

University of Pennsylvania
Political Science 213 – 401
(Cross-listed LTAM 213-401)
Latin American Politics - Spring 2004

Prof. Tulia Falletti

Mondays and Wednesdays 3:00pm to 4:30pm

Location: College Hall, Room 314

Office hours: Thursdays 3:00 to 5:00pm

Office location: Political Science Department, 202 Stiteler Hall, 208 S. 37th Street.

Office phone: 215-898-4240

Email: tulia@interchange.ubc.ca (temporary email)

Course Description

This course examines the dynamics of political and economic change in twentieth century Latin America, with the goal of achieving an understanding of contemporary politics in the region. Throughout the course we will analyze topics such as the incorporation of the region to the international economy and the consolidation of oligarchic states (1880s to 1930s), corporatism, populism, and elite pacts (1930s and 1940s), social revolution, democratic breakdown, and military rule (1960s and 1970s), transitions to democracy and human rights advocacy (1980s), market-oriented reforms (1990s), and the current promises and challenges of democracy in the region. The course will draw primarily from the experiences of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, and Mexico, incorporating Peru and Venezuela as secondary cases of analysis. No prior knowledge of the region is required.

Course Requirements

- Class participation and quiz: 15%
- Group poster presentation: 15%
- Midterm exam: 30%. In-class exam on Wednesday, March 3rd, 3:00 to 4:30pm (There will not be make-up exam unless previously authorized.)
- Final exam: 40%.

Class participation and quiz: The course has a relatively heavy reading load (120 to 130 pages per week). Therefore, it is essential that students keep up with the readings and come prepared to class. There will be a combination of lectures and group discussions and activities each week, which presume familiarity with the assigned materials. Attendance is mandatory and the contents of lectures will be tested in the exams. Two quizzes will be administered throughout the semester, which will test on the required materials (readings *and* movies) for the corresponding week. Students can miss one of the quizzes or drop the lowest score.

Group poster presentations: held on Wednesdays, starting on week 3. By January 21st, students will sign up for a group presentation (maximum of four students per group). In these poster

presentations, which will last for about 20 minutes and will be followed by 10 minutes of debate or Q&A, students will articulate the *assigned and recommended* materials of the week and, as the semester progresses, draw relationships with previously covered issues and themes. Students should conceptualize, compare, elaborate on one important aspect, or relate the readings to current events, other examples or topics, but they should *not summarize* the readings. The posters can be in hard-copy or electronic format. I highly recommend the incorporation of visual and audio aids (such as photographs, video-clips, music, poems, graphics, drawings, paintings, etc.). Group presentations will be given a Poor, Fair, Good, Very Good or Excellent mark.

Final exam: *Option A:* In-class exam as scheduled by the registrar's office. Tentative date: Wednesday, May 5th 1:30 to 3:30pm (please check registrar's website later on the semester).

Option B: Write a 6,000 word (including substantive footnotes, but not bibliographic references) research paper on a topic related to the course. A two- to three-page paper proposal will be due on Wednesday March 17th. I will have to approve the paper topic and proposal. Moreover, students who choose this option for their final exam will have the additional requirement of turning in *four position papers between weeks 10 and 15*. Each position paper must address the required readings of a given week (can't be the same week of group poster presentation) and be handed in (or emailed to me) by the beginning of class on Monday that week. No late position papers will be accepted (students who write or turn in on time three or fewer position papers will have to take the in-class final exam). The position papers will be evaluated together with the research paper. A *hard copy* of this paper will be due in my office by noon on final exam's day.

Course Materials

Required Books (available for purchase at the Penn Bookstore: 3601 Walnut St., 898-4500, coursebk@pobox.upenn.edu)

1. Skidmore, Thomas E., and Peter H. Smith. 2001. *Modern Latin America*. 5th ed. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
2. Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
3. Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *Chile, Breakdown of democratic regimes*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
4. O'Donnell, Guillermo, and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Other materials

There is a course-pack, consisting of two volumes. The first volume (which includes materials up to midterm) is available for purchase at Campus Copy Center (3907 Walnut St., 386-6410). The second volume will become available later on the semester and before the midterm examination.

