Pro-Seminar in Latin American Politics Political Science 525

Instructor: Juan Pablo Micozzi Office: Social Sciences Building, Room 2046 Office Hours: W 4:00-6:00 or by appointment E-mail: <u>jmicozzi@unm.edu</u> Fall 2012 W 1:30-4:00 SSCI 2069

Goals of the Course

This core course is intended to expose students to the main theoretical and empirical approaches to the study of Latin American politics. As a graduate level course, some familiarity with basic disciplinary concepts and mechanisms is taken for granted. The course will provide in-depth exposure to the most salient topics in the subfield and review both classic and contemporary approaches in the literature. Upon completion of this seminar, students should be able to understand and discuss the main theories and issues that dominate the comparative debate on Latin American politics.

Students attending the seminar are expected to provide a critical reading of the materials, and engage in active discussion. To this end, students will be required to lead in-class debate and write critical pieces on some of the weekly readings. Students will also be required to write a final paper that reflects the contents learned throughout the semester. Upon completion of this course, I expect students to demonstrate knowledge in the state of the art of the comparative politics of Latin-America.

Requirements

Class attendance is mandatory and active participation is required. The final grade will be built up by a combination of:

Class participation: 20%

Students are required to actively engage in discussions, which imply, of course, a careful reading of the weekly materials

Group Assignments: 30%

Two collective projects will be assigned. Students will have to prepare a report and a short presentation in Power Point

Final Paper: 50%

A paper of 15-25 pages long is required to pass the course. The project is intended to be a seed for a conference paper, a research field paper, a master's thesis, or an undergraduate poster. A presentation of preliminary results (with a Power Point) will be performed during the last weeks of the course.

Additionally, all requirements need to be fulfilled. Failure to comply with any of the requirements will result in a failing grade for the class.

Supplementary readings might be available for extra credit.

Americans with Disabilities Act:

"Qualified students with disabilities needing appropriate academic adjustments should contact me as soon as possible to ensure your needs are met in a timely manner. Handouts are available in alternative accessible formats upon request." If you need more information on ADA, please contact the Office of Equal Opportunity at 277-5251.

Required Books

Carey, John and Matthew Shugart. 1998. *Executive Authority Decree*. Cambridge University Press. *

Eckstein, Susan. 2001. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, Updated and Expanded Edition, University of California Press.

Gibson, Edward (ed.) 2004. *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*.. Johns Hopkins University Press. *

Levitsky, Steve and Gretchen Helmke (eds.) 2006. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America.**

Mainwaring, Scott and Frances Hagopian (eds.) 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press*

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Shugart (eds.) 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

Morgenstern, Scott and Benito Nacif (eds.) 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. *

Munck, Gerardo (ed.). *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*, Oxford University Press. *

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Phillipe Schmitter. 1985. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule:

Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Payne, Mark et al. 2007. *Democracies in Development: Politics and Reform in Latin America, <u>Revised Edition</u>. Inter-American for Development Bank-John Hopkins University Press.*

Siavelis, Peter and Scott Morgenstern (eds.) 2008. *Pathways to power: political recruitment and candidate selection in Latin America*. Penn State University Press.

Books marked with an asterisk * will not be fully covered during the course. However, it is highly recommended to have them all in the personal library for comprehensive exams.

Schedule:

Week 1 (8/22): Presentation and Introduction

Week 2 (8/29): NO class (APSA Annual Meeting)

Week 3 (9/5): Classic approaches to Latin American Politics: Modernization, Dependency, and the B-A.

Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1959. "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy". *American Political Science Review* 53(1): 69-85.

Valenzuela, Arturo and Samuel Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment". *Comparative Politics* 10(4): 535-552.

Germani, Gino. 1969-1970. "Stages of Modernization in Latin America." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 5(8):155-172.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*. University of California-Berkeley Press, pp. 67-91.

Przeworski, Adam and Fernando Limongi. 1997. "Modernization." *World Politics* 9(2):155-184.

