

The Political Economy of Coercive Relations in Latin America

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Prerequisites

You should become familiar with the history and sociology of coercive relations in Latin America. For those who are not familiar with those topics, I recommend reading the following books:

- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. University of California Press, 2021.
- Degler, Carl N. *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States*. University of Wisconsin Press, 1986.
- De Holanda, Sergio Buarque. *Roots of Brazil*. University of Notre Dame Press, 2012.
- Freyre, Gilberto. *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. University of California Press, 2022.
- Furtado, Celso. *The Economic Growth of Brazil*. University of California Press, 1963.
- Klein, Herbert S., and Ben Vinson III. *African Slavery in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Oxford University Press, 2007.

The reading of those books offers a solid background for the classes, but we will not discuss them in greater detail.

Course Description

This course is designed for advanced undergraduate or graduate students. The selected papers and books present rigorous theories and statistical analysis. Most articles we will read involve causal testing. Because of this, the readings are technical. You are expected to identify the main substantive arguments of all the assigned papers and to have a basic understanding of the methodologies used. During the classes, I will briefly overview the most common methods employed in the articles and the intuitive justification for using specific techniques.

Course Objectives

Familiarize students with the current debates related to coercive politics. At the end of the course, students should be able to understand better the topic of coercive politics and the main methods employed to explore relevant research questions.

Course Structure

There will be student-led presentation Weeks and lectures. The 15-minute student presentations of assigned readings should address the readings' central question, methodology, and conclusions. If you have trouble understanding any part of the readings or want to discuss other aspects of your presentation, please, go to my office hours before your scheduled presentation.

Grading

- **25% Presentations:** You will be graded on your ability to identify the relevant parts of the assigned reading and on the clarity of your presentation.
- **15% Participation:** You must come to class after reading all the assigned section materials. We will have short discussions about the readings at the end of each student presentation. In principle, I expect participation to be voluntary, but I reserve the right to call on students to ask them questions.
- **30% Midterm exam:** The midterm exam will require short, essay-style responses to questions concerning core issues we cover in class. Students should be able to define concepts, describe theoretical arguments, and summarize the empirical tests of the theories we cover.
- **30% Final exam:** The final exam will have the same format as the midterm. It is non-cumulative.

1 Outline

Session 1. Overview: War and State Formation in Latin America

- Schenoni, Luis L. "Bringing War Back In: Victory and State Formation in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 65.2 (2021): 405-421.
- Centeno, Miguel Angel. "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America." *American Journal of Sociology* 102.6 (1997): 1565-1605.
- Weber, Max. *The Vocation Lectures*. Hackett Publishing, 2004.
- Tilly, Charles. 1985. "War Making and State Making as Organized Crime." In *Bringing the State Back In*, edited by Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol. Cambridge University Press.

Session 2. Native peoples and the Europeans

- Valencia Caicedo, Felipe. "The Mission: Human Capital Transmission, Economic Persistence, and Culture in South America." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 134.1 (2019): 507-556.

Session 3. Paraguay War

- Alix-Garcia, Jennifer, et al. "Country of Women? Repercussions of the Triple Alliance War in Paraguay." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 202 (2022): 131-167.

Session 4. Slavery in Brazil I

- Seyler, François. "Slavery, Political Attitudes and Social Capital: Evidence from Brazil." *Journal of Historical Political Economy* 1.3 (2021): 377-409.
- Sokoloff, Kenneth L., and Stanley L. Engerman. "Institutions, Factor Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 14.3 (2000): 217-232.

Session 5. Slavery in Brazil II

- Seyler, François, and Arthur Silve. "Frontier Planters, Immigrants, and the Abolition of Slavery in Brazil." *Working Paper* 63, no. 4 (2019): 920-935.

Session 6. Slavery in Colombia I

- Acemoglu, Daron, Camilo García-Jimeno, and James A. Robinson. "Finding Eldorado: Slavery and Long-run Development in Colombia." *Journal of Comparative Economics* 40.4 (2012): 534-564.

Session 7. Slavery in Colombia II

- Buonanno, Paolo, and Juan F. Vargas. "Inequality, Crime, and the Long Run Legacy of Slavery." *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization* 159 (2019): 539-552.

Session 8. Forced Labor in Peru: The Mita System

- Dell, Melissa. "The Persistent Effects of Peru's Mining Mita." *Econometrica* 78.6 (2010): 1863-1903.

Session 9. Forced Labor in Porto Rico: *Reglamento de Jornaleros*

- Bobonis, Gustavo J., and Peter M. Morrow. "Labor Coercion and the Accumulation of Human Capital." *Journal of Development Economics* 108 (2014): 32-53.

Session 10. Land and Power in Chile

- Baland, Jean-Marie, and James A. Robinson. "Land and Power: Theory and Evidence from Chile." *American Economic Review* 98.5 (2008): 1737-65.
- González, Felipe, and Felipe Vial. "Collective Action and Policy Implementation: Evidence from Salvador Allende's expropriations." *The Journal of Economic History* 81.2 (2021): 405-440.

