

# GPPS 479: POLITICS AND INSTITUTIONS IN LATIN AMERICA

University of California, San Diego | Fall 2023

Updated October 4, 2023

## Prof. Agustina Paglayan

Email: [apaglayan@ucsd.edu](mailto:apaglayan@ucsd.edu). Use email to contact me, not Canvas messages.  
OH: Th 12:30-2:30pm. Sign-up required here: <https://calendly.com/apaglayan/oh>  
OH location: <https://ucsd.zoom.us/j/2995458202>

### Lectures

Day & Time: T & Th 11:00-12:20pm  
Zoom link: <https://ucsd.zoom.us/j/92129998259> (sign in to Zoom using your UCSD email)

## I Course description

Latin America is an economically underdeveloped region with persistent poverty and high levels of income inequality. Billions of foreign aid dollars have been devoted to change this. Underlying all these efforts are a set of (implicit or explicit) ideas and beliefs about what are the causes of Latin America's underdevelopment. Some of these ideas focus on the proximate causes of underdevelopment. They argue that the reason why Latin America is underdeveloped is because the public policies that are in place are not conducive to sustained economic growth and reductions in poverty and inequality (e.g., "Latin America is underdeveloped because public schools are of poor quality and do not promote human capital accumulation"). Other explanations highlight the deeper historical and political roots of Latin America's underdevelopment. They propose explanations for *why* Latin American countries have adopted public policies that are not conducive to sustained economic growth. These deeper causes will be the focus of our course.

We will focus on two main questions: (1) How has the political history of Latin America shaped the region's long-term economic development trajectory? (2) What are the broad features of Latin American political systems in the contemporary period, and how does politics influence the choice of public policies?

The course is an introduction to comparative politics and institutions in Latin America. I hope you will leave with a better understanding of general political patterns (recent and historical) across the region, a greater appreciation of how politics shapes policy in Latin America, and better tools to make informed policy recommendations that are not just technically sound (as emphasized in other courses) but also *politically feasible*.

Although this is not a course about current politics in Latin America or about politics in a specific subset of Latin American countries, throughout the course we will talk at length about four main cases: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico.

The course will be taught remotely and synchronously via Zoom. Make sure that you join the class sessions using your individual UCSD Zoom account; this is the only way I can verify that you attended class.

## **2 Learning goals**

By the end of this course, students should be able to:

- Understand, talk, and write about what politics looks like in Latin America, and how politics shapes the region's economic development;
- Use this knowledge to explain recent (or future) political events not explicitly discussed in the course
- Apply this knowledge to assess the political feasibility and political benefits of a range of public policy options under specific hypothetical political scenarios
- Place current problems facing Latin American countries in long-term historical perspective;
- Identify unique political and economic problems that Latin America faces, and problems it faces that are common to other regions.

In addition, the course seeks to promote the development of two general skills:

- Critical thinking skills (which will be applied to assess the logic of arguments and the quality of the evidence used to support them);
- Professional development skills including, for example, the ability to communicate clearly both orally and in writing, come prepared to meetings, and participate thoughtfully and respectfully in group discussions.

## **3 Prerequisites**

Policy Making Processes (PMP) and QMII are formal prerequisites. If you have not completed these courses, you must see me in Office Hours during weeks 1 or 2.

## **4 Office Hours**

Office hours are an opportunity for you to discuss course materials, assignments, career aspirations, feedback about how the course is going, etc. You set the agenda. You can come to office hours in pairs or groups if you find that helpful. Office hour times, location, and sign-up sheet can be found on page 1 of this syllabus.

## 5 Grading and Assignments

### Summary:

<b>Participation</b>		<b>20%</b>
<b>Individual Quizzes</b>	<i>Due by 9am before class</i>	<b>20%</b> <i>(I will drop the lowest score)</i>
<b>Practical Exercise</b>		<b>20%</b>
- <i>Individual component</i>	<i>Due by 9am on 11/28</i>	<i>Required in order to get credit for the group component.</i>
- <i>Group component</i>	<i>Draft memo due by 12:20pm on 11/28</i> <i>Final memo due by 8am on 11/30</i> <i>Slides due by 8am on 11/30</i>	<i>20%; your group component grade will be adjusted by the quality of your individual submission</i>
<b>Final Exam</b>	<b>11:30am-2:30pm on 12/14</b>	<b>40%</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>100%</b>

