
PS154B Summer 2019



Government and Politics in Latin America:
States of South America

<https://moodle2.sscnet.ucla.edu/course/view/191A-POLSCI154B-1>

Syllabus



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Tu/Th 10:45-12:50 Dodd 175

Course Description: This course examines political and economic changes in South America during the 20th century and the initial decades of the 21st century. Since the beginning of the 20th century countries in the region experienced spectacular transformations: democratization and coups d'état, periods of rapid economic growth, urbanization, industrialization followed by periods economic stagnation and financial crises. This has also been a century of many unfulfilled expectations. Some countries in South America continue to this day to be among the most unequal on the planet. A significant portion of their citizens remain poor or lack adequate sanitation, housing and/or education. The focus of this course is on understanding the dynamics of domestic politics in South American nations, and the interrelationships with economic development, inequality and poverty.

During the course we will address questions such as:

- (i) Why do democracies die in some countries but not in others?
- (ii) How do democracies die (by examining the overthrow of civilian governments and their replacement by military dictatorships in the 1960s and 1970s and the recent history of Venezuela)?
- (iii) What policies did military dictatorships in South America impose and what were their consequences for human rights, economic development and poverty?
- (iv) What led South American countries to liberalize their economies in the last decades of the 20th century and what were the major economic, social and political consequences?
- (v) What causes democratization and how democratization happens?
- (v) What factors determine whether governments introduce policies that reduce economic inequalities and poverty?
- (vi) Why are political corruption and the weakness of their party systems some of the main obstacles currently faced by democracies in South America?

The course starts with a brief historical background of South American countries by addressing aspects of its colonial and post-colonial origins and institutions such as the slavery, limited suffrage and their dependency on exports of commodities to the international market. Students will then be exposed to some of the main theories that explain political and economic trajectories. Students can then critically evaluate these theories in light of the historical developments in South America. The first half of the course covers the period from 1930 up to the mid-1980s and ends with a lecture on the consequences of policies put in place by the military dictatorships that ruled most countries of the sub-continent in the latter part of the period. The second half examines (i) the processes of democratization of the 1980s, (ii) the causes and consequences of economic liberalization, (iii) the rise of the left (including its authoritarian version in Venezuela), and (iv) major aspects of democratic governance such as the politics of poverty reduction and the relationship between political institutions and corruption, including major recent scandals.

Grade Distribution:

- Class Participation 25%
- Assignment 15%
- Take Home Mid-term Examination 25%
- In-class Final Examination 35%

Grading: Participation grades are based on active engagement with the course material during lectures and class discussions. Attendance, therefore, does not guarantee getting participation points. Students are expected to have read and have taken notes on mandatory readings before each lecture. All readings in this syllabus are mandatory unless otherwise indicated. Pop reading quizzes may constitute a sub-component of in-class participation at the instructor's discretion. Please submit your work on time. Late assignment will be penalized with a drop of 5 percentage points. There is an additional penalty of 5 percentage points for every 24 hours or portion thereof. Midterm exam will be penalized with a drop of 10 percentage points and additional 10 points for every 24 hours or portion thereof. If you cannot turn in your assignment or midterm due to illness or another reason that may constitute an excused justification, please e-mail the instructor in advance. You may be requested to provide documentation to attest excused justification. Please see the schedule below for due dates.

Letter Grade Distribution:

≥ 93.00	A	73.00 - 76.99	C
90.00 - 92.99	A-	70.00 - 72.99	C-
87.00 - 89.99	B+	67.00 - 69.99	D+
83.00 - 86.99	B	63.00 - 66.99	D
80.00 - 82.99	B-	60.00 - 62.99	D-
77.00 - 79.99	C+	≤ 59.99	F

Students who perform extraordinary well in the course may get an A+.

Notes from UCLA regulations on grades: Grades A, B, and C denote satisfactory progress toward the degree. A grade of D may be applied toward degrees unless otherwise prohibited by program requirements. However, courses in which a grade of D is received must be offset by higher grades in the same term for students to remain in good academic standing. A grade of F yields no unit or course credit.

Assignment: The assignment consists in a 3-page film review that contains a summary of the plot and a description of the political context in which the plot takes place. You will be provided with a suggested list of movies to choose from through Kanopy. You can access Kanopy using the website of the UCLA Library. If you are interested in writing about a film or documentary that is not on the list, please consult the instructor for e-mail authorization.

Attendance: If you have to miss a lecture due to illness or another reason that may constitute an excused absence, please email the instructor in advance. It is the absentee's responsibility to get all missing notes or materials.

Final Examination: Please note that the final examination will be based on the material for the whole course.

Extra Credit: You may earn from 0 to 5 extra points (which will be added to the final grade) by writing a second film review in the same format as the assignment. This is entirely optional.

