

# GETTYSBURG COLLEGE

## DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES PROGRAM

Prof. Emelio Betances

SPRING 2018

Class meeting times: MWF 10:00 - 0:50 in Glatfelter 104

Office hours are on Mondays and Wednesdays from 2 to 4:30 p.m. or by appointment. Office location is in Glatfelter 110C. These appointments can be arranged by email: [ebetance@gettysburg.edu](mailto:ebetance@gettysburg.edu)

Take home final examination: **Students will go to my office to pick up the exam on Thursday, May 10 at 10:00 and return it to my office Friday, May 11 at 10:00 a.m.**

### RE-INVENTING LATIN AMERICAN SOCIETIES (SOC/LACLS 331)

#### COURSE DESCRIPTION

This is a comparative study of Latin American democracies. The course explores the different approaches to the study of democratic theory and then moves on to look at the Latin American experience. The core of the course will focus on two fundamental factors: The development of the democratic states and the popular challenge to the implementation of neoliberal economic policies in the latter third of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. What caused democratic regimes to emerge and survive? What are their main achievements and shortcomings? What were the implications of Neoliberal economic reforms for the development of democracy?

## **Sociology/LACLS, 331: Re-inventing Latin American Societies and the Gettysburg College Curriculum**

The Gettysburg College Curriculum is organized around four major components: Learning how to look at the world from multiple perspectives (multiple inquiries); learning how to combine different perspectives to form a deeper understanding of the social world (integrative thinking); learning how to share knowledge and information with others in a clear and effective manner (effective communication); and learning how to use the knowledge and information gained to make a contribution to communal life (informed citizenship). This class touches upon all of the components of the College curriculum. Thus, not only we will look at various theoretical perspectives (multiple inquiries), you will also be encouraged to combine the insights that you gain from this class with those of other classes that you are taking (integrative thinking). The research papers, class assignments, and exams of this class will also be opportunities to improve how you communicate

### **Learning Outcomes**

Students will be expected to understand that Latin American nation states and societies have undergone drastic social, economic, and political change due to great external pressures (international politics, lending agencies, global market forces, etc.) and internal pressures (military regimes, revolutions, old and new social movements, new economic groups, war on drugs, etc.). Similarly, they will learn that the democratic process takes place in the context shifting priorities both at the national and international level. In particular, they should comprehend that U.S. interests in the region have a strong influence in the success or failure of

democracy. In addition, they should understand the following concepts: democracy, governance, democratic elections, political parties, “pacted” democracy, populism, ideology, revolution, political culture, institutional analysis, social capital, structural analysis, civil society, civil military relations, political power, citizenship, clientelism, social movement, Neoliberalism, and non-governmental organizations.

### **Goals for the course: Theory and Methods**

The course provides a comparative and historical overview of the development of democracy in Latin America. It begins with the premise that since 1978 Latin America has seen an unparalleled process of democratization, which has created opportunities and threats to the status quo. This process occurred in the context of widespread socio-economic polarization promoted by a wholesale application of Neoliberal economic policies that have threatened the stability of democratic regimes. Approaches used to frame lectures and discussions will include comparative historical, sociological, structural, and institutional analysis. The instructor will use these theoretical constructs to explain the following questions: What explains the dramatic and historically unprecedented burst of democratization between 1978 and 1992, and what factors can explain the difficulties of achieving further advances in democratization during the 1990s? What were the main contributions to democracy of the radical governments that emerged in the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century? Why have the nationalist projects of these governments begun to fail after 2015 and what are the consequences of these failures for democracy?

