

POLITICS OF LATIN AMERICA (POLC 3350-01)
Spring 2022
Tuesdays and Thursdays, 12:30-1:45PM
Norman Mayer 200B

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Office Hours: By appointment on zoom (send an email to set an appointment)

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 (mainly) on the comparative trajectories of four countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. The course will provide a combination of empirical exploration of these four 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 (Part I), to the return of democracy in the 1980s and the economic liberalization of the 1990s (Part II). The course finishes with an overview of the more contemporary scene, focusing on the institutions and limitations of Latin American new democracies (Part III).

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, the resurgence of the left, and democratic backsliding. While achieving these two main goals, this course also prepares students to make, evaluate, and compare arguments about politics more generally.

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, and Mexico.
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, the resurgence of the left, and democratic backsliding.

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:

Assignment	Date	Percent
Participation & Attendance		5%
Exam 1	March 8	30%
Short Essay	April 10 (midnight)	30%
Exam 2	May 3	35%
Revised essay (optional)*	May 8 (8AM)	-

* If you submit a revised version, the grade for the essay would be the average of both versions.

1. PARTICIPATION AND ATTENDANCE (5%)

Regular attendance is required. If you miss a class or two, you do not need to tell us. If absences, tardiness, or under-preparation becomes a problem, your grade will suffer. You are expected to have done the required readings (or watch the movies/documentaries) by the day listed on the syllabus to be able to actively participate in discussion. An “A” in participation will be achieved with weekly participation that demonstrates familiarity with the readings. This, of course, includes asking questions. But your questions and comments during class should reflect the time spent with the readings. Your participation on online discussions about the movies/documentaries would also be part of this grade.

2. IN-CLASS EXAM 1 (30%)

Exam 1 will take place on **March 3 (Thursday)**. 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 5 (included). The plan is to have both exams in class, but if things get messy with COVID, we will do take home exams instead.

3. SHORT ESSAY (30%)

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 **March 24 (Thursday)** and papers are due by **April 10 (Sunday)** on Canvas by midnight. Once your graded paper is returned, you have the option of revising and resubmitting it. We 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 and they should address the comments provided on your original version, **May 8 (Sunday) at 8am**. No exceptions.

4. IN-CLASS EXAM 2 (35%)

Exam 2 will take place on **May 3 (Tuesday)** and will cover weeks 7-14.

READINGS

Students are expected to read each of the required readings carefully before class and be prepared to discuss them. Although this is not a seminar, 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 is one required textbook for this class, available at Tulane University Bookstore or online:

- Kingstone, Peter. 2018 (or 2011). *The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development*. New York: Routledge.

The 2018 edition of the Kingstone's book basically adds a new chapter (that we won't read) so feel free to use either edition (the older one is cheaper). Both editions are available through the Tulane library as well. The rest of the assigned readings are available on Canvas.

For general and historical background (especially if this is your first Latin American Politics class), you can use this book:

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

There is also a newer edition of this book (9th edition, from 2018), but this is the one available at the library and the Tulane bookstore (and cheaper if you buy it). The pages on the syllabus correspond to the 2014 edition, but it would be easier to find the proper pages in other editions (they are almost the same). Feel free to use the 7th edition (the library has several copies of that one) or the 9th edition, but you are responsible to match the pages on the syllabus with the ones on your edition.

CLASS POLICIES

Attendance: Regular attendance is required. If you miss a class or two, you do not need to tell us. If absences, tardiness, or under-preparation becomes a problem, your grade will suffer. You are expected to do the readings prior to class and come to class prepared to discuss the material. That said, there is a pandemic and your well-being is more important than any class, so please let me know if you are having trouble keeping up.

Make-up Exams: There will be no make-up exams unless you have a documented medical excuse.

Late Policy: Late assignments will be downgraded by one-third of a letter grade (e.g. A to A-) per day. I strongly encourage you to discuss any problems with us before the assignment is due.

