

## **POL 624: Seminar in Regional Studies: Latin America**

**Prof. Maria Escobar-Lemmon**  
**Spring 2003**  
**BUSH 2064**  
**Wednesday 4:00-6:50**

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### **Course Description**

This course will expose students to a variety of topics and readings related to Latin American politics, the different theoretical approaches political scientists have used to pose testable questions, the varying types of data they have collected to address those questions, and the methodological tools they have used to analyze that data. This seminar is appropriate both for students interested in Latin America and those interested in comparative politics generally. This seminar is an opportunity to study institutions and other familiar political phenomena in the context of a particular region with which students may be less familiar. The broad themes we will cover include socioeconomic development, regime type, civil society, and political institutions. The topics we will cover are broad, and give you a good sampling of the work political scientists are doing on Latin America, but this does not represent a sum total of that work by any means. I have chosen the topics, approaches, and readings listed below because I think they are central to the field and because I have the ability to guide you in an exploration of them. The other assignments in the course provide you with a chance to explore these or alternative areas in greater detail.

To ensure that everyone begins the course with a common background we will spend the first two weeks discussing some basic issues related to research design, methodology and history in Latin America. These are to ensure that we all begin the course with a common theoretical framework and adequate historical background. Both of these are important because they ensure that you are confident that the questions and variables make sense, but also that the means by which authors arrive at their conclusions make sense as well.

Your attendance, preparedness, and extensive participation are mandatory. I expect 100% attendance from everyone. Speak to me at the beginning of the semester if you believe a conference will necessitate an absence. It should go without saying that you must complete the readings assigned for each session. More than simply turning the pages of each assignment, I expect you to take notes on each reading, to record of your critical comments (both positive and negative), and to have reflected about the relationships among readings for a given week and even across weeks *before you come to class*. This level of preparedness will be necessary to sustain the intellectual level of discussion I anticipate for each session.

### **Important Dates:**

February 24: Annotated Bibliography 1 Due (by 5 pm)

March 24: Annotated Bibliography 2 Due (by 5pm)

March 10-14 Spring Break

March 27-29 Latin American Studies Association Meeting in Dallas.

(see <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/lasa2003.html> for details.)

May 2: "Grant Proposal" due both in paper and electronic form (by 5 pm).

May 6: 10:30 – 12:30 Grant Review Workshop, Review due at the Workshop

### **Plagiarism Statement**

"As commonly defined, plagiarism consists of passing off as one's own the ideas, words, writings, etc., which belong to another. In accordance with the definition, you are committing plagiarism if you copy the work of another person and turn it in as your own, even if you have the permission of the person. Plagiarism is one of the worst academic sins, for the plagiarist destroys the trust among colleagues without which research cannot be safely communicated. If you have any questions regarding plagiarism, please consult the latest issue of the Texas A&M University Student Rules, under the section "Scholastic Dishonesty." To be absolutely clear, if you are not the original author the text *must* be placed in quotation marks and cited. Copying from any source, including unpublished work, web pages, or another student's paper without giving them credit is plagiarism.

### **Copyright Statement**

"The handouts used in this course are copyrighted. By "handouts," I mean all materials generated for this class, which include, but are not limited to syllabi, quizzes, exams, lab problems, in-class materials, review sheets, and additional problem sets. Because these are copyrighted, you do not have the right to copy the handouts, unless I grant permission."

### **Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) Policy Statement**

"The Americans with Disabilities Act is a Federal anti-discrimination statute that provides comprehensive civil rights protection for persons with disabilities. Among other things, this legislation requires that all students with disabilities be guaranteed a learning environment that provides for reasonable accommodation of their disabilities. If you believe you have a disability requiring an accommodation, please contact the Department of Student Life, Services for Students with Disabilities in Room 126 of the Koldus Building, or call 845-1637."

### **Assignments**

Your grade in the course will be based upon the following three assignments.

#### **1. Participation (30%)**

It really goes without saying, but I will say it again: you must come to class every week fully prepared and you must participate extensively in class discussions. Much of what is learned in graduate school is learned from your peers. If necessary, I will encourage the appropriate level of participation by asking you to bring written comments or summaries to class, but I would like to avoid this. You should fully expect to be called on whether you are volunteering or not. I do not want passive attendance.

By 5 p.m. Friday after each session, you must e-mail me an evaluation of our most recent discussion. This email does not need to be long (under 1 page). It will not be seen by other students (unless you send it to them) so you should be honest (especially about yourself). The evaluation should contain: 1) your sense of whether we as a group were successful in critically evaluating the literature at hand, 2) suggestions for how I can improve future discussions, 3) a critique of your own individual contributions, and 4) mention of anyone who should be especially commended for their performance.

