

POL20: LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

Human, Social and Political Sciences Tripos
History and Politics Tripos
2024-25

COORDINATOR

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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 economy, (III) society, governance, and democracy, (IV) political institutions, and (V) international relations.

SUPERVISIONS

Supervisions are scheduled for the Michaelmas and Lent terms. Students are expected to write six essays for this paper, each below roughly 2,500 words (excluding the bibliography). 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, at least one from each of two sections. The first has cross-cutting questions that straddle the different sections of the paper, the second addresses more specific issues. For this reason, as well as for general learning and understanding, **students are highly encouraged to attend all lectures and not to overspecialise in their choice of supervision topics.**

Mock Exam

You must answer **three** questions, **at least one from each section.**

Section A

1. What is the relationship between race and political power in Latin America?
2. How does informality shape the political arena in Latin America?
3. What hinders Latin America's institutional political system from effectively channelling social grievances?
4. Why are social inequalities so enduring in Latin America?
5. Was neoliberalisation a domestic political choice across Latin America?
6. Is 'hyperpresidentialism' a threat to democracy in Latin America?

Section B

7. Does democracy prevent anti-extractivist platforms from being successful in Latin America?
8. Why was there a growth of social movements in Latin America since the 1990s?
9. Did the left-of-centre governments of the 2000s in Latin America (the 'Pink Tide') break with neoliberalism?
10. Did neoliberalism weaken state capacities in Latin America?
11. What explains organised crime groups' success in infiltrating state institutions?
12. To what extent do domestic interests in the United States shape its government's foreign policy towards Latin America?
13. Have international institutions equipped Latin American countries with 'weapons of the weak'?
14. What are the limitations of war-centric approaches to understanding state formation in Latin America?
15. What explains the rise of 'ethno-populism' in Latin America?

LECTURE TIMETABLE OVERVIEW

Please check the date, time and room of the sessions during term as changes might occur

| Section | # | Day | Title | Lecturer* |
|--------------------------|----|--------|---|-----------|
| I | 1 | 10 Oct | The Problem of Persistence | PML |
| | 2 | 14 Oct | State formation | PML |
| | 3 | 17 Oct | Patterns of power I | GDW |
| | 4 | 24 Oct | Patterns of power II | GDW |
| | 5 | | | |
| II | | 28 Oct | Dependency and (under)development | PML |
| | 6 | 31 Oct | Neoliberalisation | PML |
| | 7 | 4 Nov | Welfare regimes in Latin America | PML |
| | 8 | 7 Nov | Social movements, NGOs, and distributive politics | PML |
| | 9 | 11 Nov | Popular capitalism, popular neoliberalism | RSC |
| III | 10 | 21 Nov | Informality and bureaucracy | GDW |
| | 11 | 28 Nov | Policing inequality and the rise of criminal governance | GDW |
| Michaelmas/Lent Division | | | | |
| III | 12 | 23 Jan | Politics beyond the pale | PML |
| | 13 | 27 Jan | Contemporary indigenous resistance movements | ALP |
| | 14 | 30 Jan | LGBTQ+ politics beyond same-sex marriage | BSB |
| IV | 15 | 03 Feb | Political regimes | CAS |
| | 16 | 06 Feb | Democracy and its discontents | CAS |
| | 17 | 10 Feb | Gender, race, and representation | CAS |
| | 18 | 13 Feb | The politics of justice and human rights | CAS |
| | 19 | 17 Feb | Conceptual challenges | PML |
| V | 20 | 20 Feb | Foreign policy making | CAS |
| | 21 | 24 Feb | Multilateral cooperation | CAS |
| | 22 | 27 Feb | US-Latin American relations | CAS |
| | 23 | 10 Mar | Latin American in a changing international order | CAS |
| | | TBC | Revision (Easter Term) | PML |

* CAS: Carsten-Andreas Schulz; GDW: Graham Denyer Willis; PML: Pedro Mendes Loureiro; RSC: Rafael Shimabukuro Cabrera; ALP: Ana Lucía Pelaez Echevarria; BSB: Beatriz Santos Barreto

LECTURE AND READING GUIDE

SECTION I

1. The problem of persistence (PML)

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.
- Stern, Steve J. 1996. "The Tricks of Time: Colonial Legacies and Historical Sensibilities in Latin America." *The Princeton University Library Chronicle* 57 (3): 371-392.
- Whitehead, Laurence. *Latin America: A New Interpretation*. Macmillan, 2006, chap. 2 "Latin America as a 'Mausoleum of Modernities.'"

