

POL325: Contemporary Latin American Politics

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Contents

1	Development and its Alternatives	2
1.1	Cristóbal Kay (2018) Modernization and Dependency Theory. From The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Development Julie Cupples, Marcel Palomino-Schalscha, and Manuel Prieto, eds. New York: Routledge, pp 15-28.	2
1.1.1	Modernization Theory	2
1.1.2	Dependence Theory (DT)	3
1.2	Laura Zapata-Cantu and Fernando González (2021) Challenges for Innovation and Sustainable Development in Latin America: The Significance of Institutions and Human Capital. Sustainability.	4

1 Development and its Alternatives

1.1 Cristóbal Kay (2018) Modernization and Dependency Theory. From The Routledge Handbook of Latin American Development Julie Cupples, Marcel Palomino-Schalscha, and Manuel Prieto, eds. New York: Routledge, pp 15-28.

1.1.1 Modernization Theory

Historical Context: Emerged in the North (1950s-1960s) during the Cold War. Arose post-WWII as decolonization accelerated.

Core Idea: Development is a transition from a 'traditional' to a 'modern' society. It posits that underdeveloped countries can 'catch up' by replicating the experience of Western, developed countries.

- Change is seen as determined by internal factors

Dualistic Typology:

- **Traditional Societies:** Simple, rural subsistence economy, family labour, primitive technology, low productivity. Characterized by particularism, ascription, and collective orientation. 'Traditionalism' itself is seen as a barrier due to fatalistic outlook.
- **Modern Societies:** Complex, industrial, market-oriented, wage labour, scientific technology, high productivity. Characterized by universalism, achievement orientation, self-orientation, upward social mobility, and rule of law.

Key Theorists and Concepts:

- **Walt W. Rostow (1960):** Proposed five universal stages of economic growth:
 1. The traditional society;
 2. The preconditions for take-off;
 3. **Take-off (the key turning point);**
 4. The drive to maturity;
 5. The age of mass-consumption.
- **Samuel Huntington (1968):** Prioritized **political order and stability** above other modernization goals, concerned that rapid social change could overwhelm political institutions. Critiqued mainstream MT for being too static, arguing all societies combine traditional and modern elements.
- **Other theorists focused on:** Value changes (Moore), personality transformation (Lerner), psychological factors like the desire to achieve (McClelland), and entrepreneurial spirit (Hagen).

Modernization Theory in Latin America:

- Largely absorbed uncritically by Latin American social scientists and policymakers.
- **Gino Germani (1981):** A notable exception who adapted MT. He argued that transition processes create conflicts and 'asynchronies' as different social spheres change at different speeds. However, his work was criticized from a Marxist perspective for failing to address class and ethnic conflicts.

Critique of Modernization Theory (by Andre Gunder Frank):

- Empirically faulty and theoretically weak.
- **Main flaw:** Assumes underdevelopment is an original state and ignores how development and underdevelopment are part of a single process in the formation of the world capitalist system since the 15th century.
- Fails to account for the impact of colonialism and imperialism.

1.1.2 Dependence Theory (DT)

Historical Context: Arose in Latin America in the mid-1960s, challenging MT. Influenced by theories of imperialism and the Latin American structuralist school (ECLAC).

Core Idea: Underdevelopment is not an original state but a ‘**conditioning situation**’ where the economies of some countries (the periphery) are conditioned by the development and expansion of others (the center).

- Development and underdevelopment are seen as two faces of the same historical process of global capitalism.
- It analyzes the link between external (global capitalism) and internal (class structure, politics) factors.

Precursor: Raul Prebisch and ECLAC Structuralism:

- Developed the **center-periphery paradigm**.
- **Prebisch-Singer Thesis:** Argued the international trade system benefits the center at the expense of the periphery due to the long-term deterioration of the periphery’s terms of trade (prices of its primary commodity exports fall relative to the industrial goods it imports).

Main Strands of Dependence Theory:

1. **Structuralist Strand:** Seeks to reform the capitalist system. Uses heterodox development theory concepts.
2. **Marxist Strand:** Argues dependency can only be overcome by overthrowing capitalism and transitioning to socialism. Relies on historical materialism and the labour theory of value.

Key Structuralist Theorists and Concepts:

- **Osvaldo Sunkel:** Focused on how transnational corporations (TNCs) deepen dependence and cause ‘**national disintegration**’. TNCs weaken the national bourgeoisie, fragment society, and shape public policy against the national interest.
- **Celso Furtado:** Analyzed ‘**dependent consumption patterns**’. The consumption habits of the rich, influenced by developed countries, create a wasteful, capital-intensive, and import-demanding industrial structure that perpetuates income concentration and underdevelopment.
- **Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto:**
 - Emphasized analyzing ‘**situations of dependency**’ rather than a single theory, focusing on internal manifestations.
 - Characterized the process as ‘**dependent development**’, rejecting stagnationist views and acknowledging that economic growth could occur within a dependency framework.
 - Argued a ‘**new dependency**’ emerged under corporatist-authoritarian states controlled by a militarized technocratic bureaucracy.

Key Marxist Theories and Concepts:

- **Theotonio Dos Santos:** Identified a ‘**new character of dependency**’ rooted in industrial and technological dependence. The lack of a domestic capital goods industry and indigenous technological capacity prevents dependent economies from being ‘articulated’ and achieving autonomous development.
- **Ruy Mauro Marini:** Focused on **unequal exchange** (transfer of surplus value to dominate countries) and the resulting **over-exploitation of labour** in dependent countries to maintain profit rates. Also developed the concept of **sub-imperialism**, where a larger dependent country like Brazil under its military regime could engage in imperialist practices toward weaker neighbours to solve its own problems of insufficient internal demand.

- **Andre Gunder Frank:** Coined the phrase “**the development of underdevelopment**”. Argued that the metropolis-satellite linkages constantly recreate underdevelopment. Contended that Latin America has been capitalist since the colonial conquest, challenging the prevailing feudal/semi-feudal characterization and the political strategies based on it. His thesis was famously critiqued by Ernesto Laclau for overemphasizing market circulation while neglecting relations of production.

Decline and Legacy of Dependence Theory: It’s influence waned with the economic crisis of the 1980s and the rise of neoliberalism. Remembered as the **first major challenge to the Eurocentric character of the social sciences** to achieve global influence. It inspired a new generation of scholars to think about development from the perspective of the South.

1.2 Laura Zapata-Cantu and Fernando González (2021) Challenges for Innovation and Sustainable Development in Latin America: The Significance of Institutions and Human Capital. Sustainability.