

**University of Toronto**

**Department of Political Science**

**POL 305 Y – Politics and Society in Latin America**

**Summer 2011**

**Mondays and Wednesdays, 6-8 pm  
BA 1220**

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Course Description

This course presents a critical analysis of Latin American politics and society. It seeks to provide students with the theoretical and empirical background needed to understand and examine some of the main social, political, economic and cultural issues in Latin American countries, as well as equip them with the necessary material to pursue further studies of the region.

Part I of the course focuses on the main themes of Latin American politics from the late nineteenth century to the present, providing a theoretical framework for the analysis of the region. The topics to be explored are: state formation, economic development, globalization and US-Latin America relations, military-authoritarian regimes, democratization, the rise of the left, political institutions and interest mediation, civil society, ethnicity and race, and gender and sexuality.

In Part II, the framework developed in Part I will be applied to a variety of country (or sub-regional) case-studies (Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, Cuba, and Central America), highlighting the important elements of variation across different countries.

## Course format and requirements

In addition to attending two two-hour lectures per week, participating actively in discussions in class, and keeping up with the required course readings, students are expected to fulfill the following requirements:

1. **Discussion paper** (1,250-1,500 words) – **20%** – Due June 15
2. **Term test** – **25%** – June 29
3. **Research essay** (2,500-3,000 words) – **25%** – Due July 27 (proposal due by July 6\*)
4. **Final test** – **25%** – August 10
5. **Class participation** – **5%**

\* Failure to hand in a proposal by that date will entail a 5% penalty on your essay grade.

Students are expected to keep informed about current events and developments in Latin American politics and society by reading newspaper and magazine articles, as well as consulting websites devoted to the region.

Publications that may be consulted include: The Economist, New York Times, Financial Times, Courrier International, Le Monde Diplomatique.

The following websites provide information on Latin America:

[www.undp.org](http://www.undp.org)  
[www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)  
[www.oas.org](http://www.oas.org)  
[www.focal.ca](http://www.focal.ca)  
[www.iadb.org](http://www.iadb.org)  
[www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)  
[www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org)

Regular consultation of the following journals will help students stay up-to-date on current research in the area:

Latin American Research Review  
 Latin American Politics and Society  
 Latin American Perspectives  
 Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies  
 NACLA – Report on the Americas  
 Journal of Latin American Studies  
 Current History

## Contacting your instructor and e-mail policy

If you have a question about the course, please make use of the instructor's office hours posted on the first page of the syllabus. As for e-mail, course-related queries should include the course number [POL 305] on the subject line and the student's full name in the message. Please refrain from sending attachments with your messages. Allow 2-3 business days for the instructor to respond to our message before contacting him again.

## Course website

You can access the course website by logging into the University of Toronto's Portal (portal.utoronto.ca). Once you are logged in, if you are registered in the course on ROSI, you should see POL 305 listed under "My courses." Simply click on that link to access the course website.

This website plays a central role in the functioning of the course, and you are therefore strongly advised to visit it frequently. Important administrative and other announcements will be posted on it regularly, and it will also feature links to documents and readings required for the course.

## Extensions and make-up tests

Only valid and documented reasons (such as severe illness and death of a close relative) will be accepted for late submissions of assignments or for requesting to write a make-up test. Requests due to work overload (either university-related or extra-curricular) will not be accepted. Please be advised that computer problems (such as crashes, viruses, corrupted disks, etc.) will NOT be accepted as grounds for extensions. Make sure you back up your work in reliable media often and avoid leaving work to the last minute to prevent problems.

If you foresee problems with meeting the deadline AND you have documentation, please contact the instructor as soon as possible. Do not wait until the due date has passed to contact him.

Only one make-up test will be offered for each class test. If you had to miss the test for one of the above reasons, contact the instructor within one week from the missed test. Students who, for extraordinary and documented reasons, have to miss the make-up test will be required to write a take-home test.

## Class assignments – submission instructions, format, due dates, penalties and re-grading policy

All assignments should be submitted electronically to Turnitin.com by 11:59 PM on their due date. *No hard copies need to be submitted* (for further instructions see below, under "Turnitin.com").

Graded assignments with comments will be sent back to students electronically via Blackboard's communication tool. Please be sure that your *utoronto* e-mail account is registered as your current e-mail account on ROSI to avoid any problems. Also, ensure that your e-mail account is active, not full and that only you can access it, since your graded work will be sent to that address.

Assignments should be sent in Word (.doc or .docx) or Rich Text (.rtf) format. Make sure to title your file the following way:

Discussion paper: dp\_last name\_first initial (e.g., John Smith's book review: dp\_smith\_j).

