



PO/IR 353 POPULISM AND NEO-POPULISM: LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS IN A CHANGING WORLD

IES Abroad Buenos Aires

DESCRIPTION:

This course introduces students to the political, social and cultural developments of modern (from the 1970s to the present) Latin America. Emphasis will be placed on the changing relationship between elite and “pueblo”, on the emergence of new forms of political representation and social movements, on the evolution of new social and cultural identities, and on the development of a mass culture and its relations to elite culture.

We will start by analyzing the state building process in Latin America and the differences with the American and European model. We will devote a considerable amount of our time to other crucial questions such as the direction and pace of regime change in Latin America, and the relationship between democracy and development. We will also explore some of the most urgent challenges facing Latin American countries such as neo-populism, market reforms, and democratic consolidation. We will conclude the course with a discussion on the future of the state, democracy and development in the region.

CREDITS: 3 credits

CONTACT HOURS: 45 hours

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: English

PREREQUISITES: None

ADDITIONAL COST: None

METHOD OF PRESENTATION:

The course provides a critical and comparative introduction to the study of Latin America. It aims to equip you with the conceptual tools and analytical skills needed to understand and interpret current events in the region, utilizing diverse sources such as readings, films, and documentaries.

Students are encouraged to engage critically and constructively with lectures, films, and documentaries, fostering creative and stimulating discussions. To fully benefit from the course and contribute meaningfully, you should consistently complete the background readings, actively participate in class, and come prepared to discuss the films, documentaries, and lectures. Timely completion of assignments is also essential to this process.

REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:

- Class participation - 10%
- Oral presentations (two) 30%
- Mid-term I 30%
- Mid-term II 30 %

Course Detail

- Class meetings will consist of lectures to introduce topics and concepts and group discussions to apply the concepts and examine them critically.
- Students are required to do the assigned reading in advance by the date posted in the course schedule and come to class prepared to participate actively. Effective participation is only possible if you do the reading. You will be evaluated for your participation.
- There will be also at least two field trips during the course period.
- Students are required to bring textbooks/download pdf version of the texts in your notebook to bring to class; they will be used for in-class activities.
- Each student will also have to give two oral presentations during the course. Oral presentations must show preparation and knowledge.
- The required written work for the course consists of two midterms. You may be asked to write essays. We will grade the essays and exams taking into account the quality of the argument or arguments exposed, the knowledge of the bibliography and the organization and clarity of the information provided. The essay has to be based on a hypothesis or issue that could be responded with academic material.



LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course, students will be able to:

- Develop a working knowledge of the key social, political, economic, and cultural developments in modern Latin American history.
- Analyze the complex relationship between local level developments and world processes across time and space.
- Describe the political, social, and cultural developments in Latin America from the 1970s to the present, particularly the changing relationship between the elite and the "pueblo."
- Critically analyze the emergence of new forms of political representation and social movements and evaluate their impact on the evolution of social and cultural identities in modern Latin America.
- Understand and explain the development of mass culture in Latin America and its relationship to elite culture and assess how these dynamics influence contemporary society.
- Compare and contrast the state-building processes in Latin America with those of the American and European models, identifying key differences and similarities.
- Assess the direction and pace of regime change in Latin America and articulate the relationship between democracy and development in the region.
- Evaluate contemporary challenges such as neo populism, market reforms, and democratic consolidation, and discuss their implications for the future of the state and democracy in Latin America.
- Engage in discussions about the future of the region, and formulate informed perspectives on potential trajectories for state, democracy, and development in Latin America.

ATTENDANCE POLICY:

As a member of our class community, you are expected to be present and on time every day. Attending class has an impact on your learning and academic success. For this reason, attendance is required for all IES Buenos Aires classes, including course-related excursions. If the student misses more than one class (if the course is given intensively in 5 to 7 weeks) or two classes (if the course is given in 15 weeks), his/her final grade will drop one point for each missed class exceeding the limit, e.g. from A to A-, from A- to B+ and so on. Absences will only be justified, and assessed work, including exams, tests and presentations rescheduled, in cases of documented medical or family emergencies.

