

**LACS\*6030**  
**GLOBALIZATION AND INSECURITY IN THE AMERICAS**  
**School of Languages and Literatures**  
**University of Guelph**  
**Fall 2022**

**Tuesdays 11:30 AM – 2:20 PM**  
**MCKN 261**

**Professor Jordi Díez**  
**Office Hours: Tuesdays 3:00 – 5:00 PM**

[jdiez@uoguelph.ca](mailto:jdiez@uoguelph.ca)

*Please note: This is a preliminary web course description only. The School of Languages and Literatures reserves the right to change without notice any information in this description. The final, binding course outline will be distributed in the first class of the semester.*

---

### **Overview**

This seminar offers students an introductory overview of Latin America and the Caribbean through the intersection between structural forces, such as globalization, and micro phenomena, such as individual security. It explores the interplay between environmental, economic, social, political, and cultural factors in the region.

The course opens with an introduction to the historical roots of underdevelopment in Latin America and the various theoretical and conceptual frameworks that contribute to understanding the region's social, economic and political realities. In the second part of the course, we will look at globalization and its consequences, with a focus on four key dimensions of human security and insecurity: economic, environmental, cultural and political. The third, and final, section examines how various actors, from students to sexual minorities to new political movements, are responding to these, real or perceived, threats and how such resistance is reshaping the social and political landscape in the region.

### **Course Format and Requirements**

This course is structured in **seminar format**. As such, it is based on the active and sustained participation of students who are expected to have read all of the assigned material prior to class. This is necessary to have meaningful and fruitful debate and discussion. Participation is therefore a critical component of the course and its success depends upon it.

The requirements for the course are as follows:

Participation:	20%
Presentation:	30%

Research Paper:

50%

## Required Course Readings

### Books:

-Galeano, Eduardo H. 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. New York: Monthly Review Press. (25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition.)

Or:

Galeano, Eduardo H. 2003. *Las Venas Abiertas de América Latina*. México, DF: Siglo XXI Editores.

We will be reading significant portions of the following books. They are on reserve in the library and two are accessible as **Electronic Books** as well.

-Bhagwati, Jagdish. 2004. *In Defense of Globalization*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

-Díez, Jordi. 2015. *The Politics of Gay Marriage in Latin America: Argentina, Chile and Mexico*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Or:

Díez, Jordi. 2018. *La política del matrimonio gay en América Latina: Argentina, Chile y México*. México, DF: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

-Lupien, Pascal. 2018. *Citizens' Power in Latin America: Theory and Practice*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

-Nef, Jorge. 1999. *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability: The Global Political Economy of Development and Underdevelopment*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre.

All the other required readings are available on Course Reserve.

## Participation

Participation is a critical element of this course. It will be assessed based on your thoughtful and active contribution to class discussions. You are expected to do an average of 3 readings per week. **Each of you must do all REQUIRED readings every week (except for the ones marked with an asterisk).** Collectively, every effort will be made to create an atmosphere in which everyone feels confident participating in discussions. Students will be awarded a participation mark based on the criteria outlined in Table 1.

You must also prepare critical comments for each assigned reading. This is done with the objective to facilitate your active engagement in class discussion. For each reading, you must:

- 1) Identify the piece’s main argument (in one or two sentences);
- 2) Advance two critical comments on the strength of the author’s argument;
- 3) Elaborate on how the piece contributes to debates in the study of Latin America.

You must print this material out and bring it to class. This is mandatory or else the level of class participation degenerates extremely rapidly. Be prepared to speak each week. **Please note: the participation component of your grade can go from 0 to 20.**

**Table 1. Seminar Participation Grading Criteria**

Grade	Participation	Discussion	Reading
17-20	Always	Excellent—leads debate; offers original analysis and comment; uses assigned reading to back up arguments. Valuable comments in virtually every seminar.	Clearly has done and understands virtually all reading; intelligently uses this understanding in discussion.
13-16	Almost always	Good—thoughtful comments for the most part; willing, able, and frequent contributor.	Has done most reading; provides competent analysis of reading when prompted.
6-12	Frequent	Fair—has basic grasp of key concepts; arguments sporadic and at times incomplete or poorly supported.	Displays familiarity with most reading but tends not to analyze it or explore connections between different sources.
5-8	Occasional	Not good—remarks in class marred by misunderstanding of key concepts; only occasionally offers comments or opinions.	Actual knowledge of material is outweighed by improvised comments and remarks.
0-4	Rare	Poor—rarely speaks, and parrots readings when put on the spot to offer an opinion.	Little to no apparent familiarity with assigned material.

