Political Science 221, Latin American Politics **Spring Term 2013**

SYLLABUS

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"[Latin] America is ungovernable!"

- Simón Bolívar, on his deathbed in 1830.

Course Description

More than 150 years after the great liberator of Latin America, Simón Bolívar, uttered these immortal words, many scholars of the region opine that the *caudillo*'s sentiments have proven prophetic. The 20th century history of Latin America has been plagued by some of the worst afflictions of the human condition: persistent poverty, authoritarianism, social violence, and economic chaos. The search for governability in this region is a struggle that has led many Latin American countries to an array of different economic and political "experiments." These experiments have evolved as pendulum swings between competing modes of governance. Latin American countries have tried democracy and authoritarianism; state-led development models and market-oriented programs; economic policies fostering income distribution and others deepening inequality; reformist and revolutionary change.

The purpose of this course is to train students to think critically about the Latin American reality. In general, the course serves as an introduction for those who are unfamiliar with the contemporary history, politics, and social structures of the region. Instruction in this class, however, will go beyond a mere introduction to Latin American political history. It will challenge students to analyze complex problems in Latin American politics and development and encourage them to provide informed arguments on these matters. In addition to reading and classroom presentations, this class will invite students to write and orally communicate their observations about the substantive questions in the course.

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. Students must be fully prepared *at all times* to discuss the readings and concepts from previous lectures. 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:

Ernesto Che Guevara. 1995. *The Motorcycle Diaries: A Journey Around South America*. New York, NY: Verso. *Das Kapital* meets "Easy Rider." (The Ocean edition is also acceptable).

Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter. 2008. *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 3rd Ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Daniel H. Levine and José E. Molina. 2011. *The Quality of Democracy in Latin America*. Lynne Rienner.

Raúl L. Madrid. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

In addition to these texts, this course requires your study of a number of other readings and multimedia from diverse sources. These readings are all available on the course Moodle page. Additional resources are available on the course's web page and my resources page. Films and video materials will be available on closed reserve. Select films will be shown at 7 p.m. in Library 344.

Grading

Assessment of the students in this course will be based on their performance on two light research papers, periodic diagnostic examinations, a comprehensive final examination, and classroom participation. The grade breakdown follows:

Paper #1	**20%**
Paper #2	**35%**
Diagnostics (5% each)	**20%**
Comprehensive Exam	**15%**
Class Participation	**10%**

<u>The Writing Assignments</u>

Paper assignments in this course are of varying lengths. Yet they must all be typed, paginated, and double-spaced with Times New Roman font type, 12cpi font size, and one-inch margins.

These assignments must be turned in as PDF files unless otherwise indicated by 5 p.m. in the student's hand-in folder on the Courses directory on the due date specified below. *Late work will receive no credit*. Technical problems involved in converting and uploading work onto Courses will not be accepted as reasons for late or improperly formatted work. Students are responsible for addressing all glitches unless they are systemic. Proper use of spelling, punctuation, and grammar is expected. Since ability to edit your own work and produce concise argument is a touchstone for assessing and developing your critical skills, students will not be allowed to surpass the required number of pages. A handout will be distributed with the particular parameters of each of these assignments well before the due date.

Paper #1: An Empirical Test of Macro Approaches to Latin American Politics

Students will choose *one* of the following eight countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, and Bolivia. In a light research paper of 7-8 pages, the author will assess the political and development history of the chosen country in light of the analytical frameworks set up by at least two major theoretical approaches (e.g., modernization, political culture, developmentalism, etc.).

Paper #2: A Policy-Position Paper from the Perspective of a Latin American Government

Students will choose *any* Latin American country (though not the same one used for Paper #1). Identifying a salient problem that calls for policy action, the student will compose an 8-10 page policy-position paper from the perspective of the chosen country's government. This assignment will require prolonged study of the state structure, history, formal institutions, and society of the chosen Latin American country. Normally, work on this paper begins shortly before the first paper is completed. Periodic meetings with the professor are highly recommended.

Diagnostics and the Comprehensive Examination

Students are expected to prepare detailed notes on the readings and the class presentations (i.e., not just depend on jottings in the margins of their books – "Notes in the margins are marginal notes."). Such growing expertise will be systematically tested throughout the term with short, 10-minute diagnostic examinations and a final, comprehensive examination with no more than 20-25 questions. Students who wish to challenge themselves, may opt to take a 20-minute oral examination in lieu of the final exam. A limited number of slots will be available for the oral exam. Students may choose to take the oral exam in Spanish or Portuguese in lieu of English.

