

Universidade de Brasília – Institute of Political Science/ IPOL

Graduate Program in Political Science

Course Title: Contemporary Brazilian Politics and Society

Period: 2020.2 (February - June 2021)

Total hours: 60 (4-credit course)

Language of Instruction: English

Prerequisites/requirements: Prior coursework in political science, sociology and history is recommended but not required.

Time and location: Synchronous activities will occur every Wednesday, 3 pm -5 pm (GMT-3, Brasília time).

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Description: This course presents a broad overview of the main questions on Brazilian politics and society since the transition to democracy in 1985. It focuses on the evolution of democratic political institutions and processes, state-society relations, and major social and demographic changes and their impact on the political system throughout the last three decades.

The course introduces is divided into four sections: A) Democratic transition and consolidation; B) Political Institutions: presidentialism, federalism, parties and party systems; participatory institutions; C) State, policy and society; D) Partisanship, social cleavages and protest;

Objectives

Course Requirements

This is an online course involving both synchronous and asynchronous activities.

Course methodology consists of class lectures and open discussions using the Microsoft Teams and Moodle platforms.

Weekly readings of up to four articles/book chapters are assigned as required course tasks. It is imperative that each student complete the assigned reading in a timely fashion, as this enables them to actively participate in class. All students must present a brief analysis of the readings each week at the beginning of class. If the class size is too large, students will alternate between weekly written (maximum 250 words) and oral presentations (approximately 3 minutes). To pass the course, students will be expected to present their analyses of the readings in at least 75% of the classes (preferably all of them).

Policies:

-While we encourage Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking students to speak to us in their native language during office hours, we kindly ask you to refrain from doing so while inside the classroom since your questions, comments or concerns may be of relevance to other non-Spanish or non-Portuguese speaking students.

-Students are expected to have completed the required reading before the class.

-Attendance and active participation in live classes taught through Microsoft Teams is required. Because we only have 14 classes, absence will substantially detract from your learning experience (and from your participation grade). Special situations involving illness, family emergencies and technical difficulties will be dealt with on a case-by-case basis.

- You will be required to participate of asynchronous debates using Moodle's forum resource, in addition to completing two major written assignments (and a few minor ones) throughout the course.

Assignments and grading:

Note on the grading system used at the University of Brasília

Student coursework is evaluated by letter grades, which are assigned a value based on a 10-point scale.

SS - 9,0 to 10,0

MS - 7,0 to 8,9

MM - 5,0 to 6,9

MI - 3,0 to 4,9

II - 0,1 to 2,9

SR - 0 (zero) or less than 75% attendance.

Students must obtain a grade equal or superior to 5 to pass (MM).

1. Dialogue essays.

Students will be required to write short essays (maximum 700 - 1000 words) at the end of three of the four sections of the course. The essays should present an argument that connects authors and themes from at least two classes in the section. Each essay is due one week after the completion of the respective section.

2. Final Paper

The short final paper (Max 6000 words) should explore an issue or theme related to Brazilian politics since 1985 in light of the material presented in the course. 1 page proposals for final papers will be presented by (a date approximately ½ through the course) and approved by the professors. Although the proposal will not be graded, students who do not present a paper proposal will not be approved in the course.

Grading

Dialogue Essay 1	15%
Dialogue Essay 2	15%
Dialogue Essay 3	15%
Final paper	55%

Course Schedule and Readings (Subject to Modification)

Compulsory readings are marked (*).

Week 1. Introduction to the course

A. Democratic Transition and Consolidation

Week 2. Transition and consolidation

*Guillermo O'Donnell, 'Transitions, continuities, and paradoxes', in Scott Mainwaring and Guillermo O'Donnell (eds.), *Issues in democratic consolidation: The new South American democracies in comparative perspective*, (Notre Dame, IND., 1992: University of Notre Dame Press), pp. 17-56.

*O'Donnell, Guillermo (1993), "On the State, Democratization and some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at some Postcommunist Countries," *World Development*, 21(8): 1355-1369.

Zaverucha, Jorge. "Fragile democracy and the militarization of public safety in Brazil." *Latin American Perspectives* 27.3 (2000): 8-31.

*Zaverucha, Jorge. "The degree of military political autonomy during the Spanish, Argentine and Brazilian transitions." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 25.2 (1993): 283-299.

