POLITICS IN LATIN AMERICA
FALL 2019

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Lecture: Monday 11:30 am – 14:20 pm
Room: KTH B101

Office: KTH 542
Office Hours: Monday 15:00 pm – 17:00 pm

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Course Description
This fourth-year seminar critically examines some of the conventional theoretical and practical explanations about Latin American politics and society. It begins with a brief historical overview of the region's politics and economics, as reflected in the path dependency and change and continuity approaches. It follows with an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of the Modernization and Dependency approaches used to account for the subcontinent's underdevelopment (or failure to develop). A class analysis methodology is introduced in order to examine societal divisions; the nature, scope, and influence of competitive social groups’ struggle for political power; the shifting correlations of political forces, and the recurrent hegemonic crises that have often translated into pervasive military intervention and delayed democratic development. Ideologies such as liberalism, corporatism, socialism, Marxism, democracy, and populism are discussed as well. Institutionalized military regimes in the recent past, and the ‘new’ pattern of civil-military relations in the democratic transition are also scrutinized. The ‘new state’ that emerged in the post-authoritarian phase and its role in fostering neoliberal economic policies is assessed. The quality of democratic development and democratization, the new forms of social mobilization, and the electoral success of left/right-wing political forces that challenge the conventional wisdom of globalization are examined at length. Lastly, these theoretical discussions are tested through an examination of politics and society in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Cuba, Mexico, and Venezuela.

Course Objectives
It is expected that at the conclusion of the course students will differentiate between perception and reality, rhetorical discourses and evidentiary facts, and conventional wisdom from scientific rationality regarding some commonplace views, especially in North America, about Latin American politics and society. In other words, the course aims to develop students’ ‘good sense’ as opposed to unscientific ‘common sense’.

Required Materials and Texts
The following required textbooks are available at the University Bookstore:


Additional readings will be posted on Avenue to Learn and online (through McMaster Library). The following journals (printed and online) are helpful in complementing class discussions, and assisting in the preparation of the research papers:

- Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies
- Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs
The following recent books can also be of assistance to students:


Online information of up-to-date developments in Latin America can be obtained by accessing the Council of Hemispheric Affairs; the Organization of American States; Latin American Working Group Education Fund; The Economic Commission for Latin America/ECLAC; and Americas Updater.

**Class Format**

This is a seminar course, and student’s participation is encouraged. This involves raising questions and commenting on the weekly required readings. The first 5-10 minutes of every class will be dedicated to an open conversation on contemporary events. Lectures will be given by the instructor as required.

**Course Evaluation – Overview**

1. A mid-term take-home examination, worth 30 percent of the course grade, due October 22, 2019.
2. A research paper, worth 30 percent of the course grade, due November 11, 2019.
3. An end-of-term take-home examination, worth 30 percent of the course grade, due November 26, 2019.
4. Class participation throughout the term, worth 10 percent of the course grade.
Course Evaluation – Details

1. Mid-term take-home examination (30%), due Tuesday October 22, 2019.
   The exam will be delivered to students in class on Monday, October 21, 2019, and a hard copy must be returned to the instructor by 15:00 pm on Tuesday, October 22, 2019, at KTH 542. The examination comprises three sections: Section I asks to identify, explain the meaning, and discuss the significance of notions, definitions, and/or concepts discussed in class and in readings (think of it as a mini-essay). Section II is a compulsory essay question. Section III gives students a choice between two essay questions. Sections I and III are worth 30 percent each, while Section II is worth 40 percent of the examination. All required readings and class discussions must be used in answering the corresponding questions. In addition to a hard copy, students must also send an electronic copy (in Word format attachment) to the instructor on the same day at gallegui@mcmaster.ca.

   Research paper must be delivered at the beginning of the regularly scheduled class on Monday, November 11, 2019. In addition to a hard copy, students must also e-mail an electronic copy (in Word format attachment) to the instructor on the same day at (gallegui@mcmaster.ca). Format and content of this assignment is explained below.