Class Participation

Communicating your insight into the subjects analyzed in this course is an integral part of the learning experience. In no way do I consider class participation a residual category for subjectively determining the final grade. In this course, I will evaluate your performance in both formal, scheduled presentations and informal class discussion. All oral arguments and presentations will be assessed on structure, relevance, insight, and style. The following are structured presentation formats that will be used in this course:

(1) Debates using the collegiate structure of four versus four.

(2) A simulation on delegative democracy.

(3) Small group discussions on numerous topics.

(4) Extended discussions on Moodle and following some of the selected films.

Attendance

Consistent attendance in the course is required. If you know you will be absent due to a scheduling conflict involving athletic events, Model U.N., forensics, job interviews, or any other activity, please communicate that to me as soon as possible. Keep in mind that given the unique aspects of a class, you cannot really "make up" an absence.

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 the useful handout on "Avoiding Academic Misconduct," available on the course webpage.

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.

PART ONE:

CONCEPTS AND APPROACHES

Session 1: Breaking Stereotypes, Understanding Historical and Cultural Foundations of Latin American Politics

What are Americans' stereotypes of Latin America and its people? (April 1, Monday)

Robert Pastor, "The Lessons and Legacy of Omar Torrijos." Chapter 1 of *Exiting the Whirlpool: U.S. Foreign Policy Toward Latin America and the Caribbean*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2001.

Cartoons from George Black, *The Good Neighbor* (New York, NY: Pantheon, 1988).

"South of the Border," written by Gene Autry, sung by Frank Sinatra.

Historical Causes and Culturalist Approaches (April 3, Wednesday)

Lawrence E. Harrison, *The Pan-American Dream: Do Latin America's Cultural Values Discourage True Partnership with the United States and Canada?* Boulder: Westview, 1997, Chapter 1.

Howard Wiarda, "Social Change, Political Development, and the Latin American Tradition," in Peter F. Klarén and Thomas J. Bossert, eds., *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1986.

The Path Dependency Approach (April 5, Friday)

James Mahoney, "Long-Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America," *American Journal of Sociology* 109:1 (July 2003): 50-106.

Geographical/Cultural Diversity and Clientelist Logics (April 8, Monday)

Ernesto Che Guevara, *The Motorcycle Diaries* (All).

Javier Auyero, "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account," *Latin American Research Review* 35:3 (2000): 55-81.

<u>Film</u>: "Nine Queens (Nueve Reinas)" (Argentina). (April 8, Monday, 7:30 p.m. Library 344).

Session 2: Patterns of Development and Structural Causes in Latin American Politics

Dependency and Development in Latin American History (April 10, Wednesday)

Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Faletto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America.* Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1979, Chapter 2.

Import-Substitution and Populism (April 12, Friday)

Eliana Cardoso and Ann Helwege, "Import Substitution Industrialization," in Jeffry Frieden, Manuel Pastor, and Michael Tomz, eds. *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.

Rosemary Thorp, *Progress, Poverty and Exclusion: An Economic History of Latin America in the 20th Century*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998, Chapter 7.

Neoliberalism and Post-neoliberalism (April 15, Monday)

Javier Corrales, "The Backlash against Market Reforms in Latin America," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Jean Grugel and Pía Riggirozzi, "Post-neoliberalism in Latin America: Rebuilding and Reclaiming the State after Crisis," *Development and Change* 43:1 (2003): 1-21.

Kathryn Hochstetler and Alfred P. Montero, "The New Developmentalist State: The National Development Bank and the Brazil Model," unpublished paper, 2013.

The Arguments For and Against the "Washington Consensus" (April 17, Wednesday)

John Williamson, "What Washington Means by Policy Reform," in Jeffry Frieden, Manuel Pastor, and Michael Tomz, eds. *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*. Boulder: Westview Press, 2000.

Barbara Stallings and Wilson Peres, "Is Economic Reform Dead in Latin America? Rhetoric and Reality Since 2000," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43 (2011): 755-786.

Debating Neoliberalism (April 19, Friday)

Fernando Ignacio Leiva, "Toward a Critique of Latin American Neostructuralism," *Latin American Politics and Society* 50:4 (Winter 2008): 1-25.

