

Twenty First Century Latin American Politics

Political Science 360

**Tuesday 2-4pm
161 University College**

**University of Toronto
2017**

**Donald V Kingsbury, PhD
Office Hours: W 12-1:30 Sid Smith 3033
(and by appointment)**

**Teaching Assistant
Charles Larratt-Smith
c.larratt.smith@mail.utoronto.ca**

Course Overview

Following the election of Hugo Chávez in Venezuela in 1998, Latin America was characterized as experiencing a “Pink Tide” of left of centre governments. In this left turn, states set out on a post-Neoliberal path, emphasizing economic redistribution and paths of development independent of the so-called ‘Washington Consensus.’ However, despite a high degree of regional solidarity, there remained significant differences across the states of the Pink Tide, and by 2017, the ‘Tide’ has ebbed amid a regional shift to the right. This advanced undergraduate course introduces students to the cultural politics, themes, and internal differences among Latin American Left governments and Social Movements and their right wing counterparts. Our approach in the course will address themes through pan-regional hopes and challenges in the pursuit of social justice, and case studies – offering students in-depth investigations into individual country cases. Key questions addressed include: the status of the nation-state after globalization and neoliberal structural adjustment; resource extraction and sustainable development; regional integration; social movements, with particular emphasis on women’s, indigenous, and environmental movements; and the role of China in the new Latin America.

Learning Objectives

The specific learning objectives of this course will be:

1. To read, understand, and compare a number of interdisciplinary approaches to contemporary Latin American politics and national development;
2. To develop a critical appreciation of recent trends in Latin America, as well as their historical roots;

3. To introduce students to a range of contemporary social theory concepts and their global and local applications;
4. To improve and refine writing and research skills through the composition of research essays and response papers;

Students are expected to have finished the day's assigned readings before lecture, and are encouraged to bring questions and concerns to class. Lectures will compliment but not necessarily replicate assigned readings. Our aim is to develop not only a critical repertoire on the key debates surrounding Latin American Politics, but to also hone our own abilities as researchers, writers, and colleagues.

Paperless Classroom

All assignments for this course are to be submitted via blackboard. I will not be printing out the syllabus.

Assessment

Students can choose between the following two assessment options. A decision on which option you choose must be made by 10 October and must be approved by the instructor:

OPTION A:

Keywords (3, 10% each)	30%
Response Papers (2, 15% each)	30%
Final Exam	40%

Keywords – Four times during the semester you will be asked to write a short (no more than two paragraph) entry on a key concept or event from a list provided by the professor (via blackboard). Your entry should define, contextualize, and explain the significance of your keyword in clear and concise language. You will be expected to cite your sources.

Please note, it is nearly impossible to write a strong keyword without a significant amount of prewriting and revision. Space is limited, so make sure you revise and polish your work in order to convey your idea as effectively as possible. Keywords are due via turnitin.com at the beginning of the class on the day they are due. Emailed submissions will only be accepted under extremely extenuated circumstances.

Response Papers – Twice during the semester (once at midterm, once at the semester's end) students will compose a 3-5 page essay in response to a prompt circulated via blackboard. Responses should advance and argument, properly cite their sources, and engage critically and originally with the course's material.

Final Exam – The final exam will be comprised of identification and short answer questions and will be held during the Division of Arts and Sciences exam period.

OPTION B:

Keywords (3, 10% each)	30%
Research Paper Proposal	10%
Meetings with Professor	10%
Research Paper	50%

Keywords – Four times during the semester you will be asked to write a two to three paragraph entry on a key concept or event from a list provided by the professor (via blackboard). Your entry should define, contextualize, and explain the significance of your keyword in clear and concise language. You will be expected to cite your sources.

Please note, it is nearly impossible to write a strong keyword without a significant amount of prewriting and revision. Space is limited, so make sure you revise and polish your work in order to convey your idea as effectively as possible. Keywords are due via turnitin.com in paper at the beginning of the class on the day they are due. Emailed submissions will only be accepted under extremely extenuated circumstances.

