

# SEMINAR IN LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES: Elections and Public Opinion in Latin America

LTAM 5000-A91-5600-A91, M, 6:30pm - 9:15pm. Online.

January 10, 2022

Professor Fred Batista

(Pronouns: He/Him/His)

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Office: Fretwell 435M

Office Hours: by appointment.

This syllabus is intended to give the student guidance in what may be covered during the semester. However, the policies, assignments and readings contained in this syllabus are subject to change with advance notice.

## 1 Course Description

This seminar consists of an overview of some of the most important contemporary topics on public opinion and elections in Latin America. We will discuss how citizens across Latin America make up their minds in politics and how that relates to democracy and development in the region. The seminar takes on a political science approach by examining the relevant theories and cases by topic, while also taking advantage of historical and developmental perspectives. The weekly sessions will be held in seminar style, where students will be expected to actively participate. By the end of the semester you will: (1) understand the conceptual and theoretical foundations in the study of some of the most important topics in public opinion and political behavior in Latin America; (2) be familiarized with some of the most prominent cases in each topic; (3) understand the broader implications of topics/cases for the study of politics more generally.

## 2 Course Material

The course will rely on articles and book chapters. All of the material will be provided to the students through Canvas.

### 3 Evaluation

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Class Participation  | 15% |
| 5 Research Paper Prompts   |     |
| - Research Question  | 10% |
| - Surveying the Literature   | 10% |
| - Theory/Hypotheses/Concepts   | 10% |
| - Research Design 1: design, unit of analysis, case selection, data collection | 10% |
| - Research Design 2: measurement, data analysis                                | 10% |
| Final Paper:   |     |
| - Paper Presentation   | 10% |
| - Final Paper  | 25% |

#### 3.1 Grading Scale

| <u>Undergraduate:</u> |   | <u>Graduate:</u> |   |
|-----------------------|---|------------------|---|
| 90-100                | A | 90-100           | A |
| 80-89                 | B | 80-89            | B |
| 70-79                 | C | 70-79            | C |
| 60-69                 | D | 69 and below     | U |
| 59 and below          | F |                  |   |

#### 3.2 Class Participation

Students are expected to read the papers prior to class and be prepared to discuss them. The class will follow a seminar format in which class participation is not only encouraged but also required.

#### 3.3 Research Paper Prompts

Students will receive five Canvas prompts with questions about different aspects of the final paper throughout the semester. The goal of the prompts is to encourage early reflection and development on the final paper. The prompts will consist of questions about key aspects in empirical research (in any field), such as defining the research question, surveying the existing literature about that question, developing an original theory to answer the question (relying on careful conceptualization and generating testable hypothesis), and design a strategy to test that answer. Students will answer those questions about their own papers, and will be able to use the responses (and feedback) in their papers. The instructor will also make readings and resources available about those different methodological components of empirical research that students will be able to use.

#### 3.4 Research Paper

Each student is expected to submit an original research paper on a topic related to the course content. The paper may take one of three forms: 1) an extensive review and critical assessment of literature pertaining to a selected subject; 2) a research proposal in which the author identifies a research question, places that within the context of existing literature, derives an hypothesis(es), and proposes a research design; or, 3) a complete research paper on a topic relevant to the course.

The paper is due on May 9 (by midnight) and should be submitted as a Canvas assignment. Before the final submissions, students will present their paper drafts in weeks 14-16 and submit those drafts by week 16. The paper must have double-spaced, Times New Roman 12-point font, 1-inch margins, page numbers, title page, complete references. The suggested length for is 15-20 pages. You are both encouraged and expected to talk to me about your research paper during the course of the semester.

## 4 Administrative Policies

### 4.1 Course Website and Email

The course website can be accessed through Canvas. Please check this site regularly for readings, assignments, and other updates. Announcements may be sent out via email or posted directly on Canvas. You are responsible for all information disseminated via Canvas and/or email. If you send me an email on a weekday, I will respond to you that same day. If you send me an email on a weekend or holiday, I will respond to you the following business day.

### 4.2 Class Attendance/Participation

Students are expected to read the papers prior to class and be prepared to discuss them. The class will follow a seminar format in which class participation is not only encouraged but also required. Needless to say that no attendance means no participation.

