
POLITICAL CHANGE: LATIN AMERICA

Autumn Term 2012



Final Year

Politics Department

Course Tutor:

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Term Dates:

Autumn Term: 20 September 2012 – 12 December 2012

Aims

The aim of the course is to introduce you to Latin American politics through the analysis of processes, institutions and major actors. We will assess not only historical developments and their legacies, but also the most important challenges for these young democracies: the role of the military, the reform of political institutions, populist movements and parties, left vis-à-vis right politics, and debt and economic restructuring. Overall, the course will be an evaluation of the impact of economic development, civil society and the legacy of authoritarian regimes on the democratization process of the region.

Learning outcomes

By the end of the course a successful student should be able:

- To give an account of historical processes and institutions in Latin America;
- To comprehend the extent of and the drivers of change in these societies;
- To define and discuss the strategies of the main relevant political actors;
- To understand what factors are at the origin of regime change (from democracy to authoritarianism and from authoritarianism to democracy);
- To assess the strength of present day Latin American democracies.

Students should also have enhanced the following generic skills:

- The ability to read, note, analyse and evaluate information and arguments;
- The ability to participate and co-operate constructively in group work;
- The ability to conceive and produce a substantial work of analysis and argument, presented in accordance with rigorous academic standards.

Office hours

These will be confirmed at the first seminar. You should use these to talk about anything that concerns you – including your individual progress and written work. Don't be afraid to ask for help, guidance and feedback. It may be possible to see you at another time if you make an appointment (after the seminar or via email).

Attendance

You are advised that the Politics and Contemporary European Studies Finalists' Exam Board has a policy of taking students' overall records of class attendance into consideration when deciding on

degree classification at the end of a programme of study. This policy operates without prejudice to those who are deemed to have a legitimate excuse for non-attendance.

Course structure

This course is divided into twelve sessions and will be delivered in a three-hour weekly seminar covering the following topics:

1. Introductory session
2. The political independence of Latin America
3. State and nation building
4. The import-substituting model (ISI)
5. The military and the Southern Cone experience
6. Transitions from authoritarian rule
7. The lost decade: debt crisis and neoliberal reforms
8. Debates on the health of democracy
9. The rise of ethnic politics in Latin America
10. Right-wing vs. left-wing populism
11. Latin America's turn to the left
12. The right in contemporary Latin America

Written work and assessment

Students will write an assessed 2000 words essay, which must be submitted (two copies) to the LPS school office in the Friston building by November 14. This constitutes 30% of the overall course mark. Students are also required to produce an assessed 4000 words essay to be submitted at the beginning of January 2013. This second essay constitutes 70% of the overall course mark (please see Sussex Direct for submission details). The course tutor will give a list of questions/topics that students can address in their essays. In addition, students will be expected to give a 10-15 minute seminar presentation, in which they provide an outline of the political development of one country (list below) in order to enable the class to discuss the singularities of the country in question. Active participation in seminar discussion is also expected.

List of countries for the presentations

- Argentina
- Bolivia
- Brazil
- Chile
- Colombia
- Ecuador
- Mexico
- Uruguay
- Peru
- Venezuela

Evaluation

At the end of the course, you will be asked to complete an anonymous questionnaire to help us maintain and improve our delivery and our standards. During the course, you will be asked for feedback in more informal ways. Any constructive comments are of course more than welcome at any stage.

Reading

There will be a 2-3 articles or book chapters available on the course pack – these are “essential readings”. In addition to these, you should also try to range more widely in your reading. In the following pages we provide you with different sources. First, there are a couple of books (see below), which can be seen as textbooks, because they not only cover the majority of topics to be discussed on the course, but also offer a good introduction to Latin American politics. Second, there are a couple of internet sources, which can be useful for gathering data and follow contemporary debates (see below). Finally, there are “additional readings” for each topic (see below), which will enable you to deepen your knowledge on the subject as well as to prepare coursework.

Textbooks

- Hellinger, Daniel C. (2011): *Comparative Politics of Latin America. Democracy at Last?* London: Routledge.
- Kingstone, Peter and Deborah J. Yashar (eds.) (2012): *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*. London: Routledge.

