

SYLLABUS: SOCIOLOGY OF LATIN AMERICA
PROFESSOR WILLIAM I. ROBINSON
SPRING 2007, T. 2:00- 5:00 ELLSN 2824
PHONE: x5607/E-MAIL: wirobins@soc.ucsb.edu
OFFICE HOURS: T, 11:45-1:45 PM, ELLISON 2706, OR BY APPOINTMENT

COURSE DESCRIPTION AND OVERVIEW

Latin America faces heightened social change in the early 21st century. Its 33 nations have been swept up into the process of globalization. Old identities are become transformed and new identities emerging among the region's 500 million women and men of Indigenous, African, European, and Asian descent. While middle classes and elites integrate into the global consumer culture, for the poor majority of Latin Americans the structures of inequality, oppression, and underdevelopment first laid with the Conquest 515 years ago remain in place. But those structures - and the struggles against them - are undergoing dramatic transformation. The early 21st century is an uncertain moment for Latin America. It is a time of rising social conflict, political mobilization, renewed revolutionary movements, further economic restructuring, transnational migration, and cultural redefinition, as diverse social forces struggle over the terms of development and the direction of change.

This course is intended as an introductory overview of the diverse topics and approaches among social scientists and historians in their engagement with Latin America. It is conceived as a survey seminar that will be useful to graduate students who plan to conduct research on or in Latin America, to those simply interested in becoming familiar with a social science and historical perspective on the region, or to those who want a broader international, global and cross-cultural context with which to understand particular topics of sociological interest, such as race/ethnicity, globalization, social movements, and so on. Students studying other regions in the global system, or who are studying the global system itself, will also find useful the acquisition of a regional-specific and comparative perspective.

It is only possible in 10 weeks to barely scratch the surface of the rich literature and multiple research agendas on Latin America in sociology and the social sciences. The selection of readings and topics is therefore limited. This is the pilot course and I would appreciate your feedback on an ongoing basis.

REQUIRED READINGS

- (1) John Charles Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America*.
- (2) Fernando Henrique Cardoso and Enzo Falleto, *Dependency and Development in Latin America*

- (3) Charles R. Hale, *Mas Que Un Indio*.
- (4) William I. Robinson, *Transnational Conflicts: Central America, Social Change, and Globalization*
- (5) Roberto Regalado, *Latin America at the Crossroads: Domination, Crisis, Popular Movements and Political Alternatives*
- (6) Greg Grandin, *Empire's Workshop: Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*.
- (7) Reading Packet of selected articles and book chapters/excerpts, available at GrafikArts, Isla Vista. 968-3575.

LEADING JOURNALS AND NEWS SOURCES ON LATIN AMERICA

- *Latin America Perspectives* (journal)
- *Journal of Latin American Studies* (journal)
- *Bulletin of Latin American Research* (journal)
- *Latin American Research Review* (official journal of LASA)
- *Latin American Politics and Society* (journal)
- *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* (journal)
- *Hispanic American Historical Review* (journal)
- *Canadian Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Studies* (journal)
- NACLA [North American Congress on Latin America] *Report on the Americas* (bi-monthly semi-journal, semi-news/analysis magazine) [HIGHLY RECOMMENDED].
- *Latin American Weekly Report* (weekly news brief)
- LANIC-University of Texas at Austin. Crucial portal to news and data on and from Latin America, considered the “Virtual Library” for Latin American Studies, <http://lanic.utexas.edu/las.html>
- <http://www.narconews.com/> (website providing radical perspective and analysis on news events in Latin America)
- <http://upsidedownworld.org/main/> (same)
- <http://www.clacso.edu.ar>, website of the Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales (Latin American Social Science Council, based in Buenos Aires)
- <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/>, website of the U.S.-based Latin American Studies Association (LASA).

Note: I have included a brief additional bibliography after each week’s theme below. This is *not* by any means an exhaustive list by any means, but rather some of the works on each topic I am familiar with and have found useful. Those with asterix (*) next to them are *highly recommended*.

