

# Latin American Politics

FINAL DRAFT 1/31

PSC 780  
Spring 2023

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Drop-in Office Hours: Wednesdays 10:30 – noon, or by appointment  
Course Meetings: Tuesdays 3:30 – 6:15 in Eggers 100

## Course Summary

PSC 780 is a graduate seminar focused on modern politics in Latin America. The introductory part of the course will cover some classic themes necessary for understanding Latin American politics today, including state formation, economic development, and democratization. The second part of the course will focus on contemporary problems for Latin American political systems and societies, including socioeconomic inequality, insecurity and violence, the representation of women, indigenous communities, and racial minorities, the design of political institutions (including constitutions), democratic backsliding, the political economy of natural resources, and international relations, including the region's changing relationships with the United States and China. The class will jointly decide on additional areas of focus, and each student will have considerable freedom to develop independent research on a country (or countries) and topic of their choice.

## Readings

Where possible I have made articles and book chapters available in pdf format on a G-drive folder that can be accessed from campus computers:

G:\MAX-Filer\Collab\PSC780-macleary-S23\Distribution Materials

For other books listed on the syllabus, I encourage you to plan ahead and buy books according to your level of interest.

I also recommend that you consider getting a good history of Latin American Politics. Two that I have used in the past are:

Schneider, Ronald M. 2007. *Latin American Political History: Patterns and Personalities*.

Skidmore, Smith, and Green. 2014. *Modern Latin America*, 8<sup>th</sup> edition.

## **Grading and Assignments**

Final grades for the course will be determined by the quality of each student's class participation and written papers:

1. Active class participation, every week (20%): Students are expected to attend class and be prepared to discuss the assigned readings. Because this is a reading and discussion course, *active student participation is essential*. Obviously, regular attendance depends on health, especially during the pandemic, and I ask that sick or contagious students not come to class. Zoom is not an appropriate option just for convenience, but I will be happy to use Zoom with a student on occasion if it will help to keep everyone healthy!
2. Discussant (15%): Each week will also have a designated discussant, who will begin class with a presentation of *no more than 10 minutes*. The purpose of the presentation is not to summarize the week's readings, but rather to reflect on some of the main issues raised by the reading, the questions that still remain to be resolved, and any important criticisms of the arguments and claims made.
3. Three response papers (15%): Each student will write three 2-page papers addressing an issue of interest in a given week's readings (or by comparing readings across weeks). These papers are due by Monday midnight, just prior to the class in which the readings will be discussed. For example, a paper on state formation (which we will discuss on Jan 24) should be submitted by midnight on Jan 23. You are free to choose which weeks/topics to cover, with one constraint: turn in one paper by February 20, a second paper by March 20, and a 3<sup>rd</sup> paper by April 24.

The papers should offer critical analysis of a subset of each week's readings. Do not summarize. Focus on the central arguments under study and treat the works' main strengths and weaknesses. Identify a question left unanswered by one or more of the week's readings, expand on a theme common to several readings, or evaluate one work in light of another. Ultimately, the goal is to generate food for thought for our in-class discussion. I will guide discussion towards the issues raised in these papers to the extent possible.

4. Major/Final Assignment (50%). You can choose Option A or B.

Option A: Write longer response essays to questions that I will provide, on the style of comprehensive exams that are typical in political science Ph.D. programs. If you choose this option, you will answer one question (let's say, 6-8 pages) that will be due by Friday March 10 (just before spring break), and two questions (10-12 pages total) by Friday May 5. I will distribute questions before hand and provide a list of 2-4 questions from which you can choose.

Option B: Write an original research paper. Typically, these papers would entail additional outside research and reading, and would require some sort of empirical analysis (case studies, basic statistical analysis, or other data/evidence). Your choice of topic is relatively

open, as long as it has a basis in the literature on the syllabus. You might choose to apply theoretical arguments to a particular case; to compare several cases together in order to evaluate an argument or explanation; to critically evaluate competing explanations of a phenomenon; to generate a novel explanation; among other options.

If you choose this option, we will mutually agree on a topic and a set of expectations (including length and content) early in the semester, and we will use the following deadlines to guide the research process and build out the paper. In addition to these formal deadlines I would expect any student who chooses this option to communicate regularly (via email and/or in office hours) to report progress and ask for guidance.

By February 24, submit a one-page topic statement that includes a description of what sort of research or analysis you propose to do. I will either approve the research plan or ask for further clarification.

