

**GOV 337C / LAS 337T: Politics of Mexico**  
Spring 2023

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TA:

Class meets: T TH 9:30-11  
in RLP 0.126  
GOV 337C 38065  
LAS 337T 39545

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### **Course Objectives**

This course analyzes Mexico's 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century political and economic development. Why did Mexico experience political stability under civilian rule and economic growth until the 1970s while other Latin American countries endured brutal military regimes? What accounts for Mexico's severe economic crises of 1982 and 1994? Why did one party dominate politics for 71 years but lose in 2000? How "democratic" is Mexico's new democracy since 2000 and what challenges does it face? The course examines Mexico's post-Revolutionary politics, the characteristics of the national political regime during the classic period of stability with economic growth, and the tumultuous political and economic environment from the 1970s to the end of the century. This material will be presented chronologically, but rather than a descriptive history, we will focus on *explaining* political and economic outcomes. The final part of the course examines key themes in Mexico's new fully competitive democracy, including trade, immigration, violence, drug trafficking, political corruption, and the concentration of political power.

By completing this course, students will gain new knowledge and skills. They will have a better understanding of Mexico's society, politics, and economy as well as authoritarian regimes, democratization, political economy, and partisan political competition. They will also gain analytical skills for critically evaluating social science arguments, especially those rooted in historical institutional analysis and will have ample opportunity to improve their writing and social science reading-comprehension skills.

### **Format and Content**

- Students attend two lecture sessions each week. Within the constraints of that format, students are encouraged to interrupt, ask questions, and make comments as part of grappling with the material. Lectures are the central narrative voice for the course. The readings help students understand the main themes.
- The course focuses on answering core questions about Mexico's political and economic development. It prioritizes analytical rigor and uses historical description as building blocks. Students will need to learn the basics of what happened, but the assignments ask for arguments about why key outcomes occurred.
- This course includes some readings and visual materials that depict violence and other forms of abuse, as well as some harrowing personal stories that some students might find disturbing. These materials are presented sparingly; however, I believe it is important not to shy away from showing the world as it is. If you do not want to engage with these materials, please contact me to discuss how to manage course content.

### **Background**

No prior background in the politics or economics of Mexico is required or assumed. The readings and lectures provide the needed background; however, each student has different life experience and so feedback and questions during lecture will be extremely helpful. It is important to note that general knowledge of Mexico may be different from an analytical understanding of course themes and thus is not a substitute.

### **The pandemic and assignment due dates**

We understand that the pandemic has created added economic, emotional, and physical challenges for many people. Those challenges are not evenly distributed. Some people encounter more difficulties than others and at

different points in time. We will do everything we reasonably can to help you continue toward your goal of graduating from UT. If you need help, get in touch with us as early as you can. Our options rapidly diminish as due dates approach and typically disappear after due dates have passed. Treating all students in the course fairly and adhering to university policies are overriding concerns for us. Within that context, we will work as hard as we reasonably can on your behalf.

### **COVID and the classroom**

- You are strongly encouraged to wear a high-quality and well-fitted mask to in-person sessions. If you do not have a mask and want one, I will have basic surgical masks available.
- If space allows, please leave an empty seat between you and the next student, unless by mutual agreement.
- No seating in the first row.
- Students that prefer not to wear a mask are asked to sit in the back two rows.
- For personal reasons, I ask that you give me at least six feet of space at all times. I recognize that this may be contrary to habit and may require you to wait to have private conversations in office hours.

### **Course Policies**

*Academic Flags.* This course fulfills the Global Cultures (GC) flag.

*Scholastic Dishonesty and Plagiarism.* All written work is to be done individually. Using someone else's work in your own writing without giving proper credit is considered plagiarism, a serious form of academic dishonesty that can result in severe penalties (please see more information at <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct>). Copying someone else's work, buying a paper and submitting it as your own, copying and pasting text (even with changes), or borrowing images from an online source, are some examples of plagiarism. Even if you plagiarize accidentally, you can be held responsible and penalized. When in doubt, cite. If still in doubt, contact me or the TA for guidance. Consultants at the University Writing Center may also be helpful. You can read the University's definition of plagiarism and other forms of academic dishonesty in Sec. 11–402 of the Student Conduct Code. For more information, visit the Dean of Students' site at <https://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct/academicintegrity.php>

All assignments in this course may be processed by TurnItIn, a tool that compares submitted material to an archived database of published work to check for potential plagiarism. Other methods, including an Artificial Intelligence detector such as <https://huggingface.co/openai-detector/>, may also be used. Regardless of the results, the instructor will make the final determination as to whether or not a paper has been plagiarized.

*Office hours:* The teaching assistant and I each hold three office hours online each week. These hours are for you, and I encourage you to use them during the semester. You will find us easy to talk to – I promise. For Spring 2023, office hours will be held online (mine at <https://utexas.zoom.us/j/9445305226>; the TAs Zoom will be announced). If the weather is decent, I can usually meet in-person outside. I will send information about how to schedule.

*Students with Disabilities.* If you are a student with a disability, or think you may have a disability, and need accommodations please contact Disability and Access (D&A). You may refer to D&A's website for contact and more information: <http://diversity.utexas.edu/disability/>. Please deliver your Accommodation Letter to me as early as possible in the semester so we can discuss your approved accommodations.

The university is committed to creating an accessible and inclusive learning environment consistent with university policy and federal and state law. Please let me know if you experience any barriers to learning so I can work with you to ensure you have equal opportunity to participate fully in this course.

*Attendance:* Attendance is not taken; however, prior experience indicates that students cannot satisfactorily complete assignments and pass the course without attending, taking notes, and actively engaging during every lecture. The readings and slides do not substitute for lecture.

*Absence for religious holidays.* Please let me know ahead of time so that you do not miss required coursework. Make sure to get notes from a classmate and talk with me and/or the TA about the in-class material you missed.

*Personal pronouns.* Please let me and your teaching assistant know if you prefer to be addressed with a name and/or personal pronoun that differs from that which appears on the official roster supplied to instructors.

*Communication with the Instructor and TA:* We will respond to e-mails as quickly we can. It is our policy not to respond to e-mail that does not use correct grammar (curmudgeonly, I know, but text messaging abbreviations have begun to show up in exams and papers). In addition to scheduled office hours, we will make special appointments as our schedules allow for those with work or child/eldercare conflicts.

*Notetaking:* I expect that you will take copious notes on all material during lectures. I suggest reviewing and, if you are a sloppy notetaker like me, rewriting your notes after class. This will greatly enhance your understanding of the material reduce your study time for exams. On the advantages of taking notes by hand rather than with a computer, see <http://www.npr.org/2016/04/17/474525392/attention-students-put-your-laptops-away>.

*Lecture slides.* Lecture slides will be posted on the course Canvas site, typically the same day as the lecture.

*Lecture recordings.* If possible, I will record lectures and make them available through the course Canvas site. Class recordings are reserved only for students in this class for educational purposes and are protected under FERPA. The recordings should not be shared outside the class in any form. Violation of this restriction by a student could lead to Student Misconduct proceedings.

*Class etiquette – my responsibilities.* I will arrive on time, deliver lectures with enthusiasm and energy, encourage you to ask questions, think critically, and engage with the material. I will make myself available during office hours and by appointment. I will be respectful of you and of the class.