### Presentation

You are each required to do a presentation of an article (or paired articles) from Parts II and III (Weeks 5 – 12) of the required readings. Your presentation should be 30 minutes in length. Marks will be deducted if you are significantly over or under time. You must also include in the handout at least three substantive questions that arose from your reading of the material. Make sure you print a copy for each student in the class. Do *not* highlight sections of the article and read them. The purpose of this is to give a critical overview of the author’s main arguments and what evidence or analysis the author brings to make her case. I do not want a summary along the lines of “Neff says this, then he says that...” I want critical assessments of the reading. This should involve

whether the author made a convincing case, any gaps you see in the author's logic, etc. Those presenting first receive a 10% bonus.

### Essay

Students are required to submit a research paper on one of the topics we cover in this course, **other than** the one selected for the presentation. The essay is due on **December 8**, at noon (CourseLink Dropbox). An annotated bibliography, which reviews the debates in the literature (beyond the work listed in this syllabus), is due on **November 1**, and an essay outline, which presents your research proposal, is due on **November 15**. There will be absolutely **no extensions granted** on the due dates for any of these items. You will be required to present to the class your research proposal during the last two weeks of the course. Students must meet with the instructor for twenty minutes during Weeks 11 and 12.

Your continued registration in the course will be taken as evidence that you have agreed to the requirements, terms and conditions of the course.

## CLASS SCHEDULE AND ASSIGNED READINGS

### Part I: Latin America's Political and Economic Development

#### **Sept. 13: Introduction to the Course**

#### **Sept. 20: Historical Overview**

##### *Required Readings:*

Galeano, Eduardo H. 1997. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*. New York: Monthly Review Press (25<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Edition).

##### *Recommended Readings:*

Vargas Llosa, Mario. 1990. "Questions of Conquest: What Columbus Wrought, and What He Did Not," *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 281, No. 1687: pp. 45-53.

Burns, E. Bradford. 1980. *The Poverty of Progress: Latin America in the Nineteenth Century*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Harris, Richard L. and Jorge Nef. 2008. *Capital, Power, and Inequality in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Lanham, ML: Rowman & Littlefield.

Rueschmeyer, Dietrich, Evelyn Huber Stephens and John Stephens. 1992. *Capitalist Development and Democracy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

López-Alves, Fernando. 2000. *State Formation and Democracy in Latin America*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, Chapter 1.

## **Sept. 27: Theoretical Explanations of Underdevelopment**

### *Required Readings:*

\*Smith, Peter H. and James N. Green. 2019 (Ninth Edition). *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 12 (pp. 359-74).

Valenzuela, Samuel J. and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment." *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 10, No. 4 (July), pp. 535-557.

Heller, Patrick, Dietrich Rueschemeyer and Richard Snyder. 2009. "Dependency and Development in a Globalized World: Looking Back and Forward," in *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 44, No. 4 (Sept), pp. 287-95.

### *Recommended Readings:*

Gunder Frank, André. 1966. "The Development of Underdevelopment." *Monthly Review*, 18.4: 17-51.

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique and Enzo Faletto. 1979. *Dependency and Development in Latin America*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Kay, Cristóbal. 1989. *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*. Berkley, CA: University of California Press.

Evans, Peter. 1979. *Dependent Development: The Alliance of Multinational, State, and Local Capital in Brazil*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cardoso, Fernando Henrique. 2008. "New Paths: Globalization in Historical Perspective", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 296-317.

Peter Evans, "From Situations of Dependency to Globalized Social Democracy", *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 318-336.

Gerardo Munck, 2009. "Democracy and Development in a Globalized World: Thinking About Latin America from Within," *Studies in Comparative International Development*, Vol. 44, No. 4, pp. 337-358.

Przeworski, A. and F. Limongi. 1997. "Modernization - Theories and Facts." *World Politics* 49 (2):155-&.

Bulmer-Thomas, Victor. 2003. *The Economic History of Latin America since Independence*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bethell, Leslie. 1996. *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

#### **Oct 4: Latin America's Political Development**

##### *Required Readings:*

\*Smith, Peter H. and James N. Green. 2019 (Ninth Edition). *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 13 (pp. 386-411).

Nef, Jorge. 2002. "Globalization and the Crisis of Sovereignty, Legitimacy, and Democracy", *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (Nov), pp. 59-69.

