

DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA (POLC 4010-01)
SPRING 2018
MONDAYS AND WEDNESDAYS, 3:00PM-4:15PM
Norman Mayer Building 118

Professor: Virginia Oliveros

Email: volivero@tulane.edu

Office: Political Science Department, 311 Norman Mayer Building

Office Hours: Mondays and Wednesdays 2:00-3:00pm and by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES

Most countries in Latin America have been democratic for more than three decades, and yet the quality of those democracies varies substantially both within and across countries. In this class, we will focus on democratic quality in modern Latin America, highlighting its failures as well as its successes. After a very brief review of the major events in Latin America's politics in the 20th century, we will discuss different theories of what makes democracies more or less representative and accountable to their citizens. Then, we will turn to the study of specific issues that touch on the quality of democracy in the region: political institutions and horizontal accountability, elections and vertical accountability, and special topics (including poverty and anti-poverty programs, minority rights, and the left turn). Over the course of the semester, students will study both broad trends and cross-country diversity through the study of select cases, including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela, among others. By the end of the semester, students should have a good general understanding of the politics of the region since the early 1980s. At the same time students should be able to evaluate and compare the different arguments that seek to explain variation in democratic quality within and across countries in Latin America. While achieving these two main goals, this course also prepares students to make, evaluate, and compare arguments about politics more generally.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this course, students should be able to:

1. Have a good understanding of the politics of the region since the 1980s, particularly with respect to Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela.
2. Discuss, evaluate and compare the different arguments in the Latin American literature about the quality of democracy both within and across countries in Latin America

REQUIREMENTS

Assignment	Date	Percent
Participation & Attendance		10%
Exam 1	March 5	20%
Exam 2	April 30	20%
Short paper proposal	March 12	5%
Presentations	April 16, 18, & 23	10%
Final Paper	May 11 (1pm)	35%

1. PARTICIPATION AND ATTENDANCE (10%)

You are expected to have done the required readings by the day listed on the syllabus to be able to actively participate in the discussion. An “A” in participation will be achieved with weekly participation that demonstrates familiarity with the readings. This, of course, includes asking questions. But your questions and comments during class should reflect the time spent with the readings.

2. EXAMS (20%*2)

Exam 1 will take place on **March 5 (Monday)** and will cover the material discussed up to Week 7 (included). Exam 2 will take on **April 30 (Monday)** and will cover the material discussed in Weeks 8-15 (included). The format of the exams will be discussed the week before the exams. There will be no make-up exams unless you have a documented medical excuse. Make travel plans accordingly.

3. PAPER (35%) PRESENTATION (10%) & PAPER PROPOSAL (5%)

The research paper (15-20 pages) will be on a topic of interest to you in contemporary Latin American politics and will build on established research on that question in the field. You should begin working on your paper early in the semester, and you are expected to meet with me at least once to talk about the topic by **March 7**. Once the professor has approved the topic, you will (1) write a short proposal (**March 12**), (2) present your research paper in front of the class (**April 16, 18, & 23**), (3) meet with me to discuss the final paper, and finally (4) write an original research paper (**May 11**). A week after your presentation, students may choose to submit a draft of the paper (approximately 10 pages) for comments. This requirement is mandatory for students taking the class as writing intensive. We will be discussing this assignment in detail in class.

READINGS

Students are expected to read each of the required readings carefully before coming to class and be prepared to discuss them. The amount of weakly reading for this class is significant and the expectation is that you will take the time to reflect carefully on each reading. When you read an article or book chapter, think about the following questions: What’s the main argument? Do you believe it? Why? Why not? Is the evidence presented convincing? Unless otherwise indicated, you should complete the readings for each week prior to the Monday class. Readings will be available on Canvas.

CLASSROOM ETIQUETTE

1. Please, do not eat during class. Beverages are fine.
2. Students are allowed to use laptops in class for the purpose of taking notes and revising readings/notes during discussion. Students using computers for anything else will lose the privilege of being able to bring the computer to class.
3. Make sure your cell phone is turned off and do not text during class.
4. Attendance is mandatory and part of your participation grade. If you missed a class, please get the notes from another student.

POLICIES

Attendance

Attendance is mandatory and extremely important to succeed in this class. During lectures I will cover some material that is not in the readings and they will be part of the exams. If you missed a class, ask another student for the notes (the class' slides alone won't be enough).

