

**Latin American Politics: Democracy, Representation, and the Rule of the Law (POLS W4461)**

Instructor: Prof. M. Victoria Murillo ([mm2140@columbia.edu](mailto:mm2140@columbia.edu))

Instructors' Office: International Affairs Building 832.

Instructors' Office Hours: TBA

Class Meetings: Tuesdays & Thursdays 10:10-11:25-Fayerweather 310

TAs: Julia Rubio ([jmr2263@columbia.edu](mailto:jmr2263@columbia.edu))

Jorge Mangonnet ([jgm2159@columbia.edu](mailto:jgm2159@columbia.edu))

**Class description**

This is a lecture class that seeks to introduce students to social scientific analysis while discuss the shifting dynamics of political representation in Latin America. In analyzing political representation in the region, it focuses on demands for political inclusion by different actors and how they were resisted or accepted by established elites in a process that moved from regime change to electoral rotation in power. The course covers these political dynamics and their institutional consequences since the onset of the twentieth century, starting with the Mexican Revolution, until the contemporary period where democracy is the predominant form of government and elections a crucial tool for social and political change. While analyzing the politics of Latin America, we will cover important political science concepts associated with democratic representation, social inclusion and the rule of the law, such as social movement mobilization, political regime change, presidentialism, political party systems, political identities, state capacity, and institutional weakness.

The emphasis on political inclusion and representation is crucial to understand political dynamics in a region characterized by political instability during most of the twentieth century, but is also crucial to understand its current political landscape. The emphasis on social scientific concepts is useful to link the political phenomena analyzed in Latin America with its counterparts in other regions of the world and to allow students develop comparative tools for political analysis.

The class is structured to combine political science literature along with fiction and documentaries. Students are encouraged to relate the political science concepts studied in class with other forms of expression that illuminate our understanding of Latin American politics. The lectures are prepared to frame the issues of each class and complement the readings. Students are required to do the readings and expected to participate in class asking relevant questions or making appropriate comments and undergraduate students are expected to attend sections led by TAs where the bibliography of the course will be reviewed and discussed. The exams will cover the information provided in lectures and in the readings.

**Requirements** (for undergraduates and MA students)—there is **NO final exam** in this class, there are 2 in-class exams that cover the first and second part of the syllabus as indicated below, as well as two short papers as explained below.

- A one or two page double spaced paper (10% of grade) linking one of list of political science concepts studied in class with a section in the novels in the first part of the class. (A list of concepts will be provided for selecting one of them; the student needs to pick the paragraph in the book and explain why is that they illustrate the political science concept selected). The two page limit is strict since the exercise is to explain the linkage between a paragraph and a social science concept, which should require more than a few paragraphs.
- One page double spaced paper answering one of two questions linking the literature on democratic transitions and the movie “NO” (10% of the grade) (due one week after the movie). The one page limit is STRICT, since this is only one answer connecting the scholarly concepts with a scene of the movie.
- One in-class mid-term (30% of grade)
- One in-class second exam (40% of the grade).

The exams will cover the material discussed in the lectures and in the sections as well as required readings and movies. There will be questions linking the documentary movies and the social science concepts discussed in class. Each exam will include the material cover in that part of the course—the final only covers the second part of the course.

- Attendance to sections and participation in lectures also inform the final grade (10% of the grade).

Attendance to sections is required for undergraduates. The required texts are ONLY discussed in the sections whereas lectures focus on general concepts that frame such discussions, thus there is no overlapping between lecture and sections.

### Books

- Thomas Skidmore, Peter Smith, and J. Green (2010) *Modern Latin America*, 8th. Edition, Oxford University Press.
- Guillermo O'Donnell & Phillippe Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies* (Johns Hopkins University Press)

### Readings:

- All the readings are on reserve at Lehman library.
- The library reserves section (courseworks) has all the readings that can be posted (not books where copyright does not allow posting).
- In addition to the PS books, you are required to read 2 novels:
  - Mexican Revolution: Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs* OR Angeles Mastretta, *Lovesick*.
  - Peronism: Tomas Elloy Martinez, *Santa Evita*

## Plan of Lectures & Readings for Each Week

### **(1) Introduction to the Class (9/7)**

Introduction to LA: the study of Latin America in Political science, the shifting meaning of political participation and implications in terms of state building in the region.

