

**Political Science/International Relations 261(W): Latin American Politics**  
**University of Rochester**  
**Tuesday and Thursday, 11:05 AM – 12:20 PM**  
**Fall 2015**  
**Bausch & Lomb Hall 269**

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Office hours: Tuesday 2pm-4pm, or by prior appointment

Since the end of the Cold War, Latin America has undergone periods of both economic downturn and sustained growth. The region has seen more stable democratic regimes, however, than at any time in its history. The course begins with a brief overview of twentieth-century Latin American history. We will investigate the sources of democratic stability, whether a supposed “Pink Tide” has occurred, and remaining problems for democratic governance. We will also examine the relationship between contemporary politics and economic development and crisis, and investigate whether national economies have moved beyond chronic boom-and-bust economic cycles. Class will be a structured mix of lectures and in-class participatory exercises.

The course is highly participatory. Tuesday courses will provide lectures that outline topics and theories for the week. Thursday courses will mostly provide activities, simulations, and small group interactions that further explore the weekly theme and topic. Absences will be excused only for medical emergencies and family or personal tragedies (see attendance policy below).

**Course Materials:**

All course materials will be posted onto Blackboard, or available through the University of Rochester Library website. Starred readings are available through the library website. Books assigned for the course should be purchased.

I ask students to buy one book: Gordon Harvey’s *Writing With Sources: A Guide for Students* (Cambridge, MA: Hackett Publishing Co., 2008 – older versions okay). Used copies are acceptable. The book provides guidance and general outlines for better writing and citations. Points will be deducted for essays that do not conform to guidelines set in *Writing with Sources*.

## **Course Requirements:**

The class is designed to expose students to major works in political science on Latin American politics, from both historical and contemporary perspectives. The course covers the return to democracy in the late twentieth century, and contemporary issues in politics and governance in countries of the region. Students are given the opportunity in writing assignments to explore issues or particular countries of their choice with more depth.

### **For PSC/IR 261:**

Students are expected to attend class regularly, do the assigned reading, complete all assignments, and participate in class discussions and activities. The assignments comprise in-class participation (25%), a thirty minute in-class midterm at the beginning of class on **October 15th** (10%), a five-page paper due at the beginning of class on **November 12th** (20%), a five-page paper due by email on **December 15th by 3:30 PM** (20%), and a brief (sixty minutes) final exam on **Saturday, December 19, 2015 at 4:00 PM** (20%). Please consult *Writing with Sources* for proper indentation, formatting, and citation procedures. Students will also prepare and present a reading for fellow students (5%). A sign-up sheet for the reading presentations will circulate in the first weeks of the course.

### **For PSC/IR 261W:**

Students are expected to attend class regularly, do the assigned reading, complete all assignments, and participate in class discussions and activities. The assignments comprise in-class participation (25%), a thirty minute in-class midterm at the beginning of class on **October 15th** (10%), a five-page paper due at the beginning of class on **November 12th** (10%), a twelve to fifteen page independent research paper due in paper copy on **December 15th by 3:30 PM** (30%), and a brief (sixty minutes) final exam on **Saturday, December 19, 2015 at 4:00 PM** (10%). Important: Students must meet with the instructor in office hours or by prior arrangement before **October 31st** to discuss their research project. Please consult *Writing with Sources* for proper indentation, formatting, and citation procedures.

Students will also prepare and present a reading for fellow students (5%). A sign-up sheet for the reading presentations will circulate in the first weeks of the course.

*The papers and the oral presentation are an opportunity for students to do outside research on a country or region that interests them.* Independent research should include at least three peer-reviewed academic sources, and at least five sources in total.

### **Written work standards:**

All written work should be in Times New Roman font, size 12, double-spaced, with 1" margins on all sides of the paper. In-text citations are mandatory, in either Chicago or MLA style. Five-page papers should be between 4.5 and 5.5 pages; points will be deducted for papers that are too

short or too long. The bibliography at the end does not contribute to the page count. Place your name and paper title in a Header at the top of the page **only**.

### **Late work:**

Assignments will be deducted 1/3 of a letter grade (from A to A-, B+ to B, etc.) for each 24 hours or fraction thereof that elapses between the due date and the submission of the assignment.

