

Political Science 305Y: Latin American Politics and Societies
Spring 2014

Donald V. Kingsbury, PhD

donald.kingsbury@utoronto.ca

Office: TBD

Office hours: TBD

(And by appointment)

Overview

This historical survey seeks to provide students with the context necessary to understand developments in contemporary Latin American politics. The class develops thematically and chronologically, exposing students to a range of issues and debates from North American and Latin American academic and activist circles. Substantive issues will include the changing face of state sovereignty, human rights and social movements, the legacies of (neo)colonialism, neoliberalism, and '21st century socialism.'

The political landscape in Latin American remains as varied and fluid as ever. Regimes like those in Mexico, Colombia, and Honduras are pursuing pro-market policies, strong-armed responses to internal divisions and close political ties with the United States. These policies, as many observers have noted, are by and large extensions of previous policies, even though politicians in these countries often assert the contrary. Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador have on the other hand announced the development of '21st century Socialism,' citing the statecraft of Cuba's Fidel Castro and anti-imperialism of Ernesto 'Che' Guevara as their guides. While such dramatic assertions have no doubt inspired many people throughout the region and the world, the project's lack of clarity and the persistence of inherited problems – such as corruption and vicious inequality – threaten these societies' ability to make good on their promises. Somewhere between the extremes of capitalism and anti-capitalism, Brazil and Argentina are developing social-democratic models that try to please international investors as well as increasingly contentious constituencies with varying degrees of success. Plans for regional economic, cultural and political integration are gathering momentum just as powerful local interests seek autonomy from their home states. Finally, prominent strains in Latin American critical theory are questioning if 'Latin America' can be said to exist all.

Course Requirements

Attendance and active participation at class meetings is expected. Students will be expected to have completed assigned readings for every meeting prior to said meeting. More importantly, students should prepare questions, comments, interventions, and provocations on the day's themes for use in small group and at-large discussions.

*****Preliminary Syllabus – Subject to Revision*****

Assessment in this course will be determined by your performance on the following:

In-Class Map Quiz		15%
Midterm Examination	30%	
Final Examination		40%
Pop Quizzes		10%
Participation		5%

A Note on Decorum, Etiquette, and Ethics

As an instructor, I want nothing more than to encourage lively debate charged by principled and studied disagreement. These sorts of conflictual encounters are where we often find ourselves learning the most. It is imperative that the classroom and lecture hall are safe spaces where everyone feels comfortable and inspired to participate. I have a strict zero tolerance policy for discriminatory behaviour of any sort. Derogatory comments aimed at one's gender, race, class, sexuality, and ability are as repugnant as they are unhelpful and have no place in the classroom.

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and hard copies of their essays and assignments before handing them in to the instructor. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned and the grades posted to ROSI.

Plagiarism is a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism please see Writing at the University of Toronto, <http://writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources> .

Primary Texts:

Mark Goodale & Nancy Postero, eds. *Neoliberalism, Interrupted*. (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2013)

John C. Chasteen *Born in Blood and Fire* (New York: WW Norton, 2006)

All other texts will be available online.

Part One: Appraising the Present Conjuncture

Jan 6: Introduction to the course and themes

Jan 8: Political Makeup of the region: States, figures, institutions

Daniel Hellinger (2012) "Latin American Studies and the Comparative Study of Democracy" in *Comparative Politics of Latin America: Democracy at Last?* (New York: Routledge).

Jan 13: Key Concepts and Critiques in the Study of Latin America

(I) Democracy & Citizenship

*****Map Quiz During the first 20 minutes of Class**

(note: this will be the only opportunity to take this quiz)

John Carey (2003) “Presidentialism and Representative Institutions” in *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, Jorge Dominguez and Michael Shifter, eds. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press)

Jonathan Fox (1994) “The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico” *World Politics* 46(2) pps. 151-184.

Jan 15: Key Concepts and Critiques in the Study of Latin America

(II) Inequality, Violence, Development

Leonardo Gasparini and Guillermo Cruces (2013) “Poverty and Inequality in Latin America: A Story of Two Decades,” *Journal of International Affairs* 66(2): 51-63.

