

POL4G

Comparative Political Economy of Latin America: Bolivia and Brazil

2024-25

Last update: 17 Sep 2024

LECTURER

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OFFICE HOURS

Feel free to email me to arrange a meeting

SUPERVISORS

To be confirmed

COURSE DESCRIPTION

This module examines key issues of the political economy of Latin America, adopting a comparative lens to the study of Bolivia and Brazil. Latin America was subject to colonial rule for over three centuries and, roughly two hundred year after the liberation from Spain and Portugal, the legacies of colonialism are still vivid. Over the past century, the region has experienced a variety of political regimes, from military dictatorships to liberal democracies and diverse experiences of populist rule. Furthermore, the continent has experimented with a wide-ranging set of development strategies, such as import-substitution industrialisation under a developmental state, the so-called ‘Washington Consensus’, and commodity-based, export-orientated models. Throughout these different political regimes and development strategies, and despite a brief spell of falling inequality during the 2000s, Latin America has continuously been regarded as the most unequal continent in the world, with complex distributive patterns spread across (at least) race, class and gender dimensions.

Underneath these commonalities, national experiences vary widely, with Bolivia and Brazil representing substantially different trajectories. Bolivia is a small, landlocked economy with a per capita income well below half that of Latin America as whole, whilst Brazil is the region’s largest country in terms of territory, population and the size of the economy, even if its GDP per capita is close to the average. Whilst they share a colonial history, this took a substantially different form in the two spaces, not least because of the central role of the enslavement of Africans and their descendants in Brazil’s economy. During the twentieth century, both countries had dictatorships, democracies and populist regimes, but Bolivia had a revolution in 1952 whose goals reached much further than anything attempted in Brazil. In the beginning of the 2000s, both countries elected left-leaning presidents riding on a wave of popular discontent, but springing from different processes of social mobilisation and leading to regimes with

contrasting political and economic dynamics. Overall, Brazil and Bolivia are social formations with similar, yet sufficiently distinct political economies, to allow for a thorough exploration of Latin America through a comparative lens.

The module adopts a mostly chronological approach to the two countries' history since European conquest, exploring how key processes and dynamics unfold over time. It begins with a discussion of colonialism and its different forms in Brazil and Bolivia, moving onto the processes of nation-building and state formation that took place in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. The next lecture explores the revolutions, military dictatorships and attempts to build a developmental state in the mid-twentieth century, leading, in the next one, to a discussion of re-democratisation, the transition to neoliberalism and the reconfiguration of social movements. The fifth lecture deals with the dynamics of violence, conflict and state power, whilst the sixth analyses the rise and the fall of the so-called Pink Tide, the left-of-centre governments that were in power during the 2000s and 2010s.

Despite the chronological arrangement, this is not a history module, but rather a comparative political economy module informed by a historical approach. Throughout the lectures, four central concerns will be explored, albeit with different emphases depending on the session. They comprise the countries' insertion into the world economy; state forms, political regimes and their intertwining with economic processes; the political economy of race, class, gender and their articulations; and the role of social mobilisation in contesting and reproducing the political economy of these countries.

PREPARATORY READINGS

Students are strongly encouraged to read the following books before the module begins, as a general background. For Bolivia, please read:

Klein, H. S., 2011. *A concise history of Bolivia*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

For Brazil, choose one of the following (the first is preferable, but there are limited copies available in the libraries):

Skidmore, T., 1999. *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. (There is a newer, 2010 edition of this book too.)

Garmany, J. and Pereira, A. W., 2018. *Understanding Contemporary Brazil*. London: Routledge.

Saad-Filho, A. and Morais, L., 2018. *Brazil: Neoliberalism versus Democracy*. London: Pluto Press.

ESSAY/SUPERVISION QUESTIONS

Below each question is a list of *recommended* readings for the supervisions. They are neither necessary nor comprehensive. You are, therefore, strongly encouraged to sift through the readings in the paper guide to look for other references that might be useful for the particular line of argument you intend to adopt. Also, do make use of the general readings indicated at the end of the guide to provide you an overview of the historical period being discussed.

