

## **POLITICAL SCIENCE 316: LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS**

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### **Course Description:<sup>1</sup>**

*As we approach the millennium's end, what future is in store for Latin American societies? Unprecedented levels of violence, poverty, discrimination, and exclusion would seem to indicate that the performance and indeed the very design of Latin America's 'new' democracies are far from satisfactory. And it is precisely over possible alternative blueprints for democracy that much of the political struggle is being waged in Latin America today.*

- Alvarez, Dagnino & Escobar, 1998, 1

This course examines a series of recent and profound shifts in Latin America towards political democracy, neoliberal economic models, and new kinds of social movements—developments that are a striking departure from a regional political landscape that several decades ago was generally characterized by some combination of authoritarianism, state-led development, and civil war. This course provides an introduction and overview to the dynamic processes of political, economic, and social change in Latin America through studying historical patterns and contemporary examples of change and continuity in these patterns.

The **first part** of the course is historical and conceptual. Students will gain an understanding of Latin America's history of colonialism and political intervention—and the legacies of these—as well as be introduced to several important features of historical and contemporary politics that are common to most countries in the region. The **second part** of the course examines a number of major political trends characterizing Latin America during the Cold War era, including authoritarian rule, revolutionary movements and governments, and civil war. Special attention will be paid to bureaucratic-authoritarian brands of dictatorship in the Southern Cone (Argentina, Brazil, and Chile) as well as experiences with dictatorship and revolutionary movements in Central America.

The **third and final part** of the course examines the more recent trends of democratization, liberalization, and decentralization in the region. It also explores crises of representation, extreme violence, and deep socio-economic inequalities that continue to plague the region and undermine democratization—even after the turn away from authoritarian forms of government. We will also pay attention to both institutional innovations from above and struggles for social justice and democracy from below as leaders and popular sectors attempt to deepen democracy and decrease inequality in the region.

## Required Texts:

- 1) Chasteen, John. (2006) *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*. New York: Norton.
- 2) Schneider, Cathy. (1995) *Shantytown Protest in Pinochet's Chile*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

The above required texts will be available for purchase at the UNCO Bookstore located on the first floor of the University Center (970-351-2135). Required texts will also be on reserve at the library (available for two hour check out) for the duration of the semester. **All required readings not contained in the above texts are available on Blackboard.**

Note: You will also be responsible for material contained in films, handouts, guest lectures, and other supplements to the readings.

## COURSE REQUIREMENTS – PLEASE READ CAREFULLY:

### Course Requirements:

1. **Attendance.** (10%) Attendance is mandatory and will be taken at the start of class (you run the risk of being marked absent if you arrive late). Missing more than 5 classes—i.e. almost two full weeks of class—will result in failing this course requirement. Because of this attendance policy, you do not need to email me if you miss class. *However, a written letter of explanation and in-person meeting with me during office hours is required if you miss five or more courses. Missing more than five classes will put you at risk for failing the course.*
2. **Preparation and Engagement.** (30%) This course component is based upon **A)** participation in class discussions, including your demonstrated thoughtfulness, respect for your peers, and evidence that you have completed the readings prior to coming to class (25%); **B)** performance on quizzes and participation exercises/assignments (25%); and **C)** leading class discussion (with a partner) on one occasion during the semester on that day's/week's required reading (50%). **Note:** Bringing the assigned readings with you to class with help you be engaged and participate during class. *Exercises and quizzes cannot be made up, nor are there late submissions accepted.*
3. **Midterm Exam\*.** (30%) To be taken **Friday, March 6.**
4. **Final exam.\*** (30%) To be submitted **Wednesday, May 6.**

\* There are no exam make-ups. Please note the date of class exams on your calendar and talk to me ASAP if you foresee a problem with an exam date. Dates of final exams are determined by the University and cannot be adjusted.

**Academic Integrity:** Any violation of academic integrity standards (plagiarism, etc.) will be addressed in accordance with University policy. See

[http://www.unco.edu/dos/pdf/StudentCodeofConduct.pdf#nameddest=SC\\_integrity](http://www.unco.edu/dos/pdf/StudentCodeofConduct.pdf#nameddest=SC_integrity).

**Technology Policies and Expectations:** It is expected that during our relatively short amount of time together each week in class you will be respectful of your instructor and peers. This is demonstrated by **not using headphones in class and keeping phones off (or silenced) and in your bag—not on your desk—for the entire class period.** If you prefer to take notes on a laptop or other device, please sit towards the side of the classroom so as not to distract your peers.

**Disability Accommodations:** Any student requesting disability accommodations for this class must inform the instructor to receive appropriate and timely accommodations for the semester. All accommodations will be given on a confidential basis. Students are encouraged to contact the Disability Support Services office on campus (970-351-2289) to receive certified documentation and an accommodation letter to present to the course instructor. If you are unsure if you qualify for accommodations, please contact the Disability Support Services office at the number above.

