University of Toronto
Department of Political Science

POLITICAL SCIENCE 2405/442 TOPICS IN LATIN AMERICAN POLITICS:
PROTEST AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA
Winter 2024

Instructor: Martha Balaguera, PhD, Assistant Professor
Meeting time: Thursdays 3-5 pm
Office: Sidney Smith Hall, SS 3049
E-mail: m.balaguera@utoronto.ca
Office hours: Mondays 12:30-1:30 pm via Zoom or by appointment

COURSE DESCRIPTION

Protests and social movements by a range of social actors have historically shaped politics and the political in Latin America. In recent decades, collective struggles by oppressed groups have multiplied, creating a force of resistance with far-reaching implications in the region and beyond. They have exposed the limits of democracy as something instituted from above. They have contested, negotiated with, or carved out spaces of participation in different visions of development. They have defied elites’ repressive power and the exploitation of Latin American peoples in the international political economy. They have refused long-standing hierarchies and exclusions. They have expanded political imaginaries and enacted change.

This course examines the generative political and epistemological work of Latin American protest and social movements, focusing on the late 20th century to the present day. It focuses on key threads of subaltern organizing and mobilizing in the region during this time frame, including revolutionary, feminist, solidarity, decolonial, anti-racist, body-centered, ontological and anti-extractivist struggles in the final stages of the Cold War, under neoliberal hegemony, and in post-neoliberal settings. These threads are studied alongside major theoretical innovations in this interdisciplinary field of knowledge in comparative and transnational perspective. Especial attention is given to the intersecting politics of coloniality, race, gender and class.

Readings are drawn from different scholarly traditions and disciplines—social movement theory, critical race theory, transnational feminisms, cultural studies, performance studies, black political thought, decolonial thought, political science, history, anthropology, sociology, communication and education. We will read texts that theorize protest and social movements in regional perspective addressing Abya Yala, Afro-Latin America, the Southern Cone, Mesoamerica or the Americas, as well as case studies and comparisons about Nicaragua, El Salvador, Argentina, Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, Colombia, Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay and Chile. Recommended readings offer additional resources about other countries and sub-regions.

In considering a variety of theoretical approaches and empirical cases, we will ask broad questions, including the following: How are “protest” and “social movements” defined in different contexts and what alternative concepts shed light on the collective political struggles of Latin American peoples? How do scholars of protest and social movements theorize the region’s political realities?
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 and alternative visions of the world have been articulated by protest and social movements in Latin America? What are some strategic, discursive and intellectual innovations present in contemporary Latin American movements, and what has been their impact at different levels?

**LEARNING OUTCOMES**

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

1. Evaluate the conceptual, theoretical, normative and methodological foundations of empirical studies of protest and social movements in Latin America.
2. Explain the conditions precipitating the emergence of protest and social movements in contemporary Latin America.
3. Assess the political as well as intellectual contributions of contemporary actors in struggle and social movements across the region.
4. Analyze cases of protest and social movements in comparative and transnational perspective.
5. Employ an intersectional lens to assess the political realities and agency of oppressed groups in Latin America.
6. Formulate research questions about protest and social movements in Latin America and articulate responses to such questions grounded in existing theories and empirical evidence.
7. Communicate arguments clearly in a variety of formats, both in writing and through oral participation and presentations.

**COURSE MATERIALS**

**Required**

Most article-length readings and books assigned can be accessed online through the library website. Whenever available, hyperlinks are provided on the weekly Quercus “Modules.”

*Note: the UofT 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 opportunely.*

The list of required readings is subject to change. A relevant announcement will be published on Quercus when necessary.

Sources that are not available online through the library website are listed below and available for purchase at the UofT Bookstore. You are responsible for obtaining these materials in the format of your choice. Please contact the instructor at your earliest convenience if you have trouble accessing these materials on your own.
Recommended materials are included in the course schedule. Whenever possible, permanent library links are provided.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

Course requirements are intended to meet the learning objectives outlined above.

In-class oral participation (ongoing, 25%). This course will run as a research seminar, and its quality depends on everyone’s doing all 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. (Learning outcomes emphasized: 1-5 and 7).

In-class written responses to assigned material (February 1, March 7 and March 28; each 10%, total 30%). Three times during the term, we will write reading responses to the assigned material. These responses are thoughtful engagements with all the cumulative assigned material. To prepare for these assessments, you should complete all the readings, watch or listen to the audio-visual material and take notes. Aim to identify common themes or contradictions among the readings, establish connections with previous discussions, and assess the arguments being presented. Prompts will be provided in class. In cases of extenuating circumstances, make-up responses may be provided and will be completed orally only during an in-person meeting outside of class time. (Learning outcomes emphasized: 3-5).

