

Challenges to Democratic Consolidation in Latin America

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As the Cold War ended, democracy was restored in all Latin American countries (except Cuba). In the 1990s, countries embraced—with different levels of enthusiasm—the Washington Consensus neo-liberal economic reforms and electoral democracy seemed to have become the norm in the region, many believed Latin American had finally left behind a past of political instability, military coup, populism, revolutionary movements and radical political change. Democracy was the only game in town during the early 1990s. However, consolidating democracy proved to be much more difficult than attaining electoral democracy. In the last two decades, Latin American countries for the most part have failed to develop the kind of strong institutions and the kind of civil society that are often associated with consolidated democracies. In short, electoral democracies failed to give rise to consolidated democracies. The enthusiasm of the early 1990s has been replaced by pessimism—or at least concern—in recent years.

In addition, as the 1990s came to an end, the positive results of the economic policies were barely making up for the time and opportunities lost in the 1980s. The economy was not in crisis, but it was not growing as fast as needed. Free trade agreements were either not moving forward fast enough or they were not as free as intended. Power asymmetries also seemed to benefit larger economies in free trade agreements. Inequality had either worsened or become stagnant. Poverty remained high, and it increased in some countries that have traditionally been perceived as having created a strong middle class. There were all sorts of economic problems looming in the horizon.

The last two years have seen unprecedented levels of economic growth in Latin America. The terms of trade are overwhelmingly positive for developing nations. Yet, growth has not resulted in substantial reductions in poverty and inequality. Why is inequality so persistent in the region?

The election of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela in 1998 seemed to awaken many who believed that democracy was not at risk. Although there had been problems of democratic consolidation in Peru, Ecuador and Argentina in the mid 1990s, the election of Chávez seemed to mark a departure from a pattern of insufficiently consolidated democracies in Latin America. Chávez became an ally of Fidel Castro and, it seemed, that the challenges to democracy were no longer within the framework of electoral democracy. Chávez represented a new alternative of electoral democracy. After Chávez, different challenges to democratic consolidation have appeared in Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru, Argentina, Nicaragua, Colombia, Brazil and Mexico.

Are there similarities among them? Are they radically different? Are there regional patterns that we can identify? In this class, we will explore different challenges to democratic consolidation in

Latin America in the last decade. We will discuss Latin America history, democratic theory and the way Latin American countries have experimented with electoral democracy since the end of the Cold War.

Class Requirements:

Students will be required to complete 6 weekly 2-page responses to the readings selected for that week. Students can choose any six of the 14-week assigned readings. This will account for 40% of the final grade.

In addition, students are expected to submit a 6,000-word (20-doble spaced pages) case-study paper of their choice. This paper requirement is intended for students to put to use the theoretical tools learned in class and apply them to their own area of research interest. Using one of the theoretical frameworks presented in the class (or an alternative framework provided the proper substantiated theoretical basis) and some of the articles discussed here, students should test some of the hypothesis and propositions discussed in the literature and examine their relevance in the context of their own research topic. Comparative analyses (meaning comparing more than one case) are ideal, but as in the real world, not mandatory. Students interested in comparing a Latin American country with a non-Latin American country for their research paper should consult with me before proceeding, but should keep in mind that this class is not exclusively about theoretical tools. It is also intended to survey the main themes that exist in the study of Latin American politics today.

Required and recommended books will be on reserve in the library. They will also be on reserve in the department for your use. Some required books are also available for purchase at the bookstore.

Recommended Background Reading

For those with no prior knowledge of Latin American history and politics, I highly recommend five books as background reading materials:

- Halperín-Donghi, Tulio. 1993. *The Contemporary History of Latin America*. Duke University Press.
- Skidmore, Thomas and Peter H. Smith. 2004. *Modern Latin America. Sixth Edition*. Oxford University Press.
- Bulmer-Thomas, Victor. 2003. *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence*. Cambridge University Press.
- Bethell, Leslie. 1996. *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.

