

Latin American Politics
POSC 278, Winter 2022
(Wednesdays 1:00pm-3:50pm)

Instructor: Miguel Carreras

Office Hours: Monday 9 am-11 am (or by appointment)

Seminar link: <https://ucr.zoom.us/j/97682335691?pwd=Qkhob0JWUndOV3VsRC9lR2dCWWpiZz09>

Office Hours link: <https://ucr.zoom.us/j/95678933497?pwd=cTYzMkI0OEhmNjRlN3B4SmpJUmFiUT09>

E-mail: carreras@ucr.edu

Objectives and Learning Outcomes

This course offers a survey of political science scholarship on Latin America. The goal is to explore the central themes and issues that have animated the literature, to build students' empirical knowledge of Latin American countries, and to analyze methodological strategies developed for the study of Latin American politics. Students are encouraged to design and execute research that could contribute to scholarship on the region.

This course assumes no previous knowledge about the sociopolitical and economic history of Latin America. However, that background is important to better engage with recent literature on Latin American political institutions and political economy. We will therefore start with some readings that provide a general overview of the political and economic history of the region (Week 1). If you want to do some additional background reading on the topics that will be discussed in this course, I recommend the essays in the *Oxford Encyclopedia of Latin American Politics* ([link](#)) or in the Routledge Handbook of Latin American Studies ([link](#)).

The following sessions will be divided into two parts: 1) political institutions, and 2) political economy. In the first part of the course (Weeks 2-6), we will discuss different approaches to the study of institutions in Latin American Politics. We will focus on issues such as state building, institutional weakness, party system change, patronage in the bureaucracy, and clientelism. The second part of the course (Weeks 7-9) focuses on key topics in the political economy literature on Latin America: neoliberalism and market reforms, post-neoliberalism and the rise of the left, and welfare policies in the region. The final session (Week 10) will be devoted to ethnic and racial politics.

By engaging in intensive study of relevant literature, this course aims to provide a foundation for fostering original research questions and innovative theoretical approaches that can contribute to Latin American scholarship. We will focus on the main theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions (and shortcomings) of the readings.

[Note: Highly salient topics that will not be studied in this course include criminal violence, security issues, government responses to violence, and civil-military relations in Latin America. Professor Pion-Berlin teaches another Latin American Politics seminar devoted to those issues. This course is repeatable, so I highly recommend taking both courses if you are interested in the politics of Latin America.]

Course Requirements

- **Class participation (30%)**: This course is a seminar. Students are thus expected to actively contribute to the discussion each and every week. This necessitates a careful reading of the material prior to the class. In preparing for class, students should think carefully about both the substantive and methodological aspects of each reading individually and in comparison with each other.
- **Discussion leading (20%)**: one (or two) students will assist me in leading the discussion each week. Their job is to write a synthetic and critical essay (1,500-2,000 words) revolving around the readings for the week. The essay should compare and contrast, criticize and praise. It should be thematic, rather than discuss every article one by one. The essay must be submitted to me by email by 8:00 PM the day before class. The discussion leaders will also give a short presentation in class (5-10 minutes) as an introduction to the discussion, and will assist me in leading the discussion.
- **Research Design (50%)**: For this assignment, students will identify a research question that could extend our knowledge of Latin American Politics in an interesting and potentially important way. The research design will deal with one of the substantive areas on the syllabus or will focus on a special topic which is agreed upon by the instructor. The research design will place the research question within the existing literature. It will include why you think the research is important, how it extends previous research, and how you would go about addressing the problem. You will identify which methods and empirical evidence will be used to answer the question, and explain why the evidence and methods are appropriate for evaluating the question. If you have the available data and the methodological skills at the moment to execute the ideas you propose, by all means you are encouraged to do so, but this is not required.

Topics should be chosen in consultation with the instructor before **Week 6**. Students are required to submit an outline of their paper (1 page) on **February 2**. A complete draft of the paper is due on **March 18** before midnight.

Schedule

Week 1: Introduction (Overview of Latin American Political History and Political Economy)

Hartlyn, Jonathan, & Valenzuela, Arturo (1995). Democracy in Latin America since 1930. In L. Bethell (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America* (Volume VI, Part 2). New York: Cambridge University Press (pp. 97-162).

Hagopian, Frances & Mainwaring, Scott (Eds.), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. New York: Cambridge University Press (introduction and chapter 1).

Kingstone, Peter (2018). *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development after the Commodity Boom* (2nd edition). New York: Routledge (chapters 2-4).

