

**PP 366: Political and Economic Development in Latin America**  
**Fall 2013**  
**Thursday 4-7pm, McManus 31**  
**Claremont Graduate University**

**Professor Melissa Ziegler Rogers**  
**Office Hours: Thursday 2-4pm**  
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**Course Description:** In this course we will read, analyze and critique important works on the politics of South America. This will include discussion of both the democratic and non-democratic periods in its history as well as the trends in economic development. Importantly, this course will specifically focus on South American democracy and its institutions of government. We will look at the functioning of these institutions and how they meet or fail to meet the demands and desires of their citizens. We will address consider how economic trends in the region have influenced and have been influenced by politics and vice versa.

**Course Requirements:** All students taking the seminar must do the assigned readings, write three 3-4 page response papers, complete a midterm and final exam, and participate in discussions. The response papers are short critical analyses of the readings; students will sign up for their choice of topics during the first seminar meeting. These critical reviews should focus your thoughts, prompt possible research topics, and guide our discussions. The papers should raise general questions about the readings as well as specific questions about the readings as well as specific questions about the readings under review. They should be thought-provoking. They can take on any aspect of the readings to be discussed that week; just be sure to analyze rather than summarize. The papers might critique or extend theories, consider applications to different cases, reexamine empirical evidence, etc. Students writing critical reviews will present their analysis (approximately 5 minutes) in seminar. To accommodate discussion, critical review papers are due 24 hours in advance of seminar, via email, to everyone enrolled.

The midterm and final exams will be essay questions meant to capture the important themes of the course. Students should integrate case knowledge learned in the course in their responses.

**Grading Rubric**

Class Participation 15%  
Response Papers 25%  
Midterm Exam 25%  
Final Exam 35%

**Readings:** Most readings are journal articles available online on Sakai. Students may want to buy the following books

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Shugart (eds). 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Morgenstern, Scott and Benito Nacif (eds). 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Stokes, Susan. 2001. *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **Week 1: Introduction to Latin American Politics (September 5)**

### **Week 2 (September 12): Studying South America**

Oszlak O. 1981. "The Historical Formation of the State in Latin America: Some Theoretical and Methodological Guidelines for its Study." *Latin American Research Review* 16(2): 3-32.

*Reading:* Vanden and Prevost, *Politics in Latin America*, Chapter 1: "An Introduction to Latin America (As it Is)"

Guillermoprieto, Alma. *The Heart that Bleeds*, Chapters "Buenos Aires 1991" "Lima 1991"

Wiesehomeier, Nina, and David Doyle (2012), Attitudes, Ideological Associations and the Left-Right Divide in Latin America, in: *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 4, 1, 3-33

### **Week 3 (September 19): Authoritarianism and the State**

Collier, David and Fernando Cardoso. 1979. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Chapters 1 and 2 "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model" p. 19-32 and "On the Characterization of Authoritarian Regimes in Latin America" p. 33-60.

Gervasoni, Carlos. "A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes." *World Politics* 62.2 (2010): 302-40.

Barros, Robert. 2002. "The Constitution of Exception: Defining the Rules of Military Rule." Chapter 2 in *Constitutionalism and Dictatorship: Pinochet, the Junta, and the 1980 Constitution*.

Londregan, Johan and Keith Poole. 1990. "Poverty, the Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power." *World Politics* 42: 151-83.

### **Week 4 (September 26): Transitions to Democracy**

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science*.

MacEwan, A. 1998. "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule," *Latin American Perspectives* 15(Summer): 115-30.

Petras, J and S. Vieux. 1994. "The Transition to Authoritarian Electoral Rule." *Latin American Perspectives* 21 (Fall): 5-20.

Gillespie, Charles. "Uruguay's Return to Democracy." *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, Vol. 4, No. 2 (1985), pp. 99-107.

Pion-Berlin, David. "To Prosecute or to Pardon? Human Rights Decisions in the Latin American Southern Cone." *Human Rights Quarterly*.

### **Week 5 (October 3): Democratic Consolidation**

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1996. "Illusions about Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy* 7 (April): 34-51.

Cleary, Matthew. 2006. "A Left Turn in Latin America? Explaining the Left's Resurgence." *Journal of Democracy* 17(4): 35-49.

Hagopian, Frances. 2005. "Conclusions: Government Performance, Political Representation, and Public Perceptions of Contemporary Democracy in Latin America," in Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring eds., *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 319-362.

Baldez, Lisa and John Carey. 1999. "Presidential Agenda Control and Spending Policy: Lessons from General Pinochet's Chile." *AJPS* 43(1): 29-55.

