

International Studies 190: Comtemporary Policy and Political Challenges of Latin America

Fall Quarter 2016

October 3, 2016

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Office: Latin American Studies Building #3
Office Hours: M, 1 - 3 p.m., & by appt.

Seminar Meetings: Wednesdays, 2:00 - 4:50
Seminar Room: RBC #1401

Seminar Description:

Over the last 20 years, Latin American countries have largely consolidated stable and apparently sustainable democracies, and have solved many of the structural problems that led to cycles of growth, crisis, and collapse through most of the 20th century. Yet these regimes face a series of broad challenges to their legitimacy and success, many without clear solutions or paths forward. The issues are contentious and critical, and will be central to political struggles this century. In this class, we will examine and debate critical issues. We have three main objectives: 1) to identify and understand the complexities of these issues; 2) to debate the merits of varied strategies for addressing these issues; and 3) to conduct basic research which may contribute to political science and policy debates.

Seminar website: All course materials are posted on TritonEd (formerly known as TED): <https://tritoned.ucsd.edu>.

Seminar Requirements:

- Seminar Participation:
 - Discussion questions (2 questions for weeks 2-8, 14 total): 5%
 - Discussion leader twice (together with 4 - 5 classmates): 10%
 - General seminar participation 5%
- Research Assignments:
 1. Two 3-5 page critical analyses of week's readings (10% each) 20%
 2. Research proposal (1 paragraph, single-spaced), Friday, 21 Oct. (week 4) (not graded)
 3. Project summary & annotated bib. (6 sources), Friday, 4 Nov. (week 6) 5%
 4. First draft of research project (10-12 pages), Friday, 18 Nov (week 8) 5%

Bring hard copy to class; submit e-version to TED by 11:59 p.m.

1. Feedback to classmate no later than 11:59 p.m. Tuesday, 23 Nov. (week 9) 5%
2. Project presentation - approx.10 mins., week 10 5%
3. Final research project, Monday, 5 Dec. (final exams week) 40%
Bring hard copy to my office (LASB# 3) by 2:30 p.m. Submit e-version to TritonEd no later than 11:59 p.m.

Seminar Participation:

As a senior capstone seminar in International Studies, students are expected to complete all assigned readings prior to seminar meetings and come prepared to actively discuss central questions, puzzles and insights that arise from these readings. The participation component of your grade is worth 20% of your final seminar grade. Three course requirements are designed to help you succeed as a seminar participant, facilitate high quality discussions, and assist you with your research skills and projects:

(1) Discussion Questions: To help focus our discussions, and learn more about our respective research interests, please post 2 discussion questions to

the seminar discussion board (TritonEd at <https://tritoned.ucsd.edu>) by 10 p.m. the night before seminar meetings for weeks 2 - 8. Please also bring a hard copy of your questions to Friday seminar meetings. Your questions can be drawn from either one or multiple readings for that day's seminar. Grades on discussion questions will be assessed as follows: “++” (excellent), “+” (very good), “check” (satisfactory), or “-” (needs improvement). As we will all discover (or re-discover), asking high quality, thought-provoking questions is challenging.

(2) Discussion Leaders: Twice during the quarter you will be responsible, together with five to six of your thesis-mates, for helping lead seminar discussions on issues, themes, questions, and puzzles that you think are particularly interesting and important from that week's assigned readings. A sign-up sheet will be circulated during week 1. Each student is asked to serve as a discussion leader twice. Please feel free to collaborate with your fellow thesis-mates as discussion leaders, and to consult with me. For the weeks that you are a designated discussion leader, you should be able to: (1) summarize the central argument of each reading; (2) critique assumptions that are either stated or implied by the researcher(s)'s arguments/theses; (3) critique the quality of evidence presented to support these theses; and (4) state whether you find the argument(s)/evidence compelling or not, and why. Grading on discussion leadership will also be assessed on the plus, check, minus scale noted above, and will count for a total of 10% of your grade (5% for each of the two times you are a designated discussion leader).

