

**DRUGS AND POLITICS IN THE AMERICAS
BARNARD COLLEGE, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
SPRING 2018**

**MONDAYS AND WEDNESDAYS / 10:10AM-11:25AM
LOCATION: 302 BARNARD HALL**

Instructor: Prof. Eduardo Moncada
Email: emoncada@barnard.edu

Teaching Assistant (TA): Jackie Davis
Email: jkd2138@columbia.edu

Instructor's Office Hours: Mondays, 12:30PM-4.40PM, at LeFrak 223 *(See below on how to make an appointment online.)*

COURSE DESCRIPTION

One of the major challenges for democracy in much of the developing world is the complex links between illegal drug markets and politics. These linkages span multiple levels, from the micro-dynamics of everyday politics in territories controlled by drug gangs to interdependence between drug trafficking and civil conflict to the contentious politics of global drug regimes. This course will examine these dynamics theoretically and empirically with a focus on the Western Hemisphere (North, Central, and South America as well as the Caribbean).

The first section of the course is designed to bring all class participants onto a level playing field through a historical overview of the drug trade. As part of this first section we will examine the history of specific drugs, consumption patterns, and the factors that facilitate the smuggling of drugs across the Americas. The second portion of the course shifts to a focus on the linkages between the illicit drug trade and politics. This section examines theories to account for patterns of drug-related violence, the drug trafficker and drug gang as political actors, and analyses of participation in the drug trade (specifically the point of sale portion of the production chain). The final section builds on the first two sections by introducing and critically analyzing several of the key debates regarding the "war on drugs." Depending on the availability in their schedules, at points in the semester individuals that have first-hand knowledge of these issues by virtue of their work in policy-oriented organizations may join us to deliver guest lectures.

Learning Objectives

This course will introduce students to the key theories, debates, and empirical studies of the intersection between the drug trade and politics. Students who successfully complete the course will:

1. Acquire a broad knowledge of the theories and concepts used to analyze the illicit drug trade.
2. Develop a theoretically informed and empirically grounded understanding of both historical and contemporary trends in drug trafficking.
3. Enhance understanding of the ways in which illicit markets and politics are mutually constitutive.
4. Draw linkages between widespread media coverage of the drug trade and a range of analytic and theoretical frameworks to critically assess this information.
5. Use existing theories to analyze, assess, and present empirical data, both written and verbal.

COURSE TEXTS

The course readings consist primarily of journal articles or book chapters that are electronically

available from the Columbia library website (CLIO). **Students are responsible for obtaining electronic journal articles via the library website.** Copies of book chapters will be made available on the Canvas website, as copyright law allows.

COURSE LOGISTICS

This course consists primarily of lectures. The lectures build on the readings and are not substitutes for the readings. Please note that although the lecture slides will be made available online after each class, they rarely provide the detailed information from the lectures that is important for understanding the course materials and writing the required essays.

Laptops, Tablets, and Cell Phones

Recent studies find that the use of laptops and tablets in classroom settings reduces the ability of the users and fellow classmates to effectively learn, as evidenced by lower examination grades.¹ **As such, students are not allowed to use laptops, tablets, or cell phones during the classroom for this course.**

Communication

The most effective way to reach me outside of office hours is via email. When communicating via email, please remember to be professional in your tone (and I will do the same). It is your responsibility to ensure that you have a Barnard or Columbia email in place and that you check it on a daily basis. I regularly send news regarding updates to the syllabus or other course notifications via email using the Canvas email system.

ASSIGNMENTS AND GRADES

❖ *Class Attendance (10 pts)*

You are required to attend each class. Each unexcused absence results in a 1 point deduction from this portion of your grade.

❖ *In-Class Participation (15 pts)*

Being physically present is not the same thing as participating in class. Your participation grade requires active engagement in class – ask questions and join class discussions. Engagement with your fellow students and I should always be respectful – we are together a couple of hours each week for the next few months, so let us get as much productive and constructive use out of them as possible.

❖ *In Class Writing Exercises (30 pts)*

Throughout the semester we will engage in three in-class writing exercises, each of which will last the entirety of the class. Each assignment is worth ten points. Two of these assignments are group-based, and students complete one individually. **The exercises are based on the readings and lectures.** If you are absent on a day when we complete a writing assignment, only a valid and substantiated **medical** reason for having missed class will suffice to be granted a make-up assignment. It is your responsibility to reach out to the Instructor to confirm your eligibility for a make-up assignment and to complete it -- **all within 4 weekdays of the missed class. Make-ups after four weekdays are not allowed under any circumstances.**

¹ See Sana et al. “Laptop multitasking hinders classroom learning for both users and nearby peers.” *Computers and Education* Vol. 62 (2013): 24-31.

