

INTL 190: Democracy and Economic Change in Latin America

Summer II 2019

Section B00, Schedule #976634

Mondays and Wednesdays 2:00–4:50 pm

RBC 1201

Instructor:

Dr. James Samstad
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Office Hours:

MW 1:00–1:50 pm
or by appointment
RBC 3129

COURSE DESCRIPTION

In recent decades, Latin America has been seen as experiencing a resurgence. Once plagued by authoritarianism and economic stagnation, many countries in the region have undergone a relatively successful process of democratization while achieving solid rates of overall economic growth.

At the same time millions of individual Latin Americans continue to be left behind as recent patterns of economic development primarily benefit a small share of the population. As well, the growth that has occurred has been subject to a recurrent tendency towards periods of macro-economic crisis. Equally troubling, while generally democratic, many of the political systems continue to be marked by problems of instability, excessive centralization, corruption, and organized crime.

This senior seminar will examine the process of democratization and the implementation of economic liberalization programs in contemporary Latin America. Issues that will be explored include problems of economic instability, ongoing inequality, excessive presidentialism, and limited popular participation, with a focus on the nations of Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. As a core requirement of the seminar, students will be expected to write a “capstone” research paper on a topic related to the main themes of the course.

REQUIRED READING

In the course schedule listed below, there are a number of readings for each week that will be the basis of seminar-style discussions for that class session. These are all available through JSTOR and, when possible, will be uploaded into this class’s page on Canvas (rather than TritonEd).

RECOMMENDED READINGS

For those of you unfamiliar with Latin America history, the book listed below is recommended and may be purchased from the campus bookstore.

Skidmore, Thomas E. et al. *Modern Latin America*. Eighth edition, Oxford University Press, 2013.

Those wishing more information on writing a research paper, the following book listed below are recommended for purchase:

Strunk, William, Jr. and E.B. White. *The Elements of Style*. Fourth edition, Allyn & Bacon, 2000 [Online version at: <http://www.bartleby.com/141/>].

Hult, Christine A. *Researching and Writing across the Curriculum*. Third edition, Longman, 2005.

In addition, the course schedule below lists a series of recommended readings which may be consulted in developing and writing your thesis paper.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Students are required to attend class regularly, participate actively, give two presentations, and write a paper. Grades are based on a 1,000 point scale, weighed as follows:

| | |
|-----------------------|------------|
| Attendance | 100 points |
| Participation | 100 points |
| Paper Topic | 100 points |
| Research Outline | 200 points |
| Research Presentation | 100 points |
| Final Research Paper | 400 points |

Final grades will given in accordance with the number of points received:

| | |
|------------------|----|
| 930–1,000 points | A |
| 900–929 points | A– |
| 870–899 points | B+ |
| 830–869 points | B |
| 800–829 points | B– |
| 770–799 points | C+ |
| 730–769 points | C |
| 700–729 points | C– |
| 670–699 points | D+ |
| 630–669 points | D |
| 600–629 points | D– |
| Below 600 points | F |

Attendance: Attendance will be taken each regular class session. Those not attending will need to have a valid and documented excuse to receive credit for that day. At the instructor's discretion, those arriving after roll has been taken may be given half credit for attendance if they talk to the instructor immediately after class.

The 100 points for attendance will be allocated in proportion to the number of sessions attended. For example, an 80% attendance rate will earn 80 points for attendance.

Note that any student caught signing in for a fellow student not in attendance will be considered to be cheating on an assignment and will be disciplined accordingly. Excused absences will neither be counted as present nor absent in calculating this percentage (that is, as if there had been no class session that day in that student's case).

Participation: Students are expected not only to attend class regularly, but participate fully in class discussions. Students will be graded according to the degree to which they have participated in discussions regularly in a manner that makes clear that they have read the material for that session and have considered its implications. For active participation, this portion of the grade will match that for attendance, but it will be adjusted downwards by up to 25% for lower levels of participation. Discussion of the material during office hours can, however, count towards participation at the instructor's discretion.

Should it appear that the students are not consistently doing the reading, the instructor reserves the right to introduce pop quizzes, and grade participation in part on these tests.