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.
- 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.

2. State formation (PML)

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.

- Centeno, MA and Ferraro, AE, 2013. Republics of the Possible. In: Ferraro, AE and Centeno, MA eds. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-24.
- Loveman, Mara. "The Modern State and the Primitive Accumulation of Symbolic Power." *American Journal of Sociology* 110, no. 6 (2005): 1651-83.
- Mazduca, 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."
- Brachet-Márquez, Viviane. "Historical Construction of the State in Latin America: A Field in Formation" In *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of Latin America*, edited by Xóchitl Bada and Liliana Rivera-Sánchez, 29-43. Oxford University Press, 2021.
- 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.
- 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 (GDW)

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."

Key Resource

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

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.

4. Patterns of power II: industrialisation, urban politics, and space (GDW)

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.

Key resource

Meirelles, Fernando, and Katia Lund, dir. *City of God*. Miramax, 2002.
DVD available from the library.

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.

SECTION II

5. Dependency and (under)development (PML)

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, no. 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.

Katz, Claudio. *Dependency Theory after Fifty Years: The Continuing Relevance of Latin American Critical Thought*. Brill, 2022.

Kay, Cristóbal. *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*. Routledge, 1989.

Kvangraven, Ingrid H. Beyond the Stereotype: Restating the Relevance of the Dependency Research Programme. *Development and Change* 52, no. 1 (2021): 76-112.

Love, Joseph L. “The Origins of Dependency Analysis.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22, no. 1 (1990): 143-68.

Lage, Victor C. Interpretations of Brazil and Global Capitalism. *Latin American Perspectives* 46, no. 4 (2019): 137-153.

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 et al., 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.

6. Neoliberalisation (PML)

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

Required reading

- Kohl, Benjamin H, and Linda C. Farthing. 2006. *Impasse in Bolivia: Neoliberal Hegemony and Popular Resistance*. London: Zed Books.
- Maldonado, John, 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 Agustín E. Ferraro and Miguel A. Centeno. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-64.

Further reading

- Centeno, Miguel A., and Agustín Ferraro, eds. 2023. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Neoliberal State and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fine, Ben, and Alfredo Saad-Filho. 2017. "Thirteen Things You Need to Know About Neoliberalism." *Critical Sociology* 43, no. 4-5 (2017): 685-706.
- Hale, Charles R. "Neoliberal Multiculturalism: The Remaking of Cultural Rights and Racial Dominance in Central America." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 28, no 1 (2005): 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, no. 3 (2002): 533-579.
- Medeiros, Carlos. "Asset-stripping the State: Political Economy of Privatization in Latin America." *New Left Review* 55, Jan/Feb (2009): 109-132.
- Munck, Gerardo L., and Juan Pablo Luna. "Unequal Democracies: The Paradox of Political Equality and Social Inequality." In *Latin American Politics and Society: A Comparative and Historical Analysis*, edited by Gerardo L. Munck and Juan Pablo Luna, 517-544. Cambridge University Press, 2022.
- 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): 1355-1369.
- Portes, Alejandro, and Kelly Hoffman. "Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era." *Latin American Research Review* 38, no. 1 (2003): 41-82.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. *Changing Course in Latin America: Party Systems in the Neoliberal Era*. Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Saad-Filho, Alfredo. 2021. *Growth and Change in Neoliberal Capitalism: Essays on the Political Economy of Late Development*. Brill, 2021.
- Saad-Filho, Alfredo. Francesca Iannini, and Elizabeth Jean Molinari. "Neoliberalism, Democracy and Economic Policy in Latin America." In *Political Economy of Latin America: Recent Issues and Performance* edited by Philip Arestis and Malcolm Sawyer, 1-35. Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Silva, E.duardo. *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Silva, Eduardo and Federico Rossi. *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2018
- Silva, Patricio. "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 Agustín E. Ferraro and Migue A. Centeno, 67-98. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023.

Yates, Julian S., and Karen Bakker. "Debating the 'Post-Neoliberal turn' in Latin America." *Progress in Human Geography* 38, no. 1 (2014): 62-90.

