

## Democracy in Latin America

Prof. Javier Corrales

**As of 10.27.2011**

Amherst College  
First Year Seminar 119  
Fall 2011  
Tue and Thu 11:30-12:50  
<http://www.amherst.edu/~jcorrales>

Office Hours: W 3-5:15p  
or by appointment  
542-2164  
Clark House 105  
jcorrales@amherst.edu

### *Description of the course*

This is an introduction to the study of modern Latin American politics. The overriding question is: why have democracy and self-sustained prosperity been so difficult to accomplish in the region? We begin by examining different definitions of democracy. Thereafter, we discuss four democracy-related different themes in Latin America.

First, we focus on explaining similarities across the cases, specifically, common historical and institutional legacies that might have hindered democratic and economic development in the region. This part of the course examines similarities in the way that Latin American nations have responded to these legacies. For example, almost all Latin American countries developed intense economic nationalism, an overstretched state bureaucracy, and corporatist-populist methods of political control. We will ask why Latin American countries adopted these similar political features.

The second part focuses on explaining differences. Despite similar historical legacies, the countries of the region developed different political systems after World War II. Some countries became democratic while others did not; some remained stable while others did not; some resisted authoritarianism successfully, while others did not; some overcame economic maladies in the 1980s-90s while others continued to underperform. We examine hypotheses to explain these differences. This part of the course also examines the role of political institutions and pressure groups (such as business, labor, the military and the Catholic Church) as well as external factors in shaping these responses.

The third part of the course examines major democratic trends in the 2000s: current problems of democracy, the return of statism and populism, the difficulty of creating accountability, abuses by majorities and abuses by minorities, etc.

The last part of the course will focus on completely new topic, both in Latin American politics and in the scholarship of democracy worldwide: the fate of gay/lesbian rights movements. For some, the gay rights movement is an aberration, a sign of moral decay, and waste of time, or merely one more way in which globalization is changing Latin America (for the worse). For others, advancing gay rights is nothing less than the latest battlefield in the fight for democracy. We will look at this debate. We will also discuss the political challenges related to advancing gay rights. Are such challenges different, maybe even more onerous, in Latin American, than say, advanced democracies?

## Readings

Be prepared to read approximately 120-130 pages per week. It is essential that you complete the reading assignments prior to class meetings.

The readings can be classified into two categories. The first consists of theoretical and interpretative readings. These readings present arguments that seek to offer a causal argument (an account of how one phenomenon leads to another phenomenon). These readings often contradict one another. This is what we call theoretical debates. The second category consists of case studies. The purpose of these case studies is to allow you to evaluate the theoretical debates. A fundamental goal of the course is to teach you how to use empirical evidence to test theoretical arguments.

Most of the readings can be found in the books ordered for the course (see below) and a multilith, which has been prepared by the Department of Political Science for your convenience. The books and the multilith are available for purchase. You can purchase the books at Jeffrey Amherst Bookshop. You can buy the multilith from the Department of Political Science (contact Ms. Theresa Laizer, Clark House, x2318).

The required books are available from the Jeffrey Amherst Bookstore:

- Skidmore, Thomas, Peter Smith, and James Green. 2009. *Modern Latin America*. 7th edition. Oxford University Press.
- Kingstone, Peter. 2011. *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development*. Routledge.
- Weyland, Kurt, Raúl Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, eds. 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings* (Cambridge University Press).
- Corrales, Javier and Mario Pecheny, eds., 2010. *The Politics of Sexuality in Latin America* (University of Pittsburgh Press).

For more historical background on Latin America, you may want to consult (optional):

- Bethell, Leslie, ed. 1990. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vols. 7 and 8. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

## Films:

You are required to watch the following films

- Eva Perón* (Argentina)
- Mexico: From Boom to Bust* (US)
- The Official Story* (Argentina)
- The Year My Parents Went on Vacation* (Brazil)
- Our Brand is Crisis* (US/Bolivia)
- Don't Tell Anyone* (Peru)
- XXY* (Argentina/Uruguay)

You will have access to films via on-line (streaming) video reserves. Please visit this link for viewing instructions:

[https://cms.amherst.edu/people/offices/it/teaching\\_research/requestforms/viewingstreamedvideo](https://cms.amherst.edu/people/offices/it/teaching_research/requestforms/viewingstreamedvideo).

