Course Description

Thirty years ago, authoritarian regimes dominated Latin America’s political landscape, and scholarship on the region was deeply pessimistic about the prospects for political democracy. By the end of the 1990's, however, virtually every country in the region had experienced a transition to democracy (or at least to something resembling it). Although most of the new democratic regimes proved surprisingly durable, many continued to be plagued by economic crises, gaping social inequalities, rampant corruption, and weak judicial and representative institutions. Many regimes struggled to uphold the rule of law, ensure basic rights of citizenship, and respond to social and economic needs. In short, democracy has become the political norm in Latin America, but its quality often leaves much to be desired.

What conditions facilitate political democracy, and what enables democracy to stabilize and flourish? This course examines these questions through an assessment of Latin America’s so-called “third wave” of democratization, which swept across the region starting in the late 1970's. The class will begin with an overview of classical theories of democracy and authoritarianism, including modernization, political culture, bureaucratic-authoritarian, institutional, and agency-based explanations. We will then study democratic breakdowns and transitions, and analyze some of the theoretical refinements inspired by the democratization wave of the 80's and 90's. The second half of the course will examine some of the critical issues that have emerged during the third wave itself— the changing role of international influences, the legacies of civil war, revolution, and human rights violations, the impact of economic crises and market reforms, the transformation and breakdown of party systems, and the emergence of new social and political movements. Readings will include a mixture of theoretical, empirical, and case-oriented studies, thereby enhancing students’ substantive knowledge while introducing them to the broad range of analytical tools used by scholars to interpret the complex political realities of Latin American societies. Students will conduct research and write a research paper on some aspect of the democratic experience in a country or countries of their choice.

Course Requirements

1. Classroom Participation and Presentations

The course will follow a participatory seminar format, with weekly discussion sessions focused on assigned readings and related topics. Students are expected to attend each class session, read assigned works prior to class, give short presentations on the readings, and critically examine their strengths and weaknesses in open discussions. They will also give short presentations on their research projects at the end of the semester. Each student will give one 5-10 minute presentation on the readings and a five-minute presentation on their research. Classroom presentations should not simply summarize assigned readings; they should briefly identify the central argument of a work, locate it in the literature (i.e., compare and contrast it to other works we have read), critically assess its contributions and limitations, and close with a question or questions designed to prompt classroom discussion.
2. Written Assignments

A take-home mid-term exam will be passed out in class on October 3 and will be due in class on October 17. The exam will pose several essay-type questions, and require that students write two 5-6 page essays in response. There will be no final exam in the class; instead, students will write a 20-30 page research paper on their chosen topic. The research paper will be due in my office on Tuesday, Dec. 6. A 2-3 page research proposal identifying your research question, the relevant theoretical and empirical literature, your central propositions or thesis, and your method of inquiry will be due in class on October 31. Research papers can focus on a contemporary or historical topic, cover one or more countries, and employ either qualitative or quantitative methods of inquiry. They should, however, be clearly structured around a central research question or puzzle and a thesis that responds to it; they should not simply provide a descriptive overview of a particular country or topic. I will ask each of you to make an appointment to discuss your research question and thesis with me in advance.

Grading Policies and Procedures

Final grades will be determined as follows:

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<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Classroom Participation and Presentations</td>
<td>15 percent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mid-Term Exam (Oct. 3-17)</td>
<td>25 percent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research Proposal (Due Oct. 31)</td>
<td>10 percent</td>
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<tr>
<td>Research Paper (Due Dec. 6)</td>
<td>40 percent</td>
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Extensions will only be granted in extreme emergencies. Assignments turned in late will be penalized half a letter grade for each day they are tardy.

Each student in this course is expected to abide by the Cornell University Code of Academic Integrity. Any work submitted by a student in this course for academic credit will be the student’s own work. Plagiarism, or academic theft (i.e., passing off someone else’s work as your own), will be grounds for disciplinary action. If you have questions about plagiarism, proper referencing procedures, or other issues of academic integrity, please discuss them with me or consult Cornell’s Code of Academic Integrity and Acknowledging the Work of Others (http://www.cornell.edu/UniversityFaculty/docs/main.html).

Assigned Readings

Assigned weekly readings are listed on the syllabus with an asterisk. I have also listed some optional readings for those who would like to acquire additional background or explore particular issues in greater depth. The assigned texts have been ordered for you to purchase at the Cornell Bookstore. Articles and other assigned readings are available through the electronic reserve system at Uris Library. The assigned texts include the following:

1. Peter Smith, Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective (Oxford 2005).
Class Schedule and Weekly Topics

Part I: Historical Background and Theoretical Foundations: Democracy, Authoritarianism, and Regime Transitions

1. Aug. 29– Introduction to the Course

Optional Reading:

Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, Labor Movements, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America
John Peeler, Building Democracy in Latin America
Larry Diamond, Jonathan Hartlyn, Juan Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds. Democracy in Developing Countries: Latin America
Jorge Dominguez and Michael Shifter, eds. Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America
Samuel Huntington, The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late 20th Century

2. Sept. 5– Conceptualizing and Explaining Democracy: Modernization Theory and Political Culture

* Peter Smith, Democracy in Latin America, “Introduction” and Chap. 1.
* Tina Rosenberg, Children of Cain, Chap. 6 (“The Pig’s Tail”).

