

**YORK UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

Integrated course: POLS 4555/5555. LATIN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT.

Term: Summer 2010.

Course director: Simone Bohn

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Course website: <http://www.yorku.ca/sbohn/pols4555/index.htm>

Office hours: Tuesdays 9:00-10:00; Wednesday 9:30-10:30

Course time and location: Wednesdays 11:30-2:30 p.m. – Vari Hall 1154

Important dates:

- (1) Last day to enroll without permission of course instructor: May 7th, 2010.
- (2) Last day to enroll with permission of course instructor: May 14th, 2010.
- (3) Last day to drop the course without receiving a grade: July 5th, 2010.

Important course information:

Please make sure to read the rules governing academic integrity at York:

<http://www.yorku.ca/academicintegrity/students/index.htm>

For York's policies regarding (a) religious observance accommodation, (b) student conduct standards, (c) course requirement accommodation for students with disabilities, and other important topics, please read the following information:

http://www.yorku.ca/secretariat/senate_cte_main_pages/ccas/htm

Course Description: The goal of this seminar is to critically analyze the key economic and political issues associated with the pattern of development common to most Latin American countries. It will focus, among other topics, on the (1) particularities of the Latin American colonial economy and its legacies; (2) the difficulties associated with state-building in a peripheral region; (3) the role of the state as an engine of growth; (4) the emergence of political masses and populism and their consequences for political democracy; (5) the role of the military and the political economy of the dictatorships; (6) the crisis of the developmental state; and (7) the consolidation of democracy in the region.

The readings for each section comprise a theoretical discussion of a topic, followed by one or more articles that contextualize the theme using different case studies.

Learning objectives: Upon successfully completing this course, students will be able to (1) improve their analytical, writing, and presentation skills, understand (2) the long-term

economic debilities that affect Latin America, (3) the changing role of the state, and (4) the obstacles to and the deficiencies of the democratic rule in the region.

Evaluation: The final grade will be based upon the following elements:

Honors students:

Component	% of final grade	Due on
Attendance	10	(not applicable)
Participation in the discussion	15	(not applicable)
Five quizzes	15	(not applicable)
Short paper	25	June 16 th , 2010
Long paper	35	August 4 th , 2010

Graduate students:

Component	% of final grade	Due on
Attendance	10	(not applicable)
Participation in the discussion	15	(not applicable)
Short paper	30	June 16 th , 2010
Long paper	45	August 4 th , 2010

a) Seminar participation: 25%

- i.) attendance: 10%
- ii.) participation in the discussion: 15%

Seminar participation is a very important component of your final grade. There are several reasons for including class participation. First, it gives an incentive for you to come to class prepared. Students that complete the readings before the class and are ready to participate are the ones that are most likely to receive high marks. Second, class participation helps the other students in the class learn. By making comments in class and sharing your thoughts, you help the other students consider and reflect upon different viewpoints that they may not have considered and thus it helps the other students learn. Third, it helps you sharpen your communication skills. Being able to cogently and coherently express your ideas is an important factor in determining how successful you will ultimately be in your career and thus, your communication skills need to be honed.

Every student is expected to attend every class. If you do not attend a class, you will automatically be given a zero for class participation for that class. If you attend a class and do not make any comments, you will also be given a zero for that class. Your comments in class will be evaluated for the insight that they provide to the class. Those students whose comments incorporate and elaborate on the readings will receive the highest marks. It probably goes without saying that to achieve the highest marks, it is necessary to read the material and come to class prepared.

Attendance.

Days attended	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
Grade	0.91	1.82	2.73	3.64	4.55	5.45	6.36	7.27	8.18	9.09	10.00

Participation grade (1.36 per class).

Grade	1.36	0.68	0.34
%	100	50	25
Comments	Incorporate and elaborate on the readings	summarize the readings	Related to the issues being discussed, but do not reveal reading of the material

Class participation grades will be disclosed on: May 26; June 30; July 28.

b) Short paper:

- i.) honors students: maximum 1500 words (5-8 pages, double-spaced Times New Roman, 12")
- ii.) graduate students: maximum 2500 words (8-12 pages, double-spaced Times New Roman, 12")

Due on June 16th, 2010.

c) Long paper:

- iii.) honors students: 3500 words (10-12 pages, double-spaced Times New Roman, 12")
- iv.) graduate students: 5500 words (15-20 pages, double-spaced Times New Roman, 12")

Due on August 4th, 2010.

Late penalty for all assignments: 2% per day (including weekends).

Assignments sent electronically to the Course Director or dropped under her office door will not be accepted. Please use the Department of Political Science's mailbox to drop late assignments.