## 2. Two Annotated bibliographies (30% total, 15% each)

During the semester, you must submit two annotated bibliographies on research relating to Latin America. These are due on Feb 24 and March 24. I have provided some details on what the annotated bibliography is to contain. If you are confused I have some samples in my office and I'd be happy to show them to you. A word of caution about the annotated bibliographies, while they are to be on two different topics, those topics need to be related enough that you can combine both literatures for the "grant proposal" that is due at the end of the semester. You may find it helpful to talk with me about both topics before you submit the first one so you are not stuck at the end of the semester. Let me encourage you to think of this as seeking pre-approval for your topics.

It is my intention to make the annotated bibliographies available to all students in the class at the end of the semester via email or other electronic form. Some of you (even those who are not Latin Americanists) may find them helpful as you prepare for prelims. Therefore, while I would appreciate a paper copy of the assignment I would also like you to send me a copy via email so they can be archived appropriately.

An annotated bibliography should start with a statement of the testable question or very closely related questions that define a body of scholarship as a literature. It should also contain a brief synopsis of the literature reviewed as a whole. This one to two paragraph summary helps to explain what guided you to select the readings you did. For example, a testable question might be: "Does capitalist development promote democracy?" The introductory synopsis might point out that the relevant literature is divided among scholars who conclude that capitalist development promotes democracy and those that claim it inhibits democracy; between those who adopt class structure as their primary theoretical focus and those who think that political culture is explanatory; and those who use quantitative techniques to analyze a large number of cases and those who utilize in-depth, qualitative case studies of one or very few countries.

In addition to this one to two paragraph synopsis (maximum one page), the bibliography must contain entries for fifteen or more individual works (articles, books, or chapters). This fifteen can contain a few items from the class syllabus. Each entry should contain the full bibliographic citation in correct format (see the *Style Manual for Political Science*) and three to five sentences which summarize the work in substantive, theoretical, and methodological terms. Do **not** copy the abstract even if you put it in quotes! You may find it helpful to organize the works into something other than alphabetical (or chronological order). For instance, with the above topic I might have a subheading "Development promoted Democracy" and under there order the works that made that argument in a manner where each followed logically from the one before.

## 3. Grant Proposal (35%) and Review of Proposal (5%)

At the end of the semester students are to submit a research design framed in terms of a grant proposal. Topics must relate, in some way, to Latin America. The grant proposal is a research design with a twist. In addition to being a critical review of the relevant literature (it must draw on your annotated bibliographies) and identifying an interesting question, the proposal should also offer some assessment of how you would go about conducting that research including the funding that would be necessary to complete it as well as the time required to conduct the research. Because this is a grant proposal you should strive to propose research that is innovative and creative but which can realistically be accomplished within the time frame and budget you specify. I have modeled this assignment on the NSF Doctoral Dissertation Research Grants (<http://www.nsf.gov/sbe/ses/polisci/ddrip.htm>). You are bound to the \$12,000 limit they have established, but while they will not allow you to request cost-of-living or stipend support I will. (Those of you who plan to propose to conduct a new analysis of existing data or data that could be collected from several sources at the library should request stipends and/or money to present this

research at conferences. ) For those of you who consult the full program announcement (located at <http://www.nsf.gov/pubs/2001/nsf01113/nsf01113.htm>) be aware that the only parts I am requiring you to submit for this assignment are 1) project description (not to exceed 10 single-spaced pages), 2) bibliography, 3) a budget, and 4) budget justification. I have placed on reserve two examples of the relevant parts of funded NSF doctoral dissertation proposals. You must submit your grant proposal to me (via email) by 5 pm on May 2. We will meet from 10:30 – 12:30 on May 6th to present the research proposals and to evaluate them. You will be responsible for providing a written review of one proposal and for acting as the primary reviewer of that proposal at the review session where we will vote as a group for which proposals we think should be funded. More details on this meeting and your review (which will be graded) will be provided later in the semester. While each student must submit their own annotated bibliographies, which cannot contain identical sources, the grant proposal may be co-authored. Rules for co-authored proposals: 1) there can be no more than 2 authors on any proposal; 2) each student can only be part of one proposal; 3) both authors will receive the same grade for the proposal; 4) both authors must email me and say they have chosen to work in a group and understand they will get the group grade.

