

University of Toronto

Department of Political Science

**POL442H/2405H – “Crisis and Democracy in the Andes”** (Fall 2012)

**Location:** LA 213    **Time:** Wednesdays, 2:00 – 4:00 pm

**Instructor:** Ana María Bejarano ([ana.bejarano@utoronto.ca](mailto:ana.bejarano@utoronto.ca))

Office: Sid Smith Hall, # 3039

Office Hours: Wednesdays 11:00 – 1:00 pm, or by appointment

**Overview:** “Volatile,” “unstable,” “turbulent”—all these adjectives have been used to describe recent 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. There is of course no use in denying that most Andean nations have confronted critical situations in recent times, nor should we ignore the fact that many of the unwelcome transformations in Andean states and societies have gone hand-in-hand with the boom in the global trade in narcotics. But, are we really speaking about a region-wide crisis? Or is it just the temporal coincidence of various different national crises? The purpose of this seminar is to understand the nature of the region’s crisis as well as to explore a series of institutional reforms that have been tried in order to assess the extent to which they have contributed to deepening democracy in the region. The seminar studies and compares the dynamics of crisis and constitutional change during the past two decades (1991-2011) in the five Andean countries: Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia. It concludes with a reflection on the promise and the limits of institutional change as a remedy for the ailments of this region’s democracies.

**Course Format:** This course will be conducted in **seminar format**. Student participation is not only strongly encouraged, but **expected**. 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 will depend heavily on how prepared students come for each meeting. ***Complete all assigned readings before class, attend all class meetings, and participate actively.***

**Required Readings:** We will be reading major portions of the following books. Should you wish to purchase any of them they will be available at the campus bookstore. They can also be found on reserves at the Library.

- J.M. Burt and P. Mauceri (eds.), *Politics in the Andes. Identity, Conflict and Reform*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2004. [PA]
- S. Mainwaring, A.M. Bejarano and E. Pizarro (eds.), *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006. [CDRA]
- P. Drake and E. Hershberg, *State and Society in Conflict. Comparative Perspectives on Andean Crises*, Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006. [SSC]

- A.M. Bejarano, *Precarious Democracies. Understanding Regime Stability and Change in Colombia and Venezuela*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2011.

To those of you who may be interested in a general overview of politics in Latin America I can recommend the following books as an introduction (even though we will not be reading them for this seminar):

- T. E. Skidmore, P. H. Smith and J. N. Green, *Modern Latin America*, 7th ed., New York: Oxford University Press, 2010 [MLA].
- P. H. Smith, *Democracy in Latin America. Political Change in Comparative Perspective*, Oxford University Press, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 2012. [DLA]

Required readings also include selected journal articles (which you should be able to download [DL] from the Library's electronic journals collection) and occasional book chapters which will be made available electronically via Blackboard.

In addition to the required texts, you are strongly encouraged to **read a major newspaper or news magazine** regularly. I will occasionally bring news stories to your attention for discussion, and I urge you to do the same. (*This will definitely enhance your participation grade*). Canadian papers only occasionally carry articles on Latin America; you are more likely to find pertinent articles in one of the following publications: *The Los Angeles Times*; *The New York Times*; *The Washington Post*; *The Christian Science Monitor*; *The Economist*; *Time*, *Newsweek*, and the *BBC*: [http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/latin\\_america/](http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world/latin_america/)

- The following Web-sites offer useful data on the region:
  - [www.lanic.utexas.edu/la](http://www.lanic.utexas.edu/la)
  - <http://www.iadb.org/>
  - <http://www.thedialogue.org/>
  - <http://www.eclac.cl/>
  - [www.oas.org](http://www.oas.org)
- I also urge you to get into the habit of browsing through some of the following academic journals:
  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

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

UofT has one of the best libraries in North-America, offering a wealth of electronic and non-electronic resources at your disposal. You can enlist the help of Librarian Miguel Torrens ([miguel.torrens@utoronto.ca](mailto:miguel.torrens@utoronto.ca)). You may contact him directly and he will be happy to help with your research.

