

## Participatory Democracy and Citizen Engagement in Latin America

---

Winter Semester 2013/2014

**Prof. Dr. Thamy Pogrebinschi**  
**Alfred-Großer-Gastprofessorin für Bürgergesellschaftsforschung**

### Syllabus

#### 1. General Information

Date	17.10.13, 15-16.01.14, 20-21.02.14
Venue	Casino 182 (Oct.), Casino 823 (Jan.), PEG 1.G 111 (Feb.)
Contact	thamy.pogrebinschi@wzb.eu
Office Hours	By appointment

#### 2. Abstract

Traditional assessments of democracy in Latin America are increasingly criticized for not taking into account the differences across the continent, as well as for not capturing its cultural diversity and political identities. In particular, forms of participation beyond elections, and spaces of deliberation beyond parliaments escape analysis and are not taken into consideration by the traditional measurements of democracy and the related literature. Nevertheless, in recent years it has become more and more acknowledged that participatory and deliberative experiments spread around the continent are an integral part of Latin America's democratization process.

If, on one hand, electoral turnout seems to remain low, on the other hand, thousands of Latin America's cities have adopted a form of democratic innovation, which altogether have mobilized millions of citizens on the continent over the last few years. The speed with which participatory experiments have been multiplied and institutionalized indicates the need of a reassessment of democracy in Latin America. This is what this seminar proposes, covering topics such as: the third wave, the left turn, the new constitutionalism, civil society and public space, participatory and deliberative innovations, and the quality of democracy. The reading assignments will address such broad range of issues concerning the continent as a whole, although special focus will be given to specific countries to be examined through case studies of democratic innovations and their impact on politics and society.

### 3. Course Overview

<b>October 17, 2013</b>	
12-14 h	1. Introduction
14-16 h	2. What is going on in Latin America today? (Group exercise)

<b>January 15, 2014</b>		<b>January 16, 2014</b>	
12-14 h	3. Democratization in Latin America I: modernization theory and third-wave	6. The Left Turn I: towards a new model of democracy	
14-16 h	4. Democratization in Latin America II: the role of civil society and the formation of a public sphere	7. The Left Turn II: between social participation and populism	
16-18h	5. Democratization in Latin America III: a clash of interpretations? (Group exercise)	8. The Left Turn III: overcoming liberal democracy? (Group exercise)	

<b>February 20, 2014</b>		<b>February 21, 2014</b>	
10-12 h	9. Participation as a response to the Crisis of Representation	13. Indigenous Participation in Bolivia	
12-14 h	10. The Participatory Wave	14. Community Councils in Venezuela	
14-16 h	11. Participatory Budgeting in Brazil	15. Direct Democracy in Uruguay and Ecuador	
16-18h	12. National Public Policy Conferences in Brazil	16. The Pragmatic Turn of Democracy in Latin America (Group Exercise)	

### 4. Requirements and Grading

<b>Class Participation</b> (individual and group exercises)	25%
<b>Presentation</b>	25%
<b>Essays</b> (two short reaction papers)	50%

### 5. Readings

The literature for the specific sessions can be found in the detailed schedule below. Required readings for each class are mandatory for class discussion and evaluation of individual participation. Some of the assigned readings may be allocated as additional reading, depending on the number of participants. Additional literature, data and other materials for presentations, group exercises and essays will be provided, although they are not required for class participation.