CONTENT:

Week	Content	Assignments/Readings
Week 1 ¹	Class Presentation	• BROWN, M. D. (2015). "The global history of Latin America". Journal of Global History, 10(3), 365-386. • GARCIA MARQUEZ, Gabriel. "The Solitude of Latin America". Nobel Prize Lecture, 8 December 1982.
Week 2	The Populist Tradition and its Legacy (1930-1955) Visit to Brazilian Embassy	• GUY, Donna, "Life and the Commodification of Death in Argentina: Juan and Eva Perón" in Lyman Johnson, Death, Dismemberment, and Memory in Latin America (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 245-272. • CARDOSO, Fernando and Enzo Faletto, "Populism and National Development". In James Wood and John Chasteen, Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations. Lanham:

¹ Week 1 is a shorter week of classes as the first few days are dedicated to orientation.

		Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 223-225. VARGAS, Getulio. "A Consummate Speechwriter". In James Wood and John Chasteen, Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 221-223.
Weeks 2	Revolution and Reaction (1955-1989)	- CHASTEEN, John Charles. Born in Blood & Fire. A concise history of Latin America. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2016. Chapters 9 and 10. - ALLENDE, Salvador. "The Chilean Road to Socialism". In James Wood and John Chasteen, Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 249-253.
Week 3	Economic Reform and Crisis (1989- 2003) Visit to Buenos Aires political sites	- SHUMWAY, Jeffrey. "Sometimes knowing How to Forget is Also Having Memory": The repatriation of Juan Manuel de Rosas and the Healing of Argentina", in Lyman Johnson, Death, Dismemberment, and Memory in Latin America (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 105-140. - AUYERO, Javier. "Visible Fists, Clandestine Kicks, and Invisible Elbows: Three Forms of Regulating Neoliberal Poverty", European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies 89, October 2010, pp. 5-26. - KREBS, Edgardo. "How Argentina Went from Myth to Mistake", The Washington Post, January 13, 2002, http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/argentina/myth.htm
Week 3	Pink Tide and the Rise of China (2003-2024)	- JENKINS, Rhys. "Latin America and China—a new dependency?". Third World Quarterly, 2012, Vol. 33, No. 7 (2012), pp. 1337-1358. - KESSLER, Gabriel & María Mercedes Di Virgilio, "Impoverishment of the middle class in Argentina: the new poor in Latin America". In Laboratorium 2010, 2:3, 200-220. - CHAVEZ, Hugo. "Address to the United Nations". In James Wood and John Chasteen, Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 310-311.
Week 4	Argentina in perspective	- GLAESER, Edward, Rafael Di Tella and Lucas Llach, "Introduction to Argentine exceptionalism", in LAER (2018) 27:1. - ADELMAN, Jeremy. "Argentina in the Cul-de-Sac (Again)? in Benjamin Bryce & David Sheinin, Making Citizens in Argentina (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2017), 180-196. - KIRCHNER, Néstor and Lula DA SILVA, "The Buenos Aires Consensus". In James Wood and John Chasteen, Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 296-299.
Week 4	Latin American Pendulum	- ELLNER, Steve. "Introduction: Pink-Tide Governments: Pragmatic and Populist Responses to Challenges from the Right." Latin American Perspectives, vol. 46, no. 1, 2019, pp. 4–22. - DE LA TORRE, Carlos. "Populism Revived". The Americas, October 2018, Vol. 75, No. 4, pp. 733-753. - MILEI, Javier. "Special address". Davos 2024.
Week 5	Post-democracy and populism in Venezuela: from Chávez to Maduro	- STAVRAKAKIS, Yannis et. al. "Contemporary Left-wing Populism in Latin America: Leadership, Horizontalism, and Postdemocracy in Chávez's Venezuela". Latin American Politics and Society, vol. 58, no. 3, 2016, pp. 51-76 - KESTLER, Thomas and Miguel Latouche. "Venezuela: The