STRUCTURE OF SEMINAR/THEMATIC OVERVIEW

April 3:	Introduction: Latin American Studies
April 10:	Latin American Studies/Sociology of Latin America Latin America in Historical Perspective, I
April 17:	Latin America in Historical Perspective, II The Political Economy of Latin America I
April 24:	The Political Economy of Latin America, II Globalization in Latin America: Central American Case Study, I
May 1:	Latin America and Transnational Migration International Workers Day: "El Gran Paro Americano II: A Day Without an Immigrant". Class schedule for this day will be announced.
May 8:	Globalization in Latin America: Central American Case Study, II
May 15:	Race and Ethnicity in Latin America.
May 22:	Women, Gender, and Feminism in Latin America Culture and Cultural Studies in Latin America Social Movements in Latin America Social Structure in Latin America
May 29:	Interventionism and U.S.-Latin American Relations;
June 5:	The Left and Revolution in Latin America

COURSE REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

Attendance is required. Ten percent of your grade will derive from attendance and another 30 percent will derive from active and meaningful participation in class discussion, including student presentations. You are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the reading assignments. Another 40 percent of your grade will derive from written responses to readings in the form of weekly reflection essays/abstracts on the readings. The final 20 points of your grade will derive from a term paper (details below). You can score a maximum of 100 points. Perfect Attendance is worth 10 points. Class participation will count for a maximum of 30 points. Each of 8 assigned reflection essays/abstracts will score a maximum of 5 points, for 40 points total. In the event one of the programmed themes is canceled you will automatically receive your 5 points.

WEEKLY REFLECTION ESSAYS AND TERM PAPER

Abstracts

Abstracts are due each Monday by 5:00 p.m. You may e-mail me your abstract as a Word attachment (wirobins@soc.ucsb.edu). In the past my seminar students have sent these late into the evening. I would appreciate them by 5:00 pm *and I will not accept them after 8:00 pm. If they arrive after 8:00 pm Monday evening I will not read them. I return them to you without points.* The abstracts should be a double-spaced and typed 12 p. font, 2-3 pages response to the readings. These are brief reflection essays and should include an analytical engagement with the reading and the topic that explicitly includes: 1) several ideas that you found new, relevant and/or inspirational in the readings; 2) one or more critical comments on an idea with which you disagreed or felt was unsubstantiated, inconsistent, or requires further examination; 3) three questions with regard to an idea or issue which you found ambiguous, poorly developed, or unclear. The pedagogical purpose of these essays is for you to organize and clarify your own thoughts on the readings and subject matter, and to prepare you for meaningful seminar discussion. I will look carefully at each abstract to make sure it lists at least three questions. During seminar discussion you should raise these questions.

Term paper

The term paper should be a critical review of the materials and topics covered in the course. I expect approximately 12-15 pages, and you should include a bibliography and appropriate citations. You should discuss what you have learned in the seminar, how the diverse themes have come together, and new lines of inquiry and research directions you feel are important in the field of the sociology of Latin America/Latin American Studies. You can choose to read or cite additional literature but that is *not required*. The paper does NOT require new research or fieldwork. To reiterate: it should be a broad ranging review of the seminar topics and a more intensive focus on one particular topic of your choice. As this is not a research paper but rather an exercise in critical assessment of a body of ideas and literature, you do not need to follow the usual structure guidelines for a paper (the research purpose, statement of hypothesis, etc.). The style may be more loose and discursive. **Term papers are due on the last day of class.**

SEMINAR PROCEDURE

The instructor will open each meeting with opening discussion on the week's topic, its relevance to Latin American studies and to sociological inquiry, and the state of theorizing and research into that particular topic. After this we will go around the room and each student will spend 5-7 minutes in a brief and concise summary of the impressions, analysis and concerns raised in her/his brief. Since every student is

expected to have done the readings, your presentation should not consist of a summary of the readings but rather should focus on what you got out of the readings and what you wish us to focus on in seminar discussions. Following each student's 5-7 minute statement, we will move into seminar open-discussion mode. The instructor will facilitate and participate directly in discussion, occasionally present additional lecture material and interject otherwise when appropriate.

