

# LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

University of California, Santa Cruz  
Politics 140C  
Summer 2018

Social Sciences 2, Room 171  
Monday/Wednesday, 6:00 PM – 9:30 PM

**Juan Diego Prieto**

([jdprieto@ucsc.edu](mailto:jdprieto@ucsc.edu))

Office Hours: Monday, 3:30-5:30 p.m., and by appointment (Merrill 8)

“*Cinco siglos igual*” [“Five centuries, all the same”]  
– Argentine folk song by León Gieco

“*Cambia, todo cambia*” [“It changes, it all changes”]  
– Chilean folk song by Julio Numhauser

## COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course examines dynamics of continuity and change in Latin American politics with a focus on historical trends of political, economic, and social inclusion and exclusion. It provides a historical perspective aimed at exploring to what extent present-day challenges and struggles can be traced back to colonial and other historical legacies as well as how different forces have transformed the course of history. The course is divided into five sections: 1) an introduction to the region’s history and present-day challenges, 2) economic structures and policies, 3) the rise and fall of dictatorships and democracies, 4) states and political institutions, and 5) various forms of social and popular mobilization.

## LEARNING OBJECTIVES

Students will attain a rich understanding of many of the challenges facing Latin America in historical and comparative perspective. The goal is not to memorize dates and facts about the region’s history but to put its political, economic, and social developments in context and develop well-informed arguments about dynamics of change and continuity in Latin American politics. Through the study of key issues and themes in Latin America, students will develop a set of conceptual tools and theoretical knowledge they can use to better understand political realities around the world—from the rise and fall of democracies and dictatorships to phenomena such as economic policies, state building processes, and social movements—through a comparative lens. Students will also cultivate their writing skills and strengthen their ability to make more compelling arguments and write papers that are well organized and supported with empirical evidence.

## READINGS

The following book is **required** for this class:

Daniel C. Hellinger, *Comparative Politics of Latin America*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (Routledge, 2015) – henceforth, “*CPLA*”

It is available for purchase at The Literary Guillotine (204 Locust Street, Downtown Santa Cruz). It may also be purchased or rented from online stores. Make sure to get the latest, second edition, published in 2015.

All other required and recommended materials are available on Canvas (<http://canvas.ucsc.edu>) and may be obtained on demand as a reader from The Literary Guillotine. In addition, the following books (any edition) are recommended for general reference and as reliable sources for your case study presentation, and are available on reserve at McHenry Library (R) or accessible online as ebooks through the library catalog (E):

Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, eds. *Modern Latin America* (Oxford University Press). (R)

Leslie Bethell, ed. *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vols. 7, 8, 9 (Cambridge University Press). (R)

Harvey Kline, Christine Wade, and Howard Wiarda, *Latin American Politics and Development* (Westview Press). (E)

## **ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADING**

- Participation: 20%
- Weekly Quizzes: 15%
- Two Essays: 20%
- Case Study Presentation: 20%
- Final Exam: 25%

### **Participation**

Attendance and active participation in every class is required. Since we only have ten class meetings, any single absence will substantially detract from your learning experience (and from your participation grade). There is no way to “make up” a missed class, though I am understanding about family emergencies, illness, or other serious difficulties, and will treat them as excused absences if verifiable documentation is provided.

Participation points must be *earned* by being prepared for class (which requires having completed all of the assigned readings) and contributing actively and constructively to discussions and group activities. Constructive participation requires all of us to contribute to fostering a positive environment for everyone to participate, including those who tend to be less inclined to be highly vocal. Learning when to step back and let others speak is just as important as speaking frequently.

### **Weekly Quizzes**

There will be short quizzes at the beginning of every Monday class meeting (except for Week 1, when the quiz will take place on Wednesday). The quizzes will cover basic concepts and arguments from the assigned material. Considering the short duration of the course, and the negative implications of falling behind on reading assignments, the quizzes are intended to help you keep up with the readings and strengthen your ability to retain the most important information and concepts from the assigned material.

### **Two Essays**

You will write two essays (about 1,000 words in length) that analyze a question and develop an argument that addresses that question in a critical, conceptually sound, and empirically grounded manner. The first paper will deal with the concepts of inclusion and exclusion in light of the course’s introductory readings, lectures, and discussions, and will be due at the end of Week 1. For the second paper, you may choose to write any other week (except the week of your case study presentation). Prompts will be provided ahead of time, along with documents providing guidelines and tips for writing assignments and grading criteria. The essays must be submitted on Canvas by the deadline noted for each week.

