

INTD 398: Resistance to development in Latin America

Class: INTD 398-001

Instructor: Rachel Hatcher, PhD

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Class Times: Tuesday and Thursday, 4:05-5:25pm

Room: ENGMC 11

Office hours: Mondays, 4-5pm, 3610 McTavish, Room 16-4
Tuesdays 2:45-3:45pm, 3610 McTavish, Room 15-3

TA: Ronaldo Lobo González

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Office hours and location: To be determined

The Land:

McGill University is located on the unceded lands known as Tiohtià:ke in Kanien'kéha. The Kanien'kehá:ka Nation are the traditional stewards of these lands and waters. The land has long served as a site of meeting and exchange amongst Indigenous peoples, including the Haudenosaunee and Anishinabeg nations. Today these lands are known by many as Montréal.

Find out more about:

How to pronounce [Tiohtià:ke](#), [Kanien'kehá:ka](#), and other [words](#).

The [Montreal in Mohawk](#) map.

[Indigenous McGill](#).

Montreal's First Nations [Origins](#).

[Indigenous Canada](#).

The [Decolonial Toolbox](#).

The Course:

“Resistance to Development in Latin America” explores resistance to “proyectos de la muerte,” or projects of death, in Latin America. This includes projects in North, Central, and South America, from sweatshops in Mexico to logging on Indigenous land in Chile. Often framed by government and private actors as creating jobs and promoting economic growth, we will discuss conflict surrounding these projects, including why local communities sometimes reject these seemingly positive and beneficial development projects even before they have been completed, and some of these projects’ negative consequences after completion. We will discuss the variety of strategies and mechanisms communities use to resist and/or make their voices heard, some of which are more effective than others. We will also explore government and private actors’ responses to local action, some of which are more violent than others.

Sensitive Content Statement:

Please be aware that some of the course content may be disturbing for some students. It has been included in the course because it directly relates to the learning outcomes. Please contact the instructor if you have specific concerns about this.

Readings:

All readings listed here are required readings.

Evaluations:

Assignment	Percentage	Due Date (at 11:59pm)
Group article reviews	4 reviews, 7.5% each = 30%	Jan 25, Feb 8, Feb 22, Apr 4
<i>Testimonio</i>	25%	February 29
Court case analysis	25%	March 26
Opinion piece	20%	April 9

Late policy:

Written work is due at the start of class on the specified due dates. Late papers will be subject to a 3% penalty per day, except with the instructor's *prior* agreement. Extensions will not be granted on the day an assignment is due, except in case of medical or family emergency, accompanied by appropriate documentation.

Format and style:

Students are required to type their text in 12-point Times New Roman font with standard one-inch margins. Please double space the text. Use single spacing for block quotations, footnotes, and bibliographies. References and citations must follow a standard academic format. Include your name, date, and title on the first page of your paper, and number your pages. Proofread your drafts carefully before turning them in.

CLASS SCHEDULE:

Thursday, January 4: Introduction and co-construction of discussion guidelines

Tuesday, January 9: Setting the Scene I

Reading:

- Anibal Quijano, "Coloniality of Power, Eurocentrism, and Latin America." *Nepantla: Views from the South* 1, no. 3 (2000): 533-580. [available online]

Thursday, January 11: Setting the Scene II

Reading:

- Eduardo Galeano, "Introduction: 120 Million Children in the Eye of the Hurricane," in *Open Veins of Latin America*, pages 1-8. [online via McGill Library]

Tuesday, January 16: Guatemala I: Peasant Agriculture and the Agrarian Reform

Reading:

- Patrick Chassé, “The Coastal Laboratory: Milpa, Conservation, and Agrarian Reform,” in *Out of the Shadow Revisiting the Revolution from Post-Peace Guatemala*, Julie Gibbings and Heather Vrana, eds., pages 57-84. [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, January 18: Guatemala II: Internal Armed Conflict: Panzós and Counterinsurgency

Reading:

- Greg Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre: Latin America in the Cold War*, 2011, Chapter 5/pages 133-194. [online]

