

Democratic Latin America

Third Edition

Craig L. Arceneaux

Third edition published 2021
by Routledge
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York, NY 10017

and by Routledge
2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN

Routledge is an imprint of the Taylor & Francis Group, an informa business

© 2021 Taylor & Francis

The right of Craig L. Arceneaux to be identified as author of this work has been asserted by him in accordance with sections 77 and 78 of the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical, or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without permission in writing from the publishers.

Trademark notice: Product or corporate names may be trademarks or registered trademarks, and are used only for identification and explanation without intent to infringe.

First edition published by Pearson Education, 2012
Second edition published by Routledge, 2018

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A catalog record for this title has been requested

ISBN: 978-0-367-35352-0 (hbk)
ISBN: 978-0-367-35630-9 (pbk)
ISBN: 978-0-429-34076-5 (ebk)

Typeset in Times New Roman
by codeMantra

Contents

<i>List of Box Features</i>	xv
<i>Preface</i>	xvii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	xxiii
1 An Institutional Approach to Democracy and Democratization in Latin America	1
<i>Institutions and the Study of Democratic Politics</i>	5
<i>What Is an Institution?</i>	6
<i>What Is an Institutional Approach to Politics?</i>	8
<i>Democracy in Latin America</i>	16
<i>Democratic Transition</i>	18
<i>Defining Democracy</i>	20
<i>Conclusion</i>	38
<i>Key Terms</i>	39
<i>Discussion Questions</i>	40
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	40
<i>References</i>	41
2 State and Nation in Colonial Latin America	43
<i>Pillars of Democracy: State and Nation</i>	45
<i>Land and People</i>	47
<i>Human Settlements in the Pre-Columbian Period</i>	47
<i>The Colonial Impact on Settlement and Demography</i>	51
<i>The Colonial Period</i>	57
<i>The Arrival and Conquest</i>	57
<i>The Expansion of Spanish Colonialism</i>	58
<i>Colonial Institutions</i>	61
<i>Religious Institutions in Colonial Latin America</i>	67
<i>The Long Road to Independence</i>	68

<i>Conclusion</i>	82
<i>Key Terms</i>	83
<i>Discussion Questions</i>	83
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	83
<i>References</i>	84

3 Constitutions: From States and Nations to Regimes, and Back Again 86

<i>Constitutional Foundations: The Consolidation of Independent States and the Search for National Identity in Latin America</i>	88
<i>The Caudillo Period (1820s–70s)</i>	88
<i>The Export Economy (1860s–1930s)</i>	89
<i>The Opening of the U.S. Umbrella (1898)</i>	91
<i>The Great Depression (1929)</i>	93
<i>The Populist Era (1930s–60s)</i>	95
<i>Bureaucratic Authoritarianism and the Cold War (1960s–80s)</i>	97
<i>From the Washington Consensus to the “Pink Tide” (1990s–2010s)</i>	99
<i>The Turn toward Neopopulism (2010s–present)</i>	102
<i>Constitutions: The Rules of the Game and More</i>	103
<i>Constitutional Development in Latin America</i>	104
<i>Constitutionalism and Democracy</i>	105
<i>Constitutions and Political Pacts</i>	107
<i>Constitutions and National Identity</i>	109
<i>The Politics of Constitutional Change</i>	110
<i>Types of Constitutional Reform</i>	111
<i>The Source of Reform: The People or Congress?</i>	113
<i>Motives for Reform</i>	114
<i>Institutional Opportunities and Barriers</i>	115
<i>Explaining Constitutional Change in Latin America</i>	120
<i>Conclusion</i>	132
<i>Key Terms</i>	133
<i>Discussion Questions</i>	134
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	134
<i>References</i>	135

4 The Executive Branch: Latin American Style

138

<i>The Executive Branch in Presidential and Parliamentary Forms of Government</i>	140
<i>The Parliamentary System</i>	141

<i>The Presidential System</i>	142
<i>Origins of Parliamentarism and Presidentialism</i>	143
<i>Variations in Parliamentary and Presidential Systems</i>	144
<i>Latin American Presidencies</i>	147
<i>Constitutional Powers</i>	148
<i>Partisan Powers</i>	153
<i>The Rise of Neopopulism</i>	154
<i>The Administrative Arm of the Executive: Bureaucracy</i>	161
<i>Efficiency and Bureaucracy</i>	161
<i>Corruption and Bureaucracy</i>	164
<i>Bureaucratic Boundaries</i>	171
<i>Conclusion</i>	184
<i>Key Terms</i>	184
<i>Discussion Questions</i>	184
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	185
<i>References</i>	186

