

Latin American Politics and Societies

POL 305Y
Tuesday & Thursday 4-6pm
University of Toronto
Fall 2018

Donald V Kingsbury, PhD

Office Hours: Th 2-3:30

(and by appointment)

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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.'

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.

Please Note: Lectures will *supplement* but not necessarily review assigned readings.

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

Assignment	Value	Due Date
Map Quiz	10%	20 September
Response Paper I	15%	4 October
Response Paper II	15%	22 November
Midterm Exam	25%	30 October
Final Exam	35%	TBD

Response Papers – Twice during the semester you will be asked to write one-page (500 words, single spaced) responses to your choice of 2-3 prompts. The aim in this sort of writing is to present an argument as clearly and concisely as possible, but without sacrificing evidence to support your claim. You should avoid elaborate introductions and

conclusions. A successful paper will start with a direct thesis statement and then progress to the paper's argument, concluding with a restatement of the thesis.

Please note, it is nearly impossible to write a response paper without a significant amount of prewriting and revision. There will be many potential arguments to each prompt. Your task is to find the best argument you can make and to make care that your prose is the servant of your ideas – not vice versa. Response papers will be due via turnitin.com *before* the start of the following classes:

Midterm Exam – The midterm will be held in class and will be comprised of identification and short answer questions.

Final Exam – The comprehensive final exam will also be comprised of identification and short answer questions. A study guide will be posted on the last day of lecture. be held during the December 2018 exam period.

All late work will have its assessment reduced by 5% for each day past the deadline, effectively immediately.

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.

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>.

Information about the English Language Learning program (ELL) is available at <http://www.artsci.utoronto.ca/current/advising/ell>. Students looking to build on their language strengths might also consider other opportunities, such as:

- the Communication Cafe, which meets weekly at four different times and locations for the first five weeks of each term for practice with oral skills like class discussion and presentations
- Reading eWriting, an online program that helps students engage course readings more effectively. You can also find further instructional advice files for students and for classroom instruction on this site.

For more information, please contact me either via email or directly, or feel free to contact the ELL Coordinator Leora Freedman at leora.freedman@utoronto.ca

Primary Texts:

Daniel C. Hellinger. *Comparative Politics of Latin America: Democracy at Last?* (New York: Routledge, 2015)

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 on Blackboard or through the students' own ingenuity.

Current Events and Further Reading

Coverage of Latin American Political, Economic, and Social happenings in the US and Canada are often poor at best, and usually absent from the news cycle entirely. I encourage students to do their best to keep abreast of regional happenings by following local newspapers, language skills permitting, or by periodically checking in with the work of think tanks, development agencies and Non-Governmental Organizations, and scholarly associations. For example:

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://thedialogue.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>

Schedule of Readings and Meetings

**Please Note: Readings may be added and/or adjusted
according to pressing events**

6 September – Introduction to the course and themes

Part One: Basics and Political ‘Tour’ of Latin America and the Caribbean,

**11 September – Conceptions of Democracy & Citizenship
(Regional Introduction: Mexico and Central America)**

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Introduction” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*.

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 1” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*.

United Nations Development Program (2013). “Citizen Security with a Human Face: Evidence and Proposals for Latin America.” UNDP Human Development Report, 2013-2014.

<http://www.undp.org/content/dam/rblac/docs/Research%20and%20Publications/IDH/IDH-AL-ExecutiveSummary.pdf>

**13 September – Geopolitics and Dependent Development
(Regional Introduction: Caribbean)**

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 6” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

N. Sarah A. Radcliffe (2004) “Civil Society, Grassroots Politics, and Livelihoods” in
193- *Latin America Transformed: Globalization and Modernity (2nd ed)*. Robert
Gwynne and Cristóbal Kay, eds. (New York: Hodder Arnold):
207.

**18 September – The State, Presidential Systems, and Social Movements
(Regional Introduction: The Andes)**

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 13” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 12” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 11” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

**20 September – Inequality and Exclusion in Economic and Social Registers
(Regional Introduction: The Southern Cone)**

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 (2015) “Chapter 2” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

**25 September – Populism and Corporatism
(Regional Focus: Southern Cone)**

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 5” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

Kenneth Roberts (1996) “Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case” *World Politics* 48(1): 82-116.

27 September -- Neoliberalism and After

Michael Walton (2004) “Neoliberalism in Latin America: Good, Bad, or Incomplete?” *Latin American Research Review* 39(3): 165-183.

John C Chasteen (2016) “Chapter 11” in *Born and Blood and Fire*

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

Part Two: Latin America in Historical Perspective

2 October – From *Reconquista* to ‘Discovery’: Genocide, Colonization, and Extraction

John Chasteen (2016) “Chapter 2” in *Born in Blood and Fire*

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 3” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*.

William M. Denevan (1992) “The Pristine Myth: The Landscape of the Americas in 1492” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 82(3): 369-385.

