

POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT OF LATIN AMERICA

**UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE**

POLI 332 951

Summer, Term 2 (July 06-August 13, 2020)

Mondays and Wednesdays, 9:00 am – 12:00pm (Pacific Daylight Time),
web-oriented course via Zoom

Zaraí Toledo Orozco

Office hours: Wednesdays, 12- 2pm and by appointment

Location: Collaborate Ultra (link on Canvas)

Teaching assistant: Gabriela Ruiz Echevarría

Email: xxxx

Office hours: By appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION: This course is an introduction to the patterns of sociopolitical change in Latin American politics. Emphasis is placed upon the quest for socioeconomic inclusion and equality in the region and states' responses to these demands over time. A major goal of this course is to assess how much Latin America has advanced in becoming more democratic based on the inclusion of marginalized sectors. The course is divided into two parts. The first part will use emblematic country-cases to cover the most important phenomena, concepts and theories that have shaped the study of the region, such as dependency and populism, revolutions, military and bureaucratic authoritarianism, economic liberalization, transitions to democracy, social movements and indigenous politics. The second part will examine the current challenges of the region in terms of development and resource governance, corruption and democratic deepening, and the return of the Right and conservative movements.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT: The University of British Columbia's point Grey Campus is located on the traditional, ancestral, and unceded territory of the Musqueam people. The land it is situated on has always been a place of learning for the Musqueam people, who for millennia have passed on their culture, history, and traditions from one generation to the next on this site.

LEARNING GOALS: The main purpose of this course is to help students to reflect critically about the Latin American reality. To this end, there are two learning goals: The first is to provide an overview of the region's sociopolitical processes in comparative perspective and the debates in the literature. The second is to help students develop analytical skills to assess existing theories and concepts used to understand politics in

developing nations. In particular, as the focus of this course is on inclusion, we will often ask questions regarding who participates and who is excluded from certain sociopolitical processes, as well as what are the repercussions of such context in how we understand democracy in the region.

FORMAT: Lectures will be held via Zoom. I will send an email with the link for the class at the beginning of the semester and you will also be able to find the link to Zoom on the Canvas home page. Lectures will not be recorded (unless the instructor faces serious technical problems) but slides will be available on Canvas after each class.

Although this is a lecture-based class, you will be asked individual questions through Top Hat and we will have short group discussions using Zoom. Whereas the readings will touch on key concepts and theories, lectures will draw on case studies to exemplify how these apply to different scenarios. For these reasons, it is fundamental that you join the lectures having completed the weekly readings.

* I strongly recommend joining Zoom sessions a couple of minutes before the start of the class to prevent problems when people simultaneously join a session. This will also give you time to check your microphone and camera.

EVALUATION AND ASSESSED COURSE WORK

Evaluation summary

Midterm examination, in class (July 27)	30%
Think piece	25%
Attendance and participation	5%
Final examination, during scheduled examination period (tba)	40%

Midterm and final examination: Both the midterm and the final examination are based on all the material covered in the lectures and the readings. The midterm will cover sessions 1-7, and the final exam will include all sessions.

Lecture attendance and participation: Top Hat will help me take attendance at the beginning of the class and assess your participation. Your mark does not depend on whether you get the answers right. The questions asked are only designed to initiate an exchange of ideas and share your opinion on the issues we discuss. To get credit for participation in a class, you will need to input responses to **all** the questions during that class from your own device. I also encourage you to share your voice with the class by raising your (virtual) hand or by interacting with your peers during the group discussions.

If you experience technical problems with Top Hat, you will also have the option to participate by answering a weekly question to be posted on Canvas. Your answer should be short (no more than a paragraph) and it should build on the texts and/or the lectures. You can only answer these questions twice during the entire semester.