5 The Legislative Branch: The Centerpiece of Democracy under Fire 189

<i>Parliament and Congress</i>	191
<i>The Functions of Congress</i>	193
<i>Representation</i>	193
<i>Lawmaking</i>	200
<i>Legislative Structure</i>	216
<i>Conclusion</i>	234
<i>Key Terms</i>	234
<i>Discussion Questions</i>	235
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	235
<i>References</i>	237

6 The Judiciary in Latin America: Separate but Unequal 240

<i>Approaches to Judicial Organization</i>	243
<i>Common Law and Code Law Traditions</i>	243
<i>Mixed Judicial Systems in Latin America</i>	245
<i>The Rule of Law</i>	248
<i>Defining the Rule of Law</i>	248
<i>The Judiciary's Contribution to the Rule of Law</i>	250
<i>The Judicialization of Politics in Contemporary Latin America</i>	271
<i>Motives and Opportunities to Judicialize Politics</i>	272
<i>International Actors and the Judicialization of Politics</i>	273
<i>The Judicialization of Politics at the Local Level</i>	276
<i>Conclusion</i>	288

<i>Key Terms</i>	288
<i>Discussion Questions</i>	289
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	289
<i>References</i>	291

7 Electoral Systems: The Core of Democratic Politics

294

<i>Voting</i>	296
<i>The Electoral System</i>	298
<i>Electoral Formula</i>	298
<i>District Magnitude</i>	313
<i>Electoral Thresholds</i>	314
<i>Ballot Structure</i>	315
<i>Districting and Apportionment</i>	316
<i>The Electoral System and Political Change</i>	318
<i>Presidential Elections in Latin America</i>	319
<i>The Management and Observation of Elections</i>	324
<i>Conclusion</i>	341
<i>Key Terms</i>	342
<i>Discussion Questions</i>	342
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	342
<i>References</i>	343

8 From Civil Society to Political Parties: Putting Democracy into Practice

345

<i>Civil Society and Democracy</i>	347
<i>Protests and Social Movements</i>	349
<i>Parties as Political Institutions</i>	355
<i>Parties as Regime Institutions</i>	356
<i>Parties as Social Institutions</i>	364
<i>How Parties and Civil Society Must Work</i>	
<i>Together in Democratic Latin America</i>	369
<i>From the Party to the Party System</i>	371
<i>Party System Fragmentation</i>	372
<i>Party System Institutionalization</i>	376
<i>Party System Polarization</i>	377
<i>The Interaction of Fragmentation,</i>	
<i>Institutionalization, and Polarization</i>	379
<i>Conclusion</i>	393
<i>Key Terms</i>	393
<i>Discussion Questions</i>	394
<i>Suggested Readings</i>	394
<i>References</i>	395

9 Federalism and Unitarism: Learning to Share 399*Federalism and Unitarism, and the Range of Centralization* 401*The Division of Power in a Federal System* 401*The Balance of Centralization and Decentralization* 402*The Origins of Intergovernmental Relations in Latin America* 407*Federalism and the Protection of Regional Caudillos* 408*Contemporary Moves to Recognize Indigenous Territories* 409*Federal and Unitary Design in Contemporary Latin America* 411*Institutions That Complement Federalism: Bicameralism,**Strong Judiciary, Rigid Constitutions* 411*The Contemporary Effort to Decentralize* 412*Variation in Federal Institutions* 415*Conclusion* 428*Key Terms* 429*Discussion Questions* 429*Suggested Readings* 429*References* 430**10 The Armed Forces: Bridging the Civil-Military Divide** 433*The Armed Forces in Contemporary Latin America:**Global Comparisons* 435*Military Expenditures* 435*Military Spending and Development* 437*Regional Distinctions* 440*The Military Perspective of Latin American History* 441*Civil-Military Relations* 451*Civil-Military Relations under Democracy* 454*Civilian Supremacy or Political Management?* 454*New Security Norms under Democracy* 455*Institutional Checks and Balances under Democracy* 459*Civil-Military Relations and the New Militarism* 465*Conclusion* 481*Key Terms* 482*Discussion Questions* 482*Suggested Readings* 482*References* 484**Index** 487