



# Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey

## **COURSE SYLLABUS – Spring 2022**

### **NPTG 8569: Political Violence in Latin America (4 credits)**

**Mon/Wed 1800-2000**

**January 31 – May 20, 2022**

**Dr. Katharine Petrich**

**kpetrich@middlebury.edu**

**Office Location: on Zoom**

**Office Hours: By Appointment - <https://calendly.com/kpetrich-miis>**

*This course will use Canvas and email to students for sharing course materials and updates*

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#### COURSE DESCRIPTION

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Why is Costa Rica politically stable with little domestic violence while Colombia has struggled with eighty years of civil conflict? Why are drug cartels a problem in Mexico but not in Argentina? This course is an introduction to the dynamics and intricacies of political violence in Latin America. Understanding why political violence occurs, how it is used, what its effects are, and how it can be countered, is crucial to a clear understanding of the problems facing states and non-state actors, as well as the dynamics of a conflict-ridden global environment. Latin America has been particularly challenged by a high level of domestic violence, perpetrated by criminal, non-state, and state actors, but has attracted less public and policymaker attention than other regions. We will cover numerous subjects, including: why non-state actors and states use violent means to pursue political ends, as well as state repression and terrorism, riots, coups, revolutions, civil wars, communal conflict, and violence by insurgents, criminals, and terrorists.

**This class is heavily discussion and simulation based, meaning students are expected to read the assigned materials/watch videos before our class meeting at 1800.**

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#### LEARNING OBJECTIVES & COURSE ETHOS

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Graduate school is an incredible opportunity to dive deeply into a specialized area of knowledge, often as a way to support or advance your career. It differs from undergraduate studies in intensity, classroom engagement, and expected quality of work. My understanding of why you're taking this class/pursuing this degree is to better equip yourself to succeed in your chosen career (and obviously, change the world). To that end, this class is designed to reflect the kinds of

sources, materials, and assignments you might encounter in the ‘real world’ and provide you with samples of work and actionable examples that can be used in the job application process.

Specifically, by the end of this class you should:

- Gain a solid understanding of Latin American politics and the challenges of conflict and security that the region has faced, both historically and contemporarily.
  - Accurately describe the broad patterns of chronology, state formation and policies, as well as key political developments in Latin America.
  - Develop a complex view of the region’s heterogeneity and distinctive features that influence political and conflict considerations.
  - Understand and assess how regional and international intervention influences both short and long term outcomes for citizens, non-state actors, and states.
- Apply lessons learned from Latin American states to other case studies, both within and external to the region
- Develop professionally valuable skills like clear and concise policy memo writing, oral briefing skills, and innovative media engagement strategies (podcast drafting/recording, writing op-eds, producing infographics)

*A note on content: this class deals with issues and instances of violence. While I have avoided including graphic descriptions or depictions wherever possible, there may be some content you find difficult. Please get in touch if there is a reading or multimedia assignment that is outside your area of comfort and we will work together to find an alternative.*

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#### ZOOM MEETING INFORMATION

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This information is also linked in the Canvas site.

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#### TEXTBOOKS AND OTHER MATERIALS

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**You are not required to purchase any texts for this course. All materials are provided on Canvas.**

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#### ACADEMIC CONDUCT

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All students will be held to policies and procedures listed in the most current Policies and Standards Manual (PSM). This includes but is not limited to our Student Honor Code and regulations on plagiarism. A complete copy of the Policies and Standards Manual (PSM) can be found at

[http://www.miis.edu/media/view/23925/original/policy\\_and\\_standards\\_manual\\_update.pdf](http://www.miis.edu/media/view/23925/original/policy_and_standards_manual_update.pdf).

Self-Plagiarism: Re-use of a student’s work, in part or in its entirety, for another course without the express permission of the course instructor may be considered a form of plagiarism.

I am committed to being a person of integrity and transparency. I expect that you will approach our relationship from a similar place. In this class, it is always preferable to ask permission rather than forgiveness, and I would much rather have an adult conversation about deadlines or

reusing material over levying punitive measures for cheating.

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### EARNING YOUR GRADE

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The purpose of professional graduate education is to directly equip you to perform in your chosen career field. To enable that, the deliverables of this course more closely resemble the type of documents and tasks I have encountered in federal government service and the nonprofit sector, rather than traditional course work you may have been asked to complete in your undergraduate studies.

