**INST 381: Heroes & Villains: Populism in Latin America**

MWF 1:00-1:50 — Croft 203

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**COURSE DESCRIPTION**

This is an interdisciplinary seminar on populism in Latin America. The region saw a number of “populist” figures throughout the twentieth century: Juan & Eva Perón in Argentina, Getúlio Vargas in Brazil, José María Velasco Ibarra in Ecuador, and others. Such figures include military men, middle-class politicians, and labor leaders. Seen as heroes or villains (depending on one’s perspective), they transformed political discourse in their countries.

Populism is a highly contested concept that is not easily defined. Historians point to similarities among “populist” figures or movements identified 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, particularly through the redistribution of state resources. One common thread was that “classic” populists pursued statist economic policies. Recently, however, scholars have wrestled with contemporary figures that behave like earlier populist figures, but pursue neoliberal economic policies. Thus, confusion abounds.

We will begin with different definitions of “populism” and brief looks at populist figures and movements from across Latin America. We will 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-1960s), it is also closely identified with the kind of ideologically vague, highly personalized movements of *varguismo* and *peronismo*. Finally, we will consider three recent figures who some have identified as populists (or neopopulists): Peru’s Alberto Fujimori, Venezuela’s Hugo Chávez, and Bolivia’s Evo Morales.

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. 2000. *Populist Seduction in Latin America: The Ecuadorian Experience.* Athens: Ohio University Press.

Plotkin, Mariano Ben. 2003. *Mañana es San Perón: A Cultural History of Peron’s Argentina.* Wilmington: Scholarly Resources.

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

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| --- | --- | --- |
|  | Class ParticipationReview Presentations | 5050 |
|  | Research Paper | 100 |
|  | Research Prospectus | 50 |
|  | Research Presentation | 50 |
|  | Midterm Exam | 100 |
|  | Final Exam | 100 |
|  | Total | 500 |

***Participation.*** Because this is an advanced seminar, active, engaging, and meaningful participation is essential. I expect you to complete the readings and assignments *before* the class for which they are assigned—and to come ready to discuss them. Participation grades are my subjective evaluation of your overall performance in class.

***Review Presentations.*** You are responsible for two review presentations during the semester. These reviews are meant to start class discussion. 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 day’s reading(s) fit with previous week’s readings.

***Exams.*** This course will have two exams, a midterm and a final. Each exam is worth 100 points, and will combine short answer/identification, short essay, and long essay questions. 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 3-4 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.
* 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 each of the project’s components throughout the semester. I also recommend the following book: Lisa Baglione, *Writing a Research Paper in Political Science* (Belmont, CA: Thomson, 2007).

***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 evening prior to their discussion (see the course schedule); I will provide popcorn. If you cannot attend the showing, you are responsible to view the film *prior* to class discussion and write a two-page critical reflection essay.

**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 know in advance that you will miss an assignment deadline, you may submit the assignment early—and then appeal for an extension. If you prepare for contingencies (by not starting to work on assignments the night before they are due), you should be safe. Even if your work is not complete, submitting what you have accomplished prior to the emergency is better than earning a zero. Extensions will only be granted under 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 American s 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.* As a student at the University, all work submitted under your name, for your credit, is assumed to be your original work. While teachers hope and expect for you to incorporate the thinking of others in your work, you must credit others’ work when you use it. In your written assignments, there are only three methods for properly importing the works of others: quotations, paraphrase, and summary. Broadly speaking, plagiarism is completely avoidable. However, if you are ever unsure if you are committing plagiarism, consult with us prior to submitting the assignment.

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. Students should familiarize themselves with the relevant guidelines and procedures in the *M Book*.

