

**Topics in Latin American Politics (Politics 190W)**  
**Winter Quarter 2018**  
**(MW 5:20-6:55pm; Crown 201)**

Instructor: Sara Niedzwiecki  
E-mail: saranied@ucsc.edu

Office: Merrill Annex 156  
Office Hours: W 1-3 pm, or by appointment

**Course Description**

This course explores social policy variation in Latin America. It examines why social protection provided to the poorest groups in society 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, 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 labor unions, 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 is divided into two parts. First, it will provide a broad overview of the different social protection systems in Latin America and the causes of such variation. Second, 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 a more exclusionary case (Venezuela).

**Learning Outcomes**

- (1) Students will learn about differences in social policies across Latin American countries and the causes of such variation;
- (2) Students will learn to identify important research questions and produce systematic research on Latin American welfare states;
- (3) Students will improve oral communication skills.

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.

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. 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, complete each class's activity, 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 topic and questions related to the course. Mandatory individual meetings will take place on February 5. 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 semester.

### 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 five 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 31**, 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 5**.
- iv. The first full draft is due on **February 21**.

- v. The final draft is due on **March 21** before noon. Students should submit: 1) Final draft, 2) Previous graded draft with instructor's comments, and 3) Memo explaining changes undertaken.

### **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 21 and should submit two hard copies of each of their reviews on **February 28**. One copy will be for the instructor and the other one for the author.

### **4) Oral Presentation (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 4-5 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 discussant will have 3-5 minutes to provide constructive feedback and the audience will have time to ask questions. The author will have a couple of minutes to respond.

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

**Late Policy:** Late papers will be marked down one-third of a letter grade for each day following the due date.

**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, or (2) footnotes. For the in-text system, the department follows the *Modern Language Association* (MLA). For footnotes, the *Chicago Manual of Style*.

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

**Academic integrity and plagiarism:** For tests, assignments, and other academic activities, each student is expected to maintain the highest standards of honesty and integrity. Academic dishonesty of any kind will not be tolerated. UCSC Academic Integrity Policies are available online at: [https://www.ue.ucsc.edu/academic\\_misconduct](https://www.ue.ucsc.edu/academic_misconduct). Students should acquaint themselves with the University's policy on plagiarism, academic dishonesty, academic fraud, cheating and examination impersonation.

**Disability Accommodations:** UC Santa Cruz 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](mailto:drc@ucsc.edu)

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

	<b>Grade</b>	<b>Deadline</b>
Participation	25%	
Analytic Paper	60%	<b>Outline: Jan. 31, Draft: Feb. 21, Final: Mar. 21</b>
Reviewers' comments	5%	<b>February 28</b>
Oral Presentation	10%	<b>Weeks 9 and 10</b>

<b>Percentage Earned</b>	<b>Letter Grade</b>
99.0-100	A+
95.0 to 98.9	A
91.0 to 94.9	A-
87.0 to 90.9	B+
83.0 to 86.9	B
79.0 to 82.9	B-
75.0 to 78.9	C+
71.0 to 74.9	C
67.0 to 70.9	C-
63.0 to 66.9	D+
59.0 to 62.9	D
55.0 to 58.9	D-
Below 55.0	F

### **Course Books\***

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

\* Please buy a copy of this text at the Bay Tree Bookstore or Online. It is also available on 1-day 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, 2014.

## Schedule

### Week 1 – Introduction to Social Policy in Latin America

**M – Jan. 8 Overview of the Course and Review of the Syllabus**

**W – Jan. 10 Introduction to Social Policy**

- Marshall, T.H. (1950) “Citizenship and Social Class” In *The Welfare State Reader* (pp. 28-37)
- Esping-Andersen (1990) *The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism*, Ch 1 (pp. 9-34)

### Week 2 –The Origins of Latin American Social States

**M – Jan. 15 No Class. Martin Luther King Jr.**

**W – Jan. 17 Historic Patterns and the role of democracy**

- H&S, Introduction and Ch 4 (pp. 1-12; 73-102)
- Haggard and Kaufman (2008) *Development, Democracy, and Welfare States. Latin America, East Asia, and Eastern Europe*, Ch. 2 (pp.79-113)
- Segura-Ubierno (2007) *The Political Economy of the Welfare State in Latin America: Globalization, Democracy, and Development*. Ch. 2 (pp. 24-76)