Assignment	Due Date (All submissions due at 1800 PST)	Percentage
Participation	Ongoing	10
Infographic	3/2	15
Security One Pager	3/30	20
Podcast Episode	5/4	25
Graphical Policy Brief	5/18	30

### WHAT IS PARTICIPATION?

Participation is more than simply showing up (though you can't participate if you don't come to class, so there's some circular logic at play). Participation is:

- Actively engaging in class discussions – both offering your own contributions/opinions as well as actively listening and responding to your classmates' contributions.
  - This is not repeating what somebody else said as if it was your own idea, or saying "I agree with what Nadia said," and then falling silent.
  - If you find speaking in front of groups difficult, I invite you to see this time as a chance to practice a vital workplace skill! We will also break into small groups regularly so you may find it easier to speak up there and then progress to contributing to a whole of class discussion.
- Coming to class having done the readings/watched the videos/listened to the podcasts so you can speak meaningfully about the topic.
- Making an office hour appointment to chat with me about challenging concepts, assignment feedback, or cool NPR segments you heard.

### GRADE DISTRIBUTION

Final grades will be determined using the following percentage scale:

A = 100 – 94, A- = 93 – 90, B+ = 89 – 87, B = 86 – 83, B- = 82 – 80, C+ = 79 – 77, C = 76 – 73, C- = 72 – 70, D+ = 69 – 67, D = 66 – 63, D- = 62 – 60, F = < 60.

### POLICY ON LATE ASSIGNMENTS AND INCOMPLETES

Students are highly encouraged to hand in deliverables on time. Late assignments, if accepted, will be at minimum marked down ½ a grade per day late. Deliverables submitted in an incorrect

or unreadable format will incur late penalties at this same rate as unsubmitted work until a readable copy is submitted.

Please reach out at least 2 working days in advance if requesting deadline flexibility (e.g. an extension). I understand that as graduate students you are often juggling demands of work, family, military or community service, as well as coursework and I'm happy to have a conversation about which deadlines are set in stone and which might be more flexible. Please note: not all deadlines can be flexible and I reserve the right to insist on the original date. Two caveats to this position:

1. Any agreement we come to must be secured in advance: please do not email at 10pm Sunday evening before a 9am Monday morning deadline to ask for an extension. A Monday deadline must be requested by COB on the previous Wednesday.
2. I reserve the right to cease offering a conversation in the case of abuse of the system (asking for extensions or alternative deadlines excessively). Please remember this is not a vending machine set up where you put in a request and I say yes – this is an invitation for a conversation about the ways to make you the most successful in the course.

This policy on assignment flexibility means that except in the direst of circumstances, incompletes in this course are not possible. If I agree to an incomplete, a MIIS form must be filled out, representing a contract between the student and the faculty member on when and how the course will be completed.

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### SCHEDULE

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Dates	Topic	Readings	Deliverables
WEEK 1: 1/31 2/2	Orienting ourselves: Why Violence Types of Violence	Diamint, Rut. "Security Challenges in Latin America." <i>Bulletin of Latin American Research</i> 23, no. 1 (2004): 43–62. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1470-9856.2004.00095.x">https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1470-9856.2004.00095.x</a> .  Gurr, Ted Robert. <i>Why Men Rebel</i> . Routledge, 2015. P 3-21  Hoover Green, Amelia. "How to Read Political Science: A Guide in Four Steps," 2013. <a href="https://calgara.github.io/Pol157_Spring2019/howtoread.pdf">https://calgara.github.io/Pol157_Spring2019/howtoread.pdf</a> .	Syllabus Comments  Map Quiz
WEEK 2: 2/7 2/9	History of the Region	Chasteen, John Charles. <i>Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America</i> . 3rd ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 2011. P 17-93.  Skidmore, Thomas E, and Peter H Smith. <i>Modern Latin America</i> . New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. P 13-26.	
WEEK 3: 2/14	History of the Region	Centeno, Miguel Angel. "Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America." <i>American</i>	

