

Latin American Politics
POLITICS 140C, Winter 2020
University of California, Santa Cruz

Lectures: Tuesdays & Thursdays, 1:30-3:05 p.m.; Steven Acad 175

Professor: Sara Niedzwiecki

Office Hours: Tuesdays 11 a.m.-noon. and Thursdays 3:15-4:15 p.m., or by appointment

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Course Description

This course offers an overview of Latin American politics in the 20th century through the contemporary period. It targets students who seek to understand how Latin American economies and governments function and what major challenges these countries are facing. As a region marked by significant political turbulence, deep economic inequality, and dynamic social movements, Latin America's politics are fast moving. In the last three decades alone, countries in Latin America have experienced the collapse of military rule, transitions to representative democracy, the adoption of neoliberal market reforms followed by their subsequent (and uneven) repudiation, and economic and political crises. This course provides an introduction to the very fluid politics of the region both by reviewing historical and contemporary patterns and by studying examples of change and continuity in specific countries.

Politics 140c is divided into three main parts. First, the course will emphasize four general trends in the region and their legacies: (1) populist politics and initial industrialization since the 1930s, (2) the emergence of authoritarian regimes in the 1960s and 1970s, (3) transitions to democracy and economic liberalization in the 1980s and 1990s, and (4) the commodity boom and “new left” of the 2000s, and the election of right wing governments since 2015. The overarching question that we will aim to answer is: “Which economic factors shape politics and societies, and how does politics, in turn, shape economic and social outcomes?”

In the second part of the course, we will use this same guiding question on the relationship between politics, economics, and society to study specific countries. The cases include two that are well explained by the general framework (Argentina and Brazil), two that partially deviate from the framework (Chile and Mexico), and two for which we need a new lens of analysis (Bolivia and Venezuela). In the third and last part of the course, we will discuss contemporary thematic topics such as indigenous politics, and social policies, poverty, and inequality. The last of these thematic topics will allow us to end the quarter on a positive note: discussing the achievements of democracy in the region with regard to the representation of previously excluded groups.

Learning Objectives

This course is organized around three central objectives.

1. First, by the end of the quarter, students will be able to identify the diverse and historically contingent contexts of Latin American countries in terms of their levels of economic development, their functioning of democracy, their systems of government, and their human welfare. In particular, students will develop an understanding of the links between politics, economics, and society. In so doing, students will develop a solid understanding of Latin American politics and of the very real challenges facing ongoing attempts to deepen democracy in the region. Merely learning facts or memorizing dates about Latin America's political history is not the central purpose of the course, but knowing something about this history is essential in order to engage critically with political science theorizing about the region. To keep abreast of current political issues in the region, there are newspaper articles as part of the readings materials for this course and students are encouraged to subscribe for the duration of the quarter to the [Latin American daily briefing](#) blog, which does an excellent job synthesizing newspaper articles about Latin America.
2. Second, because this is a “comparative politics” course, students will develop a set of conceptual tools and theoretical knowledge they can use to better understand political outcomes around the world and not just in Latin America – including right here in the United States. In this course, students can become fluent in the theories that comparativists have developed to explain the causes and consequences of such global phenomena as democratization, military coups, development, social movements, populism, and market reforms.
3. The third objective is to improve students' writing skills, including the ability to make more compelling arguments and to write papers that are well organized and supported with empirical evidence. Strong writing skills are at a premium today, and the task of drafting a proposal and writing a paper should be approached with this reality in mind. Writing effectively requires that you read widely and carefully; please be advised that this is a reading intensive course in which students are expected to devote significant time each week to the assigned readings.

Course Materials

1. Skidmore, Thomas E., Peter Smith, and James Green. *Modern Latin America*. Ninth Edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2018. **This textbook, henceforth referred to in the syllabus as MLA, is available for purchase at the Bay Tree Bookstore.** (Feel free to buy used copies or the 8th edition, both available online)
2. In addition to the textbook, I have also assigned additional mandatory readings each week that are **uploaded to Canvas**.

