Contemporary Latin American Politics
Professor Jonathan Hartlyn

World View Residential Program
March 27, 2007

 Elections are evidence of political democracy. And the results?

 A turn to the “left”: where? in what sense? how extensive?

 Left populist-nationalist: Morales in Bolivia; Correa in Ecuador; less clearly Ortega in Nicaragua; Chávez in Venezuela re-elected. Argentina partially in this group.

 Social-democratic governments: Lula in Brazil re-elected; Michelle Bachelet in Chile. Join Uruguay.

 Center-right: Uribe in Colombia re-elected; García in Peru; Calderón in Mexico; Arias in Costa Rica; Zelaya in Honduras. Join Guatemala, El Salvador, Paraguay.

 Hartlyn, 2007
Contemporary Challenges: Three “Ds”

Democracy
- Current “wave” most extended and longest lasting, but what “quality”? How consequential?
- And now, can it accommodate social change with checks and balances?

Development
- Legacies of poverty and inequality
- Recent 1980-2002 period: devastating economic record
- Dominant economic approach being re-considered?

Drugs and Violence
- Drug resources empower violent actors
- Crime and insecurity dramatic problems

Hartlyn, 2007
Political democracy: how consequential?

Electoral democracy
- Free elections for principal offices
- Rotation in office
- Minimum conditions to assure fair competition

Rule-of-Law Democracy
- Democratic civilian control over armed forces
- Executive accountability, checks and balances
- Strong civil society
- Effective rule of law for all, rulers not above it

Hartlyn, 2007
What has sustained Electoral Democracy so far?

- Structural transformations of modernization
  - Higher per capita GDP over past several decades
  - Urbanization and education

- Post-Cold War era
  - Ideological depolarization
  - Political democracy revalued

- Globalization
  - U.S., OAS support for “electoral democracy”
  - Trans-national advocacy networks
  - But, imperfect floor: Venezuela, Ecuador

Hartlyn, 2007
Support for democracy  (Latinobarometer 2006)

Hartlyn, 2007
What Inhibits Rule-of-Law Democracy (1)?

Challenges of Development

- Economic challenges of globalization, power more concentrated away from state and within society
- Continued (in some cases exacerbated) levels of inequality; Latin America is the most unequal region in the world
Figure 1.1. Income Received by the Wealthiest 5 Percent of the Population (Percent of total income)

Figure 1.2. Income Received by the Poorest 30 Percent of the Population (Percent of total income)

Source: IDB calculations based on Deininger and Squire (1996)

Hartlyn, 2007
**Poverty and inequality:**
*Regional and ethnic dimensions*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Indigenous</th>
<th>Non-Indigenous</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia (2002)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala (2000)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mexico (2002)</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru (2000)</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Hall and Patrinos (2006).*

Hartlyn, 2007
Latin America: GDP and GDP/per capita (Eclac)

Hartlyn, 2007
Effects on economic policy

Following processes of initial adjustment and restructuring, and then economic decline, politicians caught between:

- International economic constraints
- And, citizen expectations (employment, security) and growing discontent

Hartlyn, 2007
Satisfaction with Democracy

(Very or fairly satisfied) Source: Latinobarometer

Hartlyn, 2007
Satisfaction with Democracy, 2006

Latinobarometer

Hartlyn, 2007
What Inhibits Rule-of-Law Democracy (2)?

- Historically weak states and institutions further eroded:
  - Crisis of political parties and party systems
    - Society more fragmented and organizations weaker
    - No program differences across established parties
    - Some new parties focus on anti-corruption, respond to new civil society
    - High-tech electoral campaigns require less party organization
    - Electoral laws facilitating entry of new parties and movements
Why parties are important: governability and democracy

Governability: consensus and efficient decision-making

Democracy: expression of multiple interests and conflict

Tension moderated by political institutions and parties: channellers of demands and forgers of compromise

Circumvented by plebiscitarian leaders; avoided by alienated voters; or new models of democracy?