Supervised students’ work

- 1) Paper proposal: In preparing a proposal students must develop a bibliography of 7 books and five journal articles. They will consult with the instructor in the selection of their paper topics and discuss the research questions and the appropriate theoretical framework. ***The proposal must include a preliminary bibliography. See instruction for research paper below = 13 hours.***
  - 2) Attend a **library workshop** for one hour of instruction given by a librarian = **1 hour.**
  - 3) Attend two lectures or activities of the Latin American Studies Program = **3 hours.**
  - 4) Researching and writing a 20-page research paper includes: Reading portions 7 books, re-reading the 5 research articles, consulting with the instructor to discuss the theoretical framing of the research questions, bibliographical issues, writing a draft of paper, taking it to the College Writing Center, and editing the final copy = **30 hours.**
  - 5) Read a memoir assigned by the instructor (see instructions on how to read a memoir) = **5 hours.**
  - 6) Writing the review of the memoir includes reading two professional reviews published in journals, drafting it, having it checked at the Writing Center, and editing the final copy = **5 hours.**
- Total = 57 hours.**

## **CLASS PARTICIPATION, ATTENDANCE, AND READINGS**

This course is taught in a seminar format. This means that students must come prepared to every class. Class participation is an integral part of the course and crucial for its successful completion. Thus, attendance is mandatory. Students will be allowed one excused absence. Additional absences will have a negative impact on the final grade. Students must keep in mind that class participation must be ***meaningful***, which requires careful readings of materials assigned.

Volunteering to make a presentation may help, but it is not sufficient to receive a good grade. Students who receive an A must always be prepared to ***significantly*** participate in class discussions. Sports events will not qualify for excused

absences. Students must buy a memory stick to save their work. Excuses such as a computer malfunction the night before a paper is due will not be acceptable.

Students must also attend two lectures sponsored by the Latin American Studies Program. All assignments must be submitted in a timely fashion. Students will not be allowed to use computers for note-taking unless there is explicit authorization from the instructor. **Finally, all cell phones must be turned off during class time. Students caught texting will be excused the first time. However, subsequently, for each time a student is caught texting, he/she will lose half a letter grade.**

## **WRITING SUMMARIES OF SELECTED CHAPTERS**

This course requires that students prepare written summaries of selected chapters throughout the semester. They will receive questions before reading the assignments and must hand-in their summaries when they come to class. The preparation of these summaries will ensure that students are prepared for a class discussion. Students will not be allowed to send these summaries via email.

## **RESEARCH PAPER PROPOSAL**

The research paper proposal is the first step in preparing an excellent paper. Students must explain why they have chosen a given topic and provide at least two important research questions about their subject of study. Proposals must give the instructor a sense of what the paper will be about by demonstrating that students have started reading research articles published in academic journals. Furthermore, it is of paramount importance that students come to the instructor's office for consultation. Consultations will be useful to choose and define topics as

well as discuss the appropriate theoretical framework for the research questions and select bibliographical information. The instructor will hand out a series of topics during the first week of classes so students can get started as soon as possible.

In preparation of the research paper proposal, students will read THREE scholarly journal articles and sections from THREE books. ***The proposal must include a preliminary bibliography that indicates students have really started doing serious research.*** The idea of the proposal is to get started with the research paper. Undoubtedly, the final research paper will require more bibliography than what is included in the proposal.

Students will receive a list of academic journals and will choose their research articles from those journals. In addition to attending Mallory Jallas's library workshop, they will to set up an appointment to see her to discuss ways to use the library effectively.

## **Final Research Paper**

**The paper must include a bibliography and proper references. Papers must have 20 double-spaced pages, title, introduction, body, and conclusion.** Students must number all the pages and sign the honor code at the end of the paper (See style guide attached at the end of this syllabus). They might want to consult with the Writing Center at the CUB (extension 7574) to ensure the use of proper grammar and excellent organizational mechanics. Finally, the research paper must reflect that students have actually read FIVE academic journal articles and consulted SEVEN TO NINE books focusing on the topic selected.

