

The Politics of Latin America
SPRING 2016
Course: POL-UA 530

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Course Description:

This course presents a broad overview of the main questions on Latin American political and economic development in the long run. Why did Latin American fall behind the United States? Why are Latin American societies so unequal? Why has Latin America experienced high political instability, shifting between dictatorship and democracy, and sometimes revolution and armed struggles? What are the main characteristics of Latin American democracies in the present?

The course introduces students to the main theories on democracy and development. Subsequently, it uses these theories to interpret Latin America's political instability and persistent economic inequality going back to the colonial period, all the way to the present. Finally, the course addresses some features of Latin American democracies such as state weakness, clientelism, corruption, amongst others.

Time and Location: Tuesday and Thursday 11:00 a.m.-12:15 p.m. Room: KIMM 808 (Kimmel Center, 60 Washington Square S).

Grader: Rafael J. Ch (rafael.ch@nyu.edu)

Requirements: All students are expected to have completed the relevant readings before the class meeting each week. The course is not taught from a single textbook. Instead, weekly readings will be drawn from one required textbook, and from a collection of articles and book chapters (whenever possible, these readings will be posted on the NYU Classes course site). You should aim to evaluate critically the theoretical argument and the evidence advanced in each reading. Some of the readings contain sections that are a bit technical. You should always try to gain a basic understanding of the main argument presented in the reading rather than focus on the technical details.

I will regularly update the syllabus online, and mark the required readings at least two weeks in advance of each respective lecture. Check the course site in NYU Classes before every lecture, for the most updated version of the syllabus.

The required book is (available at the NYU Book Store):

- Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York.

A very useful source for many of the topics we will cover in the course and for general background is The Cambridge History of Latin America, that you can access online via the NYU Library.

The final grade is based on: two short assignments, a midterm, a final exam, and overall class participation. They will count toward the grade as follows:

Short Assignments: 25% (12.5% each)

- 1st Assignment (Due March 1st)
- 2nd Assignment (Due April 26th)

Midterm (Thursday, March 10): 30%

Final (Thursday, May 5): 40%

Participation: 5%

Policies:

- While I encourage spanish-speaking students to speak to me in spanish during office hours, please refrain from doing so while inside the classroom since your questions, comments or concerns may be of relevance to other non-spanish speaking students.
- Students are expected to have completed the required reading before the class.
- Class attendance is strongly encouraged: we will offer cover topics not included in the required readings that you will be expected to know for the exams. In addition I may conduct unannounced short quizzes in some lectures.
- Make sure you read and adhere strictly to the basic principles of Academic Integrity (<http://cas.nyu.edu/page/academicintegrity>) as well as the Honor Code (<http://cas.nyu.edu/page/honorcode>).

Websites on Latin America:

Excellent directory of Latin American newspapers and websites, country by country, by The Guardian:

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2002/feb/05/world-news-guide-latin-america>

Other sources in English:

http://www.bbc.com/news/world/latin_america/

<http://www.nytimes.com/pages/world/americas/index.html>

<http://edition.cnn.com/LATINAMERICA/>

<http://www.economist.com/world/americas>

<http://caracaschronicles.com>

Lecture Schedule and Readings

See course site in *My Classes* for required readings. Required readings will be announced at least two weeks in advance of each lecture.

A. Introduction

Introduction (January 26)

Broad Economic Trajectories (January 28)

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York. Chap. 12.

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor (2004), *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*, Cambridge University Press: New York. Chap. 1.

Bertola, Luis and Jose Antonio Ocampo (2012), *The Economic Development of Latin America since Independence*, Oxford University Press: New York. Chap. 1.

Broad Political Trajectories (February 2)

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York. Chap. 13.

Hartlyn, Jonathan and Arturo Valenzuela (1994), "Democracy in Latin America since 1930," in Leslie Bethell (ed.), *Latin America since 1930: Economy, Society and Politics*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Smith, Peter H. (2011), *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Oxford University Press: New York. Chap. 1.

Drake, Paul W. (2009), *Between Tyranny and Anarchy: A History of Democracy in Latin America, 1800-2006*, Stanford University Press: Stanford. Chap. 2.

B. Theoretical Approaches to Latin American Politics

Institutional Approach (February 4)

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson (2012), *Why Nations Fail*, Crown Publishers: New York, Chap. 3.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson and James Robinson (2005), "Institutions as a fundamental cause of Long Run Growth" in Aghion Philippe and Steven Durlauf Eds., *Handbook of Economic Growth*, Vol 1A, Chap. 6., pp. 388-396, 421-428, 448-451.

