**POLITICS OF LATIN AMERICA**

**POLS 3550**

**(3 Units)**

Spring 2018

Professor Sam Handlin (sam.handlin@utah.edu)

Time: TTH 12:25-1:45 PM

Classroom: BEH S 114

Office: Building 73, Office 210

Office Hours: TH, 2:00-3:00 (or by appointment)

**COURSE OVERVIEW**

This course explores politics in Latin America, with particularly emphasis on the countries of Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela. The first half of the course examines political and economic change in the 20th century – the reasons why Latin America has been economically underdeveloped vis-à-vis Europe and North America, the fall of democratic regimes to military coups in many countries after World War II, and subsequent regime transitions and implementation of new market-oriented economic models during the 1980s and 1990s. The second half of the course turns to contemporary issues and cases. Why do a large proportion of Latin American citizens continue to express dissatisfaction at the functioning of their democracy? What inroads have been made in attacking poverty through new approaches to social policy? How do the region’s deep racial and ethnic cleavages impact democratic politics? What are the causes and consequences of pathologies such as clientelism, corruption, and widespread violent crime? What new roles have social movements and civil society taken on in contemporary politics, and what prospects exist for creating more participatory democratic institutions?

**TEACHING AND LEARNING METHODS**

The course will focus on lecture but also provide some time for discussion. Readings will familiarize students with major historical themes in the politics of Latin America, as well as contemporary debates and dynamics. Discussions will be geared toward understanding and discussing the major themes and questions of the weekly readings, as well as analyzing the methods utilized by scholars to develop and test their theories. You should come to class having thought about the readings extensively and ready to discuss them with your classmates, but you should always conduct yourself respectively and keep in mind the different backgrounds, experiences, and interests that others bring with them.

**EDUCATION LEARNING OUTCOMES**

This course fulfills the requirements for the university’s course designations for General Education and International Relations. The course will achieve the following educational outcomes:

* Increase students’ ability to think critically about complex social and political phenomena
* Augment students’ ability to engage in serious inquiry and analysis of social and political phenomena.
* Hone students’ skills in written communication through writing clear and cogent essays on the midterm and final.
* Increase students’ intercultural knowledge and competence by exposing them to information regarding how other countries, societies, and cultures deal with complex political problems.

**EVALUATION METHODS AND CRITERIA**

**Participation (10%)**

**Students are expected to attend class**. While you may understandably miss a few classes over the semester, missing a significant number of classes will open you up to losing points in this category.

Consistent attendance, high participation – 9-10%

Consistent attendance, low participation – 8%

Inconsistent attendance, high participation – 6-7%

Inconsistent attendance, low participation – 0-5%

**Rapid Response (15%)**

Starting January 11, you will begin to regularly post “rapid responses” to the readings. From this date, there are 26 classes in the rest of the semester when readings are assigned. On at least 10 of those dates – your choice – you are required to post a “rapid response” (consisting of a couple small comments or ideas) to the readings for that week on our class blog as set up through Canvass.

These rapid responses might represent positive or negative reactions to the readings and/or brief thoughts that the readings inspire about the topic. Ideally, these rapid responses would be posted the night before class but any responses posted before the class period will count. (Note: There will be no credit for responses posted during or after class.)

I will not be finely grading the content of your rapid responses. The important thing is that you put in a good faith effort and that you do all 10 of them.

**Midterm (25%)**

The midterm will be a short (7-8 page total) take-home exam in which you will write several brief essays on questions that I provide (you will have some degree of choice regarding the questions you write about). I will give you the exam at the end of the review session on Wednesday, October 7 and you will have until Wednesday, October 14 at 11:59 PM to complete the exam. My expectation is that you will write the essays on a computer using Microsoft Word and that you will email them to me by the due date in a single file.

**Final (50%)**

The final will be a longer (~12 page total) take-home exam in which you will again write several brief essays as well as one somewhat longer (6 page) essay. Once again, I will provide the questions but you will have some degree of choice. I will give you the exam on the last day of class, Wednesday, December 7 and you will have until Wednesday, December 14 at 11:59 PM to complete the exam. As with the midterm, my expectation is that you will write the essays on a computer using Microsoft Word and that you will email them to me by the due date in a single file.

**COURSE READINGS**

There are no required books for the course. All readings will be made available in electronic form through Canvass in the “Modules” section.