WEEK-BY WEEK COURSE OUTLINE

April 3: Course Introduction to Latin American Studies– No readings this week

Supplemental Readings:

- Jan Knippers Black (ed), *Latin America: Its Problems and Its Promise*
- Ronaldo Munck, *Contemporary Latin America*
- Duncan Green, *Faces of Latin America* (2nd, updated edition)*
- Walter D. Mignolo, *The Idea of Latin America*
- Peter Winn, *Americas: The Changing Face of Latin America and the Caribbean*

April 10: Latin American Studies/Sociology of Latin America Latin America in Historical Perspective, I

Read: Drake and Hilbink, "Latin American Studies: Theory and Practice"
(in reading packet)
Portes, "Sociology in the Hemisphere" (in reading packet)
Robinson, "Why the Immigrant Rights Struggle Compels us to
Reconceptualize both Latin American and Latino/a Studies (in
reading packet)
Chasteen, *Born in Blood and Fire*, introduction and chapters 1-6

Supplemental Readings:

- E Bradford Burns, *Latin America: Conflict and Creation, A Historical Reader*, and *Latin America: A Concise Interpretive History*.
- Eduardo Galeano, *The Open Veins of Latin America*.*
- Thomas E. Skidmore and Peter H. Smith, *Modern Latin America*

**April 17: Latin America in Historical Perspective, II
Political Economy of Latin America, I: Sociology of Development and
Dependency Theory, I**

Read: Chasteen, chapters 7-11

In reading packet: "Introduction", Rostow, "The Stages of Economic Growth", Huntington, "The Change to Change," Introduction", and Frank, "The Development of Underdevelopment"

Kubalkova and Cruishank, "Marxism and Dependency" (in reading packet)

Cardoso and Falleto, Introduction and chapters 1-4.

Supplemental Readings:

- Andre Gunder Frank, various works, including *Capitalism and Development in Latin America*, and *The Development of Underdevelopment*
- Frederick Weaver. *Latin America in the World Economy: Mercantile Colonialism to Global Capitalism*
- Galeano, *The Open Veins of Latin America*
- Cristobal Kay, *Latin American Theories of Development and Underdevelopment*
- Alvin Y. So, *Social Change and Development: Modernization, Dependency and World-System Theories*
- William I. Robinson, Remapping Development in Light of Globalization: From a Territorial to a Social Cartography, *Third World Quarterly* 23(6):1047-1071 (this is available for printing or downloading from my web page)

**April 24: Political Economy of Latin America II:
Globalization in Latin America: A Central American Case Study, I**

Read: Cardoso and Falleto, chapters 5-6, conclusions, and post-script
Robinson, chapters 1-2

Supplemental Readings:

- Robert N. Gwynne and Cristobal Kay, *Latin America Transformed: Globalization and Modernity*
- Hershberg and Rosen (editors), *Latin America After Neo-Liberalism*
- Duncan Green, *Silent Revolution: The Rise of Market Economics in Latin America*
- William I. Robinson, *Global Capitalism and Latin America: Crisis and Transformation* (forthcoming, Johns Hopkins)

May 1: International Workers Day, El Gran Paro Americano II

Read: Robinson, “Aquí Estamos y No Nos Vamos”

Supplemental Readings:

- Joseph Nevins, *Operation Gatekeeper**
- David Bacon, *The Children of NAFTA**
- Jonas and Thomas (eds.), *Immigration: A Civil Rights Issue for the Americas*
- Deepa Fernandes, *Targeted: Homeland Security and the Immigrant Business**

May 8 Globalization and Latin America: Central American Case Study II

Read: Robinson, chapters 3-5

May 15: Race and Ethnicity in Latin America

Read: Hale, *Mas Que Un Indio*.

