

CULTURES OF LATIN AMERICA
THEME FOR 2005-06: “THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF DEMOCRACY”
(ANT 150)

Course Syllabus

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COURSE DESCRIPTION

This course brings an anthropological lens to bear on a key characteristic of present-day Latin American societies: democracy. Since 1991, every country in Latin America except Cuba has been ruled by an elected leader, most of whom have been civilians coming to power in constitutional democracies and on the tails of authoritarian or dictatorial regimes. In the early years of the 21st century, most Latin Americans now find themselves living in societies where democratic governance is firmly established and where neoliberal development policies and projects (such as NAFTA) implemented in the 1990s have placed national economies in complex, dependent relationships with the economies of North America and Europe. While much scholarship has addressed the more formal aspects of these so-called “transitions to democracy” (e.g., regime shifts, political parties and formal political institutions), it is only recently that attention has turned to what it is like to actually *live* in one of these contemporary societies.

Course readings and lectures will focus on how ordinary citizens and grassroots groups have made sense of large-scale process of “redemocratization” and neoliberal economic policy, processes which have brought about complex re-positionings of state and civil society, increased economic inter-linkage throughout the Americas, expansion, intensification, and internationalization of mass media, and a proliferation of public discourses on democracy. A key focus in this course will be to consider how ordinary citizens are encouraged to view themselves in complex new ways in relation to nation, to government, and to the collective identities underlying many social movements. Drawing from a range of rich ethnographic accounts, framed with background historical readings, this course will focus on *lived experience* at the intersection of these local, national and transnational processes. Readings will address eight present-day Latin American nations, with particular attention on Brazil.

Throughout the course, case studies will be related to a range of contemporary theorizations of democracy and related concepts such as globalization, transnationalism, citizenship, economic development and the public sphere.

READINGS & SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIALS

There are two required texts for this course, both available for purchase at the Emory Bookstore. While copies of both books will be placed on reserve at Woodruff Library, it is strongly recommended that these books be purchased, given the amount of time to be invested in each. Additional readings will be available as PDF files, and can be accessed online at Woodruff Library’s eReserves (<https://ereserves.library.emory.edu/reserves/>). Readings should be carried out in the order listed for each class assignment.

Required Texts

- 1) Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino, and Arturo Escobar, eds. 1998. *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures: Re-visioning Latin American Social Movements*. Boulder: Westview Press
- 2) Lynne Phillips, ed. 1998. *The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America: Cultural Perspectives on Neoliberalism*. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Books

A handful of films will be shown during this course. These are a required part of the course and to be taken as seriously as lectures and readings. Films will be shown at a mutually convenient time, typically the evening prior to the relevant class. When a student is unable to attend a group showing, the film can be viewed individually at the Multimedia Library. It is the student's responsibility to confirm in advance availability for individual showings.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS, EVALUTION AND GRADING

Assignments & Grading

Final grades will be based on a total of 100 possible points (100-98 = A+; 97-93 = ; 92-90 = A-; 89-88 = B+; 87-83 = B; 82-80 = B-; 79-78 = C+; 77-73 = C; 72-70 = C-; 69-68 = D+; 67-63 = D; 62-60 = D-; 59-below = F), calculated from the sum total of the following four components: Analytic Papers (60 points), Reading Summaries (16 points), LearnLink Postings (10 points), and Group Presentations/Classroom Participation (14 points). Details on these assignments and grading are as follows:

Analytic Papers x 3 (60%)

During the semester, students are required to turn in three papers, each a critical engagement with one week's material from the syllabus. Students will sign up at the beginning of the semester for weeks of their choice. Papers should draw from readings and lectures to engage key questions, debates and ethnographic accounts. Analytic papers are generally due on a Friday, one week subsequent to the completion of the given course section. These papers can be up to five double-spaced pages and should follow the written assignment guidelines below. Papers will be assessed and marked with a standard letter grade; each paper is worth 20% of the final grade, adding up to a total of 60 points possible.