## 6. Detailed Schedule

<b>Session 1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>
Date	October, 17 2013.
Time	12:00 – 14:00
Topics	Course overview, formal issues, and readings/presentations assignments
<b>Session 2</b>	<b>What is going on in Latin America today? (Group Exercise)</b>
Date	October, 17 2013.
Time	14:00 – 16:00
Activity	Group Exercise using recent data from public opinion surveys and democracy indices
<b>Session 3</b>	<b>Democratization in Latin America I: Modernization Theory and Third-wave</b>
Date	January 15, 2014
Time	12:00 – 14:00
Readings	AVRITZER, L., 2002. <i>Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 1. DIAMOND, L., 1997. <i>Is the Third Wave of Democratization Over? An Empirical Assessment</i> . Working Paper 236. Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies. HAGOPIAN F. and MAINWARING, S.P., (eds.), 2005. <i>The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks</i> . Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Introduction.
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)
<b>Session 4</b>	<b>Democratization in Latin America II: The Role of Civil Society and the Formation of a Public Sphere</b>
Date	January 15, 2014
Time	14:00 – 16:00
Readings	AVRITZER, L., 2002. <i>Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America</i> . Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chapter 3 and 4. CANNON, Barry and KIRBY, Peadar. 2012. <i>Civil Society and the State in Left-led Latin America</i> . London: Zed Books. Introduction.
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)
<b>Session 5</b>	<b>Democratization in Latin America III: A Clash of Interpretations? (Group Exercise)</b>
Date	January 15, 2014
Time	16:00 – 18:00
Readings	KRISCHKE, Paulo J. 2000. "Problems in the Study of democratization in Latin America. Regime Analysis vs Cultural Studies". In: <i>International Sociology</i> . Vol 15 (1). DAGNINO, Evelina. "Civil Society in Latin America: Participatory citizens or service

Activity	providers?" In: H. Moksnes and M. Melin (eds.), <i>Power to the People? (Con-)tested Civil Society in Search of Democracy</i> . Uppsala: Uppsala Centre for Sustainable Development. Group Exercise using the above required readings
----------	--

<b>Session 6</b>	<b>The Left Turn I: Towards a New Model of Democracy</b>
Date	January 16, 2014
Time	12:00 – 14:00
Readings	LEVITSKY, S., ROBERTS, K. (eds.), 2011. <i>The Resurgence of the Latin American Left</i> . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins. Introduction. CAMERON, Maxwell and HERSHBERG, Eric (eds). 2010. <i>Latin America's Left Turns: Politics, Policies and Trajectories of Change</i> . Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Rienner Publishers. Chapter 1.
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 7</b>	<b>The Left Turn II: Between Social Participation and Populism</b>
Date	January 16, 2014
Time	14:00 – 16:00
Readings	GOLDFRANK, Benjamin. "The Left and Participatory Democracy: Brazil, Uruguay, and Venezuela." In: LEVITSKY, S., ROBERTS, K. (eds.), 2011. <i>The Resurgence of the Latin American Left</i> . PHILIP, George and PANIZZA, Francisco. 2011. <i>The Triumph of Politics. The Return of The Left in Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador</i> . Cambridge: Polity. Chapter 3
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 8</b>	<b>The Left Turn III: Overcoming Liberal Democracy?</b>
Date	January 16, 2014
Time	16:00 – 18:00
Readings	ARDITI, Benjamin. 2008. "Arguments about the Left Turns in Latin America". In: <i>Latin American Research Review</i> , Vol. 43, No.3 WOLFF, Jonas. 2013. "Towards Post-Liberal Democracy in Latin America? A Conceptual Framework Applied to Bolivia". In: <i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i> , 45.
Activity	Group Exercise using the above required readings