*Class etiquette – your responsibilities.* I expect that you want to learn. Principally, this means that you engage the lectures and readings with enthusiasm and energy. I encourage you to wrestle with the material, criticize it and my lectures, and ask questions. In addition, I expect that you will arrive on time, complete assignments on time, and show respect for the teaching assistants, your fellow students, and the learning process.

## **Campus Safety Information**

*COVID-19.* Updated information appears at <https://coronavirus.utexas.edu/students>. What to do if you think you have been exposed to COVID-19 [https://healthyhorns.utexas.edu/coronavirus\\_exposure\\_action\\_chart.html](https://healthyhorns.utexas.edu/coronavirus_exposure_action_chart.html)

*Behavior Concerns.* If you have concerns about the safety or behavior of fellow students, TAs or professors, call BCAL (the Behavior Concerns Advice Line) at 512-232-5050. Your call can be anonymous.

*Title IX Reporting.* Title IX is a federal law that protects against sex and gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, sexual assault, sexual misconduct, dating/domestic violence and stalking at federally funded educational institutions. UT Austin is committed to fostering a learning and working environment free from discrimination in all its forms. When sexual misconduct occurs in our community, the university can:

- Intervene to prevent harmful behavior from continuing or escalating.
- Provide support and remedies to students and employees who have experienced harm or have become involved in a Title IX investigation.

- Investigate and discipline violations of the university's relevant policies <https://titleix.utexas.edu/relevant-policies>.

Beginning January 1, 2020, Texas Senate Bill 212 requires all employees of Texas universities, including faculty, to report any information to the Title IX Office regarding sexual harassment, sexual assault, dating violence and stalking that is disclosed to them. Texas law requires that all employees who witness or receive any information of this type (including, but not limited to, writing assignments, class discussions, or one-on-one conversations) must be reported.

I am a Responsible Employee and must report any Title IX related incidents that are disclosed in writing, discussion, or one-on-one. Before talking with me, or with any faculty or staff member about a Title IX related incident, be sure to ask whether they are a Responsible Employee. If you would like to speak with someone who can provide support or remedies without making an official report to the university, please email [advocate@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:advocate@austin.utexas.edu). For more information about reporting options and resources, visit <http://www.titleix.utexas.edu/>, contact the Title IX Office via email at [titleix@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:titleix@austin.utexas.edu), or call 512-471-0419.

Although graduate teaching and research assistants are not subject to Texas Senate Bill 212, they are still mandatory reporters under Federal Title IX laws and are required to report a wide range of behaviors we refer to as sexual misconduct, including the types of sexual misconduct covered under Texas Senate Bill 212. The Title IX office has developed supportive ways to respond to a survivor and compiled campus resources to support survivors.

**Guns:** Pursuant to SB11 (<http://www.legis.state.tx.us/tlodocs/84R/billtext/pdf/SB00011F.pdf>) and UT-Austin Campus Carry Policy (<https://campuscarry.utexas.edu/> and <https://www.policies.utexas.edu/policies/campus-concealed-carry>), persons with a current legally valid Concealed Carry License may carry a concealed legal handgun on or about their person in most campus buildings, including in this class. Please review the following:

1. All legal provisions associated with concealed-carry on campus must be followed without fail, at all times. In addition to SB11 and UT-Austin Campus Carry policy, please review applicable law curated by TX DPS (<http://www.txdps.state.tx.us/InternetForms/Forms/CHL-16.pdf>). Please take special note of two of the many legal provisions:
  - a. Holstering requirements: "A license holder who carries a handgun on campus must carry it in a holster that completely covers the trigger and entire trigger guard area. The holster must have sufficient tension or grip on the handgun to retain it in the holster even when subjected to unexpected jostling" (UT-Austin HOP 8-1060, VII-A-2).
  - b. "On or about your person means a person licensed to carry a handgun must carry a handgun in a manner that the handgun is close enough to the license holder that he or she can reach it without materially changing position" at all times (UT-Austin HOP 8-1060, IV).
2. Open carry, including partially or wholly visible guns, is not permitted on campus at any time except "under circumstances in which the actor would have been justified in the use of force or deadly force" (SB11, Section 4 and Texas Penal Code, Section 46.035(a-1)). Violation is a Class A misdemeanor or a third-degree felony.

If a gun becomes visible, please call 911 immediately without waiting to ask for permission.

3. Office visits: I do not allow guns (or other weapons) in my office. Pursuant to UT-Austin policy (HOP 8-1060, VII-C), I am required to give *oral* notice of my prohibition on concealed handguns at my office door before you enter. I mention this policy here for your convenience; however, oral notice must be given upon your first visit to my office and stands until I revoke it. If you want to meet me with your legally approved concealed handgun on or about your person, please e-mail me with 24 hours' notice and I will arrange for an alternate location.

## University Resources for Students

### *Wellbeing resources*

- Counseling and Mental Health Center. University services can help cope with academic stress, difficult life events, or feelings like anxiety or depression. All of us benefit from support during times of struggle. <http://www.cmhc.utexas.edu/individualcounseling.html>
- Student Emergency Services. <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/emergency/>
- Center for Students in Recovery. CSR offers a supportive community where students in recovery and in hope of recovery can achieve academic success while enjoying a genuine college experience free from alcohol and other drugs. <http://recovery.utexas.eduProvides>.
- BeVocal. BeVocal encourages individual Longhorns to help prevent high-risk behavior and harm. To learn more about BeVocal and how you can help to build a culture of care on campus, go to: <https://wellnessnetwork.utexas.edu/BeVocal>.

### *Learning resources*

- “Keep Learning” Resources include strategies to help you feel more comfortable participating in class. <https://onestop.utexas.edu/keep-learning/>
- The Sanger Learning Center offers classes, workshops, private learning specialist appointments, peer academic coaching, and tutoring. <http://www.utexas.edu/ugs/slc>.
- The Undergraduate Writing Center can help with your essays. <http://uwc.utexas.edu/>.
- Libraries: <http://www.lib.utexas.edu/>
- ITS for tech issues. <http://www.utexas.edu/its/>

A list of resources for community engagement appears at the end of this syllabus. Such engagement is optional, non-credit earning, and totally unrelated to your grade in this course.

## Course Assignments and Grading

The course will use +/- grading and will not be curved. Final course percentages will be rounded to the nearest whole number and converted to letter grades using the ranges below.

Graded assignments		Calculation of final grade	
Student survey (Jan 19)	1%	A	93-100%
Reflection #1 (Jan 26)	2%	A-	90-92%
Essay #1 (Feb 16)	25%	B+	87-89%
Essay #2 (Mar 21)	25%	B	83-86%
News analysis (Apr 6)	10%	B-	80-82%
Reflection #2 (Apr 18)	2%	C+	77-79%
Essay #3 (Apr 27)	25%	C	73-76%
10 reading write-ups (various dates)	10%	C-	70-72%
		D+	67-69%
		D	63-66%
		D-	60-62%
		F	Below 60%

### *Assignment instructions*

- Due dates are listed above and in the syllabus. Unless otherwise noted, assignments are due by 11:59pm.
- All assignments should be uploaded to Canvas using one of the accepted file formats.
- It is the student's responsibility to ensure that the assignment uploaded correctly.

- It is strongly advised that students learn how to retain a time and date-stamped copy of the files that they turn in on their computers. I do not think Google Docs saves this meta data.

*Student survey.* We will send a link and via Canvas for you to access the student survey. Your individual answers will not be viewable by other students in the class. If you do not want to answer the survey for privacy reasons, contact me *before* the due date to make alternative arrangements.

