

Spring 2015

Politics and Society in Latin America and the Caribbean

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DIPL 6803: Politics and Society in Latin America and the Caribbean
School of Diplomacy and International Relations, Spring 2015
Tuesdays, 7:35 – 9:45 p.m., Stafford Hall 09

Professor: Benjamin Goldfrank

Office Hours: Wednesdays, 3:00 – 5:00 p.m., and by appointment

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Course Summary:

This seminar provides an overview of major approaches to the study of Latin American politics and society. It emphasizes both a historical perspective and an analysis of current trends and issues. Using various analytical lenses, including cultural, structural, institutional, and rational-choice perspectives, the course focuses on the different kinds of political regimes and the patterns of political change that have characterized Latin American countries in the past century. We will take up several specific questions: Why have some countries in Latin America enjoyed more stable political systems than others? Why have some countries faced severe threats from guerrilla movements and even major social revolutions, while others succumbed to military coups, especially in the 1960s and 1970s? Why did Latin America experience a wave of democratization in the 1980s and what are the prospects for the consolidation of democracy in the region in the twenty-first century? In answering these questions, the course will provide a survey of the region's political development, with particular emphasis on four countries: Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela.

Requirements and Grading:

1. Class Participation (20 percent of course grade): Students are expected to attend all class sessions, to read all of the assigned materials prior to class, and to sometimes lead and to always take part actively in class discussions. The quality of the discussion will largely depend on your preparation.
2. Literature Reviews (15 percent): Students should turn in a one-page summary and review of the readings each week, except the week the mid-term is due. In summary fashion, these literature reviews should compare and contrast the readings. Types of issues to address include the major arguments presented, the evidence used, the type of analysis employed, and limitations or flaws. The literature reviews may also be used to raise questions for class discussion. Although the reviews will not be individually graded, students should keep in mind that their reviews should serve them well for the class discussions and exams.
3. Mid-term Exam Essay (25 percent): Take-home exam for which questions will be provided in advance for an essay of 7-8 pages.
4. Final Exam Essay or Research Paper (40 percent): Take-home exam for which questions will be provided in advance for an essay of 13-15 pages or research paper on the topic of your choice (please consult with me), 15-20 pages. For the exams, you will be able to choose among a limited number of essay questions.

Evaluation of assignments will be based on students' ability to convey their understanding and critical analysis of the course material. Late papers will be marked down. Incompletes will be given only in exceptional cases for emergencies.

Important Notes:

Plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty will be reported to the administration, and may result in a lowered or failing grade for the course and up to possible dismissal from the School of Diplomacy. See university and school standards for academic conduct here:
<http://www.shu.edu/offices/student-life/community-standards/community-standards.cfm>
<http://www.shu.edu/academics/diplomacy/academic-conduct.cfm>.

Use of electronic devices for any purpose other than taking notes is not appropriate during class time. It distracts other students and the professor and will result in a lowered grade.

It is the policy and practice of Seton Hall University to promote inclusive learning environments. If you have a documented disability you may be eligible for reasonable accommodations in compliance with University policy, the Americans with Disabilities Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act, and/or the New Jersey Law against Discrimination. Please note, students are not permitted to negotiate accommodations directly with professors. To request accommodations or assistance, please self-identify with the Office for Disability Support Services (DSS), Duffy Hall, Room 67 at the beginning of the semester. For more information or to register for services, contact DSS at (973) 313-6003 or by e-mail at DSS@shu.edu.

Required Readings:

All course readings are on Blackboard; required denoted with ●; recommended denoted with *

Introduction: Major Approaches to the Study of Latin American Politics

Week 1 – Tues, Jan 13: Introduction

- * Sergio Amaral, “U.S.-Latin America Relations Over the Last Decade,” in *Inter-American Dialogue, A Decade of Change Political, Economic, and Social Developments in Western Hemisphere Affairs* (2011, 89-111).