Policy on Laptops and Cellphones in Class: Current research has found that wireless technologies are becoming increasingly distracting rather than useful in many educational settings. While laptops are great for writing and research, recent survey of the use of laptops suggests: "Recently, a debate has begun over whether in-class laptops aid or hinder learning. While some research demonstrates that laptops can be an important learning tool, anecdotal evidence suggests that more and more faculty are banning laptops from their classrooms because of perceptions that they distract students and detract from learning. The current research examines the nature of in-class laptop use in a large lecture course and how that use is related to student learning. Students completed weekly surveys of attendance, laptop use, and aspects of the classroom environment. Results showed that students who used laptops in class spent considerable time multitasking and that the laptop use posed a significant distraction to both users and fellow students. Most importantly, the level of laptop use was negatively related to several measures of student learning, including self-reported understanding of course material and overall course performance," (C.B. Fried, 2008. *Journal Computers Education* 50(3): 906-14).

Based on these findings and the level of interaction of the lectures, I have the following expectations for laptops and cellphones in class:

- 1) Cellphones should be turned off during lecture. Texting is not permitted in class.
- 2) As a general rule, I strongly discourage laptop. If, however, you choose to use a laptop to take notes, I expect that you will (1) turn off your Wi-Fi access to minimize distractions to your learning; and (2) sit where you can minimize distractions to your classmates.

UCLA Student Guide to Academic Integrity: As a student and member of the UCLA community, you are expected to demonstrate integrity in your academic endeavors. You are evaluated on your own merits, so be proud of your accomplishments, and protect academic integrity at UCLA. Please carefully review the university guidelines regarding academic dishonesty. Suspicion of academic dishonesty will be reported to the Dean of Students for evaluation and appropriate action.

Databases: Students are highly encouraged to explore and make use of the following databases while studying for this course:

Chieub, Gandhi and Vreeland's Democracy-Dictatorship (DD)

The Geddes Wright and Frantz Autocratic Regimes dataset

Varieties of Democracy (V-Dem)

Our World in Data

World Bank Open Data

UN's Economic Commission for Latin America and Caribbean

WIID – World Income Inequality Database

World Inequality Database

Gapminder

Latinobarometer

Topics and Reading Assignments:

June 25th, Lecture 1: Introduction and Historical Overview

Basic Facts about South American Countries

Concepts and Measurement of Economic Development, Political Regimes and Inequality

Colonialism, Slavery and Post-Colonial Development

Sokoloff, Kenneth, L., and Stanley L. Engerman. 2000. "Institutions, Factor Endowments, and Paths of Development in the New World". *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 14 (3): 217-232.

Mahoney, James. 2010. *Explaining Levels of Colonialism and Post-Colonial Development*. New York : Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

Schwarcz, Lilia and Heloisa Starling. 2018. "Tit for Tat: Slavery and the Naturalization of Violence". In: *Brazil: a biography*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux. pp. 71-102.

June 27th, Lecture 2: Theoretical Background

Valenzuela, Samuel and Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Politics, *Comparative Politics* 10, 4: 535-52.

Collier, Ruth. 1999. *Elite Conquest or Working Class Triumph? in: Paths Toward Democracy: The Working Class and Elites in Western Europe and South America*. pp. 1-31.

Ansell, Ben and David Samuels. 2014. *Inequality and democratization*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 17-59.

Suggested Readings:

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: Univ of California Press.

Moore, Barrington. 1966. *Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World*. Boston: Beacon Press.

Acemoglu, Daron and James Robinson. *Economic Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Rueschemeyer D., Stephens E.H., Stephens J.H. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

More on Latin American Structuralism and Political Practices of Agrarian Societies:

Furtado, Celso. 1976. "Characteristics of the agrarian structures", in: *Economic Development of Latin America: historical background and contemporary problems*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 68-80).

Kay, Cristóbal. 1989. *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*. New York: Routledge.

Leal, Victor Nunes. 1977. "Notes on the structure and functioning of coronelismo", *Coronelismo: the municipality and representative government in Brazil*, New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-24.

July 2nd, Lecture 3: Import-Substitution Industrialization (ISI), Incorporation of the Masses and their Limits

Kingstone, Peter. 2011. *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development After the Commodity Boom*. Routledge, Chapter 2: Import Substitution Industrialization and the Great Transformation.

Levitsky, Steven. 2003. *Transforming Labor-Based Parties in Latin America: Argentine Peronism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2: "Origins and Evolution of a Mass Populist Party."

Graham, Carol. 1992. *Peru's APRA: Parties, Politics, and the Elusive Quest for Democracy*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner. Chapter 2: "APRA 1924-1968: Confrontation, Compromise, and Counter-reform"

Suggested Readings:

Alexander Gerschenkron, "Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective," in Gerschenkron, *Economic Backwardness in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), pp. 5-30.

Collier, Ruth and David Collier. 2001. "The Labor Movement and the State in Latin America" and "Reformist Challenge to Oligarchic Domination". In: *Shaping the political arena: Critical junctures, the labor movement, and regime dynamics in Latin America*. University of Notre Dame Press. pp. 40-59, 100-161.

Luis Bértola and José Antonio Ocampo. "State-led Industrialization". In: *The Economic Development of Latin America since Independence*. pp. 138-196.

July 4th, National Holiday

July 8th: Assignment due by 11 am on CCLE, please bring a hard copy to lecture on Tuesday.