Munck, Gerardo. 2015. "The Origins and Durability of Democracy in Latin America" in Peter Kingstone and Deborah J. Yashar (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*. New York: Routledge, 1-21.

##### *Recommended Readings:*

Gills, Barry and Joel Rocamora. 1992. "Low Intensity Democracy," *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 501-523.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy," *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 55-68.

Cameron, Maxwell, Eric Hershberg and Kenneth Sharpe. 2012. "Chapter 1: Voice and Consequence: Direct Participation and Democracy in Latin America", In *New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 1-20.

Hagopian, Frances. 1990. "Democracy by Undemocratic Means? Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil," *Comparative Political Studies*, Vol. 23, No.2, pp. 147-70.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos and Leonardo Avritzer. 2005. "Opening up the Cannon of Democracy", in *Democratizing Democracy: Beyond the Liberal Democratic Canon*, London; New York: Verso.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2004. "Human Development, Human Rights and Democracy" In O'Donnell, Vargas Cullel and Iazzetta. *Quality of Democracy: Theory and Applications*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, pp. 9-92.

Linz, Juan and Alfred Stepan. 1996. *Problems of Democratic Transition and Consolidation*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 2010. *Democracy, Agency, and the State: Theory with Comparative Intent*. New York: Oxford University Press.

## **Part II: Globalization and its Consequences, Dimensions of Insecurity**

### **Oct 11: Fall Break – No Class Scheduled**

### **Oct 18: Economic Insecurity**

#### *Required Readings:*

\*Vanden, Harry E. and Gary Prevost. 2021 (7<sup>th</sup> Edition). *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*. New York: Oxford University Press, Chapter 7.

Nef, Jorge. 1999. *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability*, “A Framework for Analysis;” and “Economic Insecurity,” **AND** Bhagwati, Jagdish N. 2004. *In Defense of Globalization*, “Poverty: Enhanced or Diminished?” pp. 51-67.

Harvey, David. 2007. “Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction” in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 610, Issue 1, pp. 21-44.

#### *Recommended Readings:*

Fagan, Honor G. and Ronaldo Munck eds. 2009. *Globalization and Security: An Encyclopedia* New York: Praeger.

Friedan, Jeffrey. 1991. *Debt, Development, and Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Nelson, Joan M. 1990. *Economic Crisis and Policy Choice: The Politics of Adjustment in the Third World* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Smith, William C., Carlos H. Acuña and Eduardo Gamarra (eds). 1994. *Democracy, Markets, and Structural Reform*. Miami, FL: North South Center Press.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2003. “Whither reform? Towards a new agenda for Latin America.” *CEPAL Review* 80, pp. 7-37.

Love, Joseph. 1996. “Economic Ideas and Ideologies in Latin America Since 1930.” In *Ideas and Ideologies in Twentieth Century Latin America*, ed. L. Bethell. New York: Cambridge University Press.

### **Oct. 25: Environmental Insecurity**

#### *Required Readings:*

Nef, Jorge. 1999. *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability*, “Environmental Insecurity”, pp. 27-44. **AND** Bhagwati, Jagdish N. 2004. *In Defense of Globalization*. “Environment in Peril?”, pp. 135-161.

Díez, Jordi and O.P. Dwivedi (eds.) 2008. *Global Environmental Challenges: Perspectives from the South*. Toronto: The Toronto University Press, “Introduction: **and one of** the chapters on Mexico, Chile or Brazil.

#### *Recommended Readings:*

Bebbington, Anthony. 2009. “The New Extraction: Rewriting the Political Ecology of the Andes?” in *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 42, No. 5 (Sept.-Oct.), pp. 12-20.

Clark, Timothy David, Liisa North, and Viviana Patroni, eds., *Community Rights and Corporate Responsibility: Canadian Mining and Oil Companies in Latin America*, (“Chapter 1 Mining and Oil in Latin America: Lessons from the Past, Issues for the Future,” by Liisa North and Timothy David Clark), pp. 1-16.

Radcliffe, Sarah A. 2012. “Development for a Postneoliberal Era? *Sumak Kawsay*, Living Well and the Limits to Decolonisation in Ecuador,” in *Geoforum*, Vol. 43, No. 2, (March), pp. 240-249.

North, Liisa L. 2011. “Malos Vecinos: Las Empresas Canadienses en América Latina,” in *Ecuador Debate*, No. 82, pp. 129-136.

### **Nov 1: Cultural Insecurity**

#### *Required Readings:*

Nef, Jorge. 1999. *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability*, “Cultural Insecurity,” pp. 93-104. **AND** Bhagwati, Jagdish N. 2004. *In Defense of Globalization*, “Culture Imperiled or Enriched?” pp. 106-121.

