

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IR / 768 Reform of the State: Political and Institutional Reforms in Latin
America
IRB 102
Syllabus
Fall 2007

Professor Carlos Blanco
Tuesdays / Thursdays 3:30 pm – 5:00 pm

Introduction

The objective of this course is to enhance understanding of the political and institutional reforms that were developed in Latin America over the last two decades in order to improve democracy and advance state capacity to respond to social needs.

In the 1980s electoral democracy spread throughout Latin America. The commitment of enthusiastic citizens to freedom and openness, after many years of military rule, brought a sensation of new stability in an historically turbulent region. Nevertheless, in a short time, economic crisis appeared and many governments had to take strong economic medicines like those proposed by the Washington Consensus. The economic crisis and the policies pursued to overcome it, in the context of a sharp deterioration of social conditions, provoked major challenges for the political system.

These new Latin American democracies initiated economic reforms but also, over time, produced a progressive erosion in citizen support for the democratic political systems themselves. This did not mean, however, that people favored authoritarianism over democracy. Instead, they tended to blame political parties and politicians, who came to be seen as corrupt elites at odds with common people.

In this context, demands for political renovation, either peaceful or violent, came from civil society, both from political parties' constituencies and from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs). The elected governments of some countries responded to these demands by carrying out economic reforms. However, in many cases such reforms, far from satisfying citizen concerns, simply fueled more protests and demands, and forced more comprehensive approaches to political and institutional change.

In the late 1980s, Reform of the State offered one such approach to respond to Latin American "democratic fatigue". State Reform was not opposed to economic policy adjustments but proposed a much broader agenda, one that conceived of simultaneous changes in both political and institutional realms, without which

economic reforms in themselves were not realistic. The Reform of the State envisioned empowerment of people to overcome “democratic fatigue” and proposed that centralized power should be decentralized in order to maximize social participation. This approach required not only expanding the horizon of reforms but also a profound modification of the very core of what that reform was.

The Reform of the State was seen as a process of *redistribution of political power* in societies, both vertically, from top to bottom, and horizontally, from the center where it was concentrated to the periphery; i.e., to states, departments or provinces. Even the apparently “non-political” renovations within Public Administration realms were condemned to perish in technicalities, if they had not been considered as part of broader political processes. Many issues emerged within the wave of political and institutional reforms. Some succeeded while others did not. The main fields were political reforms (political parties and electoral systems), decentralization, civil society participation, public administration reform, judiciary and parliamentary reforms, and public policy reforms (economic and social policies, among others).

This course studies the weaknesses of Latin American democracy and how in many countries the Reform of the State was taken on as the main goal in order to invigorate the political system. This process will be illustrated with some cases that show how demanding reforms are, and how results cannot always be guaranteed.

PLAGIARISM: WHAT IT IS AND HOW TO RECOGNIZE AND AVOID IT

“What is Plagiarism and Why is it Important?”

In college courses, we are continually engaged with other people’s ideas: we read them in texts, hear them in lecture, discuss them in class, and incorporate them into our own writing. As a result, it is very important that we give credit where it is due. Plagiarism is using others’ ideas and words without clearly acknowledging the source of that information.

How Can Students Avoid Plagiarism?

To avoid plagiarism, you must give credit whenever you use:

- another person’s idea, opinion, or theory;
- any facts, statistics, graphs, drawings—any pieces of information—that are not common knowledge;
- quotations of another person’s actual spoken or written words; or
- paraphrase of another person’s written or spoken words.”

The above quotation is taken from a website of the Writing Tutorial Services of Indiana University. For information about how to recognize unacceptable and acceptable paraphrases, strategies for avoiding plagiarism, and a discussion of what common knowledge consists of, please see www.indiana.edu/~wts/pamphlets/plagiarism.shtml

Plagiarism Will Not Be Tolerated at Boston University

Since plagiarism is a form of theft (in this case, theft of ideas or words), it is not tolerated in this university and is punished very severely by the Dean's Office of the College of Arts and Sciences. Please be certain that you understand exactly what plagiarism is and how to avoid it.

Grading

1. Two research papers (25 % each) to be selected from one of the following topics:
 - a. The key factors determining “democratic fatigue” in Latin America.
 - b. Diagnoses and proposals for political parties’ reform.
 - c. Transformation implied by decentralization. Consequences for central governments.
 - d. Civil Society participation. Is Civil society participation possible on a permanent basis? Relations and problems with political parties.
 - e. Political obstacles for Public Administration reform.
2. Attendance and Participation (20 %). The course will operate as a seminar with short presentations and discussions on readings and papers.
3. Final Exam (30%)

Classes, Topics and Reading Assignments

TU September 4 Introduction

TH September 6 Problems of Democracy in Latin America

Wilson Center 2 (3 - 50) (Reserve / Online)

UNDP (25 – 73) (Online)

Dominguez / Shifter (Dominguez: 351 – 381) (Reserve / Online)