**Participation in in-class discussion of readings (20%).** Participation by every student is integral for the success of the course. Active participation will increase your engagement, reinforce learning, and allow you to learn from each other. The assigned readings will form the basis for most of our discussions; everyone is expected to do the reading(s) *before* each class. While attending class is a prerequisite to earn participation credit, full credit for participation requires (a) coming prepared to class and (b) making thoughtful contributions to the in-class discussion of the readings in small-group and whole-class discussions. I may call on you at any time to check whether you are engaged in the discussion and came prepared to class. You can have two unexcused absences throughout the quarter (e.g., to attend a wedding, job interview, etc.) before it reflects on your grade.

**Individual Quizzes (20%):** Starting in week 2, for every class for which there *isn't* a discussion board, complete a short quiz **by 9am before class** about the reading(s) assigned for that class. Quizzes will typically have 1 or 2 questions and will give you an opportunity to assess your understanding of the readings. The quizzes are open-book and untimed. However, you should answer using your own words and you are not allowed to consult or help others. I will drop the lowest score, which means if you fail to complete one of the quizzes, you can still get full credit if you complete the rest. You will receive **full credit** simply by completing the quiz on time **regardless of whether your answer is correct**. During class, I will call on students randomly to ask you to explain why you chose a specific answer. We will use this as a starting point to understand the reading together.

**Practical Exercise (20%).** This exercise is an opportunity to apply some of the theories we have learnt about to a real-world situation and using real-world data.

The set-up for the exercise is the following:

The year is 2003. A Peronist, Néstor Kirchner, has just been elected President of Argentina with about 60% of the vote; his party also has a majority (but not a supermajority) in Congress. Soon after coming to power, the President obtains a loan from the Inter-American Development Bank to construct new kindergartens attached to already existing primary schools throughout the country. The loan must be used to construct exactly 20 new kindergartens. There are 229 municipalities distributed among 7 provinces, so not all municipalities can get a new kindergarten.

On **Nov 21**, I will post a dataset containing demographic, educational, electoral, and other information on each municipality.

Your job is to make an argument about what municipalities should get a new kindergarten taking into account the information you have about each municipality, your role in the government (see below), and the different theories we have seen in the course. *What criteria should be used to decide which municipalities should get a new kindergarten?*

Tasks:

- First, for the ***individual component*** of this exercise, each student will be assigned a role in the government as either the National Minister of Education, the Minister of Infrastructure, the President's Chief of Staff, or the Peronist Party's leader in the Chamber of Deputies. Placing yourself in that role, write a 150-word paragraph explaining how you would allocate the new kindergartens/ what rules or criteria you would use to allocate kindergartens across municipalities. You should spend the bulk or all of your paragraph laying out and justifying the logic of allocation, not listing the specific municipalities or provinces. Your paragraph is due as a PDF by **9am on Nov 28 on Canvas**. Include only your Student ID on the PDF (do not include your name). Paragraphs that exceed 150 words will be penalized by a half-letter grade reduction (A to A-, A- to B+, etc.) every 10 extra words. Late submissions will be deducted points in accordance with the general rule outlined at the end of this section.
- For the ***group component***, **during class on Nov 28** you will be matched to other students who were assigned a different role. The group will debate the different possible rules/ criteria for deciding which municipalities should get a new kindergarten and present a single proposal to the President. Each person comes to the group with their own agenda and proposal (which may or may not coincide with others). The final group product is a one-pager explaining (a) what rules/ criteria the group considered; (b) what rule the group thinks the President should adopt, and (c) why you think the President should adopt this rule/ criteria and not the other ones they considered.
  - o A *draft* of the group's one-pager is due by **12:20pm on Nov 28 via email ([apaglayan@ucsd.edu](mailto:apaglayan@ucsd.edu))**. Include only Student IDs on your PDF (do not include any names).
  - o The *final* one-pager is due by **8am on Nov 30 via email ([apaglayan@ucsd.edu](mailto:apaglayan@ucsd.edu))**. Include only Student IDs on your PDF (do not include any names). Note: in the past, all groups have submitted the *final* one-pager immediately after the class ended; this year I am giving you an extra day just in case, but you may not need it.