Week 4 (9/12): Analytical Approaches to the Study of Formal and Informal Institutions

Munck, Gerardo. 2007. "Research Agendas and Strategies in the Study of the Latin American Politics." In Gerardo Munck (ed.), *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*, Oxford University Press: 1-21.

Weyland, Kurt. 2002. "Limitations of rational-choice institutionalism for the study of Latin American politics." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 37(1): 57-85.

Carroll, Royce and Matthew Shugart. 2007. "Neo-Madisonian Theory and Latin American Institutions". In Gerardo Munck (ed.), *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*", Oxford University Press: 51-101.

Levitsky, Steve and Gretchen Helmke (eds.) 2006. *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America*. Ch. 1 (Introduction.) Johns Hopkins University Press: 1-30.

Dal Bo, Ernesto and Martin Rossi. 2008. "Term Length and Political Performance." NBER Working Paper No. 14511.

Week 5 (9/19): Populism, Neo-Populism, and Party Change

Roberts, Kenneth. 1995. "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case". *World Politics* 48(1): 82-116.

Gibson, Edward L. 1997. "The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina." *World Politics* 49(3): 339-370.

Murillo, M. Victoria. 2000. "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America." *World Politics* 52(1): 135-174.

Ellner, Steve. 2003. "The Contrasting Variants of the Populism of Hugo Chávez and Alberto Fujimori." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35(1): 139-162.

Burgess, Katrina and Steven Levitsky. 2003. "Environmental Change and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela." *Comparative Political Studies* 36(8): 881-911.

Kurt Weyland, "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 31 (5) (October 1998). **Week 6 (9/26): Social Groups and Representation**

Eckstein, Susan. 2001. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, Updated and Expanded Edition, University of California Press.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2010. "Indigenous Peoples' Politics in Latin America." *Annual Review of Political Science* 13:385–405.

Jones, Mark P. 2009. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Evidence from the Latin American Vanguard." *Comparative Political Studies* 42 (1): 56-81.

Htun, Mala, and Juan Pablo Ossa. 2012. "Political Inclusion of Marginalized Groups: Indigenous Reservations and Gender Parity in Bolivia". Forthcoming, *Politics, Groups and Identities.*

Machado, Fabiana, Carlos Scartascini, and Mariano Tommasi. 2009. "Political Institutions and Street Protests in Latin America." Inter-American for Development Bank, Working Series Paper Nr. IDB-WP-110

Group Assignment 1: Racial/ethnic composition, political participation, and perception of discrimination (Latinobarometro 2009)

Week 7 (10/3): Democratic Transitions and Democratic Instability

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Phillipe Schmitter. 1985. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Mainwaring, Scott and Frances Hagopian, eds. 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press, Ch.1: 14-59.

Sartori, Giovanni. 1994. "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does it make a difference?" In Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, *The Failure of Presidential Democracy: The Case of Latin America*, Johns Hopkins University Press: 3-87.

Cheibub, Jose Antonio. 2002. "Minority governments, deadlock situations, and the survival of presidential democracies". *Comparative Political Studies* 35: 284–312.

Perez Linan, Anibal. 2007. "Democratization and Constitutional Crises in Presidential Regimes: Towards Congressional Supremacy?" *Comparative Political Studies* 38(1): 51-74.

Week 8 (10/10): Institutional Design and Party Systems

Payne, Mark et al. 2007. *Democracies in Development: Politics and Reform in Latin America*, **Revised Edition**. Inter-American for Development Bank-John Hopkins University Press.

Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart (eds.) 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 9 (10/17): Electoral Competition, Representation and Political Participation

Jones, Mark P. 2004. "Electoral institutions, social cleavages, and candidate competition in presidential elections." *Electoral Studies* 23(1): 73-106.

Ames, Barry. 1995. "Electoral strategy under open-list proportional representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(2): 406-433.

Magar, Eric, Marc Rosenblum and David Samuels. 1998. "On the Absence of Centripetal Incentives in Double-Member Districts: The Case of Chile." *Comparative Political Studies* 31(6): 714-739.

Carey, John M. 2007. "Competing principals, political institutions, and party unity in legislative voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 92-107.

