

# PO 561 / IR 502: Latin American Political Parties

Boston University, Spring 2016

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**Class location:** KCB 104

**Class time:** Monday/Wednesday 11–12:30

## 1 Course Description

Political scientist E.E. Schattschneider once argued that “modern democracy is unthinkable save in terms of parties.” How does this claim apply to Latin America? This course will examine Latin American democracy through the lens of parties and party systems, looking at both historical origins and recent transformations. The first part of the course examines how the political incorporation of organized labor in the early twentieth century served as a “critical juncture” that set Latin American party systems on different paths of development. We will look at the emergence of hegemonic parties, populist parties, and working class parties, and how they shaped party system dynamics in their respective countries. The second part of the course asks whether market reforms of the 1970s and 1980s constitute a new critical juncture for Latin American party systems, altering the patterns that prevailed for most of the twentieth century. We will look at the transformation of labor-based parties, the reinvigoration of right-wing parties, the collapse of some countries’ party systems, the emergence of ethnic parties in the Andes, the persistence of patterns such as clientelism, and the recent success of leftist parties and politicians in Latin America. The empirical focus is on Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela, with some additional material drawn from Bolivia and Ecuador.

I assume that undergraduate students enrolled in this course have taken previous courses in comparative politics or Latin American studies. I have assigned approximately 100 pages of reading per week, and some of it is challenging; students should be prepared to spend the necessary time

doing course readings, taking notes, and preparing outlines outside of class.

Graduate students in political science or related fields will hopefully find this course to provide good preparation for their comprehensive exams and dissertation or thesis research. I have designed the course requirements for graduate students with these objectives in mind.

The goal for the course is that it be run as a seminar, meaning that students should be regularly contributing to class discussion. In order to participate, you need to have done the week's readings before class and come prepared with questions or comments.

## 2 Requirements

### Grade Breakdown: Undergraduate Students

Attendance and participation: 10%

Reading reactions: 10%

In-class midterm exam: 25%

Final exam: 25%

Final paper: 30%

### Grade Breakdown: Graduate Students

Attendance and participation: 10%

Reading reactions: 10%

Final exam: 35%

Final paper: 45%

### Required Readings

There are two required books for this course, both of which we will use after Spring Break:

- Luna, Juan Pablo, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds. 2014. *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Madrid, Raúl L. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

All other required readings are available electronically as Mugar Library E-reserves. The easiest way to access these is via an electronic copy of this syllabus (on Blackboard, or at [http://people.bu.edu/tboas/LAparties\\_syllabus.pdf](http://people.bu.edu/tboas/LAparties_syllabus.pdf)). Click on the hyperlinks in the reading list below (you will need to enter your BU ID and password).

The following books are recommended for purchase. We are reading several chapters from each; they will be available on e-reserves, but you might want to get the book instead. You might find other chapters useful for your research papers. The Mainwaring and Scully volume has gone out of print, but used copies are available online, and you can also get it as a Google e-book for a reasonable price.

- Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds. 2011. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Timothy R. Scully. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

### **Reading Reactions**

To encourage students to engage with the readings prior to class, there are two types of “reading reaction” assignments.

**Question/Comments:** Prior to every class (except for the days you are doing a response paper—see below), each student should post to the Blackboard Discussion Board one comment or question about that day’s reading—something you found interesting, something that was puzzling or confusing, etc. Your question/comment does not need to be long (a couple sentences is fine) or particularly profound. I just want to get a sense of your reactions to the reading in advance, and potentially generate some online discussion. Please submit these by 10 a.m. the day of class.

**Short response papers:** Twice during the semester, rather than a short comment/question on that day’s readings, you will write a short response paper. These papers should be around 3 pages, double-spaced. You should focus on the readings assigned for the day but should also feel free to relate them to other readings we’ve already covered, especially those that are part of the same block (see the list of readings at the end of the syllabus; each block is numbered sequentially and includes two class days). You should email me the paper the night before the corresponding class. The response papers can summarize the readings, critique them, compare and contrast them, discuss questions that you thought were unclear, etc.

Questions/comments will not be graded and returned, but I keep track of whether you are doing them. Response papers will be graded on a check, check-plus, check-minus basis.

### **Midterm Exam (undergraduates)**

The midterm exam will cover material from the first half of the course. It will be closed-book and held in class.

### **Final Paper**

The final paper, due on the last day of class, will examine a topic of the student's choosing related to parties or party systems in Latin America. It may draw upon course readings but must also involve substantial outside research (that is, no more than one-third of the sources may be course readings). The paper topic must be approved in advance; the due date for the proposed paper topic is listed below, in the schedule of course readings. Undergraduate papers should be 15–20 double-spaced pages in length.

Graduate student papers should follow the above guidelines, but should be 25–30 double-spaced pages in length. In addition to writing papers that present an original argument based on empirical research, graduate students have the option of writing a research proposal, with an eye toward their own dissertation or thesis research.