Supervision questions are purposefully broad. Do not try to give a ‘full’ answer to any of them, this will most certainly lead to skimming the surface of an argument. Instead, first identify or propose a framework to address the topic, be that through the overviews suggested below, by looking into relevant readings from the Lent Term module of POL4, or by searching for other references. Then, select a small number of key dimensions to address, which often includes a temporal delimitation, and justify your choices. *There is never a need to explore a question over the countries’ whole history.* Question 2, for example, can be answered focussing on the nineteenth, twentieth or twenty-first centuries – as long as you demonstrate the relevance of the period for the aspects analysed. In this, overviews are useful to help you narrow down, but your final list of readings will depend on the choices you make: browse widely (and briefly) until you arrive at the texts which will be your main references.

First supervision question

Choose **one** of the questions below.

1a. How, if at all, are contemporary inequalities in Brazil and Bolivia related to enduring legacies of colonialism?

1b. To what extent is state weakness the cause of inequalities in Brazil and Bolivia?

Overviews

Adelman, J., 1999. Introduction: The Problem of Persistence in Latin American History. *In: Adelman, J ed. Colonial legacies: the problem of persistence in Latin American history.* New York: Routledge, 1-13.

Stern, S. J. 1996. The Tricks of Time: Colonial Legacies and Historical Sensibilities in Latin America. *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 57(3), 371-392.

Thorp, R., 2012. A Historical Perspective on the Political Economy of Inequality in Latin America. *In: Santiso, J. and Dayton-Johnson, J. eds. The Oxford handbook of Latin American political economy.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bolivia

Canessa, A. 2008. Sex and the Citizen: Barbies and Beauty Queens in the Age of Evo Morales. *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, 17(1), 41-64.

Cusicanqui, S. R. 2010. The Notion of “Rights” and the Paradoxes of Postcolonial Modernity: Indigenous Peoples and Women in Bolivia. *Qui Parle*, 18(2), 29-54.

Powęska, R. 2017. State-led extractivism and the frustration of indigenous self-determined development: lessons from Bolivia. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 21(4), 442-463.

Brazil

Caldeira, TPR and Holston, J 1999. Democracy and Violence in Brazil. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 41(4), 691-729.

Alves, J. A. and Vargas, J. C. 2020. The spectre of Haiti: structural antiblackness, the far-right backlash and the fear of a black majority in Brazil. *Third World Quarterly*, 41(4), 645-662.

Lovell, P. A. 2006. Race, Gender, and Work in São Paulo, Brazil, 1960-2000. *Latin American Research Review*, 41, 63-87.

Second supervision question

Choose **one** of the questions below.

2a. To what extent do different forms of conflict explain the development of state capacities in Brazil and Bolivia?

2b. What is lost in our understanding of the development of state capacities in Brazil and Bolivia by focussing solely on elite politics?

2c. Does the character and development of state capacities in Brazil and Bolivia stem from the power and unity of elites?

Notice that the readings below refer to very different time periods for both countries. It is not necessary to cover them all, they are merely indicative of possibilities depending on your focus.

Overviews

Centeno, M. A. and Ferraro, A. E., 2013. Republics of the Possible. *In: Ferraro, A. E. and Centeno, M. A. eds. State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-24.

Centeno, M. A., 2002. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. ch. 1.

Cárdenas, M. 2010. State Capacity in Latin America. *Economía*, 10(2), 1-45.

Thies, C. G. 2005. War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 451-465.

Bolivia

Farthing, L. C. and Kohl, B., 2014. *Evo's Bolivia: continuity and change.* Austin: University of Texas Press. ch. 4

Larson, B., 2004. *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810–1910.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. introduction, ch.1, ch. 5

Webber, J. R., 2012. *Red October: left-indigenous struggles in modern Bolivia.* Chicago: Harymarket. ch. 2, 3.

Yashar, D. J. 1998. Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 31(1), 23-42.

Brazil

Abers, R. N., Oliveira, M. S. d. and Pereira, A. K. 2017. Inclusive Development and the Asymmetric State: Big Projects and Local Communities in the Brazilian Amazon. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 53(6), 857-872.

Kohli, A., 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ch. 4.

Leão, L. S., 2019. A Double-Edged Sword: The Institutional Foundations of the Brazilian Developmental State, 1930–1985. *In: Ferraro, A. E. and Centeno, M. A. eds. State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Rise and Fall of the Developmental State.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 157-176.

Love, J. L. and Barickman, B. J. 1986. Rulers and Owners: A Brazilian Case Study in Comparative Perspective. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 66(4), 743-765.

