



Comparative Policy of Latin America

Professors: Dr. Gabriel Negretto /Dr. Julio Rios

This course is an introduction to comparative politics of Latin America from the perspective of the processes of political change and democratization. The course begins with a comparative analysis of political systems and historical cycles of political change in the region and then concentrate on a number of issues that characterize the so-called third wave democratization, ranging from the late 70s to the present. Discuss some of the challenges that the countries of the region, such as economic crisis, the problems of political representation, weak accountability and waves of violence and crime face. Also analyze the various answers that have been given to address these crises and the consequences of these responses, as the new populism, the emergence of a new left, and institutional reforms to increase the capacity of the state. Some questions that guide the course is why some democracies and other collapse persist? What the democracies of the "third wave" of the previous waves of different? Why, in the third wave, some countries have democracies of higher quality than others? Do some countries face a new cycle of authoritarianism or are simply building different democracies? After completing the course students are expected to know the main challenges posed by the new democracies in Latin America.

Syllabus

1. Political Regime in Comparative Policy and in Latin America.

- Robert Dahl. 1971. *Polyarchy*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Antonio, Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi, *Democracy and Development. Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000, Cap. 1.
- Scott Mainwaring, Daniel Brinks, and Anibal Perez-Liñan, "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-2004", en Gerardo Munck (ed.), *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 123-162.

Recommended readings:

- Michael Coppedge and John Gerring et al. 2011. "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: A New Approach", *Perspective on Politics*, Vol. 9: 2, pp. 247-267.

2. Cycles of Political Changes

- Paul W. Drake, "The Theory and History of Latin American Democracy", in Paul Drake, *Between Tyranny and Anarchy. A History of Democracy in Latin America, 1800-2006*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009, pp. 1-23.
- Peter Smith, *Democracy in Latin America. Political Change in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. Introducción y Cap. 1, pp. 1-43.

Recommended reading:

- Larry Diamond, Juan Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, *Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America*. Rienner.

3. Varieties of Authoritarianism

- Paul W. Drake, "Oligarchic Republicanism: 1880-1920s", in Paul Drake, *Between Tyranny and Anarchy. A History of Democracy in Latin America, 1800-2006*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009, Cap. 5.
- Rouquie, Alain and Stephen Suffern. 1998. "The Military in Latin American Politics Since 1930". In Bethell, Leslie. *Latin America. Politics and Society Since 1930*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Steven Levitsky and Luncan Way. 2010. "Competitive Authoritarianism: Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War". New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-36.

Recommended reading:

- Jenniffer Ghandi. 2008. *Political Institutions Under Dictatorship*. Cambridge University Press.
- Milan Svolik. 2012. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge University Press.

4. The "Third Wave" of Democratization in Comparative Perspective

- Peter Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Caps. 2 y 3
- Scott Mainwaring and Anibal Perez Liñan. "Latin American Democratization since 1978". In Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring (eds.), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 14-59.

Recommended reading:

- Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Lawrence Whitehead, *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1986.

5. Electoral Alignments and Transformations of the Party System

- Coppedge, Michael. 2001. "Political Darwinism in Latin America's Lost Decade." En Larry Diamond y Richard Gunther (eds.), *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University, pp. 173-205.
- Murillo, M. V., M. Vaishnav, et al. (2009). "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation?" *Latin American Research Review* 45(3): 87-114.
- Raul Madrid. 2008. "The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America", *World Politics* 60 (3): 475-508.

Recommended reading:

- Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth Zechmeister, *Latin American Party Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, pp. 14-58.

6. Transformations Presidential Regime

- Negretto, Gabriel. 2013. "Constitutional Change and Patterns of Design", en Negretto, Gabriel, *Making Constitutions*, pp. 17-42.
- Cheibub, Jose Antonio, Zachary Elkins, y Tom Ginsburg. 2012. "Still the Land of Presidentialism? Executives and the Latin American Constitution, en Detlef Nolte and Almut Schilling-Vacaflor, *New Constitutionalism in Latin America: Promises and Practices*. London: Ashgate, pp. 73-98.

