

WWS 575b - New Democratic Agenda in Latin America

Ignacio Walker

Overview

This seminar will be devoted to the analysis of the recent process of democratization in Latin America, from a broad historical and comparative perspective. It will concentrate in the post-authoritarian, post-revolutionary and post-cold war era and will explore the different responses (populist and non-populist) to the Washington Consensus as well as the neo-liberal reforms of the 1990s, in an era of globalization. The course will consider issues related to two broad, but related themes: “A New Social and Economic Agenda for Latin America” and “Social Cohesion in Latin America”, exploring questions related to democracy and democratic governance and, in the last part, social cohesion, social inequality and social policies in Latin America.

Course Grading

Final grades will be determined in the following way:

Class participation and presentations: 30%

Mid-term exercise: 30%

Term paper: 40%

Active participation is expected in each weekly seminar. Students are expected to do the readings prior to each class. In addition to participation in the seminar discussion, each week, 1-2 students will take responsibility for presenting some of the readings. This includes writing a 2-page thought piece derived from the readings that briefly synthesizes the main argument, and pose questions that emerge from class discussion.

The mid-term exercise will be a take-home exam. Students will choose to respond two of four questions that will be submitted a week before the due date.

The term paper will be a 20-25 page paper on a topic/question of the student's choice. The choice of topic must be made soon after the mid-term break, and students are expected to provide an outline of their topic in a timely fashion (to be determined).

Readings for the Course

Each week a list of required and recommended readings will be provided. All required readings are on reserve at the WWS Library.

Required readings (*) (otherwise, recommended)

***Peter Smith. *Democracy in Latin America (Political Change in Comparative Perspective)*. 2005. Oxford University Press.**

Vanderbilt University. LAPOP (LA Public Opinion Project)

<http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/lapop/HOME>

Measuring democracy (Governance Indicators Database, <http://www.iadb.org/datagob/index.html>, IADB, 2007).

Latinobarómetro (Survey in 18 countries of Latin America, Spanish). www.latinobarometro.org (See “Informes de Prensa”, Latinobarómetro 2006, 94 pages)

Latinnews (weekly publication)

1. Tuesday, September 18th. 1-4 PM. Introduction. The crisis of oligarchic rule and the search for responses (1910s-1950s).

***Hartlyn, Jonathan and Arturo Valenzuela. 1994. “Democracy in Latin America since 1930”, in Leslie Bethell (editor). *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. VI.**

***Ignacio Walker. Mayo-Junio 2006. “Democracia en América Latina”, in *Foreign Affairs* (español). Pp. 3-24**

***Peter Smith. Democracy in LA. pp. 1-43.**

Gary Wynia. 1984. *The Politics of Latin American Development*. Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6, “The Populist Game (Brazil and Argentina)”, pp. 137-165 and Chapter 9, “The revolutionary game: Mexico”, pp. 247-271.

Howard J. Wiarda. 2001. *The Soul of Latin America*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London. Chapters 1, 6 (Positivism) and 9 (Corporatism).

2. September 25th. Modernization, Development, Dependency and Beyond.

***Joseph Love. “Economic ideas and ideologies in Latin America since 1930”, in Leslie Bethell (editor), *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 1996). Pp. 207-274.**

***Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela, “Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment”, in *Comparative Politics* (Vol. 10, No. 4 (July 1978). Pp. 535-557.**

Albert Hirschman. "The Political Economy of Industrialization", in *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* (Vol. LXXXII, February 1968). Pp. 1-32.

Eliana Cardoso and Albert Fishlow, "Latin American Economic Development, 1950-1980", in *Journal of Latin American Studies* (Vol. 24, 1992, pp. 197-218). Pp. 197-218.

Fernando H. Cardoso and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America* (University of California Press, Berkeley)

Victor Bulmer-Thomas. 2003. *The Economic History of Latin America since the Independence*. Cambridge University Press. Chapters 8 and 9, pp. 232-312.

