

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

**POL442H1F/2405H1F - TOPICS IN LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS:
Constitutionalism and Democracy in the Andes**

Fall 2015
Wednesdays, 2:00 – 4:00 p.m.
Location: UC65

Instructor: Ana María Bejarano
Office: Sidney Smith Hall, Room 3036
Office Hours: Wed. 4:00 – 5:00 p.m. or by appointment
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Course Overview and Objectives

The course will introduce students to key scholarly works on constitutionalism and democracy in Latin America, and provide them with the opportunity to conduct their own research on the topic, then write and present a seminar paper on the results. We will begin the course by exploring the theoretical debate over constitutionalism and democracy. We will look at constitution making in historical perspective as well as the politics of re-writing constitutions in the contemporary era. The second section of the course examines participatory constitution making in five Andean countries in order to assess the extent to which these processes have contributed to deepening democracy in the region.

The Andean region has long suffered from social, economic, and political exclusion. The failure to incorporate, represent and respond to large segments of the population has led to conflicts between state and society. Widespread party system decline (and even collapse) in the 1990s widened the gap between the state, political parties and society and threatened democratic continuity. Mass pressures for socio-economic and political inclusion have begun to pry open spaces in the region's political systems. Constitutional reforms have sought to repair the relationship between state and society. This seminar will reflect on the promise and limits of institutional/constitutional change as a means to improve the region's democracies. It will compare the dynamics of crisis, contention and constitution making in the Andean countries of Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia (and Chile).

Required Readings

The following books are available for purchase at the campus bookstore:

- Roberto Gargarella. 2013. *Latin American Constitutionalism, 1810-2010: The Engine Room of the Constitution*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. [LAC]
- Gabriel Negretto. 2013. *Making Constitutions: Presidents, Parties, and Institutional Choice in Latin America*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. [MC]
- Ran Hirschl. 2014. *Comparative Matters. The Renaissance of Comparative Constitutional Law*. Oxford University Press. [RCCL]

The following books are not mandatory but are especially recommended for those who may not have a background in Latin American politics. A few copies will be available for purchase at the bookstore and all of them have been placed on reserves:

- Detlef Nolte and Almut Schilling-Vacaflor (eds). 2012. *New Constitutionalism in Latin America. Promises and Practices*, Ashgate Publishing Company.
- Thomas E. Skidmore, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2013. *Modern Latin America*, 8th edition, Oxford University Press.
- Peter H. Smith. 2011. *Democracy in Latin America: Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, 2nd edition, Oxford University Press.

Electronic Books and Journal Articles can be accessed through the University of Toronto library home page (<http://onesearch.library.utoronto.ca>). *Electronic Chapters* can be downloaded from our course web page under “Course Documents” (<http://portal.utoronto.ca>).

Recommended Readings

In addition to our required readings, you are strongly encouraged to read from the recommended reading list (see Course Schedule) as well as follow current events in the region. (Please Note: **Graduate Students** are expected to do the recommended readings). Suggested sources for current events include: *The Los Angeles Times*; *The New York Times*; *The Washington Post*; *The Christian Science Monitor*; *The Economist*; *Time*, and *Newsweek*. You may also want to consult the following website for recent news on the region:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/latin_america/.

The following websites offer useful statistical data on the region:

www.lanic.utexas.edu/

<http://www.iadb.org/>

<http://www.thedialogue.org/>

<http://www.eclac.cl/>

www.oas.org

The following journals are excellent academic sources on the region:

- Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies
- Latin American Research Review
- Journal of Latin American Studies
- Latin American Politics and Society
- Latin American Perspectives
- NACLA Report on the Americas
- Bulletin of Latin American Research
- Journal of Democracy

The University of Toronto has one of the best libraries in North America. You are welcome to enlist the help of Reference Librarian Judith Logan (judith.logan@utoronto.ca) for your research needs. She has kindly offered to conduct a research tutorial on Wed. October 21st. Details below.

Course Web Page

The course will use the Blackboard Academic Suite program. You can log-on to the course web site through the University's Portal system. This web site plays a central role in the functioning of the course. Students are strongly advised to visit it frequently.

