

Course: **Latin American Politics at the Crossroads LM0151 S03**

Instructor: Arturo Alvarado

Class: Monday, 3:00 – 5:20 PM

Watson institute, Room 116

Cross listed with PS0182

Office: Watson Institute, 111 Thayer Street, Room 219

Office Hours: 10 a.m. to 12 noon, Tuesdays or by appointment

Email: [Arturo\\_Alvarado@brown.edu](mailto:Arturo_Alvarado@brown.edu) [colmex@fulbrightweb.org](mailto:colmex@fulbrightweb.org)

The course will examine, in a comparative perspective, patterns of contemporary political institutions of government in Latin America.

The course will analyze current political trends in Latin America and evaluate the status of its institutions of Democracy and the Rule of Law. The course will examine different modes of transition to democracy (or persistent authoritarianism) in the region.

We will examine the origins and performance of political institutions in terms of freedom, equality and fair elections, human and political rights, quality democracy and the Rule of Law.

The relevance of social science theories in trying to account for these topics will be discussed. We will make a critical assessment of democratic indexes and refer them to the state of democratic theory.

There is an increasing discussion related to the effect that globalization and that cultural, economic and social conditions affects the development of democracy. There is also a growing literature focusing on minority rights, gender, women, indigenous rights, inequality and access to justice.

Questions also arise about international relations, drugs, wars and humanitarian intervention; about the Transformation of State-Society Relations, new Patterns of Representation and Protest, the Rise of Indigenous Politics, Inequity, Gender and Political Participation, Corruption and Scandals, rent seeking politicians; the Debt Crisis and the Politics of Economic Liberalization.

Throughout the sessions of the course, we will address these topics only as they are related to the institutions and processes we have selected.

Finally, as Latin American countries and governments are becoming daily matters in international newspapers and the media, we will dedicate part of our classes to analyze these shifting patterns of government, from (neo) liberal to the left, and assess the long term impacts of these trends for the region.

### **Evaluation**

1st. Writing assignment 20% Due October 2d.

2d. Writing assignment 20% Due October 30<sup>th</sup>.

Final research paper 40% due December 11<sup>th</sup>. Topic on Sept. 25<sup>th</sup>, Outline on October 16<sup>th</sup>. Draft by November 20<sup>th</sup>.

Participation and presentation in class 20%

### **Seminar Format**

I will begin each session with an introduction to the readings and presenting my own materials, providing some context and general background about the topic in question.

For each session two students will be in charge of co-leading the discussion, including the posting of questions about the reading.

The rest of class time will be devoted to group discussion.

For some specific sessions we will develop a class exercise on class based on the literature, such as revising and comparing constitutional arrangements, or an electoral system. For every one of these assignments I will provide clear and specific guidelines before and during the class.

In addition, each class will focus on a critical analysis of political events of interest in the region (Mexican elections and the aftermath, among other topics), institutions, such as parties, the media, the electoral system, and the legal system.

I have suggested some readings in Spanish. There are to provide students with a broader view of the literature not available in English. There is, however, is no language requirement.

### **Required Readings for the Course**

Please note the required and recommended readings for each seminar session in that week's seminar program. All students must read the required assignments for every week. Recommended readings will be useful for preparing the class and the assignments.

#### **Required Books:**

Avritzer, Leonardo. Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002.

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. Dependency and Development in Latin America. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979.

Coatsworth, John H., and Gabriel Tortella Casares. Institutions and Long-run Economic Performance in Mexico and Spain, 1800-2000. Cambridge, MA: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2002. 38 pp.

May, Rachel A. and Andrew K. Milton, eds., (Un)civil societies: Human Rights and Democratic Transitions in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2005.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Jorge Vargas Cullell, and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta, eds. The Quality of Democracy. Theory and Applications. Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press. 2004.

Youngers, Coletta A. and Eileen Rosin. Drugs and democracy in Latin America: The impact of U.S. policy. Boulder: L. Rienner, 2005.

**Course Packet of Required Readings.** The reader is available at Allegra Print and Imaging, 102 Waterman Street., (401) 421-5160.

**Recommended Overview Books.** (The following books provide a good overview for the topics covered in this class).

Alvarado Arturo and Sigrid Arzt (eds). El desafío democrático de México, democracia, seguridad y estado de derecho. México. El Colegio de México. 1998.

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor, John H. Coatsworth, Roberto Cortés Conde (Eds). The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America. Cambridge; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 2006

Domínguez , Jorge I. and Michael Shifter, Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.  
For a general overview of Latin America:

Skidmore, Thomas E. and Peter H. Smith, Modern Latin America. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004. This book provides a good background.

### **LIST OF SEMINAR SESSIONS:**

#### **Session 1.**

**Introduction: An assessment of Democracy and Development in Latin America. (Monday, Sept. 11<sup>th</sup>)**

- Theories of Latin American Politics and Development.
- Latin America and the World: first estimation.