Recommended reading:

- Gargarella, Roberto. 2013. *Latin American Constitutionalism: 1810-2010*. New York, Oxford University Press, Caps. 8 y 9.
- Shugart, Matthew, and Stephan Haggard. 2001. "Institutions and Public Policy in Presidential Systems", en S Haggard and M McCubbins, eds. *Presidents, Parliaments and Policies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64-102.
- Alemán, Eduardo and George Tsebelis. 2005. 'The Origins of Presidential Conditional Agenda Setting Power in Latin America'; *Latin American Research Review*, 40, 3-26.
- Negretto, Gabriel. 2003. 'Diseño Constitucional y Separación de Poderes en América Latina,' *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, 1, 41-76.

7. Institutional Crisis and Interrupted Presidencies

- Anibal Pérez-Liñan, *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007, Chaps. 1 and 3, pp. 1-13, 40-63.
- Gabriel Negretto, "Minority Presidents and Democratic Performance in Latin America," *Latin American Politics and Society*, Vol. 48, No. 3, 2006, pp. 63-92.
- Hochteteler, Kathryn, "Rethinking Presidentialism: Challengers and Presidential Falls in South America," *Comparative Politics*, 2006, 38 (4): 401-418.

Recommended reading:

- Anibal Pérez-Liñan, *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007.
- Mariana Llanos and Leiv Marsteintredet, eds. *Presidential Breakdowns in Latin America: Causes and Outcomes of Executive Instability in Developing Democracies*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.

8. The Quality of Democracy and Representation

- Gerardo Munck. 2013. "Conceptualizing the Quality of Democracy: The Framing of a New Agenda for Comparative Politics", en Sebastian Mantilla y Gerardo Munck (eds), *La Calidad de la Democracia: Perspectivas Desde América Latina*.
- Scott Mainwaring. 2006. "State Deficiencies, Party Competition, and Confidence in Democratic Representation in the Andes," in Scott Mainwaring, Ana Maria Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro, *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford University Press, pp. 295-347.

Recommended reading:

- Guillermo O'Donnell, Jorge Vargas Cullell y Osvaldo Iazzetta: *The Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications*. Kellogg Institute.
- Daniel Levine y Jose Molina, *The Quality of Democracy in Latin America*.

9. Crisis of representation and populism

- Carlos de la Torre. 2010. *The Populist Seduction in Latin America*. Ohio University Press, Cap. 1.
- Cass Mudde y Cristobal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2012. "Populism and (Liberal) Democracy: A Framework for Analysis", en Cas Mudde y Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds. *Populism in Europe and the Americas. Threat or Corrective for Democracy?* New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kenneth Roberts, "Latin America's Populist Revival," SAIS Review, Volume 27, Number 1, Winter-Spring 2007, pp. 3-15.

Recommended reading:

- Michael Coppedge, “Venezuela: Popular Sovereignty vs. Liberal Democracy”, in Jorge Dominguez and Michael Shifter (eds.) *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, John Hopkins University Press, 2003, pp. 165-92.
- Allan Brewer-Carias. *Dismantling Democracy in Venezuela: The Chávez Authoritarian Experiment*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, “Defrauding Democracy Through Non-Consensual Constituent Assemblies”, pp. 7-32.
- Kirk Hawkins, *Venezuela’s Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010, Chapter 2, pp. 15-50.

10. The Emergence of the New Left

- Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts. “Latin America’s Left Turn: A Framework of Analysis.” In Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts (eds), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, John Hopkins University Press, 2011, pp. 1-28.
- Weyland, K., R. Madrid, et al., eds. 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. New York, Cambridge University Press. Cap 1.
- Carlos de la Torre, “The Resurgence of Radical Populism in Latin America”, en *The Populist Seduction in Latin America*, Cap. 5.

