

*Department of American Studies*

**From Civil Rights to Anti-Capitalism: Social Movements in the Americas**

<b>Year</b>	1 (Master)
<b>Course title</b>	From Civil Rights to Anti-Capitalism: Social Movements in the Americas
<b>Course Code</b>	LAX024M10
<b>Academic year</b>	2012-2013
<b>Semester</b>	1 (14 weeks)
<b>Credits</b>	10
<b>Format</b>	Weekly seminar (3 hours)
<b>Status</b>	Optional
<b>Instructor</b>	Dr. M. E. Messmer

***Seminars***

Mondays 14:00-17:00                      Aweg 30, room 104

***Office hour***

My office is Room H15.312 (American Studies Department). My office hour is on Thursdays, 15.00-16.00, or by appointment. Email: M.E.Messmer@rug.nl. Office phone: 050-363-8439. There will be no regular office hours during non-teaching periods.

***Description***

This course will trace the evolution of minority rights debates from the U.S.-based Chicano/a and Native American Civil Rights movements of the 1960s to the recent rise of vigorous indigenous movements across Latin America and the substantial social and political transformations they have engendered. Adopting a comparative perspective and highlighting U.S.-Latin American interactions and interdependencies, we shall focus in particular on the following four case studies: (1) key developments in the history of Native American communities in the U.S. that led up to the Red Power movement, and current challenges faced by on- and off-reservation American Indians living on U.S. soil; (2) the evolution of U.S.-Mexican political, economic, military, and cultural relations and contemporary post-Chicano/a forms of Latino/a power along both sides of the U.S.-Mexican border; (3) the Zapatista Army of National Liberation's development from an indigenous Mexican anti-NAFTA rebellion to a global anti-capitalism and anti-neoliberalism movement; and (4) the indigenous uprising in Ecuador, which led to the overthrow of Ecuador's government in 2000 and, despite U.S. intervention, has started to challenge traditional notions of the nation-state, political participation, and democracy not only in Ecuador, but also in Bolivia and Peru.

The discussion of these socio-political movements will be contextualized within a range of theoretical texts and concepts that will provide a detailed introduction to debates on human rights, multiculturalism, political enfranchisement, and minority rights in both the U.S. and Latin America. We shall specifically focus on the theoretical foundations and practical results of identity politics; the links between ethnicity, social class, and cultural nationalism; the social forces of *indigenismo*, cultural hybridity, and *mestizaje*; the dynamics of socio-economic development in ethnically mixed societies; the limits of tolerance in liberal democracies; the socio-political elite's resistance to processes of democratization in Latin American countries; and the demands for assimilation and integration in both the U.S. and Latin America.

### ***Aims of course***

- To compare the political, economic, and socio-cultural problems of ethnic minorities in the contemporary United States and selected Latin American countries by focusing on the examples of Chicanos/as, Native Americans, and indigenous groups
- To develop a historically-contextualized comparison of contemporary manifestations of “The Indian Question” and the politicization of ethnic identities in the U.S. and Latin America
- To gain a deeper insight into the evolution of the minority rights debate in the U.S. from radical forms of ethnic nationalism via strategic forms of essentialism to debates on the constitutionality of group-specific rights in liberal democracies
- To explore in depth the evolution of the minority rights debate in Mexico and Ecuador by analyzing the emergence of new social and political actors (ethnic parties) and the ways in which those redefine contemporary civil society, social power, electoral and economic politics by moving towards radical forms of democracy and opposing neoliberalism
- To reflect critically on current theoretical debates on the notions of ethnic identity, cultural nationalism, *indigenismo*, cultural hybridity, *mestizaje*, assimilation, integration, transdifference, postethnicity, cultural tolerance, and multiculturalism
- To analyze the transformative power as well as the limitations inherent in identity-driven social movements
- To foster a thorough understanding of the current developments and diversities within post-national and post-ethnic social movements, including globalized Neo-Zapatista networks and multiethnic movements