		Institutionalization of Authoritarian Populism". In Michael Oswald, The Palgrave Handbook of Populism. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, p. 511-526. KING, Larry. Live-2009: Larry King interviews Hugo Chavez
Week 5	Social movements and political struggles in Bolivia: The Rise of Evo Morales and the MAS	- GARCÍA LINERA, Alvaro. "The Struggle for Power in Bolivia". In Plebeian Power: Collective Action and Indigenous, Working-Class and Popular Identities in Bolivia. Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2014, pp. 283-304. - RANTA, Eija. "Ethnography of the State in Plurinational Bolivia: Indigenous Knowledge, Clientelism and Decolonizing Bureaucracy". In Miriam Fahimi, Elmar Flatschart, Wolfram Schaffar, State and Statehood in the Global South. Cham: Springer, 2022. - MORALES, Evo. "On Bolivian sovereignty". In James Wood and John Chasteen, Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.
Week 6	The Brazilian labyrinth: between Lula and Bolsonaro	- BETHELL, Leslie. 'Populism in Brazil', In Brazil: Essays on History and Politics. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2018. - PEREYRA DOVAL, Gisela. "Bolsonaro in Brazil. To the right of the right". In Gisela Pereyra Doval and Gastón Souroujon, Global resurgence of the right: conceptual and regional perspectives. New York: Routledge, 2021 - BOLSONARO, Jair. Opening of the 74th United Nations General Assembly – New York, September 24, 2019. - CHAVEZ, Hugo. "Address to the United Nations". In James Wood and John Chasteen, Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 310-311.
Week 6	From Neo-developmentalism to neo-extractivism? Economic challenges and political agenda in Latin America	- WEBBER, Jeffrey. "Crisis and Class, Advance and Retreat: The Political Economy of the New Latin American Left", In Lucia Pradella and Thomas Marois, Polarizing Development: Alternatives to Neoliberalism and the Crisis. London: Pluto Press, 2015. - SVAMPA, Maristella. "Neo-extractivism in Latin America: Socio-environmental conflicts, the territorial turn, and new political narratives". In Maria Victoria Murillo et. al. Elements in Politics and Society in Latin America. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. - STEINER, Marc and Bret GUSTAFSON. "For Us, Extractivism is Lethal". NACLA. The North American Congress on Latin America, June 20, 2023
Week 7	The return of the left? Past and present of populism, from Mexico to Chile.	- PANIZZA, Francisco and Diego SAZO, "A new pink tide: The return of the left in Brazil and Chile". Renewal. A journal of social democracy, vol. 31, n. 4, 2023, pp. 92-102.Text 2: Guan & Hongying - Daniel Kent Carrasco, Diego Bautista Páez, Diana Fuentes, and Francisco Quijano (2024). "The Mexico of Claudia Sheinbaum". NACLA. The North American Congress on Latin America, June 10, 2024.URL



COURSE-RELATED TRIPS:

- Course related trip to Plaza de Mayo and surroundings.
- Course related trip to see the works of Antonio Berni at the Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes and the Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires.
- Course related trip to the Brazilian Embassy.
- Course related Trip to Museo Evita.
- Course related Trip to Barrio 31.

