

**Pro-Seminar in Latin American Politics**  
**Political Science 525, Fall 2014**  
**(M 9:00-11:30 a.m., SSCO 2069)**

Instructor: Sara Niedzwiecki  
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Office Hours: M 1:00-4:00p.m or by appointment

### **Objectives of the course**

This course offers an overview of the main theoretical debates surrounding the study of Latin American politics and development. We will discuss both historical and contemporary issues, analyzing methodological strategies developed for the study of Latin America and comparative politics more generally. In addition, we will use case studies to build on empirical knowledge that will serve as the basis for evaluating concepts and theories.

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. To achieve this, seminar discussions will be mostly led by students, who are expected to prepare for and actively participate in each meeting. Discussion leaders will focus on the main theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions (and shortcomings) of the readings. The rest of seminar participants will come prepared to contribute with their own critical comments and engage in the conversation started by discussion leaders.

In addition to these specific course objectives, this course also aims to achieve the Political Science Department's approved student learning objectives for the graduate program, which are listed in: <http://polisci.unm.edu/graduate-program/student-learning-objectives.html>

### **Requirements**

**I. Response papers and discussion leader:** Since the course is a graduate seminar, most classes will be devoted entirely to discussion of the assigned readings. Therefore, each seminar participant is responsible for actively engaging with the readings. In order to have a stimulating discussion, each student should come with comments and questions about each of the readings for each session. In addition, each member of the seminar will choose three sessions for which to provide these comments in writing (around 1,000-1,200 words). Those students who provide written comments, will also be in charge of leading discussion that week. The deadline for the response papers will be chosen in the first and second seminar sessions.

The response papers are individual and should be sent to the instructor by email **by 9 a.m. the Sunday before class**. These short papers should not simply summarize the readings, but should rather critically discuss their central arguments and their strengths and weaknesses, compare and contrast their findings, discuss policy implications, and set the base for class discussion. Lastly, the paper should include questions on at least two of the following three areas: theoretical/conceptual, methodological, and empirical/comparative.

Those participants writing response papers in a given week will be in charge of leading class discussion for that week. Discussion leaders should coordinate with each other on how to organize and lead the discussion in order to cover all relevant themes and to avoid redundancy. Together, they will be in charge of presenting a critical summary of the readings (5-10 minutes) and will organize a list of questions along the lines of theory/conceptualization, methods, and empirics/comparative.

The discussion papers together with the quality of seminar participation and discussion will account for half of the final grade.

**II. Research Paper:** For the other half of the final grade each seminar member will choose a topic and write a 15-25 research paper (10,000 words maximum). This paper can be individual or co-authored with someone in the class, and is intended to be a draft for a conference paper, a journal article, a master's thesis, or a research field paper. Topics should be chosen in consultation with the instructor. **Before October 20**, every student should have met with me to discuss the paper topic. **Papers are due on December 1** at the beginning of the class. On that date, each student should hand in a hard copy of their paper.

One possibility for this research paper is to study the relationship between democracy and economic development. In particular, **“How do Different Political Systems Affect Economic Prosperity?”** This topic will be introduced in our first class discussion and could be part of the Diplomacy Lab Project from the U.S. Department of State. We will discuss the details of this project throughout the seminar.

### Course Books

Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, eds. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006 (We will read less than half of this book)

Huber, Evelyne, and John D. Stephens. *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2012

Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011.

**All other required readings are on UNM Learn.** Suggested readings followed by an asterisk\*, are highly recommended for a general background knowledge.

### Other Recommended Books

Gibson, Edward L., ed. *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore, London: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004.

Hagopian, Frances and Scott Mainwaring, eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy R. Scully, eds. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. California: Stanford University Press, 1995.

Munck, Gerardo, ed. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

If you need basic factual background on Latin American politics, a good source is Skidmore, Thomas E., Peter Smith, and James Green. *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2010. If you need some detailed historical background, a place to start is Bethell, Leslie. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Qualified students with disabilities needing appropriate academic adjustments should contact me as soon as possible to ensure your needs are met in a timely manner. Handouts are available in alternative accessible formats upon request.