- Group will present their recommendations to the rest of the class **on Nov 30**; up to 2 slides per group are allowed. Slides are due by **8am on Nov 30 via email ([apaglayan@ucsd.edu](mailto:apaglayan@ucsd.edu))**.

**Final Exam (40%).** The final exam is an opportunity to *integrate* all the concepts covered throughout the quarter and *apply* what you have learnt to a real-world scenario. It will take place on **Wednesday, Dec 14 from 11:30am-2:30pm on Canvas**. To prepare for this exam: (1) make sure you understand the course readings and topics and how they connect to one another; (2) think about how the materials covered in this course can help you assess the political feasibility of a policy recommendation. Submit your exam as a PDF via Turnitin on Canvas. The PDF should include your essay and Student ID and nothing else; do *not* include your name or any other identifying information. This is an individual exam. You can consult the readings, lectures, and your class notes. You are not allowed to get any other form of help, including from ChatGPT or other external tools. You are also not allowed to help others. Passing the final exam is a necessary condition for passing the course.

**Submitting written work and course policy on the use of Artificial Intelligence tools.** (1) Students agree that by taking this course they agree to have all written assignments reviewed for textual similarity and plagiarism using Turnitin or another tool chosen by the instructor. (2) Although Artificial Intelligence tools (e.g. ChatGPT) can be useful for many tasks, in this course the use of Artificial Intelligence tools or any other external aids *at any point* when producing written assignments or oral comments constitutes plagiarism and is therefore grounds for failing the course. (3) The instructor retains the right to evaluate students orally to determine the student's mastery of course materials and/or to determine whether a student's submitted work complies with academic integrity standards. The instructor may use the information gathered from an oral evaluation as an input to determine the grade on a student's assignment and/or to report a case of academic integrity violation to the Office of Academic Integrity.

**Late submissions.** Plan ahead to avoid late submissions. Late submissions will be penalized by 2.5 percentage points (p.p.) every 60 minutes late. E.g. if you submit your assignment 1 to 60 minutes late, you will have a 2.5-p.p. grade reduction; 61 to 120 minutes late, a 5-p.p. reduction, etc. No assignments will be accepted more than 48 hours after the due date without an approved and documented excuse. Acceptable excuses include illness, which must be documented by the UCSD health service or your physician, or a death or serious illness in the immediate family. Please notify me in writing of your need for an extension and I will put you in contact with Nancy Gilson as she has responsibility for collecting documentation. Optional assignments will not be considered after the deadline.

**Contesting a grade.** I hope there will be no reason to contest a grade. However, if you strongly feel that your grade on an assignment does not reflect the quality of your work, you may appeal through the following procedure: Write a one-page, single-spaced memo that explains, in as much detail as possible, why you think you should have received a different grade. Email me your memo, your graded assignment, and a letter in which you formally request a re-grade. I will reevaluate the work and assign a new grade, which may be higher, lower, or identical to the one you originally received. This new grade will be final. Grade complaints will not be entertained beyond seven calendar days after an assignment or exam has been returned graded to you.

## **6 Academic honesty and integrity**

All suspected cases of lying, cheating, plagiarism, or other violations of academic integrity standards will be referred to the Office of Academic Integrity. Any violation of UCSD's academic honesty policy for which a student is found responsible will be considered grounds for failing the course. You are expected to be the sole author of all your individual work, and to properly attribute ideas, quotations, and sources. If you are unsure how to do this, please come to office hours or ask in class. If you are unsure what constitutes cheating, plagiarism, or other violations, please see UCSD's [academic honesty policy](#).

## **7 Inclusive learning environment**

I am fully committed to creating a learning environment that supports diversity of thought, perspectives, experiences, and identities. I urge each of you to contribute your unique perspectives to discussions of course questions, themes, and materials so that we can learn from them, and from each other. If you should ever feel excluded, or unable to fully participate in class for any reason, please let me know.

## **8 Principles of interaction**

Effective communication and open academic dialogue are crucial for sustaining a learning community that is respectful, considerate, relevant, creative, and thought-provoking. Expressions, meaning, and tone can easily be taken out of context. Therefore, it is imperative that everyone adheres to the communication guidelines below.

Do: Treat your classmates with respect. Be thoughtful and open in discussion. Be aware and sensitive to different perspectives. Build one another up and encourage one another to succeed.

Don't: Use insulting, condescending, or abusive words. Use all capital letters, which comes across as SHOUTING. Contact learners or posting advertisements and solicitations. Post copyrighted material.

