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**Pols 8250: Latin American Politics  
Fall 2009**

Dr. Jennifer McCoy  
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Monday, 1:00-3:30 pm  
709 GCB  
Office Hours: Mon 11-1  
and by appointment

**Description:** This course provides an overview of the history and contemporary politics of selected Latin American countries, and theoretical and methodological developments in the scholarly field of Latin American politics. The thematic focus is on democratization in Latin America: how do we explain the emergence, survival, and failure of democracy in Latin America over time? Are current issues of corruption, persistent poverty and inequality, ethnic divisions, organized crime and violence, and the delegitimation of political parties threatening the survival of Latin American democracy? We'll look in particular at the so-called "rise of the New Left" in the last decade, the return of populism, and back-sliding and hybrid democracies.

**Reading Assignments:** The course materials will be found in six required books. In addition, we will have required and recommended articles located on eReserve or otherwise noted with a web link. Additional reading assignments may be forthcoming.

Required Books:

Barrett, Patrick, Daniel Chavez, and Cesar Rodriguez-Garavito, editors. *The New Latin American Left: Utopia Reborn*, Pluto Press, 2008. PAPER ISBN-13: 978-0745326771

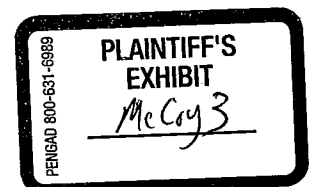
Castaneda, Jorge and Marco Morales, editors, *Leftovers: Tales of the Latin American Left*, (Routledge Press), 2008, Paperback. ISBN 0-415-95671-4

Hagopian, Frances and Scott Mainwaring, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America* (Cambridge) 2005. PAPER 0-521-61320-5

Helmke, Gretchen and Steven Levitsky, *Informal Institutions and Democracy* (Johns Hopkins University Press). PAPER 0-8018-8352-0

Millett, Richard, Jennifer Holmes and Orlando Perez, editors, *Latin American Democracy* (Routledge Press), 2008, paperback. ISBN 0-415-99048-3

Schneider, Ronald. *Latin American Political History: Patterns and Personalities*. Westview Press, 2009. PAPER. ISBN-13: 978-0813343419 **NOTE: This book is for reference for those who have not had prior coursework (especially undergrad) in Latin American politics or need a refresher. Ch. 3-13 should be read as we go along for those needing additional background, choosing the country sections in each chapter to match the country of focus during each week of the course.)**



**Grades:** Grades will be determined on the basis of 4 things:

15% - Class participation (discussion of assigned readings). Grades are assigned on quality of the contribution, not quantity. Contributions should be based on your interpretation of the readings and other evidence, not merely espousal of opinions.

30% -- Research Paper: 2 options. Both options should produce a 15-20 page double-spaced paper with bibliography. Topics must be presented to the instructor for approval by Nov 9. Oral presentations will be made to the class on Nov 23 and Nov 30, with feedback to be incorporated into final written essays due December 10 in both written and electronic format.

A. Research Design (recommended for PhD students and M.A. students with thesis option): Choose a problem of contemporary Latin American politics. Research design should include the following sections: Statement of the Problem and Research Question – that is, you need a puzzle to answer, not a phenomenon to describe (about 1-2 pages); Justification (relevance of the issue to theory and/or policy, about 1 page); Literature Review (5-8 pages); Hypotheses or Research Propositions (with explanation) and Expected Findings (3-4 pages); Methodology (large-N, comparative small-N, case study, etc); Operationalization of Variables and Data Sources (How will you measure your variables or what indicators will you use – that is, how will you know the answer to your research question) and where will you find these indicators? Bibliography.

B. Policy Analysis: Choose a policy problem for Latin American governments, U.S. government, or international organizations to address. Paper should include these sections: Description of the policy problem – give some data, statistics, and description of the nature of the problem, how extensive it is, where it occurs. Previous research on the problem – what does the literature say about the causes of the problem and potential solutions? Policy recommendations: what do you recommend be done about the problem? Bibliography.

25% -- Journals. You will keep a journal in which you type 1-2 pages each week on: the major themes in the readings, surprising or puzzling things you have found, contradictions among the readings, and a set of 2-3 questions you would like to raise in class. You will submit these at the beginning of each class period.

