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Washington University in St. Louis  
Department of Political Science

**PS 326B. Latin American Politics.**

Fall 2013  
T Th 10:00-11:30 (Seigle Hall L002)

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## Introduction

This course aims to provide students with a basic understanding of Latin America's quandaries in the road towards political and economic development. In particular, we explore why Latin American societies have undergone cycles of democracy and dictatorship, why they have failed to find paths toward sustainable development, and why they have been unable to correct dramatic economic disparities. In the course of this overview, we will look at structural, cultural, and institutional theories that purport to explain Latin America's endemic political and economic malaise. The course is divided into three parts. Part One is a historic overview of Colonial political and economic institutions, the nineteenth-century liberal order, and the political mobilization of disenfranchised sectors that accompanied industrialization during the twentieth century. Part Two provides a glimpse into the causes of democratic breakdown in the 1960s and 1970s, the policy-making record of military dictatorships, and the dual transition to democracy and markets in the 1980s. Part Three adopts an institutional view to further our knowledge of how Latin American democratic systems have worked in the recent past, starting from an analysis of the varied ways in which democratic regimes were eventually rebuilt. We will then look into the main features of presidential regimes, electoral laws, and party systems throughout the region in order to account for differences in the inner workings of Latin American democracies.

No survey of Latin America can claim to cover the ample diversity of historical experiences and contemporary political systems that coexist throughout the region. In order to impose some structure on the vast amount of information potentially available to the student of Latin American politics, we will focus mainly on the political development of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico. However, we will devote time to the analysis of circumscribed historical episodes in other countries. These episodes

shed broader light upon political phenomena of paramount importance throughout the region, such as revolution, democratic breakdown, the rise of neoliberalism and the recent re-appearance of a populist left. Hence, our survey will touch upon the 1973 military coup in Chile, the success of revolutionary movements in Cuba and Nicaragua, the turmoil of widespread guerrilla activity in Colombia and Peru, and the recent re-appearance of a populist left in Venezuela and other countries.

## Requirements and Grading

Please read this section carefully: Registration in this course implies that you agree with *all* elements of evaluation.

Two partial exams (October 3 and November 5) and one final exam (December 17, 6pm) provide the main basis for evaluation (25% each). The exams will test your recollection of historical facts, but seek mainly to assess your ability to “make sense” of Latin American politics. Consequently, you should expect to write short essays and define important concepts and ideas in these exams, aside from replying to shorter “multiple choice” items. A second important component of your grade will be a “team presentation” (2–3 persons per team, depending on class enrollment) of about 7 to 10 minutes on important debates in Latin American studies and Political Science (15%). The remainder of the grade (10%) will be based on my assessment of your participation in class, *including attendance and informed participation in class discussions*. Since the amount of reading for this class is not trivial and since I will on occasion ask questions in class that are related to the readings, the optimal strategy is to keep up with the reading schedule.

Testing your knowledge about any subject-matter is, at best, an exercise in futility: If you know the material well, you will ace most exams, regardless of their design; you will also flunk any exam if you have not mastered the material. In between these two extremes, exams are per force imprecise ways to gauge your knowledge and ability. I will make every effort to grade your exams fairly and in a timely manner. If you consider that I have made a gross mistake in grading any exam, you should address your concerns to me within three days of receiving your grade by e-mail. I expect you to substantiate any claim you make, to be respectful, and to avoid the frivolous pursuit of extra points. Finally, note that I adhere to the following number-to-letter grade conversion chart:

100-97=A+	87-89=B+	77-79=C+	67-69=D+
93-96=A	83-86=B	73-76=C	63-66=D
90-92=A-	80-82=B-	70-72=C-	60-62=D-

Students who take this class under the Pass/Fail option must receive a grade of B– or better in order to obtain a Pass on their final grade. Students who take the Pass/Fail option should be aware that only courses taken for a letter grade may be used toward their major or minor. The College of Arts and Sciences will handle issues pertaining to academic integrity. The academic integrity policy is available [here](#).

**Extra Credit:** There are NO EXTRA CREDIT opportunities in this course.

## Readings

Daniel C. Hellinger, *Comparative Politics of Latin America. Democracy at Last?*, Routledge, 2011 (CPLA)

Washington University's bookstore carries copies of this text. If you cannot find a copy in the bookstore, please procure one elsewhere. We will complement these books with readings available at [Blackboard](#), [Jstor](#), and [Project MUSE](#).

## Course Schedule

### I. Introduction (Aug. 27, 29)

Hellinger, Introduction (pp. 1–10)

Hellinger, Ch. 1, “Conceptions of Democracy” (pp. 19–39)

### PART ONE. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### II. Modes of Colonization (Sept. 3, 5)

Hellinger, Ch. 3, “Democratic and Autocratic Threads in Latin American History”

Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson and James A. Robinson. 2001. “The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation”, *American Economic Review*, 91(5):1369–1401.

#### TEAM READINGS 1:

Ronald W. Batchelder and Nicolás Sánchez, “The *encomienda* and the Optimizing Imperialist: An Interpretation of Spanish Imperialism in the Americas”, *Public Choice*, 156:45–60.

