

American University
SIS-419-014, Spring 2019
Tuesdays, 5:30-8:00 PM, Kerwin 201

POPULISM: LESSONS FROM LATIN AMERICA

Prof. Arturo C. Porzecanski, Ph.D.

Distinguished Economist in Residence

Office hours (SIS #220): Tuesdays and Wednesdays, 3:30-5:15 PM
and by prior appointment

Telephone 917-526-3607; email: aporzeca@american.edu

Course Description

Populism appears to be sweeping through Europe and North America and is also making gains in Southeast Asia. Autocratic-leaning, nationalistic leaders, whether experienced or aspiring politicians, position themselves as outsiders who can solve the social problems that elites have failed to overcome, offering brutal approaches to crime while blaming vulnerable groups like religious minorities and new immigrants.

Latin America is the region with the most and most diverse instances of populism, many of which ended up undermining the foundations of their liberal democracies. The region's numerous experiences illustrate populism's promises, inherent authoritarian and nationalistic tendencies, and mostly economic failures. This course identifies the institutional and socioeconomic contexts that have given rise to populism in a variety of countries, analyzes the discourse and policy choices of populist leaders, and reviews their performance particularly in terms of economic-policy design and implementation.

The learning objectives of this course, which will be tested in various ways, are to enhance your understanding of the concept of populism, its theoretical principles, practical applications, and economic policy implications. The expected learning outcomes are the ability to apply concepts and theories from political economy and economics to explain the phenomenon of populism; the expansion of your knowledge of the literature and empirical studies on populism in Latin America and beyond; and the development of a capacity to analyze a political leader anywhere in the world and come to an understanding of the degree to which he or she is a populist and what that implies.

Course Requirements and Grading

This is a guided discussion course, and your active participation in the form of comments and questions is expected. The required textbooks, which will be read cover-to-cover, are:

- 1) Cas Mudde and Cristóbal Rovira Kaltwasser, *Populism: A Very Short Introduction*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2017. This book may be purchased, rented or read electronically for free via the AU Library at

<http://www.veryshortintroductions.com/view/10.1093/actrade/9780190234874.001.0001/actrade-9780190234874> The book's chapters have been downloaded and are in the Blackboard site for this class.

- 2) Carlos de la Torre and Cynthia J. Arnson, editors, *Latin American Populism in the Twenty-First Century*, Washington DC: Woodrow Wilson/Johns Hopkins University Press, 2013. This book must be purchased or rented.

The course requirements are, first, ten weekly multiple-choice quizzes containing a total of one-hundred (100) questions, administered (including timed) via Blackboard and taken on your own – but always ahead of each class, starting with the first class on January 15. Altogether, the quizzes account for 10% of the total class score. The purpose of these quizzes is to encourage you to keep up with the readings, and to help you prepare for class participation and for the exams.

The second course requirement involves class attendance and participation, including a presentation of your essay. You are expected to attend all classes, do the required readings, and contribute to class discussions, because they constitute an essential part of the course. Simply showing up and pretending to pay attention, or offering uninformed opinions or wild guesses, does not count as participation. It involves active engagement in each class discussion; demonstrating your thorough reading of the assigned materials; offering opinions based on facts or referenced others; and asking and answering relevant questions. Altogether, class participation accounts for 10% of the total class score.

The third course requirement entails three (3) in-class, closed-book, non-cumulative, multiple-choice exams that account for 15%, 15% and 20% of the total class score, respectively (50% in total). The purpose of these objective tests is to measure your understanding and application of the reading materials and class discussion.

The fourth course requirement is the delivery of an original, quality essay that meets the specifications detailed further below and is uploaded to Blackboard on or before midnight on Tuesday, April 30. The essay accounts for 30% of the total class score.

The final grade distribution will be curved to reflect the performance of the class. The top-scoring among the class will be eligible for an “A” or “A-” letter grade; those scoring somewhat above, at, or somewhat below the median – most students – will be assigned a grade in the “B+” to “B-” range; and those scoring substantially below the median will receive a final grade in the “C” or lower categories.