Our classroom abides by these principles:

- UCSD Student Conduct Code: <https://students.ucsd.edu/files/student-conduct/ucsandiego-student-conduct-code-interim-revisions1-16-18.pdf>
- Principles of Community: <https://ucsd.edu/about/principles.html>

## **9 Requesting accommodations**

Students requesting accommodations for this course due to a disability must have a current Authorization for Accommodation (AFA) letter issued by the Office for Students with Disabilities (OSD: <http://disabilities.ucsd.edu>), which is now located on the 3rd Floor of Pepper Canyon Hall. AFA letters are now provided to Faculty electronically by OSD, per student request. Contact Nancy Gilson for further information.

## **10 Email policy**

I will reply to emails within two business days, usually a lot sooner, but if you do not hear back from me within two business days, please email me again as it will mean I did not receive your first email.

## **11 Sexual Misconduct/Title IX Statement**

UC San Diego prohibits sexual violence and sexual harassment and will respond promptly to reports of misconduct. If you wish to speak confidentially about an incident of sexual misconduct, please contact CARE at the Sexual Assault Resources Center at (858) 534-5793. Students should be aware that faculty members are considered responsible employees and are not a confidential resource; as such, if you disclose an incident of sexual misconduct to a faculty member, they have an obligation to report it to UC San Diego's Title IX office, the Office for the Prevention of Harassment & Discrimination (OPHD). To learn more about sexual misconduct, visit: <https://students.ucsd.edu/sponsor/sarc/index.html>. To report an incident to the University, please contact OPHD at [ophd@ucsd.edu](mailto:ophd@ucsd.edu).

## **12 Additional resources**

**Writing Hub:** <https://commons.ucsd.edu/students/writing/index.html>

**Library Help, eReserves and research tools:** <https://library.ucsd.edu/ask-us/triton-ed.html>

**Mental Health Services:** <https://caps.ucsd.edu>

**UC San Diego Basic Needs Resources:** <https://basicneeds.ucsd.edu/>

## 13 Schedule and readings

This section provides an outline of the topic, motivating questions, and list of required and optional reading(s) for each class. All required journal articles should be downloadable through the links provided below, which are accessible to UCSD users (you will need to be connected to VPN). If you have trouble with a link, you have the full citation information to find the article through a search on Google Scholar. A few readings (book chapters) will be made available via Canvas.

I expect all students to do the required readings before each class to be prepared for class discussions.

There are, on average, 50 pages of assigned reading per week, though some weeks have more than that and others less. A few required readings should be done as skim-reading; when this is indicated, you should devote *no more than* 30 minutes to understand the reading's main findings and how the authors arrived at these findings.

### WEEK 0

#### 28-Sept Introduction

*Course overview, learning goals, expectations, and motivating questions: How does Latin America compare to other regions in terms of economic development? Why is knowledge of politics important to understand Latin America's development trajectory?*

#### Required:

Course Syllabus. (Canvas)

Velasco, Andrés. November 28, 2019. "Bipolar Economics." *Project Syndicate*. (Canvas)

## PART I: Historical Political Origins of Latin America's Economic Underdevelopment

### WEEK 1

#### 3-Oct No class

#### 5-Oct The role of geography and institutions

*How did the natural resources, climate, and labor endowments that colonizers found influence the types of institutions they put in place and, with that, the region's long-term economic development? How did patterns of colonization influence the degree to which "whiteness" become a symbol of status?*

#### Required:

Sokoloff, Kenneth, and Stanley Engerman. 2000. "Institutions, factor endowments, and paths of development in the new world." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14(3): 217-232 ([link](#)).

#### Strongly recommended:

*Roma* (movie), directed by Alfonso Cuarón. The movie is not required, but if you have a Netflix account, I strongly recommend watching it because it will give you a very vivid picture of what the present-day inequalities discussed by Engerman and Sokoloff look like in everyday life.



Optional:

Bruhn, Miriam, and Francisco Gallego. 2012. "Good, Bad, and Ugly Colonial Activities: Do They Matter for Economic Development?" *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 94(2):433–461.

Dell, Melissa. 2010. "The persistent effects of Peru's mining *mita*." *Econometrica* 78(6):1863-1903.