   The exam will be delivered to students in class on Monday, November 25, 2019, and must be returned to the instructor by 15:00 pm on Tuesday, November 26, 2019, at KTH 542. The examination comprises three sections: Section I asks to identify, explain the meaning, and discuss the significance of notions, definitions, and/or concepts discussed in class and in readings (think of it as a mini-essay). Section II is a compulsory essay question. Section III gives students a choice between two essay questions. Sections I and III are worth 30 percent each, while Section II is worth 40 percent of the examination. All required readings and class discussions must be used in answering the corresponding questions. In addition to a hard copy, students must also send an electronic copy (in Word format attachment) to the instructor on the same day gallegui@mcmaster.ca.

4. Class participation (10%) throughout the Fall Term.
   At the instructor’s discretion. Class participation has two components: (i) attendance (only one absence will not be counted for this grade), and (ii) active engagement in class discussions through the posing of questions and/or comments that generate useful class interaction, drawn from required weekly readings, as well as from current events in Latin America.
Weekly Course Schedule and Required Readings
Attending classes is an important part of the learning process. While required readings provide a general background to the issues discussed in the course, additional and complementary perspectives are presented and discussed in greater depth by the instructor in class. Questions pertaining to the readings are welcome in class. Assignments, especially the research paper and the two examinations, must reflect familiarity with the readings and class discussions. Relevant films may be shown throughout the term.

Introductory remarks, course organization, and general discussion of contemporary Latin American politics.

Required readings

Recommended readings
• OAS. Inter-American Democratic Charter
• Sorj, Bernardo & Danilo Martuccelli, The Latin American Challenge: Social Cohesion and Democracy. This e-book is available online through the Edelstein Center for Social Research

Week 2. September 16.
An overview of Latin American political history:
Continuity and change: The ‘path dependence’ thesis.

Required readings

Recommended readings

Week 3. September 23.
Revisiting Modernization Theories on Latin American Development and Underdevelopment.

Required readings

Recommended readings:
• Allahar, Anton. Sociology and the Periphery.
• Hoogvelt, Ankie. The Third World in Global Development.
• Huntington, Samuel. Understanding Political Development.
• Palmer, Monte. Political Development: Development and Challenges.

Note:
• September 23: Outline of research paper is due in class. Electronic copy must also be delivered at gallegui@mcmaster.ca. Include statement on plagiarism as well.

Week 4. September 30.
Revisiting the Dependency Approach to Development and Underdevelopment.

Required readings
• Frank, Andre Gunder. “The Development of Underdevelopment,” pp.111-123, (available on Avenue to Learn, as well as Online access).
• Laclau, Ernesto. “Feudalism and Capitalism in Latin America,” pp.166-190, (available on Avenue to Learn, as well as Online access).

**Recommended readings**
• Larrain, Jorge. *Theories of Development*.
• Munck, Ronaldo & Denis O’Hearn. *Critical Development Theory*.

**Week 5. October 7.**
*Latin American economies and political strategies: From outward oriented growth to import substitution industrialization to globalization.*

**Required readings**

**Recommended readings**

**Week 6. October 14.**
*Mid-term Recess: No Class Held this Week.*

**Week 7. October 21.**
*Class divisions, class struggles, and a class analysis of Latin American Politics.*

**Required readings**
• Munck, Ronaldo. “Class and Politics,” in Munck & O’Hearn. op.cit. (on Avenue to Learn).

**Recommended readings**


• Vanden, Harry & Gary Prevost, op.cit., ch. 5: “Society, Family, and Gender,” pp. 107-134.

**Note:**

• October 21. Mid-term Take-Home Examination handed in class. A hard copy of exam is due Tuesday 22 October by 15:00 pm at instructor’s office (KTH 542). Electronic copy must be emailed to gallegui@mcmaster.ca at the same time.

**Week 8. October 28.**

Legitimacy, hegemonic, and political crises. The political stalemate in Latin America.

**Required readings**


**Recommended readings**

• Gramsci, Antonio, *Prison Notebooks*.


• Vanden, Harry & Gary Prevost, op.cit. ch. 8: “Democracy and Authoritarianism: Latin American Political Culture,” pp. 188-209.

**Note:**

October 28. Summary of research paper’s main arguments, including literature review due in class. Preliminary outline must be attached. Email electronic copy as well to gallegui@mcmaster.ca
The Military Answer to Latin American Political Crises.

