

The Politics of Violence and Resistance in Latin America (IR3052) Candlemas Semester 2020/2021

Nicholas Barnes (Lecturer)

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Lectures (virtual): Will be uploaded to Panopto by 3pm on Tuesdays.

Tutorials (virtual):

- 1) Wednesdays from 4:00 – 4:50pm
- 2) Wednesdays from 5:00 – 5:50pm

NOTICE on Venues: Due to the Covid Pandemic, venues for tutorials may change. We encourage you to keep an eye on your personal timetables via your MySaint profile.

Office Hours (virtual): Thursdays from 4:00 – 6:00pm or by appointment

Sign up for office hours here: <https://nicholasbarnes.youcanbook.me>

SPECIAL NOTE ON COVID-19

- I am fully aware that the conditions for this course are unprecedented for all of us, and I hope we can all be patient and generous with each other as we all face the challenges of the pandemic over the course of the semester. I also hope that this course will provide a virtual space for us to join together in solidarity in pursuing knowledge and fostering our St. Andrews community.
- I promise to remain flexible and will prioritize your mental and physical health over the academic demands of the course. I will emphasize simple solutions that make sense for the most and will prioritize sharing resources and communicating clearly.
- The mode of delivery for this course will be virtual (until at least March) with a mix of synchronous (lecturer and students are present in virtual space simultaneously) and asynchronous (students can complete these components on their own time) elements.
 - The lectures will consist of a series of pre-recorded short videos (20-30 minutes each) on Panopto. The videos will employ powerpoint slides, short videos, brief ungraded quizzes, subtitles, and other audio-visual aids to help students learn.
 - The tutorials will be 50 minute sessions on Teams which students are required to attend. Tutorials will also be recorded in case any students are unable to attend.
 - My office hours will be held virtually on Teams as well. I will also make myself available outside of pre-determined office hours for further guidance/assistance.
- All readings and course materials will be available on Moodle.
- All assignments should be turned in via MMS.
- For more information regarding the University's general advice and support on the Coronavirus, go to: <https://www.st-andrews.ac.uk/coronavirus/students/>.

Director of Student Well-being

The School of International Relations now has a dedicated Director of Student Well-being, Dr. Jeffrey Murer. Email: irwellbeing@st-andrews.ac.uk. If you are facing difficulties at an academic or personal level and would like to discuss them, please get in touch with Dr. Murer. Any requests for extensions of assignments of **more** than one week and Leaves of Absence must be submitted to Dr. Murer.

MODULE OVERVIEW

Latin America is a highly diverse region that experienced a pendular swing to democracy during the 1980s, as many countries underwent transitions from authoritarian rule, armed conflict, and civil war to elected civilian democracy. The politics of armed conflict and violence gave way to the region's longest uninterrupted period of civilian politics, in many cases, as a result of sustained resistance and mobilization by civil society actors. However, despite the gradual strengthening of electoral regimes and the incipient exercise of certain limited citizenship rights, these "new" democratic, post-conflict regimes remain far from consolidated. Poverty, violence, social exclusion, and authoritarian practices continue to plague Latin American democracies, many of which have consequently been defined as "hybrid democracies" (Karl 2005).

Academics and analysts have talked about the "democratization" of violence in post-conflict Latin America, as its use has spiraled and the actors that carry it out have diversified. Across the region, numerous countries are experiencing increasing criminal and drug-related violence, social and resource-based conflict, and sexual and gender-based violence. The explicit political violence of the past has given way to more complex and interconnected forms of conflict and violence. At the same time, weak institutions across the region have been unable to effectively deal with these phenomena. Corruption, impunity, and negligent public security apparatuses, among other factors, continue to impede democratic consolidation and in recent years, populism and increasing military intervention in domestic affairs has brought the prospect of a return to authoritarian modes of governance.