Important Information for All Students

Standards of academic conduct: All students are governed by American University's Academic Integrity Code (AIC). The AIC details specific violations of ethical conduct that relate to academic integrity. By registering, you have acknowledged your awareness of the AIC, and you are obliged to become familiar with your rights and responsibilities as defined by the code. All of your work (whether oral or written) in this

class is governed by the provisions of the AIC. Academic violations include but are not limited to: plagiarism, inappropriate collaboration, dishonesty in examinations whether in class or take-home, dishonesty in papers, work done for one course and submitted to another, deliberate falsification of data, interference with other students' work, and copyright violations. The adjudication process and possible penalties are listed in American University's AIC booklet, which is also available on the American University website. Being a member of this academic community entitles each of us to a wide degree of freedom and the pursuit of scholarly interests; with that freedom, however, comes a responsibility to uphold the high ethical standards of scholarly conduct. Details about the AIC can be found on the AU website (www.american.edu/academics/integrity).

Students with disabilities: If you wish to receive accommodations for a disability, please notify me with a letter from the Academic Support and Access Center. As accommodations are not retroactive, timely notification at the beginning of the semester, if possible, is strongly recommended. To register with a disability or for questions about disability accommodations, contact the Academic Support and Access Center at 202-885-3360 or asac@american.edu, or drop by the ASAC in MGC 243.

Academic support resources: All students may take advantage of the Academic Support and Access Center (ASAC, MGC 243) for individual academic skills counseling, workshops, tutoring, peer tutor referrals, and supplemental instruction. Additional academic support resources available at AU include the Bender Library, the Department of Literature's Writing Center (located in the Library), the Math Lab in the Department of Mathematics & Statistics, and the Center for Language Exploration, Acquisition, & Research (CLEAR) in Asbury Hall. A more complete list of campus-wide resources is available in the ASAC.

In the event of an emergency: In an emergency, American University will implement a plan for meeting the needs of all members of the university community. Should the university be required to close for a period of time, we are committed to ensuring that all aspects of our educational programs will be delivered to our students. These may include altering and extending the duration of the traditional term schedule to complete essential instruction in the traditional format and/or use of distance instructional methods. Specific strategies will vary from class to class, depending on the format of the course and the timing of the emergency. Faculty will communicate class-specific information to students via AU e-mail and Blackboard, while students must inform their faculty immediately of any absence. Students are responsible for checking their AU e-mail regularly and keeping themselves informed of emergencies. In the event of an emergency, students should refer to the AU Student Portal, the AU Web site (www.prepared.american.edu) and the AU information line at (202) 885-1100 for general university-wide information, as well as contact their faculty and/or respective dean's office for course and school/college-specific information.

Counseling resources: The Counseling Center (x3500, MGC 214) offers intake and urgent care services, counseling and consultations regarding personal concerns, self-help information, and connections to off-campus mental health resources.

Writing resources: The Writing Center (x2291, Bender Library, 1st floor) provides writing consultants to assist students with writing projects. Students must call to set up a free appointment. See www.american.edu/cas/writing/index.cfm

Diversity and inclusion resources: The Center for Diversity and Inclusion (x3651, MGC 201) is dedicated to enhancing LGBTQ, Multicultural, First Generation, and Women's experiences on campus and to "advance AU's commitment to respecting & valuing diversity by serving as a resource and liaison to students, staff, and faculty on issues of equity through education, outreach, and advocacy." See www.american.edu/ocl/cdi/index.cfm

Confidential victim resources: A program of the Health Promotion and Advocacy Center (x3276, Hughes Hall 105), OASIS (the Office of Advocacy Services for Interpersonal and Sexual Violence) provides free and confidential victim advocacy services for American University students who are impacted by all forms of sexual violence (e.g. sexual assault, rape, dating or domestic violence, sexual harassment, or stalking) – either directly or indirectly. To schedule an advocacy meeting with one of AU's confidential victim advocates, visit their You Can Book Me page at auhpac.youcanbook.me

Schedule

Week #1: January 15: What is Populism; Populism Around the World
Required reading and quiz: Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, chapters 1 and 2.

Week #2: January 22: Populism & Mobilization; the Populist Leader
Required reading and quiz: Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, chapters 3 and 4.

Week #3: January 29: Populism & Democracy; Causes & Responses
Required reading and quiz: Mudde and Rovira Kaltwasser, chapters 5 and 6.

Week #4: February 5: Economics & Political Economy of Latin American Populism
Required reading and quiz: Dornbusch and Edwards; Kaufman and Stallings; Cardoso and Helwege.

Week #5: February 12: Test #1 covering Week #1-4 readings; afterwards: Economic Drivers of Populism; Is Populism Necessarily Bad Economics?
Required reading: Guriev; Rodrik.

Week #6: February 19: Evolution of Latin American Populism & Debates Over Its Meaning; Parties and Populism in Latin America

Required reading and quiz: de la Torre and Arnson, chapters 1 and 2.