Research Paper: Each student will be expected to write a final paper of approximately 20 double-spaced pages in length, to be turned in by the deadline listed below in the schedule. In addition to the hard copy, *students must submit an exact copy in Word (DOC or DOCX), Rich Text (RTF), or Adobe Portable Document (PDF) format to Turnitin via Canvas by 11:59 p.m. that evening.*

While there will be a degree of flexibility as to what topic you may choose, all papers must touch upon one or more of the themes covered in the readings for this course and must involve a comparison of at least two Latin American countries, at least one of which is among those focused upon in this course (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, or Mexico). Each paper must include a reference page including at least ten (10) academic sources.

The preferred formatting for references will be Modern Language Association (MLA) endnote style (7th or 8th edition). Chicago endnote style citation is also acceptable if used consistently.

The arguments presented in the paper must be empirical and analytical in nature—that is, based on documented facts and careful analysis of existing research—rather than subjective opinions. If the topic chosen is controversial, students are required to present both sides of the controversy and discuss any normative opinions they have primarily in the conclusion, if at all. Students are also expected to write it from an objective, third person, and gender-neutral perspective (no personal pronouns allowed).

Research Topic: Each student must submit a one or two paragraph summary of his or her proposed topic for the instructor's approval at the beginning of class on the date listed in the schedule. Along with this summary, an initial bibliography of five (5) relevant academic sources must be attached.

If deemed necessary by the instructor, the student may be asked to revise and resubmit the topic proposal soon afterwards. Once approved, the topic of the paper may not be changed significantly without prior consent of the instructor.

In addition to the hard copy, students must *email* a copy of their paper topic in Word (DOC or DOCX), Rich Text (RTF), or Adobe Portable Document (PDF) format to the instructor <jsamstad@ucsd.edu> by 11:59 pm that same day. Please begin the file or archive's name with your last name (the rest of the filename may be anything you wish) so that the instructor can keep track of which proposal belongs to which student.

Research Presentation and Outline: During the last two sessions of the course, students will give a 10-15 minute oral presentation of their work so far to the class. At that time, students will be required to distribute a two to three page extended (“talking”) outline by the beginning of class to the instructor and (optionally) to each member of the seminar. Along with this outline, an updated bibliography of eight (8) relevant academic sources should be attached and given to the instructor. As with the paper topic, in addition to the hard copy, students must email their outline to the instructor by 11:59 pm that same day. Again, please begin the file or archive’s name with your last name.

Immediately after each oral presentation, class members are encouraged to provide constructive criticism and feedback, time permitting. Asking questions and providing feedback will count towards your participation grade.

A sign-up sheet for the specific days for the presentations will be distributed in class at the time indicated below.

ACCOMMODATIONS FOR STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

In accordance with federal law, individualized accommodations will be made for students with disabilities. However, requests for such accommodations must be made by the end of the second full week of instruction to Dr. Nancy Gilson, Director of Academic Degree Programs for ISP, Robinson Building Complex 4211 (ngilson@ucsd.edu).

ACADEMIC DISHONESTY

Plagiarism will result in an automatic failing grade for the course and the reporting of the student to university authorities for disciplinary action, including possible expulsion.

In writing, remember that credit by means of a footnote or endnote must be given for every direct quotation, for paraphrased or summarized text, and for information that is not common knowledge. Ignorance as to what constitutes plagiarism will *not* be accepted as an excuse. Students who have questions about the definition of plagiarism should ask the instructor for clarification.

COURSE SCHEDULE*(Subject to change)***REVIEW OF SYLLABUS AND OVERVIEW OF LATIN AMERICAN DEVELOPMENT
(MONDAY, AUGUST 5)***Supplementary Discussion: Selecting a Research Topic***FROM AUTHORITARIANISM TO DEMOCRACY (WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 7)***Required*

- O'Donnell, Guillermo A. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1994, pp. 55-69.
- Smith, Peter H. and Melissa R. Ziegler. "Liberal and Illiberal Democracy in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 50, no. 1, 2008, pp. 31-57.
- Krause, Wanda C. "The Role and Example of Chilean and Argentinian Mothers in Democratisation." *Development in Practice*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2004, pp. 366-380.
- Yashar, Deborah J. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 31, no. 1, 1998, pp. 23-42.