Week 1. Latin American Politics Today: an Overview

Democratic theory. Normative and objective components. Cutting edge research on democratization and democratic consolidation. Are the topics we study influenced by fashion? Do comparative politics need to compare? What is it that we compare? Does it make any sense to study governments of a particular region of the world? Is our discussion of democratic consolidation informed by institutional design literature? By historical literature? Structuralism?

Week 2. Basic Methodological Issues

Required

For those with the need to strengthen your historical background on Latin America, read:

- Halperin-Donghi, Tulio. 1993. *The Contemporary History of Latin America*. Duke University Press

In addition, all students should read:

- King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry. Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 1-33, 75-149.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1990. "How the Cases you Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics" *Political Analysis* 2 pp. 131-150
- Przeworski, Adam. 2005. "Democracy as an equilibrium" *Public Choice* 123 (3-4): 253-273 (January).
- Mainwaring, Scott, David Brinks and Anibal Perez-Linan. 2001. "Classifying Political Regimes in Latin America, 1945-1999" *Studies In Comparative International Development* 36 (1): 37-65 (Spring).
- Alvarez, Michael, Jose A. Cheibub, Fernando Limongi et al. 1996. "Classifying Political Regimes" *Studies In Comparative International Development* 31 (2): 3-36 (Summer).

Recommended:

- Laitin, David D. 1995. "Disciplining Political Science" *American Political Science Review* 89:454-456.
- Przeworski, Adam. 1999. "Minimalist Conception of Democracy. A Defense" in Ian Shapiro and Casiano Hacker-Cordón (eds.). *Democracy's Value*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fearon, James. 1991. "Counterfactuals and Hypothesis Testing in Political Science" *World Politics* 43 (January) pp. 169-95.

- King, Gary. 1989. *Unifying Political Methodology. The Likelihood Theory of Statistical Inference*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lichbach, Mark and Alan Zuckerman. 1997. “Research Traditions and Theory in Comparative Politics. An Introduction” in Lichbach and Zuckerman, eds., *Comparative Politics. Rationality, Culture and Structure* (Cambridge University Press).
- Przeworski, Adam and Henry Tunc. 1970. *The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry* (Malabar, Fl: Krieger Publishing Company)

Background Reading Recommended:

- Przeworski, Adam. 1991. *Democracy and the Market*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 1-135.
- O’Donnell, Guillermo and Schmitter, Philippe C. (ed.). 1986. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Cohen, Youssef. 1994. *Radicals, Reformers and Reactionaries*. University of Chicago Press.
- Barros, Robert. 2002. *Constitutionalism and Dictatorship: Pinochet, the Junta, and the 1980 Constitution*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1988. *Rethinking Military Politics* Princeton University Press.
- Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan (eds). 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Guillermo O’Donnell. 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*. Berkeley: University of California, Berkeley.
- Collier, David (ed.) 1979. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* Princeton University Press.
- Corradi, Juan, Patricia Weiss Fajen & Manuel Antonio Garretón (eds.). 1992. *Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- O’Brien, Philip & Paul Cammack (eds.). 1985. *Generals in Retreat: The Crisis of military Rule in Latin America*. Manchester: Manchester University Press).