(3) Discussion Papers: On the days that you will serve as a discussion leader, please post to the seminar's TritonEd page by 10 p.m. the day before seminar: a 3 - 5 page (double-spaced) critical analysis of that week's readings. Since you will serve as a discussion leader twice, you will write two critical analyses, each worth 10% of your final grade. For each paper, you will need to synthesize and critically evaluate the week's readings. That is, you will critically assess how the different readings relate to each other. Questions to consider include: What assumptions do the researchers make? Are these warranted? What types of evidence do they present to support their arguments/theses? Is this evidence of high quality? Are you persuaded? Why, or why not? In addition to helping you prepare for serving as a discussion leader, these critical analyses will also lay theoretical and empirical foundations for your research paper, and will very likely serve as sections of your paper. Your critical analyses will also be graded according to the plus, check, minus scale noted above.

The third component of your participation grade is “general seminar participation.” This will be assessed on a weekly basis according to the plus, check, minus scale. As long as you attend seminar and critically and actively engage course readings and materials, you will receive full points each week.

Written Assignments and Research Projects:

The central written requirement for your senior capstone seminar in International Studies is a 20 - 25 page (double-spaced) research paper. Depending on your personal research interests and goals, you can choose to write either a research-based policy paper or a more traditional research paper to meet this seminar requirement. If you choose the policy paper option, for the purposes of the assignment, you will become a democracy policy analyst employed by either a governmental organization (for example, U.S. AID), a nongovernmental organization (NGO –this includes foundations, think tanks, etc. -for example, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace), or an intergovernmental organization (for example, an agency of the United Nations) of your choice. If you choose the research paper option, you may want to model your paper after a journal publication in a specific journal that you might wish to submit your work to one day (for example, Journal of Democracy, Democratization, etc.). However, for the purposes of this assignment, you are not required to conduct primary research. That said, if you are able to use primary resources, this is commendable!

Regardless of which option you choose, your projects should address one of the core political or policy problems facing Latin American countries. What is the nature of the problem and what are potential strategies to deal with it? Based on empirical evidence from one or two country case studies from your region of choice (or across regions), you will need to present a well-argued case. You will also need to situate your study within general theoretical debates in this literature and provide compelling arguments and evidence for your recommendations. As noted above, your final paper should be between 20 - 25 double-spaced pages in length, one-inch margins, and have a cover page, introduction, conclusion, complete citations (footnotes), and a complete bibliography. You may use any academically recognized bibliographic style (Chicago, APSA, MLA, APA, etc.), as long as you use this style consistently throughout your research paper. In addition to assigned course readings (required readings), you should consult a minimum of ten additional relevant academic sources. (That is, “recommended readings”

on the syllabus can count as part of your ten additional relevant sources.) These sources can be books published by academic presses, articles from peer-reviewed journals, and/or primary sources.

To assist you in researching and writing your research papers, in addition to the two 3 -5 page (double-spaced) critical analyses discussed above, there are four interim research assignments: (1) a one-paragraph (single-spaced) research proposal (due week 4); (2) a one-paragraph summary of your argument and annotated bibliography of 6 academic sources (due week 6); (3) a 10 - 12 page first draft of your paper (due week 8); and (4) feedback to one of your thesis-mates on their draft (week 9).

During week 10, you will also have the opportunity to present your research for feedback. Presentations should be approximately 10 minutes and will count 5% of your final grade. Project presentations serve at least five purposes: (1) they enable us to better understand each other's research projects and interests; (2) we gain practice in presenting our research ideas orally; (3) they provide an opportunity for feedback prior to turning in final projects (approximately 10 minutes will be allotted to each student for feedback); (4) they advance our understanding of central problems and puzzle of democracy in our world today; and (5) they help us draw comparisons across case studies and regions.