## Schedule

### Week 1 (8/18): Presentation and Introduction

### Week 2 (8/25): The Political Economy of Development

- Lange, Matthew, and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. "States and Development." In *States and Development: Historical Antecedents of Stagnation and Advance*. Edited by Matthew Lange and Dietrich Rueschemeyer. New York, 3–25. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
- Sheahan, John. "Alternative Models of Capitalism in Latin America." In *Models of Capitalism: Lessons for Latin America*. Edited by Evelyne Huber. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002 (pp.25–52).
- Valenzuela, J. S., and Arturo Valenzuela. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment." *Comparative Politics* 10, no. 4 (1978): 535–557.
- Munck, Gerardo L. "Democracy and Development in a Globalized World: Thinking About Latin America from Within." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44, no. 4 (2009): 337–358.
- Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49, no. 2 (1997): 155–183.
- Boix, Carles, and Susan Stokes. "Endogenous Democratization." *World Politics* 55, no. 4 (2003): 517–549.

#### Further reading

- Ansell, Ben, and David Samuels. "Inequality and Democratization: A Contractarian Approach." *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 12 (2010): 1543–1574.
- Cardoso, Fernando H. "New Paths: Globalization in Historical Perspective." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 44, no. 4 (2009): 296–317.
- Cardoso, Fernando H. "Dependency and Development in Latin America." *New Left Review* 74 (1972)\*
- Evans, Peter, and John D. Stephens. "Studying Development since the Sixties: The Emergence of a New Comparative Political Economy." *Theory and Society* 15, no. 5 (1988): 713–745.
- Evans, Peter. *Embedded Autonomy: States and Industrial Transformation*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Germani, Gino. "Stages of Modernization." *International Journal* 24, no. 3 (1969): 463–485.\*
- Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. "Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule." *American Political Science Review* 106, no. 03 (2012): 495–516.
- Hirschman, Albert O. "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 82, no. 1 (1968): 1–32.\*
- Prebisch, Raúl. "Commercial Policy in the Underdeveloped Countries." *American Economic Review* 49, no. 2 (1959): 251–273.\*
- Robinson, James A. "Economic Development and Democracy." *Annual Review of Political Science* 9, no. 1 (2006): 503–527.
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber, and John D. Stephens. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992, Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-78).
- Sunkel, Osvaldo. "Big Business and 'Dependencia': A Latin American View." *Foreign Affairs* 50, no. 3 (1972): 517–531.\*
- Teichman, Judith. *Social Forces and States: Poverty and Distributional Outcomes in South Korea, Chile, and Mexico*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2012 (pp.1-25, 97-117).

## Week 3 (9/1): No class due to APSA Annual Meeting

## Week 4 (9/8): Neoliberalism and its Critics

- Williamson, John. "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, 2000.
- Gibson, Edward L. "The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina." *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997): 339–370.
- Huber, Evelyne, and Fred Solt. "Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism." *Latin American Research Review* 39, no. 3 (2004): 150–164.
- Weyland, Kurt. "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record." *Latin American Politics and Society*, no. 1 (2004): 135–157.
- Kurtz, Marcus J. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America." *World Politics* 56, no. 2 (2004): 262–302.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. "Market Reform, Programmatic (De)alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, no. 11 (2013): 1422–1452.