Reading Summaries x 8 (16%)

Once a week (beginning Week 2), students are required to write a short summary of assigned readings. Students may choose whether they prefer to summarize readings for Tuesday or Thursday's class, and this can vary by week according to the student's schedule. These write-ups should be no more than one single-spaced page and should summarize key themes and questions, as well as arguments or theoretical frameworks, elaborated in the given set of readings. When the readings include ethnographic case studies, research setting and methodology should also be included; writing should be synthetic and concise. These summaries should be submitted via e-mail no later than Thursday at noon for summaries of Tuesday's readings, and Friday at 5pm for summaries of Thursday's readings. Late submissions will not be accepted. Students do not need to turn in summaries during weeks when they will turn in an analytic paper. With these three weeks (plus the first week) thus excluded, summary papers will be turned in on eight weeks.

Summaries will receive one of four possible assessments, corresponding to a 10-point scale: “excellent” (10 pts), “good” (8 pts), “needs improvement but acceptable” (6 pts) and “not acceptable” (0 pts). These totals will be divided by five to enter into calculations for final grade (with a total of 16 points possible). Students may elect to turn in more than eight summaries; the top eight grades only will enter into the final grade.

LearnLink Postings (10%)

Prior to each class (and beginning Week 2), students are required to post to the course’s LearnLink site up to three questions related to assigned readings. These can be questions raised in the readings or questions about the reading (including confusion about reading content or requests for clarification). These questions will then inform classroom discussion. Questions must be posted by midnight prior to the date on which the readings are due. Over the course of ten weeks of biweekly reading sets, 20 postings will be required. These postings will not be graded; rather, for each on-time posting made, a half point will be applied toward the final grade. Hence, students stand to gain 10 points.

Classroom Discussion and Group Presentations (14%)

This course will be run as an intensive, focused seminar, with periodic lectures, but principally driven by discussion. Students are expected to come to each class meeting prepared to discuss the readings assigned for that day. Twice during the semester, each student will participate, along with 2-3 others, in a group presentation to introduce the day’s assigned readings, with 10-15 minutes of opening remarks. The quality of group presentations and regular class participation will be worth up to 14 points in final grading calculations.

COURSE POLICIES

Written Assignment Guidelines

Analytic papers and summaries should have one-inch margins and be in Times New Roman font (size 12). Ideally, summaries will be typed into a Microsoft Word document, to be e-mailed to the instructor. For analytic papers, hardcopy, stapled versions should be turned in at the beginning of class on the due date. E-mailed or unstapled versions will not be accepted. Please spell-check your writing before turning it in.

Classroom Conduct

Students are expected to attend each class meeting, and attendance will be taken. More than two unexcused absences will result in the lowering of the final course grade by one half unit (i.e., from a “B” to a “B-”). Please arrive punctually. If you are late or miss class, contact a classmate as soon as possible to get class notes, assignments, etc.

Deadlines and Extra Credit

As the summary paper guidelines include an opportunity to raise one’s grade through extra work no extra credit assignments will be allowed. For the same reasons, no extensions (short of a documented health emergency) will be given.

Honor Code

All academic work must meet the standards of Emory University's Honor Code (<https://www.emory.edu/COLLEGE/students/honor.html>). Each student is responsible to inform themselves about those standards.

Student Support

Please let me know (either via e-mail or during office hours) if you experience substantial difficulty or distress for any reason. In addition to the resources of the department, there are several services available through the College and University to support your academic and personal success. Students are encouraged to drop by office hours to chat about readings and related course themes.

WEEK 1 – INTRODUCTIONS

Tuesday – Course Overview: Themes & Logistics

Thursday – “Post-Authoritarian” Latin American Societies: An Overview (lecture and discussion)

- Mercedes Gonzalez de la Rocha, Elizabeth Jelin, Janice Perlman, Bryan R. Roberts, Helen Safa, and Peter M. Ward. 2004. “From the Marginality of the 1960s to the ‘New Poverty’ of Today: A LARR Research Forum.” *Latin American Research Review* 39(1): 182-203
- Lynn Phillips. 1998. “Introduction: Neoliberalism in Latin America,” in *The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America*, pp. xi-xxi
- Alejandro Portes and Kelly Hoffman. 2003. “Latin American Class Structures: Their Composition and Change during the Neoliberal Era.” *Latin American Research Review* 38(1): 41-82