***Instructor's comment on the research paper proposals must be attached to the final paper. This means that students cannot change their research topic without prior consultation with the instructor. If a student changes the topic without authorization, the instructor will give the paper an F.***

**Book review: Adios Muchachos. A Memoir of the Sandinista Revolution by Sergio Ramírez**

A book review is not a book report (10 double-spaced pages). A book report tells us what the book says. A reviewer seeks to put the work under discussion in the larger context of the literature and how effectively the author communicates his/her arguments to the readers. Summarizing the content of the book is important, but it should not take more than two pages. The real task of the reviewer is to think about the book, how it relates to this course, and what it means.

Two-third of the review must focus on the following areas: 1) Why did the Sandinistas leadership who lived under a strict code of conduct during the revolutionary war changed and became corrupt? What were the political consequences of this change? 2) The Sandinistas formed a political front that included three important factions: Popular Prolonged War, the Proletariat and the Third Way. Why do you think that the Third Way was able to take the leadership of the revolutionary movement? 3) According to the Sergio Ramírez what was the greatest, unintended, legacy of the Sandinista Revolution? 4) What were the greatest blunders of the Sandinistas and why did they lead to the government defeat in the elections of 1990? 5) What is your evaluation of Sergio Ramírez memoir and why do you hold that evaluation? These five parts are not necessarily separate, but you must address them. Take time to read this memoir, think about it

as you read it and try to summarize it in your own words. Avoid lengthy quotes.

## INSTRUCTIONS FOR TAKE-HOME EXAMS.

All examinations must be taken as scheduled and assignments must be delivered on specified dates. The mid-term and final examination will consist of take-home exams. The instructor will provide make-up examinations for students with an official excuse. Should a student know that she/he will be absent on the day of an examination, she/he must discuss this with the instructor as soon as possible. In case of unforeseen absences (illness or other emergencies), students must notify the instructor as soon as possible, preferably before or on the day of the examination.

**SUBMITTING EXAMS LATE WILL NOT BE ACCEPTABLE. EXAMS MUST BE TYPEWRITTEN AND DOUBLE SPACED. HANDWRITTEN EXAMS WILL NOT BE ELIGIBLE FOR SUBMISSION.**

### **IMPORTANT DATES:**

**Hand in Topics on 1/26**

**Library Workshop schedule on 2/9**

**Paper proposal is due – 2/23**

**Take home mid-term examination – Receive exam on 3/5 (Monday) during class time and return it to my office on 3/6 (Tuesday) by 10:00 a.m.**

**Discussion of Adios Muchachos on 3/30**

**Review of Adios Muchachos due on 4/6**

**Research paper is due – 4/20**

**Take-home final exam: Students will go to my office to pick up the exam on Thursday, May 10 at 10:00 and return it to my office Friday, May 11 at 10:00 a.m.**



**Latin American Lectures:**

**All the following lectures will take place at 6:30. Location: McCreary Hall Room 115, Bowen Auditorium**

Monday, February 5, 2018

Dr. Julie Hendon

Associate Provost for Pedagogical Initiatives, Director of the Johnson Center for Creative Teaching and Learning, Gettysburg College  
“The Marriage Figures of Honduras”

Monday, February 26, 2018

Dr. Tanalis Padilla

Associate Professor of History, Massachusetts Institute of Technology  
“To Learn, to Teach, to Struggle: Revolution and Education in Mexico’s Countryside”

Monday, March 26, 2018

Dr. Anjali Kumar

Program Coordinator, U.S. Agency for International Development  
“Creating Stable Foundations for Societies through University Partnership: Case Studies of Peru and Colombia”

**GRADING POLICY**

Take home 1: 20%

Take home 2: 25%

Paper proposal: 10%

Research paper: 25%

Review: 10%

Class participation 10%

## REQUIRED TEXTS

Hellinger, Daniel C. **Comparative Politics of Latin America. Democracy at Last?** Routledge. New York and London, 2015. Steve Ellner. **Latin America's Radical Left. Challenges and Complexities of Political Power in the Twentieth-Firsts Century.** Lanham: Rowmand and Littlefield, 2014. Ramírez, Sergio, **Adios Muchachos. A memoir of the Sandinista Revolution.** Durham: Duke University Press, 2012. The remaining reading assignments will be provided by the instructors or students will asked to find them in electronic journals.

