POS4931 Special Topics: Race & Ethnicity in Latin America Department of Political Science University of Florida Spring 2024

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Course Information

Lecture: Tuesdays 11:45 AM - 1:40 PM (AND 0034)

Thursdays 12:50 PM - 1:40 PM (AND 0034)

Course Description

This course explores the role of race and ethnicity in Latin American politics. Racial and ethnic distinctions, but also ethnoracial mixture are politically important in the Americas. Students will consider how to conceptualize race and the methodological challenges involved in studying it. We will trace how racial ideologies influenced patterns of national development and assess their political implications today. The topics we will explore include how race affects political attitudes, political participation, and representation.

Course Requirements

Class Participation and Discussion 15% Critical Response Essays 20% Electoral Reform Project 10% Midterm Exam 25% Final Exam 30%

Class Participation and Discussion – 15% This course relies on active and robust in-class discussion. Students should attend class ready to discuss the reading assigned for that class meeting. Participation may include providing personal insight to the material, outside articles, current events, or responding to classmates. I understand some students may feel uncomfortable speaking in class, however, all students will benefit from hearing a wide range of perspectives. I encourage you to step outside your comfort zone to ask, answer, or comment on a question from time to time throughout the course. Some of the topics covered in the course can be controversial and challenging to talk about. We will nonetheless unpack their complexities through inclusive and respectful discussions. I provide a rubric for discussion/participation below

Listening	Strong: Actively and respectfully listens to peers and instructor	Needs Development: Sometimes displays lack of interest in comments of others	Unsatisfactory: Projects lack of interest or disrespect for others (including browsing other materials during class)
Preparation	Strong: Arrives fully prepared with all assignments completed, and notes on reading, observations, questions	Needs Development: Sometimes arrives unprepared or with only superficial preparation	Unsatisfactory: Little evidence of having completed or thought about assigned material
Quality of contributions	Strong: Comments are relevant and reflect understanding of assignments, previous remarks of other students, and insights about assigned material	Needs Development: Comments sometimes irrelevant, betray lack of preparation, or indicate lack of attention to previous remarks of other students	Unsatisfactory: Comments reflect little understanding of either the assignment or previous remarks in class
Impact on class	Strong: Comments frequently help move class discussion forward	Needs Development: Comments sometimes advance the conversation, but sometimes do little to move it forward	do not advance the
Frequency of participation	Strong: Actively participates at appropriate times	Needs Development: Sometimes participates but at other times is "tuned out"	•

Grading scale for participation component:

- A Strong in all categories
- B Participation is strong in most categories but needs development in others
- C Need for development in most categories
- D Typically unsatisfactory in several categories
- F Unsatisfactory in nearly all.

Critical Response Essays: You must also complete two 3-4 page critical response essays, each worth 10% of the final grade. There are three essay prompts you can choose from, but you must submit your first essay no later than February 13. Papers are due on Canvas by 8 am that day; details on the short essays will be provided in class. I assume that all students have access to a computer that meets the UF minimum standards for students. When writing papers, make sure to use the spell-check function on your computer and PROOFREAD the entire document.

Numerous sources on grammar are available, e.g. Turabian's A Manual for Writers of Term Papers or Student's Guide for Writing College Papers. Papers that contain numerous spelling or grammatical errors will receive a lower grade than they would have otherwise. Late papers will be penalized unless the student has a valid reason for handing a given paper in after the deadline.

Electoral Reform Project: Students will be assigned to groups and write a 5-page report that describes their assigned country's electoral system, identifies the relevant ethno-racial groups in the electorate, explains to what extent electoral institutions facilitate/hinder their electoral success, and outlines how the electoral system could be reformed to improve their descriptive representation.

Exams: There will be a total of two exams throughout the course, taken during class. These exams will cover material from required readings and lectures. These tests offer an opportunity to demonstrate your understanding of important concepts and themes discussed in class. The midterm exam constitutes 25% and the final constitutes 30% of your total grade. No late or makeup tests will be accepted.