Hale, Charles R. 2002. “Does Multiculturalism Menace? Governance, Cultural Rights and the Politics of Identity in Guatemala,” in *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 3, pp. 485-524.

Jaramillo, Grace. 2019. “Latin America Trade and Culture at a Crossroads.” *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, Vol 25: 602-14.

#### *Recommended Readings:*



Somavía, Juan. 1981. "The Democratization of Communications: From Minority Social Monopoly to Majority Social Representation," *Development Dialogue* 2: 13-29

Gustafson, Bret. 2009. *New Languages of the State: Indigenous Resurgence and the Politics of Knowledge in Bolivia*. Duke University Press.

DeHart, Monica. 2010. *Ethnic Entrepreneurs: Identity and Development Politics in Latin America* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Brysk, Alison, 2000. *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America* Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

### **\*\*\* Annotated Bibliography Due\*\*\***

#### **Nov 8: Political Insecurity**

##### *Required Readings:*

Nef, Jorge. 1995. *Human Security and Mutual Vulnerability*, "Political Insecurity;" and "Conclusion: The Global Predicament", pp. 73-91 and pp. 105-108. **AND** Bhagwati, Jagdish N. 2004. *In Defense of Globalization*, "Democracy at Bay?" pp. 92-105.

Sánchez, Magaly. 2006. "Insecurity and Violence as a New Power Relation in Latin America". *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 606, No. 1 (Jul): 178-195.

Davis, Diane E. 2006. "The Age of Insecurity: Violence and Social Disorder in the New Latin America," in *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Feb), pp. 178-97

##### *Recommended Readings:*

Gordon, Todd. 2010. "Positioning Itself in the Andes: Critical Reflections on Canada's Relations with Colombia," in *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 70, pp. 51-84.

Chalmers, Douglas et al. (eds.) 1997. *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Livingstone, Grace. 2009. *America's Backyard: The United States and Latin America from the Monroe Doctrine to the War on Terror*. London, UK: Zed Books.

Agüero, Felipe and Jeffrey Stark (eds.). 1998. *Fault Lines of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America*. Miami, FL: North-South Center Press.

### **Part III: Responses and Resistance**

## **Nov 15: Student and Labour Protests**

### *Required Readings:*

Cummings, Peter M. M. 2015. "Democracy and Student Discontent: Chilean Student Protest in the Post-Pinochet Era." *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, Vol. 3, 49-84, **AND** Harris, Richard L. 2002. "Resistance and Alternatives to Globalization in Latin America and the Caribbean" in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 29, No. 6 (Nov.), pp. 136-151.

Bidegain, Germán and Marisa Von Bülow. 2018. "Student Movements in Latin America" in Bada, Xochitl and Liliana Riviera-Sánchez (eds.) *The Oxford handbook of Sociology in Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 357-372.

### *Recommended Readings:*

Guillen, Diana. 2013. "Mexican Spring? #Yosoy132, the Emergence of an Unexpected Collective Actor" in *Social Movement Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 4, pp. 471-476.

Guzman-Concha, César. 2012. "The Student's Rebellion in Chile: Occupy Protest or Classic Social Movement?" *Social Movement Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 3-4 (Aug/Nov), pp. 408-415.

Kurtz, Marcus J. 2004. "The Dilemmas of Democracy in the Open Economy: Lessons from Latin America" in *World Politics*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (Jan), pp. 262-302.

McSherry, J. Patrice and Raúl Molina Mejía. 2011. "Chilean Students Challenge Pinochet's Legacy," in *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 44, No. 6 (Nov/Dec), pp. 29-34.

Nilsson, Manuela and Jan Gustafsson (eds.) 2012. *Latin American Responses to Globalization in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Silva, Eduardo. 2009. *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Webster, Edward, Robert Lambert, and Andries Bezuidenhout. 2008. *Grounding Globalization: Labor in the Age of Insecurity*. Hoboken, NJ: Blackwell.

**\*\*\*Research Proposal Due\*\*\***

## **Nov 22: Social Mobilization**

### *Required Readings:*

Díez, Jordi. 2015. *The Politics of Gay Marriage in Latin America: Argentina, Chile and Mexico*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, Introduction **and One** of 4, 5 or 6. [Chapter 3 is highly recommended!].

Lupien, Pascal. 2011. "The Incorporation of Indigenous Concepts of Plurinationality into the New Constitutions of Ecuador and Bolivia," *Democratization*, Vol. 19, No. 3: 774-796.

