

**POLITICS OF LATIN AMERICA (POLC 3350-01)**  
**Spring 2019**  
**Tuesdays and Thursdays, 2:00-3:15PM**  
**Norman Mayer Building 200A**

Professor: Virginia Oliveros

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**COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OBJECTIVES**

This is an introductory lecture course to the politics of Latin America. This course examines the dynamics of political and economic change in twentieth century Latin America while focusing on the comparative trajectories of five countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela. The course will provide a combination of empirical exploration of these five countries and a variety of explanations for the general processes of change across the region and the variation across countries. We will examine Latin American politics from the rise of industrialization and populism in the 1930s and 1940s to the collapse of democracy and establishment of military regimes in the 1960s and 1970s, to the return of democracy in the 1980s and the economic liberalization of the 1990s. The course finishes with an overview of the more contemporary scene, focusing on the institutions and limitations of Latin American new democracies.

By the end of the semester, students should have a good general understanding of the politics of the region in the twentieth century. At the same time, students should be able to evaluate and compare the different arguments that seek to explain general patterns within and across countries in Latin America such as populism, ISI, authoritarianism, democratization, neoliberalism, political representation, indigenous mobilization, and the resurgence of the left. While achieving these two main goals, this course also prepares students to make, evaluate, and compare arguments about politics more generally.

**TEACHING ASSISTANT**

Pamela Pareja will be the Teaching Assistant for this class. If you have questions about course material, class absences, your performance, or any other class-related issue, you should FIRST email her. If you feel it is important for me to be informed as well, feel free to CC me on the email. In most cases, she will be able to help you with any issue that arises. She will also have office hours to help you with any questions you have about classes and readings. You can, of course, also come to my office hours for that.

## LEARNING OUTCOMES

After completing this course, students should be able to:

1. Have a good understanding of the politics of the region in the twentieth century, particularly with respect to Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela.
2. Discuss, evaluate and compare the different arguments in the Latin American literature about phenomena such as populism, ISI, authoritarianism, democratization, neoliberalism, political representation, indigenous mobilization, and the resurgence of the left.

## REQUIREMENTS

This is a Political Science course. No prior knowledge of Latin America is required. Prior exposure to concepts in political science and comparative politics is recommended. The requirements and assignments for the course are as follows:

### 1. PARTICIPATION AND ATTENDANCE (10%)

Regular attendance is required. If you miss a class or two, you do not need to tell me or the TA. If absences, tardiness, or under-preparation becomes a problem, your grade will suffer.

I expect you to keep up with the readings over the course of the semester. I employ an interactive lecture style, and you will need to have done the readings in order to participate. Moreover, the amount of reading required for this class is considerable and you won't be able to catch up on the last week before the exam.

### 2. IN-CLASS EXAM 1 (30%)

Exam 1 will take place on **February 26 (Tuesday)**. The format of the exam will be discussed the week before the exam. There will be no make-up exams unless you have a documented medical excuse. Make travel plans accordingly. The exam will include material presented both in the readings and in the lectures and will cover the material discussed up to Week 6 (included).

### 3. SHORT ESSAY (25%)

A short paper on topics to be distributed in class. The paper will be based exclusively on materials assigned in the course (no research needed). You will have some options to choose from and you will be asked to build an argument using the readings and lecture material. Paper topics will be handed out in class on **April 2 (Tuesday)** and papers are due at the beginning of the class on **April 16 (Tuesday)** both on hard copy and on Canvas. Once your graded paper is returned, you have the option of revising and resubmitting it. I will then average the grades from the original and the revised paper. Revised versions are due on Canvas on the day of the final exam, **May 8 (Wednesday) at 1pm**. No exceptions.

### 4. IN-CLASS EXAM 2 (35%)

Exam 2 will take place on **April 30 (Tuesday)** and will cover weeks 7-14.

## READINGS

Students are expected to read each of the required readings carefully before coming to class. Although this is mainly a lecture class, the size of the class will allow us to have some discussion and students should be prepared for that. When you read an article or book chapter, think about the following questions: What's the main argument? Do you believe it? Why? Why not? Is the evidence presented convincing?

There are two required textbooks. Both of them are available at Tulane University Bookstore or online:

Thomas Skidmore, Peter Smith, and James Green. 2014. *Modern Latin America*, **8th Edition**, Oxford University Press (for historical background)

Kingstone, Peter. 2011. *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development*. New York: Routledge.