Research Paper Proposal – In preparation for your final research paper, you are required to submit a graded paper proposal, 1-2 pages in length. Your proposal should identify a research question as well as provide a brief discussion of the significance of the topic. Your paper should explore a problem or history introduced in the course.

Strong proposals will also identify potential scholarly resources for your paper. I am more than happy to discuss topics and writing strategies in greater detail in office hours.

Meetings with Professor – It will be the responsibility of students writing the research paper to schedule no less than 2 progress report meetings with the professor.

Final Paper – The final 15-20 page research paper is due on 6 December via email to the instructor.

Grading Rubric

A: Excellent work, with clear, challenging, original ideas supported by sufficient, appropriate, logically interpreted evidence. The essay should engage the reader in the inquiry, convincingly answer opposing views, be well organized, and free of significant flaws. An ‘A’ paper should be not just good but outstanding in ideas and presentation.

B: Good to very good work, with a clear thesis supported by sufficient, appropriate evidence, organized and interpreted logically. The ‘B’ paper may have some outstanding qualities but be marked by significant flaws which keep it from being an ‘A’; or it may be all-around good work, free of major problems but lacking the deeper insight necessary for excellence.

C: Satisfactory work, but not yet good. The ‘C’ paper meets the basic requirements of a thesis supported by interpretation of specific evidence, but it needs work in thinking and/or presentation. There may be a lack of clarity, the evidence may not always be sufficient and appropriate, or the interpretation may have logical flaws. The essay may have organizational or mechanical problems that keep it from being good. The ‘C’ paper may be good in some respects but poor in others, or it may simply be adequate but not noteworthy overall.

D: Barely passing work that shows effort but is so marred by serious problems that it cannot be considered a satisfactory paper. Papers without a readily identifiable thesis are liable to be graded ‘D’.

No Pass: Failing work—for example, a hasty, sloppy paper that shows little or no thought, effort, or familiarity with the text.

Please Note: Poor mechanics detract from your grades, but good mechanics by themselves do not make a good paper. Sloppy grammar, punctuation, and spelling tax the goodwill of your reader, which all effective writing is careful to respect. These problems won’t be overlooked, since they affect the communication of thought— but thoughtful work is the most important.

Late Policy: Barring personal injury or family tragedy, late submission of written work is *strongly discouraged*. Marks on any late assignments will be reduced by 10 (on a 100 point grading scale) points per day past the due date.

Help with Writing

All undergraduate students taking summer courses in the Faculty of Arts and Science are eligible to use any of the five college writing centres that remain open in the summer: Innis College, New College, University College, Victoria College and Woodsworth College Writing Centres. Students may book up to TWO appointments per week. For information about writing centre appointments in the summer session, visit <http://writing.utoronto.ca/news>. To learn more about how writing centres work, visit <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/writing-centres/learning>.

More than 60 Advice files on all aspects of academic writing are available from www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice. Printable PDF versions are listed at www.writing.utoronto.ca/about-this-site/pdf-links.

Please also familiarize yourself with the helpful guide "How Not to Plagiarize" and other advice on documentation format and methods of integrating sources. These pages are all listed at www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources.

Accessibility Services

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the Accessibility Services as soon as possible. I will work with you and Accessibility Services to ensure you can achieve your learning goals in this course. Enquiries are confidential. The Accessibility Services office is located at 455 Spadina Ave, 4th Floor, Suite 400 (next to the camps bookstore). In addition to drop in-services Accessibility Services staff can be contacted via email at accessibility.services@utoronto.ca and phone at (416) 978-8060. Additional resources can also be found at: <https://www.studentlife.utoronto.ca/as>.

Turnitin.com Statement of Use:

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to Turnitin.com for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the Turnitin.com reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of the Turnitin.com service are described on the Turnitin.com web site.

Students can submit their papers on the course's Blackboard page in the Course Materials section.

Students can find helpful information on setting up their own turnitin.com account at:

Required Texts

Readings will either be made available on Blackboard or can be found via links to their original online sources as noted in the syllabus.