2/16		<p><i>Journal of Sociology</i> 102, no. 6 (May 1997): 1565–1605.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1086/231127">https://doi.org/10.1086/231127</a>.</p> <p>Chasteen, John Charles. <i>Born in Blood and Fire: A Concise History of Latin America</i>. 3rd ed. New York: W.W. Norton, 2011. P 95 – 154.</p> <p>Skidmore, Thomas E, and Peter H Smith. <i>Modern Latin America</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. P 26-42.</p>	
WEEK 4: 2/21 2/23	History of the Region	<p>Skidmore, Thomas E, and Peter H Smith. <i>Modern Latin America</i>. New York: Oxford University Press, 2005. P 42-62.</p> <p>Smith, Peter H., and Ana Covarrubias Velasco. “Latin America: Fighting the Cold War.” In <i>Talons of the Eagle</i>, 5th edition., New York , NY: Oxford University Press, 2021. P 189–217.</p>	
WEEK 5: 2/28 3/2	The State	<p>Bernhard, Isabel. “Signaling Strength While Corroding Communities: Hyper-Militarized Policing in Latin America.” Washington, D.C.: American Security Project, June 10, 2020.  <a href="https://www.americansecurityproject.org/signaling-strength-while-corroding-communities-hyper-militarized-policing-in-latin-america/">https://www.americansecurityproject.org/signaling-strength-while-corroding-communities-hyper-militarized-policing-in-latin-america/</a>.</p> <p>Diamint, Rut. “A New Militarism in Latin America.” <i>Journal of Democracy</i> 26, no. 4 (2015): 155–68.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0066">https://doi.org/10.1353/jod.2015.0066</a>.</p> <p>McSherry, J. Patrice. “Tracking the Origins of a State Terror Network: Operation Condor.” <i>Latin American Perspectives</i> 29, no. 1 (January 1, 2002): 38–60.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X0202900103">https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X0202900103</a>.</p> <p>Otis, John. “Latin America’s Militaries Emerge As Power Brokers, Riot Police And Border Forces.” <i>NPR</i>, February 24, 2020, sec. World.  <a href="https://www.npr.org/2020/02/24/808129649/latin-americas-militaries-emerge-as-power-brokers-riot-police-and-border-forces">https://www.npr.org/2020/02/24/808129649/latin-americas-militaries-emerge-as-power-brokers-riot-police-and-border-forces</a>.</p> <p>Thaler, Kai. “Authoritarian Resilience: Why Bouteflika and Bashir Fell, but Ortega Remains.” <i>Political Violence at a</i></p>	3/2: Infographic

		<p><i>Glance</i> (blog), April 30, 2019.  <a href="https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2019/04/30/authoritarian-resilience-why-bouteflika-and-bashir-fell-but-ortega-remains/">https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2019/04/30/authoritarian-resilience-why-bouteflika-and-bashir-fell-but-ortega-remains/</a>.</p>	
WEEK 6: 3/7 3/9	The State	<p>De Bruin, Erica. “Coups, Protests, and Violence: What to Expect in Bolivia.” <i>Political Violence at a Glance</i> (blog), November 25, 2019.  <a href="https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2019/11/25/coups-protests-and-violence-what-to-expect-in-bolivia/">https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2019/11/25/coups-protests-and-violence-what-to-expect-in-bolivia/</a>.</p> <p>Dyrstad, Karin, and Charles Butcher. “Why Do Some Protests Succeed? The Case of Chile.” <i>Political Violence at a Glance</i> (blog), December 18, 2019.  <a href="https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2019/12/18/why-do-some-protests-succeed-the-case-of-chile/">https://politicalviolenceataglance.org/2019/12/18/why-do-some-protests-succeed-the-case-of-chile/</a>.</p> <p>Fisher, Max. “Bolivia Crisis Shows the Blurry Line Between Coup and Uprising.” <i>The New York Times</i>, November 12, 2019, sec. World.  <a href="https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/12/world/americas/bolivia-evo-morales-coup.html">https://www.nytimes.com/2019/11/12/world/americas/bolivia-evo-morales-coup.html</a>.</p> <p>Gläsel, Christian, Belén González, and Adam Scharpf. “Grist to the Mill of Subversion: Strikes and Coups in Counterinsurgencies.” <i>European Journal of International Relations</i> 26, no. 4 (December 1, 2020): 1032–60.  <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066120923028">https://doi.org/10.1177/1354066120923028</a>.</p>	
WEEK 7: 3/14 3/16	The State	<p>Kaplan, Stephen B., and Michael Penfold. “China and Russia Have Deep Financial Ties to Venezuela. Here’s What’s at Stake.” <i>Washington Post</i>, February 22, 2019, sec. Monkey Cage.  <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/02/22/china-russia-have-deep-financial-ties-venezuela-heres-whats-stake/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2019/02/22/china-russia-have-deep-financial-ties-venezuela-heres-whats-stake/</a>.</p> <p>Rocha de Siqueira, Isabel. “The Case for South-South Cooperation on Peace and Development.” Rio de Janeiro: BRICS Policy Center, March 2019.  <a href="https://bricspolicycenter.org/en/publicacoes/the-case-for-south-south-cooperation-on-peace-and-development/">https://bricspolicycenter.org/en/publicacoes/the-case-for-south-south-cooperation-on-peace-and-development/</a>.</p> <p>Rouvinski, Vladimir. “Understanding Russian Priorities in Latin America.” Washington, D.C.: Wilson Center, 2017.  <a href="https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/docu">https://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/media/docu</a></p>	

