

**Political Science 561**  
**Latin American Politics**  
**Mondays, 2-4:40, Lattimore 212**

Professor Gretchen Helmke  
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This seminar focuses on key questions facing scholars of contemporary Latin American politics: Under what conditions do democratic regimes emerge and endure? Under what conditions are politicians responsive to citizens? Does the choice of political institutions matter? What factors affect institutional instability and weakness? The first part of the seminar considers a variety of approaches to regime transition, including explanations based on class, culture, and individual preferences. The second part of the course begins with an analysis of the quality of democracy and representation in Latin America. To evaluate the impact of specific institutions on democracy, the course considers the advantages and drawbacks of presidential democracy. Particular emphasis is placed on understanding variation in inter-branch relations over time and across countries. The course concludes with a survey of emerging research on timely topics including indigenous movements, corruption, and institutional instability.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Grades will be based on participation (35%) and completion of a research proposal (65%) on a topic relevant to the course. Students are expected to actively contribute to the discussion each and every week. This necessitates a careful reading of the material prior to the class. Student responsibilities include leading discussion of at least one of the readings in each seminar (there will be some flexibility about this depending on the size of the class and the readings for the week.). Your objective should be to briefly summarize the readings and lay the groundwork for a broader discussion regarding the substantive, theoretical and methodological merits and limits of the material. A one–two page handout of notes should be provided.

In addition to weekly participation, students are expected to write a 10-12 page research proposal in which the main goal is to identify an important research question and to lay out a framework for answering it. The proposal should thus contain three elements: 1) a summary of the relevant literature and a discussion of why your question is important 2) a discussion of the research design 3) a discussion of the feasibility/practicality of implementing the proposed design (i.e. what data would you need, etc.). Papers are due Monday, December 11<sup>h</sup> at the beginning of class. Students will be asked to give 15-20 minute presentations of their proposals during the last class session.

## REQUIRED READINGS

In this course, we read a combination of books, chapters and journal articles. Articles and book chapters that are not available on the web (through JSTOR, etc) will be made available for you to copy; they will be available in a box in the Political Science Lounge, Harkness 314. Please be sure to return these quickly, so that others can read them. The books listed below are available for purchase from Amazon or other internet sites.

### Required Books

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter 1986. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Susan C. Stokes 2001. *Mandates and Democracies: Neoliberalism By Surprise in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart, eds. 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, eds. 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Collier, Ruth. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*, Cambridge University Press.

Elizabeth Jean Wood. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in El Salvador and South Africa*. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

Domínquez, Jorge and James McCann. 1996. *Democratizing Mexico*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

## WEEKLY SCHEDULE

**Week 1** (Sept 4): Organizational Meeting

**Week 2** (Sept 11): Authoritarianism

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1973. *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*. Berkeley: IIS Publications. (Chapters 3-4)

Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes*. Johns Hopkins University Press. (Entire Book)

Robert Barros. 2002. "The Constitution of Exception: Defining the Rules of Military Rule" Chapter 2 from *Constitutionalism and Dictatorship: Pinochet, the Junta, and the 1980 Constitution* Cambridge University Press.

[Douglass North, Barry Weingast and William Summerhill](#). 2000. "Order, Disorder, and Economic Change: Latin America v. North America" in Bruce Bueno de Mesquita and Hilton Root, eds. *Governing for Prosperity*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

### **Week 3** (Sept 18): Regime Transitions I

Przeworski, et al. 2000. *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Well-Being in the World, 1950-1990*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1-3)

Londregan, John and Keith Poole. 1990 "Poverty, the Coup Trap, and the Seizure of Executive Power." *World Politics* 42: 151-83.

Mainwaring, Scott and Anibal Perez-Linan. 2005. "Latin American Democratization since 1978" in *The Third Wave of Democratization: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press.

Przeworski, Adam and Carolina Curvale. 2005. "Does Politics explain the economic gap between the United States and Latin America?" (ms.)

### **Week 4** (Sept 25): Regime Transitions II

Adam Przeworski, *Democracy and the Market*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 2)

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter 1986. *Transitions From Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. (Entire Book)

Collier, Ruth. 1999. *Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*, Cambridge University Press. (Entire Book)

### **Week 5** (Oct 2): Regime Transitions III

Geddes, Barbara. 1999. "What Do We Know about Democratization after Twenty Years?" *Annual Review of Political Science*.

Elizabeth Jean Wood. 2000. *Forging Democracy from Below: Insurgent Transitions in El Salvador and South Africa*. NY: Cambridge University Press. (Entire Book)

[Alberto Diaz-Cayeros, Beatriz Magaloni, and Barry R. Weingast 2001.](#) “Tragic Brilliance: Equilibrium Party Hegemony in Mexico” ms.