### ***Learning outcomes***

At the end of this course, students will

- have gained a deeper understanding of the historical reasons for the specific and divergent cultural, economic, and political problems currently faced by Chicano/a, Native American, and indigenous communities in the U.S. and Latin America
- be able to engage at an advanced level with current theoretical debates on the notions of cultural nationalism, *indigenismo*, cultural hybridity, *mestizaje*, assimilation, integration, transdifference, postethnicity, multiculturalism, and cultural tolerance
- be able to compare and evaluate critically the evolution of the minority rights debate in the U.S. (in the context of a liberal democratic framework) and in selected Latin American countries (in the context of a radical redefinition of democracy, contemporary civil society, electoral and economic politics by new social actors such as ethnic parties or anti-neoliberalist networks)
- have acquired tools to evaluate critically the key political advantages and difficulties inherent in identity-driven social movements and strategic uses of ethnic essentialism
- be able to account for the complex interrelations between ethnic identity and social class in both the U.S. and Latin America
- be able to use these theoretical and socio-political insights in order to examine, from an interdisciplinary perspective, current problems faced by contemporary multicultural societies
- be able to conduct independent research at the graduate level and employ some of the cultural studies tools, theories, and methods acquired in this course in analytical, argumentative research essays

### ***Requirements***

This course will be conducted in seminar format. Students are expected to attend every seminar session and to complete the reading assignments for each week. Attending 80% of all seminars is required for obtaining credits for this course; all absences must be explained in writing. Moreover, students are expected to contribute actively to each session; this may include starting the weekly discussion on assigned texts. Although the primary responsibility for each session will rest with the teacher, all students share the responsibility for contributing to the discussion. All written communication is conducted through Rugmail and Nestor. Students are expected to check the Nestor site and their university email accounts at least 3 times a week.

### ***Plagiarism***

Plagiarism is a form of academic misconduct in which an individual submits or presents the work of another person as his or her own. Scholarship quite properly rests upon examining and referring to thoughts and writings of others. However, doing so without proper acknowledgement is dishonest and a form of fraud. Therefore:

1. Whenever you use any idea derived substantially and directly from a published work, from a fellow student, or from any other source, you must explicitly acknowledge the nature and extent of your indebtedness.
2. Whenever you borrow three or more consecutive words, an original term, or a distinctive turn of phrase from a published work, from a fellow student, or from any other source, you must enclose the borrowed element in quotation marks and explicitly acknowledge your indebtedness.

Please remember that unauthorized collaboration—working together without permission—is a form of cheating. Unless a professor specifies that students can work together on an assignment and/or test, no collaboration is permitted. Other forms of cheating include possessing or using an unauthorized study aid (such as a PDA), copying from another's exam, fabricating data, and giving unauthorized assistance.

Also note that research conducted and/or papers written for other classes cannot be used in whole or in part for any assignment in this class without obtaining prior permission from the professor.

Students are referred to the American Studies *OER* for further details about plagiarism and the department's Honor Code.

**The American Studies Department uses plagiarism detection software and students will be asked to submit electronic copies of their written assignments for automatic screening. Plagiarism may have serious consequences for the student, including expulsion from the course or suspension from the University. All instances of plagiarism will be referred to the Exam Board. All written work must be uploaded to Ephorus prior to grading.**

### ***Credit value***

The credit load of this course is 10 ECTS, which equals 280 hours of work (including class time, preparation, position papers, and final essay).

### ***Assessment***

Students will be assessed on the basis of the following:

- In-class contributions
- Three 1,000-word position papers (with an acceptable deviation of 10%), based on three different seminar sessions (to be selected by each student within the first three weeks of the semester). For this assignment, students respond **in writing** to one or more of the assigned texts of the respective week by identifying key issues, themes or problems in the texts, evaluating them critically, and taking a personal position in the form of a well-supported argument. Your grade will be based on the degree to which you engage critically with the text's theses and arguments, reflect on the potential problems and / or usefulness of the proposed suggestions, and formulate your own argument in response. You will be expected to submit these position papers electronically **before** the beginning of class, and I will ask you to summarize the main points of your paper in class. The purpose of the position papers is **not** to provide a summary of the materials under discussion, but to offer a personal "position" in the form of an informed commentary on the materials, which can then form the basis for further discussions in class.
- One 3,000-word essay (with an acceptable deviation of 10%), in which students conduct independent research and address one of the key issues / themes in the assigned readings, with reference to the course's overall aims and focus. The topic will be selected by the student in consultation with the supervisor. The deadline for the final essay is Monday, January 21, 2013.