Please note, while a copy of the textbook is on reserve at McHenry Library, **students are strongly encouraged to buy the textbook and bring all the readings discussion section.**

Course Requirements

1) Class attendance and participation (20%)

Attendance at lectures and discussion sections is mandatory. In lecture, we take attendance every class. Your curiosity and participation are important; we look forward to your questions and comments. There is no such thing as a trivial question, as long as it is presented respectfully.

In discussion sections, you have one “free pass”. Since the second unexcused absence, your participation grade will lower one letter grade (i.e. from an A to a B) for every two missed classes. **More than four unexcused absences from section will result in automatic failure from the course.** In order to facilitate an engaging session, **students are required to complete the assigned readings before section.** Please bring your readings to discussion sections and complete the mandatory **Reading Worksheet for at least two of the readings for each week.** The Reading Worksheet cannot be completed using newspaper articles.

Course communication will occur via email, so please **check your UCSC e-mail regularly.**

2) Midterm (20%) and Final Exams (30%)

The mid-term will be held on **Tuesday, February 11**, and the final exam will occur on **Tuesday, March 17 from 4 to 7 p.m.** Both exams will be in class. The final exam is cumulative but weighted toward the second half of the course. Both exams will consist of questions on the lectures, readings, and class discussions throughout the quarter. The exams are closed everything – books, phones, notes, neighbors. No make-up tests will be given unless a student makes prior arrangements with the instructor or offers written proof of a medical visit.

3) Analytic Paper (30%)

Each student will write a research paper. A detailed description of this assignment, including the grading rubric, is available through Canvas. We will provide a list of possible topics or, alternatively, students can choose a different topic after prior approval from their TA. On **Tuesday, January 28 before noon** students will submit their paper topic, a one-page outline, and an annotated bibliography through **Canvas**. The proposal and the comments we provide should be the basis for writing the final paper. The final paper will be **2,500** words (+/- 100 words) and should include at least six sources (four from the syllabus and two outside sources). Papers must be **uploaded to Canvas before noon on Thursday February 27.** All late proposals and papers will be marked down 1/2 of a grade for each day late (i.e. 5 out of 100 points).

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](#) and the library’s [resource page](#). For this course, you can choose either citation style. Please be consistent with the style throughout your paper.

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

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

	Grade	Deadline
Attendance and participation	20%	
Midterm	20%	February 11
Proposal	5%	January 28 (Submit through Canvas before noon)
Paper	25%	February 27 (Submit through Canvas before noon)
Final Exam	30%	March 17, 4:00-7:00 p.m.

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

Policies and Expectations

Media Policy: In order to facilitate an active and collaborative environment, **we do not allow laptops, tablets, or phones** in lecture. This course requires your undivided attention. Exceptions will be made only if a student demonstrates a clear academic need for one of these devices.

Academic Honesty: We 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](#).

Grade dispute: You can dispute your grade only 48 hours after you have received your exam or paper back. If a student requests a second review, the instructor reserves the right to raise or lower this grade according to her discretion.

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 discussions will be guided by UCSC Principles of community available at: <https://www.ucsc.edu/about/principles-community.html>

Content warning: This course examines some texts, images, and videos that contain descriptions of violence and/or scenes depicting violence. Diverse forms of violence are embedded in the histories and present of Latin American politics. I will do my best to provide individual warnings on the

syllabus for course materials and in the slides for class content that are particularly sensitive. My hope is that these notifications will help your engagement by allowing you to prepare to work through challenging material. I encourage you to do what you need to care for yourself. If taking care of yourself means that you need to step outside during class, either for a short time or for the rest of the class, you may do so without academic penalty. If you do leave the room for a significant time, please make arrangements to get notes from another student or see me individually to discuss the situation. If you have concerns about encountering anything specific in the course material that I have not already flagged and would like me to provide warnings, please come see me or send me an email. I will do my best to flag any requested triggers for you in advance.

