

**Human, Social, and Political Sciences Tripos  
2023-24**

**POL20: Latin American Politics**

**COORDINATOR**

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**LECTURERS**

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**DESCRIPTION**

This paper introduces students to the politics of Latin America, past and present. How do historical legacies influence democracy today? What explains the persistence of political violence in the region? Why has corruption been so difficult to overcome and what does it have to do with organised crime? How have Latin Americans used international norms and institutions to advance their rights and hold the powerful to account? How are social movements reshaping the political landscape? How has the region conceptualised and implemented development projects, and with what results? What do its economies and political regimes reveal about the enduring forces of colonialism, racialisation, and capitalism? These are some of the questions that the paper aims to explore, drawing on a wide range of scholarship and approaches from across the human, social, and political sciences.

**OUTLINE**

The paper is organised in five thematic sections dealing with (I) state-society relations, (II) political institutions, (III) international relations, (IV) political economy, and (V) society, governance, and democracy.

**SUPERVISIONS**

Supervisions are centrally organised and are scheduled for the Michaelmas and Lent terms. Students are expected to write six essays for this paper, each not exceeding 2,500 words. All essays should be word-processed, paginated, and include a bibliography citing all sources referenced at the end of the essay. While there is no mandated citation style, it is essential to maintain uniformity within each essay, using only one style, whether it be footnotes or in-text citations. See the Cambridge Libraries' subject guide for further information on referencing and citation style:

<https://libguides.cam.ac.uk/POLIS/referencing>

**PLAGIARISM**

Plagiarism involves the unacknowledged use of others' ideas and information, including verbatim and paraphrased material and content generated using artificial intelligence. Plagiarism is a serious breach of academic integrity and will not be tolerated. For further resources and information on how to avoid plagiarism, see <https://www.plagiarism.admin.cam.ac.uk/>.

**ASSESSMENT**

There will be a one three-hour written examination in Eastern term. Students will be required to answer three questions. Sample questions will be provided later in the academic year.

## LECTURE TIMETABLE OVERVIEW

	Day	Time	Room	Title	Lect.*
I	Thu, 5 Oct	2-3pm	SG2	<a href="#">The Problem of Persistence</a>	CAS
I	Mon, 9 Oct	2-3pm	SG2	<a href="#">State formation</a>	CAS
I	Mon, 9 Oct	3-4pm	SG1	<a href="#">Patterns of power I</a>	GDW
I	Thu, 19 Oct	2-3pm	SG2	<a href="#">Patterns of power II</a>	GDW
II	Mon, 23 Oct	2-3pm	SG2	<a href="#">Political regimes</a>	CAS
II	Thu, 26 Oct	3-4pm	SG2	<a href="#">Democracy and its discontents</a>	CAS
II	Mon, 30 Oct	2-3pm	SG2	<a href="#">Gender, race, and representation</a>	CAS
II	Thu, 2 Nov	2-3pm	SG2	<a href="#">The politics of justice and human rights</a>	CAS
III	Thu, 16 Nov	2-3pm	SG2	<a href="#">Foreign policy making</a>	CAS
III	Thu, 23 Nov	2-3pm	SG2	<a href="#">Multilateral cooperation</a>	CAS
III	Thu, 18 Jan	2-3pm	SG1	<a href="#">US-Latin American relations</a>	CAS
III	Mon, 22 Jan	2-3pm	S1	<a href="#">Latin American in a changing international order</a>	CAS
IV	Mon, 29 Jan	2-3pm	S1	<a href="#">Dependency and (under)development</a>	PML
IV	Thu, 1 Feb	2-3pm	SG1	<a href="#">Neoliberalism</a>	PML
IV	Mon, 5 Feb	2-3pm	S1	<a href="#">Varieties of capitalism and welfare regimes</a>	PML
IV	Mon, 12 Feb	2-3pm	S1	<a href="#">Social movements, NGOs, and distributive politics</a>	PML
V	Thu, 15 Feb	2-3pm	SG1	<a href="#">Politics beyond the pale</a>	PML
V	Mon, 19 Feb	2-3pm	S1	<a href="#">Informality and bureaucracy</a>	GDW
V	Thu, 29 Feb	2-3pm	SG1	<a href="#">Policing inequality and the rise of criminal governance</a>	GDW
V	Mon, 4 Mar	2-3pm	S1	<a href="#">Conceptual challenges</a>	PML
	TBC (ET)	TBC	TBC	Revision (Easter Term)	CAS

\* CAS = Carsten-Andreas Schulz; GDW = Graham Denyer Willis; PML = Pedro Pedro Mendes Loureiro

## LECTURE AND READING GUIDE

### Section I

#### **1. The Problem of Persistence (Schulz)**

Lecture: Thursday, 5 October

Essay question: How do colonial legacies continue to shape the political landscape in Latin America?

##### *Required reading*

Adelman, Jeremy. “Introduction: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History.” In *Colonial Legacies: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History*, edited by Jeremy Adelman, 1-13. Routledge, 1999.

Karl, Terry Lynn. “The Vicious Cycle of Inequality in Latin America.” In *What Justice? Whose Justice? Fighting for Fairness in Latin America*, edited by Susan Eva Eckstein and Timothy Wickham-Crowley, 133-57. University of California Press, 2003.

##### *Further reading*

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A Robinson. “The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation.” *The American Economic Review* 91, no. 5 (2001): 1369-401.

Bethell, Leslie. “Brazil and ‘Latin America.’” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42 (Aug 2010): 457-85.

Collier, Ruth Berins, and David Collier. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton University Press, 1991, chap. 1 “Framework: Critical Junctures and Historical Legacies.”

Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Monthly Review Press, 1973.

Gobat, Michel. “The Invention of Latin America: A Transnational History of Anti-Imperialism, Democracy, and Race.” *The American Historical Review* 118, no. 5 (2013): 1345-75.

Mahoney, James. *Colonialism and Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

McGuinness, Aims. “Searching for ‘Latin America.’” In *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, edited by Nancy P Appelbaum, Anne S Macpherson and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, 87-107. University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Tenorio-Trillo, Mauricio. *Latin America: The Allure and Power of an Idea*. University of Chicago Press, 2017.

Whitehead, Laurence. *Latin America: A New Interpretation*. Macmillan, 2006, chap. 2 “Latin America as a ‘Mausoleum of Modernities.’”

#### **2. State formation (Schulz)**

Lecture: Monday, 9 October

Essay question: Without the state, there would be no nations in Latin America. Discuss this statement.

##### *Required reading*

Centeno, Miguel A. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002.

Loveman, Mara. “The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power.” *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 6 (2005): 1651-83.

Mazzuca, Sebastian. *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America*. Yale University Press, 2021, chap. 1 “A Theory of Latecomer State Formation.”

Miller, Nicola. “Latin America: State-Building and Nationalism.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*, edited by John Breuilly, 377-94. Oxford University Press, 2013.