By March 24, submit a 2-4 page memo outlining the progress you have made across all fronts on the research effort, and highlight the work that remains to be done (or with which you feel you need help).

By April 21, submit a draft or outline. I will comment on whatever you hand in, so it is to your advantage to complete as much as possible by this date. I will return these papers by April 25.

On May 5, submit the final research paper.

### **Additional University Policies and Syllabus Language**

Syracuse University asks instructors to convey a large amount of policy information to students. Please familiarize yourself with all of the policies and resources listed at this page: <https://provost.syr.edu/important-syllabus-reminders/>. It is your responsibility to know and understand this information, including our academic integrity policies, and you may benefit from the variety of academic, mental health, and additional resources that the university provides to students and describes here. Please contact me early and often with any questions or concerns about these policies and resources.

## **Weekly Schedule**

Jan 17	Introduction
Jan 24	State Formation and Capacity
Jan 31	Economic Development: Dependency and ISI
Feb 7	Economic Development: Neoliberalism and beyond
Feb 14	Democratization
Feb 21	Democratic Institutions: Design and Strength
Feb 28	Political Parties, Clientelism, and Populism
Mar 7	The Left Turn and its Consequences
Mar 14	SPRING BREAK – NO CLASS
Mar 21	Backsliding and Breakdown
Mar 28	Social Movements, Gender, and Plurinationalism
Apr 4	Natural Resources and Environmentalism
Apr 11	Citizen Security, Crime, and Violence
Apr 18	Latin American International Relations
Apr 25	Human Rights, Anti-Corruption, and Democracy Promotion in LAIR

The Economist. 2022. "Special Report Latin America: a Grim Period", June 18, pp.3-12.

Centeno, Miguel Angel. 2002. "The Latin American Puzzle," Ch. 1 in *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation State Latin America*," pp.1-32.

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

\*there is significant overlap with the previous item listed. I recommend reading the book chapter first, and then skimming this article while looking for parts that are new or different.

Mazzuca, Sebastián. 2021. *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America*.

Domínguez, Jorge I. 2001. "Samuel Huntington and the Latin American State" in Centeno and López-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory Through the Lens of Latin America*, pp.219-239.

Bull, Benedicte. 2014. "Towards a Political Economy of Weak Institutions and Strong Elites in Central America," *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, No. 97, pp. 117-128.

Eaton, Kent. 2012. "The State of the State in Latin America: Challenges, Challengers, Responses, and Deficits." *Revista de Ciencia Política* 32:3, pp.643-657.

Mainwaring, Scott, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2023. "Why Latin America's Democracies Are Stuck," *Journal of Democracy* 34:1, pp.156-170.

#### Additional Reading:

Geddes, Barbara. 1994. *Politician's Dilemma: Building State Capacity in Latin America*

\* we will probably read this or other research by her when we study patronage and clientelism

Thies, Cameron 2005. "War, Rivalry, and State Building in Latin America," *American Journal of Political Science* 49:3, pp.451-465.

Negretto, Gabriel and José Antonio Aguilar-Rivera 2000. "Rethinking the Legacy of the Liberal State in Latin America: The cases of Argentina (1853-1916) and Mexico (1857-1910)" *Journal of Latin American Studies* 32, pp.361-397.

Kurtz, Marcus. 2013. *Latin American State Building in Comparative Perspective: Social Foundations of Institutional Order*.

Soifer, Hillel. 2015. *State Building in Latin America*.

Cárdenas, Mauricio. 2010. "State Capacity in Latin America." *Economía* 10:2, pp.1-45.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1968. "The Political Economy of Import-Substituting Industrialization in Latin America" *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 82:1, pp.1-32.

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto 1979 [1971]. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*, pp.vii-xxv, and pp.149-216.

Dos Santos, Theotonio. 1970. "The Structure of Dependence," *American Economic Review*, 60:2, pp. 231-236.

Valenzuela, J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment" *Comparative Politics* 10:4, pp.535-557.

Wibbels, Erik 2006. "Dependency Revisited: International Markets, Business Cycles, and Social Spending in the Developing World" *International Organization* 60, pp.433-468.

Schneider, Ben Ross. 2015. "The developmental state in Brazil: comparative and historical perspectives," *Revista de Economia Política* 35:1, pp.114-132.