- Munck, Ronaldo (2012): *Contemporary Latin America*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (third edition, revised and updated).
- Peeler, John (2009): *Building Democracy in Latin America*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner (third edition, revised and updated).
- Skidmore, Thomas E., Peter Smith and James N. Green (2009): *Modern Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (seventh edition, revised and updated).
- Smith, Peter (2005): *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Vanden, Harry E. and Gary Prevost (2009): *Politics in Latin America. The Power Game*. Oxford: Oxford University Press (third edition, revised and updated).

Websites with relevant information to Latin American Politics

- The Journal of Democracy continuously publishes articles related to the state of democracy in Latin America (<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/>; <http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/jod/>).
- Political database of the Americas (Georgetown University). Information on elections, constitutions, political parties, etc. (<http://pdba.georgetown.edu/>).
- Latinobarómetro (opinion polls for the region) (<http://www.latinobarometro.org>).
- Latin American Public Opinion Project (LAPOP) (<http://www.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/>).
- United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America – CEPAL – provides economic information and statistics on the region (<http://www.eclac.org>).
- Organization of American States – regional organization with information on a range of initiatives in the such areas as development, free-trade, and corruption (<http://www.oas.org>).
- Latin American Studies Association – major international organization of scholars focusing on Latin America. Site contains research and links (<http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/>).
- Inter-American Development Bank (reports on poverty, health, education, indigenous groups, etc.) (<http://www.iadb.org>).
- United Nations Development Programme, UNDP (<http://www.undp.org>), several national and regional Human Development reports on Latin America.
- World Bank (<http://www.worldbank.org>), materials on poverty and inequality.
- There are also a range of online journals specialising in Latin American Politics including: *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Latin American Research Review* and *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. Journals such as *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *Democratization* and *The Third World Quarterly* also regularly feature articles on Latin American Politics.

1. INTRODUCTORY SESSION

In this class we outline the course, assign the student presentations, talk about the assessments, and examine the nature of the academic literature on Latin American politics. General questions about the development of the course will be answered and we will briefly talk about the topics to be addressed in each of the sessions. In addition, we will discuss a text about the legacies of colonialism.

Essential Reading

Mahoney, James (2003): "Long-Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America", *American Journal of Sociology*, 109(1): 50-106.

Additional Reading

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto (1979): *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Fukuyama, Francis (ed.) (2011): *Falling Behind. Explaining the Development Gap between Latin America and the United States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

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

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens (1992): *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

2. THE POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF LATIN AMERICA

This class will be focused on one specific question: How can we explain that Latin America experienced a process of political independence from the Spanish and Portuguese Empire at the beginning of the 19th century? To answer this question, we will discuss a set of different arguments, and we will analyse the trajectories of political independence that several countries experienced across the region. Special emphasis will be given to the cases of Argentina, Brazil, Chile and Mexico.

Essential Reading

Lynch, John (1987): "The Origins of Spanish American Independence", in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *The Independence of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-48.

Bethell, Leslie (1987): "The Independence of Brazil", in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *The Independence of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 155-194.

Additional Reading

Adelman, Jeremy (2006): *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Adelman, Jeremy (2011): "Independence in Latin America", in Jose C. Moya (ed.): *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 153-180.

Anna, Timothy (1987): "The Independence of Mexico and Central America", in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *The Independence of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 49-92.

Archer, Christon I. (ed.) (2000): *The Wars of Independence in Spanish America*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources.

Bushnell, David (1987): "The Independence of Spanish South America", in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *The Independence of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 93-154.

Chasteen, John Charles (2008): *Americanos: Latin America's Struggle for Independence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Guerra, François-Xavier (2003): "Forms of Communication, Political Spaces, and Cultural Identities in the Creation of Spanish American Nations", in Sara Castro-Klarén and John Charles Chasteen (eds.): *Beyond Imagined Communities. Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 3-32.

Lynch, John (2006): *Simón Bolívar: A Life*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Waddell, D. A. G. (1987): "International Politics and Latin American Independence", in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *The Independence of Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 195-232.

