

Politics 190W: Topics in Latin American Politics
Winter Quarter 2019
University of California, Santa Cruz
(Tuesdays and Thursdays 8:00-9:35am; Crown 201)

Professor: Sara Niedzwiecki

Office Hours: Tuesdays 9:45-10:45 a.m. and Thursdays 4:00-5:00 p.m., or by appointment

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Course Description

This course explores social policy in Latin America. It examines why social protection provided to workers and the poor differ across countries. Research on Latin American politics finds that democracy is beneficial for social protection, as democratic countries tend to implement generous social policies that improve the living conditions of their inhabitants. As a consequence, democracies tend to have healthier, more equal, and more educated populations. However, not all democracies advance the well-being of their populations and some authoritarian regimes have also implemented transformative social policies.

The long tenure of democratic experience partly explains why countries such as Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, and Uruguay have the most advanced social protection systems in the region, while other countries, such as Bolivia, Mexico, Venezuela, and Peru, lag behind. Other domestic and international factors also contribute to this variation. The characteristics of social protection systems often depend upon the strength of left partisanship, sometimes in coalition with social movements, as well as the characteristics of the state. At the same time, pressures of globalization and the role of international financial institutions have affected social policy reforms across time and countries.

The class will combine a broad overview of the politics of the different social protection systems in Latin America with specific case studies. Taking several countries as case studies, we will analyze the most inclusive welfare states in Latin America (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay) and compare them to less developed systems (Bolivia and Venezuela). The course also includes an open session in which students will propose their preferred topic for discussion.

Learning Outcomes

- (1) Students will learn about differences in social policies across Latin American countries and the causes of such variation. By the end of this course, students will have a clear understanding of the differences in social protection systems across Latin America and the factors that explain those differences. The goal of this course is to allow students to analyze the Latin American scholarly discussion on the characteristics and outcomes of social policy. We will focus on both domestic and international factors to explain differences across countries and time. The course places this discussion in a broader scholarly debate of welfare states around the world.

- (2) Students will learn to identify important research questions and produce systematic research on Latin American welfare states. The politics of social policy in Latin America open a window of opportunity to conduct research with an impact. With our systematic research, students of politics can contribute to understanding current political challenges that the region is facing and add nuance to existing scholarship. By the end of this course, students will have a polished piece of research that will allow them to showcase their ability to design and execute independent scholarship.
- (3) Students will improve oral communication skills. The last two weeks of classes will be devoted to in-class oral presentation of their research. The goal of these weeks is to work on improving oral communication skills, a key component of the research process.

Course Requirements

1) Class attendance and participation (25%)

Students are required to regularly attend class, read all assigned materials, and actively participate in class discussions. **Class attendance is a firm requirement.** Attendance will be taken at every session at the beginning of each class and unexcused absences will negatively affect your grade.

In order to facilitate an engaging session, **students are required to complete the assigned readings before class.** During discussions, we will be thinking through complicated and controversial issues together. In order to create a positive atmosphere for everyone to participate, please respect one another and the instructor. Differences of opinion are both common and desirable when discussing political issues, and this can provide an opportunity for intellectual development.

Each student should attend office hours at least once during the semester, to introduce themselves and to discuss their paper outline and questions related to the course. Mandatory individual meetings will take place on **February 7**. If you have any personal issues with or during the course that negatively impact your productivity, please communicate them with me. I am willing to work with you to help you succeed, but I cannot do so retroactively at the end of the quarter.

