

# Modern Latin American Politics

Gabriella Levy

Instructor: Gabriella Levy (gabriella.levy@duke.edu)

Office Hours:

## Course Overview:

Why are some countries poorer than others? What are the consequences of drug trafficking? How do authoritarian regimes survive? We will tackle these questions and many more in this introduction to modern Latin American politics. We will examine, first, various aspects of the political economy of the region: legacies of colonialism, the embrace and rejection of the market, inequality, and corruption. Next, we will study authoritarian and democratic institutions. Then we will consider several forms of insecurity: civil wars, crime, and repression. Lastly, we will examine the region's relations with the United States and engagement with regional international institutions.

In this class, students will be expected to actively engage in respectful debate about these topics. The scholars that we will read frequently disagree, and students should marshal evidence and logic in presenting their own unique arguments. In doing so, students will draw from empirical cases to evaluate theoretical arguments as well as use scholars' theories to inform their understanding of empirical cases.

## Required Readings:

There is one required textbook for this course:

Smith, Peter H., James N. Green, and Thomas E. Skidmore. 2018. *Modern Latin America*. 9th edition. New York: Oxford University Press. → Henceforth referred to as "SGS"

All other readings are available on Sakai. While many of the readings are quantitative in nature, a previous background in statistics is not required for the course. I expect you to consider the argument made, the kinds of data used, and the conclusions of each piece.

## Assignments:

<i>Assignment</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>How it will be assessed</i>	<i>Date</i>
Class Participation	30	Attendance & participation in weekly classes	Every week
Critique Short Paper	15	4-page critique of a reading from weeks 1-4	Week 4
Application Short Paper	15	4-page application of the argument made in a reading in weeks 5-8 to a new empirical case not discussed in the reading	Week 8

Literature Review Proposal	10	Question/topic the literature review will address + annotated bibliography of at least 10 preliminary sources	Week 10
Literature Review	30	10-15-page discussion of the state of literature on a topic relevant to this class	1 week after the last class

### **Policies:**

You are expected to not only attend but to actively participate in class. The first half of each class will be a lecture, and the second half will be a discussion. If you must miss class, please provide me with documentation of the reason for the absence in order for it to be excused. Each student can take one unexcused absence without a penalty, and all further unexcused absences will result in a 5% reduction of the class participation grade. Similarly, if you need an extension on an assignment for illness or other emergency reasons, please reach out to me as soon as possible. Extensions due to university events or religious holidays can be accommodated with two weeks' notice. I will accept late at-home assignments for which I have not granted an extension, but each day that the assignment is late will result in a 5% reduction on the grade. All essays should be double-spaced, with 12-point Times New Roman font and 1-inch margins.

If you would like me to review a graded assignment, I will happily do so. Please submit your requests in writing. You must wait 48 hours between the time you receive the graded assignment and when you contact me. I reserve the right to raise or lower your grade.

I expect you to comply with the Duke Community Standard. You can find details at <https://studentaffairs.duke.edu/conduct/about-us/duke-community-standard>.

### **Resources and Support:**

1) My goal is to create a learning environment that supports a diverse range of perspectives, experiences, and identities.

- The topics that we're covering in this class are often difficult, not just intellectually but also emotionally. While I expect rigorous discussion and even disagreement in the course of our class discussions, I ask that you engage in discussion with care and empathy for the other members in the classroom. I will not tolerate insults; gender or racial slurs; or any other form of bullying, intimidation, or hate speech. I expect all members of this class to contribute to a respectful, welcoming, and inclusive environment for every other member of this class.
- If you have a name and/or set of pronouns that differ from those that appear in your official records, please let me know!
- If you have already registered with the Student Disability Access Office, please meet with me early in the course to discuss, plan, and implement your accommodations in this course.

