

Latin American Political Development

POL 447

W: 5:30-8 pm, Education Room 318

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Social Sciences 328A2

Office hours: 9-11 am, Thursdays (or by appointment)

In this course we will examine in detail a series of institutions that underpin Latin American political systems. We will learn about the host of practices, norms, laws, and organizations that have helped and hindered democracy in the region. We will examine their development over time and explain why and where they seem to work (and where they do not).

This course is an extension of my introduction to the politics of Latin America. We will get down to the nitty-gritty of politics in the region by examining those institutions that make politics work. This includes, but is not limited to, presidents, legislatures, and the judiciary; women and minority in politics; social mechanisms of accountability; and – my personal favorite – political parties. Famously, democracy cannot work without political parties. As democratic institutions go, political parties are pretty important. We will therefore spend the second half of the semester examining the development of this political institution in Latin America. As with all institutions in the region, the development of parties has been uneven, unpredictable, and incredibly interesting.

Evaluations: A = 89.5-100; B = 79.5 – 89.4; C = 69.5-79.4; D = 60-69.4

Weekly attendance: 10% overall grade

This course will weigh participation heavily. We meet for almost three continuous hours! Your active participation will be a requirement. Attendance is required, and I will be taking attendance each week. I will regularly assign group projects based off of the readings. These will focus our weekly meetings and set the stage for the rest of the class. Any lecturing that I do will be based off of the content of our discussions.

Absences are permitted for the following two reasons and with prior notice by email: (1) All holidays or special events observed by organized religions will be honored for those students who show affiliation with that particular religion, and (2) Absences pre-approved by the UA Dean of Students (or Dean's designee) will be honored.

Midterm exam: 30% overall grade

Group presentation: 25% overall grade

Your group will also be responsible for a 30-40 minute presentation on a case study related to the topic/theme of the week. I expect that your group will devise clever and engaging ways to convey information about your case study. Be creative! More information on this in the second week of class.

Final individual paper assignments: 35% overall grade

As a final project you will be asked to create your own political party in a particular Latin American country. You must write up a strategy for creating the party, and include in that strategy the following components: the party's main program/ideology; its electoral strategy (taking into account electoral laws; and target constituencies. These components should be sensitive to political and social context. Finally, you will create a plan of action for how the party will achieve electoral success. More information on this assignment will be provided after the midterm exam. Part of the evaluation will be based on a fifteen-minute presentation that each student will make during the last two class meetings (April 29 & May 6).

Regarding exam dates and assignment deadlines, please note that these dates are set in stone for all students. Exceptions will be made *only* for *documented* cases of illness or family crisis. Students seeking an exception must request it from me prior to the exam or the paper deadline.

Extra Credit opportunity: There will be an opportunity to earn an extra credit point in this course. This semester, individuals affiliated with SGPP will conduct several academic research projects at the SGPP Research Center. You will receive notice throughout the semester regarding these opportunities. After participating in a project, you will receive ONE percentage point. The point will be applied to your final score at the end of the semester. Please do not contact me about these opportunities. If you have questions, please send an email to SGPPResearch@email.arizona.edu. Also, a representative from the SGPP Research Center will visit our class to explain the SGPP Research Center and how you should sign up for a project. The projects typically involve completing a short survey, which usually takes between 15 minutes to an hour to complete.

Other rules: I will not allow laptops for note-taking in class. It turns out you learn more (and better) without computers:

<http://www.newyorker.com/online/blogs/elements/2014/06/the-case-for-banning-laptops-in-the-classroom.html>. Also, the use of cell phones and other hand-held devices that connect you to your family and friends is **not allowed** during class. The reasons for this should be obvious. Please note, however, that we will be using our computers or phones periodically to undertake research and answer questions that arise in class. These technologies enhance what we know even though they may not improve how we learn.

Plagiarism is strictly forbidden and will be pursued and punished following the terms put forth by the University of Arizona. For more information on the university's policies, please see the following website:

<http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/codeofacademicintegrity>.