Required readings

Recommended readings
- Payne, Leigh A. Uncivil Movements. The Armed Right Wing and Democracy in Latin America.

Week 10. November 11.
Democratization and Politics in Latin America: Transition, Consolidation, and Quality of Democracy.

Required readings

Recommended readings
- Diamond, Larry, Juan Linz, and Seymour Martin Lipset. Democracy in Developing Countries. Latin America.

NOTE:
November 11: Research paper final version due in class, along with all preliminary work. Email electronic copy (Word format) to gallegui@mcmaster.ca at the same time. Include statement on plagiarism as well.

Week 11. November 18.
Latin America’s Old and New Relationships with the United States. Still the ‘American Backyard?”

Required readings


Recommended readings
• Weeks, Gregory. U.S. and Latin American Relations.
• Wiarda, Howard & Harvey Kline. op.cit. Ch.: 26: “Latin America and the Future”.

Argentina & Brazil. The enigma of economic and political development.
The onset of the hegemonic/organic crisis and the emergence of populism, the bureaucratic-authoritarian state, and illiberal democracy

Required readings
Recommended readings
- Ondetti, G. “Repression, Opportunity, and Protest: Explaining the Take-Off of Brazil’s Landless Movement”. (available online)
- Schonleiter, G. “Between Liberal and Participatory Democracy: Tensions and Dilemmas of Leftist Politics in Brazil”. (available online)
- Reiter, Bernd & Paula Lezama. “The Importance of Inclusion Policies for the Promotion of Development in Brazil and Colombia”.


Required readings

Recommended readings
- Dominguez, Jorge. “The political impact on Cuba of the reform and collapse of Communist regimes” (on reserve).
Course Policies

Submission of Assignments

Research paper (30%)
This assignment is worth 30 percent of the course grade. The essay should examine and critique the problem at hand by using supplementary, primary and/or secondary, reading materials relevant to the argument; **it must not be based solely on the required readings, or newspapers, or online sources.** It has three components, all of which will be reflected in the grade assigned to it. First, students must submit a written outline (double-spaced, 3-4 pages long) that includes the research question, problem statement, thesis, hypothesis or argument by Monday September 23, 2019 for the instructor’s approval. Next, on Monday October 28, 2019 students must submit a written summary (double-spaced, 6-8 pages long) of the main arguments, including a literature review, along with the original outline. Finally, the fully edited version of the research paper, including all preliminary work, and an electronic copy, must be submitted at the beginning of our regularly scheduled meeting on Monday November 18, 2019. Essays may be submitted early. The recommended length of this paper is between 15-20 pages, excluding Title Page and Bibliography. Follow the APA or the Chicago Manual of Style guidelines for the writing of academic papers. All written submissions, including the final paper, must be typed, all pages numbered, lines double-spaced; and wide margins left for comments. Standard use of bibliographical references is a must. Academic offences (plagiarism) will be penalized in accordance with the regulations set by the University Senate. All written submissions, i.e. outline, summary, and final version of paper, must include a statement that no plagiarism has been committed in the preparation and delivery of the corresponding assignment.

This assignment gives students the choice of pursuing their research by selecting from either (a) or (b) questions below:

**Question a:** Choose any of the topics listed below and write an academic paper using a combination of recent (less than five-year old) books and academic journal articles:

- Gender politics and democratization in Latin America
- Indigenous struggles and ‘new’ democracies in Latin America
- Electoral reforms and democratization in Latin America
- Judicial reforms, rising criminality, and democratization in Latin America
- Police and security sector reforms and democratization in Latin America
- Social security reforms and democratization in Latin America
- Religion, social justice, and democratization in Latin America
- Regional economic and political integration and democratization in Latin America
- The impact of globalization processes on Latin American democratization
- Corruption politics and democratization in Latin America
- Latin American literature and political democratization in Latin America
- Politics and educational reform in Latin America
Reform, revolution, or continuity in Latin America

Question b: Choose a Latin American country and assess the viability of its democratic politics by discussing: (1) the country’s recent history of political instability and hegemonic vacuum, (2) the growing economic and social equality/inequality fostered by neoliberal and economic globalization processes, (3) the rising levels of criminal violence, and (4) the role that the United States plays in the chosen country’s domestic politics.

