

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

**POLI 332 951 – LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENTS**  
SUMMER 2015 TERM 2 (July 6-August 13, 2015), M & W 2-5 pm  
**Room: BUCH B-313**

**Instructor: Agustín Goenaga**  
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**Office: CK Choi building, room 328**  
**Office Hours: Wed, 11-1 pm or by appointment**

**Papers and Exams:**

Book Review: 30%	Due through turnitin.com on Friday, July 24, 2015 at 12pm (noon) PST
Policy Brief: 30%	Due through turnitin.com on Wednesday, August 12, 2015 at 12pm (noon) PST
Final Exam: 40%	TBA during Exam Week

**Course description:** This course offers an overview of the political and economic development of Latin America. First, we will cover general topics that have dominated scholarly debates about the region: the legacies of colonialism; the wars of independence and state formation during the 19<sup>th</sup> century; the role of the military and the authoritarian regimes of the 20<sup>th</sup> century; corporatism and labour movements; transitions to democracy; political economy (export-led models, import-substitution industrialization, neoliberalism, and the developmental state); the quality of democracy, delegative democracies and competitive authoritarianism; indigenous politics, social movements, and the “Left Turns” of the 2000s. As we move to explore contemporary affairs, we will discuss some cases in more depth: Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Venezuela, Chile, Argentina, Mexico and Colombia.

The course will focus particularly on the challenges and opportunities for democratic governance that the region is facing today. We will address this topic by exploring four general lines of inquiry: first, a long-term view of the development of Latin American states and civil societies; second, an analysis of the ways in which economic interests influence politics in the region; third, an assessment of the role played by social movements and popular mobilization in the expansion or curtailment of democracy; and, finally, a discussion about the new democratic institutions and practices that have emerged in Latin America during the last decade.

**Required materials:**

1. Domínguez, Jorge I. & Michael Shifter. 2013. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America* (4<sup>th</sup> Edition). Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
2. All the other required readings are available through the UBC Library website or on Connect.
3. For the book review, you will need to choose one of the books mentioned below. There are copies of these titles at the UBC bookstore. Most of these titles are also available as e-books. Depending on their availability, copies of these books will be on one-day reserve at Koerner Library.

**Objectives of the course:**

1. To gain familiarity with the main scholarly debates regarding the comparative politics of Latin America.
2. To understand the long-term political and economic processes that shape Latin American politics today.
3. To develop analytical skills necessary to engage with academic texts, assessing the validity of theoretical arguments based on empirical evidence.
4. To develop communication skills necessary for a career as a political scientist, such as writing reports for stakeholders and policy briefs.

**Course policies:**

*Attendance:* Attendance is expected of students in all classes. The University accommodates students with disabilities who have registered with the Disability Resource Centre. The University accommodates students whose religious obligations conflict with attendance, submitting assignments, or completing scheduled tests and examinations. Please let your instructor know in advance if you will require any accommodation on these grounds. All assignments must be completed and handed in. Students who do not attend regularly or fail to hand in an assignment may be disallowed from writing the final exam.

Read the university calendar so that you are aware of no-penalty drop dates, requirements for medical authorization (to defer an exam, for example) and other procedures that may affect you.

**Student Development & Services**

Brock Hall, Room 1203

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*Appeals:* students who wish to appeal grades assigned to their academic work may do so. The initial appeal should be made to the TA or to the course instructor. If the student remains unsatisfied with this process, he/she may proceed to the head of the

department or further to a formal committee established in accordance with University policies.

*Late Assignments:* Late papers will be penalized 3% per day. The only exceptions are for students who have a medical, compassionate, or other legitimate reason for being late and can produce supporting documentation. All papers should be submitted by electronic means to Turnitin.com where they will be analyzed for plagiarism.

*Academic Dishonesty:* Any form of academic dishonesty will be severely penalized according to UBC guidelines. Please review the UBC Calendar for the university policy on cheating, plagiarism, and other forms of academic dishonesty. The Library also has a helpful web page on plagiarism. See:

<http://learningcommons.ubc.ca/guide-to-academic-integrity/>

### **Using Turnitin.com:**

In this course you will be required to submit your book review and policy brief in electronic form. The electronic material will be submitted to a service to which UBC subscribes, called TurnItIn. This is a service that checks textual material for originality. It is increasingly used in North American universities. It is the policy of the Department of Political Science that written assignments in undergraduate courses will be submitted to TurnItIn.