### **Assignments and Assessment**

1. **Attendance and participation** in class discussions are worth **10 %** of your final grade.

2. Students are required to submit **two** (2) **short reaction papers** during the course of the semester. This is an exercise that should help you prepare to participate in class discussions. You will **choose the weeks and topics** that you want to write about. The only restriction is that you submit **one** (1) **before** October 24 and one on or **after** that date. Your submission should be **no shorter than 300 words** (approximately 1 typed page, double spaced, 12 pt. font) and **no longer than 600 words** (approximately 2 typed pages). Please submit and circulate your paper to the entire class via Blackboard **NO LATER** than **midnight on Tuesday** (that is, the night **before** class). 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)? 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 even something you learned in another class) that you think illuminates or relates in a meaningful way to an issue or problem found in the week's readings.

**Keep in mind** that the reaction paper should contain some of your own thinking; it is not simply a summary or restatement of the author's argument. After writing a reaction paper, you should be prepared to discuss your response with the rest of the class, especially with those presenting on that day. The two reaction paper assignments (**@15 % each**) combined will account for **30 % of your final grade**.

3. **Class Presentation** – (one per term). Students should regard their class presentations 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; please enter your choice in the sign-up list at the beginning of the term\*\*. **The content of your presentation will be based mainly (but not solely) 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. Book A-V equipment a week in advance. Please refer to hand-out on "Grading your Oral Presentations" for expectations and grading criteria. Your class presentations will account for **10 %** of your final grade.

<p>** <b>Note:</b> give me at least a week's advance notice if you <b>NEED</b> to reschedule an oral presentation. <b>If you fail to show up for class on the session when you were scheduled to present, you will get zero (0) as a grade for that assignment.</b> **</p>
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**4. Annotated Bibliography (10 %):** Every student must submit an annotated bibliography (with a minimum of six sources) focused on the obstacles to building full democracies in the Andean region and proposals to remedy their ills and shortcomings. You will not have read all this literature, necessarily. But you will have conducted a search for scholarly material (i.e. books published by University Presses or articles published in peer-reviewed academic journals) and read enough of it to be able to offer some commentary. Preferably, your bibliography will include works written and published between 2006 and 2012. (You may occasionally include material published before that date, provided that you consider it to be particularly important or illuminating). This annotated bibliography is due **in class**, on or before October 31<sup>st</sup>. This is worth **10 %** of your final grade.

**5. Memo and Contribution to Round Table.** During the seminar’s last session we will have a round table on the promise and the limits of institutional reforms as a remedy to the ailments of democracy in the Andean region. On the basis of the readings assigned for that week, and taking into account the entire term’s readings and discussions, each student will write a ONE-PAGE “Reflection Memo” on the following question: to what extent, do you believe, is institutional/constitutional reform the answer to the problems of democracy in the Andean region? You may choose to reflect on the region as a whole, or on one particular case.

**6. Final Take-Home Essay:** Undergraduate students will be asked to submit an essay responding to a question previously circulated by me. This essay will have a maximum of 3,000 words (or 10 pages, double spaced, 12 point font). You may rely on the course’s readings but you are also supposed to do research on your own: at least 50 % of the sources used for this essay must be different from the ones assigned for the course. Cue: rely on your annotated bibliography for this!

**Graduate students** (if willing, undergraduates may choose this option too) will produce a research paper on a topic of their own choosing, related to the course and previously discussed with me. By October 31st, at the latest, together with your annotated bibliography, you should present a research proposal which will identify the main problem or research question, its relevance, and the sources that will be used for answering the question at hand. Your final paper should have a maximum of 6,000 words (or 20 pages, double spaced, 12 point font), including front cover, footnotes/end-notes and list of sources cited.