30% -- Final exam, take-home, comprehensive essay questions.

## **Course Outline**

**Aug 17 -- INTRODUCTION**

### **PART I. CONCEPTS AND HISTORY OF LATIN AMERICAN DEMOCRATIC CULTURE**

## **Aug 24--OVERVIEW: Latin American Democratic History and Culture**

**Read:** Schneider, Ch. 1, 14

Hagopian and Mainwaring, Intro and Ch. 1 (quantitative approach)

**Reference:** Schneider, Ch 2-5

### **Suggested Background Reading:**

Thomas Skidmore and Peter Smith, *Modern Latin America*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., (Oxford University Press, 1997).

Howard Wiarda and Harvey Kline, *Latin American Politics and Development*, Chapters 1-2: "Patterns of Historical Development", (Westview Press, 2000), 5<sup>th</sup> edition.

Diamond, Larry et al, *Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America* (Lynne Rienner Press, 1999), 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.

Howard Wiarda, *The Soul of Latin America*

Howard Wiarda, *Dilemmas of Democracy in Latin America* (Rowman and Littlefield) 2005.

## **Aug 31 – Study of Democracy in Latin America**

**Read:** Millett, Ch. 2-5

Munck, Geraldo. Editor. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. (Oxford Press, 2007). Intro and Ch 1 (Munck), Ch 2 (Mazzuca). **E-reserves.**

Guillermo O'Donnell, Joseph S. Tulchin, and Augusto Varas, eds. *New Voices in the Study of Democracy in Latin America*. Woodrow Wilson Center, 2008. **Introduction, pp. 1-6.** <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/lap.newvoices.pdf>

### **Suggested Background Reading: Perceptions of Democracy**

Roderic ai Camp, editor, *Citizen Views of Democracy in Latin America*, (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2001).

UNDP Latin American and Caribbean Bureau, *Democracy in Latin America: Toward a Citizen's Democracy (Report and Annexes)*, 2004. Available in English and Spanish online:

<http://democracia.undp.org/Informe/Default.asp?Menu=15&Idioma=2>

LatinoBarometer, [www.latinobarometro.org](http://www.latinobarometro.org)

Americas Barometer (LAPOP), <http://sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/lapop>

### **Suggested Background Reading: Measuring Democracy**

UNDP report, Section 2 (p. 74-130)

Carsten Schneider and Philippe Schmitter, "Liberalization, transition and consolidation: measuring the components of democratization," *Democratization*, **Volume 11, Number 5/December 2004: 59-90.**

Gerardo L. Munck and Jay Verkuilen, "Conceptualizing and Measuring Democracy: Evaluating Alternative Indices," *Comparative Political Studies* Vol. 35, N° 1 (2002): 5-34.

<http://cps.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/35/1/5>

Mark Payne, et al, *Democracies in Development* (Inter-American Development Bank,

2002);

David Collier and Steven Levitsky, "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research: Research Note," *World Politics* 49 (April 1997): 430-451.

Munck, Gerald "Measuring Democratic Governance: Central Tasks and Basic Problems," pp. 427-59, in Deepa Narayan, ed., *Measuring Empowerment: Cross-Disciplinary Perspectives* (Washington, DC: World Bank, 2005);

**Suggested Background Reading: Comparative Methodology for Latin America:**

Smith, Peter, *Latin America in Comparative Perspective*, Chapters 1 (Smith) and 4 (Geddes).

Berins Collier, Ruth and David Collier. *Shaping the political arena* . Overview, Pages 3 to 23.

Munck, Geraldo. Editor. *Regimes and Democracy in Latin America: Theories and Methods*. (Oxford Press, 2007).

Munck, Geraldo. *Measuring Democracy: A Bridge between Scholarship and Politics*. (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009).

**Suggested Background Reading: Meaning of Democracy**

UNDP report, Section 1 (p. 33-73),

<http://www.democracia.undp.org/Informe/Default.Asp?Idioma=2>

Leonard Molino, "What is a 'good' democracy?" , *Democratization*, Volume 11, Number 5/December 2004: 10-32.