Recommended

- Cavendish, James C. "Christian Base Communities and the Building of Democracy: Brazil and Chile." *Sociology of Religion*, vol. 55, no. 2, 1994, pp. 179-195.
- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria. "Political Support for Decentralization: An Analysis of the Colombian and Venezuelan Legislatures." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 47, no. 4, 2003, pp. 683-697.
- Friedman, Elisabeth Jay and Kathryn Hochstetler. "Assessing the Third Transition in Latin American Democratization: Representational Regimes and Civil Society in Argentina and Brazil." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2002, pp. 21-42.
- Houtzager, Peter P. and Marcus J. Kurtz. "The Institutional Roots of Popular Mobilization: State Transformation and Rural Politics in Brazil and Chile, 1960-1995." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 42, no. 2, 2000, pp. 394-424.
- Hunter, Wendy. "Continuity or Change? Civil-Military Relations in Democratic Argentina, Chile, and Peru." *Political Science Quarterly*, vol. 112, no. 3, 1997, pp. 453-475.
- Klesner, Joseph L. "Social Capital and Political Participation in Latin America: Evidence from Argentina, Chile, Mexico, and Peru." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 42, no. 2, 2007, pp. 1-32.
- Silva, Eduardo. "The Politics of Sustainable Development: Native Forest Policy in Chile, Venezuela, Costa Rica and Mexico." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 29, no. 2, 1997, pp. 457-493.
- Waylen, Georgina. "Gender and Democratic Politics: A Comparative Analysis of Consolidation in Argentina and Chile." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2000, pp. 765-793.

RISE OF NEOLIBERALISM AND THE PINK TIDE RESPONSE (MONDAY, AUGUST 12)

Required

- Schamis, Hector E. "Distributional Coalitions and the Politics of Economic Reform in Latin America." *World Politics*, vol. 51, no. 2, 1999, pp. 236-268.
- Weyland, Kurt. "The Politics of Corruption in Latin America." *Journal of Democracy*, vol. 9, no. 2, 1998, pp. 108-121.
- Flores-Macías, Gustavo A. "Statist vs. Pro-Market: Explaining Leftist Governments' Economic Policies in Latin America." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 42, no. 4, 2010, pp. 413-433.
- Blanco, Luisa and Robin Grier. "Explaining the Rise of the Left in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 48, no. 1, 2013, pp. 68-90.

Recommended

- Balán, Manuel. "Competition by Denunciation: The Political Dynamics of Corruption Scandals in Argentina and Chile." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 43, no. 4, 2011, pp. 459-478.
- Eaton, Kent and J. Tyler Dickovick. "The Politics of Re-Centralization in Argentina and Brazil." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2004, pp. 90-122.
- Friedman, Elisabeth Jay and Kathryn Hochstetler. "Assessing the Third Transition in Latin American Democratization: Representational Regimes and Civil Society in Argentina and Brazil." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 35, no. 1, 2002, pp. 21-42.
- Geddes, Barbara. "The Politics of Economic Liberalization." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 30, no. 2, 1995, pp. 195-214.
- Gibson, Edward L. "The Populist Road to Market Reform: Policy and Electoral Coalitions in Mexico and Argentina." *World Politics*, vol. 49, no. 3, 1997, pp. 339-370.
- Kurtz, Marcus J. "Understanding the Third World Welfare State after Neoliberalism: The Politics of Social Provision in Chile and Mexico." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2002, pp. 293-313.
- Teichman, Judith. "Merging the Modern and the Traditional: Market Reform in Chile and Argentina." *Comparative Politics*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2004, pp. 23-40.
- Weyland, Kurt. "The Political Economy of Market Reform and a Revival of Structuralism." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 42, no. 3, 2007, pp. 235-250.

ARGENTINA (WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 14)

Required

- Cató, Juan Montes et al. "Labor Union Renewal in Argentina: Democratic Revitalization from the Base." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 38, no. 6, 2011, pp. 38-51.
- Grugel, Jean and Maria Pia Riggirozzi. "The Return of the State in Argentina." *International Affairs*, vol. 83, no. 1, 2007, pp. 87-107.
- Brusco, Valeria et al. "Vote Buying in Argentina." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2004, pp. 66-88.

Friedman, Elisabeth Jay. "Constructing "the Same Rights with the Same Names": The Impact of Spanish Norm Diffusion on Marriage Equality in Argentina." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 54, no. 4, 2012, pp. 29-59.

Recommended

Anderson, Leslie E. "The Problem of Single-Party Predominance in an Unconsolidated Democracy: The Example of Argentina." *Perspectives on Politics*, vol. 7, no. 4, 2009, pp. 767-784.