❖ *Three Essays (45 pts)*

Students will prepare three essays for this course. The essays are take-home and “open-book.” Essays are graded based on three criteria. *First*, does the essay demonstrate an understanding of the key points from the readings and lectures? *Second*, does the essay use the readings and lectures to make an argument and not just recite the key points? And *third*, is the essay well written (i.e., sentence structure, grammar, spelling, etc.) and logically structured (i.e., key points are clearly stipulated and substantiated with evidence)?

Essay 1 (10 pts): Short essay that covers the material from Section I of the class. A single essay question will be made available on January 31st on Canvas and the essay will be due on **February 9th by 5:00pm** via Canvas. The essay should be between 5-6 pages, not including the References or Appendix. **Do not submit your essay via email or hardcopy – it will be counted as late (see below for the policy on late assignments).**

Essay 2 (15 pts): Long essay that covers the material from Section II of the class. A single essay question will be made available on March 5th via Canvas and the essay will be due on **March 20th by 5:00pm** via Canvas. The essay should be between 7-8 pages, not including the References or Appendix. **Do not submit the essay via email or hardcopy – it will be counted as late (see below for the policy on late assignments).**

Essay 3 (20 pts): Long essay that covers the material from the entire semester. Students will choose from two possible essay questions that will be made available on April 6th via Canvas and the essay will be due on **May 6th by 5:00pm** via Canvas. The essay should be between 10-11 pages, not including the References or Appendices. **Do not submit the essay via email or hardcopy – it will be counted as late (see below for the policy on late assignments).**

Writing Guidelines

All essays must be in Times New Roman font, 12-point size, double-spaced with one-inch margins all around. All documents should be submitted as .doc or .docx files – **PDFs are not accepted and will be counted as late (see below for the policy on late assignments) until the file is submitted in the appropriate format.** Save your file using the following title: LAST NAME_FIRST NAME_ASSIGNMENT TITLE (e.g., Essay 1). Be sure to proofread and spell-check all documents before submitting them.

Note: Citation style is MLA parenthetical (see <https://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/747/01/>). Footnotes should be used instead of endnotes for expanding on particular points or providing background.

Academic Honesty

This course has a zero tolerance policy regarding plagiarism. Violations of the Honor Code will result in disciplinary proceedings and significant consequences. Information on the Honor Code is available here: https://barnard.edu/sites/default/files/honor_system_booklet_2012.pdf

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Policy on Late Essay Assignments

Essay assignments that are submitted past the indicated deadline will automatically receive a five-point deduction. An additional five points is deducted for every 24 hours the assignment is late. No assignments are accepted past 7 days from when they were due. Requests for an extension are rarely granted, but if you insist, such requests must be submitted at least 48 hours beforehand in writing (via email) and must be accompanied by official documentation attesting to either a family or medical emergency.

Grading Structure

- A+: 99 – 100
- A: 93 – 98.99
- A-: 90 – 92.99
- B+: 87 – 89.99
- B: 83 – 86.99
- B-: 80 – 82.99
- C+: 77 – 79.99
- C: 73 – 76.99
- C-: 70 – 72.99
- D: 60 – 69.99
- F: below 60

If you feel that a grade on an essay was given in error, wait one week after receiving the graded essay before requesting that the grade be re-evaluated. To make such a request, send the instructor (via email) a single page typed document (in .doc format) indicating why you believe that the grade is incorrect and schedule a meeting during office hours to discuss your document, the assignment, and the grade. Please note that there are no extra credit assignments, and no exceptions are made in this regard.

Office Hours

Office hours are structured through appointments only. You can make an appointment here: <https://moncada-barnardcolumbia.youcanbook.me/>

WELLNESS STATEMENT

It is important for undergraduates to recognize and identify the different pressures, burdens, and stressors you may be facing, whether personal, emotional, physical, financial, mental, or academic. We as a community urge you to make yourself--your own health, sanity, and wellness--your priority throughout this term and your career here. Sleep, exercise, and eating well can all be a part of a healthy regimen to cope with stress. Resources exist to support you in several sectors of your life, and we encourage you to make use of them. Should you have any questions about navigating these resources, please visit these sites:

- <http://barnard.edu/primarycare>
- <http://barnard.edu/counseling>
- <http://barnard.edu/wellwoman/about>
- [Stressbusters Support Network](#)

DISABILITIES

If you are a student with a documented disability and require academic accommodations, you must visit the Office of Disability Services (ODS) for assistance. Students requesting eligible accommodations in their courses will need to first meet with an ODS staff member for an intake meeting. Once registered, students are required to visit ODS each semester to set up new accommodations and learn how to notify faculty. Accommodations are not retroactive, so it is best to register with ODS early each semester to access your accommodations. If you are registered with ODS, please see me to schedule a meeting outside of class in which you can bring me your faculty notification letter and we can discuss your accommodations for this course. Students are not eligible to use their accommodations in this course until they have met with me. ODS is located in Milbank Hall, Room 008.