<b>Session 9</b>	<b>Participation as a Response to the Crisis of Representation</b>
Date	February 20, 2014
Time	10:00 – 12:00
Readings	HOCHSTETLER, K and FRIEDMAN, E. J. "Can Civil Society Organizations Solve the Crisis of Partisan Representation in Latin America?". In: <i>Latin America Politics and Society</i> . Vol. 50, No 2.
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 10</b>	<b>The Participatory Wave</b>
Date	February 20, 2014
Time	12:00 – 14:00
Readings	<p>PERUZZOTTI, E. and SELLEE, A. “Participatory Innovation and Representative Democracy in Latin America”. In: SEELLE, A. and PERUZZOTTI, E. (eds.) <i>Participatory innovation and representative democracy in Latin America</i>. Washington, D.C. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.</p> <p>CAMERON, M, HERSHBERG, E and SHARPE, K. (eds.) <i>New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America: Voice and Consequence</i>. New York: Palgrave MacMillan. Introduction.</p>
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 11</b>	<b>The Participatory Budgeting in Brazil</b>
Date	February 20, 2014
Time	14:00 – 16:00
Readings	<p>AVRITZER, Leonardo (2009): <i>Participatory Institutions in Democratic Brazil</i>, Washington, DC/Baltimore, MA: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, Chapter 5.</p> <p>BAIOCCHI, Gianpaolo (2003): “Participation, Activism, and Politics: The Porto Alegre Experiment and Deliberative Democratic Theory”. In: Archon Fung and Erik Olin Wright (eds.): <i>Deepening Democracy</i>. London: Verso Press.</p> <p>SOUZA SANTOS, Boaventura. “Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre: Toward a Redistributive Democracy” In: <i>Politics &amp; Society</i>, Vol. 26, No.4 .</p>
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 12</b>	<b>The National Public Policy Conferences in Brazil</b>
Date	February 20, 2014
Time	16:00 – 18:00
Readings	<p>POGREBINSCHI, T., 2012. “Participation as Representation: Democratic Policymaking in Brazil”. In: CAMERON, M, HERSHBERG, E and SHARPE, K. (eds.) <i>New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America: Voice and Consequence</i>.</p> <p>POGREBINSCHI, T. 2013. “The Squared Circle of Participatory Democracy: Scaling-up Deliberation to the National Level”. <i>Critical Policy Studies</i>, Volume 7, Issue 3.</p> <p>POGREBINSCHI T. and Samuels, D. 2014 (forthcoming). The Impact of Participatory Democracy: Evidence from Brazil’s National Public Policy Conferences. <i>Comparative Politics</i>, Vol. 46, N.3.</p>
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 13</b>	<b>Indigenous Participation in Bolivia</b>
Date	February 21, 2014
Time	10:00 – 12:00

Readings	<p>LASERNA, Roberto. 2009. "Decentralization, Local Initiatives, and Citizenship in Bolivia". In: SEELLE, A. and PERUZZOTTI, E. (eds.) <i>Participatory innovation and representative democracy in Latin America</i>.</p> <p>SCHILING-VACAFLOR, Almut. 2011. "Bolivia's New Constitution: Towards Participatory Democracy and Political Pluralism?" In: <i>European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies</i> 90.</p> <p>VAN COTT, D. L., 2008. <i>Radical Democracy in the Andes</i>. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.</p>
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 14</b>	<b>The Community Councils in Venezuela</b>
Date	February 21, 2014
Time	12:00 – 14:00
Readings	<p>HAWKINS, Kirk. 2010. "Who mobilizes? Participatory Democracy in Chavez's Bolivarian Revolution". In: <i>Latin America Politics and Society</i>, Vol. 52, No 3.</p> <p>LÓPEZ MAIA, M. and LANDER, L. "Participatory Democracy in Venezuela: Origins, Ideas, and Implementation". In: SMILDE, D. and HELLINGER, D. 2011. <i>Venezuela's Bolivarian Democracy</i>. Duke University Press.</p> <p>MCCARTHY, M. 2012. "The Possibilities and Limits of Politicized Participation: Community Councils, Coproduction, and Poder Popular in Chavez's Venezuela". In: CAMERON, M, HERSHBERG, E and SHARPE, K. (eds.) <i>New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America: Voice and Consequence</i>.</p>
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 15</b>	<b>Direct Democracy in Uruguay and Ecuador</b>
Date	February 21, 2014
Time	14:00 – 16:00
Readings	<p>ALTMAN, David. 2011. <i>Direct Democracy Worldwide</i>. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5.</p> <p>GALLEGOS, Franklin Ramírez. 2013. <i>Nuda Política. Democracia, participación y conflictos. Ecuador 2009-2012</i>. Quito: FES and FLACSO. Chapters IV and V.</p> <p>LISSIDINI, Alicia. 2011. "Direct Democracy in Uruguay and Venezuela: New Voices, Old Practices". In: CAMERON, M, HERSHBERG, E and SHARPE, K. (eds.) <i>New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America: Voice and Consequence</i>.</p>
Activity	Student Presentation (to be assigned)

<b>Session 16</b>	<b>The Pragmatic Turn of Democracy in Latin America</b>
Date	February 21, 2014
Time	16:00 – 18:00
Readings	POGREBINSCHI, Thamy. "The Pragmatic Turn of Democracy in Latin America", FES Studies, Berlin, 2013.
Activity	Group Exercise