### **Readings**

The readings for each week will come from a variety of sources and are noted on the syllabus for each week. All readings are required unless otherwise indicated explicitly. Required readings are available (1) full electronic text through the library (i.e. through JSTOR), (2) as electronic reserves on the Common Drive, and (3) from the reserve desk at PSEL. You are responsible for obtaining your own copy.

#### January 15: Introduction to the Course

No readings. Brief introductory meeting to introduce ourselves and to go over the syllabus.

#### January 22: Testable Questions and Latin American History

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane, and Sidney Verba. 1994. *Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Required: pages 75-114.

Recommended (especially for those who have not taken POL 601): pages 115-149). (3)

Rogowski, Ronald. 1995. "The Role of Theory and Anomaly in Social-Scientific Inference." *American Political Science Review* 89:467-470. (1)

Tarrow, Sidney. 1995. "Bridging the Quantitative-Qualitative Divide in Political Science." *American Political Science Review* 89:471-74. (1)

Skidmore, Thomas E. and Peter H. Smith. 1997. *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press. Pages 1-67 and 400-424. (3)

**January 29: Quantitative and Qualitative Techniques, Comparative Method and Case Studies**

- Collier, David. 1993. "The Comparative Method." In *Political Science: State of the Discipline II*, ed. Ada Finifter. Washington, D.C.: APSA. (3)
- Coppedge, Michael. 1999. "Thickening Thin Concepts and Theories: Combining Large N and Small in Comparative Politics." *Comparative Politics* 32: 465-476. (2)
- Geddes, Barbara. 1991. "How the Cases You Choose Affect the Answers You Get: Selection Bias in Comparative Politics." *Political Analysis* 2:131-50. (2)
- Jackman, Robert W. 1985. "Cross-National Research and the Study of Comparative Politics" *American Journal of Political Science* 29 (1 Feb): 161-182. (1)
- Lieberson, Stanley. 1991. "Small N's and big conclusions: An examination of the reasoning in comparative studies based on a small number of cases" *Social Forces* 70 (2): 307-320. (2)

**Political Economy and Economic Development**

**February 5: Development Strategies**

- Valenzuela, J. Samuel and Arturo Valenzuela. 1978. "Modernization and Dependency: Alternative Perspectives in the Study of Latin American Underdevelopment" *Comparative Politics* 10(3 July): 535-557. (1)
- Ranis, Gustav. 1995. "Challenges and Opportunities Posed by Asia's Superexporters: Implications for Manufactured Exports from Latin America." In *Latin America's Economic Development: Confronting Crisis* (second edition), ed. James L. Dietz. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (3)
- Haggard, Stephan. 1990. *Pathways from the Periphery: The Politics of Growth in the Newly Industrializing Countries*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press (pp. 161-188). (3)
- Sheahan, John. 1987. *Patterns of Development in Latin America: Poverty Repression, and Economic Strategy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (pp. 74-98). (2)
- Sorensen, Georg. 1992. "Democracy, Dictatorship and Development: Consequences for Economic Development of Different Forms of Regime in the Third World," in *The Role of the State in Development Processes* edited by Claude Auroi. London: Frank Cass. (pg 39-57). (2)

**February 12: Economic Crisis and Neoliberal Reform**

- Dornbusch, Rudiger. 1989. "The Latin American Debt Problem: Anatomy and Solutions" in *Debt and Democracy in Latin America* edited by Barbara Stallings and Robert Kaufman. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (pg 7 - 22) (2)
- Williamson, John. 1990. "What Washington Means by Policy Reform" in *Latin American Adjustment* edited by John Williamson. Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics. (pg. 7 - 20). (3)
- Weyland, Kurt. 1996. "Risk Taking in Latin American Economic Restructuring: Lessons from Prospect Theory." *International Studies Quarterly* 40: 29-52. (1)
- Inter-American Development Bank. 1997. *Economic and Social Progress in Latin America, 1997 Report: Latin America After a Decade of Reforms*. Washington, DC: The Inter-American Development Bank (pp. 31-86). (3)
- Remmer, Karen. 1991. "The Political and Economic Impact of Economic Crisis in Latin America in the 1980s." *American Political Science Review* 85:777-800. (1)