Melissa Dell. 2010. “The Persistent Effects of Peru’s Mining *Mita*”, *Econometrica*, 78(6):1863–1903.

### III. Independence and the Emergence of a Liberal Order (Sept. 10, 12, 17)

Hellinger, Ch. 4, “Political Without Economic Independence”

Kenneth L. Sokoloff and Stanley L. Engermann, “History Lessons: Institutions, Factor Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World”, *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14(3): 217–232, 2000.

#### TEAM READINGS 2:

John Coatsworth, “Obstacles to Economic Growth in Nineteenth-Century Mexico”, *American Historical Review*, 83 (1), 1978. ([Jstor](#))

Douglass C. North, William Summerhill, and Barry Weingast, “Order, Disorder and Economic Change: Latin America vs. North America”, in Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Hilton Root, eds., *Governing for Prosperity*, Yale University Press, 2000.

TEAM READINGS 3:

Michael Bordo and Carlos Vegh, “What If Alexander Hamilton had been Argentinean?”, *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 49, 459–494, 2002 (Skip Sections 4 and 5).

Sebastián M. Saiegh, “Political Institutions and Sovereign Borrowing: Evidence from Nineteenth-Century Argentina”, *Public Choice*, 156:61–75, 2013.

**IV. Populism and ISI (Sept. 19, 24, 26, October 1)**

Hellinger, Ch. 5, “Development and Dependency: Theory and Practice in Latin America”

Hellinger, Ch. 6, “Populism, Development, and Democracy in the Twentieth Century”

Alma Guillermoprieto, “Letter from Mexico City”, *The New Yorker*, September 17, 1990 (reprinted in *The Heart that Bleeds*).

TEAM READINGS 4:

Eduardo Posada-Carbó, “Electoral Juggling: A Comparative History of the Corruption of Suffrage in Latin America, 1830-1930,” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 32(3):611–644, 2000.

Alan Knight, “Populism and Neo-populism in Latin America, especially Mexico”, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30, 1998

TEAM READINGS 5:

Carlos Díaz Alejandro, “Latin America in the 1930s”, in Rosemary Thorp (ed.), *Latin America in the 1930s: The Role of the Periphery in World Crisis*, MacMillan, 17-49, 1984

Albert Hirschman, “The Political Economy of Import Substituting Industrialization in Latin America”, *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 84, February 1968

**First Partial Exam (Oct. 3)**

**V. Revolution (Oct. 8, 10)**

Hellinger, Ch. 11, “Nationalism and Revolution in Mexico and Cuba”

Hellinger, Ch. 12, “Democracy in Times of Revolution”

James Mahoney, “Radical, Reformist and Aborted Liberalism: Origins of National Regimes in Central America”, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 33 (2), pp. 221-256, 2001.

TEAM READINGS 6:

Timothy Wickham-Crowley, “A Qualitative Comparative Approach to Latin American Revolutions”, *International Journal of Comparative Sociology*, 32(1-2), 82-109, 1991.

Charles D. Brockett, “Measuring Political Violence and Land Inequality in Central America”, *American Political Science Review*, 86(1), 169-176, 1992.

PART TWO. BREAKDOWN OF AND TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY

**VI. Democratic Breakdown and Military Rule (Oct. 15, 17)**

Hellinger, Ch. 7, “Democratic Breakdown and Military Rule”

Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, “Lessons from Latin America: Democratic Breakdown and Survival”, *Journal of Democracy* 34(2), 123-137, 2013.

TEAM READINGS 7:

Guillermo Trejo, “Religious Competition and Ethnic Mobilization in Latin America: Why the Catholic Church Promotes Indigenous Movements in Mexico”, *American Political Science Review*, 2009, 103 (3):323-343 ([Jstor](#))

Anthony J. Gill, “Rendering unto Caesar? Religious Competition and Catholic Political Strategy in Latin America, 1962-79”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 38 (2), May 1994, 403-425 ([Jstor](#))

**VII. Transitions to Democracy (Oct. 22-24)**

Hellinger, Ch. 8, “State and Market in Latin America”

Hellinger, Ch. 9, “Transitions and “Pacted” Democracies in Brazil and the Southern Cone”

Stephan Haggard and Robert R. Kaufman, “Inequality and Regime Change: Democratic Transitions and the Stability of Democratic Rule”, *American Political Science Review*, 106(3), 495-516, 2012.

TEAM READINGS 8:

Frances Hagopian, “‘Democracy by Undemocratic Means’? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil”, *Comparative Political Studies* 23(2), pp. 147-166, 1990.

Guillermo O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy,” *Journal of Politics*, 5 no. 1 (1994), pp. 55-69.

### **VIII. Neoliberalism and Policy Switches (Oct. 29, 31)**

Hellinger, Ch. 10, “Transitions from Party-Dominant Regimes in Mexico and Venezuela”

Susan C. Stokes, “What Do Policy Switches Tell Us About Democracy?”, in Adam Przeworski, Susan C. Stokes, and Bernard Manin, eds., *Democracy, Accountability, and Representation*, Cambridge University Press, 1999 ([Telesis](#))

#### TEAM READINGS 9:

Matthew Carnes, “Institutionalizing Inequality: The Political Origins of Labor Codes in Latin America”, Kellogg Institute Working Paper.

