



LAKE FOREST  
COLLEGE

Department of Politics  
and International Relations

## Campaigns and Elections in Latin America

POLS 319 / LNAM 329 / IREL 359

Spring Semester 2024

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<b>E-mail:</b> <a href="mailto:ddavilagordillo@lakeforest.edu">ddavilagordillo@lakeforest.edu</a>	<b>Office Hours:</b> Thursday 14:00 - 16:00
<b>Class Time:</b> T – TR 9:30 - 10:50	<b>Room:</b> Brown Hall 316

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**Course description:** This course focuses on the study of elections, campaigns, leaders, and political parties in Latin America. This seminar covers recent (each year's elections and campaigns) and previous electoral processes in the region. The course examines how parties and voters interact and how parties in the region have developed different strategies to engage voters. The seminar also addresses the electoral processes: who can become a candidate, why, when, where people vote, and the different rules set up by countries for the electoral processes. In this seminar, we also study what happens during the campaigns with a particular focus on electoral violence, and violence against women in elections. The seminar is designed to provide a foundation for the development of original research and innovative theoretical approaches that can contribute to the study of the region and comparative politics more generally. (Under the Forester Fundamental Curriculum, this course meets the Social Sciences and Global Perspectives requirements. Under the old GEC, this course meets the Social Science and Cultural Diversity requirements.)

This course meets 3 times per week for 150 minutes per week. The course carries 1.0 course credit (equivalent to four semester credit hours). Students are expected to devote a minimum of 12 hours of total work per week (in-class time plus out-of-class work) to this course.

**Learning outcomes:** By the end of this seminar students will be able to:

- Understand Latin American electoral processes.
- Evaluate and explain Latin American electoral outcomes.
- Analyze electoral politics, policymaking, and the supply and demand for candidates.
- Critically analyze empirical political science research.
- Develop clear and cogent arguments in writing.

### **Course Materials:**

This class has no required textbook. All reading materials will be posted on Moodle and can be found via the library. Assigned readings are listed on the following pages. If a reading or more is listed on a specific day, you should read these texts before that date.

### **Attendance:**

Attendance and punctuality are mandatory. If you will be absent due to athletics events or other college-approved events, please let me know at the beginning of the semester. If you must miss a class for any reason, I will allow for four (4) absences without penalty; each unexcused absence thereafter will result in a half-letter deduction from the final grade (A to A-, B+ to B, etc.). Six or more absences will result in failing the course. Be smart and save up your absences for when you REALLY need to miss a class!

### **Technology:**

You may use your laptop in class to reference the readings or other class-related materials. Please do not use your laptops, phones, or other devices for browsing, texting, or social media, as it is distracting not only to you but to students around you. Please be mindful and respectful.

### **Late Assignments:**

Assignments submitted after the due date will be penalized a half-letter grade per day. If you are struggling to meet the deadline, please reach out *before* the deadline.

### **Debates and Discussions:**

The topics of this course are subject to debate, and students are expected to have different ideas and perspectives. While productive discussions are highly encouraged, statements or comments that personally attack any individuals or groups will not be tolerated. If you have any particular sensitivities that might have bearing on your ability to read, hear, watch, or discuss certain material, please notify me. Please be aware, however, that because of the nature of this class, I cannot guarantee that you will be completely shielded from the material you find

disturbing.

**House Rules:**

The recent years have been long and challenging for all. We have all made it to this point, facing enormous challenges and disruptions in our life plans. Some paths have been forever disrupted, and others appear more daunting than they should. Nonetheless, we have all continued to persevere and make the best out of challenging situations. To be sure, nobody signed up for the pandemic and its aftermath. However, as we need to continue moving, my commitment to you is to be tirelessly enthusiastic and work hard for you. Your success in this class is important to me. This class is a partnership between me as your lecturer and you as student. Together, we will build a supportive, respectful, and productive environment. Building this kind of environment requires mutual respect. We all need accommodations because we all learn differently. If aspects of this course prevent you from learning or exclude you, please let me know as soon as possible. Together we will develop strategies to meet both your needs and the requirements of the course. If you go by a different name and/or pronouns than what is on the class roster, please let me know. Using correct names and gender pronouns is important to me, so please share those details with me and correct me if a mistake is made. What do I expect from you to create an environment of mutual respect? I expect students to arrive to class prepared to contribute, meaning that you have completed the readings and completed the necessary assignments. I also expect professional behavior in class. Think of how you would behave at an important meeting. One arrives a few minutes early. One does not wander off, surf the web, explore social media, or text a friend. Repeated unprofessional behavior will be seen as a lack of engagement.