#### Further reading

- Adelman, Jeremy. "Independence in Latin America." In *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*, edited by Jose C. Moya, 153-80. Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Anderson, Benedict R O'G. *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. Verso, 1983, chap. 4 "Creole Pioneers."
- Hummel, Calla. "Disobedient Markets: Street Vendors, Enforcement, and State Intervention in Collective Action." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 11 (2017): 1524-55.
- Kurtz, Marcus J. *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*. Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- López-Alves, F. *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America, 1810-1900*. Duke University Press, 2000.
- Loveman, Mara. *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America*. Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Molyneux, Maxine. "Twentieth-Century State Formations in Latin America." In *Hidden Histories of Gender and the State in Latin America*, edited by Elizabeth Dore and Maxine Molyneux, 33-82. Duke University Press, 2000.
- Munck, Gerardo L., and Juan Pablo Luna. *Latin American Politics and Society: A Comparative and Historical Analysis*. Cambridge University Press, 2022, chap 1. "The State and State Capacity."
- Prados de la Escosura, Leandro. "The Economic Consequences of Independence in Latin America." In *The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America*, edited by Victor Bulmer-Thomas and John H. Coatsworth, 463-504. Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Schenoni, Luis L. "Bringing War Back In: Victory and State Formation in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 65, no. 2 (2021).
- Schulz, Carsten-Andreas. "Territorial Sovereignty and the End of Inter-Cultural Diplomacy Along the 'Southern Frontier.'" *European Journal of International Relations* 25, no. 3 (2019): 878-903.
- Soifer, Hillel David. *State Building in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2015, chap. 1 "The Origins of State Capacity in Latin America."
- Thies, Cameron G. "War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3 (2005): 451-65.
- Tilly, Charles. *Coercion, Capital, and European States, AD 990-1990*. Blackwell, 1990, chap.1 "Cities and States in World History."

### 3. Patterns of power I: capitalism, authority, and colonialisation (Denyer Willis)

Lecture: Monday, 9 October

Essay question: What factors shaped political and/or racial order in amidst slavery?

#### Required reading

- Chalhoub, Sidney. "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society (Brazil in the Nineteenth Century)." *International Review of Social History* 56, no. 3 (2011): 405-439.
- Chazkel, Amy. "Toward a History of Rights in the City at Night: Making and Breaking the Nightly Curfew in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 62, no. 1 (2020.): 106-134.
- Miki, Yuko. "Fleeing into Slavery: The Insurgent Geographies of Brazilian Quilombolas (Maroons), 1880-1881." *The Americas* 68, no. 4 (2012): 495-528.
- Schwartz, Stuart B. *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835*. Cambridge University Press, 1985, esp. Part I "Formation."

#### Further reading

- Alencastro, Luiz Felipe. *The Trade in the Living: The Formation of Brazil in the South Atlantic, Sixteenth to Seventeenth Centuries*. SUNY Press, 2018.
- Beckert, Sven. *Empire of Cotton: A Global History*. Vintage, 2015.
- Dávila, Jerry. *Diploma of Whiteness: Race and Social Policy in Brazil, 1917-1945*. Duke University Press, 2003.

- Graham, Sandra Lauderdale. *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. University of Texas Press, 1992.
- Holloway, Thomas H. *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression and Resistance in a Nineteenth-Century City*. Stanford University Press, 1993.
- Las Casas, Bartolomé de. A Brief Account of the Destruction of the Indies, 2007. Project Gutenberg: <https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/20321>.
- Prado, Franco. "The Fringes of Empires: Recent Scholarship on Colonial Frontiers and Borderlands in Latin America." *History Compass* 10, no. 4 (2012): 318-333.
- Reis, João José, Flávio dos Santos Gomes, and Marcus J. Carvalho. *The Story of Rufino: Slavery, Freedom, and Islam in the Black Atlantic*. Oxford University Press, 2019.
- Reis, João José. *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia*. Taylor & Francis, 1995.
- Dos Santos, Silvio Almeida. "Historical Roots of the 'Whitening' of Brazil." *Latin American Perspectives* 29, no. 1 (2002): 61-82.
- Stern, Steve J. "Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (1992): 1-34.

#### Key Resource

Slave Voyages Database. <https://www.slavevoyages.org>.

### 4. Patterns of power II: Industrialisation, urban politics, and space (Denyer Willis)

Lecture: Thursday, 19 October

Essay question: How is inequality present in processes of urbanisation and industrialisation?

#### Required reading

- Britt, Andrew G. "Spatial Projects of Forgetting: Razing the Remedies Church and Museum to the Enslaved in São Paulo's 'Black Zone', 1930s–1940s." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 54, no. 4 (2022): 561-592.
- Fischer, Brodwyn, Bryan McCann, and Javier Auyero, eds. *Cities from Scratch: Poverty and Informality in Urban Latin America*. Duke University Press, 2014.
- Rodgers, Dennis. "'Disembedding' the City: Crime, Insecurity and Spatial Organization in Managua, Nicaragua." *Environment and Urbanization* 16, no. 2 (2004): 113-124.
- Stierli, Martino "Building No Place: Oscar Niemeyer and the Utopias of Brasília." *Journal of Architectural Education* 67, no. 1 (2013): 8-16.

#### Further reading

- Caldeira, Teresa. P. R. *City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*. University of California Press, 2000.
- Eckstein, Susan. "Urbanization Revisited: Inner-city Slum of Hope and Squatter Settlement of Despair." *World Development* 18, no. 2 (1990): 165-181.
- Fix, Mariana, and Pedro Fiori Arantes. "On Urban Studies in Brazil: The Favela, Uneven Urbanisation and Beyond." *Urban Studies* 59, no. 5 (2022): 893-916.
- Gilbert, Alan. "The Return of the Slum: Does Language Matter?" *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31, no. 4 (2007): 697-713.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Bryan Roberts. "The Free-market City: Latin American Urbanization in the Years of the Neoliberal Experiment." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 40 (2005): 43-82.

#### Key resource

Meirelles, Fernando, and Katia Lund, dir. *City of God*. Miramax, 2002.

## Section II

## 5. Political Regimes (Schulz)

Lecture: Monday, 23 October

Essay question: What explains the fragility of democracy in Latin America?

### Required reading

- Drake, Paul W. *Between Tyranny and Anarchy: A History of Democracy in Latin America, 1800-2006*. Stanford University Press, 2009, chaps. 1 “The Theory and History of Latin American Democracy, 1800–2006” and 2 “The Historical Evolution of Latin American Democratic Institutions, 1800–2006.”
- Linz, Juan J. “The Perils of Presidentialism.” *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 1 (1990): 51-69.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. “Why Latin America's Democracies Are Stuck.” *Journal of Democracy* 34, no. 1 (2023): 156-70.
- Munck, Gerardo L., and Juan Pablo Luna. *Latin American Politics and Society: A Comparative and Historical Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022, chaps. 3 “Political Regimes and Democracy” and 5 “Democracy and the Quality of Democracy: The Never-Ending Quest.”

