History 582
Social Movements in 20th Century Latin America and Beyond
Fall 2015

Professor Jeffrey Rubin
Tuesdays, Thursdays 2-3:30 PM

Office Hours:
10 Lenox Street
Tuesdays, 4:30 – 6:00 PM
Wednesdays, 2:30 – 4:00 PM
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This course will examine the relationship between culture and politics in 20th century Latin American social movements, as well as in more recent “global” protest movements in a variety of countries. We will examine the origins, actions, and effects of
such movements as the Mexican Revolution, the Pan-Mayan movement in Guatemala, the 23 de Enero movement in Venezuela, and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas. We will also examine four Brazilian social movements: the Movement of Landless Rural Workers, the Participatory Budgeting project in Porto Alegre, the Movement of Rural Women Workers in Rio Grande do Sul, and the Afro-Reggae Cultural Group in Rio de Janeiro. In the last three weeks of the course, we will look at new forms of protest that have emerged in the 2000’s in such movements as neighborhood assemblies in Buenos Aires, the Chilean student movement, Brazilian street protests, the Mexican student movement (YoSoy132), the Indignados (15-M) in Spain, the anti-austerity movement in Greece, and Occupy Wall Street in the US.

Throughout the course, we will relate theoretical work on culture, economic development, democracy, and neoliberalism to the day to day activities and broader trajectories of the movements we study. In so doing, we will evaluate the ways in which such theoretical perspectives contribute to our historical understanding.

In analyzing social movements, we will consider such questions as: What are the goals of the different social movements we study? Do they seek revolution or reform, act “in the streets” or “in the institutions?” How do the locations in which social movements act and the goals they seek change over time? How do cultural and political processes overlap and interact? When do regional movements provoke national processes of political and cultural change? When and why are issues of race or gender highlighted in the activities of social movements and when are they obscured? How do social movements perpetuate forms of exclusion and inequality?

Readings

Books are available for purchase at Barnes and Noble, and they will be on reserve in the library. Books available for purchase are marked (T) below. Articles and chapters from other books will be available on the course website. They will be posted at the beginning of the semester for the first half of the course and later in the semester for the second half. Articles will remain on the website for three weeks.

Students should be aware that we are reading substantial portions of the books market “T” and that there will be only one copy of each book on two-hour reserve in the library (There will be two copies of Womack.) Note also that several of the books are available online. While this is a useful resource for keeping costs down, bear in mind that in a discussion seminar of this sort, it is often useful to have the text in front of you in class.
The books available for purchase are:

John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (also available online through Mugar)
Manuel Azuela, *The Underdogs* (also available at [http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/549](http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/549))
Kay Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Mayan Activism in Guatemala*
Miriam Pawel, *The Union of Their Dreams: Power, Hope, and Struggle in Cesar Chavez’ Farm Worker Movement*
Alejandro Velasco, *Barrio Rising: Urban Popular Politics and the Making of Modern Venezuela* (also available online through Mugar)
Wendy Wolford, *This Land is Ours Now: Social Mobilization and the Meanings of Land in Brazil*
Patrick Neate and Damian Platt, *Culture is Our Weapon: Making Music and Changing Lives in Rio de Janeiro*
Jeffrey Rubin and Emma Sokoloff-Rubin, *Sustaining Activism: A Brazilian Women’s Movement and a Father-Daughter Collaboration* (also available online through Mugar)

Course Requirements

Students will be required to write three papers in the course of the semester, the first two approximately five pages in length and the final paper eight pages. One of the papers will discuss the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas and will be due on September 29. Students will sign up at the beginning of the semester to do the second paper for a week of their choice, between Sept. 15 and Nov. 17. Papers will be due as email attachments by 9 PM on the night before the first class in which the book will be discussed. Late papers will not be accepted. Assignments for the papers will vary, addressing a range of issues and developing different analytic skills. One may be a summary of the reading. Others will involve comparing the way a particular issue is presented in different readings or analyzing the readings for one week in light of ideas we have developed in earlier readings or discussions. Assignments will be distributed a week in advance. You may also design topics of your own choosing, so long as you check them with me.

Final papers will analyze a social movement that has been prominent nationally and/or globally anywhere in the world since 2000. (See Part III below, Global Protest Since 2000). Topics for final papers need to be submitted by Sunday, November 22. I will provide a list of possible movements on which you might focus though you may also choose another topic. Class readings and discussions for the last three weeks of the course will address issues related to final papers and strategies for preparing and writing final papers. In December, I will distribute a list of themes that have emerged in our discussions over the semester that you might explore in your final papers.
For the first class after the Introductory class (that is, for September 8), everyone will write a 1-2 page chronology/summary of the main events of the Mexican Revolution, as presented by John Womack, to be submitted by email by 9 PM on the night before class. This should be written in prose form, not presented as a list. It is required but it will not be graded. Summaries of the readings or responses to particular questions may be required for other weeks of the course as well.