3. October 2nd. Lessons from Democratic Breakdowns and Authoritarianism in Latin America (Chile and Perú)

***Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan (editors), *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978)**

Guillermo O'Donnell "Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism (*Studies in South American Politics*)" (Institute of International Studies, University of Berkeley, Berkeley, 1979) Chapters I and II

David Collier (editor). *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1979). Part I, Chapter I

Arturo Valenzuela, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes (Chile)* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978) Chapters I and II

Julio Cotler (Chapter I), in Cynthia Mc Clintock and Abraham Lowenthal (editors), *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered* (Princeton University Press)

Alfred Stepan. 1978. *The State and Society: Perú in Comparative Perspective* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1978) Chapters I and II

4. October 9th. Democratic transitions and consolidation (Argentina and Brazil)

***Hagopian, Frances and Scott Mainwaring (eds.) (2005) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America (advances and setbacks)* (Cambridge University Press). Introduction and Part I (Argentina and Brazil). Pp. 1-120.**

***Peter Smith. *Democracy in LA*. pp. 44-72.**

Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter and Lawrence Whitehead. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule* (The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1986). Volumes "Latin America" (Chapters 1

and 2, pp. 3-48 and 4, pp. 72-541) and “Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies”.

Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation* (The Johns Hopkins University Press). Preface and Acknowledgements (pp. xiii-xx), Chapter 1 (pp. 3-15), Chapter 3 (pp. 38-54) and Part III (South America, pp. 149-230).

Mainwaring, Scott (editor). 1992. *Issues in Democratic Consolidation (The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective)*. University of Notre Dame. Pp. 1-104.

Carothers, Thomas. 2002. “The End of the Transition Paradigm”. *Journal of Democracy*, 13:1, pp. 5-21

Schedler, Andreas. 1998. “What is Democratic Consolidation”. *Journal of Democracy*. 9:2 (April, pp. 91-107.

Other readings:

Diamond, Larry and Marc F. Plattner. 2001. *The Global Divergence of Democracies*. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Part II “Consolidating Democracy”, pp. 93-164.

Diamond, Larry. 1999. *Developing Democracy (Toward Consolidation)*. The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Diamond, Larry, Juan Linz and Seymour Martin Lipset. 1989. *Democracy in Developing Countries (Latin America, Volume Four)*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, Boulder, Colorado. Introduction by Diamond and Linz, pp. 1-58.

Haggard, Stephen and Robert R. Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton University Press. Introduction (pp. 3-24), Chapters 9, 10 and Conclusion (pp. 309-379).

5. October 16th. Neo-liberal reforms and the Washington Consensus in the 1990s.

***Santiso, Javier (2006). *Latin America’s Political Economy of the Possible (Beyond Good Revolutionaries and Free-Marketeers)* (The MIT Press).**

Edwards, Sebastián. 1995. *Crisis and Reform in Latin America (From Despair to Hope)*. Oxford University Press. Chapter 3, “The Emergence of a New Latin American Consensus”, pp. 41-65, and last chapter, section “Latin America after Mexico”, pp. 303-314.

Ffrench-Davis, Ricardo (2005). *Reforming Latin America’s Economies (After Market Fundamentalism)* (Palgrave Macmillan). Chapter I, pp. 1-24.

Williamson, John. 1990. *Latin American Adjustment: how much has happened*. Institute for International Economics.

----- and Pedro Pablo Kuczynski. 2003. *After the Washington Consensus*. Institute for International Economics.

Victor Bulmer Thomas. *The Economic History of Latin America*. Chapters 10, 11 and 12, pp. 313-410.

Stokes, Susan. 2001. *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press).

Hirschman, Albert. *A propensity to Self-Subversion*. 1995. Harvard University Press, Cambridge. Chapter 15, "On the Political Economy of Latin American Development", pp. 154-188.