### **Final Exam**

A final exam will be held during the scheduled exam period. For undergraduates, the exam will be of a similar format to the midterm and will focus on material from the second half of the course, though material from the first half is relevant in terms of background and framing. For graduate students, the exam will cover all course material equally. The format of graduate exams is intended to simulate the Ph.D. qualifying exam, albeit shorter overall.

### **Academic Integrity**

Students are expected to do their own work and to accurately and honestly give credit for information, ideas, and words obtained elsewhere. Plagiarism will be dealt with strictly according to the Academic Conduct Code;<sup>1</sup> please review the website for examples of what counts as plagiarism so you know how to avoid it. If you have questions or concerns about how to properly cite outside sources, please let me know and I will be happy to assist.

The Internet makes it quite easy, and tempting, to cheat by copying and pasting material that you found online, or by buying a paper that someone else wrote. But it also makes it much easier to get caught. I have caught plagiarizers in the past and am always on the lookout. Don't do it. You will make the semester much better for both of us.

## **3 Schedule and Required Readings**

Note: Each entry contains a hyperlink to the electronic reading, where available.

### **Jan. 20. Introduction**

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<sup>1</sup><http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>

## **3.1 Part I. Historical Origins**

### **3.1.1 Overview and definitions of parties and party systems**

**Jan. 25:**

Mainwaring, Scott, and Timothy R. Scully. 1995. “[Introduction: Party Systems in Latin America.](#)” In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Gunther, Richard, and Larry Diamond. 2001. “[Types and Functions of Parties.](#)” In Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

**Jan. 27:**

Coppedge, Michael. 1998. “[The Evolution of Latin American Party Systems.](#)” In Scott Mainwaring and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

### **3.1.2 Labor incorporation as a critical juncture**

**Feb. 1:**

Collier, Ruth Berins, and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Republished in 2002 by University of Notre Dame Press. Pp. 3–23, 59–65, 100–106, 161–172, 196–201, 314–315.

**Feb. 3:**

Continue with above reading, pp. 353–359, 360–367, 403–406, 469, 498–506, 507–512, 571–574, 609–610, 692–693.

### **3.1.3 Hegemonic parties and party systems: Mexico and Venezuela**

**Feb. 8:**

Collier, Ruth Berins. 1992. *The Contradictory Alliance: State-Labor Relations and Regime Change in Mexico*. Berkeley: International and Area Studies, University of California, Berkeley. Chs. 2-3: “[The Critical Juncture: Founding the Mexican Regime](#)” and “[The Legacy of Radical Populism: The Mexican Regime at Mid-Century.](#)”

**Feb. 10:**

Kornblith, Miriam, and Daniel H. Levine. 1995. “[Venezuela: The Life and Times of the Party System](#).” In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

**3.1.4 Personality-centered populist parties: Peru and Argentina**

**Feb. 16:**

Graham, Carol. 1992. *Peru's APRA: Parties, Politics, and the Elusive Quest for Democracy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Ch. 2, “[APRA 1924-1968: Confrontation, Compromise, and Counter-reform](#)” (entire) and Ch. 3, “[APRA and the Military Docenio: The Stolen Revolution, 1968-1980](#)” (pp. 53–57 and 60–71 only).

Clinton, Richard Lee. 1970. “[APRA: An Appraisal](#).” *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs* 12, 2: 280–297.

**Feb. 17:**

Levitsky, Steven. 2003. *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2: “[Origins and Evolution of a Mass Populist Party](#).”

McGuire, James W. 1995. “[Political Parties and Democracy in Argentina](#).” In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

**3.1.5 Working-class parties and polarization: Chile**

**Feb. 22:**

Scully, Timothy R. 1995. “[Reconstituting Party Politics in Chile](#)” (pp. 100-122 ONLY). In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, eds., *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Pp. 3–49 ONLY.

## **3.2 Part II. Modern-Day Transformations**

### **3.2.1 Market reform: A new critical juncture?**

#### **Feb. 24:**

Edwards, Sebastian. 1995. *Crisis and Reform in Latin America: From Despair to Hope*. New York: Oxford University Press. Ch. 3: “[The Emergence of a New Latin American Consensus.](#)”

Williamson, John. 1990. “[What Washington Means by Policy Reform.](#)” In John Williamson, ed., *Latin American Adjustment: How Much Has Happened?* Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics.

#### **Feb. 29:**

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

Coppedge, Michael. 2001. “[Political Darwinism in Latin America’s Lost Decade.](#)” In Larry Diamond and Richard Gunther, eds., *Political Parties and Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

#### **March 2: MIDTERM EXAM (undergraduates); covers Part I.**

#### **March 4: Proposed research paper topic due (by email).**

### **3.2.2 Transforming labor-based parties: Chile, Argentina, and Brazil**

#### **March 14:**

Roberts, Kenneth M. 1995. “[From the Barricades to the Ballot Box: Redemocratization and Political Realignment in the Chilean Left.](#)” *Politics & Society* 23: 495–519.