Abad, Leticia Arroyo. 2013. "Persistent inequality? Trade, factor endowments, and inequality in republican Latin America." *The Journal of Economic History* 73(1):38-78.

Acemoglu, Daron, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. 2001. "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation." *The American Economic Review* 91(5): 1369-1401.

**WEEK 2**

**10-Oct            Post-independence wars and the formation of state capacity**

*What do we mean by state capacity? How did the interstate wars and civil wars fought during the 19<sup>th</sup> and early-20<sup>th</sup> century contribute to shape Latin American states' capacity?*

Required:

Queralt, Didac. 2019. "War, International Finance, and Fiscal Capacity in the Long Run." *International Organization* ([link](#)).

Paglayan, Agustina. 2022. "Education of Indoctrination? The Violent Origins of Public School Systems in an Era of State-Building." *American Political Science Review* 116(4): 1242-57. ([link](#))

Optional:

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

Garfias, Francisco. 2018. "Elite competition and state capacity development: Theory and evidence from post-revolutionary Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 112(2): 339-357.

**12-Oct            The role of the Catholic Church – Prerecorded lecture and Q&A with Dr. Tuñón**

*How has the presence of the Catholic Church from colonial times to the present impacted Latin America's economic development, income inequality, and gender inequality?*

Required:

Woodberry, Robert. 2012. "The missionary roots of liberal democracy." *American Political Science Review* 106(2): 244-274 ([link](#)).

Tuñón, Guadalupe. 2018. *When the Church Votes Left: The Electoral Consequences of Progressive Religion*. UC Berkeley PhD Dissertation. **Skim-read Chapters 3 and 6.** (Canvas)

Optional:

Valencia Caicedo, Felipe. 2018. "The Mission: Human capital transmission, economic persistence, and culture in South America." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134(1):507-556.

Waldinger, Maria. 2017. "The Long-Run Effects of Missionary Orders in Mexico." *Journal of Economic Development* 127: 355-378.

Becker & Woessmann. 2009. "Was Weber Wrong? A Human Capital Theory of Protestant Economic History." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 124(2): 531-596.

### WEEK 3

#### 17-Oct            **The rise and fall of democracy in Latin America**

*When did Latin American countries transition to democracy? When did democracy see the sharpest reversal? Why might the type of political regime (autocracy vs. democracy) have an impact on economic growth? Is democratic instability partly responsible for the region's underdevelopment?*

#### Required:

Olson, Mancur. 1993. "Dictatorship, democracy, and development." *American Political Science Review* 87(3): 567-576 ([link](#)).

Acemoglu, Daron, Suresh Naidu, Pascual Restrepo, and James A. Robinson. 2019. "Democracy does cause growth." *Journal of Political Economy* 127(1): 47-100 ([link](#)). **Skim-read only the empirical analysis sections (e.g., data, methods, findings); ignore the rest.**

#### Optional:

Acemoglu, Daron, and James A. Robinson. 2006. "Economic backwardness in political perspective." *American Political Science Review* 100(1): 115-131 ([link](#)). **Review the main argument if you don't remember it from PMP.**

Boix, Miller and Rosato. 2012. "A Complete Data Set of Political Regimes, 1800-2007." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(12): 1523-1554.

Przeworski, Adam. 2005. "Democracy as an equilibrium." *Public Choice* 123: 253-273.

#### 19-Oct            **From Mexico's PRI regime to the military regimes of the 1960s and 70s: The rise and fall of autocracies**

*Latin America has seen a wide array of autocracies: military dictatorships, personalist regimes, and hegemonic-party regimes. How do these differ in their goals and incentives, how they come to power, what mechanisms they use to gain legitimacy, and their ability to survive?*

#### Required:

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press. **Read the Introduction.** (Canvas)

Geddes, Barbara. 2003. *Paradigms and sand castles: Theory building and research design in comparative politics*. University of Michigan Press. **Read only pages 44-88.** (Canvas)

#### Optional:

Esberg, Jane. 2020. "Censorship as Reward: Evidence from Pop Culture Censorship in Chile." *American Political Science Review* 114 (3).

Esberg, Jane. 2021. "Anticipating Dissent: The Repression of Politicians in Pinochet's Chile." *Journal of Politics*.

Hsieh, Chang-Tai, Edward Miguel, Daniel Ortega, and Francisco Rodriguez. 2011. "The price of political opposition: Evidence from Venezuela's *Maisanta*." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3(2): 196-214.