Think Piece: This assignment is worth 25% of the total mark. You will need to choose the topic from one week and write a short essay (**max. 5 pages**). Choose one film only from the options available to reflect on one of the topics/ concepts discussed that week in

the readings and/or in class. You will only do this once during the semester. The films are all available online and you can find the links to many of them at courses.library.ubc.ca. You can submit the Think Piece any time before **August 5**. Early submissions are highly encouraged. Detailed instructions can be found at the end of this syllabus.

REQUIRED READINGS AND TOP HAT: The readings for this course, as listed below in this syllabus, are all available electronically either through the UBC Library Online Catalogue, courses.library.ubc.ca or a link here provided. It is your responsibility to access or download all the readings on time. There is no required textbook for this course.

In order to participate in the course, you will need to sign up from your own device to Top Hat. We will start using Top Hat from Week 2. To login, please, follow these instructions:

1. Go to: tophat.com
2. Click on Login if you have an existing account or Sign-up > Student sign-up
3. Follow the prompts
4. When you are met with the join code field, enter the course code **xxxx**

COURSE POLICIES

Missed examinations: If you miss an examination, you will be awarded zero points, except in the event of documented illness or an emergency.

Penalties for lateness: Submissions of the Think Piece after the deadline will see 2% deducted of the total mark per day, including weekends and statutory holidays.

Extensions: Extensions for the Think Piece or for make-up exams will only be considered upon request from the Arts Academic Advising office or in the event of unforeseeable situations. In all cases, extensions need to be accompanied by documentation and be requested before the deadline.

Appeals: Requests for regrading must be supported by a written explanation within 48-hours after the assignment or exam is returned. The explanation should clearly indicate the basis for the appeal and should be sent to the TA. Once you submit your work for regrading, your grade can go either up or down.

ACCOMMODATIONS: Students with medical conditions or disabilities, please contact the Centre for Accessibility at UBC in order to arrange appropriate accommodations. Please, inform me any arrangements a minimum of two weeks before due dates or examinations.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY: Plagiarism, cheating and other forms of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated. Plagiarism is defined by the presentation or submission of the work of another person, without proper citation or credits, as the student's own

work. Punishment for cheating or plagiarism will result in a grade of zero and other disciplinary measures, following the University's Academic Calendar (<http://www.calendar.ubc.ca/vancouver/index.cfm?tree=3,54,111,960>).

For further information on how to acknowledge all source of information and avoid plagiarism, please, visit the following site: <http://www.library.ubc.ca/home/plagiarism/>

COURSE SCHEDULE AND READINGS¹

1. Monday, July 6, 2020: Introduction and countries' historical trajectories

- No required readings.

2. Wednesday, July 8, 2020: The sociopolitical legacies of colonialism

Required readings:

- Mahoney, J. (2003). Long-Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America. *American Journal of Sociology*, 109 (1): 50-106.
- Quijano, A. (2000). Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, 15 (2): 215-232 (**SKIM**).

Films:

- "Ixcanul" (2016) (Guatemala), directed by Jayro Bustamante (on ubc.kanopy.com where you can login for free using your UBC student card).
- "Embrace of the Serpent" (2016) (Colombia), directed by Ciro Guerra (on ubc.kanopy.com).

3. Monday, July 13, 2020: State-building projects in the 19th century. Oligarchies and caudillismo

Required readings:

- Centeno, M. (1997). Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteen-Century in Latin America. *American Journal of Sociology*, 102 (6): 1565- 1605.

¹ I am drawing in part from past POLI 332 syllabi developed by Maxwell Cameron and Agustín Goenaga from UBC.

Recommended:

- Dix, R. (1984). Why Revolutions Succeed & Fail. *Polity*, 16 (3): 423-446. (If you are writing the Think Piece this week, you will need to read this paper)

Films:

- “The Motorcycle Diaries” (2004) (South America), directed by Walter Salles (on Netflix).

4. **Wednesday, July 15, 2020: Development strategies**

Required readings:

- Baer, W. (1972) Import Substitution and Industrialization in Latin America. Experiences and Interpretations. *Latin American Research Review*, 7 (1): 95-111.
- Collier, R.B. and D. Collier (1979). Inducements versus Constraints: Disaggregating ‘Corporatism’. *American Political Science Review*, 73 (4): 967-986.