Kurtz, Marcus. 2001. "State Developmentalism without a Developmental State: The Public Foundations of the 'Free Market Miracle' in Chile," *Latin American Politics and Society* 43:2, pp.1-25.

#### Additional Reading:

The 1<sup>st</sup> 3 items listed here focus on the \*political\* consequences of development and/or ISI:

Valenzuela, Arturo 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*

Hirschman, Albert O. 1979. "The Turn to Authoritarianism in Latin America and the Search for Its Economic Determinants" in David Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, pp.61-98.

O'Donnell, Guillermo 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*, Chapters 1 and 2.

Or, read his "Modernización y golpes militares: teoría, comparación y el caso argentino" *Desarrollo Económico* 12:47 Oct-Dec 1972, pp.519-566.

Evans, Peter. 1979. *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*.

Montecinos, Verónica and John Markoff 2001. "From the Power of Economic Ideas to the Power of Economists" in Centeno and López-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory Through the Lens of Latin America*, pp.105-150.

Adelman, Jeremy 2001. "Institutions, Property, and Economic Development in Latin America" in Centeno and López-Alves, eds., *The Other Mirror: Grand Theory Through the Lens of Latin America*, pp.27-54.

\*makes some great points about importance of property rights

John Williamson 1990. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," in *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?* Washington, D.C.: The Institute for International Economics, pp.7-20.

Fernandez, Raquel, and Dani Rodrik. 1991. "Resistance to Reform: Status Quo Bias in the Presence of Individual-Specific Uncertainty," *American Economic Review* 81:5, pp.1146-1155.

\* just understand the intuition, don't worry about the notation / formal theory

Stokes, Susan 2001. *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*. Chapters 1-3 posted; read whole book if interested.

Andy Baker. 2003. "Why is Trade Reform so Popular in Latin America? A Consumption-Based Theory of Trade Policy Preferences," *World Politics* 55, pp.423-55.

Weyland, K. 2004. "Neoliberalism and democracy in Latin America: A mixed record." *Latin American Politics and Society*, 46, 135-157.

Fernandez-Kelly, Patricia, and Douglas Massey. 2007. "Borders for whom? The role of NAFTA in Mexico-US migration," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 610, pp.98-118.

Campello, Daniela. 2014. "The Politics of Financial Booms and Crises: Evidence from Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 47:2, pp.260-86.

Sánchez-Ancochea, Diego. 2021. "The surprising reduction of inequality during a commodity boom: what do we learn from Latin America?" *Journal of Economic Policy Reform* 24:2, pp.95-118.

#### Additional Reading:

Weyland, Kurt. 1996. "Risk Taking in Latin American Economic Restructuring: Lessons from Prospect Theory," *International Studies Quarterly* vol. 40, pp.185-208.

Weyland, Kurt. 1998. "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 31:5, pp.539-568.

Cameron, Maxwell and Carol Wise. 2004. "The Political Impact of NAFTA on Mexico: Reflections on the Political Economy of Democratization," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* 37:2, pp.301-323.



Lipset, S.M. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy," in *American Political Science Review* 53:1, pp.69-105.

\* Focus on pp.69-85.

Boix, Carles. 2003. *Democracy and Redistribution*. Introduction (pp.1-18).

\* This book is not specifically about Latin America but it contains an important argument linking democracy to (low) economic inequality, among other things.

Huntington, Samuel 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the late 20<sup>th</sup> Century*, Chapter 2.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Phillippe Schmitter 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*.

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*, read Chs. 1-5.

Soifer, Hillel David. 2013. "State Power and the Economic Origins of Democracy," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48, pp.1-22.

\* erratum published 2016

### Additional Reading:

See my syllabus for PSC 787: Democracy and Democratization

Rueschemeyer, Deitrich, Evelyn Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*.

Collier, Ruth Berins. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy*

Przeworski, Adam, and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization: Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49 (2): 155-183

Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*.

Mainwaring, Scott, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñan. 2013. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall*. Read at least Chs. 1-2, more if interested.

Jones, Mark P. 2012. "Presidentialism and Legislatures," in the *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, ed. Kingstone and Yashar, pp.21-32.

Siavelis, Peter M. 2000. *The President and Congress in Postauthoritarian Chile: Institutional Constraints to Democratic Consolidation*, Chs. 1, 6, 7.

Brinks, Daniel M. 2012. "The Transformation of the Latin American State-as-Law: State Capacity and the Rule of Law," *Revista de Ciencia Política* 32:3, pp.561-583.