7. Welfare regimes in Latin America (PML)

Essay question: In what ways do welfare regimes 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.
- Franzoni, JM 2008. Welfare Regimes in Latin America: Capturing Constellations of Markets, Families, and Policies. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 50(2), 67-100.
- 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

- Esping-Andersen, G, 1989. *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Filgueira, F, 2015. Models of development, the welfare state matrix and Latin American social policy tools. In: Cecchini, S, et al. eds. *Towards universal social protection: Latin American pathways and policy tools*. Santiago: ECLAC, 47-80.
- Franzoni, J.M., and Sánchez-Ancochea, D. 2016. *The Quest for Universal Social Policy in the South: Actors, Ideas and Architectures*. Cambridge University Press.
- 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.
- 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.

- Sánchez-Ancochea, D. 2021. *The costs of inequality in Latin America: lessons and warnings for the rest of the world*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.
- Wood, G and Gough, I 2006. A Comparative Welfare Regime Approach to Global Social Policy. *World Development*, 34(10), 1696-1712.

8. Social movements, NGOs, and distributive politics (PML)

Essay question: Can social movements shift the political field in favour redistributive policies, and if so under what conditions?

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.
- 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.
- Kapiszewski, D., Levitsky, S., and Yashar, DJ. 2021. "Inequality, Democracy, and the Inclusionary Turn in Latin America." In *The Inclusionary Turn in Latin American Democracies*, edited by DJ Yashar, D. Kapiszewski, and S. Levitsky. Cambridge University Press, 1-56.
- Rossi, F. 2018. "Social Movements, the New "Social Question," and the Second Incorporation of the Popular Sectors in Argentina and Brazil." 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, 78-112.
- 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.
- 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>
- Lucero, JA. 2023. "Locating Neoliberalism in Abiayala: 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.
- McNelly, Angus. 2023. *Now we are in Power: The Politics of Passive Revolution in Twenty-First-Century Bolivia*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

- 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.
- 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.

9. Popular capitalism, popular neoliberalism (RSC)

Essay question: To what extent is Latin American neoliberalism a process 'from below'?

Required reading

- Weyland, Kurt. "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities." *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31 (1999): 3z31.
- Gago, Maria Veronica. "What are Popular Economies?: Some Reflections from Argentina". *Radical Philosophy* 2, no 2 (2018), 31–38.
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Further reading

- Bromely, Ray. "A New Path to Development? The Significance and Impact of Hernando De Soto's Ideas on Underdevelopment, Production, and Reproduction." *Economic Geography* 66, no. 4 (1990): 328–348.
- De Soto, Hernando. "The Informals Pose an Answer to Marx." *Washington Quarterly* 12, no. 1 (1989): 165–172.
- Fernández-Álvarez, María Inés. "Building from Heterogeneity: The Decomposition and Recomposition of the Working Class Viewed from the 'Popular Economy' in Argentina." *Dialectical Anthropology* 44 (2020): 57–68.
- Gilbert, Alan. "On the Mystery of Capital and the Myths of Hernando de Soto: What Difference does Legal Title Make? *International Development Planning Review* 24, no. 1 (2002), 1–19.

- Hale, Charles R. "Neoliberal Multiculturalism: The Remaking of Cultural Rights and Racial Dominance in Central America." *Political and Legal Anthropology Review* 28, no. 1 (2005): 10–28.
- McNeish, John-Andrew. "Beyond the Permitted Indian? Bolivia and Guatemala in an Era of Neoliberal Developmentalism." *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2008): 33–59.
- McNelly, Angus. "Baroque Modernity in Latin America: Situating Indigeneity, Urban Indigeneity and the Popular Economy." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 41, no. 1 (2022): 6–20.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case." *World Politics* 48, no. 1 (1995): 82–116.
- Rousseau, Stéphanie. "Women's Citizenship and Neopopulism: Peru Under the Fujimori Regime." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48, no. 1 (2006): 117–141.
- Señoras, Dolores. "The Right to Live with Dignity': Politicising Experiences of Precarity through 'Popular Economy' in Argentina." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 39, no. 1 (2017): 69–82.
- Weyland, Kurt. "Neoliberal Populism in Latin America and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Politics* 31, no. 4 (1999): 379–401.

SECTION III

10. Informality and bureaucracy (GDW)

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.
- Hummel, Calla. "Disobedient Markets: Street Vendors, Enforcement, and State Intervention in Collective Action." *Comparative Political Studies* 50, no. 11 (2017): 1524-55.
- 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.

11. Policing inequality and the rise of criminal governance (GDW)

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.
- Lessing, B. "Conceptualizing Criminal Governance." *Perspectives on Politics* 19, no. 3 (2021): 854-873.
- 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.

