

GOV 337C / LAS 337T: Politics of Mexico

(Spring 2021)

Online

Rev. Jan 11, 2021

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Course Objectives

This course analyzes Mexico's 20th and early 21st 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 response to COVID-19.

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.

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.

Course Expectations and Policies

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

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.

Lecture slides: Slides will be uploaded to Canvas the night before lecture. Each lecture begins with an outline slide. I suggest that you look at the outline for at least five minutes before each lecture and think, ahead of time,

about what you expect will be in the lecture. The process is like reading the table of contents for a book or the introduction to an essay. Active preparation before the lecture will help you understand the material with less time and effort. The remaining slides will be sparse and will mostly include images rather than text. It will not be possible to understand the session's material just by looking at the slides without having attended.

Lecture Recordings: Lectures will be recorded on Zoom and posted on Canvas as soon as possible (usually the same day). I encourage students to attend the sessions live if possible. I understand that the pandemic may require some students to rely on the recordings. In my experience, recordings have generally worked, but on two occasions technical glitches meant that they were not available. If this happens, I cannot repeat the lecture.

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>.

Special Needs: Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/>. Those who have official university accommodations will be accommodated to the very best of our abilities. Please let me know at the beginning of the semester so that we can plan accordingly and, if necessary, schedule alternative rooms for exams.

Absence for Religious Holidays. Please alert me at the beginning of the semester if a religious holiday conflicts with an assignment/exam due date. Otherwise, make sure to get notes from a classmate and talk with me and/or the TA about the in-class material you missed.

Office Hours: The teaching assistant and I each hold office hours three hours a week, every week at the times listed in the header of this syllabus. 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.

Communication with the Instructor and TA: We will respond to e-mails as quickly as is feasible. In addition, 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.

Scholastic Dishonesty and Plagiarism. Scholastic dishonesty is treated very seriously and will be dealt with according to University guidelines. All written work is to be done individually. For more information, see <http://legacy.lib.utexas.edu/services/instruction/learningmodules/plagiarism/> and <https://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct/academicintegrity.php>. TurnItIn and other methods may be used to check for potential plagiarism, but the instructor will make the final determination.

Sexual Harassment Reporting Requirements. Under TX Senate Bill 212 (SB 212), instructors are required to report any information concerning incidents of sexual harassment, sexual assault, dating violence, and stalking committed by or against a UT student or employee, as well as incidents of sex- and gender-based discrimination and sexual misconduct. To talk with someone confidentially, please contact University Health Services (512-471-4955 or 512-475-6877) or the UT Counseling and Mental Health Center (512-471-3515 or 512-471-2255). You report any incidents to the [Title IX Office](#).

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	
Reflection #1 (Jan 28)	2.5%	A	93-100%
Essay #1 (Feb 26)	25%	A-	90-92%
Essay #2 (Apr 5)	25%	B+	87-89%
News analysis (Apr 23)	10%	B	83-86%
Reflection #2 (Apr 29)	2.5%	B-	80-82%
Essay #3 (May 12)	25%	C+	77-79%
10 reading write-ups (various dates)	10%	C	73-76%
		C-	70-72%
		D+	67-69%
		D	63-66%
		D-	60-62%
		F	Below 60%

Assignment instructions

- Assignment due dates are listed above and appear in the syllabus. Unless otherwise noted, all 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 and that the correct file was uploaded.
- 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.

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 20th and 21st 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 Write-Ups. During the semester, complete 10 one-page reading digests, each worth 1% of your final course grade. Write-ups should be brief synopses of the theme/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. Try to bring the ideas together, using the lecture titles as a guide. 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 session.

Completing these assignments will do wonders for reading comprehension and essay preparation. After completing the readings, the write-up should require maximum 30 minutes, but ideally less. They do not need to be perfect, but assignments can receive partial credit when they really miss the mark.

Each assignment will cover one session and the associated readings. Choose 10 from the following list of 23 options. Each session is designated by its number and date. Write-ups are due on Canvas by 11:59pm on the dates noted below. Due to the challenges of administering these write-ups for a large class, we cannot accept any late assignments, allow substitutions, or give make-ups.