Week 2: State Formation, State Building, and Institutional Weakness

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

Schenoni, Luis L. (2020). Bringing War Back in: Victory and State Formation in Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 65(2), 405-421.

Mazzuca, Sebastian (2021). *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America*. New Haven: Yale University Press (chapters 1-3).

Geddes, Barbara (1994). *Politician's Dilemma: Building State Capacity in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press (chapters 1-2).

Brinks, Daniel M., Levitsky, Steven, & Murillo, M. Victoria (Eds.). (2020). *The Politics of Institutional Weakness in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1, 4, and 6).

Further reading

- Ch, Rafael, Shapiro, Jacob, Steele, Abbey, & Vargas, Juan F. (2018). Endogenous Taxation in Ongoing Internal Conflict: The Case of Colombia. *American Political Science Review*, 112(4), 996-1015.
- Dell, Melissa (2010). The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita. *Econometrica*, 78(6), 1863-1903.
- Falleti, Tulia G., & Riofrancos, Thea N. (2017). Endogenous Participation. *World Politics*, 70(1), 86-121.
- Garfias, Francisco (2018). Elite Competition and State Capacity Development: Theory and Evidence from Post-Revolutionary Mexico. *American Political Science Review*, 112(2), 339-357.
- González, Yanilda (2019). The Social Origins of Institutional Weakness and Change: Preferences, Power, and Police Reform in Latin America. *World Politics*, 71(1), 44-87.
- Helmke, Gretchen, & Levitsky, Steven (Eds.). (2006). *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press (introduction, and chapters 7 and 12).
- Kurtz, M. J. (2013). *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mayka, Lindsay (2019). The Origins of Strong Institutional Design: Policy Reform and Participatory Institutions in Brazil's Health Sector. *Comparative Politics*, 51(2), 275-294.
- Moncada, Eduardo (2019). Resisting Protection: Rackets, Resistance, and State Building. *Comparative Politics*, 51(3), 321-339.
- 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.
- Oszlak, Oscar (1981). The Historical Formation of the State in Latin America: Some Theoretical and Methodological Guidelines for Its Study. *Latin American Research Review*, 16(2), 3-32.
- Soifer, Hillel (2015). *State Building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Thies, Cameron G. (2005). War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(3), 451-465.
- Trasberg, Mart E. (2021). Informal Customary Institutions, Collective Action, and Submunicipal Public Goods Provision in Mexico. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 63(3), 146-170.
- Yashar, Deborah J. (2018). *Homicidal Ecologies: Illicit Economies and Complicit States in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 3: Parties and Party Systems

Mainwaring, Scott (Ed.) (2018). *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*. New York: Cambridge University Press (introduction and chapter 2).

Cyr, Jennifer (2016). Between Adaptation and Breakdown: Conceptualizing Party Survival. *Comparative Politics*, 49(1), 125-145.

Lupu, Noam (2016). *Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 1-2.

Van Dyck, Brandon (2017). The Paradox of Adversity: The Contrasting Fates of Latin America's New Left Parties. *Comparative Politics*, 49(2), 169-192.

Luna, Juan P., Piñeiro Rodríguez, Rafael, Rosenblatt, Fernando, & Vommaro, Gabriel (Eds.). (2021). *Diminished Parties: Democratic Representation in Contemporary Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1, 3, and 4).