### **Grading scale**

A ( $93.0\% < x$ )  
A- ( $90.0\% < x \leq 93.0\%$ )  
B+ ( $87.0\% < x \leq 90.0\%$ )  
B ( $84.0\% < x \leq 87.0\%$ )  
B- ( $80.0\% < x \leq 84.0\%$ )  
C+ ( $77.0\% < x \leq 80.0\%$ )  
C ( $74.0\% < x \leq 77.0\%$ )  
C- ( $70.0\% < x \leq 74.0\%$ )  
Non-passing grades ( $x \leq 70.0\%$ )

### **In-class participation:**

We will conduct class discussions in seminar format, with extra activities and breakout sessions for enrichment. Two or three students will present a reading each week, in order to provide background for that week's topic of discussion. Each student should be prepared to answer questions about the reading and to provide a short (two or three sentence) summary of the authors' arguments. In presenting the reading, show enthusiasm and energy; inform and teach your peers instead of simply reading an assignment.

### **Re-grades:**

Students should feel free to contact me about re-grades due to arithmetic errors. If students feel that grades were incorrectly given, they can re-submit the assignment to me with a memorandum of at least 250 words explaining why they thought they deserve a different grade. Requests for re-grades should be made within 72 hours after the results have been passed back. I reserve the right on re-grades to lower, raise, or maintain any grade.

### **Studying and work outside of class:**

You are encouraged to discuss class readings and your research project with classmates for the examinations, and send me any questions. You may even trade drafts and outlines with your peers. All final work, however, should be your own. You will be held responsible for errors in citation and attribution. The College standards on Academic Honesty will be strictly enforced.

### **Accommodations:**

If you are entitled to accommodations, please coordinate these with the Center for Excellence in Teaching and Learning early in the semester. Their information and policies can be found at <http://www.rochester.edu/college/cetl/undergraduate/index.html> **I cannot make these arrangements for you; you must contact CETL (formerly LAS) yourself.**

There will be no make-up work for students who fail to turn in final projects on time or miss classes. Be sure to contact your peers for class notes. I am happy to discuss the material with you, but I do not offer individual recap sessions.

### **Academic Honesty:**

Students and faculty at the University must agree to adhere to high standards of academic honesty in all of the work that we do. As freshmen, students read and sign an academic honesty policy statement to indicate that they understand the general principles upon which our work is based. The College Board on Academic Honesty website gives further information on our policies and procedures: [www.rochester.edu/college/honesty](http://www.rochester.edu/college/honesty)

In this course the following additional requirements are in effect:

You are encouraged to discuss course readings and assignments with your fellow students. However, all written work must be done independently and not in collaboration with another. In order to make appropriate help available for your essays, I encourage you to consult with me and with the College Writing Center. The term research paper will require citations and “Works Cited” following the MLA format.

Be sure to cite all your sources. When in doubt, add a footnote or endnote. In-text citations are acceptable. All reports and independent papers should contain a bibliography at the end. Wikipedia is not considered a reliable source of information for this class, and should never be cited as an authority.

Any instance of plagiarism will result in zero credit for the assignment and referral of the student(s) involved to the College Board on Academic Honesty.

### **Letters of Recommendation:**

I am happy to write letters of recommendation for graduate school and for enrichment programs. I need **at least** two weeks’ advance notice to prepare a letter, and I may ask for a meeting or conversation to further discuss your interests and achievements. Requests made within fourteen days of the deadline will be denied.

### **Course Outline**

**Students should come to class prepared to discuss all readings assigned for that week and for prior weeks.**

**I reserve the right to drop or replace readings to better direct learning and sharpen the focus of the course. All readings are required.**

1. September 1, 2015

Introduction: Why Study Latin American Politics?

Skidmore, Thomas E. and Peter H. Smith. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edition. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.

I. History and Background

2. September 3

NO CLASS – AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION CONFERENCE

3. September 8

Twentieth Century History

Skidmore, Thomas E. and Peter H. Smith. 2010. *Modern Latin America*. 7<sup>th</sup> Edition. New York: Oxford University Press. Chapters 12 and 13.

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

4. September 10

Patterns of Uneven State Development

Centeno, Miguel Ángel. 2002. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. University Park, PA: Penn. State Press. Chapter 1: The Latin American Puzzle.