*Reflection #1.* You may know a lot about Mexico's politics through personal experience, family knowledge, prior courses, or by learning on your own, or you may be curious but have little background. Whatever your starting point, we hope to add to your knowledge through this course. Our focus is on *analyzing* core themes in Mexico's 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> century political and economic development. For Reflection #1, please reflect on your current knowledge. Then read the syllabus closely and try to put together the course material like a jigsaw puzzle in your mind. Now, type a page that communicates your personal starting point and what you hope to get out of the course from your initial understanding of it. What questions do you want answered and how do you think the course will help you get there? The more you engage your own knowledge and work to actively understand the course content, the more you will get from this early assignment.

*Reflection #2.* At the end of the course, take stock again by reflecting on your current understanding of Mexico's political and economic development. Re-read our first reflection write-up, re-read the syllabus, and think through what you have learned. Has your knowledge changed? If so, in what ways? What prior assumptions or knowledge has changed? What especially surprised you? If you learned less than you expected, why?

*Reading Digests.* During the semester, complete 10 one-page reading digests, each worth 1% of your final course grade. Digests should strive to bring together the themes/issues dealt with in the readings for the date listed, not a summary of each individual reading and not a commentary based on lecture only. We are not using a textbook and thus the readings have different narrative voices. Your goal is to use them to flesh out the themes we cover in each lecture session. Completing these assignments will improve reading comprehension and essay preparation. After completing the readings, the write-up should require less than 30 minutes. They do not need to be perfect, but assignments that really miss the mark can receive partial or no credit.

Each assignment will cover the readings for one session. Choose 10 from the following list of 21 options. Each session is designated by its number and date. Digests are due on Canvas by 11:59pm on the dates noted. Due to the challenges of administering a large class, we cannot accept late assignments, allow substitutions, or give make-ups on the reading digests.

Session #	Session date	Digest due date	Session #	Session date	Digest due date
4.	Jan 19	Jan 23	16.	Mar 2	Mar 6
5.	Jan 24	Jan 27	17.	Mar 7	Mar 10
6.	Jan 26	Jan 30	19.	Mar 21	Mar 24
7.	Jan 31	Feb 3	20.	Mar 23	Mar 27
8.	Feb 2	Feb 6	21.	Mar 28	Mar 31
9.	Feb 7	Feb 10	22.	Mar 30	Apr 3
11.	Feb 14	Feb 17	24.	Apr 6	Apr 10
12.	Feb 16	Feb 20	25.	Apr 11	Apr 14
13.	Feb 21	Feb 24	26.	Apr 13	Apr 17
14.	Feb 23	Feb 27	27.	Apr 18	Apr 21
15.	Feb 28	Mar 3			

*News analysis:* Submit a 2-3 page news analysis. During the semester, we will collect a few important news items in English about Mexico and will post them at least a week before the analysis is due. Your job will be to analyze the relevance and implications of the one news report you pick from those posted. Pretend you are a (good) news

analyst/talking head that you might see on TV – not one of the hyper-partisan ones, but the kind that helps make the news make sense. What is the background to the news item you are analyzing, why is it important, and what does it mean for other, broader themes that people might find interesting?

**Essays.** Each unit of the course (not including the introduction) will be followed by a take-home essay assignment. Essays should be 3-4 pages in length and will require analyzing the material from multiple sessions and readings. Later essays also draw on material covered in earlier course units. No outside readings are needed but citations of several course readings will be required. A grading rubric will be available at the time each assignment is handed out. Students will have several days to complete each essay. Points will be deducted for late essays and there will be a final deadline after which we will not accept essays, as noted on each assignment.

## Course Readings

### Required Readings

- Kenneth F Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009. ISBN-13: 978-0521139892. ISBN-10: 0521139899. Currently available for free through the UT Library website. Also available for purchase at the Coop or used online for less than \$20. I will donate 100% of profits from U.S. sales during the semester to the UT undergraduate scholarship fund.
- Ioan Grillo, *El Narco*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011. ISBN-10: 1608194019. ISBN-13: 978-1608194018. Available for purchase at the Coop or used for as little as \$6 online currently.
- Other required readings will be uploaded to Canvas.

### Notes on the readings

- Required readings are listed below in 10-point font (this size). Please complete these readings before the class meeting for which they are assigned. The number of pages of reading per session is shown in brackets below and averages about 50.
- Recommended readings are not required and are listed in 8-point font. These readings are not posted on Canvas. I have listed them because I think they are useful if you want to learn more about a particular subject. They should be available online or in the university library. If you cannot access them, please see me.
- Students may substitute selected Spanish-language readings when they are available. These will be the same readings as those listed on the syllabus but were originally written in Spanish or have been translated. I will upload the readings I have to Canvas. Graded assignments must be written in English.
- No student should be unable to take this course due to economic hardship. If you cannot afford to purchase the required course materials and cannot access them through the library, please see me.
- Some of the class materials depict violence and other situations that some students might find disturbing.
- Resources of general interest: English-language news sources on Mexico include: The Herald [www.mexiconews.com.mx](http://www.mexiconews.com.mx); Mexidata [www.mexidata.info](http://www.mexidata.info); LANIC <http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/mexico>. Spanish-language news sources on Mexico include: El Universal [www.eluniversal.com.mx](http://www.eluniversal.com.mx); Reforma [www.reforma.com](http://www.reforma.com); La Jornada [www.jornada.unam.mx](http://www.jornada.unam.mx); Proceso [www.proceso.com.mx](http://www.proceso.com.mx); Milenio [www.milenio.com](http://www.milenio.com).
- Austin resources: Cine Las Americas, <https://cinelasamericas.org/>. Mexic-Arte Museum <http://www.mexic-artemuseum.org/>. Emma Barrientos Mexican-American Cultural Center <http://www.austintexas.gov/esbmacc>.
- UT resources: Study Abroad <https://world.utexas.edu/abroad/programs/mexico>. Center for Mexican American Studies <https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/cmas/>. Mexico Center <https://liberalarts.utexas.edu/lilas/centers-and-programs/mexico/overview.php>. Longhorn Dreamers <https://world.utexas.edu/undocumented/about>.

## I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

### 1. Mexico in Latin American and World Context (January 10) [37 pages of reading]

- Read this syllabus carefully and take note of all due dates for exams and other assignments.
- Read my guide called “How to Read Social Science”. It is strongly recommended that you do not skip this.



- Watch “The Storm that Swept Mexico”, PBS video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pVWcgOcvqV0>. Optionally, see more information and credits at <http://www.pbs.org/itvs/storm-that-swept-mexico/>.
- Skidmore, Thomas and Peter Smith. *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 226-262. Treat this as a useful overview of Mexico’s 20<sup>th</sup> c. political development to help you nail down the chronology and major developments. You do not have to read this by the first class day, but please do so by the end of the second week. Other readings should be done before or shortly after the associated lecture.
- Recommended: Preston, Julia and Samuel Dillon. *Opening Mexico*. New York: Farrar, Strauss, and Giroux, 2004, pp. 3-29. [Note that aside from this one, recommended readings will not be posted on Canvas, but they are available in the library and perhaps online]

## **2. Perspectives on Mexico’s Political and Economic Development (January 12) [20 pages of reading]**

- Collier, Ruth Berins. *The Contradictory Alliance*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, 1992, pp. 1-8.
- Adam Przeworski and Fernando Limongi “Modernization: Theories and Facts” *World Politics* 49, 2 (Jan., 1997), pp. 155-167. Remainder of article recommended.
- Recommended: Collier, Ruth Berins and David Collier. *Shaping the Political Arena*. South Bend IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2002, pp. 27-39. Teichman, Judith. *Policymaking in Mexico*, 1988, pp. 1-8.