3. STATE AND NATION BUILDING

In this class we will discuss the process of state and nation building in Latin America. The driving idea of this session is that in Latin America the creation of the state preceded the formation of the nation. We will examine the impact of this particular political sequence (first the state and then the nation) on the way in which political order has been achieved and maintained in Latin America.

Essential Reading

Centeno, Miguel Angel (2002): *Blood and Debt. War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University, chapters 1 and 6.

Miller, Nicola (1999): *In the Shadow of the State. Intellectuals and the Quest for National Identity in Twentieth-Century Spanish America*. London: Verso, introduction, chapter 1 and conclusion.

Additional Reading

Castro-Klarén, Sara and John Charles Chasteen (eds.) (2003): *Beyond Imagined Communities. Reading and Writing the Nation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Hale, Charles (1996): "Political Ideas and Ideologies in Latin America, 1870-1930", in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 133-205.

Karl, Terry Lynn (1997): *The Paradox of Plenty. Oil Booms and Petro-States*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: California University Press.

Knight, Alan (2001): "The Modern Mexican State: Theory and Practice", in Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (eds.): *The Other Mirror. Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 177-218.

Knight, Franklin W. (1992): "The State of Sovereignty and the Sovereignty of States", in Alfred Stepan (ed.): *Americas: New Interpretative Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 11-29.

López-Alves, Fernando (2000): *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America: 1810-1900*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Nunn, Frederick M. (1983): *Yesterday's Soldiers. European Military Professionalism in South America, 1890-1940*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.

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.

4. THE IMPORT SUBSTITUTION INDUSTRIALIZATION (ISI) MODEL

After the Great Depression of 1929, Latin America started to build a new model of economic development, which in the scholarly literature has been referred to as the “import substitution industrialization” (ISI) model. In this class we will discuss not only the main characteristics of this model, but also its rise and fall. Special emphasis will be given to a political economy perspective, according to which the ISI model permitted the formation a particular type of state and civil society.

Essential Reading

- Garretón, Manuel Antonio (et al.) (2003): *Latin America in the Twenty-First Century: Toward a New Sociopolitical Matrix*. Miami: North South Centre Press, chapters 1 and 2.
- Love, Joseph L. (1996): “Economic Ideas and Ideologies in Latin America since 1930”, in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 133-205.

Additional Reading

- Angell, Alan (1998): “The Left in Latin America since c. 1920”, in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *Latin America. Politics and Society since 1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 75-144.
- Collier, David and Ruth Berins Collier (2002): *Shaping the Political Arena. Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Analysis in Latin America*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press.
- French-Davies, Ricardo, Oscar Muñoz and Gabriel Palma (1998): “The Latin American Economies, 1950-c. 1990”, in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *Latin America. Economy and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 149-237.
- Germani, Gino (1978): *Authoritarianism, National Populism and Fascism*. New Brunswick: Transaction.
- Montecinos, Verónica and John Markoff (2001): “From the Power of Economic Ideas to the Power of Economists”, in Miguel Angel Centeno and Fernando López-Alves (eds.): *The Other Mirror. Grand Theory through the Lens of Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 105-150.
- Schneider, Benn Ross (2004): *Business Politics and the State in Twentieth-Century Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Smith, Peter (1992): “The State and Development in Historical Perspective”, in Alfred Stepan (ed.): *Americas: New Interpretative Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 30-56.
- Thorp, Rosemary (1998): “The Latin American Economies, 1939-c. 1950”, in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *Latin America. Economy and Society*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 115-147.

5. THE MILITARY AND THE SOUTHERN CONE EXPERIENCE

Which role did the military play in Latin America during the 20th century? How can we understand that the armed forces have been a crucial political actor in many societies of the region? Why did the countries of the Southern Cone experience a breakdown of democracy during the 1960s and 1970s? This session aims to answer these questions and will examine the political involvement of the armed forces in Latin America. We will take into account internal and external factors that fostered the intervention of the military in politics, and we will analyse the rise and fall of the so-called “bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes”.

Essential Reading

- Collier, David (1979): “Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model”, in David Collier (ed.): *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 19-32.
- Rouquié, Alan (1998): “The Military in Latin America since 1930”, in Leslie Bethell (ed.): *Latin America. Politics and Society since 1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 145-216.

