

University of Toronto
Political Science Department

POL 442HS/2405: Crisis and Democracy in the Andes

Winter Term 2011

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Class Location and Hours: LA 213, Wed. 2:00 – 4:00 pm

Office Location and Hours: SS 3064, Wed. 10 – 12 am

- ***Overview***

There was a time when courses and textbooks on Latin American politics could get away with introducing students to the politics of Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and sometimes Cuba on the assumption that the political trajectories of these countries—the biggest and/or most noticeable members of the Latin American subcontinent—could be extrapolated from in order to explain events and developments in the rest of the region. Not anymore. The recent outpouring of scholarly work on the Andean countries (Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru and Venezuela) rightfully corrects that overly simplistic view, providing a better perspective on the continent's rich diversity and offering a much-needed understanding of this little known set of cases.

This unprecedented boom of comparative literature on the Andes is more than welcome. And yet, it is sad to note that the sudden interest in Andean politics is not motivated just from genuine intellectual curiosity about an understudied region, but also (and perhaps mainly) from the perception that the region is in deep trouble. “Volatile,” “unstable,” “turbulent”—all these adjectives have been used recently to describe political dynamics in the Andean region of Latin America, seen as resulting from restive societies, weak or failing states, and democracies permanently on the verge of collapse. Are we speaking about a region-wide crisis? Or is it just the temporal coincidence of various different national crises instead? The purpose of this seminar is to assess the nature of the region's crisis as well as to explore a series of institutional reforms that may help getting these democracies out of the gray zone of semi-democratic politics where they seem to have gotten stuck.

- ***Course Format***

This course will be conducted in a **SEMINAR** format. As such, substantial preparation **before** class and active participation in it are not only encouraged but also **EXPECTED**. Your grade will depend, to a large extent, on your contribution to the seminar both in the form of oral presentations, as well as in the form of active participation in class discussions. You are required to do the mandatory readings **BEFORE** class. Read ahead of time, come prepared, and participate!

A seminar consists primarily of student animated discussion of assigned readings. Discussion should aim at ascertaining contrasting propositions and theoretical assumptions in the work of different authors and at assessing the utility of their work in explaining problems on the ground. In reading and discussing articles and books, students will focus on the logic of inquiry,

the research methodology and the structure of the argument. Seminar discussion ought to assess these works in terms of their ability to provide sound, well grounded answers to the questions they raise. From readings and discussion, participants should expect to improve their knowledge of issues and problems of democracy in the Andean region, as well as competing ways of approaching their study.

- ***Course Requirements***

Attendance and Participation (10%) – Active participation in seminar discussions is encouraged and expected. Read, come and participate!

Review Papers (2 @ 10 % each) – Every student needs to submit **two** review essays during the term: one before and one after reading week. You can choose the week/topic and will write a review of the readings assigned for that week. During the first half of the semester, the review essays will concentrate on diagnosing the central problem(s) affecting democracy in one particular country. During the second half, the reviews will look at the options of institutional reform/redesign and will weigh on their ability to address the problems/shortcomings/challenges of democracy in the Andean democracies.

Class Presentations (2 @ 10 % each) – Every student is expected to present the readings and a few discussion points twice during the semester. Presentations and discussions during the first half will focus on the case-studies; and those during the second half will focus on the possibilities of institutional reform. Do not summarize the readings; instead, set the agenda for discussion, 8-10 minutes, polished. A sign-up sheet will be circulated at the first class meeting.

Please Note: **You may write your review papers and do your class presentation on the same date/topic or you may want to do them separately.**

Bibliography (10 %) – On **Wednesday February 16** (just before Reading Week) every student must submit a short two-page bibliography on the country/topic of their choice. This bibliography should complement the list of assigned readings. You will not have read all this literature, necessarily. But you will have conducted a wide enough search for scholarly material (that is, books published by University Presses or articles published in peer-reviewed academic journals) on the country/topic of your choice. **Most of your sources must be recent: that is, works written and published between 2005 and 2010.** You can occasionally include material published before that date, provided that you consider it to be particularly important/illuminating. **Do not include** any material dated before 1990. You will use most of this material in your final paper. Please cite your sources alphabetically (by the author's last name) and use an appropriate citation format.