Hartlyn, 2007
Political parties and elections

- Decline in electoral turnout, 1985-2000
  - By 7% in presidential elections
  - By 11% in legislative elections
  - More variation in recent elections

- Dominant parties disappeared or eclipsed:
  - Ecuador, Guatemala, Peru, Venezuela, Bolivia

- More stable in:
  - Chile, Honduras, Uruguay, Costa Rica

Hartlyn, 2007
Erosion of trust in institutions

True everywhere, worse in Latin America

Three causes:

- More information
- Higher standards
- Especially, declining performance
  - Capacity of politicians to act on behalf of citizens declined

Hartlyn, 2007
Low trust in political institutions

### Trust in Institutions, 1996-2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Congress</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political parties</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hartlyn, 2007
Drugs, crime and a “dark side” of globalization

- Market-oriented reforms facilitated drug trafficking (weakening states, displacing labor, facilitating arms-drugs and other networks)
- New consumer markets in Latin Am, Europe and Russia
- Crime rates also up dramatically in the region

Hartlyn, 2007
US-Latin American relations: recent issues

- Address social agenda: free trade agreements “plus”
- Migration: Will the United States build a wall on its border with Mexico or approve immigration reform?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country or Region</th>
<th>Number in millions</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>7.82</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caribbean countries</td>
<td>2.75</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central America</td>
<td>2.03</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South America</td>
<td>1.88</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>14.47</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Hispanics, with 38.8 million, largest minority group in the U.S. as of July 2002 estimate (total black population, including some Latinos, 38.3 million July 2002 estimate). According to 2000 census, in NC had 380,000 Hispanics (5% of population)


Hartlyn, 2007
# Trade with the United States, 2005

*(ECLAC, US$ millions and %)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Exports to the United States</th>
<th>Percentage of exports going to United States</th>
<th>Trade balance with United States</th>
<th>Trade balance with the world</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mexico</td>
<td>183 351</td>
<td>85.8%</td>
<td>65 089</td>
<td>-7 559</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honduras</td>
<td>3 309</td>
<td>75.6%</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>-106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicaragua</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>-619</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Salvador</td>
<td>2 051</td>
<td>60.6%</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>-3 332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guatemala</td>
<td>2 694</td>
<td>50.1%</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>-3 431</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ecuador</td>
<td>4 950</td>
<td>46.5%</td>
<td>4 107</td>
<td>420</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Costa Rica</td>
<td>3 177</td>
<td>44.8%</td>
<td>- 119</td>
<td>-2 717</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panama</td>
<td>973</td>
<td>14.8%</td>
<td>-1 009</td>
<td>-2 000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>4 325</td>
<td>77.9%</td>
<td>- 26</td>
<td>-1 544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARICOM</td>
<td>9 167</td>
<td>52.2%</td>
<td>2 330</td>
<td>1 052</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>- 361</td>
<td>-2 970</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Venezuela (Bolivarian Republic of)</td>
<td>32 587</td>
<td>58.8%</td>
<td>25 987</td>
<td>29 674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colombia</td>
<td>8 849</td>
<td>41.8%</td>
<td>2 843</td>
<td>1 988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
<td>5 173</td>
<td>30.4%</td>
<td>3 052</td>
<td>4 917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uruguay</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>22.4%</td>
<td>489</td>
<td>-474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
<td>22 472</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>8 918</td>
<td>44 758</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chile</td>
<td>6 248</td>
<td>15.8%</td>
<td>1 821</td>
<td>9 142</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bolivia</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>1 007</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
<td>4 321</td>
<td>10.8%</td>
<td>1 357</td>
<td>11 320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paraguay</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3.2%</td>
<td>- 774</td>
<td>-1 564</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hartlyn, 2007
President George Bush: % positive image
Latinobarometer 2006 (7-10 on 10 point scale)

Hartlyn, 2007
US-Latin American relations: recent issues (ctd.)

- Anti-drug policy in the region: Focus on eradication, interdiction and “report cards” has been costly and ineffective.

- Colombia: Military assistance vs. pressure on government to break ties with paramilitary groups and prosecute human rights violators

- Cuba: Current policy isolates us from all our allies

Hartlyn, 2007
President Hugo Chávez: % positive image
Latinobarometer 2006 (7-10 on 10 point scale)

Hartlyn, 2007
Elections were the easy part: how to reduce disenchantment?

- Politicians’ dilemma: Minimize negative effects of globalization and magnify positive ones (rethinking previous “consensus”)
  - Better balance between markets and government and strengthen both simultaneously (Stiglitz)
- Need to reconnect citizens with the state and (modified) political parties
- Expand vision of the types of possible political connections (citizenship rights in the diaspora, collective indigenous rights, local level governance)

Hartlyn, 2007