Further reading

- Anria, Santiago (2016). Democratizing Democracy? Civil Society and Party Organization in Bolivia. *Comparative Politics*, 48(4), 459-478.
- Anria, Santiago (2019). *When Movements Become Parties: The Bolivian MAS in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Bentancur, Verónica P., Rodríguez, Rafael P., & Rosenblatt, Fernando (2018). Efficacy and the Reproduction of Political Activism: Evidence From the Broad Front in Uruguay. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(6), 838-867.
- Benton, Allyson L. (2016). The Strategic Struggle for Patronage: Political Careers, State Largesse, and Factionalism in Latin American Parties. *Journal of Theoretical Politics*, 19(1), 55-82.
- Burgess, Katrina, & Levitsky, Steven (2003). Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America: Environmental and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 36(8), 881-911.
- Faguet, Jean-Paul (2019). Revolution from Below: Cleavage Displacement and the Collapse of Elite Politics in Bolivia. *Politics & Society*, 47(2), 205-250.
- Hunter, Wendy (2010). *The Transformation of the Workers' Party in Brazil, 1989-2009*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Kitschelt, Herbert, Hawkins, Kirk A., Luna, Juan Pablo, Rosas, G., & Zechmeister, Elizabeth J. (2010). *Latin American Party Systems*. New York: Cambridge Univ Press.
- Levitsky, Steven (2003). *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Levitsky, Steven, Loxton, James, & Van Dyck, Brandon (2016). "Introduction: Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America." In S. Levitsky, J. Loxton, B. Van Dyck, & J. I. Dominguez (Eds.), *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Luna, Juan Pablo (2014). *Segmented Representation: Political Party Strategies in Unequal Democracies*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lupu, Noam (2016). *Party Brands in Crisis: Partisanship, Brand Dilution, and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press, chapters 1-3.
- Morgan, Jana (2011). *Bankrupt Representation and Party System Collapse*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Morgenstern, Scott, & Vázquez-D'Elía, Javier (2007). Electoral Laws, Parties, and Party Systems in Latin America. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10, 143-168.
- Roberts, Kenneth M. (2014). *Changing Course in Latin America: Party Systems in the Neoliberal Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1-3).
- Samuels, David J., & Zucco, Cesar (2018). *Partisans, Antipartisans, and Nonpartisans: Voting Behavior in Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Seawright, Jason (2018). The Life and Death of Political Parties Since Latin America's Third Wave. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 60(2), 103-112.
- Seawright, Jason (2012). *Party System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*. Redwood City, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Sells, Cameron J. (2020). Building Parties from City Hall: Party Membership and Municipal Government in Brazil. *Journal of Politics*, 82(4), 1576-1589.
- Van Dyck, Brandon (2017). The Paradox of Adversity: The Contrasting Fates of Latin America's New Left Parties. *Comparative Politics*, 49(2), 169-192.

Week 4: Decentralization and Subnational Politics

Giraudy, Agustina, Moncada, Eduardo, & Snyder, Richard (Eds.). (2019). *Inside Countries: Subnational Research in Comparative Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapter 1).

Albertus, Michael (2015). The Role of Subnational Politicians in Distributive Politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(13), 1667-1710.

Benton, Allyson L. (2019). Party Leader or Party Reputation Concerns? How Vertical Partisan Alignment Reins in Subnational Fiscal Profligacy. *Journal of Politics*, 81(1), 201-214.

Falleti, Tulia G. (2005). A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective. *American Political Science Review*, 99(3), 327-346.

Gibson, Edward L. (2005). Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries. *World Politics*, 58(1), 101-132.

Further reading

- Córdova, Abby, & Layton, Matthew L. (2016). When is “Delivering the Goods” Not Good Enough? *World Politics*, 68(1), 74-110.
- Diaz-Rioseco, Diego (2016). Blessing and Curse: Oil and Subnational Politics in the Argentine Provinces. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(14), 1930-1964.
- Eaton, Kent (2017). *Territory and Ideology in Latin America: Policy Conflicts between National and Subnational Governments*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Eaton, Kent (2020). Latin American Politics and the Subnational Comparative Method: Vertical and Horizontal Challenges. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 62(3), 149-172.
- Garay, Candelaria, & Maroto, Maria Marta (2019). Local Health Care Provision as a Territorial Power-Building Strategy: Non-Aligned Mayors in Argentina. *Comparative Politics*, 52(1), 105-125.
- Garman, Christopher, Haggard, Stephen, & Willis, Eliza (2001). Fiscal Decentralization: A Political Theory with Latin American Cases. *World Politics*, 53(2), 205-236.
- Gervasoni, Carlos (2010). A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy, and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces. *World Politics*, 62(2), 302-340.
- Gibson, Edward L. (Ed.) (2004). *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Giraudy, Agustina (2013). Varieties of Subnational Undemocratic Regimes: Evidence from Argentina and Mexico. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 48(1), 51-80.
- Giraudy, Agustina, & Pribble, Jennifer (2020). Territorial Inequality in Health Service Delivery: Lessons from Latin America's Federations. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 62(3), 19-43.
- González, Lucas I., & Mamone, Ignacio (2015). Distributive Politics in Developing Federal Democracies: Compensating Governors for Their Territorial Support. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 57(3), 50-76.
- Harbers, Imke, & Steele, Abbey (2020). Subnational Variation Across States: A Typology and Research Agenda. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 62(3), 1-18.
- Lucardi, Adrián (2016). Building Support From Below? Subnational Elections, Diffusion Effects, and the Growth of the Opposition in Mexico, 1984-2000. *Comparative Political Studies*, 49(14), 1855-1895.
- Pribble, Jennifer (2015). The Politics of Building Municipal Institutional Effectiveness in Chile. *Latin American Politics & Society*, 57(3), 100-121.
- Samuels, David (2003). *Ambition, Federalism, and Legislative Politics in Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Sells, Cameron J. (2020). Building Parties from City Hall: Party Membership and Municipal Government in Brazil. *Journal of Politics*, 82(4), 1576-1589.
- Snyder, Richard (2001). Scaling Down: The Subnational Comparative Method. *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36(1), 93-110.
- Sugiyama, Natalia B. (2012). Bottom-up Policy Diffusion: National Emulation of a Conditional Cash Transfer Program in Brazil. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*, 42(1), 25-51.
- Wibbels, Erik (2000). Federalism and the Politics of Macroeconomic Policy and Performance. *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(4), 687-702.

