

University of Mississippi
Spring 2013

INST 314: Heroes & Villains: Populism in Latin America
MWF 9-9:50—Croft 204

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This is an interdisciplinary seminar on populism in Latin America, which saw many “populist” figures throughout the twentieth century: Juan & Eva Perón in Argentina, Getúlio Vargas in Brazil, José María Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador, and others. Seen as heroes or villains (depending on one’s perspective), they transformed politics in their countries.

Populism is a highly contested concept that is not easily defined. Historians identify “populist” figures or movements with a period of state-led development in Latin America. Sociologists analyze the relationship between the “populist” leader and the masses. Political scientists focus on the institutional dimension of “populist” regimes. One common thread was that “classic” populists pursued statist economic policies. Recently, scholars have wrestled with contemporary figures that behave like earlier populists, but pursue neoliberal economic policies. Thus, confusion abounds.

We begin with different definitions of “populism” and an overview of populist figures, movements, and parties. We then look closely at populism in Ecuador across the twentieth century before turning our attention to the region’s most well known populist figures of the 20th century: Brazil’s Getúlio Vargas and Argentina’s Juan and Eva Perón. If populism is best identified with a period of history (the 1940s-1950s), it is also closely identified with the ideologically vague, highly personalized movements of *varguismo* and *peronismo*. Finally, we will consider three recent examples of a new “ethnopolitism” in the Andes.

Students will gain a working knowledge of populism in Latin America, from a historical perspective (*who* were “populists”) and from a political-sociological perspective (*what* is “populism”). Students will also apply a conceptual understanding of “populism” in an independent research paper.

COURSE TEXTBOOKS

The following books are required for this course:

De la Torre, Carlos. 2010. *Populist Seduction in Latin America*. Athens: Ohio University Press.

Karush, Matthew B. and Oscar Chamosa, eds. 2010. *The New Cultural History of Peronism: Power and Identity in Mid-Twentieth-Century Argentina*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Levine, Robert M. 1998. *Father of the Poor? Vargas and His Era*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Madrid, Raúl. 2012. *The Rise of Ethnic Politics in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Additional *required* readings (articles and book chapters) are posted online or available on course reserve at the University Library and listed (by author, title) in the course schedule.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Below is a summary of course requirements and their share (in points) of the final grade:

Class Participation	50
Review Presentations	50
Research Paper	100
Research Prospectus	50
Research Presentation	50
Midterm Exam	100
Final Exam	100
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 500

Participation. Active participation in class is an essential part of learning, particularly in advanced level courses. Participation in this course is worth 10% of the semester grade. This will be evaluated by “spot checks” during class lectures. The way the process will work, is as follows: I will randomly select a student (using a set of index cards with your names on them) and ask a question about the course readings. I will evaluate your response, and give it a mark on the card. I will make sure to call on *at least* 5 students every class period.

Individual responses will be marked as follows:

- A Student has clearly read and demonstrates effort at deeper conceptual understanding
- B Student has clearly read and understood basic factual material
- C Student may have the read material, but has trouble articulating it correctly
- D Student did not read the material
- Z Student is absent or refuses to answer

Over the course of the semester (before midterm grades and before final grades), I will use these to assign participation grades.

Review Presentations. You are responsible for two review presentations. On those days, you will be responsible to give a short, five-minute presentation about the reading(s). Your task will be to (briefly) summarize the key points of the reading(s), provide a critical evaluation of the text(s), and place the readings in the context of the course—that is, how the reading(s) fit with previous week’s readings. You may choose to lead a class discussion on a film.

You must come to my office hours *before* class to go over your presentation. That means that if your presentation is on a Monday, you need to come to my office hours the previous week; if your presentation is on a Wednesday, you need to come to my office hours no later than the preceding Monday. One of the things we will do is come up with “spot check” questions together.

You are responsible for your discussion days. If you are absent on a day that you are responsible to lead discussion, you will earn a zero. If you know you will have to miss, it is your responsibility to find someone in class to switch dates with you.

Exams. This course will have two exams, a midterm and a final. Both exams will follow this format:

	Number of questions on exam	Points worth per question	Total points per section
Multiple-choice	30	1	30
Short answer/identification	25	1	25
Short essay (1-2 paragraphs)	5	5	25
Long essay (4-5 paragraphs)	1	20	20
Total			100

Each exam is worth 100 points, and will combine short answer/identification, short essay, and one long essay question. I will hand out study guides one week prior to each exam.

Semester Research Project. Throughout the semester, you will work on an independent research project: an analysis of any Latin American political leader or movement of your choice. This paper offers you an opportunity to demonstrate your understanding of course material—and to apply them to a case of your choosing. The project is divided into three separately graded components:

- A **research prospectus** of 2-3 pages in length that outlines a research question, a theoretical framework, a case selection, and a research design. In addition, you must submit a **preliminary bibliography**.
- A **research presentation** of 7-10 minutes in length that presents the findings of the research. The presentations will be given on the last week of the semester. The presentation grade is split into two equal parts: (1) a slideshow presentation and (2) the oral presentation itself.
- A **research paper** of 10-12 pages in length that includes an introduction and research question, a literature review (an expanded theoretical framework), a discussion of case selection and research design, and an analysis based on scholarly sources.