Short statement and participation in Round Table (10 %) – the last session of the seminar will consist of a round table where we will discuss the promise and the limits of institutional reform/redesign in addressing the problems of democracy in the Andes. Every student needs to submit, **the day before class (that is April 5) at 12:00 noon at the latest**, a short paper (1-2 pages long) summarizing the central argument of their final research paper. Everyone will do a quick

presentation of their statement. Your statement plus the quality of participation in the round table will be worth 10 % of your final grade.

Research Paper (30 %) - Over the course of the semester, every student will write a **research** paper, on a case of their own choosing. The paper will contain a clear diagnosis of the main problems/shortcomings/challenges of democracy in any particular country of the region; the paper will then make the case for a particular set of institutional reforms that may contribute to solving the problem(s) mentioned before. Alternatively, students may argue that no institutional solution will bring about the kinds of change required to solve the particular problem(s) confronted by their case. In any event, students must make a strong enough case for their proposed solution or lack thereof. This paper builds on and incorporates all the previous assignments (review papers, presentations, bibliography, short statement) prepared and submitted to the seminar. It should go well beyond the readings suggested for the course. It will be 15 pages long (at the most), double spaced, 12 point font, and must be submitted one week after our last class meets, that is, on **WEDNESDAY April 13**. Please bring a **hard copy** (no electronic submissions, please!) to my office BEFORE 4:00 PM.

Please Note: NO LATE PAPERS WILL BE ACCEPTED.

- ***Course Policies: Please Read Carefully***

It is the student's responsibility to write and circulate their assignments on time and show up for seminar discussion on the following day. **Excused absences or extensions will be granted ONLY if the student presents written documentation of legitimate circumstances that prevented him/her from attending class or completing the assignment on time.** This documentation must be provided in a timely manner (i.e., within a week). Failure to provide such documentation will result in the student receiving a zero for that day's assignment. Legitimate circumstances include religious holidays, illness (verified by a note from University Health Services), and serious family emergencies. **Please Note:** Pressures that result from overall course load (for students taking more than five full courses) and requirements from other courses (overlap in due dates, simultaneous assignments due on the same week, etc.) DO NOT constitute sufficient reason for rescheduling or extending assignment deadlines or presentations.

If a student wants to appeal an assigned grade, s/he must submit a written statement to the professor explaining why the grade should be changed. Should you have questions or concerns about grades and/or requirements, please come and talk to me during my office hours BEFORE final grades are submitted to the Department.

<p>Make sure you read the "Warning about Plagiarism" included in this outline. Plagiarism is a serious academic offence with a severe penalty.</p>

All written work will be graded according to the following criteria:

- A grade in the 80-100 range is reserved for work that reflects **careful reading of and reflection** on the assigned readings, PLUS **additional research**. It must be **factually accurate, well written**, and offer an **original and persuasive argument**.

- A grade in the 70-80 range is for work that reflects a sound understanding of the assigned readings, and is factually accurate, generally well-written (with only a modest number of grammatical errors), and persuasively argued.
- A grade in the 60-70 range is for work that reflects competent, if superficial, reading of and reflection on the assigned readings, and/or is readable but lacks in clarity, or makes a weak argument.
- A grade in the 50-60 range is for work that reflects a minimal effort put into reading of assigned materials and/or writing of the assignment.
- A grade of 50 or less is for work that fails completely to meet any of the above criteria.