Course Format and Requirements

Class sessions will be conducted in a highly participatory **seminar format**. Students are encouraged and expected to participate actively in classroom discussions and activities. In addition, students are expected to lead one class session. The participatory format requires that students **attend class sessions on a regular basis, complete all assigned readings before our weekly session, and come to class prepared to discuss and respond to questions.**

Accessibility

If you have a disability/health consideration that may require special accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the AccessAbility Office as soon as possible.

Requirements and Grading

Item	Date Due	Value
Attendance and Participation	Every session	20 %
Two short response papers	Choose your topics/dates	20 %
Lead one seminar discussion	Student's Choice	20 %
Research Proposal	October 28, 2015	10 %
Final Research Paper	December 9, 2015	30 %

- **Attendance and Participation (20 %):** Participation involves informed engagement in class discussions – i.e. asking questions about the readings, answering questions, exchanging ideas with fellow students, etc. The success of the course depends heavily on how prepared students come for each meeting. ***Complete all assigned readings before class, attend all class meetings, and participate actively.***
- **Short Response Papers (20 %):** Students are required to submit **two (2) short response papers**. This exercise should help you prepare to participate in class discussions. You will **choose the week/s and topic/s** that you want to write about. The only restriction is that you submit **one** short paper on or **BEFORE** October 28 and another **AFTER** that date. Your submission should be between 1-2 double-spaced pages (250-500 words). You must submit and circulate your response to the entire class via Blackboard **no later than midnight on Tuesday** (that is, the night before class) for your submission to count. To post your contribution, log-on to the course web site and select "Discussion Board."

Response papers should contain **your own thinking**. They are **not** meant to be summaries of the readings or simple restatements of the author's arguments. Some reactions you may want to include in your short papers are: **a) your reaction/reflection** on some aspect of the week's readings (something that you found memorable, shocking, valuable, or controversial). Do

you agree or disagree with the author(s) in some way? Has the author made you think in a new way about a problem or issue? b) Your reflection on a **relevant news event in Latin America**, with some consideration as to how it ties in with the class' readings (include some explanation as to the piece of news you are discussing); c) Your reflection on an **outside source** (a relevant film, news program, book, article or something you learned in another class) that you think relates in a meaningful way to an issue or problem found in the week's readings. After writing a response paper, you should be prepared to discuss it with the rest of the class, especially with those presenting on that day. You may also choose to write your paper and present on the same day.

PLEASE NOTE: In addition to the two response papers, ***Graduate students*** must write **ONE** critical review of one of the main books assigned for this course: Gargarella (2013), Negretto (2013), D. Nolte and A. Schilling-Vacaflor (2012) or Hirschl (2014). If you find a book that you are interested in reviewing other than the four listed above please consult with me before taking action. Instructions for the critical review will be distributed separately.

- **Leading Seminar Discussions (20 %):** Each student is expected to present the readings and lead class discussion once during the term. Students should regard this as an opportunity to improve their **public speaking skills** – i.e. learning to speak in front of an audience (perhaps with the aid of an outline) rather than reading texts line-by-line from photocopies or a laptop screen. You can choose the topic/date of your presentation via a sign-up sheet to be circulated in class. **The content of your presentation will be based mainly (but not only) on the readings assigned for that week.** You should bring outside sources to bear: maps, relevant films/videos, news programs, books, articles or materials from another class. Audio-visual materials (i.e. power point presentations, films, videos or clips) are welcome, but please be aware that they are **NO SUBSTITUTE** for a well prepared presentation. In addition to presenting the readings, students should prepare discussion/debate questions for fellow classmates to address and/or an in-class learning activity. At times two students will be presenting simultaneously; they are expected to coordinate with each other ahead of time to set the agenda for discussion. Each presenter will be graded individually. Please refer to the “Grading your Oral Presentations” rubric for expectations and grading criteria.