Yashar, Deborah. 1997. *Demanding Democracy: Reform and Reaction in Costa Rica and Guatemala*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Chapters 1, 2. \*

5. September 15

Twentieth Century Politics

Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. 1991. *Shaping the Political Arena: Critical Junctures, the Labor Movement, and Regime Dynamics in Latin America*. South Bend, IN: Univ of Notre Dame Press. Selected pages.

6. September 17

Twentieth Century Politics: Coups and Authoritarian Regimes

Bermeo, Nancy. 2003. "The Tragedy of Democracy in Chile," in *Ordinary People in Extraordinary Times*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Univ. Press.

Collier, David. 1979. "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model," in David Collier, ed. *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

7. September 22  
Coups and Civil Wars

Sánchez, Gonzalo. 1985. "La Violencia in Colombia: New Research, New Questions," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65(4): 789-807.\*

Mahoney, James. 2001. "Path-Dependent Explanations of Regime Change: Central America in Comparative Perspective," *Studies in Comparative International Development* 36(1): 111-141.\*

8. September 24  
Review Day

## II. The Consolidation of Democracy After 1982

9. September 29  
The return to democracy I – democratic transitions

O'Donnell, Guillermo and Philippe C. Schmitter. 1986. *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusions about Uncertain Democracies*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press. pp. 3-47.

Viola, Eduardo and Scott Mainwaring. 1984. "Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s," Kellogg Institute Working Paper #21, July.\*

10. October 1  
The return to democracy II - regimes

Collier, David and Steven Levitsky. 1997. "Democracy with Adjectives: Conceptual Innovation in Comparative Research," *World Politics* 49(3): 430-451.\*

Schedler, Andreas. 1998. "What is Democratic Consolidation?" *Journal of Democracy* 9(2): 91-107.\*

11. October 6 – NO CLASS: FALL BREAK

12. October 8  
The return to democracy III - discussion

Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 23(1): 1-21.\*

13. October 13

Issues in democratic quality: Civil Society

Booth, John A. and Patricia Bayer Richard. 2009. "Civil Society, Political Capital, and Democratization in Central America," *The Journal of Politics* 60(3): 780-800.\*

Clark, John. 1995. "The State, Popular Participation, and the Voluntary Sector," *World Development* 23(4): 593-601.\*

14. October 15

Issues in democratic quality: Civil Society

**In-class midterm examination (30 min)**

Fox, Jonathan and Luis Hernández. 1992. "Mexico's Difficult Democracy: Grassroots Movements, NGOs, and Local Government," *Alternatives* 17(2): 165-208.\*

Smulovitz, Catalina and Enrique Peruzzotti. 2000. "Societal Accountability in Latin America," *Journal of Democracy* 11(4): 147-158.\*

15. October 20

Issues in democratic quality: Interest Representation

Kitschelt, Herbert, Kirk Hawkins, Juan Pablo Luna, Guillermo Rosas, and Elizabeth J. Zechmeister. 2010. *Latin American Party Systems*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1: Patterns of Programmatic Party Competition in Latin America.

Jones, Mark P. and Scott Mainwaring. 2003. "The Nationalization of Parties and Party Systems: An Empirical Measure and an Application to the Americas," *Party Politics* 9(2): 139-166.\*

16. October 22

Issues in democratic quality: Interest Representation

Auyero, Javier. 2000. "The Logic of Clientelism in Argentina: An Ethnographic Account," *Latin American Research Review* 35(3): 55-81.\*

Levitsky, Steven. 2007. "From Populism to Clientelism? The Transformation of Labor-Based Party Linkages in Latin America," in Herbert Kitschelt and Steven I. Wilkinson, eds. *Patrons, Clients, and Policies*. New York: Cambridge University Press. pp. 206-226.

17. October 27

Issues in democratic governance: Violence

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1993. "On the State, Democratization, and Some Conceptual Problems (A Latin American View with Glances at Some Post-Communist Countries)," South Bend, IN: Kellogg Institute Working Paper #192, April.\*

Bejarano, Ana Maria and Eduardo Pizarro Leongómez. 2002. "From 'Restricted' to 'Beseiged': The Chnging Nature of the Limits to Democracy in Colombia," South Bend, IN: Kellogg Institute Working Paper #296, April.\*

19. October 29

Issues in democratic governance: Violence

Pearce, Jenny. 1998. "From Civil War to 'Civil Society': Has the End of the Cold War Brought Peace to Central America?" *International Affairs* 74(3): 587-615.\*