### Week 3 –Neoliberalism and the role of International Financial Institutions

**M – Jan. 22 Neoliberal Reforms**

- Cruz-Saco (1998) “Introduction” In *Do Options Exist? The Reform of Pension and Health Care Systems in Latin America* (pp. 1-31)
- Huber and Solt (2004) “Successes and Failures of Neoliberalism” *Latin American Research Review* (pp. 150–64)
- Weyland (2005) “Theories of Policy Diffusion: Lessons from Latin American Pension Reform” *World Politics* (pp. 262–95)

**W – Jan. 24 How to write a research paper**

***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.***

- van Evera (1997) *Guide to Methods for Students of Political Science*. Ch. 1 and Appendix (pp.7-48, 123-128)

## Week 4 – Left Turn and Social Policy Expansion

### M – Jan. 29    **The Left Turn and Social Policy**

- Levitsky and Roberts (2011) “Latin America's Left Turn. A Framework for Analysis” In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (pp. 1–28)
- H&S, Ch. 6 and 8 (pp. 155-207, 240-271)

### W – Jan. 31    **Social Policy Expansion**

- Garay (2017) *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America*. Ch. 1 (pp. 1-27)
- Filgueira and Franzoni (2017) “The Divergence in Women’s Economic Empowerment. Class and Gender under the Pink Tide” *Social Politics* (pp. 370–398)

**Wed. January 31 – Paper outline due date**

## Week 5 – The Left and Social Policies in Brazil

M –Feb. 5    ***No class held. We will have individual meetings on your paper instead***

### W –Feb. 7    **Brazil**

- Hunter and Borges Sugiyama (2014) “Transforming Subjects into Citizens. Insights from Brazil’s Bolsa Família” *Perspectives on Politics* (pp. 829–845)
- Hunter and Power (2007) “Rewarding Lula: Executive Power, Social Policy, and the Brazilian Elections of 2006” *Latin American Politics and Society* (pp. 1–30)
- Zucco (2013) “When Payouts Pay Off: Conditional Cash-Transfers and Voting Behavior in Brazil 2002-2010” *American Journal of Political Science* (pp. 810–22)

## Week 6 –The Right Turn and Federalism in Argentina

### M –Feb. 12    **Argentina, Federalism, and Social Policies**

- Niedzwiecki (2018) *Uneven Social Policies. The Politics of Subnational Variation* Ch. 1 and 5.

### W –Feb. 14    **Argentina’s Right Turn**

- Niedzwiecki and Pribble (2017) “Social Policies and Center-Right Governments in Argentina and Chile” *Latin American Politics & Society* (pp. 72–97)

**Week 7 – Peer-Review, Memo, and Oral Presentation**

**M –Feb. 19** *No Class. Washington’s birthday*

**W—Feb.21** How to Write Peer-review and Memo, and Prepare an Oral Presentation

**Wednesday Feb 21– Paper First Draft due: Hand in a hard copy of your paper before class and send it electronically to the whole class**

**Week 8 –Advances towards Universalism**

**M—Feb. 26** **Chile and Uruguay**

- Pribble (2013) *Welfare and Party Politics in Latin America*. Ch. 1 and 4 (pp. 1-24; 70-88)

**W—Feb.28** **Venezuela**

- Pribble (2013) *Welfare and Party Politics in Latin America*. Part of Ch. 7 (pp. 158-171)
- The New York Times (2017) “For five months, The New York Times tracked 21 public hospitals in Venezuela”  
<https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2017/12/17/world/americas/venezuela-children-starving.html?rref=collection%2Ftimestopic%2FVenezuela>**Cuba**

**Wednesday February 28– Reviews due: Bring two hard copies of each of your reviews**

**Weeks 9 and 10 – Students’ Presentations**

**Wednesday March 21 before noon– Final papers due: Hand in a hard copy of your paper at my office (Merrill Annex #156)**