### Further reading

- Aguilar Rivera, José Antonio, Eduardo Posada-Carbó, and Eduardo Zimmermann. “Democracy in Spanish America: The Early Adoption of Universal Male Suffrage, 1810–1853.” *Past & Present* 256, no. 1 (2022): 165-202.
- Alemán, Eduardo, and Ernesto Calvo. “Unified Government, Bill Approval, and the Legislative Weight of the President.” *Comparative Political Studies* 43, no. 4 (2010): 511-34.
- Alemán, Eduardo, and George Tsebelis. “The Origins of Presidential Conditional Agenda-Setting Power in Latin America.” *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 2 (2005): 3-26.
- Boese, Vanessa A., Martin Lundstedt, Kelly Morrison, Yuko Sato, and Staffan I. Lindberg. “State of the World 2021: Autocratization Changing Its Nature?”. *Democratization* 29, no. 6 (2022): 983-1013.
- Brinks, Daniel M., Steven Levitsky, and Maria Victoria Murillo. *Understanding Institutional Weakness: Power and Design in Latin American Institutions*. Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- Cheibub, José Antonio, and Fernando Limongi. “Democratic Institutions and Regime Survival: Parliamentary and Presidential Democracies Reconsidered.” *Annual Review of Political Science* 5, no. 1 (2002): 151-79.
- Cox, Gary W., and Scott Morgenstern. “Latin America's Reactive Assemblies and Proactive Presidents.” *Comparative Politics* 33, no. 2 (2001): 171-89.
- Helmke, Gretchen. “The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America.” *American Journal of Political Science* 54, no. 3 (2010): 737-50.
- Hochstetler, Kathryn. “Rethinking Presidentialism: Challenges and Presidential Falls in South America.” *Comparative Politics* (2006): 401-18.
- Palanza, Valeria. “The Presidency in Latin American Politics.” *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1674>
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. “Why Regions of the World Are Important: Regional Specificities and Region-Wide Diffusion of Democracy.” In *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*, edited by Gerardo L Munck, 199-229. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Marsteintredet, Leiv, and Einar Berntzen. “Reducing the Perils of Presidentialism in Latin America through Presidential Interruptions.” *Comparative Politics* 41, no. 1 (2008): 83-101.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. “On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries.” *World Development* 21, no. 8 (1993): 1355-69.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg, and Scott Mainwaring. “Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America: Rethinking the Terms of the Debate.” In *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, edited by Matthew Soberg Shugart and Scott Mainwaring, 12-54. Cambridge, 1997.
- Waylen, Georgina. “Women and Democratization Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics.” *World Politics* 46, no. 3 (1994): 327-54.

### Key resource

Costa, Petra, dir. *The Edge of Democracy*. Netflix, 2019.

Gúzman, Patricio, dir. *The Battle of Chile. Part I: The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie*. Miramax, 1975

## 6. Democracy and its Discontents (Schulz)

Lecture: Thursday, 26 October

Essay question: To what extent does populism undermine democracy?

### Required reading

Blitzer, Jonathan. "The Rise of Nayib Bukele, El Salvador's Authoritarian President: The Budding Strongman Has Ridden Bitcoin Schemes and a Repressive Crackdown on Gangs to Become Latin America's Most Popular Leader." *The New Yorker*, 5 September 2022.

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/09/12/the-rise-of-nayib-bukele-el-salvadors-authoritarian-president>

Levitsky, Steven, and Lucan A Way. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 13, no. 1 (2002): 51-65.

Meléndez-Sánchez, Manuel. "Latin America Erupts: Millennial Authoritarianism in El Salvador." *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 3 (2021): 19-32.

### Further reading

Foweraker, Joe, and Dolores Trevizo, eds. *Democracy and Its Discontents in Latin America*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2017.

Boas, Taylor C. "Pastors for Pinochet: Authoritarian Stereotypes and Voting for Evangelicals in Chile." *Journal of Experimental Political Science* 3, no. 2 (2016): 197-205.

Bull, Benedicte, and Antulio Rosales. "How Sanctions Led to Authoritarian Capitalism in Venezuela." *Current History* 122, no. 841 (2023): 49-55.

Corrales, Javier. "Why Maduro Hasn't Fallen." *Journal of Democracy* 31 (2020): 39-53.

Grillo, Ioan. "Three Uncomfortable Truths About Bukele's Crackdown On Gangs: It's Effective. It's Popular. It's Brutal," 29 August 2023. <https://www.crashoutmedia.com/p/three-uncomfortable-truths-about>

Haime, Agustina, and Francisco Cantú. "Negative Partisanship in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 64, no. 1 (2022): 72-92.

Jiménez, Maryhen. "Contesting Autocracy: Repression and Opposition Coordination in Venezuela." *Political Studies* 71, no. 1 (2023): 47-68.

Mainwaring, Scott, ed. *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Mudde, Cas, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. "Exclusionary Vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America." *Government and Opposition* 48, no. 2 (2013): 147-74.

Munck, Gerardo L., and Juan Pablo Luna. *Latin American Politics and Society: A Comparative and Historical Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022, chap. 7 "Political Parties and the Citizen–Politician Link: The Persistent Crisis of Representation."

Negretto, Gabriel L. "Tinkering with Executive Term Limits: Partisan Imbalances and Institutional Legacies in Latin America." *Democratization* 29, no. 1 (2022): 38-56.

Loxton, James. *Conservative Party-Building in Latin America: Authoritarian Inheritance and Counterrevolutionary Struggle*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021.

Roberts, Kenneth M. "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case." *World Politics* 48, no. 1 (1995): 82-116.

Seawright, Jason. *Party-System Collapse the Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Velasco, V. Ximena, Calla Hummel, Sam Handlin, and Amy Erica Smith. "Latin America Erupts: When Does Competitive Authoritarianism Take Root?" *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 3 (2021): 63-77.



Weyland, Kurt. "How Populism Corrodes Latin American Parties." *Journal of Democracy* 32, no. 4 (2021): 42-55.

## 7. Gender, Race, and Representation (Schulz)

Lecture: Monday, 30 October

Essay question: Why has Latin America taken the lead in the expansion of gender-based rights?

### Required reading

Encarnación, Omar G. "The Gay Rights Backlash: Contrasting Views from the United States and Latin America." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 22, no. 4 (2020): 654-65.

Htun, Mala. *Inclusion without Representation in Latin America: Gender Quotas and Ethnic Reservations*. Cambridge University Press, 2016, chaps. 1 "Introduction: Politics of Inclusion in Latin America," 2 "Women, Afrodescendants, and Indigenous Peoples in Elected Office," and 4 "Indigenous Reservations and Gender Parity in Bolivia (written with Juan Pablo Ossa)."

Schwindt-Bayer, Leslie. "Conclusion: The Gendered Nature of Democratic Representation in Latin America." In *Gender and Representation in Latin America*, edited by Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer, 245-59. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018.