#### **Required Readings:**

Coatsworth, John H., and Gabriel Tortella Casares. Institutions and Long-run Economic Performance in Mexico and Spain, 1800-2000. Cambridge, MA: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 2002. 38 pp.

Przeworski, Adam, Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reform in Eastern Europe and Latin America, in Dahl, Robert, Ian Shapiro and José Antonio Cheibub, The Democracy Sourcebook, Cambridge, MIT press, 2003. pp. 76-92. **(Course Reader)**

#### **Recommended Reading:**

Amsden, Alice H. (Alice Hoffenberg). The Rise of "the rest": Challenges to the West from Late-industrializing economies. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2001. (Chapter 1).

Castells, Manuel and Alejandro Portes, "World Underneath: The Origins, Dynamics, and Effects of the Informal Economy," In Portes, Castells, and Lauren Benton, Eds. The Informal Economy (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), pp. 11-37.

Coatsworth, John and Alan M. Taylor (eds). Latin America and the World Economy since 1800. Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University/David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, 1998.

Hirschman, Albert O. Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1970.

Humboldt, Alexander von, 1769-1859. Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain; the John Black translation (abridged); edited with an introduction by Mary Maples Dunn. Essai politique sur le royaume de la Nouvelle-Espagne. English. Norman University of Oklahoma Press, [1988], c1972.

Humboldt, Alexander von, 1769-1859. The Route of Humboldt : Colombia and Venezuela : Selected texts of Alexander von Humboldt ... directed, designed and edited by Benjamin Villegas ; translated from the Spanish and collated with the [German and] French original[s] by Allan S. Trueblood. Selections. English. 1994. 1st ed. Bogotá, Colombia : Villegas Editores, 1994.

Solari, Aldo, Rolando Franco y Joel Jutkowicz. Teoría, acción social y desarrollo. México, Siglo XXI editores, 1976

## **Session 2.**

### **The Social Origins of Democracy and Autocracy. (Monday, Sept 18<sup>th</sup>.)**

- From the Crisis of the Oligarchic State to Revolutionary Nationalism and developmentalist models.
- The Dependence models and the crisis of development, autocracy and dictatorship.

### **Required Readings:**

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

Gunder Frank, Andre, "The Development of Underdevelopment." In Peter K. Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert, eds. Promise of Development. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986). **(Course Reader)**

### **Recommended Readings:**

Cardoso, Eliana and Ann Helwege, "Import Substitution Industrialization." In Jeffrey Frieden, Manuel Pastor Jr., and Michael Tomz, eds. Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy. Westview Press, 2000.

Valenzuela J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela, "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment." Comparative Politics 10: 4 (July 1978).

Wiarda, Howard. Politics and Social Change in Latin America: Still a Distinct Tradition? Third Edition. Westview Press, 1992. Introduction, pp. 1-8; Conclusion, pp. 315-346.

Wynia, Gary. The Politics of Latin American Development. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 46-101.

### **Session 3.**

**The Political Cycles in the Region: From Democratic to Autocratic, Authoritarian and Beyond.  
(Monday, Sept. 25<sup>th</sup>)**

- The Breakdown of Regimes in the 1960s and 1970s

#### **Required Readings:**

Mainwaring, Scott and Aníbal Pérez Linan, "Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions." In Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring, eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp. 14-47 and 56-59.

**(Course Reader)**

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics," in Peter Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert, eds., Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America. Boulder: Westview Press, 1986, pp. 239-275. **(Course Reader)**

Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela, A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. New York, W.W. Norton, 1991. Chap. 12. **(Course Reader)**

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Collier, David "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model." In David Collier, ed. The New Authoritarianism in Latin America. Princeton University Press, 1979, pp. 19-32.

Conniff, Michael . "Introduction," in Conniff, ed. Populism in Latin America University of Alabama Press, 1999, pp. 1-22.

D'Alva G. Kinzo, Maria, "Transitions: Brazil." In Manuel Antonio Garretón and Edward Newman, eds. Democracy in Latin America: (Re) constructing Political Society. United Nations University Press, 2001.

De Soto, Hernando. The Other Path. New York, Basic Books, 2002.

Di Tella, Torcuato . "Populism and Reform in Latin America," In Claudio Véliz, ed. Obstacles to Change in Latin America. London: Oxford University Press, 1965, pp. 47-55.

Ellner, Steve. "The Heyday of Radical Populism in Venezuela and Its Aftermath," in Michael Conniff (ed.), Populism in Latin America, pp. 117-134.

Hagopian, Frances . "Democracy by Undemocratic Means: Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil." Comparative Political Studies 23, no. 2 (July 1990), pp. 147-169.

Horowitz, Joel. "Populism and its Legacies in Argentina," in Conniff (ed.), Populism in Latin America, pp. 22-38.

Karl, Terry. "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela." Latin American Research Review XXII: 1 (1987), pp. 63-94.