Be aware that the Skidmore, Smith and Green book is not the last edition (there is a 9<sup>th</sup> edition now, from 2018), but this is the one available at the library and the Tulane bookstore (and cheaper if you buy it used). Feel free to use the 7<sup>th</sup> edition (the library has several copies of that one) or the 9<sup>th</sup> edition, but you are responsible to match the pages on the syllabus with the ones on your edition. There is also a new edition of the Kingstone's book. It basically adds a new chapter (that we won't read) so feel free to use either. The rest of the assigned readings are available on Canvas.

## CLASSROOM ETIQUETTE

1. Please, do not eat during class. Beverages are fine.
2. **Students are not allowed to use laptops in class.** For details on why I do not allow laptops, see: <http://www.npr.org/2016/04/17/474525392/attention-students-put-your-laptops-away>
3. Make sure your cell phone is turned off and do not text during class.
4. Attendance is mandatory and part of your participation grade. If you missed a class, please get the notes from another student.

## POLICIES

### Attendance

Attendance is mandatory and extremely important to succeed in this class. During lectures I will cover some material that is not in the readings and they will be part of the exams. If you missed a class, ask another student for the notes.

### Make-up Exams

There will be no make-up exams unless you have a documented medical excuse. Make travel plans accordingly.

### Late Policy

Late papers will be downgraded by one-third of a letter grade (e.g. A to A-) per day.

## Grading

This course will be grade according to the following scale:

A	>=93	B+	87-89	C+	77-79	D+	67-69	F
A-	90-92	B	83-86	C	73-76	D	63-66	59 &
		B-	80-82	C-	70-72	D-	60-62	below

### Disputing grades:

We are happy to go over any exam or paper with you to help you to improve for the following assignment or the final. Indeed, I encourage you to come to my office or Pamela's to do so, especially if you think that you did study hard but did not get the expected results. Request for re-grading, though, must be done in writing. Any student requesting re-grading should describe (based on the class' materials) what he/she feels constitute the correct answer and how his/hers work meets the standard described.

### Academic Honesty

Students are required to act in accordance with the Code of Academic Conduct. Any suspected violations will be brought before the Newcomb-Tulane College Honor Board. Please familiarize yourself with the Code of Academic Conduct:

<http://tulane.edu/college/code.cfm>.

### Goldman Office of Disability Services (ODS)

The ODS' mission is to provide services and promote an accessible environment to all members of the Tulane community. Students with psychological, medical/physical, and learning/developmental disabilities who need accommodations must be registered with the Office of Disability Services and follow their procedures for obtaining assistance. See: <http://tulane.edu/studentaffairs/disability/index.cfm>

If you have any kind of special circumstances, such as a disability, illness or handicap, let me know as soon as possible. This information is confidential. Students needing accommodations must provide me with a Course Accommodation Form and if applicable, an Exam Request Form ("blue sheet") in order to schedule an exam to be taken at ODS. Accommodations involving exams must be requested to me at least four days before a test or seven days before a final exam. Any student receiving an exam-related accommodation should plan to take the exam at ODS.

### Respect for all people

Tulane University recognizes the inherent dignity of all individuals and promotes respect for all people. As "One Wave," Tulane is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination based on race, ethnicity, creed, religion, gender, gender identity and sexual orientation, as well as all forms of sexual harassment, including sexual assault, domestic and dating violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or experiences discrimination, domestic violence, sexual assault or sexual harassment, know that you are not alone. Resources and support are available. Learn more at [onewave.tulane.edu](http://onewave.tulane.edu). Any and all of your communications on these matters will be

treated as either “Strictly Confidential” or “Mostly Confidential” as explained in the chart below.

Strictly Confidential	Mostly Confidential
<i>Except in extreme circumstances, involving imminent danger to one’s self or others, nothing will be shared without your explicit permission.</i>	<i>Conversations are kept as confidential as possible, but information is shared with key staff members so the University can offer resources and accommodations and take action if necessary for safety reasons.</i>
Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS)   (504) 314-2277	Coordinator of Violence Prevention   (504) 314-2161
Student Health Center   (504) 865-5255	Tulane University Police (TUPD)   (504) 865-5911
Sexual Aggression Peer Hotline and Education (SAPHE)   (504) 654-9543	Office of Institutional Equity   (504) 862-8083

## COURSE SCHEDULE

### PART I: THE SEARCH FOR PARTICIPATION AND INCLUSION

#### **Week 1: Introduction to the Class [January 15-17]**

##### **[Tuesday]: Introduction**

Overview of syllabus, course requirements, and introduction to the course

Kingstone, "Chapter 1: Markets, States, and the Challenge of Development in Latin America"

##### **[THURSDAY]: NO CLASS – PROFESSOR AT CONFERENCE**

#### **Week 2: The Expansion of Participation, Populism, and ISI I [January 22-24]**

##### **[Tuesday]: Theories of Latin American Development**

Skidmore, Smith, and Green, "Chapter 1: Why Latin America?" 1-12.