Log on to **www.turnitin.com**. You will be asked to create a “user profile” with ID (use your email address) and password. Once your profile is created, you will be able to add courses to it for assignment review. If you have already created a profile for another course you do not need to create a new one; just add this course to your existing account. To add this course, you will need the “course ID” which is **10172963** and “course password”, which is **Democracy**. Now you will be able to submit assignments to Turnitin.com for review.

Your instructor can help you with the Turnitin process if you have difficulties. Create your profile and add this course to your account early in the term so that it can be efficiently submitted on or before the due date. Difficulties on or after the due date will not be accepted as a reason for a late paper.

## Course Schedule and Required Readings:

### I. Introduction: Democratic and Economic Challenges in Contemporary Latin America

1. Monday, July 06, 2015. *Presentation & Introduction to Latin American Politics*

#### Required readings:

- Thorp, Rosemary. 2012. "A Historical Perspective on the Political Economy of Inequality in Latin America" in Santiso, Javier & Jeff Dayton-Johnson. 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Political Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 149-167 (available on Connect)
- Domínguez & Schifter, "Introduction: New Issues in Democratic Governance"

### II. Origins of Political and Economic Inequality

2. Wednesday, July 8, 2015. *Legacies of Colonialism*

#### Required readings:

- Lange, Matthew, James Mahoney, and Matthias vom Hau. 2006. "Colonialism and Development: A Comparative Analysis of Spanish and British Colonies", in *American Journal of Sociology*, 111 (5), March 2006, pp. 1412-62 (available through UBC Library website).

3. Monday, July 13, 2015. *State-Building during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century*

#### Required readings:

- Centeno, Miguel Ángel. 1997. "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America", in *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 102, Number 6 (May 1997), pp. 1565-1605 (available through UBC Library website).

#### Recommended readings:

- Rouquié, Alain. 1994. "The military in Latin American politics since 1930". Chapter 4 of *The Cambridge History of Latin America. Volume VI. Latin America since 1930: Economy, society and politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 233-305 (available through UBC Library website). **SKIM**

### **III. 20<sup>th</sup> Century: From Oligarchical Republics to Nationalist-Populist Projects**

4. *Wednesday, July 15, 2015. Politics: The Military, Authoritarianism, and State Corporatism in Latin America*

#### **Required readings:**

- Collier, Ruth Berins & David Collier. 1979. "Inducements versus Constraints: Disaggregating 'Corporatism'" in *American Political Science Review*, Vol. 73, No. 4 (Dec. 1979), pp. 967-986 (available through UBC Library website).

Recommended readings:

- Cardoso, Fernando Enrique. 1979. "On the Characterization of Authoritarian Regimes in Latin America" in Collier, David (ed.). 1979. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 33-57 (available on Connect).

5. *Monday, July 20, 2015. Economy: Import Substitution Industrialization*

#### **Required readings:**

- Cárdenas, Enrique, José Antonio Ocampo & Rosemary Thorp. 2000. "Introduction" in *An Economic History of Twentieth-Century Latin America, Volume 3: Industrialization and the State in Latin America: The Postwar Years*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave and St. Antony's College, Oxford, pp. 1-35 (available on Connect).

### **IV. The Dual Transitions: Electoral Democracy and Free Markets**

6. *Wednesday, July 22, 2015. Economy: Neoliberalism and the Washington Consensus*

#### **Required readings:**

- Williamson, John. 2004 "A Short History of the Washington Consensus". Paper commissioned by Fundación CIDOB for a conference "From the Washington Consensus towards a new Global Governance," Barcelona, September 24–25, 2004 (available in: [http://wh.agh.edu.pl/other/materialy/678\\_2015\\_04\\_09\\_16\\_04\\_48\\_Williamson\\_A%20Short%20History%20of%20the%20Washington%20Consensus\\_Article%20Published.pdf](http://wh.agh.edu.pl/other/materialy/678_2015_04_09_16_04_48_Williamson_A%20Short%20History%20of%20the%20Washington%20Consensus_Article%20Published.pdf))

- Weyland, Kurt. 2004. "Assessing Latin American Neo-Liberalism: Introduction to a Debate" in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 143-149 (available through UBC Library website).
- Huber, Evelyn & Fred Solt. 2004. "Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism" in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 150-164 (available through UBC Library website).
- Walton, Michael. 2004. "Neoliberalism in Latin America: Good, Bad, or Incomplete" in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 39, No. 3, pp. 165-183 (available through UBC Library website). **SKIM**