6. October 23rd. Democratic Governance in Latin America

***Mainwaring and Scully. Introductory Chapter. In Scott Mainwaring and Timothy Scully, *Democratic Governance in Latin America*" (manuscript).**

***Mainwaring, Scully and Jorge Vargas, "Measuring Success in Democratic Governance", in Mainwaring and Scully, *Democratic Governance in Latin America* (manuscript)**

****Patricio Navia and Ignacio Walker. "Political Institutions, Populism and Democratic Governance in Latin America", in Mainwaring and Scully, *Democratic Governance in Latin America* (manuscript). Spanish version in www.cieplan.cl.**

Jorge Domínguez, "Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America: Taking Stock of the 1990s", pp. 351-381. 2003. Jorge Domínguez and Michael Shifter (editors), *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, Second Edition (The Johns Hopkins University Press).

Various authors, "Elections without democracy". 2002. *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 13, no. 2, April. Articles by Larry Diamond, Andreas Schedler, and Steven Levitsky and Lucan A. Way and Levitsky.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy". *Journal of Democracy* 5:1

Zakaria, Fareed. "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy". 1997. *Foreign Affairs* (76, 6).

Latinobarómetro (2006) www.latinobarometro.org (See "Informes de Prensa", 2006)

Other Readings:

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2004. "Human Development, Human Rights and Democracy", in Guillermo O'Donnell, Jorge Vargas and Osvaldo Iazzetta (editors), *The Quality of Democracy*. University of Notre Dame.

Huber, D. Evelyn Rueschemeyer and J. D. Stephens, "The Paradoxes of Contemporary Democracy: Formal, Participatory, and Social Dimensions," *Comparative Politics* 29 (April 1997), pp. 323-342.

Mainwaring, Scott, Daniel Brinks, y Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. 2001. "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America 1945-1999." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36 (1): 37-65.

Diamond, Larry and Leonardo Morlino, "Introduction", and Guillermo O'Donnell, "Why the Rule of Law Matters", in Diamond and Morlino (editors), *Assessing the Quality of Democracy*. 2005. The Johns Hopkins University Press. Baltimore.

Méndez, Juan, Guillermo O'Donnell et. al. 1999. *The (Un)rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America*. University of Notre Dame.

Spanakos, Anthony Peter. 2007. "Adjectives, Asterisks and Qualifications, or How to Address Democracy in Contemporary Latin America", in *Latin American Research Review* (Volume 42, Number 2, 2007), pp. 225-237.

Mainwaring, Scott and Christopher Welna. *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. 2003. Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 (Scott Mainwaring, "Introduction: Democratic Accountability in Latin America") and Guillermo O'Donnell, "Horizontal Accountability: the Legal Institutionalization of Mistrust"), pp. 3-54.

Tsebelis. George. 2002. *Veto Players (How Political Institutions Work)*. Princeton University Press.

"El Populismo y las Democracias", in Special Issue, *Revista de Ciencia Política* (Santiago, Vol. XXIII, No. 1, 2003). . Chapters by Guy Hermes (pp. 5-18) and Patricio Navia (pp. 19-30).

Weyland, Kurt. "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: how much affinity?". 2003. *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 6, pp1095-1115.

Weyland, Kurt. 2004. "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: a Mixed Record", in *Latin American Politics and Society* (Vol. 46, No. 1, Spring 2004)

7. November 6th. Democracy in South America (Venezuela and Bolivia)

***Mainwaring, Scott, Ana María Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez (2006). *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes* (Stanford University Press). Chapters 1 and 2 (pp. 1-77), 5 (pp. 132-170), and 10 (pp. 295-332).**

***Chapters on Bolivia and Venezuela, in Hagopian and Mainwaring, pp. 149-178 and 289-318.**

Michael Coppedge. "Venezuela: Popular Sovereignty versus Liberal Democracy" in Domínguez and Shifter...pp. 165-192.