## **3. The Revolution of 1910 and the Constitution of 1917 (January 17) [29 pages of reading]**

- Hellman, Judith Adler. *Mexico in Crisis*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988, pp. 3-31.
- Recommended: Hansen, Roger. *The Politics of Mexican Development*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1971, pp. 11-40.

# **Student survey due January 19**

## **II. DOMINANT PARTY RULE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH**

### **4. Political Incorporation of Labor and Peasants (January 19) [62 pages of reading]**

- Collier, pp. 9-37.
- Middlebrook, Kevin. *The Paradox of Revolution*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995, pp. 72-106
- Recommended on peasants: Sanderson, Steve. *Agrarian Populism and the Mexican State*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981, pp. 53-70 and pp. 78-109. Hellman, Judith Adler. *Mexico in Crisis*, pp. 84-102 (emphasis on 91-102). Barratza, Roger. 1975. “Peasants and Political Power in México: A Theoretical Approach.” *Latin American Perspectives*. 2 (Summer), pp. 125 – 145.
- Recommended on labor: Teichman, Judith. *Privatization and Political Change in Mexico*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995, pp. 48-68.

### **5. Managing the Masses: Corporatism and Clientelism (January 24) [65 pages of reading]**

- Hellman, pp. 33-57 (emphasis on pp. 40-57) AND pp. 135-172 (skim the tamale story).
- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp 1-6 AND pp. 33-47. This book is available for purchase in the Coop and elsewhere. It is not uploaded to Canvas. Any profits are donated to the undergraduate scholarship fund.
- Recommended: Collier, pp. 38-70.
- Recommended Film: *La Ley de Herodes*, 1998, VIDCASS 8818 Benson Collection LAC-Z.

# **Reflection #1 due January 26**

### **6. Managing Elite Conflict (January 26) [45 pages of reading]**

- Garrido, Luis Javier, “The Crisis of Presidencialismo” in Cornelius, Gentleman, & Smith, pp. 417-434.
- Castañeda, Jorge. *Perpetuating Power*. New York: The New Press, 2000, pp. xvii-xxiv, 3-23.
- Camp, Roderic. *Politics in Mexico*. Second edition. New York: Oxford University Press, pp. 114-123.
- Recommended: Roderic Ai Camp, *Mexico’s Mandarins*. Berkeley CA: University of California Press, 2002.

### **7. Economic Development Policy and the Mexican Miracle, 1940-1970 (January 31) [64 pages of reading]**

- Hansen, Roger. *The Politics of Mexican Development*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1971, 41-69.



- Ramírez, Miguel "Mexico" in Laura Randall (ed.) *The Political Economy of Latin America in the Postwar Period*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997, pp. 112-148 (emphasis on pp. 112-130).
- Recommended: Hellman, pp. 103-124; Daniel Levy and Kathleen Bruhn. *Mexico*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002: 149-179.

#### **8. Opposition Party Failure, 1930s-1970s** (February 2) [55 pages of reading]

- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 12-17 AND pp. 71-97.
- Mabry, Donald. *Mexico's Acción Nacional*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1973, pp. 16-31.
- Chand, Vikram. *Mexico's Political Awakening*. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001, pp. 78-97 (emphasis on pp. 89-97).
- Carr, Barry. *Mexican Communism*. Research Report #42, Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 1985, pp. 7-17.
- Recommended: Carr, Barry. *Marxism and Communism in Twentieth Century Mexico*. Lawrence, KS: University of Kansas, 1992; Loaeza, Soledad. *El Partido Acción Nacional: La larga marcha, 1939-1994*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1999; del Río, Eduardo (Rius), *Los panuchos*. Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1997.

#### **9. Adjusting Dominant Party Rule: Political Turbulence, 1968-1977** (February 7) [60 pages of reading]

- Hellman pp. 173-228.
- Zarembo, Alan "Mexico's History Test" *Newsweek International*, July 2, 2001, pp. 1-5.
- Recommended: Preston and Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Ch. 3.
- Recommended Film: *Rojo Amanecer*.

### **Essay #1 instructions and prompt available February 9 (due February 16)**

#### **10. Review session** (February 9) [1 page of reading]

- Read the essay grading rubric and guide to writing a successful essay
- We will take stock of what we covered during the second segment of the course and have time for Q&A regarding Essay #1.

### **III. ECONOMIC CRISIS AND DOMINANT PARTY DECLINE**

#### **11. The Debt Crisis** (February 14) [52 pages of reading]

- Lustig, Nora. *Mexico: The Remaking of an Economy*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press, 1992, pp. 14-27, pp. 28-60.
- Frieden, Jeffry. *Debt, Development, and Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, pp. 59-66.
- Recommended: Review Ramírez chronology from 2/14 readings; Hellman, pp. 217-232; Teichman, Judith. *Privatization and Political Change in Mexico*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995.

### **Essay #1 due February 16** (note that it is very important that you do not miss class on Feb 16)

#### **12. The New Free Market (Neoliberal) Economic Model** (February 16) [60 pages of reading]

- Lustig, pp. 96-140.
- Heredia, Blanca "State-Business Relations in Contemporary Mexico" in Mónica Serrano and Victor Bulmer-Thomas (eds.) *Rebuilding the State: Mexico After Salinas*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1996.
- Recommended: Teichman, Judith. *Privatization and Political Change in Mexico*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1995.

#### **13. Social Costs and Urban Social Movements in Reaction to Economic Crisis** (February 21) [39 pages of reading]

- Pastor, Robert and Carole Wise "Mexican-Style Neoliberalism" in Carole Wise (ed.), *The Post-NAFTA Political Economy*, pp. 41-81.
- Recommended: Lustig, pp. 61-95; Damian, Araceli, *Adjustment, Poverty, and Employment in Mexico*. Sydney: Ashgate Press, 2000.

- Recommended on labor: Burgess, Katrina "Mexican Labor at a Crossroads" in Joseph Tulchin and Andrew Selee (eds.) *Mexico's Politics and Society in Transition*. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2003, pp. 73-107. Murillo, Victoria. *Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions and Market Reforms in Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 92-130; Bizberg, Ilan "Modernization and Corporatism in Government-Labour Relations" in Neil Harvey (ed.) *Mexico: Dilemmas of Transition*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1993.
- Recommended on urban politics and social movements: Bennett, Vivienne, "The Evolution of Urban Popular Movements in Mexico between 1968 and 1988" in Arturo Escobar & Sonia Alvarez, *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*, pp. 240-259. Eckstein, Susan, *The Poverty of Revolution: The State and Urban Poor in Mexico*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988; Haber, Paul "Cárdenas, Salinas, and the Urban Popular Movement" in Neil Harvey (ed.) *Mexico: Dilemmas of Transition*. New York: St Martin's, 1993, pp. 218-248.
- Recommended Films: *The Global Assembly Line*, 1986 VIDCASS 5385 UGL AV; *Amores Perros*, 2000, DVD 610 UGL AV Reserves.