**\*\*\*BOOK REVIEW IS DUE IN TURNITIN.COM ON  
FRIDAY, JULY 24, 2015, AT 12:00 PM PST\*\*\***

7. Monday, July 27, 2015. *Politics: Democratization*

**Required readings:**

- Grugel, Jean. 1991. "Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Lessons from Latin America", in *Political Studies*, XXXIX, pp. 363-368 (available through UBC Library website).
- Bermeo, Nancy. 1990. "Rethinking Regime Change" in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 359-377 (available through UBC Library website).
- Collier, Ruth Berins & James Mahoney. 1997. "Adding Collective Actors to Collective Outcomes: Labor and Recent Democratization in South America and Southern Europe" in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 29, No. 3, pp. 285-303 (available through UBC Library website). **SKIM**

**V. The Return of the Masses**

8. Wednesday, July 29, 2015. *Social Movements and Indigenous Politics*

**Required readings:**

- Yashar, Deborah. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America" in *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 31, No. 1, pp. 23-43 (available through the UBC Library website).
- Donna Lee Van Cott. 2007. "Latin America's Indigenous Peoples." *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 127-142 (available through the UBC Library website). **SKIM**

*Recommended readings:*

- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 6. "Bolivia: Keeping the Coalition Together"

- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 11. “Peru: The Challenges of a Democracy without Parties”

9. Monday, August 3, 2015. “Left-Turns”

**Required readings:**

- Castañeda, Jorge G. 2006. “Latin America’s Left Turn” in *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 85, No. 3, pp. 28-43 (available through the UBC Library website).
- Cameron, Maxwell A. 2009. “Latin America’s Left Turns: Beyond Good and Bad” in *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 2, pp. 331-348 (available through the UBC Library website).

*Recommended readings:*

- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 7. “Brazil: Democracy in the PT Era”
- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 12. “Venezuela: Political Governance and Regime Change by Electoral Means”

**VI. Still a Common Regional Trajectory?**

10. Wednesday, August 5, 2015. *No Left-Turns and Security Concerns*

**Required Readings:**

- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 3. “Security Challenges for Latin American Democratic Governance”

*Recommended readings:*

- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 10. “Mexico: Democratic Advances and Limitations”
- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 9. “Colombia: Democratic Governance Amidst an Armed Conflict”

11. Monday, August 10, 2015. *The Quality of Democracy: “Partyarchy”, institutional weakness, concentration of power, and uneven playing fields*

**Required readings:**

- O’Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. “Delegative Democracy”, in *Journal of Democracy* 5 (1), pp. 55-69 (available through UBC Library website).

- Levitsky, Steven & Lucan Way. 2002. “The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism” in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 51-65 (available through UBC Library website).

Recommended readings:

- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 8. “Chile: Beyond Transitional Models of Politics”
- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 5. “Argentina: Democratic Consolidation, Partisan Dealignment, and Institutional Weakness”

## **VII. Conclusion:**

*12. Wednesday, August 12, 2015. The New Political Economy of Latin America*

**Required readings:**

- Schneider, Ben Ross. 2012. “Contrasting Capitalisms: Latin America in Comparative Perspective” in Santiso, Javier & Jeff Dayton-Johnson. 2012. *The Oxford Handbook of Latin American Political Economy*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 381-402 (available on Connect)
- Grugel, Jean & Pía Riggirozzi. 2012. “Post-neoliberalism in Latin America: Rebuilding and Reclaiming the State after Crisis” in *Development and Change*, Vol. 43 No. 1, pp. 1-21.

Recommended readings:

- Domínguez & Schifter, Chapter 4. “Natural Resources Boom and Institutional Curses in the New Political Economy of South America”
- Domínguez & Schifter, “Conclusions”

**\*\*\*POLICY BRIEF IS DUE IN TURNITIN.COM ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12, 2015, AT 12:00 PM PST\*\*\***

## Instructions for Assignments and Exams:

The evaluation of the course will include four components:

- Book Review (30%)
- Policy Brief (30%)
- Final Exam (40%)

**BOOK REVIEW:** This assignment is worth 30% of the final mark. You will need to choose **ONE** of the following books to write a review. They are all available for purchase at the UBC bookstore, most of them are on-hold for one-day loans at Koerner Library, and e-book versions can also be downloaded inexpensively.