Valenzuela, J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment." *Comparative Politics* 10(4): 535-557.

##### **[Thursday]: Populism**

Conniff, Michael. 1999. "Chapter 1: Introduction." In Michael Conniff (*ed.*): *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press: 1-21.

#### **Week 3: The Expansion of Participation, Populism, and ISI II [January 29-31]**

##### **[Tuesday]: The Cases of Argentina and Mexico**

Horowitz, Joel. 1999. "Chapter 2: Populism and Its Legacies in Argentina." In Michael Conniff (*ed.*): *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press: 22-39.

Basurto, Jorge. 1999. "Chapter 4: Populism in Mexico." In Michael Conniff (*ed.*): *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press: 86-90.

Skidmore, Smith, and Green, "Chapter 9. Argentina: Progress and Stalemate, Discord": 240-256; "Chapter 3: Mexico The Taming of a Revolution": 60-62

##### **[Thursday]: The Economic Policies of Populism (ISI) and Corporatism**

Kingstone, "Chapter 2: Import-Substitution Industrialization and the Great Transformation in Latin America."

**Week 4: The Failure of Political Incorporation and the Revolutionary Alternative**  
**[February 5-7]**

**[Tuesday]: Cuba and Latin American Guerrilla Movements**

Wright, Thomas C. 2000 (revised edition). "U.S. responses to Revolution" (Chapter 4). In *Latin America in the Era of the Cuban Revolution*. Westport: Praeger Publishers.

Skidmore, Smith, and Green, "Chapter 5. Cuba: Key Colony, Socialist State": 119-137.

**[Thursday]: The Chilean Road to Socialism**

Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*, Chapter 2 ("The Late 1960s and the Election of Allende"): 22-49.

Skidmore, Smith, and Green, "Chapter 10. Chile: Repression and Democracy": 274-286.

**Week 5: The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes in the 1960s and 1970s** **[February 12-14]**

**[Tuesday]**

Documentary: *The Battle of Chile Part I: The Insurrection of the Bourgeoisie* (96 minutes).

**[Thursday]**

Valenzuela, Arturo. 1978. *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Chile*, Chapter 4 ("The Chilean Military"): 81-110.

Skidmore, Smith, and Green, "Chapter 10. Chile: Repression and Democracy": 286-290.

**Week 6: Military Rule** **[February 19-21]**

**[Tuesday]**

Collier, David. 1979. "Overview of the Bureaucratic Authoritarian Model." In David Collier (ed.): *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Schamis, Hector. 1991. "Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s", *Comparative Politics* 23(2): 201-220.

Skidmore, Smith, and Green, "Chapter 9. Argentina": 256-261; "Chapter 11. Brazil": 311-333.

**[THURSDAY]: REVIEW FOR EXAM 1**

**Week 7: [February 26]**

**[TUESDAY]: FEBRUARY 26: IN-CLASS EXAM 1**

**PART II: THE POLITICS OF THE THIRD WAVE AND  
THE NEOLIBERALISM OF THE 1990s**

**Week 7: [February 28]**

**[Thursday]**

Movie: *The Official Story* (112 minutes).

**WEEK 8: SPRING BREAK [MARCH 5-7]**

**Week 9: Transitions to Democracy [March 12-14]**

**[Tuesday]**

Discussion of *The Official Story*.

Navarro, Marissa. 1989. "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo." In Susan Eckstein (ed.) *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. Berkeley, California University Press: 241-258.

CONADEP. 1984. "Prologue" (by Ernesto Sabato) In *Nunca Más: A Report by Argentina's National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons*.

**[Thursday]**

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Phillippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. John Hopkins University Press: 5-41.

**Week 10: [March 19-21]**

**[Tuesday]: Transitions to Democracy - The Cases of El Salvador and Mexico**

Magaloni, Beatriz. 2005. "The Demise of Mexico's One Party Dominant Regime." In Frances Hagopian and Scott P. Mainwaring (eds.) *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America. Advances and Setbacks*. Cambridge University Press.

Wood, Elisabeth. 2001. "An Insurgent Path to Democracy: Popular Mobilization, Economic Interests, and Regime Transition in South Africa and El Salvador." *Comparative Political Studies* 8 (34): 862-888.

Skidmore, Smith, and Green, "Chapter 3: Mexico. The Taming of a Revolution": 63-75;  
"Chapter 4: Central America ": 97-102.