**Important Deadlines:**

- 1) Articles/readings quizzes (in Moodle) ..... selected weeks before class
- 2) Reverse research presentation..... on selected days
- 3) Data collection 1 – voters.....Feb. 11
- 4) Data collection 2 – campaign.....Feb. 18
- 5) Data collection 3 – opposition campaign.....March 10
- 6) Data collection 4 – subnational elections ..... March 31
- 7) Data collection 5 – campaign funding ..... April 14
- 8) Research Paper ..... May 5
- 9) Research Paper presentation ..... April 23 to 30
- 10) Extra Credit paper ..... May 5 by midnight

Submissions (3), (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), and (10) must be handed in electronically (via Moodle) at 23:59 (the latest) on the respective day. Submission (8) will not be granted any extension.

### **Assignments, grades, and grading policy:**

#### *Participation 15%:*

- I expect students to read the assigned materials before class and be prepared to discuss them. Your participation grade will be based on both the quantity and quality of your contribution to class discussions and group activities. I realize that some may feel more comfortable speaking up in class than others. For those who find themselves hesitant to participate, you should make it a point to see me during office hours or schedule an appointment with me so that we can discuss strategies to improve your performance in class. Of course, that invitation is open to all students to discuss whatever matter you would like.
- An important element of this participation will be your contributions to the discussions lead by your peers after their *Reverse Research Presentations*.

#### *Articles/readings quizzes 15%:*

- During the semester you will answer short quizzes via Moodle. These are open book/open notes quizzes but the question asks you to think beyond the readings. The quizzes are designed to help you prepare to participate in class. The question will be the same for *all* readings. This question will help you understand the assigned readings and think through ideas for in-class participation; these quizzes are due an hour before class on every selected day (at the latest). There will be no extensions for these quizzes, as you are always expected to come to class reading the texts.

#### *Reverse research presentation 15%:*

- During the semester, you will be in charge of guiding the discussion about one assigned article. **The date of your presentations will be assigned at the beginning of the semester.** You will have to prepare the presentation in two parts:
  - First: you will start by “pitching” the research project for this paper. That is, we will approach this presentation thinking you are pitching the idea for the research. Your classmates will have the duty to provide ideas on how to “improve” the pitch by discussing for example, ideas on how to expand the impact or importance of the paper. The PRESENTER’s work is to present what the text states and then moderate the feedback and ideas discussed in class. These ideas are meant to go beyond the text.

- Second: the second part of the presentation of the paper's findings. You will present what we are learning from the paper. Afterwards, you should prepare questions regarding the findings of the paper, and guide the discussion and answers of your peers.

*Data collection 25%:*

- You will submit 5 short papers where you will include data that will be used in your final paper. The data should be collected by you – using, for example, media reports, official government documents, and other sources – and you should reflect on why you selected the data based on what you have learned in class. These assignments are due on **February 11 (voters' preferences) and 18 (campaigns' content), March 10 (opposition campaign's content) and 31 (subnational elections outcomes), and April 14 (campaign funding).**
- **Each paper should present ONE argument and the data you will use in your final paper.** For example, the first paper focusing on voter's preferences should present an argument regarding voters' preferences in your selected countries, e.g., "In country XX voters have been dissatisfied with traditional parties for the last 20 years." Your paper should then use data to make that argument BUT ALSO work as an overview of data for your final paper. These papers should be of around 1.000 words.

*Final paper 20%:*

- In this class you will work on an extensive research project throughout the semester. The paper will focus on the election of a president in Latin America of your choice. The paper will develop a complex argument: President X was elected due to the convergence of 5 factors: voters' preferences, the president's electoral promises, other candidates/parties' offers, the prior subnational elections outcomes, and the resources invested in the campaign (campaign funding). This paper is due on **May 5 by midnight.**

*Final paper presentation 10%*

- To help you shape the write up of the final paper and to share your findings with your classmates during the last weeks of the semester you will do a final presentation. These presentations will also work as a "draft" of your final paper. Hence you will receive feedback to improve/sharpen your written paper. The **dates for the presentation will be assigned at the beginning of the semester.**

*Extra Credit 2%:*

- As extra credit you can submit a short paper – up to 1000 words – in which you analyze the election of a different president. In this paper you can focus on a single factor. This assignment is due by **May 5 (midnight).**

The maximum grade you can achieve in this class is 102 points out of 100 (including the extra credit). Each assignment will be graded based on the number of points that the assignment contributes to your final grade. For example, the Special Paper on Quotas will be graded on 10 points. The Discussion papers, instead, will be graded on 25 points and their final contribution to your final grade will be average of the two papers' grades.

