

## Political Science 540.02

### Special Topics in Latin American Politics:

#### Brazil

Prof. Sarah Brooks

**Autumn 2008**

Tu-Th. 9:30-11:18

0150 Derby Hall

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#### **Course Description:**

This course examines the challenges facing the Brazilian state and society in the new century. The first part of the course examines the basic structure, history and foundations of contemporary Brazilian politics. We then examine how interests groups are organized and act in the political arena. In particular, we will study the impact of social and economic actors on state decision-making, with special attention to the social and economic challenges arising from poverty, inequality and globalization. We then examine how state and social actors have responded to political and social challenges associated with poverty, inequality and race relations. The final weeks of the quarter examine the challenges of social and economic reform in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This section will center on the new forms of state intervention, and the shifting political alliances that accompanied the opening and insertion of Brazil into the international political and economic scene.

#### **Evaluation:**

The course evaluation will be based on the following elements:

- 1) Participation (10%)
- 2) 2 Midterm Exams (30% each);
- 3) Final exam (30%)

Participants in this course are expected to complete the required readings prior to the first class meeting of the week. Suggested readings are listed as well for each week; these are optional, but students may find them useful in providing a broader context to class discussion and lectures. The two midterm exams will be taken in class, closed-book, and will

consist of essays and identification questions. Booklets for writing your exam answers will be provided. We will have two group presentations that will count heavily toward your participation grade. The class will be divided in groups prior to the debate and each group will make a collective presentation of the issue; all students are expected to participate in the discussions. The final exam will be cumulative and will be administered during finals week in class. A study guide will be distributed on the final class meeting.

### **Required Course Materials:**

- Riorden Roett, *Brazil: Politics in a Patrimonial Society*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Praeger.
- Online Journal Articles. The bulk of the readings for the course are journal articles that are available online through the University Library. These articles are indicated (“Online”) in the syllabus below, and a link will be provided from the course website.
- Course Reader. Readings will available online through the Carmen web page system. These are marked **R**.

### **Academic Honesty:**

All of the work you do in this course is expected to be your own. Absolutely no cheating or plagiarism (using someone else's words or ideas without proper citation) will be tolerated. Any cases of cheating or plagiarism will be reported to the Committee on Academic Misconduct, whose job it is to investigate or establish procedures for the investigation of all reported cases of student academic misconduct. The term “academic misconduct” includes all forms of student academic misconduct wherever committed; illustrated by, but not limited to, cases of plagiarism and dishonest practices in connection with examinations. For additional information, see the Code of Student Conduct: [http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/info\\_for\\_students/csc.asp](http://studentaffairs.osu.edu/info_for_students/csc.asp).

### **Special Needs:**

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disability Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor as soon as possible of their needs.

The Office for Disability Services is located in 150 Pomerene Hall, 1760 Neil Avenue; telephone 292-3307, TDD 292-0901; and on the web:

<http://www.ods.ohio-state.edu/>

## Schedule

### **Week 1. Introduction**

September 25: No required readings.

### **Week 2. Foundations for the Study of Brazil**

September 30-October 2:

#### **Required Readings:**

- Roett, Chapter 1. "Brazil: A Framework for Analysis," p. 1-32.
- "Imperial and Republican Brazil," in Robert Levine and John Crocitti, eds. *The Brazil Reader*, p.59-119. **R.**

*Suggested Reading for Week 2:*

- Leslie Bethell, ed. *Brazil: Empire and Republic, 1822-1930*, 1989. Part I, Chapters 2-4: p. 45-213.
- Warner Baer, 2001. *The Brazilian Economy: Growth and Development*, 5<sup>th</sup> edition, Part I, p. 3-21.
- Nancy Sheper-Hughes, "O Nordeste: Sweetness and Death," *Death Without Weeping: the Violence of Everyday Life in Brazil*. Berkeley: University of California Press, p. 31-64.
- James Lockhart and Stuart B. Schwartz, 1983. "Brazil in the Sugar Age," *Early Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, p. 202-252.

### **Week 3: Authoritarian Brazil**

October 7-9:

#### **Required Readings:**

- Roett, Chapter 2: "Political Parties and Elections," p. 33-62.
- Michael Wallerstein, 1980. "The Collapse of Democracy in Brazil: Its Economic Determinants" *Latin American Research Review*, 15, 3, p. 3-40. Online.
- Roett, Chapter 4: "The Military in Politics," p. 103-138.

*Suggested Readings for Week 3:*

- Roett, Chapter 3: "The Patrimonial State and Society in Brazil," p. 63-102. Thomas E. Skidmore, 1989. "Brazil's Slow Road to Redemocratization: 1974-1985," in Alfred Stepan, ed. *Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation*. Oxford
- Thomas E. Skidmore, 1990. *The Politics of Military Rule in Brazil, 1964-1985*, Oxford University Press. Chs. 1-6, p. 3-209.

- Wendy Hunter, 1995. "Politicians against Soldiers: Contesting the Military in Postauthoritarian Brazil" *Comparative Politics*, 27, 4 (July), p. 425-443.
- Guillermo O'Donnell, 1999. "On the State, Democratization and some Conceptual Problems." *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization*. University of Notre Dame Press.

