

# STATE AND SOCIETY IN LATIN AMERICA (POL-261-01) FALL 2019

Classroom: HSSC N1112  
Time: Monday, Wednesday, Friday, 10:00am – 11:20am

**Professor Nicholas Barnes**

E-mail: [barnesni@grinnell.edu](mailto:barnesni@grinnell.edu)

Office: HSSC S3334

Office Hours: Mondays, 4:00pm – 6:00pm, Fridays, 12:00pm – 2:00pm

Sign up for office hours here: <https://nicholasbarnes.youcanbook.me>

## COURSE OVERVIEW

This course offers a broad overview of the major political forces and events that have shaped the Latin American region. The course is divided into two parts. Part I is historical. It traces the development of the region from pre-Hispanic indigenous civilizations through the period of colonization by European empires to the struggle for independence. We then delve into the turbulent politics of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century by focusing on the various political trajectories of Latin American countries. Specifically, we look at the Mexican and Cuban revolutions, the break out of civil war in Peru and Colombia, and the installation of several authoritarian regimes in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. The course then traces the wave of democratic transitions that would eventually include all but one of Latin America's countries. In doing so, we explore the causes and consequences of this shift in governance, the neoliberal policies that characterized many of these new democracies, and the subsequent Pink Tide or the move toward more Leftist policies in the early 2000s. Part II is thematic. We will address, in turn, five challenges facing contemporary Latin American countries: democratic erosion, inequality, crime and violence, racial/ethnic marginalization, and women's rights.

### ***Course Goals***

By the end of the semester, students should be able to:

1. Describe the major trends of Latin American political history.
2. Analyze the region's shifting modes of governance within existing theoretical paradigms.
3. Write and speak compellingly about contemporary Latin American politics.
4. Develop in-depth knowledge about at least one Latin American country.
5. Begin a 300-level research project.

### ***Prerequisites***

The only requirement is POL-101, *Introduction to Political Science*.

## COURSE COMPONENTS AND EVALUATION

### ***Attendance and Participation***

Attendance is required and participation is expected. I expect everyone to come to class having read *all* the required readings, be prepared to share their opinions, and seeking to actively engage with your fellow students. The in-class portion of the course is essential to understanding many of the more complex and nuanced arguments from the readings and is an opportunity for students

to formulate and present some of their own ideas regarding the material. Also, be prepared to be involved in small group discussions as well as other active and dialogue-based learning.

A few basic ground rules:

- It is essential that the classroom remain a safe zone for all students regardless of sex, age, race, ethnic background, religion, sexual and political orientation, ability or disability.
- I expect you all to promote an active learning environment in the classroom by supporting each other intellectually, asking questions (of me and your fellow students), and by being respectful and patient.
- When you speak, remember that you are in dialogue not just with me, but with the entire class. Speak and listen to your classmates.

Attendance and participation will be 25% of your final grade. To get all 25% you must attend all meetings of the course and fully participate in discussion and group activities. The bar for participation is not high—I should observe that you are fully engaged with the material and making comments and/or questions during most of the scheduled classes.

**UNEXCUSED ABSENCES:** Each student is allowed one unexcused absence per semester. Each further unexcused absence will result in a penalty of 2% from the course grade. Any more than four unexcused absences will result in a zero participation grade. If you feel a future or ongoing absence ought to be excused, you must communicate that to me at least 24 hours before the class meets. Athletes and students with accommodations must also bring me documentation in advance of the absence. Late notification is appreciated but will not be accommodated.

### ***Quizzes***

Over the course of the semester, there will be four in-class quizzes. They will take no more than 3 minutes and will be completed at the beginning of class. If you are late to any of these classes, you will receive a 0 for that quiz. You can take the quizzes on your cell phones or your computers through PWeb. Download the app and have it open and ready for the first quiz. The questions are designed to test your basic knowledge of the history and political and physical geography of the region.