### **Comparative Case Study Presentation**

Working in small groups (two or three students), you will prepare and deliver an in-class presentation in which you compare two or three Latin American countries (one per student) in terms of one of the course’s core themes (authoritarianism and democracy, states and political institutions, political economy, or social movements). Because this is a course in comparative politics, the goal of this exercise is for you to analyze a political problem or question and develop an original argument about it based on a cross-country comparison.

### **Final Exam**

The take-home final exam will cover the entirety of the course contents, ensure that you have developed a strong grasp of the material, and challenge you to engage in cross-case comparative analysis to address broader thematic and theoretical questions.

## **DISCIPLINARY COMMUNICATION REQUIREMENT**

In the Politics major, the university’s Disciplinary Communication requirement is fulfilled by completing any three of the required four core courses (105A, B, C, D; 120A, B, C; 140A, B, C, D; 160A, B, C). The goal of the DC requirement is to ensure that you acquire the skills in writing and other forms of communication necessary

for success in your field. The central goals of the core courses are breadth of knowledge within the major and training and improvement in written and oral communication.

### **EXPECTATIONS, ETIQUETTE, AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS**

- You must use and check your UCSC email while you are taking this course.
- Email is a convenient way to reach me, but substantial questions or concerns are best discussed in person. You are encouraged to come to my office hours or to reach out to make an appointment if needed.
- *Electronics:* Your focus and active engagement during class is critical to the success of the course. This class has a No Digital Media policy. Please keep your laptops, cells, tablets, etc. in your bag at all times and silence your phones before coming to class.
- *Late Assignment Policy:* Given the short nature of summer session courses, late work will not be accepted unless there are exceptional circumstances, which will be considered on a case-by-case basis. Do not take this class if you foresee that you will not be able to meet the deadlines. If an emergency arises, please make every effort to contact me *before* the deadline.
- *24-Hour Rule for Help on Assignments:* I am always happy to answer questions about assignments, but the last 24 hours before a deadline or an exam are for you to work independently. I will not reply to emails or meet with you during this window of time.
- *Dealing with online distractions:* I encourage you to use apps such as SelfControl ([selfcontrolapp.com](http://selfcontrolapp.com), open source, Mac only) or Cold Turkey ([getcoldturkey.com](http://getcoldturkey.com), freemium, Windows/Mac) to block your own access to online distractions while reading or writing for this class (and others).

### **ACADEMIC INTEGRITY**

Any form of academic dishonesty or plagiarism will be met with a failing grade and referral to the university for further discipline. Consult the following page to clarify what constitutes academic dishonesty: [http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic\\_integrity/undergraduate\\_students](http://www.ucsc.edu/academics/academic_integrity/undergraduate_students).

### **CITATION AND DOCUMENTATION OF SOURCES IN PAPERS**

Please choose one of the two following ways citing academic work for this course: (1) parenthetical or in-text citations (MLA or Chicago) or (2) footnotes (Chicago). Style guides for both systems can be found on the Politics Department website (<http://politics.ucsc.edu/undergraduate/citation.html>). I also encourage you to use Mendeley, Zotero, EndNote, or other citation managers.

### **DRC ACCOMMODATIONS**

If you qualify for classroom accommodations because of a disability, please submit your Accommodation Authorization Letter from the Disability Resource Center (DRC) to me during my office hours or by appointment within the first week of the summer session. Feel free to request a private meeting if needed.

### **GRADE APPEALS**

If you consider that a grade you have received is unfair or incorrect and would like to appeal it, you will need to do so in writing. Please write a brief but clear explanation of why you believe you should have received a different grade and submit it to me by email at least 24 hours (but no later than one week) after you received the grade. The entire assignment will be re-graded, and your grade may be raised or lowered. If you believe my response does not adequately address your appeal, you may file a grievance according to the procedures explained in Section 4 of The Navigator (<https://registrar.ucsc.edu/navigator/index.html>).

## SCHEDULE OF CLASS MEETINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

### Week 1: Introduction

#### **Required readings for Monday, July 30: Historical Context**

- *CPLA*, “Introduction” & “Ch. 3. Democratic and Autocratic Threads before Columbus and in Colonial Latin America,” 1-19, 76-103.
- Pablo Neruda, “The Oligarchies,” in *Canto General* (University of California Press, 2011), 161-163.

