PSCI 347
DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT IN LATIN AMERICA

In the past quarter century Latin America has experienced a twin transition: from non-democratic to democratic rule and from an inward-oriented, state-led economic development strategy to an outward-focused, market-oriented model sometimes called neoliberalism. These political and economic changes have caused social upheaval for many Latin Americans and have given many others new opportunities to improve their lives.

This course will study the political, economic, and social changes that have taken place in five large Latin American countries – Chile, Argentina, Mexico, Brazil and Venezuela – since the early to mid 1980s. Hence, this course focuses on contemporary Latin American politics. In each case we will review the salient features of the nation’s political history, explore the imposition of market-oriented economic policies, examine the transition to democratic rule, and consider the reactions to these changes from social groups. Prominent leaders of the transition to democracy and proponents of neoliberal economic policies will be profiled as will the contending political forces in the country and their perspectives on neoliberalism. Public opinion about economic policy and democracy will be considered.

Requirements. This course will make ample use of video resources and will expect student participation in class discussions, so attendance and class participation are critical. Fifteen (15) percent of the final course grade will depend on class participation. Students with excessive absences may be asked to leave the course. There may be three or four pop quizzes during the semester that will count toward the participation grade. Students will have three writing assignments for the course, one of which will be a critical review of books related to issues studied in the course. A separate handout will explain how to write such reviews, which will be of about seven pages in length and count toward 25 percent of the final grade. The second writing assignment will be a profile of a political leader or activist in one of the countries being studied in the course. The due dates for these two assignments are March 3 and April 23. You may choose to write the two assignments in either order so long as each one addresses different countries from among those we are studying this semester. The third writing assignment will be a final take-home exam of about ten pages’ length due at the time scheduled for the final exam, i.e., May 12, 6:30 p.m. It will count toward 35 percent of the course grade. I reserve the right to expel a student from this course for excessive absences or to fail a student who does complete the assigned course work.

Readings: The schedule of topics and readings includes both required and recommended readings. The required readings are available for purchase at the bookstore and will be on reserve at Olin Library. The recommended readings are listed as suggestions for further study or for the critical reviews and profiles.
Books available for purchase at the Bookstore:


I will construct a course website using the Moodle course management program that the College is introducing this semester. Go to moodle.kenyon.edu and follow the links for PSCI 347. I will post course materials there.

**Academic honesty:** Students should be reminded of Kenyon's expectations regarding academic honesty. You are responsible for reading and understanding those pages of the *Course of Study* that define plagiarism and discuss academic honesty.

**Disabilities:** If you have a disability and therefore may have need of some type of accommodation(s) in order to participate fully in this class, please feel free to discuss your concerns in private with me and also self identify yourself to Erin Salva, Coordinator of Disability Services, at PBX 5453 or via e-mail at salvae@kenyon.edu.

**Classroom etiquette:** Drinks (coffee, tea, water, soft drinks) are permitted in the classroom, but please don’t bring food as it litters the classroom and distracts others. Sending texts and email from cell phones during class time shows disregard for our common learning experience; please turn cell phones off when you enter the room.

**Office hours:** I will hold office hours MWF 10:00-12:00 in 3 Horwitz House. If you cannot see me at those time, please let me know and we’ll make other arrangements. You can contact me by email or at PBX 5311; if you have an emergency, my home phone is 427-2274.
## Course Outline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Topic</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January 18</td>
<td>Introduction: Themes and Countries</td>
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<td><strong>Part I: Legacies</strong></td>
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<td>January 20</td>
<td>Corporatism</td>
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<td>January 22</td>
<td>Import-Substituting Industrialization and Populism</td>
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<td>January 25</td>
<td>Military Authoritarianism</td>
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<td>Smith, <em>Democracy in Latin America</em>, Ch. 3, pp. 73-106.</td>
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<td>January 27</td>
<td>U.S. Influence and Intervention</td>
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<td>Smith, <em>Democracy in Latin America</em>, Ch. 4, pp. 107-33.</td>
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<td><strong>Part II: Comparative Perspectives on Democracy</strong></td>
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<td>January 29</td>
<td>Democratization</td>
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<td>Smith, <em>Democracy in Latin America</em>, Ch. 2, pp. 44-72.</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Terry Lynn Karl, “Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America,” <em>Comparative</em></td>
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February 1  Institutional Choices for Latin American Democrats

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Chs. 5-6, pp. 137-82.

**Part III: Chile: Neoliberal Model?**

February 3  The Allende Experiment


View for discussion: *The Battle of Chile: The Struggle of an Unarmed People*, written and directed by Patricio Guzman.