*September 6: Identify geographical features on a map.*

*September 13: Identify the major pre-colonial civilizations on a map.*

*September 20: Identify states on a map.*

*September 27: Match the capital cities with countries.*

### ***Assignments***

There will be three short written assignments over the course of the semester. They will give you the opportunity to demonstrate your knowledge of the readings and to delve more deeply into a case of your choosing. Assignments are due before the beginning of class on the dates listed below. Due dates can also be found in the course schedule. I will grade these assignments anonymously so please do not put your name on any of these documents. More information for each assignment will be available on PWeb.

Assignment #1 (due 9/23): Pick a country within Latin America and describe the major actors during independence and why they wanted/did not want independence? What were the major political tensions during this process? Worth 5%. (700 words)

Assignment #2 (due 10/14): Pick a Latin American country. Apply Karl's path dependent framework to analyze the process of democratization in your country. First, briefly outline the social and economic circumstances preceding democratization, then describe the strategic interactions between different social and political classes during transition. What kind of democracy resulted? Next, briefly bring us up to the present. Has democracy survived? Have there been significant changes to democracy since the transition? How well does Karl's framework hold up? What does she get right/miss? Worth 5%. (700 words)

Assignment #3 (due 11/18): Again using your country case from the previous assignment, you will do one visualization project on the problems confronting the citizens of your country. Students will use data from the AmericasBarometer survey. This assignment emphasizes a visualized argument, so you will write no more than 500 words to accompany several graphs and/or maps. You will receive training in Tableau, a software program for visualizing data. Worth 10%. (500 words and 4 graphs/maps)

**EXTENSIONS:** You have one 24 hour extension which you may use on any of the written assignments, except the final paper. You do not need advanced permission to use your extension, but it is your responsibility to tell me if you wish to apply the extension to a graded assignment. Further extensions will not be granted. Your extension will be exhausted in its entirety even if you did not use all 24 hours. Once your extension has been exhausted, any further late submissions will result in a penalty of 0.5% of the course grade for every hour the paper is late.

### ***Research Project***

Students will complete a series of assignments which will help them design and write a final research project. From the country case students have been researching all semester, they will pick a contemporary social movement which has attempted to address one of the country's persistent problems. Each student will develop their own original research question and argument but the papers should include at least a brief description of the origins of the movement and its strategies for creating change. The paper must also assess the success or failure of the movement to achieve its goals. Students will complete each of the following:

- A paper proposal which outlines the topic, a research question, and a list of 10 possible sources. They should be academic articles and/or books. Due 11/27. (Worth 5%)
- A 12-minute in-class presentation in which students present the main findings of their research. (Worth 10%)
- A 2,000 word research paper. First draft due on 12/13. Final draft due on 12/17. (Worth 30%)

### ***Evaluation***

#### *Grade Breakdown:*

Attendance and Participation	25%
Quizzes	10% (2.5% for 4 quizzes)
Assignments	20%
Research Proposal	5%
In-class Presentation	10%
Final Paper	30%

## **CLASS POLICIES**

### ***Technology***

The use of laptops, cell phones, and other electronic devices will not be allowed during class time *except* during quizzes. If you have an overriding reason why you need to be able to use these technologies during class, come talk to me (see also the Accommodations section below).

### ***Communication***

How should you communicate with me? The best way for me to answer your questions and provide you guidance in this course is in my OFFICE HOURS. Please come to them! You can sign up here: <https://nicholasbarnes.youcanbook.me>. For administrative concerns and simple clarifying questions, you can also e-mail me. I will try to respond to any e-mails within 24 hours during the week but do not expect me to respond to e-mails over the weekend. If you are wondering how to write appropriate and professional emails, check these websites out for some guidance: [here](#) and [here](#).

### ***Academic Integrity***

You must maintain academic integrity at all times. Plagiarism and cheating are the most serious academic crimes you can commit, and I will pursue any infringements seriously and actively. I also employ anti-plagiarism software for all of the written documents you will be submitting. Please read carefully the provisions of “Academic Honesty: Scholarly Integrity, Collaboration, and the Ethical Use of Sources at Grinnell College,” available [here](#). Make certain you understand and adhere to them. Ask me to clarify any questions you have.