#### **Required readings and podcast for Wednesday, August 1: From the 20<sup>th</sup> Century until Today**

- *CPLA*, “Ch. 5. Populism, Development, and Democracy in the Twentieth Century,” 127-154.
- Thomas C. Wright, “Neoliberalism, Democracy, the Pink Tide, and Other Developments since 1990,” *Latin America since Independence: Two Centuries of Continuity and Change* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017), 301-322.
- “Brazil in Black and White,” *NPR Rough Translation* (podcast), August 14, 2017 (running time: 32:23), <https://www.npr.org/2017/10/17/542840797/brazil-in-black-and-white> (also available on iTunes, PocketCasts, Stitcher, other podcast apps, and Canvas). Transcript also available on NPR site.

**Essay 1 due on Friday, August 3, by 11:59 PM**

#### **Recommended for this week:**

- Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, “Why Latin America?” (selections), *Modern Latin America* (Oxford University Press, 2010), 1-10.
- Simón Bolívar, “War to the Death,” in *The Colombia Reader*, edited by Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, Marco Palacios, and Ana María Gómez López, 328-330 (Duke University Press, 2017), accessible through McHenry Library website.
- *CPLA*, “Corporatism: A Latin American Way of Politics? (section of Ch. 2)” and “Ch. 4. Political without Economic Independence,” 62-68, 104-126.

### Week 2: Latin American Political Economy

#### **Required readings for Monday, August 6: Dependency, Neoliberalism, and the Left Turn**

- *CPLA*, “Ch. 6. Development and Dependency: Theory and Practice in Latin America,” in 155-190.
- Kurt Weyland, “The Left: Destroyer or Savior of the Market Model?” in *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, edited by Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, 71-92 (The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011).

**Note:** Dr. Gabriel Filártiga (policy analyst at the Brazilian Development Bank–BNDES) will be joining us via Skype as a guest speaker.

#### **Required readings for Wednesday, August 8: Social Policy and Natural Resources**

- Candelaria Garay, “Including Outsiders in Latin America,” in *Social Policy Expansion in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1-27.
- Anthony Bebbington, “Extractive Industries, Socio-Environmental Conflicts and Political Economic Transformations in Andean America,” in *Social Conflict, Economic Development and Extractive Industry*, edited by Anthony Bebbington, 3-26 (Routledge, 2012).
- Sebastián Mazzuca, “The Rise of Rentier Populism,” *Journal of Democracy* 24, no. 2 (2013): 108-122.

**Essay due Friday, August 24, by 11:59 PM (if you choose to write this week)**

#### **Recommended for this week:**

- Javier Corrales, “Neoliberalism and its Alternatives,” in *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, edited by Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, 133-157 (Routledge, 2012).
- James W. McGuire, “Social Policies in Latin America: Causes, Characteristics, and Consequences,” in *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, edited by Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, 133-157 (Routledge, 2012).
- Maristella Svampa, “Commodities Consensus: Neoextractivism and Enclosure of the Commons in Latin America,” *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 114, no. 1 (2015): 65-82.

- Eduardo Gudynas, “Buen Vivir: Today’s Tomorrow,” *Development* 54, no. 4 (2011): 441-447.

### **Week 3: Democracy, Authoritarianism, and Back Again—and Again?**

#### **Required readings for Monday, August 13: Democracy and its Breakdown**

- *CPLA*, “1. Conceptions of Democracy” and “7. Democratic Breakdown and Military Rule,” 22-48, 192-225.
- Christopher Dunn, “Tropicalism and Brazilian Popular Music under Military Rule,” in *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, edited by Robert Levine and John J. Crocitti, 241-247 (Duke University Press, 1999).

#### **Required readings for Wednesday, August 15: Democracy’s Comeback—and Back Again?**

- *CPLA*, “8. Transitions and ‘Pacted’ Democracies in Brazil and the Southern Cone,” 226-252.
- Ruth Berins Collier 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.
- Mariana Enríquez, “The Inn,” in *Things We Lost in the Fire* (Penguin Random House, 2017).