Supplementary Readings:

- Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America*
- June C. Nash, *Mayan Visions: The Quest for Autonomy in the Age of Globalization**
- Kay B. Warren, *Indigenous Movements and Their Critics: Pan-Maya Activism in Guatemala*.
- Edward E. Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*
- Mark Q. Sawyer, *Racial Politics in Post-Revolutionary Cuba*
- Brysk, Alison. 2000. *From Tribal Village to Global Village: Indian Rights and International Relations in Latin America*.
- Deborah Yashar, *Contesting Citizenship in Latin America: The Rise of Indigenous Movements and the Postliberal Challenge*.
- Marilyn Grace Miller, *Rise and Fall of the Cosmic Race: The Cult of Mestizaje in Latin America*
- George Reid Andrews, *Afro-Latin America, 1800-2000*

**May 22: Women, Gender, Feminism and Sexuality in Latin America
Social Movements in Latin America
Culture and Cultural Studies in/on Latin America
Social Structure in Latin America**

Read: Chinchilla and Hass, “De Protesta a Propuesta” (in reading packet)
 Jaquette, “Women in Latin American Politics” (in reading packet)
 Sinek, “Emerging Social Movements and Grassroots Change” (in reading packet)
 “Social Movements: Building from the Ground Up,” series of NACLA articles (in reading packet)
 Portes and Hoffman, “Latin American Class Structure” (in reading packet)
 De la Campa, “Deconstruction, Cultural Studies, and Global Capitalism: Implications for Latin America” (in reading packet)
 Munck, “Culture” (in reading packet)

Supplementary Readings:

- Helen Safa, *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner*
- Padula A and Smith LM, 1996, *Sex and Revolution: Women in Socialist Cuba*
- Jane Jaquette (ed.), *The Women’s Movement in Latin America: Participation and Democracy*.
- Lynn Stephen, 1997, *Women and Social Movements in Latin America: Power From Below*, Austin, University of Texas Press*
- Arturo Escobar and Sonia Alvarez, *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*.
- June Nash, *We Eat the Mines and the Mines Eat Us*
- Forrest Hylton and Sinclair Thomson, *Revolutionary Horizons: Popular Struggle in Bolivia**
- Johnston and Almeida, *Latin American Social Movements*

May 29: U.S. Interventionism and U.S.-Latin American Relations

Read: Greg Grandin, *Latin America, the United States, and the Rise of the New Imperialism*
 Robinson, “Promoting Polyarchy in Latin America: the Oxymoron of ‘Market Democracy’” (in reading packet).

Supplemental Reading:

- Doug Stokes, *America’s Other War: Terrorizing Colombia*
- William I. Robinson, *A Faustian Bargain: U.S. Intervention in the Nicaraguan Elections and American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era*
- William I. Robinson, *Promoting Polyarchy: Globalization, U.S. Intervention, and Hegemony*
- Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre*

- William Blum, *U.S. Military and CIA Interventions Since WWII* (updated 2003 edition – you will find an exhaustive bibliography on U.S. interventionism by following the footnotes to each entry)

June 5: The Left and Revolution in Latin America
Course Conclusions: The Future of Latin America and Latin American Studies

Read: Regalado, *Latin America at the Crossroads*
 Latin America: State Power and the Challenge to Global Capital:
 An Interview with William I. Robinson (in reading packet)

Supplemental Readings:

- Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Insurgent Collective Action and Civil War in El Salvador*
- Greg Wilpert, *Changing Venezuela By Taking Power: The History and Politics of the Chavez Government*
- Richard Gott, *Cuba: A New History*
- Walter LaFeber, *Inevitable Revolutions*
- Jorge G. Castañeda, *Utopia Unarmed: The Latin American Left after the Cold War*
- German Sanchez, *Cuba and Venezuela: An Insight into Two Revolutions.*
- Richard Gott, *Hugo Chavez: The Bolivarian Revolution in Venezuela*
- Tariq Ali, *Pirates of the Caribbean: Axis of Hope*
- John Foran, *Taking Power: On the Origins of Third World Revolutions*

Los Angeles Immigrant Rights May Day Conference States:

On to the May 1st Great American Boycott II

- **Stop the Raids & Deportations NOW!!**

Conference formed the:

**National Coordinating Committee of the
May Day National Movement for Workers and Immigrant Rights**

(See Below for the Demands and Points of Unity Adopted)



In an historic development in the U.S. immigrant rights struggle, a coalition of national organizations met in Los Angeles on Feb. 3 - 4 to plan and coordinate the "Great American Boycott II" for May 1. Out of this formation came the **National Coordinating Committee of the May Day National Movement for Workers and Immigrant Rights**. That national body includes:

*Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer Local 808 Teamsters;
SEIU Local 721 - Latino Committee;
March 25 Coalition;
May 1 Coalition - New York
May 1 Coalition - Northern California;
UTLA Human Rights Committee;
Charles Jenkins, Transit Workers Union Local 100;
Latinos Unidos - Detroit;
Mexican Senator Jose Jacques Medina (PRD);
Che Lopez, Border Social Forum;
Southwest Workers Union;
Elvira Arellano - in sanctuary in the Chicago church of coordinating committee member Rev. Slim Coleman;
William Robinson, Professor of Sociology - University of Santa Barbara;
Father Ben Alforque - National Alliance for Filipino Concerns;
Father Luis Angel Nieto;
Bishop Teixeira, Dorothea Manuela - New England Coalition for Immigrant Rights;*

*Kentucky Coalition for Comprehensive Immigration Reform;
Puerto Rican Caucus;
World Can't Wait;
Troops Out Now Coalition;
BAYAN-USA;
Muslim American Society Freedom Foundation;
Clarence Thomas - Million Worker March Movement, ILWU Local 10 and
executive board member of Alameda County Central Labor Council.*

Called by the March 25 Coalition, initiator of the 2006 May Day actions that brought millions into the streets, the coalition aims to defend immigrant workers and show their power by bringing "business as usual" to a halt across the country on May Day.

A press conference and demonstration condemning the raids and kicking off the conference, called by the March 25 Coalition organizers on Feb. 2 outside the Los Angeles Federal Building, drew almost 100 people and much national and local press. Two Latina women from a local factory raided the previous day came and described the brutalization by ICE agents, who had held guns to the heads of workers.

Regarding the raids Chito Quijano, one of the speakers at the plenary sessions that began Saturday, Feb. 3 who is the national chair of BAYAN-USA and organizer with the California Nurses Association stated: "Sensenbrenner was the fire that fed last year's massive protest. This year, the raids will be the fuel."

A plenary on "Globalization of Immigrant labor and Transnational Capitalism" featured Teresa Gutierrez of the May 1 Coalition in New York and William Robinson, professor of sociology at the University of California, Santa Barbara. Robinson outlined the growth of immigration and repression in the U.S. over the last 30 years, pointing out that contemporary "transnational capitalism" makes the profits it needs to sustain its existence through the value produced by low-wage labor of immigrants. To keep those profits it must maintain economic, legal and cultural control of immigrant workers.

Gutierrez highlighted the use of racism to divide the working class and posed a crucial question: "How, given the repression against immigrants, can we sustain the magnificent movement begun May Day 2006, and bring unity to the immigrant rights struggle?"

Relating to this question, Javier Rodriguez, co-initiator of the March 25 Coalition said at a plenary: "This conference is significant because it is the first organized national effort to convene the major coalitions and groups that are more to the left, that initiated last year's May 1 boycott. This is the movement that will attempt to coalesce to establish a historical alliance of Latinos and African Americans. All the roots are here at this conference, with significant representation from both

groups."

Part of that representation of African Americans came from Clarence Thomas, an initiator of the Million Worker March, member of International Longshore Workers Union Local 10 and the Alameda County Central Labor Council's Executive Board. He paid homage to the country and people of Mexico for their support in the historical struggle against U.S. slavery, and called the absolute right of Mexicans to travel across the U.S.-Mexican border without reprisals. Thomas vowed to return to Local 10 to ask that it participate in May 1 in a "meaningful way," adding, "This is a rank-and-file movement, and that's what's keeping it afloat."