Session 11. Military Dictatorship in Brazil

- Ferraz, Claudio, Frederico Finan, and Monica Martinez-Bravo. Political Power, Elite Control, and Long-Run Development: Evidence from Brazil. No. w27456. *National Bureau of Economic Research*, 2020.

Session 12. Military Dictatorship in Argentina

- Klor, Esteban F., Sebastian Saiegh, and Shanker Satyanath. "Cronyism in State Violence: Evidence from Labor Repression During Argentina's Last Dictatorship." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 19.3 (2021): 1439-1487.

Session 13. Military Dictatorship in Chile

- González, Felipe, Mounu Prem, and Francisco Urzúa. "The privatization Origins of Political Corporations: Evidence from the Pinochet Regime." *The Journal of Economic History* 80.2 (2020): 417-456.

Session 14. Land Conflict in Brazil

- Hidalgo, F. Daniel, et al. "Economic Determinants of Land Invasions." *The Review of Economics and Statistics* 92.3 (2010): 505-523.

Session 15. Civil Conflict in Colombia

- Dube, Oeindrila, and Juan F. Vargas. "Commodity Price Shocks and Civil Conflict: Evidence from Colombia." *The Review of Economic Studies* 80.4 (2013): 1384-1421.

Session 16. Land Reform in Mexico

- Albertus, Michael, et al. "Authoritarian Survival and Poverty Traps: Land Reform in Mexico." *World Development* 77 (2016): 154-170.

Session 17. Criminal Violence in Mexico I

- Calderón, Gabriela, et al. "The Beheading of Criminal Organizations and the Dynamics of Violence in Mexico." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59.8 (2015): 1455-1485.

Session 18. Criminal Violence in Mexico II

- Dube, Arindrajit, Oeindrila Dube, and Omar García-Ponce. "Cross-Border Spillover: US Gun laws and violence in Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 107.3 (2013): 397-417.

Session 19. Criminal Violence in Brazil I

- Lessing, Benjamin, and Graham Denyer Willis. "Legitimacy in criminal Governance: Managing a Drug Empire from Behind Bars." *American Political Science Review* 113.2 (2019): 584-606.
- Freire, Danilo. "Beasts of Prey or Rational Animals? Private Governance in Brazil's Jogo do Bicho." *Latin American Perspectives* 46.4 (2019): 230-244.

Session 20. Criminal Violence in Brazil II

- Magaloni, Beatriz, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, and Vanessa Melo. "Killing in the Slums: Social order, Criminal Governance, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro." *American Political Science Review* 114.2 (2020): 552-572.

Session 21. State Capacity in Latin America

- Rich, Jessica AJ. "Outsourcing Bureaucracy to Evade Accountability: How Public Servants Build Shadow State Capacity." *American Political Science Review* (2022): 1-16.
- Bersch, Katherine, Sérgio Praça, and Matthew M. Taylor. "State capacity, bureaucratic politicization, and corruption in the Brazilian state." *Governance* 30.1 (2017): 105-124.
- Grassi, Davide, and Vincenzo Memoli. "Political Determinants of State Capacity in Latin America." *World Development* 88 (2016): 94-106.
- Max Weber "Bureaucracy" in *Economy and Society*.vol.2, pp.956-1005

Session 22. Class Relations in Latin America

- Carnes, Nicholas, and Noam Lupu. "Rethinking the Comparative Perspective on Class and Representation: Evidence from Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 59.1 (2015): 1-18.

Session 23. Political Repression in Venezuela

- Hsieh, Chang-Tai, et al. "The Price of Political Opposition: Evidence from Venezuela's Maisanta." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3.2 (2011): 196-214.

Session 24. Police Brutality and Law Enforcement in Mexico

- Magaloni, Beatriz, and Luis Rodriguez. "Institutionalized Police Brutality: Torture, the Militarization of Security, and the Reform of Inquisitorial Criminal Justice in Mexico." *American Political Science Review* 114.4 (2020): 1013-1034.
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo, and Jessica Zarkin. "Militarization and Perceptions of Law Enforcement in the Developing World: Evidence from a Conjoint Experiment in Mexico." *British Journal of Political Science* 52.3 (2022): 1377-1397.

Session 25. Refugee Protection in Latin America

- Hammoud-Gallego, Omar, and Luisa Feline Freier. "Symbolic Refugee Protection: Explaining Latin America's Liberal Refugee Laws." *American Political Science Review* (2022): 1-20.

Session 26. Modern-day Slavery and Child Labor in Brazil

- Cepaluni, Gabriel, Dorsch, Michael T., and Civitarese, Jamil. 2022 Land Invasions and Contemporary Slavery, *Working Paper*.
- Cepaluni, Gabriel, et al. "Conditional cash transfers and child labor." *World Development* 152 (2022): 105768.
- Phillips, Nicola, and Leonardo Sakamoto. "Global production networks, chronic poverty and 'slave labour' in Brazil." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 47.3 (2012): 287-315.