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. Indeed, we encourage you to come to office hours 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. Students requesting re-grading should describe (based on the class' materials) what they feel constitute the correct answer and how their work meets the standard described.

Office Hours: You are welcome to meet with me about the class, your research, or your professional development at any point during the semester. To set an appointment, please go to <https://virginiaoliveros.youcanbook.me>. All meetings at <https://tulane.zoom.us/my/virginiaoliveros>. If you need to discuss something sensitive and you rather do it in person, please, send me an email and we can set an appointment to meet outside (my office is rather small and the windows do not open).

To meet with Zoe Sullivan, please email her to set up an appointment on Zoom.

COVID: It's hard to predict how the semester will go. The current Tulane policy is that classes are fully in person. If you are missing class for any COVID related issue, please email us at least 2 hours before class and we will let you zoom in. If you are missing class for any other reason, just get the notes from someone. Do not come to class if you are not feeling well or think you were in contact with a confirmed positive case. Everyone's health is more important than in person classes. All this may change based on how the pandemic evolves.

COURSE SCHEDULE (SUBJECT TO CHANGE IF/AS NEEDED)

PART I: THE SEARCH FOR PARTICIPATION AND INCLUSION

Week 1 [January 25-27]

[Tuesday]: Overview of syllabus, course requirements, and introduction to the course

- Kingstone, “Chapter 1: Markets, States, and the Challenge of Development in Latin America”

[Thursday]: The Expansion of Participation, Populism, and ISI I

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

Week 2 [February 1-3]: The Expansion of Participation, Populism, and ISI II

[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.

For background:

- 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 3 [February 8-10]: The Failure of Political Incorporation and the Revolutionary Alternative

[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.

For background:

- 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.

For background:

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

Week 4 [February 15-17]: The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes in the 1960s and 1970s

[Tuesday]

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

Assignment: a) formulate one discussion question on the documentary or the connection between the documentary and the readings for the week; and b) respond to at least one question from one of your peers.

[Thursday]

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

For background:

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

Week 5 [February 22-24]: Military Rule

[Tuesday]

- Schamis, Hector. 1991. “Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s”, *Comparative Politics* 23(2): 201-220.
- CONADEP. 1984. “Prologue” (by Ernesto Sabato) In *Nunca Más: A Report by Argentina’s National Commission on the Disappeared*.
http://www.desaparecidos.org/nuncamas/web/english/library/nevagain/nevagain_002.htm

For background:

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

[Thursday]

- Film: *No* (Chile). 2013. Directed by Pablo Larraín

Assignment: a) formulate one discussion question on the documentary or the connection between the documentary and the readings for the week; and b) respond to at least one question from one of your peers.

Week 6 [March 1-3]

[TUESDAY] MARCH 1: MARDI GRASS HOLIDAY – NO CLASS!

[THURSDAY] MARCH 3: REVIEW FOR EXAM 1

Week 7 [March 8]

[TUESDAY] MARCH 8: IN-CLASS EXAM 1

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

Week 7 [March 10]: Transitions to Democracy I

[Thursday]

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

Assignment: a) formulate one discussion question on the documentary or the connection between the documentary and the readings for the week; and b) respond to at least one question from one of your peers.

Week 8 [March 15-17]

[Tuesday]: Transitions to Democracy II

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

[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 9 [March 22-24]: Presidentialism and its Problems

[Tuesday]

- 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 and John Polga-Hecimovich. 2017. "Explaining military coups and impeachments in Latin America." *Democratization* 24(5): 839-858.

****SHORT PAPER TOPICS HANDED OUT IN CLASS (DUE APRIL 10)**

WEEK 10 [MARCH 29 - 31]: SPRING BREAK

Week 11 [April 5-7]: Representation & Political Incorporation I

[Tuesday]: 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.

[Thursday]: Indigenous Peoples—Indigenous Politics and Indigenous Movements

GUEST LECTURER: SANTIAGO ANRIA

- Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2007. "Latin America's indigenous peoples." *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 127-142.
- Anria, Santiago. 2016. "Delegative Democracy Revisited: More Inclusion, Less Liberalism in Bolivia." *Journal of Democracy* 27(3): 99–108.