Campus Resources

Learning Support Services Tutoring. This course provides additional tutoring from the learning support services on campus (LSS) in the form of weekly, one-hour small group tutoring sessions. These sessions are voluntary; the focus is on developing strategies and skills in essay writing related to the course material and themes. Please note that these optional sessions facilitated by LSS tutors are distinct from mandatory sections facilitated by TAs. Also, due to resource constraints, tutoring is available to about 1/4 of enrolled students. We especially encourage enrollment in tutoring for students whose work on an initial assessment suggests they face writing challenges, but others can enroll too. (This assessment will take the form of a short (two-paragraphs) written response on an assigned prompt that students will bring to lecture on **Thursday, January 9**). Given the limited spaces, these tutorials are for students who can commit to attending nearly every weekly session. Students can enroll on “TutorTrac” by following the instructions here:

<https://lss.ucsc.edu/programs/how-to-signup-on-tt.html>. Please follow these instructions carefully and note that you must select “Subject Tutoring” (rather than “Writing Tutoring”). If you are having any trouble signing up for the sessions or have any questions about how to do so, please contact Nasheli Hau-Gutierrez (nghau@ucsc.edu or 459-1986), Tutor Coordinator at LSS, to ask about your options or for help signing up. Enrolled students who attend all sessions with no more than one excused absence will earn extra credit toward their final grade. The extra credit will be 3 points out of 100 or a one-third grade bump (i.e.: C+ to B-, B- to B, B to B+, etc.). Above all, their writing (and thus overall performance) will most likely improve. The writing tutor for this class is **Parker Strohmeyer**.

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.

Disciplinary Communication Requirement: In the Politics major the university's DC requirement is fulfilled by completing any three of your required four core courses (105A, B, C, D; 120A, B, C; 140A, B, C, D; 160A, B, C). The goal of the Disciplinary Communication requirement is to ensure that you acquire the skills in writing and other forms of communication necessary for your major. The central goals of the core courses are breadth of knowledge within the major and training and improvement in writing. You should see the core courses as a progressive and cumulative process requiring sustained attention to the form and quality of your writing. Another form of disciplinary communication is speaking and discussion. You are encouraged to work on the clarity and quality of your contributions to section and lecture discussions.

Class Schedule and Assignments

Week 1 – Introduction and Politics of Development

- T – Jan. 7** Introduction to the Study of Latin America and Class Organization
- Skidmore, Smith, and Green. *Modern Latin America*, [Chapter 1](#) (pp. 3-15) (From now on, **MLA**)
- R – Jan. 9** Introduction to Politics of Development
- Activity to turn in— Writing assessment: review the syllabus and write two paragraphs answering the following questions: 1) what do you think is the main challenge that Latin America faces today? and 2) what do you think will be the most challenging aspect of the course for you and how will you prepare or anticipate for that challenge?*
- MLA, [Chapter 12](#) (pp. 359-385).
 - Galeano, Eduardo. *Open Veins of Latin America: Five Centuries of the Pillage of a Continent*, 1973 (pp. 1-8).
 - Rohter, Larry. “Author Changes His Mind on ‘70s Manifesto: Eduardo Galeano Disavows His Book *The Open Veins*.” *The New York Times*, May 2014 (pp. 1-4).