Dependency and Modernization (February 9)

Andre Gunder Frank (1986), "The Development of Underdevelopment," in Peter K. Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert, (eds.), *Promise of Development*, Boulder, Westview Press, pp. 111-123.

Cardoso, Fernando H. and Enzo Faletto (1979), *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, University of California Press:

Heller, Patrick, Deitrich Rueschemeyer and Richard Snyder (2009) "Dependency and Development in a Globalized World: Looking Back and Forward", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 44.

Conning, Jonathan H. and James A. Robinson (2009) "Enclaves and Development: An Empirical Assessment", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 44.

Valenzuela, J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela (1978), "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment," *Comparative Politics*, 10, 4.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared (2008) "Income and Democracy." *American Economic Review*, 98:3: 808-842.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, James A. Robinson, and Pierre Yared (2009) "Reevaluating the Modernization Hypothesis", *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 56, pp. 1043-1058.

C. Colonial Legacies and the Emergence of the State

Colonial Legacies: Origins of Institutions, and Inequality (February 11 and 16)

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson (2012), *Why Nations Fail*, Crown Publishers: New York, Chap. 1

Acemoglu, Daron., Simon Johnson and James Robinson (2002) "Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*. 117:1231-1294.

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

Engerman Stanley L. and Kenneth L. Sokoloff (1997). "Factor Endowments, Institutions and Differential Paths of Growth among New World Economies", in Stephen H. Haber (ed.), *How Latin America Fell Behind*, Stanford University Press, Stanford, CA.

Coatsworth, John H. (2008) "Inequality, Institutions, and Economic Growth in Latin America," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 40: 545-569.

Coatsworth, John H. (2005), "Structures, Endowments, and Institutions in the Economic History of Latin America," *Latin American Research Review*, 40, 3, 2005: 126-144.

Dell, Melissa (2010), "The Persistent Effect of Peru's Mining Mita", *Econometrica*, 78(6), pp. 1863-1903

Emerging Markets and States: Elite democracy (February 18 and 23)

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York.

Mazucca, Sebastian and James Robinson (2009), "Political Conflict and Power Sharing in the Origins of Modern Colombia," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 89(2): 285-321.

Haber, Stephen, Armando Razo and Noel Maurer (2003), *The Politics of Property Rights: Political Instability, Credible Commitments, and Economic Growth in Mexico*, Cambridge University Press: New York. Chap. 1.

Safford, Frank (1992) "The Problem of Political Order in Early Republican Spanish America," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24: 83-97.

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

Glade, William (1986) "Latin America and the International Economy, 1870-1914," in Leslie Bethell (ed.), *Latin America since 1930: Economy, Society and Politics*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Katz, Friedrich (1991) "The Liberal Republic and the Porfiriato, 1867-1910" in Leslie Bethell, Ed. *Mexico Since Independence*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Haber Stephen (2008) "Political Institutions and Financial Development: Evidence from the Political Economy of Bank Regulation in the United States and Mexico." In Stephen Haber, Douglass C. North, and Barry R. Weingast eds., *Political Institutions and Financial Development*, Stanford University Press, pp. 10-59.

Centeno, Miguel Angel (1997), "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America," *The American Journal of Sociology*, 102, 6: 1565-1605.

D. Political Instability in the 20th Century: Social Conflict, Repression, and Democracy

Theories on Democracy and Dictatorship (February 25 and March 1)

Acemoglu, Daron and James A. Robinson (2006), *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*, Cambridge University Press: New York. Chaps. 1-3.

Lizzeri, Alessandro and Nicola Persico, N. (2004), "Why did the elites extend the suffrage? Democracy and the scope of government, with an application to Britain's Age of Reform", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119(2): 707-765.

Llavador, Humberto, and Robert J. Oxoby, (2005) "Partisan Competition, Growth, and the Franchise", *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(3): 1155-1189.

Przeworski, Adam (1991), *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

The rise of populism and incorporation of the masses (March 3 and 8)

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York.

Womack, John Jr. "The Mexican Revolution", 1910-1920 in Leslie Bethel, ed. *Mexico Since Independence*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Hirschman, Albert O. (1968), "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 82, 1: 1-32.

Malloy, James (1977), "Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America: The Modal Pattern," In Malloy, James ed. *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*, University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 3-19.

Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier (2002), *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*, Notre Dame University Press.

Knight, Alan (1991), "The Rise and Fall of Cardenismo," in Leslie Bethel, ed. *Mexico Since Independence*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Baland, Jean-Marie., and James Robinson (2008), "Land and Power: Theory and Evidence from Chile," *American Economic Review*, 98(5): 1737-65.

