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Marquette University Department of Political Science Spring 2017

LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS

Latin America has long been the center of dynamic political, social, and economic change. The region has suffered some of the most brutal political regimes, highest degrees of economic inequality, and worst organized crime. Yet Latin America has also been the focus of some of the most innovative experiments in democratic participation, social mobilization, and poverty alleviation.

In Part 1 of the course, we examine the interplay between politics and economic development during the bulk of the 20th century. Looking at the Argentine case, we first analyze how nationalistic strategies for overcoming underdevelopment contributed to the breakdown of democracy in the 1960s-70s and military rule.

In Part 2 of the course, we examine the politics of neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism. We start by examining the implementation of free market reforms, with a focus on Mexico. In the 1980s, the statist development model that had dominated throughout the region came under attack and was replaced with an economic model that embraced free markets and shunned state-led development strategies. We then consider the economic and political consequences of these reforms in the 1980s and 1990s. We then consider the potential of revolutionary movements to transform politics and economics in Latin America, focusing on Cuba. Finally, we look at leftist alternatives that emerged in the 2000s, comparing the "radical" left in Venezuela with the "moderate" left in Brazil. We will also examine the political projects of the new left in Latin America, as well as the recent political crises that have emerged among countries governed by the left.

The purpose of this course is to train students to think critically about Latin American politics, economics, and society. The course serves as an introduction for those who are unfamiliar with the contemporary history, politics, and social structures of the region. Instruction in this class, however, will go beyond a mere introduction to Latin American political history. It will challenge students to analyze complex problems in Latin American politics and development, and encourage them to provide informed arguments on these matters.

Course objectives

- 1. Gain a solid understanding of the key concepts and theoretical frameworks used to analyze Latin American politics. This course should make it easier for you to read the newspaper and think critically about current events.
- 2. Learn about the history and political dynamics during recent history for select Latin American countries namely, Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, Mexico, and Venezuela.
- 3. Strengthen your critical thinking skills, learning to not only identify the causal claims of the authors you read but also to challenge their approaches and assumptions.
- 4. Improve your writing through several paper assignments.
- 5. Develop your public speaking skills through class presentations.

Assignments

The grade breakdown for the course follows:

5%	Map quiz
15%	Reading responses
15%	Current events papers
15%	Student-led class
15%	Paper draft
25%	Final paper
10%	Class engagement

• Map quiz:

On the day of the quiz, I will hand out the blank map. You must identify each country and its capital. You will only be responsible for Spanish and Portuguese speaking nation-states. In other words, you are not responsible for countries such as Haiti or Guyana, or for territories such as Puerto Rico.

Countries you should know include:

- Argentina (Buenos Aires)
- Bolivia (La Paz)
- Brazil (Brasília)
- Chile (Santiago)
- Colombia (Bogotá)
- Costa Rica (San José)
- Cuba (Havana)

- Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo)
- Ecuador (Quito)
- El Salvador (San Salvador)
- Guatemala (Guatemala City)
- Honduras (Tegucigalpa)

- Mexico (Mexico City)
- Nicaragua (Managua)
- Panama (Panama City)
- Paraguay (Asunción)
- Peru (Lima)
- Uruguay (Montevideo)
- Venezuela (Caracas

Your first attempt will count towards your course grade, but you must retake the quiz until you get all answers correct. Correct spelling is required.

• Reading summaries:

Students are expected to submit **ten** reading responses (summary + analysis) throughout the course of the semester. Responses should be at least **2 paragraphs** long for days in which one reading is assigned, and at least **3 paragraphs** long for days in which more than one reading is assigned. Responses should offer a concise recap of each author's main argument, in addition to a brief analysis of the argument (which could include responding to questions in reading guidelines or raising new discussion questions for the class). Students may submit one summary per class. Summaries must be submitted in class **on the day the assigned reading is due**. The assignment will be graded on a check/check minus/zero basis.