Chris Silvera, Secretary-Treasurer of Teamsters Local 808 who has also been the president of the 400,000-member Teamsters Black Caucus was also an invited plenary speaker who led a workshop on Black-Brown unity.

International solidarity took on a big emphasis at this conference with a plenary featuring Pablo Franco Hernández of the Unión de Juristas de Mexico and attorney of Oaxacan political prisoners. In addition, Senator Jose Jacques Medina of the PRD of Mexico also spoke at this plenary session.

A video message from Elvira Arellano brought forward the special oppression and resistance of women immigrant workers. Arellano, founder of La Familia Unida Latina, has been in sanctuary in Chicago for six months in defiance of threatened deportation. She affirmed, "I am not a criminal. I am a mother and a father to my son. I fight so the undocumented people will be respected."

Demands and Points of Unity Include:

- Stop raids and deportations
- Government reconstruction and the right of return for Katrina survivors
- Money for social services, not war
- Stop & reverse militarization of the borders of the Americas
- No to "free trade" agreements, including: NAFTA, CAFTA, FTAA & all FTAs imposed by U.S. transnationals
- Immediate, permanent, non-revocable legal residence for all who live in the U.S.
- Stop the Minutemen, KKK, Neo-Nazis and all racist organizations
- Access to higher education for all undocumented students
- Immediate Reunification of all families
- No criminalization of those giving aid to immigrants
- Full Legalization for All NOW
- Equal Rights for All Workers Now
- Jobs for All NOW

NATIONAL MAY DAY MOVEMENT FOR WORKER & IMMIGRANT RIGHTS

May 1st, 2007 we will be out in the streets, not shopping or selling, if possible not working; but Marching. On February 3rd & 4th, 2007, a Conference hosted by the March 25th Coalition culminated in a call for a national day of actions for workers and Immigrant's Rights on May 1st, 2007. During the two day conference, representatives from around the country came together in Los Angeles, California and agreed on a National Campaign to bring about true comprehensive immigration reform. From New England to the South West, from the South to the North West, people came together at the Loyola Law school to begin to map out a plan of action leading to May Day mobilizations. It was agreed that it was the unprecedented massive presence in the streets during 2006 that stopped the draconian and fascistic Sensenbrenner Bill from becoming the law of the land & that we need to be on the move again to further the cause of immigrant and workers rights.

People left Los Angeles unified and committed to building unity with other forces around the country around the need to once again have many millions of undocumented workers and their families partake in raising their voices along with the rest of the people in this country. This must take place in order to put an end to the intense raids and deportations taking place around the country, and stopping the President's push towards guest workers programs which only benefit Corporations and enslave Immigrant workers.

This urgent & immediate need must be addressed as the first step towards achieving full legalization for the 12 to 20 million human beings living in the shadows and persecuted in this country while their labor and consumption is a cornerstone of this country's economy. May 1 is the next necessary step towards a comprehensive Immigration Reform Bill that does not tear apart families or criminalize the millions of people who have been forced by globalization and the so called Free Trade agreements to leave their families, communities, country's of origin and ways of life, to risk their lives and come here to work

Behind a set of demands and Points of Unity which include:

- Stop raids and deportations
- Government reconstruction and the right of return for Katrina survivors
- Money for social services, not war
- Stop & reverse militarization of the borders of the Americas
- No to "free trade" agreements, including: NAFTA, CAFTA, FTAA & all FTAs imposed by U.S. Trans nationals
- Immediate, permanent, non-revocable legal residence for all who live in the U.S.
- Stop the Minutemen, KKK, Neo-Nazis and all racist organizations
- Access to higher education for all undocumented students
- Immediate Reunification of all families

- No criminalization of those giving aid to immigrants
- Full Legalization for All NOW
- Equal Rights for All Workers Now
- Jobs for All NOW

it was agreed to hold a national press conference on a date yet to be determined as well as local activities leading up to a National boycott and Mobilizations on May 1st, 2007.