Hartlyn, Jonathan, Jennifer McCoy, and Thomas M. Mustillo. 2008. "Electoral Governance Matters: Explaining the Quality of Elections in Contemporary Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 41:1, pp.73-98.

O'Donnell, Guillermo 1994. "Delegative Democracy?" *J of Democracy* 5:1, pp.55-69.

Steven Levitsky and Victoria Murillo 2013. "Building Institutions on Weak Foundations," *Journal of Democracy* 24:2, pp.93-107.

Holland, Alisha. 2016. "Forbearance," *American Political Science Review*, 110:2.

Rich, Jessica. 2022. "Outsourcing Bureaucracy to Evade Accountability: How Public Servants Build Shadow State Capacity," *American Political Science Review*.

Corrales, Javier. 2018. *Fixing Democracy: Why Constitutional Change Often Fails to Enhance Democracy in Latin America*, Chs. 1-2.

#### Additional Readings:

\*Large\* literature on presidentialism in Latin America: Juan Linz, Scott Mainwaring, José Antonio Cheibú...

Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, eds., 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*, selected chapters.

Ames, Barry. 2002. *The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil*, selected chapters.

Helmke, Gretchen, and Julio Rios-Figueroa, eds. 2014. *Courts in Latin America*

Pion-Berlin, David, and Rafael Martínez. 2017. *Soldiers, Politicians, and Civilians: Reforming Civil-Military Relations in Democratic Latin America*

Booth, John A., and Mitchell A. Seligson. 2009. *The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support in Eight Nations*.

Brinks, Levitsky, and Murillo, eds. 2020. *The Politics of Institutional Weakness in Latin America*.

Jose Antonio Cheibub, Zachary Elkins & Tom Ginsburg. 2011. "Latin American Presidentialism in Comparative and Historical Perspective," *Texas Law Review*.

Mainwaring, Scott, ed. 2018. *Party Systems in Latin America*. Read at least Chs. 1-2.

Kitschelt, Herbert, et al. 2010. *Latin American Party Systems*, chapter 1.

Levitsky, Steve, et al. 2016. *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*, Ch. 1.

Lupu, Noam. 2014. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America," *World Politics* 66:4, pp.561-602.

Valeria Brusco, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan C. Stokes. 2004. "Vote Buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* 39:2, pp.66-88.

Nichter, Simeon. 2008. "Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot," *American Political Science Review* 102:1, pp.19-31.

Holland, Alisha, and Brian Palmer-Rubin. 2015. "Beyond the Machine: Clientelist Brokers and Interest Organizations in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies*.

Oliveros, Virginia. 2021. "Working for the Machine: Patronage Jobs and Political Services in Argentina," *Comparative Politics* 53:3, pp.381-402.

Doyle, David. 2011. "The Legitimacy of Political Institutions: Explaining Contemporary Populism in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 44:11, pp.1447-1473.

Andrews-Lee, Caitlin. 2019. "The Power of Charisma: Investigating the Neglected Citizen–Politician Linkage in Hugo Chávez’s Venezuela," *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 11:3, pp.298-322.

Weyland, Kurt. 2021. "How Populism Corrodes Latin American Parties," *Journal of Democracy* 32:4, pp.42-55.

#### Additional Reading:

Mainwaring and Scully, eds. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*.

Stokes, Susan C. 2005. "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99, pp.315-25.

Geddes, Barbara. 1994. *Politician’s Dilemma: Building State Capacity in Latin America*. (classic study of patronage appointments).

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

Stokes, Dunning, Brusco, and Nazareno. 2013. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism*.

Oliveros, Virginia. 2021. *Patronage at Work: Public Jobs and Political Services in Argentina*.

Cleary Matthew R. 2006. "A 'Left Turn' in Latin America? Explaining the Left's Resurgence." *Journal of Democracy* 17:4, pp.35-49.

Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2011. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, introduction pp.1-28.

Mazucca, Sebastián. 2013. "Lessons from Latin America: The Rise of Rentier Populism," *Journal of Democracy* 24:2, pp.108-122.

Lupu, Noam. 2010. "Who Votes for Chavismo? Class Voting in Hugo Chávez's Venezuela," *LARR*, pp.7-32.

Gustavo Flores-Macias 2010. "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America," *Comparative Politics*, pp.413-433.