### Further reading

Barnes, Tiffany D., and Abby Córdova. "Making Space for Women: Explaining Citizen Support for Legislative Gender Quotas in Latin America." *The Journal of Politics* 78, no. 3 (2016): 670-86.

Blofield, Merike, and Christina Ewig. "The Left Turn and Abortion Politics in Latin America." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 24, no. 4 (2017): 481-510.

Boas, Taylor C. "Expanding the Public Square: Evangelicals and Electoral Politics in Latin America." In *The Inclusionary Turn in Latin American Democracies*, edited by Deborah J. Yashar, Diana Kapiszewski and Steven Levitsky, 362-98. Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Corrales, Javier. "The Expansion of LGBT Rights in Latin America and the Backlash." In *The Oxford Handbook of Global LGBT and Sexual Diversity Politics*, edited by Michael J. Bosia, Sandra M. McEvoy and Momin Rahman, 184-200. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020; or *The Politics of LGBTQ Rights Expansion in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Cambridge University Press, 2021.

Coppedge, Michael. "The Evolution of Latin American Party Systems." In *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America*, edited by Scott Mainwaring and Arturo Valenzuela, 171-206. Westview, 1998.

Cyr, Jennifer. *The Fates of Political Parties: Institutional Crisis, Continuity, and Change in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017.

Edwards, Erika Denise. "The Making of a White Nation: The Disappearance of the Black Population in Argentina." *History Compass* 16, no. 7 (2018): e12456.

Franceschet, Susan, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 4, no. 3 (2008): 393-425.

Funk, Kendall D., Magda Hinojosa, and Jennifer M. Piscopo. "Women to the Rescue: The Gendered Effects of Public Discontent on Legislative Nominations in Latin America." *Party Politics* 27, no. 3 (2019): 465-77.

Hooker, Juliet. "Indigenous Inclusion/Black Exclusion: Race, Ethnicity and Multicultural Citizenship in Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37, no. 2 (2005): 285-310.

Jones, Mark P. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence from the Latin American Vanguard." *Comparative Political Studies* 42, no. 1 (2009): 56-81.

Kapiszewski, Diana, Steven Levitsky, and Deborah J. Yashar. "Inequality, Democracy, and the Inclusionary Turn in Latin America." In *The Inclusionary Turn in Latin American Democracies*, edited by Deborah J. Yashar, Diana Kapiszewski and Steven Levitsky, 1-56. Cambridge University Press, 2021.



- Madrid, Raúl L. "The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America." *World Politics* 60, no. 3 (2008): 475-508.
- Rice, Roberta. "Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.243>
- Towns, Ann. "Norms and Social Hierarchies: Understanding International Policy Diffusion 'from Below.'" *International Organization* 66, no. 02 (2012): 179-209.
- Trejo, Guillermo, and Melina Altamirano. "The Mexican Color Hierarchy: How Race and Skin Tone Still Define Life Chances 200 Years after Independence." In *The Double Bind: The Politics of Racial & Class Inequalities in the Americas. Report of the Task Force on Racial and Social Class Inequalities in the Americas*, edited by Juliet Hooker and Alvin B. Tillery, 3-16. American Political Science Association, 2016.
- Van Cott, Dona Lee. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Yashar, Deborah J. "Does Race Matter in Latin America: How Racial and Ethnic Identities Shape the Region's Politics," *Foreign Affairs* 94, no. 2 (March/April 2015): 33-40.

## 8. The politics of justice and human rights (Schulz)

Lecture: Thursday, 2 November

Essay question: Why do Latin American countries not uniformly address past human rights violations?

### Required reading

- Glendon, Mary Ann. "The Forgotten Crucible: The Latin American Influence on the Universal Human Rights Idea". *Harvard Human Rights Journal* 16 (2003): 27-39.
- Lessa, Francesca. "Operation Condor on Trial: Justice for Transnational Human Rights Crimes in South America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 51, no. 2 (2019): 409-39.
- Sikkink, Kathryn. "The Transnational Dimension of the Judicialization of Politics in Latin America." In *The Judicialization of Politics in Latin America*, edited by Rachel Sieder, Line Schjolden and Alan Angell, 263-92. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.

### Further reading

- Botero, Sandra, Daniel Brinks, and Ezequiel Gonzalez-Ocantos. "Working in New Political Spaces: The Checkered History of Latin American Judicialization." In *The Limits of Judicialization: From Progress to Backlash in Latin America*, edited by Daniel M. Brinks, Ezequiel A. Gonzalez-Ocantos and Sandra Botero, 1-38. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- Brysk, Alison. "From above and Below: Social Movements, the International System, and Human Rights in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 26, no. 3 (1993): 259-85.
- Carlin, Ryan E., Gregory J. Love, Jennifer L. McCoy, and Jelena Subotić. "Pitfall to Peace: Farc's Political Participation and Mass Support for Peace Talks in Colombia." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 12, no. 3 (2020): 323-44.
- Couso, Javier, Alexandra Huneeus, and Rachel Sieder, eds. *Cultures of Legality: Judicialization and Political Activism in Latin America*, *Cambridge Studies in Law and Society*. Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Franklin, James C. "Shame on You: The Impact of Human Rights Criticism on Political Repression in Latin America." *International Studies Quarterly* 52, no. 1 (2008): 187-211.
- Engstrom, Par, and Peter Low. "Mobilising the Inter-American Human Rights System: Regional Litigation and Domestic Human Rights Impact in Latin America." In *The Inter-American Human Rights System: Impact Beyond Compliance*, edited by Par Engstrom, 23-58. Springer International Publishing, 2019.
- Fuentes-Julio, Claudia. "Norm Entrepreneurs in Foreign Policy: How Chile Became an International Human Rights Promoter." *Journal of Human Rights* 19, no. 2 (2020): 256-74.
- Helmke, Gretchen, and Julio Rios-Figueroa, eds. *Courts in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2011.
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#### *Key resource*

Mitre, Santiago, dir. 1985. Amazon Studios, 2022.

### **Section III**

#### **9. Foreign policy making (Schulz)**

Lecture: Thursday, 16 November

Essay question: What role does the bureaucracy play in foreign policy making?

#### *Required reading*

- Amorim Neto, Octavio, and Andrés Malamud. "The Policy-Making Capacity of Foreign Ministries in Presidential Regimes: A Study of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico, 1946–201." *Latin American Research Review* 54, no. 4 (2019): 818-34.
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#### *Further reading*

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- Ribeiro, Pedro Feliú, and Flávio Pinheiro. "Presidents, Legislators, and Foreign Policy in Latin America." *Contexto Internacional* 38 (2016): 467-501.
- Russell, Roberto, and Juan Gabriel Tokatlían. "From Antagonistic to Relational Autonomy: A Theoretical Reflection from the Southern Cone." *Latin American Politics and Society* 45, no. 1 (2003): 1-24.
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## **10. Multilateral cooperation: the politics of international norms and institutions (Schulz)**

Lecture: Thursday 23 November

Essay question: What explains Latin American states' longstanding commitment to regional cooperation? Has this commitment waned?