**MISCELLANEA**

**Academic Misconduct**

All written assignments will be checked for plagiarism using TurnItIn.com and other measures. All quotations in written assignments must include a clear citation to the work from which they are taken. Otherwise they will be treated as plagiarism. **Any form of academic dishonesty will result in a failing grade for the course and other disciplinary action, up to expulsion from the university.**

**Late Assignments**

Late written assignments will lose one third of a grade (ie, from A to A-) for every day they are late. Extensions are only available on rare circumstances, in the case of documented emergencies and medical conditions, and **must be discussed with me prior to the deadline for that assignment.**

**Laptops**

I will be experimenting with a “no laptops” policy this semester. We will see how that goes.

**Cell Phones in Class**

Cell phones must be turned off in class and kept out of sight. I don’t want to ever see the phone in your hand or on your desk.

**Wellness**

Personal concerns such as stress, anxiety, relationship difficulties, depression, cross-cultural differences, etc., can interfere with a student’s ability to succeed and thrive at the University of Utah. For helpful resources contact the Center for Student Wellness - [www.wellness.utah.edu](https://www.umail.utah.edu/owa/redir.aspx?C=Ymwy-SOKuE6GY48_wj6EqSLsK2zAUc8IDJsotYSsy8asD2rKSYVrD9MEPeQ0puY8N0Q3xhhKSK4.&URL=http%3a%2f%2fwww.wellness.utah.edu); 801-581-7776.

**ADA Statement**

The University of Utah seeks to provide equal access to its programs, services and activities for people with disabilities. If you will need accommodations in the class, reasonable prior notice needs to be given to the Center for Disability Services, 162 Olpin Union Building, 581-5020 (V/TDD). CDS will work with you and the instructor to make arrangements for accommodations. All information in this course can be made available in alternative format with prior notification to the Center for Disability Services.” (www.hr.utah.edu/oeo/ada/guide/faculty/)

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

**January 9**

Welcome and Course Overview

**The Struggle of Late Development**

**January 11 – The Colonial World**

Burkholder, Mark and Lyman Johnson. 2014. *Colonial Latin America*. Chapters 6 and 11.

**January 16 – Legacies of Colonialism**

Quijano, Aníbal. 2000. “Coloniality of Power and Eurocentrism in Latin America.” *International Sociology*, 15:2.

Mahoney, James. “Long Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America.” *American Journal of Sociology*, 109:1, 50-106.

**January 18 – Late Development and Export-led Growth**

Franko, Patrice. 2003. *The Puzzle of Latin American Development*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and ittlefield. Chapter 2.

Rostow, W.W. 1959. “The Stages of Economic Growth,” *The Economic History Review*, 12:1.

**January 23 – Import Substitution and Dependency**

Patrice Franko. 2003. *The Puzzle of Latin American Development*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and ittlefield. Chapter 3.

Peter Klarén. 1986. “Lost Promise: Explaining Latin American Underdevelopment,” in Klaren and Bossert (Eds), *Promise of Development: Theories of Change in Latin America*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Just read pages 8-25, with a focus on parts about dependency theory.

**Military Regimes in the 1970s: The Chilean Case**

**January 25 – The Breakdown of Democracy in Chile**

Watch The Battle of Chile (available on Canvass, watch *before class*)

Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela. 1991. A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. New York, NY: Norton. Chapter 1.

**January 30 – The Breakdown of Democracy in Chile**

Constable, Pamela and Arturo Valenzuela. 1991. A Nation of Enemies: Chile Under Pinochet. New York, NY: Norton. Chapters 5-6

**February 1 – Varieties of Authoritarian Regimes**

Schamis, Hector. 1991. “Reconceptualizing Latin American Authoritarianism in the 1970s: From Bureaucratic Authoritarianism to Neoconservatism,” *Comparative Politics*, 23:2.

**Part II: Latin America’s Dual Transitions**

**Regime Transitions: Third Wave Democratization**

**February 6**

Scott Mainwaring and Frances Hagopian. 2008. “Introduction: The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America,” in Mainwaring and Hagopian, *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

O’Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions About Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press. 1-56.

**February 8 – A Closer Look at Mexico**

Greene, Kenneth. 2007. *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico’s Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 33-47, 210-244.

**Economic Transitions: The Spread of Market Liberalism**

**February 13 - Neoliberalism**

Judith Teichman. 2001. *The Politics of Freeing Markets in Latin America*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press. Read Chapter 1, read either Chapter 4 (Chile) or Chapter 6 (Mexico).