Lawson, Chappell. "Mexico's Unfinished Transition: Democratization and Authoritarian Enclaves," Mexican Studies 16, No. 2 (summer 2000), pp. 267-287.

Linz, Juan J. and Alfred Stepan, Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation: Southern Europe, South America, and Post-Communist Europe. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996, pp. 1-7.

Malloy, James. "Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America: The Modal Pattern," In Malloy, ed. Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977, pp. 3-19.

Mauceri, Philip. "The Transition to 'Democracy' and the Failures of Institution Building," In Maxwell Cameron and Philip Mauceri, eds. The Peruvian Labyrinth. Penn State University Press, 1997.

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986.

Rosenthal, Abraham F. "Peru's Ambiguous Revolution." In Lowenthal, ed. The Peruvian Experiment. Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 3-43.

Stepan, Alfred. "Political Leadership and Regime Breakdown: Brazil." In Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978, pp. 110-137.

Valenzuela, Arturo. The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Valenzuela, J. Samuel. "Democratic Consolidation in Post-Transitional Settings: Notion, Process, and Facilitating Conditions." In Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and

Valenzuela, eds. Issues in Democratic Consolidation. University of Notre Dame Press, 1992, pp. 57-70.

#### **Session 4.**

**The Roots of Political Institutions: The Constitution and the State.  
(Monday, October 2d.)**

#### **Required Assignment.**

Find a constitution from one country and write a **three page essay** describing, its main political institutions and political rights of its citizens.

#### **Fragments of Latin American Constitutions in...**

<http://www.georgetown.edu/LatAmerPolitical/home.html>

<http://www.coord-hum.unam.mx/frame.asp?url=http://info.juridicas.unam.mx/>

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Shapiro, Ian. The State of Democratic Theory. Princeton, N. J. Princeton University Press, c2003.

#### **Session 5.**

**Institutions (I): Executive-Legislative Relations  
(Monday October 16<sup>th</sup>.)**

-The Development of the Legislative and the Latin American Presidency

#### **Required Readings:**

Cheibub Figuereido, Argelina y Fernando Limongi, "Presidential Power, Legislative Organization, and Party Behavior in Brazil," in Dahl, Robert, Ian Shapiro and José Antonio Cheibub, The Democracy Sourcebook, Cambridge, MIT press, 2003. pp. 304-310. **(Course packet)**

Foweraker, John, "Institutional Design, Party System and Governability: Differentiating the Presidential Regimes of Latin America," in Dahl, Robert, Ian Shapiro and José Antonio Cheibub, The Democracy Sourcebook, Cambridge, MIT press, 2003, pp. 296-303. **(Course packet)**

Peter M. Siavelis, "Executive-Legislative Relations in Post-Pinochet Chile: A Preliminary Assessment." In Scott Mainwaring and Mathew Soberg Shugart, eds. Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America. Cambridge University Press, 1997. **(Course packet)**

Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: the Difficult Combination," Comparative Political Studies 26, no. 2 (1993). **(Course packet)**

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Nolte, Detlef. "Funciones y Funcionamiento de los Senados en los Sistemas Bicamerales de América Latina: Un Enfoque Comparado." Institute Iberoamerika-Kunde Arbeitspapier, no. 4 (August, 2002)

## **Session 6.**

### **Patterns of Presidential Leadership in Latin America.**

**(Monday Oct. 23d.)**

#### **Required Readings:**

Carey, John, "Presidential and Representative Institutions," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. **(Course packet)**

Nolte, Detlef. "Funciones y Funcionamiento de los Senados en los Sistemas Bicamerales de América Latina: Un Enfoque Comparado." Institute Iberoamerika-Kunde Arbeitspapier, no. 4 (August, 2002) **(Course packet)**

O'Donnell, Guillermo. "Delegative Democracy," Journal of Democracy 5, no. 1 (January 1994). **(Course packet)**

Valenzuela, Arturo. "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted." Journal of Democracy 15, No. 4 (October 2004). **(Course packet)**

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Cameron, Maxwell A. "Political and Economic Origins of Regime Change in Peru: The Eighteenth Brumaire of Alberto Fujimori." In Maxwell Cameron and Philip Mauceri, eds. The Peruvian Labyrinth. Penn State University Press, 1997.

Coppedge, Michael, "Venezuela: Popular Sovereignty versus Liberal Democracy," 165-192. In Domínguez and Shifter, Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2003.

Cosío Villegas, Daniel. La crisis de México. México, Clio, 1997 (o. 1958).

Cosío Villegas, Daniel. El sistema político mexicano, las posibilidades de cambio. México, Joaquín Mortiz, 1981 (1968).

Lamounier, Bolívar, "Brazil: An Assessment of the Cardoso Administration," 269-292, in Domínguez and Shifter, Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America

Levitsky, Steven. "Argentina: From Crisis to Consolidation (and Back)," 244-68, in Domínguez and Shifter, Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 2003.