Make-up Exams

There will be no make-up exams unless you have a documented medical excuse. Make travel plans accordingly.

Late Policy

Late papers will be downgraded by one-third of a letter grade (e.g. A to A-) per day.

Grading

This course will be grade according to the following scale:

A	>=93	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D+	67-69	F
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	D	63-66	59 &
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72	D-	60-62	below

Disputing grades:

I am happy to go over any exam or paper with you to help you to improve for the following assignment or the final. Indeed, I encourage you to come to my office to do so, especially if you think that you did study hard but did not get the expected results. Request for re-grading, though, must be done in writing. Any student requesting re-grading should describe (based on the class' materials) what he/she feels constitute the correct answer and how his/hers work meets the standard described.

Academic Honesty

Students are required to act in accordance with the Code of Academic Conduct. Any suspected violations will be brought before the Newcomb-Tulane College Honor Board. Please familiarize yourself with the Code of Academic Conduct:

<http://tulane.edu/college/code.cfm>.

Goldman Office of Disability Services (ODS)

The ODS' mission is to provide services and promote an accessible environment to all members of the Tulane community. Students with psychological, medical/physical, and learning/developmental disabilities who need accommodations must be registered with the Office of Disability Services and follow their procedures for obtaining assistance. See: <http://tulane.edu/studentaffairs/disability/index.cfm>

If you have any kind of special circumstances, such as a disability, illness or handicap, let me know as soon as possible. This information is confidential. Students needing accommodations must provide me with a Course Accommodation Form and if applicable, an Exam Request Form ("blue sheet") in order to schedule an exam to be taken at ODS. Accommodations involving exams must be requested to me at least four days before a test or seven days before a final exam. Any student receiving an exam-related accommodation should plan to take the exam at ODS.

Respect for all people

Tulane University recognizes the inherent dignity of all individuals and promotes respect for all people. As "One Wave," Tulane is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, creed, religion, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation, as well as all forms of sexual harassment, including sexual assault, domestic and dating violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or experiences discrimination, domestic violence, sexual assault or sexual harassment, know that you are not alone. Resources and support are available. Learn more at onewave.tulane.edu. Any and all of your communications on these matters will be treated as either "Strictly Confidential" or "Mostly Confidential" as explained in the chart below.

Strictly Confidential	Mostly Confidential
<i>Except in extreme circumstances, involving imminent danger to one's self or others, nothing will be shared without your explicit permission.</i>	<i>Conversations are kept as confidential as possible, but information is shared with key staff members so the University can offer resources and accommodations and take action if necessary for safety reasons.</i>
Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) (504) 314-2277	Coordinator of Violence Prevention (504) 314-2161
Student Health Center (504) 865-5255	Tulane University Police (TUPD) (504) 865-5911
Sexual Aggression Peer Hotline and Education (SAPHE) (504) 654-9543	Office of Institutional Equity (504) 862-8083

COURSE SCHEDULE

PART I: INTRODUCTION

Week 1: Introduction to the Class [January 17]

[Wednesday]: Introduction

Week 2: [January 22-24]

[Monday]: Major events in Latin America's politics in the 20th Century

- Smith, Peter. 2012. *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 1, "Cycles of Electoral Democracy": 19-42.

Recommended

- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 23(1): 1-21.

[Wednesday]: Democratic Accountability and Representation: Theoretical approaches and Latin American perspectives

- Smith, Peter. 2012. *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford University Press. Introduction: 1-12.
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Christopher Welna. 2003. *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Ch. 1, "Introduction: Democratic Accountability in Latin America": 3-33.

Recommended

- Przeworski, Adam, Susan Stokes, and Bernard Manin. 1999. "Introduction." In Adam Przeworski, Susan Stokes, and Bernard Manin (eds.), *Democracy, Accountability & Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 1-26.

PART II: DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND HORIZONTAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Week 3 [January 29-31]: Presidents and Congresses

[Monday]

- Cox, Gary W., and Scott Morgenstern. 2001. "Latin America's reactive assemblies and proactive presidents." *Comparative Politics* 33(2): 171-189.
- Mainwaring, Scott. 1990. "Presidentialism in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 25 (1): 157-79.

[Wednesday]

- Hochstetler, Kathryn. 2006. "Rethinking Presidentialism: Challenges and Presidential Falls in South America." *Comparative Politics* 38(4): 401-418.