### ***Accessibility and Accommodations Statement***

I strive to create a fully inclusive classroom, thus I welcome individual students to approach me about distinctive learning needs. Please inform me early in the term if you have a documented disability, including invisible disabilities such as chronic illness, learning disabilities, and/or psychiatric disabilities to discuss appropriate accommodations with me. You will also need to have a conversation about and provide documentation of your disability to the Coordinator for Student Disability Resources, John Hirschman, located on the 3rd floor of the Goodnow Hall (x3089). Please feel free to speak with me after class or during office hours about these issues.

## **REQUIRED TEXTS**

- *Textbook:*  
Vanden, H. and G. Prevost. *Politics of Latin America: The Power Game. 6<sup>th</sup> Edition.* New York: Oxford University Press.
- The rest of the readings are available on PWeb.
- Download [BB Student](#) for in-class quizzes on your phone. You do not need these apps if you intend to use a laptop for in-class quizzes.
- Download [Tableau](#) for the data visualization assignment. You should get a free one year license.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

**Friday, August 29:** NO CLASS

**Monday, September 2:** Why Latin America?

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter 1: An Introduction to 21<sup>st</sup> Century Latin America." Pgs. 1-17.

Weiss, L. 2014. "US Myths of Latin America Often Ignorant, Inaccurate," *Huffington Post* (LatinoVoices Blog). February 20. [Link](#).

### PART I – HISTORY AND POLITICS

**Wednesday, September 4:** Early History

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Two: Early History." Pgs. 19-40.

**Friday, September 6:** The New and Old Worlds

\*\*\*Quiz #1\*\*\*

Fuentes, C. 1999. *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World*. New York: Mariner Books. Pgs. 79-89.

Mann, C. 2002. "1491." *The Atlantic*. March. [Link](#).

**Monday, September 9:** Conquest

Hemming, J. 2005. "Atahualpa and Pizzaro." *The Peru Reader*, O. Starn, I. Degregori, and R. Kirk, eds. Durham: Duke University Press: 97-118.

Film: *The Mission*. 1986. Dir. Roland Joffé. 126 minutes.

**Wednesday, September 11:** Slavery and Race

Mattoso, K. 1996. *To Be a Slave in Brazil: 1550-1888*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press. Pgs. 85-105.

Anonymous. 1999. "The War Against Palmares." *The Brazil Reader*. Eds. R. M. Levine and J. J. Crocitti. Durham: Duke University Press. Pgs. 125-30.

Ewbank, T. 1999. "Cruelty to the Slaves." *The Brazil Reader*. Eds. R. M. Levine and J. J. Crocitti. Durham: Duke University Press. Pgs. 138-42.

**Friday, September 13:** The Struggle for Independence

\*\*\*Quiz #2\*\*\*

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Three: Democracy and Dictators," pgs. 43-66.

**Monday, September 16:** Liberators I

Fuentes, C. 1999. *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World*. New York: Mariner Books. Pgs. 249-59.

Yanes, A. D. 1973. "Tupac Amaru II," in *Revolutionaries, Traditionalists, and Dictators in Latin America*. H. E. Davis ed. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc. Pgs. 17-31.

**Wednesday, September 18:** Liberators II

Young, B. and J. Young. 1970. "Up from Slavery: Toussaint L'Ouverture, 1743-1803," in *Liberators of Latin America*. New York: Lothrop, Lee, and Shepard Co.: 18-44.

**Friday, September 20:** Revolutions

\*\*\*Quiz #3\*\*\*

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Ten: Revolution, Social and Political Movements in Latin America." Pgs. 259-291.

**Monday, September 23:** The Mexican Revolution

\*\*\*Assignment #1 due\*\*\*

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Twelve: Mexico," pgs. 317-331.