Week 2 – Tues, Jan 20: Modernization, Culture, & Dependency

- Ronald Inglehart and Christian Welzel, “How Development Leads to Democracy: What We Know about Democratization,” *Foreign Affairs* (March 2009: 33-48).
- Skidmore and Smith, “The Transformation of Modern Latin America, 1880s-2000s,” *Modern Latin America* (2005: 42-67).
- Howard Wiarda, “Whatever Happened to Corporatism and Authoritarianism in Latin America?” in Wiarda, ed., *Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America – Revisited* (2004: 1-26).
- Susanne Jonas, “Dependency and Imperialism: The Roots of Latin American Underdevelopment,” in Katznelson, et al., eds., *The Politics & Society Reader* (1974: 171-201).
- * Guillermo O’Donnell, “‘And Why Should I Give a Shit?’ Notes on Sociability and Politics in Argentina and Brazil,” *Counterpoints* (1999: 81-105).
- * Seymour Martin Lipset, “Some Social Requisites of Democracy: Economic Development and Political Legitimacy,” *American Political Science Review* (March 1959: 69-103).

Week 3 – Tues, Jan 27: Structure, Agency, Institutions, & Critical Junctures

- David Collier, "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model," in Collier, ed. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America* (1979: 19-32)
- Scott Mainwaring and Aníbal Pérez-Liñan, "Democratic Breakdown and Survival," *Journal of Democracy* (April 2013: 123-137).
- Scott Mainwaring, "Presidentialism, Multipartyism, and Democracy: The Difficult Combination," *Comparative Political Studies* (1993: 198-228).
- Ruth Berins Collier and David Collier, "Overview," *Shaping the Political Arena* (2002: 3-20).
- * Guillermo O'Donnell, "Toward an Alternative Conceptualization of South American Politics," in *Promise of Development* (1973/1986: 239-275).
- * Youssef Cohen, *Radicals, Reformers, and Reactionaries: The Prisoner's Dilemma and the Collapse of Democracy in Latin America*, chapters 4-5 (1994: 38-75).

Development and Breakdown of Democracy

Week 4 – Tues, Feb 3: Chile

- Arturo Valenzuela, "Party Politics and the Crisis of Presidentialism in Chile: A Proposal for a Parliamentary Form of Government," in Juan Linz & Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy* (1994: 165-224).
- * /● Julio Faundez, "In Defense of Presidentialism: The Case of Chile," in Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Shugart, eds., *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America* (1997: 300-20, **see esp. 317-319**).
- Kenneth Erickson and Patrick Peppe, "Dependent Capitalist Development, U.S. Foreign Policy, and Repression of the Working Class in Chile and Brazil," *Latin American Perspectives* (Winter 1976: 19-41).
- Jack Devine, "What Really Happened in Chile," *Foreign Affairs* (July/Aug 2014: 26-35).
- Peter Kornbluh, "Showdown in Santiago," *Foreign Affairs* (Sep/Oct 2014: 168-174).
- * Henry Kissinger, "National Security Decision Memorandum 93 (1970)," in Peter Kornbluh, *The Pinochet File: A Declassified Dossier on Atrocity and Accountability* (2004: 129-131).
- * Peter Kornbluh, "Kissinger Blocked Demarche on International Assassinations to Condor States," National Security Archive Electronic Briefing Book No. 312 (April 10, 2010).

Week 5 – Tues, Feb 10: Brazil **Mid-Term Exam Questions Passed Out**

- Skidmore and Smith, "Brazil: Development for Whom?" [The End of Empire to Military Rule] in *Modern Latin America* (2005: 144-71)
- Michael Conniff, "Introduction" and "Brazil's Populist Republic and Beyond" in Conniff, ed., *Populism in Latin America* (1999: 4-14; 43-62).
- Alfred Stepan, "Political Leadership and Regime Breakdown: Brazil," in *The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Latin America* (1978: 110-137).
- Scott Mainwaring, "A Legacy of Party Underdevelopment, 1822-1979," *Rethinking Party Systems in the Third Wave of Democratization: The Case of Brazil* (1999: 63-87).
- * Bolivar Lamounier, "Brazil: Toward Parliamentarism?" in Juan Linz and Arturo Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy* (1994: 253-71).

Regime Stability in One- and Two-Party Systems

Week 6 – Tues, Feb 17: Mexico and Venezuela

- Daniel Levy, Kathleen Bruhn, and Emilio Zebadúa, “Legacies of Undemocratic Development,” *Mexico: The Struggle for Democratic Development* (2001: 35-65).
- Judith Adler Hellman, “A Ruling Party is Formed,” *Mexico in Crisis* (1983: 33-57).
- Levy, et al, “The State and the Market,” *Mexico* (149-165).
- Steve Ellner, “The Heyday of Radical Populism in Venezuela and Its Aftermath,” in Coniff, ed., *Populism in Latin America* (1999: 117-37).
- Michael Coppedge, “Venezuela: Democratic Despite Presidentialism” in Linz and Valenzuela, eds., *The Failure of Presidential Democracy* (1994: 396-421).