Presentation of assigned material (one time during the term, 15%). You will sign up to present and facilitate one discussion during the term, working with a partner or two, depending on enrollment numbers. This will involve the following:
   a) Meeting with the instructor to propose a presentation plan and get feedback.
   b) Posting at least three questions for class discussion two days in advance of class (by Tuesday at 11:59 pm during the week you are presenting).
   c) Preparing a brief presentation —maximum 10 minutes per presenter— that pulls together the readings into a critical framework, relates them to previous weeks’ readings and raises questions for class discussion (more detailed guidelines to follow).
   d) Facilitating discussion, maintaining continuity and coherence.
Note: Reading from a script is not allowed.
You may suggest a variety of discussion techniques, but at least part of the time should be spent in whole-group discussion. (Learning outcomes emphasized: 1-5 and 7).

Final paper (paper proposal + annotated bibliography due on February 17, 5%; final paper presentation on April 4, 10%; final paper due on April 5, 15%). You will write a final paper that either 1) focuses on a particular empirical case; or 2) addresses a particular problem or issue in the literature. The paper can take the form of a critical review of the literature (option A), a grant
proposal (option B) or a piece of original empirical research (option C). Detailed guidelines will be provided. For seminar participants registered in POL 442, the paper should be 10 pages in length (3,000 words). For seminar participants registered in POL 2405, the paper should be 15 pages in length (4,500 words). You should submit a 1-page paper proposal plus a draft annotated bibliography (4 additional pages) by Week 6 (February 17). You will then present your main draft conclusions (option A), research design (option B) or findings (option C) on April 4. Finally, you will submit your paper on April 5 via Quercus. (Learning outcomes emphasized: 3-7).

**IMPORTANT DATES**

January 21. Last day to enrol in S courses.
February 19-23. Reading Week.
March 11. Last day to drop S courses.
April 5. Classes end.

**LATE AND MISSED WORK POLICY**

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

If you miss class on the days the written responses are scheduled (February 1, March 7 and March 28), an oral make-up assessment may be provided contingent on adequate documentation of extenuating circumstances.

If you miss class the day you are scheduled to present (either the presentation of assigned material or your final paper presentation), you will be assigned a grade of zero.

Cases of emergency should be appropriately reported and documented.

**GRADE APPEALS**

Your grade may go either up or down during the appeal process.

**Reflection period**

There is a 72-hour reflection period before you can file a grade appeal. Appeal requests made before the reflection period ends will not be read or receive a response.

**Reassessment procedure**

If you do not agree with a grade you obtained in the course, you can appeal it by following the procedure detailed below:
• Request a reassessment of your grade in writing. You have 30 days --after the reflection period has concluded-- to make a reassessment request.
• In your email, explain in a detailed manner the reasons why you disagree with your grade. You should specifically respond to the feedback obtained and the relevant prompt or guidelines provided for the assignment.
• You will hear back from your instructor within two weeks after submitting your request.

COURSE COMMUNICATIONS

I will communicate with you via your _@mail.utoronto.ca email address. It is your responsibility to check your institutional email frequently. When writing to me, please include “POL2405” or “POL442” in the subject line, followed by a subject line that summarizes the purpose of your message. Please allow two working days to hear back from me, unless an automatic response instructs to proceed otherwise. In all electronic communications, use appropriate salutation and professional language.

COMMITMENT TO EQUITY, HUMAN RIGHTS AND RESPECT FOR DIVERSITY

The University of Toronto is committed to equity, human rights and respect for diversity. All members of the learning environment in this course should strive to create an atmosphere of mutual respect where all community members can express themselves, engage with each other, and respect one another’s differences. U of T does not condone discrimination or harassment against any persons or communities.

COMMUNITY AGREEMENT

During the first week of classes, we will discuss and create a Community Agreement for POL2405/442. It will then be posted on Quercus for everyone’s reference.

CONTENT WARNING

The content and discussion in this course will often deal with different forms of oppression and violence. Much of this content will be emotionally and intellectually challenging. The instructor will strive to make this class a space where all participants can engage empathetically and thoughtfully with difficult content.

ACCESSIBILITY

Students with diverse learning needs are welcome in this course. If you have a disability or health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and Accessibility Services as soon as possible. The sooner you let us know your needs, the quicker we can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course.
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 a serious academic offence and will be dealt with accordingly. 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.

