

University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

**Political Science 2405 / 442 Topics in Latin American Politics:
Protest and Social Movements in Latin America**

Winter 2020

Mondays, 2-4 pm., University College, UC 148 (DRAFT)

Instructor: Martha Balaguera
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COURSE DESCRIPTION

Far from episodic, protests and social movements staged by minoritized populations create a global force of resistance in the 21st Century. This course will examine the vital role of Latin American collective struggles in this contemporary geography of power, focusing on the late 20th Century to the present day. It will consider how democratization, neoliberalism, and post-neoliberalism have created specific conditions for the emergence of different kinds of subaltern organizing and mobilizing in the region, with special attention to the intersecting politics of class, ethnicity, nation, gender, sexuality and race. It will also critically investigate the ways in which people in Latin America have reshaped the practice and meaning of citizenship through their struggles.

This course is intended to introduce students to the field of theorizing about protest and social movements, and to the politics of the Latin American region broadly conceived through the empirical study of the collective struggles of its peoples. Our readings will be drawn from different scholarly traditions and disciplines —social movement theory, critical race theory and decolonial thought; political science, anthropology and history; and legal, feminist, cultural and ethnic studies. We will read texts that theorize protest and social movements in regional perspective, and theoretically informed case studies and comparisons about El Salvador, Nicaragua, Guatemala, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Mexico, Colombia, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil and Argentina.

In considering a variety of theoretical approaches and empirical cases, we will ask broad questions, including the following: How are “protest” and “social movements” conceptualized in different contexts? What structural, institutional, and cultural factors contribute to the emergence of protest and social movements? What is the relationship between protest/social movements and democratic citizenship? How do protest/social movements relate to state institutions, civil society organizations, and international actors? How have social movements resisted or negotiated participation in neoliberal and post-neoliberal models of development? What kinds of identities or alternative visions have been articulated by protest and social movements in Latin America? What are some strategic and discursive innovations of contemporary Latin American movements, and what has been their impact at different levels?

COURSE MATERIALS

Article-length readings can be accessed as follows:

- (O) Through permanent links provided in the Course Schedule below.
- (S) As PDF scanned copies available on Quercus.

The following books are available for purchase at the UofT Bookstore:

- (R) Stahler-Sholk, Richard, Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker, eds. 2014. *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.
- (O) Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2003. *Insurgent collective action and civil war in El Salvador*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11053618>.
- (R) Postero, Nancy Grey. 2007. *Now we are citizens: indigenous politics in postmulticultural Bolivia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- (R) Mullings, Leith and Manning Marable, eds. 2009. *New social movements in the African diaspora: challenging global apartheid*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.
- (O) Silva, Eduardo. 2009. *Challenging neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11052196>.
- (O) Gómez-Barris, Macarena. 2017. *The extractive zone: social ecologies and decolonial perspectives*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11652150>.

The letter (O) indicates that the book is available online through the Library website, and permanent links are provided.

Note: the library may limit the number of users who can access online books at any given time. Please plan ahead and make appropriate arrangements to access the readings opportunistically.

The letter (R) indicates that the book is available for 3-hour loan at the Robarts Library Course Reserves (3rd Floor), and that no online or scanned version may be provided.

Additional (R) books have not been ordered for purchase, since we will only use short selections of them. These books are available at the Robarts Library Course Reserves for 3-hour loan:

- (R) Kampwirth, Karen. 2004. *Feminism and the legacy of revolution: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas*. Athens: Ohio University Press.
- (R) Zibechi, Raúl. 2012. *Territories in Resistance: A Cartography of Latin American Social Movements*. Oakland, CA: AK Press.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

In-class participation (ongoing, 20%). This course will run as a research seminar, and its quality depends on everyone doing all of the assigned readings and coming to class prepared to engage actively in meaningful discussion. Seminar participants will be addressing the readings from a variety of perspectives and backgrounds, and it is crucial that discussions are conducted in a respectful manner, without silencing those who may not agree or who do not have extensive prior knowledge of the subject or the region.

Reading responses (weekly/skip two, 20%). To prepare for class, you will submit a 1-page, single-spaced reading response on Quercus, 24 hours before the seminar meets. The first and the final weeks of the term, as well as the weeks when you present (see below) do not require reading responses. In addition, you can skip two weeks, so that you should submit a total of six reading responses during the term. Reading responses are neither formal papers nor summaries but short, thoughtful engagements with the assigned readings. You should aim to raise questions about the material, identify common themes or contradictions among the readings, establish connections with previous discussions, express agreement or disagreement with the arguments being presented, or apply authors' insights to current events. To receive full credit for each response paper, you must submit it in a timely manner and share your ideas and questions during class. All reading responses will be graded (satisfactory or unsatisfactory).