Tuesday, January 23: Guatemala III: Internal Armed Conflict: Río Negro and Counterinsurgency

Reading:

- Watch “Discovering Dominga” [online via McGill Library]
- Sebastian Iboy Osorio, “Testimonio,” in Catherine Nolan and Grahame Russel, eds., *Testimonio: Canadian mining in the aftermath of genocides in Guatemala*, pages 46-49. [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, January 25: Guatemala IV: Internal Armed Conflict: Sepur Zarco and Counterinsurgency

Reading:

- Irma Velasquez Nimatuj, “The Case of Sepur Zarco and the Challenge to the Colonial State,” in Shannon Speed and Lynn Stephen, eds., *Indigenous Women and Violence: Feminist Activist Research in Heightened States of Injustice*, pages 100-124. [online via McGill Library]

Tuesday, January 30: Guatemala V: Peace

Reading:

- “Agreement on Social and Economic Aspects and Agrarian Situation, concluded on 6 May 1996 between the Presidential Peace Commission of the Government of Guatemala and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca,” https://peacemaker.un.org/sites/peacemaker.un.org/files/GT_960506_AgreementOnSocio-economicAspectsOfAgrarianSituation.pdf

Thursday, February 1: Guatemala VI: Hud Bay

Reading:

- Catherine Nolan and Grahame Russell, eds., “Q’eqch’i people fight back against Hudbay Minerals, in their own words,” in Catherine Nolan and Grahame Russel, eds., *Testimonio: Canadian mining in the aftermath of genocides in Guatemala*, pages 104-128. [online via McGill Library]

Tuesday, February 6: Guatemala VII: La Puya and El Escobal

Reading:

- Oswaldo J. Hernandez, "Guatemala: Opposition to Mining, the New Threat to National Security," *Upside Down World*, July 21, 2014, <https://upside-downworld.org/archives/guatemala/guatemala-opposition-to-mining-the-new-threat-to-national-security/>
- Luis Solano, "Under siege: Peaceful Resistance to Tahoe Resources and Militarization in Guatemala," in pages 68-77. [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, February 8: Guatemala VIII: Resistance to Resistance to Development

Reading:

- Richard Ashby Wilson, "Digital Authoritarianism and The Global Assault on Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 44, no. 4 (2022): 704-739 [online via McGill Library]

Tuesday, February 13: Honduras I

Reading:

- UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (A/RES/61/295), https://social.desa.un.org/sites/default/files/migrated/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf
- Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, "Free Prior and Informed Consent: An indigenous peoples' right and a good practice for local communities," 2016, <https://www.fao.org/3/i6190e/i6190e.pdf>

Thursday, February 15: Honduras II

Reading:

- Berta Caceres, 2015 Goldman Environmental Prize, Honduras," <https://www.goldmanprize.org/recipient/berta-caceres/>
- "Berta Caceres Acceptance Speech, 2015 Goldman Prize," April 22, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AR1kwx8b0ms>
- Democracy Now, "Remembering Berta Caceres, Assassinated Honduras Indigenous and Environmental Leader," March 4, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dQWYwN6553Y>

Tuesday, February 20: Taking Stock

Reading:

- Gilbert Rist, "Development as a Buzzword," *Development in Practice*, Vol. 17, No. 4/5 (2007): 485-491. [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, February 22: Tourism: Guest speaker Luc Renaud

Reading:

- Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, Sandro Carnicelli, Chris Krolkowski, Gayathri Wijesinghe & Karla Boluk, "Degrowing Tourism: Rethinking Tourism," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27:12 (2019): 1926-1944. [online via McGill Library]

Tuesday, February 27: Chile I

Reading:

- Elizabeth Quay Hutchison, Thomas Miller Klubock, Nara B. Milanich, and Peter Winn, eds. *The Chile Reader: History, Culture, Politics*, pages 386-392 and 568-574. [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, February 29: Chile II

Reading:

- Summary of “Norín Catrimán et al. (Leaders, Members and Activist of the Mapuche Indigenous People) v. Chile,”
https://iachr.ils.edu/sites/default/files/iachr/Cases/Norin_Catriman_et_al_v_Chile/mccormick_norin_catriman_et_al_v_chile.pdf
OR
- Inter-American Court of Human Rights, “Norín Catrimán et al. (Leaders, Members and Activist of the Mapuche Indigenous People) v. Chile,”
https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_279_ing.pdf

Tuesday, March 5: Reading Break

Thursday, March 7: Reading Break

Tuesday, March 12: Nicaragua I

Reading:

- Mariana Monteiro de Matos, *Indigenous Land Rights in the Inter-American System Substantive and Procedural Law*, 2021, pages 16-35 [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, March 14: Nicaragua II

Reading:

- Summary of “Case of the Mayagna (Sumo) Awas Tingni Community v. Nicaragua Judgment of August 31, 2001,” https://iachr.ils.edu/sites/default/files/iachr/Cases/Mayagna_Sumo_Awas_Tingni_Community_v_Nicaragua/mayagna_sumo_awas_tingni_community_v_nicaragua.pdf
OR
- Inter-American Court of Human Rights, “Case of the Mayagna (Sumo) Awas Tingni Community v. Nicaragua Judgment of August 31, 2001, (Merits, Reparations and Costs),”
https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_79_ing.pdf

Tuesday, March 19: Colombia I

Reading:

- TBA [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, March 21: Colombia II: Guest speaker Nancy Tapias Torrado

Reading:

- Nancy R. Tapias Torrado, "Overcoming Silencing Practices: Indigenous Women Defending Human Rights from Abuses Committed in Connection to Mega-Projects: A Case in Colombia," *Business and Human Rights Journal* 7 (2022): 29-44. [online via McGill Library]

Tuesday, March 26: Colombia III

Reading:

- TBA [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, March 28: Colombia IV

Reading:

- TBA [online via McGill Library]

Tuesday, April 2: Mexico I

Reading:

- Dale A. Hathaway (2002) Mexico's *Frente Auténtico del Trabajo* and the Problem of Unionizing Maquiladoras, *Labor History*, 43:4, 427-438. [online via McGill Library]
- Huberto Juarez Nunez, Maquila Workers in Mexico: The Prospects for Organization and International Solidarity, *Labor History*, 43, no. 4 (2002), 439-450. [online via McGill Library]

Thursday, April 4: Mexico II

Reading:

- Rita Laura Segato. "Territory, Sovereignty, and Crimes of the Second State: The Writing on the Body of Murdered Women," in Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano, eds., *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*, pages 70-92. [online via McGill Library]
- "Photo Essay: Images from the Justice Movement in Chihuahua, Mexico," in Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano, eds., *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*, pages 263-269. [online via McGill Library]

Tuesday, April 9: Concluding

POLICIES

Language:

In accord with McGill University's Charter of Students' Rights, students in this course have the right to submit in English or in French any written work that is to be graded.

Conformément à la Charte des droits de l'étudiant de l'Université McGill, chaque étudiant.e a le droit de soumettre en français ou en anglais tout travail écrit devant être noté (sauf dans le cas des cours dont l'un des objets est la maîtrise d'une langue).

Academic Integrity:

McGill University values academic integrity. Therefore, all students must understand the meaning and consequences of cheating, plagiarism and other academic offences under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures" (see www.mcgill.ca/students/srr/honest/ for more information).

In the event of extraordinary circumstances beyond the University's control, the content and/or evaluation scheme in this course is subject to change.

All slides, video recordings, lecture notes, etc. remain the instructor's intellectual property. As such, you may use these only for your own learning (and research, with proper referencing/citation) ends. You are not permitted to disseminate or share these materials; doing so may violate the instructor's intellectual property rights and could be cause for disciplinary action under the Code of Student Conduct and Disciplinary Procedures.

Student Accessibility and Achievement:

As the instructor of this course, I endeavor to provide an inclusive learning environment. However, if you experience barriers to learning in this course, do not hesitate to discuss them with me and/or [Student Accessibility and Achievement](#).

