

**LAS545**  
**Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks**  
Jennifer Cyr  
Center for Latin American Studies and School of Government and Public Policy  
University of Arizona  
[jmcyr@email.arizona.edu](mailto:jmcyr@email.arizona.edu)  
520-621-1346

Office: Social Sciences 328A2  
Office hours: 11 am-1 pm, Tues, or by appointment

In this class we will examine the trials, tribulations, and triumphs that have accompanied the process of democratization in many Latin American countries. Our view will be both historical and geographically concentrated. We will look at the major challenges and steps to greater political liberalization that affected much of Latin America over the 20<sup>th</sup> century. We will also consider a region – the Andes – where the road to democracy has typically been viewed as unusually long and abnormally fraught.

*Course objectives:*

By the end of the semester, you will be able to:

- (1) Describe in detail the multiple variables that have promoted or stymied democratization in the region;
- (2) Think comparatively and critically about the challenges to democratization, and explain where and when different challenges were particularly intense (or, alternatively, less problematic); and
- (3) Address the ongoing struggles with democratization in the Andean region, including those factors that uniquely affect this part of Latin America.

*Course evaluations:*

1. Seminar discussion leader (twice during the semester): 20% (10% each). Each student will be expected to “lead” seminar twice during the semester. They will present a brief (10-15 minutes) summary of what they think are the major points to cover and will have a series of questions to orient our discussion on the readings.
2. Two critical response papers throughout the semester: 20% (10% each). These will be 1-2 pages long and will respond to and engage critically with a major point (or points) from the week’s readings.
3. Book review: 30%. You will write a 6-8 page book review of a book of your choice. The book must have something to do with Latin American politics. You will be asked to review the strengths and weaknesses of the work and to tie it into some of the themes that we have considered over the course of the semester. This will be due at our last class session (Thursday, 1 May).

4. Final take home exam: 30%. You will have one week to answer three essay questions related to themes we have discussed over the semester. The questions will be handed out on the last day of class (Thursday, 1 May). They will be due by Friday, 9 May 2014.

Final grading scale: 90-100 = A; 80-89 = B; 70-79 = C; 60-69 = D; 59 or below = E

Required texts:

Our discussion every week will be grounded in one primary text and then will make reference to other secondary articles and chapters. Copies of the books are available at the University of Arizona bookstore. Articles and chapters will be made available to you electronically via our D2L site. The primary texts (to be obtained) are listed here, in the order that we will read them.

1. James Mahoney. 2010. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
2. Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. Princeton University Press.
3. Cardoso, Fernando Enrique and Falleto Enzo. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.
4. Magaloni, Beatriz. 2006. *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press.
5. O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1993. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America. Read introduction and chapters on Bolivia, Venezuela, Peru, and Mexico.
6. Mainwaring, Scott and Frances Hagopian. 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
7. Michael Coppedge. 1994. *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks: Presidential Partyarchy and Factionalism in Venezuela*. Stanford University Press.
8. Gibson, Edward L. 2012. *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
9. Weyland, Kurt. 2002. *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela*.
10. Levitsky, Steven. 2003. *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
11. Yashar, Deborah. 1998. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge University Press.
12. Seawright, Jason. 2012. *Party-System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*. Stanford University Press.
13. Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2008. *Radical Democracy in the Andes*. Cambridge University Press.

### Other Important Information:

Regarding attendance, please note the following: it is expected and required that all students attend *every* lecture. Absences are permitted for the following two reasons and with prior notice by email:

- All holidays or special events observed by organized religions will be honored for those students who show affiliation with that particular religion, and
- Absences pre-approved by the UA Dean of Students (or Dean's designee) will be honored.

Regarding assignment deadlines, please note that these dates are set in stone for all students. Exceptions will be made *only* for *documented* cases of illness or family crisis. Students seeking an exception must request it from me prior to the exam or the paper deadline.

Please note that the use of cell phones and other hand-held devices that connect you to your family and friends is not allowed during class. The reasons for this should be obvious. Laptops are permitted for note-taking. If it becomes evident that they are being used for other, "extracurricular" activities, then I may limit their use. In sum, please be respectful to your fellow classmates and to me during lecture.

Plagiarism is strictly forbidden and will be pursued and punished following the terms put forth by the University of Arizona. For more information on the university's policies, please see the following website:

<http://deanofstudents.arizona.edu/codeofacademicintegrity>.

Please keep in mind that the University of Arizona seeks to promote a safe environment where students may participate in the educational process without compromising their health, safety or welfare. As such, the university prohibits threats of physical harm to any member of the University community, including to one's self. For more information, please see the following website:

<http://policy.web.arizona.edu/threatening-behavior-students>.

### Accessibility and Accommodations:

It is the University's goal that learning experiences be as accessible as possible. If you anticipate or experience physical or academic barriers based on disability, please let me know immediately so that we can discuss options. You are also welcome to contact Disability Resources (520-621-3268) to establish reasonable accommodations.

Please be aware that the accessible table and chairs in this room should remain available for students who find that standard classroom seating is not usable.

Reading assignments:

**Week 1, January 16.** *Introduction.*

**Week 2, January 23.** *Long-term development trends in Latin America.* How do we understand Latin America in the 20<sup>th</sup> century? What does the past tell us? How much stock should we place in that past?

Main text: James Mahoney. 2010. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective.* Cambridge University Press.

Additional readings:

Karl, Terry Lynn, 2003. "The Vicious Cycle of Inequality in Latin America," in Susan Eckstein and Timothy Wickham-Crawley, eds., *What Justice? Whose Justice? Fighting for Fairness in Latin America*, Berkeley: University of California: 133-157.