• Analytical paper:

In a short research paper, students will identify and analyze the current model of economic or political development in one Latin American country. For this assignment, you may choose among the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ecuador, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Peru, Uruguay, or Venezuela.

Research paper requirements:

- 1) Compare this paradigm to the historic approaches that have dominated Latin America.
- 2) Analyze the ultimate success of this model in promoting (economic or political) stability and inclusion.
 - In conducting this analysis, students should draw on the lessons of past approaches. What were the known pitfalls? How successfully has your country addressed them with its current approach?

The purpose of this assignment is three-fold. First, students will have the opportunity to demonstrate their mastery of material in Parts I and II of the course. Second, students will be able to delve deeper in to the region to explore other cases not included in the course. Third, students will have the opportunity to utilize the causal framework discussed at the beginning of the semester to undertake their own analysis.

The paper should be **10-12 pages** in length. Students have the option of writing the paper with a partner, in which case the paper will be 15-20 pages in length. Students will attend mandatory office hours to discuss the paper approximately 2 weeks before the first draft is due. A complete draft of the paper, worth **15% of your grade**, is due two weeks before the final draft, worth **20% of your grade**, is due.

• Student-led class:

Students will be assigned to groups of 3-4 to analyze a political or developmental problem in one Latin American country, using a concept introduced in Parts I and II of the course. Groups may choose among the following countries: Argentina, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Paraguay, Peru, or Uruguay. No country may be analyzed by more than one group. Each group will lead half of a class during the last two weeks of the course, as well as write a lecture plan that they will hand in before their presentation.

The group assignment will be evaluated based on four components:

- 1. An initial proposal of 1-2 paragraphs, providing a brief rationale for choosing the country, the political or development challenge they will analyze, and the theoretical concept/s they will use to analyze it.
- 2. A draft lecture plan (see next item).
- 3. A final lecture plan, which presents a detailed outline of how they will run the class. There is no length requirement for this document, and the lecture plan may be organized into bullet points. However, this outline must present a detailed description of how the students will fill the entire class time. This means that students must either write out or outline *in detail*: each of their presentations, any discussion questions they will use, film clips (including the number of minutes and the substance of the clip), etc. due **the night before their office hours appointment**.
- 4. A mandatory office hours appointment, in which all member of the group are present and prepared to give a complete rehearsal of their presentations. students must schedule this appointment for at least two days prior to the day they will lead class.
- 5. Leading a class.
- 6. Peer and self evaluations of your group work (see paragraph below) due **the day after the student-led class at 5pm**
- 7. Attendance and completion of feedback sheets for all other student-led classes due the day after each class at 5pm

Students ought to be aware that the poor performance of any one member of their research team can affect the scores of their colleagues. The group will receive a collective grade for the proposal, presentation, and paper worth 75% of their total grade for the group project. The remaining 25% of the project grade will be assigned separately for each individual according to their performance at the presentation and peer/self evaluations. Each member of the group will prepare confidential, written insights on the contribution of all other group members, as well as a self-evaluation. This data and the professor's own observations will be used to adjust the individual score for group members.

While each member of the research groups will receive a share of the group score on the class presentation/discussion and on the written report, peers will prepare confidential, written insights on the contribution of all other members. Additionally, group members will be required to post on their D2L page evidence of consistent progress. This data and the professor's own observations will be used to adjust the individual score for group members, if need be. Students ought to be aware that the poor performance of any one member of their research team can affect the scores of their colleagues. Hence, group dynamics scores are, like the presentation scores (although less strictly so), the products of collective responsibility.

• Country reports:

Students are responsible for **ongoing reporting about politics in one Latin American country**, assigned in Week 1, throughout the course of the semester.