Every person’s papers should consist of his or her own analysis and writing. Cases of suspected plagiarism will be dealt with in accord with the Academic Conduct Code.

Papers will count for 70% of the course grade (20%, 20%, and 30%) and class participation will count for 30%.

The colloquium will be run as a focused, in-depth discussion. Note that even though we will meet twice/week, this is a 500-level colloquium, and students will be expected to do the reading in full and come to class prepared to discuss it. For all topics, all of the reading should be done before the Tuesday class, because our discussions on both Tuesday and Thursday will involve the book or topic as a whole.

During the first class, I will present guidelines for discussion and suggest ways in which students might develop their skills in preparing for class and making comments that move the discussion along and deepen it. Later, I will discuss reading strategies in greater depth. In the course of the semester, I will meet with students who would like additional guidance in these areas. Each student’s participation will be graded on the basis of how actively and thoughtfully he or she joins in the discussion.

Note that for weeks when there will not be a Tuesday class (Rosh Hashanah, Monday classes on the Tuesday after Columbus day, etc.), we will meet for a double class on Thursday, so as to have sufficient time to discuss the book/topic for the week. Please plan on attending class from 2:00 – 3:30 AND from 7:00 – 8:30 PM on September 17, October 15, and October 29. If people prefer, we may meet from 6:00 – 9:00 rather than once in the afternoon and once in the evening.

Films

Five films will be shown as part of the course. These are a required part of the course and will be included in paper assignments. Two of the films are available on YouTube, with the links provided below. They can also be found in Geddes Language Center, where the quality is better. You can view them at Geddes if you prefer.

There will be one group showing of each of the films not available online, on the Monday evening before the relevant class. These films will be on reserve in Geddes for a week before class, so that students can view them individually or in groups. However,
this may not always work out, and, even if it does, you will not be able to view the films close to the time of the showing. It is best to arrange to come to the group showing if possible and to check with Geddes in advance for availability for individual showings. There will be no group showing for the films available online.

Office Hours

I am available during office hours to speak to students about any aspect of the course or related interests. If you are having difficulty with the course in any way, you should be sure to come see me as soon as possible. You should also come see me if something intrigues or puzzles you, if you would like to know more about a topic or talk about it further, etc. I can be particularly helpful with ways to improve your ability to read and understand the material, prepare for and carry out written assignments, and participate in class discussion. If you are having trouble joining in the class discussion, be sure to speak with me early in the semester. If you know in advance that you would like to see me, talk to me after class or contact me by email to make an appointment, which will generally be during my office hours. It is also fine to come to see me during office hours without an appointment.

My office is located at 10 Lenox Street, which is not far from the Student Union. If you stand on Commonwealth Ave with your back to the Student Union and look across the bridge over the Mass Pike, you will see a big white house with lots of dark green trim. That is 10 Lenox Street, and it is a ninety second walk from the Student Union. Once you are inside, come up right-hand stairway, and my office is the first door on the left.
September 3: Introduction

Part I  Take 1 and Take 2: Revolution and Rebellion in Mexico

September 8 & 10: The Zapatistas and the Mexican Revolution: A Struggle for Land and Community?

John Womack, Jr., *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution*: Prologue, Chapter 1, 37-52, 61-69, 76-96, Chapter 4, 159-178, 185-190, Chapter 7, 224-235, 240-255, 331-336, 346-370 (T)

September 17: The Villistas and the Mexican Revolution: Rebels and Bandits?

NOTE: There will be no class on Sept. 15, Rosh Hashanah. We will meet for three hours on Sept. 17.

Mariano Azuela, *The Underdogs* (a novel, entire)

Reread Womack, Chapter 8


September 22 & 24: At the Borders of Violence: The Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas

FILM: *A Place Called Chiapas*

[https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m9cuC1Cex0s](https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m9cuC1Cex0s)

newspaper and magazine articles, 1994-present

Zapatista communiqués--approx. 19 pages
NY Times articles from the beginning of the rebellion--4 pages
Mexico's Poet Rebel--ends on p 132, before the end of the article
NY Times articles from later--15 pages (optional)
Chiapas Times--2 pages--read "Major US Bank"
Media Recognition--Opportunities and Dangers--10 pages (optional)
The War Within--pp. 6-21
J. Rus, S. Mattiace, and A. Hernandez Chavez, a chronology, 1994-2002, pp. 15-23 (ONLY) of the Hernandez PDF. Those are the pages marked on the text, not the pages in the Adobe Acrobat document. (This is useful for a general overview and for reference)

George Collier, “Basta!”, Chapters 2 & 4


John Womack, Jr., "Chiapas, the Bishop of San Cristóbal, and the Zapatista Revolt," in *Rebellion in Chiapas* (This one is the longest and most synthetic of the readings for this week. Read it carefully for main points and framework.)