TU September 11 Discussion: Problems of Democracy in Latin America

TH September 13 “Democracy and its Discontents”
UNDP (131 – 147 / 75 - 129) (Online)
Valenzuela (5 – 19) (Reserve/Online)
Grindle (147 - 179)
Dominguez / Lowenthal (3 – 98)

TU September 18 [Video: The Take \(25348\) / 87 minutes](#)

TH September 20 Scopes and Limits of the Economic Reform
Kuczynski / Williamson (1-71) (Reserve)
Peeler (131 – 167) (Reserve)

TU September 25: [Video: The Garden of Forking Paths: Dilemmas of National Development \(21389\)](#)

TH September 27: Discussion: Scopes and Limits of the Economic Reform

TU October 2 The Reform of the State

Grindle (1 – 36 / 180 - 196)

IADB – Jarquin, Edmundo - Modernization of the State -
Strategy Document (1 – 44) (Reserve/Online)

Dominguez / Lowenthal (III: 3 – 41)

Aguero / Stark (Lechner: 21 – 36) (Reserve)

- TH October 4 [Video: Commanding Heights Pt 2 – The Agony of Reform \(17559\)](#)
- THU October 11 Destabilizing factors: unemployment and inequality
Stallings & Peres (1-16, 110-152, 202-223) (Reserve)
- TU October 16 [Video: Video: Commanding Heights Pt 3 – The New Rules of the Game \(13691\)](#)
- THU October 18 The Reform of the State in Venezuela
(First research paper due at the start of class)
Ottaway (71 – 90) (Reserve)
Grindle (37 – 93)
- TU October 23 Discussion: The Reform of the State in Venezuela
- THU October 25 Reform of Political Parties I

Aguero / Stark (Hagopian: 99 – 128) (Reserve)

Wilson Center 1995 (Martz 31 – 51) (Reserve)

Levitsky / Cameron (1 – 34) (Reserve / Online)

TU October 30

Reform of Political Parties II

Burgess / Levitsky (881 – 911) (Reserve / Online)

Trinkunas (1 – 38) (Reserve)

THU November 1

Discussion: Reform of Political Parties

TU November 6

Decentralization I

Campbell - The Quiet Revolution 03 (3 – 75)

Campbell - Leadership and Innovation in Sub national
Government 04 (11 – 52) (Reserve)

THU November 8

Decentralization II

Campbell - Leadership and Innovation in Sub national
Government 04 (433 – 448) (Reserve)

Diamond (117 – 160)

Falleti (1 – 42) (Reserve / Online)

IADB / Antonio Vives - Sub national Development Strategy -
(9 – 19) (Reserve / Online)

- TU November 13 Discussion: Decentralization
- THU November 15 Popular Participation I
Aguero / Stark (Varas: 145 – 163) (Reserve)
Grindle (94 – 146)
Campbell - The Quiet Revolution 03 (79 – 118)
(Second research paper due at the start of class)
- TU November 20 [Video: Cleaning Up Corruption \(10819\)](#)
- THU November 22 **FALL RECESS**
- TU November 27 Popular Participation II
Irela (9 – 30) (Reserve)
Diamond (218 – 260)
- THU November 29 Public Administration Reform I
Bresser - The 1995 Public Management Reform in Brazil 2003
(89 -109) (Online / Reserve)
Bresser - Practical Principles for Public Administration
2005 (1 - 8) (Online / Reserve)
Echebarría (1 – 7) (Online)

Clad (44 – 58) (Online)

Pardo (1 – 6) (Online)

TU December 4 Public Administration Reform II

Bresser 2 - Democracy and Public Management Reform:
Building the Republican State 2004 (172 – 200) (Reserve)

THU December 6 Discussion: Public Administration Reform

TU December 11 Democracy and Reforms

Grindle (197 – 218)

Campbell - The Quiet Revolution 03 (145 – 161)

Naim (115 – 154) (Reserve)

O'Donnell (1-26) (Online)

Readings

Required Books

Democracy in Latin America
Towards a Citizens' Democracy / UNDP, 2004 in
<http://democracia.undp.org/Informe/Default.asp?Menu=15&Idioma=1>

Audacious Reforms
Institutional Invention and Democracy in Latin America
Merilee S. Grindle
The John Hopkins University Press, 2000

Developing Democracy

Toward Consolidation
Larry Diamond
The John Hopkins University Press, 1999

Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America
South America in the 1990s
by Jorge I. Dominguez (Editor), Abraham F. Lowenthal (Editor)
The John Hopkins University Press, 1996

The Quiet Revolution
Decentralization and the Rise of Political Participation in Latin American Cities
Tim Campbell
University of Pittsburgh Press, 2003

Chapters in Texts / Articles

Growth, Employment and Equity
Barbara Stallings & Wilson Peres
United Nations – Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean /
Brookings Institution Press, Washington, D.C., 2000

Building Democracy in Latin America
John Peeler
Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004