Bushnell, David (1993), *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself*, University of California Press, Chap. 8-9

Chacon, Mario, James Robinson and Ragnar Torvik (2011), "When is Democracy an Equilibrium? Theory and Evidence from Colombia's La Violencia", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, 55(3) pp. 366-396.

Whitehead, Laurence (2003), "The Bolivian National Revolution: A Twenty-First Century Perspective" in Merilee Grindle and Pilar Domingo Eds. *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge.

Midterm Exam: March 10

Spring Break (No Classes): March 15 and 17

Insurgency and Revolutions (March 22 and 24)

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York.

Wickham-Crowley, Timothy (1989), "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements," In Susan Eckstein, ed. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, University of California Press.

Perez, Louis A. Jr. (1993), Cuba c. 1930-1959 in *Cuba: A Short History*, Leslie Bethell, Ed. Cambridge University Press: New York.

Paige, Jeffery (1998) *Coffee and Power: Revolution and the Rise of Democracy in Central America*, Harvard University Press: Cambridge

Wood, Elisabeth J. (2001), "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador." *Comparative Political Studies*, 34(8), pp. 862-888.

Bushnell, David (1993), *The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself*, University of California Press, pp.243-259.

Safford, Frank and Marco Palacios (2002), *Colombia: Fragmented Land, Divided Society*, Oxford University Press, Chap. 14.

Leon, Juanita (2008), *Country of Bullets: Chronicles of War*, University of New Mexico Press.

Breakdown of Democracy and Rise of Authoritarianism (March 29 and 31)

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York.

O'Donnell, Guillermo (1986) "Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics," in Peter Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert, eds., *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*, Westview Press, pp. 239-275.

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan (Eds.) (1978) *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

Stepan, Alfred (Ed.) (1973) *Authoritarian Brazil*, Yale University Press: New Haven.

Valenzuela, Arturo (1978) *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

Kornbluh, Peter (2003) *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability*, The New Press, Chap. 1 (pp. 1-6); Chap. 2.

Munck, Gerardo (1998) *Authoritarianism and democratization: soldiers and workers in Argentina, 1976-1983*, The Pennsylvania State University Press.

Cohen, Youssef (1987) "Democracy from Above: The Political Origins of Military Dictatorship in Brazil," *World Politics*, 40(1): 30-54.

Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, W. W. Norton & Company: New York.

Democratization (April 5 and 7)

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York.

O'Donnell, Guillermo (1999), "Notes for the Study of Processes of Political Democratization in the Wake of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian State," in *Counterpoints*, University of Notre Dame Press.

Hagopian, Frances (1990) "Democracy by Undemocratic Means: Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil", *Comparative Political Studies*, 23(2), pp. 147-169.

Londregan, John (2000), *Legislative Institutions and Ideology in Chile*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela, *A Nation of Enemies*, W. W. Norton & Company: New York.

Hagopian, Frances and Scott Mainwaring, (Eds.) (2005) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Karl, Terry (1990), "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics*, 23(1): pp. 1-21.

E. The Quality of Democracy in Latin America: Topics

Macroeconomic Crisis and Economic Reforms (April 12)

Skidmore Thomas E., Peter H. Smith and James N. Green (2014), *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press: New York.

Williamson, John (2006) "What Washington Means by Policy Reform." In Peter R. Kingstone, ed. *Readings in Latin American Politics*, Houghton Mifflin: Boston, pp. 83-89.

Dornbusch, Rudiger and Sebastian Edwards (1991), *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago

Acemoglu, Daron , Simon Johnson, James Robinson and Yunyong Thaicharoen. (2003), "Institutional Causes, Macroeconomic Symptoms: Volatility, Crises and Growth." *Journal of Monetary Economics*, 50: 49-123.

Mukand, Sharun and Dani Rodrik (2005) "In Search of the Holy Grail: Policy Convergence, Experimentation, and Economic Performance", *American Economic Review*, 95(1).

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, Pablo Querubín and James A. Robinson (2008), "When Does Policy Reform Work? The Case of Central Bank Independence", in *Brookings Papers on Economic Activity*, Spring, pp. 351-417.

Green, Duncan (2003), *Silent Revolution: The Rise And Crisis Of Market Economics In Latin America*, Monthly Review Press.

Dysfunctional and Weak States (April 14)

O'Donnell, Guillermo (1993), "On the State, Democratization and some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at some Postcommunist Countries," *World Development*, 21(8): 1355-1369.

Mainwaring, Scott (2006) "The Crisis of Representation in the Andes," *Journal of Democracy*, 17 (3): 13-27.

Soifer, Hillel (2013), *Authority Over Distance: Institutions And Long-Run Variation In State Development In Latin America*, Unpublished Book Manuscript.