**Take-Home Final Essays and Research Papers are due in my office, no later than 4:00 pm on Wednesday December 5, 2012.**

**Grading Scheme:**

<i>Requirement</i>	<i>Due Date</i>	<i>Value</i>
1. Attendance and Participation	All sessions	10 %
2. Response Papers (2 x 15%)	Two per term (choose date/topic)	30 %
3. Class presentation	One per term (choose date/topic)	10 %
4. Annotated Bibliography	No later than October 31st	10 %
5. Memo and Contribution to Round Table	Last session (November 28)	10 %
6. Final Essay/Research Paper	December 5, 2012	30%
Total		100

**\*\*\* Please Note: NO LATE PAPERS/EXAMS WILL BE ACCEPTED \*\*\***

*Excused absences or deadline extensions will be granted ONLY if the student presents written documentation of legitimate circumstances preventing him/her from attending class or completing an assignment on time. Documentation (a doctor's or University counsellor's note) must be provided within a week to be accepted.*

Please hand in a hard copy of your work (and keep a copy). No electronic attachments or faxes will be accepted (except for the short reaction papers). The title page should include your name, the course number and the name of the instructor. Be very sparing in your use of direct quotations from authors. You should be able to paraphrase and summarize the key arguments of authors in your own words, while always being very careful about citing all your sources properly.

*Honesty, trust, fairness, respect and responsibility are essential to the intellectual life of the University. Plagiarism is a serious offence which merits a **severe penalty**.*

**\*\* 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.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students>](http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/osai/students)

## **Reading and Discussion Schedule<sup>1</sup>:**

**\*\* 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 \*\*

### **I – CRISIS IN THE ANDES**

#### **SEPT. 12 – Class introduction and Organization (no readings)**

- Read this syllabus and become acquainted with it.
- Discuss the notion of the “Andean region”: is there an “Andean” region? Who belongs in it?

#### **SEPT. 19 – Crisis in the Andes: What Crisis?**

Discuss various interpretations of the “crisis” in the Andean region. Is it a regional crisis? Or is it, rather, the coincidence of various different and simultaneous national crises? What are the main symptoms of the crisis? What are its main causes?

- J.M. Burt and P. Mauceri (eds.), “Introduction”, in *PA*, pp. 1-14.
- 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]

#### **SEPT. 26 – Weak or Failed States?**

- Take a look at the Index of State Weakness in the Developing World: <http://www.brookings.edu/research/reports/2008/02/weak-states-index>
- Robert I. Rotberg, “Failed States, Collapsed States, Weak States: Causes and Indicators”, available at: <http://wilsoncenter.net/sites/default/files/Failed%20States,%20Collapsed%20States,%20Weak%20States-%20Causes%20and%20Indicators.pdf>
- J. Adelman, “Unfinished States: Historical Perspectives on the Andes”, in Drake and Hershberg, *SSC*, chapter 2, pp. 41-73.
- S. Mainwaring, “State Deficiencies, Party Competition, and Confidence in Democratic Representation in the Andes”, in *CDRA*, pp. 295-345.

#### **OCT. 3 – Divided Societies: the Question of Social and Ethnic Exclusion**

- Background info: take a look at the UNDP’s Human Development Index (<http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/>)
- J. Sheahan, “The Andean Economies: Questions of Poverty, Growth and Equity”, in Drake and Hershberg, *SSC*, chapter 4, pp. 99-133.

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<sup>1</sup> **Please Note:** I reserve the right to make changes and additions to the reading list during the course of the semester provided that I let students know of these changes at least one week in advance.

- Deborah Yashar, “Indigenous Politics in the Andes: Changing Patterns of Recognition, Reform and Representation”, in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, *CDRA*, chapter 9, pp. 257-291.
- D.L. Van Cott, “Turning Crisis into Opportunity: Achievements of Excluded Groups in the Andes”, in Drake and Hershberg, *SSC*, chapter 6, pp. 157-188.