This module analyzes the evolution of armed conflict, political violence, and resistance in the Latin American region. The module seeks to understand to what degree they have been overcome or have in fact evolved as a result of the conflict transformation processes that accompanied regional democratization. In particular, this module seeks to interrogate how political and criminal forms of violence can be distinct but yet thoroughly intertwined. It also traces how state violence and impunity have survived even as authoritarian regimes transitioned to democracy and as human rights spread throughout the region. Finally, this module asks how citizens and communities have mobilized and resisted first to authoritarian regimes and political forms of violence then later to criminal and police violence. Overall, the module engages with theoretical approaches central to core subjects of international relations and political science, juxtaposing theoretical frameworks with discussions based upon comparative empirical research in the region. The module introduces broader academic discussions relating to theories of conflict and organized violence, peacebuilding, the State, democracy, and human rights.

MODULE GOALS

By the end of the semester, students should be able to:

1. Understand and critically reflect upon the diversity of Latin American politics, whilst being able to identify certain historical experiences and tendencies shared by the region's countries.
2. Analyze critically issues of Latin American conflict and violence, the region's politics, institutional development, and political culture.

3. Explain the relationship between conflict transformation, peacebuilding, democratization and patterns of collective action and violence in the Latin American context.
4. Identify the principal challenges facing Latin American states emerging from internal conflict, civil war, and dictatorship.
5. Understand the factors that leading to the expansion of criminal actors and violence and police militarization.
6. Critically assess the relevance of predominant theoretical frameworks for Latin American politics.

MODULE COMPONENTS AND ASSESSMENT

Attendance and Participation

The general expectation of this module is that students will attend (view) all lecture videos. Attendance at tutorials is required, and students can only be absent from a maximum of two tutorials, regardless of whether a self-certification is made. An Academic Alert (Absence) will be issued if a student misses two tutorials. An Academic Alert (Final) will be issued if more than two tutorial are missed. Missing three or more tutorials may result in the loss of credit for the module. Students will be expected to read all of the required texts each week and be prepared to be involved in small group discussions as well as other active and dialogue-based learning.

A few basic ground rules for tutorial discussions:

- It is essential that the classroom remain a safe zone for all students regardless of sex, age, race, ethnic background, religion, sexual and political orientation, ability or disability.
- I expect you all to promote an active learning environment by supporting each other intellectually, asking questions (of me and your fellow students), and by being respectful and patient.
- When you speak, remember that you are in dialogue not just with me, but with the entire class. Speak *and* listen to your classmates.

Infographic (Due February 22nd by 12pm)

Students will choose a country case, conduct some preliminary research, come up with a research question, and create an illustrated, annotated bibliography (i.e., **an infographic**). The infographic will summarize and analyze existing answers/perspectives concerning the research question. The infographic should include **at least 5 scholarly books or articles** (sources may not be from the syllabus). A list of possible topics will be distributed several weeks prior to the assignment deadline. Each student will schedule a meeting with the professor to discuss their research topic and question. Worth 15%.

Grading Rubric for Infographic:

- 1) **Analysis** (50%) – should be rigorous, persuasive, and well-researched. The possible answers should be tightly tied to your research question and should use specific data and information from your sources.
- 2) **Artistic vision** (25%) – aesthetic/formal choices should be coherent, thought-out and “work”; images and text should engage the viewer and should be more

than the sum of their parts. I would think about how your infographic looks to someone who knows nothing about your topic. Can they easily understand what you're trying to say?

3) **Technical execution** (25%) – Think about how your infographic looks when printed. Is your text legible? Are the images formatted correctly?

Short Essay (Due March 15th by 12pm)

Building on the infographic assignment, students will write a short essay of 2,000 words in which they develop a literature review for their research question. Students will cite **at least 10 scholarly books or articles** (ONLY 2 may be sources from the syllabus). Please note that the word limit is inclusive of footnotes/citations, but exclusive of bibliography. A margin of 5% either way is permissible before a penalty is applied. The details of that penalty can be found in the School Handbook and on the School website. Worth 20%.

| Name: | Excellent 16.5-20 | V. Good 15-16.4 | Good 13.5-14.9 | Adequate 10.5-13.4 | Weak 7.5- 10.4 | Poor <7.5 |
|---|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| Mark: | | | | | | |
| a) Relevance to the proposed research question. | | | | | | |
| b) Sound ordering and structuring of material. | | | | | | |
| c) Quality and clarity of written presentation. | | | | | | |
| d) Effective citations. | | | | | | |
| e) Demonstration of sound understanding of the topic. | | | | | | |
| f) Identification of major debates and developments within the fields under review. | | | | | | |
| g) Quality of Analysis | | | | | | |
| h) Critical evaluation of the relevant literature. | | | | | | |
| i) Accurate and extensive coverage of the literature. | | | | | | |