Recommended reading:

- Eduardo Silva. 2009. *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

11. The Political Economy of Policy Change: What explains the Authoritarian Interventions?

- Wynia, Gary W. 1990. *The Politics of Latin American Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 7, 9, 10.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1973. "An Impossible "Game": Party Competition in Argentina, 1955-1966." In *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*, ed. Guillermo O'Donnell. Berkeley: Institute for International Studies, University of California, Berkeley.
- Alfred Stepan, “Political Leadership and Regime Breakdown: Brazil.” In Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), pp. 110-137.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. 1979. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes, Chile*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Chapters 3 and 4.

Previous reading:

- Baer, Werner. 1972. Import Substitution and Industrialization in Latin America: Experiences and Interpretations. *Latin American Research Review* 7: 95-122.
- Dornbusch, Rudiger, and Sebastian Edwards. 1990. Macroeconomic Populism. *Journal of Development Economics* 32: 247-77.

Optional (for individual cases):

- Dornbusch, Rudiger, and Sebastian Edwards, eds. 1990. *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Available at: <http://papers.nber.org/books/dorn91-1>
- Guillermo O'Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics* (Berkeley: Institute of International Studies Press, 1973).

12. *The Political Economy of Political Change: How to implement reforms pro-market democracies (and survive)?*

- Corrales, Javier. 2002. *Presidents Without Parties: The Politics of Economic Reform in Argentina and Venezuela in the 1990s*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press. Chapter 2.
- Schamis, Hector. 1999. Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America. *World Politics* 51: 236-68.
- Stokes, Susan. 2001. *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.
- Weyland, Kurt. 1998. Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies* 31 (5): 539-568.

Previous reading:

- Haggard, Stephen and Robert Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*, Princeton: Princeton University Press. Introduction and Chapter 5.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1995. The Politics of Economic Liberalization. *Latin American Research Review* 30 (2): 195-214.

Optional:

- Gibson, Edward. 1997. The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina. *World Politics* 49 (3): 339-370.
- Murillo, María Victoria. 2000. From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America. *World Politics* 52: 135-74.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2002. *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

13. The Political Economy of The Political Transformations: What explain the Emergence of New Left?

- Carreras, Miguel. 2012. The Rise of Outsiders in Latin America, 1980–2010: An Institutionalist Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (12): 1451-1482.
- Murillo, María Victoria, Virginia Oliveros, and Milan Vaishnav. 2010. Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation? *Latin American Research Review* 45 (3).
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 2013. Market Reform, Programmatic (De)alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies* 46 (11): 1422-1452.
- Remmer, Karen L. 2012. The Rise of Leftist– Populist Governance in Latin America: The Roots of Electoral Change. *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (8): 947-972.

Previous reading:

- Corrales, Javier. 2008. "The Backlash against Market Reforms." In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, eds. Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Optional:

- Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts (eds), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, John Hopkins University Press, 2011, pp. 1-28.
- Weyland, K., R. Madrid, et al., eds. 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. New York, Cambridge University Press. Cap 1.

14. The Political Economy of Political Change: What is the future of the Left?

- Andy Baker, *The Market and the Masses in Latin America: Policy Reform and Consumption in Liberalizing Economies* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 3-15; 59-85; 86-98.

- Campello, Daniela. Forthcoming. *The Politics of Market Discipline in Latin America: Globalization and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. To be arranged.
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. 2010. Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America. *Comparative Politics* 42 (4): 413-33.
- Kaufman, Robert R. 2011. "The Political Left, the Export Boom, and the Populist Temptation." In *The Resurgence of the Left in Latin America*, eds. Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Recommended reading:

- Kurtz, Marcus J. 2004. The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America. *World Politics* 56 (02): 262-302.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2013. Latin America's Authoritarian Drift: The Threat from the Populist Left. *Journal of Democracy* 24 (3): 18-32.