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

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| Week 1 | 8/22 | Introduction: Hand out syllabus and go over course requirements |
|  | 8/24 | ***Populism in History***Conniff, “Introduction”Knight, “Populism and Neo-populism” |
|  | 8/26 | ***The Sociology of Populism***Panizza, “Populism and the Mirror of Democracy”Arditti, “Populism as an Internal Periphery of Democratic Politics” |
| Week 2 | 8/29 | ***Conceptual Debates over Populism***Dix, “Populism: Authoritarian and Democratic”Weyland, “Clarifying a Contested Concept” |
|  | 8/31 | ***Populism as Semi-Authoritarianism***O’Donnell, “Delegative Democracy”Levitsky & Way, “Competitive Authoritarianism” |
|  | 9/02 | ***Populist Moments***French, “Many Lefts, One Path?”Di Tella, “The Postwar Dawn: Populism and Its Transformations” |
| Week 3 | 9/05 | *Labor Day—no class* |
|  | 9/07 | ***Military Populism***Klein, “Military Socialism” Alexander, “Tenentismo” |
|  | 9/09 | ***Populist Parties***Kantor, “Acción Democrática” Clinton, “APRA: An Appraisal” |
|  | **Populism in Ecuador** |
| Week 4 | 9/12 | De la Torre, Chapter 1 |
|  | 9/14 | De la Torre, Chapter 2 |
|  | 9/16 | Review and discussion of research paper assignment |
| Week 5 | 9/19 | De la Torre, Chapter 3 |
|  | 9/21 | De la Torre, Chapter 4 & Conclusion |
|  | 9/23 | Research prospectus due |
| Week 6 | 9/26 | Review for midterm exam |
|  | 9/28 | Midterm exam (part 1) |
|  | 9/30 | Midterm exam (part 2) |
|  | **Populism in Brazil: Getúlio Vargas** |
| Week 7 | 10/03 | Levine, Chapter 1-2 |
|  | 10/05 | Levine, Chapter 3 |
|  | 10/07 | Levine, Chapter 4 |
| Week 8 | 10/10 | Levine, Chapter 5 |
|  | 10/12 | Levine, Chapter 6 |
|  | 10/14 | French, “Adhemarista Populism” |
|  | **Populism in Argentina: Juan & Eva Perón** |
| Week 9 | 10/17 | Plotkin, Chapters 1-2 |
|  | 10/19 | Plotkin, Chapters 3-4 |
|  | 10/21 | Discussion of *Eva Perón*\*film shown 10/20 (Thursday) 6:30-9:00 pm in Croft 103 |
| Week 10 | 10/24 | Plotkin, Chapters 5-6 |
|  | 10/26 | Plotkin, Chapters 7-8 |
|  | 10/28 | Plotkin, Conclusion |
| Week 11 | 10/31 | Student presentations and writing workshop |
|  | 11/02 | Student presentations and writing workshop |
|  | 11/04 | Self-reflection on status of research project |
|  | **Populism in Peru: Alberto Fujimori** |
| Week 12 | 11/07 | Roberts, “Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America”Levitsky & Cameron, “Democracy without Parties?” |
|  | 11/09 | Discussion of *The Fall of Fujimori*\*film shown 11/08 (Tuesday) 6:30-9:00 pm in Croft 103 |
|  | 11/11 | Atwood, “Democratic Dictators”Burt, “Quien Habla es Terrorista” |
|  | **Populism in Venezuela: Hugo Chávez** |
| Week 13 | 11/14 | Hawkins, “Dependent Civil Society”Hidalgo, “Hugo Chávez’s ‘Petro-socialism’” |
|  | 11/16 | Ellner, “Contrasting Variants of Populism”McCoy, “Venezuela under Chávez” |
|  | 11/18 | Discussion of *The Hugo Chávez Show* \*film shown 11/17 (Thursday) 6:30-9:00 pm in Croft 103 |
|  | **Populism in Bolivia: Evo Morales** |
| Week 14 | 11/28 | Webber, “Bolivia in the Era of Evo Morales”Domingo, “Democracy and New Social Forces in Bolivia” |
|  | 11/30 | Madrid, “Rise of Ethnopopulism”Anria, “Bolivia’s MAS: Between Party and Movement” |
|  | 12/02 | Discussion of *Cocalero* (film) and review for final exam\*film shown 12/01 (Thursday) 6:30-9:00 pm in Croft 103 |
| Week 15 | 12/07 | Final exam (noon–3 pm) |
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**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.

Anria, Santiago. 2010. “Bolivia’s MAS: Between Party and Movement.” In *Latin America’s Left Turns: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

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.

Domingo, Pilar. 2005. “Democracy and New Social Forces in Bolivia.” *Social Forces* 83 (4): 1727-1743.

Ellner, Steve. 2003. “The Contrasting Variants of the Populism of Hugo Chávez and Alberto Fujimori.” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 35 (1): 139-162.

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 Paolo, Brazil 1945-1947.” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68 (1): 1-43.

Hawkins, Kirk A. 2006. “Dependent Civil Society: The Círculos Bolivarianos in Venezuela.” *Latin American Research Review* 41 (1): 102-132.

Hidalgo, Manuel. 2009. “Hugo Chávez’s ‘Petro-socialism’.” *Journal of Democracy* 20 (2): 78-92.

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.

Levitsky, Seven and Maxwell A. Cameron. 2003. “Democracy without Parties? Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori’s Peru.” *Latin American Politics & Society* 45 (3): 1-33.

Madrid, Raúl L. 2008. “The Rise of Ethnopopulism in Latin America.” *World Politics* 60 (3): 475-508.

McCoy, Jennifer. 2010. “Venezuela Under Chávez: Beyond Liberalism.” In *Latin America’s Left Turns: Politics, Policies, and Trajectories of Change.* Boulder: Lynne Rienner.

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.

Roberts, Kenneth M. 1995. “Neoliberalism and the Transformation of Populism in Latin America: The Peruvian Case.” *World Politics* 48 (1): 82-116.

Webber, Jeffery R. 2010. “Bolivia in the Era of Evo Morales.” *Latin American Research Review* 45 (3): 248-260.

Weyland, Kurt. 2001. “Clarifying a Contested Concept: Populism in the Study of Latin American Politics.” *Comparative Politics* 34 (1): 1-22.