Academic Accommodations:

Please inform me if you will be unable to complete an assignment on time. We will work together to find an alternative arrangement.

Holy Days:

As per the [Policy for the Accommodation of Religious Holy Days](#), "McGill University recognizes and respects the diversity of its members, including diversity of religious faiths and observances. The aim of this policy is to ensure that the University provides an environment in which its students can fulfil both their university and their religious commitments."

If you cannot meet your academic obligations because of a holy day, please inform me and we will find an accommodation.

Group Article Reviews

Each review is worth 7.5% of your grade.

- **Due January 25:** Irma Velasquez Nimatuj, "The Case of Sepur Zarco and the Challenge to the Colonial State," in Shannon Speed and Lynn Stephen, eds., *Indigenous Women and Violence: Feminist Activist Research in Heightened States of Injustice*, pages 100-124. [online via McGill Library]
- **Due February 8:** Richard Ashby Wilson, "Digital Authoritarianism and The Global Assault on Human Rights," *Human Rights Quarterly*, 44, no. 4 (2022): 704-739. [online via McGill Library]
- **Due February 22:** Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, Sandro Carnicelli, Chris Krolkowski, Gayathri Wijesinghe & Karla Boluk, "Degrowing Tourism: Rethinking Tourism," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 27:12 (2019): 1926-1944. [available online]
- **Due March 28:** Rita Laura Segato. "Territory, Sovereignty, and Crimes of the Second State: The Writing on the Body of Murdered Women," in Rosa-Linda Fregoso and Cynthia Bejarano, eds., *Terrorizing Women: Femicide in the Americas*, pages 70-92. [online via McGill Library]

Groups: 4-5 students. You do not have to be in the same group for each article. I will give time in class to form into groups, exchange contact info, etc.

Instructions: For each of the above articles, groups will provide a short summary of the author's argument and main points, and then mention questions or critiques that came up when discussing the article as a group.

Assignment Parameters: 300-450 words.

Format and style: Students are required to type their text in 12-point Times New Roman font with standard one-inch margins. Please double space the text. Proofread your drafts carefully before turning them in.

**Assignments must be submitted via MyCourses by 11:59pm on the due date. I strongly encourage groups to have a strong draft completed before class on the due date and then make revisions to the draft if they wish. Be sure all groups members' names and ID numbers are included in the Word file that is submitted.

Late policy: Written work is due at the start of class on the specified due dates. Late papers will be subject to a 3% penalty per day, except with the instructor's *prior* agreement. Extensions will not be granted on the day an assignment is due, except in case of medical or family emergency, accompanied by appropriate documentation.

*All group members will get the same grade.

Testimonio Assignment

25% of your grade

Due February 29

Readings:

- Georg Gugelberger and Michael Kearney, "Voices for the Voiceless: Testimonial Literature in Latin America," *Latin American Perspectives*, 18, no. 3 (1991): 3-14.
- Sebastian Iboy Osorio, "Testimonio," in Catherine Nolan and Grahame Russel, eds., *Testimonio: Canadian mining in the aftermath of genocides in Guatemala*, pages 46-49. [from syllabus]
- Catherine Nolan and Grahame Russell, eds., "Q'eqch'i people fight back against Hudbay Minerals, in their own words," in Catherine Nolan and Grahame Russel, eds., *Testimonio: Canadian mining in the aftermath of genocides in Guatemala*, pages 111-114, 118-121, and 123-128. [from syllabus]
- An additional testimony from Catherine Nolan and Grahame Russel, eds., *Testimonio: Canadian mining in the aftermath of genocides in Guatemala*.

Instructions: Read the short article by Gugelberger and Kearney about *testimonios* (testimonial literature). Re-read the testimonials from the syllabus with the explanation from the article in mind, and read an additional testimonio or two from the same book. (Did you notice that the name of the book is *Testimonio*?) Reflect on and write about the intersection of *testimonio* and resistance. You may want to consult additional sources.

Some questions you might think about are:

Do these stories fit into the category of *testimonio*?