Required

- J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment", *Comparative Politics* 10:4, July 1978: 535-557.

### **(2) Democracy: Participation & Opposition (9/8)**

The concept of democracy in political science. Tensions between participation and opposition in Latin America from the construction of national states in the 1880s to the expansion of suffrage. The cases of Chile, Argentina & Mexico.

Required:

- Skidmore & Smith 8<sup>th</sup> edition, chapter 12.

Recommended:

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy, Participation and Opposition* (Yale University Press 1971), pp.1-16, 33-47.

### **(3) The Failure of Democracy and the Mexican Revolution (9/13)**

From the effective suffrage and no re-election to social revolution.

Required:

- Azuela, *The Underdogs* OR Mastretta, *Lovesick*.
- Skidmore & Smith, chapter 3 (Mexico): pp 47-63.
- Judith Adler Hellman, *Mexico in Crisis*, chapters 1 and 2.

### **(4) The expansion of participation & the emergence of populism (9/15&9/20)**

The politics of populism as a mechanism for political inclusion. The case of Argentina.

**9/15: discussion of expectations about the short paper.**

Required:

- Skidmore & Smith, chapter 9 (Argentina): pp.236-256 & chapter 11 (Brazil): pp.305-319.
- Thomas Eloy Martinez, *Santa Evita* (novel).
- Michael Conniff (ed). *Populism in Latin America* (University of Alabama Press 1999), introduction & chapter by Joel Horowitz, pp.1-38.

### **(5) The economic policies of populism (ISI) and Corporatism (9/22)**

Was there an elective affinity between economic policy and political system? Was there an economic explanation for the emergence of populism? The political incorporation of labor unions and how it shaped the political system in the post-war era. The bargaining between labor and political elites and its institutional expression in labor regulation and political representation

patterns. Are political and economic inclusion the two sides of the same coin? Comparison with Keynesianism and the welfare state.

Required:

- Eliana Cardoso & Ann Helwege, Import Substitution Industrialization, in Frieden et al (eds) *Modern Political Economy and Latin America* (Westview, 2000), pp. 155-163.
- Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, "Inducements vs. Constraints: Dissaggregating Corporatism", *American Political Science Review* vol. 73, No.4, pp.967-986.

Recommended:

Robert Kaufman and Barbara Stallings, "The Political Economy of Latin American Populism" in Rudisler Dornbush and Sebastian Edwards (eds) *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America* (Chicago University Press, 1991), pp.15-40.  
Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, *Shaping the Political Arena* (Princeton University Press 1991), chapter 1.

**9/26 at 10am: Deadline for SHORT PAPER, please email it to the instructor and to both TAs!!!!**

### **(6) The Failure of Political Incorporation (9/27)**

The promise of democracy and social mobilization for redistribution and political inclusion.  
Political violence and political closure. The failure of democracy to channel distributive conflict.

Required:

- Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*, chapter 2 ("The Late 1960s and the Election of Allende: Socioeconomic Change and Political Crisis"), pp.22-49.
- Che Guevara, "The Essence of Guerrilla Struggle" and "The Socialism and the Man in Cuba" in Che Guevara and The Cuban Revolution (Pathfinder 1987).
- Skidmore & Smith, Chapter 10 (Chile): pp.268-293.

Recommended:

Timothy Wickham-Crowley, *Winners, Losers and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements* in Susan Eckstein (ed). *Power and Popular Protest in Latin America* (University of California Press, 1989).

### **(7) Social Mobilization and democratic breakdown (9/29 &10/4) –**

*The Battle of Chile* Part I (documentary) in class.

Required reading :

- Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*, chapter 4, pp.81-110.

