POSC 322 Neoliberalism and the New Left in Latin America               Fall Term 2013

SYLLABUS

Professor: Alfred P. Montero                      Office: Willis 407
Phone: x4085 (Office)                             Email: amontero@carleton.edu
Web Page: http://people.carleton.edu/~amontero    Office Hours: Monday 9 a.m.-11 a.m.; Tuesday 1:00 p.m.-3:00 p.m. and by appointment on Skype (Skype username: amontero9601)

Course Description

Latin America has long been analyzed using the historically specific paradigm of its post-debt crisis political economy. During the 1990s the region embraced market-oriented neoliberal economic and social reforms supported by center-right and conservative parties in government. Yet beginning with the economic crises of the 1998-2002 period, which was followed by a surge in economic growth based on the rise in commodity export prices, Latin America experienced a “left turn” as center-left and even radical leftist and populist parties and their leaders emerged to win control of presidencies and legislative majorities. The political left governs more than two-thirds of the countries in Latin America, including the largest economies of South America. In contrast to previous experiences with leftist and populist government in the region, these “new left” governments have engaged in redistributive policies that have been consistent with economic growth and macroeconomic stability. They have empowered civil societal organizations and opened political space for new actors to emerge and exercise voice in Latin American politics. But these forces and the compromises leftist governments have made to link social distribution to the logics of globalization have challenged the left turn in the region.

The purpose of this course is to explore the origins of the left turn in Latin America and the many forces that sustain it and challenge it. As a research seminar, instruction will involve intense discussion and periodic debates. Beyond preparing for each session, most of the work in the seminar will focus on a term-long research project that will culminate in a 25-page paper and oral presentation in the classroom.

What is Expected of Students

Students will be expected to read, think, criticize, and form arguments. That will require keeping up on reading assignments and attending class regularly. Students must be fully prepared at all times to discuss the readings and concepts from previous class meetings. 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 four required books for this course have been ordered and are presently on sale at the college bookstore. All are paperbacks. The texts are:


In addition to these texts, this course requires you study of a number of other readings from diverse sources. These readings are all available on the course Moodle page. Additionally, I will occasionally distribute electronic clippings from *The New York Times*, the *Economist*, *Financial Times*, *The Miami Herald*, Google, Wikipedia, and YouTube via email. Additional resources are available on the course’s web page and my resources page.

**Grading**

As a true research seminar the assessment of students’ performance will focus on the process and work product of sustained research. The seminar paper has several graded components: the quality of the first draft, the oral presentation, and the final draft. Seminar participation in the form of sustained discussion of readings and cases as well as structured debate performances will account for the rest of the evaluation. The grade breakdown follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Debates</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Draft</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oral Research Presentation</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final Draft</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class Participation</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**The Debates**

This seminar will use a series of adversarial debates (2x2 or 4x4) to address the literature on the new left in Latin America. Students will be instructed in how to organize these debates and how to participate with an emphasis on rejoinder and argument development.

**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, single-spaced. All drafts of the work prior to the final
as well as the final must be handed in by 5 p.m. on the Courses directory on the due date (see below). All files, except for data files, must be in PDF format.

The composition of the seminar paper will be broken down into the following steps:

(1) By Monday, September 30, students will have decided upon a research topic in consultation with me. Each student will prepare a preliminary abstract of the project.

(2) By Friday, October 11, students will hand in a copy of a preliminary research bibliography of no fewer than 3 pages, single-spaced. A handout will define the proper citation and bibliographic reference format for the paper. Weak bibliographies and/or bibliographies that do not follow the required format will generate negative points assessable on the rough draft score.

(3) By Friday, October 25, students will hand in a first draft of the argumentative section of their paper (the first seven-eight pages) with an updated abstract and bibliography.

(4) On November 12, 14, and 19, each student will orally present their research for no less than 15 minutes a piece 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 Monday, November 25, the final draft of the seminar paper will be due at 5:00 p.m.

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

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 reading and discussion questions to structure our deliberations. After the overview portion, the seminar will proceed to student-led discussion. I will conclude each class session with a brief review of the authors and readings for the next meeting. Whenever possible, each class will have a break of about 10 minutes.

Classroom discussion will extend to non-class times in this seminar. As part of the regular participation requirement, students must contribute to an ongoing dissemination of ideas on the Moodle conferences set up for particular weeks. The professor will moderate the discussion and be responsible for the structure of each conference.

The Grading Scale

I will be using the following grading scale in this course:
98-100 A+
94-97  A
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 the useful handout on “Avoiding Academic Misconduct.”

Special Needs

Carleton College is committed to providing reasonable accommodations to students with disabilities. Students seeking accommodations should contact the Coordinator of Disability Services, Andy Christensen, at 222-4464 anchrist@carleton.edu, to begin the process. Carleton faculty are strongly encouraged to wait for official notification of accommodations before modifying course requirements for students.

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

I. Neoliberalism and Post-neoliberalism

Introduction (Tuesday, September 17)


The Dilemma of the Left in Post-Neoliberal Latin America (Thursday, September 19)


Two Lefts or Many More? Varieties of the Latin American Left (Tuesday, September 24)


The Moderate, Institutionalized Partisan Left (Thursday, September 26)


Peter R. Kingstone and Aldo F. Ponce, “From Cardoso to Lula: The Triumph of Pragmatism in Brazil,” in Weyland, Madrid, and Hunter.


The New Movement and Populist Left (Tuesday, October 1)


Catherine M. Conaghan, “Ecuador: Rafael Correa and the Citizens’ Revolution,” in Levitsky and Roberts.

II. The Origins of Latin America’s “Left Turn”

Permissive and Conjunctural Causes: Inequality, Economic Constraints, and Public Opinion (Thursday, October 3)


**Recommended Earlier Work:**


**Natural Resource/Resource Curse Theories of the Rise of the Left (Tuesday, October 8)**


**Party Organizational Explanations (Thursday, October 10)**


**Mobilization and Grassroots Politics as a Cause of the Left Turn (Tuesday, October 15)**


**III. The Left in Power**

*Development Models (Thursday, October 17)*

Kurt Weyland, “The Left: Destroyer or Savior of the Market Model?” in Levitsky and Roberts.


*Economic Reforms and the New Left (Tuesday, October 22)*

Gustavo A. Flores-Macías, *After Neoliberalism? The Left and Economic Reforms in Latin America*, ch. 2-3 + two of the following: ch. 4 (Venezuela), ch. 5 (Brazil), or ch. 6 (Chile).

*Social Policy (Thursday, October 24)*


*Recommended Earlier Work:*


*Deepening Democracy (Tuesday, October 29)*

Benjamin Goldfrank, “The Left and Participatory Democracy: Brazil, Uruguay, and Venezuela,” in Levitsky and Roberts.


**Paradigmatic Crises and the Future of the Left (Thursday, October 31)**


**IV. Student Projects and Presentations**

*Individual Conferences with Students Regarding Research Projects (Tuesday, November 5 and Tuesday, November 12) (Class cancelled on Thursday, November 7 – London conference)*

*Student Presentations (Thursday, November 14 and Tuesday, November 19)*