In answering the question of democratic viability, be certain to discuss the roles played by main social actors and forces in the political processes under scrutiny. What types of ideologies do those social actors/forces adhere to? Are they organized into political parties? What political programs do these parties offer? How are the social forces aligned within the larger political spectrum? Which are the main antagonistic social forces? What are the root causes of that antagonism? Which interests do those social forces represent? Is there a moderating social actor mediating a political compromise between the forces in dispute? Do the military and the church play any role in the resolution of the crisis, or, do they contribute to make it even more acute? Are popular sectors involved in the political conflict, or, are they just bystanders? How inclusive/exclusive is the country’s polity? Do the politics and society fit your understanding of democracy and democratization? Why? Why not? How significant are external actors in delaying/facilitating the consolidation of democracy? Does globalization play any role in the democratization of political processes? In the conclusion, elaborate on the country’s democratic prospect by placing it against the definition of democracy and viability you have developed through your research.

Students do not need to address each and every one of the above questions, nor do they need to organize the paper in sections reflecting each of those questions; rather, the issues raised by those questions must be embedded, discussed, argued, and critiqued throughout the entire paper in a logical and coherent fashion. In other words, have an argument or hypothesis, and develop it in a systematic, fluid, and critical manner. Obviously, students need first and foremost clarify the meaning they will give to some of the key concepts used in the paper; i.e. democracy, democratization, democratic consolidation, hegemony, hegemonic crisis, neoliberalism, globalization, foreign intervention, viability, etc.

Instructor’s expectations for this assignment are as follows: (1) relevancy of the research question(s); (b) appropriateness of methodology; (3) exhaustiveness of the literature review; (4) linking of the discussion/argument to the literature review; (5) conclusion appropriately addresses research question(s); (6) essay reflects adherence to university-level academic standards, and (7) appropriate style and format (APA preferred).
Take-home Examinations
All required readings and class discussions must be used in answering the questions posed. Improper collaboration will be penalized in accordance with the University Academic Integrity Policy document. Each examination has 3 sections. Section I asks for identification, explanation of the meaning, and discussion of the significance of concepts and notions (think of it as a short essay). Section II is a compulsory essay question. Section III is a choice between two essay questions. Section I and III are worth 30 percent each while section II counts for 40 percent, for a total of 100 percent of the examination which is, in turn, worth 30 percent of the course grade. The second take-home examination is cumulative.

Class Participation
As a fourth-year seminar, active class participation is expected through regular attendance (one missing class allowed without penalty) and dynamic engagement in class discussions. Students are encouraged to circulate their views with classmates and the instructor by using Avenue to Learn. Class participation is worth 10 percent of the course final grade and entirely at the instructor’s discretion.

Grades
Grades will be based on the McMaster University grading scale:

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<td>85-90</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>80-84</td>
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Late Assignments
Late paper submissions will be penalized by deducting a sub-letter grade for each working day of delay, up to a maximum of one week. After one week, the instructor may refuse to accept the assignment unless proper medical certification stating a prolonged inability to fulfill academic responsibilities is provided. A doctor’s note will be verified for authenticity. Marks for assignments accepted by the instructor after one week from the due date will be subject to a deduction of one letter grade for each week of lateness. Students must talk to the instructor with due anticipation if they believe they will need a
legitimate extension. The instructor assumes no responsibility for assignments left under his office door, faxed, or texted.

**Penalties for late or missed examinations**
No make-up examination will be provided by the instructor, except for medical reasons or exceptional circumstances. A doctor’s note will be verified for authenticity.

**Absences, Missed Work, Illness. McMaster Student Absence Form (MSAF).**
In the event of an absence for medical or other reasons, students should review and follow the Academic Regulation in the Undergraduate Calendar “Requests for Relief for Missed Academic Term Work”. MSAF is an online, self-reporting tool for students to report absences that last up to three (3) days, and to request accommodation for any missed academic work that is worth less than 25 percent of the course final grade. This tool cannot be used during any final examination period. It is the prerogative of the instructor to determine the appropriate relief for missed term work. Students may submit a maximum of one request per term. The form should be filled out immediately when the student is about to return to class after an absence. It is the student’s responsibility to follow up with the instructor immediately (within two working days) about the nature of the accommodation in person. No accommodation will be discussed or granted online. Students who have been absent for more than three (3) days, have missed academic work worth 25 percent, or more, or exceed one request per term must see their Faculty Academic Advisor. Students will be required to provide supporting documentation.