Grading Scale

Percent	Grade
93.4-100	A
90.0-93.3	A-
86.7-89.9	B+
83.4-86.6	В
80.0-83.3	B-
76.7-79.9	C+
73.4-76.6	C
70.0-73.3	C-
66.7-69.9	D+
63.4-66.6	D
60.0-3.3	D-
0-59.9	Е

Course Policies

Syllabus This syllabus is a living document. This means it is subject to change. All potential changes will be communicated with you in our class meetings and on Canvas.

Academic Integrity: The University of Florida is an institution of learning, research, and scholarship that is strengthened by the existence of an environment of integrity. It is essential that all members of the University practice academic integrity and accept individual responsibility for their work and actions. Students are responsible for doing their own work, and academic dishonesty of any kind will be subject to sanction and referral to the university's Academic Integrity Committee, which may impose additional sanctions.

UF students are bound by The Honor Pledge which states, "We, the members of the University of Florida community, pledge to hold ourselves and our peers to the highest standards of honor and integrity by abiding by the Honor Code. On all work submitted for credit by students at the University of Florida, the following pledge is either required or implied: "On my honor, I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid in doing this assignment."

The Conduct Code specifies a number of behaviors that are in violation of this code and the possible sanctions. Click here to read the Conduct Code. If you have any questions or concerns, please consult me.

Expected Workload: You should be aware that our course requires a *significant* deal of outside work including reading, writing, analysis, and preparing comments. As a Carnegie I, research-intensive university, <u>UF is required by federal law</u> to assign at least 2 hours of work outside of class for every contact hour. Work done in these hours may include reading/viewing assigned material and doing explicitly assigned individual or group work, as well as reviewing notes from class, synthesizing information in advance of exams or papers, and other self-determined study tasks.

For our 3-credit class, this means you should expect to spend 6-9 hours per week outside of class. The amount of time spent on this course may vary by week. I strongly encourage you to speak to me during office hours if you encounter any struggles or difficulties.

Attendance: To successfully pass this course, your participation and engagement is necessary. Students must be prepared to discuss the readings and other materials listed for that day. However, if you are sick or have been in contact with someone who is sick please stay home and take care of yourself. Please let me know if you are not attending class because of illness. You will not be penalized for missing classes (within reason). If you are sick for more than a couple of days, please get an excused absence so we can discuss options. If you miss class, you are encouraged to ask your classmates for their notes or come to office hours to talk about the class you missed.

In-Class Recording: Students are allowed to record video or audio of class lectures. However, the purposes for which these recordings may be used are strictly controlled. The only allowable purposes are (1) for personal educational use, (2) in connection with a complaint to the university, or (3) as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding. All other purposes are prohibited. Specifically, *students may not publish recorded lectures without the written consent of the instructor*.

A "class lecture" is an educational presentation intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject, including any instructor-led discussions that form part of the presentation, and delivered by any instructor hired or appointed by the University, or by a guest instructor, as part of a University of Florida course. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving solely student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

Publication without permission of the instructor is prohibited. To "publish" means to share, transmit, circulate, distribute, or provide access to a recording, regardless of format or medium, to another person (or persons), including but not limited to another student within the same class section. Additionally, a recording, or transcript of a recording, is considered published if it is posted on or uploaded to, in whole or in part, any media platform, including but not limited to social media, book, magazine, newspaper, leaflet, or third party note/tutoring services. A student who publishes a recording without written consent may be subject to a civil cause of action instituted by a person injured by the publication and/or discipline under UF Regulation 4.040 Student

Lecture Slides: I will post redacted lecture slides on the course website at the conclusion of each class meeting. The slides are meant as a guide and are in no way a substitute for attending lecture. My hope is that by making the slides available students will not feel that they must spend the entire class furiously taking notes and instead pay close attention to the lecture, ask questions, and participate deeply in class discussion.

Communication: Students should use Canvas to contact me. Although you may email me at my UF email account, the university strongly encourages communication via Canvas to avoid the potential of violations of student confidentiality protected by <u>FERPA</u>. I encourage students to visit my virtual office hours to discuss any questions, comments, or concerns regarding the course.