## **PART II: Politics and Policymaking in Latin America Today**

### **WEEK 4**

#### **24-Oct Democratic accountability in an age of misinformation**

*What does the median voter theorem predict and under what assumptions? Are these reasonable assumptions for Latin America?*

#### Required:

Campello, Daniela, and Cesar Zucco. 2016. "Presidential Success and the World Economy." *The Journal of Politics* 78(2): 589-602. (Canvas)

#### **26-Oct When democracy is captured by the rich: The case of Chile after Pinochet**

*When can democracies be captured by elites who were powerful under autocracy, and what does this capture imply for the types of policies adopted by the new democracy?*

#### Required:

Albertus, Michael, and Mark Deming. November 5, 2019. "Pinochet Still Looms Large in Chilean Politics." *Foreign Policy*. (Canvas)

González, Felipe, Mounu Prem, and Francisco Urzúa. 2020. "The Privatization Origins of Political Corporations: Evidence from the Pinochet Regime." *Journal of Economic History* 80(2): 417-456. ([link](#))

### **WEEK 5**

#### **31-Oct Populism: The case of Argentina's Perón**

*What are the core features of populist parties? When did they emerge and why? Who forms part of their coalition of support? What types of policies do they pursue? What are the long-term implications of populist regimes?*

#### Required:

Di Tella, Torcuato. 1984. "The Popular Parties: Brazil and Argentina in a Latin American Perspective." *Government and Opposition* 19(2): 250-268 ([link](#)).

#### Optional:

De la Torre, Carlos. 2007. "The Resurgence of Radical Populism in Latin America." *Constellations* 14(3) ([link](#)).

Lupu, Noam, and Susan Stokes. 2009. "The Social Bases of Political Parties in Argentina, 1912–2003." *Latin American Research Review* 44(1):58-87 ([link](#)).

## 2-Nov            Hyper-Presidentialism

*Among democratic regimes, what are the features that distinguish presidential from parliamentary systems? Why might the presence of a presidential (versus parliamentary) system affect (a) the stability of democracy, and (b) the effectiveness of governments? What does the evidence say about the relationship between the type of political system on one hand, and democratic stability and policymaking on the other?*

### Required:

Mainwaring, Scott. 2000. "Presidentialism in Latin America." In Arend Lijphart (ed.), *Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 13. (Canvas)

Linz, Juan. 2000. "The Perils of Presidentialism." In Arend Lijphart (ed.), *Parliamentary Versus Presidential Government*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 14. (Canvas)

Saiegh, Sebastian. "Policy differences among parliamentary and presidential systems." In Roger Congleton, Bernie Grofman and Stefan Voigt (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Public Choice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press ([link](#)). **Skim-read only the empirical analysis sections (e.g., data, methods, findings); ignore the rest.**

Cheibub, Jose Antonio, Adam Przeworski, and Sebastian Saiegh. 2004. "Government Coalitions and Legislative Success Under Presidentialism and Parliamentarism." *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 565-587 ([link](#)). **Skim-read only the empirical analysis sections (e.g., data, methods, findings); ignore the rest.**

## WEEK 6

### 7-Nov            Latin American legislatures: General features

*Why are Latin American legislatures often lacking in technical capacity?*

### Required:

Stein, Ernesto, Mariano Tommasi, Koldo Echebarria, Eduardo Lora, and Mark Payne. 2006. *The Politics of Policies. Economic and Social Progress in Latin America*. Inter-American Development Bank and David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies at Harvard University. **Read parts of Chapter 3: start with the title "Legislatures" and read through the end of the chapter (pages 41-60 based on the page numbers that appear on the hard copy).** (Canvas)

### Optional:

Carnes, Nicholas, and Noam Lupu. 2014. "Rethinking the Comparative Perspective on Class and Representation: Evidence from Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 59(1):1-18.

Carnes, Nicholas, and Noam Lupu. 2016. "What Good Is a College Degree? Education and Leader Quality Reconsidered." *Journal of Politics* 78(1):35-49.

## **9-Nov Clientelism**

*What is clientelism? How does it affect political accountability in a democracy? Who is more likely to be a recipient of clientelistic goods, and why? How is the electoral behavior of clientelistic voters monitored? Who distributes clientelistic goods and monitors voters' electoral behavior on behalf of a political party? Why do brokers act as brokers?*

### **Required:**

Stokes, Susan. 2005. "Perverse accountability: A formal model of machine politics with evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 315-325 ([link](#)).