**[Thursday]: Market Reforms**

Kingstone, "Chapter 3: Neoliberalism and its Discontents."

Weyland, Kurt. 1998. "Swallowing the Bitter Pill." *Comparative Political Studies* 31(5): 539-68.



## PART III: DEMOCRATIC POLITICS

### **Week 11: Presidentialism and its Problems [March 26 - 28]**

#### **[Tuesday]**

Linz, Juan J. 1990. "The Perils of Presidentialism." *Journal of democracy* 1(1): 51-69.

Mainwaring, Scott. 1993. "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: the Difficult Combination." *Comparative Political Studies* 26(2): 198-228.

#### **[Thursday]**

Hochstetler, Kathryn. 2006. "Rethinking Presidentialism: Challengers and Presidential Falls in South America." *Comparative Politics* 38(4): 401-418.

Pérez-Liñán Aníbal. 2018. "Impeachment or Backsliding? Threats to democracy in the twenty-first century." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 33(98): 1-14.

### **Week 12: [April 2-4]**

#### **[Tuesday]: Representation, Political Parties, and Party Systems**

Mainwaring, Scott. 2018. "Party System Institutionalization in Contemporary Latin America." In Scott Mainwaring (ed.): *Party Systems in Latin America: Institutionalization, Decay, and Collapse*: 34-70.

Mainwaring, Scott. 2006. "The Crisis of Representation in the Andes," *Journal of Democracy* 17(3): 13-27.

***\*\*SHORT PAPER TOPICS HANDED OUT IN CLASS (DUE APRIL 16).***

#### **[Thursday]: New Types of Political Participation I. Ethnic Politics**

Madrid, Raúl. 2016. "Obstacles to Ethnic Parties in Latin America." In Levitsky, Steven, James Loxton, Brandon Van Dyck, and Jorge I. Domínguez, eds. *Challenges of Party-Building in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Skidmore, Smith, and Green, "Chapter 6: The Andes": 166-176.

### **Week 13: New Types of Political Participation II [April 9-11]**

#### **[Tuesday]: Women, Politics, and Policy**

Hunt, Mala and Jeniffer Piscopo. 2014. "Women and Politics and Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean." Conflict Prevention and Peace Forum. CPPF Working Papers on Women in Politics(2). Social Science Research Council. New York, NY.

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer. 2018. "The Gendered Nature of Democratic Representation in Latin America" In *Gender and Representation in Latin America*. Oxford, pp. 245-259.

Rubio, Julia. "This is why Argentina did not legalize abortion this week." Washington Post (August 11, 2018).

**[Thursday]: LGBTQ Fight for Equal Rights**

Díez, Jordi. 2015. *The Politics of Gay Marriage in Latin America: Argentina, Chile, and Mexico*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: Introduction (1-26) & Chapter 4: Argentina (111-151).

Corrales, Javier. 2012. "LGBT Rights in the Americas," *Americas Quarterly* (Spring): 88-94.  
<http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/3565>

Lodola, Germán and Margarita Corral. 2010. "Latin America's Support for Same-Sex Marriage." *Americas Quarterly* (July 22).  
<http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/1728>

**Week 14: [April 16-18]**

**[Tuesday]**

Film: South of the Border (Oliver Stone, 117 minutes)

**\*\* SHORT PAPER DUE IN CLASS AND ON CANVAS (2PM)**

**[Thursday]: The Rise of the Left in the 2000s**

Kingstone, "Chapter 4: The Two Lefts and the Return of the State"

Levitsky, Steven and Roberts, Kenneth. 2011. "Latin America's 'Left Turn': A Framework for Analysis." In Steven Levitsky and Kenneth M. Roberts (eds.). *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press: 1-28.

**Week 15: [April 23 - 25]**

**[Tuesday]: Back to the Right?**

Luna, Juan Pablo and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser. 2014. "The Right in Contemporary Latin America: A Framework for Analysis." In *The Resilience of the Latin American Right*." Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press: 1-22.

Anria, Santiago and Kenneth Roberts. 2019. "A Right Turn in Latin America?" AULA Blog. January 9, 2019.

Steven Levitsky. 2018. "Democratic Survival and Weakness" *Journal of Democracy* 29 (4): 102-113.

**[THURSDAY]: REVIEW FOR EXAM 2**

**Week 16: [April 30] - LAST DAY OF CLASSES**

**[TUESDAY]: APRIL 30: IN CLASS EXAM 2**

**MAY 8 [WEDNESDAY]: 1:00 PM. REVISED PAPER DUE ON CANVAS**