Daniel Hellinger (2012) “Inequality, Political Culture, and Popular Sovereignty” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America: Democracy at Last?* (New York: Routledge)

Javier Corrales (2010) “Six Reasons why Argentina Legalized Gay Marriage First,” Online edition of *Americas Quarterly*

Accessible at:

<http://americasquarterly.org/node/1753>

Jan 20: Neoliberalism as Restoration

William Robinson (2006) “Promoting Polyarchy in Latin America: The Oxymoron of ‘Market Democracy’” in *Latin America after Neoliberalism* (New York: The New Press)

Jan 22: Post-Neoliberalism as Transition

Goodale & Postero (2013) “Revolution and Retrenchment: Illuminating the Present in Latin America” in *Neoliberalism, Interrupted*

Benjamin Arditi (2008) “Arguments about the Left Turns in Latin America: A

*****Preliminary Syllabus – Subject to Revision*****

Post Liberal Politics?" *Latin American Research Review* 43(3) pp. 59-81.

Jan 27: Case Study – Chile and the Enduring Legacy of ‘el modelo’

J. Samuel Valenzuela and Arturo Valenzuela (1986) “Introduction” in *Military Rule in Chile* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press)

Alejandro Foxley (1986) “The Neoconservative Economic Experiment in Chile” in *Military Rule in Chile* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press).

Veronica Schild (2013) “Care and Punishment in Latin America: The Gendered Neoliberalization of the Chilean State” in *Neoliberalism, Interrupted*.

Jan 29 – Case Study – Bolivia, Indigeneity, & “Andean-Amazonian Capitalism”

Nancy Postero (2013) “Bolivia’s Challenge to ‘Colonial Neoliberalism’” in *Neoliberalism, Interrupted*.

Jeffery Webber (2009) “From Naked Barbarism to Barbarism with Benefits: Neoliberal Capitalism, Natural Gas Policy, and the Evo Morales Government in Bolivia” in *Post-Neoliberalism in the Americas*, Laura MacDonald and Arne Ruckert, eds. (London: Palgrave).

Feb 3 – Case Study – Brazil: Inequality and Development in the Region’s Superpower

Emir Sader (2011) “The Lula Enigma” in *The New Mole: Paths of the Latin American Left* (New York: Verso)

Jon Lyons and Paul Kiernan (2013) “Middle class Brazil finds its voice in protests” *Wall Street Journal Online Edition* 19 June, 2013.

Accessible at:

<http://online.wsj.com/news/articles/SB10001424127887324021104578553491848777544>

Dom Philips (2013) “World Cup 2014: Brazilians' rage against the state will disrupt the celebration” *The Guardian Online Edition* 20 October 2013

Accessible at:

<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2013/oct/20/brazil-state-failure-world-cup>

Charles Heck (2013) “The ‘Area of Risk’ Justification for Favela Removals: The case of Santa Marta” www.rioonwatch.org 29 October, 2013

*****Preliminary Syllabus – Subject to Revision*****

Accessible at:

<http://rionwatch.org/?p=11410>

Feb 5 – Latin America and the New Canadian Imperialism

Guest Lecture: Tyler Shipley (York University)

Ronn Pineo (2013) “Latin America’s Backyard” Council on Hemispheric Relations report,

Accessible at:

<http://www.coha.org/latin-americas-backyard>

Tyler Shipley (2013) “The New Canadian Imperialism and the Military Coup in Honduras.” *Latin American Perspectives* 40 pps. 44-61.

Feb 10 – Case Study – Venezuela and 21st Century Socialism

Gregory Wilpert (2007) *Changing Venezuela by Taking Power* (New York: Verso) Selections.