Week 3. Social movements and protest in the transition period

*Keck, Margaret E. 1989. "The New Unionism in the Brazilian Transition." In *Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation*, edited by Alfred C. Stepan, 252-98. Oxford University Press

*Gay, Robert. 1990. "Community Organization and Clientelist Politics in Contemporary Brazil: A Case Study from Suburban Rio de Janeiro." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 14 (4): 648–666.

Mische, Ann. 1995. "Projecting Democracy: The Formation of Citizenship Across Youth Networks in Brazil." *International Review of Social History* 40 (S3): 131–58.

Burdick, John. 1992. "Rethinking the Study of Social Movements: The Case of Christian Base Communities in Urban Brazil." In *The Making Of Social Movements In Latin America: Identity, Strategy, And Democracy*, edited by Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, 171–84. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Langland, Victoria. 2013. *Speaking of Flowers: Student Movements and the Making and Remembering of 1968 in Military Brazil*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, Chapter 3, "From Martyrdom and Militancy to Memory: 1968 in Brazil" (pp. 107-165).

Alvarez, Sonia E. 1989. "Politicizing Gender and Engendering Democracy." In *Democratizing Brazil: Problems of Transition and Consolidation*, edited by Alfred C. Stepan, 205–51. Oxford University Press.

Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Cornell University Press, chapter 4. "Environmental Advocacy Networks" (p. 165-198).

B. Political Institutions

Week 4. Presidents and Legislatures

Eric D. Raile, Carlos Pereira and Timothy J. Power, 'The Executive Toolbox: Building Legislative Support in a Multiparty Presidential Regime', *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (2011), pp. 323-334.

*Figueiredo, Argelina Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. "Presidential power, legislative organization, and party behavior in Brazil." *Comparative Politics* (2000): 151-170.

*Mello, Eduardo, and Matias Spektor. "Brazil: The costs of multiparty presidentialism." *Journal of Democracy* 29.2 (2018): 113-127.

Pereira C and Melo MA. (2012) The surprising success of multiparty presidentialism. *Journal of democracy* 23: 156-170.

Week 5. Federalism, bicameralism and subnational politics

*Borges A. (2018) Federalism, Party Politics, and Coalition Dynamics. In: Ames B (ed) *Routledge Handbook of Brazilian Politics*. New York: Routledge, 175-201.

*Arretche, M. (2013). Demos-constraining or demos-enabling federalism? Political institutions and policy change in Brazil. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 5(2), 133-150.

*Hiroi T. (2008) The dynamics of lawmaking in a bicameral legislature: The case of Brazil. *Comparative Political Studies*.

Hiroi, Taeko, and Pedro Neiva. (2013) Malapportionment and geographical bases of electoral support in the Brazilian Senate. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 5(1): 127-150.

Week 6. Political parties and party systems

*Samuels D and Zucco Jr C. (2016) Party-Building in Brazil. In: Levitsky S, Loxton J, Van Dyck B, et al. (eds) *Challenges of party-building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Lucas K and Samuels D. (2010) The Ideological “Coherence” of the Brazilian Party System, 1990-2009. *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 2: 39-69.

*Mainwaring S, Power TJ and Bizzarro F. (2018) The uneven institutionalization of a party system: Brazil. In: Mainwaring S (ed) *Party systems in Latin America: institutionalization, decay, and collapse*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 164.

Lyne, Mona M. (2005) Parties as programmatic agents: a test of institutional theory in Brazil. *Party politics* 11.2: 193-216.

Week 7. Participatory institutions

*Avritzer, Leonardo. 2009. *Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapter 4, “Changes in Institutional Design” (pp. 62-80)

*Mayka, Lindsay. 2019. *Building Participatory Institutions in Latin America: Reform Coalitions and Institutional Change*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, Chapter 4, “Brazil’s Health Councils: Successful Institution Building through Sweeping Reform”

*Abers, Rebecca. 1998. “From Clientelism to Cooperation: Local Government, Participatory Policy, and Civic Organizing in Porto Alegre, Brazil.” *Politics and Society* 26: 511–538.

*Baiocchi, Gianpaolo, Patrick Heller, and Marcelo Silva. 2011. *Bootstrapping Democracy: Transforming Local Governance and Civil Society in Brazil*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press Chapter 5, “Making Space for Civil Society” (pp. 107-141).