### Grading Scale

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**A** = 93-100;    **A-** = 92-90;                      **B+** = 87-89;    **B** = 83-86;    **B-** = 80-82  
**C+** = 77-79;    **C** = 73-76;    **C-** =70-72    **D+** = 67-69;    **D** = 63-66;    **D-** =60-62

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### Course Schedule:

#### **Week 1: Introduction week (January 16 and 18)**

#### **Tuesday: Introduction**

- Syllabus and why are we here?
- Please bring to class a “fun fact” about Latin American elections.
  - For ideas look into this account:  
<https://x.com/asslatam?s=11&t=TzgkgtEIXefPYRTxwzDqjw>

#### **Thursday: thriving in this seminar: reading and writing**

- How do you read academic papers?
  - How do you answer the weekly quizzes?
  - How do you prepare a “Reverse research” presentation AND guide a results discussion?
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#### **Week 2: Recent elections in Latin America (January 23 and 25)**

**Tuesday and Thursday:** This week we will go over the most recent elections in Latin America and their outcomes.

- 📄 [Find information about the funniest/weirdest events during recent elections. Send this via email before Tuesday or Thursday.](#)



Select and submit your selected president for your final paper (deadline: January 28 by midnight)

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### **Week 3: Latin American voters I (January 30 and February 1)**

This week we will start talking about the Latin American voters.

#### **Tuesday – January 30: The Latin American Voter**

Read the assigned text.

- 📄 Carlin, Ryan E., Matthew M. Singer, and Zechmeister, Elizabeth J. Eds. (2015. *The Latin American Voter: Pursuing Representation and Accountability in Challenging Contexts*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. **Chapter 1: Introduction and Chapter 2: Who is the Latin American voter?**



Article Quiz – due on February 1 by 8:30 am.

#### **Thursday – February 1: Negative partisanship (who voters' dislike)**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Haime, Agustina, and Francisco Cantú. 2022. "Negative Partisanship in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 64(1): 72–92. doi: 10.1017/lap.2021.54.
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### **Week 4: Latin American Voters II (Feb. 6 and 8):**

It is common to hear claims that Latin American voters are easily "bought" or that they rarely "punish" corrupt candidates. However, this week's papers suggest the opposite.



Article Quiz – due on February 6 by 8:30 am.

#### **Tuesday – Feb. 6: when vote buying does not work.**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Elia, Emily, and Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer. 2022. "Corruption Perceptions, Opposition Parties, and Reelecting Incumbents in Latin America." *Electoral Studies* 80(April): 102545. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.electstud.2022.102545>.



Article Quiz – due on February 8 by 8:30 am.

**Thursday – Feb. 8: punishing the corrupt candidate.**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate’s discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Carlin, Ryan E., and Mason W. Moseley. 2022. “When Clientelism Backfires: Vote Buying, Democratic Attitudes, and Electoral Retaliation in Latin America.” *Political Research Quarterly* 75(3): 766–81.



Submit your Data Collection 1: Voter’s preferences in your selected case (deadline: February 11 by midnight)

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**Week 5: Campaign appeals (Feb. 13 and 15)**

Parties and candidates need to provide incentives for voters to “come out and vote.” How can we study these efforts? On Tuesday we will talk about the conceptualization of these efforts – what to call the efforts, and we will also discuss HOW to study them. On Thursday, we will read about other ways to study these appeals.



Article Quiz – due on February 13 by 8:30 am.

**Tuesday – Feb. 13**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate’s discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Mustillo, Thomas. 2016. “Party-Voter Linkages Derived from the Calculus of Voting Model: Electoral Mobilization in Ecuador.” *Rationality and Society* 28(1): 24–51. <http://rss.sagepub.com/cgi/doi/10.1177/1043463115621516>.



Article Quiz – due on February 15 by 8:30 am.

**Thursday – Feb. 15**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate’s discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Jones West, Karleen. 2011. “Programmatic or Personalistic? Pachakutik Strategies in Ecuador’s 2006 Elections.” *The Latin Americanist* March: 49–68.

### **Week 6: Campaign appeals II (Feb. 20, and 22)**

Populism is a crucial “part” of campaign appeals. This week, we will talk about populism and its characteristics in Latin America. Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate’s discussion of this paper.



Article Quiz – due on February 20 by 8:30 am.

#### **Tuesday – Feb. 20**

- 📄 Mudde C, Rovira Kaltwasser C. Exclusionary vs. Inclusionary Populism: Comparing Contemporary Europe and Latin America. *Government and Opposition*. 2013;48(2):147-174. doi:10.1017/gov.2012.11



Article Quiz – due on February 22 by 8:30 am.

#### **Thursday – Feb. 22**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate’s discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Madrid RL. The Rise of Ethnopolitism in Latin America. *World Politics*. 2008;60(3):475-508. doi:10.1017/S0043887100009060



Submit your Data Collection 2: Your candidate’s campaign – what did they say, offer, gave the voters? (deadline: February 25 by midnight)

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### **Week 7: Campaign appeals III (Feb. 27, and 29)**



Article Quiz – due on February 27 by 8:30 am.