I will provide additional guidelines for the project throughout the semester. I also recommend Lisa Baglione's *Writing a Research Paper in Political Science* (Belmont, CA: Thomson, 2012).

Populism Film Series. In addition to the course readings, we will discuss four films about populism:

Eva Perón. DVD. Directed by Juan Carlos Desanzo, 1996; Chicago: Facts Video, 2003. (Spanish with English subtitles.)

The Fall of Fujimori. DVD. Directed by Ellen Perry. 2006. Canoga Park, CA: Cinema Libre.

The Hugo Chávez Show. DVD. PBS Frontline/World. 2008. Boston: WGHB.

Cocalero. DVD. Directed by Alejandro Landes. 2007. New York: First Run Pictures.

The films will be shown on the Monday evening prior to their discussion at 7:00 pm in Croft 204. I will provide popcorn. If you cannot attend the showing, you are responsible to view the film *prior* to class discussion (the film will be available on course reserve) and write a two-page critical reflection essay.

GRADING SCALE

This course uses the university's new +/- grading scale. The corresponding percentages and point scores for each +/- letter grade are outlined below:

Letter Grade	Percentage	Points
A	93-100	465-500
A-	90-92	450-464
B+	87-89	435-449
B	83-86	415-434
B-	80-82	400-414
C+	77-79	385-399
C	73-76	365-384
C-	70-72	350-364
D	60-69	300-349
F	0-59	0-299

ADDITIONAL ISSUES & CLASS RULES

Please be sure you follow these basic class rules and policies throughout the semester:

Classroom Behavior. I do not allow the use of cell phones, laptops, or other electronic devices in class without permission. I also expect you to consistently behave in ways that demonstrate your respect for me and the course, your fellow students, and yourself.

Missing Assignments. If you prepare for contingencies (by not starting to work on assignments the night before), you should not miss any assignments. Even if your work is incomplete, submitting what you have accomplished prior to any emergency is better than earning a zero. Extensions will only be granted for extreme circumstances, and at my discretion.

Communication. Email is the most common way for students and faculty to communicate outside of class. I try to answer messages promptly, but do not expect emails sent *after 6pm* to be answered until *after 8 am* the following day. Additionally, remember to keep messages professional and respectful (e.g. use salutations, such as “Professor Centellas” or “Dr. Centellas”). Also, check your university email account regularly; I will use that address when sending important messages related to the course.

Student Disability Services. If you have a *documented* disability as described by the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (P.L. 933-112 Section 504) or the Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) and would like to request academic and/or physical accommodations, please contact Student Disability Services at 234 Martindale Center (662-915-7128). Course requirements will not be waived, but reasonable accommodations may be provided as appropriate. Please consult <http://www.olemiss.edu/depts/sds/> for more information on student disability services.

Academic Integrity & Plagiarism. All work submitted under *your* name is assumed to be *your* original work. The penalty for plagiarism and/or cheating in this class ranges from failure of the assignment to failing the course. Additional penalties are also possible. All students should familiarize themselves with the relevant guidelines and procedures in the *M Book*.

ADDITIONAL REQUIRED READINGS

The following is the list of additional *required* readings posted on the course website:

- Alexander, Robert J. 1956. "Brazilian 'Tenentismo'." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 36 (2): 229-242.
- Arditi, Benjamin. 2005. "Populism and the Internal Periphery of Democracy." In *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. London: Verso.
- Clinton, Richard Lee. 1970. "APRA: An Appraisal." *Journal of Inter-American Studies and World Affairs* 12 (2): 280-297.
- Conniff, Michael L. 1999. "Introduction." In *Populism in Latin America*. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press.
- Di Tella, Torcuato S. 2004. "The Postwar Dawn: Populism and Its Transformations." In *History of Political Parties in Twentieth-Century Latin America*. New Brunswick: Transaction.
- Dix, Robert H. 1985. "Populism: Authoritarian and Democratic." *Latin American Research Review* 20 (2): 29-52.
- French, John D. 2010. "Many Lefts, One Path? Chávez and Lula." In *Latin America's Left Turns: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner.
- . 1988. "Workers and the Rise of Adhemarista Populism in São Paulo, Brazil 1945-1947." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68 (1): 1-43.
- Kantor, Harry. 1959. "The Development of Acción Democrática de Venezuela." *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 1 (2): 237-255.
- Klein, Herbert S. 1967. "Germán Busch and the Era of 'Military Socialism' in Bolivia." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 47 (2): 166-184.
- Knight, Alan. 1998. "Populism and Neo-populism in Latin America, especially Mexico." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 30 (2): 223-248.
- Levitsky, Steven and Lucan Way. 2002. "The Rise of Competitive Authoritarianism." *Journal of Democracy* 15 (2): 51-65.
- O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1994. "Delegative Democracy." *Journal of Democracy* 5 (1): 55-69.
- Panizza, Francisco. 2005. "Introduction: Populism and the Mirror of Democracy." In *Populism and the Mirror of Democracy*. London: Verso.
- Weyland, Kurt. 2001. "Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics." *Comparative Politics* 34 (1): 1-22.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1	1/23	Introduction: Hand out syllabus and go over course schedule
	1/25	Hand out research project assignment guidelines and go over expectations Sign up for review presentations
Week 2	1/28	<i>Populism in History</i> Conniff, “Introduction” Knight, “Populism and Neopopulism” **Film: <i>The Hugo Chávez Show</i> (7 pm in Croft 204)
	1/30	<i>Sociology of Populism</i> Panizza, “Populism and the Mirror of Democracy” Arditti, “Populism as an Internal Periphery of Democratic Politics”
	2/01	Discuss <i>The Hugo Chávez Show</i>
Week 3	2/04	<i>Conceptual Debates over Populism</i> Dix, “Populism: Authoritarian and Democratic” Weyland, “Clarifying a Contested Concept” De la Torre, Ch. 1 (The Ambiguity of Latin American “Classical” Populism) **Film: <i>The Fall of Fujimori</i> (7 pm in Croft 204)
	2/06	<i>Populism as Semi-Authoritarian</i> O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy” Levitsky & Way, “Competitive Authoritarianism”
	2/08	Discuss <i>The Fall of Fujimori</i>
Week 4	2/11	<i>Populist Moments</i> French, “Many Lefts, One Path?” Di Tella, “The Postwar Dawn: Populism and Its Transformations”
	2/13	<i>Military Populism</i> Klein, “Military Socialism” Alexander, “Tenentismo”
	2/15	<i>Populist Parties</i> Kantor, “Acción Democrática” Clinton, “APRA: An Appraisal”
Week 5	2/18	<i>Populism in Ecuador: From Velasco Ibarra to Correa</i> De la Torre, Ch. 1 (The Ambiguity of Latin American “Classical” Populism)
	2/20	De la Torre, Ch. 2 (Velasquista Seduction)
	2/22	De la Torre, Ch. 3 (Leader of the Poor or Repugnant Other?)
Week 6	2/25	De la Torre, Ch. 4 (The Continuing Populist Temptation)
	2/29	De la Torre, Ch. 5 (The Resurgence of Radical Populism in Latin America)
	3/01	De la Torre, Ch. 6 (Rafael Correa) Research prospectus due

Week 7	3/04	Midterm Exam, Pt. 1
	3/06	Midterm Exam, Pt. 2
	3/08	<i>No class—rest after your exams</i>
Spring break—no class		
Week 8	3/18	Populism in Brazil: Vargas Levine, Ch. 1 (Introduction: Vargas as Enigma) Levine, Ch. 2 (In the Saddle, 1883-1937)
	3/20	Levine, Ch. 3 (The Estado Novo, 1937-1945)
	3/22	Levine, Ch. 4 (Populism, Vargas Style, 1945-1954)
Week 9	3/25	Levine, Ch. 5 (Different Getúlios)
	3/27	Levine, Ch. 6 (Vargas's Incomplete Revolution)
	3/29	French, "Adhemarista Populism"
Week 10	4/01	Populism in Argentina: Juan & Eva Perón NCHP: Karush & Chamosa, "Introduction" **Film: <i>Eva Perón</i> (7 pm in Croft 204)
	4/03	NCHP: Karush, "Populism, Melodrama, and the Market"
	4/05	Discuss <i>Eva Perón</i>
Week 11	4/08	NCHP: Ballent, "Unforgettable Kitsch"
	4/10	NCHP: Seveso, "Political Emotions and Origins of the Peronist Resistance"
	4/12	NCHP: Plotkin, "Final Reflections"
Week 12	4/15	Ethnopolulism in the Andes: Bolivia, Ecuador, Peru Madrid, Ch. 1 (Ethnicity and Ethnopolulism in Latin America) **Film: <i>Cocalero</i> (7 pm in Croft 204)
	4/17	Madrid, Ch. 3 (The Rise and Decline of Pachakutik in Ecuador)
	4/19	Madrid, Ch. 2 (The Ascent of the MAS in Bolivia) Discuss <i>Cocalero</i>
Week 13	4/22	Madrid, Ch. 4 (Ethnopolulism without Indigenous Parties in Peru)
	4/24	Madrid, Ch. 5 (Indigenous Parties outside the Central Andes)
	4/26	Madrid, Ch. 6 (Indigenous Parties and Democracy in the Andes) Madrid, Ch. 7 (Conclusion)
Week 14	4/29– 5/03	Research presentations
Finals Week	5/08	Final exam—8:00 am