

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

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

Instructors' Office: International Affairs Building 832.

Instructors' Office Hours: Wednesday 2-3:30pm.

Class Meetings: Tuesdays & Thursdays

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):

- A one or two page 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. **Due on 9/23 at 10am.**
- One in-class mid-term (40% of grade) **in class on 10/10**
- One in-class final exam (50%). **in class on 12/5**
The exams will cover the material in the lectures and sections as well as required readings and movies. There will be questions linking the novels/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.

Background textbooks

- Thomas Skidmore, Peter Smith, and J. Green (2010) *Modern Latin America*, 7th. Edition, Oxford 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 two textbooks suggested for background information, 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

(1) Introduction to the Class (9/3)

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 (9/5)

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 (6th. Edition), chapter 2 (available on courseworks)

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 (9/10)

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

Required:

- Azuela, *The Underdogs* OR Mastretta, *Lovesick*.
- Skidmore & Smith, pp. 45-54.
- Judith Adler Hellman, *Mexico in Crisis*, chapters 1 and 2.

(4) The expansion of participation & the emergence of populism (9/12&9/17)

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

9/18: discussion of expectations about the short paper.

Required:

- Skidmore & Smith, pp.244-259.
- 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 (9/19)

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 Rudisher 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.

9/23 at 10am: Deadline for SHORT PAPER, please email it to the instructor and to both TAs!!!!

(6) The Failure of Political Incorporation (9/24)

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 (pp. 280-304).

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 (9/26 & 10/1) –

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 (10/3)

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 9 (pp. 259-271), chapter 11 (pp. 315 to 340), chapter 6 (pp. 153-157, 163-170).

Recapitulation for the mid-term (10/8): all the questions you did not dare to ask before.

Mid-term (10/10): the time of truth.

(9) Transitions to Democracy I (10/15 & 10/17)

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

- Marissa Navarro, "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo" in Susan Eckstein (ed) *Power and Popular Protest*.
- O'Donnell & Schmitter, *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (Johns Hopkins University Press 1986), pp. 3-48.

Recommended

Collier, Ruth Berins 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.

Hunter (1997), "Continuity or Change? Civil-Military Relations in Democratic, Argentina, Chile and Peru" *Political Science Quarterly*.

(10) Transitions to democracy II (10/22)

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 Hagopian and Mainwaring (ed) *The Third Wave of Democratization in LA* (2005).
- Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñean, "Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transition, Breakdowns, and Erosions" in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (eds.) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks* (Cambridge 2005).
- Skidmore & Smith, chapter 3, pp. 54-81 and chapter 4, pp.104-108.

Recommended:

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.

(11) New democracies and economic liberalization (10/24)

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*.
- Kurt Weyland (1998), "Swallowing the Bitter Pill," *Comparative Political Studies*

Recommended

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

(12) The politics of economic liberalization (10/29)

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

Recommended:

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

(13) Democratic Politics in Latin America: Presidentialism and its Problems (11/31)

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, and Andrea Castagnola (2009), "Presidential Control of High Courts in Latin America: A Long-term View" (1904-2006), *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 1, 2, 87-114.
- David Samuels and Matthew Shugart (2012). *Presidents, Parties and Prime Ministers*, chapter 7: "Parties' Presidential Dilemma in Brazil and Mexico:" (Cambridge UP).

ELECTION DAY: NO CLASS ON 11/5

(14) Democratic Politics and Political Representation (11/7)

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

- 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.
- Kenneth Roberts (2012) "Market Reform, Programmatic (De-)Alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America" Paper presented at the Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, San Francisco, May 2012.
- Wendy Hunter (2010). *The Transformation of the Workers Party in Brazil, 1989-2009* (Cambridge UP), chapter 2.

Recommended:

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

(15) The Inclusion of Ethnic Identities in the Political System (11/12 & 11/14)

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.

Cocalero (documentary about Evo Morales) in class

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).

Recommended:

Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press 2003).

(16) New Types of Political Participation: Identity Politics (11/19)

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

Required

- Jocelyn Viterna (2012) "The Left and "Life" in El Salvador", *Politics and Gender* 8 (2) June 2012), 248-254.
- Mala Htun and Juan Pablo Ossa (2012) "Political Inclusion of Marginalized Groups: Indigenous Reservations and Gender Parity in Bolivia", unpublished manuscript.
- Javier Corrales, Mari Crook and Mario Pecheny (2011) "Argentina: World Champion in LGBT rights: How Did That Happened?" Paper presented in the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association.

(17) The Rise of the Left in the 2000s (11/21)

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)
- Jason Ross Arnold and David Samuels, "Evidence from Public Opinion", in Levitsky & Roberts (eds) *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (Johns Hopkins University Press).

Recommended:

- Steven Levitsky & Kenneth Roberts *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (Johns Hopkins University Press): introduction & conclusion.
- Kurt Weyland, "The Left: Destroyer or Savior of the Market Model" in Levitsky & Roberts (eds).
- Robert Kaufman (2011) "The Political Left, the Export Boom, and the Populist Temptation" in Levitsky & Roberts (eds) *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (Johns Hopkins University Press).

(18) Democratic Politics and the Rule of the Law (11/26)

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"

- Javier Auyero, "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina. An Ethnographic Account" *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 35, No.3 (2000).
- 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, forthcoming).

Recommended:

Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo, "Theorizing About Weak Institutions: Lessons from the Argentine Case" in Steven Levitsky and Maria Victoria Murillo (eds.) *Argentine Democracy. The Politics of Institutional Weakness*, Pennsylvania State University Press 2005.

Recapitulation before the exam (12/3): your last chance to ask...

Final exam (12/5):