## **PART I: STUDYING LATIN AMERICA: BACKGROUND, CONCEPTS & APPROACHES**

### **Weeks 1-3: Legacies of Colonialism & the Politics of Underdevelopment**

<b>Monday, Jan. 12</b>	→ Course Introduction & Overview
<b>Wed, Jan. 14</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Skidmore et al., “Why Latin America?” in <i>Modern Latin America</i></li> <li>▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i>, “Introduction”</li> </ul>
<b>Friday, Jan. 16</b>	▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i> , Chapters 1-2
<b>Mon, Jan. 19</b>	<b>No Class – MLK Jr. Day</b>
<b>Wed, Jan. 21</b>	▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i> , Chapters 3-4
<b>Fri, Jan. 23</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i>, Chapter 5</li> <li>▪ Close, “Latin America’s Historic Power Elite,” in <i>Latin American Politics: An Introduction</i></li> </ul>
<b>Mon, Jan. 26</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Valenzuela and Valenzuela, “Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment,” <i>Comparative Politics</i> 10(4) (1978), pp. 535-557.</li> <li>▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i>, Chap. 6</li> </ul>
<b>Wed, Jan. 28</b>	▪ Smith, “The European Game” in <i>Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations</i> , pp. 13-40.

<b>Fri, Jan. 30</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i>, Chap. 7</li> <li>▪ Weyland, "Clarifying a Contested Concept." <i>Comparative Politics</i> 34(1) (2001), pp. 1-22</li> </ul>
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**PART II: LATIN AMERICA DURING THE COLD WAR: REVOLUTION, CIVIL WAR, AND AUTHORITARIANISM**

**Week 4: Revolutionary Movements and Governments**

<b>Mon, Feb. 2</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i>, Chap. 8</li> <li>▪ Petras, "Latin America: Thirty Years after Che," <i>Monthly Review</i> (October 1997)</li> </ul>
<b>Wed, Feb. 4</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Smith, "Crushing Enemies" in <i>Talons of the Eagle: Dynamics of U.S.-Latin American Relations</i> (2000), pp. 164-176.</li> </ul>
<b>Fri, Feb. 6</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i>, Chap. 9</li> </ul>

**Week 5: Case Study: Dynasty to Democracy in Nicaragua**

<b>Mon, Feb. 9</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Kinzer, <i>Blood of Brothers: Life and War in Nicaragua</i>, pp. 13-55</li> </ul>
<b>Wed, Feb. 11</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Kinzer, <i>Blood of Brothers: Life and War in Nicaragua</i>, pp. 56-85</li> </ul>
<b>Fri, Feb. 13</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Smith, "Low-Intensity Warfare" in Christian Smith, in <i>Resisting Reagan: The U.S.-Central America Peace Movement</i>, pp. 33-56.</li> </ul>

**Weeks 6-8: The Southern Cone and Bureaucratic Authoritarianism (BA)**

<b>Mon, Feb. 16</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Collier, "The New Authoritarianism in LA" in Collier, ed. <i>The New Authoritarianism in Latin America</i></li> </ul>
<b>Wed, Feb. 18</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Stepan, "The New Professionalism of Internal Warfare and Military Role Expansion" in Stepan, ed., <i>Authoritarian Brazil</i>, pp. 47-65.</li> </ul>
<b>Fri, Feb. 20</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Arditta, "Not Just One More Coup" in Arditta, <i>Searching for Life: the Grandmothers of the Plaza de Mayo and the Disappeared Children of Argentina</i></li> <li>▪ Verbitsky, <i>The Flight: Confessions of an Argentine Dirty Warrior</i>, pp. 3-47</li> </ul> <p style="margin-left: 20px;">* <i>Student-led discussion</i></p>

<b>Mon, Feb. 23</b>	▪ Schneider, <i>Shantytown Protest</i> , Chapters 1-2
<b>Wed, Feb. 25</b>	▪ Schneider, <i>Shantytown Protest</i> , Chapters 3
<b>Fri, Feb. 27</b>	▪ Schneider, <i>Shantytown Protest</i> , Chapter 4  * <i>Student-led discussion</i>
<b>Mon, March 2</b>	▪ Schneider, <i>Shantytown Protest</i> , Chapter 5
<b>Wed, March 4</b>	▪ Schneider, <i>Shantytown Protest</i> , Chapter 6
<b>Fri, March 6</b>	<b>Midterm Exam</b>

