

# POLI 134AA: Comparative Politics of Latin America

Spring, 2018

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## Course Description

This course is an introduction to the politics of Latin America. In the first part of the course, we will trace the 20th century political development of Chile and Mexico, and we will pay particular attention to how each country democratized and the strategies that their governments adopted to promote economic development and mitigate the destabilizing effects of inequality. In the second part of the course, we will turn our attention to Venezuela and Brazil and we will use these cases to explore the causes and consequences of Latin America's economic liberalization in the 1990s and the rise of the "New Left" in the 2000s. In the final part of the course, we will use examples from throughout the region to investigate the ways that political institutions shape politics in Latin America and the roles that populism, clientelism and ethnic politics play in mobilizing political support.

This course will meet three times a week throughout the quarter. Class meetings will consist of a mixture of lecture and small and large group discussion. Some class days will focus on the historical background of our four main cases, others will focus on major theoretical approaches in Latin American politics, while others will be devoted to analyzing current events, including this year's elections in Mexico and Brazil and the economic and political crisis in Venezuela.

## Evaluation

- Midterm Paper (40%), Due May 4, at the beginning of class
- Final Paper (50%), Due June 15, by 3pm, in SSB 352
- Attendance and Participation (10%)

The papers will be between 5 and 8 pages in length, and they will be based on the course readings.

## Expectations and Policies

- Late assignments will be penalized a full letter grade per day (including weekend days), unless cleared with the instructor at least 24 hours before the due-date. If an A-level paper is submitted one minute after the deadline, it will be graded as a B; if it is submitted 24 hours and one minute after the deadline, it will be graded as a C.
- Papers must be submitted in hardcopy format and electronic format, through Turnitin. No email attachments will be accepted under any circumstances.
- If you seek a re-grade, you must email the TA within 24 hours of the assignment being returned to the class, and explain—in that email and in detail—why you believe you deserve reconsideration. The TA then has the ability to review the entire assignment, and he has the authority to increase your grade, decrease your grade, or keep the grade unchanged.
- We expect you to attend all lectures and participate actively in the small group and large group discussions. We also expect you to do the required readings prior to lecture.
- The use of cell phones during class time is prohibited.

## Readings

This course will use the following textbook:

- Smith, Peter H. and Cameron J. Sells. *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Third Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2017.

The other readings will come from articles and book chapters that will be available on the TritonEd page for this course.

One of the hardest parts of being an undergraduate Political Science student is that it is often difficult to know which parts of a reading need to be read closely and which parts can be merely skimmed. In order to help guide you through the readings, the course schedule section of this syllabus uses the following key:

- **ESPECIALLY** means that these are the pages that are the most important, but you should still read the other pages in the assigned article or chapter as well
- **ONLY** means that these are the only pages of the assigned reading that are required. The other pages in the text will either be covered at another point in this course, or they deal with cases or examples that you do not need to understand for the purposes of this course.
- **SKIM** means that you should merely skim this reading or section.
- **OPTIONAL** means that you are not required to do this reading prior to lecture, but it is strongly recommended. Moreover, if you are writing your paper on the corresponding topic, it might be a good idea to do this reading at some point and incorporate it into your paper.

If a reading is not marked with one of these codes, then you should read all of it. When doing each reading, your focus should be on how the reading answers the questions posed at the beginning of each unit.

# Course Schedule

## April 2: Introduction and Overview

### Unit I: Chile: Democracy and Development in an Unequal Society

#### Questions:

- How did Chile develop an electoral democracy in the early 20th century?
- What was the “Social Question,” and how did various Chilean governments attempt to answer it?
- Why did Chile’s democracy collapse in the early 1970s?
- How did Chile redemocratize at the end of the 20th century?