Students are expected to attend every class and remain in class for the duration of the session when it is safe to do so in accordance with university guidance regarding COVID-19. Failure to attend class or arriving late may impact your ability to achieve course objectives which could affect your course grade. An absence, excused or unexcused, does not relieve a student of any course requirement. Regular class attendance is a student's obligation, as is a responsibility for all the work of class meetings, including tests and written tasks. Any unexcused absence or excessive tardiness may result in a loss of participation points. Students are encouraged to work directly with their instructors regarding their absence(s). For absences related to COVID-19, please adhere to the following:

- **Complete your Niner Health Check each morning.**
- **Do not come to class if you are sick.** Please protect your health and the health of others by staying home. Contact your healthcare provider if you believe you are ill.
- **If you are sick:** If you test positive or are evaluated by a healthcare provider for symptoms of COVID-19, indicate so on your Niner Health Check to alert the University. Submit a copy of your Niner Health Check notification email to your instructors. Upon learning that you have tested positive or have been diagnosed for symptoms of COVID-19, either from your reporting or from Student Health Center testing or diagnosis, representatives from Emergency Management and/or the Student Health Center will follow up with you, and your instructors will be notified of the need for accommodations, as necessary.

- **If you have been exposed** to COVID-19 positive individuals and/or have been notified to self-quarantine due to exposure, indicate so on your Niner Health Check to alert the University. Representatives from Emergency Management and/or the Student Health Center will follow up with you as necessary. Submit a copy of your Niner Health Check notification email to your instructors. If you need any additional support verifying your absence after you have communicated with your professors, contact Student Assistance and Support Services.

To return to class after being absent due to a period of **self-quarantine**, students should submit a copy of their Niner Health Check clearance email to their instructor(s). To return to class after being absent due to a COVID-19 **diagnosis**, students should submit an online request form to Student Assistance and Support Services (SASS). Supporting documentation can be attached directly to the request form and should be from a student's health care provider or the Student Health Center, clearly indicating the dates of absences and the date the student is able to return to class. Instructors will be notified of such absences.

If you are absent from class as a result of a COVID-19 diagnosis or quarantine, as instructor I will work with you to help you continue to make progress in the course. The final decision for approval of all absences and missed work is determined by the instructor.

### 4.3 Academic Integrity

Each student in this course is expected to abide by the UNC Charlotte Code of Student Academic Integrity. In short, this means that cheating and plagiarism will not be tolerated. Students violating the Academic Honesty Policy in this course will receive a minimum penalty of a grade of zero for the assignment or test in question and may receive an F in the course and referral to Judicial Services.

### 4.4 Students with Disabilities

UNC Charlotte is committed to ensuring equal academic opportunities and inclusion for students with disabilities based on the principles of independent living, accessible universal design and diversity. Students with disabilities who anticipate needing an academic accommodation in this course should provide me with the proper documentation from the Disability Services Center within the first week of class.

### 4.5 Diversity

The University of North Carolina at Charlotte is committed to equality of educational opportunity and does not discriminate against applicants, students, or employees based on race, color, national origin, religion, sex, sexual orientation, gender identity or expression, age, or disability. In keeping with this commitment, UNC Charlotte actively seeks to promote diversity in its educational environment through its recruitment, enrollment, and hiring practices.

## 4.6 Courtesy in Classroom

All students are required to abide by the UNC Charlotte Sexual Harassment Policy and the policy on Responsible Use of University Computing and Electronic Communication Resources. Sexual harassment, as defined in the UNC Charlotte Sexual Harassment Policy, is prohibited, even when carried out through computers or other electronic communications systems, including course-based chat rooms or message boards.

## 4.7 Online Policies

Electronic video, image capture, and/or audio recording is not permitted during class, whether conducted in person or online, unless the student obtains permission from the instructor. If permission is granted, any distribution of the recording is prohibited. Students with specific electronic recording accommodations authorized by the Office of Disability Services do not require instructor permission; however, the instructor must be notified of any such accommodation prior to recording. Any distribution of such recordings is prohibited.

## 4.8 COVID-19 Policies

It is the current policy of UNC Charlotte that as a condition of on-campus enrollment, all students are required to engage in safe behaviors to avoid the spread of COVID-19 in the 49er community. Such behaviors specifically include the requirement that all students properly wear CDC-compliant face coverings in all indoor spaces on campus, including classrooms and labs, **regardless of vaccination status**. Failure to comply with this policy in the classroom or lab may result in dismissal from the current class session. If the student refuses to leave the classroom or lab after being dismissed, the student may be referred to the Office of Student Conduct and Academic Integrity for charges under the Code of Student Responsibility.