Project Presentations (Due April 12th by 12pm)

Each student will make a 10 minute video presentation about the progress of their research. This presentation should help you solidify your research project so that you can communicate your research question and conceptual/theoretical framework to an audience that may not know anything about your case. Presentations will be uploaded to Teams and shared with your fellow classmates. Students will provide comments and questions for each other. Worth 15%.

| | Excellent 16.5-20 | V. Good 15-16.4 | Good 13.5-14.9 | Adequate 10.5-13.4 | Weak 7.5- 10.4 | Poor <7.5 |
|---|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-----------|
| CONTENT | | | | | | |
| a) Is the research question presented clearly? Is the structure of the presentation logical and easy to follow? | | | | | | |
| b) Is the argument consistent? Is there valid evidence to support the argument? | | | | | | |
| c) Is the breadth and depth of the content sufficient? Does it show evidence of effective research and understanding of concepts relevant to unit concepts? | | | | | | |
| d) Does the conclusion adequately sum up the presentation and highlight points of interest? | | | | | | |
| DELIVERY | | | | | | |
| e) Is the presenter at ease with the material he/she is using? Is he/she able to understand and present it? | | | | | | |
| f) Is the format well designed (use graphics, animation, transitions, titles, and labels)? | | | | | | |
| g) Are the slides easy to read? Do they effectively support the oral delivery? Does the presenter use them competently? | | | | | | |
| h) Is the time keeping well-managed? | | | | | | |

Research Paper (Due April 26th by 12pm)

Building on the previous assignments, students will outline, draft, and revise a 5,000 word research paper. This extended case study will be used to address one of the enduring theoretical or conceptual debates concerning the politics of violence and resistance in Latin America. Note that the word limit is inclusive of footnotes/citations, but exclusive of bibliography. A margin of 5% either way is permissible before a penalty is applied. The details of that penalty can be found in the School Handbook and on the School website. Worth 50%.

| Research Paper Grading rubric | | How you did |
|-------------------------------|--|--|
| 1. Argument (40%) | <i>Clear question and argument Why is this an important question? How does your argument answer the question? Good use of class concepts</i> | |
| 2. Research (40%) | <i>Use of scholarly material (connections to class material) Evidence supports argument</i> | |
| 3. Writing (20%) | <i>Well structured, with clear introduction and conclusion Focused on topic throughout and does not get side-tracked Free of mistakes that make paper hard to follow</i> | |
| Grading | <i>Key criteria are quality of argument, research, and presentation. Argument and research are the most important.</i> | 16.5-20 Excellent in 3 15-16.4 Excellent in 2, good in 1 13.5-14.9 Excellent in 1 10.5-13.4 Good in 2/3 7.5-10.4 Good in 1, not good in 2 <7.5 Not good in any |
| Your grade | | |

NOTE: All submission of essays, marking, and feedback will be done on MMS.

Grading Breakdown:

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------|
| Infographic (Due February 22) | 15% |
| Short Paper (Due March 15) | 20% |
| Project Presentation (Due April 12) | 15% |
| Research Paper (Due April 26) | 50% |
| Total | 100% |

CLASS POLICIES

NOTE: Students are responsible for knowing and adhering to the contents of the School handbook which is available on the School website under Current Students/Undergraduates/Handbooks.

Equality and Diversity

The School of International Relations actively strives to create a diverse population within its staff and students and wishes to provide a place of welcome and tolerance for study and research. To foster diversity and inclusion, equal access to opportunity is essential.

Academic quality and rigor for all students and staff is linked to the elimination of bias and discrimination. The School works with the University to investigate all cases of discrimination, harassment, and violence, and is committed to diversity and inclusivity, for students and for staff. The School adheres to strict non-discrimination policies, and will not tolerate disrespect, discrimination, harassment, or violence by, or against, any member of our community.