February 5  Pinochet’s Coup

Continue reading Politzer, *Fear in Chile*.

February 8  Chicago Boys and Others

Continue reading Politzer, *Fear in Chile*.


February 10  Social Movements and the Opposition to Pinochet

Continue reading Politzer, *Fear in Chile*.


February 12  Is Chile an Economic Model for Latin America to Emulate?


Arturo Valenzuela and Lucía Dammert, “Problems of Success in Chile,” *Journal of*
February 15  Democracy, Undemocratic Institutions, and Alienation

View for discussion: *Chile, Obstinate Memory*, a coproduction of Les Films d'Ici and the National Film Board of Canada/La Sept ARTE; a film by Patricio Guzmán; produced by Yves Jeanneau, Eric Michel (1997).


February 17  Settling Up with Human Rights Abusers?

View for discussion: *The Pinochet Case*, a film by Patricio Guzman; Les Films d'ici; screenplay and direction Patricio Guzmán; produced by Yves Jeanneau (2001).

**Part IV: Argentina: Neoliberal Failure?**

February 19  The Legacy of Perón


February 22  Argentine Military Authoritarianism


February 24  Democratic Transition under Alfonsín: Dealing with Human Rights Abusers

February 26  Menem and Neoliberalism in Argentina


March 1  Economic Meltdown


View: *The Empty ATM*, an October Films Ltd. production for Thirteen/WNET in association with the BBC; directed and produced by Angus Macqueen (2002).

March 3  Social Movements and the Resistance to Politics as Usual


We will discuss the Auyero book in this and the next class session.

March 5  Social Movements and the Resistance to Politics as Usual


**Part V: Mexico: Liberalizing Markets before Freeing Politics**

March 22  The PRI and the Mexican Miracle


March 24  End of the Mexican Miracle

March 26  Salinas, Neoliberalism, and NAFTA

Haber, et al., Mexico Since 1980, Chs. 3-4, pp. 66-122.


March 29  Resistance to Neoliberalism: Chiapas and other Social Movements


March 31  Something on urbanization and migration


View: Continent on the Move, executive producer, Judith Vecchione; produced and directed by Raymond Telles and Marc De Beaufort (WGBH Boston and Central Television Enterprises for Channel 4, 1993).

April 2  Contending Forces in the 1990s

Haber, et al., Mexico Since 1980, Ch.5, pp. 123-60.

April 5  The PAN and Mexico’s New Democracy


Part VI: Brazil: The Impossibility of Reform?

April 7  Military Authoritarianism and Brazil’s Miracle


Begin reading Fernando Henrique Cardoso, The Accidental President of Brazil: A Memoir (New York: PublicAffairs, 2006).

View: Capital Sins, a production of WGBH Boston and Central Television Enterprises for Channel 4, UK; executive producer, Judith Vecchione; written, produced, and directed by Rachel Field (1993).

April 9  Building a New Democracy: Problematic Institutions


Continue reading Cardoso, The Accidental President of Brazil.

April 12  The Politics of Race in Brazil


April 14  Cardoso and the Introduction of Neoliberalism in Brazil

Finish Cardoso, The Accidental President of Brazil.

April 16  The Landless Workers Movement

Wilder Robles, “Beyond the Politics of Protest: The Landless Rural Workers


View: Brazil: *Cutting the Wire; Witnessing a Land Occupation*, Frontline Rough Cut, reported and produced by Adam Raney and Chad Heeter (2005).

April 19

Lula: Is a Working Class President Really Different?


**Part VII: Venezuela: The Deterioration of Democracy**

April 21

The Pact of Punto Fijo and Venezuelan Democracy


April 23

Domestic Actors in Venezuelan Politics


April 26

The Unraveling of Representative Democracy and the Rise of Chávez


McCoy and Myers (eds.), *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*, chs.
by Carlos A. Romero and José E. Molina, pp. 130-78.

April 28  Explaining Chávez’s Success


McCoy and Myers (eds.), *The Unraveling of Representative Democracy in Venezuela*, chs. by Rafael de la Cruz, Janet Kelly and Pedro A. Palma, and José Antonio Gil Yepes, pp. 181-260.

**Part VIII: Where Has Democracy Taken Latin America?**

April 30  Shift to the Left? The 2006 Elections and Beyond

Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Ch. 7, pp. 183-209.


May 3  Neoliberal Development, Inequality, and Democracy


Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Ch. 8-9, pp. 213-62.

May 5  Liberal or Illiberal Democracies in Latin America?


Smith, *Democracy in Latin America*, Ch. 10, pp. 263-84.

May 7  Citizen Views of their New Democracies: Democratic Resilience?