		<a href="#">ments/publication/ki_170117_cable_russia_latin_american_v1.pdf.</a>	
WEEK 8: 3/21 3/23	SPRING BREAK		
WEEK 9: 3/28 3/30	Non-State Actors	<p>Burt, Jo-Marie. “Peru’s Military Say Shining Path Insurgents Killed 16 Civilians. Others Are Not so Sure.” <i>Washington Post</i>. June 5, 2021, sec. Monkey Cage. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/06/05/peru-military-say-shining-path-insurgents-killed-16-civilians-others-are-not-so-sure/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2021/06/05/peru-military-say-shining-path-insurgents-killed-16-civilians-others-are-not-so-sure/</a>.</p> <p>Spencer, David E., and Hugo Acha Melgar. “Bolivia, a New Model Insurgency for the 21st Century: From Mao Back to Lenin.” <i>Small Wars &amp; Insurgencies</i> 28, no. 3 (May 4, 2017): 629–60. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2017.1307617">https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2017.1307617</a>.</p> <p>Starn, Orin. “Maoism in the Andes: The Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path and the Refusal of History.” <i>Journal of Latin American Studies</i> 27, no. 2 (May 1995): 399–421.</p>	3/30: Security One Pager
WEEK 10: 4/4 4/6	Non-State Actors	<p>Devereaux, Ryan. “The Hot Land: How a Lime Grower Led an Uprising Against One of Mexico’s Bloodiest Drug Cartels.” <i>The Intercept</i>, June 29, 2016. <a href="https://theintercept.com/2016/06/29/lime-grower-uprising-against-mexico-drug-cartel/">https://theintercept.com/2016/06/29/lime-grower-uprising-against-mexico-drug-cartel/</a>.</p> <p>Phillips, Brian J. “Inequality and the Emergence of Vigilante Organizations: The Case of Mexican Autodefensas.” <i>Comparative Political Studies</i> 50, no. 10 (September 1, 2017): 1358–89. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414016666863">https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414016666863</a>.</p> <p>Tate, Winifred. “Paramilitary Forces in Colombia.” <i>Latin American Research Review</i> 46, no. 3 (2011): 191–200.</p>	
WEEK 11: 4/11 4/13	Crime	<p>Albarracín, Juan, and Nicholas Barnes. “Criminal Violence in Latin America.” <i>Latin American Research Review</i> 55, no. 2 (June 23, 2020): 397–406. <a href="https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.975">https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.975</a>.</p> <p>Bargent, James. “Ecuador: A Cocaine Superhighway to the US and Europe.” <i>InSight Crime</i> (blog), October 30, 2019.</p>	