- Mahoney, James. 2010. *Colonialism and Postcolonial Development: Spanish America in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Centeno, Miguel Ángel. 2002. *Blood and Debt: War and Nation-State in Latin America*. Philadelphia: Penn State University Press
- Mainwaring, Scott & Anibal Pérez Liñán. 2013. *Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America: Emergence, Survival, and Fall*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Stephens, John D. & Evelyn Huber. 2012. *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Levitsky, Steven & Kenneth M. Roberts. 2011. *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press
- Schneider, Ben Ross. 2013. *Hierarchical Capitalism in Latin America: Business, Labor, and the Challenges of Equitable Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

The review must be **1500 words (about 4-5 pages, double-spaced, Times New Roman, Size 12, normal margins)**. Points will be deducted if the review is significantly shorter or longer.

The review must focus on the content (not the form or the structure) of the book. It should include a summary of the main argument of the book and a critical assessment of its contribution to the literature. As a general guideline, you want to make sure that you address the following issues:

1. What is the question that the author is trying to answer?
2. Why is answering this research question important? How does it improve our existing knowledge about the topic?
3. What is the answer that the author gives to her research question?
4. Is the answer convincing? What kind of evidence does the author use to back up her claims?
5. Which are the strengths and weaknesses of the argument? Is the argument overlooking important aspects of the problem?

You do not need to cite any sources other than the book under review, but you should use proper citations when referring to specific passages. You can consult other book reviews from academic journals if you want to make sure you understand the argument correctly, but you will be evaluated on the originality and accuracy of your assessment.

You must submit your book review to Turnitin.com **on Friday, July 24, 2015 at 12:00 pm (noon) PST**. There is no need to e-mail your paper to the instructor or submit a hard copy. Late reviews will be penalized according to the policies outlined in this syllabus.

**POLICY BRIEF / STAKEHOLDER MEMO:** Choose **ONE** of the following scenarios and **ONE** (and only one) Latin American country, and prepare a policy brief presenting your conclusions and recommendations.

***Scenario 1:*** You are a country analyst for a NGO that monitors the state of democracy in Latin America. Your organization is preparing its annual report, which will describe the improvements and setbacks in the quality of democracy in the region and make recommendations about the areas of improvement for each country. You are commissioned to prepare an up-to-date memo where you describe and evaluate the quality of democracy in your country of expertise.

In your policy brief you might want to consider the following factors:

- Quality of elections at the local, regional and national levels (free, competitive, fair, inclusive, etc.)
- Strength of democratic institutions: separation of powers, rule of law.
- Representativeness, responsiveness, and accountability of public officials
- Corruption and transparency
- Respect for human rights
- Equality of access to political decision-making (by gender, class, ethnicity, etc.)

***Scenario 2:*** You work as an analyst in a consulting firm that offers political risk analysis for businesses thinking about investing in Latin American countries. Your firm has been hired by a Canadian business that manufactures high-tech products and is planning to move its operations to country X (choose one Latin American country). Your client has been invited by this country's government through an aggressive strategy to attract foreign direct investment (FDI): tax-breaks, free utilities (electricity, water use, and waste collection), controlled wages, and subsidized rent in a new industrial park with excellent facilities. Your client has done the numbers and will be able to reduce production costs by 20% if it takes the offer and moves its operations there. However, your client is worried about the risks of moving its operations to this country.

In your policy brief you might want to consider the following factors:

- Risk of confiscation, expropriation or nationalization of assets

- Embargoes on imports or exports
- Risk of damage to physical assets or employees due to political violence or crime
- The situation of the country's infrastructure that may cause delays in the delivery / shipment of materials and products
- The existence of a skilled labour force for high-tech industries
- Likelihood that the government will default on contracts (tax exemptions, incentives for investment, and subsidies, etc.) for political reasons

The policy brief / stakeholder memo must be **1200 words (about 3-4 pages, double-spaced, Times New Roman, Size 12, normal margins)**. Points will be deducted if the review is significantly shorter or longer.

You must submit your policy brief to Turnitin.com **on Wednesday, August 12, 2015 at 12:00 pm (noon) PST**. There is no need to e-mail your paper to the instructor or submit a hard copy. Late policy briefs will be penalized according to the policies outlined in this syllabus.

*Some helpful resources regarding how to write a policy brief:*

<http://www.policy.hu/ipf/fel-pubs/samples/PolicyBrief-described.pdf>

<http://gdppc.idebate.org/content/writing-guidelines-policy-brief>

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_Y1Kuq5NK\\_8](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_Y1Kuq5NK_8)

**Final Exam:** There will be a final exam during the exam period in June, as scheduled by the University. The final exam will include content covered during the course. Please note that for the final exam, students may not have any electronic devices on the desk with them, except a watch. This means cell phones are not allowed on desktops and may not be consulted. Nor may students use headphones of any kind.