#### **Week 4: Democratization**

October 14-16:

##### **Required Readings:**

- Luciano Martins, 1986. "The 'Liberalization' of Authoritarian Rule in Brazil" in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe C. Schmitter, Laurence Whitehead, eds. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America* Johns Hopkins University Press, p.72-94. **R.**
- Scott Mainwaring, 1986. "The Transition to Democracy in Brazil." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*. 28, 1 (Spring), p. 149-179. Online.
- Frances Hagopian, 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means?: Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil" *Comparative Political Studies*, 23, 2 (July), p. 147-170. Online.

*Suggested Readings for Week 4:*

- Frances Hagopian, 1996. *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil*, Cambridge University Press.
- Thomas E. Skidmore, 1967. *Politics in Brazil, 1930-1964: An Experiment in Democracy*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Leslie Bethell, 2003. "Politics in Brazil : from elections without democracy to democracy without citizenship" 2005, in Maria D'Alva Kinzo and James Dunkerley, eds., *Brazil since 1985: politics, economy and society*. London : Institute of Latin American Studies.

#### **Week 5: Social Mobilization**

October 21-23:

- October 23: **Midterm Exam #1**

##### **Required Readings:**

- Peter Houtzager and Marcus J. Kurtz. 2000. "The Institutional Roots of Popular Mobilization: State Transformation and Rural Politics in Brazil and Chile, 1960–1995." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 42, 2, p. 394-424. Online.
- Kathryn Hochstetler, 2000. "Democratizing Pressures from Below? Social Movements and the New Brazilian Democracy." in Kingstone and Power, *Democratic Brazil: actors, institutions, and processes*. University of Pittsburgh Press, p.167-184. **R.**

*Suggested Reading for Week 5:*

- Peter P. Houtzager, 1998. "State and Unions in the Transformation of the Brazilian Countryside, 1964- 1979" *Latin American Research Review*, 33, 2. p. 103-142.
- Robert Gay, 1994. *Popular Organization and Democracy in Rio de Janeiro: a tale of two favelas*. Temple University Press
- William R. Nysten, 2002. "Testing the Empowerment Thesis: The Participatory Budget in Belo Horizonte and Betim, Brazil," *Comparative Politics* 43, 2 (January), p. 127-145.
- Frances Hagopian, 1998. "Democracy and Political Representation in Latin America in the 1990s: Pause, Reorganization or Decline?" In Felipe Agüero and Jeffrey Stark, eds. *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*. Lynne Rienner, p. 99-104.

**Week 6: Race and Politics in Brazil**

October 28-30:

**Required Readings:**

- Mala Htun, 2004. "From 'Racial Democracy' to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review*, 39, 1 (February), p. 60-89. Online.
- Stanley R. Bailey, 2004. "Group Dominance and the Myth of Racial Democracy: Antiracism Attitudes in Brazil." *American Sociological Review* 69, 5 (October), p. 728-747. Online.
- "Race and Ethnic Relations," in Robert Levine and John Crocitti, eds. *The Brazil Reader*, p. 351-394. (skim) **R**.

October 30: Group Presentations: Affirmative Action in Brazil

*Suggested Readings for Week 6:*

- Carlos Hasenbalg and Nelson do Valle Silva, 1999. "Notes on Racial and Political Inequality in Brazil" in Michael Hanchard, ed. *Racial Politics in Contemporary Brazil*, Duke University Press, p. 154-178.
- Antônio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães, 2005. "The race issue in Brazilian politics (the last fifteen years)" in Maria D'Alva Kinzo and James Dunkerley, eds. *Brazil since 1985: politics, economy and society*. Oxford: Institute of Latin American Studies.
- Burdick, John. 1998. The Lost Constituency of Brazil's Black Movements. *Latin American Perspectives* 25, 1, p. 136-155.
- Antonio Sérgio Alfredo Guimarães, 1995. "Racism and Anti-Racism in Brazil." In Benjamin P. Bowser, ed. *Racism and Anti-Racism in World Perspective*, Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Hanchard, Michael, 1994. *Orpheus and Power: The Movimento Negro of Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, Brazil, 1945-1988*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

## **Week 7: Rule of Law and Land Disputes**

November 4-6:

### **Required Readings:**

- Anthony W. Pereira, 2000. "An Ugly Democracy? State Violence and the Rule of Law in Postauthoritarian Brazil" *Democratic Brazil: actors, institutions and processes*. Peter R. Kingstone and Timothy J. Power, eds. University of Pittsburgh Press, p. 217-235. **R.**
- James Holston, 1991. "The Misrule of Law: Land and Usurpation in Brazil." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33, no. 4 (October): 695-725. Online.
- Hernando de Soto, *The Mystery of Capital: Why Capitalism Triumphs in the West and Fails Everywhere Else*. London, UK: Bantam Press, 2000. pp. 1-37, 208-218. **R.**

November 6: Group Presentations: Land Disputes in Brazil

*Suggested Readings for Week 7:*

- Colburn, Forrest D. "Crime" in *Latin America at the End of Politics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002, pp. 73-80.
- Gabriel Ondetti, 2006. "Repression, Opportunity, and Protest: Explaining the Take-Off of Brazil's Landless Movement," *Latin American Politics and Society*, 48, 2, p. 61-94.
- John Hammond, 1999. "Law and Disorder: The Brazilian Landless Farmworkers' Movement" *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 18, 4 (October), p. 469-489.
- Lee J. Alston, Gary D. Libecap and Robert Schneider, 1996. "The Determinants and Impact of Property Rights: Land Titles on the Brazilian Frontier." *Journal of Law, Economics and Organization*, 12, 1, p. 25-61.