Papers that are overdue for more than 14 days will not be accepted. Initial mark at which papers will be graded:

Days late	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
25%	24.5	24	23.5	23	22.5	22	21.5	21	20.5	20	19.5	19	18.5
30%	29.4	28.8	28.2	27.6	27	26.4	25.8	25.2	24.6	24	23.4	22.8	22.2
35%	34.3	33.6	32.9	32.2	31.5	30.8	30.1	29.4	28.7	28	27.3	26.6	25.9
45%	44.1	43.2	42.3	41.4	40.5	39.6	38.7	37.8	36.9	36	35.1	34.2	33.3

Course required readings:

Week 1.

May 5, 2010.

Introduction.

Week 2

May 12, 2010.

Latin America: what is unique about its route of political and economic development?

State-building & oligarchical political order

Debate: What has been the trade-off between democracy and economic growth in the cases of Argentina and Uruguay?

- Lopez-Alves, Fernando (2000). "The argument: war, politics, and the rural poor", *State formation and democracy in Latin America, 1810-1900*, Durham & London: Duke University Press, pp. 15-48.
- Rock, David (2000). "State-building and political systems in nineteenth century Argentina and Uruguay", *Past and present*, 167 (May): 176-202.
- Smith, Peter H. (2005). "Cycles of electoral democracy", *Democracy in Latin America. Political change in comparative perspective*, New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 19-30.

Week 3

May 19, 2010.

Colonial legacies 1.

Exported-oriented economies, dependency and constraints on development.

Contemporary debate: Has an export-oriented strategy generated sustainable growth for contemporary Mexico?

- Bulmer-Thomas, Victor (1996). "The struggle for national identity from independence to mid-century", *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*, New York: Cambridge University Press. (pp. 19-45).
- Vega-Cánovas, Gustavo (2003). "Mexico: export promotion, North American Free Trade Agreement, and the Future of North American Economic Integration", in Ana Margheritis (ed.). *Latin American Democracies in the New Global Economy*, Coral Gables: North-South Center Press at the University of Miami.
- Berg, Janine; Christopher Ernst and Peter Auer (2006). "Trade liberalization, export dynamism, and employment growth", *Meeting the employment challenge. Argentina, Brazil, Mexico in the Global Economy*, Boulder: Lynne Rienner, pp. 73-104.
- Treviño, Yolanda et al (2006). "Freedom of association", in Martha Ojeda and Rosemary Hennessy (eds.) *NAFTA from below: Maquiladora Workers, Farmers, and Indigenous Communities Speak out on the Impact of Free Trade in Mexico*, Mattoon, IL: United Graphics Incorporated.

Week 4

May 26, 2010.

Colonial legacies 2. Land tenure.

Is the agrarian structure still an obstacle to self-sustained economic and social development?

Contemporary debate: Can social movements help foster structural changes in land ownership? The case of Brazil.

- Furtado, Celso (1976). "Characteristics of the agrarian structures", *Economic development of Latin America: historical background and contemporary problems*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 68-80).
- Leal, Victor Nunes (1977). "Notes on the structure and functioning of coronelismo", *Coronelismo: the municipality and representative government in Brazil*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-24.
- Pereira, Anthony (2003). "Brazil's Agrarian Reform: Democratic Innovation or Oligarchic Exclusion Redux?", *Latin American Politics and Society*, 45 (2): 41-65.

Wolford, Wendy (2010). "Participatory democracy by default: land reform, social movements and the state in Brazil", *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 37 (1): 91-109.

Week 5

June 2, 2010.

Accelerating economic development: the role of the state

Debate: In hindsight, how should the ISI experience in Latin America be evaluated?

Weaver, Frederick (2000). "Import-substitution and semi-industrialization in Latin America, 1930-1970s", *Latin America in the world economy: mercantile colonialism to global capitalism*, Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, pp. 117-47.

Thorp, Rosemary (1998). "Industrialization and the growing role of the state: 1945-1973", *Progress, poverty and exclusion. An economic history of Latin American in the 20th century*, Washington. D.C.: IADB.

Baer, Werner (1972). "Import substitution and industrialization in Latin America: experiences and interpretations", *Latin American Research Review*, 7 (1) 95-122.

Hira, Anil (2007). "Did the ISI fail and is neoliberalism the answer for Latin America? Re-assessing common wisdom regarding economic policies in the region", *Brazilian Journal of Political Economy*, 27 (3): 345-56.

Week 6

June 9, 2010.

The rise of political masses & populism

Is populism a problem for Latin America? If yes, what kind of problem does it represent?

Case study: Argentina.

Cammack, Paul (2000). "The resurgence of populism in Latin America", *Bulletin of Latin America Research*, 19: 149-61.