Please keep in mind that the University of Arizona seeks to promote a safe environment where students may participate in the educational process without compromising their health, safety or welfare. As such, the university prohibits threats of physical harm to any

member of the University community, including to one's self. For more information, please see the following website:

<http://policy.web.arizona.edu/threatening-behavior-students>.

Accessibility and Accommodations:

It is the University's goal that learning experiences be as accessible as possible. If you anticipate or experience physical or academic barriers based on disability, please let me know immediately so that we can discuss options. You are also welcome to contact Disability Resources (520-621-3268) to establish reasonable accommodations.

Please be aware that the accessible table and chairs in this room should remain available for students who find that standard classroom seating is not usable.

Readings: There is one required text for this course: *Democracy in Latin America*, 2nd edition. Peter Smith. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press (2012). ISBN: 978-0-19-538773-5. All other readings will be scanned and posted on D2L or will be available online.

Weekly Schedule:

Week 1: January 14. Introduction

1. Problems with democracy and development in Latin America? "Latin America at the Century's Turn," Abraham F. Lowenthal, *Journal of Democracy* (2000).
2. Solutions to democracy and development in Latin America? "Latin America: Eight Lessons for Governance," Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, *Journal of Democracy* (2008).

Week 2: January 21. Development and democracy in Latin America (Long-term Trends)

1. *Democracy in Latin America*, Intro & Chps 1-2
2. "Long-Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America," James Mahoney, *American Journal of Sociology* (2003). On D2L.

Week 3: January 28. Quality of Democracy (Contemporary Issues)

1. *Democracy in Latin America*, Chps 8-10
2. "Assessing the Quality of Democracy: Freedom, Competitiveness, and Participation in Eighteen Latin American Countries," David Altman and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, *Democratization* (2002).

Week 4: February 4. Presidentialism & Caudillo Rule

*Case study: Choose a populist leader

1. *Democracy in Latin America*, Chp 5
2. Chapter 5, *Politics Latin America*, Gavin O'Toole (pp 131-152)
3. Delegative democracy (O'Donnell)
4. "Manipulating Term Limits in Latin America." Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Journal of Democracy*, 25.4: 157-68 (2014).

Week 5: February 11. Legislative Politics of Latin America

1. *Democracy in Latin America*, Chp 6
2. "Legislative Oversight: Interests and Institutions in the United States and Argentina," Scott Morgenstern and Luigi Manzetti, in *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, 2003 (available as ebook at UA Library).
3. "Latin America's Reactive Assemblies and Proactive Presidents," Gary Cox and Scott Morgenstern (2001)

Week 6: February 18. The Judicial Branch in Latin America

1. Intro chapter, TBA.
2. "The Construction of Rule of Law in Argentina: A Tale of Two Provinces." Rebecca Bill Chávez. *Comparative Politics*, 2003.
3. "Fragmentation of Power and the Emergence of an Effective Judiciary in Mexico, 1994-2002." Julio Rios-Figueroa. *Latin American Politics & Society*, 2007.

Week 7: February 25. Women & minorities in politics

*Case study: Choose TWO prominent figures to profile

1. "The Lopsided Continent: Inequality in Latin America," Kelly Hoffman and Miguel Angel Centeno, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 2003, 29: 363-90.
2. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America," Deborah Yashar, *Comparative Politics*, 1998, 31(1): 23-42.
3. "Institutional Change and Ethnic Parties in South America," Donna Lee Van Cott, *Latin American Politics & Society*, 45(2): 1-39.
4. "Women, Political Parties, and Electoral Systems in Latin America," Mala Htun, *Women in Parliament: Beyond Numbers*,
http://174.129.218.71/publications/wip2/upload/Latin_America.pdf.

