

GOVT 309: Legacies and Challenges in Latin American Politics

Fall 2018

Instructor: Kelly Senters	Lecture Time: T/R 8:50 – 10:10a.m.
Email: ksenters@wesleyan.edu	Lecture Place: TBD
Office: PAC 121	Office Hours: 4:15-5:15p.m. W, 1:30-2:30 R or by appointment

Course Description

This course surveys contemporary literature on regime politics and regime change, democratization, formal and informal political institutions, political actors, and economic and social policies in Latin America. It begins by providing students with an overview of the region's historical legacies, underdevelopment, and political turbulence. This foundation facilitates the study of economic and, primarily, political strategies pursued and institutions developed in late-twentieth and early-twenty-first century Latin America. It also provides important context for understanding contemporary and persistent challenges in the Latin American region. This course examines some such challenges including the rise of the political left, the resurgence of populism, corruption, crime, and democratic reversals.

Course Objectives

This course has two primary objectives. The first is to build upon the foundations from introductory government courses to examine advanced topics in the discipline in the Latin American context. The second objective is to equip students with basic analytical tools to conduct an original research project.

Learning Outcomes

- After this course, students should have an understanding of the central research themes in and approaches to the study of Latin American politics. Students should be conversant in popular debates among scholars studying Latin American politics and understand contemporary and persist challenges confronting the region.
- Students should have experience presenting in front of an audience and generating class discussion.
- After this course, students should be able to parse, evaluate, and critique classic political science texts and communicate these assessments both orally in class discussion and in writing exercises.
- Following the completion of this course, students should be able to organize and conduct independent research.

Classroom Behavior

Students are expected to attend class regularly, complete all readings and other assignments on time, and to actively participate in discussions. Students are asked to contribute to an environment conducive to learning by treating their professor and peers with respect and by voicing disagreement productively.

Course Assignments and Policies

Class Participation: Students are expected to attend all seminar sessions and discussions. Students are permitted two unexcused absences without penalty. Excused absences include medical and family emergencies and absences for university-approved activities. If extenuating circumstances require you to miss more than two course sessions, you should contact the instructor as early as possible to make accommodating arrangements. Every unexcused absence after the two permitted will result in a two-percentage point deduction from your participation grade. Participation grades depend not solely on attendance but also on engagement and contribution in seminar discussions.

Map Quiz: Students will take a basic Latin American map quiz at the beginning of the course. This quiz will be announced in advance, and students will have ample time (one week) to memorize the geographic layout of the countries comprising the region. An understanding of the region's geography will facilitate the study of certain topics covered in the course.

Session Discussion Leader: Each week, either one or two students will serve as discussion leaders. Discussion leaders are expected to carefully read each of the assigned readings for the section and to share discussion questions and talking points that they will use to structure the upcoming section with their classmates 24 hours prior to the start of the seminar (i.e. before Tuesday at 1:20pm).

Discussion leaders should come to class prepared to summarize the most important points from each of the assigned readings to their classmates, critique proposed arguments, discuss the ways in which assigned readings relate to one another, and, most importantly, raise open-ended questions and conversation-generating content relating to the readings to their classmates.

While the discussion leader is, ultimately, responsible for structuring the session, the instructor will begin each session with an overview of the main issues to be discussed and facilitate as necessary to assure that key points are addressed.

Research Paper: The primary assignment for this seminar is an original research paper (15-20 pages) relating to one (or more) of the topics covered in this course. Thus, the topic selected should consider some aspect of contemporary Latin American politics. There are a series of assignments relating to the research paper that are to be completed throughout the course of the semester. These assignments are designed to provide students with opportunities to receive feedback both from the instructor and from their peers. This stepwise approach to research will culminate in the completion of a well-developed final product.