Email/Messaging Hours: You may email or message me via Canvas at any time that is convenient to you. I will respond within one business day between the hours of 9am and 5pm. If you do not receive a reply from me after 48 hours, please resend your message. Although I may sometimes reply outside of these designated hours, responses cannot be guaranteed after 5pm on weekdays, weekends, or holidays. Please plan accordingly to have your questions answered in advance of assignment and exam deadlines.

Exams: There are two exams. Exams will draw from all assigned readings up to that point. If you know you will miss the exam for a UF-sponsored commitment (e.g. traveling with debate team, softball team, orchestra, ROTC, etc.) *or* for some foreseeable personal commitment *that is not discretionary* (e.g. a scheduled medical procedure, like surgery) *or* because of an existential-level family emergency (e.g. death, medical emergency you will be able to make-up the exam. If the miss is because of a scheduled event, you must let me know at least two weeks in advance (email is perfectly acceptable and preferred). I will work with you to make accommodations, but it is your responsibility to arrange with me to take a makeup exam.

Grades Adjustment: I do not under any circumstances round or adjust grades. This policy is not an attempt to be harsh but to hold all students in equal standing.

Absences: Absences are factored into participation and presentation grades. I understand that unforeseen events can arise and therefore missing a class will not harm your grade. However, a pattern of absences will result in a low participation score. If for some reason you must miss class outside of two meetings, you must contact me in advance (i.e., prior to class starting).

Late or Make-up Assignments: No late or make-up assignments will be accepted without prior approval. If an assignment is submitted late without prior approval, it will receive a 0. Generally, at least one week in advance notice is required for assignment or exam extension request. Per university attendance policy, acceptable reasons for absence from or failure to participate in class include illness, serious family emergencies, special curricular requirements (e.g., judging trips, field trips, professional conferences), military obligation, severe weather conditions, religious holidays, and participation in official university activities such as music performances, athletic competition or debate. Absences from class for court-imposed legal obligations (e.g., jury duty or subpoena) must be excused. Assignment deadlines for other courses will not be considered.

Accessibility Services: If you have (or suspect you have) a learning or other disability that requires academic accommodations, you should contact the UF Disability Resource Center (DRC) as soon as possible (dso.ufl.edu/drc). Please be sure that necessary accommodations are properly documented by the UFDRC. To obtain a classroom accommodation, you must first preregister with the DRC (352.392.8565) by providing appropriate documentation. Once registered, students will receive an accommodation letter which must be presented to your instructors when requesting an accommodation. I am always happy to make whatever accommodations you may need to be successful in the course.

Technology Resources: The UF Computing Help Desk can assist you with any of your technical issues. You can access the Help Desk 24/7 at https://helpdesk.ufl.edu/, 352-392- HELP (4357), or helpdesk.@ufl.edu. If you use email, write from your gatorlink@ufl.edu email address, or include your UFID and/or GatorLink username (NOT your password!) in the body of the email. Provide complete information regarding the course and content to which you are referring.

Academic Resources: There are many other campus, academic resources you should take advantage of throughout the semester. These include:

- E-learning technical support: Contact the UF Computing Help Desk at 352-392-4357 or via e-mail at helpdesk@ufl.edu.
- Library Support: http://cms.uflib.ufl.edu/ask Various ways to receive assistance with respect to using the libraries or finding resources.
- Teaching Center: Broward Hall, 352-392-2010 or to make an appointment 352-392-6420. General study skills and tutoring. https://teachingcenter.ufl.edu/
- Writing Studio: 2215 Turlington Hall, 352-846-1138. Help brainstorming, formatting, and writing papers. http://writing.ufl.edu/writing-studio/ Now offering online consultation.
- On-Line Students Complaints: https://distance.ufl.edu/getting-help/student-complaintprocess/.
- Career Connections Center: https://career.ufl.edu/ Career assistance and counseling.