**Week 3, January 30.** *The early politics of inclusion in Latin America.* With the onset of industrial development in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, Latin American countries had to address, in one way or another, the birth of new classes that demanded greater inclusion into the political process. How did this inclusion happen? What were the consequences?

Main text: Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America.* Princeton University Press, pp. 3-55, 100-6, 161-68, 353-9, 498-506, 745-74.

Additional readings:

Oxhorn, Philip. 1998. "The Social Foundations of Latin America's Recurrent Populism: Problems of Popular Sector Class Formation and Collective Action" *Journal of Historical Sociology* (213-246).

Dix, R.H., "Cleavage Structures and Party Systems in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 22, No. 1 (October 1989): 23-37.

**Week 4, February 6.** *Latin American political economy in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.* How did countries in Latin America 'modernize'? Do economic growth trends in mid-20th century Latin America help or hurt democracy?

Cardoso, Fernando Enrique and Falleto Enzo. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Dos Santos, T., "The Structure of Dependence," *The American Economic Review* 60 no. 2 (May 1970), pp. 231-236.

Chalmers, D., "The Politicized State in Latin America," in J.A. Malloy, ed., *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977, pp. 23-45.

**Week 5, February 13.** *Authoritarian relapses and competitive authoritarian regimes in Latin America*. Choosing order over democracy before (and during and after?) the "third wave" in Latin America.

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

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy*. 5.1: 56-69.

Levitsky, Steve and Lucan Way. 2011. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." [http://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/files/SL\\_elections.pdf](http://scholar.harvard.edu/levitsky/files/SL_elections.pdf)

**Week 6, February 20.** *Transitions to democracy in Latin America*. How, when, and why it occurs in the Third Wave.

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1993. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Read introduction and chapters on Bolivia, Venezuela, Peru, and Mexico.

Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means: Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil," *Comparative Political Studies*. 23: 147-170.

Wood, Elizabeth. 2001. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador." *Comparative Political Studies*.

**Week 7, February 27.** *Problems of democratic "consolidation" in Latin America*. We've made it to the Third Wave, now what?

Mainwaring, Scott and Frances Hagopian. 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press. Read Introduction; Part I; Chp 5; Part III

Stokes, Susan. 2005. "Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence from Argentina." *American Political Science Review* 99.3: 315-325.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1996. "Illusions About Consolidation." *Journal of Democracy* 7: 34-51

**Week 8, March 6.** *Political parties in Latin America.* Without political parties representative democracy cannot work, or so say party scholars. What happens, however, when parties are weakly institutionalized, hegemonic, detached from society, and etc?

Michael Coppedge. 1994. *Strong Parties and Lame Ducks: Presidential Partyarchy and Factionalism in Venezuela.* Stanford University Press.

Greene, Kenneth. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective.* Cambridge University Press. pp. 33-64, 71-115.

Roberts, Kenneth. 2002. "Party-society Linkages and Democratic Representation in Latin America." *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies.*

**Week 9, March 13.** *Subnational authoritarian regimes in Latin America.* Even if countries are democratic at the national level, recent scholarship has found that authoritarian enclaves can function and even thrive in democratic countries.

Gibson, Edward L. 2012. *Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Federal Democracies.* Cambridge University Press.

Cornelius, Wayne. 1999. "Subnational Politics and Democratization: Tensions Between Center and Periphery in the Mexican Political System," in W.A. Cornelius, T. Eisenstadt, and J. Hindley, eds., *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico.* Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies. pp. 3-16.

**Week 10, March 27.** Latin American political economy in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century. Assessing the effects of neoliberal reforms on nascent democratization processes

Weyland, Kurt. 2002. *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru, and Venezuela.*

Mayorga, Rene Antonio. 1997. "Bolivia's Silent Revolution." *Journal of Democracy.*

Roberts, Kenneth. 1995. "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case," *World Politics* 48 (October): 82-116.

**Week 11, April 3.** “Traditional Political Participation” in the Neoliberal Era: Political parties adjust to the new structural model

Levitsky, Steven. 2003. *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentina in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

Gibson, Edward L. 1997. “The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina.” *World Politics* 49.3

Stokes, Susan. 2001. *Mandates and Democracies: Neoliberalism by Surprise*. Chapters 1 & 4.

**Week 12, April 10.** Who Counts as a Citizen? Foreshadowing the Crisis of Representation in the Andes.

Yashar, Deborah. 1998. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge University Press.

Oxhorn, Philip, 2006. “Neopluralism and the Challenges for Citizenship in Latin America,” in Joseph S. Tulchin and Margaret Ruthenberg, eds., *Citizenship in Latin America* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers): 123-147.

**Week 13, April 17.** The Crisis of Representation in the Andes. The fall of traditional political parties and the emergence of non-traditional forms of representation.

Seawright, Jason. 2012. *Party-System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*. Stanford University Press.

Levitsky, Steven and Maxwell Cameron. 2003. “Democracy without Parties? Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori’s Peru.” *Latin American Politics and Society* 45.3.

Baker, A., and Greene, K. 2011. “The Latin American Left’s Mandate: Free-Market Policies and Issue Voting in New Democracies.” *World Politics* 63:1.

**Week 14, April 24.** “Radical” democracy in the Andes? Making sense of the ‘constant chaos’ in the region. How radical is democracy?

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2008. *Radical Democracy in the Andes*. Cambridge University Press.

**Week 15, May 1.** Final book review due.