## 4.9 Title IX Reporting Policy

UNC Charlotte is committed to providing an environment free of all forms of discrimination and sexual harassment, including sexual assault, domestic violence, dating violence, and stalking. If you (or someone you know) has experienced or experiences any of these incidents, know that you are not alone. UNC Charlotte has staff members trained to support you in navigating campus life, accessing health and counseling services, providing academic and housing accommodations, helping with civil protective orders, and more. Please be aware that all UNC Charlotte employees, including faculty members, are expected to relay any information or reports of sexual misconduct they receive to the Title IX Coordinator. This means that if you tell me about a situation involving sexual harassment, sexual assault, dating violence, domestic violence, or stalking, I am expected to report the information to the Title IX Coordinator. Although I am expected to report the situation, you will still have options about how your case will be handled, including whether or not you wish to pursue a formal complaint. Our goal is to make sure you are aware of the range of options available to you and have access to the resources you need. If you wish to speak to someone confidentially, you can contact the following on-campus resources, who are not required to report the incident to the Title IX Coordinator: (1) University Counseling Center ([counselingcenter.uncc.edu](https://counselingcenter.uncc.edu),

7-0311); or (2) Student Health Center ([studenthealth.uncc.edu](http://studenthealth.uncc.edu), 7-7400). Additional information about your options is also available at [titleix.uncc.edu](http://titleix.uncc.edu) under the “Students” tab.

#### 4.10 FERPA Notification

In establishing University Policy 402, Student Education Records, UNC Charlotte adheres to a policy of compliance with the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act of 1974, also known as FERPA, a federal law that affords students the following rights with respect to their education records. For details, see the FERPA Annual Notification posted on the Office of Legal Affairs website. All questions concerning this FERPA Annual Notification may be directed to the attention of the Office of the Registrar.

#### 4.11 Food Insecurity Statement

Food insecurity is defined by the USDA as “a lack of access to enough food for an active, healthy life.” Food insecure categories include: reduced caloric intake, reduced food quality, lack of variety in diet, disrupted eating patterns, and hunger. Research shows that college students experience food insecurity at higher rates than the American household rate, and that food insecurity can negatively impact academic performance and persistence. In recognition of this problem, UNC Charlotte offers assistance to students facing food insecurity through an on-campus food pantry. The Jamil Niner Student Pantry (JNSP) is located on the east edge of campus at 1224 John Kirk Road. It has regular hours which may change from semester to semester; please see the website at <https://ninerpantry.uncc.edu/> for schedule and details on its services, as well as resources about hunger and food insecurity among college students.

## 5 Course Schedule

This schedule is a guide for the course and is subject to change at my discretion with appropriate notice. Please read the assigned papers/chapters before the session for which they are listed below.

### Week 1

January 10, 2022: **INTRODUCTORY SESSION**

*No Readings*

### Week 2

January 17, 2022: **NO CLASS: MLK DAY**

*No Readings*

### Week 3

January 24, 2022: **LECTURE: RESEARCH METHODS IN POLITICAL ANALYSIS**

*Readings:*

- Lawrence Neuman, W. (2014). *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Essex: Pearson Education. (Chapters 2 and 3)
- Carey, J. (2019). “Who Believes in Conspiracy Theories in Venezuela?” *Latin American Research Review*, 54(2), 444-457.

#### **Week 4**

January 31, 2022: **TURNOUT**

*Readings:*

- Huffington Post: “Why Voter Turnout in the U.S. Lags Behind Latin America?” (November 2012).
- Schraufnagel, S., Sgouraki, B. (2005). “Voter turnout in Central and South America.” *The Latin Americanist*, 49(1), 39-69.
- Cepaluni, G., Hidalgo, F. D. (2016). “Compulsory Voting Can Increase Political Inequality: Evidence from Brazil.” *Political Analysis*, 24, 273-280.

#### **Week 5**

February 7, 2022: **PARTISANSHIP**

*Due before class: Paper Prompt 1: Research Question.*

*Readings:*

- Americas Quarterly: “The One Big Trend in Latin America’s Coming Elections.” (October 2017).
- Altamirano, M. (2019). “Economic vulnerability and partisanship in Latin America.” *Latin American Politics and Society*, 61(3), 80-103.
- Vidal, D. X. M., Ugues, A., Bowler, S., & Hiskey, J. (2010). “Partisan attachment and democracy in Mexico: some cautionary observations.” *Latin American Politics and Society*, 52(1), 63-87.

#### **Week 6**

February 14, 2022: **NULL AND INVALID VOTING**

*Readings:*

- The Conversation: “Colombia did not vote ‘no’ in its peace referendum - what the statistics reveal.” (October 2016).
- Power, T. J., & Garand, J. C. (2007). “Determinants of invalid voting in Latin America.” *Electoral Studies*, 26(2), 432-444.

- Driscoll, A., & Nelson, M. J. (2014). “Ignorance or opposition? Blank and spoiled votes in low-information, highly politicized environments.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 67(3), 547-561.

### **Week 7**

February 21, 2022: **SOCIAL MEDIA AND MISINFORMATION**

*Due before class: Paper Prompt 2: Surveying the Literature.*

*Readings:*

- Time Magazine: “Honduras Shows How Fake News Is Changing Latin American Elections.” (November 2021)
- Lupu, N., Bustamante, M. R., Zechmeister, E. J. (2020). “Social Media Disruption: Messaging Mistrust in Latin America.” *Journal of Democracy*, 31(3), 160-171.
- Batista Pereira, F., Bueno, N. S., Nunes, F., Pavão, N. (2021). “Fake News, Fact Checking, and Partisanship: The Resilience of Rumors in the 2018 Brazilian Elections.” *The Journal of Politics*, (forthcoming).