Special Issue of *Democratization*, Volume 11, Number 5/December 2004:

Consolidated & Defective Democracy? Problems of Regime Change

Robert Dahl, *Polyarchy: Participation and Opposition*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1971).

Robert Dahl, *Democracy and Its Critics*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

**Sep 7 – NO CLASS, Labor Day**

**PART II. THE NEW LEFT IN LATIN AMERICA**

**Sept 14 – What is the New Left?**

Read: Castaneda, Part I

Barrett, Ch 1, 9, 10

Hershberger and Cameron, New Left Turns, TBA

**Suggested Background Reading:**

**In Spanish:** La "nueva izquierda " en América Latina: Derechos humanos, participación política, y sociedad civil, Compilado por Cynthia J. Arnson, Woodrow Wilson Center Report, January 2009.

<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/Nueva%20Izquierda%20Enero%2020091.pdf>

**In English:** See short country reports for Nicaragua, Bolivia, and Venezuela by the Woodrow Wilson Center at [http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic\\_id=1425&fuseaction=topics.publications&group\\_id=320639](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/index.cfm?topic_id=1425&fuseaction=topics.publications&group_id=320639)

**Sep 21—Gray Zone Democracies: Hybrid Regimes, Electoral Authoritarianism, Populism, Participatory Democracy (Venezuela)**

**Read:** Barrett, Ch. 3 (Venezuela)

Castaneda, Ch. 9 (Venezuela)

Hagopian and Mainwaring, Ch 10 (Venezuela)

McCoy, Jennifer, "Venezuela Under Chávez: Beyond Liberalism," paper prepared for the project on New Left Turns, University of British Columbia, 2009. **To be provided.**

Roberts, Kenneth. "Repoliticizing Latin America: the Revival of Populist and Leftist Alternatives," Woodrow Wilson Center paper, 2008.

<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/repoliticizing.roberts.lap.pdf>

T. Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm," *Journal of Democracy*, Jan 2002 (13:1).

[http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v013/13.1carothers.html](http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal_of_democracy/v013/13.1carothers.html)

Andreas Schedler, editor. *Electoral Authoritarianism: the Dynamics of Unfree Competition*. (Lynne Rienner Press, 2006). Ch 1 and 2 (by Schedler and Munck). **e-Reserve**

**Suggested Background Reading:**

L. Diamond, "Thinking about Hybrid Regimes," *Journal of Democracy*, April 2002 (13:2) [http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v013/13.2diamond.html](http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal_of_democracy/v013/13.2diamond.html)

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy* 5:1 (1994). Also in Guillermo O'Donnell, *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1999).

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Illusions About Consolidation," in Larry Diamond, et al, editors, *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997): 40-57 and in *Counterpoint*.

Bernard Crick, "Populism, politics and democracy," *Democratization*, Volume 12, Number 5/December 2005: 625-632.

Steve Ellner, *Rethinking Venezuelan Politics: Class, Conflict and the Chávez Phenomenon* (Lynne Rienner Press, 2008).

Jennifer McCoy, "From Representative to Participatory Democracy? Regime Transformation in Venezuela" and "Epilogue" in McCoy, Jennifer and David Myers, ed, *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela* 2006.

**PART III. PROBLEMS OF FORMAL AND INFORMAL INSTITUTIONS AND CONSTITUTIONALISM**

**Sep 28 – Presidents and Legislatures (Brazil)**

**Read:** Helmke and Levitsky, Intro and Part 1

Millett, Ch 7 (exec-legis)

Hagopian and Mainwaring, Ch 3 (Brazil)

Barrett, Ch. 2 (Brazil)  
Castaneda, Ch. 6 (Brazil)

**Suggested Background Reading:**

Arturo Valenzuela, "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted," *Journal of Democracy*, 15:4 (oct 2004).