Schedule of Topics and Readings

Week 1. Introduction

January 12. Latin America as a region

Self-introductions, course logistics, and course presentation.

- Chasteen, John Charles. 2001. *Born in Blood and Fire. A concise history of Latin America.* first ed. New York, London: W.W. Norton & Company, 15-27.
- Skidmore and Smith, “Why Latin America?,” 1-12.

January 14. Theories of Latin American development

- Lipset, Seymour Martin. 1986. Values, Education, and Entrepreneurship. In *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*, edited by P. F. Klarén and T. J. Bossert. Boulder and London: Westview Press, 39-75.
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and development in Latin America.* Berkeley: University of California Press, vii-xxv, 1-28, 172-176.
- Valenzuela, Samuel J., and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment. *Comparative Politics* 10 (4): 535-557.

Recommended:

- Klarén, Peter F. 1986. Lost Promise: Explaining Latin American Underdevelopment. In *Promise of Development. Theories of Change in Latin America*, edited by P. F. Klarén and T. J. Bossert. Boulder and London: Westview, 3-33.

Week 2. Overview of the 20th century

January 19. Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. No classes are being held.

January 21 (first half of the class). Stages of economic and political (under) development

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 2, “The Transformation of Modern Latin America,” 42-67.
- Furtado, Celso. 1986. Economic Development of Latin America. In *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*, edited by P. F. Klarén and T. J. Bossert. Boulder and London: Westview Press, 124-148.

(second half of the class). The Latin American hacienda and the oligarchic state

- Cotler, Julio. 1970. The Mechanics of Internal Domination and Social Change in Perú. In *Masses in Latin America*, edited by I. L. Horowitz. New York: Oxford University Press, 407-444.

Recommended:

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 6, “Peru. Soldiers, Oligarchs, and Indians,” 177-216.
- Cardoso and Faletto, Chapter 3. “The period of ‘Outward Expansion,’ 29-73 (skim the rest of the book if you can, it is going to be assigned in the following weeks).

Week 3. From social revolution to corporatism: Mexico in comparative perspective

January 26 and 28

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 7 “Mexico: The Taming of a Revolution,” 217-258.
- Stevens, Evelyn P. 1977. Mexico's PRI: The Institutionalization of Corporatism? In *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America*, edited by J. M. Malloy: University of Pittsburgh Press, 227-258.
- Cardoso and Faletto, Chapter 4 “Development and Social Change. The political role of middle classes,” 74-126.

Recommended:

- Grindle, Merilee S. 1977. Patrons and Clients in the Bureaucracy: Career Networks in Mexico. *Latin American Research Review* 12 (1): 37-66. (Focus particularly on the section "The Patron-Client Model," pp. 53-61.)

Recommended movie: *Frida* (It will be showing on Friday Jan.30 and Saturday Feb.1 at 12pm and 6pm on PVN Channel 11 and at 4pm and 10pm on PVN Channel 22. For other showing times in February consult www.upenn.edu/video/)

Week 4. From middle class incorporation to populism: Argentina in comparative perspective

February 2 and 4

- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 3 “Argentina: Prosperity, Deadlock and Change,” 68-106
- Rock, David. 1975. "The first Radical government, 1916-22," Chapter 5, *Politics in Argentina: 1890-1930. The Rise and Fall of Radicalism*. London and New York: Cambridge University Press, 95-124.
- James, Daniel. 1988. “Peronism and the working class, 1943-55,” in *Resistance and Integration. Peronism and the Argentina working class, 1946-1976*, Cambridge University Press, 7-40.
- Cardoso and Faletto, Chapter 5 “Nationalism and Populism: Social and Political Forces of Development in the Phase of Consolidation the Domestic Market,” 127-148.

Required movie: *Eva Perón*. (Showing time and location TBA.)

Recommended:

- Wiarda, Howard J. 1973. "Toward a Framework for the Study of Political Change in the Iberic-Latin Tradition: The Corporative Model." *World Politics* 25 (2): 206-235.

Week 5. Early “narrow” democracies: Colombia in comparative perspective

February 9 and 11 (Note: Check showing times of required movies for weeks 6 and 7.)