### Required reading

- Fawcett, Louise. "The Origins and Development of Regional Ideas in the Americas." In *Regionalism and Governance in the Americas: Continental Drift*, edited by Louise Fawcett and Mónica Serrano, 27-51. Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.
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- Stuenkel, Oliver. "How Brazil Embraced Informal Organizations." *International Politics* (2022). <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41311-022-00385-w>

### Further reading

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- Covarrubias, Ana. "Containing Brazil: Mexico's Response to the Rise of Brazil." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 35, no. 1 (2016): 49-63.
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- Herman, Rebecca. "Latin America and US Global Governance." In *The Cambridge History of America and the World: Volume 3: 1900–1945*, edited by Andrew Preston and Brooke L. Blower. The Cambridge History of America and the World, 153-73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022.
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- Legler, Thomas. "Beyond Reach? The Organization of American States and Effective Multilateralism." In *Routledge Handbook of Latin America in the World*, edited by Jorge I Domínguez and Ana Covarrubias, 311-28. New York: Routledge, 2014.
- Long, Tom. "Latin America and the Liberal International Order: An Agenda for Research." *International Affairs* 94, no. 6 (2018): 1371–90.
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- Marino, Katherine M. *Feminism for the Americas: The Making of an International Human Rights Movement*. The University of North Carolina Press, 2020, chaps. 1 "A New Force in the

History of the World” and 8 “The Latin American Contribution to the Constitution of the World.”

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- Mijares, Víctor M. “Soft Balancing the Titans: Venezuelan Foreign-Policy Strategy toward the United States, China, and Russia.” *Latin American Policy* 8, no. 2 (2017): 201–31.
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## 11. US-Latin American relations (Schulz)

Lecture: Thursday, 18 January

Essay question: Under what conditions have Latin Americans succeeded in shaping US policy towards the region?

### Required reading

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- Keller, Renata. “The Latin American Missile Crisis”. *Diplomatic History* 39, no. 2 (2014): 195–222.
- Long, Tom. *Latin America Confronts the United States: Asymmetry and Influence*. Cambridge University Press, 2015, chaps. 1 “Asymmetry, Influence, and U.S.-Latin American Relations.”

### Further reading

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- Darnton, Christopher. “After Decentering: The Politics of Agency and Hegemony in Hemispheric Relations.” *Latin American Research Review* 48, no. 3 (2013): 231–39.
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- Ferrer, Ada. *Cuba: An American History*. Scribner, 2021, chap X “Confrontation.”
- Friedman, Max Paul. “Retiring the Puppets, Bringing Latin America Back.” *Diplomatic History* 27, no. 5 (2003): 621–36.
- Grandin, Greg. *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*. Henry Holt and Company, 2010.
- Harmer, Tanya. “The “Cuban Question” and the Cold War in Latin America, 1959–1964.” *Journal of Cold War Studies* 21, no. 3 (2019): 114–51.
- Immerwahr, Daniel. *How to Hide an Empire: A Short History of the Greater United States*. The Bodley Head, 2019.



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- Lasso, Marixa. "Before the Roosevelt Corollary: Colombia and the Nineteenth-Century Panama Canal Treaty Debates." *Diplomatic History* (2023). <https://doi.org/10.1093/dh/dhad054>.
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- Scarfi, Juan Pablo. "In the Name of the Americas: The Pan-American Redefinition of the Monroe Doctrine and the Emerging Language of American International Law in the Western Hemisphere." *Diplomatic History* 40, no. 2 (2016): 189-218.
- Schoultz, Lars. *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy toward Latin America*. Harvard University Press, 1998, chaps 1 "Encountering Latin America," 2 "Acquiring Northern Mexico," and 8 "Establishing an Empire: Cuba and the War with Spain."
- Smith, Peter H. and Ana Covarrubias Velasco. *Talons of the Eagle: Latin America, the United States, and the World*. Oxford University Press, 2022.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. "Beyond Benign Neglect: Washington and Latin America." In *Neighborly Adversaries: Readings in U.S.-Latin American Relations*, edited by Michael LaRosa and Frank O Mora, 319-28. Rowman & Littlefield, 2007.
- Whitaker, Arthur Preston. *The Western Hemisphere Idea: Its Rise and Decline*. Cornell University Press, 1954, chap. 1 "Meaning and Origin of the Western Hemisphere Idea."

## 12. Latin America in a Changing International Order (Schulz)

Lecture: Monday, 22 January

Essay question: Does China's growing presence in Latin America undermine democracy?

### Required

- Berg, Ryan C., and Hal Brands. "The Return of Geopolitics: Latin America and the Caribbean in an Era of Great-Power Rivalry". *Global Security Review* 2 (2022): 1-9.
- Paz, Gonzalo Sebastián. "China, United States and Hegemonic Challenge in Latin America: An Overview and Some Lessons from Previous Instances of Hegemonic Challenge in the Region". *The China Quarterly* 209 (2012): 18-34.
- Wise, Carol. "China in Latin America: Winning Hearts and Minds Pragmatically". In *External Powers in Latin America*, edited by Gian Luca Gardini, 44-58. Routledge, 2021.

### Further reading

- Alden, Chris and Álvaro Méndez. *China and Latin America: Development, Agency and Geopolitics*. Zed Books, 2022, intro. and chap 8.
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- Brand, Alexander, Susan McEwen-Fial, and Wolfgang Muno. "An 'Authoritarian Nexus'? China's Alleged Special Relationship with Autocratic States in Latin America". *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies / Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe* 99 (2015): 7-28.
- Farah, Douglas, and Caitlyn Yates. "Great Power Competition in Latin America: A New Normal." *Fletcher Forum of World Affairs* 44, no. 2 (2020): 45-64
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo A, and Sarah E Kreps. "The Foreign Policy Consequences of Trade: China's Commercial Relations with Africa and Latin America, 1992–2006." *Journal of Politics* 75, no. 2 (2013): 357-71.
- Fortín, Carlos, Jorge Heine, and Carlos Ominami. "Latin America between a Rock and a Hard Place: A Second Cold War and the Active Non-Alignment Option." *Global Policy* (2020, 2 Oct). <https://www.globalpolicyjournal.com/blog/02/10/2020/latin-america-between-rock-and-hard-place-second-cold-war-and-active-non-alignment>