Shugart, Mathew and Scott Mainwaring: "Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America: Rethinking the Terms of the Debate." In Scott Mainwaring and Mathew S. Shugart, eds. Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America. Cambridge University Press, 1997.



## **Session 7.**

### **The Changing Electoral System and the Party System. (Monday Oct. 30<sup>th</sup>).**

#### **Required Assignment.**

There are two parts to this assignment:

**Part I:** Select an electoral system, look at the basic rules and institutions, obtain the formula, and make a simulation or analyze any of the last electoral results according to the formula.

The following book that is on reserve in the library will be a helpful tool:

Nohlen, Dieter (ed). Elections in the Americas: A Data handbook. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005.

#### **Required Readings:**

Carey, John M. "Institutional Design and Party Systems." In Larry Diamond, Marc F. Plattner, Yun-han Chu, and Hung-mao Tien, eds. Consolidating the Third Wave Democracies: Themes and Perspectives. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.  
**(Course Packet)**

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Moreno Alejandro, El votante mexicano. Democracia, actitudes políticas y conducta electoral. México, F.C.E., 2003.

Nohlen, Dieter, Sonia Picado, Daniel Zovatto (compiladores). Tratado de derecho electoral comparado de América Latina. 1. ed. México, D.F. Fondo de Cultura Económica; San José, Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de derechos Humanos; Heidelberg, Alemania: Universidad de Heidelberg; México, D.F. Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación. Instituto Federal Electoral, 1998.

**Part II:** Revise an electoral law of any country and explain the electoral results.  
The project that you turn in should be four to five pages long.

## **Session 8.**

### **Political Parties.**

**(Monday, November. 6<sup>th</sup>)**

#### **Required Readings.**

Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully, "Introduction: Party Systems in Latin America." In Mainwaring and Scully, eds. Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America (Stanford University Press, 1995). **(Course packet)**.

Kenneth Roberts, "Social Polarization and the Populist Resurgence in Venezuela." In Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger, eds. Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003), pp. 55-72. **(Course packet)**

Richard Snyder and David Samuels, "Devaluing the Vote in Latin America." *Journal of Democracy* 12, No. 1 (January 2002), pp. 146-159. **(Course packet)**

### **Recommended Readings.**

Alvarado, Arturo (ed)., Electoral Patterns and Perspectives in Mexico. La Jolla, La Jolla, Calif.: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1987.

Coppedge, Michael .Strong Parties and Lame Ducks: Presidential Partyarchy in Venezuela. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994), pp. 18-46.

Levitsky, Steven and Maxwell Cameron, "Democracy without Parties? Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori's Peru." Latin American Politics and Society 45, No. 3 (Fall 2003), 1-34.

Mainwaring, Scott. "Brazil: Weak Parties, Feckless Democracy." In Mainwaring and Scully, eds. Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America. Stanford University Press, 1995.

Munck, Gerardo L. and Jeffrey A. Bosworth, "Patterns of Representation and Competition: Parties and Democracy in Post-Pinochet Chile," Party Politics 4, No. 4 (October 1998).

Poiré, Alejandro, Money Politics in Latin America (forthcoming)

Shugart, Matthew Soberg and John M. Carey. Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics. Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Weyland, Kurt. "Neopopulism and Neoliberalism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities." Studies in Comparative International Development 31, No. 3 (Fall 1996).

### **Session 9.**

#### **The Judiciary and the Rule of Law. (Monday, November 13th.)**

#### **Required Readings:**

Alvarado, Arturo. "The Justice System" in Welna, Christopher (ed), Mexico After NAFTA. Forthcoming, University of Notre Dame Press. Ind. **(Available in class)**.

Dodson, Michael and Donald W. Jackson "Horizontal Accountability and the Rule of Law in Central America. In Mainwaring, Scott and Christopher Welna (eds). Democratic Accountability in Latin America. Oxford ; New York : Oxford University Press, 2003. **(Course Packet)**.

Méndez, Juan "Part I "Problems of Lawless Violence: Introduction, 19-25. In Méndez, Juan, Guillermo O'Donnell, and Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro. The (Un)rule of law and the underprivileged in Latin America. Notre Dame, Ind. University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. **(Course packet)**

Sadek, Maria Tereza, Rosângela Batista Cavalcanti. "New Brazilian Public Prosecution: An Agent of Accountability." In Mainwaring, Scott and Christopher Welna (eds). Democratic Accountability in Latin America. Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. **(Course Packet)**

Sutil, Jorge Correa. "Judicial Reforms in Latin America: Good News for the Underprivileged? 255-77. In Méndez, Juan, Guillermo O'Donnell, and Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro. The (Un)rule of law and the underprivileged in Latin America. Notre Dame, Ind. University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. **(Course packet)**.