If you need to report or talk with someone about these issues, please contact with either the School's Equality and Diversity Chair, Dr Filippo Costa Buranelli fc7@st-andrews.ac.uk or the Head of School, Professor Caron Gentry irhos@st-andrews.ac.uk Please note that we are willing to help staff and students navigate the University reporting system.

Communication

How should you communicate with me? The best way for me to answer your questions and provide you guidance in this course is in my OFFICE HOURS. Please sign up for them! You can sign up here: <https://nicholasbarnes.youcanbook.me>. For administrative concerns and simple clarifying questions, you can also e-mail me. I will try to respond to any e-mails within 24 hours during the week but do not expect me to respond to e-mails over the weekend. If you are wondering how to write appropriate and professional emails, check out these websites for some guidance: [here](#) and [here](#).

READINGS AND MATERIALS

Any syllabus on this topic is inherently incomplete. This course intends to provide advanced undergraduate students an overview some of the most prominent research on the subject. The readings are primarily comprised of peer-reviewed journal articles and excerpts from academic books as well as several in-depth journalistic accounts. The readings are both sophisticated and numerous. Students should be prepared to cover a lot of material. Moreover, we will pay particular attention to the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of these works and, by the end of the semester, students should be able to evaluate between these various approaches and identify strengths and weaknesses of each.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

A series of key journals regularly publish scholarly articles on the issues relevant to this module, in particular the politics of Latin America, political transitions, democratization and violence. These may include:

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>Journal for Peace and Justice Studies</i> | <i>Democratization</i> |
| <i>Bulletin of Latin American Research</i> | <i>Latin American Research Review</i> |
| <i>Journal of Politics in Latin America</i> | <i>Latin American Politics & Society</i> |
| <i>Foreign Affairs</i> | <i>Journal of Peace Research</i> |
| <i>Latin American Perspectives</i> | <i>Oxford Development Studies</i> |
| <i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i> | <i>Interface</i> |
| <i>Journal of Law and Society</i> | <i>Third World Quarterly</i> |

Useful websites that frequently publish reports and relevant research include:

Amnesty International: <http://www.amnesty.org>
Human Rights Watch: <http://www.hrw.org>
International Crisis Group: <http://www.crisisgroup.org>
Latin American Studies Association: <http://lasa.international.pitt.edu/eng/>
Latin American Network Information Centre: <http://lanic.utexas.edu/>
Washington Office on Latin America: <http://www.wola.org>
Insight Crime : <https://www.insightcrime.org>
International Centre on Non-Violent Conflict: <http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/>
United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations:
<http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/dpko/>
United Nations Peacekeeping Best Practices Unit: <http://www.un.org/Depts/dpko/lessons/>
United Nations Development Programme: <http://www.undp.org>
United Nations Development Programme Latin America and the Caribbean:
<http://web.undp.org/latinamerica/>
United Nations Peacebuilding Commission: <http://www.un.org/peace/peacebuilding/docs.htm>

COURSE SCHEDULE

| WEEK | LECTURE DATE | TOPIC |
|------|--------------|---|
| 1 | January 26 | The Origins of Violence and Resistance in Latin America |
| 2 | February 2 | Revolution and Repression in 20 th Century Latin America |
| 3 | February 9 | Surviving the War: Resisting Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Colombia |
| 4 | February 16 | Democratization and the Transformation of Violence |
| 5 | February 23 | Mexico's Drug War |
| 6 | March 2 | Political versus Criminal Violence |
| 7 | March 9 | Criminal Governance |
| 8 | March 16 | Resisting Criminal Governance |
| | March 23 | SPRING VACATION |
| | March 30 | SPRING VACATION |
| 9 | April 6 | Taking up Arms: Paramilitaries, Militias, and Vigilantes |
| 10 | April 13 | Police Militarization and Violence in Brazil |
| 11 | April 20 | Autocratization and Military Intervention in the 21 st Century |
| 12 | April 27 | Revision Week |
| 13 | May 4 | Revision Week |

READING LIST

WEEK 1 (January 26): The Origins of Violence and Resistance in Latin America

Required:

Centeno, M. 2002. *Blood and Debt: War and the Nation-State in Latin America*. Penn State University Press. Chapter 1.