15. Rule of Law and State Capacity

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems", *World Development*, 21 (8).
- Moreno, Erika, Brian F. Crisp, and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 2003. "The Accountability Deficit in Latin America", in Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna (eds.), *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, New York: Oxford University Press. pp. 79-99
- Smulovitz, Catalina and Enrique Peruzzoti (eds.). 2006. *Enforcing the Rule of Law. Social Accountability in the New Latin American Democracies*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press. Introduction and Chapters by Przeworski and O'Donnell.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1994. *Politician's Dilemma. Building State Capacity in Latin America*. London: University of California Press. Capítulos 1 y 2

16. Accountability Institutions

To read:

- Pozas Loyo, Andrea and Julio Ríos Figueroa. 2010. "Enacting Constitutionalism. The Origins of Independent Judicial Institutions in Latin America", *Comparative Politics*. Vol. 42, no. 3.
- Pozas Loyo, Andrea and Julio Ríos Figueroa. 2011. "The Politics of Amendment Processes. Supreme Court Influence in the Design of Judicial Councils". *Texas Law Review*, vol. 90.

Recommended reading:

- Hammergren, Lynn. 2007. "Criminal Justice Reform" and "Access to Justice", in *Envisioning Reform. Conceptual and Practical Obstacles to Judicial Performance in Latin America*, University Park, PA: Penn State Press
- Helmke, Gretchen and Julio Ríos Figueroa (eds.), *Courts in Latin America*, New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1
- Uggla, Fredrich. 2004. "The Ombudsman in Latin America". *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 36, no. 03.

17. The Courts and the Control of Political Power

To read:

- Rios Figueroa, Julio. 2015. *Constitutional Courts ad Mediators. Civilian Governments, Armed Forces, and the Rule of Law in Latin America*. Chapter 1, 2, 7

Recommended reading:

- Pereira, AW. 2001. "Virtual Legality Authoritarian Legacies and the Reform of Military Justice in Brazil, the Southern Cone, and Mexico." *Comparative Political Studies* 34(5): 555–74
- Uprimny, Rodrigo. 2003. "The Constitutional Court and Control of Presidential Extraordinary Powers in Colombia." *Democratization* (10)4: 46-69. (23p).

18. The Courts and the Protection of Social and Economic Rights

To read:

- César Rodríguez Garavito. 2011. "Beyond the Courtroom: The Impact of Judicial Activism on Socioeconomic Rights in Latin America". *Texas Law Review*, vol. 89, no. 7, 1669-1699
- Motta Ferraz, Octavio Luiz. 2011. "Harming the Poor Through Social Rights Litigation: Lessons from Brazil". *Texas Law Review*, vol. 89, no. 7, 1669-1699

Recommended reading:

- Brinks, Daniel and Varun Gauri (eds). *Courting Social Justice. Judicial Enforcement of Social and Economic Rights in the Developing World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapter on Brazil.

19. Corruption Control

- Marcus André Melo, Carlos Pereira, and Carlos Mauricio Figueiredo. "Political and Institutional Checks on Corruption: Explaining the Performance of Brazilian Audit Institutions." *Comparative Political Studies* September 2009 vol. 42 no. 9 1217-1244.

- Zeichmaster, Elizabeth and Daniel Zizumbo-Colunga. 2014. "The Varying Political Toll of Concerns About Corruption in Good versus Bad Economic Times", *Comparative Political Studies*, 2014.

Recommended reading:

- Rios Figueroa, Julio. 2012. "Justice System Institutions and Corruption Control. Evidence from Latin America". *Justice Systems Journal*, vol. 33, no. 3
- Thacker, "Democracy, Economic Policy, and Political Corruption in Comparative Perspective," in Charles H. Blake and Stephen D. Morris, eds., *Corruption and Democracy in Latin America* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009).
- Kurt Weyland, "The Politics of Corruption in Latin America," *Journal of Democracy*, April 1998, 9 (2):108-21.
- Luigi Manzetti y Guillermo Rosas, "The Varying Toll of Corruption Perceptions on Pro- Incumbent Vote Choice," in Singer, Matthew M. and Ryan E. Carlin (eds). *The Latin American Voter*. Book manuscript.