*Requirements:*

This class will expose you to the different academic activities typically expected of students at Amherst College seminars:

Short one- to two-page response papers (one every two weeks):	30 percent
Short 3.5-page analytical papers:	30 percent
Class Participation and discussion:	20 percent
Small independent research	20 percent

*Participation:*

In addition to lectures, readings, and films, this course relies heavily on class participation. You must come to class prepared to discuss the readings and movies. The format of the class will combine lecture and discussion: on some days, I will mostly lecture, on others, I will mostly lead the discussion.

Class attendance is mandatory. You will be allowed to miss class once (regardless of reason). More than one absence will count against your participation grade.

Attendance, however important, is not the same as participation. The latter is the extent to which you make a *qualitative* contribution to the discussion in progress. It entails addressing the issues raised by me **and** your classmates, as well as raising your own issues when pertinent. Your class participation will play a significant role in case of borderline averages.

I will never call on you to participate; it is ultimately your responsibility to be heard in class. The point is not to speak for the sake of speaking (or to impress me), but rather to contribute with a different or a supplementary perspective.

*Research Project:* To be discussed in class.

*Extensions:*

My policy is simple: no extensions (except in extreme circumstances, such as medical emergencies). Late papers will be marked down.

Schedule of Assignments

<p>Tue Sep 6</p>	<p><b>Introduction</b> (P) Skidmore, Thomas E. and Peter H. Smith. 2001. <i>Modern Latin America</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-13. The Economist. 2010. "So Near and Yet So Far," and "Two Centuries of Hope and Fear," in Latin America, Special report: Latin America, September 9, at "<a href="http://www.economist.com/node/16964106">http://www.economist.com/node/16964106</a>; and <a href="http://www.economist.com/node/16964114">http://www.economist.com/node/16964114</a>. "For or Against Chávez: The Debate Continues," <i>LASA Forum</i>, Winter 2007:14-27.</p>	
<p>Part I: Regime Type: Democracy, Authoritarianism and Populism</p>		
<p>Thu Sep 8 G-1</p>	<p><b>Democracy, Part 1</b> Dahl, Robert A. 1971. <i>Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition</i>. New Haven: Yale University Press, pp. 1-16, 33-47. (P) Kingstone, pp. 1-18.</p>	
<p>Tue Sep 13 G-2</p>	<p><b>Democracy, part 2</b> Schmitter, Philippe C., and Terry Lynn Karl. 1991. "What Democracy is ... and is Not." <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 2, 3 (Summer):75-88. <i>The Federalist Papers</i>. 1788. (selections from No. 10, 50, 51 and 70). Bolívar, Simón. 1819. "Angostura Address" (excerpts). Wiarda, Howard J., and Harvey F. Kline. 1996. "The Pattern of Historical Development." In Howard J. Wiarda, and Harvey F. Kline, eds., <i>Latin American Politics and Development</i>. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed., Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, pp. 15-40.</p>	
<p>Thu Sep 15 G-3</p>	<p><b>Explaining Democratic deficits in Latin America: The Role of the Past (centralized state, authoritarian governance, political culture, and social structures)</b> (P) Skidmore, pp. 14-41. Worcester, Donald E. 1992. "The Spanish American Past--Enemy of Change." In Wiarda, Howard J., ed., <i>Politics and Social Change in Latin America</i>. Third Edition. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press. Coatsworth, J. H. and J. G. Williamson, "The Roots of Latin American Protectionism," in <i>Integrating the Americas: FTAA and Beyond</i>, eds. Antoni Estevadeordal, et al. Cambridge, MA: David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies and Harvard University Press, 2004), skip pp. 55-66. Edwards, Sebastian. 2010. <i>Left Behind</i>, Chapter 2. University of Chicago Press, pp. 21-46.</p>	
<p>Tue Sep 20</p>	<p><b>Corporatism, Populism and Import-Substitution Industrialization, Part 1</b> (P) Skidmore and Smith, pp. 351-362.</p>	