WEEK 2 – THEORIES OF DEMOCRACY & SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Tuesday – What is “democracy”? An overview of theoretical approaches (lecture and discussion)

- Terry Karl and Philippe Schmitter. 1991. “What Democracy Is...And Is Not,” *Journal of Democracy* (Summer): 75-89
- Guillermo O’Donnell. “Illusions about Consolidation,” *Journal of Democracy* (April): 34-51
- Nancy Fraser. 1993. “Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution of Actually Existing Democracy,” in Robbins, ed., *The Phantom Public Sphere*, 1-32
- Lawrence Whitehead. 1997. “The Vexed Issue of the Meaning of ‘Democracy.’” *Journal of Political Ideologies* 2(2)

Thursday – Social Movements and Political Culture (lecture and discussion)

- Sonia E. Alvarez, Evelina Dagnino and Arturo Escobar. 1998. “Introduction: The Cultural and the Political in Latin American Social Movements,” in Alvarez et al., eds., *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures*, pp. 1-29
- Kathryn Hochstetler. 2000. “Democratizing Pressures from Below? Social Movements in the New Brazilian Democracy,” in Kingstone and Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil: Actors, Institutions, and Processes*, pp. 162-183

- Jeffrey Rubin. “Culture and Democracy in Latin America: Crucibles of Democracy and Circuitous Pathways of Historical Change.” Unpublished manuscript
- Douglas Chalmers, Scott B. Martin, and Kerianne Piester, “Associative Networks: New Structures of Representation for the Popular Sectors?” in Chalmers et al., eds., *The New Politics of Inequality in Latin America: Rethinking Participation and Representation*

WEEK 3 – INDIGENOUS ENGAGEMENTS I: THE ZAPATISTAS, MEXICO

Tuesday - Chiapas

- Mattiace Rus and Hernandez Chavez. “A Chronology, 1994-2002,” pp. 15-23 (general overview)
- John Ross, “The Zapatistas at Ten,” in *NACLA Report on the Americas*, November/December 2003
- Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, “Between Civil Disobedience and Silent Rejection: Differing Responses by Mam Peasants to the Zapatista Rebellion, in Jan Rus, Rosalva Aída Hernández Castillo, and Shannan L Mattiace, eds., *Mayan Lives, Mayan Utopias*
- Lynn Stephen. 2002 “The Story of Santa Maria del Tule: Zapata, Cardenas, and ‘Good Guv’ Officials,” in *¡Zapata Lives! History and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico*, pp. 240-266
- Matthew C. Gutmann. 2002. “Chiapas and Mexican Blood,” in *The Romance of Democracy: Compliant Defiance in Contemporary Mexico*, pp. 143-157

FILM: *Blossoms of Fire* (Date TBA)

Thursday – Juchitan

- Jeffrey Rubin. 1998. “Ambiguity and Contradiction in a Radical Popular Movement,” in Alvarez et al., eds., *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures*, pp. 141-164

FILM: *Todos Santos* (Date TBA)

WEEK 4 – INDIGENOUS ENGAGEMENTS II: GUATEMALA & BRAZIL

Tuesday – Guatemala: The Pan-Mayan Movement

- Kay B. Warren. 1998. “Indigenous Movements as a Challenge to the Unified Social Movement Paradigm for Guatemala,” in Alvarez et al., eds., *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures*, pp. 165-195

Thursday – Brazil: Claims on the Amazon, Issues of Resettlement

- Juliano Spyer. 1999. “Urban Indians,” in *The Brazil Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, edited by Levine and Crocitti, pp. 437-440
- Gustavo Lins Ribeiro and Paul E. Little. 1998. “Neoliberal Recipes, Environmental Cooks: The Transformation of Amazonian Agency,” in *The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America*, pp. 175-192

WEEK 5 – EXPERIMENTS IN PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY:
THE PORTO ALEGRE EXPERIENCE (BRAZIL)

Tuesday – Theories of Participatory Democracy; Introduction to Porto Alegre

FILM: *Doing the Right Thing* (in class)