### **Recommended Readings:**

Batista Cavalcanti, Rosangela, "The Effectiveness of Law: Civil Society and the Public Prosecution in Brazil." In Peruzzotti, Enrique y Catalina Smulovitz, Enforcing the Rule of Law, Social Accountability in the Latin American Democracies. Pittsburg, University of Pittsburg Press, 2006. pp. 34-54.

Carbonell, Miguel, Wistano Orozco, Rodolfo Vázquez (eds). Estado de derecho: concepto, fundamentos e democratización en América Latina. Por Joesph Raz, et. al....

Domingo, Pilar. Rule of Law and Judicial Systems in the Context of Democratization and Economic Liberalization: a Framework for Comparison and Analysis in Latin America. México, D.F.: Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económicas, 1997.

Friedman, Lawrence M. and Rogelio Pérez-Perdomo (eds). Legal Culture in the Age of Globalization: Latin America and Latin Europe. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2003.

Peruzzotti, Enrique y Catalina Smulovitz, Enforcing the Rule of Law, Social Accountability in the Latin American Democracies. Pittsburg, University of Pittsburg Press, 2006. Introduction, pp. 3-33.

Political Transition and the Rule of Law in Guatemala / report of the follow-up delegation of the International Human Rights Law Group and the Washington Office on Latin America. Washington, D.C.: International Human Rights Law Group: Washington Office on Latin America, 1988.

Prillaman, William C. The Judiciary and Democratic Decay in Latin America: declining confidence in the rule of law. Westport, Conn.: Praeger, 2000.

United States. General Accounting Office. Foreign assistance [microform] : U.S. Rule of Law Assistance to Five Latin American Countries : Report to Congressional Requesters / United States General Accounting Office. Washington, D.C. (P.O. Box 37050, Washington, D.C. 20013) : The Office, [1999].

### **Session 10.**

**Civil-Military Relations and Legacies of Authoritarian Rule.  
(Monday, Nov. 20<sup>th</sup>).**

### **Required Reading:**

Camp, Roderic Ai. Mexico's military on the democratic stage. Foreword by Armand B. Peschard-Sverdrup, 1-14. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International: Washington, D.C. : Published in cooperation with the Center for Strategic and International Studies, 2005. **(Course Packet)**

Nunca Mas (Never Again): A Report by Argentina's National Commission on Disappeared People. London: Faber and Faber, 1986, Forward; Prologue; 9-55; 209-234; and 284-5. **(Course Packet)**

### **Recommended Readings:**

Kruijt, Dirk. Fuerzas Armadas y seguridad en América Latina PDF/Adobe Acrobat, Amsterdam: CEDLA, 2003, pp. 7–18 (Cuadernos del CEDLA # 16).

Aguilar, Paloma and Katherine Hite, "Historical Memory and Authoritarian Legacies in Processes of Political Change." In Katherine Hite and Paola Cesarini, eds. Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and the Southern Cone South Bend: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004.

Bobea, Lilian, ed. Soldados y ciudadanos en el Caribe. Santo Domingo. FLACSO, 2002.

Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela, A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. New York: W.W. Norton, 1991, chapters 1, 4, and 7.

Cotler, Julio, "The New Mode of Political Domination in Peru," in Abraham Lowenthal, ed. The Peruvian Experiment. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975, pp. 44-78.

Fagen, Patricia Weiss, "Repression and State Security," In Juan Corradi, Patricia Weiss Fagen, and Manuel Antonio Garretón, eds. Fear at the Edge: State Terror and Resistance in Latin America. University of California Press, 1992, pp. 39-71.

General Juan Velasco, "The Master Will No Longer Feed off Your Poverty," speech reproduced in Orrin Starn, Carlos Iván Degregori, and Robin Kirk, eds. The Peru Reader. Duke University Press, pp. 264-69.

Hunter, Wendy. "Politicians Against Soldiers: Contesting the Military in Postauthoritarian Brazil." Comparative Politics 27, no. 4 (July 1995), pp. 425-443.

Hunter, Wendy, "Continuity or Change? Civil-Military Relations in Democratic Argentina, Chile, and Peru." Political Science Quarterly 112, no. 3 (1997): 353-375.

Karl, Terry Lynn. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." Comparative Politics 23: 1 (October 1990), pp. 1-21.

Kruijt, Dirk. Fuerzas Armadas y seguridad en América Latina PDF/Adobe Acrobat, Amsterdam: CEDLA, 2003, pp. 7–18 (Cuadernos del CEDLA # 16).

Lechner, Norbert. Estado, fuerzas armadas y civilidad : el caso de una transición de consensos. [The state, the armed forces and civility : the case of a consensus transition] . San José, Costa Rica : Fundación Arias para la Paz y el Progreso Humano, Centro para la Paz y la Reconciliación, 1993]

Lowenthal, Abraham, "The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered," In Cynthia McClintock and Lowenthal, eds. The Peruvian Experiment Reconsidered. Princeton Univ. Press, 1983.

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies. Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, pp. 15-47; 57-72.

