

## Syllabus for Latin American Political Economy- PS W3952

Meeting Times: **Wednesdays 10:10-12:00p.**

Instructor: Prof. M.Victoria Murillo

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Office hours: Wednesdays 2-3:30 pm.

Office: IAB 832

### Class Admission & Requirements:

Admission is limited to 15 students and requires instructor permission. There is no online registration and the instructor needs to sign an add/drop form for registration.

Latin American Politics (POLS W4461) or equivalent background on Latin American politics is a requirement for admission whereas the scope and methods' class from PS is strongly encouraged.

### Objectives

- This class focuses on the transformation of Latin American political economy since the Debt Crisis of the 1980s. It focuses on the convergent process of political democratization and economic liberalization that occurred in the 1990s as well as the similar experience with the expansion of social policy, changes in social structure and emergence of left wing movements in the new millennium at the time of the commodity boom triggered by Asian demand. Regional patterns within Latin America will be explored.
- This seminar is NOT an introduction to Latin American political economy, it assumes a basic background on Latin American politics and history and thus a prior class on Latin American politics is a requirement and a background on research design is strongly recommended.
- The class reviews academic debates on the relationship between political and economic process, focusing on the impact of political dynamics of economic and social policies as well as the consequences of those policies on new political dynamics.
- Class discussion will combine theoretical concepts and their application to Latin American politics since the 1980s. This seminar seeks to provide a forum to develop your writing skills in presenting cogent arguments and testing alternative theories in a social scientific manner. It does require students to come to class having done the reading and prepared to discuss hypotheses operationalization and testing in class. Students are expected to be able to apply the theories discussed in class to their own research papers. There will be two writing assignments to prepare for the skills you need for your final paper and a fair amount of time dedicated to discuss your proposal in terms of puzzle, research design, hypotheses definition, operationalization, and testing.

### Class assignments

- Class participation based on their contributions to class debates during the semester **(20% of the grade)**—students are expected to have read in advance and be prepared to engage the texts **(including the discussion papers posted by your colleagues)** .
- One short paper (3-5 pages maximum) in the form of a book review of one of the books read in class or a review of the collection of articles that is assigned that week (should be submitted by week 7). Short papers are **DUE on Tuesday at 5pm by email to the instructor and should also be posted in coursework for the other students to read as it will be part of class discussion**. The paper is worth **10% of the grade**. **Due any week between weeks 2 and 8 (except the week of the movie)—that is, due before the Spring Break!!!!**

- One research memo (one to two pages) due on week 9 or 10 (**worth 10% of the grade**) based on the following instructions and DUE on Tuesday before the class at 5pm. In both cases you have to write a 1-2 page memo describing the situation & following the instruction for the week you choose and also be prepared to discuss the memo in class. All students should read the memos for class discussion.
  - If written for week 9: write a memo on a case of protest associated to natural resources extraction in Latin America not analyzed by AQ and discuss if any of the lessons drawn by the analysis in the AQ pieces can be applied to this case.
  - If written for week 10: using the AQ social inclusion index either a) make a comparison of two different Latin American countries and provide a hypothesis/theory analyzed from the literature that explains different levels in the index, or b) look for a particular indicator in the index and propose a hypothesis/theory from the literature that explains the particular ranking of Latin American countries. You can use theories discussed in this class or other theories (you can resort to those studied in *PS W4461*), but remember to cite the source of the theory.
- One final paper (25-30 pages maximum). A paper idea should be developed early in the semester and to be presented in class on week 11 (the proposal should be written and delivered to the instructor that week as well). Based on the feedback from other students and the instructor, the proposal should be revised in the following two weeks. The revised paper proposal is due on week 13 and it will be graded (10% of the grade) and should include three elements:
  - the puzzle to be explained,
  - the discussion of a possible hypothesis,
  - the discussion of at least one alternative hypothesis, and
  - a possible research design.

Students have 2 weeks to complete this assignment including a week of research with no readings or class meeting.

