Political Science 322, The Political Economy of Latin America****** **Fall Term 2003**

SYLLABUS

Professor: Alfred P. Montero **Office: Willis 407**
Phone: x4085 (Office) 645-9603 (Home) **•• Email: Amontero@carleton.edu**
Web Page **Office Hours: Mon. 9:00-11:00 and 2:00-3:00 ; Wed. & Fri. 2:00-3:00**

****

Course Description

The recent history of Latin America has been consumed by one dominating paradox: the region is more developed economically, technologically, and more democratic now than ever; yet Latin American society is today more unequal and the region=s economic crises are deeper than they have ever been in the past. This research seminar is designed to train students in the investigation of issues emerging from this persistent paradox in the political economy of Latin America.

The seminar begins with a thorough review of the developmentalist period of Latin America and its crisis during the 1980s and 1990s. Students will assess the political, economic, and social impact of the crisis while they review competing theories in the literature to explain the causes. In the second section, students will examine in greater depth a number of critical issues in the study of Latin American political economy in recent years: globalization and regionalization of trade and production, decentralization and state reform, and poverty alleviation. During the final section of the course, students will perform oral presentations of their research.

Students who complete this course successfully are encouraged to pursue further study of Latin America in independent studies and comps projects. This course will also serve to prepare students for a regional concentration in Latin American politics in any graduate school work they wish to pursue in the future.

What is Expected of Students

Students will be expected to read, think, criticize, and form arguments. That means that students must keep up in their reading assignments and attend class regularly. Since the research seminar is organized around structured discussions, all students must be fully prepared *at all times* to discuss the readings and concepts in the course. The best students will be critical but balanced in their assessments, and will develop coherent arguments that they can defend in their writing and their in-class discussion.

Reading Materials

The **three required books** for this course have been ordered and are presently on sale at the college bookstore. All are paperbacks. The texts are:

Jeffry Frieden, Manuel Pastor, and Michael Tomz, eds. 2000. *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy* (Westview).

Kurt Weyland. 2002. *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies: Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Venezuela* (Princeton).

Carol Wise, ed. 1998. *The Post-NAFTA Political Economy: Mexico and the Western Hemisphere* (Penn State).

In addition to these texts, this course requires your study of a number of other readings from diverse sources. In order to facilitate your access to these materials, I have placed multiple copies on closed reserve at the library. Also, to reduce your costs and perhaps save on paper, I will make electronic versions available whenever possible. Otherwise, I have placed multiple copies of the required materials, including books and photocopied essays, on closed reserve.

Some students may not be as familiar with Latin American political or economic history or theory as others might be in this seminar. To assist these students, I have placed four important reference works on reserve at the library. All students are free to consult these works if they need a primer on certain concepts or historical events and figures. The recommended works are:

Peter F. Klar•n and Thomas J. Bossert. 1986. *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America* (Westview Press). A collection of essays from previously published sources covering the major theoretical approaches to Latin American political economy.

John Sheahan. 1987. *Patterns of Development in Latin America: Poverty, Repression, and Economic Strategy* (Princeton). An excellent primer on the major issues in Latin American political economy.

David Collier and Ruth Berins Collier. 2002. *Shaping the Political Arena* (University of Notre Dame). A massive tome covering the 20th century corporatist experience in several major Latin American countries.

Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, eds. 2000. *Modern Latin America*. 5th Edition. New York, NY: Oxford University Press. A basic history of Latin America.

In addition to the readings, this course requires your use of select audio and video materials. These items include assorted National Public Radio reports on audio tapes, videos in the Annenberg/CPB "Americas" Collection, and a couple of feature-length films. Brief portions of these multimedia items will be presented during class as a part of the seminar discussions, but you will be required to view and listen to some of these materials in their entirety during off-class hours.

I will occasionally distribute handouts and clippings from *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Economist*, the *Miami Herald*, the Minneapolis/St. Paul newspapers, and the internet at the beginning of class. Students are also invited to check out links to course relevant web pages on the professor=s web page. Students will be invited to reference these resources during the course.