Von Hau, Matthias (2008), "State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism: Comparative Lessons from Mexico and Argentina" *Studies in International Comparative Development*, 43(3/4).

Gibson, Edward (2005), "Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries", *World Politics*, 58.

Robinson, James (2013), "Colombia: Another 100 Years of Solitude?", *Current History*, February.

Acemoglu, Daron, James Robinson and Rafael Santos (2013) "The Monopoly of Violence: Evidence from Colombia", *Journal of the European Economic Association*, 11, pp. 5-44.

Dell, Melissa (2011), "Trafficking Networks and the Mexican Drug War", Unpublished Manuscript.

Whitehead, Laurence (1986), "State Organization in Latin America since 1930", in *Latin America since 1930: Economy, Society and Politics*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Political Institutions: Presidentialism, Parties and Checks and Balances (April 19)

Power, Timothy J. (2010), "Optimism, Pessimism, and Coalitional Presidentialism: Debating the Institutional Design of Brazilian Democracy", *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 29(1), 18-33.

Mainwaring, Scott (1990), "Presidentialism in Latin America", *Latin American Research Review*, 25(1): 157-179.

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

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

Mainwaring, Scott (1993), "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: the Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies*, 26(2).

The Rise of Left Wing Parties in Latin America (April 21)

Castañeda, Jorge G. (2006) "Latin America's Left Turn," *Foreign Affairs*, 85(3), 28-43.

Castañeda, Jorge G. (1994), *Utopia Unarmed*, Vintage Books: New York.

Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth M. Roberts, (Eds.) (2011) *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore.

Mazucca, Sebastian (2013) "The Rise of Rentier Populism", *Journal of Democracy*, 24(2), pp. 108-122.

Samuels, David (2004). From Socialism to Social Democracy: Party Organization and the Transformation of the Workers' Party in Brazil. *Comparative Political Studies*, 37(9).

Weyland, Kurt (2009), "The Rise of Latin America's Two Lefts: Insights from Rentier State Theory." *Comparative Politics*, 41(2): 145-164.

Weyland, Kurt (2001), "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Comparative Politics*, 34(1): 1-22.

Edwards, Sebastian (2010), *Left Behind: Latin America and the False Promise of Populism*, University of Chicago Press: Chicago.

Clientelism and Vote-Buying (April 26)

Robinson, James A. and Thierry Verdier (2013), "The political economy of clientelism", *The Scandinavian Journal of Economics*, 115(2), 260-291.

Finan, Frederico and Laura Schechter (2012), "Vote-buying and reciprocity", *Econometrica* 80(2), 863-881.

Hsieh, Chang-Tai, Ted Miguel, Daniel Ortega, and Francisco Rodriguez (2011) "The Price of Political Opposition: Evidence from Venezuela's *Maisanta*" *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics*, 3: 196-214.

Stokes, Susan C., Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco (2013) *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Gonzalez-Ocantos, Ezequiel, Chad Kiewiet de Jonge, Carlos Melendez, Javier Osorio, and David W. Nickerson (2012), "Vote buying and social desirability bias: Experimental Evidence from Nicaragua", *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(1):202-217.

Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estevez and Beatriz Magaloni (2013) *Strategies of Vote Buying: Democracy, Clientelism, and Poverty Relief in Mexico*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Larreguy, Horacio (2013), "Monitoring Political Brokers: Evidence from Clientelistic Networks in Mexico", Unpublished Manuscript.

De la O, Ana (2012) "Do Conditional Cash Transfers Affect Electoral Behavior? Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in Mexico" *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1), pp. 1-14.

Schady, Norbert (2000) "The Political Economy of Expenditures by the Peruvian Social Fund (FONCODES), 1991-1995." *American Political Science Review* 94(2):289-304.

Larreguy, Horacio, Cesar Montiel and Pablo Querubin (2013) "The Role of Labor Unions as Political Machines: Evidence from the Case of the Mexican Teachers' Union", Unpublished Manuscript.

Political Resource Curse (April 28)

Monteiro, Joana and Claudio Ferraz (2010) "Does Oil Make Leaders Unaccountable? Evidence from Brazil's Offshore Oil Boom", Unpublished Manuscript.

Dube, Oendriela and Juan-Fernando Vargas (2013). "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia", forthcoming *The Review of Economic Studies*.

Dunning, Thad (2008), *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*, Cambridge University Press: New York.

Robinson, James A., Ragnar Torvik and Thierry Verdier (2006). "Political Foundations of the Resource Curse", *Journal of Development Economics*, 79(2): pp. 447-68.

Current Affairs and Other Topics (May 3)

Final Exam (May 5)