Suggested:

Anonymous. 1999. "The War Against Palmares." *The Brazil Reader*. Eds. R. M. Levine and J. J. Crocitti. Durham: Duke University Press. Pgs. 125-30.

Couch, B. M. 1985. "Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz: The First Woman Theologian in the Americas." In *The Church and Women in the Third World*, eds. John C.B. Webster and Ellen Low Webster. Philadelphia, PA: The Westminster Press. Pgs. 51-57.

Lynch, J. 2006. *Simón Bolívar: A Life*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Chapter 1.

Yanes, A. D. 1973. "Tupac Amaru II," in *Revolutionaries, Traditionalists, and Dictators in Latin America*. H. E. Davis ed. New York: Cooper Square Publishers, Inc. Pgs. 17-31.

WEEK 2 (February 2): Repression and Revolution in 20th Century Latin America

Required:

Pion-Berlin, D. and G. A. Lopez. 1991. "Of Victims and Executioners: Argentine State Terror, 1975–1979." *International Studies Quarterly* 35(1): 63-86.

- Wickham-Crowley, T. P. 1992. *Guerrillas and Revolution in Latin America: A Comparative Study of Insurgents and Regimes since 1956*. Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 2.
- Wood, E. J. 2001. "The Emotional Benefits of Insurgency in El Salvador," in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin et al. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pgs. 267–281.
- Film: *La Historia Oficial* ("The Official Story"). 1985 Dir. by L. Puenzo. 112 min.

Suggested:

- Joseph, G. M. and J. Buchenau. 2013. *Mexico's Once and Future Revolution*. Durham: Duke University Press. Pgs. 37-85.
- Keck, M. and K. Sikkink. 1998. *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. Pgs. 79-120.
- Townsend, B. 2019. "The Body and State Violence, from the Harrowing to the Mundane: Chilean Women's Oral Histories of the Augusto Pinochet Dictatorship (1973-1990)." *Journal of Women's History* 31(2): 33–56.
- Film: *Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo* ("The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo"). 1985. Dir. S. B. Muñoz and L. Portillo. 62 min.

WEEK 3 (February 9): Surviving the War: Resisting Insurgency and Counterinsurgency in Colombia

Required:

- Arjona, A. 2017. "Civilian Cooperation and Non-cooperation with Non-state Armed Groups: The Centrality of Obedience and Resistance." *Small Wars and Insurgencies* 28(4–5): 755–778.
- Kaplan, O. 2013. "Protecting Civilians in Civil War: The Institution of the ATCC in Colombia." *Journal of Peace Research* 50(3): 351–67.
- Steele, A. 2011. "Electing Displacement: Political Cleansing in Apartadó, Colombia." *The Journal of Conflict Resolution* 55(3): 423–45.

Suggested:

- Arjona, A. 2016. "Institutions, Civilian Resistance, and Wartime Social Order: A Process-Driven Natural Experiment in the Colombian Civil War." *Latin American Politics and Society* 58(3): 99–122.
- Steele, A. 2009. "Seeking Safety: Avoiding Displacement and Choosing Destinations in Civil Wars." *Journal of Peace Research* 46(3): 419–429.

WEEK 4 (February 16): Democratization and the Transformation of Violence

Required:

- Auyero, J., & de Lara, A. B. 2012. "In harm's way at the urban margins." *Ethnography*, 13(4): 531–557.
- Cruz, J. M. 2011. "Criminal Violence and Democratization in Central America: The Survival of the Violent State." *Latin American Politics and Society* 53(4): 1–33.
- Rodgers, D. 2009. "Slum Wars of the 21st Century: The New Geography of Conflict in Central America." *Development and Change* 40(5): 949–76.

Suggested:

- Arias, E. D., and D.M. Goldstein. 2010. *Violent Democracies in Latin America*. Durham: Duke University Press. Chapter 1.