Pion-Berlin, David. "Between Confrontation and Accommodation: Military and Government Policy in Democratic Argentina." Journal of Latin American Studies 23, No. 3 (October 1991).

Remmer, Karen, Military Rule in Latin America Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989, pp. 3-21.

Schamis, Hector. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism." Comparative Politics 23: 2 (1991).

Stepan, Alfred. Rethinking Military Politics: Brazil and the Southern Cone. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988. pp. 68-145

Stepan, Alfred. "The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion." In Alfred Stepan, ed. Authoritarian Brazil. Yale University Press, 1973, pp. 47-59.

### **Session 11.**

**Public Security, Violence and the State.  
(Monday Nov. 27<sup>th</sup>).**

#### **Required Readings:**

Davis and Alvarado, in Chavez, Daniel and Benjamin Goldfrank (eds), The Left in the City: Participatory Local Governments in Latin America. London: Latin America Bureau, 2004. **(Course Packet)**

Frühling, Hugo and Joseph S. Tulchin with Heather A. Golding (eds). Crime and Violence in Latin America: Citizen security, Democracy, and the State. Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press ; Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003. Introduction. **(Course Packet)**.

Pereira, Anthony W. "Armed Forces, Coercive Monopolies, and Changing Patterns of State Formation and Violence." 387-408. In Davis, Diane E., & Anthony W. Pereira (eds), Irregular armed forces and their role in politics and state formation. Cambridge, U.K.; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. **(Course Packet)**.

Youngers, Coletta A. and Eileen Rosin. Drugs and democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. policy. Boulder: L. Rienner, 2005.

**Recommended Readings:**

Alvarado, Arturo & Sigrid Arzt (eds). El desafío democrático de México, seguridad y estado de derecho. México, El Colegio de México, 1999. Introducción and Chapter of Juan Méndez. **(Highly recommended for Spanish readers)**

Amnesty International. Latin America : Crime without Punishment: Impunity in Latin America. New York, N.Y.: Amnesty International, 1996.

Aravena, Francisco Rojas, ed. La seguridad en América Latina pos 11 de septiembre. 1. ed. Caracas, Venezuela : Nueva Sociedad, 2003.

Arceneaux, Craig L. Transforming Latin America: The International and Domestic Origins of Change. Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press, 2005.

Arson, Cynthia [et al.]. Seminario Haciendo Paz (2001: Cartagena, Colombia). Haciendo paz : reflexiones y perspectivas del proceso de paz en Colombia : Cartagena, 9-11 de marzo 2001. 1. ed. Colombia : El Ancora Editores, 2001. Edición a cargo de Fernando Cepeda Ulloa. **(Highly recommended for Spanish readers)**

Aranson, Cynthia J and I. William Zartman, eds. Rethinking the Economics of War: The Intersection of Need, Creed, and Greed. Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

Aranson, Cynthia, Raúl Benítez Manaut, Andrew Selee, eds. Chiapas: interpretaciones sobre la negociación y la paz. 1. ed. México, D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones sobre América del Norte, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Latin American Program, 2003.

Bobea, Lilian, ed. Entre el crimen y el castigo : seguridad ciudadana y control democrático en América Latina y el Caribe. 1. ed. [Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic?]: Flacso-Programa República Dominicana; [Washington, D.C.]: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars; Caracas, Venezuela: Nueva Sociedad, 2003.

Caldeira, Teresa Pires do Rio. City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.

Goldstein, Daniel M. The Spectacular City : Violence and Performance in Urban Bolivia. Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Hinton, Mercedes S., The State on the Streets: Police and Politics in Argentina and Brazil. Boulder, Colo. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2006.

Hite, Katherine and Paola Cesarini, eds. Foreword by Nancy Bermeo. Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, c2004.

Holston, James and Teresa P.R. Caldeira, "Democracy, Law, and Violence: Disjunctions of Brazilian Citizenship," In Felipe Aguero and Jeffrey Stark, eds. Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America. North-South Center Press, 1998.

Sieder, Rachel, Ed. Multiculturalism in Latin America: Indigenous Rights, Diversity, and Democracy. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002.

Rotker, Susana, ed. Ciudadanías del miedo. 1. ed. Caracas, Venezuela: Nueva Sociedad, 2000.

### **Session 12.**

**Towards Participatory Politics in Latin America.  
(Monday, December 4<sup>th</sup>).**

#### **Required Readings:**

Avritzer, Leonardo. Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America  
Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2002. **(Entire book).**

Chavez, Daniel and Benjamin Goldfrank, eds., The Left in the City: Participatory Local Governments in Latin America. London: Latin America Bureau, 2004.  
Introduction and articles of Davis and Alvarado. **(Course Packet).**

#### **Recommended Readings:**

Avritzer, Leonardo & Zander Navarro, eds. A inovação democrática no Brasil: o orçamento participativo, São Paulo, SP : Cortez Editora, 2003.