### Further reading

- Baker, Andy. "Why is Trade Reform So Popular in Latin America? A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Policy Preferences." *World Politics* 55, April (2003): 423–455.
- Frieden, Jeffrey. "Classes, Sectors, and Foreign Debt in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 21, no. 1 (1988).\*
- Geddes, Barbara. "A Game Theoretic Model of Reform in Latin American Democracies." *The American Political Science Review* 85, no. 2 (1991): 371–392.
- Haggard, Stephan R., and Robert R. Kaufman. "The State in the Initiation and Consolidation of Market-Oriented Reform." In *State and Market in Development: Synergy or Rivalry?* Edited by Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Louis G. Putterman. Emerging global issues. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1992.\*
- Haggard, Stephan R., and Robert R. Kaufman. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Huber, Evelyne. "Conclusions: Actors, Institutions, and Policies." In *Models of Capitalism: Lessons for Latin America*. Edited by Evelyne Huber, 439–80. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.
- Kaufman, Robert R. "Democratic and Authoritarian Responses to the Debt Issue: Argentina, Brazil, Mexico." *International Organization*, 1985, 473–503.\*
- Portes, Alejandro, and Kelly Hoffman. "Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era." *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 41–82.
- Remmer, Karen L., and Erik Wibbels. "The Subnational Politics of Economic Adjustment: Provincial Politics and Fiscal Performance in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 33, no. 4 (2000): 419–451
- Sachs, Jeffrey. "Social Conflict and Populist Policies in Latin America." *National Bureau of Economic Research*, no. 2897 (1989).\*
- Schneider, Ben R. "Organizing Interests and Coalitions in the Politics of Market Reform in Latin America." *World Politics* 56, no. 3 (2004): 456–479.
- Stallings, Barbara. "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 University Press, 1992.\*
- Stokes, Susan C. "What do Policy Switches Tell us About Democracy?" In *Democracy, accountability, and representation*. Edited by Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes and Bernard Manin. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.\*
- Weyland, Kurt. "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 31, no. 5 (1998): 539–568.

## Week 5 (9/15): Authoritarianism

- Collier, David. "Introduction" and "Overview of the Bureaucratic Authoritarian Model." In *The New authoritarianism in Latin America*. Edited by David Collier. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979. Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 3–32)
- Schamis, Hector E. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism." *Comparative Politics* 23, no. 2 (1991): 201–220. Grindle, Merilee S. "Patrons and Clients in the Bureaucracy: Career Networks in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review* 12, no. 1 (1977): 37–66.
- Geddes, Barbara. "What do we Know about Democratization After 20 Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2 (1999): 115–144.
- Mainwaring, Scott, Daniel M. Brinks, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-2004." In *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. Edited by Gerardo Munck. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007 (pp. 123–60)

### Further reading

- Baloyra-Herp, Enrique A. "Reactionary Despotism in Central America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 15, no. 2 (1983): 295–319.\*
- Greene, Kenneth F. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Linz, Juan J., and Alfred Stepan. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Mahoney, James. "Radical, Reformist and Aborted Liberalism: Origins of National Regimes in Central America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33, no. 2 (2001): 221–256.\*
- Malloy, James M. *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977.
- Munck, Gerardo, and Jay Verkuilen. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy.: Evaluating Alternative Indices." *Comparative Political Studies* 35, no. 1 (2002): 5–34.
- Nun, José. "The Middle Class Military Coup." In *The Politics of Conformity in Latin America*. Edited by Claudio Véliz. London: Oxford University Press, 1967.\*
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*. University of California: Institute of International Studies, 1973.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. "Reflections on Patterns of Change in the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State." *Latin American Research Review* 13, no. 1 (1978): 3–38.\*
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. "State and Alliances in Argentina, 1956-1976." *Journal of Development Studies* 15, no. 1 (1978): 1–33.\*
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. "Modernization and Military Coups: The Argentine Case." In *Armies and Politics in Latin America*. Edited by Abraham F. Lowenthal. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1986.\*
- Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber, and John D. Stephens. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Sanderson, Steven. "Presidential Succession and Political Rationality in Mexico." *World Politics* 35, no. 3 (1983).\*
- Sheahan, John. "Market-oriented Economic Policies and Political Repression in Latin America." *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 28, no. 2 (1980): 267–291.\*
- Stepan, Alfred. "Liberal-Pluralist, Classic Marxist, and 'Organic-Statist' Approaches to the State." In *Arguing Comparative Politics*. Edited by Alfred Stepan, 39–72. Oxford University Press, 2001.\*

## Week 6 (9/22): Transitions to Democracy

- Terry, Karl, and Philippe Schmitter. “Modes of Transition in Latin America, Southern and Eastern Europe.” *International Social Science Journal* 128 (1991): 269–284.
- Stepan, Alfred. “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. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- Collier, Ruth B., and James Mahoney. “Adding Collective Actors to Collective Outcomes: Labor and Recent Democratization in South America and Southern Europe.” *Comparative Politics* 29, no. 3 (1997): 285–303.
- Hagopian, Frances and Scott Mainwaring, eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Introduction and Chapter 1 (pp. 1-59)
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. “Delegative Democracy.” *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 1 (1994): 55–69.