Recommended

- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal. 2005. "Democratization and Constitutional Crises in Presidential Regimes: Towards Congressional Supremacy?" *Comparative Political Studies* 38(1): 51-74.
- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, and John Polga-Hecimovich. 2017. "Explaining military coups and impeachments in Latin America." *Democratization* 24(5): 839-858.

Week 4 [February 5-7]: The Judiciary

[Monday]:

- Documentary *Presunto Culpable* by Rodolfo Bernal (88 minutes). Available at <https://vimeo.com/59973655> - will be shown in class

[Wednesday]:

- Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, and Andrea Castagnola. 2009. "Presidential control of high courts in Latin America: A long-term view (1904-2006)." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 1(2): 87-114.
- Ríos-Figueroa, Julio. 2007. "Fragmentation of Power and the Emergence of an Effective Judiciary in Mexico, 1994-2002." *Latin American Politics and Society* 49(1): 31-57.

Recommended

- Gargarella, Roberto. 2017. "Constitutional Changes and Judicial Power in Latin America." In Falleti, Tulia and Emilio Parrado (eds), *Latin America Since the Left Turn*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 189-213.

Week 5 [February 12-14]: State of Violence? Police, Drug Trafficking, and Cartels

[MONDAY]: MARDI GRAS BREAK

[Wednesday]

- Video: Yashar, Deborah Violence in Latin America (published on May 14, 2012) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=UbZXCSo2Qsk> -will be shown in class
- Schedler, Andreas. 2014. "The criminal subversion of Mexican democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 25(1): 5-18.
- Brinks, Daniel. 2006. "The Rule of (Non) Law: Prosecuting Police Killings in Brazil and Argentina." In *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Ed. Gretchen Helmke and Steven Levitsky. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UP.
- "Losing Faith in the State, Some Mexican Towns Quietly Break Away." *New York Times*, Jan 7, 2018

Recommended

- Magaloni, Beatriz, & Razu, Zaira. 2016. "Mexico in the grip of violence." *Current History*, 115(778): 57-62.

PART III: REPRESENTATION, ELECTIONS, AND VERTICAL ACCOUNTABILITY

Week 6 [February 19- 21]: Elections, Parties, and Clientelism

[Monday]: Parties and Party Systems

- Lupu, Noam. 2015. "Partisanship in Latin America," in *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts*, eds. Ryan E. Carlin, Matthew M. Singer, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press: 226-245.
- Levitsky, Steven, James Loxton, and Brandon Van Dyck. 2016. "Introduction: Challenges of Party-Building in Latin American." In Levitsky, Steven, James Loxton, Brandon Van Dyck, and Jorge I. Domínguez, eds. *Challenges of party-building in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press: 1-26.

[Wednesday]: Elections and Clientelism

- Brusco, Valeria, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan Stokes. 2004. "Vote buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review* 39(2): 66-88.
- Auyero, Javier. 2000 "The logic of clientelism in Argentina: An ethnographic account." *Latin American research review* 35(3): 55-81.

Recommended

- Holzner, Claudio A. 2010. "Democratization, Political Competition, and Political Participation" (Ch. 6) in *The Poverty of Democracy*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh: 154-194.

Week 7 [February 26-28]: Protests

- Machado, Fabiana, Carlos Scartascini, and Mariano Tommasi. 2011. "Political institutions and street protests in Latin America." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3): 340-365.
- Moseley, Mason and Daniel Moreno. 2010. "The Normalization of Protest in Latin America" *AmericasBarometer Insights*: 42.
- Aytaç, S. Erdem, Luis Schiumerini, and Susan Stokes. 2017. "Protests and Repression in New Democracies." *Perspectives on Politics* 15(1): 62-82.
- Winters, Matthew S., and Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro. 2014. "Partisan protesters and nonpartisan protests in Brazil." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 6(1): 137-150.

Recommended

- "Symposium on 2013 Protests in Brazil." Mobilizing Ideas. Mobilizing Ideas, 4 Sept. 2013. Web. 08 Jan. 2014.
<<http://mobilizingideas.wordpress.com/2013/09/04/round-2-contemporary-movements-in-latin-america/>>.

Week 8: [March 5-7]

[MONDAY]: EXAM 1

[Wednesday]: Movie *City of God* (2002), by Fernando Meirelles and Kátia Lund, will be shown in class.

