and Party Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rich, Jessica. 2019. *State-sponsored activism. Bureaucrats and social movements in democratic Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yashar, Deborah. 2018. *Homicidal Ecologies: illicit economies and complicit states in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Week 10 (3/12): Latin American Politics Workshop.