#### April 4: Chile in the 19th Century

- Remmer, “The Timing, Pace and Sequence of Political Change in Chile”: **ESPECIALLY** 206-215 and 219-228
- **SKIM:** *Democracy in Latin America* (Hereafter *DLA*), Chapter 1 (“Cycles of Electoral Democracy”)

#### April 6: The Social Question

- Silva, “The Import-Substitution Model”: **ONLY** 67-77
- Valenzuela, Chapter 1 (“Chilean Politics at Mid-Century”)

#### April 9: The Revolution in Liberty: The Christian Democratic Years (1964-1970)

- Valenzuela, Chapter 2 (“The Late 1960s”): **ESPECIALLY** 33-49

#### April 11: The Chilean Road to Socialism: The Popular Unity Years (1970-1973)

- Valenzuela, Chapter 3 (“The Move to a Socialist Society”)

#### April 13: Explaining the Breakdown of Chilean Democracy

- Linz, “The Perils of Presidentialism”
- Ma, “The Rise and Fall of Bureaucratic Authoritarianism in Chile”: **ONLY** 51-59

### **April 16: Chile's Long Transition to Democracy (1980-2006)**

- Oxhorn, "Where Did All the Protesters Go? Popular Mobilization and the Transition to Democracy in Chile": **ONLY** 49-57
- Pastor, "Origins of the Chilean Binomial Electoral System": **ONLY** 38-47
- *DLA*, Chapter 2 ("Transitions and Continuities"): **ESPECIALLY** 43-52

### **April 18: Human Rights and Transitional Justice: Chile in Comparative Perspective**

- *DLA*, Chapter 3 ("The Military"): **ESPECIALLY** 73-85
- **OPTIONAL:** Pion-Berlin and Arceneaux, "Tipping the Civil-Military Balance: Institutions and Human Rights Policy in Democratic Argentina and Chile"

### **April 20: Chile Under the Concertación and Beyond (1990-2018)**

- Siavelis, "Elite-Mass Congruence, Partidocracia and the Quality of Chilean Democracy": **ESPECIALLY** 19-29
- **SKIM** *DLA*, Chapter 11 ("The People's Verdict")

## **Unit II: Mexico: The Rise and Fall of Hegemonic-Party Rule**

### **Questions:**

- How and why did the PRI dictatorship form?
- Why was the PRI dictatorship so durable and stable?
- Why did PRI hegemony unravel in the late 20th century?

### **April 23: The Mexican Revolution and the Formation of the PRI (1910-1940)**

- Smith, Chapter 2 ("Society and Politics in Mexico"): **ONLY** 28-38
- Monteón, "The Official Party of Mexico and Popular Participation"
- **Midterm Paper Prompt Distributed (Due May 4)**

### **April 25: “The Perfect Dictatorship” (1940-1988)**

- Magaloni, Chapter 1 (“Equilibrium Party Hegemony”): **ONLY** 44-52
- Magaloni, Chapter 2 (“Structural Determinants of Mass Support for the PRI”)
- **SKIM:** Smith, Chapter 9 (“The Rules of the Game”)

### **April 27: The Decline of PRI Hegemony (1988-2018)**

- Magaloni, Chapter 8 (“Electoral Fraud and the Game of Electoral Transitions”)
- **SKIM:** Greene, “The Political Economy of Authoritarian Single-Party Dominance”

### **April 30: Mexico’s 2018 Election**

- **Guest lecture by Marco Alcocer**
- *DLA*, Chapter 7 (“Elections”): **ONLY** 179-190
- Other reading **TBA**

## **Unit III: Venezuela and Brazil: Economic Reform and the “Pink Tide”**

### **Questions:**

- Why did countries across Latin America adopt “neoliberal” or free market economic reforms in the late 20th century?
- How did these economic reforms affect Latin American politics?
- Why did left-wing political movements come to power across Latin America in the 2000s?
- What explains the variation in the ways that different left-wing movements and leaders have governed?

### **May 2: Venezuela after Punto Fijo (1958-1998)**

- Karl, “Petroleum and Political Pacts”: **ESPECIALLY** 80-89

### **May 4: Brazil: The “Deadlocked Democracy” (1985-2002)**

- Ames, Chapter 1 (“Elections and the Politics of Geography”)
- **MIDTERM PAPER DUE AT THE BEGINNING OF CLASS**

### **May 7: The Free Market Reforms and the “Pink Tide”**

- Roberts, Chapter 5 (“Neoliberal Critical Junctures and Party System Stability”):  
*Note:* “LM” stands for “Labor-Mobilizing.” Chile, Mexico, Venezuela and Brazil all had labor-mobilizing party systems by the mid-20th century.
- *DLA*, Chapter 7 (“Elections”): **ONLY** 197-202
- **SKIM:** Levitsky and Roberts, “Latin America’s Left Turn”