### **Week 8**

February 28, 2022: **CORRUPTION**

*Readings:*

- Transparency International: “What People Think: Corruption in Latin America & The Caribbean.” (September 2019).
- Pavão, N. (2018). “Corruption as the Only Option: The Limits to Electoral Accountability.” *The Journal of Politics*, 80(3), 996-1010.
- Corbacho, A., Gingerich, D. W., Oliveros, V., & RuizVega, M. (2016). “Corruption as a Self-Fulfilling Prophecy: Evidence from a Survey Experiment in Costa Rica.” *American Journal of Political Science*, 60(4), 1077-1092.

### **Week 9**

March 7, 2022: **NO CLASS: SPRING RECESS**

*No Readings*

### **Week 10**

March 14, 2022: **AUTHORITARIANISM**

*Due before class: Paper Prompt 3: Theory and Hypothesis/Concepts.*

*Readings:*

- World Politics Review: “Democracy in Latin America Is in Grave Peril, a Respected Pollster Warns.” (November 2018).
- Azpuru, D., & Malone, M. F. T. (2019). “Parenting Attitudes and Public Support for Political Authoritarianism in Latin America.” *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 31(3), 570-587.
- Svulik, M. W. (2020). “When Polarization Trumps Civic Virtue: Partisan Conflict and the Subversion of Democracy by Incumbents.” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science*, 15, 3-31.

### **Week 11**

March 21, 2022: **OPINIONS ABOUT THE US**

*Readings:*

- Americas Society/Council of the Americas: “Weekly Chart: How Latin America Views the United States in the Trump Era.” (November 2017).
- Azpuru, D., Boniface, D. (2015). “Individual-Level Determinants of Anti-Americanism in Contemporary Latin America.” *Latin American Research Review*, 50(3), 111-134.
- Carreras, M., Visconti, G., Acácio, I. (2021). “The Trump Election and Attitudes toward the United States in Latin America.” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, (forthcoming).

### **Week 12**

March 28, 2022: **MIGRATION**

*Due before class:* **Paper Prompt 4: Research Design I.**

*Readings:*

- Americas Quarterly: “The Stunning Scale of Latin America’s Migration Crisis.” (June 2018).
- Wood, C. H., Gibson, C. L., Ribeiro, L., & Hamsho-Diaz, P. (2010). Crime victimization in Latin America and intentions to migrate to the United States. *International Migration Review*, 44(1), 3-24.
- Vega-Mendez, C., Visconti, G. (2021). “Does immigration increase concerns about the provision of public services? Evidence from Colombia.” *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*, (forthcoming).

### **Week 13**

April 4, 2022: **THE PANDEMIC**

*Readings:*

- The Harvard Gazette (Interview with Alisha Holland): “From bad to worse in Latin America.” (July 2021).

- Sosa-Villagarcia, P., Lozada, V. H. (2021). “Covid-19 and Presidential Popularity in Latin America.” *Revista Latinoamericana de Opinión Pública*, 10(2), 71-91.
- Batista Pereira, F., Nunes, F. (2021). “Presidential Influence and Public Opinion During Crises: The Case of Covid-19 in Brazil.” Unpublished Manuscript.

#### **Week 14**

April 11, 2022: **RACE, ETHNICITY, AND PUBLIC OPINION**

*Due before class: Paper Prompt 5: Research Design II.*

*Readings:*

- The New York Times: “Latin America is Ready for its Black Lives Matter Reckoning.” (June 2020).
- Telles, E., Paschel, T. (2014). “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), 864-907.
- Contreras, D. A. (2016). “Exit Over Voice in Dominican Ethnoracial Politics.” *Latin American Research Review*, 51(3), 202-226.

#### **Week 15**

April 18, 2022: **WOMEN AND POLITICS**

*Readings:*

- The New York Times: “Latin America’s Female Leadership Void.” (February 2018).
- Reyes-Housholder, C. (2020). “A theory of gender’s role on presidential approval ratings in corrupt times.” *Political Research Quarterly*, 73(3), 540-555.
- Daby, M., Moseley, M. (2021). “Feminist Mobilization and the Abortion Debate in Latin America: Lessons from Argentina.” *Politics & Gender*, (forthcoming).

#### **Week 16**

April 25, 2022: **PAPER PRESENTATIONS**

#### **Week 17**

May 2, 2022: **NO CLASS: WORK ON FINAL PAPER**

**May 9: FINAL PAPER DUE ON CANVAS, by midnight**