Crisis Resources: If you or someone you know is struggling with any crisis including but not limited to gender, sexual, racial, or domestic violence, there are many community and University of Florida resources available. Some of these include:

- U Matter, We Care (umatter@ufl.edu, 352-392-1575, https://umatter.ufl.edu)
- RESPECT UF Division of Student Affairs (https://respect.ufsa.ufl.edu)
- Counseling and Wellness Center available 24/7 (352-392-1575, https://counseling.ufl.edu)
- Student Health Care Center (352-392-1161, https://shcc.ufl.edu)
- Multicultural & Diversity Affairs (352-392-1217, https://multicultural.ufl.edu)
- Hitchcock Field & Fork Pantry- Assisting members of our campus community who experience food insecurity https://pantry.fieldandfork.ufl.edu
- UF Health Shands Emergency Room / Trauma Center (352-733-0111)
- Gainesville Police Department (non-emergency #: 352-955-1818, https://gainesvillepd.org)

University Covid-19 Protocols:

In response to COVID-19, the following practices are in place to maintain your learning environment, to enhance the safety of our in-classroom interactions, and further the health and safety of ourselves, our neighbors, and our loved ones.

- If you are not vaccinated, get vaccinated. Vaccines are readily available at no cost and have been demonstrated to be safe and effective against the COVID-19 virus. Visit this link for details on where to get your shot, including options that do not require an appointment: https://coronavirus.ufhealth.org/vaccinations/vaccine-availability/. Students who receive the first dose of the vaccine somewhere off-campus and/or outside of Gainesville can still receive their second dose on campus.
- You are expected to wear approved face coverings at all times during class and within buildings even if you are vaccinated. Please continue to follow healthy habits, including best practices like frequent hand washing. Following these practices is our responsibility as Gators.
 - Sanitizing supplies are available in the classroom if you wish to wipe down your desks prior to sitting down and at the end of the class.
 - Hand sanitizing stations will be located in every classroom.
- If you are sick, stay home and self-quarantine. Please visit the UF Health Screen, Test & Protect website about next steps, retake the questionnaire and schedule your test for no sooner than 24 hours after your symptoms began. Please call your primary care provider if you are ill and need immediate care or the UF Student Health Care Center at 352-392-1161 (or email covid@shcc.ufl.edu) to be evaluated for testing and to receive further instructions about returning to campus. UF Health Screen, Test & Protect offers guidance when you are sick, have been exposed to someone who has tested positive or have tested positive yourself. Visit the UF Health Screen, Test & Protect website for more information.
 - Course materials will be provided to you with an excused absence, and you will be given a reasonable amount of time to make up work.

• Continue to regularly visit coronavirus.UFHealth.org and coronavirus.ufl.edu for up-to-date information about COVID-19 and vaccination.

Course Schedule

Week 1 Course Introduction

January 9 Syllabus

January 11 Background

- Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America: Black Lives, 1600–2000.* Harvard University Press, 2016. Pages 18-44.
- Van Cott, Donna Lee. "Latin America's indigenous peoples." *J. Democracy* 18 (2007): 127.

Week 2 What is Race?

January 16 Racial Conceptualization

- Chandra, Kanchan. "Cumulative findings in the study of ethnic politics." *APSA-CP* 12.1 (2001): 7-11.
- Loveman, Mara. "Is" race" essential?." *American Sociological Review* 64.6 (1999): 891-898.
- Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. *Racial formation in the United States*. Routledge, 2014.
- Roth, Wendy D. "The multiple dimensions of race." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39.8 (2016): 1310-1338.

January 18 Translating Concepts to the Census

- Loveman, Mara. "Census Taking and Nation Making in Nineteenth-Century Latin America." *State and Nation Making in Latin America and Spain: Republics of the Possible* (2013): 329-355.
- Loveman, Mara. *National colors: Racial classification and the state in Latin America*. Oxford University Press, USA, 2014. Chapter 7

Week 3 Mestizaje

January 23 Ideals

- Celarent, Barbara. "The Masters and the Slaves." (2010): 334-339.
- Vasconcelos, José. *The cosmic race/La raza cósmica*. JHU Press, 1997. pp. 3-40

January 25 Realities

- De la Fuente, Alejandro. "Myths of racial democracy: Cuba, 1900-1912." *Latin American Research Review* 34.3 (1999): 39-73.
- Telles, Edward, and Denia Garcia. "Mestizaje and public opinion in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 48.3 (2013): 130-152.