LECTURES AND READINGS (* READINGS ARE STRONGLY SUGGESTED; OTHERS ARE FOR REFERENCE)

1. COLONIALITY AND ITS LEGACIES

This lecture focuses on the colonial history of Brazil and – what came to be, after independence – Bolivia, drawing out the enduring effects of colonialism in both countries. It compares the economy of the countries, their demographics, and their different patterns of forced labour, studying throughout how they gave rise to distinct social and political formations. In particular, this session explores the differences and similarities between the social hierarchies of the two countries during the initial centuries of colonisation, contrasting Bolivia, centred on a mining economy with the use of forced indigenous labour, and Brazil, where sugar plantations and the slavery of peoples from Africa and their descendants predominated.

Main readings

*Quijano, A. 2000. Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 215-232.

*Federici, S., 2004. *Caliban and the Witch: Women, the Body and Primitive Accumulation*. New York: Autonomedia. ch. 6 “Colonization and Christianization Caliban and Witches in the New World”

*Stern, S. J. 1996. The Tricks of Time: Colonial Legacies and Historical Sensibilities in Latin America. *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*, 57(3), 371-392.

*Lane, K., 2019. *Potosí: The Silver City that Changed the World*. Oakland: University of California Press. ch. 2-3.

*Schwartz, S. B., 1987. Plantations and peripheries, c. 1580 – c. 1750. In: Bethell, L. ed. *Colonial Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 67-144. (There are long and detailed descriptions of several aspects of Brazil’s economy here. It is not necessary to apprehend all of the details, so read selectively and skim powerfully)

Further reading

Carvalho, J. M. 1992. Brazil 1870–1914 – The Force of Tradition. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 24(S1), 145-162.

Cole, J. A., 1985. *The Potosí Mita, 1573-1700: Compulsory Indian Labor in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Costa, S and Gonçalves, GL, 2019. *A Port in Global Capitalism: Unveiling Entangled Accumulation in Rio de Janeiro*. London: Routledge.

Cusicanqui, S. R., 1990. Liberal democracy and ayllu democracy in Bolivia: The case of northern Potosí. In: Fox, J. ed. *The Challenge of rural democratisation: perspectives from Latin America and the Philippines*. London: Cass, 97-121.

- Harris, O., 1995. Ethnic identity and market relations: Indians and mestizos in the Andes. *In*: Larson, B., Harris, O. and Tandeter, E. eds. *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 351-390.
- Hellinger, D. C., 2015. *Comparative Politics of Latin America: Democracy at Last?* New York and London: Routledge. ch. 3.
- Kohl, B. H. and Farthing, L. C., 2006. *Impasse in Bolivia: neoliberal hegemony and popular resistance*. London: Zed Books. ch. 2.
- Klein, H. S., 1993. *Haciendas and Ayllus: rural society in the Bolivian Andes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Introduction.
- Loveman, M., 2014. *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ch. 2.
- Mauro, F., 1987. Political and economic structures of empire, 1580–1750. *In*: Bethell, L. ed. *Colonial Brazil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 39-66.
- Quijano, A. 2000. Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 215-232.
- Saignes, T., 1995. Indian migration and social change in seventeenth-century Charcas. *In*: Larson, B., Harris, O. and Tandeter, E. eds. *Ethnicity, Markets, and Migration in the Andes: At the Crossroads of History and Anthropology*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 166-195.
- Schwartz, S. B., 1986. *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Skidmore, T., 1999. *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ch. 1-2.
- Wade, P., 2009. *Race and Sex in Latin America*. London: Pluto Press. ch. 3.
- Wright, T. C., 2017. *Latin America since Independence: Two Centuries of Continuity and Change*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. ch. 1.

2. STATE FORMATION & NATION-BUILDING

Focussing on the nineteenth and early twentieth century, this session explores the processes of state formation and nation-building in Bolivia and Brazil. It builds upon the preceding lecture to examine how the newly-independent countries attempted to construct, over the next centuries, modern states and nations out of their colonial heritage. It draws particular attention to how ideas about race, racial purity and *mestizaje/mestiçagem* were key elements in the construction of national identities. This session also explores how economic structures and processes and local sources of power interacted with, constrained and enabled the development of a centralised and unified state in both countries.

Main readings

- *Centeno, M. A. and Ferraro, A. E., 2013. Republics of the Possible. *In: Ferraro, A. E. and Centeno, M. A. eds. State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 3-24.
- *Thies, C. G. 2005. War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 451-465.

- *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.
- *Larson, B., 2004. *Trials of Nation Making: Liberalism, Race, and Ethnicity in the Andes, 1810–1910.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. introduction, ch. 5 and conclusion.