Week 5: The Public Sector and Bureaucracies

Polga-Hecimovich, John, & Trelles, Alejandro (2016). The Organizational Consequences of Politics: A Research Agenda for the Study of Bureaucratic Politics in Latin America. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 58(4), 56-79.

Oliveros, Virginia (2021). *Patronage at Work: Public Jobs and Political Services in Argentina*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1-2 & 5).

Toral, Guillermo (2021). "Turnover: How electoral accountability disrupts the bureaucracy and service delivery." Working Paper. Link [here](#).

González, Lucas I. (2018). Oil Rents and Patronage: The Fiscal Effects of Oil Booms in the Argentine Provinces. *Comparative Politics*, 51(1), 101-126.

Mikkelsen, Kim S., Schuster, Christian, Meyer-Sahling, Jan-Hinrik, & Wettig, Magdalena R. (in press). Bureaucratic Professionalization is a Contagious Process Inside Government: Evidence from a Priming Experiment with 3,000 Chilean Civil Servants. *Public Administration Review*.

Further reading

- Bersch, Katherine (2016). The Merits of Problem-Solving over Powering: Governance Reforms in Brazil and Argentina. *Comparative Politics*, 48(2), 205-225.
- Cornell, Agnes, & Grimes, Marcia (2015). Institutions as Incentives for Civic Action: Bureaucratic Structures, Civil Society, and Disruptive Protests. *Journal of Politics*, 77(3), 664-678.
- Dal Bó, Ernesto, Finan, Frederico, & Rossi, Martín A. (2013). Strengthening State Capabilities: The Role of Financial Incentives in the Call to Public Service. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 128(3), 1169-1218.
- Grindle, Merilee S. (2012). *Jobs for the Boys: Patronage and the State in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Kerevel, Yann P. (2015). (Sub)national Principals, Legislative Agents. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(8), 1020-1050.
- Oliveros, Virginia (2016). Making it Personal: Clientelism, Favors, and the Personalization of Public Administration in Argentina. *Comparative Politics*, 48(3), 373-391.
- Oliveros, Virginia, & Schuster, Christian (2018). Merit, Tenure, and Bureaucratic Behavior: Evidence From a Conjoint Experiment in the Dominican Republic. *Comparative Political Studies*, 51(6), 759-792.
- Palmer-Rubin, Brian (2019). Evading the Patronage Trap: Organizational Capacity and Demand Making in Mexico. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(13-14), 2097-2134.
- Pepinsky, Thomas B., Pierskalla, Jan H., & Sacks, Audrey (2017). Bureaucracy and Service Delivery. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 20(1), 249-268.
- Rich, Jessica (2019). *State-Sponsored Activism: Bureaucrats and Social Movements in Democratic Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Schuster, Christian (2016). What Causes Patronage Reform? It Depends on the Type of Civil Service Reform. *Public Administration*, 94(4), 1094-1104.
- Schuster, Christian (2020). Patrons against clients: Electoral uncertainty and bureaucratic tenure in politicized states. *Regulation & Governance*, 14(1), 26-43.
- Schuster, Christian, Mikkelsen, Kim S., Correa, Izabela, & Meyer-Sahling, Jan-Hinrik (in press). Exit, Voice, and Sabotage: Public Service Motivation and Guerrilla Bureaucracy in Times of Unprincipled Political Principals. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*.
- Toral, Guillermo (2019). "Political bureaucratic cycles: Public employment and service delivery around elections in Brazil." Working Paper. Link [here](#).
- Toral, Guillermo (2021). "The benefits of patronage: How political appointments can enhance bureaucratic accountability and effectiveness." Working Paper. Link [here](#).