*Recommended Readings:*

Rice, Roberta. 2012. *New Politics of Protest: Indigenous Mobilization in Latin America's Neoliberal Age*. Scottsdale, AR: The University of Arizona Press, Chapters 1 **and one of** 4, 5, 6, 7.

Yashar, Deborah J. 2005, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Hall Gillette and Harry Anthony Patrinos (eds.). 2004. *Indigenous Peoples, Poverty and Human Development in Latin America 1994-2004*, "Introduction: The Indigenous Peoples' Decade in Latin America," by Gillette Hall, Heather Marie Layton and Joseph Shapiro, pp. 1-24.

Lee Van Cott, Donna. 2005. *From Movements to Parties in Latin America: The Evolution of Ethnic Politics*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Lucero, José Antonio. 2008. *Struggles of Voice: The Politics of Indigenous Representation in the Andes*. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Spronk, Susan and Jeffery R. Webber. 2007. "Struggles against Accumulation by Dispossession in Bolivia: The Political Economy of Natural Resource Contention," in *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 34, No. 2, pp. 31-47.

**Nov 29: The Rise and Fall of Latin America's Left Turn**

*Required Readings:*

Balán, Manuel and Françoise Montambeault (eds.) 2019. *Legacies of the Left Turn in Latin America: The Promise of Inclusive Citizenship*. South Bend, IN: Notre Dame University Press, Introduction, Chapter 1 (pp. 40-70), Chapter 14 (pp 370-406) and **ONE** of Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 or 12.

Cleary, Matthew R. "Explaining the Left's Resurgence," in *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 17, No. 4 (Oct. 2006), pp. 35-49.

*Recommended Readings:*

Ellner, Steve. 2012 "The Distinguishing Features of Latin America's New Left in Power: The Chávez, Morales and Correa Governments." *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 38, No. 1.

Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth M. Roberts (eds). 2011. *Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore, ML: The Johns Hopkins University Press, Chapter 1, 3, and **one of** 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 or 16.

Lupien, Pascal. 2013. "The Media and Attacking the 'Bad Left' From Below in Venezuela and Bolivia." *Latin American Perspectives*, 40(3).

Sabatini, Christopher. 2013. "Will Latin America Miss U.S. Hegemony?" in *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 66, No. 2 (Spring/Summer), pp. 1-14.

Cameron, Maxwell A. and Eric Hershberg (eds.). 2010. *Latin America's Left Turns: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner.

Muhr, Thomas (ed.) 2013. *Counter-Globalization and Socialism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century: The Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of our America*. New York: Routledge.

Sanahuja, José Antonio. 2012. "Post-Liberal Regionalism in South America: The Case of UNASUR." *EUI Working Papers*.

Weyland, Kurt and Raúl L. Madrid, and Wendy Hunter (eds). 2010. *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

## **Dec 1: Citizen Participation**

### *Required Readings:*

Lupien, Pascal. 2018. *Citizens' Power in Latin America: Theory and Practice*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, Introduction, Chapter 3, and **one of** the chapters on Venezuela, Chile or Ecuador.

Cameron, Maxwell, Eric Hershberg and Kenneth Sharpe. 2012. "Chapter 10: Institutionalized Voice in Latin American Democracies." In *New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan), pp. 231-250.

### *Recommended Readings:*

Lupien, Pascal. 2015. "Mechanisms for Popular Participation and Discursive Constructions of Citizenship", *Citizenship Studies*. Vol. 19, No.2.

Baiocchi, Gianpaolo. 2003. "The Porto Alegre Experiment." In *Deepening Democracy: Institutional Innovations in Empowered Participatory Governance*. London, New York: Verso, pp. 45-76.

Burbach, Roger and Camila Piñeiro. 2007. "Venezuela's Participatory Socialism." *Socialism and Democracy* 21 (3) (Nov): 181-200.

Pateman, Carole. 1974. *Participation and Democratic Theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Cohen, Joshua and Archon Fung. 2004. "Radical Democracy." *Swiss Journal of Political Science*, 10(4).

Valencia, Cristobal. 2015. *We Are the State! Barrio Activism in Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution*. Phoenix: University of Arizona Press.

García-Guadilla, María Pilar. 2008. "La praxis de los consejos comunales en Venezuela: ¿Poder popular o instancia clientelar?" *Revista Venezolana de Economía y Ciencias Sociales*, 14 (1): 125-151.

**Final Research Paper Due Dec 8**