- *Eakin, M. C., 2017. *Becoming Brazilians: Race and National Identity in Twentieth-Century Brazil.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ch. 1 (From the “Spectacle of Races” to “Luso-Tropical Civilization”).
- *Needell, J. D., 2013. The State and Development under the Brazilian Monarchy, 1822-1889. *In: Centeno, M. A. and Ferraro, A. E. eds. State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 79-99.

Further reading

- Cárdenas, M. 2010. State Capacity in Latin America. *Economía*, 10(2), 1-45.
- Carvalho, J. M. 1982. Political Elites and State Building: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Brazil. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 24(3), 378-399.
- Centeno, M. A., 2002. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America.* University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Dean, W. 1971. Latifundia and Land Policy in Nineteenth-Century Brazil. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 51(4), 606-625.
- Gill, L. 1997. Creating Citizens, Making Men: The Military and Masculinity in Bolivia. *Cultural Anthropology*, 12(4), 527-550.

- Hellinger, D. C., 2015. *Comparative Politics of Latin America: Democracy at Last?* New York and London: Routledge. ch. 4.
- Holston, J., 2008. *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. chs. 3-4
- Kurtz, M. J., 2013. *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ch. 2.
- Love, J. L. and Barickman, B. J. 1986. Rulers and Owners: A Brazilian Case Study in Comparative Perspective. *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 66(4), 743-765.
- Love, J. L., 2013. The Brazilian Federal State in the Old Republic, 1889-1930: Did Regime Change Make a Difference? In: Centeno, M. A. and Ferraro, A. E. eds. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 100-115.
- Loveman, M., 2013. Census Taking and Nation Making in Nineteenth-Century Latin America. In: Centeno, M. A. and Ferraro, A. E. eds. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 329-355.
- Loveman, M., 2014. *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Safford, F., 2013. The Construction of National States in Latin America, 1820-1890. In: Centeno, M. A. and Ferraro, A. E. eds. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 25-55.
- Sanjinés, J., 2004. *Mestizaje upside-down: aesthetic politics in modern Bolivia*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press. Introduction.
- Schenoni, L. L. 2021. Bringing War Back in: Victory and State Formation in Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2), 405-421.
- Skidmore, T., 1990. Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870–1940. In: Graham, R. ed. *The idea of race in Latin America, 1870-1940*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 7-36.
- Skidmore, T., 1999. *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ch. 4.
- Telles, E., 2004. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. ch. 2
- Weinstein, B., 2015. *The Color of Modernity: São Paulo and the Making of Race and Nation in Brazil*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Wade, P., 2009. *Race and Sex in Latin America*. London: Pluto Press. ch. 4.
- Wright, T. C., 2017. *Latin America since Independence: Two Centuries of Continuity and Change*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. ch. 2-6.

3. DEVELOPMENTALISM, POPULISM, DICTATORSHIPS AND REVOLUTIONS

This session explores economic and political processes of the mid-twentieth century, connecting economic developments to a series of political changes Brazil and Bolivia experienced. In the case of Bolivia, it focuses on the 1952 revolution and its unfolding, exploring its role in nation- and state-building, how its goals, actors and political forms changed over time, and its attempts to promote social and economic development. In the case of Brazil, it focuses on the development strategy of import-substitution industrialisation (ISI) and the associated creation of a developmental state, analysing the several different political forms through which they happened, including different dictatorships and versions of democracy.

Main readings

- *Grigera, J. 2017. Populism in Latin America: Old and new populisms in Argentina and Brazil. *International Political Science Review*, 38(4), 441-455.

- *Klein, H. S., 2011. *A concise history of Bolivia*. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ch. 7-8.

- *Webber, J. R., 2012. *Red October: left-indigenous struggles in modern Bolivia*. Chicago: Harymarket. ch. 3.

- *Leão, L. S., 2019. A Double-Edged Sword: The Institutional Foundations of the Brazilian Developmental State, 1930–1985. In: Ferraro, A. E. and Centeno, M. A. eds. *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: The Rise and Fall of the Developmental State*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 157-176.

- *Saad-Filho, A. and Morais, L., 2018. *Brazil: Neoliberalism versus Democracy*. London: Pluto Press. ch. 1.

Further reading

- Domingo, P., 2003. Revolution and the Unfinished Business of Nation- and State-Building. In: Grindle, M. S. and Domingo, P. eds. *Proclaiming revolution: Bolivia in comparative perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 364-379.