#### **14. The Rural Reaction: Zapatistas and other Rebels (February 23) [40 pages of reading]**

- Harvey, Neil. *Rebellion in Chiapas*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998, pp. 169-198.
- Frontline World on Chiapas, 11 pages.
- Kraul, Chris "Land of Discord" *Los Angeles Times* 10/13/03, 4 pages.
- Recommended: Appendi, Kristin "The Challenges to Rural Mexico in an Open Economy" in Tulchin and Selee, 2003, pp. 255-275. Flores Magón, Ricardo. 2002. "Land and Liberty" in *The Mexico Reader*, Joseph, Gilbert and Henderson, Timothy J. (eds.), Duke University Press, 335 - 339. Navarro, Luis Hernandez "Zapatismo Today" available at [www.americaspolicy.org](http://www.americaspolicy.org).
- Recommended Film: *A Place Called Chiapas*, Canada Wild Productions Ltd., 1998; (mostly) recommended films: *Men with Guns*.

#### **15. Voters and Elections in the Transition to Democracy (February 28) [41 pages of reading]**

- Klesner, Joseph "Electoral Politics and Mexico's New Party System." Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, pp. 1-23.
- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 97-115.
- Castañeda, Jorge. *Perpetuating Power*. New York: The New Press, 2000, pp. 231-239.
- Recommended: Domínguez, Jorge and James McCann. *Democratizing Mexico*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996; Preston and Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Ch. 6.

#### **16. Opposition Parties in the Transition to Democracy (March 2) [56 pages of reading]**

- Shirk, David. *Mexico's New Politics: The PAN and Democratic Change*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2005, pp. 97-129.
- Bruhn, Kathleen "The Partido de la Revolución Democrática: Diverging Approaches to Competition" in Mónica Serrano (ed.) *Governing Mexico: Political Parties and Elections*. London: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of London, 1998, pp. 114-136.
- Recommended: Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 139-169. Kathleen Bruhn, *Taking on Goliath*. Mizrahi, Yemile. *From Martyrdom to Power: The Partido Acción Nacional*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003; Yemile Mizrahi "The Costs of Electoral Success: The Partido Acción Nacional in Mexico" in Mónica Serrano (ed.) *Governing Mexico: Political Parties and Elections*, 1998, pp. 95-113; Arriola, Carlos. *Ensayos sobre el PAN*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económico, 1994. del Río, Eduardo (Rius), *Los panuchos*. Mexico City: Grijalbo, 1997.
- Recommended: Sánchez, Marco Aurelio. *La élite en crisis*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdes, 1999; Borjas Benavente, Adriana Leticia. *Partido de la Revolución Democrática: Estructura, Organización Interna y Desempeño Público, 1989-2003*. Mexico City: Gernika, 2003.

#### **17. Ending Dominant Party Rule (March 7) [58 pages of reading]**

- Preston and Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Ch. 17, pp. 477-501.
- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 210-254.
- Recommended: Bruhn, Kathleen "The Making of the Mexican President, 2000: Parties, Candidates, and Campaign Strategy" in Chappell Lawson and Jorge Domínguez (eds.) *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 123-156.

#### **Spring Break March 13-17**

### **Essay #2 instructions and prompt available March 9 (due March 21)**

#### **18. Review session (March 9) [0 pages of reading]**

- We will take stock of what we covered during the third segment of the course and have time for Q&A regarding Essay #2.

## **Essay #2 due March 21**

### **19. Comparative Perspectives on Democratization (March 21) [49 pages of reading]**

- Roberts, Kenneth, *Changing Course: Party Systems in Latin America's Neoliberal Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 1-16 AND 89-110 AND 152-163 AND 207-213.
- Recommended: Davila, Jerry. Dictatorship in South America. John Wiley and Sons. 2013, Ch. 5. Hagopian, Frances (1990) "Democracy by Undemocratic Means: Elites, Political Pacts, and Regime Transition in Brazil" *Comparative Political Studies* 23(2), pp. 147-169. Madrid, Raúl. "The Origins of the Two Lefts in Latin America." *Political science quarterly* 125, 4 (2010), pp. 587–609. Hoffman, Kelly, and Miguel Angel Centeno. "The Lopsided Continent: Inequality in Latin America." *Annual Review of Sociology*. 29, 2003, pp. 363–390.

## **IV. ISSUES IN MEXICO'S NEW DEMOCRACY**

### **20. Globalization, Trade, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (March 23) [42 pages of reading]**

- Andrew Selee, *Vanishing Frontiers: The Forces Driving Mexico and the United States Together*. New York: Public Affair, 2018, pp. 49-72.
- James McBride, "NAFTA's Economic Impact", Council on Foreign Relations, July 26, 2016. <http://www.cfr.org/trade/naftas-economic-impact/p15790>
- Tracie McMillan, "How NAFTA Changed American (And Mexican) Food Forever" National Public Radio, February 13, 2015, <http://www.npr.org/sections/thesalt/2015/02/13/385754265/how-nafta-changed-american-and-mexican-food-forever>.
- Carrie Kahn, "How NAFTA Helped The Mexican Billionaires' Club" *NPR News*, January 3, 2014, three pages. <http://www.opb.org/news/article/npr-how-nafta-helped-the-mexican-billionaires-club/>
- Allison Carnegie "A lot of people want to restrict free trade. But that would have serious trade-offs" *Monkey Cage*, May 23, 2016. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/05/23/restricting-trade-may-be-popular-but-it-would-have-many-bad-consequences/>
- Kirby Wilson "Trump Calls NAFTA a "Disaster." Texas Republicans Beg to Differ" *Texas Tribune*, August 9, 2016. <https://www.texastribune.org/2016/08/09/nafta-poses-challenge-texas-republicans/>
- Recommended: Watch VICE News "Trump's Trade War" August 8, 2018. <https://news.vice.com/>. Here's an easy 4-minute primer on negotiations: [https://www.investmentbank.barclays.com/our-insights/connecting-the-dots-nafta-outlook.html?cid=ppc\\_sc21e00v24m10USpa00pv2635&qclid=CNmC6rzbodwCFaqVxQldy2cJCg&qclsrc=ds](https://www.investmentbank.barclays.com/our-insights/connecting-the-dots-nafta-outlook.html?cid=ppc_sc21e00v24m10USpa00pv2635&qclid=CNmC6rzbodwCFaqVxQldy2cJCg&qclsrc=ds).
- Optional: *NAFTA's Promise and Reality*. Carnegie Endowment for Peace, 2003, pp. 4-8, 11, 14-17, 20, 24-29, 31-35. Robert Pastor, "North America's Second Decade" *Foreign Affairs* (Jan/Feb), 2004; Chapters by Robert Pastor and Peter H. Smith in EJ Chambers and PH Smith (eds.) *NAFTA in the New Millenium*. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 2002; FTAA official website [http://www.ftaa-alca.org/alca\\_e.asp](http://www.ftaa-alca.org/alca_e.asp); Gisele Henriques and Raj Patel, "NAFTA, Corn, and Mexico's Agricultural Trade Liberalization" <http://americas.irc-online.org/reports/2004/0402nafta.html>; Gary Hufbauer and Gustavo Vega-Cánovas, "Wither NAFTA: A Common Frontier?" in P. Andreas and T. Bierstaker (eds.) *The Rebordering of North America*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Dominguez and de la Castro, pp. 111-14. Tim Kessler, "The Mexican Peso Crash: Causes, Consequences, and Comeback" in Carol Wise and Riordan Roett (eds.) *Exchange Rate Politics in Latin America*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution Press, pp. 43-67. Andrés Oppenheimer, *Bordering on Chaos*. New York: Little, Brown, 1996, pp. 215-234; Jorge Castañeda, *The Mexican Shock: It's Meaning for the U.S.* New York: The New Press, 1995.
- Optional video: United We Fall (2013) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-Aw4XSFB-b8>. "Averting a Crisis" on U.S. response to Mexico's 1994 economic crisis, less than 5 minutes [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/lo/countries/mx/mx\\_vid.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/commandingheights/lo/countries/mx/mx_vid.html);