**** IMPORTANT:** If you have to miss the class in which you are presenting, you must arrange to switch weeks with another student in the course – at least **ONE WEEK IN ADVANCE**. **Students who fail to show up on the session when they are scheduled to present will get a zero (0) as a grade for this assignment**.**

- **Research Paper Proposal (10 %):** The purpose of this assignment is to assist you in developing your essay question, locating sources and organizing your ideas in a timely fashion. The proposal is also intended to provide instructor feedback during the preparation of your research essay. Research proposals should be between 4-5 double-spaced pages (not including bibliography). Proposals should: a) identify your research question; b) outline what other scholars have said or found on the topic; c) outline your

basic argument; and d) identify what kinds of data and methods (e.g. specific statistics, case studies, historical evidence, etc.) you will use to support your argument. You should attach a bibliography to your proposal. (Please Note: ***Graduate Students*** must provide an annotated bibliography). Proposals that fail to cite their sources in appropriate fashion will NOT be accepted. For guidelines on how to cite sources appropriately please refer to the hand-out “The Why and How of Citations – Guidelines” (posted on Blackboard).

Research Proposals are **DUE IN CLASS** on Wednesday, **October 28, 2015**

- **Final Research Paper (30%)**: The research essay assignment is an opportunity to develop a professional seminar paper. Students must develop a research topic that is relevant to the course. For undergraduate students, the essay should be 10-12 double-spaced pages max (not including bibliography). For ***Graduate Students*** the essay should be 15-17 double-spaced pages max (not including bibliography). Graduate students may use this opportunity to write their thesis or dissertation proposal. Ensure that you state your argument in the introduction, provide an overview of the literature on your topic, support your assertions with evidence, and conclude by summarizing your findings and outlining any questions or avenues for future research. Essays that do not adhere to standard citation practice will NOT be accepted. For guidelines on how to cite sources appropriately please refer to the hand-out “The Why and How of Citations – Guidelines” (posted on Blackboard).

Your Final Research Paper is DUE in my office on **December 9, 2015** (a week after classes end), **NO LATER THAN 5:00 PM.**

***** NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED*****

Extensions will only be granted given extreme health or family-related circumstances. Any extension requests will require official documentation as well as advance notice.

Students are strongly advised to keep draft work and hard copies of their papers. These should be kept even after the marked assignments have been returned.

A Writing-intensive Seminar

Learning to **think** and **write clearly** is a critical part of your university education. Long after you have forgotten most of the specific content of this course, the main benefit you will retain is its contribution to your ability to express your ideas in written form. Consequently, the course assigns great weight (60 % of your final grade) to your writing. It is imperative that you allocate sufficient time to complete these assignments properly.

Your written work will be graded according to three main criteria:

- 1) The first and most important is the **clarity, structure, and coherence of your argument**. Highest grades will be assigned to those essays which offer a clear and compelling argument

about the topic in question, regardless of whether I agree with it or not. If in doubt about what constitutes a good example of a persuasive argument, come and talk with me during office hours.

2) The second criterion is **the amount of research** done for the essay and the **quality of the information** presented in support of your argument. It is important to ensure that the information sources you consult are current, up-to-date and academically respectable. Your essay will not be very effective if the information in it is drawn from material that is either too old, or is written from an excessively biased point of view. Similarly, essays that draw excessively on required readings or on web-based sources will receive lower marks. A key part of the exercise is learning how to effectively research your topic using academic sources.

3) The final criterion used to grade your essays is **the quality of your writing**. Errors of spelling, grammar and sentence structure detract from the overall impact and effectiveness of your writing. Errors will be noted in your text and marks deducted accordingly. If you are concerned about the quality of your writing, I encourage you to use the services of the Academic Skills Centre before submitting your assignments.

Honesty, trust, respect and responsibility are essential to the intellectual life of the University.

**** Please make sure you read the following WARNING ABOUT PLAGIARISM****

It is essential that you understand what plagiarism is and that you do not commit it. Plagiarism is **cheating**. It is a **serious offence** against intellectual honesty and intellectual property. In essence, it is the theft of the thoughts or words of others, without giving proper credit. You must put others' words in quotation marks and cite your source(s). You must offer citations when using other people's ideas, even if those ideas are paraphrased in your own words.