- Ruth Correa Leite Cardoso. 1992. “Popular Movements in the Context of the Consolidation of Democracy in Brazil,” in Escobar and Alvarez, eds., *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*, pp. 291-302
- Rebecca Abers. “From Clientelism to Cooperation: Local Government, Participatory Policy, and Civic Organizing in Porto Alegre, Brazil.” *Politics & Society* 26:4 (December 1998)
- Sergio Baierle. 1998. “The Explosion of Experience: The Emergence of a New Ethical-Political Principle in Popular Movements in Porto Alegre, Brazil,” in Alvarez et al., eds., *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures*, pp. 124-136

Thursday – Discussion, continued; Ethnographic accounts

FILM: *Participatory Budgeting: Here Popular Participation Speaks* (in class)

- Benjamin Junge, Ethnographic Account of Participatory Budgeting Meetings
- Gianpaolo Baiocchi, “Emergent Public Spheres: Talking Politics in Participatory Governance,” *American Sociological Review* 2003, Vol. 68
- [Counterpoint with Chile] Julia Paley. 2004. “Accountable Democracy: Citizens’ Impact on Public Decision Making in Postdictatorship Chile.” *American Ethnologist* 31(4): 497-513

WEEK 6 – BRAZILIAN MOVEMENTS & MOBILIZATIONS, CONT’D

FILM: *Strong Roots and Land for Rose* (Date TBA)

Tuesday – Mobilization of Landless Rural Workers and New Relationships between State and Civil Society

- Tim Padgett, “Brazil’s Landless Rebels,” *Time*, January 19, 1998
- Wendy Wolford. 2004. “This Land is Ours Now: Spatial Imaginaries and the Struggle for Land in Brazil,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 94(2): 409-424
- Jonathan Fox. 1992. “Democratic Rural Development: Leadership Accountability in Regional Peasant Organizations.” *Development and Change* 23(2)
- John Hammond, “Law and Disorder: The Brazilian Landless Farmworkers’ Movement,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research*

FILM: *Batidania* (Date TBA)

Thursday – Music, Performance, and Resistance: The Afro-Reggae Cultural Group and Race in Brazil

- Megan Mylan, “The Afro-Reggae Beat: A Weapon Against Drugs, Violence, and Racism in Rio,” *Changemakers.net Journal*, July 1998, <http://www.changemakers.net/journal/98july/mylan.cfm>
- Olivia Maria Gomes da Cunha. 1998. “Black Movements and the ‘Politics of Identity’ in Brazil,” in Alvarez et al., eds., *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures*, pp. 220-251
- Jeffrey Rubin. 2004. “Meanings and Mobilizations: A Cultural Politics Approach to Social Movements and States,” *Latin American Research Review* 39(3)

WEEK 7 – BRAZILIAN MOVEMENTS & MOBILIZATIONS, CONT’D

Tuesday – The Lesbian & Gay Rights Movement: Questions of Identity and Globalization

- Elizabeth Povinelli and George Chauncey. 1999. “Thinking Sexuality Transnationally,” *GLQ* 5(4): 439-450
- Edward MacRae. 1992. “Homosexual Identities in Transitional Brazilian Politics,” in Escobar and Alvarez, eds., *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*, pp. 185-203
- Richard Parker. 1999. *Beneath the Equator: Cultures of Desire, Male Homosexuality, and Emerging Gay Communities in Brazil*, pp. 101-123
- Benjamin Junge. 2001. “It’s Not the Same Thing as ‘Gay Pride’: Porto Alegre’s *Parada Livre* Festival.” Paper presented at Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association

Thursday – Brazil, continued

- Teresa Caldeira. 1999. “Fortified Enclaves: The New Urban Segregation,” in Holston, ed., *Cities and Citizenship*, pp. 114-138
- Timothy J. Power and J. Timmons Roberts. 2000. “A New Brazil? The Changing Sociodemographic Context of Brazilian Democracy,” in Kingstone and Power, eds., *Democratic Brazil: Actors, Institutions, and Processes*, pp. 236-262

WEEK 8: STATE AND TRANSNATIONAL FEMINISMS:
ARGENTINA, CHILE, AND COLOMBIA

Tuesday – Conceptual Framework and Case Study (Colombia)