## 2) Resources:

- I recommend that students take full advantage of the Thompson Writing Program's Writing Studio (<https://twp.duke.edu/twp-writing-studio>) as well as the office hours of myself and the TAs for the course.
- Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) (<https://studentaffairs.duke.edu/caps> or 919-660-1000) can help students who are having difficulties managing stress, adjusting to college, feeling anxious or depressed, or more.
- For tips on how to read academic articles, I recommend the following resources, courtesy of Amelia Hoover Green and Leanne C Powner:
  - i. [https://calgara.github.io/Pol157\\_Spring2019/howtoread.pdf](https://calgara.github.io/Pol157_Spring2019/howtoread.pdf)
  - ii. <https://www.leannepowner.com/tchdocs/readingsps.pdf>

## Schedule:

### 1) Introduction:

- a. SGS, Chapter 1 & 4 & 6

### 2) Political Economy 2: Colonial Legacies

- a. SGS, Chapter 2
- b. Mahoney, James. 2003. "Long-Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America." *American Journal of Sociology* 109 (1): 50–106.
- c. Coatsworth, John H. 2008. "Inequality, Institutions and Economic Growth in Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 40 (3): 545–69.
- d. Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2013. *Why Nations Fail: The Origins of Power, Prosperity, and Poverty*. Illustrated edition. New York: Currency. → Chapter 1

### 3) Political Economy 2: To and Away from the Market

- a. SGS, Chapter 12
- b. Bértola, Luis, and José Antonio Ocampo. 2012. *The Economic Development of Latin America since Independence*. OUP Oxford. → Chapter 5
- c. Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. 2010. "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 42 (4): 413–33.
- d. Murillo, María Victoria, Virginia Oliveros, and Milan Vaishnav. 2010. "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation." *Latin American Research Review* 45 (3): 87–114.

### 4) Political Economy 3: Inequality (**Critique Short Paper due today**)

- a. Fairfield, Tasha, and Candelaria Garay. 2017. "Redistribution Under the Right in Latin America: Electoral Competition and Organized Actors in Policymaking." *Comparative Political Studies* 50 (14): 1871–1906.
- b. Lustig, Nora, Luis F. Lopez-Calva, and Eduardo Ortiz-Juarez. 2013. "Declining Inequality in Latin America in the 2000s: The Cases of Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico." *World Development* 44 (April): 129–41.

- c. Galli, Rossana, and David Kucera. 2004. "Labor Standards and Informal Employment in Latin America." *World Development* 32 (5): 809–28.
  - d. De Ferranti, David M., ed. 2004. *Inequality in Latin America: Breaking with History?* World Bank Latin American and Caribbean Studies. Washington, DC: The World Bank. → Summary
- 5) Political Economy 4: Corruption
- a. Chong, Alberto, Ana L. De La O, Dean Karlan, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2015. "Does Corruption Information Inspire the Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field Experiment in Mexico on Voter Turnout, Choice, and Party Identification." *The Journal of Politics* 77 (1): 55–71.
  - b. Szwarcberg, Mariela. 2012. "Uncertainty, Political Clientelism, and Voter Turnout in Latin America: Why Parties Conduct Rallies in Argentina." *Comparative Politics* 45 (1): 88–106.
  - c. Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2008. "Exposing Corrupt Politicians: The Effects of Brazil's Publicly Released Audits on Electoral Outcomes." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123 (2): 703–45.
  - d. Calvo, Ernesto, and Maria Victoria Murillo. 2004. "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market." *American Journal of Political Science* 48 (4): 742–57.
- 6) Democracy 1: Authoritarianism
- a. SGS, Chapter 13
  - b. Schamis, Hector E. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism." *Comparative Politics* 23 (2): 201–20.
  - c. Pion-Berlin, David. 1988. "The National Security Doctrine, Military Threat Perception, and the 'Dirty War' in Argentina." *Comparative Political Studies* 21 (3): 382–407.
  - d. Barros, Robert. 2001. "Personalization and Institutional Constraints: Pinochet, the Military Junta, and the 1980 Constitution." *Latin American Politics and Society* 43 (1): 5–28.
- 7) Democracy 2: Democratization
- a. Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 23 (1): 1–21.
  - b. Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2001. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador." *Comparative Political Studies* 34 (8): 862–88.
  - c. Barczak, Monica. 2001. "Representation by Consultation? The Rise of Direct Democracy in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 43 (3): 37–59.
  - d. Harbers, Imke. 2010. "Decentralization and the Development of Nationalized Party Systems in New Democracies: Evidence from Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 43 (5): 606–27.