The following are some examples of plagiarism:

1. Submitting as your own an assignment written by someone else.
2. Quoting an author without indicating the source of the words.
3. Using words, sentences, or paragraphs written by someone else and failing to place quotation marks around the material and reference the source and author. Please Note: Using either quotation marks or reference alone is not sufficient. Both must be used!
4. Adapting an author's ideas and using them as your own without referencing the original source.

Plagiarism is **unacceptable** in an academic setting. The University of Toronto provides a process that faculty members must initiate when they suspect a case of plagiarism. A faculty member may not mark an assignment if she finds evidence of plagiarism and the matter must be reported to the Department's Chair. The Chair, or Dean, will assess the penalty which may be **severe**. If you are not sure whether you have committed plagiarism, it is better to ask a faculty member than risk discovery and be forced to accept an academic penalty.

For additional help on how to avoid plagiarism please consult the following page:

<http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

CLASS TOPICS AND READING SCHEDULE¹

SEPT. 16: INTRODUCTION AND COURSE OVERVIEW

SEPT. 23: CONSTITUTIONS, CONSTITUTIONALISM, AND DEMOCRACY

Introducing our main conceptual building-blocks: What is a constitution? What do we mean by constitutionalism? What role is there for a constitution in a democracy?

Required Reading:

- Walter F. Murphy. 1993. "Constitutions, Constitutionalism and Democracy", in D. Greenberg, S. Katz, M.B. Oliviero and S.C. Wheatley (eds.), *Constitutionalism and Democracy, Transitions in the Contemporary World*, New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press (pp. 3-25).
- Jon Elster. 1988. "Introduction", in J. Elster and R. Slagstad, *Constitutionalism and Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press and Universitetsforlaget (pp. 1-17).
- Giovanni Sartori. 1997. "Preface to the First Edition" (pp. ix-xi) and "Chapter 13: Constitutional Engineering" (pp. 195-202), in *Comparative Constitutional Engineering. An Inquiry into Structures, Incentives and Outcomes*, 2nd edition, New York University Press.
- Cass Sunstein. 2001. "Conclusion: Democracy's Constitution", in *Designing Democracy. What Constitutions Do*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 239-243.

Additional Recommended Reading:

- Russell Hardin. 1989. "Why a Constitution?" in B. Grofman and D. Wittman (eds.), *The Federalist Papers and the New Institutionalism*, New York: Agathon Press (pp. 100-120).
- Robert Dahl. 1996. "Thinking about Democratic Constitutions: Conclusions from Democratic Experience", in Ian Shapiro and Russell Hardin, *Political Order*, New York: New York University Press (pp. 175-206)
- Ian Shapiro and Russell Hardin. 1996. *Political Order*, New York University Press.
- Russell Hardin. 1999. *Liberalism, Constitutionalism, and Democracy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Andrew Reynolds. 2002. *The Architecture of Democracy. Constitutional Design, Conflict Management and Democracy*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

¹ Please Note: I reserve the right to make changes to this reading list provided I give students notice of said changes at least one week in advance.

SEP 30: THE RENAISSANCE OF COMPARATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL STUDIES –
A conversation with Professor Ran Hirschl, <http://www.law.utoronto.ca/faculty-staff/full-time-faculty/ran-hirschl>

Required Reading:

- Ran Hirschl. 2014. *Comparative Matters. The Renaissance of Comparative Constitutional Law*. Oxford University Press. Read as much as you can from this book; especially recommended: Introduction and chapter 1; chapters 4, 6, and Epilogue.

Additional Recommended Reading:

- Ran Hirschl. 2013. "From Comparative Constitutional Law to Comparative Constitutional Studies," *International Journal of Constitutional Law*, 11 (2013): 1-12.
- Ran Hirschl. 2004. *Towards Juristocracy: The Origins and Consequences of the New Constitutionalism*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.

OCT. 7: LATIN AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM – HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES
Why so many constitutions and so little constitutionalism in Latin America?