[http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v015/15.4valenzuela.pdf](http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal_of_democracy/v015/15.4valenzuela.pdf)

Aníbal Pérez-Linan, *Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

**Oct 5 – Party Politics and Electoral Institutions (Mexico)**

**Read:** Helmke and Levitsky, Ch. 4-5, 7-9

Millett, Ch. 9 (parties)

Hagopian and Mainwaring, Ch. 4 (Mexico)

Castaneda, Ch. 11 (Mexico)

**Suggested Background Reading:**

Jonathan Hartlyn, Jennifer McCoy and Thomas Mustillo, "Explaining the Quality of Elections in Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* (March 2008)

Symposium on "The 2006 Mexican Elections and their Aftermath", forthcoming *PS*, January 2007. [http://www2.kenyon.edu/depts/PSci/PS\\_Symposium/PSindex.htm](http://www2.kenyon.edu/depts/PSci/PS_Symposium/PSindex.htm)

Hector Schamis, "Populism, Socialism and Democratic Institutions," *Journal of Democracy*, 17:4 (Oct 2006)

[http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v017/17.4schamis.pdf](http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal_of_democracy/v017/17.4schamis.pdf)

**Oct 12 – JUDICIARIES, RULE OF LAW and ACCOUNTABILITY (Peru)**

**Read:** Helmke and Levitsky, Ch. 11-12

Millett, Ch 6, 18 (rule of law, corruption)

Hagopian and Mainwaring, Ch. 9 (Peru)

Castaneda, ch. 10 (Peru)

Julio Faundez, "Democratization through law: Perspectives from Latin America", *Democratization*, Volume 12, Number 5/December 2005: 749-765.

Scott Mainwaring, "Introduction: Democratic Accountability in Latin America," Ch 1 in Schott Mainwaring and Christopher Welna, editors, *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*, (Oxford University Press, 2003): 3-33. **e-Reserves**

**Suggested Background Reading:**

Andreas Schedler, Larry Diamond, and Mark Plattner, eds., *The Self-Restraining State: Power and Accountability in New Democracies*, (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 1999).

Laurence Whitehead, *Democratization*, (Oxford Univ Press: 2002).

Mark Payne, *Democracies in Development: Politics and Reform in Latin America* (IDB, 2002), Ch 9.

Cynthia McClintock, "An Unlikely Comeback in Peru," *Journal of Democracy*, 17:4

(Oct 2006). <http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2151/pqdlink?Ver=1&Exp=01-06-2012&FMT=7&DID=1153677051&RQT=309&clientId=19356>

#### **PART IV. PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION**

##### **Oct 19 – CIVIL SOCIETY: CONTROLLING AND OUSTING GOVERNMENTS (Bolivia and Andes)**

**Read:** Helmke and Levitsky, Ch. 3

Hagopian and Mainwaring, Ch. 5 (Bolivia)

Barrett, Ch. 8 (Bolivia)

Millett, Ch. 13, 14, 16 (Indian nationalism, populism, left and democracy)

##### **Recommended:**

Jennifer McCoy, "International Response to Democratic Crisis in the Americas, 1990-2005", *Democratization* Volume 13, Number 5/December 2006: 756-775.

Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri, editors, *Politics in the Andes: Identity, Conflict, Reform* (University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004).

Paul Drake and Eric Hershberg, *State and Society in Conflict* (Univ of Pittsburgh) 2006

Scott Mainwaring, "The Crisis of Representation in the Andes," *Journal of Democracy*, 17:3 (July 2006): 13-28.

<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=23&did=1091047201&SrchMode=1&sid=1&Fmt=6&VInst=PROD&VType=POD&RQT=309&VName=POD&TS=1168278324&clientId=19356>

##### **Oct 26 - TACKLING POVERTY AND INEQUALITY (Chile)**

**Read:** LASA papers - TBD

Castaneda, Part II (What has the Left done, right or wrong?)

Castaneda, Ch. 7 (Chile)

Giovanni Carbone, "The Consequences of Democratization," *Journal of Democracy*, 20:2 (April 2009): 123-137.

[http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v020/20.2.carbone.pdf](http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal_of_democracy/v020/20.2.carbone.pdf)

Francis Fukuyama, "Poverty, Inequality and Democracy: the Latin American Experience," *Journal of Democracy*, 19:4 (Oct 2008): 69-79.