Joseph, G. M. and J. Buchenau. 2013. *Mexico's Once and Future Revolution*. Durham: Duke University Press. Pgs. 37-54.

**Wednesday, September 25:** The Mexican Revolution

Joseph, G. M. and J. Buchenau. 2013. *Mexico's Once and Future Revolution*. Durham: Duke University Press. Pgs. 55-85.

**Friday, September 27:** The Cuban Revolution

\*\*\*Quiz #4\*\*\*

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Thirteen: Cuba." Pgs. 523-537.

Film: *Che: Part One*. 2008. Dir. Steven Soderbergh. 134 min.

**Monday, September 30:** Civil Wars

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Eighteen: Colombia," pgs. 439-461.

Blake, S. 2017. "The Shining Path of Peru: An Analysis of Insurgency and Counterinsurgency Tactics," *Small Wars Journal*. October 27. [Link](#).

Film: *La Teta Assustada* ("Milk of Sorrow"). 2010. Dir. Claudia Llosa. 95 min.

**Wednesday, October 2:** Politics and Development I

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Seven: The Political Economy of Latin America." Pgs. 149-179.

**Friday, October 4:** Politics and Development II

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Eight: Democracy and Authoritarianism." Pgs. 192-198.

O'Donnell, G. 1979. *Modernization and Bureaucratic-Authoritarianism*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Pgs. 89-105.

**Monday, October 7:** Democratization

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Eight: Democracy and Authoritarianism." Pgs. 199-214.

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

**Wednesday, October 9:** Legacies of Authoritarianism

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Fifteen: Argentina." Pgs. 395-410.

National Commission on the Disappearance of Persons. 2002. "Never Again." In *The Argentina Reader*. Nouzeilles, E. and G. Montaldo, eds. Duke University Press. Pgs. 440-447.

**Friday, October 11:** Social Movements

Keck, M. and K. Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pgs. 103-120.

Film: *Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* ("The Mother of the Plaza de Mayo"). 1985. Dir. S. B. Muñoz and L. Portillo. 62 min.

**Monday, October 14:** Neoliberal Reforms and Resistance

\*\*\*Assignment #2 due\*\*\*

Simmons, E.S. 2016. "Market Reforms and Water Wars," *World Politics* 68(1): 37-73.

**Wednesday, October 16:** Decay of the Party System

Lupu, N. 2014. "Brand Dilution and the Breakdown of Political Parties in Latin America," *World Politics* 66(4): 561-602. (excerpt)

**Friday, October 18:** The Pink Tide

Hall, A. 2008. "Brazil's Bolsa Família: A Double-Edged Sword?" *Development and Change* 39(5): 799-822.

---

FALL BREAK

---

PART II – CONTEMPORARY CHALLENGES

**Monday, October 28:** Democratic Erosion I: Nicaragua

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Nineteen: Nicaragua." Pgs. 585-609.

Ulfelder, J. 2011. "Daniel Ortega Shows Us How to Dismantle a Democracy, 21st-Century Style." *Dart-Throwing Chimp*. November 20. [Link](#).

Shifter, M. 2016. "Nicaragua Is Turning into a Real-Life 'House of Cards.'" *Foreign Policy*. September 5. [Link](#).

**Wednesday, October 30:** Democratic Erosion II: Brazil

Film: *Edge of Democracy*. 2019. Dir. P. Costa. 121 min.

Watts, J. 2016. "Dilma Rousseff Impeachment: what you need to know." *The Guardian*. August 31. [Link](#).

Watts, J. 2017. "Operation Car Wash: Is this the biggest corruption scandal in history?" *The Guardian*. June 1. [Link](#).

Greenwald, G., Demori, L., Reed, B. 2019. "Secret Brazil Archive." *The Intercept Brasil*. June 9. [Link](#). Read Parts 1, 2, and 3.



**Friday, November 1:** Democratic Erosion III: Venezuela

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Seventeen: Venezuela." Pgs. 463-493.