Additional Reading

- Alexander Rodríguez, Linda (1994): *Rank and Privilege: The Military and Society in Latin America*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources.
- Collier, David (ed.) (1979): *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- Loveman, Brian and Thomas M. Davies (eds.) (1997): *The Politics of Anti-Politics: The Military in Latin America*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources.
- Loveman, Brian (1999): *For la Patria. Politics and the Armed Forces in Latin America*. Wilmington: Scholarly Resources.
- Nunn, Frederick M. (1992): *The Time of the Generals. Latin American Professional Militarism in World Perspective*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo (1973): *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies.
- Stepan, Alfred (1988): *Rethinking Military Politics. Brazil and the Southern Cone*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Valenzuela, Arturo (1978): *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

6. TRANSITIONS FROM AUTHORITARIAN RULE

While authoritarian rule was on the rise during the 1960s and 1970s, most countries of the region went through a process of transition to democracy during the 1980s. In this class we will analyse the different arguments that have been developed to explain the collapse of the “bureaucratic-authoritarian regimes”, and we will also analyse the (f)actors that influenced the process of transition from authoritarian rule. In this regard, particular emphasis will be given to the analytical framework developed by Guillermo O’Donnell and Philippe Schmitter.

Essential Reading

Karl, Lynn Terry (1990): “Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America”, *Comparative Politics*, 23(1): 1-21.

O’Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter (1986): *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, chapters 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5.

Additional Reading

Higley, John, and Richard Gunther (eds.) (1991): *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Huntington, Samuel (1992): *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.

Linz, Juan, and Alfred Stepan (1996): *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mainwaring, Scott, Guillermo O’Donnell and Samuel Valenzuela (eds.) (1992): *Issues in Democratic Consolidation. The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective*. Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press.

Munck, Gerardo and Carol S. Leff (1997): “Modes of Transition and Democratization: South America and Eastern Europe in Comparative Perspective”, *Comparative Politics*, 29(3): 343-62.

O’Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.) (1986): *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O’Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe Schmitter and Laurence Whitehead (eds.) (1986): *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Latin America*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Rueschemeyer, Dietrich, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens (1992): *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

7. THE LOST DECADE: DEBT CRISIS AND NEOLIBERAL REFORMS

Scholars have called the 1980s the “lost decade” because Latin America experienced a deep debt crisis, which had devastating social and political effects. Not only poverty and unemployment increased, but also the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank supported reform programs that led to the dismantlement of the “import-substituting model” (ISI). In this class we will examine the causes and consequences of the debt crisis of the 1980s, and we will also discuss the implementation of neoliberal reforms across the region.

Essential Reading

Panizza, Francisco (2009): *Contemporary Latin America. Development and Democracy beyond the Washington Consensus*. London: Zed Books, chapters 1, 2 and 3.

Additional Reading

Centeno, Miguel Angel (1994): *Democracy Within Reason: Technocratic Revolution in Mexico*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University.

Dezalay, Yves, and Bryant G. Garth (1996): *The Internationalization of Palace Wars. Lawyers, Economists, and the Contest to Transform Latin American States*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Edwards, Sebastian, and Rudiger Dornbusch (eds.) (1991): *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Haggard, Stephan, and Robert Kaufman (eds.) (1992): *The Politics of Economic Adjustment*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Huber, Evelyne and Fred Solt (2004): “Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism”, *Latin American Research Review*, 36(3): 150-164.

Klein, Emilio and Victor Tokman (2000): “Social Stratification under Tension in a Globalized Era”, *CEPAL Review*, 72: 7-29.

Levistky, Steven (2003): *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America. Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Roberts, Kenneth (2002) “Social Inequalities Without Class Cleavages in Latin America’s Neoliberal Era”, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36(4): 3-33.

Walton, Michael (2004): “Neoliberalism in Latin America: Good, Bad, or Incomplete?”, *Latin American Research Review*, 36(3): 165-183.

Weyland, Kurt (2004): “Assessing Latin American Neoliberalism”, *Latin American Research Review*, 36(3): 143-149.