Week 4 Identities

January 30 Social Race

- Geler, "African Descent and Whiteness in Buenos Aires" in *Rethinking Race in Modern Argentina*, pp. 213-236.
- Wagley, "On the Concept of Social Race in the Americas" in *Contemporary Cultures and Societies of Latin America*, pp. 531-543

February 1 Nation and Categorization

- Canessa, Andrew. "Who is indigenous? Self-identification, indigeneity, and claims to justice in contemporary Bolivia." *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development* (2007): 195-237.
- Telles, Edward, and Tianna Paschel. "Who is black, white, or mixed race? How skin color, status, and nation shape racial classification in Latin America." *American Journal of Sociology* 120.3 (2014): 864-907.

Week 5 Blackness and Fluidity in Latin America

February 6 Labeling Choices

- Johnson, Marcus. "Fluidity, phenotype and Afro-Latin group consciousness." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 5.2 (2020): 356-383.
- Mitchell, Gladys L. *The politics of blackness: Racial identity and political behavior in contemporary Brazil.* Cambridge University Press, 2018. 93-143

February 8 Racial Fluidity

- De Micheli, David. "Racial reclassification and political identity formation." *World Politics* 73.1 (2021): 1-51.
- Francis, Andrew M., and Maria Tannuri-Pianto. "Using Brazil's racial continuum to examine the short-term effects of affirmative action in higher education." *Journal of Human Resources* 47.3 (2012): 754-784. Skim Introduction and Background-Read Section D Effects on Racial Identity

First Essay Due at 11:45 AM via Canvas

To what extent does the fact that individuals change how they identify over time indicate that race does not matter in Latin America?

Week 6 Racial Inequality

February 13 Measuring Inequality

- Telles, Edward E. "Race in another America: The significance of skin color in Brazil." *Race in another America*. Princeton University Press, 2014. pp139-172
- Villarreal, Andrés. "Ethnic identification and its consequences for measuring inequality in Mexico." *American Sociological Review* 79.4 (2014): 775-806.

Second Essay Due at 11:45 AM via Canvas

If we want to understand the extent and causes of racial inequality in Latin America, how should we measure race?

February 15 Beliefs about Inequality

- Layton, Matthew L., and Amy Erica Smith. "Is it race, class, or gender? The sources of perceived discrimination in Brazil." *Latin American politics and society* 59.1 (2017): 52-73.
- Telles, Edward, and Stanley Bailey. "Understanding Latin American beliefs about racial inequality." *American Journal of Sociology* 118.6 (2013): 1559-1595.

Week 7 Politicization

February 20 Racial Attitudes

- Kingstone, Peter. *Democratic Brazil Revisited*. University of Pittsburgh Press, 2008. Chapter 11
- Sanchez, Peter M., David Doherty, and Kirstie Lynn Dobbs. "Skin Color and System Support in Latin America." *Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics* 6.2 (2021): 352-372.
- Telles, Edward, and Denia Garcia. "Mestizaje and public opinion in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 48.3 (2013): 130-152.

February 22 Pluralism

- Young, Crawford. *The politics of cultural pluralism*. Univ of Wisconsin Press, 1979. pp. 428-459
- Recommended
 - o Hanchard, Michael George. *Orpheus and power: The movimento negro of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1945--1988.* Princeton University, 1991. pp. 3-8 and pp. 43-74

Week 8 Shifting Focus

February 27 Midterm

February 29 Cuba: Revolution and Racism?

- Clealand, Danielle Pilar. *The power of race in Cuba: racial ideology and black consciousness during the revolution*. Oxford University Press, 2017. pp. 101-122
- Cole, Johnnetta B. "Race toward equality: the impact of the Cuban revolution on racism." *The Black Scholar* 11.8 (1980): 2-24.