Marking Scheme

<i>Requirement</i>	<i>Due Date</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
1. Attendance and Participation	Entire term	10 %
2. Review Essays	Two per term	20 %
3. Class Presentations	Two per term	20 %
4. Bibliography	Due February 16	10 %
5. Short statement and part. in round table	April 5/6	10 %
6. Final research paper	April 13	30 %

BOOKS RECOMMENDED FOR PURCHASE –available at the University Bookstore

- ~ Jo-Marie Burt and Philip Mauceri (eds.), *Politics in the Andes. Identity, Conflict and Reform*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004. [PA]
- ~ Scott Mainwaring, Ana Maria Bejarano and Eduardo Pizarro (eds.), *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006. [CDR]
- ~ Paul Drake and Eric Hershberg, *State and Society in Conflict. Comparative Perspectives on Andean Crises*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. [SSC]

Plenty of information is available from different sources: the library, current newspapers and magazines, and the internet. An excellent source of information on particular countries is the country profiles/reports prepared by *The Economist Intelligence Unit* - available via the Library's webpage. We will be using these throughout the semester.

For the purpose of the weekly assignments and discussions, you will need to keep up with recent developments and current events in the five countries: so try and get into the habit of reading **a major newspaper or news magazine** regularly. Canadian papers only occasionally carry articles on Latin American politics; you are more likely to find articles on the region in one of the following publications: *The Christian Science Monitor*; *The Los Angeles Times*; *The New York Times*; *The Washington Post*; *The Economist*; *Time*, and *Newsweek*. Check also the BBC News webpage.

- The following Web-sites offer useful data on Latin America:

www.lanic.utexas.edu/la	http://www.iadb.org/
www.undp.org	http://www.eclac.cl/
www.focal.ca	www.oas.org

- The following academic journals will be useful for research purposes:
 1. Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies
 2. Latin American Research Review
 3. Journal of Latin American Studies
 4. Latin American Politics and Society
 5. Latin American Perspectives
 6. NACLA Report on the Americas
 7. Bulletin of Latin American Research
 7. Journal of Democracy
 8. Current History (annual Latin American edition)

- **Use our Library's Resources!**

UofT has one of the best libraries in North-America with a wealth of electronic and non-electronic resources at your disposal. You can enlist the help of Political Science Librarian Jenny Mendelssohn or Latin American Librarian Miguel Torrens in order to further your research.

READING SCHEDULE

*** PLEASE NOTE: *Graduate Students* are expected to supplement the assigned readings with a list of *Recommended Readings* (provided by me), plus a search for additional new sources ***

JAN 12: INTRODUCTION: CRISIS IN THE ANDES, WHAT CRISIS?

- J.M. Burt and P. Mauceri (eds.), "Introduction", in *PA*, pp. 1-14.
- Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, "The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes: An Overview", in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, *CDRA*, pp. 1-44.
- P. Drake and E. Hershberg, "The Crisis of State-Society Relations in the Post-1980s Andes", in Drake and Hershberg, *SSC*, pp. 1-40.
- A.M. Bejarano, "Stuck in the 'Gray-Zone': States, Societies and Democracy in the Andes", in *Canadian Journal of Canadian and Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 62 (2006): 259-274. [DL]

JAN 19: COLOMBIA

- Read the Economist Intelligence Unit "Country Profile" available through electronic resources at the University's Library.
- F. Gutierrez-Sanin and Luisa Ramirez-Rueda, "The Tense Relationship between Democracy and Violence in Colombia, 1974-2001", in J.M. Burt and P. Mauceri, *PA*, Chapter 11, pp. 228-246.
- P. Mauceri, "State, Elites, and the Response to Insurgency. Some Preliminary Comparisons between Colombia and Peru", in Burt and Mauceri, *PA*, chapter 7, pp. 146-163.
- E. Pizarro, "Giants with Feet of Clay: Political Parties in Colombia", in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro (eds.), *CDRA*, chapter 3, pp. 78 - 99.