- o In Week 1:
 - You will choose a Latin American country to follow throughout the course of the semester. (Your selection will be from a list of countries chosen by me, and which country you get will be determined through a draft pick.)
 - You will then sign up for a date to present on your country in front of the class
 - From then on, you will be responsible for following the news on your country every week until the end of the semester.
 - Suggested sources for news:
 - Americas edition of *El País* (newspaper from Spain)
 - o In Spanish: http://elpais.com/elpais/portada america.html
 - o In English: http://elpais.com/elpais/inenglish.html
 - Latin American News Digest (weekly news digest in English)
 - o https://latinamericannewsdigest.com/
 - Consult the main newspaper/s of your country.
- Once during the semester, you will give a current event report on your country in class.
 - This brief (4-5 minutes) presentation should describe one of the major political events that have affected your country within the last six months.
 (You should choose which event to report on based in part on how relevant it is to the themes of the course.)
 - Once you describe the event in your presentation, you should then attempt to link the event to a concept that we covered in class. (This will become easier for students who give their presentations later in the semester.)
 - Preparation: You are required to <u>attend at least one office-hours appointment</u> with me prior to your presentation to go over the content. It is your job to remember to come to office hours (i.e. I will not remind you), and if you fail to make this appointment I will reduce your grade by one mark.
- Three times throughout the course of the semester, you will submit a written, two-page report on your country. The content of each report will vary, and you will receive a prompt with specific instructions approximately one week before the due date.
 - These assignments are due on Dropbox by <u>midnight</u> before the class day that they are due.

• Class engagement:

Students are expected to be active participants in all classes. Your class engagement grade will include your overall contributions to class discussions, your participation in the Q and A session of your colleagues' current-events reporting, contributions to two simulations, and your participation and feedback on three student-led classes.

Students must be fully prepared *at all times* to discuss the readings and concepts from that day's material, and that of previous lectures. Every class period will require you to spend some non-reading time preparing for class. Create a habit of setting aside non-reading time to prepare your ideas. Several days before class, I will email you an overview of the readings and study questions; you should be prepared to discuss the answers to these questions every class.

Grading

The class is not curved; you will be evaluated on your own merits rather than on how you compare to your peers. Written assignments will be graded according to the following criteria:

- Mechanics: Overall quality of writing
- Structure of your argument
- Evidence: factual accuracy and appropriate use of course materials
- Argument: Conceptual clarity and analytical rigor

Grading Standards		
A	Exceptional work. Demonstrates superb understanding of the course material <i>and</i> outstanding critical thinking and analytic rigor. Goes beyond simply answering the prompt to craft a creative and insightful analysis. Communicates information in a clear, concise, and mechanically correct manner. <i>An A grade will only be given if work is exceptional.</i>	
В	Good work. Demonstrates a strong grasp of course material and good analytic rigor, but with some errors (e.g. faulty assumptions in logic or some incorrect descriptions of an author's argument). May have some problems with structure or mechanics but overall easy to understand the main gist. Solid work, but not the most original or insightful analysis.	
C	Mediocre work. Applies some course material and themes, but demonstrates considerable misunderstanding of material. Difficult to discern the student's argument and the logic supporting this argument. A number of serious problems with structure and mechanics.	
D	Poor work. May attempt to apply some course materials and themes, but demonstrates very serious errors or misunderstanding of course material. The student doesn't appear to have any argument, and the assignment lacks structure entirely and has extensive problems with mechanics. Shows little effort.	
F	Very poor work. Assignment is unrelated to course material and fails to address the prompt and guidelines. Reflects a lack of effort.	

Course Policies

• Attendance:

- Attendance: Attending class is mandatory. Should you have to miss a class, it is your responsibility to learn about any assignments, discussion, etc. from other students in the course. I will not send you summaries of lectures or classes, so please do not request them.
 - Note: Attending class is not the same as participating in class. Active engagement with the material we are covering in this class is critical to your success, and to your class participation grade. I expect you to ask questions in class and make informed contributions to discussion.

• Respect:

Respect for others: This course provides a forum for lively debate about competing visions of politics and society. Throughout the semester, we will be addressing some issues on which people may have strong and diverse opinions. Please respect one another by giving thoughtful consideration to the comments made by your peers, even if you disagree, and by addressing your comments at the *ideas* presented, not the person presenting them.