M. Victoria Murillo, “From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America”, *World Politics*, 52 (2), 2000, pp. 135-174.

#### TEAM READINGS 10:

Gregg B. Johnson and Brian F. Crisp, “Mandates, Powers, and Policies”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 47 (1), 127-141, 2003.

Andy Baker, “Why is Trade Reform so Popular in Latin America? A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Policy Preferences”, 55(3): 423–455, 2003.

### **Second Partial Exam (Nov. 5)**

#### PART THREE. INSTITUTIONS OF DEMOCRACY

### **IX. Political Parties and Elections (Nov. 7, 12)**

Hellinger, Ch. 15, “Parties and Electoral Politics”

Javier Auyero, “The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account”, *Latin American Research Review*, 35(3):55–81, 2000 ([Jstor](#))

### **X. Presidents and Legislators (Nov. 14)**

Hellinger, Ch. 16, “Institutions, Constitutions, and Governance”

Gary Cox and Scott Morgenstern, “Latin America’s Reactive Assemblies and Proactive Presidents”, *Comparative Politics*, 33 (2), 2001

Arturo Valenzuela, “Latin American Presidencies Interrupted”, *Journal of Democracy* 15 (4), October 2004

#### TEAM READINGS 11:

Mark P. Jones, “Legislator Behaviour and Executive-Legislative Relations in Latin America”, *Latin American Research Review* 37 (3), Fall 2002.

Brian F. Crisp, Maria C. Escobar-Lemmon, Bradford S. Jones, Mark P. Jones, Michelle M. Taylor-Robinson, “Vote-Seeking Incentives and Legislative Representation in Six Presidential Democracies”, *Journal of Politics*, 66 (3), 2004.

TEAM READINGS 12:

Scott Mainwaring, “Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 26 (2), July 1993 ([Sage-CPS](#))

Jose A. Cheibub, Adam Przeworski, and Sebastián Saiegh, “Government Coalitions and Legislative Success under Parliamentarism and Presidentialism”, *British Journal of Political Science*, 34(4):565–587, 2004 ([Jstor](#)).

**Visit by Dr. Alejandro Poiré (Nov. 19)**

Shannon K. O’Neil, “Mexico Makes It. A Transformed Society, Economy, and Government”, *Foreign Affairs* 52, 2013.

If you understand Spanish, you might be interested in listening to fragments of a dual interview of O’Neil and Poiré sponsored by *The Economist* at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X1V54Rw-HNQ#t=18>.

**X. Presidents and Legislators (Nov. 21)**

TEAM READINGS 13:

Jose A. Cheibub, Argelina Figueiredo, and Fernando Limongi, “Political parties and governors as determinants of legislative behavior in Brazil’s Chamber of Deputies, 1988–2006”, *Latin American Politics and Society*, 51(1):1?30, 2009 ([Telesis](#)).

Christopher Garman, Stephan Haggard and Eliza Willis, “Fiscal Decentralization. A Political Theory with Latin American Cases”, *World Politics*, 53 (2).

Tulia G. Falletti, “A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective”, *American Political Science Review*, 2005, 99 (3):327–346 ([Jstor](#))

TEAM READINGS 14:

Gretchen Helmke, “The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 54(3), 737–750, 2010.

Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, “Democratization and Constitutional Crises in Presidential Regimes. Toward Congressional Supremacy?”, *Comparative Political Studies* 28(1):51–74, 2005 ([Sage-CPS](#)).

Please fill out [course evaluations](#) at your earliest convenience.

## **XII. Old and New Left (Nov. 26, Dec. 3)**

Hellinger, Ch. 13, “Social Class and Politics in Latin America”

Hellinger, Ch. 14, “ ‘New’ Social Movements, New Politics?”

Andy Baker and Kenneth Greene, “The Latin American Left’s Mandate. Free-Market Policies and Issue Voting in New Democracies”, *World Politics*, 63(1), 2011 ([Jstor](#))

### TEAM READINGS 15:

Kenneth M. Roberts, “Latin America’s Populist Revival”, *SAIS Review* 27(1), 3–15, 2007.

Weyland, Madrid, Hunter, “Leftist Governments in Latin America”

Mitchell Seligson, “The Rise of Populism and the Left in Latin America”, *Journal of Democracy*, 18 (3), 2007 .

## **XII. The War on Drugs (Dec. 5)**

Alma Guillermoprieto, “Day of the Dead: The New Narcocultura”, *The New Yorker*, November 10, 2008.

### TEAM READINGS 16:

James Kostelnik and David Skarbek. 2013. “The Governance Institutions of a Drug Trafficking Organization”, *Public Choice* 156:95–103.

John Bailey and Matthew M. Taylor, “Evade, Corrupt, or Confront? Organized Crime and the State in Brazil and Mexico”, *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 1(2):3–29, 2009.