The assignments associated with the original research paper include:

1. Research Design (3-5 pages): Due In-Class Wednesday, September 26 for Peer Feedback
 - Concise description of relevant background information
 - Research question
 - Hypotheses
 - Research methods
2. Revised Research Design (3-5 pages): Due In-Class Wednesday, October 10 for Instructor Feedback
 - Concise description of relevant background information
 - Research question
 - Hypotheses
 - Research methods
3. Draft of First Half of Paper: Due In-Class Wednesday, October 24 for Peer Feedback

- Concise description of relevant background information
 - Research question
 - Literature Review - Start
 - Hypotheses
 - Research methods
 - Preliminary Results - Start
4. Complete First Draft: Due In-Class Wednesday, November 14 for Instructor Feedback
 5. Final Presentation: In-Class Presentation either Wednesday, November 28 or Wednesday, December 5
 6. Final Draft: Due Saturday, December 15

The specific deadlines associated with these assignments are also listed below in the week-by-week outline of topic and description of assignments.

Students are encouraged to meet with the instructor early in the semester to discuss possible research paper topics.

Assignment Policies: Students are expected to complete and submit assignments in accordance with deadlines outlined in the syllabus. If extenuating circumstances prevent students from completing assignments by the assigned due date, students should be in communication with the instructor in advance of the deadline to make alternative arrangements and accommodations.

Grading

Course grades will be calculated as follows:

Class Participation=25%
Discussion Leader Performance=15%
Map Quiz=5%
Research Design Draft=5%
Research Design Final=5%
Draft of First Half of Paper=10%
Final Paper Presentation=10%
Final Paper=25%
Total = 100%

Additional Items

Electronic Devices: Note taking on computers and other electronic devices is permitted. However, taking notes by hand is highly encouraged. Multiple studies find that taking notes by hand improves the comprehension and retention of material (see Mueller and Oppenheimer 2014).

Students are asked to refrain from using electronic devices including cell phones, laptops, tablets, etc. for personal use during course lectures and discussions. These devices can be disruptive to the instructor and hamper other students' abilities to learn.

Academic Integrity: Academic integrity and honesty is expected of all students. In short, students are expected to complete all course assignments independently. While students are encouraged to discuss course

content and topics with others, all graded assignments should reflect the work of individual students. With questions, please consult:

<http://www.wesleyan.edu/studentaffairs/studenthandbook/standardsregulations/plagiarism.html>

Students who do not adhere to these standards may fail the entire course.

Students are expected to cite considered sources appropriately and are asked to reference the Wesleyan library citation guidelines (<http://libguides.wesleyan.edu/citing>).

Disability-Related Accommodations: Wesleyan University is committed to the learning of all students. To that end, the university provides accommodations for qualified students with documented disabilities. Students requiring special accommodations should register with Accessibility Services as soon as possible as accommodations cannot be provided retroactively. For information and direction, students should reference <https://www.wesleyan.edu/studentaffairs/disabilities/Student/requesting.html> and set up a meeting with Accessibility Services. The instructor will collaborate with Accessibility Services to provide appropriate accommodations for students with disabilities.

Readings:

This course will draw heavily from the following two books:

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Michael Reid. 2009. *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

All other course material are available either on the course Moodle site or through the Wesleyan library.

Course Schedule

Note: Readings are to be completed prior to the course sessions corresponding with dates listed below.

HISTORICAL LEGACIES IN LATIN AMERICA

Wednesday, September 5 (Week 1)

Introduction to the Course, Pre-Course Survey, A Brief History of Latin America

Readings:

Michael Reid. 2009. *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 1-2.

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 1: "Cycles of Electoral Democracy" and Chapter 3: "The Military: Heading for the Exits?"

Wednesday, September 12 (Week 2)

The Third Wave of Democracy:
Democratic Transitions, Economic Makeovers, and Authoritarian Legacies

Readings:

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 2: "Transitions and Continuities"

Adam Przeworski. 1991. *Democracy and the Market: Political and Economic Reforms in Eastern Europe and Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2: "Transitions to Democracy," 50-66; 94-95. Available on Wesleyan Library website.

Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. Selected Readings.

Gerardo L. Munck. 2015. "Building Democracy...Which Democracy? Ideology and Models of Democracy in Post-Transition Latin America," *Government and Opposition* 50(3): 364-93.