- Dunkerley, J., 1984. *Rebellion in the veins: political struggle in Bolivia, 1952-82*. London: Verso.

- Dunkerley, J., 2007. *Bolivia: revolution and the power of history in the present. Essays*. London: Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London. ch. 3.

- Enríquez Arévalo, E. 2020. Contribution to a Historical-Structuralist Understanding of Latin American Democracy. *Critical Sociology*, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0896920520940352>.

- Evans, P., 1995. *Embedded autonomy: states and industrial transformation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. ch. 3.

- Hawkins, K. A. and Kaltwasser, C. R. 2017. The Ideational Approach to Populism. *Latin American Research Review*, 52(4), 513–528.

- Hellinger, D. C., 2015. *Comparative Politics of Latin America: Democracy at Last?* New York and London: Routledge. ch. 5-7.

- Hirschman, A. O. 1968. The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 82(1), 1-32.
- Ioris, R. R. and Ioris, A. A. R. 2013. The Brazilian Developmentalist State in Historical Perspective: Revisiting the 1950s in Light of Today's Challenges. *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research*, 19(1), 133-148.
- Kohli, A., 2004. *State-Directed Development: Political Power and Industrialization in the Global Periphery*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ch. 4, 5.
- Lottholz, P. and Lemay-Hébert, N. 2016. Re-reading Weber, re-conceptualizing state-building: from neo-Weberian to post-Weberian approaches to state, legitimacy and state-building. *Cambridge Review of International Affairs*, 29(4), 1467-1485.
- Malloy, J. M. and Thorn, R. S., eds., 1971. *Beyond the revolution: Bolivia since 1952*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Roberts, K. M. 2006. Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 38(2), 127-148.
- Skidmore, T., 1999. *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ch. 5-7.
- Smith, P. H., 2018. The Rise and Fall of the Developmental State in Latin America. In: Vellinga, M. ed. *The changing role of the state in Latin America*. New York: Routledge, 51-73.
- Weyland, K. 2001. Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics. *Comparative Politics*, 34(1), 1-22
- Whitehead, L., 2003. The Bolivian National Revolution: A Comparison. In: Grindle, M. S. and Domingo, P. eds. *Proclaiming revolution: Bolivia in comparative perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 25-53.
- Wright, T. C., 2017. *Latin America since Independence: Two Centuries of Continuity and Change*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. ch. 8.

4. RE-DEMOCRATISATION, NEOLIBERALISM AND ITS DISCONTENTS

This session explores the mostly-synchronised transition to neoliberalism and to democracy in Brazil and Bolivia, during the 1980s and 1990s, and the ensuing dynamics of social mobilisation. It traces how both countries underwent profound economic changes, including a transformation of their insertion into the world market, a redefinition of the state's role in the economy and rising inequality. It then explores how these changes, in conjunction with re-democratisation, altered the political arena and the space for institutional participation and extra-institutional mobilisation, leading social movements to reframe their languages, goals and strategies.

Main readings

- *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.
- *Roberts, K. M., 2016. **Democratic Divergence and Party Systems in Latin America's Third Wave.** In: Bermeo, N. and Yashar, D. J. eds. *Parties, Movements, and Democracy in the Developing World.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 93-121.
- *Kohl, B. H. and Farthing, L. C., 2006. *Impasse in Bolivia: neoliberal hegemony and popular resistance.* London: Zed Books. ch. 3.
- *Silva, E., 2018. **Social Movements and the Second Incorporation in Bolivia and Ecuador.** In: Silva, E. and Rossi, F. eds. *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation.* Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 32-59.
- *Baiocchi, G., 2017. **A Century of Councils: Participatory Budgeting and the Long History of Participation in Brazil.** In: Alvarez, S. E., et al. eds. *Beyond civil society: activism, participation, and protest in Latin America.* Durham: Duke University Press, 27-44.
- *Saad-Filho, A. and Morais, L., 2018. *Brazil: Neoliberalism versus Democracy.* London: Pluto Press. ch. 2-4.

Further reading

- Alvarez, S. E., 1990. *Engendering democracy in Brazil: women's movements in transition politics.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Bulmer-Thomas, V., 2003. *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ch. 9.
- Foweraker, J., 2018. **Social Movements and Citizenship Rights in Latin America.** In: Vellinga, M. ed. *The changing role of the state in Latin America.* New York: Routledge, 271-297.
- Friendly, A. 2016. **Urban Policy, Social Movements, and the Right to the City in Brazil.** *Latin American Perspectives*, 44(2), 132-148.