## SECTION I: COMPARATIVE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

Week 1: (1/22- 1/26: Comparative Political Theory and Latin American Area Studies, Hellinger, Introduction and Part 1, chapter 1 and 2. **Write a summary of chapter 1 by responding to questions posed at the beginning of the chapter.** Discuss topics for term paper 1/26.

Week 2: (1/29 – 2/2): History: Colonial Legacies, Mass Politics, and Democracy. Hellinger, chapters 3 and 4. **Write a summary of chapter 4 following the questions at the beginning of the chapter.**

Week 3: (2/5 – 2/9): Populism, Development, and Democracy  
Hellinger, read chapter 5 and 6 and journal article: “Trust the People! Populism and the Two Faces of Democracy” by Margaret Canovan (Politics Studies (1999), XLVII, pp. 2-16). **Write a summary of Canovan’s article. Research Workshop at the library 2/9.**

**Library workshop scheduled on 2/9.**

Week 4: (2/12 -2/16): Development, Dependency, and Democratic Breakdown. Hellinger, chapters 7 and 8. **Write a summary of “Delegative Democracy” (Journal of Democracy, Vol. 5, No. 1, January 1994).**

Week 5: (2/19 – 2/23): Pacted Democracies and Transitions: Mexico and Cuba  
Hellinger, chapters 9 and 10. **Write a summary of chapter 10.**

**Research paper proposal is due: 2/23**

Week 6: (2/26 – 3/2): Democracy in Times of Revolution and the Resurgence of New Social Movements. Hellinger, chapters 11. **Write a summary of “The Invention of Social Movement” by Charles Tilly, 2008.** Instructor will provide handout.

## **SECTION II: DEMOCRACY, NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS**

Week 7: (3/5 – 3/9): Parties, Media, and Elections. Chapters 11 and 12. **Write a summary of chapter 11.**

**Mid-term exam: Take home: Students will receive the exam in class on 3/5 (Monday) at 10:00 a.m. and will return it to my office on (Tuesday) 3/6 at 10:00 a.m.**

**Spring break begins March 9 (Friday) at 5 p.m. and ends March 19 (Monday) at 8 a.m.**

Week 8: (3/19 – 3/23): Human Rights, Women, and Democracy. Hellinger, chapters 14. **Write a summary of “Is there a Distinctive Tradition of Human Rights in Latin America?”**, but just read “Women and Rights in Latin America” by Edward Cleary (2007). Instructor will provide a handout.

Week 9: (3/26– 3/30): The United States, Globalization, and Latin American Democracies. Chapter 15. **Write a summary of “Does Globalization Hinder Revolutions?”** by Carlos Vilas. Instructor will provide a handout.

**Discussion of *Adios Muchachos* on 3/30**

## **SECTION IV: Challenges and Complexities of the Latin American Democratization Process**

**Discussion of *Adios Muchachos* on 3/30**

Week 10: (4/2 – 4/6): Theoretical, Historical, and International Background. Ellner, see Introduction, chapters 1, 2 and 3. **Write a summary of chapter 2 (instructor will provide questions for all the chapters on the Ellner's book).**

Review of Adios Muchachos is due: 4/6

Week 11: (4/9 - 4/13): The Twenty-First-Century Radical Left in Power. Chapters 4, 5 and 6. **Write a summary of chapter 4.**

Week 12: 4/16 – 4/20: Influences of the Twentieth-First Century Radical Left in Nicaragua, El Salvador, and Cuba. Chapters 6, 8 and 9. **Write a summary of chapters 8.**

**Research paper is due 4/20**

**Week 13: 4/23 – 4/27):** Economy, Society, and Media  
Chapter 9 and 10. **Write a summary of chapter 10.**

Week 14: 4/30 – 5/4): Good and Bad Lefts in Latin America.  
Chapters 11 and 12. **Write a summary of chapter 12.**

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