Email Policy

I do my best to respond in a timely fashion (usually within 48 hours) to all student emails. Please do not expect an immediate response, especially on evenings and weekends. Also, please be sure that any questions you have are not already answered in the syllabus.

A note on background information and familiarity with the subject matter

Ideally students will arrive prepared with a degree of background in Latin American politics and history. However, readings and lectures are intended to be accessible to newcomers and specialists alike. Advanced knowledge of Latin American history is a much-encouraged plus, but not a prerequisite for enrollment. As always, the best way to get around any problems that might arise due to gaps in the knowledge we come to the course with is to ask questions, to ask them often, and to ask them without fear.

Students less familiar might consider referencing general histories of Latin America such as:

John C. Chasteen (2011) *Born in Blood and Fire* (New York: W.W. Norton)

Tulio Halperin Donghi (1993) *The Contemporary History of Latin America* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press)

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

Robert Gwynne and Cristobal Kay (1999) *Latin America Transformed* (New York: Routledge)

The professor is also more than happy to point students toward sources according to their own particular interests.

***Análisis de Coyuntura* and the Importance of Outside Sources**

This is a course on contemporary Latin America at a time when ‘facts on the ground’ are rapidly being rewritten. While the primary focus of the course will be the themes and readings for each meeting, we will always allow time at the beginning of class to discuss, debate, and inform each other about current events in the Latin America. The aim of this sort of *análisis de coyuntura* (conjunctural analysis) is to draw our collective attention to the causes and consequences of the moments we are studying beyond the confines of the syllabus.

Latin American affairs are notoriously misrepresented – or ignored – in the North Atlantic Press. I wholeheartedly encourage you to add non-North American sources of information to your daily news and analysis repertoires. If you are fortunate enough to read languages other than English, all the better! Staying informed is one of our key responsibilities as global citizens.

Links including everything from online newspapers to government ministries is The Latin America Network Information Center. <http://lanic.utexas.edu>

The Washington Office on Latin America is a policy lobbying organization focusing on issues of human rights, security and justice. <http://www.wola.org>

NACLA Report offers analysis of Latin American conditions from a critical perspective. <http://www.nacla.org>

Good analysis on regional trends in crime and public insecurity. <http://www.insightcrime.org>

Resource for political movements and activism in Latin America, from the perspective of movement participants. <http://upsidedownworld.org>

Inter-American Dialogue (analysis of political and economic trends)
<http://thediologue.org>

The United States Institute of Peace (conflict resolution, includes database of peace accord documents) <http://www.usip.org>

Also offering excellent analysis of regional trends is the Canadian Foundation for the Americas, FOCAL. <http://www.focal.ca>

Among Latin American based research centers, for wide-ranging and timely scholarship see FLACSO (with sites in several LA countries) <http://www.flacso.org>

Please feel free (and encouraged!) to share any other sources of news and analysis you encounter.

Schedule of Readings and Discussion Topics

12 Sept – Intro to Course

19 Sept – The Contemporary Scene

Arturo Escobar (2010) “Latin America at a Crossroads: Alternative Modernizations, Post-Liberalism, or Post-Development?” *Cultural Studies* 24(1): 1-65.

Alexander Main and Gustavo Codas (2016) “The End of a Progressive Cycle?” *NACLA Report on the Americas* 48(4): 381-384.

Strongly Suggested:

Emir Sader (2011) “The New Mole” in *The New Mole: Paths of the Latin American Left* (New York: Verso). pp. ix-28.

Suggested and Supplemental:

Fernando Coronil (2011) “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 Press). pp. 231-265.

Enrique Dussel (2008) *Twenty Theses on Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press).

Jorge Castañeda (2006) “Latin America’s Left Turn” *Foreign Affairs* 85(3): 28-43.

David Harvey (2007) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: University Press).

26 Sept – Neoliberalism and Post-Neoliberalism (I): The Lost Decades and the Pink Tide

Harry E Vanden and Gary Prevost (2017) “The Political Economy of Latin America” in, *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game (Sixth Ed)*. Pp. 157-191, ***with special emphasis on 169-181.