- Wilde, Alexander W. 1978. “Conversations among Gentlemen: Oligarchical Democracy in Colombia,” in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes. Latin America*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 28-81.

- González, Fernán E. 1990. "The End of the DESARROLLISTA State: State and Capital Accumulation in Colombia, 1958-84." In *The State and Capital Accumulation in Latin America. Volume 2*, edited by C. Anglade and C. Fortin. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 54-87.
- Cepeda Ulloa, Fernando. 2003. Colombia. The Governability Crisis. In *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, edited by J. I. Domínguez and M. Shifter. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 193-219.

Week 6. From democracy to socialism, dictatorship, and back: Chile

February 16 and 18

- Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The breakdown of democratic regimes. Chile*, Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 4 "Chile: Socialism, Repression, and Democracy," 107-136.

Required Movie: *Missing* (It will be showing on Wed. Feb.11 at noon and 6pm on PVN Channel 11, and at 4pm and 10pm on PVN Channel 22. For other showings in February check www.upenn.edu/video/)

Week 7. Authoritarian regimes of the 1960s and 1970s (Argentina, Brazil, Chile)

February 23 and 25

- O'Donnell Guillermo. 1971. "Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics," in P. Klaren and T. Bossert, *Promise of Development*, 239-275.
- Stepan, Alfred. 1973. "The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion," in Alfred Stepan (ed.) *Authoritarian Brazil. Origins, Policies and Future*, Yale University Press, pp. 47-65, reproduced in Stepan. 2001. *Arguing Comparative Politics*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 23-38.
- Schamis, Hector E. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism." *Comparative Politics* 23 (2): 201-220.
- Cardoso and Faletto, Chapter 6 "The Internationalization of the Market: The New Nature of Dependence," 149-171, and last section of "Post-Scriptum," 199-216.

Required Movie: *Four days in September* (It will be showing on Monday Feb.9 and Thursday Feb. 12, at noon and 6pm on PVN Channel 11, and at 4pm and 10pm on PVN Channel 22. For other showing times in February, please consult www.upenn.edu/video/)

Recommended:

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1984]. Democracy in Argentina: Macro and Micro. In *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 51-62.
- Skidmore and Smith, Chapter 5 "Brazil: Development for Whom?," 137-176.

Week 8. Review and mid-term examination

March 1: Review class

- Hartlyn and Valenzuela. 1998. "Democracy in Latin America since 1930," in Leslie Bethell (ed.) *Latin America. Politics and Society since 1930*, Cambridge University Press, 3-66.

March 3: In-class midterm

Week 9. Spring break. Enjoy!

March 8 and 10

Week 10. Transitions to democracy

March 15 and 17

- Dahl, Robert A. 1971. "Democratization and public opposition," in *Polyarchy. Participation and Opposition*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1-16.
- O'Donnell and Schmitter *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule. Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*, 78 pages.
- Viola, Eduardo and Mainwaring, Scott. 1985. "Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s," in *Journal of International Affairs*, 38, Winter, 193-219.
- Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means - Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* 23 (2): 147-170.

Recommended Movie: *The official story* (Argentina, 1985)

Note: Students who choose Option B for the final exam must turn in their research paper proposals at the beginning of class on Wednesday 17th.

Week 11. Human Rights: dealing with the consequences of state terrorism

March 22 and 24

- *Nunca Más*. A report by Argentina's National Commission on Disappeared People. 1986. London and Boston: Faber and Faber. xi-xvi, 1-6, 9-75, 284-294, 318-320, 442-449.
- Pion-Berlin, David. 1993. "To Prosecute or to Pardon? Human Rights Decision in the Latin American Southern Cone," in *Human Rights Quarterly* 15, 105-130.
- Keck, Margaret E., and Kathryn Sikkink. 1998. *Activists beyond Borders. Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, Chapter 3 "Human Rights Advocacy Networks in Latin America," 79-120.