Presentations (two times during the term, 25%). You will sign up to present and facilitate discussions twice during the term, working with a partner or two. This will involve: a) meeting with me to discuss your plan; b) providing the class with some questions in advance (by Friday of the week prior to the class); c) preparing a brief presentation —no longer than 15 minutes— that pulls together the readings into some kind of critical framework, relates them to previous weeks' readings and raises questions for class discussion; and d) facilitating discussion during class in a way that ensures equitable participation and maintains continuity and coherence. You may use a variety of discussion techniques, but at least part of the time should be spent in whole-group discussion.

Final paper (paper proposal + draft bibliography due in class on February 10, 5%; final paper due on April 3 on Quercus, 30%). You will write a final paper that either 1) focuses on a particular empirical case of protest or social movements, drawing on the theoretical perspectives we have discussed; or 2) addresses a particular problem or issue in the literature, such as the relationship between protest/social movements and state institutions, or the ways in which protest/social movements shape the practice and meaning of citizenship. The paper can take the form of a critical review of the literature, a research proposal or a piece of original research. For seminar participants registered in POL 442, the paper should be about 12 pages in length (3,600 words). For seminar participants registered in POL 2405, the paper should be about 20 in length (6,000 words). You should submit a 1-page paper proposal plus a draft bibliography by Week 6 (February 10). The final draft will be due on Wednesday, April 3 on Quercus.

IMPORTANT DATES

January 19. Last day to enroll in S courses.
February 10. Paper proposal and draft bibliography due in class.
February 17. Family Day. University closed.
February 17-21. Reading Week.
March 15. Last day to drop S courses without academic penalty.
April 3. Classes end. Final paper due on Quercus.

LATE AND MISSED WORK POLICY

Late assignments will be subject to a late penalty of 5% per day (including weekends) of the total marks. Assignments submitted five calendar days beyond the due date will be assigned a grade of zero.

Extensions will only be granted under timely documented cases of emergency. Acceptable documentation includes doctors' notes and letters from the Registrar's Office.

If you miss class the day you are scheduled to present, you will be assigned a grade of zero for the presentation. Cases of emergency should be appropriately documented in a timely manner.

COURSE COMMUNICATIONS

I will communicate with you via your _.@mail.utoronto.ca email address and via Quercus. It is your responsibility to check your institutional email and Quercus frequently. When writing to me, please include "POL2405" or "POL442" in the subject line, followed by a brief description of your message. Please allow two working days to hear back from me, unless an automatic response instructs to proceed otherwise.

QUERCUS

You may access the course website on Quercus through the following link: <https://q.utoronto.ca>. Use your UTORid and password to sign in.

Quercus will be used to access course materials and announcements, and to submit your reading responses and final paper. It is your responsibility to check it regularly.

ACCESSIBILITY

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability or a health consideration that may require accommodations, please approach me directly or Accessibility Services as soon as possible.

The staff members of Accessibility Services are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals, and arrange appropriate accommodations. Their contact information is included below.

Accessibility Services
455 Spadina Avenue, 4th Floor, Suite 400
Phone: 416-978-8060
E-mail: accessibility.services@utoronto.ca

NOTICE OF COLLECTION

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the University of Toronto Act, 1971. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times, it will be protected in accordance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

If you have questions, please refer to www.utoronto.ca/privacy or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurrich Bldg., 12 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Plagiarism is an academic offence with a severe penalty.

Advice on writing at the University of Toronto, and guidance on how to cite sources and how not to plagiarize can be found at <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources> and <http://www.writing.utoronto.ca/advice/using-sources/how-not-to-plagiarize>.

LAPTOP POLICY

Responsible laptop usage during class time is limited to note taking and accessing readings available electronically. Other uses are distracting to seminar participants, undermine the quality of the discussions, and therefore should be avoided. Irresponsible laptop usage will impact your final grade.

COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1

January 6. Protest in Latin American today.

Selected blog posts, newspaper articles and podcasts.

Week 2

January 13. Theorizing protest and social movements in regional perspective: structure, history, culture.

(S) Eckstein, Susan. 2001. "Power and Popular Protest in Latin America." In: *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Susan Eckstein. Berkeley: University of California Press. Chapter 1, pp. 1-60.

(S) Alvarez, Sonia E., Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, eds. 1998. *Cultures of Politics/Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Preface and Introduction, pp. xi-xiii and 1-29.

Recommended reading:

(O) Silva, Eduardo. 2009. *Challenging neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2, pp. 14-42. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11052196>.