Donald Kingsbury (2013) “Solo el Pueblo Salva el Pueblo” *Viewpoint Magazine*

Accessible at:

<http://viewpointmag.com/2013/03/07/solo-el-pueblo-salva-al-pueblo-hugo-chavez-1954-2013/>

Feb 12 – In class midterm exam

*****Reading Week*****

Part II: Latin America in Historical Perspective

Feb 24: From *Reconquista* to ‘Discovery’: Genocide, Colonization, and Extraction

Eduardo Galeano (1997) *Open Veins of Latin America* (New York: Monthly Review Press) Intro, Ch 1

Suggested:

John C. Chasteen *Born in Blood and Fire* Intro, Ch 1

Feb 26: Colonial Life and Postcolonial Blues

Chasteen, Ch. 2-3

Mar 3: ‘The Idea of Latin America’: Race, Class, and the Roots of a New Identity in the 19th Century

Aims McGuinness (2003) “Searching for ‘Latin America’: Race and Sovereignty in the Americas in the 1850s,” in *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America*, Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, Karin Alejandra Roseblatt, eds. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press). Pps. 87-106

Walter Mignolo (2005) *The Idea of Latin America* (Malden, MA: Blackwell) ch 1.

Mar 5: Syncretism and Patterned Inequality

In class screening of *The Devil’s Miner* (Kief Davidson & Richard Ladkani, 2005)

Mar 10: Early 20th Century: Immigration and Development

Guest Lecture by Ben Bryce, (Latin American Studies, U of T)

José Moya. “A Continent of Immigrants: Postcolonial Shifts in the Western Hemisphere.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 86, no. 1 (2006): 1–28.

Jeffrey Lesser and Raanan Rein. “Challenging Particularity: Jews as a Lens on Latin American Ethnicity.” *Latin American and Caribbean Ethnic Studies* 1 (2006): 249–263.

Juan Bautista Alberdi, “Immigration as a Means of Progress.”

Search YouTube for “Viaje en el tiempo - Buenos Aires 1930”

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0SznXDHspOE>

Mar 12: Populism, Development, Urbanization

Chasteen Ch. 7

Michael Conniff (1999) *Populism in Latin America*. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press). Selections.

Mar 17: Revolution in the Air

Chasteen, Ch. 8

Richard Gott (2008) *Guerrilla Movements in Latin America*. (New York: Seagull Books) Intro, Part V, Epilogue

Suggested/outside screening of *La Hora de los Hornos* (Octavio Getino & Fernando Solanas, 1968)

Mar 19: Authoritarian Retrenchment

Chasteen, Ch. 9

Susanne Jonas (2002) *Guatemala in The Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*, Harry E. Vanden and Gary Prevost, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press), selections.

In class screening of: *La Batalla de Chile* (Patricio Guzmán, 1975)

Mar 24: ‘Democratization’ and the Uneven Present

Paulo Pinheiro (1996) “Democracies without Citizenship” *NACLA Report on the Americas* (September-October 1996) p. 17.

Leonardo Avritzer (2002) *Democratization in Latin America*. (Princeton: University Press). Selections.

Christopher Krupa (2013) “Neoliberal Reckoning: Ecuador’s Truth Commission and the Mythopoetics of Political Violence” in *Neoliberalism, Interrupted*

Mar 26: Environmental Dilemmas and the Response of Social Movements

Jacquelyn Chase & Susan E. Place “The Environment, Population, and Urbanization” in *Understanding Contemporary Latin America*. Richard S. Hillman and Thomas J. D’Agostino, eds. (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press)

*****Preliminary Syllabus – Subject to Revision*****

Rocío Bustamante, Elizabeth Peredo, and María Esther Udaeta, (2005) “Women and the ‘Water War’ in the Cochabamba Valleys,” in *Opposing Currents: The Politics of Water and Gender in Latin America*, Vivienne Bennett, Sonia Dávila-Poblete, María Nieves Rico, eds. (Pittsburgh: University Press).

Mar 31: Immigration and Transnationalism

Ana Arana (2005) “How the Street Gangs took Central America.” *Foreign Affairs*.

John Ross (2010) “Cartels United: Drug Cartels Win Mexico’s Super Sunday Elections” *Counterpunch*

Apr 2: Class Wrap-up and Review: Hopes and Impediments for the Future

Fernando Coronil, “The Future in Question: History and Utopia in Latin America (1989-2010)” in *Business as Usual: The Roots of the Global Financial Crisis*. Craig Calhoun and Georgi Derluguian, eds. (New York: NYU, 2011).

Final exam to be held during exam week. Date, Time, and Location TBD.