2) Analytic Paper (60%)

Research design: 10%, First draft: 30%, Final draft: 20%

Each student will write a research paper on a topic of their choice (~5,000 words, 15-17 pages). Students will work on this paper throughout the quarter, with six checkpoints:

- i. On **January 24**, students will bring their paper topic to class and present it orally. As a group, we will discuss each student's chosen topic and the general structure of the final paper.
- ii. On **January 29**, students will submit a one-page research design at the beginning of class. These designs should 1) pose a research question that is worth asking; 2) identify both dependent and independent variables (what would the student like to explain, and what factors might explain it?); 3) discuss how the student plans to

- answer their question through empirical research; 4) include an outline of the proposed structure of the paper; and 5) cite at least five sources.
- iii. We will meet one-on-one to discuss each student's outline on **February 7**.
 - iv. On **February 14**, students will submit a revised version of their outline, the thesis statement, and an **annotated bibliography** for peer-review.
 - v. The first full draft is due on **February 26**. Hand in a hard copy and upload it to Canvas.
 - vi. The final draft is due on **March 19** before noon. Students should submit: 1) Final draft, 2) Previous graded draft with instructor's comments, and 3) Memo explaining changes undertaken.

Late Policy: Late assignments related to the paper will be marked down 3 points out of 100 for each day following the due date, or a one-third grade decrease (i.e. a student's grade could decrease from A to A-, A- to B+, B+ to B, etc.).

3) Reviewers' comments (5%)

Each student will be in charge of providing constructive feedback to two other participants of the seminar. Reviewers will receive the papers on February 26 and should submit two hard copies of each of their reviews on **March 5**. One copy will be for the instructor and the other one for the author.

4) Oral Presentations (10%)

Each student will present their paper in a conference-like setting during the last two weeks of class. We will divide the class into panels of 3-4 students each. Each student will have 12-minutes to provide a summary of the questions and findings in their research papers. After each presentation, each member of the audience is expected to ask a question and/or provide constructive feedback to each of the presenters. The audience is expected to have read each of the papers. Authors will have time to respond. They should keep track of questions and suggestions for incorporating them to the memo and reviewed manuscript. Finally, Chairs will be in charge of collecting power point presentations in a pen-drive and of keeping time. They are also expected to ask questions to each of the presenters.

Grades for the course will be based on the following percentages for each of these requirements:

	Grade	Deadline
Participation	25%	Throughout the quarter
Analytic Paper	60%	Topic: January 24; Outline: January 29; Annotated bibliography: Feb. 14; Draft: Feb. 26, Final: Mar. 19
Reviewers' comments	5%	March 5
Oral Presentation and questions	10%	Weeks 9 and 10

Percentage Earned	Letter Grade	Grade Points
97 to 100	A+	4.0
93 to 96	A	4.0
90 to 92	A-	3.7
87 to 89	B+	3.3
83 to 86	B	3.0
80 to 82	B-	2.7
77 to 79	C+	2.3
73 to 76	C	2.0
70 to 72	C-	1.7
67 to 69	D+	1.3
65 to 66	D	1.0
Below 65	F	0.0

As a 5-credit course, it requires 15 hours per week of students' work

Policies and Expectations

Course Prerequisite: Students are expected to have taken either Politics 140c (Latin American Politics) or a similar course.

Citation and Documentation of Sources in Papers. All courses in the Politics department use one of two standard forms of citation (1) parenthetical or in-text citations and (2) footnotes. For the in-text system the department follows the *Modern Language Association* (MLA). For footnotes, the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Please familiarize yourself with the style guides for the two systems, which can be found on the [Politics website](#). For this course, you can choose either citation style. Please be consistent with the style throughout your paper.

Use of technology and etiquette in class: Please only use laptops for note taking (and not browsing the web); please remember to turn off your cell phones before class; and please no texting.

Academic Honesty: I take academic integrity very seriously and expect all students to do the same. Please see [UC Santa Cruz Academic Misconduct Policy for Undergraduates](#), which details the disciplinary processes surrounding academic misconduct. If you have questions about what plagiarism is, please talk with me and check the library's [resource page on plagiarism](#).

Principles of Community. This class is committed to promoting and protecting an environment that values and supports every person in an atmosphere of civility, honesty, cooperation, professionalism and fairness. Our class will be guided by UCSC Principles of community available at: <https://www.ucsc.edu/about/principles-community.html>

Campus Resources

Undocumented Student Services (USS): Under the umbrella of EOP, the [USS](#) provides a robust set of services and support to ensure the graduation and retention of undocumented students at UCSC. The services are composed of peer mentors and an academic advisor who provide personal, academic, financial, and legal support to all UCSC undocumented students.