#### **Tuesday – Feb. 27**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate’s discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Schwörer, J., & Fernández-García, B. (2023). In the name of God and Christianity:

mapping parties' and candidates' religious communication in Latin America. *Religion, State & Society*, 51(2), 131–152. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09637494.2023.2206342>



Article Quiz – due on February 29 by 8:30 am.

### Thursday – Feb. 29

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- Justesen, Mogens Kamp, and Luigi Manzetti. 2023. "Poverty, Partisanship, and Vote Buying in Latin America." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48(13).

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### Week 8: Campaign appeals IV (March 5 and 7)



Article Quiz – due on March 5 by 8:30 am.

### Tuesday – March 5

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- Pallister, K., & Fitzpatrick, E. (2023). The Medium and the Message in Argentina's Presidential Campaigns. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, 0(0). <https://doi.org/10.1177/19401612221149272>



Article Quiz – due on March 7 by 8:30 am.

### Thursday – March 7

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- Luna, Juan Pablo. 2010. "Segmented Party-Voter Linkages in Latin America: The Case of the UDI." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42(2): 325–56.



Submit your Data Collection 3: Your candidate's opposition campaigns – what did they say, offer, gave the voters (focus on at least 2 opposition candidates)? (deadline: March 10 by midnight)

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### Week 9: Mid-semester break (March 12, and 14)

No sessions.

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### **Week 10: Subnational elections (March 19 and 21)**



Article Quiz – due on March 19 by 8:30 am.

#### **Tuesday – March 19**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.


-  Polga-Hecimovich, J. (2022). Venezuelan regional elections, democratic backsliding, and autocratization in the 2010s. *Regional & Federal Studies*, 32(4), 437–458. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13597566.2022.2063846>



Article Quiz – due on March 21 by 8:30 am.

#### **Thursday – March 21**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

-  Spoon, J.-J., & West, K. J. (2015). Bottoms up: How subnational elections predict parties' decisions to run in presidential elections in Europe and Latin America. *Research & Politics*, 2(3), <https://doi.org/10.1177/2053168015602039>
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### **Week 11: Subnational elections (March 26 and 28).**



Article Quiz – due on March 26 by 8:30 am.

#### **Tuesday – March 26**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

-  Avellaneda, C. N., & Escobar-Lemmon, M. C. (2012). All by Myself: Personal Qualifications versus Party Affiliation in Colombian Mayoral Elections. *Latin American Politics and Society*, 54(2), 109–132. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-2456.2012.00155.x>



Article Quiz – due on March 28 by 8:30 am.

**Thursday – March 28**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Faughnan, B. M., Hiskey, J. T., & Revey, S. D. (2014). Subnational Electoral Contexts and Corruption in Mexico. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 6(1), 45-81. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1866802X1400600102>



Submit your Data Collection 4: What happened in the subnational elections in your selected country BEFORE the election of your selected president? (deadline: March 31 by midnight)

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**Week 12: Campaign funding (April 2 – No session on April 4).**



Article Quiz – due on April 2 by 8:30 am.

**Tuesday – April 2**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- 📄 Put, G.-J., Maddens, B., & Muyters, G. (2023). Sources of campaign funding for incumbents versus challengers in list proportional representation systems: The case of Colombia. *International Political Science Review*, 44(3), 370-386. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01925121221080713>

**Thursday – April 4 – NO SESSION**

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**Week 13: Campaign funding II (April 9 and 11)**



Article Quiz – due on April 9 by 8:30 am.

**Tuesday – April 9**

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- Janusz, A., Barreiro, S.-N., & Cintron, E. (2022). Political parties and campaign resource allocation: Gender gaps in Brazilian elections. *Party Politics*, 28(5), 854-864. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13540688211018424>



Article Quiz – due on April 11 by 8:30 am.

### Thursday – April 11

Read the assigned text. Be prepared to contribute to your classmate's discussion of this paper.

- Johnson, J. W. (2011). Incumbents without a Campaign Finance Advantage: Competition and Money in Chile's Congressional Elections. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 3(3), 3–33. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1866802X1100300301>



Submit your Data Collection 5: What is known about campaign funding (and corruption) in your selected elections? (deadline: April 14 by midnight)

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### Week 14: Write up week (April 16, and 18)

This week we will do a workshop to develop your final argument and prepare your presentation and paper. Assistance is not mandatory but encouraged.

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**Week 15 and 16: Final paper presentations (April 23, 25 and 30).** These weeks we will have presentations of the final papers.



Submit your Final Paper by midnight (May 5)



Submit your Extra credit by midnight (May 5)