Auyero, Javier. 2000. "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account." *Latin American Research Review* 35(3): 55-81. **Read only the Introduction, the section "The Clients' Perspective," and the Conclusion.** (Canvas)

### **Optional:**

Nichter, Simeon, and Michael Peress. 2017. "Request Fulfilling: When Citizens Demand Clientelist Benefits." *Comparative Political Studies* 50: 1086–1117. ([link](#))

Weitz-Shapiro, Rebecca. 2012. "What Wins Votes: Why Some Politicians Opt Out of Clientelism." *American Journal of Political Science* 56(3): 568–583. ([link](#))

## **WEEK 7**

### **14-Nov Patronage and the (in)efficacy of public-sector bureaucracies**

*What is patronage? When and why do political parties distribute patronage jobs? Why would a political party tie its own hands by introducing a civil service reform that prevents it from being able to distribute patronage jobs?*

### **Required:**

Calvo, Ernesto, and Maria Victoria Murillo. 2004. "Who delivers? Partisan clients in the Argentine electoral market." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 742-757 ([link](#)).

Akthari, Mitra, Diana Moreira, and Laura Trucco. 2018. "Political turnover, bureaucratic turnover, and the quality of public services." Working Paper ([link](#)).

### **16-Nov The electoral consequences of programmatic social policies**

*Does clientelism help politicians win votes? Why would politicians shift from clientelism to programmatic policies?*

### **Required:**

Imai, Kosuke, Gary King, and Carlos Velasco Rivera. 2016. "Do nonpartisan programmatic policies have partisan electoral effects? Evidence from two large scale randomized experiments." *American Journal of Political Science* 351(B2): 303-341 ([link](#)).

Optional:

Geddes, Barbara. 1991. "A game theoretic model of reform in Latin American democracies." *American Political Science Review* 85(2): 371-392 ([link](#)).

Zucco, Cesar. 2013. "When Payouts Pay Off: Conditional Cash Transfers and Voting Behavior in Brazil 2002–10." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(4): 810-822 ([link](#)).

**WEEK 8**

**21-Nov            How institutions shape public-sector corruption**

*What is the level of corruption in Latin America compared to other regions? How do political institutions affect politicians' incentives to engage in corruption? Does knowing that a candidate was corrupt influence that candidate's chance of winning an election?*

Required:

Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2011. "Electoral accountability and corruption: Evidence from the audits of local governments." *American Economic Review* 101(4): 1274-1311 ([link](#)).

Ferraz, Claudio, and Frederico Finan. 2008. "Exposing corrupt politicians: the effects of Brazil's publicly released audits on electoral outcomes." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(2): 703-745 ([link](#)).

Optional:

Boas, Taylor, Dani Hidalgo, and Neal Richardson. 2014. "Campaign Donations and Government Contracts in Brazil." *Journal of Politics* 76(2): 415-429 ([link](#)).

Fujiwara, Thomas. October 24, 2017. "Political inclusion and development outcomes: Brazil introduces electronic voting." *VoxDev* ([link](#)).

**23-Nov            No class**

**WEEK 9**

**28-Nov            Practical exercise**

In-class exercise. No required reading.

**Individual component due at 9am on 28-Nov**

**Group component draft memo due at 12:20pm on 28-Nov**

**Group component final memo & slide(s) due at 8am on 30-Nov**

**30-Nov            Group presentations & feedback**

## **WEEK 10**

### **5-Dec            The problem of institutionalized violence**

#### Required reading:

Magaloni, Beatriz, and Luis Rodriguez. 2020. "Institutionalized Police Brutality: Torture, the Militarization of Security, and the Reform of Inquisitorial Criminal Justice in Mexico." *American Political Science Review*. ([link](#))

### **7-Dec            Wrap-up: The challenges facing Latin America**

*What explains the recent rise of mass protests and demonstrations?*

#### Skim-read:

Kuran, Timur. 1991. "Now out of never: The element of surprise in the East European revolution of 1989." *World Politics* 44(1): 7-48. ([link](#))

González, Felipe. "Collective action in networks: Evidence from the Chilean student movement." Working Paper ([link](#)).