In addition, potential academic offences in a digital context include, but are not limited to:

- Using technological aids (e.g. artificial intelligence or other software) beyond what is explicitly listed as permitted in an assessment.
- Accessing unauthorized resources (search engines, chat rooms, Reddit, Course Hero, etc.) for assessments.
- Posting test, essay, or exam questions to message boards or social media.
- Creating, accessing, and sharing assessment questions and answers in virtual “course groups.”
- Working collaboratively, in-person or online, with others on assessments that are expected to be completed individually.

All suspected cases of academic dishonesty will be investigated following procedures outlined in the Code of Student Conduct. If you have questions or concerns about what constitutes appropriate academic behaviour or appropriate research and citation methods, you are expected to seek out additional information on academic integrity from your instructor or from other institutional sources at the University of Toronto.
GENERATIVE ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE

Students may not copy or paraphrase from any generative artificial intelligence applications, including ChatGPT and other AI writing and coding assistants, for the purpose of completing readings or assignments in this course —unless explicitly stated otherwise in writing by the instructor. This course policy is designed to promote your learning and intellectual development and to help you reach course learning outcomes.

PLAGIARISM DETECTION TOOL

Normally, students will be required to submit their course essays to the University's plagiarism detection tool for a review of textual similarity and detection of possible plagiarism. In doing so, students will allow their essays to be included as source documents in the tool's reference database, where they will be used solely for the purpose of detecting plagiarism. The terms that apply to the University's use of this tool are described on the Centre for Teaching Support & Innovation web site (https://uoft.me/pdt-faq).

Opt-out option

Students may opt out of the plagiarism detection tool for submitting their assignments. To do so, they should notify the instructor via email no later than January 22, 2024.

PRIVACY AND USE OF COURSE MATERIALS

Course videos and materials belong to your instructor, the University, and/or other sources depending on the specific facts of each situation and are protected by copyright. Refrain from photographing and recording videos of class meetings, and do not download, copy, or share any course or student materials or videos without the written permission of the instructor.
COURSE SCHEDULE

Week 1. January 11
Introductions and initial provocations

Recommended readings:

Further recommended readings:

Week 2. January 18
Revolution in the final stages of the Cold War (Nicaragua and El Salvador)

Required readings:

Recommended readings (El Salvador and Guatemala):

Week 3. January 25
Feminist struggles in the age of revolution (Nicaragua and El Salvador)

Required readings:

Recommended films (Nicaragua and El Salvador):

---

1 Course materials included in this schedule are subject to change. Students will be notified of any changes at least a week prior to the class affected by such changes.

**Recommended readings (Cuba and Nicaragua):**


**Week 4. February 1**

Transnational advocacy and solidarity (the Americas with emphasis on Argentina, Mexico, and Guatemala)

**Required readings:**


**Recommended readings (El Salvador, Honduras, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Mexico, and the United States):**


In-class written response.

**Week 5. February 8**

The Zapatista rebellion (Chiapas, Mexico)

**Required reading:**


**Recommended readings (Chiapas, Mexico and North America):**


**Week 6. February 15**

Self-directed study week.

February 17. Final paper proposal and draft annotated bibliography due on Quercus.

**Week 7. February 22**

Reading week

February 19, Family Day Holiday. University closed.

February 20-24, Reading week.

**Week 8. February 29**

Possibilities and limitations of “neoliberal multiculturalism” (the Americas, with a focus on Guatemala and Colombia)

**Required readings:**

**Recommended readings (Bolivia, Central America, Brazil, and Colombia):**
Week 9. March 7
Afro-descendant struggles across the region (the Americas with emphasis on Brazil and Mexico)

Required readings:

Recommended readings (the Americas, Brazil, Colombia):

In-class written response.

Week 10. March 14

Struggles for life and the territory (Abya Yala/Afro-Latin America with a focus on Ecuador, Honduras, and Colombia)

Required readings:

Recommended readings (Ecuador, Venezuela, and Honduras):
Week 11. March 21
The Green Wave: abortion, reproductive justice and body politics (Southern Cone with a focus on Argentina, Uruguay and Chile)

Required reading:
Recommended readings (Uruguay, Chile, Brazil, Bolivia, Venezuela, Nicaragua, and Ecuador):

Week 12. March 28
Performance and protest (Argentina, Chile, Mesoamerica)

Required readings:
Recommended reading (the Americas):
Stites Mor, Jessica, and María del Carmen Suescun Pozas. 2018. The art of solidarity: visual and performative politics in Cold War Latin America. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press.

In-class written response.

Week 13. April 4
Final presentations

In-class presentations.

Final paper. April 5.

Final paper due on Quercus.