Recommended:

- Huntington, Samuel. 1991. *The third wave*, section of Chapter 5: 208-231

Recommended documentary (available in Reserve Desk at Van Pelt Library)
Las Madres: The mothers of Plaza de Mayo (Argentina, 1986)

Week 12. The "lost decade" of the 1980s and the market-oriented reforms of the 1990s

March 29 and 31 (Note: Please check out showing times of movie required for week 13)

- Article on the 1980's debt crisis: TBA
- Williamson, John. 1997. "The Washington Consensus Revisited." In *Economic and social development into the XXI Century*, edited by L. Emmerij. Washington, D.C. and Baltimore, MD: Inter-American Development Bank, distributed by The Johns Hopkins University Press, 48-59.
- Gibson, Edward. 1997. "The populist road to market reform: Policy and electoral coalitions in Mexico and Argentina," *World Politics* 49, April, 339-370.
- Murillo, M. Victoria. 2000. "From Populism to Neoliberalism. Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America." *World Politics* 52: 135-174.

Recommended:

- Acuña, Carlos. 1994. "Politics and Economics in the Argentina of the Nineties (Or, Why the Future No Longer Is What It Used to Be)," in William Smith et al. (ed.) *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America*, University of Miami: Transaction Publishers, 31-73.
- Heredia, Blanca. 1994. "Making Economic Reform Politically Viable: The Mexican Experience," in *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform in Latin America*, 264-295.

Week 13. Current Challenges (I): Dealing with the consequences of market-oriented reforms (poverty and inequality)

April 5 and 7.

- Sheahan, John. 1997. "Effects of Liberalization Programs on Poverty and Inequality: Chile, Mexico, and Peru." *Latin American Research Review* 32 (3): 7-37.
- Pastor, Manuel Jr., and Carol Wise. 1999. "The Politics of Second-Generation Reform." *Journal of Democracy* 10 (3): 34-48.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1998]. "Poverty and Inequality in Latin America: Some Political Reflections." In *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 195-215.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 2000. "Economic Inequality and Democratic Instability." *Journal of Democracy* 11 (1): 149-156.
- Levitsky, Steve. 2003. "Argentina. From Crisis to Consolidation (and Back)," in Domínguez J. and Shifter M., *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 244-268.

Required movie: *City of God* (It will be showing on Monday March 29, at 12pm and 6pm on PVN Channel 11, and at 4pm and 10pm on PVN Channel 22. It will also be showing on regular movie rotation during the month of March, please consult www.upenn.edu/video/ for times.)

Recommended:

- Londoño, Juan Luis, and Miguel Szekely. 2000. "Persistent Poverty and Excess Inequality: Latin America, 1970-1995." *Journal of Applied Economics* 3 (1): 93-134.

Week 14. Current Challenges (II): The rule of law

April 12 and 14.

- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1994]. "Delegative Democracy." In *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 159-173.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1999 [1993]. "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems: A Latin American View with Glances at Some Postcommunist Countries." In *Counterpoints*. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 133-157.
- Coppedge, Michael. 2003. "Venezuela: Popular sovereignty versus liberal democracy," in Domínguez J. and Shifter M., *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 165-192.
- Dresser, Denise. 2003. "Mexico: From PRI predominance to divided democracy," in Domínguez J. and Shifter M., *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 321-347.

Recommended:

- Fared Zakaria, "The Rise of Illiberal Democracy," *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 1997.

Week 15. Challenge or Promise? Subnational governments in Latin America

April 19

- Cornelius, Wayne A. 1999. "Subnational Politics and Democratization: Tensions between Center and Periphery in the Mexican Political System." In *Subnational Politics and Democratization in Mexico*, edited by W.A. Cornelius. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego: 3-16.
- Samuels, David, and Fernando Luiz Abrucio. 2000. Federalism and Democratic Transitions: The "New" Politics of the Governors in Brazil. *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 30 (2): 43-61.
- Gibson, E. L., and E. Calvo. 2000. "Federalism and low-maintenance constituencies: Territorial dimensions of economic reform in Argentina." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 35 (3): 32-55.
- Puricelli, Gabriel. 2003. "Argentina's politics shift in a surprising presidential election." *Federations* 3 (3): 3-4.

April 21: Conclusion and wrap-up.