The final paper is **worth 50% of the grade and it is due on May 12<sup>th</sup> at noon.**

The paper should a) test all the relevant theories discussed in the course that provide explanatory or control variables for the main hypotheses, b) use a comparative research design—including comparison between geographic units or time periods, c) test alternative explanations, d) involve independent research (beyond the readings of the class).

The initial findings of the paper will be presented and discussed in the last class of the semester.

Required books (can be bought online or at Book Culture or read on reserve at Lehman Library):

- Maria Victoria Murillo, *Political Competition, Partisanship and Policymaking in Latin American Public Utilities* (Cambridge UP 2009).
- Javier Auyero, *Contentions Lives* (Duke UP 2003)
- Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts (eds). *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins UP 2011).

Required Background Reading from PS W4461:

*I assume that you have read in Latin American Politics (PS W4461) the following texts and the discussion of the class texts will build from these readings and make connections to them (when reference to these readings are important a 'refresh' note will be posted in the reading list of the week):*

- Barbara Stallings, "International Influence on Economic Policy: Debt, Stabilization, and Structural Reform" in Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman (eds.) *The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (Princeton University Press 1992).
- M.Victoria Murillo, "[From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America.](#)" *World Politics* 52 (January 2000)

- Edward Gibson, "The populist road to market reform - Policy and electoral coalitions in Mexico and Argentina", *World Politics* 49 (3) (April 1997).
- Kurt Weyland, "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 31 (5) (October 1998): 539-568.
- Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy", *Journal of Democracy* 5 (January 1994)
- Javier Auyero, "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina. An Ethnographic Account" *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 35, No.3 (2000).
- Katrina Burgess and Steven Levitsky, "Environmental Change and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela", *Comparative Political Studies*, 36/8 (October 2003).
- Kenneth Roberts (2013) "Market Reform, Programmatic (De-)Alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America", *Comparative Political Studies*.
- 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).

#### Week 1: Introduction (1/22)

Presentation of the course, general themes and class dynamics.

The economic evolution of Latin America in the last 3 decades will be briefly presented so that we can focus on the politics in the subsequent weeks.

- Bertola and Ocampo, *The Economic Development of Latin America Since Independence* (Oxford UP 2013), chapter 5 [this is a useful background reading that I will be presenting the first class].

#### Week 2: The Historical Legacies of Economic Inequality and Its Political Consequences (1/29)

- Engerman and Sokoloff (2002) "Factor Endowments, Inequality, and Paths of Development Among New World Economies" *Economia* 3. Fall.
- John Coatsworth. 2008. "Inequality, Institutions, and Economic Growth in Latin America", *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40: 545-569.
- James Mahoney, *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge University Press 2010): chapters 1 and 6.

#### Week 3: The Supply Side of Free-Market Policies I: Democratic Accountability (2/5)

- Judith Teichman, *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America*, (University of North Carolina Press 2001), chapters 1 & 3.
- Stokes, Susan. "What Do Policy Switches Tell Us about Democracy?" in Adam Przeworski, Susan Stokes and Bernard Manin, eds. *Democracy, Accountability and Representation* (Cambridge University Press, 1999).

Refresh:

- Barbara Stallings, "International Influence on Economic Policy: Debt, Stabilization, and Structural Reform" in Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman (eds.) *The Politics of Economic Adjustment* (Princeton University Press 1992).
- Edward Gibson, "The populist road to market reform - Policy and electoral coalitions in Mexico and Argentina", *World Politics* 49 (3) (April 1997).

- Kurt Weyland, "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 31 (5) (October 1998): 539-568.
- Katrina Burgess and Steven Levitsky, "Environmental Change and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela", *Comparative Political Studies*, 36/8 (October 2003).

Week 4: The Demand Side of Free-Market Policies II: Democratic Responsiveness (2/12)

- Andy Baker, "Why is Trade Reform So Popular in Latin America? A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Preferences", *World Politics* 55/3 (April 2003).
- Maria Victoria Murillo, *Political Competition, Partisanship, and Policymaking in Latin American Public Utilities* (Cambridge University Press 2009), introduction, chapters 1, 2 and 3 (1-144) .
- Hector Schamis, "[Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America.](#)" *World Politics* 51 (January 1999).