12. Politics beyond the pale (PML)

Essay question: What does the enduring presence of radical or extreme politics reveal about Latin America's political economy? (Political economy here is to be understood in a broad sense.)

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.
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- Miki, Yuko. "Fleeing into Slavery: The Insurgent Geographies of Brazilian Quilombolas (Maroons), 1880-1881." *The Americas* 68, no. 4 (2012): 495-528.
- 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>
- Dore, E. 2023. *How Things Fall Apart: What Happened to the Cuban Revolution*. Duke University Press.
- Dunkerley, J. 1984. *Rebellion in the Veins: Political Struggle in Bolivia, 1952-82*. Verso.
- Dunkerley, J. 2007. *Bolivia: revolution and the power of history in the present. Essays*. Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London.
- Gutiérrez, R. 2014. *Rhythms of the Pachakuti: indigenous uprising and state power in Bolivia*. Duke University Press.
- Harmer, T., and Álvarez, AM., eds. 2021. *Toward a Global History of Latin America's Revolutionary Left*. University of Florida Press.
- Kapcia, Antoni. 2021. *A short history of revolutionary Cuba: power, authority and the state since 1959*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

- 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.

13. Contemporary indigenous resistance movements (ALP)

Essay question: To what extent have indigenous resistance movements in Latin America been successful in driving political change in the region?

Required reading

- Bacallao-Pino, Lázaro. M. "Agents for Change or Conflict?: Social Movements, Democratic Dynamics, and Development in Latin America." *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations* 27, no. 1 (2016): 105–124.
- Bebbington, Anthony, Abramovay, Ricardo, & Chiriboga, Manuel. "Social Movements and the Dynamics of Rural Territorial Development in Latin America." *World Development* 36, no. 12 (2008): 2874–2887.
- Lupien, Pascal. "Indigenous Politics and Resistance in Latin America: Continuity and Change." In *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*. Oxford University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1770>
- Martí i Puig, Salvador. "The Emergence of Indigenous Movements in Latin America and Their Impact on the Latin American Political Scene: Interpretive Tools at the Local and Global Levels." *Latin American Perspectives* 37, no. 6 (2010): 74–92.
- Yashar, Deborah J. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 31, no. 1 (1998): 23–42.

Further reading

- Aguilar-Støen, Mariel, and Sveinsdóttir, Anna G. "Punching above Their Weight: Opposition to Mining and Xinka Politics in Guatemala." *Geoforum* 148 (2024): 103661.
- Almeida, Paul, and Cordero, Allen Cordero (Eds.). (2015). *Handbook of social movements across Latin America*. Springer.
- Bobby Banerjee, S., Maher, R., & Krämer, R. (2021). Resistance is fertile: Toward a political ecology of translocal resistance. *Organization*, 135050842199574. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1350508421995742>
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- Lucero, J. A. (2008). *Struggles of voice: The politics of indigenous representation in the Andes*. University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Moura, J. T. V. D., Cavalcante, L. V., Jara, C. E., Saettone, J., Fernandes, B. M., Villalba, A. E., Bitencourt, S. O. M., & Bolañez, C. Y. F. (2024). A Political Ecology of Resistance: Actions and Reactions of Agrarian Socio-territorial Movements in Latin America. *Latin American Perspectives*, 0094582X241242418. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X241242418>
- Veltmeyer, H. (2020). Latin America in the vortex of social change: Development and social movement dynamics. *World Development*, 130, 104916. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.worlddev.2020.104916>
- Yashar, D. J. (1999). Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America. *World Politics*, 52(1), 76–104. JSTOR.

14. LGBTQ+ politics beyond same-sex marriage (BSB)

Essay question: How have gender and sexuality issues been connected to broader economic and political processes in Latin America?

Required reading

- Brown, S. 2002 “‘Con discriminación y represión no hay democracia’: The Lesbian and Gay Movement in Argentina’. *Latin American Perspectives* 29(2): 119–138.
- Careaga-Pérez, Gloria. 2016. ‘Moral Panic and Gender Ideology in Latin America’. *Religion and Gender* 6 (2): 251–55.
- De la Dehesa, Rafael. 2010. *Queering the Public Sphere in Mexico and Brazil: Sexual Rights Movements in Emerging Democracies*. Durham: Duke University Press. [Introduction]
- Friedman, Elisabeth. 2009. ‘Gender, Sexuality and the Latin American Left: Testing the Transformation’. *Third World Quarterly* 30 (2): 415–33.