- Gallagher, Kevin. *The China Triangle: Latin America's China Boom and the Fate of the Washington Consensus*. Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Jenkins, Rhys. China's Belt and Road Initiative in Latin America: What has Changed?" *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 51, no. 1 (2021): 13-39.
- Kaplan, Stephen B. "Banking Unconditionally: The Political Economy of Chinese Finance in Latin America." *Review of International Political Economy* 23, no. 4 (2016): 643-76.
- Londoño, Ernesto. "From a Space Station in Argentina, China Expands Its Reach in Latin America." *The New York Times* (July 28, 2018): <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/07/28/world/americas/china-latin-america.html>.
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- Mijares, Víctor M. "Soft Balancing the Titans: Venezuelan Foreign-Policy Strategy Toward the United States, China, and Russia." *Latin American Policy* 8, no. 2 (2017): 201-231.
- Rosales, Antulio. "Deepening Extractivism and Rentierism: China's Role in Venezuela's Bolivarian Developmental Model." *Canadian Journal of Development Studies / Revue Canadienne d'études du développement* 37, no. 4 (2016): 560-77.
- Stallings, Barbara. *Dependency in the Twenty-First Century? The Political Economy of China-Latin America Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.
- Strüver, Georg. "'Bereft of Friends'? China's Rise and Search for Political Partners in South America." *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 7, no. 1 (2014): 117-51
- Tokatlian, Juan Gabriel. "A view from Latin America." In *China's Expansion into the Western Hemisphere: Implications for Latin America and the United States*, edited by Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz, 55–89. Brookings Institution Press, 2008.
- Urdinez, Francisco, Fernando Mouron, Luis L. Schenoni, and Amâncio J. de Oliveira. "Chinese Economic Statecraft and U.S. Hegemony in Latin America: An Empirical Analysis, 2003 2014". *Latin American Politics and Society* 58, no. 4 (2016): 3-30.
- Urdinez, Francisco. "Undermining US Reputation: Chinese Vaccines and Aid and the Alternative Provision of Public Goods During Covid-19." *The Review of International Organizations* (2023): 1-26.

## **Section IV**

### **13. Dependency and (under)development (Mendes Loureiro)**

Lecture: Monday, 29 January

Essay question: Is dependency theory still a powerful approach to Latin America's political economy – if it ever was – and why?

#### *Required reading*

- Gaudichaud, Franck, Massimo Modonesi, and Jeffrey R. Webber. *The Impasse of the Latin American Left*. Duke University Press, 2022, chap. 2 "World Market, Patterns of Accumulation, and Imperial Domination: The Political Economy of the Latin American Left"
- Saad-Filho, Alfredo. *Growth and Change in Neoliberal Capitalism*. Brill, 2021, chap. 5 "The Rise and Fall of Structuralism and Dependency Theory"
- Stallings, Barbara. *Dependency in the Twenty-First Century? The Political Economy of China-Latin America Relations*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

#### *Further reading*

- Cardoso, Fernando H. Dependent Capitalist Development in Latin America. *New Left Review* I, np. 74 (1972): 83-95.
- Cardoso, Fernando H., and Enzo Faletto. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. University of California Press, 1979.



- Evans, Peter B. *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*. Princeton University Press, , 1979.
- Helleiner, Eric and Rosales, Antulio. Toward Global IPE: The Overlooked Significance of the Haya-Mariátegui Debate. *International Studies Review* 19, no. 4 (2017): 667-691.
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- Kay, Cristóbal. Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment. Routledge, 1989.
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- Martins, Carlos E. The Longue Durée of the Marxist Theory of Dependency and the Twenty-First Century. *Latin American Perspectives* 49, no. 1 (2022): 18-35.
- Munck, Gerardo L., and Juan Pablo Luna. *Latin American Politics and Society: A Comparative and Historical Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022, chap. 4 “Development Models and Socioeconomic Welfare”
- Munck, Ronaldo. The Labor Question and Dependent Capitalism: The case of Latin America. In *The Social Question in the Twenty-First Century: A Global View*, edited by Jan Breman, Kevan Harris, Ching Kwan Lee, and Marcel van der Linden, 116-133. University of California Press, 2019.
- Palma, Gabriel. Dependency: A Formal Theory of Underdevelopment or a Methodology for the Analysis of Concrete Situations of Underdevelopment? *World Development* 6, no. 7-8 (1978): 881-924.
- Robinson, William I. *Latin America and Global Capitalism. A Critical Globalization Perspective*. The John Hopkins University Press, 2008.

#### **14. Neoliberalism (Mendes Loureiro)**

Lecture: Thursday, 1 February

Essay question: To what extent do domestic versus international factors explain the neoliberalisation processes in Latin America?

##### *Required reading*

- Kohl, BH, and LC Farthing. 2006. *Impasse in Bolivia: Neoliberal Hegemony and Popular Resistance*. London: Zed Books, ch. 1, 3 & 8.
- Maldonado, J., et al. 2023. “The Neoliberal State in Latin America.” In *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Neoliberal State and Beyond*, edited by AE Ferraro and MA Centeno. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-64.
- Silva, P. 2023. “The Chilean Neoliberal State: Origins, Evolution, and Contestation, 1973–2020.” In *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Neoliberal State and Beyond*, edited by AE Ferraro and MA Centeno. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 67-98.

##### *Further reading*

- Centeno, MA, and AE Ferraro, eds. 2023. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Neoliberal State and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fine, B., and A. Saad-Filho. 2017. “Thirteen Things You Need to Know About Neoliberalism.” *Critical Sociology* 43 (4-5): 685-706.
- Hale, CR. 2005. “Neoliberal Multiculturalism: The Remaking of Cultural Rights and Racial Dominance in Central America.” *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 28 (1): 10-28.
- Marion Fourcade-Gourinchas and Sarah L. Babb. 2002. “The Rebirth of the Liberal Creed: Paths to Neoliberalism in Four Countries.” *American Journal of Sociology* 108 (3): 533-579.
- Medeiros, CA. 2009. “Asset-stripping the State: Political Economy of Privatization in Latin America.” *New Left Review* 55: 109-132.

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- O'Donnell, G. 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.
- Portes, A., and K. Hoffman. 2003. "Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era." *Latin American Research Review* 38 (1): 41-82.
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- Saad-Filho, A. 2021. *Growth and Change in Neoliberal Capitalism: Essays on the Political Economy of Late Development*. Brill.
- Saad-Filho, A., F. Iannini, and EJ Molinari. 2007. "Neoliberalism, Democracy and Economic Policy in Latin America." In *Political Economy of Latin America: Recent Issues and Performance* edited by P. Arestis and M. Sawyer. Palgrave Macmillan, 1-35.
- Silva, E. 2009. *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Silva, E., and F. Rossi. 2018. *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Yates, JS., and K. Bakker. 2014. "Debating the 'Post-Neoliberal turn' in Latin America." *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (1): 62-90.

## 15. Varieties of capitalism and welfare regimes (Mendes Loureiro)

Lecture: Monday, 5 February

Essay question: In what ways do welfare regimes and varieties of capitalism accentuate and attenuate inequalities in Latin America?