G-1	(P) Kingstone, pp. 19-37 Johnson, John J. 1986. Political Change in Latin America: The Emergence of the Middle Sectors. In Peter F. Klarén, and Thomas J. Bossert, eds., <i>Promise of Development. Theories of Change in Latin America</i> . Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, pp. 88-99. Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 1991. "Context: The Labor Movement and the State." In <i>Shaping the Political Arena</i> . Princeton University Press, pp. 40-55.	
Thu Sep 22	<b>No Class</b> <b>Library Visit, Gretchen Gano, Frost Library, 11:30am</b>	
Make Up Session Sept 26 G-2	<b>Corporatism, Populism, and ISI, Part 2: The Case of Peronism</b> (P) Skidmore and Smith, pp. 244-265. Wynia, Gary W. 1992. <i>Argentina. Illusions and Realities</i> . Second Edition. New York: Holmes and Meier, pp. 37-59. Navarro, Marysa. 1982. "Evita's charismatic leadership." In Michael L. Conniff, ed., <i>Latin American Populism in Comparative Perspective</i> . Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 47-66.	
Tue Sep 27 G-3	<b>Catching up</b> <b>No small response paper</b>	Movie: <i>Eva Perón</i>
Thu Sep 29	<b>No Class</b>	<b>PAPER 1</b> <b>FRIDAY SEP 30</b>
<b>Part II: A Historical Tour of Democracy in the Region, 1930s-1980s</b>		
Make Up Session Mon Oct 3 7:15p G-1	<b>Mexico: The Hybrid Regime and the Mexican Miracle</b> (P) Skidmore and Smith, pp. 45-67. Cornelius, Wayne. 1996. <i>Mexican Politics in Transition. The Breakdown of a One-Party-Dominant Regime</i> . San Diego: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, pp. 11-19, 25-44, 51-75. Middlebrook, Kevin J. 1995. <i>The Paradox of Revolution</i> . Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 5-14, 23-29, 209-222.	
Tue Oct 4 G-2	<b>Why Radical Revolution in Cuba and Not in Venezuela?</b> <b>Cuba vs. Mexico: Why more radical state expansion?</b> (P) Skidmore and Smith, pp. 121-140; 219-236. O'Connor, James. 1970. <i>The Origins of Socialism in Cuba</i> . New York: Praeger, pp. 1-36. Karl, Terry Lynn. 1987. "Petroleum and Political Pacts: The Transition to Democracy in Venezuela." <i>Latin American Research Review</i> 22, no. 1, pp. 63-94.	
Oct 6/11	<b>No Class</b>	