Wednesday, September 19 (Week 3)

Latin America's Fledgling Democracies and Regional Institutional Challenges:
Empowered Presidents, Reactive Assemblies, and Judicial Power

Readings:

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 5: "Presidents or Parliaments?"

Gary W. Cox and Scott Morgenstern. 2001. "Latin America's Reactive Assemblies and Proactive Presidents." *Comparative Politics* 33(2): 171-189.

Gretchen Helmke. 2010. "The Origins of Institutional Crises in Latin America." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(3): 737-750.

Aníbal Pérez-Liñán and Andrea Castagnola. 2009. "Presidential control of high courts in Latin America: A long-term view (1904-2006)." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 1(2): 87-114.

[NEW] DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL ACTORS AND ELECTORAL STRATEGIES

Wednesday, September 26 (Week 4)

Programmatic and Personalistic Party-Voter Linkages:
Party Systems, Partisanship, and Clientelism

**In-Class Peer Review of Research Design

Readings:

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 6: "Institutional Design," pp. 162-175.

Herbert Kitschelt, Juan Pablo Luna, Kirk A. Hawkins, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2010. *Latin American Party Systems*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Selected Readings. Available on Wesleyan Library website.

Michael Reid. 2009. *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 11: The Stubborn Resilience of Flawed Democracies, p. 282-292.

Rebecca Weitz-Shapiro. 2014. *Curbing Clientelism in Argentina: Politics, Poverty, and Social Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Selected Readings. Available on Wesleyan Library website.

Wednesday, October 3 (Week 5)

New Actors and Issues Emerge on the Political Scene I:
Gender, Sex, and Politics

Readings:

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 9: "The Politics of Social Equity," pp. 245-255.

Susan Franceschet and Jennifer M. Piscopo. 2008. "Gender Quotas and Women's Substantive Representation: Lessons from Argentina." *Politics & Gender* 4(3): 393-425.

Bruce Douglas and Simone Preissler Iglesias. July 10, 2018. "Ghost Candidates Plague Brazil's Push for Women in Politics." *Bloomberg LP*. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2018-07-10/phantom-candidates-plague-brazil-s-push-for-women-in-politics>.

NPR. June 29, 2018. "Intruders." *Rough Translation*. <https://www.npr.org/podcasts/510324/rough-translation>. Podcast.

Read one of the following:

Marcus McGee and Karen Kampwirth. 2015. "The Co-optation of LGBT Movements in Mexico and Nicaragua: Modernizing Clientelism?" *Latin American Politics and Society* 57(4): 51-73.

Jordi Díez. 2013. "Explaining Policy Outcomes: The Adoption of Same-Sex Unions in Buenos Aires and Mexico City." *Comparative Political Studies* 46(2): 212-35.

Wednesday, October 10 (Week 6)

New Actors and Issues Emerge on the Political Scene II:
Ethnic and Racial Politics

Readings:

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 9: "The Politics of Social Equity," pp. 255-264.

Raúl L. Madrid. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Selected Readings. Available on Wesleyan Library website.

Edward Telles and the Project on Ethnicity and Race in Latin America (PERLA). 2014. *Pigmentocracies: Ethnicity, Race, and Color in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. Selected Readings.

NPR. August 14, 2017. "Brazil in Black and White." *Rough Translation*. <https://www.npr.org/podcasts/510324/rough-translation>. Podcast.

Wednesday, October 17 (Week 7)

Political Populism, Latin America's "Pink Tide", and the Region's Return to the Right?

Readings:

Kurt Weyland. 2001. "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics." *Comparative Politics* 34(1): 1-22.

Michael Reid. 2009. *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapter 7: The Populist Challenge.

Karen L. Remmer. 2012. "The Rise of Leftist-Populist Governance in Latin America: The Roots of Electoral Change." *Comparative Political Studies* 45 (8): 947-972.

