PS134AA: COMPARATIVE POLITICS OF LATIN AMERICA, or DEMOCRATIZATION IN LATIN AMERICA

Spring 2004
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Mar 29: Introduction/Concepts of Democracy
Apr 05: Cycles and Transitions
Apr 12: Changing Roles of Military
Apr 19: Presidential Systems and Electoral Institutions
Apr 26: Parties and Legislatures
May 03: Economic Policies and Governmental Performance
May 10: Who’s In, Who’s Out/what’s In, What’s Out
May 17: The People’s Verdict
May 24: What Now?
EXAMS AND ASSIGNMENTS

Mid-term: Monday, May 3 (33% of grade)

Final: Monday, June 7 (67% of grade)

Optional paper: Monday, May 17 (30% of course grade, reducing mid-term to 20% and final to 50%)
Smith, *Democracy*, chs. 1-2, 4

Degregori, “Peru: The Vanishing of a Regime and the Challenge of Democratic Rebuilding”

Aguero, “Chile: Unfinished Transition and Increased Political Competition”
CYCLES AND TRANSITIONS

1. Lecture

2. Discussion of Readings

3. Video (Chile)
PRINCIPLES OF DEMOCRACY

Participation, such that no substantial segment of the population is excluded from the effective pursuit of political power

Competition, such that there are free, fair, and regular contests for gaining support from the populace

Accountability, such that political rulers and elected representatives serve as “agents” of their constituents and must justify their actions and decisions in order to remain in office.
INSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES

1. Freedom to form and join organizations
2. Freedom of expression
3. The right to vote
4. Eligibility for public office
5. The right of political leaders to compete for support and votes
6. Alternative sources of information
7. Free and fair elections
8. Institutions for making government policies depend on elections and other expressions of popular preference.
TWO KEY DIMENSIONS

• Elections
  Items 3-5, 7-8

• Rights
  Items 1-2, 6

• Question: What if they don’t go together?
CATEGORIES OF ELECTORAL REGIMES

Electoral democracy = free and fair elections

Semi-democracy = elections free but not fair; or, effective power not vested in winner of elections

Competitive oligarchy = candidates restricted to socio-economic elite and suffrage restricted to minority of population

Autocracy/authoritarianism = no elections, or elections neither Free not fair.
Figure 1. Cycles of Political Change in Latin America, 1900-2000
Figure 12-1. Cycles of Political Change in Latin America, by Population, 1900-2000

The chart illustrates the percentage of regional population in different political systems over the years from 1900 to 2000. The x-axis represents the year, while the y-axis shows the percentage of the regional population. The chart is divided into three categories: Semi-Democracy, Oligarchy, and Democracy. The data shows fluctuations in the percentages over time, with peaks and troughs indicating changes in political systems.
Figure 4. Cycles of Political Change by Region: South America, 1900-2000
Figure 5. Cycles of Political Change by Region:
Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean, 1900-2000
Figure 1-3. The Path of Democratic Change
Table 1-1 (modified).
Historical Experience with Electoral Democracy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Experience Level</th>
<th>Count</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 prior experience</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-3 prior experiences</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0 prior experiences</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 1-3 (modified).
Regime Stability and Electoral Democracy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Democracy</th>
<th>Instability</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt;40</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
DETERMINANTS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS: DOMESTIC FACTORS

1. Economic Development

2. Social Forces/Class Coalitions

3. Elite Negotiations and “Compacts”
DETERMINANTS OF DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS: INTERNATIONAL FACTORS

1. Imperialism and Democracy

2. Anti-Communist Crusades

3. Optimism and Uncertainty: The 1990s

4. Postscript: 9/11 and Its Aftermath
Degregori, “Peru: Vanishing of a Regime”

**Phase 1: Outsider within a Democratic Framework (1990-1992)**

June 1990: Fujimori elected president
Implosion of political parties
Focus on hyperinflation and terrorism
April 1992: autogolpe
September 1992: capture of Abimael Guzmán

**Phase 2: Authoritarianism Triumphant (1993-1996)**

October 1993: ratification of new constitution
April 1995: Fujimori re-elected
Inattention to institutionalization (e.g., PRI)
Weaknesses: nontransferable charisma, militarization of politics, lack of transparency

Exposure of Vladimir Montesinos
December 1996: Seizure of Japanese ambassador’s residence
Surge of popular dissidence
Intimidation of media
Appearance of new players: OAS mission and Alejandro Toledo
Resistance and eventual collapse

And Now?
Agüero, “Chile: Unfinished Transition”

Uneven progress in 1990s:

1. Steady progress on economy
2. Occasional achievements in governance and public policy
3. Lag in “political-institutional” realm—inability to bring transition to an end

Argument: authoritarian legacy and manner of transition have had greater effects on Chile than in other countries of the region.
Ending the Transition? Competing Concepts

1. Constitutional reform
2. Resolution of human rights problems


Decline in Concertación vote (presidential elections):

- 1989 55.2 %
- 1993 58.0
- 1999 48.0 [first round]
- 2000 51.3 [second round]