Almeida, Carla, Carla Giani Martelli, and Ligia Luchmann. 2019. “The Meanings of Representation and Political Inclusion in the Conferences of Public Policies in Brazil.” *Brazilian Political Science Review* 13 (1): 1–23.

Baiocchi, Gianpaolo. 2005. *Militants and Citizens: The Politics of Participatory Democracy in Porto Alegre*. Stanford University Press.

Abers, Rebecca Neaera, and M. E. Keck. 2009. "Mobilizing the State: The Erratic Partner in Brazil's Participatory Water Policy." *Politics & Society* 37 (2): 289–314.

C. State, policy and society

Week 8. Bureaucracy and Bureaucrats

Schneider, Ben Ross. 1992. *Politics within the State: Elite Bureaucrats and Industrial Policy in Authoritarian Brazil*. University of Pittsburgh Press.

*Evans, Peter B. 1995. *Embedded Autonomy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, Chapter 3 "States".

*Marques, Eduardo. 2012. 'State Institutions, Power, and Social Networks in Brazilian Urban Policies.' *Latin American Research Review*, 27–50.

*Bersch, Katherine, Sérgio Praça, and Matthew M. Taylor. 2017. "State Capacity, Bureaucratic Politicization, and Corruption in the Brazilian State." *Governance* 30 (1): 105–24.

Batista, Mariana. ; Lopez, Felix. G.. Ministerial Typology and Political Appointments: Where and How do Presidents Politicize the Bureaucracy?. *Brazilian Political Science Review*, v. 15, p. 1-34, 2020.

Gomide, Alexandre de Avila, and Ana Karine Pereira. 2018. "State Capacities for Infrastructure Policies in Contemporary Brazil." *RAP: Brazilian Journal of Public Administration* 52 (5): 935–55.

Week 9. Actors, Ideas and policy processes

*Falleti, Tulia G. 2010. "Infiltrating the State: The Evolution of Health Care Reforms in Brazil, 1964-1988." In *Explaining Institutional Change: Ambiguity, Agency, and Power*, edited by James Mahoney and Kathleen Ann Thelen, 38–62. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Andrade, Fabio Pereira de, and Fernanda Lima-Silva. 2016. "High-Level Federal Bureaucracy and Policy Formulation: The Case of the Bolsa Família Program." *Brazilian Political Science Review* 10 (3): 1–26

*Abers, Rebecca, and Margaret E Keck. 2013. *Practical Authority: Agency and Institutional Change in Brazilian Water Politics*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2, "Entangled Institutions and Layered Reform Narratives: Governing Water Resources in Historical Context", pp.30-54

Hochstetler, Kathryn, and Margaret E. Keck. 2007. *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, Chapter 1 (pp. 23-62).

Hochstetler, Kathryn, and J. Ricardo Tranjan. 2016. "Environment and Consultation in the Brazilian Democratic Developmental State." *Comparative Politics* 48 (4): 497–516.

Week 10. Social movements, policy-making and institutional activism

*Hochstetler, Kathryn, and Margaret E. Keck. 2007. *Greening Brazil: Environmental Activism in State and Society*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, Chapter 2 (63-96).

*Rich, Jessica. 2019. *State-Sponsored Activism: Bureaucrats and Social Movements in Democratic Brazil*. Cambridge University Press, Ch. 7, "The Rise of Hybrid Social Movements" (pp. 157-187)

*Oliveira, Gustavo M. de; Dowbor, Monika W. (2020). Dynamics of Autonomous Action in Social Movements: From Rejection to Construction. *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 234, Vol. 47 No. 5, September, 49-61.

*Vilaça, Luiz. 2020. "When Bureaucrats Become Activists." *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 25 (3): 405–24.

Abers, Rebecca Neaera. 2019. "Bureaucratic Activism: Pursuing Environmentalism Inside the Brazilian State." *Latin American Politics and Society* 61 (2): 22–44.

Abers, Rebecca Neaera, and Luciana Tatagiba. 2015. "Institutional Activism: Mobilizing for Women's Health from Inside the Brazilian Bureaucracy." In *Social Movement Dynamics: New Perspectives on Theory and Research from Latin America*, edited by Rossi, Federico M. and Marisa von Bülow, 73–101. London: Ashgate.

Wolford, Wendy. 2010. "Participatory Democracy by Default: Land Reform, Social Movements and the State in Brazil." *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 37 (1): 91–109.