Paul Kellogg, "Regional Integration in Latin America: Dawn of an Alternative to Neoliberalism?" *New Political Science* 29:2 (June 2007): 187-209.

Debate: Neoliberalism.

PART TWO:

COUNTRY EXPERIENCES

Session 3: Delegative Democracy or Petro-Populism Redux? Venezuela under Hugo Chávez

Understanding the Bolivarian Revolution under Chávez (April 22, Monday)

Guillermo O'Donnell, "Delegative Democracy," in Guillermo O'Donnell, ed., *Counterpoints: Selected Essays on Authoritarianism and Democratization*, Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999.

David Myers, "Venezuela: Delegative Democracy or Electoral Autocracy?" in Domínguez and Shifter.

Noam Lupu, "Who Votes for Chavismo? Class Voting in Hugo Chávez's Venezuela," *Latin American Research Review* 45:1 (2010): 7-32.

PAPER #1 DUE (April 23, Tuesday)

Petro-Politics and Institutional Crisis? (April 24, Wednesday)

Javier Corrales and Michael Penfold, *Dragon in the Tropics: Hugo Chávez and the Political Economy of Revolution in Venezuela*, Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 2011, Chapter 2.

Valia Pereira Almao and Carmen Pérez Baralt, "Venezuela: The Impact of Recent Electoral Processes," in Levine and Molina.

Javier Corrales, "The House that Chávez Built," *Foreign Policy* March 7, 2013.

Assessing Prospects for the Post-Chávez Venezuela (April 26, Friday)

Javier Corrales, "Explaining *Chavismo*: the Unexpected Alliance of Radical Leftists and the Military in Venezuela since the late 1990s." Mimeo, 2013.

Guest Speaker: Javier Corrales (Amherst College).

Foro Latinoamericano on Venezuela (April 26-27, Friday-Saturday) with guests, Miguel Tinker Salas (Pomona College), Sujatha Fernandes (Queens College), and Javier Corrales (Attendance is required on Friday evening and Saturday morning).

Reading for Saturday morning session of the Foro Latinoamericano: Anthony Peter Spanakos, "New Wine, Old Bottles, Flamboyant Sommelier: Chávez, Citizenship, and Populism," *New*

Political Science 30:4 (December 2008): 521-544.

Session 4: Democratic Transitions and Consolidation: Argentina, Brazil, and Chile

The Collapse of Populist Democracy during the 1960's and 1970's (April 29, Monday)

Alfred Stepan, "Political Leadership and Regime Breakdown: Brazil," in Juan J. Linz and Alfred Stepan, eds. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

Dirty Hands, Dirty Wars: The Organization of Authoritarianism (May 1, Wednesday)

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

Marguerite Feitlowitz, *A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture*, 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, chs. 1-2.

Articles on Pope Francis and the Dirty War in Argentina.

Film: "Missing" (Showing May 1, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m. Library 344).

Transitions to Democracy and the Quality of Democracy (May 3, Friday + *Special Evening Session*, May 7, Tuesday, Weitz 231 9:30-10:50 p.m.)

Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñán, "Latin American Democratization since 1978: Democratic Transitions, Breakdowns, and Erosions," in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring, eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

MID-TERM BREAK (May 6, Monday)

EXTENDED READING/RESEARCH WEEK (May 7-10) – *Brown Conference*

Choose TWO of the following THREE cases of democratization and prepare for the May 13 class session.

Case #1: Argentina

Mark P. Jones and Juan Pablo Micozzi, "Argentina: Resilience in the Face of Challenges," in Levine and Molina.

Steven Levitsky, "Argentina: Democracy and Institutional Weakness," in Domínguez and

Shifter.

Case #2: Brazil

Alfred P. Montero, "Brazil: The Persistence of Oligarchy," in Levine and Molina.

David Samuels, "Brazil: Democracy under Lula and the PT," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Film: "Lula, Son of Brazil" (Showing May 8, Wednesday, 7:30 p.m. Library 344).

Case #3: Chile

Peter Siavelis, "Chile: The End of the Unfinished Transition," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Leticia M. Ruiz Rodríguez, "Chile: A Model Case?" in Levine and Molina.

Film: "Pinochet's Last Stand" (Showing May 9, Thursday, 7:30 p.m. Library 344).