## **Week 8: Poverty, Inequality and Democracy**

November 11-13:

### **Required Readings:**

- Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz and William C. Smith, 2000. "Poverty, Inequality and Growth in Latin America: Searching for the High Road to Globalization." *Latin American Research Review*, 35, 3, p.7-54. Online.
- Thomas E. Skidmore, 2004. "Brazil's Persistent Income Inequality: Lessons from History." *Latin American Politics and Society*, 46, 2, (Summer), p. 133-150. Online.
- Ken Roberts, 2002. "Social Inequalities without Class Cleavages in Latin America's Neoliberal Era," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 36, 4, Winter, p.3-33. Online.

November 13: **Midterm Exam #2**

*Suggested Readings for Week 8:*

- Roett, Chapter 5 “The Brazilian Economy,” p. 143-180.
- Rosemary Thorp, 1998. “Growth and the Quality of Life over the Century” in Rosemary Thorp, ed. *Progress, Poverty and Exclusion: An Economic History of Latin America in the Twentieth Century*. Inter-American Development Bank.
- Florencia Jubany and Judy Meltzer, 2004. “The Achilles’ Heel of Latin America: The State of the Debate on Inequality” *Focal: Policy Paper*, FPP 04-5. June.
- Alejandro Portes and Kelly Hoffman, 2003. “Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era.” *Latin American Research Review*, 38,1, p. 41-82.

**Week 9: Globalization and Democracy in Brazil**

November 18-20:

**Required Readings**

- Marcus J. Kurtz, 2004. “The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America,” *World Politics*, 56. Online.
- Nathan Jensen and Scott Schmith, 2005. “Market Responses to Politics: The Rise of Lula and the Decline of the Brazilian Stock Market.” *Comparative Political Studies*, 38, 10, p. 1245-1270. Online.
- Alvaro Bianchi and Ruy Braga, 2005. “The Lula Government and Financial Globalization,” *Social Forces*, 83, 4, p. 1745-1762. Online.

*Suggested Readings for Week 9:*

- Kurt Weyland, 2004. “Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record” *Latin American Politics and Society*, 46, 1.
- Kurt Weyland, 2005. “The Growing Sustainability of Brazil’s Low-Quality Democracy.” in Francis Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring, eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*. Cambridge.
- Kurt Weyland, 1996. “Obstacles to Social Reform in Brazil’s New Democracy” *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 1. pp. 1-22.
- De Souza, Amaury, “Cardoso and the Struggle for Reform in Brazil,” *Journal of Democracy* 10.3 (1999): 49-63.
- Robert H. Bates, 1997. *Open-Economy Politics: The Political Economy of the World Coffee Trade*. Princeton University Press, Chapters 1-2.

## **Weeks 10-11: Brazil in the 21st Century: Challenges and Political Responses**

November 25 – December 2:

[Class will not meet on **November 27** for **Thanksgiving.**]

### **Required Readings:**

- Roett, Chapter 7, “Challenges for the Next Century,” p. 217-230.
- Wendy Hunter and Timothy Power, 2007, “Rewarding Lula: Executive Power, Social Policy, and the Brazilian Elections of 2006” *Latin American Politics and Society*, 49, 1, p. 1-30. Online.
- Anthony Hall, 2006. “From Fome Zero to Bolsa Família: Social Policies and Poverty Alleviation under Lula” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 38, 4 (November), p. 689-709. Online.

*Recommended Readings for Weeks 10-11:*

- Wendy Hunter and Timothy Power, 2005. “The Lula Government at Mid-Term: Shaping a Third Decade of Democracy in Brazil.” *Journal of Democracy*, 16, 3, p. 127-139.
- Wendy Hunter, 2007. “Normalization of an Anomaly: The Workers’ Party in Brazil.” *World Politics*, 59, April, p. 440-475.
- Peter Flynn, “Brazil and Lula, 2005: Crisis, Corruption, and Change in Political Perspective,” *Third World Quarterly* 26, 8, p. 1221-1267.
- Sue Branford and Bernardo Kucinski, 2003. *Lula and the Workers Party in Brazil*. New York: New Press, p. 1-50.
- Edmund Amann and Werner Baer, 2006. “Economic Orthodoxy vs. Social Development? The Dilemmas facing Brazil’s Labour Government” *Oxford Development Studies*, 34, 2, p. 219-241.
- Lula’s Zero Hunger Policy Website: <http://www.fomezero.gov.br/>

December 5:

- Review for Final Exam

December 11:

**Final Exam.**