Week #7: February 26: Populism in Democratic Times; What Do We Mean by Populism?

Required reading and quiz: de la Torre and Arnson, chapters 3 and 4.

Week #8: March 5: Populism & Social Policy in Latin America; afterwards: **Test #2 covering Week #5-8 readings**

Required reading: de la Torre and Arnson, chapter 5.

March 12: No Class: Spring Break

Week #9: March 19: Populism in Argentina and Brazil

Required reading and quiz: de la Torre and Arnson, chapters 6 and 7.

Week #10: March 26: Populism in Peru and Venezuela

Required reading and quiz: de la Torre and Arnson, chapters 8 and 9.

Week #11: April 2: Populism in Bolivia and Ecuador

Required reading and quiz: de la Torre and Arnson, chapters 10 and 11.

Week #12: April 9: Populism in Colombia; Future of Populism in Latin America

Required reading and quiz: de la Torre and Arnson, chapters 12 and 13.

Week #13: April 16: Presentations, Part 1

Students from the 1st half of the class (in alphabetical order of last names) will have up to 15 minutes each to present the main messages of their final essays.

Week #14: April 23: Presentations, Part 2

Students from the 2nd half of the class (in alphabetical order of last names) will have up to 15 minutes each to present the main messages of their final essays.

April 30: **Essay due before midnight, submitted via Blackboard.**

May 7: **Test #3 covering Week #9-12 readings.**

Instructions for the essay assignment

Your paper cannot be longer than 2,000 words, excluding the bibliography and any footnotes, which may be as long as you wish. It must demonstrate the application of concepts learned in class and *should cite the relevant books and articles listed in this syllabus*, as well as the ones I found and posted on Blackboard, plus at least 5 book or academic-journal sources that you will find and cite on your own. You are welcome to find and cite also relevant articles or other materials from newspapers or magazines (e.g., *Foreign Affairs* and *Foreign Policy*), but they do not count toward the minimum of 5 book or academic-journal sources.

You must work on this essay all by yourself. All facts, opinions, quotations, and paraphrasing of material that is not your own must be credited to the original source, by way of an in-line citation to a source appearing in your bibliography *and to a specific page number*, in order to avoid even the appearance of plagiarism. For example:

Very little is known about how personal experiences during his teenage years shaped the ideological orientation of Hugo Chávez once he became an adult (Smith 2010, 22).

The complete citations should be included in a bibliography at the end, where they are to be listed in alphabetical order by the last name of the author, followed by the year, title, publisher, volume/month/day, and URL, if available. For example:

Banana, Arthur (2012), "All You Wanted to Know About Populism but Were Afraid to Ask," *Journal of Populism Studies*, Vol. 12, No. 3, 198-217.

Gutiérrez, John (2016), "Hugo Chávez in Historical Context," in *Harvard Working Papers No. 54*, December, 8-12, <http://www.harvard.edu/publ/bppdf/bispap54a.pdf>.

Smith, Federico (2014), *Populism in Venezuela* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).

Footnotes should be used when you wish to expand on a minor point made in the text, and they should be numbered consecutively. For example:

¹² For additional examples of how official statistical information was misrepresented during the Chávez administration, see Banana 2012, 48-53.

As mentioned previously, violations of the AIC will not be treated lightly, and disciplinary actions will be taken should violations occur. Also, let me know if you become aware of any violations of the AIC by other students.

Please observe the following conventions:

- (a) use Word software and activate its language (English U.S.) and spell-check features;
- (b) specify single-line spacing and insert page numbering;

- (c) pick a file name that consists of “[Last name] [First name] Essay.docx,” (e.g., Morris Ben Essay.docx);
- (d) make sure that your spelling, vocabulary, grammar, and punctuation are the best that they can be;
- (e) keep track of your word count and don’t exceed 2,000; and
- (f) upload to Blackboard by the due date/time.

Essays which do not observe these conventions will be penalized.

Choice of Essay Topic:

Pick one from the following list of leaders and answer the question:

Is (or was) this leader a populist?

Choose one from among the following six:

Silvio Berlusconi
Rodrigo Duterte
Recep Erdogan
Robert Mugabe
Viktor Orbán
Vladimir Putin

Provide the best documented, thoughtful and complete answer that you can deliver, demonstrating command of, and referencing appropriately, what we read and discussed in class about populism (e.g., its multiple definitions and varieties), plus all that you found and read on your own.