

Politics in the Southern Cone of Latin America

Poli 134I

Winter 2012

Thursdays, 5:00-7:50 P.M.

PCYNH 109

polisci2.ucsd.edu/fcantu/poli134i

Francisco Cantú (fcantu@ucsd.edu)

Office Hours: Thursdays 10:00-12:00 A.M. (SSB 347).

TA: Adeline Lo (aylo@ucsd.edu)

Office Hours: Tuesdays 10:00-11:00 A.M. (SSB 341).

Description: This course explores some of the key debates in comparative politics, focusing on the particular cases of Argentina, Brazil, and Chile (the ABC). The class will analyze the countries of interest across three different perspectives: political regimes, political institutions, and political economy. By the end of the quarter, students should be able to apply the concepts reviewed over the course in analyzing events that are occurring in other regions of the world. This course assumes a minimum background in comparative politics.

Format: We will meet once a week for the duration of the quarter. Each meeting is roughly divided into two parts. The first half of each session will be a lecture that provides some historical or analytical background on the topic. The second half of the class will offer further exploration and a different approach to the topic of the day through film clips or guest speakers. Students are expected to come to each class having read all the required material. Topics presented in class are complemented with assigned readings from this syllabus, so the class lecture should not be taken as a substitute for the readings.

Reading quizzes: From the third week of class until the end of the course, the instructor will post a weekly quiz on the course website. Each quiz includes three questions about the assigned material for that week. Students must answer four out of eight quizzes. Every answer should be no longer than a paragraph. This assignment will help students work on their reading comprehension skills, and it will provide feedback on questions and problems related to the assigned material.

To be counted as part of the student's final grade, each quiz will be submitted on TED no later than twenty-four hours before lecture (i.e., 5 P.M. on Wednesday).

Analytical paper:

Students will submit a 1000-word paper discussing the assigned readings for any given week. The paper should not be a summary of the readings but should be an analytical response to the authors' approach to the topic. This paper may be a comparison of several authors' arguments, a critique of one argument based on other readings, or a suggestion of a different empirical or analytical approach to the topic.

A printed version of the paper has to be submitted at the beginning of the lecture for your chosen topic. A student cannot submit both a paper and a quiz on the same week.

Final exam: There will be an open-note final exam on March 22 from 7:00 P.M. to 9:59 P.M. The exam will cover the entire course, and it requires that you have read and understood the material. This exam does not evaluate students' capacity to recall specific information from the readings. Rather, the exam assesses students' ability to apply the concepts reviewed throughout the course. Students are permitted to use their course notes during the examination. The questions of the exam will be based on the assigned readings, lectures, and additional material that I will post on the website two weeks before the final exam (March 8).

Grading:

Quizzes (10% each)	40%
Analytical Paper	30%
Final Exam	30%
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 100%

Deadlines and extensions: The course is designed to give every student almost entire discretion over the schedule for the submission of the assignments. Students need to submit an assignment (i.e., the quizzes and the paper) in five out of ten weeks, so planning ahead is encouraged. Unless there are very pressing (and fully documented) situations, extensions are not allowed.

Readings: The class will use the following required textbook:

Skidmore, T. E., Smith, P. H., and Green, J. N. (2010). *Modern Latin America*. Oxford University Press, New York.

We will use this book for several lectures, and it may be useful as a future reference for other courses. The rest of the readings are available online on e-reserves. Please let me know if you have any economic restriction that may prevent you from obtaining the course material.

The reading load is not burdensome (about 70-80 pages a week), but the material may prove challenging. You need to invest ample time to understand the material and to bring questions about the readings to class. Items under “Read” constitute required reading. If possible, read them in the order indicated. In addition, readings under “Recommended” will help you learn more about a particular topic in the future.

Academic Integrity: There will be a zero tolerance policy for the violation of the UCSD’s Policy on Integrity of Scholarship.¹ In particular, plagiarism in any of the required activities for this course will be penalized in the terms cited by the Academic Dishonesty Policy.