Week 3

January 20. Theorizing protest and social movements in regional perspective: ontology, decoloniality, pedagogy.

(O) Escobar, Arturo. 2010. "Latin America at a crossroads." *Cultural Studies*. 24(1): 1-65. Permanent link: https://journals-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/details/09502386/v24i0001/1_laac.xml.

(R) Stahler-Sholk, Richard. 2014. "Introduction: New Directions in Latin American Social Movements." In: *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 1-17.

(R) Motta, Sara C. 2014. "Latin America: Reinventing Revolutions, an 'Other' Politics in Practice and Theory." In: *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 21-42.

Recommended reading:

- (O) Quijano, Anibal. 2007. "Coloniality and Modernity/Rationality." *Cultural Studies*. 21(2-3): 168-178. Permanent link: https://journals-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/details/09502386/v21i2-3/168_cam.xml.

Week 4

January 27. Moral economy and insurgent collective action.

- (O) Wood, Elisabeth Jean. 2003. *Insurgent collective action and civil war in El Salvador*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1, 4 and 7, pp. 1-30, 87-120, 193-225. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11053618>.
- (O) Sierra Becerra, Diana Carolina. 2019. "For Our Total Emancipation: The Making of Revolutionary Feminism in Insurgent El Salvador 1977-1987." In: *Making the revolution: histories of the Latin American left*, edited by Kevin Young. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, pp. 266-293. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/12887584>.

Recommended reading:

- (R) Kampwirth, Karen. 2004. "Feminists Break Away in El Salvador." In: *Feminism and the legacy of revolution: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas*. Athens: Ohio University Press, pp. 75-111.

Week 5

February 3. Culture, law and transnational solidarity.

- (S) Coutin, Susan Bibler. 1993. *The culture of protest: religious activism and the U.S. sanctuary movement*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. Introduction and Chapters 1, 2 and 9; pp. 1-44, 174-200.
- (S) Coutin, Susan Bibler. 2006. "Cause lawyering and political advocacy: moving law on behalf of Central American Refugees." In: *Cause lawyers and social movements*, edited by Austin Sarat and Stuart A. Scheingold. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, pp. 101-119.
- (O) Perla, Héctor. 2008. "Si Nicaragua Venció, El Salvador Vencerá: Central American Agency in the Creation of the U.S.: Central American Peace and Solidarity Movement." *Latin American Research Review*. 43(2): 136-58.

Recommended reading:

- Cunningham, Hilary. 1995. *God and Caesar at the Rio Grande: sanctuary and the politics of religion*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- (O) García, María Cristina. 2006. *Seeking refuge: Central American migration to Mexico, the United States, and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8846541>.

Week 6

February 10. The Zapatista Rebellion.

- (R) Stahler-Sholk, Richard. 2014. "Mexico: Autonomy, Collective Identity, and the Zapatista Social Movement." In: *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 187-207.
- (R) Kampwirth, Karen. 2004. "Conquering the Space that Is Ours: Women, Civil Society and the Zapatista Rebellion." In: *Feminism and the legacy of revolution: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas*. Athens: Ohio University Press, pp. 112-164.

(O) Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN). 2005. "Sixth Declaration of the Lacandon Jungle." Permanent link: <https://enlacezapatista.ezln.org.mx/sdsl-en/>.

Recommended reading:

Mora, Mariana. 2008. "Zapatista Anti-Capitalist Politics and the 'Other Campaign: Learning from the Struggle for Indigenous Rights and Autonomy." In: *Latin American Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century: Resistance, Power, and Democracy*, edited by Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Glen David Kuecker. New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 151-164.

Speed, Shannon. 2008. *Rights in rebellion: indigenous struggle and human rights in Chiapas*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Final paper proposal and draft bibliography due in class.

Week 7

February 17. Family Day. University Closed.

February 18 – 21. Reading Week.

Week 8

February 24. Possibilities and limitations of neoliberal citizenship.

(R) Postero, Nancy Grey. 2007. *Now we are citizens: indigenous politics in postmulticultural Bolivia*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Introduction and Part Two, pp. 1-22; 123-232.

(O) Dagnino, Evelina. 2007. "Citizenship: A Perverse Confluence." *Development in Practice*. 17(4-5): 549-556. Permanent link: https://journals-scholarsportal-info.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/details/09614524/v17i4-5/549_capc.xml.

(O) Hale, Charles R. 2002. "Does multiculturalism menace? Governance, cultural rights and the politics of identity in Guatemala." *Journal of Latin American Studies*. 34(3): 485-524.