Pribble, Jennifer. 2011. "Worlds Apart: Social Policy Regimes in Latin America," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 46:2, pp.191-216.

Anria, Santiago, and Juan Bogliaccini. 2022. "Empowering Inclusion? The Two Sides of Party-Society Linkages in Latin America," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 57, pp.:410-432.

Garay, Candelaria. 2016. *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*, selected chapters

#### Additional Reading:

Castañeda, Jorge G. 2006. "Latin America's Left Turn" *Foreign Affairs* 85:3, pp.28-43.

Flores-Macias. 2012. *After Neoliberalism? The Left and Economic Reforms in Latin America*.

Handlin, Sam. 2013. "Social Protection and the Politicization of Class Cleavages during Latin America's Left Turn," *Comparative Political Studies*.

Haggard and Kaufman, 2008. *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States*. Selected chapters.

Huber and Stephens. 2012. *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*.

Weyland, Kurt. 2007. *Bounded Rationality and Policy Diffusion: Social Sector Reform in Latin America*

Brooks, Sarah. 2008. *Social Protection and the Market in Latin America: The Transformation of Social Security Institutions*

Bermeo, Nancy. 2016. "On Democratic Backsliding." *J of Democracy* 27:1, pp.5-19.

Helmke, Gretchen. 2018. *Institutions on the Edge: The Origins and Consequences of Inter-Branch Crises in Latin America*, selected chapters.

Gamboa, Laura. 2017. "Opposition at the Margins: Strategies against the Erosion of Democracy in Colombia and Venezuela." *Comparative Politics* 49:4, pp.457–77.

Cleary, Matthew R. and Aykut Ozturk. 2022. "When does backsliding lead to breakdown?..." *Perspectives on Politics* 20:1, pp.205-221.

Samuels, David. 2023. "The International Context of Democratic Backsliding: Rethinking the Role of Third Wave 'Prodemocracy' Global Actors," *Perspectives on Politics*.

Levitsky, Steven, and James Loxton. 2013. "Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Andes." *Democratization* 20:1, pp.107–36.

Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal & John Polga-Hecimovich. 2017. "Explaining military coups and impeachments in Latin America," *Democratization*, 24:5, pp.839-858.

#### Additional Reading:

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred C. Stepan, eds. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*.

Parts also published separately as:

Linz 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Crisis, Breakdown, and Reequilibration*

Valenzuela, Arturo 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*

O'Donnell, Guillermo 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*.

Or, "Modernización y golpes militares: teoría, comparación y el caso argentino" *Desarrollo Económico* 12:47 Oct-Dec 1972, pp.519-566.

Hirschman, Albert O. 1979. "The Turn to Authoritarianism in Latin America and the Search for Its Economic Determinants" in David Collier, ed., *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, pp.61-98.

Mainwaring, Scott, and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2013. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall*. Read at least Chs. 1-2, more if interested.

Gamboa, Laura. 2022. *Resisting Backsliding: Opposition Strategies against the Erosion of Democracy*

Yashar, Deborah. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 31:1, pp.23-42.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America*. Chs 1-2, and 3 (on Bolivia) or 4 (on Ecuador).\*\*

Rousseau, Stéphanie. 2011. "Indigenous and Feminist Movements at the Constituent Assembly in Bolivia: Locating the Representation of Indigenous Women," *Latin American Research Review* 46:2, pp. 5-28.

Tockman, Jason, and John Cameron. 2014. "Indigenous Autonomy and the Contradictions of Plurinationalism in Bolivia." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56 (3): 46–69.

Augsburger, Aaron, and Paul Haber. 2018. "Constructing Indigenous Autonomy in Plurinational Bolivia: Possibilities and Ambiguities." *Latin American Perspectives* 45 (6): 53–67.

Bedrosian, Alyssa. 2022. "How #NiUnaMenos Used Discourse and Digital Media to Reach the Masses in Argentina," *Latin American Research Review* 57, pp.100-116.

Mariela Daby and Mason Mosely. 2022. "Feminist Mobilization and the Abortion Debate in Latin America: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 18, pp.359-393.

Donoso, Sofia. 2013. "Dynamics of Change in Chile: Explaining the Emergence of the 2006 *Pinguino* Movement," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 45, pp.1-29.

#### Additional Reading:

\*\* If less interested, consult the article version, "Institutional change and ethnic parties in South America," *LAPS* 2003. If more interested, contrast Van Cott with Ch 3 in Silva & Rossi, eds., 2018, *Reshaping the Political Arena in Latin America*.