Grading

As a true research seminar the assessment of students= performance will focus on the composition and completion of a 20-25 page research paper due at the end of the course. The first draft of this paper will be graded. Additionally, students will complete an oral comprehensive exam. Most important, each student will be called upon during the course of the semester to present on the readings in structured critiques that will initiate all seminar discussions on the literature. The grade breakdown follows:

Oral Comprehensive Exam	**20%**

First Draft	**20%**
Oral Research Presentation	**15%**
Final Draft	**30%**
Class Participation	**15%**

The Oral Exam

The oral exam will consist of a 30-minute meeting with me during the exam week. During the exam, I will ask the student questions based on the readings and the seminar discussions to that point. Students will be signed up for the oral exams no later than one week before the exams are held. A handout and a discussion in class regarding the oral exam requirement will outline additional aspects of this assignment.

The oral exam has been designed to not only test the students= knowledge of the literature, but also their ability to make clear oral arguments during an interview-like process. Students should study comprehensively for the oral exam and practice their interview skills in small groups. If you cannot attend the oral exam, you must notify me no later than two days before your exam is scheduled.

The Seminar Paper

The culmination of student work in this seminar will be the composition of a seminar paper of 20-25 pages of text (typed, double-spaced, 12cpi, one-inch margins, paginated) and a research bibliography of a minimum of three pages. The composition of the seminar paper will be broken down into the following steps:

(1) By Oct. 1, students will have decided upon a research topic in consultation with me.

(2) By Oct. 7, students will hand in a copy of a research bibliography of no less than 3 pages. A handout will define the proper citation and reference format for the paper.

(3) By Oct. 30, students will hand in a first draft of the argumentative section of their paper.

(4) On Nov. 6, 11, 13, or 18, each student will orally present their research for no less than 15 minutes in the research seminar. All colleagues will offer their input. If possible, we will schedule a couple of early presentations to free up the schedule at the end of the course.

(5) On Nov. 21, the final draft of the seminar paper will be due.

Consultation with me during each of these steps is crucial. We will also discuss the format and direction of paper topics and issues *as part of the normal discussion of the research seminar*. One of the most important lessons of the seminar is that good research depends upon the input and support of colleagues. Each student will be expected to contribute their share to this effort.

Class Participation

As a research seminar, the in-class discussions play a pivotal role in this class. Prior to each meeting, a selected number of students will be assigned the task of preparing "talking points" on the readings. These talking points should form the basis for both descriptive and critical points about the readings. Each student will present these arguments to lead off general discussion in the seminar. Each student will present at least twice. Presenters will make ample copies of their talking points for distribution at the end of their presentation.

Typically, I will begin each class session by offering a general overview of the issues to be discussed. I will also present you with a set of critical questions to structure discussion. For certain sessions, I will lead off with a video or audio presentation. After the overview portion, the seminar will proceed to student presentations, and then general discussion. I will conclude each class session with a brief review of the authors and readings for the next meeting. The seminar will include a brief break of about 5-10 minutes in the middle of each class session. Whenever feasible, refreshments will be served.

The Grading Scale

I will be using the following grading scale in this course:
98-100 A+
94-97 A
91-93 A-
88-90 B+
83-87 B
79-82 B-
76-78 C+
72-75 C
68-71 C-
67/below D/F

Academic Misconduct

Given the fact that academe relies upon the ethical conduct of scholars, students are held to the same standards in their own work. Any act of academic dishonesty or misconduct will be referred to the Office of the Dean. For further information, see Carleton College's *Academic Honesty in the Writing of Essays and Other Papers* and the section on "academic honesty" in *Academic Regulations and Procedures, 2003-04*. Both are available in Laird 140.

Special Needs

Students requiring access to learning tools/special schedules approved by Student Support Services should contact me at the beginning of the course.

NOTE: Readings must be completed for the dates assigned below.

SECTION I

LIBERALISM, DEVELOPMENTALISM, AND NEOLIBERALISM

Introduction (Sept.16, Tuesday)

Liberalism, the Crisis of the 1930s, and Structuralism (Sept. 18, Thursday)

Steven Sanderson. 1992. *The Politics of Trade in Latin American Development* (Stanford), ch. 2.