Jana Morgan. "Partisanship during the Collapse of Venezuela's Party System", in *Latin American Research Review* (Vol. 42, Number 1, 2007), pp. 78-98

Report UNDP, "El Estado del Estado en Bolivia". 2007. Spanish. <http://idh.pnud.bo/webportal/>

Nueva Sociedad (209, Mayo/Junio 2007). Spanish. Special Issue on Bolivia <http://www.nuso.org/revista.php?n=209>

Other Readings:

Seligson, Mitchell A. "The Rise of Populism and the Left in Latin America", in *Journal of Democracy* (Vol. 18, Number 3, July 2007), pp. 81-95.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America (The Evolution of Ethnic Politics)*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction and Chapters 1, 2 and 3, pp. 1-98, and Conclusion, pp. 212-235.

Jorge Castañeda, "Latin America's Left Turn" and Michael Shifter, "In Search of Hugo Chávez", both in *Foreign Affairs*. May/June 2006.

Speeches from Evo Morales and Hugo Chávez on their Inauguration Day.

8. November 13th. Presidentialism and Parliamentarism.

***Peter Smith. Democracy in LA, pp. 137-182.**

***Linz, Juan, "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy, Does it Make Difference?, in Juan Linz and Arturo Valenzuela (1994). *The Failure of Presidential Democracy* (The Johns Hopkins University Press). Pp. 3-87**

***Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Shugart, "Juan Linz, Presidentialism, and Democracy: A Critical Appraisal." *Comparative Politics* 29 No. 4 (July 1997): 449-471.**

Cheibub, José Antonio. 2007. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction (pp. 1-26) and Conclusion (pp. 165-174).

Valenzuela, Arturo. "Latin American Presidency's Interrupted". 2004. *Journal of Democracy*. Vol. 15, No. 4.

Ignacio Walker "Hacia el Parlamentarismo", in *En Foco* (Expansiva, No. 4, Septiembre de 2003) www.expansiva.cl.

Other Readings:

Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Shugart (1997). *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press).

Mainwaring, Scott. 1992. "Presidentialism in Latin America", in Arend Lijpart (editor), *Parliamentary versus Presidential Government*. Oxford University Press.

Colomer, Josep M. and Gabriel L. Negretto. 2005. "Can Presidentialism Work Like Parliamentarism?" *Government and Opposition* 40 (1): 60-89.

Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies (Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics)*. Cambridge University Press.

Carey, John. 2003. "Presidentialism and Representative Institutions", in Domínguez and Shifter, *Constructing...*

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions (Party Systems in Latin America)*. Stanford University Press. Introduction, pp. 1-34.

Morgentsen, Scott and Benito Nacif. 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

Stephan Haggard and Mathew D. McCubbins. 2001. *Presidents, Parliaments and Policy*. Cambridge University Press. Introduction (pp. 1-20) and Conclusión (pp. 319-324).

9. November 20th. Institutional and Citizen's Democracy: Trade-offs and Challenges

***Mark Payne, Daniel Zovatto and Mercedes Mateo Díaz (editors). 2007 Revised Edition. *Democracies in Development: Politics and Reform in Latin America*. Harvard University David Rockefeller Center/Inter-American Development Bank. All Chapters except 7, 9 and 10.**

UNDP. 2005. *Democracy in Latin America (Towards a Citizen's Democracy)

<http://democracia.undp.org/Informe/Default.asp?Menu=15&Idioma=2> pp 33-73 (recommended: pp. 173-195).

Sen, Amartya. "Democracy as a Universal Value", *Journal of Democracy* (10:3) 1999. Pp. 3-17.

Coppedge, Michael. 1998. "The Evolution of Latin American Party Systems." In *Politics, Society, and Democracy: Latin America*, edited by S. Mainwaring, and Arturo Valenzuela. Boulder: Westview Press, 171-206

IADB. 2006 Report. *The Politics of Policies (Economic and Social Progress in Latin America)*. IADB-David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University. Chapter "Political Parties, Legislatures, and Presidents", pp. 27-60.