July 9th, Lecture 4: Democratic Breakdowns and Military Dictatorships

Napolitano, Marcos. 2018. *The Brazilian Military Regime, 1964-1985*. Oxford Encyclopedia of Latin American History.

Romero, Luis Alberto. 2013. "The Process" in: *A History of Argentina in the Twentieth Century*. Penn State Press. pp. 215-255.

Suggested Readings:

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1973. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism: Studies in South American Politics*, Berkeley. pp. 55-111, 166-200.

Stepan, Alfred. *The Military in Politics: Changing Patterns in Brazil*. Princeton University Press.

July 11th, Lecture 5: Economic Growth, Inequality, Poverty and Human Rights Abuses during Military Dictatorships

Oppenheim, Lois Hecht. 2019. Politics In Chile: Socialism, Authoritarianism, and Market Democracy. pp. 47-77 and 101-141.

Suggested Readings:

Thorp, Rosemary. 1998. "Growth and Emerging Disequilibria". In: *Progress, poverty and exclusion: an economic history of Latin America in the 20th century*. IDB, pp. 159-200.

Verdugo, Patricia. 2001. *Chile, Pinochet, and the Caravan of Death*. Coral Gables, FL: North-South Center Press.

July 11th, 3 pm, Midterm Exam Posted on CCLE.

July 15th, Midterm exam due by 11 am on CCLE, please bring a hard copy to lecture on Tuesday.

July 16th, Lecture 6: Democratization

Vacs, Aldo. 1987. 'Authoritarian Breakdown and Redemocratization in Argentina', in James Malloy and Mitchell Seligson (eds) *Authoritarians and Democrats. Regime Transition in Latin America*. Pittsburgh, Pa.: Pittsburgh University Press.

Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means: Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil", *Comparative Political Studies*, 23(2), pp. 147-169.

Suggested Readings:

Geddes, Barbara. 2007. "What Causes Democratization?" in Carles Boix and Susan Stokes, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*, Oxford University Press.

July 18th: Lecture 7: Causes and Consequences of Economic Liberalization

Kingstone, Peter. 2011. The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development After the Commodity Boom. Routledge, Chapter 3: Neoliberalism and Its Discountents.

Campello, Daniela. 2014. "The Politics of Financial Booms and Crises: Evidence from Latin America" *Comparative Political Studies* 47 (5), 589-602.

Suggested Readings:

Yashar, Deborah. 2005. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements*. Cambridge University Press.

Bértola, Luis and José Antonio Ocampo. 2012. "Turning Back to the Market". In: *The Economic Development of Latin America since Independence*. pp. 198-258.

July 23rd. Lecture 8: The Rise of the Left, Commodity Boom and Authoritarianism in Venezuela

Kingstone, Peter. 2011. *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development After the Commodity Boom*. Routledge, Chapter 4: The Two Lefts and the Return of the State.

de la Torre, Carlos. 2013. *In the Name of the People: Democratization, Popular Organizations, and Populism in Venezuela, Bolivia, and Ecuador*. European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies, No. 95. pp. 27-48.

Suggested Readings:

Birdsall, Nancy, Nora Lustig and Darryl McLeod. 2012. Declining Inequality in Latin America: Some Economics, Some Politics. In: *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*.

July 25th. Lecture 9: Democratic Governance, Social Policies, and Poverty Reduction

Garay, Candelaria. 2015. *Including Outsiders in Latin America*. In: *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Zucco, Cesar. 2013. *When Payouts Pay Off: Conditional Cash Transfers and Voting Behavior in Brazil 2002-10*. *American Journal of Political Science*, 57: 810-822. doi:10.1111/ajps.12026

Eaton, Kent and Christopher Chambers-Ju. 2014. "When Clients Become Patrons: Teachers, Mayors, and the Transformation of Clientelism in Colombia". In: Diego Abente and Larry Diamond (eds.) *Clientelism, Social Policy and the Quality of Democracy*, Johns Hopkins University Press.

Suggested Readings:

Cornia, Giovanni Andrea. 2014. "Inequality trends and their determinants: Latin America over the period 1990-2010." in: *Falling Inequality in Latin America: Policy Changes and Lessons*. pp. 24-49.

Luna, Juan Pablo, and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser (eds.) 2014. *The resilience of the Latin American right*. Johns Hopkins University Press.

July 30th. Lecture 10: Democratic Governance, Weak Party Systems and Political Corruption

Mainwaring, Scott. 1993, "Presidentialism, Multipartism, and Democracy: the Difficult Combination" *Comparative Political Studies*, 26(2).

McMillan, John, and Pablo Zoido. 2004. "How to subvert democracy: Montesinos in Peru." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 18, 4: 69-92.

Watts, Jonathan. 2016. "Operation Car Wash: Is this the biggest corruption scandal in history?" *Guardian*.

Suggested Readings:

Kellam, Marisa. 2015. "Parties for hire: How particularistic parties influence presidents' governing strategies." *Party Politics* 21, pp. 515-526.

August 1st. Final Exam in Class

August 3rd, film review for extra credit due by 11 am on CCLE. (optional).