Horowitz, Joel (1999). "Populism and its legacy in Argentina", in Michael Conniff (ed.) *Populism in Latin America*, Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999, pp. 22-41.

Escudé, Carlos (2006). "From captive to failed state: Argentina under system populism, 1975-2006", *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, 30 (2): 125-47.

Weyland, Kurt (2001). "Clarifying a contested concept: populism in the study of Latin American Politics." *Comparative Politics*, 34 (1): 1-22.

Week 7

June 16, 2010.

Overcoming structural bottlenecks: The authoritarianism of the 1960s and 1970s.

Contemporary debate: Does neoliberalism represent the "end of history" for some Latin American countries?

Case study: Chile.

Collier, David (1979). "Summary of the bureaucratic-authoritarian model", David Collier (editor). *The new authoritarianism in Latin America*, Princeton University Press.

Silva, Eduardo (1993). "Capitalist coalitions, the state, and neoliberal economic restructuring. Chile, 1973-88", *World Politics*, 45 (4): 526-559.

Fuentes, Claudio. (2000). "After Pinochet: civilian policies toward the military in the 1990s Chilean democracy", *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, 42 (3): 111-142.

Silva, Patricio (2004). "Doing politics in a depoliticized society: social change and political deactivation in Chile", *Bulletin of Latin America Research*, 23 (1): 63-78.

Week 8

June 23, 2010.

Re-democratization: Dual transitions and the neoliberal paradox.

Contemporary debate: Do the transition legacies still impact the current developments in the region?

Karl, Terry Lynn (1990). "Dilemmas of democratization in Latin America", *Comparative Politics*, 23 (1): 1-21.

O'Donnell, Guillermo (1994). "Delegative democracy?", *Journal of Democracy*, 5 (1): 55-69.

Hagopian, Frances (1990). "'Democracy by undemocratic means'? Elites, political pacts, and regime transition in Brazil", *Comparative Political Studies*, 23 (2): 147-170.

Huber, Evelyne & Fred Solt (2004). "Successes and failures of neoliberalism", *Latin American Research Review*, 39 (3), 150-164.

Week 9

June 30, 2010.

Labor unions amidst the neoliberal wave

Murillo, Maria Victoria (2000). "From populism to neoliberalism: labor unions and market reforms in Latin America", *World Politics*, 52 (2): 135-174.

Cook, María Lorena (2002). "Labor reform and dual transitions in Brazil and the Southern Cone", *Latin American Politics & Society*, 44 (1): 1-34.

Levitsky, Stephen and Scott Mainwaring (2006). "Organized Labor and Democracy in Latin America" *Comparative Politics*, 39 (1): 21-42.

Week 10

July 7, 2010.

"Neoliberal citizenship": what does it mean for the region?

How have the indigenous groups fared under the new economic model?

Yashar, Deborah J. (1999). "Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America", *World Politics*, (52): 76-104.

Dunkerley, James (2006). "Evo Morales, the two Bolivias and the third Bolivian Revolution", *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 39: 133-66.

Week 11

July 14, 2010.

What are the political consequences of inequality?

Contemporary debate: can inequality hamper democracy in Latin America?

Terry Lynn Karl (2000). "Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability." *Journal of Democracy* 11 (1): 149-156.

Robert Kaufman (2009). "Inequality and redistribution: Some Continuing Puzzles." *P.S.: Political Science and Politics* 42 (4): 657-60.

Evelyn Huber (2009). "Politics and Inequality in Latin America" in 'New Approaches to the Politics of Inequality in Developing Countries.' *P.S.: Political Science and Politics* 42 (4): 651-655.

Week 12

July 21, 2010.

The recent left turn in Latin America

Contemporary debate: Do Latin Americans approve of neoliberalism but voted the left in?

Castañeda, Jorge (2006). "Latin America's Left turn", *Foreign Affairs*, 85 (3): 28-59.

Cleary, Matthew (2006). "A left turn in Latin America: Explaining the Left Resurgence", *Journal of Democracy*, 17 (4): 35-49.

Baker, Andy (2009). "Are Latin Americans Neoliberals?" *The Market and the Masses in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Week 13

July 28, 2010.

Radical left in Latin America

Contemporary debate: Is current Venezuela moving towards development and substantive democracy?

Hawkins, Kirk & David Hansen (2006). "Dependent civil society. The círculos bolivianos in Venezuela", *Latin America Research Review*, 41 (1): 102-132.

McCoy, Jennifer (2006). "From representative to participatory democracy? Regime transformation in Venezuela", in Jennifer McCoy & David Myers (eds.). *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, pp. 263-295.

Canache, Damarys (2002). "From bullets to ballots: the emergence of popular support for Hugo Chávez", *Latin American Politics and Society*, 44 (1): 69-90.