### **21. Immigration (March 28) [32 pages of reading]**

- Martínez, Rubén, *Crossing Over: A Mexican Family on the Migrant Trail*. New York: Holt, 2001, pp. 139-150 AND 161-167. Note: if you want to see how things turn out for Rosa and Wense, read pp. 237-265 and 327-328. For an excellent chapter on other members of the Chávez family, read pp. 267-293.
- Ferriss, Susan "Broken Promises. How Economic Reforms Have Failed Mexico" *Austin American-Statesman*, September 7, 2003, six pages.
- Velasco, Jesus, "The Other Immigrants: Why Mexico's brightest get lured to the U.S." *The Wilson Quarterly*, Fall 2014. <https://www.wilsonquarterly.com/quarterly/fall-2014-mexican-momentum/other-immigrants-how-us-lured-away-mexicos-brightest/>

- Recommended: Ike Brannon and Logan Albright "Immigration's Impact on the Texas Economy" Texas Public Policy Foundation, March 2016 <http://www.texaspolicy.com/library/doclib/Immigration-s-Impact-on-the-Texas-Economy.pdf>
- Optional: George Borjas, *We Wanted Workers*. Wayne Cornelius "Impacts of NAFTA on Mexico to U.S. Migration" in Chambers and Smith (eds.) *NAFTA in the New Millennium*. La Jolla CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2002, pp. 287-300. Sonia Nazareno, *Enrique's Journey*. New York: Random House, 2007. Jeffrey Passel, D'Vera Cohn. Alejandro Portes and Rubén Rumbaut, *Immigrant America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 1-27; Douglas Massey "The Social Organization of Mexican Migration to the United States" in David Jacobson (ed.) *The Immigration Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1998, pp. 200-216. Wayne A. Cornelius "The Structural Embeddedness of Demand for Mexican Immigrant Labor," in Marcelo Suárez-Orozco (ed.) *Crossings: Mexican Immigration in Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 1998, pp. 115-155. Barry Yoeman, "Silence in the Fields" *Mother Jones*, January/February 2001, 9 pages. John Salt and Jeremy Stein, "Migration as a Business: The Case of Trafficking," *International Migration*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (1997), pp. 467-491; Douglas Massey, Jorge Duran, and Nolan Malone, *Beyond Smoke and Mirrors*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2002. Dallas Federal Reserve Bank "Gone to Texas: Immigration and the Transformation of the Texas Economy". Thomas Fitzgerald, *A Nation of Emigrants. How Mexico Manages Its Migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. Camarota reports at <http://www.cis.org>; Audrey Singer "Welfare Reform and Immigrants: A Policy Review" in P. Kretsedemas and A. Aparicio (eds.) *Immigrants, Welfare Reform, and the Poverty of Policy*. Westport CT: Praeger, 2004; PEW Charitable Trust reports: Billions in Motion; Remittance Senders and Receivers. Wayne Cornelius, "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of U.S. Immigration Control Policy" *Population and Development Review* 47, 4 (December 2001), pp. 661-682. Luis Alberto Urrea, *The Devil's Highway*. New York: Little Brown, 2004. Jorge Ramos, *Dying to Cross*. New York: Harper Collins, 2005. Jack Citrin, Donald Green, Christopher Muste, and Cara Wong, "Public Attitudes toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Factors" *Journal of Politics* 59, 3 (August 1997), pp. 858-881.
- Optional films: *Which Way Home* (2009) <http://whichwayhome.net/> and an interview with the filmmaker: <http://www.documentary.org/feature/riding-rails-which-way-home-traces-treacherous-journey>. *Mojados: Through the Night* (2004); *Sin Nombre* (2009); *El Norte* (1983); *The Fence* (2010); *Go Back to Mexico* (1996), PBS Frontline. The following contain some border scenes, but also a lot of tear-jerking Hollywood style filmmaking: *Mi Familia* (1995), *Babel* (2006), *Under the Same Moon* (2007).
- Useful websites: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org>; <http://www.migrationinformation.org>; <http://www.immigrationforum.org>; <http://www.ceip.org>; <http://www.cis.org>; <http://www.urban.org/>; <http://www.nber.org/papers/>; <http://www.borderangels.org/portal/>; <http://www.minutemanborderfence.com/>, and search keyword "immigration"; excellent research though somewhat difficult to read at <http://irpshome.ucsd.edu/faculty/qohanson/courses.htm>

## News Analysis instructions available by March 30, due April 6

### 22. Immigration Deterrence Efforts (March 30) [21 pages of reading]

- Rubén Martínez, *Crossing Over: A Mexican Family on the Migrant Trail*. New York: Holt, 2001, pp. 177-192.
- Pamela Colloff "The Desert of the Dead" Texas Tribune, November 2006. <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/the-desert-of-the-dead/>
- Bill Redeker, "Minutemen Volunteer to Watch U.S. Border" ABC News, April 4, 2005, two pages.
- Optional: Wayne Cornelius, "Death at the Border: Efficacy and Unintended Consequences of U.S. Immigration Control Policy" *Population and Development Review* 47, 4 (December 2001), pp. 661-682. Luis Alberto Urrea, *The Devil's Highway*. New York: Little Brown, 2004. Jorge Ramos, *Dying to Cross*. New York: Harper Collins, 2005. Karin MacDonald and Bruce E. Cain, "Nativism, Partisanship, and Immigration: An Analysis of Proposition 187," in Michael B. Preston, et al. (eds.) *Racial and Ethnic Politics in California, Vol. II*. Berkeley CA: Institute of Governmental Studies Press, University of California, Berkeley, 1998, pp. 277-304; Jack Citrin, Donald Green, Christopher Muste, and Cara Wong, "Public Attitudes toward Immigration Reform: The Role of Economic Factors" *Journal of Politics* 59, 3 (August 1997), pp. 858-881.
- Optional websites of note: <http://www.borderangels.org/portal/>; <http://www.minutemanborderfence.com/>; many pro and anti videos on [www.youtube.com](http://www.youtube.com) – search for "immigration."
- Optional film/video: *Mojados: Through the Night* (2004); *Sin Nombre* (2009); *El Norte* (1983); *The Fence* (2010); *Go Back to Mexico* (1996), PBS Frontline. The following contain some border scenes, but also a lot of tear-jerking Hollywood style filmmaking: *Mi Familia* (1995), *Babel* (2006), *Under the Same Moon* (2007).

### 23. Current Border and Immigration Issues (April 4) [7 pages of reading]

- Guest Lecture: Denise Gilman, JD LL.M., Clinical Professor of Law and Director of the Immigration Clinic at the University of Texas at Austin.
- Note: The immigration policy debate is evolving quickly. I will add or substitute required readings as this session approaches.
- Claire Felter and Danielle Renwick, "The U.S. Immigration Debate" Council on Foreign Relations, June 23, 2020. <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/us-immigration-debate-0>
- Anna Flagg, "Is There a Connection Between Undocumented Immigrants and Crime?" *The New York Times*, May 13, 2019.