### Further reading

- Brinks, Daniel M., and Michael Coppedge. “Diffusion Is No Illusion: Neighbor Emulation in the Third Wave of Democracy.” *Comparative Political Studies* 39, no. 4 (2006): 463–489.
- Greene, Kenneth. “The Political Economy of Single-Party Dominance.” *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 7 (2010): 807-34.\*
- Haggard, Stephan R., and Robert R. Kaufman. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton N.J: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- Levine, Daniel. “Paradigm Lost: Dependence to Democracy.” *World Politics* 40, no. 3 (1988): 377–394.\*
- Linz, Juan J., and Alfred C. Stepan. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Mainwaring, Scott, Guillermo A. O'Donnell, and Samuel J. Valenzuela. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. University of Notre Dame Press, 1992.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy R. Scully, eds. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. California: Stanford University Press, 1995.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo A., Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.
- Paige, Jeff. “Coffee, Revolution and Democracy in Central America.” In *Nature, Raw Materials, and Political Economy*. Edited by P. Ciccantell et al. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2005.\*
- Smith, Peter H. “Crisis and Democracy in Latin America.” *World Politics* 43, no. 4 (1991): 608–634.

## Week 7 (9/29): Transitional Justice

- Sikkink, Kathryn, and Carrie B. Walling. "The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America." *Journal of Peace Research* 44, no. 4 (2007): 427–45.
- Lutz, Ellen L., and Kathryn Sikkink. "The Justice Cascade: The Evolution and Impact of Foreign Human Rights Trials in Latin America." *Chicago Journal of International Law* 2 (2001): 1–33.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. "Human Rights, Principled Issue-Networks, and Sovereignty in Latin America." *International Organization* 47, no. 3 (1993): 411–441.
- Evans, Rebecca. "Treating Poorly Healed Wounds: Partisan Choices and Human Rights Policies in Latin America." *Human Rights Review* April-June (2007): 249–76.
- Pion-Berlin, David. "The Pinochet Case and Human Rights Progress in Chile: Was Europe a Catalyst, Cause or Inconsequential?" *Journal of Latin American Studies* 36, no. 3 (1999): 479–505.
- González Ocantos, Ezequiel. "Persuade Them or Oust Them: Crafting Judicial Change and Transitional Justice in Argentina." *Comparative Politics* 46, no. 4 (2014): 479–98.

### Further Reading

- Acuña, Carlos. "Transitional Justice in Argentina and Chile: A Never-Ending Story?" In *Retribution and Reparation in the Transition to Democracy*. Edited by Jon Elster. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Arthur, Paige. "How "Transitions" Reshaped Human Rights: A Conceptual History of Transitional Justice." *Human Rights Quarterly* 31, no. 2 (2009): 321–67.
- Burt, Jo-Marie. "Guilty as Charged: The Trial of Former Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori for Human Rights Violations." *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 3, no. 3 (2009): 384–405.
- Huneus, Alexandra. "Judging from a Guilty Conscience: The Chilean Judiciary's Human Rights Turn." *Law & Social Inquiry* 35, no. 1 (2010): 99–135.
- Hilbink, Lisa. *Judges Beyond Politics in Democracy and Dictatorship: Lessons from Chile*. Cambridge Univ Press, 2007.
- Hunjoon, Kim and Kathryn Sikkink. "Explaining the Deterrence Effect of Human Rights Prosecutions for Transitional Countries." *International Studies Quarterly* 54, no. 4 (2010): 939–63.
- Jelin, Elizabeth. "Silence, Visibility, and Agency: Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Public Memorialization." In *Identities in Transition: Challenges for Transitional Justice in Divided Societies*. Edited by Paige Arthur. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Laplante, Lisa J. "The Peruvian Truth Commission's Historical Memory Project: Empowering Truth-Tellers to Confront Truth Deniers." *Journal of Human Rights* 6, no. 4 (2007): 433–52.
- Lessa, Francesca and Leigh A. Payne, eds. *Amnesty in the Age of Human Rights Accountability: Comparative and International Perspectives*. Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Nobles, Melissa. "The Prosecution of Human Rights Violations." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13, no. 1 (2010): 165–82.
- Olsen, Tricia D., Andrew G. Reiter, and Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm. "Taking Stock: Transitional Justice and Market Effects in Latin America." *Journal of Human Rights* 10, no. 4 (2011): 521–43.
- Pion-Berlin, David. "To Prosecute or to Pardon? Human Rights Decisions in the Latin American Southern Cone." *Human Rights Quarterly* 15 (1993): 105.130.
- Roht-Arriaza, Naomi and Javier Mariezcurrena, eds. *Transitional Justice in the Twenty-First Century: Beyond Truth versus Justice*. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Rubio-Marín, Ruth, Cauldia Paz, Paz Bailey, and Julie Guillerot. "Indigenous Peoples and Claims for Reparation: Tentative Steps in Peru and Guatemala." In *Identities in Transition: Challenges for Transitional Justice in Divided Societies*. Edited by Paige Arthur, 17–53. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions are Changing World Politics*. New York: W.W. Norton & Co, 2011.
- Skaar, Elin. *Judicial Independence and Human Rights in Latin America: Violations, Politics, and Prosecution*. 1st ed. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011.