Research essay proposal: prop\_last name\_first initial (e.g., John Smith's research essay proposal: prop\_smith\_j)

Research essay: re\_last name\_first initial (e.g., John Smith's research essay: re\_smith\_j)

Students are strongly advised to keep rough and draft work and copies of their essays and assignments *before handing them in to the Department*. These should be kept until the marked assignments have been returned. Once you receive your graded assignment, make sure to keep it until all final grades have been submitted and posted on ROSI.

Play close attention to the word limit stated on the assignment guidelines. They are inclusive of notes and bibliography. *Please note you will be penalized for going over the word limit in the written assignments.*

You may use the referencing style of your preference (MLA, Chicago, APA, etc), as long as you are consistent and provide complete references. Please consult a style guide in case you have doubts regarding how to properly include a reference in your assignment.

The **late penalty** for assignments handed in beyond their due date is **3% per day**, including weekends and holidays. *For the purpose of assigning late penalties, it is the Turnitin submission date that counts.*

If you would like to have your essay re-graded, you must submit a written request (1-2 pages) clearly outlining the reasons why you feel the grade you received was not a correct assessment of your work. *That request must be submitted within ten (10) working days from the day the graded assignment was returned to you, and no later than the last day of classes (August 12, 2011).* In that request, you must indicate the grade (number grade, not simply letter grade) you feel your essay deserves. There must be a significant difference between the grade you received and the grade you feel your essay deserves. Please include the original essay with your request. You should note that, as a result of the re-grade request, your essay grade may remain the same, go up, or go down.

### A note on plagiarism and writing

Please note that plagiarism is an extremely serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. For further clarification and information on plagiarism and how to avoid it, please see the University of Toronto's policy at [www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html](http://www.utoronto.ca/writing/plagsep.html).

Students are strongly encouraged to explore the numerous resources available at the "Writing at the University of Toronto" website at [www.utoronto.ca/writing](http://www.utoronto.ca/writing).

### Turnitin.com

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 website.

If, as a student, you object to using Turnitin.com, an alternative arrangement for the submission of your written assignment will be available. You will be required to: 1) meet the instructor for a brief interview about the research process prior to the assignment due date, 2) submit all your rough work and notes with your assignment, and 3) e-mail the assignment directly to the instructor.

Please follow the instructions on how to set up a Turnitin.com account, enroll in the course and submit a paper in the "Turnitin.com guide for students" available on the course website.

Note that, since you will not be required to submit a hard copy of your assignment, for the purposes of calculating an eventual late penalty, it is the Turnitin.com submission date that counts.

## Accessibility needs

The University of Toronto is committed to accessibility. If you require accommodations for a disability, or have any accessibility concerns about the course, the classroom or course materials, please contact Accessibility Services as soon as possible: [disability.services@utoronto.ca](mailto:disability.services@utoronto.ca) or <http://studentlife.utoronto.ca/accessibility>

## Course readings

The following **books** will be available for purchase at the University's Bookstore:

Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press.

Dorfman, Ariel. 1994. *Death and the Maiden*. New York: Penguin.

Required readings from the Skidmore, Smith and Green textbook are indicated with a [T] in the course schedule below.

The required course readings indicated with [CR] have been assembled in a **course reader** that is available for purchase at The Copy Place, 720 Spadina Ave. (1/2 block south of Bloor, west side of Spadina, tel. 416-961-2679).

Required readings indicated with [E] are available **electronically** at the University's library website ([main.library.utoronto.ca](http://main.library.utoronto.ca)) and via links in the course website.

## SCHEDULE OF TOPICS AND READINGS

### Lecture 1: Introduction: Pre-Columbian Americas and Iberian colonization [May 16]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 3-41. (ch. 1 and 2)

### Lecture 2: State formation [May 18]

[E] Oszlak, Oscar. 1981. "The Historical Formation of the State in Latin America: Some Theoretical and Methodological Guidelines for Its Study." *Latin American Research Review* 16 (2): 3-32.

[E] O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries." *World Development*. 21 (8): 1355-1369.

### Lecture 3: Economic development I (dependency, export economies and oligarchic rule [1870s-1930s]) [May 25]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 351-375. (ch. 12)

[CR] Topik, Steven and Allen Wells. 1998. "Introduction: Latin America's Response to International Markets during the Export Boom." In *The Second Conquest of Latin America: Coffee, Henequen, and Oil During the Export Boom, 1850-1930*. Eds., Steven Topik and Allen Wells. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press: 1-36.

### Lecture 4: Economic development II (Import-substitution industrialization and neoliberalism) [May 30]

[CR] Green, Duncan. 2003. *Silent Revolution: The Rise and Crisis of Market Economics in Latin America*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. New York: Monthly Review Press: 19-38.