Avritzer, Leonardo, ed. A participação em São Paulo. São Paulo, SP: Editora UNESP, 2004

Campbell, Tim. The Quiet revolution: Decentralization and the Rise of Political Participation in Latin American Cities. Pittsburgh, Pa.: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003.

Chalmers, Douglas A., ed. The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.

Chaves Teixeira, Ana Claudia, et. al. Traducción, Fabiana Davyt, Cristina Larrobla, Amílcar Davyt. Sociedad civil, esfera pública y democratización en América Latina: Brasil 1. ed. Campinas, Estado São Paulo, Brasil : Universidad de Estadual de Campinas ; México, D.F. : Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2002.

Grindle, Merilee and Pilar Domingo (eds). Proclaiming Revolution : Bolivia in Comparative Perspective. London: Institute of Latin American Studies; Cambridge,

Mass. David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University.  
Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2003.

Keck, Margaret E. and Kathryn Sikkink, Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics. Cornell University Press, 1997, pp.1-29; 79-120.

Myers, David J. and Henry A. Dietz. Capital City Politics in Latin America: Democratization and Empowerment. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner, 2002.

Olvera, Alberto J., ed. Sociedad civil, esfera pública y democratización en América Latina : Mexico; Fernando Celis Callejas... [et al.]. 1. ed. Veracruz: Universidad Veracruzana ; México, D.F. : Fondo de Cultura Económica, 2003.

Petras, James F. and Henry Veltmeyer. Social Movements and State Power: Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador / James Petras and. London; Ann Arbor, MI : Pluto Press, 2005.

Rodríguez, Victoria E., ed. Women's Participation in Mexican Political Life. Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press, 1998.

Wiarda, Howard J. Dilemmas of Democracy in Latin America: Crises and Opportunity. With the assistance of Esther M. Skelley. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005.

Ziccardi, Alicia, Lucia Alvarez, et. al. Planeación participativa en el espacio local: cinco programas parciales de desarrollo urbano en el Distrito Federal. 1a ed México: UNAM, 2003.

### **Session 13.**

**Democracy and Human rights.  
(Monday, December 11<sup>th</sup>).**

#### **Required readings:**

May, Rachel A. and Andrew K. Milton, eds., (Un)civil societies: Human Rights and Democratic Transitions in Eastern Europe and Latin America. Lanham, Md.: Lexington Books, 2005.

Chapters: "Human rights, NGO's, and the role of civil Society in Democratization" by Rachel May; "Democracy, "mano dura", and the Criminalization of Politics", by Angelina Snodgrass Godoy; "Latin America's Post-Authoritarian Media" by Chappell Lawson and Sallie Hughes "; "The Social and Political Aftermath of Terror by Rachel May; and "Advocacy, Ideology, and Partisanship" by Christopher Sabatini.

Méndez, Juan "Part I "Problems of Lawless Violence: Introduction, 19-25. In Méndez, Juan, Guillermo O'Donnell, and Paulo Sérgio Pinheiro. The (Un)rule of law and the underprivileged in Latin America. Notre Dame, Ind. University of Notre Dame Press, 1999. **(Course packet)**

#### **Recommended readings:**



Brysk, Alison. "Turning Weakness into Strength: The Internationalization of Indian Rights," Latin American Perspectives 23, No. 2 (Spring 1996).

Brysk, Alison. From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America. Stanford University Press, 2000,, pp. 246-265.

Centeno, Miguel. Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America Penn State University Press, 2002, pp. 1-26.

Jelin, Elizabeth and Eric Hershberg (eds). Constructing Democracy: Human Rights, Citizenship, and Society in Latin America. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1996.

Menjívar, Cecilia and Néstor Rodríguez, eds. When States Kill : Latin America, the U.S., and Technologies of Terror. Austin : University of Texas Press, 2005.

Yashar, Deborah. Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge. Cambridge University Press, 2005, Ch 1, Ch 3, and Ch 7.

#### **Session 14.**

**Democracy in Latin America, a reassessment: Discussion Panel  
(Monday December 11<sup>th</sup>.)**

**Exersize: During this last session We will make a critical revision of the topic and the literature considering any of the cases proposed in the following book:**

#### **Required Readings:**

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Jorge Vargas Cullell, and Osvaldo M. Iazzetta, eds. The Quality of Democracy. Theory and Applications. Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press. 2004. 274 p. (Book will be used to extract some examples in class).

Chapters: "Human Development, Human Rights, and Democracy" by Guillermo O'Donnell; "In Search of a New Paradigm: Quality Of Democracy And Human Development In Latin America", by Gabriela Ippolito. "Notes on Human Development, Human Rights, and Auditing the Quality of Democracy", by Laurence Whitehead; "Latin America : Virtuous or Perverse Cycle", by Terry Lynn Karl; "Fundamental Rights as a Limitation to the Democratic Principle of Majority Will" by Juan E. Méndez; "On the Imaginary of Citizenry" by Norbert Lechner; "Quality of Democracy or Quality of Politics?" by Manuel Alcántara Sáez, and "Quality of Democracy and its Measurement", by Michael Coppedge.