Disability Accommodations: UCSC is committed to creating an academic environment that supports its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability who requires accommodations to achieve equal access in this course, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me privately during my office hours or by appointment, preferably within the first two weeks of the quarter. At this time, I would also like us to discuss ways we can ensure your full participation in the course. I encourage all students who may benefit from learning more about DRC services to contact DRC by phone at [831-459-2089](tel:831-459-2089) or by email at drc@ucsc.edu

Title IX: Title IX prohibits gender discrimination, including sexual harassment, domestic and dating violence, sexual assault, and stalking. If you have experienced sexual harassment or sexual violence, you can receive confidential support and advocacy at the Campus Advocacy Resources & Education ([CARE](#)) Office by calling (831) 502-2273. In addition, Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) can provide confidential, counseling support, (831) 459-2628. You can also report gender discrimination directly to the University's [Title IX Office](#), (831) 459-2462. Reports to law enforcement can be made to UCPD, (831) 459-2231 ext. 1. For emergencies call 911. Faculty and TAs are required under the UC Policy on Sexual Violence and Sexual Harassment to inform the Title IX Office should they become aware that you or any other student has experienced sexual violence or sexual harassment.

Basic Needs: Any student who faces challenges securing their food or housing and believes this may affect their performance in the course is urged to contact the Dean of Students for support. The Dean's office has established a [Slug Support Program](#) to help students in need. Furthermore, please notify the professor if you are comfortable in doing. This will enable her to provide any resources that she may possess.

Course Books*

- Huber, Evelyne, and John D. Stephens. 2012. *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

* Please buy a copy of this text at the Bay Tree Bookstore or Online. It is also available on reserve at McHenry library.

All other required readings are available on Canvas.

If you need basic historical background on Latin American politics, a good source is:
Skidmore, Thomas, Peter Smith, and James Green. *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018.

Class Schedule & Assignments

Week 1 – Introduction to Social Policy in Latin America

T –Jan. 8 Overview of the Course and Review of the Syllabus

Th – Jan. 10 Introduction to Social Policy and Welfare States

- Marshall, Thomas Humphrey. 1950. Citizenship and Social Class, and Other Essays. In *The Welfare State Reader* (pp. 28-37)
- Titmuss, Richard Morris. 1976. Essays on the Welfare State. London: Allen and Unwin. In *The Welfare State Reader* (pp. 38-45)
- Esping-Andersen, Gøsta. 1990. The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism. Princeton N.J. Princeton University Press, Chapter 1 (pp. 9-34)
- Bennhold, K. (2010) "[In Sweden, Men Can Have It All.](#)" *The New York Times*

Week 2 –Latin American Politics and Origins of Welfare States

T – Jan. 15 Introduction to Latin American Politics

- Skidmore, Thomas E., Peter Smith, and James Green. 2018. Modern Latin America. Ninth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press., Chapters 12-13 (pp. 359-411)
- Huber, Evelyne, and John D. Stephens. 2012. Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, Introduction and Chapter 4 (pp. 1-12; 73-102)

Th – Jan. 17 Latin America: Historic Patterns and the role of democracy

- Haggard, Stephan, and Robert R. Kaufman. 2008. Development, Democracy, and Welfare States: Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe. Princeton: Princeton University Press., Chapter 2 (pp.79-113)
- Segura-Ubiergo, Alex. 2007. The Political Economy of the Welfare State in Latin America: Globalization, Democracy, and Development. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 24-76)

Week 3 –Neoliberalism and the role of International Financial Institutions

T – Jan. 22 Neoliberal Reforms

- Cruz Saco, Amparo. 1998. "Introduction." In *Do Options Exist?*, ed by Cruz Saco and Carmelo Mesa-Lago, 1–31. Univ of Pittsburgh Press.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2005. "Theories of Policy Diffusion: Lessons from Latin American Pension Reform." *World Politics* 57 (2): 262–95.
- Gibson, Edward L. 1997. "The Populist Road to Market Reform." *World Politics* 49 (3): 339–70.
- Huber, Evelyne, and Fred Solt. 2004. "Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism." *Latin American Research Review* 39 (3): 150–64.