#### February 19: The impacts of Neoliberal Reform on Poverty and Inequality

- Morley, Samuel A., 1995. "Structural Adjustment and the Determinants of Poverty in Latin America." In *Coping with Austerity: Poverty and Inequality in Latin America*, ed. Nora Lustig. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution. (3).
- Sheahan, John. 1997. "Effects of Liberalization Programs on Poverty and Inequality: Chile, Mexico, and Peru." *Latin American Research Review* 32(3):7-37. (1)
- Crisp, Brian and Michael J. Kelly. 1999. "The Socioeconomic impacts of structural adjustment." *International Studies Quarterly* 43:533-552. (2).
- Weede, Erich. 1993. "Rent-Seeking or Dependency as Explanations of Why Poor People Stay Poor." In *Development & Underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Inequality*, ed. Mitchell A. Seligson and John T. Passé-Smith. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (2)
- Sirowy, Larry and Alex Inkeles. 1993. "The Effects of Democracy on Economic Growth and Inequality" In *Development & Underdevelopment: The Political Economy of Inequality*, ed. Mitchell A. Seligson and John T. Passé-Smith. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (2)

### **Political Regimes and Democratic Institutions**

#### February 26: Populist Governments and Bureaucratic Authoritarian Regimes

- Dornbusch, Rudiger and Sebastian Edwards. 1995. "The Macroeconomics of Populism" in *Latin America's Economic Development: Confronting Crisis* edited by James L. Dietz. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers (p. 271-7). (3)
- Collier David. 1979. "Overview of the Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model." In *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, ed. David Collier. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (3)
- Waisman, Carlos H. 1987. *Reversal of Development in Argentina: Postwar Counter-revolutionary Policies and Their Structural Consequences*. Princeton: Princeton University Press (pp. 164-206). (2)
- Collier David. 1979. "The Bureaucratic-Authoritarian Model: Synthesis and Priorities for Future Research." In *The New Authoritarianism in Latin America*, ed. David Collier. Princeton: Princeton University Press. (3)

#### March 5: Democratic Governments and Democratization

- Karl, Terry. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America" *Comparative Politics* 23(October):1-22. (3)
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5:55-69. (2)
- Conaghan, Catherine. 1996. "A Deficit of Democratic Authenticity: Political Linkage and the Public in Andean Polities." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 31(3):32-55. (2)
- Valenzuela, J. Samuel. 1992. "Democratic Consolidation in Post-Transitional Settings: Notion, Process, and Facilitating Conditions" in *Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The new South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective* edited by Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell and J. Samuel Valenzuela. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press. (pg. 57-94). (2)

### March 19: Executives and Legislatures

- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1997. "Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America: Rethinking the Terms of the Debate." In *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, ed. Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart. New York: Cambridge University Press (pp. 12-54). (3) (Note the entire book is on reserve)
- Mainwaring, Scott and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1997. "Conclusion: Presidentialism and the Party System." In *Presidentialism and Democracy in Latin America*, ed. Scott Mainwaring and Matthew Soberg Shugart. New York: Cambridge University Press. (394-437) (3) (Note the entire book is on reserve)
- Carey, John M., and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1998. "Calling Out the Tanks or Filling Out the Forms?" In *Executive Decree Authority: Calling Out the Tanks, or Filling Out the Forms?* ed. John M. Carey and Matthew Soberg Shugart. New York: Cambridge University Press. Read the introductory chapter ( ) and concluding chapter ( ). (3) (Note the entire book is on reserve)
- One country chapter in each book. We will pick in class so all are covered. (3) (Note the entire book is on reserve)

### March 26: Electoral Systems and Political Parties

- Jones, Mark. 1993. "The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Electoral Studies* 12:59-75. (2)
- Carey, John M., and Matthew Soberg Shugart. 1995. "Incentives to Cultivate a Personal Vote: a Rank Ordering of Electoral Formulas." *Electoral Studies* 14:417-39. (1 or 2)
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Timothy R. Scully. 1995. "Introduction: Party Systems in Latin America." In *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, ed. Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully. Stanford: Stanford University Press. (3) (Note the entire book is on reserve)
- Mainwaring, Scott, and Timothy R. Scully. 1995. "Conclusion: Parties and Democracy in Latin America — Different Patterns, Common Challenges." In *Building Democratic Institutions: Party Systems in Latin America*, ed. Scott Mainwaring and Timothy R. Scully. Stanford: Stanford University Press. (3) (Note the entire book is on reserve)
- Shugart, Matthew Soberg. 1995. "The Electoral Cycle and Institutional Sources of Divided Presidential Government" *American Political Science Review*. 89(2 June): 327-343. (1)