REQUIRED READINGS:

Unless otherwise noted, the readings included in this syllabus are mandatory. You are expected to do the readings prior to the class and come prepared for participation and discussion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR ASSIGNMENTS:

- ADELMAN, Jeremy. "Argentina in the Cul-de-Sac (Again)?" in Benjamin Bryce & David Sheinin, *Making Citizens in Argentina* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 2017), 180-196.
- AUYERO, Javier. "Visible Fists, Clandestine Kicks, and Invisible Elbows: Three Forms of Regulating Neoliberal Poverty", *European Review of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* 89, October 2010, pp. 5-26.
- BETHELL, Leslie. 'Populism in Brazil', In *Brazil: Essays on History and Politics*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, 2018.
- BROWN, M. D. (2015). "The global history of Latin America". *Journal of Global History*, 10(3), 365-386.
- CARDOSO, Fernando and Enzo Faletto, "Populism and National Development". In James Wood and John Chasteen, *Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 223-225.
- CHASTEEN, John Charles. *Born in Blood & Fire. A concise history of Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2016. Chapters 9 and 10.
- DE LA TORRE, Carlos. "Populism Revived". *The Americas*, October 2018, Vol. 75, No. 4, pp. 733-753.
- ELLNER, Steve. "Introduction: Pink-Tide Governments: Pragmatic and Populist Responses to Challenges from the Right." *Latin American Perspectives*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2019, pp. 4-22.
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- GLAESER, Edward, Rafael Di Tella and Lucas Llach, "Introduction to Argentine exceptionalism", in *LAER* (2018) 27:1.
- GUAN, Wang and Wu Hongying, "A Resurgence of the Pink Tide in Latin America". *CIR*, vol. 33, n. 2, 2023, pp. 100-119.
- GUY, Donna, "Life and the Commodification of Death in Argentina: Juan and Eva Perón" in Lyman Johnson, *Death, Dismemberment, and Memory in Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 245-272.
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- KENT CARRASCO, Daniel, Diego Bautista Páez, Diana Fuentes, and Francisco Quijano (2024). "The Mexico of Claudia Sheinbaum". *NACLA. The North American Congress on Latin America*, June 10, 2024.
- KESSLER, Gabriel & María Mercedes Di Virgilio, "Impoverishment of the middle class in Argentina: the new poor in Latin America". In *Laboratorium* 2010, 2:3, 200-220.
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- PEREYRA DOVAL, Gisela. "Bolsonaro in Brazil. To the right of the right". In Gisela Pereyra Doval and Gastón Souroujon, *Global resurgence of the right: conceptual and regional perspectives*. New York: Routledge, 2021
- RANTA, Eija. "Ethnography of the State in Plurinational Bolivia: Indigenous Knowledge, Clientelism and Decolonizing Bureaucracy". In Miriam Fahimi, Elmar Flatschart, Wolfram Schaffar, *State and Statehood in the Global South*. Cham: Springer, 2022.
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- STAVRAKAKIS, Yannis et. al. "Contemporary Left-wing Populism in Latin America: Leadership, Horizontalism, and Postdemocracy in Chávez's Venezuela". *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 58, no. 3, 2016, pp. 51-76
- SVAMPA, Maristella. "Neo-extractivism in Latin America: Socio-environmental conflicts, the territorial turn, and new political narratives". In Maria Victoria Murillo et. al. *Elements in Politics and Society in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019.
- WEBBER, Jeffrey. "Crisis and Class, Advance and Retreat: The Political Economy of the New Latin American Left", In Lucia Pradella and Thomas Marois, *Polarizing Development: Alternatives to Neoliberalism and the Crisis*. London: Pluto Press, 2015.

PRIMARY SOURCES:

- ALLENDE, Salvador. "The Chilean Road to Socialism". In James Wood and John Chasteen, *Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 249-253.
- BOLSONARO, Jair. Opening of the 74th United Nations General Assembly – New York, September 24, 2019.
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- GARCIA MARQUEZ, Gabriel. "The Solitude of Latin America". Nobel Prize Lecture, 8 December 1982.
- KENT CARRASCO, Daniel; Diego Bautista Páez; Diana Fuentes, and Francisco Quijano (2024). "The Mexico of Claudia Sheinbaum". NACLA. The North American Congress on Latin America, June 10, 2024. URL
- KING, Larry. Live-2009: Larry King interviews Hugo Chavez
- KIRCHNER, Néstor and Lula DA SILVA, "The Buenos Aires Consensus". In James Wood and John Chasteen, *Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 296-299.
- KREBS, Edgardo. "How Argentina Went from Myth to Mistake", *The Washington Post*, January 13, 2002, <http://www.latinamericanstudies.org/argentina/myth.htm>
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- MORALES, Evo. "On Bolivian sovereignty". In James Wood and John Chasteen, *Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009.
- STEINER, Marc and Bret GUSTAFSON. "For Us, Extractivism is Lethal". NACLA. The North American Congress on Latin America, June 20, 2023
- VARGAS, Getulio. "A Consummate Speechwriter". In James Wood and John Chasteen, *Problems in Modern Latin American History. Sources and Interpretations*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2009, 221-223.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Bercoff, José Javier (2019). *Who Voted for Perón? Essays on the Argentine mid-20th century Presidential Elections*. Chapter I
- Casullo, M. y Freidenberg, F. (2017) "Populist and Programmatic Parties in Latin American Party System, in *Political Populism, a Handbook*.
- De La Torre, Carlos (2014), "Populism in Latin America", In *The Many Faces of Populism: Current Perspectives*. Research in Political Sociology. Vol 22.
- Dornbusch, Rudiger and Sebastian Edwards (1991): "The Macroeconomics of Populism". In Dornbusch and Edwards (Eds.), *The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America*, pp. 7-13.
- Edwards, Sebastian (1996): *Crisis and Reform in Latin America. From Despair to Hope*. New York, Oxford University Press. Chapters 1, 2, & 3 (pp. 1-65).
- Galston, William (2018) *The Populist Threat to Liberal Democracy*. Yale University Press.
- Haggard, S. and Kaufman, R (1995). *The Political Economy of Democratic Transitions*. Princeton University Press, New Jersey, pp. 3-74.
- Kaufman, Robert and Barbara Stallings (1991): "Populism, Profligacy and Redistribution". In Dornbusch and Edwards (Eds.), *Op. Cit.*, pp. 45-74.
- Mainwaring, Scott and Timothy Scully (1995): *Building Democratic Institutions. Party Systems in Latin America*. Stanford University Press, 1995, pp. 1-34.
- Mazzuca, Sebastian (2013) *The Rise of Rentier Populism*. *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. IV.
- Norris, Pippa (2016) *Trump, Brexit, and the Rise of Populism: Economic Have-Nots and Cultural Backlash*



Faculty Research Working Paper Series Ronald F. Inglehart University of Michigan Harvard Kennedy School

- López-Alves, F. (2000). State Formation and Democracy in Latin America, 1810-1900, Durham, Duke University Press, Chapter 1 (pp.1-48).
- Rabello de Castro, Paulo and Ronci Marcio Sixty Years of Populism in Brazil (1991). Volume The Macroeconomics of Populism in Latin America Volume Author/Editor: Rudiger Dornbusch and Sebastian Edwards, editors Volume Publisher: University of Chicago Press
- Rovira Kaltwasser, Cristobal, Taggart, Paul, Ochoa Espejo, Paulina and Ostiguy, Pierre (2017). "Populismo: An Overview of the Concept and the State of the Art". In The Oxford Handbook of Populism. Oxford University Press.
- Valenzuela, Arturo (2004): "Latin American Presidencies Interrupted" Journal of Democracy - Volume 15 Number 4, October, pp. 5-19.
- Weyland, Kurt (2004): "Neoliberalism and Democracy in Latin America: A Mixed Record". Latin American Politics and Society, Vol. 46, Issue 1, pp. 135-157.
- Weyland K. Democracy's Resilience to Populism's Threat: Countering Global Alarmism. Cambridge University Press; 2024.
- Williamson, John (1989): "What Washington means by policy reform", in Williamson, John (Ed.) Latin American Adjustment. How much has happened? Institute of International Economics, Chapter 2.