Week 6: Clientelism and Vote Buying

Stokes, Susan, Dunning, Thad, Nazareno, Marcelo, & Brusco, Valeria (2013). *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 2-4).

Nichter, Simeon (2018). *Votes for Survival: Relational Clientelism in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 2-3 & 6).

Cantú, Francisco (2019). Groceries for Votes: The Electoral Returns of Vote Buying. *Journal of Politics*, 81(3), 790-804.

Johnson, Marcus (2020). Electoral Discrimination: The Relationship between Skin Color and Vote Buying in Latin America. *World Politics*, 72(1), 80-120.

Muñoz, Paula (2014). An Informational Theory of Campaign Clientelism: The Case of Peru. *Comparative Politics*, 47(1), 79-98.

Further reading

- Auyero, Javier (2000). *Poor People's Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Carlin, Ryan E., & Moseley, Mason (2015). Good Democrats, Bad Targets: Democratic Values and Clientelistic Vote Buying. *Journal of Politics*, 77(1), 14-26.
- Daby, Mariela (2021). The Gender Gap in Political Clientelism: Problem-Solving Networks and the Division of Political Work in Argentina. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(2), 215-244.
- Gay, Robert (1999). The Broker and the Thief: A Parable (Reflections on Popular Politics in Brazil). *Luco-Brazilian Review*, 36(1), 49-70.
- Gingerich, Daniel W. (2020). Buying Power: Electoral Strategy before the Secret Vote. *American Political Science Review*, 114(4), 1086-1102.
- Gonzalez Ocantos, Ezequiel, Jonge, Chad K., & Nickerson, David W. (2014). The Conditionality of Vote-Buying Norms: Experimental Evidence from Latin America. *American Journal of Political Science*, 58(1), 197-211.
- Greene, Kenneth F. (2021). Campaign Effects and the Elusive Swing Voter in Modern Machine Politics. *Comparative Political Studies*, 54(1), 77-109.
- Hidalgo, F. Daniel, & Nichter, Simeon (2016). Voter Buying: Shaping the Electorate through Clientelism. *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(2), 436-455.
- Holland, Alisha C., & Palmer-Rubin, Brian (2015). Beyond the Machine: Clientelist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(9), 1186-1223.
- Larreguy, Horacio, Montiel Olea, Cesar E., & Querubin, Pablo (2017). Political Brokers: Partisans or Agents? Evidence from the Mexican Teachers' Union. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(4), 877-891.
- Lawson, Chappell, & Greene, Kenneth F. (2014). Making Clientelism Work: How Norms of Reciprocity Increase Voter Compliance. *Comparative Politics*, 47(1), 61-85.
- Nichter, Simeon (2008). Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot. *American Political Science Review*, 102(1), 19-31.
- Nichter, Simeon, & Peress, Michael (2017). Request Fulfilling: When Citizens Demand Clientelist Benefits. *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(8), 1086-1117.
- Novaes, Lucas M. (2018). Disloyal Brokers and Weak Parties. *American Journal of Political Science*, 62(1), 84-98.
- Szwarcberg, Mariela (2015). *Mobilizing Poor Voters: Machine Politics, Clientelism, and Social Networks in Argentina*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca (2012). What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt Out of Clientelism. *American Journal of Political Science*, 56(3), 568-583.
- Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca (2014). *Curbing Clientelism in Argentina: Politics, Poverty, and Social Policy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zarazaga, Rodrigo (2014). Brokers Beyond Clientelism: A New Perspective Through the Argentine Case. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 56(3), 23-45.

Week 7: Neoliberalism and Market Reforms

Kerner, Andrew (2020). Pension Returns and Popular Support for Neoliberalism in Post-Pension Reform Latin America. *British Journal of Political Science*, 50(2), 585-620.

Simmons, Erica S. (2016). Market Reforms and Water Wars. *World Politics*, 68(1), 37-73.

Murillo, M. Victoria (2000). From Populism To Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America. *World Politics*, 52(2), 135-168.

Stokes, Susan C. (2001). *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press (chapters 1-3).

Schneider, Ben R. (2008). Economic Liberalization and Corporate Governance: The Resilience of Business Groups in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 40(4), 379-397.