8. DEBATES ON THE HEALTH OF DEMOCRACY

Given that most Latin American countries experienced a transition from authoritarian rule to democracy in the 1980s, in the 1990s scholarly attention focused on the nature of this democracy. In this class we will revise some of the key works, which paved the way for the emergence of a new research agenda on democracy and democratization in Latin America. At the same time, we will examine socio-economic and socio-political indicators to get a better picture of the state and prospects of Latin American democracies.

Essential Reading

Mainwaring, Scott, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez (2006): “The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes: An Overview”, in Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez (eds.): *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1-44.

O'Donnell, Guillermo (1994): “Delegative Democracy”, *Journal of Democracy*, 5(1): 55-69.

Valenzuela, Arturo (2004): “Latin American Presidencies Interrupted”, *Journal of Democracy*, 15(4): 5-19.

Additional Reading

Hagopian, Frances and Scott P. Mainwaring (eds.) (2005): *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Levine, Daniel H. and José E. Molina (eds.) (2011): *The Quality of Democracy in Latin America*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

Mainwaring, Scott, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez (eds.) (2006): *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Mazucca, Sebastián L. (2010): “Access to Power Versus Exercise of Power. Reconceptualizing the Quality of Democracy in Latin America”, *Studies in Comparative and International Development*, 45 (3): 334-357.

Peruzzotti, Enrique (2001): “The Nature of the New Argentine Democracy. The Delegative Democracy Argument Revisited”, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 33(1): 133-155.

Schedler, Andreas (1998): “What is Democratic Consolidation?”, *Journal of Democracy*, 9(2): 91-107.

Stokes, Susan (2001): *Mandates and Democracy. Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

UNDP (2004): *Democracy in Latin America: Towards a Citizens' Democracy*. New York: United Nations Development Programme (UNDP).

9. THE RISE OF ETHNIC POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA

With the return of democracy in the 1980s and 1990s, Latin America began to experience a series of new challenges. One of the most pressing questions became the incorporation of the indigenous population. Since the latter has been systematically discriminated and excluded, national and international actors have claimed that Latin America's return to democracy should involve the promotion of new economic and political policies in favour of indigenous peoples. In this class we will examine this challenge.

Essential Reading

- Van Cott, Donna Lee (2005): "Building Inclusive Democracies: Indigenous Peoples and Ethnic Minorities in Latin America", *Democratization*, 12(5): 820-837.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee (2007): "Latin America's Indigenous Peoples", *Journal of Democracy*, 18(4): 127-142.
- Yashar, Deborah J. (2006): "Indigenous Politics in the Andes: Changing Patterns of Recognition, Reform, and Representation", in Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez (eds.): *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 257-291.

Additional Reading

- Becker, Marc (2008): *Indians and Leftists in the Making of Ecuador's Modern Indigenous Movements*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Lucero, José Antonio (2008): *Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press.
- Madrid, Raúl L. (2012). *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rice, Roberta (2012): *The New Politics of Protest: Indigenous Mobilization in Latin America's Neoliberal Era*. Tucson: Arizona University Press.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee (2005). *From Movements to Parties in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Yashar, Deborah J. (1999): "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge", *World Politics*, 52(1): 23-42.
- Yashar, Deborah J. (2005): *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

10. RIGHT-WING VS. LEFT-WING POPULISM

When Latin America started to move toward democracy in the 1980s, nobody really thought that populism would re-emerge in the region. However, populism has reappeared in many countries. In fact, scholars have identified “two waves of populism” in the region: a neoliberal one in the 1990s, and a radical left-wing one from the 2000s onwards. In this session we will analyse these “two waves of populism”, and we will discuss not only the concept of populism, but also the impact of populism on democracy. Special attention will be given to the cases of Fujimori in Peru and Chávez in Venezuela.

Essential Reading

- de la Torre, Carlos (2007): “The Resurgence of Radical Populism in Latin America”, *Constellations*, 14(3): 384-397.
- Roberts, Kenneth (2006): “Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America”, *Comparative Politics*, 36(2): 127-148.
- Weyland, Kurt (1996): “Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities”, *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31(3): 3-31.