Causes and Consequences of Revolutionary Movements

Week 7 – Tues, Feb 24: Theories of Revolution and the Case of Cuba *Mid-Term Exam Due*

- Che Guevara, “The Essence of Guerrilla Struggle,” *Che Guevara Reader* (1960/2003: 64-69).
- Timothy Wickham-Crowley, “Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements,” in Susan Eckstein, ed., *Power and Popular Protest* (2001: 132-81).
- * Peter Winn, “Making Revolution,” *Americas* (1999: 499-549).

Week 8 – Tues, Mar 3: Nicaragua and Persistent(?) Insurgency in Colombia

- James Mahoney, “Path-Dependent Explanations of Regime Change: Central America in Comparative Perspective,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* (Spring 2001: 111-141).
- Jeff Goodwin, “Between Success and Failure: Persistent Insurgencies,” in *No Other Way Out* (2001: 217-49).
- Vanessa Joan Gray, “The New Research on Civil Wars: Does It Help Us Understand the Colombian Conflict?” *Latin American Politics & Society* (Fall 2008: 63-91).
- Diogo Monteiro Dario, “Peace Talks Between the FARC and Santos Government in Colombia,” BRICS Policy Center, Policy Brief V. 4, N. 2 (Feb-March 2014: 4-14).

****No Class on Tues, Mar 10 – Spring Break****

Transitions to Democracy and New Issues, Actors, and Party Systems

Week 9 – Tues, Mar 17: Transitions to and Quality of New Democracies

- Karen Remmer, “The Process of Democratization in Latin America,” *Studies in Comparative International Development* (Winter 1992/1993: 3-24).
- Thomas D’Agostino, “Caribbean Politics,” in Hillman & D’Agostino, eds., *Understanding the Contemporary Caribbean* (2009: 87-130).
- Aníbal Pérez-Liñán. “A Two-Level Theory of Presidential Instability,” *Latin American Politics & Society* (Spring 2014: 34-54).
- José Antonio Lucero, “Indigenous Politics: Between Democracy and Danger,” in Kingstone and Yashar, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Latin American Politics* (2013: 285-301).
- * Jenny Pearce, “Perverse state formation and securitized democracy in Latin America,” *Democratization*, Special Issue on Democracy and Violence (April 2010, 286-306).
- * Guillermo O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy,” *Counterpoints* (1999: 159-173).

Week 10 – Tues, Mar 24:

- Kenneth Roberts, *Changing Course in Latin America: Party Systems in the Neoliberal Era*, Introduction and Part 1 (2015: 1-136).

Week 11 – Tues, Mar 31:

- Kenneth Roberts, *Changing Course in Latin America: Party Systems in the Neoliberal Era*, Part 2 (2015: 137-282).

Contemporary National Politics

Week 12 – Tues, Apr 7: Chile

- James Cypher, “Pinochet meets Polanyi? The curious case of the Chilean embrace of “free” market economics” *Journal of Economic Issues* (June 2004: 527-535).
- Gregory Weeks and Silvia Borzutzky, “Michelle Bachelet’s Government: The Paradoxes of a Chilean President,” *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 4:3 (2012: 97-121).
- Linda Stevenson, “The Bachelet Effect on Gender-Equity Policies,” *Latin American Perspectives* (July 2012: 129-144).
- Camila Jara, “Democratic Legitimacy under Strain? Declining Political Support and Mass Demonstrations in Chile,” *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* (Oct 2014: 25-50).
- Roland Benedikter, Katja Siepmann, and Miguel Zlosilo, “Chile: Country or Change? Backgrounds of Chilean Politics After the Elections,” *Harvard International Review* (Winter 2014: 63-68).
- * Juan Pablo Luna and Rodrigo Mardones, “Chile: Are the Parties Over?” *Journal of Democracy* (July 2010: 107-121).