Carlos F. Diaz Alejandro, "Latin America in the 1930s," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

H.W. Arndt, "The Origins of Structuralism," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

Anne O. Krueger, "Government Failures in Development," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

Developmentalism and Its Critics (Sept. 23, Tuesday)

Eliana Cardoso and Ann Helwege, "Import Substitution Industrialization," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

John Sheahan. 1987. *Patterns of Development in Latin America* (Princeton), ch. 8.

Jeffry Frieden. 1991. *Debt, Development and Democracy: Modern Political Economy and Latin America, 1965-1985* (Princeton), ch. 2.

James Mahon, "Was Latin America Too Rich to Prosper? Structural and Political Obstacles to Export-Led Industrial Growth," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

Jeffrey D. Sachs, "External Debt and Macroeconomic Performance in Latin America and East Asia," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

Neoliberalism and Its Critics (Sept. 25, Thursday)

Rudiger Dornbusch, "The Case for Trade Liberalization in Developing Countries," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

John Williamson, "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira. 1993. "Economic Reforms and Economic Growth: Efficiency and Politics in Latin America." In *Economic Reforms in New Democracies: A Social-Democratic Approach*, eds. Luiz Carlos Bresser Pereira, Jos Mar a Maravall and Adam Przeworski (Cambridge).

Recommended: Philip Oxhorn and Graciela Ducatenzeiler. 1999. "The Problematic Relationship Between Economic and Political Liberalization: Some Theoretical Considerations." In *Markets and Democracy in Latin America: Conflict or Convergence?* eds. Philip Oxhorn and Pamela K. Starr (Lynne Rienner).

The Politics of Implementing Neoliberal Reform (Sept. 30, Tuesday)

Weyland, *The Politics of Market Reform in Fragile Democracies*, chs. 1-6.

SECTION II

CRITICAL ISSUES IN LATIN AMERICAN POLITICAL ECONOMY

Issue 1: Inequality

Addressing Poverty in the Neoliberal Era (Oct. 2, Thursday)

John Sheahan. 1997. "Effects of Liberalization Programs on Poverty and Inequality: Chile, Mexico, and Peru." *Latin American Research Review* 32:3: 7-37.

Interamerican Development Bank, "Facing Up to Inequality in Latin America," in Frieden, Pastor, and Tomz, eds.

Roberto Patricio Korzeniewicz and William C. Smith. 2000. "Poverty, Inequality, and Growth in Latin America: Searching for the High Road to Globalization." *Latin American Research Review* 35:3: 7-54.

Recommended: Alejandro Portes and Kelly Hoffman. 2003. Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change During the Neoliberal Era. *Latin American Research Review* 38:1: 41-82.

Assessing the Causes of the Failures of Social Reform (October 7, Tuesday)

Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise, "Mexican-Style Neoliberalism: State Policy and Distributional Stress," in Wise, ed.

Kenneth Roberts. 2002. Social Inequalities Without Class Cleavages in Latin America s Neoliberal Era. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36:4 (Winter): 3-33.

Kurt Weyland. 1996. "How Much Political Power Do Economic Forces Have? Conflicts Over Social Insurance Reform in Brazil." *Journal of Public Policy* 16:1: 59-84.

Manuel Barrera. 1999. "Political Participation and Social Exclusion of the Popular Sectors in Chile." In *Markets and Democracy in Latin America: Conflict or Convergence?* eds. Philip Oxhorn and Pamela K. Starr (Lynne Rienner).

Popular Responses to Neoliberalism Without Equity (October 9, Thursday)

Choose two of the following four:

Francesca Miller. 1995. "Latin American Women and the Search for Social, Political, and Economic Transformation." In *Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America*, eds. Sandor Halebsky and Richard L. Harris (Westview).

Tanya Korovkin. 1997. "Taming Capitalism: The Evolution of the Indigenous Peasant Economy in Northern Ecuador." *Latin American Research Review* 32:3: 89-110.

Margaret E. Keck. 1995. "Social Equity and Environmental Politics in Brazil: Lessons from the Rubber Tappers of Acre." *Comparative Politics* 27:4: 409-424.

