

# Instituto de Estudos Sociais e Políticos - IESP-UERJ

## Instituições Políticas em Perspectiva Comparada

Fernando Guarnieri, Fernando Meireles, Bruno Schaefer

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### **1 Ementa**

Este curso tem como objetivo expor as alunas da área de instituições e afins à uma produção relativamente recente, publicada em periodicos internacionais e nacionais de grande impacto, sobre instituições políticas nos países em desenvolvimento, principalmente na América Latina. Um arsenal metodológico inovador se combina com um renovado interesse por velhas e grandes questões para produzir uma literatura que tem recebido cada vez mais interesse na academia e fora dela. Cientistas políticos, sociólogos e economistas têm se dedicado a temas que vão desde a formação do Estado até a ruptura de regimes democráticos, revisitando conceitos como clientelismo e populismo e buscando entender a dinâmica política recente caracterizada por polarização e volatilidade.

A escolha desta literatura teve como intenção não só atualizar as alunas nos avanços teóricos e metodológicos da área de instituições como, também, identificar os debates privilegiados pelos principais periódicos da área e sugerir possíveis pontos de diálogos com as suas pesquisas.

### **2 Plano de Trabalho**

Para cada um dos temas escolhidos selecionei uma série de textos pelo seu impacto e caráter inovador. Dependendo da quantidade de alunos e seus interesses escolheremos, entre os textos de um determinado tema, aqueles que deverão obrigatoriamente ser lidos. As alunas deverão trazer para a aula pontos para discussão

(coisas que acharam interessantes, críticas, dúvidas etc.) Não se trata de resenhas, apenas apontamentos para orientar a discussão em classe. A participação de todas é essencial para o sucesso do curso.

### 3 Avaliação

A avaliação será baseada na participação em sala de aula (40%) e um trabalho final (60%). O conteúdo do trabalho final será definido em conjunto com a turma.

## 4 Programa de Aulas e leituras [ainda em construção]

### 1. Herança Colonial

Abhijit Banerjee and Lakshmi Iyer. History, Institutions, and Economic Performance: The Legacy of Colonial Land Tenure Systems in India. *American Economic Review*, 95(4):1190–1213, 2005

Acemoglu, D., Johnson, S., and Robinson, J. (2002). Reversal of Fortune: Geography and Institutions in the Making of the Modern World Income Distribution. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 117(4), 1231-1294.

Coatsworth, J. H. (2005). Structures, Endowments, and Institutions in the Economic History of Latin America. *Latin American Research Review*, 40(3), 126-144.

Coatsworth, J. H. (2008). Inequality, Institutions, and Economic Growth in Latin America. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 40(3), 545-569.

Daron Acemoglu, Simon Johnson, and James A. Robinson. The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation. *American Economic Review*, 91(5):1369–1401, 2001

Dell, M. (2010). The Persistent Effect of Peru's Mining Mita, *Econometrica*, 78(6), 1863-1903.

Nathan Nunn. The Long-term Effects of Africa's Slave Trades. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 123(1):139–176, 2008

Stelios Michalopoulos and Elias Papaioannou. Pre-Colonial Ethnic Institutions and Contemporary African Development. *Econometrica*, 81(1), 2013

## 2. Formação do Estado e Capacidade Estatal

Geddes, Barbara. *Politician's dilemma: building state capacity in Latin America*. No. 25. Univ of California Press, 1994. (Caps. 1, 2 e 7)

Grassi, Davide, and Vincenzo Memoli. "Political determinants of state capacity in Latin America." *World Development* 88 (2016): 94-106.

Mazucca, Sebastián L., and Gerardo L. Munck. *A Middle-Quality Institutional Trap: Democracy and State Capacity in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. (Caps. 1 e 2)

Mazucca, Sebastian. *Latecomer State Formation: Political Geography and Capacity Failure in Latin America*. Yale University Press, 2021. (pp 1 – 47)

## 3. Democratização

Adam Przeworski, Michael Alvarez, Jose Cheibub, and Fernando Limongi. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. Cambridge University Press, 2000 (Cap. 2)

Alessandro Lizzeri and Nicola Persico. *Why did the Elites Extend the Suffrage? Democracy and the Scope of Government, with an Application to Britain's "Age of Reform"*. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 119(2): 707–765, 2004

Ben W Ansell and David J Samuels. *Inequality and democratization: an elite-competition approach*. Cambridge University Press, 2014 (Caps 1 e 2)

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, New York, 2006a (Caps. 1, 2 e 6)

David L. Epstein, Robert Bates, Jack Goldstone, Ida Kristensen, and Sharyn O'Halloran. *Democratic Transitions*. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50(3):551–69, 2006

Engerman, Stanley L., and Kenneth L. Sokoloff. "The evolution of suffrage institutions in the new world." *The Journal of Economic History* 65.4 (2005): 891-921.