For background:

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

Documentary "Cocalero" (2007), by Alejandro Landes.

**** SHORT PAPER DUE ON CANVAS SUNDAY, APRIL 10 (MIDNIGHT)**

Week 12 [April 12-14]: Representation & Political Incorporation II

[Tuesday]: Afrolatinos—Race and Black Citizenship in Latin America

- Hooker, Juliet. 2005. "Indigenous inclusion/black exclusion: Race, ethnicity and multicultural citizenship in Latin America." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 37(2): 285-310.
- "Time to challenge Argentina's white European self-image, black history experts say" (*The Guardian*, May 2021).
- To listen: "Brazil in Black and White" (NPR, 8/14/17)

[Thursday]: Women— Representation and the fight for the legalization of abortion

- Franceschet, Susan and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina," *Politics & Gender* 4 (3): 393–425.
- Piscopo, Jennifer M., and Kristin N. Wylie. 2020. "Gender, Race, and Political Representation in Latin America." *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Politics*.

Week 13 [April 19-21]

[Tuesday]: LGBTQ community— The Fight for Equal Rights and the Backlash

- Corrales, Javier. 2020. "The expansion of LGBT rights in Latin America and the Backlash." *The Oxford handbook of global LGBT and sexual diversity politics*: 185-200.
- Argentina issues first non-binary national identification documents, passports (*Buenos Aires Times*, 7/21/2021).

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

- Film: South of the Border (Oliver Stone, 117 minutes)
- Kingstone, “Chapter 4: Democracy, Development, and the Pink Tide”

Assignment: a) formulate one discussion question on the documentary or the connection between the documentary and the readings for the week; and b) respond to at least one question from one of your peers.

Week 14 [April 26-28]

[Tuesday]: Democracy Today - The Right in Power, Illiberal Backlash, & Authoritarian Regimes

- Anria, Santiago and Kenneth Roberts. 2019. “A Right Turn in Latin America?” *AULA Blog*. January 9, 2019.
- Hunter, Wendy and Timothy J. Power. 2019 (January). “Bolsonaro and Brazil’s Illiberal Backlash.” *Journal of Democracy* 30(1).
- Watch John Oliver on the election that got Bolsonaro in power: “Brazilian Elections: Last Week Tonight with John Oliver (HBO)”, October 2018.
- Corrales, Javier. 2020. "Authoritarian Survival: Why Maduro Hasn't Fallen." *Journal of Democracy* 31(3): 39-53.

[THURSDAY]: WRAP UP AND REVIEW FOR EXAM 2

Week 15 [May 3] – LAST DAY OF CLASSES

[TUESDAY] MAY 3: IN CLASS EXAM 2

MAY 8 [SUNDAY!]: 8:00 AM (AS SET BY THE REGISTRAR). REVISED PAPER DUE ON CANVAS

ADA/Accessibility Statement

Tulane University strives to make all learning experiences as accessible as possible. If you anticipate or experience academic barriers based on your disability, please let me know immediately so that we can privately discuss options. I will never ask for medical documentation from you to support potential accommodation needs. Instead, to establish reasonable accommodations, I may request that you register with the Goldman Center for Student Accessibility. After registration, make arrangements with me as soon as possible to discuss your accommodations so that they may be implemented in a timely fashion. **Goldman Center contact information:** goldman@tulane.edu; (504) 862-8433; accessibility.tulane.edu.

Code of Academic Conduct

The Code of Academic Conduct applies to all undergraduate students, full-time and part-time, in Tulane University. Tulane University expects and requires behavior compatible with its high standards of scholarship. By accepting admission to the university, a student accepts its regulations (i.e., [Code of Academic Conduct](#) and [Code of Student Conduct](#)) and acknowledges the right of the university to take disciplinary action, including suspension or expulsion, for conduct judged unsatisfactory or disruptive.