- Gustafson, B. D., 2009. *New languages of the state: indigenous resurgence and the politics of knowledge in Bolivia*. Durham: Duke University Press. ch. 6.
- Hale, C. R. 2005. Neoliberal Multiculturalism: The Remaking of Cultural Rights and Racial Dominance in Central America. *Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 28(1), 10-28.
- Hellinger, D. C., 2015. *Comparative Politics of Latin America: Democracy at Last?* New York and London: Routledge. ch. 8.
- Hochstetler, K., 2012. Social Movements in Latin America. In: Kingstone, P. and Yashar, D. J. eds. *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*. New York and London: Routledge, 237-247.
- Mainwaring, S. and Scully, T. R., eds., 1995. *Building democratic institutions: Party systems in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford 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.
- Postero, N. G., 2006. *Now we are citizens: Indigenous politics in postmulticultural Bolivia*. Stanford University Press. intro and ch. 5.
- Roberts, K. M. 2006. Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 38(2), 127-148.
- Rossi, F., 2018. Social Movements, the New “Social Question,” and the Second Incorporation of the Popular Sectors in Argentina and Brazil. In: Silva, E. and Rossi, F. eds. *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America: From Resisting Neoliberalism to the Second Incorporation*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 78-112.
- Salman, T. 2007. Bolivia and the Paradoxes of Democratic Consolidation. *Latin American Perspectives*, 34(6), 111-130.
- Skidmore, T., 1999. *Brazil: Five Centuries of Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. ch. 8.
- Telles, E., 2004. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. ch. 3.
- Van Cott, D. L. 2000. Party System Development and Indigenous Populations in Latin America: The Bolivian Case. *Party Politics*, 6(2), 155-174.
- Webber, J. R., 2012. *Red October: left-indigenous struggles in modern Bolivia*. Chicago: Harymarket. ch. 4.
- Wright, T. C., 2017. *Latin America since Independence: Two Centuries of Continuity and Change*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield. ch. 12.
- Yashar, D. J., 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. ch. 5.

5. VIOLENCE, INCARCERATION AND THE STATE

This session discusses the dynamics of violence, urban conflict, (criminal) governance, and incarceration in Brazil and Bolivia, drawing attention to the ambivalent participation of state power in them. Latin America is a region with high rates of interpersonal violence, an enduring history of selective state abuse, overlapping forms of urban conflict, an important role in global illegal drug chains, and, recently, high incarceration rates. In this scenario, Brazil and Bolivia present contrasting pictures with some important commonalities, which the session seeks to map and interrogate.

Main readings

- *Arias, ED and Goldstein, DM, 2010. **Violent Pluralism: Understanding the New Democracies of Latin America.** *In: Goldstein, DM and Arias, ED eds. **Violent Democracies in Latin America.** Duke University Press, 1-34.*
- *Skarbek, D 2016. **Covenants without the Sword? Comparing Prison Self-Governance Globally.** *American Political Science Review*, 110(4), 845-862.
- *Gillies, A 2018. **Theorising state–narco relations in Bolivia’s nascent democracy (1982–1993): governance, order and political transition.** *Third World Quarterly*, 39(4), 727-746.
- *Yates, D 2017. **“Community Justice,” Ancestral Rights, and Lynching in Rural Bolivia.** *Race and Justice*, 10(1), 3-19.
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6. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE ‘PINK TIDE’ AND THE RESURGENCE OF THE RIGHT

This session explores the rise and the fall of left-of-centre governments in Latin America during the first decades of the twenty-first century. Drawing on the topic of lecture 4, it discusses how rising popular dissatisfaction during the 1990s led to the election of left-of-centre presidents in the early 2000s, albeit through substantially different processes. In Bolivia, there was a cycle of reorganisation of social movements, including the wide use of extra-institutional tactics and contentious politics, that led to the creation of a political instrument – the *Movimiento al Socialismo* (Movement Towards Socialism, MAS) – and the election of Evo Morales in 2005. In Brazil, there was a long march towards the institutionalisation and moderation of the *Partido dos Trabalhadores* (Workers’ Party, PT), with little recourse to popular mobilisation, leading to the election of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva in 2002. This session traces the different paths to power of Evo Morales and of Lula to contrast their implications in terms of development strategies, political dynamics and social implications.

Main readings

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