Session #	Session date	Write-up due date	Session #	Session date	Write-up due date
4.	Jan 28	Feb 1	16.	Mar 11	Mar 15
5.	Feb 2	Feb 8	17.	Mar 23	Mar 29
6.	Feb 4	Feb 8	18.	Mar 25	Mar 29
7.	Feb 9	Feb 15	19.	Mar 30	Apr 5
8.	Feb 11	Feb 15	21.	Apr 6	Apr 12
9.	Feb 16	Feb 22	22.	Apr 8	Apr 12
10.	Feb 18	Feb 22	23.	Apr 13	Apr 19
12.	Feb 25	Mar 1	25.	Apr 20	Apr 26
13.	Mar 2	Mar 8	26.	Apr 22	Apr 26
14.	Mar 4	Mar 8	27.	Apr 27	May 3
15.	Mar 9	Mar 15	28.	Apr 29	May 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 the 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.

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. Note that the readings and slides do not substitute for lecture.

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. Available for purchase at the Coop or used online for as little as \$18 currently. I will donate 100% of profits I receive from Coop sales to the UT undergraduate scholarship fund.
- Ioan Grillo, *El Narco*. New York: Bloomsbury Press, 2011. ISBN-10: 1608194019. ISBN-13: 978-1608194018. Used for as little as \$9 online currently.
- Other required readings will be uploaded to Canvas.

Note 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.
- The numbers in brackets following each session title indicate the number of pages of required reading.
- 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. Please give me advance notice as it will take some time to gather them. Graded assignments must be 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; Mexidata www.mexidata.info; LANIC <http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/mexico>. Spanish-language news sources on Mexico include: El Universal www.eluniversal.com.mx; Reforma www.reforma.com; La Jornada www.jornada.unam.mx; Proceso www.proceso.com.mx; Milenio www.milenio.com.
- Austin resources: Cine Las Americas May 1-5, <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 19) [37]

- 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"
- Watch "The Storm that Swept Mexico", PBS video available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pVWcgOcvgV0>. 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 20th c. political development to help you nail down the chronology and major developments.
- Recommended: Preston, Julia and Samuel Dillon. *Opening Mexico*. New York: Ferrar, 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 21) [20]

- 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 26) [29]

- 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 University Press, 1971, pp. 11-40.

Reflection #1 due January 28 by 5pm

II. DOMINANT PARTY RULE AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

4. Political Incorporation of Labor and Peasants (January 28) [62]

- 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). Barratra, 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 (February 2) [65]

- 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.

6. Managing Elite Conflict (February 4) [45]

- 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 (February 9) [64]

- 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 11) [55]

- 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 16) [60]

- 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*.

10. Comparative Authoritarianism in Latin America (February 18) [43]

- Collier, Ruth B. and Collier, David. Shaping the Political Arena, pp. 100-106 AND 161-168.

- Davila, Jerry. Dictatorship in South America. John Wiley and Sons. 2013, pp. 1-19.
- Skidmore, Thomas and Peter Smith. Modern Latin America, 6th edition. New York: Oxford University Press. 2005, pp. 231-246.
- Recommended: Middlebrook, Kevin "Political Liberalization in an Authoritarian Regime: The Case of Mexico" in Guillermo O'Donnell, Philippe Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead (eds.) *Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986. Bushnell, David. The Making of Modern Colombia: A Nation in Spite of Itself. University of California Press. 1993. (Chapters 8, 9, and 10). Luzardo-Luna, Ivan. The Import Substitution Era, 1945-1980: The Consolidation of Interventionism, Financial Repression, and the Slow Way to Industrialisation. In Colombia's Slow Economic Growth. Palgrave. 2019. (pgs 85-106). Davila, Jerry. Dictatorship in South America. John Wiley and Sons. 2013. (Chapters 2, 3, and 4)

Essay #1 instructions and prompt available February 22 (due February 26)

11. Review session (February 23) [0]

- 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

12. The Debt Crisis (February 25) [52]

- 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 26 by 11:59pm (note that it is very important that you do not miss class on Feb 25)

13. The New Free Market (Neoliberal) Economic Model (March 2) [60]

- 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.

14. Social Costs and Urban Social Movements in Reaction to Economic Crisis (March 4) [39]

- 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.

15. The Rural Reaction: Zapatistas and other Rebels (March 9) [40]

- 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.
- Recommended Film: A Place Called Chiapas, Canada Wild Productions Ltd., 1998; (mostly) recommended films: Men with Guns.

16. Voters and Elections in the Transition to Democracy (March 11) [41]

- 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: Dominguez, Jorge and James McCann. *Democratizing Mexico*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996; Preston and Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Ch. 6.

Spring Break March 15-19

17. Opposition Parties in the Transition to Democracy (March 23) [56]

- 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.

18. Ending Dominant Party Rule (March 25) [58]

- Preston and Dillon, *Opening Mexico*, Ch. 17, pp. 477-501.
- Greene, *Why Dominant Parties Lose*, pp. 210-254.
- Time for Q&A for midterm exam – please come with your questions prepared.
- 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.