Documents:

“The Mexican Revolution in Tzotzil: “When We Stopped Being Crushed,” 1914-1940


“The Church’s New Mission in a De-Christianized Continent: Bishop Ruiz in Medellín, 1968”

“The Proletarian Line: From Torreón to the Canyons, 1976-77”

**September 29 & October 1: At the Borders of Violence: Real-World Complexity in Chiapas**

(PAPERS DUE BY EMAIL BY 9PM MONDAY)


Xóchitl Leyva Solano, “Regional, Communal, and Organizational Transformations in Las Cañadas,” in Rus et. al., *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias*

Jan Rus, 'The 'Comunidad Revolucionaria Institucional': The Subversion of Native Government in Highland Chiapas, 1936-1968, in Gil Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., *Everyday Forms of State Formation*

Márgara Millán Moncayo, "Indigenous Women and Zapatismo: New Horizons of Visibility" in *Dissident Women: Gender and Cultural Politics in Chiapas*
Part II  Indigenous, Farmworker, and Urban Movements from the 1960’s to the 1980’s

October 6 & 8: In the Aftermath of Violence: The Pan-Mayan Movement in Guatemala

FILM:  *Todos Santos: The Survivors*  (October 5)


October 15: Building a Social Movement in the U.S.: Cesar Chavez and the UFW

NOTE:  There will be no class on October 13, which has a Monday Schedule.  We will meet for three hours on October 15.

FILM:  The Struggle in the Fields  
(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FIgIaI5AVpY)

Miriam Pawel, *Union of Their Dreams*, entire (T)

October 20 & 22: Expanding Democracy in the City: Radical Organizing in Venezuela’s 23 de Enero Neighborhood

Note:  Alejandro Velasco will be joining us in class on October 20.  He will also be giving a talk as part of the Latin American Studies Program at a time to be announced.  Attendance at this talk is required.

Part III  Social Movements in Brazil, 1980 - 2010

October 29: Becoming the Government: Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre

NOTE: THIS WILL BE A THREE HOUR EVENING CLASS. THERE WILL BE NO TUESDAY CLASS.

Gianpaolo Baiocchi, Militants and Citizens, Preface, pp. 1 - 111 (T)

Jeffrey Rubin, “Participatory Budgeting: An Ethnographic View,” manuscript

Jeffrey Rubin and Sergio Baierle, “Democracy by Invitation: The Private Sector’s Answer to Participatory Budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil,” in Jeffrey Rubin and Vivienne Bennett, eds., Enduring Reform: Progressive Activism and Private Sector Responses in Latin America’s Democracies

November 3 & 5: Challenging the Government: Mobilization and Threat in the Movement of Landless Rural Workers

Films: Land for Rose (November 2)

Wendy Wolford, This Land is Ours: Social Mobilizations and the Meaning of Land in Brazil pp. 1 – 111 (but you can skip 22-26 & 70-76), p. 112, pp. 125-134, all of Chapter 5, pp. 180-200 (T)


November 10 & 12: Music, Performance, and Race: The Afro-Reggae Cultural Group

Film: Favela Rising (November 9)

Patrick Neate and Damian Platt, Culture is Our Weapon, entire (T)

John Burdick, Blessed Anastácia: Women, Race, and Popular Christianity in Brazil Introduction (pp. 1-23) and Chapter Three (89-118)
November 17 & 19: Latin American Feminisms and the Movement of Rural Women Workers

Jeffrey Rubin and Emma Sokoloff-Rubin, *Sustaining Activism: A Brazilian Women’s Movement and a Father-Daughter Collaboration*, entire (T)
Part III  Global Protest Since 2000  (Nov 24, Dec 1, 3, 8, 10)

Assignments

Final paper topics due by email by 9 PM on Sunday, November 22. It might be helpful to look ahead to the readings for November 24/December 1 and do some preliminary research about these forms of protest.

You must submit a suggested short reading on your topic for the class to me by 9 PM on Sunday, November 29. I will post the reading assignments for December 3, 8, & 10 at least two to four days in advance of our class meetings.

Final papers will be due on Sunday, December 13 at 5 PM.

November 24 & December 1: Protest in the Global 2000s

Marina Sitrin, *Everyday Revolutions: Horizontalism and Autonomy in Argentina*, pp. 1-14; 49-82

Jeffrey Juris, *Networking Futures: The Movements Against Corporate Globalization*, pp. 27-60

David Graeber, *The Democracy Project: A History, a Crisis, a Movement* (about Occupy), pp. 3-54 required; 55-73 and 87-98 optional


December 3, 8, & 10

Readings provided by students on the movements they are studying (to be announced)

Students will present their research on post-2000 movements. This will be followed by class discussion, including suggestions on how best to conceptualize and structure final papers.