I will provide a guideline to develop the exercise before the class and then I will ask students to sign up for the discussion.

#### **Suggested Films:**

Four Days in September  
The Battle of Chile  
La ley de Herodes  
City of God

**The following bibliography is related to specific countries or issues not directly addressed in the course, but useful for further analysis and final papers:**

X

Alvarez, Sonia E., Evelina Dagnino & Arturo Escobar (eds.), Cultures of politics/politics of cultures: re-visioning Latin American social movements. Boulder, Colo. : Westview Press, 1998.

Behar, Jaime (ed.), Inequality, democracy and sustainable development in Latin America. 1st ed. Stockholm, Sweden : Institute of Latin American Studies, Stockholm University, 2000.

Cáceres, Carlos F. & Peter Aggleton (eds.), Reunión Regional "Sexualidades, Salud y Derechos Humanos en América Latina" (1st : 2003 : Lima, Peru). Ciudadanía sexual en América Latina: abriendo el debate. 1. ed. Lima, Perú: Facultad de Salud Pública y Administración, Universidad Peruana Cayetano Heredia, 2004.

Degregori, Carlos Iván, "Peru: The Vanishing of a Regime and the Challenge of Democratic Rebuilding," in Domínguez and Shifter, *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*

Domínguez, Jorge I. A constitution for Cuba's political transition : the utility of retaining (and amending) the 1992 constitution prepared for the Cuba Transition Project (CTP) Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, University of Miami. Miami : University of Miami, Institute for Cuban and Cuban-American Studies, 2003.

Eckstein, Susan Eva, Back From the Future: Cuba Under Castro. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994, pp. 3-59.

Ellner, Steve and Daniel Hellinger, " Conclusion: The Democratic and Authoritarian Directions of the *Chavista* Movement," in Ellner and Hellinger, eds. *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era*.

Gilles, Alain. Popular movements and political development in Haiti [New York] : Columbia University-New York University Consortium, [1990?].

Hernández, Rafael y John H. Coatsworth (coordinadores), *Culturas encontradas: Cuba y los Estados Unidos*. La Habana: Centro de Investigación y Desarrollo de la Cultura Cubana Juan Marinello; Cambridge, Mass.: Centro de Estudios Latinoamericanos David Rockefeller, Universidad de Harvard, c2001.

Huber, Evelyne and Fred Solt, "Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism," *Latin American Research Review* 39, No. 3 (2004), 150-163.

Hunter, Wendy and Timothy J. Power, "Lula's Brazil at Midterm." *Journal of Democracy* 16, No. 3 (July 2005).

Knight, Alan and Will Pansters (eds). Caciquismo in twentieth-century Mexico. London. University of London, Institute for the Study of the Americas. 2005.

Lambert, Peter & Andrew Nickson (eds.), The Transition to Democracy in Paraguay. Houndmills, Basingstroke, Hampshire [England]: Macmillan Press; New York, N.Y. : St. Martin's Press, 1997.

Levitsky, Steven and María Victoria Murillo, "Argentina Weathers the Storm," *Journal of Democracy* 14, No. 4 (October 2003): 152-166.

Middlebrook, Kevin J. ed. Dilemmas of political change in Mexico. London. Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London; San Diego : Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, 2004.

O'Donnell, Guillermo , "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Some Postcommunist Countries." In O'Donnell, *Counterpoints* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), pp.133-146.

O'Donnell, Guillermo A. Polyarchies and the (un)rule of law in Latin America. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Avanzados en Ciencias Sociales, Instituto Juan March de Estudios e Investigaciones, [1998].

Oxhorn, Phillip D, "Is the Century of Corporatism Over? Neoliberalism and the Rise of Neopluralism," in Oxhorn and Graciela Ducatenzeiler, eds. *What Kind of Democracy? What Kind of Market? Latin America in the Age of Neoliberalism* (Penn State University Press, 1998).

Peters, John G., and Susan Welch. 1978. "Political Corruption in America: A Search for Definitions and a Theory." *American Political Science Review* 72:974-84.

Schneider, Cathy. The mobilization at the grassroots: shantytowns and resistance in authoritarian Chile [New York, N.Y.]: Columbia University, Institute for Latin American and Iberian Studies, 1988.

Silva, Patricio, "Doing Politics in a Depoliticized Society: Social Change and Political Deactivation in Chile," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 23, No. 1 (January 2004).

Tendler, Judith. Good government in the tropics, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997.

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

Weyland, Kurt, "Swallowing the Bitter Pill: Sources of Popular Support for Neoliberal Reform in Latin America." *Comparative Political Studies* 31, No. 5 (October 1998).

**Arturo Alvarado.**  
**Last revision: August 29, 2006.**