Late Assignment Policy:

In order to ensure standards of fairness for all students, late assignments will be penalized one-third of a grade for each 24-hour period that they are late.

Statement of Academic Integrity:

Students are expected to do their own work, as outlined in the UCSD Policy on Academic Integrity and published in the UCSD General Catalog. Although you are encouraged to work together in preparing for seminar discussions, each student is expected to do their own work on all written assignments. Violations will be subject to the disciplinary measures as outlined by the University. If you have any questions regarding this policy (<http://www-senate.ucsd.edu/manual/Appendices/app2.htm>), please consult the International Studies Office or me.

Seminar Texts:

Course Reserves:

All additional course readings (articles, etc.) are available via electronic reserves from Geisel Library. To access reserves, go to the library's homepage: <http://libraries.ucsd.edu>. Click on the "Reserves" drop down menu on the top of the page and select "Get Your Course Reserves." You can then search either by my name or the course.

Course Schedule:

1. September 28 Introductions

- Introductions: Overview of main themes, questions, requirements, readings and assignments.
- Discussion of research backgrounds, interests, and experiences.
- Sign-up Sheets

2. October 5 Clientelism and Electoral Integrity

- * Frederic Charles Schaffer (ed.), *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007). Read pages 1-11.
- * Javier Auyero, "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3 (2000) o Read pages 55-57, 61-75.
- * Simeon Nichter, "Political Clientelism and Social Policy in Brazil," in Diego Abente Brun and Larry Diamond, eds., *Clientelism, Social Policy and the Quality of Democracy* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014) o Read pages 131-132, 137-148.
- * *Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Chapter 1.

3. October 12. Clientelism, Part 2

- * "Machine politics during Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 58.2 (2014): 415-432. Stokes, S.

- * Clientelism: The Puzzle of Distributive Politics. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. Chapter 7
- * Hagopian, Frances, Carlos Gervasoni, and Juan Andres Moraes. "From Patronage to Program: The Emergence of Party-Oriented Legislators in Brazil." *Comparative Political Studies* (2009).
- * Political Linkages Through Partisan Networks and Distributive Expectations in Argentina and Chile." *Comparative Political Studies* 46.7 (2013): 851-882.

4. October 12. Corruption Part 1.

- * Johnston, Michael. 2002. "Party Systems, Competition, and Political Checks against Corruption." Available at: <http://people.colgate.edu/mjohnston/MJ%20papers%2001/Florence%20revision.pdf>.
- * John Gardiner, "Defining Corruption, in Arnold Heidenheimer and Michael Johnston, eds., *Political Corruption: Concepts and Contexts*, Third Edition (New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2001)
- * Daniel Treisman, "What Have We Learned About the Causes of Corruption from Ten Years of Cross-National Empirical Research?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 10 (2007). o Read pages 211-221.
- * Susan Rose-Ackerman, *Corruption and Government: Causes, Consequences and Reform* (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1999) o Read Chapter 3

5. October 19. Corruption, Part 2

- * Daniel Kaufmann and Paul Siegelbaum, "Privatization and Corruption in Transition Economies," *Journal of International Affairs* 50, 2 (1996). o Read pages 419-439
- * "Wal-mart Hushed Up a Vast Mexican Bribery Case," *New York Times*, April 21, 2012.
- * "Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field Experiment in Mexico on Voter Turnout, Choice, and Party Identification." *The Journal of Politics* 77.1 (2015): 55-71.

- * “Corruption in Latin America: Democracy to the Rescue?” *Economist*, March 14, 2015.
- * James Scott, *Comparative Political Corruption* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972). Read pages 21-34
- Corruption as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Costa Rica.” *American Journal of Political Science* (2016).