- McClintock, Cynthia & Abraham Lowenthal (eds.) 1983. *The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered*. Princeton University Press.
- Wallerstein, Michael. 1980. "The Collapse of Democracy in Brazil: Its Economic Determinants" *Latin American Research Review* XV, no. 3 (1980).
- Hite, Katherine & Paola Cesarini. 2004. *Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, Schmitter, Philippe C. and Whitehead, Laurence (ed.). 1986. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo, Schmitter, Philippe C. and Whitehead, Laurence (ed.). 1986. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Munck, Gerardo L. 1998. *Authoritarianism and Democratization: Soldiers and Workers in Argentina, 1976-1983*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Hector Schamis. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism" *Comparative Politics* 23: 2 (January), pp. 201-220.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America" *Comparative Politics* 23: 1 (October), pp. 1-21.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means: Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil" *Comparative Political Studies* 23, 2 (July), pp. 147-169.
- Camp, Roderic Ai. 2001. *Politics in Mexico: The Democratic Transformation*. Oxford University Press.
- Peralta-Ramos, Monica & Carlos H. Waisman (eds.) 1987. *From Military Rule to Liberal Democracy in Argentina*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Week 3. Social Movements and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- Levitsky, Steven. 2003. *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America. Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.
- Helmke, Gretchen, and Steven Levitsky, eds. 2006. *Informal Institutions and Democracy*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Murillo, María Victoria. 2001. *Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions and Market Reforms in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier (2002, new edition). *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- Mahoney, James. 2002. *The Legacies of Liberalism: Path Dependence and Political Regimes in Central America*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy R. Scully. 1995. *Building Democratic Institutions. Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford University Press.
- Levy, Daniel C. Kathleen Bruhn and Emilio Zebadua. 2001. *Mexico: The Struggle for Democratic Development*. University of California Press.
- Coppedge, Michael. 1994. *Strong parties and lame ducks: presidential partyarchy and factionalism in Venezuela*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Ames, Barry. 2002. *The Deadlock of Democracy in Brazil (Interests, Identities, and Institutions in Comparative Politics)*. University of Michigan Press.
- Cornelius, Wayne A., Ann. L. Craig & Jonathan Fox (eds.) 1994. *Transforming State-Society Relations in Mexico: The National Solidarity Strategy*. San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Relations.
- Cameron, Maxwell & Philip Mauceri (eds.) 1997. *The Peruvian Labyrinth*. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Oxhorn, Philip. 1995. *Organizing Civil Society. The Popular Sector and the Struggle for Democracy in Chile*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below. Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador*. Cambridge University Press. (Introduction, theoretical chapters and chapters on El Salvador)
- Rock, David. 2002. *State Building and Political Movements in Argentina, 1860-1916*. Stanford University Press.
- Collier, Ruth Berins. 1999. *Path Towards Democracy. The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. Cambridge University Pres.

- Marx, Anthony. 1998. *Making Race and Nation. A Comparison of South Africa, the United States and Brazil*. Cambridge University Press. (Introduction, theoretical chapters and chapters on Brazil)
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 1998. *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Week 4. Citizens and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- United Nations Development Program. 2005. *Democracy in Latin America: Towards a Citizens' Democracy* <http://democracia.undp.org>
- McCoy, Jennifer, and David J Myers, eds. 2004. *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Hakim, Peter. 2003. "Dispirited Politics" *Journal of Democracy* - Volume 14, Number 2, April 2003, pp. 108-122.

Recommended Readings:

- *Human Development Reports* for Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay and Venezuela. <http://www.desarrollohumano.cl/>
- *World Human Development Report* <http://hdr.undp.org/>

Week 5. Indigenous Movements, Religious Movements and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- Clearly, Edward and Timothy Steigenga. 2004. *Resurgent Voices in Latin America*. Rutgers University Press.
- Yashar, Deborah. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Cambridge University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Garrard-Burnett V. 2004. "The third church in Latin America: Religion and globalization in contemporary Latin America" *Latin American Research Review* 39 (3): 256-269.
- Warren, Kay B. & Jean E. Jackson. 2003. *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*. University of Texas Press.

- Yashar, Deborah. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America" *World Politics* 52.1, pp. 76-104.
- Yashar, Deborah. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* (Oct. 1998)
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Indigenous struggle" *Latin American Research Review* 38 (2): 220-233.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2003. "Institutional change and ethnic parties in South America"
- *Latin American Politics And Society* 45 (2): 1-39 (Summer)
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2000. "Party system development and indigenous populations in Latin America - The Bolivian case" *Party Politics* 6 (2): 155-174 (April).
- Van Cott, Donna Lee (ed). 1994. *Indigenous Peoples and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Warren, Kay B. & Jean E. Jackson. 2003. *Indigenous Movements, Self-Representation, and the State in Latin America*. University of Texas Press.
- Burgos-Debray, Elisabeth. 1987. *I, Rigoberta Menchu: An Indian Woman in Guatemala* New York: Verso, 1987.
- Stoll, David. 2000. *Rigoberta Menchu and the Story of All Poor Guatemalans*. Harper Collins.
- Arias, Arturo. 2001. *The Rigoberta Menchú Controversy*. University of Minnesota Press