**Film Screening:** *No* (Pablo Larraín, 2012)

**Essay due Friday, August 10, by 11:59 PM** (if you choose to write this week)

#### **Recommended for this week:**

- *CPLA*, “9. Transitions from Party-Dominant Regimes: Mexico and Venezuela,” 253-281.
- Guillermo O’Donnell, “Transitions to Democracy: Some Navigation Instruments,” in *Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum*, edited by Robert Pastor, 62-75 (Holmes Meier, 1992).
- Terry Lynn Karl, “Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America,” *Comparative Politics* 23 (1990): 1-21.
- Michael Albertus, “Latin America’s New Authoritarianism,” *Slate*, May 21, 2018, <https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2018/05/venezuelas-flawed-election-is-the-latest-in-a-regional-shift-toward-authoritarianism.html>.

### **Week 4: Political Institutions in Latin America**

#### **Required readings for Monday, August 20: Between the State and Society**

- Gabriel García Márquez, “One of these Days,” handout on Canvas, originally published in *Collected Stories* (HarperPerennial, 1991 [1962]).
- *CPLA*, “12. Parties, Media, and the Left-Right Dimension in Latin America,” 62-68, 355-384.
- Javier Auyero, “The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account,” *Latin American Research Review* 35, no. 3 (2000): 55-81.

#### **Required readings for Wednesday, August 22: The Latin American State on the Ground**

- *CPLA*, “13. Constitutions, Institutions, and the Electoral Arena,” 385-420.
- Hillel Soifer, “State Projects, Institutions, and Educational Development,” in *State Building in Latin America* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), 124-157.
- Tulia G. Falleti, “A Sequential Theory of Decentralization: Latin American Cases in Comparative Perspective,” *American Political Science Review* 90, no. 3 (2005): 327-346.

**Essay due Friday, August 17, by 11:59 PM** (if you choose to write this week)

#### **Recommended for this week:**

- Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts, “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, 2011).
- Guillermo O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy* 5, no. 1 (1994): 55-69.
- Kent Eaton, “Decentralization and Federalism,” in *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics*, edited by Peter Kingstone and Deborah Yashar, 33-47 (Routledge, 2012).
- Kenneth Newton and Jan W. Van Deth, “The Development of the Modern State,” in *Foundations of Comparative Politics: Democracies of the Modern World* (Cambridge University Press, 2010), 13-33.

## **Week 5: Social Forces in Latin America**

### **Required readings for Monday, August 27: Revolutions, Armed Conflicts, and After**

- *CPLA*, “10. Democracy in Times of Revolution,” 282-316.
- Silvio Rodríguez, “Song of the Chosen One [*Canción del elegido*]” (handout); “Singing for Nicaragua” and “Silvio Rodríguez Sings of the Special Period,” in *The Cuba Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, edited by Aviva Chomsky, Barry Carr, and Pamela Maria Smorkaloff, 588-589, 599-603 (Duke University Press, 2003).
- Michael J. LaRosa and Germán Mejía, “Colombians Search for Peace,” in *Colombia: A Concise Contemporary History*, 2nd ed. (Rowman & Littlefield, 2017): 231-246.

### **Required readings for Wednesday, August 29: Social Movements and Subaltern Struggles**

- *CPLA*, “11. Social Class and Social Movements in Latin America,” 318-354.
- Deborah Yashar, “Indigenous Politics in the Andes: Changing Patterns of Recognition, Reform, and Representation,” in *The Crisis of Democratic Representation in the Andes*, edited by Scott Mainwaring, Ana María Bejarano, and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez, 257-291 (Stanford University Press, 2006).

### **Recommended for this week:**

- *CPLA*, “14. Human Rights, Corruption, and the Rule of Law,” 421-448.
- “Starting Points for the FARC and the ELN,” in *The Colombia Reader*, 367-376.
- Ana Arjona, “War Dynamics and the “NO” Vote in the Colombian Referendum,” *Political Violence @ a Glance* blog, October 20, 2016, <https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2016/10/20/war-dynamics-and-the-no-vote-in-the-colombian-referendum>.
- Mala Htun, “Introduction: Politics of Inclusion in Latin America” [skim for context] and “Indigenous Reservations and Gender Parity in Bolivia” (with Juan Pablo Ossa), in *Inclusion without Representation in Latin America: Gender Quotas and Ethnic Reservations* (Cambridge University Press, 2016), 1-19, 70-92.

**Take-home final exam due Friday, August 31, by 11:59 PM**  
(prompt handed out at the end of class on Wednesday)

**Essay due Sunday, September 2, by 11:59 PM** (if you choose to write this week)