- Daly, S. Z. 2019. "Voting for Victors: Why Violent Actors Win Postwar Elections." *World Politics* 71(4): 747–805.
- Esberg, J. 2015. "Democracy's Effect on Terrorist Organizations: Regime Type and Armed Group Behavior in Chile." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 27(2): 243–267.
- Schwartz, R. A. 2020. Civil War, Institutional Change, and the Criminalization of the State: Evidence from Guatemala. *Studies in Comparative International Development* 55: 381–401.

WEEK 5 (February 23): Mexico's Drug War

Infographic due Monday, February 22nd by 12pm

Required:

- Durán-Martínez, A. 2015. "To Kill and Tell?: State Power, Criminal Competition, and Drug Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1377–1402.
- Shirk, D. and J. Wallman. 2015. "Understanding Mexico's Drug Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1348–76.
- Trejo, G. and S. Ley. 2018. "Why Did Drug Cartels Go to War in Mexico? Subnational Democratization, the Breakdown of Criminal Protection, and the Onset of Large-Scale Violence." *Comparative Political Studies* 51(7): 900–937.

Suggested:

- Calderón, G., B. Magaloni, G. Robles, and A. Diaz-Cayero. 2015. "The Beheading of Criminal Organizations and the Dynamics of Violence in Mexico." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1455–85.
- Holland, B.E., and V. Rios. 2017. "Informally Governing Information: How Criminal Rivalry Leads to Violence against the Press in Mexico." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 61(5): 1095–1119.
- Osorio, J. 2015. "The Contagion of Drug Violence: Spatiotemporal Dynamics of the Mexican War on Drugs." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1403–32.
- Trejo, G. and S. Ley. 2019. "High-Profile Criminal Violence: Why Drug Cartels Murder Government Officials and Party Candidates in Mexico." *British Journal of Political Science*: 1–27.

WEEK 6 (March 2): Political versus Criminal Violence

Required:

- Barnes, N. 2017. "Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence." *Perspectives on Politics* 15(4): 967–87.
- Lessing, B. 2015. "The Logic of Violence in Criminal War." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1486–1516.
- Phillips, B. J. 2018. "Terrorist Tactics by Criminal Organizations: The Mexican Case in Context." *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12(1): 46–63

Suggested:

- Daly, S. Z. 2016. *Organized Violence after Civil War: The Geography of Recruitment in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1.

Kalyvas, S. N. 2015. "How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime—and How They Do Not." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1517–40.

Rodgers, D. and R. Muggah. 2009. "Gangs as Non-State Armed Groups: The Central American Case." *Contemporary security policy* 30(2): 301–17.

WEEK 7 (March 9): Criminal Governance

Required:

Abello-Colak, A., and V. Guarneros-Meza. 2014. "The Role of Criminal Actors in Local Governance." *Urban Studies* (Special Issue): 1–22.

Alves, J. A. 2015. "'Blood in Reasoning': State Violence, Contested Territories and Black Criminal Agency in Urban Brazil." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 48(1): 61–87.

Lessing, B. 2020. "Conceptualizing Criminal Governance." *Perspectives on Politics*. 1–22.

Suggested:

Albarracín, J. 2018. "Criminalized Electoral Politics in Brazilian Urban Peripheries." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 69(4): 553–75.

Arias, E. D. and C. D. Rodrigues. 2006. "The Myth of Personal Security: Criminal Gangs, Dispute Resolution, and Identity in Rio de Janeiro's Favelas." *Latin American Politics and Society* 48(4): 53–81.

Córdova, A. 2019. "Living in Gang-Controlled Neighborhoods: Impacts on Electoral and Nonelectoral Participation in El Salvador." *Latin American Research Review* 54(1): 201–21.

Lessing, B. and G. Denyer Willis. 2019. "Legitimacy in Criminal Governance: Managing a Drug Empire from Behind Bars." *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 584–606.

WEEK 8 (March 16): Resisting Criminal Governance

*****Short Essay due Monday, March 15th by 12pm*****

Required:

Arias, E. D. 2019. "Social Responses to Criminal Governance in Rio de Janeiro, Belo Horizonte, Kingston, and Medellín." *Latin American Research Review* 54(1): 165–80.

Ley, S., S. Mattiace, and G. Trejo. 2019. "Indigenous Resistance to Criminal Governance: Why Regional Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Protect Communities from Narco Rule in Mexico." *Latin American Research Review* 54(1): 181–200.