Please note: All written work should be typed (**double-spaced, 12 pts., Times New Roman, pages numbered, using one side of the sheet only**). The position papers and the essay should have a title

page, bearing the title of the seminar and the paper's or essay's thesis statement, your name and student number, the course name and code, the number of credits, the teacher's name, the date of submission, and the number of words. Cite your primary and secondary sources according to the MLA or CMS guidelines for style and format (latest editions). Your papers will be returned unmarked if they do not comply with the MLA or the CMS guidelines. **Written work will only be graded if it has been uploaded to the plagiarism detection software Ephorus.**

Penalty for late submission: Position papers that are not submitted prior to the day of the chosen seminar will no longer be accepted. Late submission of the essay will be penalized at a rate of ten percent per day. Essays handed in more than two weeks late will not be accepted.

### ***Grading procedure***

Approximate weights of the assignments:

In-class contributions: 10%  
 Position Papers: 15% each  
 Essay: 45%

Please note: the resit for this course consists of a resubmission of the final essay only.

### ***Required texts***

- Boyle, T.C. *The Tortilla Curtain*. New York: Viking P, 1995.
- Nasdijj, *The Blood Runs Like a River Through My Dreams*. New York: Mariner Books, 2001.
- All other texts will be made available via Nestor.
- Additional short texts may be added during specific classes.

### ***Week-by-week reading and other assignments***

#### **Week 2 (Sept. 10): “Kill the Indian, Save the Child”<sup>1</sup>: The “Americanization” of Native Americans in the U.S.**

##### **Topics**

- federal policy measures against Native Americans
- tribal sovereignty and treaty rights
- the work of the Bureau of Indian Affairs
- forms of cultural assimilation at the Carlisle Indian Industrial School

##### **Readings**

- see brief overview of governmental policy measures on Nestor
- Andrew Jackson, “Removal of Southern Indians to Indian Territory” (1835); Standing Bear, “Protest” (1879); “Field Matron’s Job Description” (1892); “Omaha Discuss Allotment” (1881); “Lone Wolf v. Hitchcock” (1903); “Wheeler-Howard Act” (1934) (In: Ronald H. Bayor, ed., *Columbia Documentary History of Race and Ethnicity*. New York: Columbia UP, 2004, p. 217-219, 368-378, 651-656).
- Vine Deloria, Jr., and Clifford M. Lytle. *The Nations Within: The Past and Future of American Indian Sovereignty*. (New York: Pantheon, 1984). Chapters 1-3 (p. 1-36).
- background infos on the Carlisle school, available at: <http://home.epix.net/~landis/> (Please click on “History”)
- Richard Henry Pratt, from *Battlefield and Classroom* (New Haven: Yale Western Americana Series 6, 1964), pp. 212-229, 245-281 (the founder of the Carlisle school reflects on his educational project and goals)
- Zitkala-Sa, “The School Days of an Indian Girl” (1900), available at the Electronic Text Center of the U of Virginia Library at: <http://etext.lib.virginia.edu/modeng/modengZ.browse.html>. (Please scroll down to Zitkala-Sa and click on “The School Days of an Indian Girl”)

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<sup>1</sup> This was the official motto of the Carlisle Indian School.

### Week 3 (Sept. 17): The American Indian Movement

#### Topics

- the origins and political goals of the American Indian Movement
- major political actions by the AIM: the occupation of Alcatraz and Wounded Knee; the Trail of Broken Treaties; the demolition of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.