Refresh:

- M.Victoria Murillo, "[From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America.](#)" *World Politics* 52 (January 2000)

Week 5: From Acquiescence to Protest: The View from Below (2/19)

- Kurtz, Marcus J. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in an Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America" *World Politics*, 52, 2 (January): 262-302.
- *Javier Auyero, Contentions Lives* (Duke UP 2003), chapters 5, 6, & 7 (p.115-171).
- Maria Victoria Murillo and Andrew Schrank, "With a Little Help from my Friends: External and Domestic Allies and Labor Rights in Latin America", *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 38, No. 8 (October 2005.)

Week 6: Reactions to Free-Market Policies: The Politicians' View (2/25)

*South of the Border* (documentary).

Week 7 : Voters Meet Politicians: External Constraints or Democratic Alternation? (3/5)

- Maria Victoria Murillo, Virginia Oliveros and Milan Vaishnav, "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation?" *Latin American Research Review* Vol.45, No.3 (2010)
- Robert Kaufman, " The Political Left, the Export Boom, and the Populist Temptation" in Levitsky and Roberts (eds). *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins UP 2011).
- Gustavo Flores-Macias, "Explaining Leftist Governments Economic Policies in Latin America", *Comparative Politics* (July 2010).

Refresh:

- Jason Ross Arnold and David Samuels, "Evidence from Public Opinion" in Levitsky & Roberts (eds). *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins UP 2011).
- Murillo, Oliveros & Vaishnav "Economic Constraints and Presidential Agency" in Levitsky and Roberts (eds). *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America* (Johns Hopkins UP 2011).
- Kenneth Roberts (2013) "Market Reform, Programmatic (De-)Alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America", *Comparative Political Studies*.

Week 8: Social Policy and Distributive Politics (3/12)

- Alberto Díaz-Cayeros and Beatriz Magaloni. "Aiding Latin America's Poor." *Journal of Democracy* 20.4 (2009): 36-49.
- Cesar Zucco. 2008. "The President's New Constituency: Lula and the Pragmatic Vote in Brazil's 2006 Presidential Election," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40: 29-49.
- Michael Penfold Becerra. 2007. "Clientelism and Social Funds: Evidence from Chavez' Misiones", *Latin American Politics and Society* 49/4: 63-84.
- Lena Lavinas, "21<sup>st</sup> Century Welfare", *New Left Review* 84 (Nov-Dec. 2013): 5-40.

**Spring Break (March 19<sup>th</sup> no class)**

Week 9: The Resource Boom (3/26).

- Anthony Bebbington, "Crossing Boundaries," *Americas Quarterly* (winter 2013, vol. 7, No.1)
- Bernice Lee, "The Geopolitics of the Modern Resource Boom," *Americas Quarterly* (winter 2013, vol. 7, No.1)
- Rosemary Thorp et al., "Avoiding the Resource Curse," *Americas Quarterly* (winter 2013, vol. 7, No.1)
- "Three Countries, Three Different Trajectories" & "Cases, Comparison & Conclusion", *Americas Quarterly* (winter 2013, vol. 7, No.1).

Week 10: The Evolution of Social Structure in the New Millennium (4/2)

Bring the readings to class since it will be devoted to analyzing the data and seeking to assess potential explanations for the observed patterns.

- The World Bank, "Economic Mobility and the Rise of the Latin American Middle Class", overview and chapter 1.
- Americas Quarterly, "Social Inclusion index 2013", (summer 2013, 7/1 )
- Tanya Hernandez, "Affirmative Action in the Americas", *Americas Quarterly* (summer 2013, vol. 7, No.3).
- Luis F. Lopez-Calva, "Not Poor, but Not Middle Class Yet", *Americas Quarterly* (Fall 2012, 6/4).

Week 11: paper proposal presentation (4/9)

Week 12: Research Week (4/16) NO CLASS!!!!

Based on the feedback received on your proposal, **you should use this week without reading to start the research on your paper** and to produce an outline in response to the instructor comments to be delivered on week 13.

Week 13: TBA (4/23)

Week 14: final paper presentations & general discussion (4/30)