Week 2 – Politics of Development

- T – Jan. 14 Import – Export and Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI)
- Cardoso, Eliana, and Ann Helwege. “Import Substitution Industrialization.” In *Modern Political Economy and Latin America*, 2000 (pp. 155–64)
 - Gibson, Edward L. “The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina.” *World Politics* 49, no. 3 (1997): 339–70.
 - Williamson, John. “What Washington Means by Policy Reform.” In *Modern Political Economy and Latin America: Theory and Policy*, 2000 (pp. 18–23).
- R – Jan. 16 Neoliberalism and its consequences
- Film: *Chicago Boys* by Carola Fuentes and Rafael Valdeavellano
- Weyland, Kurt. “Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record.” *Latin American Politics & Society* 46, no. 1 (2004): 135–57.
 - Huber, Evelyne, and Fred Solt. “Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism.” *Latin American Research Review* 39, no. 3 (2004): 150–64.
 - Davies, Richard. “[Why Is Inequality Booming in Chile? Blame the Chicago Boys.](#)” *The Guardian*, November 13, 2019.

Week 3 – Political Regimes

- T – Jan. 21 Authoritarianism and Democracy
- MLA, [Chapter 13](#) (pp. 386–411)
 - Collier, David. “Introduction.” In *The New authoritarianism in Latin America*. Ed. by David Collier. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1979 (pp. 3–16)
 - Schmitter, Philippe and Terry Karl. “What Democracy is And is Not.” *Essential Readings in Comparative Politics*. Ed. O’Neil and Rogowski, 2013 (pp.203–12).
- R – Jan. 23 Transitions to Democracy
- O’Donnell, Guillermo. “Transitions to Democracy: Some Navigation Instruments.” In *Democracy in the Americas*. Ed. Pastor, 1992 (pp. 62–75).
 - Collier, Ruth, and James Mahoney. “Adding Collective Actors to Collective Outcomes: Labor and Recent Democratization in South America and Southern Europe.” *Comparative Politics* 29, no. 3 (1997): 285–303.
- In-Class Activity: Simulation of Transition Negotiation*

Week 4: Argentina

- T – Jan. 28 Argentina I: Democracy, Populism, and Authoritarianism
- MLA, [Chapter 9](#) (pp.241-282)
 - Milanesio, Natalia. “Peronists and Cabecitas: Stereotypes and Anxieties at the Peak of Social Change.” In *The new cultural history of Peronism*. Ed., 2010 (pp. 53–84).
 - [Nunca Mas: The Report of the Argentine National Commission on the Disappeared](#), 1986. ***Content Warning: this reading includes detailed descriptions of torture, including sexual violence*** (This reading is not mandatory. If you decide to read it, skim as much as you can)

Tuesday – Jan. 28. Paper proposal DUE.
Upload your proposal to Canvas before noon

- R – Jan. 30 Argentina II: Democracy, Left and Right.
- Auyero, Javier. “The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account.” *Latin American Research Review* 35, no. 3 (2000): 55–81.
 - Politi, Daniel, and Ernesto Lodoño. “They Lost Argentina’s Abortion Vote, but Advocates Started a Movement.” *The New York Times*, August 9, 2018. ***Content Warning: this article mentions violence against women.*** It is not mandatory.

Week 5– Brazil & Review for the Midterm

- T – Feb. 4 Brazil I: Populism, Authoritarianism, and Democracy
- MLA [Chapter 11](#) (pp. 311-356)
 - Hunter, Wendy and Natasha Sugiyama. “Transforming Subjects into Citizens: Insights from Brazil’s Bolsa Família.” *Perspectives on Politics* 12 (2014): 829–45.
- R – Feb. 6 Brazil II: The Left, the Crisis, and the Right. Review for the Midterm
Activity to hand-in: Please bring questions to discuss in class
- Brinks, Daniel M. “The Rule of (Non)Law: Prosecuting Police Killings in Brazil and Argentina.” In *Informal Institutions and Democracy: Lessons from Latin America* (pp.201–26). ***Content Alert: this reading includes description of police brutality in Brazil***
 - Hunter, Wendy, and Timothy J. Power. 2019. “Bolsonaro and Brazil's Illiberal Backlash.” *Journal of Democracy* 30 (1): 68–82.