- Sonia E. Alvarez. 1998. “Latin American Feminisms ‘Go Global’: Trends of the 1990s and Challenges for the New Millennium,” in Alvarez et al., eds., *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures*, pp. 293-324
- Donna Murdock. “Neoliberalism, Gender, and Development: Institutionalizing ‘Post-Feminism’ in Medellin, Colombia,” *Women’s Studies Quarterly* 3/4: 129-153

Thursday – Case Studies (Argentina and Chile)

- Susan Franceshet. 2003. “‘State Feminism’ and Women’s Movements: The Impact of Chile’s *Servicio Nacional de la Mujer* on Women’s Activism.” *Latin American Research Review* 38(1): 9-40

- Veronica Schild. 1998. "New Subjects of Rights? Women's Movements and the Constitution of Citizenship in the 'New Democracies'," in Alvarez et al., eds., *Cultures of Politics, Politics of Cultures*, pp. 93-117

WEEK 9 – MEXICAN EXPERIENCES OF NEOLIBERAL POLICY

Tuesday – Experiences of NAFTA

- Vivienne Bennett. 1992. "The Evolution of Urban Popular Movements in Mexico Between 1968 and 1988," in Escobar and Alvarez, eds., *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*, pp. 240-259
- Matthew C. Gutmann. 2003. "For Whom the Taco Bells Toll: Popular Responses to NAFTA South of the Border," in Gutmann et al., eds., *Perspectives on Las Americas: A Reader in Culture, History, and Representation*, pp. 404-417

Thursday – Migration and National Boundaries

- Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," *Theory, Culture and Society*, 7 (1990) 295-310
- Jennifer S. Hirsch. 2003. *A Courtship After Marriage: Sexuality and Love in Mexican Transnational Families*, selections
- Matthew C. Gutmann. 2002. "Crossing Borders," in *The Romance of Democracy: Compliant Defiance in Contemporary Mexico*, pp. 92-108
- Jonathan Fox. 2004. "Reframing Migration as a Multi-Ethnic Process," unpublished manuscript

WEEK 10 – FURTHER TOPICS

Tuesday – Microenterprise and Development Discourse

- Florence E. Babb. 1998. "From Cooperatives to Microenterprises: The Neoliberal Turn in Postrevolutionary Nicaragua," in *The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America*, pp. 109-122
- Hans Buechler, Judith-Maria Buechler, Simone Buechler, and Stephanie Buechler. 1998. "Financing Small-Scale Enterprises in Bolivia," in *The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America*, pp. 109-122

Thursday – Race, Ethnicity and Democracy

- Miguel Basanez and Pablo Paras. 2001. "Color and Democracy in Latin America," in Camp, ed., *Citizen Views of Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 139-156

WEEK 11 – DRUGS & CRIME

FILM: *City of God* (Date TBA)

Tuesday – Brazil and Mexico

- Teresa Caldeira. 2002. "Police Violence in Democratic Brazil," *Ethnography* 3(3): 235-263

- Laura Roush. “Tabloids, Tepito, and the Rumor of Tunnels: Narrating Mexico City’s Crime Wave,” unpublished manuscript

Thursday – Bolivia & Colombia

- Michael D. Painter. 1998. “Economic Development and the Origins of the Bolivian Cocaine Industry,” in *The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America*, pp. 29-49
- Mary Roldan. 1999. “Cocaine and the ‘Miracle’ of Modernity in Medellin,” in *Cocaine: Global Histories*, pp. 165-182

WEEK 12 – CONSOLIDATIONS

Tuesday –

- Roderic Ai Camp. 2001. “Democracy Through Latin American Lenses,” in Camp, ed., *Citizen Views of Democracy in Latin America*, pp. 3-25

Thursday – Review and Final Discussions; course evaluations

- Lynn Phillips. 1998. “Conclusion: anthropology in the age of neoliberalism.” In *The Third Wave of Modernization in Latin America: Cultural Perspectives on Neoliberalism*, edited by Lynn Phillips. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Books, pp. 193-198.
- Julia Paley. 2002. “Toward an Anthropology of Democracy.” *Annual Review of Anthropology* 31: 469-496