

Syllabus for GOVT 286
Transitions to democracy in Southern Europe and Latin America
Professor: Gemma Sala

E-mail: gsala@wesleyan.edu

Phone: 860-658-3459

Office: PAC 220

Office hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays from 11AM to 12PM, by appointment

Place and time: JUDD; Tuesdays and Thursdays 9AM to 10:30 PM

Course description: This course will investigate the so-called “third wave” of transitions to democracy, as it played itself out in Southern Europe and in a variety of Latin American countries. The course begins with an examination of a general theoretical framework for transitions to democracy, including the analysis of minimal democratic standards, factors that facilitate or hamper democratization processes, types of non-democratic regimes and their role in shaping the process towards democracy and the main debates regarding patterns of transition. It then looks into the particular experiences of several countries of the “third wave”, focusing on the role of political actors (such as elites, labor movements, or the military), the institutional choices made in different countries and their effect in the consolidation of democracy (such as parliamentarism, presidentialism, electoral systems, political parties and courts), as well as the role of economic growth as a condition to democracy, and the causes of democratic erosion in specific Latin American settings. The specific cases of transition to democracy that are covered in the course include Spain, Portugal, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, Nicaragua, Venezuela, Bolivia and El Salvador.

Course requirements: There are no specific requirements to take this course.

The format of the course is lecture-discussion. Tuesday sessions are planned as lectures, and Thursday sessions will focus on discussion of assigned materials. In order to facilitate discussion, students are required to write a one-page response to the readings each week and post it by Wednesday night on the course’s blackboard. **Class participation** accounts for 30% of the student’s final grade.

In addition, students will write **two essays** addressing questions provided by the professor. Essays will be 6 to 8 pages in length and are due on the dates specified below. Each essay is worth 20% of the grade.

Finally, there will be an in-class **final exam** at the end of the semester. It will account for the remaining 30% of the course's grade.

Course materials: All reading materials will be posted on-line (ERes) at least one week before the assigned date. There will also be a copy of each week's readings on reserve in the library.

Session 1. Thursday, January 25: Introduction

Philippe Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl (1991) "What Democracy is... and is not"
Journal of Democracy 2, n. 3, pp. 75-87

Samuel Huntington (1991) "Democracy's Third Wave", Journal of Democracy 2

Session 2. Tuesday, Tuesday 30: How does democracy come around?

Seymour Martin Lipset (1959) "Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic development and Political Legitimacy" in *American Political Science Review* (march 1959), pp. 1-18

Valenzuela J.S. and Valenzuela A. (1978) "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the study of Latin American Underdevelopment" *Comparative Politics* 10, 4: 535-552.

Session 3. Thursday, February 1

E. Huber, D. Rueschemeyer and J.D. Stephens (1993) "The Impact of Economic Development on Democracy" in *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 7, n. 3, pp. 71-85.

Session 4. Tuesday, February 6. Transitology

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996) "Democracy and Its Arenas" in Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation. Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 3-15

Adam Przeworski (1992) "Games of Transition" in S. Mainwaring, G. O'Donnell and A. Valenzuela, *Issues in Democratic consolidation*. Notre Dame University Press.

Session 5. Thursday, February 8

Karen Remmer (1995) "New Theoretical Perspectives on Democratization" in *Comparative Politics* 28, n. 1, pp. 103-119.

Session 6. Tuesday, February 13. Types of non-democratic regimes in Southern Europe and Latin America

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996) "Modern Non-democratic Regimes" in *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 38-54

Session 7. Thursday, February 15

O'Donnel, Guillermo (1973) *Modernization and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism*. Institute of International Studies. UC Berkeley, pp. 53-114.

Remmer K. and Merckx GW (1982) "Bureaucratic Authoritarianism Revisited" in *Latin American Research Review* 17, n. 2, pp. 3-36.

Session 8. Tuesday, February 20. Transition paths

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996) "The implications of prior regime type for transition paths and Consolidation Tasks" in *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 55-65

Session 9. Thursday, February 22

Stephan Haggard and Robert Kaufman (1995) *The political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton University Press, pp. 3-83 and 109-193.

Session 10. Tuesday, February 27. Democratization and political elites in Spain and Portugal

Richard Gunther (1992) "Spain: The very model of the modern elite settlement" in John Higley et al. eds. *Elites and Democratic consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 38-80.