### Required reading

- Filgueira, F., Arza, C., and Blofield, M. 2023. "The Slow and Reluctant Development of Social Citizenship in Latin America." In *The Oxford Handbook of Governance and Public Management for Social Policy*, edited by K.J. Baehler. Oxford University Press, 835-850.
- Huber, E., Dunn, C., and Stephens, J.D. 2022. "Social Investment and Neoliberal Legacies in Latin America: Breaking the Mold?" In *The World Politics of Social Investment: Volume I: Welfare States in the Knowledge Economy*, edited by J.L. Garritzmann, S. Häusermann, and B. Palier. Oxford University Press, 378-403.
- Molyneux, M. 2008. "The 'Neoliberal Turn' and the New Social Policy in Latin America: How Neoliberal, How New?" *Development and Change* 39 (5): 775-797.
- Riggirozzi, P., and Grugel, J. 2023. "The End Game of Social Policy in a Context of Enduring Inequalities: Assessing 'Post-neoliberalism' in Latin America." In *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Neoliberal State and Beyond*, edited by A.E. Ferraro and M.A. Centeno. Cambridge University Press, 317-340.

### Further reading

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- Garay, C. 2016. *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Grugel, J., and Riggirozzi, P. 2018. "Neoliberal Disruption and Neoliberalism's Afterlife in Latin America: What Is Left of Post-neoliberalism?" *Critical Social Policy* 38 (3): 547-566.
- Haggard, S., and Kaufman, R.R. 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*. Princeton University Press.

- Huber, E., and Stephens, J.D. 2012. *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*. University of Chicago Press.
- Levitsky, S., and Roberts, K.M., eds. 2011. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Niedzwiecki, S., and Anria, S. 2019. "Participatory Social Policies: Diverging Patterns in Brazil and Bolivia." *Latin American Politics and Society* 61 (2): 115-137.
- Pribble, J. 2011. "Worlds Apart: Social Policy Regimes in Latin America." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 46 (2): 191-216.
- Radcliffe, S.A. 2018. "Tackling Complex Inequalities and Ecuador's Buen Vivir: Leaving No-one Behind and Equality in Diversity." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 37 (4): 417-433.
- Schneider, B.R. 2013. *Hierarchical Capitalism in Latin America: Business, Labor, and the Challenges of Equitable Development*. Cambridge University Press.

## 16. Social movements, NGOs, and distributive politics (Mendes Loureiro)

Lecture: Monday, 12 February

Essay question: To what extent are social movements capable of counterbalancing a deficit of representation in Latin American politics?

### Required reading

- Alvarez, SE. 2017. "Beyond the Civil Society Agenda?: Participation and Practices of Governance, Governability, and Governmentality in Latin America." In *Beyond Civil Society: Activism, Participation, and Protest in Latin America*, edited by SE Alvarez et al. Duke University Press, 316-330.
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- Lucero, JA. 2023. "Locating Neoliberalism in Abiyala: A View from Indigenous Studies." In *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Neoliberal State and Beyond*, edited by AE Ferraro and MA Centeno. Cambridge University Press, 428-461.
- Munck, GL., and Luna, JP. 2022. "Political Inclusion and Institutional Innovations: Women, Indigenous Peoples, Afro-Descendants, and Ordinary People." In *Latin American Politics and Society: A Comparative and Historical Analysis*. Cambridge University Press, 201-237.
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- Yashar, DJ. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge University Press, ch. 3.

### Further reading

- Alvarez, SE. 2009. "Beyond NGO-ization?: Reflections from Latin America." *Development* 52 (2): 175-184.
- Alvarez, SE., et al., eds. 2017. *Beyond Civil Society: Activism, Participation, and Protest in Latin America*. Duke University Press.
- Anria, S. 2018. *When Movements Become Parties: The Bolivian MAS in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Conaghan, C. 2018. "From Movements to Governments: Comparing Bolivia's MAS and Ecuador's PAIS." In *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation*, edited by E. Silva and F. Rossi. University of Pittsburgh Press, 222-250.
- Farthing, L. 2019. "An Opportunity Squandered? Elites, Social Movements, and the Government of Evo Morales." *Latin American Perspectives* 46 (1): 212-229.
- Hochstetler, K. 2012. "Social Movements in Latin America." In *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, edited by P. Kingstone and DJ Yashar. Routledge, 237-247.

- Larrabure, M. 2020. "Left Governments and Social Movements in Latin America." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1720>
- Munck, R. 2020. *Social Movements in Latin America: Mapping the Mosaic*. Agenda Publishing.
- Niedzwiecki, S. 2014. "The Effect of Unions and Organized Civil Society on Social Policy: Pension and Health Reforms in Argentina and Brazil, 1988–2008." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56 (4): 22–48.
- Paschel, TS. 2016. *Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil*. Princeton University Press.
- Paschel, TS. 2018. "Rethinking Black Mobilization in Latin America." In *Afro-Latin American Studies: An Introduction*, edited by Adl Fuente and GR Andrews. Cambridge University Press, 222–263.
- Radcliffe, SA. 2015. *Dilemmas of Difference: Indigenous Women and the Limits of Postcolonial Development Policy*. Duke University Press.
- Riethof, M. 2019. *Labour Mobilization, Politics and Globalization in Brazil: Between Militancy and Moderation*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Silva, E., and Rossi, F., eds. 2018. *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

## **Section V**

### **17. Politics beyond the pale (Mendes Loureiro)**

Lecture: Thursday, 15 February

Essay question: What does the enduring presence of radical or extreme politics reveal about Latin America's political economy?

#### *Required reading*

- Carolina, D., and Becerra, S. 2019. "For Our Total Emancipation: The Making of Revolutionary Feminism in Insurgent El Salvador, 1977–1987." In *Making the Revolution: Histories of the Latin American Left*, edited by KA Young. Cambridge University Press, 266–293.
- Harmer, T. 2013. "Two, Three, Many Revolutions? Cuba and the Prospects for Revolutionary Change in Latin America, 1967–1975." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 45 (1): 61–89.
- Hylton, F. 2011. "'Now is not your time; it's ours': Insurgent Confederation, 'Race War,' and Liberal State Formation in the Bolivian Federal War of 1899." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 110 (2): 487–503.
- Miki, Y. 2018. "Fleeing into Slavery: Geography." In *Frontiers of Citizenship: A Black and Indigenous History of Postcolonial Brazil*. Cambridge University Press, 171–215.
- Winn, P. 2010. "The Furies of the Andes: Violence and Terror in the Chilean Revolution and Counterrevolution." In *A Century of Revolution: Insurgent and Counterinsurgent Violence during Latin America's Long Cold War*, edited by GM Joseph and G Grandin. Duke University Press, 239–275.

#### *Further reading*

- Arrom, SM., and Ortoll, S., eds. 1996. *Riots in the Cities: Popular Politics and the Urban Poor in Latin America 1765–1910*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Dantas, MD. 2016. "Popular Revolts in the Empire of Brazil." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.282>
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- Dunkerley, J. 1984. *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952–82*. Verso.
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- Gutiérrez, R. 2014. *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: indigenous uprising and state power in Bolivia*. Duke University Press.