- Listen to this 4-minute story John Burnett, "After Outcry, Migrant Children Moved From Squalid Texas Border Facility" <https://www.npr.org/2019/06/25/735637975/after-outcry-migrant-children-moved-from-squalid-texas-border-facility>. Or read Meagan Flynn "Detained migrant children got no toothbrush, no soap, no sleep. It's no problem, government argues" *Texas Tribune* Jun 21, 2019.
- Listen to one or both of the following 7-minute segments: Joel Rose, "Trump Changes Make It Difficult For Migrants To Gain Asylum" NPR Jan 6, 2020. <https://www.npr.org/2020/01/06/793895352/trump-changes-make-it-difficult-for-migrants-to-gain-asylum>. "Asylum-Seekers Waiting In Mexico Navigate A Shifting U.S. Court System" <https://www.npr.org/2019/07/11/740608316/migrants-face-legal-crisis-at-el-paso-immigration-court>.
- Optional: Dianna Cahn "A military family, divided: After deportation, a Marine veteran's wife searches for a future" *Stars and Stripes* Sept 24, 2018 <https://www.stripes.com/news/us/a-military-family-divided-after-deportation-a-marine-veteran-s-wife-searches-for-a-future-1.548945>. "Why Immigration Judges Opt to Leave over Trump Policies" NPR Feb 10, 2020. <https://www.npr.org/2020/02/10/804408028/why-immigration-judges-opt-to-leave-over-white-house-policies>. Jason DeParle "How Stephen Miller Seized the Moment to Battle Immigration" *The New York Times*, Aug. 17, 2019. Shannon O'Neil, "Mexico Can't Solve Its Three Biggest Crises Alone" *Council on Foreign Relations*, July 10, 2019. <https://www.cfr.org/blog/mexico-cant-solve-its-three-biggest-crises-alone>. Azam Ahmed "Women Are Fleeing Death at Home. The U.S. Wants to Keep Them Out" *The New York Times*, Aug 8, 2019. 7-minute audio story "Foster Parents And Migrant Kids" - <https://www.npr.org/642007998>. Christopher Ingraham, "Two charts demolish the notion that immigrants here illegally commit more crime" *Washington Post*, June 19, 2018.
- Optional current news and opinion items: <http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/topics/immigration>
- Other websites of interest: <http://www.migrationpolicy.org>; <http://www.cis.org/>, USCIS <http://uscis.gov/graphics/>. Immigration statistics from USCIS <http://uscis.gov/graphics/shared/aboutus/statistics/index.htm>; USCBP <http://cbp.gov>; U.S. Department of Homeland Security <http://www.dhs.gov/dhspublic/>; Texas Homeland Security <http://www.texasbordersecurity.org/>. [http://www.ice.gov/doclib/091005\\_ice\\_detention\\_report-final.pdf](http://www.ice.gov/doclib/091005_ice_detention_report-final.pdf); <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/pubs/detentionreportSept1009.pdf>; <http://www.detentionwatchnetwork.org/aboutdetention>; <http://www.aclu.org/immigrants-rights/detention>; <http://www.justdetention.org/> [http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/i/immigration\\_detention\\_us/incustody\\_deaths/index.html](http://topics.nytimes.com/top/reference/timestopics/subjects/i/immigration_detention_us/incustody_deaths/index.html)
- Optional video: Amy McCarthy "Status Symbol" *Texas Monthly*, June 22, 2016. <http://www.texasmonthly.com/politics/larissa-martinez-interview/>. Watch the speech at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tuWzPmPKGIA&spfreload=10> minute 21:55 – 30:30.

## **News Analysis due April 6**

### **24. Political Corruption (April 6) [30 pages of reading]**

- Emily Edmonds-Poli and David Shirk, *Contemporary Mexican Politics*, third edition. Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2016, pp. 227-245.
- Francisco Goldman, "Crisis in Mexico: The Disappearance of the Forty-Three" *New Yorker*, October 24, 2014. <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/crisis-mexico-disappearance-forty-three>
- Alan Feuer "Former Mexican President Peña Nieto Took \$100 Million Bribe, Witness at El Chapo Trial Says" *The New York Times* Jan 15, 2019.
- Optional: Andrés Oppenheimer, *Bordering on Chaos*. New York: Little, Brown, 1996, Ch. 15: pp. 298-312. Roque Planas, "Mexico's Torture-Marred Investigation May Not Be Enough to Convict Anyone In Missing 43 Students Case" *Huffington Post*, April 27, 2016. Andrés Oppenheimer, *Bordering on Chaos*. New York: Little, Brown, 1996, Ch. 15: pp. 298-312. Nelson Arteaga Botello and Adrian López Rivera "Everything in this Job is Money" *World Policy Journal* 17, 3, Fall 2000, pp. 61-70. Ana Laura Magaloni, "Arbitrariness and Inefficiency in the Mexican Criminal Justice System" in P. Kenny and M. Serrano (eds.) *Mexico's Security Failure*. London: Routledge, 2012, pp. 89-106. Susan Reed, "Certifiable: Mexico's Corruption, Washington's Indifference" *The New Republic* 1997, 6 pages. Diane Davis "Undermining the Rule of Law: Democratization and the Dark Side of Police Reform" *Latin American Politics and Society* 48, 1, 2006: 55-86. Leon Krauze, "Los Porkys: The Sexual-Assault Case That's Shaking Mexico" *New Yorker*, April 14, 2016. Washington Office on Latin America information on Ayotzinapa disappearances <https://www.wola.org/analysis/analysis-and-information-on-mexicos-ayotzinapa-case/>.
- Optional films: *Murder, Money, Mexico* (1995), PBS Frontline, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mexico/>. *Presumed Guilty* (2008) <http://www.pbs.org/pov/presumedguilty>. *The Perfect Dictatorship* (2013). *Todo el Poder* (1999). *Impunity and Profits* (2011) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=A-4ALKGBbOE>. *In Ciudad Juarez, the Main Sport is Raping and Killing Girls* (2008) <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lqfALPVnAew>.
- Recommended: Morris, Stephen, "Corruption, Drug Trafficking, and Violence in Mexico" *Brown Journal of World Affairs* 29, 11 (Spring/Summer) 2012: 29-43. Susan Reed, "Certifiable: Mexico's Corruption, Washington's Indifference" *The New Republic* 1997. Emily Edmonds-Poli and David Shirk, *Contemporary Mexican Politics*, Ch 11. Diane Davis "Undermining the Rule of Law: Democratization and the Dark Side of Police Reform" *Latin American Politics and Society* 48, 1, 2006: 55-86. David Shirk, "Criminal Justice Reform in Mexico: An Overview" <http://info8.juridicas.unam.mx/pdf/mlawrns/cont/6/arc/arc1.pdf>. Ernesto Lopez-Portillo, "Accounting for the Unaccountable: The Police in Mexico" in P. Kenny and M. Serrano (eds.) *Mexico's Security Failure*. London: Routledge, 2012: 107-121. Tina Rosenberg "The Taint of the Greased Palm" *The New York Times Magazine*. August 10, 2003: 28, 30-33.
- Recommended video: *Murder, Money, Mexico*, PBS Frontline, 1995. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/mexico/>