## Week 8 (10/6): The Functioning of Democracy

- Mazzuca, Sebastián L. “Access to Power Versus Exercise of Power: Reconceptualizing the Quality of Democracy in Latin America.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 45, no. 3 (2010): 334–357.
- Saiegh, Sebastián. “Active Players or Rubber Stamps? An Evaluation of the Policymaking Role of Latin American Legislatures.” In *How Democracy Works: Political Institutions, Actors, and Arenas in Latin American Policymaking*. Edited by Carlos G. Scartascini, Ernesto Stein and Mariano Tommasi, 47–75. Washington D.C., Cambridge MA: Inter-American Development Bank, David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University, 2010. **(IADB Book)**.
- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, eds. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006 (**Ch. 1**, pp. 1-30).
- Stokes, Susan C. “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, 2006.
- Carey, John M., and Peter Siavelis. “Election Insurance and Coalition Survival: Formal and Informal Institutions in Chile.” In *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Edited by Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky, 160–77. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Brinks, Daniel M. “The Rule of (Non)Law: Prosecuting Police Killings in Brazil and Argentina.” In *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America* (pp. 201–226)
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. “Dispensing Justice at the Margins of Formality: The Informal Rule of Law in Latin America.” In *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America* (pp. 249-273).

### Further reading

- Auyero, Javier. *Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001 (pp.80-118).
- Calvo, Ernesto, and María V. Murillo. “Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market.” *American Journal of Political Science* 48, no. 4 (2004): 742–757.\*
- Dominguez, J. and M. Shifter, eds. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2008.\*
- Fox, Jonathan. “The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico.” *World Politics* 46, no. 2 (1994): 151–184.\*
- Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven Wilkinson, eds. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.\*
- Levitsky, Steven, and María V. Murillo. “Variation in Institutional Strength.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 12, no. 1 (2009): 115–133.\*
- Mainwaring, Scott P., and Matthew S. Shugart. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997.\*
- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal. *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America*. New York NY: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Stokes, Susan C. “Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina.” *American Political Science Review* 99, no. 3 (2005): 315–325.\*
- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. “What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt Out of Clientelism.” *American Journal of Political Science* 56, no. 3 (2012): 568–583.
- Weyland, Kurt. “Limitations of Rational-Choice Institutionalism for the Study of Latin American Politics.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 37, no. 1 (2002): 57–85.\*

## Week 9 (10/13): Political Parties and Party Systems

- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy R. Scully, eds. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. California: Stanford University Press, 1995. Introduction (pp. 1-34).
- Coppedge, Michael. "The Dynamic Diversity of Latin American Party Systems." *Party Politics* 4, no. 4 (1998): 547–568.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk A. Hawkins, Juan P. Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Zechmeister Elizabeth J. *Latin American Party Systems*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, Chapter 3 (pp. 96-118).
- Roberts, Kenneth M. "Social Inequalities Without Class Cleavages in Latin America's Neoliberal Era." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36, no. 4 (2002): 3–33.
- Levitsky, Steven. "From Populism to Clientelism? The Transformation of Labor-Based Party Linkages in Latin America." In *Patrons, Clients, and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Edited by Herbert Kitschelt and Steven Wilkinson, 206–26. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Mainwaring, Scott. "Brazil: Weak Parties, Feckless Democracy." In *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Edited by Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully. California: Stanford University Press, 1995, Ch. 11 (pp. 354–98).
- Lyne, Mona M. "Parties as Programmatic Agents: A Test of Institutional Theory in Brazil." *Party Politics* 11, no. 2 (2005): 193–216.