#### Readings

- Vine Deloria, Jr., "This Country Was a Lot Better Off When the Indians Were Running It" in: Ronald H. Bayor, ed., *Columbia Documentary History of Race and Ethnicity*. (New York: Columbia UP, 2004, p. 752-760).
- "Indians of All Nations: The Alcatraz Proclamation" (available at: <http://www.cwis.org/fwdp/Americas/alcatraz.htm>).
- Ben Winton, "Alcatraz, Indian Land" (*Native Peoples Magazine*, Fall 1999) (available at: [http://siouxme.com/lodge/alcatraz\\_np.html](http://siouxme.com/lodge/alcatraz_np.html)).
- Paul Chaat Smith and Robert Allen Warrior, from *Like a Hurricane: The Indian Movement from Alcatraz to Wounded Knee* (New York: The New Press, 1997): from Chapter 3: "Fancydance Revolution" (pp. 36-47); Chapter 6: "Yellow Thunder"; Chapter 10: "The Independent Oglala Nation"; "Epilogue"
- Vine Deloria, Jr., *Behind the Trail of Broken Treaties*. (New York: Dell, 1974): Chapter 8.

### Week 4 (Sept. 24): The Aftermath of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848) and the Rise of the Chicano Movement

#### Topics

- brief historical introduction to relations between Mexico and the US government
- the broken promises after the US's annexation of Mexico and the effects of the Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty
- the rise of the Chicano Movement
- the idea of *la raza* and *Aztlán*

#### Readings

- excerpts from the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848)
- María Amparo Ruiz de Burton, from *The Squatter and the Don* (1885) (Ed. Rosaura Sánchez and Beatrice Pita. Houston: Arte Público P, 1992).
- "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán" (1969) and "La Raza Unida Party Preamble" (1969). In: Ronald H. Bayor, ed., *Columbia Documentary History of Race and Ethnicity*. (New York: Columbia UP, 2004, p. 762-766).
- Luis Leal, "In Search of Aztlán." In: Rudolfo A. Anaya and Francisco A. Lomeli, *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1989, p. 6-13)
- Guillermo Lux and Maurilio E. Vigil, "Return to Aztlán: The Chicano Rediscovered His Indian Past." In: Rudolfo A. Anaya and Francisco A. Lomeli, *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland* (Albuquerque: U of New Mexico P, 1989, p. 93-110)
- **historical background:** F. Arturo Rosales, from *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Houston: Arte Publico, 1996): Chapter 1: "Americans By Conquest" and Chapter 8: "The Struggle in the Fields"

### Week 5 (Oct. 1): The Evolution of the Minority Rights Debate in the U.S.: From Civil Rights to Multiculturalism

#### Topics

- academic results vs. socio-political results of (militant forms of) ethnic nationalism
- the pros and cons of essentialist concepts of identity and strategic forms of essentialism
- types of minority rights
- central arguments in favor of individual vs. group-specific rights

#### Readings

- Charles Taylor, "Politics of Recognition." In Taylor, *Multiculturalism and "The Politics of Recognition"* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1992, p. 25-73)

- Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights* (Oxford: Clarendon P, 1995): Chapter 2: “The Politics of Multiculturalism” and Chapter 6: “Justice and Minority Rights”
- Will Kymlicka, from *Politics in the Vernacular: Nationalism, Multiculturalism, and Citizenship* (Oxford: OUP, 2001): Chapters 6: “Theorizing Indigenous Rights”
- Please also revisit our discussion of essentialism and strategic essentialism from our “Identity and Ideology” seminar for this week (see texts on Nestor)

### **Week 6 (Oct. 8): Multiculturalism Pros and Cons: On the Limits of “Tolerance”**

#### **Topics**

- a selection of controversial contributions to the multiculturalism debate
- how tolerant should a liberal society be towards intolerant groups?
- cultural relativism
- can a consensus on the equality of humans be maintained without a (religious) consensus on who guarantees this?