I. Overview

1. Logistics and Introduction of the Course (January 13)

No reading assigned.

2. The ABC (January 19)

Read:

Skidmore, T. E., Smith, P. H., and Green, J. N. (2010). *Modern Latin America*. Oxford University Press, New York. Chapters 9-11.

II. Political Regimes

3. Transitions from Democracy (January 26)

Read:

Skidmore, T. E., Smith, P. H., and Green, J. N. (2010). *Modern Latin America*. Oxford University Press, New York. Chapter 13.

Collier, D. (1979). Overview of the bureaucratic-authoritarian model. In Collier, D., editor, *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton University Press.

Cohen, Y. (1994). *Radicals, Reformers, and Reactionaries*. The University of Chicago Press, Chapter 5.

¹<http://www-senate.ucsd.edu/AcademicIntegrity/AcademicIntegrity.htm>

Recommended:

Linz, J. J. and Stepan, A., editors (1978). *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

Valenzuela, A. (1994). Party politics and the crisis of presidentialism in Chile: A proposal for a parliamentary form of government. In Linz, J. J. and Valenzuela, A., editors, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, pages 165–224. John Hopkins University Press.

O'Donnell, G. (1988). *Bureaucratic authoritarianism: Argentina, 1966-1973, in comparative perspective*. University of California Press.

Przeworski, A. (2010). *Democracy and the Limits of Self-Government*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

Przeworski, A., Alvarez, M. E., Cheibub, J. A., and Limongi, F. (2000). *Democracy and Development*. Cambridge University Press, New York.

4. Transitions to Democracy (February 2)**Read:**

Linz, J. J. and Stepan, A. (1996). *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore. Chapters 11-13.

Recommended:

Smith, P. H. (2011). *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford University Press, 2 edition.

Ames, B. (2001). *The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil*. The University of Michigan Press.

O'Donnell, G. and Schmitter, P. C. (1986). *Transitions from authoritarian rule. Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies*. The John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore.

5. A model for transitions (February 9)**Read:**

Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2.

Recommended:

Przeworski, A. (1991). *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge University Press. (The rest of the book)

III. Political Institutions

6. Presidents and legislators (February 16)

Read:

Shugart, M. S. and Mainwaring, S. (1997). Presidentialism and democracy in Latin America: Rethinking the terms of the debate. In Mainwaring, S. and Shugart, M. S., editors, *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

Saiegh, S. (2010). Active players or rubber stamps? an evaluation of the policymaking role of latin american legislatures. In Scartascini, C. G., Stein, E., and Tommasi, M., editors, *How Democracy Works*. Inter-American Development Bank.

Desposato, S. W. (2006). How informal electoral institutions shape the Brazilian legislative arena. In Helmke, G. and Levitsky, S., editors, *Informal Institutions and Democracy*. The John Hopkins University Press.

Recommended:

Cheibub, J. A. (2007). *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Lijphart, A. (1999). *Patterns of Democracy*. Yale University Press.

Linz, J. J. (1990). The perils of presidentialism. *Journal of Democracy*, (1):51–69.

Shugart, M. S. and Carey, J. (1992). *Presidents and Assemblies*. Cambridge University Press.

Cheibub, J. A., Figueiredo, A., and Limongi, F. (2009). Political parties and governors as determinants of legislative behavior in Brazil’s Chamber of Deputies, 1988-2006. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 51(1):1–29.

Alemán, E. and Navia, P. (2009). Institutions and the legislative success of ‘strong’ presidents: An analysis of government bills in Chile. *The Journal of Legislative Studies*, 15(4):401–419.

Jones, M. P. and Hwang, W. (2005). Party government in presidential democracies: Extending cartel theory beyond the U.S. congress. *American Journal of Political Science*, 49(2):267–282.