Humberto Llavador and Robert J. Oxoby. *Partisan Competition, Growth, and the Franchise*. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 120(3):1155–1189, 2005

Leonard Wantchekon and Omar Garcia-Ponce. *Critical junctures: independence movements and democracy in africa*. Working paper, 2013

#### 4. Ditaduras

Carles Boix and Milan W Svobik. The foundations of limited authoritarian government: Institutions, commitment, and power-sharing in dictatorships. *The Journal of Politics*, 75(02): 300–316, 2013

Jennifer Gandhi and Adam Przeworski. Authoritarian Institutions and the Survival of Autocrats. *Comparative Political Studies*, 40(11):1279–1301, 2007. doi: 10.1177/0010414007305817

Jennifer Gandhi. *Political Institutions under Dictatorship*. Cambridge University Press, 2008 (Intro) Milan W. Svobik. *The Politics of Authoritarian Rule*. Cambridge University Press, 2012 (Caps. 1 e 2)

Patrick Francois, Ilia Rainer, and Francesco Trebbi. How is power shared in africa? *Econometrica*, 83(2):465–503, 2015

Timothy Besley and Masayuki Kudamatsu. Making Autocracy Work. In Elhanan Helpman, editor, *Institutions and Economic Performance*. Harvard University Press, 2008 (pp. 1-35)

#### 5. Regimes Híbridos

Beatriz Magaloni. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and Its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press, 2006 (Intro)

Daron Acemoglu and James A. Robinson. De Facto Political Power and Institutional Persistence. *American Economic Review*, 96(2):325–330, 2006b

Eric Avis, Claudio Ferraz, Frederico Finan, and Carlos Varjão. Money and politics: The effects of campaign spending limits on political competition and incumbency advantage. Working Paper 23508, National Bureau of Economic Research, June 2017

Henry E. Hale and Timothy J. Colton. Who defects? unpacking a defection cascade from russia’s dominant party 2008–12. *American Political Science Review*, 111(2):322–337, 2017

Henry E. Hale. Regime Cycles. *Democracy, Autocracy, and Revolution in Post-Soviet Russia*. *World Politics*, 58:133–65, 2005

Malesky, Edmund, and Paul Schuler. ”Nodding or needling: Analyzing delegate responsiveness in an authoritarian parliament.” *American political science review* 104.3 (2010): 482-502.

Monica Martinez-Bravo. The role of local officials in new democracies: Evidence from indonesia. *American Economic Review*, 104(4):1244–87, April

2014

Steven Levitsky and Lucan Way. *Competitive Authoritarianism. Hybrid Regimes After the Cold War*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2010 (Intro)

## 6. Eleições

Ana L. De La O. Do Conditional Cash Transfers Affect Electoral Behavior? Evidence from a Randomized Experiment in Mexico. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57(1):1–14, 2013

Bueno, Natália S. "The Timing of Public Policies: Political Budget Cycles and Credit Claiming." *American Journal of Political Science* (2021).

Campello, Daniela, and Cesar Zucco. *The volatility curse: Exogenous shocks and representation in resource-rich democracies*. Cambridge University Press, 2020. (Cap. 1)

Diaz-Cayeros, Alberto, Federico Estévez, and Beatriz Magaloni. *The political logic of poverty relief: Electoral strategies and social policy in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press, 2016. (Parte 1)

Kitschelt, Herbert and Steven I. Wilkinson. *Patrons, Clients and Policies: Patterns of Democratic Accountability and Political Competition*. Cambridge University Press, 2007 (Cap. 1)

Miguel R. Rueda. Small aggregates, big manipulation: Vote buying enforcement and collective monitoring. *American Journal of Political Science*, 61(1):163–177, 2017

Simeon Nichter. Vote Buying or Turnout Buying? Machine Politics and the Secret Ballot. *American Political Science Review*, 102:19–31, 2008

Susan C. Stokes, Thad Dunning, Marcelo Nazareno, and Valeria Brusco. *Brokers, Voters, and Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2013 (Cap. 1)

Susan C. Stokes. Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina. *American Political Science Review*, 99:315–325, 2005

Zucco Jr, Cesar. "When payouts pay off: Conditional cash transfers and voting behavior in Brazil 2002–10." *American journal of political science* 57.4 (2013): 810-822.

## 7. Partidos e sistemas partidários

Cheibub, José Antonio, et al. "Dynamic party system fragmentation." *Electoral Studies* 76 (2022): 102440.

Levitsky, Steven, and Maxwell Cameron. "Democracy without parties? Political parties and regime change in Fujimori's Peru" *Latin American Politics and Society* 45 (3):1-33, 2003

Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth M. Roberts, (Eds.) *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, Johns Hopkins University Press: Baltimore (2011) (Intro e Conclu)

Lupu, Noam. "Brand dilution and the breakdown of political parties in Latin America." *World Politics* 66.4 (2014): 561-602.