Suggested Additional Reading/Viewing:

Film: Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (1976) *La Ultima Cena* (The Last Supper)

***Please note: if there is sufficient interest, we can arrange an extracurricular screening for this film.

4 October – Syncretism and Patterned Inequality

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

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

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 Rosemblatt,
eds. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press). Pps. 87-106.

9 October – Colonial Life and Postcolonial Blues

John Chasteen (2016) "Chapter 3" in *Born in Blood and Fire*

Daniel Hellinger (2015) "Chapter 4" in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*.

11 October – The Mexican Revolution

Nora Hamilton (2011) "Independence and Early Republic" and "The Revolution:
1910-1940" in *Mexico: Political, Social, and Economic Evolution*. New
York: Oxford University Press.

Adolfo Gilly (2005) "Zapatism" and "The Morelos Commune" in *The Mexican
Revolution*. New York: The New Press.

Daniel Hellinger (2015) "Chapter 9" ***especially pps. 253-267 in *Comparative
Politics of Latin America*

16 October – Populism, Development, Urbanization

John Chasteen (2016) "Chapter 7" in *Born in Blood and Fire*

John Chasteen (2016) "Chapter 8" in *Born in Blood and Fire*

Alan Gilbert (2004) "The Urban Revolution" in *Latin America Transformed:
Globalization and Modernity*. Robert Gwynne and Cristóbal Kay, eds.
(New York: Hodder Arnold) pps 93-114.

18 October – Dependency and Revolution

John Chasteen (2016) "Chapter 9" in *Born in Blood and Fire*

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

Selected Further Reading/Viewing:

Film: Octavio Getino and Fernando Solanas (1968) *La Hora de los Hornos: Notas y Testimonios sobre el neocolonialismo, la violencia, y la liberación* (The Hour of the Furnaces: Notes and Testimonies on neocolonialism, violence, and liberation)

***Please note: if there is sufficient interest, we can arrange an extracurricular screening for this film.

23 October – Reaction

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 7” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 10” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

25 October – Democracy: Transitions and Limitations

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 8” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

Daniel Hellinger (2015) “Chapter 9” in *Comparative Politics of Latin America*

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

30 October – In class midterm exam

1 November – Borders, Migration, Refugees

In Class Screening of *Sin Nombre* (Fukunaga, 2009)

Take a listen: ‘What we saw at the Border’ *WOLA Podcast*

<https://www.wola.org/analysis/what-we-saw-at-the-border/>

Have look: WOLA Migration and Border Security Program

<https://www.wola.org/program/migration-border-security/>

6 November – Reading Week, No Class

8 November – Reading Week, No Class

Part Three: Contemporary Case Studies

13 November – Brazil: Inequality and Development in the Region’s Superpower

Ian Carrillo (2014) “The New Developmentalism and the Challenges to Long-Term Stability in Brazil” *Latin American Perspectives* 41(5): 59-74.

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

Left (New York: Verso). Pps. 43-66.

James Green and Renan Quinalha (2017) “Corruption and Controversy in Brazil” *NACLA Report on the Americas*

<https://nacla.org/news/2017/03/30/corruption-and-controversy-brazil>

15 November -- Bolivia, Indigeneity, & “Andean-Amazonian Capitalism”

Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl (2014) *Evo’s Bolivia: Continuity and Change*. (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press), Ch. 2.

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): 105-119.

20 November -- Venezuela and 21st Century Socialism

Gregory Wilpert (2007) *Changing Venezuela by Taking Power* (New York: Verso)
pp. 1-29.

Sujatha Fernandes (2013) “Culture and Neoliberal Rationalities in Postneoliberal Venezuela” in *Neoliberalism, Interrupted*.

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

22 November – Honduras and the ‘New Canadian Imperialism’

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

Council on Hemispheric Affairs (2014) “Canadian Mining in Latin America: Exploitation, COHA Special Report www.coha.org

Sabrina Escalera-Flexhaug (2014) “Canada’s Controversial Engagement in Honduras” COHA Special Report www.coha.org

Ronn Pineo (2013) “Latin America’s Backyard” COHA Special Report www.coha.org

27 November -- China: A Multipolar Future, or More of the Same?

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

Ruben Gonzalez-Vicente (2012) "The Political Economy of Sino-Peruvian Relations: A New Dependency?" *Journal of Current Chinese Affairs* 41(1): 97-131.

Raul Zibechi (2015) "China Stakes its Claim in Latin America"

<http://upside-down-world.org/main/international-archives-60/5247-china-stakes-its-claim-in-latin-america>

Shannon Tiezzi (2015) "China is Watching as US Seeks to Smooth Ties with Latin America"

<http://thediplomat.com/2015/04/china-is-watching-as-us-seeks-to-smooth-ties-with-latin-america/>

29 November – After the Pink Tide

Miguel Ángel Contreras Natera (2013) "Insurgent Imaginaries and Postneoliberalism in Latin America" in *Neoliberalism, Interrupted*.

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

4 December – Class Wrap Up

*****Final exam to be held during exam week, date and time TBA*****