McCarthy, M. 2016. "6 things you need to know about Venezuela's political and economic crisis." *The Washington Post*. May 18. [Link](#).

Corrales, J. 2017. "Venezuela's government wants to write a new constitution. That way lies autocracy." *The Washington Post*. May 15. [Link](#).

McCoy, J. L. 2017. "Venezuela's controversial new Constituent Assembly, explained." *The Washington Post*. August 1. [Link](#).

**Monday, November 4:** Clientelism

Gay, Robert. 1999. "The Broker and the Thief: A Parable (Reflections on Popular Politics in Brazil)." *Luso-Brazilian Review* 36(1): 49-70.

**Wednesday, November 6:** Economic Inequality

Karl, T. L. 2003. "The Vicious Cycle of Inequality in Latin America." In *What Justice? Whose Justice? Fighting for Fairness in Latin America*, edited by Susan E. Eckstein and Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. Pgs. 133-57.

Film: *Machuca*. 2004. Dir. Andrés Wood. 121 min.

**Friday, November 8:** Visit to Data Analysis and Social Inquiry Lab (DASIL)

Tableau Visualization Tutorial

**Monday, November 11:** Clientelism

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

**Wednesday, November 13:** Legacies of Authoritarianism

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

**Friday, November 15:** Mexico's Drug War

Shirk, D., and J. Wallman. 2015. "Understanding Mexico's Drug Violence." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1348-76.

Film: *Cartel Land*. 2015. Dir. Matthew Heineman. 100 minutes.

**Monday, November 18:** Policing and Rights

**\*\*\*Assignment #3 due\*\*\***

González, Y. M. 2017. "'What citizens can see of the state': Police and the construction of democratic citizenship in Latin America." *Theoretical Criminology* 21(4): 494–511.

**Wednesday, November 20:** NO CLASS – BURLING LIBRARY TOUR

**Friday, November 22:** Racial/Ethnic Discrimination I

Vanden and Prevost, "Chapter Two: The Other Americans" (pgs. 80-102).

**Monday, November 25:** Racial/Ethnic Discrimination II: Afro-Movements

Paschel, T. 2016. *Becoming Black Political Subjects: Movements and Ethno-Racial Rights in Colombia and Brazil*. Princeton University Press. Pgs. 1-27.

**Wednesday, November 27:** Racial/Ethnic Discrimination III: Indigenous Mobilization

**\*\*\*Paper Proposals due\*\*\***

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

Film: *El Abrazo de la Serpiente* ("Embrace of the Serpent"). 2015. Dir. C. Guerra. 125 min.

---

THANKSGIVING BREAK

---

**Monday, December 2:** Indigenous Mobilization and Violence Against Women

Yagoub, M. 2016. "Why Does Latin America Have the World's Highest Female Murder Rates?" *InSight Crime*. August 14. [Link](#).

No Author. 2017. "Take Five: Fighting femicide in Latin America." *UNWomen.org*. February 15. [Link](#).

**Wednesday, December 4:** Women as Labor

Salzinger, L. 2003. "Re-forming the "Traditional Mexican Woman": Making Subjects in a Border Factory." In *Ethnography at the Border*. P. Vila ed. University of Minnesota Press. Pgs. 46-72.

Film: *Maria Full of Grace*. 2004. Dir. Joshua Marston. 101 min.

**Friday, December 6:** Political Representation

Ewig, C., M. Blofield, and J. M. Piscopo. 2017. "The Reactive Left: Gender Equality and the Latin American Pink Tide." *Social Politics: International Studies in Gender, State & Society* 24(4): 345–69.

**Monday, December 9:** In-class Presentations

**Wednesday, December 11:** In-class Presentations

**Friday, December 13:** Peer Review Workshop

**\*\*\*Bring draft of final paper to class\*\*\***

**Tuesday, December 17:** Final Paper Due by 10pm

Property of Nicholas Barnes