

University of Georgia  
**SOCI 4300: Social Mobilization in Latin America**  
Baldwin 311, Wed. 5:45-8:45  
Spring 2008

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Office hours: Tu: 12:30-2pm

The end of the Cold War in 1989 was accompanied by declarations of the end of history. This latter suggested not the end of the world but rather a new era of unquestioned consensus in support of neoliberal economics and liberal democracy throughout the world. In this model a reduced role for the state in economics would ensure a quiet but steady path to prosperity. And procedural democracy would ensure that citizens, through the act of voting or by participating in nongovernmental organizations, would be able to ensure that governments represented citizen interests and remained accountable to these citizens.

Nevertheless, in the past ten to fifteen years, Latin America has undergone an unexpected, perhaps unprecedented, social mobilization in which average citizens and non-elite sectors have taken to the streets, taken up arms, and or fought for power through electoral means. Currently, leftist populist presidents are in power in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Ecuador, Nicaragua, and Venezuela. Indigenous movements, parties and politicians have become the dominant political forces in Bolivia and Ecuador and made themselves known in Chile and Mexico. And both Catholic and Protestant churches have taken on political roles thought impossible in the early 1990s.

What has happened? Is this a "deepening" of liberal democracy or a rejection of it? Is there anything new in this mobilization or is it a continuation of past trends that experienced a brief (or perhaps fictitious) lull in the early 1990s? These are the questions we will address in this class and I have no pre-established answers. To address them we will first look at social mobilization from mid-20<sup>th</sup> C to the 1980s. Then we will look at social mobilization as a form of participatory democracy in the neoliberal era. We will look at analyses that underline some of the limits of the participatory democracy as a normative model social mobilization. Finally we will critically engage the case of Venezuela as a new form of democratic engagement.

This is a brand new class on a cutting-edge topic. Thus I have gathered together the sources I could while trying not to bust your budgets. The degree of difficulty of the readings will vary widely. The lectures will seek to make sense of them and put them in a larger context. While the number of students in this class will not allow seminar-like discussion, I will seek to stop along the way so that we can think out loud and try to figure out together what is going on in Latin American democracy. Of course you are welcome to raise your hand and ask a question at any time.

## Evaluation

In this class your grade will result from two multiple choice exams each worth 25% of your grade, and a final paper with two parts that will count for 50% of your final grade. The multiple choice exams will be on the class readings and lectures. You will have one exam at the beginning of the fifth class, 2/6 that will cover the material from the first through fifth classes. The second exam will be on the tenth day of class, 3/19 and will cover classes six through ten. **Note that the exams will cover the material assigned for exam day!**

You will have to write an eight to ten page research paper on some topic on social mobilization in Latin America. The paper should have a clear issue, utilize the concepts and issues we discuss in class, and utilize sources beyond the texts we use for classes, and beyond online sources. This project will have two parts. First, on Wednesday 4/9 you will need to submit a two page summary of your research topic worth ten points. This summary should contain a description of the issue you will be writing on, your approach in analyzing it, and a list of sources you will be using. The final paper will be due by e-mail by 8am on Monday, May 5. You are welcome to hand it in earlier than that. Both the paper topic summary and the research paper should be submitted to: [dr.smilde@gmail.com](mailto:dr.smilde@gmail.com) . This address will automatically acknowledge receipt.

### Summary

-First multiple choice exam	25%
-Second multiple choice exam	25%
-2 page paper topic summary	10%
-8-10 page research paper	40%

## Class participation

The immense logistic difficulty and expense of getting forty-odd adults to be in the same place at the same time can only be justified by us interacting over the topic of this class. Thus this class will be a mixture of lecture and discussion. Participating actively in class will be the best way for you to get a handle on the concepts and to stimulate participation, I will provide the following incentive structure.

Enthusiastic participation	+ 2pts
Strong participation	+ 1pts
Average participation	no points
Irregular or substandard participation	- 1pt
Negative or uncooperative participation	- 2pts

"Enthusiastic participation" means you contribute to the collective realization of this thing called a SOCI 3010. Negative or uncooperative participation means you arrive late, leave early, say inappropriate things, treat others disrespectfully, or are lost when I call on you, etc.