8) Democracy 3: Another Wave of Authoritarianism (**Application Short Paper Due Today**)

- a. Levitsky, Steven, and James Loxton. 2013. "Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Andes." *Democratization* 20 (1): 107–36.
- b. Magaloni, Beatriz. 2008. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. 1st edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Introduction
- c. Hiskey, Jonathan T., and Mason W. Moseley. 2020. *Life in the Political Machine: Dominant-Party Enclaves and the Citizens They Produce*. Oxford University Press. → Chapter 1.
- d. Hsieh, Chang-Tai, Edward Miguel, Daniel Ortega, and Francisco Rodriguez. 2011. "The Price of Political Opposition: Evidence from Venezuela's Maisanta." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3 (2): 196–214.

9) Insecurity 1: Civil Wars

- a. Bateson, Regina. 2017. "The Socialization of Civilians and Militia Members: Evidence from Guatemala." *Journal of Peace Research* 54 (5): 634–47.
- b. Fergusson, Leopoldo, Pablo Querubin, Nelson A. Ruiz, and Juan F. Vargas. 2021. "The Real Winner's Curse." *American Journal of Political Science* 65 (1): 52–68.
- c. Thies, Cameron G. 2005. "War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (3): 451–65.
- d. Wickham-Crowley, Timothy. 2015. "Del Gobierno de Abajo al Gobierno de Arriba... and Back: Transitions to and from Rebel Governance in Latin America, 1956-1990." In *Rebel Governance in Civil War*, edited by Ana Arjona, Nelson Kasfir, and Zachariah Mampilly. Cambridge University Press.

10) Insecurity 1: Crime (**Literature Review Proposal Due Today**)

- a. Trejo, Guillermo, and Sandra Ley. 2018. "Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Party Alternation, the Breakdown of Criminal Protection, and the Onset of Large-Scale Violence." *Comparative Political Studies* 51 (7): 900–937.
- b. Lessing, Benjamin. 2015. "Logics of Violence in Criminal War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (8): 1486–1516.
- c. Duran-Martinez, Angelica. 2015. "To Kill and Tell? State Power, Criminal Competition, and Drug Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59 (8): 1377–1402.
- d. Yashar, Deborah J. 2018. *Homicidal Ecologies: Illicit Economies and Complicit States in Latin America*. Cambridge Studies in Comparative Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. → Chapter 4

11) Insecurity 2: Repression

- a. Magaloni, Beatriz, and Luis Rodriguez. 2020. "Institutionalized Police Brutality: Torture, the Militarization of Security, and the Reform of Inquisitorial Criminal Justice in Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 114 (4): 1013–34.

- b. Flores-Macías, Gustavo A., and Jessica Zarkin. 2021. “The Militarization of Law Enforcement: Evidence from Latin America.” *Perspectives on Politics* 19 (2): 519–38.
  - c. Sikkink, Kathryn, and Carrie Booth Walling. 2007. “The Impact of Human Rights Trials in Latin America.” *Journal of Peace Research* 44 (4): 427–45.
  - d. Sullivan, Christopher M. 2016. “Political Repression and the Destruction of Dissident Organizations: Evidence from the Archives of the Guatemalan National Police.” *World Politics* 68 (4): 645–76.
- 12) IR 1: U.S.-Latin America Relations
- a. SGS, Chapter 16
  - b. Cheatham, Amelia. 2021. “Central America’s Turbulent Northern Triangle.” Backgrounder. Washington, D.C: Council on Foreign Relations.
  - c. Isacson, Adam. 2005. “Failing Grades: Evaluating the Results of Plan Colombia.” *Yale Journal of International Affairs* 1 (1): 138–55.
  - d. Chatzky, Andrew, James McBride, and Mohammed Aly Sergie. 2020. “NAFTA and the USMCA: Weighing the Impact of North American Trade.” Council on Foreign Relations.
- 13) IR 2: Regional Institutions
- a. Arceneaux, Craig L., and David. Pion-Berlin. 2007. “Issues, Threats, and Institutions: Explaining OAS Responses to Democratic Dilemmas in Latin America.” *Latin American Politics & Society* 49 (2): 1–31.
  - b. Cantor, David James. 2018. “Cooperation on Refugees in Latin America and the Caribbean: The ‘Cartagena Process’ and South–South Approaches.” In *Routledge Handbook of South–South Relations*. Routledge.
  - c. Resende-Santos, João. 2002. “The Origins of Security Cooperation in the Southern Cone.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 44 (4): 89–126.
  - d. Huneeus, Alexandra. 2011. “Courts Resisting Courts: Lessons from the Inter-American Court’s Struggle to Enforce Human Rights.” *Cornell International Law Journal* 44 (3): 493–534.