19. Comparative Perspectives on Democratization (March 30) [49]

- Kenneth Roberts, *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.

Essay #2 instructions and prompt available March 31 (due April 5)

20. Review session (April 1) [0]

- 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 April 5 by 11:59pm

IV. ISSUES IN MEXICO'S NEW DEMOCRACY

21. Globalization, Trade, and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) (April 6) [42]

- 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&gclid=CNmC6rzbdwCFaqVxQldy2cJCq&qcls=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 Millennium*. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, 2002; FTAA official website 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. Biersteker (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: Its 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;

22. Immigration (April 8) [32]

- Rubén Martínez, *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.
- Susan Ferriss "Broken Promises. How Economic Reforms have Failed Mexico" *Austin American-Statesman*, September 7, 2003, six pages.
- Gabriel Medina Arenas, "The Flip side of Mexican Immigration: Brain Drain" *Mosaic*, 4/20/12, four pages.
- 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, Ana Gonzalez-

Barrera. *Net Migration from Mexico Falls to Zero — and Perhaps Less*. Washington DC: Pew Hispanic Center, 4/23/12, http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2012/04/Mexican-migrants-report_final.pdf. 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; A. Messina and G. Lahav (eds.) *The Immigration Reader*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2006, pp. 34-88. 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" <http://www.dallasfed.org/assets/documents/research/pubs/gonetx.pdf>. Thomas Fitzgerald, *A Nation of Emigrants. How Mexico Manages Its Migration*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008. Espenshade in *Immigration Reader*; 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 http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/vf_pew_hispanic_funds_home.pdf; Remittance Senders and Receivers http://www.pewtrusts.com/pdf/pew_hispanic_banks_112403.pdf. 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 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/gohanson/courses.htm>

23. Immigration Deterrence Efforts (April 13) [21]

- 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 – 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).

24. Current Border and Immigration Issues (April 15)

- Readings TBD

News Analysis instructions available by April 16

25. Political Corruption (April 20) [30]

- 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. http://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/mexico-legal-system-43-students_us_5720f9e8e4b0b49df6a9dc94. 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. 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, pp. 107-121. Tina Rosenberg "The Taint of the Greased Palm" *The New York Times Magazine*. August 10, 2003, pp. 28, 30-33. David Shirk, "Criminal Justice Reform in Mexico: An Overview" <http://info8.juridicas.unam.mx/pdf/mlawrns/cont/6/arc/arc1.pdf>. Leon Krauze, "Los Porkys: The Sexual-Assault Case That's Shaking Mexico" *New Yorker*, April 14, 2016. <http://www.newyorker.com/news/news-desk/los-porkys-the-sexual-assault-case-thats-shaking-mexico>. 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). *Impurity 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/>

26. Mexico's "Cartels" (April 22) [56]

- 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.cbsnews.com/video/watch/?id=4836946>
- 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. Snyder, Richard and Angélica Durán Martínez. 2009. "Drugs, Violence, and State-Sponsored Protection Rackets in Mexico and Colombia." *Colombia Internacional* 70: 61-91. Celia Toro, *Mexico's "War" on Drugs*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1995, pp. 1-36; Peter Andreas, "Building Bridges and Barricades: Trade Facilitation Versus Drug Enforcement in U.S.-Mexico Relations in John Bailey and Jorge Chabat (eds.) *Transnational Crime and Public Security*. Center for U.S.-Mexico Studies, University of California, San Diego, 2002, pp. 195-216. Terrence Poppa, *Drug Lord, the Life and Death of a Mexican Kingpin*. New York: Demand, 1998. 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; 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; 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/rls/nrcpt/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' *Ecstasy Rising*, CBS Primetime, available at <http://www.youtube.com/w/Ecstasy-Rising?v=aAEauEQEwzQ>; 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/>.

News Analysis due April 23 by 5pm

27. Violence and Drug Trafficking Organizations (April 27) [52]

- 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>.

28. Mexico’s 2018 Election, Party System Change, and the López Obrador Administration (April 29) [23]

- Kenneth F Greene and Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer, “Mexico’s Party System Under Stress” *Journal of Democracy*, October 2018: 31-42.

Reflection #2 due April 29 by 5pm

29. Mexico’s COVID-19 Pandemic Response and Outlook (May 4)

- Readings to be determined.

30. Wrapping up (May 6) [0]

- 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 handed out May 4, due May 12 by 11:00am