Mainwaring, Scott, and Yen-Pin Su. "Electoral Volatility in Latin America, 1932–2018." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 56.3 (2021): 271-296.

Piñeiro, Rafael y Fernando Rosenblatt (2018). "Stability and incorporation: Toward a new concept of party system institutionalization", en *Party Politics*, pp. 1-12.

Stokes Susan C. "Political parties and democracy" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 243-267, 1999

Weyland, Kurt (2001), "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics," *Comparative Politics*, 34(1): 1-22.

Weyland, Kurt. "The rise of Latin America's two lefts: insights from rentier state theory." *Comparative politics* 41.2 (2009): 145-164.

Zucco, Cesar, and Timothy J. Power. "Fragmentation without cleavages? Endogenous fractionalization in the Brazilian party system." *Comparative Politics* 53.3 (2021): 477-500.

## 8. Legislativo

Alemán, E. and G. Tsebelis. *Legislative Institutions and Lawmaking in Latin America*, Oxford University Press, 2016. (Intro)

Alemán, Eduardo, and Ernesto Calvo. "Analyzing legislative success in Latin America: The case of democratic Argentina." *New voices in the study of democracy in Latin America* (2008): 7-37.

Alemán, Eduardo, et al. "Disentangling the role of ideology and partisanship in legislative voting: evidence from Argentina." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 43.2 (2018): 245-273.

Htun, M., Lacalle, M. and Micozzi, J. P. (2013). Does Women's Presence Change Legislative Behavior? Evidence from Argentina, 1983–2007. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 5(1), 95–125.

Jones, Mark P. "Gender quotas, electoral laws, and the election of women: Evidence from the Latin American vanguard." *Comparative political studies* 42.1 (2009): 56-81.

Morgenstern, Scott and Benito Nacif (ed.). *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press, 2002. (Cap 1)

## 9. Relações Executivo Legislativo

Albala, Adrián, André Borges, and Lucas Couto. "Pre-electoral coalitions and cabinet stability in presidential systems." *The British Journal of Politics and International Relations* (2021): 136914812111056852.

Albala, Adrián. "When do coalitions form under presidentialism, and why does it matter? A configurational analysis from Latin America." *Politics* 41.3 (2021): 351-370.

Carreras, Miguel. "Outsiders and Executive-Legislative Conflict in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 56.3 (2014): 70-92.

Chaisty, Paul, Nic Cheeseman, and Timothy Power. "Rethinking the 'presidentialism debate': conceptualizing coalitional politics in cross-regional perspective." *Democratization* 21.1 (2014): 72-94.

Cheibub, Jose A, Adam Przeworski and Sebastián Saiegh. "Government coalitions and legislative success under presidentialism and parliamentarism" *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 565-587 Part 4 (October), 2004.

Figueiredo, Argelina Cheibub, Denise Lopes Salles, and Marcelo Martins Vieira. "Political and institutional determinants of the executive's legislative success in Latin America." *Brazilian Political Science Review* 3.2 (2009): 155-171.

Meireles, Fernando. "Oversized government coalitions in Latin America." *Brazilian Political Science Review* 10 (2016).

Negretto, Gabriel L. "Minority presidents and democratic performance in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48.3 (2006): 63-92.

Raile, Eric D., Carlos Pereira, and Timothy J. Power. "The executive toolbox: building legislative support in a multiparty presidential regime." *Political Research Quarterly* 64.2 (2011): 323-334.

## 10. Rupturas Democráticas

Benjamin A T Graham, Michael K Miller, and Kaare W Strom. Safeguarding democracy: Powersharing and democratic survival. *American Political Science Review*, 111(4):686–704, 2017

James D. Fearon. Self-enforcing democracy. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 126(4):1661–1708, 2011

Jose A. Cheibub. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2007 (Intro)

Ko Maeda. Two modes of democratic breakdown: A competing risks analysis of democratic durability. *The Journal of Politics*, 72(4):1129–1143, 2010

Llanos, Mariana, and Leiv Marsteintredet. "The Political Limits of Presidential Impeachment: Lessons from Latin America." (2021)

Milan Svolik. Authoritarian Reversals and Democratic Consolidation. *American Political Science Review*, 102(02): 153–68, 2008

Milan W. Svolik. When polarization trumps civic virtue: Partisan conflict and the subversion of democracy by incumbents. Working paper, 2017

Pérez-Liñán, Aníbal, Nicolás Schmidt, and Daniela Vairo. "Presidential hegemony and democratic backsliding in Latin America, 1925–2016." *Democratization* 26.4 (2019): 606-625.

Stephan Haggard and Robert R Kaufman. Inequality and regime change: Democratic transitions and the stability of democratic rule. *American Political Science Review*, 106(03):495–516, 2012

Valenzuela, Arturo. *Presidencias Latinoamericanas interrumpidas*, en *Revista América Latina Hoy*, agosto. Universidad de Salamanca. Salamanca, España, pp. 15-30, 2008