Further reading

- Campuzano, Giuseppe. 2009. ‘Contemporary Travesti Encounters with Gender and Sexuality in Latin America’. *Development* 52 (1): 75–83.
- Corrales, J. 2020. ‘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 University Press.
- Corredor, Elizabeth S. 2019. ‘Unpacking “Gender Ideology” and the Global Right’s Antigender Countermovement’. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 44 (3): 613–38.
- Diez, Jordi. 2015. *The Politics of Gay Marriage in Latin America: Argentina, Chile, and Mexico*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Encarnación, Omar Guillermo. 2016. *Out in the Periphery: Latin America’s Gay Rights Revolution*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Friedman, Elisabeth Jay, and Constanza Tabbush. 2019. ‘Contesting the Pink Tide’. In *Seeking Rights from the Left: Gender, Sexuality, and the Latin American Pink Tide*, edited by Elisabeth J. Friedman, 1–47. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Garriga-López, Claudia Sofía. 2016. ‘Transfeminist Crossroads’. *TSQ: Transgender Studies Quarterly* 3 (1–2): 104–19.
- Hiner, H. and Troncoso, L. (2021) ‘LGBTQ+ Tensions in the 2018 Chilean Feminist Tsunami’. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 40(5): 679–695
- Moreno, Aluminé. 2008. ‘The Politics of Visibility and the GLTTTBI Movement in Argentina’. *Feminist Review* 89 (1): 138–43.

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- Santos Barreto, Beatriz. 2023. 'Mending the Divide: Lessons from LGBTQ + Movements for Latin American Studies'. *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 42 (4): 551–563.
- Serrano-Amaya, José Fernando, Manuel Alejandro Rodríguez Rondón, and Natalia Daza. 2020. 'Public Policies Toward LGBT People and Rights in Latin America'. *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, December.

SECTION IV

15. Political regimes (CAS)

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

Required reading

- Linz, Juan J. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 1, no. 1 (1990): 51-69.
- 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."
- Palanza, Valeria. "The Presidency in Latin American Politics." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, 2021. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.1674>

Key resource

- Costa, Petra, dir. *The Edge of Democracy*. Netflix, 2019. Available on Netflix.
- Gúzman, Patricio, dir. *The Battle of Chile. Part I: The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie*. Miramax, 1975.
- Available online at: <https://archive.org/details/the-battle-of-chile/The.Battle.of.Chile.1of4.The.Insurrection.of.the.Bourgeoisie.XviD.AC3.MVGroUp.org.avi>

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.
- 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.
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- 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."
- 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.

- 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.

16. Democracy and its discontents (CAS)

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.
- Madrid, Raúl L. "The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America." *World Politics* 60, no. 3 (2008): 475-508.
- 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, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. "Why Latin America's Democracies Are Stuck." *Journal of Democracy* 34, no. 1 (2023): 156-70.
- 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.

17. Gender, Race, and Representation (CAS)

Essay question: Why has Latin America taken the lead in the expansion of minority rights? Discuss the advancement of either ethnic, sexual or gender-based rights in your answer.

Required reading

- 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.
- 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)."
- 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.

Further reading

- 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.
- 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.
- Edwards, Erika Denise. "The Making of a White Nation: The Disappearance of the Black Population in Argentina." *History Compass* 16, no. 7 (2018): e12456.
- 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.
- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria, and Michelle Taylor-Robinson. "Women Ministers in Latin American Government: When, Where, and Why?" *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 4 (2005): 829-44.
- 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 (2021): 465-77.
- 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.
- Rice, Roberta. "Indigenous Political Representation in Latin America." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*, 2017. <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190228637.013.243>
- 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.
- 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.

18. The politics of justice and human rights (CAS)

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.

Key resource

Mitre, Santiago, dir. *1985*. Amazon Studios, 2022.
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Further reading

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19. Conceptual challenges: envisioning democracy and development from Latin America (PML)

Essay question: What is the legacy of Latin America's experimentations and frustrations with alternative political and economic forms?

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SECTION V

20. Foreign policy making (CAS)

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

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21. Multilateral cooperation: the politics of international norms and institutions (CAS)

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

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22. US-Latin American relations (CAS)

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

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23. Latin America in a Changing International Order (CAS)

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

Required reading

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