Optional Reading:

Seymour Martin Lipset, Political Man and The Democratic Century


* Arturo Valenzuela, The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile.

Optional Reading:

James Malloy, ed. Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America
David Collier, ed. The New Authoritarianism in Latin America
Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, Dependency and Development in Latin America
Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*
Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart, *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*


Optional Reading:

Guillermo O’Donnell, *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*
Brian Loveman and Thomas Davies, *The Politics of Anti-Politics: The Military in Latin America*
Karen Remmer, *Military Rule in Latin America*
Gerardo Munck, *Authoritarianism and Democratization: Soldiers and Workers in Argentina, 1973-1983*
William Smith, *Authoritarianism and the Crisis of the Argentine Political Economy*
Marguerite Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture*
Alison Brysk, *The Politics of Human Rights in Argentina*

5. Sept. 26– Transitions to Democracy


* Peter Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Chapters 2-3.


Optional Reading:

John Higley and Richard Gunther, *Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*
Juan Linz and Alfred Stepan, *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*

6. October 3– Reassessing Theories of Democracy

(Mid-Term Exam Passed Out)

* Dietrich Rueschemeyer, Evelyne Huber Stephens, and John D. Stephens, *Capitalist Development and Democracy* (Chapters 1-3 and either 5 or 6)

* Frances Hagopian and Scott Mainwaring, eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America,* “Introduction” and Chapter 1 (by Mainwaring and Pérez-Liñán)

Optional Reading:

Ruth Berins Collier, *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*
7. October 10– Fall Break

Part II: Advances and Setbacks: Latin America’s Third Wave of Democratization

   (Mid-Term Exam Due)

   * Hagopian and Mainwaring, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*, Chapters 6 & 7 (by Elisabeth Jean Wood and Mitchell Seligson).

Optional Reading:
William Stanley, *The Protection Racket State*  
Elisabeth Wood, *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in South Africa and El Salvador* and *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador* 
Thomas Walker and Ariel Armony, eds. *Repression, Resistance, and Democratic Transition in Central America*

9. October 24– International and Institutional Influences

   * Peter Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Chapters 4-7

Optional Reading:
Matthew Shugart and John Carey, *Presidents and Assemblies: Constitutional Design and Electoral Dynamics* 
Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, eds. *Legislative Politics in Latin America* 
Lars Schoultz, *Beneath the United States: A History of U.S. Policy Toward Latin America* 
Mark Peceny, *Democracy at the Point of Bayonets* 
Peter Smith, *Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations*

10. October 31– Democracy, Neoliberalism, and the Politics of Market Reform
   (Research Proposal Due)


Optional Reading:
Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman, *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*
Sebastian Edwards, *Crisis and Reform in Latin America: From Despair to Hope*
Catherine Conaghan and James Malloy, *Unsettling Statecraft: Democracy and Neoliberalism in the Central Andes*
Susan Stokes, *Mandates and Democracy: Neoliberalism by Surprise in Latin America*
Carol Wise and Riordan Roett, eds. *Post-Stabilization Politics in Latin America: Competition, Transition, Collapse*
Luigi Manzetti, *Privatization South American Style*

11. **November 7– Market Reform, Party Systems, and Changing Patterns of Political Representation: Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Venezuela**


* Hagopian and Mainwaring, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*, Chapters 2-4 & 10 (by Steve Levitsky, Kurt Weyland, Beatriz Magaloni, and Michael Coppedge)

Optional Reading:
Steven Levitsky, *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentinian Peronism in Comparative Perspective*
Javier Corrales, *Presidents Without Parties: The Politics of Economic Reform in Argentina and Venezuela*

12. **November 14– Democracy under Siege: Peru and Colombia**


Optional Reading:
Charles Bergquist et al., *Violence in Colombia: the Contemporary Crisis in Historical Perspective*
Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri, eds. *Politics in the Andes: Identity, Conflict, Reform*
Maxwell Cameron and Philip Mauceri, eds. *Peruvian Labyrinth: Polity, Society, Economy*
Moisés Arce, *Market Reform in Society: Post-Crisis Politics and Economic Change in Authoritarian Peru*

13. **November 21– Democracy, Citizenship, and New Social Movements**


Optional Reading:
Kenneth Roberts, *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru*
Alison Brysk, *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America*
Philip Oxhorn, *Organizing Civil Society: The Popular Sectors and the Struggle for Democracy in Chile*
Jane Jaquette, ed. *The Women’s Movement in Latin America: Participation and Democracy*
Arturo Escobar and Sonia Alvarez, eds. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*
Susan Eckstein, ed. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*

14. **November 28– The Future of Democracy in Latin America**

* Peter Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Chapters 10-12 and Epilogue
* Hagopian and Mainwaring, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America*, Chapter 11 (by Hagopian).
Research Paper Due December 6