6. October 26. Race, Part 1.

- * Telles, Edward. *Race in Another America*. Chapter 1, 3, 10.
- * Aguilar, Rosario, Saul Cunow, Scott Desposato, and Leonardo Barone. 2015. “Ballot Structure, Candidate Race, and Vote Choice in Brazil.”. *Latin American Research Review* 50.
- * Janusz, Andrew. 2016. “Candidate Race and Electoral Outcomes: Evidence from Brazil”. Working Paper.
- Loveman, Mara. *National Colors: Racial Classification and the State in Latin America*. Chapters 1, 3, 8.

7. November 2, Race, Part 2.

- * Yashar, Deborah. *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*. Chapter 1, 4, 6.

8. November 9. Gender.

- Piscopo, Jennifer. 2015. “States as Gender Equality Activists: The Evolution of Quota Laws in Latin America”. *Latin American Politics and Society*. p 27-49.
- Kerevel, Yann P., and Lonna Rae Atkeson. 2015. Reducing Stereotypes of Female Political Leaders in Mexico. *Political Research Quarterly* 68 (4): 732-744. 83-111. .
- Hinojosa, Magda. 2010. ”She’s Not My Type of Blonde:” Media Coverage of Irene Saez’ Presidential Bid. In *Cracking the Highest Glass Ceiling: A Global Comparison of Women’s Campaigns for*

Executive Office, ed. Rainbow Murray. Santa Barbara: Praeger. 31-47.

- Viterna, Jocelyn. "The left and "life" in El Salvador." *Politics & Gender* 8.02 (2012): 248-254.
- Encarnacin, Omar G. "Latin America's gay rights revolution." *Journal of Democracy* 22.2 (2011): 104-118.
- Corrales, Javier. "The Politics of LGBT Rights in Latin America and the Caribbean: Research Agendas." *ERLACS* (2015).
- Tobar, Marcela Ros. 2008. Seizing a Window of Opportunity: The Election of President Bachelet in Chile. *Politics & Gender* 4 (3): 509-519.
- Jalalzai, Farida, and Pedro G. dos Santos. 2015. The Dilma Effect? Women's Representation under Dilma Rouseff's Presidency. *Politics & Gender* 11: 117-145.
- Htun, Mala and Jennifer Piscopo. Women in Politics and Policy in Latin America and the Caribbean. Social Science Research Council Working Papers.

9. November 16. Drugs

- * David Mares, 2005. Drug Wars and Coffee Houses. CQ Press. Chapters 1, 2, 5 (pp. 1-35, 78-93).
- * Snyder, Richard, and Angelica Duran-Martinez. 2009. "Does illegality breed violence? Drug trafficking and state-sponsored protection rackets." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 52, (3) (Sep): 253-273.
- * Reuter, Peter. 2009. "Systemic violence in drug markets." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 52, (3) (Sep): 275-284.
- * Naim, Moises. 2009. Wasted: The American prohibition on thinking smart in the drug war. *Foreign Policy* (172) (May-June): 168-171.
- Gootenberg, Paul, 2008. Andean Cocaine. Chapter 7. The University of North Carolina Press (pp. 291- 324).
- U.S. Department of Justice National Drug Intelligence Center, 2011. "The Economic Impact of Illicit Drug Use on American Society". (pp- 1-53)

- Shelley, Louise, 2001. "Corruption and Organized Crime in Mexico in the Post-PRI Transition". *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 17: 213-231.
- Felbab-Brown, Vanda, 2005. "The Coca Connection: Conflict and Drugs in Colombia and Peru." *Journal of Conflict Studies*, 25:104-128.
- Gootenberg, Paul, 2011. "Cocaine's Long March North, 1900-2010". *Latin American Politics and Society*.

10. November 30: Presentations.

11. Possible Topic: Economic Policy, Endowments, and Outcomes

ISI: Baer, Werner. 1984. "Industrialization in Latin America: Successes and Failures". *The Journal of Economic Education* Vol. 15, No. 2 (Spring, 1984), pp. 124-135 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1182052>

Douglass C. North, William Summerhill, and Barry R. Weingast. *Order, Disorder and Economic Change: Latin America vs. North America*

James Mahoney, "Long-Run Development and the Legacy of Colonialism in Spanish America." *American Journal of Sociology* 109:1 (2003), pp. 51-106.