Films:

- “Machuca” (2004) (Chile), directed by Andrés Wood (on ubc.kanopy.com).
- “Memories of Underdevelopment” (Memorias del subdesarrollo) (1968) (Cuba), directed by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea (on iTunes).

5. **Monday, July 20, 2020: Democratization**

Required readings:

- O’Donnell, G. and P. Schmitter (1986). *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore and London: The John Hopkins University Press. Ch 2, Pp. 6-14 and Ch 3, Pp. 15 – 25 **only** (available at courses.library.ubc.ca).
- O’Donnell, G. (1994). Delegative Democracy. *Journal of Democracy*, 5(1): 55-69.

Recommended:

- Karl, T. (1990). Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 23 (1): 1-21.

Films:

- “Massacre at the Stadium (2019) (Chile), directed by Bent-Jorgen Perlmutt (on Netflix).
- “No” (2012) (Chile), directed by Pablo Larraín (on Youtube).

6. **Wednesday, July 22, 2020: Political violence**

Required readings:

- Wickham-Crowley, T. (2015). Del Gobierno de Abajo al Gobierno de Arriba...and Back: Transitions to and from Rebel Governance in Latin America, 1956-1990. In: *Rebel Governance in Civil War*, ed. Arjona, A. Cambridge University Press. Ch 3 (eBook).
- Maureci, P. (2004). State, Elites and the Response to Insurgency: Some Preliminary Comparisons between Colombia and Peru. In: *Politics in the Andes. Identity, Conflict, Reform*, eds. Burt, J-M. and Maureci, P. Pittsburg, Pa: University of Pittsburg Press. Pp. 146-163 (eBook).

Recommended:

- Wolf, S. (2010). Maras Transnacionales: Origins and Transformations of Central American Street Gangs. *Latin American Research Review*, 45 (1): 256-265.

Films:

- “A Place Called Chiapas” (1998) (Mexico), directed by Nettie Wild (on ubc.kanopy.com).
- “The Last Hour” (2017) (Peru), directed by Eduardo Mendoza de Echave (on Netflix).

7. Monday, July 27, 2020: Midterm

8. Wednesday, July 29, 2020: The politics of economic liberalization

Required readings:

- Weyland, K. (2004). Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 46 (1): 135-157.
- Stiglitz, J.E. (2004). The Post Washington Consensus Consensus. Institute for Policy Dialogue. Available at: http://policydialogue.org/files/events/Stiglitz_Post_Washington_Consensus_Paper.pdf

Films:

- “Nine Queens” (2000) (Argentina), directed by Fabián Bielinsky (on Youtube).
- “Maquilapolis: City of Factories – Activism for Low-Wage Workers in Mexico” (2006) (Mexico), directed by Sergio de la Torre and Vicky Funari (on ubc.kanopy.com).

9. Monday, August 3, 2020: The return of the left and new social movements (this session will be rescheduled or recorded)

Required readings:

- Cameron, M. (2009). Latin America's Left Turns: Beyond Good and Bad. *Third World Quarterly*, 30 (2): 331-348.
- Yashar, D. (1998). Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America. *Comparative Politics*, 31 (1): 23-42.

Recommended:

- Anria, S. (2013). Social Movements, Party Organization, and Populism: Insights from the Bolivian MAS. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 55 (3): 19-46.

Films:

- "The Revolution will not be televised" (2003) (Venezuela), directed by Kim Bartley and Donnacha O'Briain (on Youtube).
- "South of the Border" (2011) (South America), directed by Oliver Stone (on iTunes and Youtube).

10. Wednesday, August 5, 2020: The political economy of natural resource governance

*** Deadline to submit your Think Piece**

Required readings:

- Svampa, M. (2019). Neo-extractivism in Latin America. Socio-environmental Conflicts, the Territorial Turn, and New Political Narratives. Cambridge Elements. Cambridge University Press, Pp. 1-19 (eBook).
- Salas, M.T. (2009). *The Enduring Legacy: Oil, Culture and Society in Venezuela*. Durham and London: Duke University Press. Conclusion, Pp. 237-250 (eBook).