Required Reading:

- Laurence Whitehead. 2012. "Latin American Constitutionalism: Historical Development and Distinctive Traits", in D. Nolte and A. Schilling-Vacaflor (eds), *New Constitutionalism in Latin America. Promises and Practices*, Ashgate Publishing Company, pp. 123-141.
- Jose Antonio Cheibub. 2011. "Latin American Presidentialism in Comparative and Historical Perspective", in *Texas Law Review*, 89:7.
- Roberto Gargarella. 2013. *Latin American Constitutionalism, 1810-2010: The Engine Room of the Constitution*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press. [LAC]. Read as much from this book as you possibly can; especially recommended: chapters 1, 3, 4, 8, 9 & 10.

Additional Recommended Reading:

- Roberto Gargarella. 2012. "Latin American Constitutionalism Then and Now: Promises and Questions", in D. Nolte and A. Schilling-Vacaflor (eds), *New Constitutionalism in Latin America. Promises and Practices*, Ashgate Publishing Company, pp.143-160.
- José Antonio Cheibub. 2007. *Presidentialism, Parliamentarism, and Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, esp. chapters 1-2, and 6-7.
- Paul W. Drake. 2009. *Between Tyranny and Anarchy: A History of Democracy in Latin America, 1800-2006*, Stanford University Press.

OCT 14: UNDERSTANDING CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA

The constant changing and amending of constitutions: a source of institutional fragility?

Required Reading:

- Detlef Nolte and Almut Schilling-Vacaflor. 2012. *New Constitutionalism in Latin America: Promises and Practices*, Ashgate, "Introduction" (pp. 3-30).
- Gabriel Negretto. 2012. "Replacing and Amending Constitutions. The Logic of Constitutional Change in Latin America", in *Law & Society Review*, 46 (4): 749-779.
- Gabriel Negretto. 2013. *Making Constitutions: Presidents, Parties, and Institutional Choice in Latin America*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press. Read as much as you can from this book; especially recommended: Introduction and chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-106); plus Conclusion (pp. 224-243).

Additional Recommended Reading:

- Tom Ginsburg, Zach Elkins and Justin Blount. 2009. "Does the Process of Constitution Making Matter?", in *Annual Review of Law and Social Sciences*, Vol. 5, No. 5 (pp. 1-23) available at: http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1860392
- Z. Elkins, T. Ginsburg and J. Melton. 2009. *The Endurance of National Constitutions*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Jon Elster. 2012. "Clearing and Strengthening the Channels of Constitution Making" in Tom Ginsburg (ed.), *Comparative Constitutional Design*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 15-30.

OCT. 21: EXPLORING RESEARCH RESOURCES: A tutorial session with Librarian Judith Logan (Judith.logan@utoronto.ca). Students must have chosen their research topic before this date. Details to be announced. Stay tuned.

PART II – CONSTITUTIONAL CHANGE IN THE ANDES: THE PROMISE AND THE LIMITS

OCT. 28: INTRODUCING THE NEW CONSTITUTIONALISM IN THE ANDES

What explains the most recent wave of constitution making in the Andes? What are the commonalities? What are the differences?

Required Reading:

- Renata Segura and Ana María Bejarano, "Ni Una Asamblea Más Sin Nosotros! Exclusion, Inclusion, and the Politics of Constitution-Making in the Andes," in *Constellations*, Vol. 11, No. 2 (June 2004), pp. 217-236.
- Ana Maria Bejarano and Renata Segura, "Participatory Constitution Making in the Andes: Balancing Inclusion and Contestation", unpublished draft manuscript.

- Almut Schilling-Vacaflor. 2012. “Plurinational Constitutionalism: a New Era of Indigenous-State Relations?” in D. Nolte and A. Schilling-Vacaflor, *New Constitutionalism in Latin America: Promises and Practices*, Ashgate Publishing, Chapter 17, pp. 347-370.
- Steve Levitsky and James Loxton. 2013. “Populism and Competitive Authoritarianism in the Andes”, *Democratization*, Vol. 20, No. 1, pp. 107-136.