**Avenue to Learn.**

In this course we will be using Avenue to Learn. Students should be aware that, when they access the electronic components of this course, private information such as first and last names, user names for the McMaster e-mail accounts, and program affiliation may become apparent to all other students in the same course. The available information is dependent on the technology used. Continuation in this course will be deemed consent to this disclosure. If you have any questions or concerns about such disclosure please discuss this with the course instructor or UTS (University Technological Services).

**Turnitin.com**

In this course we will be using a web-based service (Turnitin.com) to reveal authenticity and ownership of student submitted work. Students will be expected to submit their work electronically either directly to Turnitin.com or via Avenue to Learn (A2L) plagiarism detection (a service supported by Turnitin.com) so it can be checked for academic dishonesty. Students who do not wish to submit their work through A2L and/or Turnitin.com must still submit an electronic and/or hardcopy to the instructor. No penalty will be assigned to a student who does not submit work to Turnitin.com or A2L. All submitted work is subject to normal verification that standards of academic integrity have
been upheld (e.g., on-line search, other software, etc.). For more information please refer to the Turnitin.com Policy.

**Academic Accommodation for Religious, Indigenous or Spiritual Observances (RISO)**

Students requiring academic accommodation based on religious, indigenous or spiritual observances should follow the procedures set out in the RISO policy. Students requiring a RISO accommodation should submit their request to their Faculty Office normally within 10 working days of the beginning of term in which they anticipate a need for accommodation or to the Registrar's Office prior to their examinations. Students should also contact their instructors as soon as possible to make alternative arrangements for classes, assignments, and tests.

**University Policies**

**Academic Integrity Statement**

You are expected to exhibit honesty and use ethical behaviour in all aspects of the learning process. Academic credentials you earn are rooted in principles of honesty and academic integrity.

Academic dishonesty is to knowingly act or fail to act in a way that results or could result in unearned academic credit or advantage. This behaviour can result in serious consequences, e.g. the grade of zero on an assignment, loss of credit with a notation on the transcript (notation reads: “Grade of F assigned for academic dishonesty”), and/or suspension or expulsion from the university.

It is your responsibility to understand what constitutes academic dishonesty. For information on the various types of academic dishonesty please refer to the Academic Integrity Policy.

The following illustrates only three forms of academic dishonesty

- Plagiarism, e.g. the submission of work that is not one’s own or for which other credit has been obtained.
- Improper collaboration in group work.
- Copying or using unauthorized aids in tests and examinations.

**Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities**

Students who require academic accommodation must contact Student Accessibility Services (SAS) to make arrangements with a Program Coordinator. Academic accommodations must be arranged for each term of study. Student Accessibility Services can be contacted by phone 905-525-9140 ext. 28652 or e-mail
McMaster University, Department of Political Science, POLSCI 4LA3

sas@mcmaster.ca. For further information, consult McMaster University’s Policy for Academic Accommodation of Students with Disabilities.

Faculty of Social Sciences E-mail Communication Policy
Effective September 1, 2010, it is the policy of the Faculty of Social Sciences that all e-mail communication sent from students to instructors (including TAs), and from students to staff, must originate from the student’s own McMaster University e-mail account. This policy protects confidentiality and confirms the identity of the student. It is the student’s responsibility to ensure that communication is sent to the university from a McMaster account. If an instructor becomes aware that a communication has come from an alternate address, the instructor may not reply at his or her discretion.

Course Modification
The instructor and university reserve the right to modify elements of the course during the term. The university may change the dates and deadlines for any or all courses in extreme circumstances. If either type of modification becomes necessary, reasonable notice and communication with the students will be given with explanation and the opportunity to comment on changes. It is the responsibility of the student to check his/her McMaster email and course websites weekly during the term and to note any changes.