#### **Readings**

- Chandran Kukathas, “Cultural Toleration.” In: Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka, eds., *Ethnicity and Group Rights* (New York: NYUP, 1997).
- Michael Walzer, “Response to Kukathas.” In: Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka, eds., *Ethnicity and Group Rights* (New York: NYUP, 1997).
- Adeno Addis, “On Human Diversity and the Limits of Toleration.” In: Ian Shapiro and Will Kymlicka, eds., *Ethnicity and Group Rights* (New York: NYUP, 1997).
- Bhikhu Parekh, from *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory* (London: Macmillan, 2000): Chapter 8: “Equality in a Multicultural Society” and Chapter 9: “The Logic of Intercultural Evaluation”

### **Week 7 (Oct. 15): Envisioning Alternatives in the U.S.: *Mestizaje*, Transdifference, Postethnicity**

#### **Topics**

- can the theoretical concept of hybridity/*mestizaje* solve (some of) the problems associated with ethnic discrimination, ethnic nationalism, and ethnic essentialism?
- the potentials and limitations (theoretical and practical) inherent in the concept of hybridization
- how important is a recovery and / or maintenance of “differences”?
- the clash between universal concern and legitimate difference
- affiliations of descent vs. voluntary affiliations

#### **Readings**

- Monika Fludernik, “What Is Hybridity? (And Why Are They Saying Such Terrible Things About It?)” and “The Constitution of Hybridity.” In Fludernick, ed., *Hybridity and Postcolonialism* (Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 1998, p. 9-14, 19-22)
- Please read (if you are not yet/no longer familiar with) Gloria Anzaldúa’s “La conciencia de la mestiza / Toward a new consciousness,” in: Anzaldúa, *Borderlands / La Frontera* (San Francisco: Aunt Lute Books, 1987)
- Klaus Löscher and Helmbrecht Breinig, “Introduction: Difference and Transdifference.” In Breinig, et al., eds., *Multiculturalism in Contemporary Societies: Perspectives on Difference and Transdifference* (Erlangen: Universitätsbibliothek, 2002).
- David Hollinger, from *Postethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1995): Chapter 5: Toward a Postethnic Perspective.”

**Week 8 (Oct. 22): Exam Week; no class, no office hours**

**Week 9 (Oct. 29): Exam Week; no class; no office hours**

**Week 10 (Nov. 05): Contemporary Post-Chicano Varieties of Latinidad in the U.S.****Topics**

- the link between ethnicity and other dimensions of difference such as class and gender
- extremes of wealth and poverty in Latino/a communities
- the fate of undocumented Mexican immigrants in the US today

**Readings**

- T.C. Boyle, *The Tortilla Curtain* (New York: Viking P, 1995); to be bought by each student
- excerpts from Michele Serros, *Honey Blonde Chica* (New York: Simon Pulse, 2006) (in course kit).

**Week 11 (Nov. 12): The Race-Class Power Nexus in Contemporary Native American Culture****Topics**

- the link between ethnicity and other dimensions of difference such as class
- contemporary Native American life on reservation land (crime, drugs, alcohol, fetal alcohol syndrome)

**Readings**

- Nasdijj, *The Blood Runs Like a River Through My Dreams* (New York: Mariner Books, 2001); to be bought by each student

**Week 12 (Nov. 19): The Indigenous Revolution in Ecuador: CONAIE I****Topics**

- comparison between “The Indian Question” in the US and Latin America
- the emergence of new social and political actors
- social movement theory: different approaches toward social change and political power
- the role of the Indian in world politics
- the politicization of indigenous identities
- ethnicity vs. class in Ecuador

**Readings**

- Marc Becker, *Pachakutik: Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011: Chapter 1: “The Politicization of Indigenous Identities”; Chapter 2: “Uprisings”; Chapter 4. “The Last Coup of the Twentieth Century” (ebook)
- James Petras and Henry Veltmeyer, “Social Movements and the State: Political Power Dynamics in Latin America.” In *Imperialism, Neoliberalism and Social Struggles in Latin America*. Ed. Richard A. Dello Buono and José Bell Lara. Boston: n.p., 2007.
- Nancy Postero and Leon Zamosc, “Indigenous Movements and the Indian Question in Latin America.” In *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America*. Ed. Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004.