Additional Background Reading:

- Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez (eds.). 2006. *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*, (“The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes: An Overview”), Stanford University Press, pp. 1-46.
- Scott Mainwaring. 2006. “The Crisis of Representation in the Andes”, in *Journal of Democracy*, 17 (3): July, pp. 13-27.
- Martín Tanaka and Francine Jácome (eds.). 2010. *Challenges to Democratic Governance*, (“Chapter 11: Between Elitist Democracy and Authoritarian Personalisms: Institutional Reforms and Democratic Governance in the Andean Region,” by Martín Tanaka and Sofia Vera), IDRC, pp. 291-310; Available at:<http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>.

Last Week to Submit First Reading Response

Research Proposal Due

Case Studies: Please note that required readings focus almost exclusively on issues of constitutional change and design. For more contextual information on each one of the individual cases please refer to the readings recommended under “Background Reading”.

NOV. 4: COLOMBIA (1991) - CONSTITUTION MAKING AS A RESPONSE TO STATE FAILURE

Required Reading:

- Nielson, Daniel, and Matthew S. Shugart. 1999. “Constitutional Change in Colombia: Policy Adjustment through Institutional Reform”, *Comparative Political Studies*, 32 (3): 313-441.
- A.M. Bejarano. 2001. “The Constitution of 1991: An Institutional Evaluation Seven Years Later”, in C. Bergquist, R. Peñaranda and G. Sánchez (eds.), *Violence in Colombia, 1990 – 2000. Waging War and Negotiating Peace*. Wilmington, De: Scholarly Resources Inc. (pp. 53-74).
- D. T. Fox, G. Gallón-Giraldo and A. Stetson. 2010. “Lessons of the Colombian Constitutional Reform of 1991”, in Laurel E. Miller (ed.), *Framing the State in Times of Transition. Case Studies in Constitution Making*, Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press (pp.467-482).

- Gabriel Negretto. 2013. *Making Constitutions. Presidents, Parties...*, (Chapter 6: “Constitutional Change as a Response to State Failure: Colombia 1991”), pp. 166-194.

Background Reading:

- John Dugas. 2001. “The Origin, Impact, and Demise of the 1989-1990 Colombian Student Movement: Insights from Social Movement Theory”, *Journal of Latin American Studies* (Volume 33, No. 4).
- M. Pachón. 2010. “Institutional Reform in Colombia: The Via Crucis for Balance between Governance and Representation (1991-2006)”, in M. Tanaka and F. Jácome (eds), *Challenges to Democratic Governance*, IDRC, pp. 39-65; Available at: <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>
- Enrique Desmond Arias and Daniel M. Goldstein (eds.). 2010. *Violent Democracies in Latin America*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press (2 chapters on Colombia).
- L.A. Carroll. 2011. *Violent Democratization: Social Movements, Elites and Politics in Colombia’s Rural War Zones, 1984-2008*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- A.M. Bejarano. 2011. *Precarious Democracies. Understanding Regime Stability and Change in Colombia and Venezuela*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, Chapter 6, sections on Colombia (pp. 216-253).

NOV. 11: PERU (1993) – CONSTITUTION MAKING IN AUTHORITARIAN SETTINGS

Required Reading:

- McClintock, Cynthia. 1994. “Presidents, Messiahs, and Constitutional Breakdowns in Peru” in Juan J. Linz and Arturo Valenzuela (eds.), *The Failure of Presidential Democracy*, Vol. 2, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 286-321.
- Levitsky, Steven and Maxwell Cameron. 2003. “Democracy without Parties? Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori’s Peru”, *Latin American Politics and Society*, 45 (3): 1-33
- Levitt, Barry S. 2012. “Constitutions and Constitutionalism in Peru, 1985-2006”, in *Power in the Balance: Presidents, Parties, and Legislatures in Peru and Beyond*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, Chapter 3 (pp. 43-91).