### **(8) Military rule (10/6)**

Economic development, political participation, and institutions as alternative explanations for the rise of military rule in Latin America. The emergence of Bureaucratic Authoritarian (BA) regimes. The cases of Argentina, Brazil and Chile. Comparing military regimes and their political underpinning. Right-wing and left-wing military rulers and state autonomy. Repression of mobilization versus political inclusion and modernization. Southern Cone versus Andean Countries.

Required:

- David Collier, Overview of the Bureaucratic Authoritarian Model” in David Collier (ed) *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton, 1979).
- Hector Schamis, “Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s”, *Comparative Politics*
- Stepan, The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion.
- Velasco, Juan. “The Master Will No Longer Feed Off your Poverty” in Peru Reader.
- Skidmore & Smith, chapter 6 (Peru): pp.155-162, chapter 9 (Argentina): pp.255-261 (from The Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Solution to the contemporary scene), chapter 11 (Brazil): pp.319-333.

**Recapitulation for the mid-term (10/11) & Mid-term (10/13): the time of truth.**

**(9) Transitions to Democracy I (10/18 & 10/20)**

Patterns of transition, bargaining as a strategic game with uncertain results, the cost of military rule and how to deal with the legacy during transition to democracy. The cases of Argentina, Brazil and Chile.

“NO” (movie about the Chilean transition to democracy) in class.

Required

- O’Donnell & Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies* (Johns Hopkins University Press 1986), chapters 1, 2, 3 and 7.

**10/18 INSTRUCTIONS FOR ONE PAGE SHORT PAPER ON THE MOVIE**

**(10) Transitions to democracy II (10/25)**

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

Required

- Magaloni, “The Demise of Mexico’s One Party Dominant Regime” in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (eds.) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks* (Cambridge 2005).
- Elisabeth Wood (2001) “An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa & El Salvador” *Comparative Political Studies* 8 (34): 862-888.
- Skidmore & Smith, pp.63-68 (Mexico).

**(11) New democracies and economic liberalization (10/27)**

The Debt Crisis & its political consequences. The crisis of incumbent regimes. Demands for political change in the context of economic constraints and increasing influence of international financial institutions and foreign investors.

Required:

- Barbara Stallings (1992), "International Influence on Economic Policy: Debt, Stabilization, and Structural Reform" in Haggard and Kaufman (eds) *The Politics of Economic Adjustment*.

Recommended

Sebastian Edwards (1995), *Crisis and Reform in Latin America*, pp. 41-58.

**ONE PAGE SHORT PAPER ANSWERING QUESTION ON THE MOVIE DUE on 10/31 at 10am (please email to instructors and both TAs).**

### **ELECTION DAY: NO CLASS ON 11/1**

#### **(12) The politics of economic liberalization (11/3)**

Why was democracy compatible with neoliberal reforms? Was the BA literature wrong? Why was the public supportive of neoliberal reforms? What was the make-up of political coalitions that allowed neoliberal reformers to be effective at governing and winning elections?

Required:

- Edward Gibson (1997), "The Populist Road to Market Reforms", *World Politics*.
- Kurt Weyland (1998), "Swallowing the Bitter Pill," *Comparative Political Studies*.

Recommended:

Susan Stokes, *Mandates and Democracy* (Cambridge University Press 2001).

M.Victoria Murillo (2001) "From Populism to Neoliberalism" *World Politics*.

#### **(13) Democratic Politics in Latin America: Presidentialism and its Problems (11/8)**

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

Required:

- Guillermo O'Donnell (1994) "Delegative Democracy", *Journal of Democracy*
- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal (2014). "A Two-Level Theory of Presidential Instability." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56 (1): 34–54.
- Javier Auyero, "The Political Makings of the 2001 Lootings in Argentina" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38/2 (2006).

Recommended:

David Samuels and Matthew Shugart (2012). *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*, chapter 7: "Parties' Presidential Dilemma in Brazil and Mexico:" (Cambridge UP).

#### **(14) Democratic Politics and Political Representation (11/10)**

The crisis of representation in the new democracies. Political parties as channels for representation and their limitations to include new actors and to institutionalization participation.