PART IV: SPECIAL TOPICS

Week 9 [March 12-14]: Poverty, Inequality, and Anti-poverty Programs

[MONDAY] SHORT PAPER PROPOSAL IS DUE ON CANVAS AND HARD COPY IN CLASS

- De La O, Ana Lorena. 2015. "The Universe of Cash Transfer Programs" (Ch. 2), in *Crafting policies to end poverty in Latin America: The Quiet Transformation*. New York: Cambridge University Press: 24-43.
- Díaz-Cayeros, Alberto and Beatriz Magaloni. 2009. "Aiding Latin America's Poor." *Journal of Democracy* 20.4 (2009): 36-49.
- Fairfield, Tasha, and Candelaria Garay. 2017. "Redistribution under the right in Latin America: electoral competition and organized actors in policymaking." *Comparative Political Studies* 50(14): 1871 – 1906.
- 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.

Recommended

- Hall, Anthony. 2006. "From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família: social policies and poverty alleviation under Lula." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38(4): 689-709.

Week 10 [March 19-21]: Identity Politics

[Monday]: Indigenous Politics

- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2007. "Latin America's indigenous peoples." *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 127-142
- Madrid, Raul. 2016. "Obstacles to Ethnic Parties in Latin America." In Levitsky, Steven, James Loxton, Brandon Van Dyck, and Jorge I. Domínguez, eds. *Challenges of party-building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

[Wednesday]: Gender and LGBTQ Rights

- Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina," *Politics & Gender* 4 (3): 393–425.
- Corrales, Javier. 2012. "LGBT Rights in the Americas," *Americas Quarterly* (Spring): 88-94. (<http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/3565>)
- Lodola, Germán, and Margarita Corral. 2010. "Latin America's Support for Same-Sex Marriage." *Americas Quarterly*. 22 July. (<http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/1728>).

Recommended

- Corrales, Javier, and Mario Pecheny. "Six Reasons Why Argentina Legalized Gay Marriage First." *Americas Quarterly* (n.d.): n. pag. (<http://americasquarterly.org/node/1753>)
- Hunt, Mala. 2003. "Women and Democracy." In Jorge Domínguez and Michael Shifter (eds.) *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

WEEK 11 [MARCH 26-28]: SPRING BREAK!

Week 12 [April 2-4]:

[MONDAY]: SPRING BREAK

[Wednesday]: The New Left

- Levitsky, Steven and Roberts, Kenneth. 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: 1-28.

Week 13: [April 9-11]: The New Left II

[Monday]: The left in power

- Madrid, Raúl, Wendy Hunter, and Kurt Weyland. 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 7:140-180.

[Wednesday]: Back to the Right?

- "Scandals, protest, weak growth: Is Latin America's left in retreat?" *The Guardian*. March 22 2015. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/22/latin-america-left-tough-times-brazil-argentina-venezuela>

- “The Most Important Criminal Conviction in Brazil’s History”. *The New Yorker*, July 13, 2017. <https://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/the-most-important-criminal-conviction-in-brazils-history>
- Luna, Juan Pablo and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2014. “The Right in Contemporary Latin America: A Framework for Analysis.” In *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*.” Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press 1-22.
- Murillo, María Victoria and Steven Levistky. Forthcoming. “Economic Shocks and Partisan Realignment in Argentina.” In Lupu, Noam, Virginia Oliveros, and Luis Schiumerini (eds), *Campaigns and Voters in Developing Democracies: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*: Ann Harbor: Michigan University Press.

Week 14: [April 16-18]: Students’ Presentations

[Monday]

Students’ presentations of research papers

[Wednesday]

Students’ presentations of research papers

Week 15: [April 23-25]:

[Monday]

Students’ presentations of research papers

[Wednesday]: Conclusions and looking forward

- Smith, Peter. 2012. *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*. Oxford University Press. Ch. 10, “Freedoms, Rights, and Illiberal Democracy” (263-288) and Epilogue, “The Future of Democracy” (329-344).

Recommended

- Hagopian, Frances. 2005. “Conclusions: Government Performance, Political Representation, and Public Perceptions of Contemporary Democracy in Latin America.” In *The Third Wave of Democracy in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, ed. F. Hagopian and S. Mainwaring. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Week 16

APRIL 30 [MONDAY]: EXAM 2

MAY 11 [FRIDAY]: BY 1PM - FINAL RESEARCH PAPER IS DUE ON CANVAS