Kenneth M. Roberts. 2016. "Populism and Political Representation." In Carol Lancaster and Nicolas van de Walle (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Politics of Development*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

"Scandals, protest, weak growth: Is Latin America's left in retreat?" March 22 2015. *The Guardian*. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/22/latin-america-left-tough-times-brazil-argentina-venezuela>

SYMPTOMS OF AND RESPONSES TO UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND WEAK INSTITUTIONS

Wednesday, October 24 (Week 8)

Economic Approaches and Social Policy Performance: An Overview of Education, Healthcare, and Pensions in the Region

**In-Class Peer Review of Draft of First Half of Paper

Readings:

Michael Reid. 2009. *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 10: Evolving States, p. 233-246.

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapter 8: "State Capacity and Policy Performance," pp. 255-264.

"Downward spiral: Nicaragua's worsening crisis." 2018. *BBC*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-44398673>.

Rebecca Winthrop and Adam Barton. 2018. "Innovation to leapfrog educational progress in Latin America." *Brookings*. <https://www.brookings.edu/research/innovation-to-leapfrog-educational-progress-in-latin-america/>.

Wednesday, October 31 (Week 9)

Political Corruption:

Causes and Consequences, Malfeasance in Practice, and Accountability-Enhancing Institutions

Readings:

"Brazil corruption scandals: All you need to know." April 8, 2018. *BBC News*. <https://www.bbc.com/news/world-latin-america-35810578>.

Sonia Goldenberg. 2018. "Can Peru's Democracy Survive Corruption?" *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/democracy-corruption.html>.

Susan Rose-Ackerman. 1999. *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences and Reform* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Selected Readings. Available on Wesleyan Library website.

Daniel W. Gingerich. 2013. *Political Institutions and Party-Directed Corruption in South America: Stealing for the Team*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Selected Readings. Available on Wesleyan Library website.

Wednesday, November 7 (Week 10)

Understanding and Combatting Violence and Crime

**In-class Film Screening of *The City of God*

Readings:

Michael Reid. 2009. *Forgotten Continent: The Battle for Latin America's Soul*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chapters 10: Evolving States, p. 246-257.

Robert Muggah and Ilona Szaboó de Carvalho. 2016. "Latin America's cities: unequal, dangerous, and fragile. But that can change." *World Economic Forum*. <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/06/latin-america-s-cities-unequal-dangerous-and-fragile-but-that-can-change/>.

"Losing Faith in the State, Some Mexican Towns Quietly Break Away." Jan 7, 2018. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/01/07/world/americas/mexico-state-corruption.html>.

Read section on one country:

Robert Muggah, Ilona Szaboó de Carvalho, Nathalie Alvarado, Lina Marmolejo, and Ruddy Wang. 2016. "Making Cities Safer: Citizen Security Innovations from Latin America." <https://igarape.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2016/09/Making-Cities-Safer-Citizen-Security-Innovations-from-Latin-America-WEB-1.pdf>.

Wednesday, November 14 (Week 11)

Democratic Reversion and Subnational Authoritarianism

Readings:

Nancy Beromo. 2016. "On Democratic Backsliding," *Journal of Democracy* 27, 1:5-19.

The New York Times. "House Arrest in Venezuela." March 12, 2018. *The Daily*. Podcast.

The New York Times. "Refusing to Stay Silent." March 13, 2018. *The Daily*. Podcast.

Edward L. Gibson. 2005. "Boundary Control: Subnational Authoritarianism in Democratic Countries." *World Politics* 58(1): 101-32.

Wednesday, November 21 (Week 12)

Thanksgiving Break, No Class

Readings:

None. Work on Final Papers.

Wednesday, November 28 (Week 13)

The Path Forward, Final Paper Workshopping and Presentations

**In-class Final Paper Presentations

Readings:

Peter H. Smith and Cameron J. Sells. 2017. *Democracy in Latin America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Epilogue: "The Future of Democracy."

Wednesday, December 5 (Week 14)

Final Paper Workshopping and Presentations

****In-class Final Paper Presentations**

Readings:

None.

Final Paper:

The final paper for this course is due by 11:59pm on Saturday, December 15.