- Articles by Le Grand, Leal, Bejarano and others in the special issue dedicated to Colombia, *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, 2003, Vol. 28, Nos. 55&56. [DL]

* Note to Graduate Students (and others interested) - *I will provide a list of Additional Recommended Readings.*

JAN 26: VENEZUELA

- Read the Economist Intelligence Unit “Country Profile” available through electronic resources at the University’s Library.
- Margarita López Maya and Luis Lander, “The Struggle for Hegemony in Venezuela”, in Burt and Mauceri, *PA*, chapter 10, pp. 207 – 227.
- Miriam Kornblith, “Sowing Democracy in Venezuela: Advances and Challenges in a Time of Change”, in Drake and Hershberg, *SSC*, chapter 10, pp. 288-314.
- Harold Trinkunas, “The Transformation of Venezuela”, in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 45, No.3, 2010, pp. 239-247.
- S. Levitsky and L. A. Way, “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism”, in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 2002, pp. 51-65. [DL]

* Note to Graduate Students (and others interested) - *I will provide a list of Additional Recommended Readings.*

FEBRUARY 2: ECUADOR

- Read the Economist Intelligence Unit country profile on Ecuador available through electronic resources at the University’s Library.
- Jennifer Collins, “Ecuador’s Indigenous Movement and the Rise of Pachacutik”, in J.M. Burt and P. Mauceri, *PA*, Chapter 1, pp. 38-57.
- Liisa North, “State Building, State Dismantling, and Financial Crises in Ecuador”, in Burt and Mauceri *PA*, Chapter 9, pp: 187-206.
- Simón Pachano, “The Provincialization of Representation”, in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, *CDRA*, chapter 4, pp. 100-131.
- Marc Becker, “Correa, Indigenous Movements and the Writing of a New Constitution in Ecuador”, in *Latin American Perspectives*, Issue 176, Vo. 38, No. 1, January 2011, pp. 47-62 [DL]
- Leon Zamosc, “The Indian Movement and political democracy in Ecuador”, in *Latin American Politics and Society*, 49 (Summer 2007): 1-34 [DL]

* Note to Graduate Students (and others interested) - *I will provide a list of Additional Recommended Readings.*

FEBRUARY 9: PERU

- Read the Economist Intelligence Unit “Country Profile” available through electronic resources at the University’s Library.
- P. Mauceri, “State, Elites, and the Response to Insurgency. Some Preliminary Comparisons between Colombia and Peru”, in Burt and Mauceri, *PA*, chapter 7, pp. 146-163.

- J.M. Burt, “State Making against Democracy. The case of Fujimori’s Peru”, in J.M. Burt and P. Mauceri, *PA*, Chapter 12, pp: 247-268.
- J.M. Burt, “Contesting the Terrain of Politics: State-Society Relations in Urban Peru, 1950-2000”, in Drake and Hershberg, *SSC*, chapter 8, pp. 220-256.
- D. Levine and C. Romero, “Urban Citizen Movements and Disempowerment in Peru and Venezuela”, in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, *CDRA*, chapter 8, pp. 227-256.
- M. Tanaka, “From Crisis to Collapse of the Party System and Dilemmas of Democratic Representation: Peru and Venezuela”, in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, *CDRA*, chapter 2, pp. 47-77.

* Note to Graduate Students (and others interested) - *I will provide a list of Additional Recommended Readings.*

FEB 16: BOLIVIA

- Read the Economist Intelligence Unit “Country Profile” available through electronic resources at the University’s Library.
- Xavier Albó, “Ethnic Identity and Politics in the Central Andes. The cases of Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru”, in Burt and Mauceri, *PA*, chapter 1, pp. 17-37.
- Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, "Chequered Rainbow" in *New Left Review*, September 2005. [DL]
- Laurence Whitehead, “Bolivia and the Viability of Democracy”, in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 12, No. 2, April 2001. [DL].
- Jeffery Webber, `Bolivia in the Era of Evo Morales`, in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 45, No.3, 2010, pp. 248-260.

* Note to Graduate Students (and others interested) - *I will provide a list of Additional Recommended Readings.*

<p><u>READING WEEK: February 21 – 25</u></p>

MARCH 2: EXPLORING INSTITUTIONAL ALTERNATIVES – VARIETIES OF PRESIDENCIALISM

- Readings TBA

MARCH 9: POLITICAL REPRESENTATION: PARTIES AND ELECTIONS

- Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, “The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes: An Overview”, in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, *CDRA*, pp. 1-44
- Brian F. Crisp, “The Nature of Representation in Andean Legislatures and Attempts at Institutional Engineering”, in *CDRA*, chapter 7, pp. 204 – 224.
- S. Mainwaring, “State Deficiencies, Party Competition, and Confidence in Democratic Representation in the Andes”, in *CDRA*, pp. 295-345.