- Harmer, T. 2021. "Towards a global history of the Unidad Popular." *Radical Americas* 6 (1): 1-14.
- Harmer, T., and Álvarez, AM., eds. 2021. *Toward a Global History of Latin America's Revolutionary Left*. University of Florida Press.
- Landers, J., and Robinson, B. 2006. *Slaves, subjects, and subversives: blacks in colonial Latin America*. University of New Mexico Press.
- Löwy, M., ed. 1992. *Marxism in Latin America from 1909 to the present: an anthology*. Humanities Press.
- Marchesi, A. 2017. *Latin America's Radical Left: Rebellion and Cold War in the Global 1960s*. Cambridge University Press.
- Pirola, RF. 2021. "Brazilian Slave Revolts." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Latin American History*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780199366439.013.651>
- Webber, JR. 2012. *Red October: left-indigenous struggles in modern Bolivia*. Haymarket.
- Whitehead, L. 2003. "The Bolivian National Revolution: A Comparison." In *Proclaiming Revolution: Bolivia in Comparative Perspective*, edited by MS Grindle and P Domingo. Harvard University Press, 25-53.
- Wickham-Crowley, TP. 1992. *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956*. Princeton University Press.
- Young, KA., ed. 2019. *Making the Revolution: Histories of the Latin American Left*. Cambridge University Press.

## **18. Informality and bureaucracy (Denyer Willis)**

Lecture: Monday, 19 February

Essay question: How do scholars describe the relationship between informality and political order?

### *Required reading*

- Arias, E. D. *Drugs and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro: Trafficking, Social Networks, and Public Security*. University of North Carolina Press, 2009.
- Denyer Willis, G. "City of Clones: Facsimiles and Governance in São Paulo, Brazil." *Current Sociology* 65, no. 2 (2017): 235-247.
- Holland, A. C. "Forbearance." *American Political Science Review* 110, no. 2 (2016): 232-246.
- Santos, B. D. S. "The Law of the Oppressed: The Construction and Reproduction of Legality in Pasargada." *Law & Society Review* 12 (1977): 5.

### *Further reading*

- Fischer, B. "Historicising Informal Governance in 20th Century Brazil." *Contemporary Social Science* 17, no. 3 (2022): 205-221.
- Goldstein, D. M. *Owners of the Sidewalk: Security and Survival in the Informal City*. Duke University Press, 2016.
- Lerch, A. "Police Protection Rackets and Political Modernity in Mexico." *Politics & Society*, (2022): 00323292221129756.
- Levitsky, S. "Informal Institutions and Politics in Latin America." In *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, 88-100. London: Routledge, 2013.
- Snyder, R., & Duran-Martinez, A. "Does Illegality Breed Violence? Drug Trafficking and State Sponsored Protection Rackets." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 52 (2009): 253-273.

## **19. Policing inequality and the rise of criminal governance (Denyer Willis)**

Lecture: Thursday, 29 February

Essay question: 'Criminal governance is a problem of criminal actors'. Assess this assertion.

### *Required reading*

- Barnes, N. "Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 4 (2017): 967-987.

- Durán-Martínez, A. *The Politics of Drug Violence: Criminals, Cops and Politicians in Colombia and Mexico*. Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Lessing, B., & Denyer Willis, G. Legitimacy in Criminal Governance: Managing a Drug Empire from Behind Bars. *American Political Science Review* 113, no. 2 (2019): 584-606.
- Villarreal, Ana. "Domesticating Danger: Coping Codes and Symbolic Security amid Violent Organized Crime in Mexico." *Sociological Theory* 39, no. 4 (2021): 225-244.

#### *Further Reading*

- Alves, J. A. *The Anti-Black City: Police Terror and Black Urban Life in Brazil*. University of Minnesota Press, 2018.
- Fattal, A. L. *Guerrilla Marketing: Counterinsurgency and Capitalism in Colombia*. University of Chicago Press, 2018.
- Goldstein, D., & Arias, D. (Eds.). *Violent Democracies in Latin America*. Duke University Press, 2010.
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- Muehlmann, S. *When I Wear My Alligator Boots: Narco-Culture in the US Mexico Borderlands*. University of California Press, 2013.
- Pearce, J. "Perverse State Formation and Securitized Democracy in Latin America." *Democratization* 17, no. 2 (2010): 286-306.

## **20. Conceptual challenges: envisioning democracy and development from Latin America (Mendes Loureiro)**

Lecture: Monday, 4 March

Essay question: Why is it so difficult in practice to challenge prevailing models of development and democracy in Latin America?

#### *Required reading*

- Gudynas, E. 2019. "Value, Growth, Development: South American Lessons for a New Ecopolitics." *Capitalism Nature Socialism* 30 (2): 234-243.
- Maldonado-Torres, N. 2017. "The Decolonial Turn." In *New Approaches to Latin American Studies: Culture and Power*, edited by J Poblete. Routledge, 111-127.
- Postero, N. 2010. "The Struggle to Create a Radical Democracy in Bolivia." *Latin American Research Review* 45: 59-78.
- Radcliffe, SA. 2015. "Postcolonial Heterogeneity: Sumak Kawsay and Decolonizing Social Difference." In *Dilemmas of Difference: Indigenous Women and the Limits of Postcolonial Development Policy*. Duke University Press, 257-290.
- Sempértegui, A. 2021. "Indigenous Women's Activism, Ecofeminism, and Extractivism: Partial Connections in the Ecuadorian Amazon." *Politics & Gender* 17 (1): 197-224.
- Svampa, M. 2019. *Neo-extractivism in Latin America: Socio-environmental Conflicts, the Territorial Turn, and New Political Narratives*. Cambridge University Press.

#### *Further reading*

- Asher, K., and Wainwright, J. 2019. "After Post-Development: On Capitalism, Difference, and Representation." *Antipode* 51 (1): 25-44.
- Ciccariello-Maher, G. 2016. *Building the Commune: Radical Democracy in Venezuela*. Verso.
- Copeland, N. 2019. *The Democracy Development Machine: Neoliberalism, Radical Pessimism, and Authoritarian Populism in Mayan Guatemala*. Cornell University Press.
- Loureiro, PM., Rugitsky, F., and Saad-Filho, A. 2021. "Celso Furtado and the Myth of Economic Development: Rethinking Development from Exile." *Review of Political Economy* 33 (1): 28-43.
- Mignolo, WD. 2007. "DELINKING." *Cultural Studies* 21 (2-3): 449-514.
- Postero, NG. 2017. *The Indigenous State: Race, Politics, and Performance in Plurinational Bolivia*. University of California Press.

- Quijano, A. 2000. "Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America." *International Sociology* 15 (2): 215-232.
- Sankey, K., and Munck, R. 2016. "Rethinking Development in Latin America: The Search for Alternative Paths in the Twenty-first Century." *Journal of Developing Societies* 32 (4): 334-361.
- Singh, J. 2019. "Decolonizing Radical Democracy." *Contemporary Political Theory* 18 (3): 331-356.
- Svampa, M. 2019. *Development in Latin America: Toward a New Future*. Practical Action Publishing.
- Yates, JS., and Bakker, K. 2014. "Debating the 'Post-Neoliberal Turn' in Latin America." *Progress in Human Geography* 38 (1): 62-90.