William Robinson (2006) “Promoting Polyarchy in Latin America: The Oxymoron of ‘Market Democracy’” in *Latin America after Neoliberalism* (New York: The New Press): 96-119.

Sara Motta (2013) “‘We are the ones we’ve been waiting for’: The Feminization of Resistance in Venezuela” *Latin American Perspectives* 191(40): 35-54.

Suggested and Supplemental:

Fernando Ignacio Leiva (2008) *Latin American Neostructuralism: The Contradictions of Post-Neoliberal Development*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

Daniel Ozarow (2014) “When All They Thought was Solid Melted into Air: Resisting Pauperization in Argentina during the 2002 Crisis” *Latin American Research Review* (49)1: 178-202.

3 Oct – Keyword One Due no later than beginning of class

3 Oct – Neoliberalism and Post-Neoliberalism (II): From Polyarchy to Popular Democracy...and Back?

Julian Yates and Karen Bakker (2014) “Debating the ‘Post-Neoliberal Turn’ in Latin America.” *Human Geography* 38(1): 62-90.

Barry Cannon (2016) “Understanding the Right in Latin America” and “Coups, Smart Coups, and Elections: Right Power Strategies under Left-led governments” in *The Latin American Right: Elite Power, Hegemony, and the Struggle for the State*. (New York: Routledge).

Debora Lopreite (2015) “Gender Politics in Argentina after Neoliberalism: Opportunities and Obstacles for Women’s Rights” *Latin American Perspectives* 42(1): 64-73.

10 Oct – Paper Proposal Due

10 Oct – Climate Change, Extractivism, and Social Movements

Murat Arsel, et al (2016) “The Extractive Imperative in Latin America” *The Extractive Industries and Society* 3(4): 880-887.

Andrea Spikin and Jorge Rojas Hernández (2016) “Climate Change in Latin America: Inequality, Conflict, and Social Movements of Adaptation” *Latin American Perspectives* 43(4): 4-11.

Jorge Rojas Hernández (2016) “Society, Environment, Vulnerability, and Climate Change in Latin America: Challenges of the Twenty-First Century” *Latin American Perspectives* 43(4): 29-42.

17 Oct – Response Paper 1 due no later than beginning of class

17 Oct – China and Latin America: New Frontiers or New Dependencies?

Carol Wise (2017) “After the China Boom: What Now for Latin America’s Emerging Economies?” in *The Political Economy of China-Latin America Relations in the New Millennium: Brave New World*. Margaret Myers and Carol Wise, eds. (New York: Routledge): 143-169.

James Cypher and Tamar Diana Wilson (2015) "China and Latin America: Processes and Paradoxes" *Latin American Perspectives* 42(6): 5-26.

Alicia Puyana and Agostina Costantino (2015) "Chinese Land Grabbing in Argentina and Colombia." *Latin American Perspectives* 42(6): 105-119.

Supplemental and Suggested:

Jörn Dosch and David Goodman (2012) "China and Latin America: Complementarity, Competition, and Globalization" *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 41(1): 3-19.

Margaret Myers and Carol Wise (2017) *The Political Economy of China-Latin America Relations in the New Millennium: Brave New World*. (New York: Routledge).

24 Oct – Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution

Julia Buxton (2016) "Venezuela After Chávez" *New Left Review* 99: 5-25.

Barry Cannon (2014) "As Clear as MUD: Characteristics, Perspectives, and Strategies of the Opposition in Bolivarian Venezuela: *Latin American Politics and Society* 56(4): 49-70.

Donald Kingsbury (2016) "From Populism to Protagonism (and back?) in Bolivarian Venezuela: Rethinking Ernesto Laclau's *On Populist Reason*" *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 25(4): 495-514.

Suggested and Supplemental

George Ciccariello-Maher (2013) *We Created Chávez: A People's History of the Venezuelan Revolution*. Durham: Duke University Press.