### **Week 6 (October 10): Economics and Democracy**

Mainwaring, Scott and Aníbal Pérez-Liñan. 2003. "Level of Development and Democracy: Latin American Exceptionalism, 1945-1996." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(9): 1031-1067.

Kurtz, Marcus. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America." *World Politics* 56 (January): 262-302.

Karl, Terry Lynn. 2003. "The Vicious Cycle of Inequality in Latin America," in Susan Eckstein and Timothy Wickham-Crawley, eds. *What Justice? Whose Justice? Fighting for Fairness in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California: 133-157.

Last 45 Minutes: *The Take* (1999)

### **Week 7 (October 17): Accountability and Representation**

Stokes, Susan. 2001. *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Samuels, David. 2004. "Presidentialism and Accountability for the Economy in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 98(3): 425-436.

Boulding, Carew. 2009. NGOs and Political Participation in Weak Democracies: Sub-National Evidence on Protest and Voting from Bolivia. *Journal of Politics* 72 (2): 456-468.

### **Week 8 (October 24): Elections and Electoral Rules**

Crisp, Brian F. 2000. *Democratic Institutional Design: The Powers and Incentives of Venezuelan Politicians and Interest Groups*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chapter 2.

Remmer, Karen. 1993. "The Political Economy of Elections in Latin America, 1980-1991." *APSR* 87(2): 393-407.

Jones, Mark. 1999. "Electoral Laws and the Effective Number of Candidates in Presidential Elections." *The Journal of Politics* 61(1): 171-184.

### **Week 9 (October 31)- Midterm Exam**

Last Hour, *Our Brand is Crisis*

### **Week 10 (November 7): Presidentialism**

Linz, Juan. 1994. "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does it Make a Difference?" in Linz and Valenzuela, eds. *The Failures of Presidential Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5(1): 55-69.

Mainwaring, Scott. 1993. "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* 26: 198-228.

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Shugart (eds). 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chs 1, 6, 7, 11)

### **Week 11 (November 14): Legislatures**

Morgenstern, Scott and Benito Nacif (eds). 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chs 1, 4, 11, 14)

Carey, John. 2003. "Discipline, Accountability, and Legislative Voting in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 35(2): 191-211.

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

### **Week 12 (November 21): Political Parties**

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully eds. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Daniel L. Nielson and Matthew Shugart. Constitutional Change in Colombia: Policy Adjustment Through Institutional Reform. *Comparative Political Studies*, May 1999; vol. 32, 3: pp. 313-341.

Crisp, Brian. 2000. *Democratic Institutional Design: the Powers and Incentives of Venezuelan Politicians and Interest Groups*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Chs 1, 8, 9

Levitsky, Steven. 1998. "Crisis, Party Adaptation, and Regime Stability in Argentina: The Case of Peronism, 1989-1995." *World Politics* 4(4): 445-470.

### **Week 13 (November 28): Federalism**

Gibson, Edward and Ernesto Calvo. 2000. Federalism and Low Maintenance Constitutencies: Territorial Dimensions of Economic Reform in Argentina." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35(3): 32-55.

Gibson, Edward. 2005. "Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries." *World Politics* 58: 101-32.

Jones, Mark, Sebastian Saiegh, Pablo Spiller and Mariano Tommasi. 2002. "Amateur Legislators –Professional Politicians: The Consequences of Party-Centered Electoral Rules in a Federal System." *AJPS* 46(3): 656-669.

Samuels, David. 2000. Concurrent Elections, Discordant Results: Presidentialism, Federalism and Governance in Brazil. *Comparative Politics* 33(1): 1-20.

### **Week 14 (December 5): Institutional Instability and Corruption**

Valenzuela, Arturo. 2004. "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted." *Journal of Democracy* 15(4).

McMillian, John and Pablo Zoido. 2004. "How to Subvert Democracy: Montesinos in Peru." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(4): 69-92.

Perez-Linan, Anibal. 2007. *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Davis, Charles, Roderic Ai Camp and Kenneth Coleman, The Influence of Party Systems on Citizens' Perceptions of Corruption and Electoral Response in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 2004 677-703.

### **Week 15 (December 12): Clientelism and Indigenous Politics**

Calvo, Ernesto and Victoria Murillo. 2004. "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market." *AJPS* 48(4): 742-757.

Stokes, Susan. 2005. "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 315-326.

Yashar, Deborah. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America." *World Politics* 52(1): 76-104.

Madrid, Raúl. 2005. "Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47(4): 161-179.

### **December 19- Final Exam**