### **OCT. 10 – Fragile or Failing Democracies?**

- Background info: UNDP’s report on Democracy in Latin America (2004).
- Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro, “The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes: An Overview”, in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro (eds), *CDRA*, pp. 1-44.
- Maxwell Cameron, “The state of democracy in the Andes. Introduction to a Thematic Issue of Revista de Ciencia Política”, Vol. 30, No.1, 2010, pp. 5-20.  
[http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0718-090X2010000100002&script=sci\\_arttext](http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S0718-090X2010000100002&script=sci_arttext)
- M. Tanaka y S. Vera. 2010. “Between Elitist Democracy and Authoritarian Personalisms: Institutional Reforms and Democratic Governance in the Andean Region”, in M. Tanaka y F. Jácome (eds.), *Challenges to Democratic Governance. Political and Institutional Reforms and Social Movements in the Andean Region [CDG]*, IEP-INVESP-IDRC (electronic version) pp. 291-310, available at: <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>

### **OCT. 17 – Writing and Re-Writing Constitutions**

- I. P. Stotsky (ed.), *Transition to Democracy in Latin America. The Role of the Judiciary*, Westview Press, 1993 (chapters TBA).
- G. Negretto, “Replacing and Amending Constitutions: The Logic of Constitutional Change in Latin America”, *Law & Society Review*, Spring 2013 (electronic version).
- Additional reading TBA

## **II – CASE STUDIES AND CONCLUSION**

### **OCT. 24 – Colombia**

- A.M. Bejarano, “*Precarious Democracies*”, sections on Colombia, esp. chapter 6.
- A.M. Bejarano, “Placing the 1991 Constitution in Time: Colombia’s Long Road to Democratization,” paper presented at the American Political Science Association APSA Annual Meeting, Philadelphia, August 31, 2006 (electronic version).
- M. Pachón, “Institutional Reform in Colombia: The Via Crucis for Balance between Governance and Representation (1991-2006)”, in M. Tanaka y F. Jácome (eds.), *CDG*, pp. 39-65, available at:  
<http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>

### **OCT. 31 – Venezuela**

- A.M. Bejarano, *Precarious Democracies*, sections on Venezuela, esp. chapter 6.
- Ricardo Combellas, “The Venezuela of the Fifth Republic: Political Reform and its

Institutional Implications”, in M. Tanaka and F. Jácome (eds), *CDG*, pp. 123-144, <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>

- Additional Reading TBA

#### **NOV. 7 - Ecuador**

- S. Pachano, “Ecuador: the Provincialization of Representation”, in Mainwaring, Bejarano and Pizarro (eds), *CDRA*, pp. 100-130.
- C. de la Torre, “Social Movements and Constituent Processes in Ecuador” in M. Tanaka and F. Jácome (eds.), *CDG*, pp. 245-276, <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>
- M. Becker, “Correa, Indigenous Movements, and the Writing of the New Constitution in Ecuador”, *Latin American Perspectives*, 38.1 (2011): 47-62 [DL].

#### **NOV. 14 – Bolivia**

- F. Mayorga, “Bolivia: The Hazardous Path of Political Reform”, in M. Tanaka and F. Jácome (eds), *CDG*, pp.11-37, available at: <http://idl-bnc.idrc.ca/dspace/bitstream/10625/46499/1/133026.pdf>
- Benjamin Kohl, “Bolivia under Morales: a Work in Progress”, in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (2010), pp. 107-122 (read as many articles as you can from *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 37, Issues 3 and 4, both dedicated to Bolivia). [DL]
- Nancy Postero, “The struggle to Create a Radical Democracy in Bolivia”, *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 45, Special Issue, 2010, pp. 59-78. [DL]

#### **NOV. 21 - Perú**

- Martin Tanaka, “Peru: 1980-2000. Chronicle of a Death Foretold? ”, in F. Hagopian and S. Mainwaring (eds.), *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge University Press.
- Jo-Marie Burt, “State Making against Democracy: the Case of Fujimori’s Peru”, in Burt and Mauceri (eds.), *PA*, pp. 247-267.
- Additional reading TBA.

#### **NOV. 28 – Constitutional Change: its Promise and its Limits (ROUND TABLE)**

- G. Negretto, “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, “The Politics of Re-Writing Constitutions in the Andes”, forthcoming in *Latin American Politics and Society* (electronic version).
- Additional Reading TBA.

#### **Take-Home Essays and Research Papers Due:**

**Wednesday December 5 at 4:00 pm (at the latest!) IN MY OFFICE (# 3039 Sid Smith).**