Week 6 – Midterm and Mexico

- T – Feb. 11 **Midterm**

- R – Feb. 13 Mexico: Revolution, the PRI, and Democratization
- MLA, [Chapter 3](#) (pp. 47-79)
 - Grindle, Merilee. “Patrons and Clients in the Bureaucracy: Career Networks in Mexico.” *Latin American Research Review* 12, no. 1 (1977): 37–66.
 - Gibson, Edward L. “Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries.” *World Politics* 58, no 1 (2005): 101–32.

Week 7 – Chile and Political Parties

- T – Feb. 18 Chile I: Authoritarianism and Democracy
- MLA, [Chapter 10](#) (pp. 283-310).
 - Pion-Berlin, David. “The Pinochet Case and Human Rights Progress in Chile: Was Europe a Catalyst, Cause or Inconsequential?” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 36, no. 3 (1999): 479–505.
- R – Feb. 20 Chile II and Political Parties
- Pribble, Jennifer. “Chile's Elites Face Demands for Reform.” *Current History*, 2017, 49–54.
 - Mainwaring, Scott, Fernando Bizzarro, and Ana Petrova. “Party System Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse.” In *Party Systems in Latin America*, 2018 (pp. 17–33).

Week 8 – The Left Turn, Venezuela, and Bolivia

- T – Feb. 25 Political Parties and The Left Turn
- Levitsky, Steven, and Kenneth Roberts. “Latin America's Left Turn.” In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, 2011 (pp. 1–28)
 - Morgan, Jana. “The Deterioration and Polarization of Party Politics in Venezuela.” In *Party Systems in Latin America*. Ed by Scott Mainwaring, 2018, (pp. 291–325).
- R – Feb. 27 Bolivia
- Invited Guest Speaker: Prof. Santiago Anria (Dickinson College)
- Eaton, Kent. “Conservative Autonomy Movements: Territorial Dimensions of Ideological Conflict in Bolivia and Ecuador.” *Comparative Politics* 43, no. 3 (2011): 291–310.
 - Madrid, Raúl L. “The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America.” *World Politics* 60, no. 3 (2008): 475–508.
 - Anria, Santiago, and Kenneth M. Roberts. 2019. “[Bolivia After Morales: What Lies in Store for the Country?](#)” *Foreign Affairs*, November 21.
 - Levitsky, Steven, and M. Victoria Murillo. 2019. “[The Coup Temptation in Latin America.](#)” *The New York Times*, November 26.

Week 9 –Poverty, Social Policy, and Social Protest

T – March 3 Poverty and Social Policy

- Huber and Bogliaccini. “Development and Reforms of Latin American Welfare States.” In *The Oxford Handbook of the Welfare State*. Ed., 2010 (pp. 644–55).
- Niedzwiecki, Sara. *Uneven Social Policies: The Politics of Subnational Variation in Latin America*, 2018. Chapter 1 (pp. 1-26).

Tuesday March 3: Final papers due. Upload your paper to Canvas before noon

R – March 5 Protests in Chile

Guest Speaker: Prof. Rossana Castiglioni, Universidad Diego Portales

- Niedzwiecki, Sara, and Santiago Anria. “The Participatory Politics of Social Policies in Bolivia and Brazil.” *Latin American Politics & Society*, 2018.
- Murillo, M. Victoria. 2019. “[Why Is South America in Turmoil? An Overview.](#)” *America's Quarterly*, November 19.

Week 10 –Achievements of Democracy

T – March 10 Mobilization, Participation, and Inclusion

- Wampler, Brian and L. Avritzer. “Participatory Publics: Civil Society and New Institutions in Democratic Brazil.” *Comparative Politics* 36, no. 3 (2004): 291–312.
- Franceschet, Susan, and J. Piscopo. “Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina.” *Politics & Gender* 4, (2008): 393–425.

R – March 12 Review for Final Exam

Activity: please bring questions to discuss in class

Final Exam: Tuesday, March 17, 4:00-7:00pm