I will frequently use my name cards to call on people when I ask a question. I will keep track of whether it seems you are thinking about the issues, are lost, not present, etc. The idea of class participation is for us to learn to work with ideas verbally. This is a university which means discussion is open. All political perspectives and cultural beliefs are legitimate objects of discussion, even if they are yours. One object of this class is to make clear that beyond the world

of cable TV news, the issues confronting contemporary society cannot be broken down into conservative vs. liberal, left vs. right. In this class there are no “politically correct” positions, and you do not even have to believe the position you are promoting or defending. In fact I recommend you try on an unpopular idea and take it for a spin. Both policies of calling on people and open discussion can sometimes cause uncomfortable moments. But that is what universities are about: freely working with ideas so that you’re ready when you’re in the “real world.”

The final grading scale will be the following. If course score plus or minus attendance and participation bonus points

A	94-100
A-	90-93
B+	87-89
B	84-86
B-	80-83
C+	77-79
C	74-76
C-	70-73
D	60-69
F	0-59

Please note that since bonus points are so easy to earn, I will not round up fractional points; that means, for example, that if a student has a final point score of 86.99, the student will receive a final grade of a B.

### **Attendance**

Class will begin promptly at 5:45 pm and end at 8:30 with a fifteen minute break. Please do not arrive late. Attendance will be taken by sign-up sheet twice during the class (usually the beginning and the end). Good attendance will be encouraged through the following incentive structure (note that each day counts for two half classes)

- 0-1 Half classes missed = 2 points added to final grade
- 2-3 Half classes missed = 1 points added to final grade
- 5-6 Half classes missed = 1 point subtracted
- 7-8 Half classes missed = 2 points subtracted
- > 8 Half classes missed = automatic withdrawal

There are no excused absences—if you miss a class on a day when attendance is taken, you will lose the bonus point regardless of your reason. That is why I give four freebies. Please do not bring me a medical or other excuse unless it accounts for more than four absences. It is your responsibility to see to it that you have signed the sign-up sheet. Any one signing for someone else is guilty of academic dishonesty, and will be dealt with through the Office of the Vice President for Instruction.

### About the Instructor

I am an Associate Professor of Sociology at UGA., receiving my Ph.D in sociology from the University of Chicago in December 2000. Besides UGA, I have taught at the Universidad Católica Andres Bello, the Universidad Central de Venezuela, University of Chicago, and Notre Dame University. During academic year 2006-07 I served as a Fulbright Scholar to Venezuela, researching religion and political conflict during the presidency of Hugo Chavez. In 2007 I published *Reason to Believe: Cultural Agency in Latin American Evangelicalism*. University of California Press, 2007. In 2002 I published with Margarita Lopez Maya and Keta Stephany *Cultura y Protesta en Venezuela: El Marco Cultural de la Protesta en 1999*. Caracas: UCV.

### Books

The following have been ordered through the University bookstore

- Eckstein, Susan. 2001. *Power and Popular Protest: Latin American Social Movements*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Godoy, Angelina Snodgrass. 2006. *Popular Injustice: Violence, Community, and Law in Latin America*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Johnston, Hank and Paul Almeida. 2006. *Latin American Social Movements: Globalization, Democratization and Transnational Networks*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers.
- Smilde, David. 2007. *Reason to Believe: Cultural Agency in Latin American Evangelicalism*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Winn, Peter. 1999. *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean—Updated Edition*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

There is also a course packet that will be available at Bel-Jean copy center on Broad Street.

## Class Schedule

1/8 Class Expectations, introductions and the meanings of democracy and participation.