[E] Vilas, Carlos. 1996. "Neoliberal Social Policy: Managing Poverty (Somehow)." *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 24 (6): 16-25.

[E] Mahon, Jr., James. 2003. "Good-Bye to the Washington Consensus?" *Current History* 102 (February): 58-64

### Lecture 5: Globalization and US-Latin America relations [June 1]

[E] Leogrande, William. 2007. "A Poverty of Imagination: George W. Bush's Policy in Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 39: 355-385.

[E] Grinspun, Ricardo and Yasmine Shamsie. 2010. "Canadian Re-engagement in Latin America: Missing the Mark Again." *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 43 (3): 12-17.

[E] Jenkins, Rhys. 2010. "China's Global Expansion and Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42: 809-837.

Lecture 6: Military-authoritarian regimes [June 6]

[CR] Stepan, Alfred. 1973. "The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Expansion." In *Authoritarian Brazil: Origins, Policies and Future*. Ed., A. Stepan. New Haven: Yale University Press: 47-65.

[E] Schamis, Hector. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism." *Comparative Politics* 23 (January): 201-220.

Lecture 7: Democratic transition and democratic deepening [June 8]

[E] Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 23 (Oct.): 1-21.

[E] Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully. 2008. "Latin America: Eight Lessons for Governance." *Journal of Democracy* 19 (3): 113-127.

Lecture 8: The rise of the Left [June 13]

[E] Cameron, Maxwell. 2009. "Latin America's Left Turns: Beyond Good and Bad." *Third World Quarterly* 30 (2): 331-348.

[E] Murillo, María Victoria, Virginia Oliveros and Milan Vaishnav. 2010. "Electoral Revolution or Democratic Alternation?" *Latin American Research Review* 45 (3): 87-114.

Lecture 9: Political institutions and interest mediation [June 15]

[E] Roberts, Kenneth. 2006. "Populism, Political Conflict, and Grass-Roots Organization in Latin America." *Comparative Politics* 38 (2): 127-148.

[E] Luna, Juan Pablo and Elizabeth Zechmeister. 2005. "Political Representation in Latin America: A Study of Elite-Mass Congruence in Nine Countries." *Comparative Political Studies* 38 (4): 388-416.

[E] Fox, Jonathan. 1994. "The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico." *World Politics* 46 (2): 151-184.

Lecture 10: Civil society – Ethnicity and race [June 20]

[CR] Oxhorn, Philip. 1995. "From Controlled Inclusion to Coerced Marginalization: The Struggle for Civil Society in Latin America." In *Civil Society: Theory, History, and Comparison*. Ed., J. Hall. Cambridge: Polity Press: 250-277.

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

[CR] Telles, Edward. 2004. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*. Princeton: Princeton University Press: 47-77.

Lecture 11: Gender and sexuality [June 22]

[CR] Chinchilla, Norma and Liesl Haas. 2006. "De Protesta a Propuesta: The Contributions and Challenges of Latin American Feminism." In *Latin America After Neoliberalism: Turning the Tide in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century?* Eds., Eric Hershberg and Fred Rosen. New York: New Press/NACLA: 252-275.

[E] Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics and Gender* 4: 393-425.

[E] Encarnación, Omar. 2011. "Latin America's Gay Rights Revolution." *Journal of Democracy* 22 (2): 104-118.

Term Test [June 29]

Lectures 12 and 13: Brazil [July 4 and 6]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 306-348. (ch.11)

[E] Hunter, Wendy. 2007. "The Normalization of an Anomaly: The Workers' Party in Brazil." *World Politics* 59: 440-475.

[E] Caldeira, Teresa. 2002. "The Paradox of Police Violence in Democratic Brazil." *Ethnography* 3 (3): 235-263.

[E] Avritzer, Leonardo. 2010. "Living Under a Democracy: Participation and Its Impact on the Living Conditions of the Poor." *Latin American Research Review* 45 (Special Issue): 166-185.

Lecture 14 and 15: Argentina [July 11 and 13]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 244-277. (ch. 9)

[E] Bonner, Michelle. 2005. "Defining Rights in Democratization: The Argentine Government and Human Rights Organizations, 1983-2003." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47 (4): 55-76.

[CR] Teichman, Judith. 2001. *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America: Chile, Argentina and Mexico*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press: 97-128.

[E] Levitsky, Steven and María Victoria Murillo. 2008. "Argentina: From Kirchner to Kirchner." *Journal of Democracy* 19 (2): 16-30.