Religious Accommodation Policy

Both Tulane's policy of non-discrimination on the basis of religion and our core values of diversity and inclusion require instructors to make reasonable accommodations to help students avoid negative academic consequences when their religious obligations conflict with academic requirements. Every reasonable effort should be made to allow members of the university community to observe their religious holidays without jeopardizing the fulfillment of their academic obligations. It is never acceptable for an instructor to compel a student to choose between religious observance and academic work. Absence from classes or examinations for religious reasons does not relieve students from responsibility for any part of the course work required during the period of absence. It is the obligation of the student to provide faculty within the first two weeks of each semester their intent to observe the holiday so that alternative arrangements convenient to both students and faculty can be made at the earliest opportunity. Students who make such arrangements will not be required to attend classes or take examinations on the designated days, and faculty must provide reasonable opportunities for such students to make up missed work and examinations. Exceptions to the requirement of a make-up examination must be approved in advance by the dean of the school in which the course is offered. A [religious calendar](#) is available.

Title IX

Tulane University recognizes the inherent dignity of all individuals and promotes respect for all people. As such, Tulane is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination including sexual and gender-based discrimination, harassment, and violence like sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or is experiencing these types of behaviors, know that you are not alone. Resources and support are available: you can learn more at allin.tulane.edu. Any and all of your communications on these matters will be treated as either "Confidential" or "Private" as explained in the chart below. Please know that if you choose to confide in me I am required by the university to share your disclosure in a Care Connection to the Office of Case Management and Victim Support Services to be sure you are connected with all the support the university can offer. The Office of University Sexual Misconduct Response and Title IX Administration is also notified of these disclosures. You choose whether or not you want to meet with these offices. You can also make a disclosure yourself, including an anonymous report, through the form at tulane.edu/concerns.

Confidential	Private
<p><i>Except in extreme circumstances, involving imminent danger to one's self or others, nothing will be shared without your explicit permission.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Counseling & Psychological Services (CAPS) (504) 314-2277 ▪ The Line (24/7) (504) 264-6074 ▪ Student Health Center (504) 865-5255 ▪ Sexual Aggression Peer Hotline and Education (SAPHE) (504) 654-9543 	<p><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></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Case Management & Victim Support Services (504) 314-2160 or srss@tulane.edu ▪ Tulane University Police (TUPD) Uptown - (504) 865-5911 Downtown – (504) 988-5531 ▪ Office of University Sexual Misconduct Response and Title IX Administration (504) 865-5611 or msmith76@tulane.edu ▪ Student Affairs Professional On-Call (24/7) (504) 920-9900

Emergency Preparedness & Response

EMERGENCY NOTIFICATIONS: TU ALERT	SEVERE WEATHER
<p>In the event of a campus emergency, Tulane University will notify students, faculty, and staff by email, text, and/or phone call. You were automatically enrolled in this system when you enrolled at the university.</p> <p>Check your contact information annually in Gibson Online to confirm its accuracy.</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Follow all TU Alerts and outdoor warning sirens ▪ Seek shelter indoors until the severe weather threat has passed and an all-clear message is given ▪ Do not use elevators ▪ Do not attempt to travel outside if weather is severe <p>Monitor the Tulane Emergency website (tulane.edu/emergency/) for university-wide closures during a severe weather event</p>
ACTIVE SHOOTER / VIOLENT ATTACKER	EVERBRIDGE APP
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ RUN – run away from or avoid the affected area, if possible ▪ HIDE – go into the nearest room that can be locked, turn out the lights, and remain hidden until all-clear message is given through TU ALERT ▪ FIGHT – do not attempt this option, except as a last resort ▪ For more information or to schedule a training, visit emergencyprep.tulane.edu 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Download the Everbridge app from the App Store or Google Play store ▪ The Report feature allows you to silently and discreetly communicate with TUPD dispatchers ▪ The SOS button allows you to notify TUPD if you need help ▪ The Safe Corridor button serves as a virtual escort and allows you to send check-in notifications to TUPD

From: Tulane Office of emergency preparedness and response