Levitsky, Steven. 2003. “[From Labor Politics to Machine Politics: The Transformation of Party-Union Linkages in Argentine Peronism, 1983–1999.](#)” *Latin American Research Review* 38, 3: 3–36.

#### **March 16:**

Samuels, David. 2004. “[From Socialism to Social Democracy: Party Organization and the Transformation of the Worker’s Party in Brazil.](#)” *Comparative Political Studies* 20, 10: 1–26.

Hunter, Wendy, and Timothy J. Power. 2007. “[Rewarding Lula: Executive Power, Social Policy, and the Brazilian Elections of 2006.](#)” *Latin American Politics and Society* 49, 1: 1–30.

### 3.2.3 Reinvigorating right-wing parties: Chile and Mexico

#### March 21:

Gibson, Edward L. 1992. “Conservative Electoral Movements and Democratic Politics: Core Constituencies, Coalition Building, and the Latin American Electoral Right.” In Douglass A. Chalmers, Maria do Larmo Campello de Souza, and Atilio Boron, eds., *The Right and Democracy in Latin America*. Westport, CT.: Greenwood Publishing. Pp. 13–29 ONLY.

Luna, Juan Pablo, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2014. “Introduction: The Right in Contemporary Latin America: A Framework for Analysis.” In Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds., *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Siavelis, Peter M. 2014. “Chile: The Right’s Evolution From Democracy to Authoritarianism and Back Again.” In Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds., *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

#### March 23:

Mizrahi, Yemile. 2003. *From Martyrdom to Power: The Partido Acción Nacional in Mexico*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. Chs. 3–4: “The PAN as a Sectarian Party” and “The PAN as an Electoral Party.”

### 3.2.4 Party system collapse: Venezuela and Peru

#### March 28:

Tanaka, Martín. 2006. “From Crisis to Collapse of the Party Systems and Dilemmas of Democratic Representation: Peru and Venezuela.” In Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejerano, and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez, eds., *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Dietz, Henry A., and David J. Myers. 2007. “From Thaw to Deluge: Party System Collapse in Venezuela and Peru.” *Latin American Politics & Society* 49, 2: 59–86.

#### March 30:

Weyland, Kurt. 1996. “Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities.” *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31, no. 3: 3–31.

Hawkins, Kirk A. 2010. *Venezuela’s Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2: “Chavismo, Populism, and Democracy.”



### **3.2.5 Ethnic parties: Bolivia and Ecuador**

#### **April 4:**

Madrid, Raúl L. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 1, “Ethnicity and Ethnopolitism in Latin America,” and Ch. 2, “The Ascent of the MAS in Bolivia.”

#### **April 6:**

Madrid, Raúl L. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 3, “The Rise and Decline of Pachakutik in Ecuador.”

### **3.2.6 Persistent patterns: Mexico and Brazil**

#### **April 11:**

Hilger, Tina. 2008. “Causes and Consequences of Political Clientelism: Mexico’s PRD in Comparative Perspective.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 50, 4: 123–153.

Loeza, Soledad. 2007. “Mexico’s Disappointment.” *Constellations* 14, 3: 409–425.

#### **April 13:**

Mainwaring, Scott. 1999. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Ch. 5, “Weak Parties and Autonomous Politicians: Party Organization in the Catch-All Parties.”

Van Dyck, Brandon. 2014. “Why Party Organization Still Matters: The Workers’ Party in Northeastern Brazil.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 56, 2: 1–26.

### **3.2.7 New Left, new Right? Argentina and Venezuela**

#### **April 20:**

Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2011. “Latin America’s “Left Turn”: A Framework for Analysis.” In Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds., *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Etchemendy, Sebastián, and Candelaria Garay. 2011. “Argentina: Left Populism in Comparative Perspective, 2003–2009.” In Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, eds., *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Morresi, Sergio, and Gabriel Vommaro. 2014. "The Difficulties of the Partisan Right and the Case of Propuesta Republicana." In Juan Pablo Luna and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, eds., *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

**April 25:**

Hetland, Gabriel. Forthcoming. "From System Collapse to Chavista Hegemony: The Evolution of the Party Question in Chávez's Venezuela." *Latin American Perspectives*.

Cannon, Barry. 2014. "As Clear as MUD: Characteristics, Objectives, and Strategies of the Opposition in Bolivarian Venezuela." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56, 4: 49–70.

**3.2.8 Conclusion: A new critical juncture?**

**April 27:**

Roberts, Kenneth M. 2012. "Market Reform, Programmatic (De)alignment, and Party System Stability in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 46, 11: 1422–1452.

Boas, Taylor C. 2014. "The Challenges of Analyzing a 'New Critical Juncture' in Latin America." Presented at the conference "A New Critical Juncture? Changing Patterns of Interest Representation and Regime Politics in Contemporary Latin America," Kellogg Institute for International Studies, University of Notre Dame, April 24–26.

**April 29. Final papers due to instructor by email**

**3.3 Wednesday, May 4, 12:30–2:30 p.m.: Final exam**