7. Political parties (February 23)

Read:

Torre, J. C. (2005). Citizens versus political class: The crisis of partisan representation. In Levitsky, S. and Murillo, M. V., editors, *Argentine Democracy: the Politics of Institutional Weakness*. The Pennsylvania State University.

Navia, P. (2006). Three’s company: Old and new alignments in chile’s party system. In Borzutzky, S. and Oppenheim, L. H., editors, *After Pinochet: the Chilean road to democracy and the market*. The University Press of Florida.

Samuels, D. (2006). Sources of mass partisanship in Brazil. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 48(2):1–27.

Recommended:

Mainwaring, S. and Scully, T., editors (1995). *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford University Press, Stanford.

Levitsky, S. (2003). *Transforming labor-based parties in Latin America: Argentine Peronism in comparative perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

8. Elections (March 1)

Read:

Morgenstern, S. (2004). *Patterns of Legislative Politics: roll-call voting in Latin America and the United States*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3.

Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (2005). *Electoral System Design*. pages 78-81 and 86-89.

Calvo, E. and Murillo, M. V. (2005). The new iron law of Argentine politics? partisanship, clientelism, and governability in contemporary Argentina. In Levitsky, S. and Murillo, M. V., editors, *Argentine Democracy: the Politics of Institutional Weakness*. The Pennsylvania State University.

Recommended:

Cox, G. W. (1997). *Making Votes Count*. Cambridge University Press.

Grofman, B. and Lijphart, A., editors (1984). *Electoral laws and their political consequences*. Agathon Press, New York.

Jones, M. (1995). A guide to the electoral systems of the Americas. *Electoral Studies*, 14(1):5–21.

IV. Political Economy

9. Strategies for development (March 8)

Skidmore, T. E., Smith, P. H., and Green, J. N. (2010). *Modern Latin America*. Oxford University Press, New York. Chapter 12.

Kurtz, M. J. (1999). Chile's neo-liberal revolution: Incremental decisions and structural transformation, 1973-89. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 31(2):399–427.

Cardoso, F. H. (2010). Structural reform and governability: The Brazilian experience in the 1990s. In Mainwaring, S. and Scully, T., editors, *Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Stanford University Press.

Recommended:

- Cardoso, F. H. and Faletto, E. (1979). *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. University of California Press, Berkeley. Chapter 2.
- Williamson, J. (2004). A short history of the Washington Consensus. Paper commissioned by Fundacion CIDOB for a conference "From the Washington Consensus towards a new Global Governance," Barcelona, September 24-25, 2004.
- Echegaray, F. and Elordi, C. (2001). Public opinion, presidential popularity, and economic reform in Argentina, 1989-1996. In Stokes, S., editor, *Public Support for Market Reforms in New Democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Vidal Luna, F. and Klein, H. S. (2006). *Brazil since 1980*. Cambridge University Press.

10. Politics and Policies (March 15)

Read:

- Corrales, J. (2002). The politics of Argentina's meltdown. *World Policy Journal*, 19(3):29–42.
- Angell, A. (2010). Democratic governance in Chile. In Mainwaring, S. and Scully, T., editors, *Democratic Governance in Latin America*, pages 269–306. Stanford University Press.
- Vidal Luna, F. and Klein, H. S. (2006). *Brazil since 1980*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 8.

Recommended:

- Ardanaz, M., Scartascini, C. G., and Tommasi, M. (2011). Political institutions, policymaking, and economic policy in Latin America. In Ocampo, J. A. and Ros, J., editors, *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Economics*, pages 50–78. Oxford University Press.
- Bergman, M. (2009). *Tax evasion and the rule of law in Latin America*. The Pennsylvania State University, University Park, PA.
- Rodrik, D. (2003). Argentina: A case of globalisation. gone too far or not far enough? In Teunissen, J. J. and Akkerman, A., editors, *The Crisis that Was Not Prevented: Argentina, the IMF, and Globalisation*, pages 15–21. FONDAD.