### **PART III: CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA: TRENDS, ISSUES, AND PROBLEMS**

#### **Weeks 9-10: Three Transitions: Democratization, Liberalization, and Decentralization**

<b>Mon, March 9</b>	▪ O'Donnell, "Transitions to Democracy: Some Navigational Instruments" in Pastor, ed., <i>Democracy in the Americas: Stopping the Pendulum</i> , pp. 62-75.
<b>Wed, March 11</b>	▪ Chasteen, <i>Born in Blood and Fire</i> , Chap. 10
<b>Fri, March 13</b>	▪ Hagopian, "Democracy by Undemocratic Means?" <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 23(2) (1990), pp. 147-170.  * <i>Student-led discussion</i>
<b>March 14-22</b>	<b>No Class – Spring Break</b>
<b>Mon, March 23</b>	▪ Weinberg, et al., <i>All of Us</i> , Summer 1994.
<b>Wed, March 25</b>	▪ Collier & Collier, "The Zapatista Rebellion in the Context of Globalization"
<b>Fri, March 27</b>	▪ Epstein, "The Piquetero Movement in Greater Buenos Aires: Political Protests by the Unemployed Poor during the Crisis" in <i>Broken Promises? The Argentine Crisis and Argentine Democracy</i> (2006).  * <i>Student-led discussion</i>

## Week 11: The “Pink Tide”: Latin America’s Turn to the Left

<b>Mon, March 30</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Beasley-Murray et al, "Latin America's Left Turns: an Introduction," <i>Third World Quarterly</i>, 30(2), pp. 319-330.</li> <li>▪ Casteñeda, “Latin America’s Left Turn,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 85:3 (2006), pp. 28-43.</li> </ul>
<b>Wed, April 1</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Rodríguez, “An Empty Revolution: the Unfulfilled Promises of Hugo Chávez.” <i>Foreign Affairs</i>, March/April 2008.</li> <li>▪ Weisbrot, “An Empty Research Agenda: The Creation of Myths About Contemporary Venezuela,” Center for Economic and Policy Research, March 2008.</li> </ul>
<b>Fri, April 3</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Pearce, "Chavez in the Americas: Increasing Autonomy in Latin America &amp; the Caribbean,” <i>NACLA Report on the Americas</i> (2013).</li> </ul> <p>* <i>Student-led discussion</i></p>

## Week 12: Participatory Democracy

<b>Mon, April 6</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Cameron, et al, "Voice and Consequence: Direct Participation and Democracy in Latin America" in Cameron et al. <i>New Institutions for Participatory Democracy in Latin America: Voice and Consequence</i> (2013).</li> </ul>
<b>Wed, April 8</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Cabannes, “Participatory Budgeting: A Significant Contribution to Participatory Democracy,” <i>Environment and Urbanization</i> 16:1 (2004), pp. 27-46.</li> </ul>
<b>Fri, April 10</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Abers, "Who Participates? Inequality and the Participatory Budget Process," in <i>Inventing Local Democracy: Grassroots Politics in Brazil</i> (Lynne Rienner, 2000).</li> </ul> <p>* <i>Student-led discussion</i></p>

## Weeks 13-14: Violence and Crime: Gangs, “Drug Wars,” and Legacies of Authoritarian Rule

<b>Mon, April 13</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Pereira and Ungar, “The Persistence of Mano Dura: Authoritarian Legacies and Policing in the Southern Cone” in <i>Authoritarian Legacies and Democracy in Latin America and Southern Europe. Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame</i> (2004), pp. 263-294.</li> </ul>
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<b>Wed, April 15</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Freeman, “State of Siege: Drug-Related Violence and Corruption in Mexico,” WOLA Special Report (2006)</li> </ul>
<b>Fri, April 17</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Arana, “How the Street Gangs Took Central America,” <i>Foreign Affairs</i> 84(3) (2005), pp. 98-110.</li> <li>* <i>Student-led discussion</i></li> </ul>
<b>Mon, April 20</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Pena &amp; Gibb, "El Salvador's Gang Truce: A Historic Opportunity,” <i>NACLA Report on the Americas</i> (2013).</li> </ul>
<b>Wed, April 22</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Sanford, “From Genocide to Femicide: Impunity and Human Rights in Twenty-First Century Guatemala,” <i>Journal of Human Rights</i> (2008)</li> <li>* <i>Student-led discussion</i></li> </ul>
<b><u>Week 15: Indigenous Movements and Conservative Responses</u></b>	
<b>Fri, April 24</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Yashar, “Democracy, Indigenous Movements, and the Postliberal Challenge in Latin America,” <i>World Politics</i> 52(1), 1999, pp. 76-104.</li> </ul>
<b>Mon, April 27</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Postero, “Morales’s MAS Government: Building Indigenous Popular Hegemony in Bolivia,” <i>Latin American Perspectives</i> 37:3 (2010), pp. 18-34.</li> </ul>
<b>Wed, April 29</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Eaton, “Backlash in Bolivia: Regional Autonomy as a Reaction against Indigenous Mobilization,” <i>Politics &amp; Society</i> 35:1 (2007), pp. 71-102.</li> <li>* <i>Student-led discussion</i></li> </ul>
<b>Fri, May 1</b>	<b>Course conclusion</b>
<b>Final Exam:</b>	<b>Wednesday, May 6</b>

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<sup>i</sup> Some text in this syllabus has been borrowed and modified from Professor Kent Eaton's Latin American Politics syllabus (UC Santa Cruz, Spring 2009).