20. Protection of Basic Human Rights

To read:

- Bueno de Mesquita, Bruce, Feryal Cherif, George Downs and Alastair Smith. 2005. "Thinking Inside the Box: A Closer Look at Democracy and Human Rights." *International Studies Quarterly* 49(3): 439-458.
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie. 2015. "Human Rights Institutions, Sovereignty Costs, and Democratization", *British Journal of Political Science*, vol. 45, no. 1

Recommended reading:

- Sadek, Maria Tereza and Rosangela Batista Cavalcanti. 2003. "The New Brazilian Public Prosecution: An Agent of Accountability". In Scott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna (eds). *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cárdenas, Sonia. 2010. *Human Rights in Latin America. A Politics of Terror and Hope*. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press. Introduction y Chapter 1 (pp. 1-52). Ver también Chapter 2 (pp. 53-82)
- Hafner-Burton, Emilie. 2014. "A Social Science of Human Rights", *Journal of Peace Research*, vol. 51, no. 2

21. Transitional Justice, Impunity and Rule of Law

To read:

- Sikkink, Kathryn and Carrie Booth Walling. 2007. "The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America," *Journal of Peace Research* Vol. 44, No 4: 427-45.

- Gonzalez-Ocantos, Ezequiel. 2014. *The Collapse of Impunity Regimes in Latin America: Strategic Litigation, Capabilities Diffusion and Judicial Behavior in Cases of Human Rights Violations*. Book Manuscript

Recommended reading:

- Sikkink, Kathryn. 2011. *The Justice Cascade: How Human Rights Prosecutions Are Changing World Politics*. NY: Norton
- Jon Elster, *Closing the books*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- James McAdams (ed.), *Transitional Justice in New Democracies*, Notre Dame University Press

22. Inequality and Rule of Law

To read:

- Brinks, Daniel. 2008. *The Judicial Response to Police Killings in Latin America: Inequality and the Rule of Law* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Chapter 3 “Charting Injustice in Argentina, Brazil, and Uruguay,” pp. 37-79.
- Daniel M. Brinks and Sandra Botero. “Inequality and the Rule of Law: Ineffective Rights in Latin American Democracies.” In Daniel M. Brinks, Scott Mainwaring, and Marcelo Leiras, eds. *Notes for the Study of Imperfect and Uncertain Democracies: The Legacy of Guillermo O'Donnell*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

Recommended reading:

23. Central America: Conflict, Violence and Rule of Law

To read:

- Fabrice Lehoucq. 2012. *The Politics of Modern Central America. Civil War, Democratization, and Underdevelopment*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1-3, and 5.

Recommended reading:

- Marcelo Bergman & Laurence Whitehead (eds.) *Criminality, Public Security, and the Challenge to Democracy in Latin America*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- Orlando Pérez, “The Impact of Crime and Insecurity on Political Participation in Latin America,” in Singer, Matthew M. and Ryan E. Carlin (eds). *The Latin American Voter*. Book manuscript under review.
- Ungar, Mark. 2011. *Policing Democracy. Overcoming obstacles to citizen security in Latin America*. Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center.

- Enrique Desmond Arias & Daniel M. Goldstein (eds.). 2010. *Violent Democracies in Latin America*. Duke University Press. (Chapters by Auyero, Landman, Davis)

24. *¿Informal Institutions and/or Weak Institutions*

To read:

- Levitsky, Steven. 2012 “Informal Institutions and Politics in Latin America,” in Deborah Yashar and Peter Kingstone (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*. London: Routledge, pp. 88-100.
- Levitsky, Steven and Murillo, María Victoria. 2009. “Variation in Institutional Strength.” *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 12.

Recommended reading:

- Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky. 2006. “Introduction”, in Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky (eds.), *Informal Institutions and Democracy. Lessons From Latin America*, Baltimore, MI: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Pozas Loyo, Andrea and Julio Ríos Figueroa. 2015. “On the Relation between Legal and Political Norms: A New Typology of Informal Institutions with Applications to Internal Judicial Independence in Mexico”, Manuscript

Movies sessions and thematic discussion

25. Mayo 14: Military Dictatorships

26. Mayo 19: Populism

27. Mayo 21: New Political Instability in Latin America