Background Reading:

- Jo-Marie Burt. 2004. “State Making against Democracy: The Case of Fujimori’s Peru”, in Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri (eds), *Politics in the Andes: Identity, Conflict, Reform*, University of Pittsburgh Press, pp. 247-268.
- Martin Tanaka. 2005. “Peru 1980-2000: Chronicle of a Crisis Foretold?” in F. Hagopian and S. P. Mainwaring (eds.), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 261- 288.
- Jason Seawright. 2012. *Party-System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

NOV. 18: VENEZUELA - RADICAL POPULISM AND DEMOCRACY

Required Reading:

- Miriam Kornblith. 2006. "Sowing Democracy in Venezuela: Advances and Challenges in a Time of Change", in Paul W. Drake and Eric Hershberg (eds.), *State and Society in Conflict: Comparative Perspectives on Andean Crises*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006, pp. 288-314.
- Allan Brewer-Carías. 2010. "The 1999 Venezuelan Constitution Making Process" in L. E. Miller (ed.), *Framing the State in Times of Transition. Case Studies in Constitution Making*, Washington, D.C: United States Institute of Peace Press (pp. 505-531)
- Ricardo Combellas. 2010. "The Venezuela of the Fifth Republic: Political Reform and its Institutional Implications", in M. Tanaka and F. Jácome (eds.), *Challenges to Democratic Governance* IDRC, pp. 123-144; Available at: <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>.
- Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold. 2011. *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, Washington: The Brookings Institute, chapter 2: 14-47.

Background Reading:

- Steve Ellner and Daniel Hellinger (eds.). 2003. *Venezuelan Politics in the Chavez Era. Class, Polarization & Conflict*, Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Ellner, Steve. 2008. *Rethinking Venezuelan Politics. Class, Conflict and the Chavez Phenomenon*, Boulder, Co: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Margarita Lopez Maya. 2011. "Venezuela: Hugo Chavez and the Populist Left", in S. Levitsky and K. Roberts (eds.), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 213-238.

NOV. 25: ECUADOR—SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND CONSTITUENT PROCESSES (1998-2008)

Required Reading:

- Gabriel Negretto. 2013. *Making Constitutions...* ("Constitutional Change as a Remedy for Ungovernability: Ecuador 1998"), pp. 195-222.
- Carlos de la Torre. 2010. "Social Movements and Constituent Processes in Ecuador", in M. Tanaka and F. Jácome, *Challenges to Democratic Governance*, IDRC, pp. 211-238; Available at: <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>.
- Marc Becker. 2011. "Correa, Indigenous Movements, and the Writing of the New Constitution in Ecuador", in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 38, No. 1, pp. 47-62.
- Catherine Conaghan. 2011. "Ecuador: Rafael Correa and the Citizens' Revolution", in S. Levitsky and K. Roberts (eds.), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 260-282.

Background Reading:

- José Antonio Lucero. 2008. *Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes*, Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Marc Becker. 2011. *Pachakutik! Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*, Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Raúl Madrid. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*, Cambridge University Press.

DEC. 2 - BOLIVIA (2006-2009)—TOWARDS A RADICAL DEMOCRACY

Required Reading:

- Fernando Mayorga. 2010. “Bolivia: The Hazardous Path of Political Reform”, in Martín Tanaka and Francine Jácome (eds.), *Challenges to Democratic Governance*, IDRC, pp. 11-38; Available at: <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>
- Robert Albro. 2010. “Confounding Cultural Citizenship and Constitutional Reform in Bolivia”, in *Latin American Perspectives*, May, 37:3, pp. 71-90.
- Nancy Postero. 2010. “The Struggle to Create a Radical Democracy in Bolivia”, in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 45, Special Issue, pp. 59-78.

Background Reading:

- Kent Eaton. 2007. “Backlash in Bolivia: Regional Autonomy as a Reaction against Indigenous Mobilization”, in *Politics and Society*, 35:1, 71.
- Benjamin Kohl. 2010. “Bolivia under Morales: A Work in Progress,” in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 37, No. 3, pp. 107-122. (Browse additional articles in LAP volume 37, Nos. 3 & 4, both devoted to Bolivia).
- Raul Madrid. 2011. “Bolivia: Origins and Policies of the Movimiento al Socialismo”, in S. Levitsky and K. Roberts (eds.), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 239-259.
- Donna Lee Van Cott. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America. The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*, Cambridge University Press.

****Last Week to Submit Second Reading Response****

The final research paper is DUE, in my office, on December 9, 2015 at 5:00 pm at the latest. Double-sided printing is encouraged. No e-mail submissions, please.

***** Please Remember: NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED ****