<p>Thu Oct 13 G-3</p>	<p><b>Cuba and Venezuela, continued</b> Corrales, Javier. 2001. "Strong Societies; Weak Parties." <i>Latin American Politics and Society</i> 43, 2 (Summer). <b>Democratic Vices: Partyarchy in Venezuela, Party Polarization in Chile, Intra-party divisiveness in Argentina</b> Wynia, G. 1992. <i>Argentina. Illusions and Realities</i>. Second Edition. New York: Holmes and Meier, pp. 167-192. Oppenheim, Lois Hecht. 1993. <i>Politics in Chile. Democracy, Authoritarianism, and the Search for Development</i>. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, pp. 91-113. Norden, Deborah. 1998. "Party Relations and Democracy in Latin America." <i>Party Politics</i> 4, 4:423-443.</p>	
<p>Tue Oct 18 G-1</p>	<p><b>Militarism prior to the 1980s</b> O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1986. "Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics." In Peter F. Klarén, and Thomas J. Bossert, eds., <i>Promise of Development. Theories of Change in Latin America</i>. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, pp. 239-275. Wynia, Gary W. 1992. <i>Argentina. Illusions and Realities</i>. Second Edition. New York: Holmes and Meier, pp. 72-107. Smith, Peter H. 2005. <i>Democracy in Latin America</i>, Oxford Univ. Press, pp. 73-106.</p>	<p>Film: <i>The Year that My Parents...</i></p>
<p>Thu Oct 20 G-2</p>	<p><b>The Lost Decade and Market Reforms</b> Corrales, Javier. 2003. "Market Reforms." In Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter, <i>Constructing Democratic Governance</i>, 2<sup>nd</sup> Edition (Johns Hopkins University Press). (P) Kingstone, pp. 33-44. Discussion of <i>The Year that...</i></p>	<p>Film: <i>Mexico from Boom to Bust</i></p>
<p>Tue Oct 25 G-3</p>	<p><b>Transition to Democracy (Top-down v. bottom-up approaches): Argentina in the 1980s, Mexico in the 1990s</b> Przeworski, Adam. <i>Democracy and the Market</i>. Cambridge Univ. Press, pp. 51-79. Chand, Vikram K. 2001. <i>Mexico's Political Awakening</i>. Notre Dame, pp. 265-297. Discussion of film: <i>The Official Story</i> (P) Skidmore and Smith, pp. 101-113, 242-262.</p>	<p>Film: <i>The Official Story</i></p>
<p><b>Part III: Contemporary Latin America: From Neoliberalism to the Rise of the Left</b></p>		
<p>Thu Oct 27 G-1</p>	<p><b>Neoliberalism</b> (P) Kingstone, 33-90.</p>	
<p>Tue Nov 1</p>	<p><b>The Backlash Against Market Reforms</b> Corrales, Javier. 2008. "The Backlash Against Market Reforms"</p>	

G-2		
Thu Nov 3 G-3	<b>The Left Turn in the 2000s</b> Carothers, Thomas. 2002. "The End of the Transition Paradigm," <i>Journal of Democracy</i> , pp. 5-21. Kingstone, 91-126.	
Tue Nov 8 G-1	<b>Venezuela</b> (P) Corrales in Weyland 2010. Wilpert, Gregory (pp. 99-129) and Rakowski and Espina, in Thomas Ponniah and Jonathan Eastman, eds., <i>Revolution in Venezuela</i> (Harvard University Press, 2011).	
Thu Nov 10 G-2	<b>Bolivia and Brazil</b> <del>Yashar, Deborah. 2006. Indigenous Politics in the Andes: Changing Patterns of Recognition, Reform, and Representation in Scott Mainwaring, et al., eds., <i>The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes</i> (Stanford University Press).</del> Discussion of film: (P) Gray-Molina in Weyland 2010. (P) Kingstone in Weyland et al. 2010	
Nov 15 G-3	<b>Chile and Argentina</b> (P) Huber, Pribble and Stephens in Weyland et al. 2010. Argentina TBA	
Nov 17 G-1	<b>Cuba</b> TBA	<b>PAPER 2 FRIDAY NOV 18</b>
<b>Part IV: Gay Rights in Latin America Today</b>		
Nov 22, 24	<b>Thanksgiving</b>	
Tue Nov 29 G-2	<b>Obstacles to LGBT rights</b> (P) Corrales, Javier and Mario Pecheny, 2010: Introduction; Reding; Lula Discussion of film: <i>Don't Tell Anyone</i> .	<i>Film: Don't Tell Anyone</i>
Thu Dec 1 G-3	<b>Achievements and Setbacks</b> (P) Corrales and Pecheny: De la Dehesa; Marsiaj; Gómez.	
Tue Dec 6 G-1	<b>Achievements and Setbacks</b> (P) Corrales and Pecheny: Larson; Castro; Merentes; Xia and Corrales; Modarelli	<i>Film XXY</i>
Thu Dec 8 G-2	<b>Conclusion</b> (P) Kingstone 127-153 (P) Madrid, Hunter and Weyland in Weyland 2010. Reading TBA.	
Tue Dec 13	<b>Catching Up</b>	<b>PAPER 3 WED DEC</b>

G-3		14
-----	--	----