Moncada, E. 2019. "The Politics of Criminal Victimization: Pursuing and Resisting Power." *Perspectives on Politics* 18(3): 706–21.

Suggested:

Cruz, J. M. 2010. "Central American Maras: From Youth Street Gangs to Transnational Protection Rackets." *Global Crime* 11(4): 379–98.

Fahlberg, A. N. 2018. "Rethinking Favela Governance: Nonviolent Politics in Rio de Janeiro's Gang Territories." *Politics & Society* 46(4): 485–512.

Moncada, E. 2019. "Resisting Protection: Rackets, Resistance, and State Building." *Comparative Politics* 51(3): 321–39.

SPRING VACATION

WEEK 9 (April 6): Taking up Arms: Paramilitaries, Militias, and Vigilantes

Required:

- Bateson, R. 2020. "The Politics of Vigilantism." *Comparative Political Studies*. 1–33.
- Cruz, J. M., and G. Kloppe-Santamaría. 2019. "Determinants of Support for Extralegal Violence in Latin America and the Caribbean." *Latin American Research Review* 54(1): 50–68.
- Film: *Cartel Land*. 2015. Dir. Matthew Heineman. 100 minutes.

Suggested:

- Cruz, J. M. 2016. "State and Criminal Violence in Latin America." *Crime, Law and Social Change* 66(4): 375–96.
- Phillips, B. J. 2017. "Inequality and the Emergence of Vigilante Organizations: The Case of Mexican Autodefensas." *Comparative Political Studies*, 50(10): 1358–1389.
- Mazzei, J. M. 2009. *Death Squads or Self-Defense Forces? How Paramilitary Groups Emerge and Challenge Democracy in Latin America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Introduction and Chapter 4.

WEEK 10 (April 13): Police Militarization and Violence in Brazil

*****Project Presentations due Monday, April 12th by 12 pm*****

Required:

- Caldeira, T. P.R. 2002. "The Paradox of Police Violence in Democratic Brazil." *Ethnography* 3(3): 235–63.
- Magaloni, B., E. Franco-Vivanco, and V. Melo. 2020. "Killing in the Slums: Social Order, Criminal Governance, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 552–72.
- Wolff, M. J. 2015. "Policing and the Logics of Violence: A Comparative Analysis of Public Security Reform in Brazil." *Policing and Society* 9463(June): 1–15.

Suggested:

- Alves, J. A. 2014. "From Necropolis to Blackpolis: Necropolitical Governance and Black Spatial Praxis in São Paulo, Brazil." *Antipode* 46(2): 323–39.
- Córdova, A., and H. Kras. 2020. "Addressing Violence Against Women: The Effect of Women's Police Stations on Police Legitimacy." *Comparative Political Studies*, 53(5), 775–808.
- González, Y. M. 2017. "'What citizens can see of the state': Police and the construction of democratic citizenship in Latin America." *Theoretical Criminology* 21(4): 494–511.

WEEK 11 (April 20): Autocratization and Military Intervention in the 21st Century

Required:

Barnes, N. Forthcoming. "The Logic of Criminal Territorial Control: Military Occupation in Rio de Janeiro." *Working Paper*.

Flores-Macias, G. A., and J. Zarkin. 2020. "The Militarization of Law Enforcement: Evidence from Latin America." *Perspectives on Politics*: 1–20.

Pion-Berlin, D., and M. Carreras. 2019. "Armed Forces, Police and Crime-Fighting in Latin America." *Journal of Politics in Latin America* 9(3): 3–26.

Suggested:

Pion-Berlin, D. 2017. "A Tale of Two Missions: Mexican Military Police Patrols vs. High Value Targeted Operations." *Armed Forces and Society* 43(1): 53–71.

Weyland, K. 2018. "Limits of US Influence: The Promotion of Regime Change in Latin America." *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 10(3), 135–164.

WEEK 12 (April 27): Revision Week

*****Final Essay due Monday, April 26th by 12pm*****

WEEK 13 (May 4): Revision Week

Property of Nicholas Barnes