31 Oct – Keyword 2 due no later than beginning of class

31 Oct – Brazil: Life after the Workers' Party

Conn Halinan (2016) "A Very Brazilian Coup" *Counterpunch* Available at: <http://www.counterpunch.org/2016/06/03/a-very-brazilian-coup/>

Glenn Greenwald (2016) "Credibility of Brazil's Interim President Collapses as he Receives 8-year Ban on Running for Office" *The Intercept* Available at: <https://theintercept.com/2016/06/03/credibility-of-brazils-interim-president-collapses-receives-8-year-ban-on-running/>

Ricardo Antunes (2013) "Trade Unions, Social Conflict, and the Political Left in Present-day Brazil: Between Breach and Compromise" in *The New Latin American Left*.

Dan LaBotz (2015) "Brazil: Lula, Rousseff, and the Workers Party Establishment in Power" *New Politics* 15(2): 53-60.

Suggested:

Mônica Dias Martins (2000) "The MST Challenge to Neoliberalism" *Latin American Perspectives* 27(5): 33-45.

Michael Reid (2014) *Brazil: The Troubled Rise of a Global Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press)

7 Nov – No Class, Reading Week

14 Nov – Response Paper 2 due no later than beginning of class

14 Nov – Ecuador: *Extractivismo* after Correa

Thea Riofrancos (2017) "The Ecuadorian Paradox" *Jacobin* (Online) available at:
<https://www.jacobinmag.com/2017/07/ecuador-correa-extractivism-pink-tide>

Sarah Radcliffe (2012) "Development for a Postneoliberal Era? *Sumak Kawsay*, Living Well, and the Limits to Decolonization in Ecuador" *Geoforum* 43: 240-249.

Sara Caria and Rafael Domínguez (2016) "Ecuador's *Buen Vivir*: A New Ideology for Development" *Latin American Perspectives* 43(1): 18-33.

Carlos Zorrilla (2014) "The Struggle over Sumak Kawsay in Ecuador"
<http://upside-down-world.org/main/ecuador-archives-49/4810-the-struggle-over-sumak-kawsay-in-ecuador>

Suggested and Supplemental:

Eduardo Gudynas (2013) "Buen Vivir: The Social Philosophy Inspiring Movements in South America"
<http://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/blog/buen-vivir-philosophy-south-america-eduardo-gudynas>

Henry Veltmeyer and James Petras (2014) *The New Extractivism: A Post-Neoliberal Development Model or Imperialism for the Twenty First Century?* (New York: Zed Books).

21 Nov – Escalation and De-Escalation (and Re-Escalation) in Colombia's Long Civil War

Ana María Bejarano (2003) "Protracted Conflict, Multiple Protagonists, and Staggered Negotiations: Colombia, 1982-2002" *Canadian Journal of Latin American Studies*. 28(55-56): pp. 223-247.

Francisco Gutiérrez Sanín (2008) "Telling the Difference: Guerrillas and Paramilitaries in the Colombian War" *Politics and Society* 36(3): 3-34.

James A Robinson (2013) "Colombia: Another 100 Years of Solitude" *Current History* 112(751): 43-48.

Gonzalo Vargas (2009) "Urban Irregular Warfare and Violence against Civilians: Evidence from a Colombian City" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 21: 110-132..

28 Nov – Keyword 3 due no later than beginning of class

28 Nov – Opening Cuba

Thomas Skidmore, Peter Smith, & James Green (2014) "Key Colony, Socialist State" in *Modern Latin America* (New York: Oxford University Press).

Camila Piñeiro Harnecker (2014) "Nonstate Enterprises in Cuba: Building Socialism?" *Latin American Perspectives* 41(4): 113-128.

Luis Suárez Salazar (2014) "Updating Cuban Socialism: A Utopian Critique" *Latin American Perspectives* 41(4): 13-217

Suggested and Supplemental:

Antoni Kapcia (2008) *Cuba in Revolution: A History since the Fifties*. London: Reaktion Books.

5 Dec – Class Wrap-Up and Summary

6 Dec – Research Paper Final Draft Due