Ronald Waterbury. 1999. ">Lo Que Dice el Mercado=: Development Without Developers in a Oaxacan Peasant Community." In *Globalization and the Rural Poor in Latin America*, ed. William M. Loker (Lynne Rienner).

Debate #1

Issue 2: Globalization and Regionalization of Trade and Production

The Structure of Regionalization (October 14, Tuesday)

Stephan Haggard. 1998. "The Political Economy of Regionalism in the Western Hemisphere." In Wise, ed.

Carol Wise. 1998. "NAFTA, Mexico, and the Western Hemisphere." In Wise, ed.

Mario E. Carranza. 2003. ‘Can Mercosur Survive? Domestic and International Constraints on Mercosur.’ *Latin American Politics and Society* 45:2 (Summer): 67-104.

Carol Wise. 1998. "The Trade Scenario for Other Latin Reformers in the NAFTA Era." In Wise, ed.

NO CLASS THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16 ‘ WORK ON FIRST DRAFTS.

A Case Study of The U.S.-Mexico Border (October 21, Tuesday)

David Spener and Bryan R. Roberts. 1998. "Small Business, Social Capital, and Economic Integration on the Texas-Mexico Border." In *The U.S.-Mexico Border: Transcending Divisions, Contesting Identities*, eds. David Spener and Kathleen Staudt (Lynne Rienner).

Handout: *Economist* and *New York Times* articles on the *maquila* sector and the border.

Peter Andreas. 1998. "The Paradox of Integration: Liberalizing and Criminalizing Flows Across the U.S.-Mexican Border." In Wise, ed.

Video: "The Border" and "Nightline: The New Frontier."

Prospects for the FTAA (October 23, Thursday)

Joe Foweraker. 1996. "From NAFTA to WHFTA? Prospects for Hemispheric Free Trade." In *Cooperation or Rivalry? Regional Integration in the Americas and the Pacific Rim*, eds. Shoji Nishijima and Peter H. Smith (Westview).

Richard E. Feinberg. 2002. ‘Regionalism and Domestic Politics: U.S.-Latin American Trade Policy in the Bush Era.’ *Latin American Politics and Society* 44:4 (Winter): 127-52.

Handout: *Economist* articles.

Debate #2

Issue #3: Decentralization and State Reform

The Politics of Decentralization (October 28, Tuesday)

Willis, Eliza, Christopher da C. B. Garman, and Stephan Haggard. 1999. "The Politics of Decentralization in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 34, 1: 7-56.

Alfred P. Montero and David Samuels. 2004. "The Political Determinants of Decentralization in Latin America: Causes and Consequences." In *Decentralization and Democracy in Latin America*, eds. Alfred P. Montero and David Samuels. (Notre Dame, Forthcoming).

David Samuels, ‘The Political Logic of Decentralization in Brazil,’ in Montero and Samuels.

Kathleen O’Neill, ‘Decentralization in Bolivia: Electoral Incentives and Outcomes,’ in Montero and Samuels.

Alfred P. Montero. 2001. "After Decentralization: Patterns of Intergovernmental Conflict in Argentina, Brazil, Spain, and Mexico." *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 31:4 (Fall).

Policy Issues and Cases (October 30, Thursday)

Stephan Haggard and Steven Webb, ‘Political Incentives and Inter-governmental Fiscal Relations: Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico Compared,’ in Montero and Samuels.

Caroline Beer, ‘Electoral Competition and Fiscal Decentralization in Mexico,’ in Montero and Samuels.

Michael Penfold-Becerra, ⁇Electoral Dynamics and Decentralization in Venezuela,⁇ in Montero and Samuels.

Kent Eaton, ⁇The Link Between Political and Fiscal Decentralization in South America,⁇ in Montero and Samuels.

Is Decentralization Good for Democracy and Development? (November 4, Tuesday)

Erik Wibbels, ⁇Decentralization, Democracy, and Market Reform: On the Difficulties of Killing Two Birds With One Stone,⁇ in Montero and Samuels.

Gary Bland, ⁇Enclaves and Elections: The Decision to Decentralize in Chile,⁇ in Montero and Samuels.

ORAL EXAM: Nov. 3-7.

**⁇⁇⁇