		<p><a href="https://insightcrime.org/news/analysis/ecuador-a-cocaine-superhighway-to-the-us-and-europe/">https://insightcrime.org/news/analysis/ecuador-a-cocaine-superhighway-to-the-us-and-europe/</a>.</p> <p>“The Criminal Portfolio of the Ex-FARC Mafia.” Medillin: Insight Crime, November 11, 2019. <a href="https://insightcrime.org/investigations/criminal-portfolio-ex-farc-mafia/">https://insightcrime.org/investigations/criminal-portfolio-ex-farc-mafia/</a>.</p> <p>Farfán-Méndez, Cecilia. “The Structure of Drug Trafficking Organizations and Money Laundering Practices: A Risk Appetite Hypothesis.” <i>Journal of Illicit Economies and Development</i> 1, no. 3 (November 29, 2019): 294–311. <a href="https://doi.org/10.31389/jied.1">https://doi.org/10.31389/jied.1</a>.</p>	
WEEK 12: 4/18 4/20	Crime	<p>Barnes, Nicholas. “Criminal Politics: An Integrated Approach to the Study of Organized Crime, Politics, and Violence.” <i>Perspectives on Politics</i> 15, no. 4 (December 2017): 967–87. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717002110">https://doi.org/10.1017/S1537592717002110</a>.</p> <p>Lessing, Benjamin. “Brazil’s Prison Gangs Are Launching Massive Terrorism Attacks. This Explains Why.” <i>Washington Post</i>. January 28, 2019, sec. The Monkey Cage. <a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2019/01/28/why-are-prison-gangs-joining-forces-to-burn-buses-in-brazil-ask-a-lobbyist/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2019/01/28/why-are-prison-gangs-joining-forces-to-burn-buses-in-brazil-ask-a-lobbyist/</a>.</p> <p>Marsh, Nicholas, and Lauren Pinson. “Arms Trafficking.” In <i>The Routledge Handbook of Smuggling</i>. Routledge, 2021.</p>	
WEEK 13: 4/25 4/27	Crime	<p>Feldmann, Andreas E., and Jorge Mantilla. “Criminal Governance in Latin America.” In <i>Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Criminology and Criminal Justice</i>, edited by Henry Pontell, 1–25. Oxford University Press, May 26, 2021. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.697">https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264079.013.697</a>.</p> <p>Ley, Sandra, Shannan Mattiace, and Guillermo Trejo. “Indigenous Resistance to Criminal Governance: Why Regional Ethnic Autonomy Institutions Protect Communities from Narco Rule in Mexico.” <i>Latin American Research Review</i> 54, no. 1 (April 10, 2019): 181–200. <a href="https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.377">https://doi.org/10.25222/larr.377</a>.</p> <p>Magaloni, Beatriz, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, and Vanessa Melo. “Killing in the Slums: Social Order, Criminal</p>	



		Governance, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro.” <i>American Political Science Review</i> 114, no. 2 (May 2020): 552–72. <a href="https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000856">https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055419000856</a> .	
WEEK 14: 5/2 5/4	PODCAST WEEK: NO CLASS MEETINGS		5/4: Full edited podcast uploaded to Canvas by 1800
WEEK 15: 5/9 5/11	Looking ahead: Building Policy Responses	Osborn, Catherine. “Will 2022 Reboot Latin American Regionalism?” <i>Foreign Policy</i> (blog). Accessed January 10, 2022. <a href="https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/12/31/petro-lula-latin-america-regionalism-migration-covid-economy/">https://foreignpolicy.com/2021/12/31/petro-lula-latin-america-regionalism-migration-covid-economy/</a> .  Reid, Michael. “Latin America Is in Danger of Going Back to the Old Normal.” <i>The Economist</i> , November 8, 2021. <a href="http://www.economist.com/the-world-ahead/2021/11/08/latin-america-is-in-danger-of-going-back-to-the-old-normal">http://www.economist.com/the-world-ahead/2021/11/08/latin-america-is-in-danger-of-going-back-to-the-old-normal</a> .  Schechter, Peter, and Juan Cortinas. “2022 Is Going to Be a Tough Year for Latin America.” <i>BRINK – Conversations and Insights on Global Business</i> (blog), December 19, 2021. <a href="https://www.brinknews.com/2022-is-going-to-be-a-tough-year-for-latin-america/">https://www.brinknews.com/2022-is-going-to-be-a-tough-year-for-latin-america/</a> .	5/9: 3 Comments on others podcast episodes
WEEK 16: 5/18	FINALS		5/18: Graphical Policy Brief