Week 6. Economic Reform and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- Weyland, Kurt Gerhard. 2004. "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record" *Latin American Politics & Society* - Volume 46, Number 1, Spring 2004, pp. 135-157.
- Madrid, Raul. 2005. "Ideas, economic pressures, and pension privatization" *Latin American Politics And Society* 47 (2): 23-50 (Summer).
- Perramond, E.P. 2005. "Downsizing the state: Privatization and the limits of neoliberal reform, in Mexico." *Latin American Politics And Society* 47 (3): 169-173 (Fall).
- Towers M, Borzutzky S. 2004. "The socioeconomic implications of dollarization in El Salvador" *Latin American Politics And Society* 46 (3): 29-54 (Fall).

Recommended Readings:

- Weyland, Kurt. 2002. *The Politics of Market Reforms in Fragile Democracies. Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Venezuela*. Princeton University Press.
- Navia, Patricio & Andres Velasco. 2003. “The Politics of Second Generation Reforms in Latin America” in John Williamson and Pedro-Pablo Kuczynski (eds.) *After the Washington Consensus: Restarting Growth and Reform in Latin America* Washington: Institute for International Economics.
- Eaton, Kent. 2002. *Politicians and Economic Reforms in New Democracies. Argentina and the Philippines in the 1990s*. Penn State University Press.
- Geddes, Barbara. 1994. *Politician's Dilemma: Building State Capacity in Latin America* (California Series on Social Choice and Political Economy, No 25). University of California Press.
- Furtado, Celso. 1970. *Economic Development of Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Baldez, Lisa and John M. Carey. 1999. “Presidential Agenda Control and Spending Policy: Lessons from General Pinochet’s Constitution” *American Journal of Political Science* 43 (1): 29-56.
- Stokes, Susan C. (ed.) 2001. *Public Support for Market Reforms in New Democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
- Haggard, Stephen & Robert Kaufman. 1995. *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions* (Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Smith, William S., Carlos Acuña, & Eduardo Gamarra (eds.) 1994. *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Oxhorn, Philip D. and Graciela Ducatenzeiler. 1998. *What Kind of Democracy? What Kind of Market? Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism*. Penn State Press.

Week 7. Inequality and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- David de Ferranti, Guillermo Perry, Michael Walton, Francisco H.G. Ferreira. 2004. *Inequality in Latin America & the Caribbean: Breaking with History?* Washington: World Bank. Read Summary, Chapters 2 & 4 and as much as you can.

<http://wbln0018.worldbank.org/LAC/LAC.nsf/ECADocByUnid/4112F1114F594B4B85256DB3005DB262?Opendocument>

- *Social Panorama of Latin America 2006*. <http://www.cepal.cl>
- *2006 Preliminary overview of the economies of Latin America and the Caribbean 2006* www.cepal.cl

Recommended Readings:

- Mendez, Juan, Guillermo O'Donnell, Paulo S. Pinheiro (eds.) 1999. *The (Un)Rule of Law and the Underprivileged in Latin America*. Notre Dame University Press.
- Tokman, Victor E. & Guillermo O'Donnell (eds.). 1998. *Poverty and Inequality in Latin America*. University of Notre Dame Press.
- Agüero, Felipe and Jeffrey Stark. 1998. *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*. Miami: North-South Center Press.
- Chalmers, Douglas et al., (eds.) *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America. Rethinking Participation and Representation*. Oxford University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Perez-Linan Anibal. 2003. "Level of Development and Democracy: Latin American Exceptionalism, 1945-1996" *Comparative Political Studies* 36 (9): 1031-1067 (November).