**Week 6** (Oct 9): Regime Transitions IV

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. 2005. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.

**Week 7** (Oct 16): Accountability and Representation

Susan C. Stokes 2001. *Mandates and Democracies: Neoliberalism By Surprise in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Entire Book)

Samuels, David. 2004. “Presidentialism and Accountability for the Economy in Comparative Perspective” *American Political Science Review*

Magaloni, Beatriz and Alejandro Poiré. 2004. “The Issues, the Vote, and the Mandate for Change,” in *Mexico’s Pivotal Democratic Election: Candidates, Voters, and the Presidential Campaign of 2000*.

**Week 8** (Oct 23): Clientelism

Auyero, Javier. 2000. *Poor People’s Politics: Peronist Survival Networks and the Legacy of Evita*. Duke University Press. (Selections)

Fox, Jonathon. 1994. “The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons From Mexico” *World Politics* 46(2):151-84.

Calvo and Murrillo. 2004. “Who Delivers?: Partisan Clients in the Argentine Electoral Market.” *American Journal of Political Science*.

Stokes, Susan. 2005. “Perverse Accountability: A Formal Model of Machine Politics with Evidence From Argentina” *American Political Science Review*.

Valeria Brusco, Marcelo Nazareno, and Susan C. Stokes. 2004. “Vote Buying in Argentina” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol 39, No.2.

**Week 9** (Oct 30): Parties and Elections

Domínquez, Jorge and James McCann. 1996. *Democratizing Mexico*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

Beatriz Magaloni and Alejandro Poiré. 2004. "Strategic Coordination in the 2000 Mexico Presidential Race" in Jorge I. Domínguez and Chappell Lawson, eds. *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election: Candidates, Voters, and the Presidential Campaign of 2000*.

*Additional readings to be announced*

**Week 10** (Nov 6): Presidentialism

Linz, J. Juan. 1994. "Presidential or Parliamentary Democracy: Does it Make a Difference?" in Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failures of Presidential Democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. "Delegative Democracy" *Journal of Democracy* 5(1):55-69.

Mainwaring, Scott. 1993. "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination" *Comparative Political Studies* 26: 198-228.

Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart 1997. *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1, 4, 6, 7, 9, 11)

**Week 11** (Nov 13): Legislatures and Parties

Scott Morgenstern and Benito Nacif, eds 2002. *Legislative Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1, 2, 4, 5, 14, 15)

John Carey. 2003. "Discipline, Accountability, and Legislative Voting in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 35(2): 191-211.

Mark Jones and Wonjae Hwang. 2005. "Party Government in Presidential Democracies: Extending Cartel Theory Beyond the US Congress," *American Journal of Political Science* 49 (2): 267-82)

Brian Crisp, Maria Escobar-Lemmon, Bradford Jones, Mark Jones, and Michelle Taylor-Robinson. 2004. "Vote-Seeking Incentives and Legislative Representation in Six Presidential Democracies," *Journal of Politics* (66:3)

**Week 12** (Nov 20): Courts

Gretchen Helmke 2002. "The Logic of Strategic Defection" *American Political Science Review*

Staton, Jeffrey K. 2004. "Judicial Policy Implementation in Mexico City and Mérida" *Comparative Politics*.

Pérez-Liñan, Aníbal, Barry Ames, Mitchell Seligson. 2006. "Strategy, Careers, and Judicial Decisions: Lessons From the Bolivian Courts" *Journal of Politics* 68(2): 284-295.

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2003. "Authoritarianism, Democracy and the Supreme Court: Horizontal Exchange and the Rule of Law in Mexico" in Mainwaring, Scott and Christopher Welna. 2003. *Democratic Accountability in Latin America*. Oxford University Press.

Kimberly Theidon. 2006. "Justice in Transition: The Micropolitics of Reconciliation in Post-War Peru." *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, Vol. 50 (3): 433-457.

**Week 13 (Nov 27): Institutional Instability and Corruption**

Valenzuela, Arturo. 2004. "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted" *Journal of Democracy* 15(4).

Pérez-Liñan, Aníbal. *Crises without Breakdown" Presidential Impeachment and the New Political Instability in Latin America* Cambridge University Press (ms. forthcoming)

McMillan, John and Pablo Zoido. 2004. "How to Subvert Democracy: Montesinos in Peru" *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18(4): 69-92.

**Week 14 (Dec 4): Indigenous Movements and Ethnic Politics**

Yashar, Deborah. 1999. "Democracy, Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America" *World Politics* 52(1): 76-104.

Madrid, Raúl. 2005. "Indigenous Parties and Democracy in Latin America" *Latin America Politics and Society* 47.4: 161-179.

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2005

**Week 15 (Dec 11): Papers Due, Student Presentations**