MARCH 16: INCLUSION AND PARTICIPATION

- Look at the data contained in the Toronto Initiative for Economic and Social Rights, available at <http://tiesr.org/index.html>

- UNDP's report on Democracy in Latin America (specific location TBA)
- D. J. Yashar, "Indigenous Politics in the Andes: Changing Patterns of Recognition, Reform and Representation", in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro (eds.) *CDRA*, chapter 9, pp. 257-291; or D.J. Yashar, "Ethnic Politics and Political Instability in the Andes", in Drake and Hershberg, *SSC*, chapter 7, pp. 189-219.
- Donna Lee Van Cott, "Turning Crisis into Opportunity: Achievements of Excluded Groups in the Andes", in Drake and Hershberg, *SSC*, chapter 6, pp. 157-188.
- D. Levine and C. Romero, "Urban Citizen Movements and Disempowerment in Peru and Venezuela", in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, *CDRA*, chapter 8, pp.227-256.

MARCH 23: DESCENTRALIZATION

- K. O'Neill, "Decentralized Politics and Political Outcomes in the Andes", in *CDRA*, chapter 6, pp. 171-203.
- K. Eaton, readings TBA

MARCH 30: CONSTITUTIONALISM AND THE RULE OF LAW

- Negretto, Gabriel. "Political Parties and Institutional Design: Explaining Constitutional Choices in Latin America." *British Journal of Political Science*. Vol. 39: 1. 117-139. Jan. 2009.
- R. Segura and A.M. Bejarano, "Ni una asamblea más sin nosotros! Exclusion, Inclusion, and the Politics of Constitution-Making in the Andes", *Constellations*, Volume 11:2, June 2004 (pp. 217-236).
- A.M. Bejarano and Segura, "Rethinking Constitution Making in Latin America: Insights from the Andes", paper presented at LASA's International Congress, Toronto, October 6-9, 2010.

APRIL 6 – INSTITUTIONAL REFORM: ITS PROMISE AND ITS LIMITS (A ROUND TABLE)

Please Note: Each and every student will present an oral 5 minute statement summarizing the central argument of their term's paper. You will argue for or against institutional reform as the remedy for the challenges faced by Andean democracies. This short presentation will be based on a short statement based on your term's research paper, which will be circulated to the entire class NO LATER THAN 12 NOON ON TUESDAY APRIL 5, 2011 .

TERM PAPERS ARE DUE ON WEDNESDAY APRIL 13 AT 4:00 PM AT THE LATEST IN MY OFFICE. (Hard copies ONLY; no e-mail submissions, please!).

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

Plagiarism is an academic offence with a severe penalty.

It is essential that you understand what plagiarism is and that you do not commit it. 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 give citations when using others' ideas, even if those ideas are paraphrased in your own words. 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. In the Department of Political Science, suspected evidence of plagiarism must be reported to the Chairman.

A faculty member may not mark an assignment or assess a penalty if he or she finds evidence of plagiarism – the matter must be reported. The Chairman, or Dean, will assess the penalty.

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. **Using either quotation marks or reference alone is not sufficient. Both must be used!**
4. Adapting an author's ideas or theme and using it as your own without referencing the original source.
5. Seeking assistance from a friend or family member in respect to work you claim as your own.

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.

Plagiarism is **cheating**. It is a **serious offence** against intellectual honesty and intellectual property. Penalties can be **severe**. At a minimum, a student is likely to receive a "0" mark for the assignment or test in question. But a further penalty is often assessed, such as a further reduction from the course mark or placing a permanent notation of the incident on an academic record.

Some website listed below on avoiding plagiarism:

'How to Use Sources and Avoid Plagiarism' - available at:

<http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html>

and <http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/document.html>

Other Advisory Material available at:

www.utoronto.ca/writing