• Communication:

- O Checking your email: I expect you to check your email regularly. I will typically send announcements to you via email. You are responsible for the material I send electronically, and you are responsible for ensuring that the email account listed on D2L is one you check regularly.
- Sending email: I will dedicate some (necessarily limited) amount of time to answering emails from students, in the order that I receive them. Whether it takes me a day or three weeks to respond to your email depends upon the volume of email I receive. Before sending me an email, consider whether coming to see me during office hours may be a more efficient option.
- Office hours: Please come visit! I welcome and encourage you to use my office hours to discuss the lectures, readings, and any other concerns or thoughts you might be having. (Keep in mind that there is generally a positive correlation between showing up for office hours and grades.)
- Laptops may only be used by those with special learning needs that have consulted with me in advance. If you need advice on how to take notes effectively using paper and pen, you can come to office hours and I can suggest note-taking strategies.
 - o Cell phones should be turned off during class.
 - If you have a special need to keep your cell phone on, such as to monitor a sick child, see me *before* class and I will make a special accommodation.
- Students with learning differences: If you anticipate needing any type of an academic accommodation in this course please (1) discuss this with me as soon as possible <u>AND</u> (2) register with the office of disability services http://www.marquette.edu/disability-services/. In order for you to receive any type of academic accommodation, I will need to receive, from

the Disability Services Center during the first few weeks of the semester, formal notification of the academic accommodation to which your disability entitles you.

- Losing points for submitting assignments late: You will lose one third of a letter grade (e.g. your grade will fall from A- to B+) for each day an assignment is late. Late penalty waivers will be granted only if you present me with written documentation of the legitimate circumstances that prevented you from completing the assignment on time within one week of the assignment's due date.
- **Grade appeals:** If you want to appeal an assigned grade, you must submit to me a typed, one-page statement explaining why the grade should be changed. Note that doing so gives me license to adjust the questioned grade either upward or downward. At the same time, I am more than happy to discuss your papers and exams during office hours with the goal of helping you to improve your performance the next time.
- Under no circumstances will extra credit be offered.

• Academic dishonesty:

You, as a Marquette student, have taken the Honor Pledge. This pledge states:

I recognize the importance of personal integrity in all aspects of life and work.

I commit myself to truthfulness, honor, and responsibility, by which I earn the respect of others.

I support the development of good character, and commit myself to uphold the highest standards of academic integrity as an important aspect of personal integrity.

My commitment obliges me to conduct myself according to the Marquette University Honor Code.

- O University policy and unfortunate experiences compel the following statement of principle: Students who engage in plagiarism or cheating as defined by official university policy will automatically be referred to the Marquette University Honor Council. See http://www.marquette.edu/provost/integrity-index.php. **No exceptions.**
- Additional note on plagiarism: in all of your writing, you must identify the nature and extent of your intellectual indebtedness to the authors whose work you have read, or to anyone else from whom you have gotten ideas (including classmates). Failure to acknowledge and properly attribute your reliance on someone else's ideas, thoughts, words, research, theories, evidence, findings, or argument is PLAGIARISM. Failing to provide page numbers for quotations or paraphrasing in a paper, or paraphrasing or summarizing the work of others without acknowledging the source in the text of your paper IS PLAGIARISM. Plagiarism is wrong, unethical and dishonest.

Readings

There are TWO books that are required for this course.

- Harry Vanden and Gary Prevost. 2012. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game.* New York: Oxford University Press.
 - o Available online.
- Kingstone, Peter. 2010. The Political Economy of Latin America: Reflections on Neoliberalism and Development. New York, NY: Routledge.
 - o Available for purchase at the Marquette Bookstore
- Most readings are posted on the **course web site** (See http://d21.marquette.edu).
 - Readings posted on the course web site are followed by "D2L" in the list of required readings below.