Lavalle, Adrian Gurza, Euzeneia Carlos, Monika Dowbor, and José Szwako, 2019. "Social movements, institutionalization and domains of agency" (Translated introduction to) *Movimentos Sociais e Institucionalização: Políticas Sociais, Raça e Gênero No Brasil Pós-Transição*. Rio de Janeiro: Eduerj.

Abers, Rebecca Neaera, Serafim, Lizandra, and Tatagiba, Luciana. 2014. "Changing Repertoires of State-Society Interaction under Lula." In *Brazil Under the Workers' Party: Continuity and Change from Lula to Dilma*, edited by Fabio de Castro, Kees Koonings, and Marianne Wiesebron, 36–61. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

D. Partisanship, social cleavages and protest

Week 11: Partisanship and antipartisanship

*Baker A, Ames B, Sokhey AE, et al. (2016) The Dynamics of Partisan Identification when Party Brands Change: The Case of the Workers Party in Brazil. *The Journal of Politics* 78

*Samuels DJ and Zucco C. (2018) Partisanship and Antipartisanship in Brazil. In: *Partisans, antipartisans, and nonpartisans: Voting behavior in Brazil*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

*Fuks M, Ribeiro E and Borba J. (2020) From Antipetismo to Generalized Antipartisanship: The Impact of Rejection of Political Parties on the 2018 Vote for Bolsonaro. *Brazilian Political Science Review* Forthcoming.

Samuels, David. "Sources of mass partisanship in Brazil." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48.2 (2006): 1-27.

Week 12: The emerging religious divide

*Reich, Gary, and Pedro dos Santos.(2013) The rise (and frequent fall) of Evangelical politicians: organization, theology, and church politics. *Latin American Politics and Society* 55.4: 1-22.

*Smith, Amy Erica. *Religion and brazilian democracy: mobilizing the people of God*. Cambridge University Press, 2019. (Introduction).

Smith, Amy Erica, and Taylor C. Boas. Religion, Sexuality Politics, and the Transformation of Latin American Electorates. *Paper prepared for presentation at the Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, September 10–13, 2020*.

*Boas, T. C. The Electoral Representation of Evangelicals in Latin America. In Harry E. Vanden and Gary Provost, eds., *Oxford Encyclopedia of Latin American Politics*. New York: Oxford University Press, forthcoming.

Week 13: Class cleavages, ideology and voting behavior

*Handlin, Samuel. "Social protection and the politicization of class cleavages during Latin America's Left turn." *Comparative Political Studies* 46.12 (2013): 1582-1609.

*Rennó LR. (2020) The Bolsonaro Voter: Issue Positions and Vote Choice in the 2018 Brazilian Presidential Elections. *Latin American Politics and Society*: 1-23.

*Samuels, David, and Cesar Zucco Jr. "Lulismo, petismo, and the future of Brazilian politics." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 6.3 (2014): 129-158.

Ames, Barry, and Amy Erica Smith. "Knowing left from right: ideological identification in Brazil, 2002-2006." *Journal of politics in Latin America* 2.3 (2010): 3-38.

Week 14. Polarization and protest since 2013

*Alonso, Angela, and Ann Mische. 2017. "Changing Repertoires and Partisan Ambivalence in the New Brazilian Protests." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 36 (2): 144–159.

*Baiocchi, Gianpaolo, and Ana Claudia Chaves Teixeira. 2017. "Brazil: Back to the Streets?" In *Beyond Civil Society: Activism, Participation, and Protest in Latin America - Google Livros*, edited by Sonia E. Alvarez, Jeffrey W. Rubin, Millie Thayer, Gianpaolo Baiocchi, and Agostin Laó-Montes, 283–95. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

*Dias, Tayrine; von Bülow, Marisa; Gobbi, Dannel; Forthcoming. "Populist Framing Mechanisms and The Rise of Right-wing Activism in Brazil." *Latin American Politics and Society*.

Mendonça, Ricardo Fabrino, Selen A. Ercan, Umut Ozguc, Stephanie Lorraine Gomes Reis, Paula Guimarães Simões, Ricardo Fabrino Mendonça, Selen A. Ercan, Umut Ozguc, Stephanie Lorraine Gomes Reis, and Paula Guimarães Simões. 2019. "Protests as 'Events': The Symbolic Struggles in 2013 Demonstrations in Turkey and Brazil." *Revista de Sociologia e Política* 27 (69).