### April 2: Decentralization and subnational governments

- Willis, Eliza, Christopher Da C.B. Garman, and Stephan Haggard. 1999. "The Politics of Decentralization in Latin America" *Latin American Research Review* 34(1):7-56. (1)
- Treisman, Daniel. 1999. "Political Decentralization and Economic Reform" *American Journal of Political Science* 43(2):488-517. (1)
- Eaton, Kent. 2001. "Political Obstacles to Decentralization: Evidence from Argentina and the Philippines" *Development and Change* 32(1): 101-127.
- "The New Political Economy of Decentralization and Federalism" 2000 *APSA-CP*. 11(1 Winter): 5-31. (2)
- Escobar-Lemmon, Maria. 2001. "Fiscal Decentralization and Federalism in Latin America" *Publius: The Journal of Federalism* 31(4 Fall): 23-41. (3)
- Rondinelli, Dennis A., John R. Nellis, and G. Shabbir Cheema. 1984. *Decentralization in Developing Countries* Washington, DC: The World Bank. (Read chapter 1 pages: ) (3)

## Civil Society, Third Sector, and Organized Groups

### April 9: Political Culture and Political Participation

- Seligson, Mitchell A. and John A. Booth. 1993. "Political Culture and Regime Type: Evidence from Costa Rica and Nicaragua" *Journal of Politics* 55(3 Aug): 777-792. (1)
- Turner, Frederick C. 1995. "Reassessing Political Culture." In *Latin America in Comparative Perspective: New Approaches to Methods and Analysis*, ed. Peter H. Smith. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. (pages 195-224). (3)
- Diamond, Larry. 1993. "Introduction: Political Culture and Democracy." In *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*, ed. Larry Diamond. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (pages 1-33) (3)
- Diamond, Larry. 1993. "Causes and Effects." In *Political Culture and Democracy in Developing Countries*, ed. Larry Diamond. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers. (pages 411-435). (3)
- Muller, Edward N. and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1994. "Civic Culture and Democracy: The Question of Causal Relationships." *American Political Science Review* 88:635-52. (1)

### April 16: The Left: From revolutionary movements to political parties

- Shugart, Matthew Soberg. 1992. "Guerillas and Elections: An Institutional Perspective on the Costs of Conflict and Cooperation" *International Studies Quarterly* 36 (2 June): 121-151. (1)
- Wickham-Crowley, Timothy P. 1989. "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements." In *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, ed. Susan Eckstein. Berkeley: University of California Press. (3)
- Roberts, Kenneth M. 1997. "Rethinking Economic Alternatives: Left Parties and the Articulation of Popular Demands in Chile and Peru." In *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*, ed. Douglas A. Chalmers, Carlos M. Vilas, Katherine Hite, Scott B. Martin, Kerianne Piester, and Monique Segarra. New York: Oxford University Press. pages 313- 336. (2)
- Muller, Edward N., Henry A. Dietz, and Steven E. Finkel. 1991. "Discontent and the Expect Utility of Rebellion: The Case of Peru" *American Political Science Review* 85(4 Dec):1261-1828. (1)
- Booth, John A. 1991. "Socioeconomic and Political Roots of National Revolts in Central America" *Latin American Research Review* 26(1): 33-73. (skim!) (1)

### April 23: The Right: The church, the military, and business associations

- Levine, Daniel H. 1987. "From Church and State to Religion and Politics and Back Again" *World Affairs*. 150(2 Fall): 93-108. (1 or 2)
- Dodson, Michael. 1997. "Pentecostals, Politics, and Public Space in Latin America" in *Power, Politics and Pentecostals in Latin America* ed. Edward L. Cleary and Hannah W. Stewart-Gambino. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Pages 25-40. (2)
- Varas, Augusto. 1990. "Civil-Military Relations in a Democratic Framework" in *The Military and Democracy: The Future of Civil-Military Relations in Latin America*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books. Pages: (3).
- Haggard, Stephan, Sylvia Maxfield and Ben Ross Scheider. 1997. "Theories of Business and Business-State Relations" in . In *Business and the State in Developing Countries*, ed. Sylvia Maxfield and Ben Ross Schneider. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. pgs. 36-60. (2)
- Schneider, Ben Ross. 1997. "Big Business and the Politics of Economic Reform: Confidence and Concentration in Brazil and Mexico." In *Business and the State in Developing Countries*, ed. Sylvia Maxfield and Ben Ross Schneider. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press. pgs. 191 – 215. (2)

**Grant Proposal Due by 5 pm on May 2.**

**Grant Review Session: May 6 10:30 am – 12:30 am.**