### **May 9: The Rise and Consolidation of Chavismo in Venezuela (1998-2013)**

- Roberts, Chapter 8 (“Critical Junctures in Labor-Mobilizing Party Systems”):  
**ONLY** 214-225
- Corrales and Penfold, Chapter 2 (“Power Grabbing and the Rise of a Hybrid Regime in Venezuela, 1999–2009”)
- **OPTIONAL:** Lupu, “Who Votes for Chavismo? Class Voting in Hugo Chavez’s Venezuela”

### **May 11: Venezuela’s Economic and Political Crisis (2013-Present)**

- Corrales and Penfold, Chapter 8 (“The Less Competitive, More Authoritarian Regime”)

### **May 14: Brazil under the PT (2003-2016)**

- Samuels and Zucco, “Lulismo, Petismo, and the Future of Brazilian Politics”
- *DLA*, Chapter 8 (“State Capacity and Policy Performance”): **ONLY** 226-236

### **May 16: The Politics of Impeachment: The Fall of Dilma Rousseff in Comparative Perspective**

- Hochstetler, “Rethinking Presidentialism”
- Nunes and Melo, “Impeachment, Political Crisis and Democracy in Brazil”
- *DLA*: Spend a few minutes looking over the tragically outdated Table 1.3 on pages 25-26

### **May 18: Brazil’s 2018 Election**

- Reading **TBA**

## Unit IV: Political Institutions

### Questions:

- How do political institutions shape politics in Latin America?
- Why do institutions change over time?
- Who are the key institutional “veto players” in Latin American political systems, and how do they relate to each other?

### May 21: Electoral Systems

- *DLA*, Chapter 6 (“Institutional Design”): **ONLY** 150-157
- Nunes and Thies, “Inflation or Moderation? Presidential Runoffs, Legislative Party Systems, and Coalition,”: **SKIM** 1-23; **READ** 23-32.
- Wills-Otero, “Electoral Systems in Latin America: Explaining the Adoption of Proportional Representation Systems During the Twentieth Century”: **ONLY** 33-39

### May 23: The President and the Congress

- *DLA*, Chapter 6 (“Institutional Design”): **ONLY** 140-150
- *DLA*, Chapter 7 (“Elections”): **ONLY** 203-207
- Samuels and Shugart, Chapter 7 (“Parties’ ‘Presidential Dilemmas’ in Brazil and Mexico”)
- **SKIM**: Morgenstern, “Towards a Model of Latin American Legislatures”

### May 25: Federalism and Subnational Politics

- *DLA*, Chapter 6 (“Institutional Design”): **ONLY** 170-175
- **SKIM**: Samuels, “Concurrent Elections, Discordant Results: Presidentialism, Federalism, and Governance in Brazil”
- **SKIM**: Gibson, Chapter 5 (“Boundary Control in Democratizing Mexico”)

### May 28: MEMORIAL DAY; NO CLASS

## Unit V: Politics On The Ground

### Questions:

- What strategies do political parties and leaders use to mobilize political support?
- What are the consequences of these strategies for political accountability and the health of democracy?

### May 30: Populism

- *DLA*, Chapter 6 (“Institutional Design”): **ONLY** 164-170
- De la Torre, “The Ambiguity of Latin American ‘Classical’ Populism”
- **SKIM**: Roberts, “Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America”

### June 1: Clientelism

- Auyero, “The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina”
- **OPTIONAL**: Nichter and Palmer-Rubin, “Clientelism, Declared Support and Mexico’s 2012 Campaign”
- **Final Paper Prompt Distributed (Due June 15)**

### June 4: Race and Ethnicity

- *DLA*, Chapter 9 (“The Politics of Social Equity”): **ONLY** 255-264
- Madrid, “Obstacles to Ethnic Parties in Latin America”
- **OPTIONAL**: Postero, “Morales’s MAS Government: Building Indigenous Popular Hegemony in Bolivia”

### June 6: Is Democracy Receding?

- *DLA*, Chapter 10 (“Illiberal Democracy”)
- *DLA*, Epilogue: **ONLY** 343-349
- Levitsky and Loxton, “Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Andes”: **ESPECIALLY** 107-113

### June 8: Conclusion

- *DLA*, Chapter 12 (“The Dialectic of Democracy”)

**FINAL PAPER DUE FRIDAY, JUNE 15, BY 3PM, IN SSB 352**