Recommended reading:

(O) Hale, Charles R. 2005. "Neoliberal multiculturalism: The remaking of cultural rights and racial dominance in Central America." *PoLAR*, 28(1): 10-28. Permanent link: <https://search-proquest-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/docview/38207714?pq-origsite=summon&accountid=14771>.

Week 9

March 2. Anti-racist activism.

(R) Mullings, Leith and Manning Marable, eds. 2009. *New social movements in the African diaspora: challenging global apartheid*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. Chapters 1, 5 and 7, pp. 13-32, 105-121 and 139-156.

(O) Bowen, Larnies A., Ayanna Legros, Tianna Paschel, Geisa Mattos, Kleaver Cruz and Juliet Hooker. 2017. "A Hemispheric Approach to Contemporary Black Activism." *NACLA Report on the Americas*. 49(1): 25-35. <https://www-tandfonline-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/doi/full/10.1080/10714839.2017.1298240>.

(O) Christen A. Smith. 2017. Battling Anti-Black Genocide in Brazil. *NACLA Report on the Americas*. 49(1): 41-47. <https://www-tandfonline-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/doi/full/10.1080/10714839.2017.1298243>.

- (O) Hale, Charles R., Pamela Calla and Leith Mullings. 2017. "Race Matters in Dangerous Times," *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 49(1): 81-89. Permanent link: <https://www-tandfonline-com.myaccess.library.utoronto.ca/doi/full/10.1080/10714839.2017.1298253>.

Recommended reading:

- (O) Escobar, Arturo. 2008. *Territories of difference: place, movements, life, redes*. Durham, CA: Duke University Press. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/8154173>.

Week 10

March 9. Challenging neoliberalism: Argentina.

- (O) Silva, Eduardo. 2009. *Challenging neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapters 1 and 4, pp. 1-13 and 56-102. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11052196>.
- (S) Sutton, Barbara. 2010. *Bodies in Crisis: Culture, Violence, and Women's Resistance in Neoliberal Argentina*. Piscataway: Rutgers University Press. Chapter 6, pp. 161-190.

Recommended films:

- Lewis, Avi and Naomi Klein. 2004. *The Take*. Montréal, Québec: Alliance Atlantis.
- Fuentes, Carola, Rafael Valdeavellano, Herta Mladinic, Pablo Valdés, Sebastián Caro, and Gabriel E. Pulido. 2016. *Chicago Boys*. Brooklyn, NY: Icarus Films.

Week 11

March 16. Challenging neoliberalism and post-neoliberalism: Bolivia.

- (O) Silva, Eduardo. 2009. *Challenging neoliberalism in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 5, pp. 103-146. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11052196>.
- (R) Zibechi, Raúl. 2012. *Territories in Resistance: A Cartography of Latin American Social Movements*. Oakland, CA: AK Press. Chapters 16 and 17, pp. 267-306.
- (O) Lucero, José Antonio. 2017. "Monuments of (De) Colonization: Violence, Democracy and Grey Zones in Bolivia after January 11, 2007." In: *Beyond Civil Society: Activism, Participation, and Protest in Latin America*, edited by Sonia E. Alvarez et. al. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 296-315. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11408548>.
- (O) Mullenax, Shawna. 2019. "De Jure Transformation, De Facto Stagnation: The Status of Women's and LGBT Rights in Bolivia." In: *Seeking Rights from the Left: Gender, Sexuality, and the Latin American Pink Tide*, edited by Elisabeth Jay Friedman. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Chapter 5, pp. 173-199. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/12572233>.

Recommended reading:

- (O) Goodale Mark and Nancy Postero, eds. 2013. *Neoliberalism, interrupted: social change and contested governance in contemporary Latin America*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11907613>.

Week 12

March 23. Subaltern subjects and anti-extractivist struggles under leftist rule.

- (O) Gómez-Barris, Macarena. 2017. *The extractive zone: social ecologies and decolonial perspectives*. Introduction and Chapters 1 and 5, pp. 1-16, 17-38, 110-132. Permanent link: <http://go.utlib.ca/cat/11652150>.

(R) Becker, Marc. 2014. "Ecuador: Correa, Indigenous Movements, and the Writing of a New Constitution." In: *Rethinking Latin American Social Movements*, edited by Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden and Marc Becker. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, pp. 267-284.

Recommended reading:

(O) Friedman, Elisabeth Jay, ed. 2019. *Seeking Rights from the Left: Gender, Sexuality, and the Latin American Pink Tide*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Permanent link:

<http://go.utlib.ca/cat/12572233>.

Week 13

March 30. Final reflections.

Readings TBD.

April 3. Final paper due on Quercus.