Week 8. Political Parties, Democratic Institutions and the Legislature and Democratic Consolidation.

Required Readings:

- Cheibub, Jose A, Adam Przeworski and Sebastián Saiegh. 2004. "Government coalitions and legislative success under presidentialism and parliamentarism" *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 565-587 Part 4 (October).
- Stokes, Susan C. 2005. "Perverse accountability: A formal model of machine politics with evidence from Argentina" *American Political Science Review* 99 (3): 315-325 AUG 2005
- Boix, Carles and Susan C. Stokes. 2003. "Endogenous democratization" *World Politics* 55 (4): 517+ (July).
- Stokes Susan C. 1999. "Political parties and democracy" *Annual Review of Political Science* 2: 243-267.

Recommended Readings:

- Papers from *Pathways to Power: Political Recruitment and Democracy in Latin America* <http://www.wfu.edu/academics/politics/conference/index.htm>
- Morgenstern, Scott and Benito Nacif (ed.). 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Crisp, Brian F. 2000. *Democratic Institutional Design: The Powers and Incentives of Venezuelan Politicians and Interest Groups*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Siavelis, Peter. 2000. *The President and Congress in Post-Authoritarian Chile: Institutional Constraints to Democratic Consolidation*. Penn State University Press.
- Londregan, John. 2000. *Legislative Institutions and Ideology in Chile*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, Mark P., Sebastián Saiegh, Pablo Spiller, et al. 2002. "Amateur Legislators-Professional Politicians: The Consequences of Party-Centered Electoral Rules in a Federal System" *American Journal Of Political Science* 46 (3): 656-669 (July).
- Calvo, Ernesto and Maria V. Murillo. 2004. "Who Delivers? Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market" *American Journal Of Political Science* 48 (4): 742-757 (October).

Week 9. Presidentialism and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- Perez-Liñan, Aníbal. 2003. "Power struggles and crisis in governability - Moving towards a new form of autocratic leadership?" *Latin American Research Review* 38 (3): 149-164 2003.
- Perez-Liñan, Aníbal. 2005. "Democratization and constitutional crises in presidential regimes - Toward congressional supremacy?" *Comparative Political Studies* 38 (1): 51-74 (February).
- Aleman Eduardo and George Tsebelis. 2005. "The origins of presidential conditional agenda-setting power in Latin America" *Latin American Research Review* 40 (2): 3-26.
- Colomer J.M. 2004. "Taming the tiger: Voting rights and political instability in Latin America" *Latin American Politics And Society* 46 (2): 29-58 SUM 2004
- Munck, Gerardo. 2004. "Democratic Politics In Latin America: New Debates and Research Frontiers" *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 7: 437-462 (Volume publication date May 2004)

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

Recommended Readings:

- Mainwaring, Scott P. 1999. *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization. The Case of Brazil*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Negretto, Gabriel. 2004. "Government capacities and policy making by decree in Latin America - The cases of Brazil and Argentina" *Comparative Political Studies* 37 (5): 531-562 (June).
- Linz, Juan J. and Arturo Valenzuela. 1994. *The Failure of Presidential Democracy. Volume 1. Comparative Perspectives*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Przeworski, Adam et al. 1997. "What Makes Democracies Endure?" in Larry Diamond, Marc Plattner, Yun-han Chu and Hung-mao Tien, *Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew S. Shugart. 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, Mark P. 1995. *Electoral Laws and the Survival of Presidential Democracies*. South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press.
- Jones, Mark P. 1993. "The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws in Latin America and the Caribbean" *Electoral Studies* 12:1, 59-75.
- Jones, Mark P. 1995. "A Guide to the Electoral Systems of the America" *Electoral Studies* 14: 1 (March).
- Jones, Mark P. 1997. "A Guide to the Electoral Systems of the Americas: An Update" *Electoral Studies* 16: 1 (March).
- Figueiredo, Angelina. C. and Fernando Limongi. 2000. "Presidential Power, Legislative Organization, and Party Behavior in Brazil" *Comparative Politics* 32 (2): 151 (January).