Fornos, Carolina, Timothy J. Power and James C. Garand. 2004. "Explaining Voter Turnout in Latin America: 1980-2000." *Comparative Political Studies* 37(8): 909-940.

Paper proposals due! At this point, you should have talked to me about your topic

Week 10 (10/24): Executive-Legislative Relations: Consensus, Pork or Bypass?

Jones, Mark P. 2002. "Legislator Behavior and Executive-Legislative Relations in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 37(3): 176-188.

Cox, Gary, and Scott Morgenstern. 2002. "Epilogue: Latin America's Reacctive Asseblies and Proactive Presidents." In Scott Morgentsern and Benito Nacif, *Legislative Politics in Latin America*, pp. 446-468, Cambridge University Press.

Carey, John and Matthew Shugart. 1998. *Executive Authority Decree*. Introduction, Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-32.

Pereira, Carlos, Tim Power and Lucio Rennó. 2005. "Under What Conditions Do Presidents Resort to Decree Power? Theory and Evidence from the Brazilian Case." *The Journal of Politics* 67(1): 178-200.

Group Assignment 2: Presidents' and Congresses' proximity (Wiesehomeier and Benoit data)

Week 11 (10/31): Candidate Selection Mechanisms, or who cuts and shares the Pie

Siavelis, Peter and Scott Morgenstern. 2008. *Pathways to power: political recruitment and candidate selection in Latin America*. Penn State University Press.

Carey, John M., and John Polga-Hecimovich, 2006. "Primary Elections and Candidate Strength in Latin America." *Journal of Politics* 68(3): 530–43

Kemahlioglu, Ozge, Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro and Shigeo Hirano. 2009. "Why Primaries in Latin American Presidential Elections?." *Journal of Politics* 71(4): 339-352

Week 12 (11/7): Federalism, Subnational Politics and Multi-Tier Interactions

Snyder, Richard. 2001. "Scaling Down: the subnational comparative method." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36(1): 93–110.

Gibson, Edward (ed). 2004. *Federalism and Democracy in Latin America*. Introduction. Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 1-28.

Gervasoni, Carlos. 2010. "A Rentier Theory of Subnational Regimes: Fiscal Federalism, Democracy, and Authoritarianism in the Argentine Provinces." *World Politics* 62(2): 302–40.

Ames, Barry. 1994. "The Reverse Coattails Effect: Local Party Organization in the 1989 Brazilian Presidential Election." *American Political Science Review* 88(1): 95-111

Rosas, Guillermo, and Joy Langston. 2011. "Gubernatorial Effects on the Voting Behavior of National Legislators." *Journal of Politics* 73(2): 477–493.

Jones, Mark P. and Wonjae Hwang. 2005. "Party Government in Presidential Democracies: Extending Cartel Theory Beyond the U.S. Congress," *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 267-282.

Week 13 (11/14): Actors, Interests and Strategic Behavior

Taylor, Michelle. 1992. "Formal versus Informal Incentive Structures and Legislator Behavior: Evidence from Costa Rica." *Journal of Politics* 54(4): 1055–73.

Crisp, Brian, Kristin and Jenny Leijonhufvud. 2004. "The Reputations Legislators Build: With Whom Should Representatives Collaborate?" *American Political Science Review* 98(4): 703-716.

Crisp, Brian and Scott Desposato. 2004. "Constituency Building in Multimember Districts: Collusion or Conflict?" *Journal of Politics* 66(1): 136-156.

Micozzi, Juan Pablo. 2013. "From House to Home: Strategic Bill Drafting in Multilevel Systems with Non-Static Ambition." Revised and resubmitted, *Journal of Legislative Studies.*

Chasquetti, Daniel, and Juan Pablo Micozzi. 2013. "The Subnational Connection in Unitary Regimes: Progressive Ambition and Legislative Behavior in Uruguay." Under review, *Legislative Studies Quarterly*.

Week 14 (11/21): Papers Presentation I Week 15 (11/28): Papers Presentation II Week 16 (12/5): Papers Presentation III