After the Washington Consensus
Pedro Pablo Kuczynski and John Williamson
Institute for International Economics
Washington D.C., 2003

Leadership and Innovation in Sub national Government
Cases Studies from Latin America
Tim Campbell / Harald Fuhr
WBI Development Studies, 2004

Democracy Challenged
The Rise of Semi-Authoritarianism
Marina Ottaway
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2003

Democracy and Public Management Reform: Building the Republican State
by Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira
Oxford University Press, 2004

The 1995 Public Management Reform in Brazil Reflections of a Reformer
By Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira - in Ben Ross Schneider and Blanca Heredia, eds.
Reinventing Leviathan. Miami: North-South Center Press, 2003: 89-109 and in
http://www.bresserpereira.org.br/ver_file.asp?id=501
<http://www.bresserpereira.org.br/papers/2003/93.RefletionsOfAReformer.pdf>

Practical Principles for Public Administration
By Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira
Communication to the Fourth Annual Meeting of the Committee of Experts on Public
Administration, of the Economic and Social Council (Ecosoc), of the United Nations.
New York, April 6, 2005 in
<http://www.bresserpereira.org.br/Works/SmallPapers/9.PrinciplesPublicAdministration-UN.pdf>

Paper Tigers & Minotaurs
The Politics of Venezuela's Economic Reforms
Moises Naim
Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1993

A Sequential Theory of Decentralization and Its Effects On
The Intergovernmental Balance Of Power: Latin American
Cases in Comparative Perspective
Tulia G. Falletti
Working Paper # 314 - July 2004
http://www.polisci.upenn.edu/faculty/bios/Pubs/Falletti_E5_APSR05.pdf

The Relationship between Election Quality and Democratic Legitimacy – Venezuela
1988 – 2000
Harold A. Trinkunas

Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America
Taking Stock of the 1990s
by Jorge I. Dominguez (Editor), Michael Shifter (Editor)
http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~jidoming/images/jid_constructing.pdf

Sub national Development Strategy
Inter American Development Bank (IADB)
Sustainable Development Department
Social Programs Division 2000 in
<http://idbdocs.iadb.org/wsdocs/getdocument.aspx?docnum=351872>

Modernization of the State

Strategy Document

Inter-American Development Bank (IADB)

Washington, D.C.

July 2003

<http://enet.iadb.org/idbdocswebservices/idbdocsInternet/IADBPUBLICDOC.aspx?docnum=351346>

Democracy without Parties?

Political Parties and Regime Collapse in Fujimori's Peru

Steve Levitsky / Maxwell A. Cameron in

<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~levitsky/researchpapers/democracy-without.pdf>

Delegative Democracy?

Guillermo O'Donnell

Kellogg Institute Working Paper # 192 (April 1993)

in <http://www.nd.edu/~kellogg/publications/workingpapers/WPS/192.pdf>

Explaining Populist Party Adaptation in Latin America

Environmental and Organizational

Determinants of Party Change in

Argentina, Mexico, Peru, and Venezuela

Katrina Burgess

Steven Levitsky

In *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 36 No. 8, October 2003 p. 881-911

<http://www.people.fas.harvard.edu/~levitsky/researchpapers/explaining-populist.pdf>

Lessons of the Venezuelan Experience

Edited by Louis W. Goodman, Johanna Mendelson Forman, Moisés Naím, Joseph S.

Tulchin and Gary Bland

Wilson Center Press 1995

The Crisis of Democratic Governance in the Andes

Woodrow Wilson Center Reports on the Americas • #2

Edited by Cynthia Arnson in

<http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/Crisis%20Dem%20Gov%20Rpt%20on%20Amer%202.pdf>

Latin American Presidencies Interrupted

Arturo Valenzuela

In *Journal of Democracy*

Volume 15, Number 4, October 2004

<http://www.journalofdemocracy.org/articles/gratis/Valenzuela-15-4.pdf>

Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America
by Felipe Aguero (Editor), Jeffrey Stark (Editor)
North-South Center Press at the University of Miami, 1998

Civil Society in Latin America and the Caribbean
Report prepared by the Institute for European-Latin American Relations
(IRELA) and commissioned by the European Economic
and Social Committee (ESC)

Koldo Echebarría - Government Modernization and Civil Service Reform:
Democratic Strengthening, Consolidation of the Rule Of Law, And Public Policy
Effectiveness – IADB, 2001 en <http://www.iadb.org/sds/doc/sgc-Koldopubpol.pdf>

CLAD - A New Public Management for Latin America - Latin American Centre for
Development Administration, 1998 – in <http://www.clad.org.ve/fulltext/ngping.pdf>

María del Carmen Pardo - Public Administration in Latin America - United Nations
General Assembly, Second Committee, Panel Discussion on Challenges and Changes
in Public Administration around the World, 1 November 2001- in
<http://unpan1.un.org/intradoc/groups/public/documents/un/unpan001965.pdf>