Th – Jan. 24 Paper Topics and Outline

Activity: Please bring a paragraph explaining a proposed topic for your research paper. You will present the research question and proposed topic to the rest of the class.

- Brancati, Dawn. 2018. Social scientific research. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Chapters 21 and 4 (319-332; 45-57)
- Babbie, Earl R. 2016. The practice of social research. 14th ed. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning. Chapter 17 (pp. 486-508)

Week 4 – Research paper, Left Turn and Social Policy Expansion

T – Jan. 29 How to write a research paper and The Left Turn

- Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2011. “Latin America's "Left Turn": A Framework for Analysis.” In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 1–28: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Tuesday January 29 – Paper outline due date

Th – Jan. 31 Social Policy Expansion

- Huber, Evelyne, and John D. Stephens. 2012. *Democracy and the Left: Social Policy and Inequality in Latin America*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Chapters 6 and 8 (pp. 155-207; 240-271)
- Garay, Candelaria. 2017. *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*. Cambridge MA: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-27)
- Holland, Alisha. 2016. “Forbearance.” *American Political Science Review* 110 (2): 232–46.

Week 5 – The Left, the Right, and Social Policies in Brazil

T –Feb. 5 Brazil

- Hunter, Wendy, and Natasha Borges Sugiyama. 2014. “Transforming Subjects into Citizens: Insights from Brazil’s Bolsa Família.” *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (04): 829–45.
- Hunter, Wendy, and Timothy Power. 2007. “Rewarding Lula: Executive Power, Social Policy, and the Brazilian Elections of 2006.” *Latin American Politics & Society* 49 (1): 1–30.

Th –Feb. 7 *No class held. We will have individual meetings on your paper instead*

Week 6 –Federalism, the Right Turn, and Peer Review

T –Feb. 12 Federalism and Social Policies

- Niedzwiecki, Sara. 2018. *Uneven Social Policies: The Politics of Subnational Variation in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 5 (pp. 1-26; 118-159; 160-181).

Th –Feb. 14 *Peer Review. Right Parties and Social Policy*

- Niedzwiecki and Pribble (2019) “Latin American Social Policy After the Commodity Boom” (manuscript you will peer-review)

Thursday February 14: Revised Outline, Thesis, and Annotated Bibliography Due

Week 7 – Radical and Moderate Lefts

T –Feb. 19 Bolivia, Venezuela, Brazil, Chile, and Uruguay

- Pribble, Jennifer. 2013. *Welfare and Party Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 4, and part of 7 (pp. 1-24; 70-88; 159-169)
- Niedzwiecki, Sara, and Santiago Anria. 2019. “The Participatory Politics of Social Policies in Bolivia and Brazil.” *Latin American Politics & Society*.
- The New York Times (2017) “[For five months, The New York Times tracked 21 public hospitals in Venezuela](#)”.

Th —Feb.21 *No Class. Work on your Final Paper.*

Week 8 – Final Papers, Peer-review, Memo, and Open Session

T—Feb. 26 How to Write Peer-review and Memo, and Prepare an Oral Presentation

Tuesday Feb 26– Paper First Draft due: Hand in a hard copy of your paper before class and upload it to Canvas

Th —Feb.28 Open Session: Topic proposed by Seminar Participants and Session run by Seminar Participants

- TBA

Week 9 –Students’ Presentations

T—March 5 Students’ Presentations

Tuesday March 5– Reviews due: Bring two hard copies of each of your reviews

Th —March 7 Students’ Presentations

Week 10 – Students’ Presentations

Tuesday March 19 before noon– Final papers due: Hand in a hard copy of your paper, memo, reviews, and old draft at my office (Merrill Annex #156)