Democratic stability versus political inclusion. Check and balances versus majoritarianism. The emergence of political outsiders.

Required

- Kenneth Roberts (2013) "Market Reform, Programmatic (De-)Alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America" *Comparative Political Studies* 43: 1422-1452.
- Noam Lupu, "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America" *World Politics* 66: 4 (2014).

Recommended:

Burgess, K. and S. Levitsky (2003) "Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America: Environmental and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela" *Comparative Political Studies* 36, No. 8 (October): 859-880.

Scott Mainwaring, "The Crisis of Representation in the Andes" *Journal of Democracy* 17/3 (July 2006).

Wendy Hunter (2010). *The Transformation of the Workers Party in Brazil, 1989-2009* (Cambridge UP), chapter 2.

**(15) Identity Politics: Gender, Sexual Orientation & Ethnicity (11/15)**

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

Required

- Mala Htun, *Inclusion Without Representation* (Cambridge University Press, forthcoming 2015): chapters 1, 2 and 3.
- Jordi Diez, *The Politics of Gay Marriage in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press 2015), Introduction, Chapter 1 and 4 (1-24, 27-47, 111-151).

Recommended:

Jocelyn Viterna (2012) "The Left and "Life" in El Salvador", *Politics and Gender* 8 (2) June 2012), 248-254.

Andres Villareal, "Stratification by Skin Color in Contemporary Mexico", *American Sociological Review* 75:5 (2010).

**(16) Ethnic Identities and Indigenous Parties (11/17 & 11/22)**

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

Required

- Raul Madrid (2012) *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America* (Cambridge UP), chapters 1 and 6.
- Donna Lee Van Cott, "Latin America's Indigenous Peoples" *Journal of Democracy* 18, No.4 (October 2007).
- Deborah Yashar, "Ethnic Politics & Political Instability in the Andes" in Paul Drake and Eric Hershberg (eds) *State and Society in Conflict* (Pittsburgh 2006).

*Cocalero* (documentary about Evo Morales) in class

### **(17) Electoral Politics in the New Millennium: The Return of Ideology? (12/1)**

The different accounts for the electoral success of the left in the 2000s: globalization, inequality, electoral accountability. From free-markets to electoral socialism? The radicalization of policies in Latin America and the different types of left (social democratic versus populist) and their explanation: commodity boom, institutional legacies, and structural conditions.

Required

- M. Victoria Murillo, Virginia Oliveros & Milan Vaishnav (2011) "Economic Constraints and Presidential Agency" in Levitsky & Roberts (eds). *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (Johns Hopkins University Press)
- Kent Eaton, "New Strategies of the Latin American Right: Beyond Parties and Elections" in Juan Pablo Luna and Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser (eds) *The Resilience of the Latin American Right* (Johns Hopkins University Press 2014), pp 75-93.
- Phillip Kitzberger, "Media Wars and the New Left: Governability and Democratization in Argentina and Brazil", *Journal of Latin American Studies* (2016).

Recommended:

Steven Levitsky & Kenneth Roberts, *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (Johns Hopkins University Press): introduction & conclusion.  
Gustavo Flores-Macias, "Statist versus Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments Economic Policy in Latin America" *Comparative Politics* 42:4 (July 2010).

### **(18) Democratic Politics and the Rule of the Law (12/3)**

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

Required

- O'Donnell, "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems", *World Development* 21:8 (August 1993).
- Steven Levitsky and M.Victoria Murillo, "Building Institutions on Weak Foundations: Lessons from Latin America" *Journal of Democracy* 24/2 (2013).

Recommended:

Andreas Schedler, "The Criminal Subversion of Mexican Democracy", *Journal of Democracy* 25 (1) (January 2014).  
Daniel Brinks and Sandra Botero, "Inequality and the Rule of Law: Ineffective Rights in Latin American Democracies" in Brinks, Leiras, and Mainwaring (eds) *Reflections on Uneven Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O'Donnell* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015).

Recapitulation of second part of the course (12/8): your last chance to ask before the **Second In-Class Exam (12/10)**.