Recommended:

- Kurtz, M. (2009) The Social Foundations of Institutional Order and the "Resource Curse" in Third World State Building. *Politics and Society*, 37(4), 479-520.

Films:

- "When Two Worlds Collide" (2016) (Peru), directed by Heidi Brandenburg and Mathew Orzel (on ubc.kanopy.com and Netflix).
- "Guardiana de los ríos" (Guardian of the rivers) (2016) (Honduras), directed by Radio Progreso and Madre Tierra Productions (on Youtube with subtitles).

11. Monday, August 10, 2020: Political and socioeconomic challenges to democratic deepening

Required readings:

- Roberts, K. (2007). Latin America's Populist Revival. *SAIS Review*, 27(1): 3-15.
- Eaton, K. (2014). New Strategies of the Latin American Right. Beyond Parties and Elections. In: *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*, ed. Luna, J.P. and C. Rovira Kaltwasser. Ch 3, Pp 75-90 (eBook).
- Levitsky, S. and V. Murillo. (2019). The Coup Temptation in Latin America. *The New York Times*. Available online:
<https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/26/opinion/international-world/latin-america-coup-morales-bolivia.html>

Films:

- "The Edge of Democracy" (2019) (Brazil), directed by Petra Costa (on Netflix).
- "The Perfect Dictatorship" (2014) (Mexico), directed by Luis Estrada (on Netflix).

12. Wednesday, August 12, 2020: Review and conclusions: How much have Latin American states advanced in becoming more democratic?

Think Piece

The Think Piece is an opportunity to put in practice the ideas and concepts addressed in the course, while also critically discuss a particular political phenomenon in Latin America. The goal is to train students to use conceptual tools in the analysis of real-life problems. A great Think Piece is one that assesses how particular themes raised in a film speak to sociopolitical processes or problems in the region. Although you are free to write on the issue of your preference, your essay should be able to identify what themes in the film are aligned with, or, by contrast, challenge what we read that week. You do not need to cover all the topics we studied that week. Focus on one issue that you find relevant in the film and link it to one topic or concept seen in the selected week.

What a Think Piece should include: Begin with a synopsis of the film (context and plot). Then identify an issue/problem linked to the selected week's topics (one is fine). The connection between the two should be explicit in your paper. Make sure you define the concept or topic you will be using to assess the movie. The rest of the paper should be your critical reflection (this must be the largest part of the essay).

Guiding questions: These are some questions to help you think about you content of your essay. Not necessarily all of them apply to all the weeks.

- a. What is happening in the country at the time? What is the most salient political issue?
- b. How is that political issue affecting the lives of the characters?
- c. Who is in power and who is left out?
- d. How are those left out able to resist, exert contention or challenge power structures?

Examples of topics: Impact of colonialism on social relations and race (session 2), Impacts of violence in Andean population (session 6), Labour precarity (session 8), Impact of corruption on democracies (session 11).

Format: The Think Piece should be no longer than 5 pages, double-space, Times New Roman 12. If you will refer to specific passages from our readings, you are free to use the citation style of your preference – just make sure you are consistent. Papers that have inconsistent citation formats will lose marks.

Submission and deadline: Submit the Think Piece to Turnitin. You can submit it any time **before August 5** (before the class). Submissions after 9 am August 5 will be penalized. Early submissions are highly encouraged.

Turnitin: Essays that are not submitted to Turnitin will not be graded. Papers submitted to Turnitin after the deadline, will be penalized.

To submit your paper on Turnitin, follow these instructions:

1. Go to www.turnitin.com
2. At the top right, go to **Create Account** and select **Student**.
3. Enter the **Class ID: xxxx** and **Enrolment Password: xxxxxx**