Session 11. Thursday, March 1.

Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan (1996) "The paradigmatic case of reforma pactada-ruptura pactada: Spain" and "From Interim Government to simultaneous Transition and consolidation" in *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 88-129.

Session 12. Tuesday March 6. The role of the military

Felipe Agüero (1995) "Democratic consolidation and the military in Southern Europe and South America" in Richard Gunther et al. *The Politics of Democratic Consolidation: Southern Europe in Comparative Perspective*. Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 124-166.

Session 13. Thursday March 8.

Civil-Military Relations in Argentina, Brazil, and Chile: Present Trends, Future Prospects—*W. Hunter*. In Agüero's Fault lines

Session 14. Tuesday, March 27. Regime change and democratic consolidation

P.N. Diamandouros (1997) "Southern Europe: a third Wave Success Story" in Larry Diamond et al. eds. *Consolidating third wave Democracies*. Johns Hopkins University Press, pp.

Felipe Agüero (1998) "Conflicting Assessments of Democratization: Assessing the Fault Lines" in F. Agüero and Stark: *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*

Session 15. Thursday, March 29

Frances Hagopian, "After Regime Change: Authoritarian Legacies, Political Representation, and the Democratic Future of South America, *World Politics* Volume 45, April 1993.

Session 16. Tuesday, April 3. Presidentialism v. Parliamentarism

Juan J. Linz (1990) "The perils of Presidentialism" in *Journal of Democracy* 1

Session 17. Thursday, April 5.

Jose Antonio Cheibub et al. (2004) "Government Coalition and Legislative Success Under Presidentialism and Parliamentarism" in *British Journal of Political Science* 34: 565-587

Valenzuela A. (2004) "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted" *Journal of Democracy* 15, n. 4, pp. 5-19

Session 18. Tuesday April 10. Party systems and legislatures

Guillermo O'Donnell (1998) "Horizontal Accountability in New Democracies" *Journal of Democracy*

Kenneth M. Roberts and Erik Wibbels (1999) "Party systems and Electoral volatility in Latin America: A test of Economic, institutional and structural explanations" in *American Political Science Review* 93, 3, 575-590.

Session 19. Thursday, April 12.

Beatriz Magaloni (2005) The Demise of Mexico's One-Party Dominant regime: Elite choices and the Masses in the Establishment of Democracy" in *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press, p. 121-147.

Roberts, Kenneth M. (1995) "Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case" *World Politics* 48, Number 1, pp. 82-116

Session 20. Tuesday April 17. The extent of judicial independence in Latin America

Helmke, G. (2002) "The Logic of Strategic Defection: Court-Executive relations in Argentina under Dictatorship and Democracy", *American Political Science Review* 96, 2: 291-303.

Session 21. Thursday April 19.

Julio Rios Figueroa (2007) "The emergence of an independent judiciary in Mexico 1994-2002" Forthcoming in *Latin American Politics and Society*. Find it at:
http://homepages.nyu.edu/~jrf246/Papers/SupremeCourt_JRF_LAPS.pdf

Session 22. Tuesday, April 24. Democratization and economic growth

Przeworsky, J.A. Cheibub, M. E. Alvarez, F. Limongi (2000) "Political Instability and Economic Growth" in *Democracy and Development: Political Institutions and Material Well being in the World, 1959-1990*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 187-215.

Session 23. Thursday, April 26.

Markus Kutz (2004) The dilemmas of democracy in the open economy: Lessons from Latin America" *World Politics* 56, 2.

Steven Levitsky (2005) "Argentina: Democratic Survival amidst Economic Failure" in *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press, p. 63-90

Session 24. Tuesday, May 1. Democratic erosion

R. A. Mayorga (2005) "Bolivia's democracy at the crossroads" in F. Hagopian and S. Mainwaring eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 149-178.

Elisabeth J. Wood (2005) "Challenges to Political Democracy in El Salvador" in F. Hagopian and S. Mainwaring eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 179-201.

Session 25. Thursday, May 3

Michael Coppedge (2005) "Explaining Democratic Deterioration in Venezuela though nested inference" in F. Hagopian and S. Mainwaring eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press, pp. 289-318.

Session 26. Tuesday, May 8. What have we learned?

Huntington Samuel (1997) "After 20 years: The future of the third wave", *Journal of Democracy* 8, 4, 3-12