Is *testimonio* resistance?

What is the role of *testimonio* when confronted with the overwhelming power of the state?

Assignment Parameters: 1000-1250 words, including notes and bibliography.

Format and style: Students are required to type their text in 12-point Times New Roman font with standard one-inch margins. Please double space the text. Proofread your drafts carefully before turning them in.

****Assignments must be submitted via MyCourses by 11:59pm on the due date.**

Late policy: Written work is due at the start of class on the specified due dates. Late papers will be subject to a 3% penalty per day, except with the instructor's *prior* agreement. Extensions will not be granted on the day an assignment is due, except in case of medical or family emergency, accompanied by appropriate documentation.

Court Case Analysis

25% of your grade

Due March 26

Readings:

- Summary of “Norín Catrimán et al. (Leaders, Members and Activist of the Mapuche Indigenous People) v. Chile,”
https://iachr.ils.edu/sites/default/files/iachr/Cases/Norin_Catriman_et_al_v_Chile/mccormick_norin_catriman_et_al_v_chile.pdf

OR

- Inter-American Court of Human Rights, “Norín Catrimán et al. (Leaders, Members and Activist of the Mapuche Indigenous People) v. Chile,”
https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_279_ing.pdf

AND

- Summary of “Case of the Mayagna (Sumo) Awas Tingni Community v. Nicaragua Judgment of August 31, 2001,” https://iachr.ils.edu/sites/default/files/iachr/Cases/Mayagna_Sumo-Awas_Tingni_Community_v_Nicaragua/mayagna_sumo_awas_tingni_community_v_nicaragua.pdf

OR

- Inter-American Court of Human Rights, “Case of the Mayagna (Sumo) Awas Tingni Community v. Nicaragua Judgment of August 31, 2001, (Merits, Reparations and Costs),”
https://www.corteidh.or.cr/docs/casos/articulos/seriec_79_ing.pdf

Instructions: Read the summaries of the two cases (or the complete rulings). Summarize and compare the events that led up to the submission of the two cases in the Inter-American Human Rights System and the Court’s rulings in each case. Comment on the parallels between the cases and the differences.

Do a little extra research to find out about what has happened since the Court ruled in favour of the two Indigenous communities. Did the communities really “win”?

Assignment Parameters: 1000-1250 words, including notes and bibliography.

Format and style: Students are required to type their text in 12-point Times New Roman font with standard one-inch margins. Please double space the text. Proofread your drafts carefully before turning them in.

**Assignments must be submitted via MyCourses by 11:59pm on the due date.

Late policy: Written work is due at the start of class on the specified due dates. Late papers will be subject to a 3% penalty per day, except with the instructor’s *prior* agreement. Extensions will not be granted on the day an assignment is due, except in case of medical or family emergency, accompanied by appropriate documentation.

Reflection/Opinion Piece (Op-Ed)

20% of your grade

Due April 9

Instructions:

Option A: Reflection

Reflect on what you've learned in the past few months.

You might consider one or more of the following questions:

Have your views on development changed? Have they remained the same?

Is it possible to do development "well"?

Is win-win development possible? Do there have to be losers?

How would you define development?

Option B: Opinion Piece (Op-Ed)

Have a look at this guide to writing an op-ed: https://projects.iq.harvard.edu/files/hks-communications-program/files/new_seglin_how_to_write_an_oped_1_25_17_7.pdf

Write an opinion piece about a topic of your choice related to this course.

Assignment Parameters: 750-1000 words, including notes and bibliography if you use outside sources.

Format and style: Students are required to type their text in 12-point Times New Roman font with standard one-inch margins. Please double space the text. Proofread your drafts carefully before turning them in.

****Assignments must be submitted via MyCourses by 11:59pm on the due date.**

Late policy: Written work is due at the start of class on the specified due dates. Late papers will be subject to a 3% penalty per day, except with the instructor's *prior* agreement. Extensions will not be granted on the day an assignment is due, except in case of medical or family emergency, accompanied by appropriate documentation.