Course Schedule

PART I: The Politics of 20th-Century Development

Week 1: Explaining Underdevelopment

January 18

January 18: Introducing the course

• No reading

Week 2: Import Substitution Industrialization

January 23, 25

January 23: Explaining Underdevelopment in Latin America

- Read the syllabus.
- Eduardo Galeano, *Open Veins of Latin America*, Introduction: 120 Million in the Eye of the Hurricane (pp. 1-8). *Note: the page numbers begin at 1 before the preface, but they start at 1 again for the introduction. You may skip the forward and preface, and begin reading at the second p.1.
- Acemoglu, Johnson, and Robinson, "The Colonial Origins of Comparative Development: An Empirical Investigation," Sections 1 and 2 **only** (pp. 1369 1376) ON D2L

January 25: The ISI Approach

- Harry Vanden and Gary Prevost. 2012. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game.* New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 7 (pp. 154-168 only)
- Kingstone, The Political Economy of Latin America, Chapter 2 ON D2L

map quiz*

Week 3: Populism and Democracy

January 30, February 1

January 30: The Politics of ISI: Populism

- Michael Conniff, *Populism in Latin America*, piece of Introduction (pp. 4-21 only) ON D2L
- Joel Horowitz, "Populism and its Legacies in Argentina" (Chapter 2 of *Populism in Latin America*) ON D2L

February 1: The Breakdown of Democracy and Military Rule

- David Collier, "Bureaucratic Authoritarianism," ON D2L
- Recommended: Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier. 1991. Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America. Princeton: Princeton University Press. pp. 484-497, 721-742. ON D2L
- Argentina presentation

CURRENT EVENT PAPER 1 DUE SUNDAY MIDNIGHT

Week 4: The Breakdown of Democracy and Military Rule

February 6, 8

February 6: Simulation: The Impossible Game

Readings and parts assigned in class

February 8: Military Rule

- Marguerite Feitlowitz. 2011. A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture. pp. 21-71. ON D2L (start reading)
- Dominican Republic presentation

Week 5: Military Rule and Human Rights

February 13, 15

February 13: The Use of Terror

- Marguerite Feitlowitz. 2011. A Lexicon of Terror: Argentina and the Legacies of Torture. pp. 21-71. ON D2L (finish reading)
- El Salvador presentation

February 15: Catholic Responses to Military Repression

- Harry Vanden and Gary Prevost. 2012. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game.* New York: Oxford University Press. Chapter 6
- Selected articles on Pope Francis ON D2L
- Reading TBD: Either "Pedagogy of the Oppressed" or "The Theology of Liberation" ON D2L
- Chile presentation

Week 6: The Dual Transition

February 20, 22

February 20: Democratization and Neoliberal Reform

- Armijo, Biersteker, and Lowenthal. 1994. "The Problems of Simultaneous Transitions" ON D2L
- Honduras
- Mexico politics presentation

February 22: Technocrats and the Politics of Neoliberal Reform in Mexico

- Nora Hamilton. "Mexico." Chapter 12 in *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game*
- Reading TBD
- Mexico economics presentation
- Guatemala presentation

PART II: The Politics of 21st-Century Development

Week 7: Development in Mexico

February 27, March 1

February 27: poverty, migration, and human rights in Mexico

Readings TBD

March 1: **simulation:** the Mexican debt crisis

CURRENT EVENT PAPER 2 DUE SUNDAY MIDNIGHT

Week 8: Revolutionary Alternatives

March 6, 8

March 6: Explaining the Cuban Revolution

- Jon Lee Anderson. 1997. Che Guevara: A Revolutionary Life (page selections) ON D2L
- Nicaragua Presentation
- Colombia presentation

March 8: Cuba's communist system

- Susan Eckstein, Back from the Future: Cuba under Castro, pp. 31-41 only ON D2L
- Haiti presentation
- Cuba economics