Week 13 – Tues, Apr 14: Brazil

- Timothy Power, “Brazilian Democracy as a Late Bloomer: Reevaluating the Regime in the Cardoso-Lula Era,” *Latin American Research Review*, Special Issue (2010: 218-247).
- Benjamin Goldfrank, “The Left and Participatory Democracy: Brazil, Uruguay, and Venezuela,” in Steven Levitsky and Kenneth Roberts, eds., *The Resurgence of the Latin American Left* (2011, 162-183).
- Jan Hoffman French, “Rethinking Police Violence in Brazil: Unmasking the Public Secret of Race,” *Latin American Politics & Society* (Winter 2013: 161-181).
- Alfredo Saad-Filho, “Mass Protests under ‘Left Neoliberalism’: Brazil, June/July 2013,” *Critical Sociology* (September 2013: 657-669).
- * Benjamin Goldfrank and Brian Wampler, “From the Petista Way of Governing to the Brazilian Way: How the PT Changed,” *Revista Debates* (Jul-Dec 2008: 245-271).
- * Sabrina Fernandes, “Dilma Rousseff and the Challenge of Fighting Patriarchy Through Political Representation in Brazil,” *Journal of International Women’s Studies* (July 2012: 114-126).

Week 14 – Tues, Apr 21: Venezuela

- Steve Ellner, “Introduction: The Search for Explanations,” in Ellner and Hellinger, eds., *Venezuelan Politics in the Chávez Era* (2003: 7-26).
- Steve Ellner, “Hugo Chávez’s First Decade in Office: Breakthroughs and Shortcomings,” *Latin American Perspectives* (January 2010: 77-96).
- Miriam Kornblith, “Chavismo after Chávez?” *Journal of Democracy* (July 2013: 147-161).
- Armando Avellanada, “Venezuela is Buried Under Division and Violence,” *Caribbean Journal of International Relations & Diplomacy* (March 2014: 89-97).
- Barry Cannon, “As Clear as MUD: Characteristics, Objectives, and Strategies of the Opposition in Bolivarian Venezuela,” *Latin American Politics & Society* (Winter 2014: 49-70).
- * Kurt Weyland, “The Threat from the Populist Left,” *Journal of Democracy* (July 2013: 18-32).
- * Barry Cannon, “Class/Race Polarisation in Venezuela and the Electoral Success of Hugo Chávez: a break with the past or the song remains the same?” *Third World Quarterly*, 29:4 (2008: 731-748).
- * Sujatha Fernandes, “Barrio Women and Popular Politics in Chávez’s Venezuela,” *Latin American Politics & Society* (Winter 2008: 97-127).

Week 15 – Tues, Apr 28: Mexico (Professor in Brazil: move class to May 6?)

- David Shirk, “The Democratization of Mexican Politics” in Shirk, *Mexico’s New Politics: The PAN and Democratic Change* (2005: 15-48).
- Alberto Olvera, “The Elusive Democracy: Political Parties, Democratic Institutions, and Civil Society in Mexico,” *Latin American Research Review*, Special Issue (2010: 79-107).
- Gustavo Flores-Macías, “Mexico’s 2012 Elections: The Return of the PRI,” *Journal of Democracy* (January 2013: 128-141).
- Andreas Schedler, “The Criminal Subversion of Mexican Democracy,” *Journal of Democracy* (January 2014: 5-18).
- Jorge Castañeda, “NAFTA’s Mixed Record,” *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb 2014: 134-141).
- * José Fernández-Albertos and Víctor Lapuente, “Doomed to disagree? Party-voter discipline and policy gridlock under divided government,” *Party Politics* (Nov 2011: 801-822).

Tuesday, May 12: Final Exam or Research Paper Due by 4 p.m.

Please provide a hard copy and an electronic version via email.

Further Resources:

Journals: *Latin American Research Review*, *Latin American Politics and Society*, *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *Latin American Perspectives*, *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, *Comparative Politics*, *Comparative Political Studies*, *World Politics*, *Politics and Society*, *Journal of Democracy*

Websites:

<http://lanic.utexas.edu/>

(General site with hundreds of links)

<http://www.latinobarometro.org/>

(Survey research)

<http://www.georgetown.edu/pdba/>

(Elections, constitutions, bibliographies)

Primary Student Learning Outcomes:

By the end of the semester, students should have acquired knowledge and understanding of: key concepts, models, theories, and debates involved in the study of contemporary international relations and diplomacy; the interaction between politics and economics in the international system; a particular region of the world (Latin America and the Caribbean); and prevailing global issues. Students should have developed the skills to: analyze complex situations and synthesize information; and communicate effectively in oral and written forms. Students should be able to deploy a global perspective to: recognize and understand differences among a diversity of cultures and viewpoints; and interact effectively with people of other cultures, backgrounds, and viewpoints.