[http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v019/19.4.fukuyama.pdf](http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal_of_democracy/v019/19.4.fukuyama.pdf)

##### **Suggested Background Reading:**

Jorge Castaneda, "Democracy and Inequality," in Jorge Dominguez and Abraham Lowenthal, ed. *Constructing democratic governance*, (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), Chapter 3, pp.42-63. Docuweb.

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Poverty and Inequality in Latin America: Some Political Reflections," in Guillermo O'Donnell and Victor Tokman, eds. *Poverty and Inequality in Latin America* (Univ. of Notre Dame, Press, 1998).

##### **Nov 2 – ECONOMIC REFORM, DEVELOPMENT AND DEMOCRACY (Argentina and Uruguay)**



**Read:** Millett, Ch. 17 (Economic growth and democracy)  
Hagopian and Mainwaring, Ch. 2 (Argentina)  
Helmke and Levitsky, Ch. 6  
Barrett, Ch. 6 (Argentina) and Ch. 4 (Uruguay)  
Castaneda, Ch. 8 (Uruguay)

**Suggested Background Reading:**

Adrian Leftwich, "Democracy and development: Is there institutional incompatibility?", *Democratization*, **Volume 12, Number 5/December 2005: 687-703.**

Matthew Cleary, "Explaining the Left's Resurgence," *Journal of Democracy*, 17:4 (Oct 2006). [http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v017/17.4cleary.pdf](http://ezproxy.gsu.edu:2062/journals/journal_of_democracy/v017/17.4cleary.pdf)

"Eduardo Lora and Ugo Panizza, "The Future of Structural Reforms," *Journal of Democracy* April 2003 (14:2).

<http://proquest.umi.com/pqdweb?index=0&did=345394761&SrchMode=1&sid=2&Fmt=7&VInst=PROD&VType=POD&ROT=309&VName=POD&TS=1168291077&clientId=19356>

Nancy Birdsall and Augusto de la Torre, "Washington Contentious: Economic Policies for Social Equity in Latin America", Findings of the Commission on Economic Reform in Unequal Latin American Societies sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and the Inter-American Dialogue, <http://www.iadialog.org/publications/pdf/carnegie.pdf>, 2001.  
Read Part 1 (pp. 6-17).

Hector Schamis, "Argentina: Crisis and Democratic Consolidation," *Journal of Democracy*, April 2002 (Vol 13, No. 2). Available at Project Muse:  
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/toc/jod13.2.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/toc/jod13.2.html)

Mark Payne, et al, *Democracies in Development* (Inter-American Development Bank, 2002). Read Ch. 1, "Politics Matter";

UNDP, *Human Development Report 2002*, <http://www.undp.org/hdr2002/>. Chapter 2, "Democratic governance for human development."

**Nov 9 – VIOLENCE and SECURITY (Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala)**

Hagopian and Mainwaring, Ch. 8 (Colombia), Ch. 6, (El Salvador) Ch. 7 (Guatemala)  
Helmke and Levitsky, Ch. 10 (police killings)  
Barrett, Ch. 5 (Colombia)  
Millett, Ch. 10, 12, 11, 15 (Military, human rights, crime, media)

**Suggested Background Reading:**

**In Spanish:** Seguridad ciudadana en las Américas: Proyecto de investigación activa # 18, Jessica Varat, ed., Woodrow Wilson Center, 2007.

[http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/LAP\\_Citizen.Security.e.pdf](http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/LAP_Citizen.Security.e.pdf)

**Nov 16 – Analytical and Policy Conclusions**

Read: Hagopian and Mainwaring, Ch. 12

Helmke and Levitsky, Conclusion and Afterword  
Barrett, Ch. 9-10 (review)  
Casteneda, Ch. 12  
Millett, Ch. 19-20 (U.S. role)  
Schneider, Ch. 15

**Suggested Reading:**

Abraham Lowenthal, Theodore Piccone and Laurence Whitehead, editors, *The Obama Administration and the Americas* (Brookings Institute Press, 2009).

**Nov 23 – CLASS PRESENTATIONS OF RESEARCH PROJECTS**

**Nov 30 – CLASS PRESENTATIONS OF RESEARCH PROJECTS**

**Dec 7 FINAL EXAM DUE 12 am**

**Dec 10 FINAL RESEARCH PROJECT DUE; 4:00 pm**