Assessing the Quality of Democracy (May 13, Monday)

Jorge J. Domínguez, "Three Decades since the Start of the Democratic Transitions," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Daniel H. Levine and José E. Molina, "Evaluating the Quality of Democracy in Latin America," in Levine and Molina.

Jonathan Hartlyn, Jennifer McCoy, and Thomas M. Mustillo, "Electoral Governance Matters: Explaining the Quality of Elections in Contemporary Latin America," *Comparative Political Studies* 41:1 (January 2008).

Simulating Democratic Quality: The Delegative Democracy Dilemma (May 15, Wednesday)

Simulation: Delegative Democracy

Note: *There are no readings scheduled for this meeting so that students may catch up on their readings and be ready for the next diagnostic examination.*

Session 5: Neoliberal Reform and Its Discontents: The Case of Mexico

The Hegemonic Party System and Its Decline (May 17, Friday)

Beatriz Magaloni, "The Demise of Mexico's One-Party Dominant Regime: Elite Choices and the Masses in the Establishment of Democracy," in Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring, eds. *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, New York:

Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Recommended: Denise Dresser, "Mexico: Dysfunctional Democracy," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Technocrats and their Policy Toys: Neoliberalism and the Mexican State (May 20, Monday)

Claudio A. Holzner, "Mexico: Weak State, Weak Democracy," in Levine and Molina.

Miguel Centeno, *Democracy Within Reason: Technocratic Revolution in Mexico*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2004, chs 2 and 5.

Film: Frontline: "Murder, Money, and Mexico." (Showing May 20, Monday, 7:30 p.m. Library 344).

Social Effects of Neoliberal Reform: Poverty, Inequality, and Immigration (*Special Evening Session,* May 21, Tuesday, 8:00 p.m.-9:10 p.m., Weitz 231)

Claudio A. Holzner, "The Poverty of Democracy: Neoliberal Reforms and Political Participation of the Poor in Mexico," *Latin American Politics and Society* 49:2 (Summer 2007).

Gerardo Otero, "Neoliberal Globalization, NAFTA, and Migration: Mexico's Loss of Food and Labor Sovereignty," *Journal of Poverty* 15:4 (October-December, 2011): 384-402.

Session 6: The Problem of Governability and the Rise of Ethnic Politics: Colombia and The Central Andean Countries (Bolivia, Peru, and Ecuador)

Colombia: Country on the Edge? (May 22, Wednesday)

Fernando Cepeda Ulloa, "Colombia: Democratic Security and Political Reform," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Erika Moreno, "The Effects of Violence," in Levine and Molina.

The Drug Wars: The Transnationalization of the Governability Problem (May 24, Friday)

Álvaro Camacho Guizado and Andrés López Restrepo, "From Smugglers to Drug Lords to *Traquetos*: Changes in the Colombian Illicit Drug Organization," in Christopher Welna and Gustavo Gallón, eds. *Peace, Democracy, and Human Rights in Colombia*. South Bend, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007.

Phillip A. Hough, "Guerrilla Insurgency as Organized Crime: Explaining the So-Called 'Political Involution' of the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia," *Politics and Society* 39: 3 (2011):

379-414.

Film: "Frontline: The Drug War." (Showing Part I, May 24, Friday; Part II May 26, Sunday; both at 7:30 p.m. Library 344).

Film (*Recommended*): "Killing Pablo" (History Channel) (Showing May 25, Saturday, 7:30 p.m. Library 344).

Decaying Democratic Institutions or Resurgent Popular Movements? Bolivia and Ethnopopulism (May 27, Monday)

Eduardo Gamarra, "Bolivia: Evo Morales and Democracy," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Raúl Madrid, *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*, Chapters 1-2.

Latin American Studies Association meetings in Washington, D.C. (May 29-June 1)

PAPER #2 DUE (June 1, Saturday)

Peru and the Rise of Ethnopopulism (June 3, Monday)

Madrid, *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*, Chapter 4.

Carlos Iván Degregori, "Peru: A Missed Opportunity," in Domínguez and Shifter.

Ecuador and the Rise of Ethnic Politics (June 5, Wednesday)

Madrid, *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*, Chapter 3.

Leon Zamosc, "The Indian Movement and Political Democracy in Ecuador," *Latin American Politics and Society* 49:3 (Fall 2007).

COMPREHENSIVE FINAL EXAM (scheduled exam period)