Week 10. The Judiciary and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- Finkel Jodi S. 2004. "Judicial reform in Argentina in the 1990s: How electoral incentives shape institutional change" *Latin American Research Review* 39 (3): 56-80.
- Finkel, Jodi S. 2003. "Supreme Court Decisions on Electoral Rules After Mexico's 1994 Constitutional Reform: An Empowered Court", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 35, pp. 777-799.

- Navia, Patricio & Julio Ríos-Figueroa. 2005. “The Constitutional Adjudication Mosaic of Latin America” *Comparative Political Studies* 38.2 (March).
- Helmke, Gretchen. (2002). “The Logic of Strategic Defection: Court-Executive Relations in Argentina Under Dictatorship and Democracy”, *American Political Science Review*, 96.2 (June), pp 305-320.
- Maravall, José M. and Adam Przeworski. 2003. *Democracy and the Rule of Law*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Mainwaring Scott and Christopher Welna. 2003. *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.
- Iaryczower, Matias, Pablo Spiller, and Mariano Tomassi. 2002. “Judicial Decision-Making in Unstable Environments”, *American Journal of Political Science*, 46.4 (October), pp. 699-716.
- Couso, Javier. 2003. “The politics of Judicial Review in Chile in the era of Democratic Transition, 1990-2002”, *Democratization* 10: 4, pp. 70-91.
- Domingo, Pilar. (2000). “Judicial Independence: The Politics of the Supreme Court in Mexico”, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, no. 32.3, pp. 705-735.
- Stotzky, Irwin P. (ed.). (1993). *Transition to Democracy in Latin America: the Role of the Judiciary*, Boulder: Westview Press.

Week 11. Accountability and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- Hagopian, Frances and Scott P. Mainwaring. 2005. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press.
- Dominguez, Jorge & Michael Shifter. 2003. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America Second Edition*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Boas Taylor C. 2005. “Television and neopopulism in Latin America: Media effects in Brazil and Peru” *Latin American Research Review* 40 (2): 27-49 2005

Recommended Readings:

- O’Donnel, Guillermo. 1998. “Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies” *Journal of Democracy* 9.3 (1998) 112-126.

- Schedler, Andreas. 1998. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9,2 (April), pp. 91-107.
- Domínguez, Jorge I. And Abraham Lowenthal (eds.) 1996. *Constructing Democratic Governance: Latin America and the Caribbean in the 1990s: themes and issues*. John Hopkins University Press.
- Lijphart, Arend and Carlos H. Waisman (eds.). 1996. *Institutional Design in New Democracies. Eastern Europe and Latin America*. Boulder: West View University Press. pp 1-58, 137-174, 235-250.
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John M. Carey. 1992. *Presidents and Assemblies. Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics*. New York: Cambridge University Press. 1-258.
- Przeworski, Adam, Susan Stokes and Bernard Manin (eds.). *Democracy, Accountability and Representation*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Lijphart, Arend. 1997. "Unequal Participation: Democracy's Unresolved Dilemma" *American Political Science Review* 91 (1997): 1-14.
- Taagepera, Rein and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1989. *Seats and Votes. The Effects and Determinants of Electoral Systems*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Huntington, Samuel P. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Jones, Mark P. 1997b. "Evaluating Argentina's Presidential Democracy" in Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart (eds.), *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, Mark P. 1999. "Electoral Laws and the Effective Number of Candidates in Presidential Elections." *Journal of Politics* 61: 1.

Week 12. The Military and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- Fitch, Samuel. 1998. *The Armed Forces and Democracy in Latin America*. John Hopkins University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Loveman, Brian. 1999. *For La Patria: Politics and the Armed Forces in Latin America*. Scholarly Resources.