Bonner, Michelle D. "State Discourses, Police Violence and Democratisation in Argentina." *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2009, pp. 227-245.

Etchemendy, Sebastián. "Constructing Reform Coalitions: The Politics of Compensations in Argentina's Economic Liberalization." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 43, no. 3, 2001, pp. 1-35.

Llanos, Mariana. "Understanding Presidential Power in Argentina: A Study of the Policy of Privatisation in the 1990s." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2001, pp. 67-99.

Lupu, Noam and Susan C. Stokes. "The Social Bases of Political Parties in Argentina, 1912-2003." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2009, pp. 58-87.

Norden, Deborah L. "The Policies and Politics of Control: Countering Argentina's Uniformed and Unemployed Protesters." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2011, pp. 83-114.

Setser, Brad and Anna Gelpern. "Pathways through Financial Crisis: Argentina." *Global Governance*, vol. 12, no. 4, 2006, pp. 465-487.

Villalón, Roberta. "Neoliberalism, Corruption, and Legacies of Contention: Argentina's Social Movements, 1993-2006." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2007, pp. 139-156.

→ Wednesday, August 14, 2:00 pm, RESEARCH TOPIC DUE

→ Wednesday, August 14, 11:59 pm, E-MAILED COPY OF RESEARCH TOPIC DUE

BRAZIL (MONDAY, AUGUST 19)

Supplementary Discussion: Researching a Thesis Paper

Required

Htun, Mala. "From "Racial Democracy" to Affirmative Action: Changing State Policy on Race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 39, no. 1, 2004, pp. 60-89.

Costa, Arthur Trindade Maranhão and Timothy Thompson. "Police Brutality in Brazil: Authoritarian Legacy or Institutional Weakness?" *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 38, no. 5, 2011, pp. 19-32.

Hunter, Wendy and Natasha Borges Sugiyama. "Democracy and Social Policy in Brazil: Advancing Basic Needs, Preserving Privileged Interests." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 51, no. 2, 2009, pp. 29-58.

Morais, Lecio and Alfredo Saad-Filho. "Brazil Beyond Lula: Forging Ahead or Pausing for Breath?" *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2011, pp. 31-44.

Recommended

Carrillo, Ian R. "The New Developmentalism and the Challenges to Long-Term Stability in Brazil." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 41, no. 5, 2014, pp. 59-74.

Doctor, Mahrukh. "Lula's Development Council: Neo-Corporatism and Policy Reform in Brazil." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 34, no. 6, 2007, pp. 131-148.

Hunter, Wendy. "The Normalization of an Anomaly: The Workers' Party in Brazil." *World Politics*, vol. 59, no. 3, 2007, pp. 440-475.

Lyne, Mona M. "Proffering Pork: How Party Leaders Build Party Reputations in Brazil." *American Journal of Political Science*, vol. 52, no. 2, 2008, pp. 290-303.

Schönleitner, Günther. "Between Liberal and Participatory Democracy: Tensions and Dilemmas of Leftist Politics in Brazil." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2006, pp. 35-63.

Soares, Fabio Veras. "Brazil's Bolsa Família: A Review." *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. 46, no. 21, 2011, pp. 55-60.

Sotero, Paulo. "Brazil's Stunted Revolt." *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 15, no. 1, 2014, pp. 33-40.

Tate, Janice. "Participation and Empowerment: Reflections on Experience with Indigenous Communities in Amazonas, Brazil." *Development in Practice*, vol. 14, no. 3, 2004, pp. 407-412.

MEXICO (WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21)

Required

Snyder, Richard. "After Neoliberalism: The Politics of Reregulation in Mexico." *World Politics*, vol. 51, no. 2, 1999, pp. 173-204.

Pastor, Manuel, Jr. and Carol Wise. "The Lost Sexenio: Vicente Fox and the New Politics of Economic Reform in Mexico." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 47, no. 4, 2005, pp. 135-160.

Morris, Stephen D. "Corruption, Drug Trafficking, and Violence in Mexico." *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, vol. 18, no. 2, 2012, pp. 29-43.

Hilgers, Tina. "Causes and Consequences of Political Clientelism: Mexico's PRD in Comparative Perspective." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 50, no. 4, 2008, pp. 123-153.