Further reading

- Baker, Andy (2003). Why is Trade Reform So Popular in Latin America?: A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Policy Preferences. *World Politics*, 55(3), 423-455.
- Bril-Mascarenhas, Tomás, & Maillet, Antoine (2019). How to Build and Wield Business Power: The Political Economy of Pension Regulation in Chile, 1990–2018. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 61(1), 101-125.
- Burgess, Katrina (1999). Loyalty Dilemmas and Market Reform: Party-Union Alliances under Stress in Mexico, Spain, and Venezuela. *World Politics*, 52(1), 105-134.
- Campello, Daniela (2015). *The Politics of Market Discipline in Latin America: Globalization and Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Etchemendy, Sebastián (2001). Constructing Reform Coalitions: The Politics of Compensations in Argentina's Economic Liberalization. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 43(3), 1-35.
- Etchemendy, Sebastián (2004). Repression, Exclusion, and Inclusion: Government-Union Relations and Patterns of Labor Reform in Liberalizing Economies. *Comparative Politics*, 36(3), 273.
- Etchemendy, Sebastián (2011). *Models of Economic Liberalization: Business, Workers, and Compensation in Latin America, Spain, and Portugal*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibson, Edward L. (1997). The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina. *World Politics*, 49(3), 339-370.
- Huber, Evelynne, & Solt, Frederick (2004). Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism. *Latin American Research Review*, 39(3), 150-164.
- Kaplan, Stephen B. (2018). Fighting Past Economic Wars: Crisis and Austerity in Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 53(1), 19.
- Kurtz, Marcus J. (2004). The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America. *World Politics*, 56(2), 262-302.
- Murillo, M. Victoria (2002). Political Bias in Policy Convergence: Privatization Choices in Latin America. *World Politics*, 54(4), 462-493.
- Murillo, M. Victoria (2005). Partisanship Amidst Convergence: The Politics of Labor Reform in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 37(4), 441.
- Owen, Erica (2019). Foreign Direct Investment and Elections: The Impact of Greenfield FDI on Incumbent Party Reelection in Brazil. *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(4), 613-645.
- Portes, Alejandro, & Hoffman, Kelly (2003). Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era. *Latin American Research Review*, 38(1), 41-82.
- Schamis, Hector E. (1999). Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America. *World Politics*, 51(2), 236-268.
- Teichman, Judith A. (2001). *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America: Chile, Argentina, and Mexico*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press.
- Weyland, Kurt (1998). Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 31(5), 539-568.

Week 8: Post-neoliberalism and the Rise of the Left

Levitsky, Steven, & Roberts, Kenneth M. (2011). *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press (introduction and chapters 2 & 4).

Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. (2010). Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 42(4), 413-433.

Baba, Kaori (2015). Power and Institutional Change: Re-Reforms of Latin American Pension Systems in a Comparative Perspective. *Comparative Political Studies*, 48(14), 1847-1878.

Etchemendy, Sebastián (2019). The Rise of Segmented Neo-Corporatism in South America: Wage Coordination in Argentina and Uruguay (2005-2015). *Comparative Political Studies*, 52(10), 1427-1465.

Wolff, Jonas (2016). Business Power and the Politics of Postneoliberalism: Relations Between Governments and Economic Elites in Bolivia and Ecuador. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 58(2), 124-147.

Further reading

- Eaton, Kent (2014). Recentralization and the Left Turn in Latin America. *Comparative Political Studies*, 47(8), 1130-1157.
- Etchemendy, Sebastián (2021). Uruguay and Contemporary Theories of Wage Coordination: Origins and Stabilization of Segmented Neocorporatism, 2005–2019. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 63(2), 51-77.
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. (2012). *After Neoliberalism?: The Left and Economic Reforms in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hunter, Wendy (2007). The Normalization of an Anomaly: The Workers' Party in Brazil. *World Politics*, 59(3), 440-475.
- Manzetti, Luigi (2015). Renationalization in Argentina, 2005–2013. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 58(1), 3-28.
- Mazzuca, Sebastián L. (2013). Lessons from Latin America: The Rise of Rentier Populism. *Journal of Democracy*, 24(2), 108-122.
- Murillo, M. Victoria, Oliveros, Virginia, & Vaishnav, Milan (2010). Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation? *Latin American Research Review*, 45(3), 87-114.
- Remmer, Karen L. (2012). The Rise of Leftist–Populist Governance in Latin America: The Roots of Electoral Change. *Comparative Political Studies*, 45(8), 947-972.
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