Trejo, Guillermo. 2009. "Religious competition and ethnic mobilization in Latin America: why the Catholic Church promotes indigenous movements in Mexico," *American Political Science Review*.

Madrid, Raul. 2010. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*.

Yashar, Deborah 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America*

Donoso and Von Bulow, eds. 2017. *Social Movements in Chile*.

Beer, Caroline. 2017. "Left Parties and Violence against Women Legislation in Mexico," *Social Politics* 24:4, pp.511–537.

Karl, Terry Lynn. 1999. "The Perils of the Petro-State: Reflections on the Paradox of Plenty," *Journal of International Affairs* 53:11, pp. 31-48.

Dunning, Thad. 2008. *Crude Democracy: Natural Resource Wealth and Political Regimes*. Chs. 1, 5, 6 probably most useful.

Dube, Oeindrila, and Juan F. Vargas. 2013. "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia," *Review of Economic Studies* 80, pp.1384-1421.

Perreault, Thomas. 2006. "From the *Guerra Del Agua* to the *Guerra Del Gas*: Resource Governance, Neoliberalism and Popular Protest in Bolivia," *Antipode* 38:1, pp.150-172.

Arce, Moises. 2014. *Resource Extraction and Protest in Peru*, selected chapters.

Zaremborg, Gisela, and Marcela Torres Wong. 2018. "Participation on the Edge: Prior Consultation and Extractivism in Latin America," *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 10:3, pp.29-58.

Bull, Benedicte, and Mariel Aguilar-Stoen. 2014. *Environmental Politics in Latin America Elite dynamics, the left tide and sustainable development*. Posted short intro chapter. Read other parts of book if interested.

#### Additional Reading:

Karl, Terry Lynn. 1997. *Paradox of Plenty: Oil Booms and Petro-States*.

Large literature debating the political "resource curse" (not specific to Latin America) – see research by Karl, Dunning, Michael Ross, Victor Menaldo, many others.

World Bank (Sinnott, Nash, and de la Torre). 2010. *Natural Resources in Latin America and the Caribbean: Beyond Booms and Busts?* (Interesting Ch 4 on the "institutions" hypothesis, and large bibliography).

Korinek, Jane. 2013. "Mineral Resource Trade in Chile" *OECD Trade Policy Papers* no.145.

Bateson, Regina. 2012. "Crime Victimization and Political Participation," *American Political Science Review* 106:3, pp.570-587.

Moncada, Eduardo. 2020. "The Politics of Criminal Victimization: Pursuing and Resisting Power," *Perspectives on Politics* 18:3, pp.706-719.

Yashar, Deborah. 2018. *Homicidal Ecologies: Illicit Economies and Complicit States in Latin America*, selected chapters.

Lessing, Benjamin. 2015. "Logics of Violence in Criminal War," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59:8, pp.1486-1516.

Córdova, Abby. 2019. "Living in Gang-Controlled Neighborhoods: Impacts on Electoral and Nonelectoral Participation in El Salvador," *Latin American Research Review* 54:1, pp.201-221.

Trudeau, Jessie. 2022. "How Criminal Governance Undermines Elections," unpublished manuscript.

Trejo and Ley. 2018. "Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico?..." *Comparative Political Studies* 51:7, read at least pp.900-916.

Flores-Macias, Gustavo. 2018. "The Consequences of Militarizing Anti-Drug Efforts for State Capacity in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 51:1, pp.1-20.

#### Additional Reading:

Barnes, Nicholas. 2017. "Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence," *Perspectives on Politics* 15:4, pp.967-987.

\* review/conceptual essay, very useful for future research on the topic.

Davis, Diane. 2017. "Violence, Fragmented Sovereignty, and Declining State Capacity: Rethinking the Legacies of Developmental Statism in Mexico," in Centeno et al., eds. *States in the Developing World*, pp.63-92.

Trejo and Ley. 2020. *Votes, Drugs, and Violence*.



Wise, Carol. 2016. "Playing Both Sides of the Pacific: Latin America's Free Trade Agreements with China," *Pacific Affairs* 89:1, pp.75-101.

Wise, Carol. 2021. "China in Latin America: Winning hearts and minds pragmatically," Ch. 3 in *External Powers in Latin America*, ed. Gardini, pp.44-58.

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