Lectures 16 and 17: Mexico [July 18 and 20]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 45-81. (ch. 3)

[CR] Heredia, Blanca. 1994. "Making Economic Reform Politically Viable: The Mexican Experience." In *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America*:

*Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile and Mexico*. Eds., W. Smith, C. Acuña and E. Gamarra. Miami: North-South Center Press: 265-295.

[E] Luccisano, Lucy. 2006. "The Mexican *Oportunidades* Program: Questioning the Linking of Security to Conditional Social Investments for Mothers and Children." *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 31 (62): 53-86.

[E] Olvera, Alberto. 2010. "The Elusive Democracy: Political Parties, Democratic Institutions, and Civil Society in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review*. 45 (Special Issue): 79-107.

#### Lecture 18: Peru [July 25]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 150-190. (ch. 6)

[E] Arce, Moisés. 2008. "The Repoliticization of Collective Action After Neoliberalism in Peru." *Latin American Politics and Society* 50 (3): 37-62.

#### Lecture 19: Venezuela [July 27]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 219-243. (ch. 8)

[E] Ellner, Steve. 2010. "Hugo Chavez's First Decade in Office: Breakthroughs and Shortcomings." *Latin American Perspectives* 37 (1): 77-96.

#### Lecture 20: Cuba [August 3]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 121-149. (ch. 5)

[E] Alzugaray Treto, Carlos. 2009. "Continuity and Change in Cuba at 50: The Revolution at a Crossroads." *Latin American Perspectives* 36 (3): 8-26.

#### Lecture 21: Central America [August 8]

[T] Skidmore, Thomas, Peter H. Smith and James N. Green. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. New York: Oxford University Press: 82-120. (ch. 4)

[E] Rodgers, Dennis. 2009. "Slum Wars of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: Gangs, *Mano Dura* and the New Urban Geography of Conflict in Central America." *Development and Change* 40 (5): 949-976.

#### Final test [August 10]

## Guidelines for assignments

### **Discussion paper (1,250-1,500 words, including bibliography) – due June 15**

Write a discussion paper based on the play *Death and the Maiden*, by Ariel Dorfman and the following texts:

[E] Hayner, Priscilla. 2002. *Unspeakable Truths: Facing the Challenge of Truth Commissions*. New York: Routledge: 24-31, 86-106, 133-169 (Chapters 3, 7, 9 and 10).

[CR] Stern, Steve. 2010. *Reckoning with Pinochet: The Memory Question in Democratic Chile, 1989-2006*. Durham: Duke University Press: 65-98 (Chapter 2).

[E] Collins, Cath. 2010. “Human Rights Trials in Chile During and After the ‘Pinochet Years’.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 4: 67-86.

[E] Olsen, Tricia, Leigh Payne, Andrew Reiter and Eric Wiebelhaus-Brahm. 2010. “When Truth Commissions Improve Human Rights.” *International Journal of Transitional Justice* 4: 457-476.

In your paper, you should examine the relationship between truth telling and justice in the context of democratization in Chile. What role can truth commissions play in the delivery of justice in relation to atrocities committed under the authoritarian regime? Can telling the truth about the past destabilize the post-authoritarian democratic regime?

Make sure your answer draws on all the sources listed, establishing a dialogue between Dorfman’s play and the academic texts listed above.

It is also strongly recommended that, prior to writing your paper, you familiarize yourself with the history of Chile since independence by reading Chapter 10 (pp. 278-305) in Skidmore *et al.*’s *Modern Latin America*.

### **Research essay (2,500-3,000 words, including bibliography) – due July 27**

In essay format, write a paper following one of the options below:

1. Choose one topic from Part I of the course (state formation, economic development, globalization and US-Latin America relations, interest mediation and political development, military-authoritarian regimes, democratization, the rise of the left, political institutions, civil society, ethnicity and race, and gender and sexuality). Compare and contrast the experience of two different countries from Part II (Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, Cuba, or any Central American country) in regard to the politics around the issue you choose.
2. Choose two topics from the following list from Part I of the course (economic development, US-Latin America relations, military-authoritarian regimes, democratization, the rise of the left, political institutions, ethnicity and race, and gender and sexuality). Analyze the politics around those two issues and the linkages between them in any one of the countries from Part II (Brazil, Argentina, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, Cuba, or any Central American country).

You should prepare a 250-500 word (one- to two-page) **proposal** for your essay outlining the focus of your paper (including the central question you are going to tackle), the case(s) that you have chosen, as well as a preliminary bibliography and hand it in to the instructor for approval by **July 6**. Failure to hand in a proposal by that date will entail a 5% penalty on your essay grade.

If you would prefer to examine a country that is not included in Part II of the course, you should first get permission from the course instructor.