**February 15 – Neoliberalism and Neopopulism**

Weyland, Kurt. 1996. “Neoliberalism and Neopopulism in Latin America: Unexpected Affinities.” *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31:3, 3-31.

**Part III: Contemporary Political Issues and Debates**

**Neoliberalism, Poverty, and Social Policy**

**February 20**

Williamson, John. 2004. “A Short History of the Washington Consensus,” Unpublished Manuscript.

Birdsall, Nancy, Augusto De La Torre, and Rachel Menezes. 2008. *Fair Growth: Economic Policies for Latin America’s Poor and Middle-Income Majority*. Baltimore, MD: Brookings Institution Press. 1-33.

**February 22**

Sherlock, Peter Lloyd. 2008. “Doing a Bit More for the Poor? Social Assistance in Latin America.” *Journal of Social Policy*, 37:4.

**Governance, Clientelism, and Corruption**

**February 27**

Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully. 2010. *Democratic Governance in Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Introduction and Chapter 1.

**March 1**

Mitchell Seligson. 2006. “The Measurement and Impact of Corruption Victimization: Evidence from Latin America,” *World Development*, 34:2.

Javier Auyero. 2000. “The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account,” *Latin American Research Review*, 35:3.

**Racial Politics in Brazil**

**March 6**

Telles, Edward. 2006. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*.

 Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 3, 4, and 5.

**March 8**

Telles, Edward. 2006. *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*.

 Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 6 and 7.

Bueno, Natália and Thad Dunning. 2017. “Race, Resources, and Representation: Evidence from

 Brazilian Politicians.” *World Politics*, 69:2, 1-39.

**Indigenous Movements and Mobilization**

**March 13**

Yashar, Deborah. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements*

 *and the Post-Liberal Challenge*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. Chapters

 3 and 5.

**March 15**

Postero, Nancy. 2010. “Morales’s MAS Government: Building Indigenous Popular Hegemony in

 Bolivia.” *Latin American Perspectives*, 37:3.

Madrid, Raúl. 2008. “The Rise of Ethnopopulism in Latin America.” *World Politics* 60, 475-508.

**Crime and Violence**

**March 20**

Bergman, Marcelo. 2006. “Crime and Citizen Security in Latin America: The Challenges for New Scholarship,” *Latin American Research Review*, 41:2.

Moncada, Eduardo. 2009. “Toward Demoratic Policing in Colombia? Institutional Accountability through Lateral Reform.” *Comparative Politics*, 41-449.

**March 22**

Design a Crime Prevention Strategy for Mexico.

**Civil Society and Participatory Innovations**

**April 3**

Abers, Rebecca. 1996. “From Ideas to Practice: The Partido dos Trabalhadores and Participatory Governance in Brazil,” *Latin American Perspectives*, 23:4.

Posner, Paul. 2004. “Local Democracy and the Transformation of Popular Participation in Chile,” *Latin American Politics and Society*, 46:3.

**April 5**

Design a Participatory Governance Project.

**The Left Turn**

**April 10**

Levitsky, Steven and Kenneth Roberts. 2011. “Introduction: Latin America’s ‘Left Turn’: A Framework for Analysis,” in Levitsky and Roberts (Eds), *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

**April 12**

Handlin, Samuel. 2017. *State Crises in Fragile Democracies: Polarization and Political Regimes in South America*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 2 and 3.

**Part IV: Contemporary Case Studies**

**April 17 – Mexico**

Bonner, Robert C. 2012. The Cartel Crackdown: Winning the Drug War and Rebuilding Mexico in the Process. *Foreign Affairs*, 91, 12-17.

Ackerman, John C. 2012. “The Return of the Mexican Dinosaur.” *Foreign Policy*, July.

America: The Case of Bachelet in Chile.” *Stockholm Review of Latin American Studies*, 3.

**April 19 – Brazil**

Samuels, David. 2008. “Democracy Under Lula and the PT,” in Jorge I. Domínguez and Michael Shifter (eds.), *Constructing Democratic Governance in Latin America*, 3rd Edition.

Armijo, Leslie. Brazil: To Be or Not to Be a BRIC

**April 24 – Venezuela**

McCoy, Jennifer. 2010. “Venezuela Under Chavez: Beyond Liberalism,” in Hershberg and Cameron (Eds), *Latin America’s Left Turns: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change*.

Corrales, Javier and Michael Penfold. 2007. “Venezuela: Crowding Out the Opposition,” *Journal of Democracy*, 18:2.

Movie: *The Revolution Will Not Be Televised*

**Final Exams Due May 4**