### Further reading

- Benton, Allyson L. "The Strategic Struggle for Patronage: Political Careers, State Largesse, and Factionalism in Latin American Parties." *Journal of Theoretical Politics* 19, no. 1 (2007): 55–82.
- Burgess, Katrina, and Steven Levitsky. "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 (2003): 881–911.
- Calvo, Ernesto, and V. Murillo. "When Parties Meet Voters: Assessing Political Linkages through Partisan Networks and Distributive Expectations in Argentina and Chile." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, (2012)\*
- Dix, Robert H. "Cleavage Structures and Party Systems in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 22, no. 1 (1989): 23–37.
- Hagopian, Frances, Carlos Gervasoni, and Juan A. Moraes. "From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 3 (2008): 360–391.
- Hunter, Wendy. *The Transformation of the Workers' Party in Brazil, 1989-2009*. CUP, 2010.
- Jones, Mark P., and Scott P. Mainwaring. "The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems: An Empirical Measure and an Application to the Americas." *Party Politics* 9, no. 2 (2003): 139–166
- Levitsky, Steven. "An 'Organised Disorganisation': Informal Organisation and the Persistence of Local Party Structures in Argentine Peronism." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 33, no. 1 (2001): 29–66.
- Levitsky, Steven. "From Patronage Politics to Machine Politics: The Transformation of Party-Union Linkages in Argentine Peronism, 1983-1999." *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 3 (2003): 3–36.\*
- Lupu, Noam. "Party Brands and Partisanship: Theory with Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Argentina." *American Journal of Political Science* 57, no. 1 (2013): 49–64.
- Mainwaring, Scott. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: the Case of Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.\*
- Middlebrook, Kevin J. *Conservative Parties, the Right, and Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000.
- Roberts, Kenneth M., and Erik Wibbels. "Party Systems and Electoral Volatility in Latin America: A Test of Economic, Institutional, and Structural Explanations." *American Political Science Review* 93, no. 3 (1999)

## Week 10 (10/20): Left Turn

- Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011, Introduction, Chapters 2-3, 6-10, 12-13, and Conclusions (pp. 1-30, 52-92, 139-259, 283-324, 399-428).

### Further reading

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- Collier, Ruth B. and Samuel Handlin, eds. *Reorganizing Popular Politics: Participation and the New Interest Regime in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. Etchemendy, Sebastian. “Repression, Exclusion, and Inclusion: Government-Union Relations and Patterns of Labor Reform in Liberalizing Economies.” *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 3 (2004): 273–290.
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**Paper topic due date: At this point, you should have met with me to discuss your paper topic.**

## Week 12 (11/03): Representation II – Indigenous Politics and Social Movements

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## Week 13 (11/10): Representation III – Gender Politics

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- Baldez, Lisa. “Elected Bodies: The Gender Quota Law for Legislative Candidates in Mexico.” *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 29, no. 2 (2004): 231–258.
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## Week 15 (11/24): Social Policy, Poverty, and Inequality

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- Zucco, Cesar. "When Payouts Pay Off: Conditional Cash-Transfers and Voting Behavior in Brazil 2002-2010." *American Journal of Political Science* 47, no. 3 (2013): 810–822.\*



## Week 16 (12/1): Field-Research

- “Symposium: Should Everyone do Fieldwork?” *The Organized Section in Comparative Politics of the American Political Science Association* 16, no. 2 (2005): 8–18.
- “Symposium: Field Research.” *Qualitative Methods: Newsletter of the American Political Science Association Organized Section on Qualitative Methods* 2, no. 1 (2004): 2–14.
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**Final papers are due**

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