## 25. Mexico's "Cartels" (April 11) [56 pages of reading]

- Ioan Grillo, *El Narco*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011, pp. 73-106 AND pp. 194-209.
- Eduardo Porter "Numbers Tell of Failure in Drug War" *The New York Times*, July 3, 2012, four pages.
- Highly recommended: Keefe, Patrick Radden "Cocaine Incorporated" *The New York Times Magazine*, June 15, 2012, pp. 1-16. <http://www.insightcrime.org>. <http://projects.latimes.com/mexico-drug-war/#its-a-war> ; [http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2009/03/mexicos\\_drug\\_war.html](http://www.boston.com/bigpicture/2009/03/mexicos_drug_war.html) ; <http://www.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=4836946n>
- Recommended: Anabel Hernández, *Narcoland: The Mexican Drug Lords and Their Godfathers*, translated by Iain Bruce. London: Verso, 2013. Peter Andreas, *Border Games*. Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press, 2000, pp. 15-39, 74-84. Corcoran, Patrick. 2013. "Mexico's shifting criminal landscape: changes in gang operation and structure during the past century." *Trends in Organized Crime* (16):306-328. Celia Toro, *Mexico's "War" on Drugs*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995, pp. 1-36; Michael Goodman, "Muerto, Inc." *Los Angeles Magazine*, 1997, 7 pages. Alma Guillermoprieto, "The Narcovirus" U.S.-Mexico Futures Forum, Spring 2009, pp. 3-8. James McKinley, Jr., "Mexican Cartels Lure American Teens as Killers," June 23, 2009, five pages
- Useful websites: <http://www.insightcrime.org>. DEA report on Texas <http://www.dea.gov/pubs/states/texas.html>; [http://www.drugstory.org/drug\\_traffic/supply.asp](http://www.drugstory.org/drug_traffic/supply.asp); DEA report on Mexico <http://www.dea.gov/pubs/intel/03047/index.html>; CIA report on Heroin traffic <http://www.cia.gov/cia/di/products/cncweb/index.htm>; Drug threat assessments <http://www.usdoj.gov/ndic/>; Organization of American States report on Mexico [http://www.cicad.oas.org/en/?mem/eng/Reports/Progress\\_2001-2002/index.htm](http://www.cicad.oas.org/en/?mem/eng/Reports/Progress_2001-2002/index.htm); White House <http://www.whitehousedrugpolicy.gov/>; including "Drug Use Trends" Executive Office of the President, Oct 2002; Federal trafficking penalties summary <http://www.dea.gov/agency/penalties.htm>; Teen and young adult drug use surveys <http://monitoringthefuture.org/>; Albuquerque Journal series on drugs from 1997 <http://www.abqjournal.com/news/drugs/>; : State Department Drug Control Strategy Report <http://www.state.gov/g/inl/ris/nrcrpt/2001/rpt/8478.htm>
- Recommended videos: Traffic; Blow; Drug Wars, PBS Frontline 2000. Also see <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/drugs/>; Peter Jennings's *Ecstasy Rising*, CBS Primetime, available at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=aAEuEQEwzQ>; PBS Frontline *Meth Epidemic* at <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/meth/>; Oregonian Report on Meth at <http://www.oregonlive.com/special/oregonian/meth/>.

## 26. Violence and Drug Trafficking Organizations (April 13) [52 pages of reading]

- Ioan Grillo, *El Narco*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011, pp. 152-168 AND pp. 209-222 AND pp. 259-273.
- James Grimaldi and Sari Horwitz "As Mexico Drug Violence Runs Rampant, U.S. Guns Tied to Crime South of the Border" Dec 15, 2010, eight pages.
- Recommended: John Bailey "Drug Traffickers as Political Actors in Mexico's Nascent Democracy" in Rod Camp (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. LA Times series on "Fast and Furious" scandal <http://www.latimes.com/news/nationworld/nation/atf-fast-furious-sg.0,3828090.storygallery#axzz2p0XieMKq>.
- Recommended websites: <http://www.insightcrime.org>. <http://www.geocrimen.cide.edu>.

## 27. Mexico's 2018 Election, Party System Change, and the López Obrador Administration (April 18) [31 pages of reading]

- Kenneth Greene and Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer "Is Mexico Falling into the Authoritarian Trap?" *Journal of Democracy* 32:4 (October 2021): 56-71.
- Tim Golden, "The Cienfuegos Affair: Inside the Case that Upended the Drug War in Mexico" *The New York Times Magazine* December 8, 2022, 16 pages.
- Recommended: Denise Dresser, "Mexico's New President Turns Back the Clock on Democracy" *Foreign Affairs*, May 13, 2019. Genaro Lozano, "Why I'm Still Optimistic about AMLO" *America's Quarterly*, June 19, 2019. <https://www.americasquarterly.org/content/why-im-still-optimistic-about-amlo>

## Reflection #2 due April 18

## 28. Wrapping up (April 20) [0 pages of reading]

- Recommended: Aguilar Camín, Hector and Jorge Castaneda "A Future for Mexico" *NEXOS*, January 2010, pp. 1-23. [Note: This is framed as "looking toward 2012" but the issues it raises are not limited to that time period].

## Essay #3 instructions and prompt available April 18, due April 27

## A list of some resources for community engagement

The links below are provided as an extension of some of the course themes with the idea that students may wish to become knowledgeable about and/or engaged in civic activities. I have not vetted the websites or organizations listed, nor do I have any relationship with any of them. There is no course credit for engaging in any activities associated with these organizations nor will your involvement or non-involvement affect your standing in this course, your grade, your personal relationship with me or the teaching assistant, or your institutional relationship with the university in any way. In addition, the listings are not intended to represent any one partisan or political view.

### Voting:

- <https://www.votetexas.gov/>
- <https://countyclerk.traviscountytexas.gov/elections/>

### Election information:

- Polling and forecasting: <https://texaspolitics.utexas.edu/polling>, <https://www.realclearpolitics.com/>, <https://fivethirtyeight.com/>
- Candidate/party funding: <http://www.opensecrets.org/>
- Texas political party organizations: <https://www.texasdemocrats.org/>, <https://www.texasgop.org/>, <https://www.gp.org/texas>, <https://indytexans.org/>, <https://www.lp.org/>, <http://www.constitutionparty.com/>, <https://reformparty.org/>, <https://www.socialistpartyusa.net/>, <http://cpusa.org/>
- Contact TX elected officials: <https://www.texastribune.org/directory/>, <https://wrm.capitol.texas.gov/home>
- Examine gerrymandering: <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/redistricting-maps/texas/>

Mexican Consulate in Austin: <https://consulmex.sre.gob.mx/austin/>

Hispanic Chamber of Commerce in Austin: <https://www.gahcc.org/home/>

### Austin-area immigration advocacy and aid organizations:

- [Casa Marienella](#) homeless shelter in Austin dedicated solely to immigrants, including those just released from detention.
- [Texas Rio Grande Legal Aid](#): legal advocacy for asylum-seeking families.
- [Texas Civil Rights Project](#): works on asylum and immigrant family separation issues.
- [Grassroots Leadership \(Austin\)](#): working on immigrant detention issues with a focus on women detained in the Hutto Detention Center in Taylor, TX.
- [Refugee Services of Texas](#): helps children discharged from immigration detention centers who are released to the care of a family member or friend in the US.
- [Justice for Our Neighbors – Austin](#): helps settled refugees and immigrants by providing free immigration legal services, education, and advocacy.
- [Annunciation House](#): Immigrant aid and [Border Awareness Experience](#).