10. November 27th. Social cohesion in Latin America

Either

*ECLA. "Social Cohesion (Inclusion and a Sense of Belonging in Latin America and the Caribbean)". 2006. English and Spanish versions. <http://www.eclac.org/publicaciones/xml/0/29030/2007-218-SocialCohesion-Summary.pdf>

Or

*IADB. "Social Cohesion in Latin America and the Caribbean (Analysis, Action and Coordination)". 2006. English and Spanish versions. IADB. <http://www.iadb.org/publications/search.cfm?language=Spanish&COUNTRIES=US&TOPICS=>

Survey on Social Cohesion in L. America (2007) CIEPLAN/IFHC (Spanish, manuscript).

Tironi, Eugenio and Manuel Tironi, "*Cohesión Social y Cuestión Urbana. La Experiencia Europea y una Agenda de reflexión para América Latina*". 2007. (Manuscript).

11. December 4th. Social Inequality and Social Policies in Latin America

*De Ferranti, David, Guillermo Perry, Michael Walton, Francisco Ferreira. 2004. *Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean: Breaking with History?* World Bank. Summary, pp. 1-24.

(<http://web.worldbank.org/WBSITE/EXTERNAL/COUNTRIES/LACEXT/0,,contentMDK:20384897~pagePK:146736~piPK:146830~theSitePK:258554,00.html>)

*Perry, Guillermo, Omar Arias, Humberto López, William Maloney and Luis Servén. 2006. *Poverty Reduction and Growth: Virtuous and Vicious Circles*, Chapter 1, "From Vicious to Virtuous Circles", pp. 1-19 and Chapter 4, "The Relative Roles of Growth and Inequality for Poverty Reduction", pp. 57-73. The World Bank, Washington D. C.

***Foxley, Alejandro. “More Market or More State for Latin America?”, in Mainwaring and Scully, *Democratic Governance in Latin America* (manuscript).**

Huber, Evelyn and John Stephens. “Social Policy and Democratic Governance in Latin America”, Mainwaring/Scully, *Democratic Governance in Latin America* (manuscript).

Marcel, Mario. “Gasto Fiscal y Equidad en América Latina” (CIEPLAN, manuscript).

López, Humberto and Guillermo Perry, “*Inequality in Latin America: Determinants and Consequences*” (manuscript) (ECLA Conference, Santiago, June 2007).

Ffrench-Davis, Ricardo and José Luis Machinea. *Economic Growth with Equity* (Challenges for Latin America) (ECLAC, Palgrave Mac Millan, 2007), Chapters 1, 2 and 3. Pp 1-60.

IADB (2006). *The Politics of Policies (economic and social progress in Latin America)* (David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University).

12. December 11th. Social Cohesion and Social Policies in Latin America (issues)

***De Gregorio, José. 2007. “Economic Growth in Latin America: from the Disappointments of the 20th century to the Challenges of the 21st Century”, Scott Mainwaring and Tim Scully, *Democratic Governance in Latin America* (Manuscript, forthcoming).**

***Birdsall, Nancy and Carol Graham (editors). 2000. *New Markets, New Opportunities?* Brookings Institution Press, Chapter 1, Mobility and Markets”, pp. 3-21, and Chapter 9, The Political Economy of Mobility: Perceptions and Objective Trends in Latin America, pp. 225-266.**

Each student –provided that he/she reads Spanish-, chooses one of the following:

Sebastián Pérez. “Movilidad y Cohesión Social en América Latina” (CIEPLAN, manuscript).

Patricio Meller. “Mercado Laboral y Cohesión Social en América Latina” (CIEPLAN, manuscript).

Cristián Cox. “Educación y Cohesión Social en América Latina” (CIEPLAN, manuscript).

Oswaldo Larrañaga. “Familia y Cohesión Social en América Latina” (CIEPLAN, manuscript).