- Agüero, Felipe. 1995. *Soldiers, Civilians and Democracy. Pos-Franco Spain in Comparative Perspective*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.
- Hunter, Wendy. 1997. *Eroding Military Influence in Brazil: Politicians Against Soldiers*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- López-Alves, Fernando. 2000. *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America, 1810-1900*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Philip, George. 1985. *The Military in South American Politics*. London: Croom Helm.
- Rouquié, Alain. 1998. "The Military in Latin American Politics since 1930," in Leslie Bethell, ed. *Latin America: Politics and Society Since 1930*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Loveman, Brian. 1995. *The Constitution of Tyranny: Regimes of Exception in Spanish America*. Pittsburgh University Press.
- Lowenthal, Abraham & J. Samuel Fitch (eds.). 1986. *Armies and Politics in Latin America*. New York: Holmes & Meier.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1989. *Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pion-Berlin, David. 1997. *Through corridors of power: institutions and civil-military relations in Argentina*. College Station: Penn State University Press.

Week 13. The Left and Democratic Consolidation

Required Readings:

- Castañeda, Jorge and Patricio Navia. 2007. "Latin America's Election Year: The Lessons Learned" *Current History*. February.
- Corrales, Javier. 2006. Hugo Boss. *Foreign Policy* January/February.
- Corrales, Javier. 2006. The Many Lefts of Latin America. *Foreign Policy* November/December.
- Castañeda, Jorge. 2006. Left vs Left in Latin America. *Foreign Affairs* 85 (3).
- Petras, James. 1999. *The Left Strikes Back. Class Conflict in the Age of Neoliberalism*. Westview Press.

- Castañeda, Jorge. 1994. *Utopia Unarmed. The Latin American Left After the Cold War*. Vitage Books.

Recommended Readings:

- Eduardo Galeano. 1998 (reprint) *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. Monthly Review Press.
- Harnecker, Marta. 1987. *Fidel Castro's Political Strategy from Moncada to Victory: From Moncada to Victory*. New York: Pathfinder.
- **Recommended Reading:**
- Freire, Paulo. 1999. *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. New York: Continuum
- De Vylder, Stefan. 1974. *Allende's Chile. The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall of Unidad Popular*. Cambridge University Press.
- Winn, Peter. 1989 (reprint) *Weavers of Revolution: The Yarur Workers and Chile's Road to Socialism*. Oxford University Press.
- Faúndez, Julio. 1988. *Marxism and Democracy in Chile*. Yale University Press.
- Deutschmann, David. 2000. *Che Guevara Reader: Writings on Guerrilla Strategy, Politics and Revolution by Che Guevara*. Ocean Press.
- Guevara, Ernesto. 1998. *Guerrilla Warfare*. University of Nebraska Press.
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- Anderson, Jon Lee. 1998. *Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life*. New York: Grove Atlantic.
- Ana Julia Jatar-Hausman. 1999. *The Cuban Way: Capitalism, Communism, and Confrontation*. Kumarian Press.
- Matilde Zimmerman. 2000. *Sandinista. Carlos Fonseca and the Nicaraguan Revolution*. Duke University Press; Durham.
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Week 14. Women and Democratic Consolidation.

Required Readings:

- Htun, Mala. 2003. *Sex and the State. Abortion, Divorce and the Family Under Latin American Dictatorships and Democracies*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Recommended Readings:

- Baldez, Lisa. *Why Women Protest. Women's Movement in Chile*. Cambridge University Press.
- Stephen, Lynn. 1997. *Women and Social Movements in Latin America: Power from Below*. University of Texas Press.
- Power, Margaret. 2002. *Right-Wing Women in Chile. Feminine Power and the Struggle Against Allende*. Penn State University Press.
- Jones, Mark P. and Patricio Navia. 1998. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Assessing the Effectiveness of Quotas in Open List Proportional Electoral Systems" *Social Science Quarterly*. 80: 2 (June): 341-355.
- Alvarez, Sonia. 1990. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Week 15. Papers are due.