Week 9 Social Movements

March 5 Movements

- Mattiace, Shannan L. To See with Two Eyes: Peasant Activism & Indian Autonomy in Chiapas, Mexico. UNM Press, 2003. Pg1-10
- Yashar, Deborah J. "Contesting citizenship: Indigenous movements and democracy in Latin America." *Comparative politics* (1998): 23-42.
- Wade, Peter. Race and Ethnicity in Latin America: How the East India Company Shaped the Modern Multinational (Edition 2). Pluto press, 2010. Ch 6

March 7 Movements to Parties

• Madrid, Raúl L. "Indigenous parties and democracy in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 47.4 (2005): 161-179.

• Madrid, Raúl L. "The rise of ethnopopulism in Latin America." *World Politics* 60.3 (2008): 475-508.

Week 10 Race and Voting

March 19 Voting Decisions

- Contreras, Danilo Antonio. "Exit over voice in Dominican ethnoracial politics." *Latin American Research Review* 51.3 (2016): 202-226.
- De Micheli, David. "Bolsonaro and the Black Vote: Racial Voting in Brazil's 2018 Election." *Latin American Politics and Society* (2023): 1-25.
- Madrid, Raúl L. "Ethnic proximity and ethnic voting in Peru." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 43.2 (2011): 267-297.

Third Essay Due at 11:45 AM via Canvas

To what extent should we expect racial and ethnic identities to consistently influence voting decisions in Latin America?

March 21 Vote Soliciting and Buying

- Mitchell, Gladys. "Campaign strategies of Afro-Brazilian politicians: a preliminary analysis." *Latin American Politics and Society* 51.3 (2009): 111-142.
- Johnson, Marcus. "Electoral discrimination: The relationship between skin color and vote buying in Latin America." *World Politics* 72.1 (2020): 80-120.

Week 11 Descriptive Representation

March 26 Representation and Inclusion

- Htun, Mala. *Inclusion without representation in Latin America: Gender quotas and ethnic reservations*. Cambridge University Press, 2016. Chapter 2
- Bueno, Natália S., and Thad Dunning. "Race, resources, and representation: evidence from Brazilian politicians." *World Politics* 69.2 (2017): 327-365.

March 28 Institutions and Electoral Reform

- The Politics of Electoral Systems (PES). 2008. Eds. Michael Gallagher and Paul Mitchell. Oxford University Press.
- Htun, Mala. *Inclusion without representation in Latin America: Gender quotas and ethnic reservations*. Cambridge University Press, 2016. Appendix 2

Week 12 Electoral Reform

April 2 Group Meetings

April 4 Group Meetings

Week 13 Representation

April 9 Substantive Representation

• Boas, Taylor C., and Amy Erica Smith. "Looks like me, thinks like me: descriptive representation and opinion congruence in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 54.2 (2019): 310-328.

- Ewig, Christina. "Ethnic parties and indigenous substantive representation in Ecuador." *Representation* 58.3 (2022): 391-409.
- Mansbridge, Jane. "Should blacks represent blacks and women represent women? A contingent" yes"." *The Journal of politics* 61.3 (1999): 628-657.

Electoral Reform Reports Due

April 11 Symbolic Representation

- West, Karleen Jones. "Decentralization, the inclusion of ethnic citizens, and support for democracy in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 50.3 (2015): 46-70.
- Gay, Claudine. "Spirals of trust? The effect of descriptive representation on the relationship between citizens and their government." *American Journal of Political Science* (2002): 717-732. Skim

Week 14 Racial Policy

April 16 Affirmative Action

- Htun, Mala. "From "racial democracy" to affirmative action: changing state policy on race in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 39.1 (2004): 60-89.
- https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/04/05/brazils-new-problem-with-blackness-affirmative-action/
- https://foreignpolicy.com/2017/07/24/one-womans-fight-to-claim-her-blackness-in-brazil/
- Garcia-Navaroo, Lulu. "For Affirmative Action, Brazil Sets Up Controversial Boards To Determine Race" National Public Radio

April 18 Affirmative Action Attitudes

• Bailey, Stanley R., Fabrício Fialho, and Michelle Peria. "Support for race-targeted affirmative action in Brazil." *Ethnicities* 18.6 (2018): 765-798.

Week 15 Final Exam

April 23 Final Exam