Recommended

Cameron, Maxwell A. and Carol Wise. "The Political Impact of NAFTA on Mexico: Reflections on the Political Economy of Democratization." *Canadian Journal of Political Science/Revue canadienne de science politique*, vol. 37, no. 2, 2004, pp. 301-323.

Campbell, Howard. "Narco-Propaganda in the Mexican 'Drug War': An Anthropological Perspective." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 41, no. 2, 2014, pp. 60-77.

Fox, Jonathan. "The Difficult Transition from Clientelism to Citizenship: Lessons from Mexico." *World Politics*, no. 46, 1994, pp. 151-184.

- Fuentes, María Luisa Sánchez et al. "The Decriminalisation of Abortion in Mexico City: How Did Abortion Rights Become a Political Priority?" *Gender and Development*, vol. 16, no. 2, 2008, pp. 345-360.
- Holzner, Claudio A. "The Poverty of Democracy: Neoliberal Reforms and Political Participation of the Poor in Mexico." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 49, no. 2, 2007, pp. 87-122.
- Moreno Figueroa, Mónica G. "Distributed Intensities: Whiteness, Mestizaje and the Logics of Mexican Racism." *Ethnicities*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2010, pp. 387-401.
- Olvera, Alberto J. "The Elusive Democracy: Political Parties, Democratic Institutions, and Civil Society in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review*, vol. 45, 2010, pp. 79-107.
- Seffer, Kristin. "Clientelism a Stumbling Block for Democratization? Lessons from Mexico." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 42, no. 5, 2015, pp. 198-215.

→ WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 21, PAPER PRESENTATION SIGN-UPS

CHILE (MONDAY, AUGUST 26)

Supplementary Discussion: Fundamentals of Writing and Citing

Required

- Kurtz, Marcus. "State Developmentalism without a Developmental State: The Public Foundations of the 'Free Market Miracle' in Chile." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 43, no. 2, 2001, pp. 1-25.
- Heiss, Claudia and Patricio Navia. "You Win Some, You Lose Some: Constitutional Reforms in Chile's Transition to Democracy." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 49, no. 3, 2007, pp. 163-190.
- Blofield, Merike H. and Liesl Haas. "Defining a Democracy: Reforming the Laws on Women's Rights in Chile, 1990-2002." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 47, no. 3, 2005, pp. 35-68.
- Haughney, Diane. "Defending Territory, Demanding Participation: Mapuche Struggles in Chile." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2012, pp. 201-217.

Recommended

- Donoso, Sofía. "Dynamics of Change in Chile: Explaining the Emergence of the 2006 'Pingüino' Movement." *Journal of Latin American Studies*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2013, pp. 1-29.
- Fuentes, Claudio. "Shifting the Status Quo: Constitutional Reforms in Chile." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 57, no. 1, 2015, pp. 99-122.
- Jara, Camila. "Democratic Legitimacy under Strain? Declining Political Support and Mass Demonstrations in Chile." *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe/European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, no. 97, 2014, pp. 25-50.
- Olavarria, Margot. "Protected Neoliberalism: Perverse Institutionalization and the Crisis of Representation in Postdictatorship Chile." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 30, no. 6, 2003, pp. 10-38.

- Posner, Paul W. "Local Democracy and the Transformation of Popular Participation in Chile." *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 46, no. 3, 2004, pp. 55-81.
- Sepúlveda, Claudia and Pablo Villarroel. "Swans, Conflicts, and Resonance: Local Movements and the Reform of Chilean Environmental Institutions." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2012, pp. 181-200.
- Van der Ree, Gerard. "Citizenship 'from Above'? The Case of Chile, 1964-2010." *Revista Europea de Estudios Latinoamericanos y del Caribe/European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies*, vol. 90, April 2011, pp. 23-38.
- Wyndham, Marivic and Peter Read. "From State Terrorism to State Errorism: Post-Pinochet Chile's Long Search for Truth and Justice." *The Public Historian*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2010, pp. 31-44.

ORAL PRESENTATIONS OF RESEARCH PAPER (WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 28 AND WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 4)

NOTE: *LABOR DAY HOLIDAY (MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 2)*

- Friday, September 6, 2 pm: RESEARCH PAPER DUE at the front desk of the GPS Student Affairs office or the mailbox at RBC 4100. *Submit a copy to Turnitin via Canvas by 11:59 pm.* NOTE: Due to the abbreviated period for turning in grades during the summer, *late papers will not be accepted!*