Call, Charles T. 2002. "War Transitions and the New Civilian Security in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 35(1): 1-20.\*

20. November 3

Issues in democratic governance: Participation

Van Cott, Donna Lee. 2007. "Latin America's Indigenous Peoples," *Journal of Democracy* 18(4): 127-142\*

Yashar, Deborah. 1998. "Contesting Citizenship: Indigenous Movements and Democracy in Latin America," *Comparative Politics* 31(1): 23-42.\*

November 5

Review of democratic governance

### III. Contemporary Issues

November 10

New leftist governments

Seawright, Jason. 2012. *Party-System Collapse: The Roots of Crisis in Peru and Venezuela*. Stanford, CA: Stanford Univ. Press. Ch. 1.

Hawkins, Kirk. 2010. *Venezuela's Chavismo and Populism in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Ch. 2.

November 12

### **First five-page paper due**

Varieties of new leftist governments

Handlin, Samuel. 2013. "Social Protection and the Politicization of Class Cleavages During Latin America's Left Turn," *Comparative Political Studies* 46(12): 1582-1609.\*



Kingstone, Peter and Aldo Ponce. 2010. "From Cardoso to Lula: The Triumph of Pragmatism in Brazil," in Kurt Weyland, Raúl Madrid, and Wendy Hunter, eds., *Leftist Governments in Latin America: Successes and Shortcomings*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

November 17

Gangs and violence

Bailey, John and Matthew Taylor. 2009. "Evade, Corrupt, or Confront? Organized Crime and the State in Brazil and Mexico," *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 1(2): 3-29.\*

Astorga, Luis and David Shirk. 2010. "Drug Trafficking Organizations and Counter-Drug Strategies in the U.S.-Mexican Context," in Eric Olson, David Shirk, and Andrew Selee, eds. *Shared Responsibility: U.S.-Mexico Policy Options for Confronting Organized Crime*. Washington, DC and San Diego, CA: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars and Transborder Institute, University of San Diego.\*

November 19

Gangs and violence

Cruz, José Miguel. 2011. "Criminal Violence and Democratization in Central America: The Survival of the Violent State," *Latin American Politics and Society* 53(4): 1-33.\*

Wolf, Sonja. 2012. "Mara Salvatrucha: The Most Dangerous Street Gang in the Americas?" *Latin American Politics and Society* 54(1): 65-99.\*

November 24 – NO CLASS

November 26 – NO CLASS (Thanksgiving Day)

December 1

Migration within and out of Latin America

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

Booth, John A., Christine Wade, and Thomas Walker. 2014. *Understanding Central America: Global Forces, Rebellion, and Change*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Chapters 10 and 11.\*

December 3

Orozco, Manuel. 2008. "Globalization and Migration: The Impact of Family Remittances in Latin America," *Latin American Politics and Society* 44(2): 41-66.\*

Adida, Claire and Desha Girod. 2010. "Do Migrants Improve Their Hometowns? Remittances and Access to Public Services in Mexico, 1995-2000," *Comparative Political Studies* 44(1): 3-27.\*

December 8

Commodities and Economic Diversification

Schrank, Andrew and Marcus Kurtz. 2005. "Credit Where Credit is Due: Open Economy Industrial Policy and Export Diversification in Latin America and the Caribbean," *Politics and Society* 33(4): 671-702.\*

Martínez Franzoni, Juliana and Diego Sánchez-Ancochea. 2014. "The Double Change of Market and Social Incorporation: Progress and Bottlenecks in Latin America," *Development Policy Review* 32(3): 275-298.

December 10

China and Latin America

Jenkins, Rhys, Enrique Dussel Peters, and Mauricio Mesquita Moreira. 2008. "The Impact of China on Latin America and the Caribbean," *World Development* 36(2): 235-253.\*

Gallagher, Kevin P. and Roberto Porzecanski. 2008. "China Matters: China's Economic Impact in Latin America," *Latin American Research Review* 43(1): 185-200.\*

**Final paper due by 3:30 PM on December 15, 2015 in my office, 307 Harkness, my faculty mailbox, or a box outside my office on the third floor of Harkness Hall.**