Week 8: March 4. Societal accountability

*Case study: Student movements of Latin America

1. "Social Movements: Revolution, Reform, and Reaction," Judith Adler Hellman, NACLA:
http://www.yorku.ca/erlac/jhellman/Social_movements.pdf.
2. "Democratizing Civil Society in Latin America," Alison Brysk, *Journal of Democracy*, 2000, 11.3: 151-165.
3. "Societal and Horizontal Controls: Two Cases of a Fruitful Relationship," Catalina Smulovitz and Enrique Peruzzotti, in *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, 2003 (available as ebook at UA Library).
4. "With Mexico's election results upheld, what's next for the Yo Soy 132 movement?" *Christian Science Monitor*:
<http://www.csmonitor.com/World/Americas/2012/0911/With-Mexico-s-election-results-upheld-what-s-next-for-the-YoSoy132-movement>.

Week 9: March 11. MIDTERM EXAM

March 18 SPRING BREAK

Week 10: March 25. Political parties in Latin America—An Introduction

*Case study: Why are political parties important?

1. "Political Parties and Democracy," Susan Stokes, *Annual Review of Political Science* (1999), 2 (243-67).
2. "Party Systems in the Third Wave," Scott Mainwaring, *Journal of Democracy* (1998), 9.3 (67-81).
3. "Political Representation in Latin America A Study of Elite-Mass Congruence in Nine Countries," Juan Pablo Luna and Elizabeth Zechmeister, *Comparative Political Studies* (2005), 38.4 (388-416).

Week 11: April 1. Historic parties and party systems

*Case study: The PRI

1. "Party Elites and Leadership in Colombia and Venezuela," John Martz, *Journal of Latin American Studies* (1992), 24.1 (87-121).
2. "The birth and transformation of the *dedazo* in Mexico," Joy Langston, in *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America* (2006). D2L.
3. "Giants with Feet of Clay: Political Parties in Colombia," Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez, in *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes* (Chapter 3). D2L.
4. "Demise and Resurrection of a Dominant Party: Understanding the PRI's Comeback in Mexico," Gilles Serra, *Journal of Politics in Latin America* (2013), 3 (133-54).

Week 12: April 8 Labor-based parties

*Case study: The Peronist party

1. "The Political Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s," Karen L. Remmer, *The American Political Science Review* (1991), 85.3 (777-800).
2. "The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina," Edward Gibson, *World Politics* (1997), 49.3 (339-70).
3. "Crisis, Party Adaptation and Regime Stability in Argentina: The Case of Peronism, 1989-1995," Steven Levitsky, *Party Politics* (1998), 4.4 (445-470).

Week 13: April 15. Party Systems after transition (Stability over time, collapse, change)

*Case study: Fujimorismo

1. "The Crisis of Representation in the Andes," Scott Mainwaring, *Journal of Democracy* (2006), 17.3 (13-27).
2. Section on party-system change and collapse, Jason Seawright, in *Party-System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Venezuela and Peru* (2012). D2L.
3. "Fujimori and Post-Party Politics in Peru," Steven Levitsky, *Journal of Democracy* (1999), 10.3 (78-92).
4. "Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America: Environmental and Organizational Determinants of Party Change in Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and

Venezuela,” Katrina Burgess and Steven Levitsky, *Comparative Political Studies* (2003), 36.8: 881-911.

Week 14: April 22. “New” parties: Movement-based parties and 21st Century Populism

*Case study: The MAS

1. “Latin America’s Populist Revival,” Kenneth Roberts, *SAIS Review* (2007), 27.1 (3-15).
2. “Social Movements, Party Organization, and Populism: Insights from the Bolivian MAS,” Santiago Anria, *Latin American Politics and Society* (2013), 55.3 (19-46).
3. “Populism in Venezuela: The Rise of Hugo Chavez,” Kirk Hawkins, *Third Year Quarterly*, 24.6 (1137-60).
4. “Hugo Boss,” Javier Corrales, *Foreign Policy* (2006). On D2L.

Week 15: April 29. Student presentations of final assignment.

Week 16: May 6. Student presentations of final assignment.