Council on Hemispheric Affairs. 2015. "The Free Market Experiment in Latin America: Assessing Past Policies and the Search for a Pathway Forward (The first of a three part series).

Rodrik, Dani. 2015. "After Neoliberalism, What?" Project Syndicate.

Stiglitz, Joseph E. 2008. "The End of Neo-liberalism?" Project Syndicate.

Are, Carlos and Tom Kruse. 2004. "The consequences of Neoliberal Reform." November/December 2004. *NCALA Report on the Americas*. P23-28

Ortiz, Guillermo. 2003. "Latin America and the Washington Consensus: Overcoming Reform Fatigue." *Finance & Development*. September 2003. 14-17.

Williamson, John . 2002. "Did the Washington Consensus Fail?", Peterson Institute for International Economics. Outline of speech at the

Center for Strategic & International Studies, Washington, DC. November 6, 2002. Institute for International Economics.

12. Possible Topic: Immigration

Immigration: Required

Nevins, Joseph. 2010. *Operation Gatekeeper and Beyond: The War on "Illegals" and the Remaking of the U.S.-Mexico Boundary*. New York: Routledge. Read Chapters 1-5

Hainmueller, Jens and Daniel J. Hopkins. 2014. "Public Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Annual Review of Political Science* 17(1): 225-249.

Hopkins, Daniel J. 2010. "Politicized Places: Explaining Where and When Immigrants Provoke Local Opposition" *American Political Science Review* 104(1): 40-60.

Massey, Douglas. 1993. "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal." *Population and Development Review* 19(3): 431-466.

Immigration: Optional

Alex Street, Chris Zepeda-Milln, and Michael Jones-Correa. 2015. "Mass Deportations and the Future of Latino Partisanship." *Social Science Quarterly*. 2015. 96:2. 540-552.

Massey, Douglas. 2002. *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors: Mexican Immigration in an Era of Economic Integration*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. Read, Chapters 3-7

Andreas, Peter. 2009. *Border Games: Policing the U.S. Mexico Divide*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Daniel J. Hopkins, Van C. Tran, and Abigail Fisher Williamson. 2014. "See no Spanish: Language, Local Context, and Attitudes Toward Immigration." *Politics, Groups, and Identities* 2(1): 35-51.

Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz, Alexandra Filindra, and Joshua J. Dyck. 2015. "When Partisans and Minorities Interact: Interpersonal Contact, Partisanship, and Public Opinion Preferences on Immigration Policy." *Social Science Quarterly*.

- Wayne Cornelius and Takeyuki Tsuda. 2004. "Controlling Immigration: The Limits of Government Intervention." In *Controlling Migration: A Global Perspective*. 2nd edition. Stanford University Press.
- Joseph Nevins. 2002. *Operation Gatekeeper: The Rise of the "Illegal Alien" and the Making of the U.S.- Mexico Boundary*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Wayne Cornelius. 2005. "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4): 775-794.
- Mae Ngai. 2004. *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. "Part I: The Regime of Quotas and Papers" and "Part II: Migrants at the Margins of Law and Nation."
- Vickie D. Ybarra, Lisa M. Sanchez, and Gabriel R. Sanchez. 2015. "Anti-Immigrant Anxieties in State Policy The Great Recession and Punitive Immigration Policy in the American States, 2005?2012." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly*.
- Cornelius, Wayne. 2005. "Controlling 'Unwanted' Immigration: Lessons from the United States, 1993-2004." *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31(4): 775-794.
- National Academy of Sciences. 2016. *The Integration of Immigrants into American Society* Read, "Summary" and "Introduction".
Understanding Mexico's Changing Immigration Laws
- WOLA. 2015. "A Trial of Impunity: Thousands of Migrants in Transit Face Abuses Amid Mexico's Crackdown"