### 1/15 The Third Wave of Democratization

- Samuel P. Huntington. 1991. *The Third Wave: Democratization in the Late Twentieth Century*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp.3-30, 280-316. [PDF]

### 1/23 Realities of Latin American Democracy and Participation

- Winn Ch.4 "A Second Independence?"
- Winn Ch.5 "Capital Sins"
- Eckstein Chapter 1. "Power and Popular Protest in Latin America"

## Participation under authoritarianism

### 1/30 Guerilla & Revolutionary Movements

- Winn Ch.13 "Making Revolution"
- Eckstein Ch.2: Cynthia McClintock "Peru's Sendero Luminoso Rebellion: Origins and Trajectory."
- Eckstein Ch.4: Timothy P. Wickham-Crowley. "Winners, Losers, and Also-Rans: Toward a Comparative Sociology of Latin American Guerrilla Movements."

### 2/6 Resistance to Authoritarianism

- Eckstein Ch.5: June Nash, "Cultural Resistance and Class Consciousness in Bolivian Tin Mining Communities"
- Eckstein Ch.8: Manuel Antonio Garretón M. "Popular Mobilization and the Military Regime in Chile: The Complexities of the Invisible Transition."
- Eckstein Ch.9: Maria Helena Moreira Alves. "Interclass Alliances in the Opposition to the Military in Brazil: consequences for the Transition Period."
- [Multiple choice exam 1]

### 2/13 Liberation Theology

- Winn Ch.10: "The Power and the Glory"
- Eckstein Ch.6: Daniel H Levine and Scott Mainwaring. "Religion and Popular Protest in Latin America: Contrasting Experiences."

## Neoliberalism and participatory democracy

### 2/20 Evangelicalism

- Almeida & Johnston Ch.1: "Neoliberal Globalization and Popular Movements in Latin America."
- David Martin. 1990. *Tongues of Fire: The Explosion of Protestantism in Latin America*. Pp.1-6, 233-96, 314-17 [packet]

### 2/27 Women's movements.

- Winn Ch.9 "In Women's Hands"
- Eckstein Ch.7: Marysa Navarro "The Personal is Political: Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo"
- Almeida and Johnston Part III "Gendered Resistance and Neoliberalism"

### 3/5 Indigenous mobilization,

- Winn Ch.7 "Children of the Sun"
- Amalia Pallares. 2002. From Peasant Struggles to Indian Resistance: The Ecuadorian Andes in the Late Twentieth Century. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp.ix-71 (packet)

### 3/19 Transnational mobilization:

- Almeida & Johnson Part V: "Transnational Dimensions of Latin American Social Movements."
- [Multiple Choice Exam 2]

## Limits of Neoliberal Civil Society

### 3/26 Raising Questions

- Kenneth Roberts. 1998. *Deepening Democracy? The Modern Left and Social Movements in Chile and Peru*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. Ch.3.
- Elizabeth Jelin. 1998. "Toward a Culture of Participation and Citizenship: Challenges for a More Equitable World." *Cultures of Politics / Politics of Cultures: Revisioning Latin American Social Movements*. Boulder: Westview. [Packet]

### 4/2 Marginalization and Atomization

- 4/9 Javier Auyero *Flammable: Environmental Suffering in an Argentine Shantytown*. New York: Oxford University Press (forthcoming). [PDF].

### 4/9 Vigilantism and Lynching

- Godoy Ch.s 1, 4, 5.
- [submit paper topics by midnight to [dr.smilde@gmail.com](mailto:dr.smilde@gmail.com) ]

### 4/16 Evangelicalism Reconsidered

- Smilde Ch.s 1-3, 7-8.

## New Democratic Formulations

### 4/23 Venezuela and Chavez

- David Smilde and Daniel Hellinger, Participation and Public Sphere in Venezuela's Bolivarian Democracy. Under review at Duke University Press. (chapters to be determined) [PDF]

5/5 paper due to [dr.smilde@gmail.com](mailto:dr.smilde@gmail.com) by 8am

### Student responsibility agreement

I have closely read the syllabus and fully understand what is expected of me in Sociology 4300, Spring Semester, 2008, and agree to the terms

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

[You have until next week 1/15 to either withdraw or hand this in, or you will be automatically withdrawn]