Week 9: SPRING BREAK

March 13, 15

March 13: **SPRING BREAK**

March 15: **SPRING BREAK**

Week 10: The Left Turn in Latin America

March 20, 22

March 20: The Future of Communism in Cuba

- John Lee Anderson. "Opening for Business." New Yorker. July 20, 2015. ON D2L
- Alma Guillermoprieto. "Cuba: The Big Change." *The New York Review of Books*. May 12, 2016. ON D2L
- John Lee Anderson. "A New Cuba." New Yorker. October 3, 2016. ON D2L
- Alma Guillermoprieto. "The End of Fidel." *The New York Review of Books*. November 30, 2016. ON D2L
- Jorge Domínguez. "Can Donald Trump and Raúl Castro Make a Good Deal?" *The New York Times*. January 10, 2017 ON D2L
- Bolivia presentation
- Cuba politics presentation

March 22: Latin America's Left Turn

- Kingstone, The Political Economy of Latin America, part of Chapter 4: pp. 91 123
- to watch: The Hugo Chávez Show (2008)
- Ecuador presentation
- Argentina economics presentation

Week 11: Political Projects of the Radical Left

March 27, 29

March 27: Venezuela: Party-System Collapse and the Rise of Chavez

- Noam Lupu. 2014. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America." *World Politics* 66(4): 561-602. ON D2L
- Recommended: Daniel Hellinger. "Venezuela." Chapter 17 in *Politics of Latin America:* The Power Game
- Peru presentation
- Venezuela presentation

March 29: Venezuela under Chavez

- Margarita López Maya, "Hugo Chávez and the Populist Left," in *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* ON D2L
- Paraguay presentation

CURRENT EVENT PAPER 3 DUE SUNDAY MIDNIGHT

Week 12: Radical versus Moderate Left

April 3, 5

April 3: Polarization and the Future of Chavismo

- Planet Money podcast #731: "How Venezuela Imploded."
- David Smilde. 2015. "The End of Chavismo?" *Current History* 114(769): 49-55. ON D2L
- William Finnegan. "Venezuela, a Failing State." *New Yorker*. November 14, 2016. ON D2L
- Costa Rica presentation

April 5: The "Moderate Left": The Workers' Party's adaptation to neoliberalism in Brazil

- Wilber Albert Chaffee. "Brazil." Ch 14 in Politics of Latin America: The Power Game
- Wendy Hunter. 2007. "The Normalization of an Anomaly: the Worker's Party in Brazil." *World Politics* 59(3): 440-75. ON D2L
- Puerto Rico presentation
- Brazil presentation

Week 13: The Moderate Left in Power

April 10, 12

April 10: The Workers' Party in Power

- Wendy Hunter. 2011. "Brazil: The PT in Power," In *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left*, eds. Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press. pp. 306-324. ON D2L
- *Recommended:* Jonathan Tepperman. 2015. "Brazil's Anti-Poverty Breakthrough: The Surprising Success of Bolsa Família." *Foreign Affairs*. December 14, 2015. ON D2L
- Panama presentation
- Uruguay presentation

April 12: The Fall of the Workers' Party

- Perry Anderson. "Crisis in Brazil." London Review of Books 38(8): 15-22. ON D2L
- Marcus André Melo. 2016. "Crisis and Integrity in Brazil." *Journal of Democracy* 27(2): 50-65. ON D2L
- Frances Hagopian. 2016. "Brazil's Accountability Paradox." *Journal of Democracy* 27(3): 119-128. ON D2L
- Articles about Michel Temer government. ON D2L
- Guyana presentation
- Suriname presentation

Complete paper draft due Sunday April 16th at midnight.

Week 14: The Fall of the Left

April 17, 19

April 17: **EASTER**

April 21: **TBD**

Week 15: Student Presentations

April 24, 26

April 26: student-led class

April 28: NO CLASS

Week 16: Student Presentations

May 1, 3

May 1: student-led class

May 3: student-led class

Final paper due Monday May 8th at 1pm.