**Week 13 (Nov. 26): Indigenous Political Party Politics in Ecuador: CONAIE II****Topics**

- from social movement to electoral politics: the formation of ethnic parties
- indigeneous vs. multiethnic movements
- redefining civil society; social power; a citizens’ revolution
- critique of neoliberalism

**Readings**

- Marc Becker, *Pachakutik: Indigenous Movements and Electoral Politics in Ecuador*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011: Chapter 6: “A Citizen’s Revolution”; Chapter 7: “Rewriting the Constitution . . . .Again”; Chapter 8: 2009 Elections”; Chapter 9: “Social Movements and Electoral Politics”

- Leon Zamosc, “The Ecuadorian Indian Movement: From Politics of Influence to Politics of Power” In: *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America*. Ed. Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004.

### **Week 14 (Dec. 03): Between *Indigenismo* and Anti-Neoliberalism: The Rise of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation**

#### **Topics**

- the gradual emergence of “the world’s first post-communist and postmodern insurgency” (Carlos Fuentes)
- Zapatista visions of the role of the state, radical democracy, political participation
- redefining civil society
- the “Indianization” of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation
- the relation between neoliberalism and the politicization of indigenous demands

#### **Readings**

- Gunther Dietz, “From Indigenismo to Zapatismo: The Struggle for a Multi-Ethnic Mexican Society.” In *The Struggle for Indigenous Rights in Latin America*. Ed. Nancy Grey Postero and Leon Zamosc. Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2004.
- Nicholas P. Higgins, *Understanding the Chiapas Rebellion: Modernist Visions and the Invisible Indian*. Austin: U of Texas P, 2004. (ebook): Chapter 5: “Neoliberal Governmentality: Social Change, Contested Identities, and Rebellion”; Chapter 6: “Visible Indians: Subcomandante Marcos and the ‘Indianization’ of the Zapatista Army of National Liberation”
- Subcomandante Marcos, “Ya Basta – Today we say, ‘enough is enough!’: First Declaration from the Lacandon Jungle” (1993)
- Alex Khasnabish, *Zapatistas: Rebellion from the Grassroots to the Global*. Halifax: Fernwood Publ.; London: Zed Books, 2010: Chapter 2: “‘Everything for Everyone, nothing for ourselves’: Zapatismo as Political Philosophy and Political Practice.”
- Mariana Mora, “Zapatista Anti-Capitalist Politics and the ‘Other Campaign.’” In: *Latin American Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, and Glen David Kuecker. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.

### **Week 15 (Dec. 10): The Ongoing Transformation of the Zapatista Movement**

#### **Topics**

- Global Neo-Zapatista networks as a new form of redefining social power
- cross-border, cross-movement organizing
- mobilization around identities that transcend national borders
- diversities within new social movements
- transformative power and limitations of identity-driven social movements
- dilemmas of autonomous movements confronting neoliberalism
- social movements from Civil Rights to Neo-Zapatismo: what has been gained?

#### **Readings**

- Alex Khasnabish, *Zapatistas: Rebellion from the Grassroots to the Global*. Halifax: Fernwood Publ.; London: Zed Books, 2010: Chapter 3: “‘Never again a Mexico without us’: The National Impact of Zapatismo”; Chapter 4: “‘A world made of many worlds’: The Transnational Impact of Zapatismo”
- Richard Stahler-Sholk, “Resisting Neoliberal Homogenization: the Zapatista Autonomy Movement.” In: *Latin American Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, and Glen David Kuecker. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.
- Alicia C.S. Swords, “Neo-Zapatista Network Politics: Transforming Democracy and Development.” In: *Latin American Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century*. Ed.



- Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, and Glen David Kuecker. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.
- Glen David Kuecker, Richard Stahler-Sholk, and Harry E. Vanden, "Challenges Ahead for Latin America's Social Movements." In: *Latin American Social Movements in the Twenty-First Century*. Ed. Richard Stahler-Sholk, Harry E. Vanden, and Glen David Kuecker. New York: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008.