Additional Reading

- Carrión, Julio (ed.) (2006): *The Fujimori Legacy. The Rise of Electoral Authoritarianism in Peru*. University Park: Pennsylvania University Press
- Conaghan, Catherine (2005): *Fujimori's Peru. Deception in the Public Sphere*. Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press.
- Conniff, Michael L. (ed.) (1999) *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.
- Ellner, Steve (2003): “The Contrasting Variants of the Populism of Hugo Chávez and Alberto Fujimori”, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 35(1): 139-162.
- Hawkins, Kirk (2009): “Is Chávez Populist? Measuring Populist Discourse in Comparative Perspective”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 42(8): 1040-1067.
- Hawkins (2010): *Venezuela's Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Madrid, Raúl L. (2008): “The Rise of Ethnopolitics in Latin America”, *World Politics*, 60(3): 475-508.
- Smilde, David and Daniel Hellinger (eds.) (2011): *Venezuela's Bolivarian Democracy. Participation, Politics, and Culture under Chávez*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Zúquete, José Pedro (2008): “The Missionary Politics of Hugo Chávez”, *Latin American Politics and Society*, 50(1): 91-121.

11. LATIN AMERICA'S TURN TO THE LEFT

Since the end of the 1990s, left-of-centre leaders and parties have been gaining increasing electoral support in Latin America. This has generated a growing academic and public debate about Latin America's turn to the left. One of the main topics under discussion concerns the impact of left-of-centre governments both on democracy and economic development. In this session we will examine the different types of left-of-centre governments that have appeared in the region, and also the explanatory variables for this turn to the left.

Essential Reading

- Flores-Macías, Gustavo (2010): "Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America", *Comparative Politics*, 42(4): 413-433.
- Luna, Juan Pablo and Fernando Filgueira (2009): "The Left Turns as Multiple Paradigmatic Crises", *Third World Quarterly*, 30(2): 371-395.
- Weyland, Kurt (2009): "The Rise of Latin America's Two Lefts. Insights from Rentier State Theory", *Comparative Politics* 41(2): 145-164.

Additional Reading

- Arditi, Benjamin (2008): "Arguments about the Left Turns in Latin America. A Post-Liberal Politics?", *Latin American Research Review*, 43(3): 59-81.
- Cameron, Maxwell A. and Eric Hershberg (eds.) (2010): *Latin America's Left Turn: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- Castañeda, Jorge G. and Marco A. Morales (eds.) (2009): *Leftovers. Tales of the Latin American Left*. New York: Routledge.
- Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts (eds.) (2011): *The Resurgence of the Left Latin American Left*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Roberts, Kenneth (2008): "The Mobilization of Opposition to Economic Liberalization", *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11: 327-349.
- Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristóbal (2011): "Toward Post-Neoliberalism in Latin America?", *Latin American Research Review*, 46 (2): 225-234.
- Silva, Eduardo (2009): *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Weyland, Kurt, Wendy Hunter, and Raúl L. Madrid (eds.) (2010): *Leftist Governments in Latin America. Successes and Shortcomings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

12. THE RIGHT IN CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA

The right is facing a difficult situation in contemporary Latin America. This results from the exhaustion of the right's conservative modernization project focused on the free market and a narrow interpretation of democratic politics. Not by coincidence, left-of-centre parties have been winning elections across Latin America in the last decade. In this class we will examine how conservative forces are reacting to the turn to the left, and we will discuss the future of the right in Latin America.

Essential Reading

- Gibson, Edward (1992): "Conservative Electoral Movements and Democratic Politics: Core Constituencies, Coalition Building, and the Latin American Electoral Right", in Douglas A. Chalmers, Maria do Carmo Campello de Souza, and Atilio Borón (eds.): *The Right and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Praeger, 13-42.
- Luna, Juan Pablo (2010): "Segmented Party-Voter Linkages in Latin America: The Case of the UDI", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 42 (2): 325-356.
- Roberts, Kenneth (forthcoming): "Democracy, Free Markets, and the Rightist Dilemma in Latin America", in Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (eds.): *Bringing the Right Back In. The Politics of Conservative Strength amidst Latin America's Turn to the Left*. Book manuscript.

Additional Reading

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