**Final (sixty-minute) examination on December 19<sup>th</sup> at 4:00 PM.**

**Grading rubric for weekly participation grades**

	A (Above Standards)	B (Meets Standards)	C (Approaching Standards)	D (Below Standards)	E (No credit)
	100%	90%	80%	70%	0%
Reading (50 points)	Student has carefully read and understood the readings as evidenced by familiarity with main ideas, supporting evidence and secondary points. Comes to class prepared with questions and critiques of the readings.	Student has read and understood the readings as evidenced by grasp of the main ideas and evidence. Comes prepared with questions and critiques of the readings.	Student has read the material, but comments often indicate that he/she misunderstood or forgot many points or has not thought about questions or critiques of the readings.	Student comes to class unprepared, as indicated by unwillingness or inability to answer basic questions or contribute to discussion.	Non-attendance
Listening (50 points)	Always attends to what others say as evidenced by regularly building on, clarifying, or responding to their comments.	Generally attends to what others say as evidenced by periodically building on, clarifying, or responding to their comments.	Does not regularly listen well as indicated by the repetition of comments or questions presented earlier, or frequent non sequiturs.	Behavior frequently reflects a failure to listen or attend to the discussion as indicated by repetition of comments and questions, non sequiturs, off-task activities.	Non-attendance

**Grading rubric for final presentations, April 21 and April 28**

	A (Above Standards)	B (Meets Standards)	C (Approaching Standards)	D (Below Standards)
	100%	90%	80%	70%
Completeness (10 points)	All parts of the assignment are addressed.	A minor part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the speaker is addressing it.	A major part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the speaker is addressing it.	Two or more major parts of the assignment are unaddressed or it is unclear how the speaker is addressing them.
Clarity (10 points)	Ideas are provided in a logical order that makes it easy to follow the speaker's train of thought.	Ideas are provided in a fairly logical order that makes it reasonably easy to follow the speaker's train of thought.	A few ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the presentation a little confusing.	Many ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the presentation confusing.
Point of view (30 points)	The presentation has an argument and a thorough discussion of accurate, relevant evidence and examples bolstering that argument.	The presentation has an argument. There is discussion of accurate, relevant evidence and examples bolstering that argument but key evidence is missing or inaccurate.	An argument and at least one piece of accurate, relevant evidence is offered.	There is no argument in the presentation or the evidence and examples are inaccurate, vague and/or irrelevant and/or are not explained.
Creativity and energy (40 points)	The presentation engages the audience and highlights all important facts and ideas in a memorable manner.	The presentation mostly engages the audience and highlights many important facts and ideas in a memorable manner.	The presentation does not engage the audience, although it does present information.	The presentation is unengaging and uninformative.
Q&A (10 points)	Provides thoughtful answers to audience questions.			Provides inadequate answers to audience questions.

## Grading rubric for five-page papers

	A (Above Standards)	B (Meets Standards)	C (Approaching Standards)	D (Below Standards)
	100%	90%	80%	70%
<b>Completeness (25 points)</b>	All parts of the assignment are addressed	A minor part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing it.	A major part of the assignment is unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing it.	Two or more major parts of the assignment are unaddressed or it is unclear how the author is addressing them.
<b>Clarity (25 points)</b>	Ideas are provided in a logical and organized order that makes it easy to follow the author's argument and thoughts. The author provides guidance to readers. Grammatical and spelling errors are minimal.	Ideas are provided in a fairly logical order that makes it not too hard for readers to follow the argument. Grammatical and spelling errors occur.	Ideas are not presented in an organized or logical order, making the argument difficult to follow. Grammatical and spelling errors occur.	Many ideas are not in an expected or logical order, making the essay confusing. Grammatical and spelling errors are frequent.
<b>Support (20 points)</b>	Every point in the argument is supported with valid inferences from evidence or logic.	Minor points are unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.	At least one major point is unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.	Many major points are unsupported or supported with invalid or tendentious inferences from evidence or logic.
<b>Research (20 points)</b>	More than five sources, of which at least three are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Sources include both general background sources and specialized sources. Politicized or popular sources are acknowledged as such when used.	Five sources, of which at least two are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Politicized or popular sources are mostly acknowledged as such when used.	Five sources, of which at least two are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books, are used. Politicized or popular sources are used without acknowledgement.	Fewer than five sources are used, or fewer than two of the minimum five sources used are peer-reviewed journal articles or scholarly books.
<b>Source Documentation (10 points)</b>	Correct attributions are provided for all quotations, esoteric facts, and original research.			Correct attributions are not provided for quotations, non-trivial facts, and original research.