SECTION I: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF DRUGS: FROM LICIT TO ILLICIT

CLASS 1: INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE WEDNESDAY - JANUARY 17

Before coming to class, watch the film, *Breaking the Taboo*, a short (~60 minutes) documentary on the war on drugs.² The film is available at no charge at the following website:

<https://goo.gl/iAAcMM>

CLASS 2: DRUGS: AN OVERVIEW MONDAY – JANUARY 22

Gootenberg, Paul. "Cocaine Powder and Crack Cocaine." *The Handbook of Drugs and Society* (2015): 90-109. **Note: Available on Canvas.**

Hudak, John. *Marijuana: a short history*. Brookings Institution Press, 2016. *Chapter 2*. **Note: Available on Canvas.**

CLASS 3: MAPPING DRUG PRODUCTION WEDNESDAY – JANUARY 24

Gootenberg, Paul. "The Pre-Colombian Era of Drug Trafficking in the Americas: Cocaine, 1945-1965." *The Americas* 64.2 (2007): 133-176.

Thoumi, Francisco E. "The Colombian competitive advantage in illegal drugs: the role of policies and institutional changes." *Journal of Drug Issues* 35.1 (2005): 7-25.

CLASS 4: MAPPING DRUG CONSUMPTION MONDAY – JANUARY 29

Reuter, Peter, and Victoria Greenfield. "Measuring global drug markets." *World Economics* 2.4 (2001): 159-173.

Andreas, Peter. "The politics of measuring illicit flows and policy effectiveness." In *Sex, drugs, and body counts: The politics of numbers in global crime and conflict*. Cornell University Press (2010): 23-45. **Note: Electronic version of this book is available on Clio.**

² Note that the online version of the film includes a short Q&A session with people involved in the film's production. You are not required to view this portion of the film, but you are welcome to do so if you so please.

SECTION II: THE ILLICIT DRUG TRADE AND POLITICS

CLASS 5: DRUGS AND VIOLENCE: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES WEDNESDAY – JANUARY 31

Friman, H. Richard. "Drug markets and the selective use of violence." *Crime, law and social change* 52.3 (2009): 285-295.

Werb, Dan, Greg Rowell, Gordon Guyatt, Thomas Kerr, Julio Montaner, and Evan Wood. "Effect of drug law enforcement on drug market violence: A systematic review." *International Journal of Drug Policy* 22, no. 2 (2011): 87-94.

Note: Essay 1 is available today on Canvas at 5:00PM.

CLASS 6: THE DRUG TRADE AND VIOLENCE: MEXICO MONDAY – FEBRUARY 5

Castillo, Juan Camilo, Daniel Mejía, and Pascual Restrepo. "Illegal drug markets and violence in Mexico: The causes beyond Calderón." *Unpublished manuscript, Stanford University (available [here.](#))*

Snyder, Richard, and Angelica Duran-Martinez. "Does illegality breed violence? Drug trafficking and state-sponsored protection rackets." *Crime, law and social change* 52.3 (2009): 253-273.

CLASS 7: THE DRUG TRADE AND VIOLENCE: BRAZIL WEDNESDAY – FEBRUARY 7

Anderson, John Lee. "A Reporter at Large: Gangland: Who Controls the Streets of Rio de Janeiro?" *The New Yorker*, October 5, 2009: 47-57.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. "The impacts of differential armed dominance of politics in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil." *Studies in Comparative International Development* 48.3 (2013): 263-284.

CLASS 8: THE DRUG TRADE DURING CIVIL WAR: COLOMBIA MONDAY – FEBRUARY 12

LeoGrande, William M., and Kenneth E. Sharpe. "Two Wars or One? Drugs, Guerrillas, and Colombia's New "Violencia"." *World Policy Journal* (2000): 1-11.

**CLASS 9: INDIVIDUAL IN-CLASS WRITING ASSIGNMENT
WEDNESDAY – FEBRUARY 14**

**CLASS 10: THE DRUG TRADE IN THE WAKE OF CIVIL WAR: CENTRAL AMERICA
MONDAY- FEBRUARY 19**

Arana, Ana. "How the street gangs took Central America." *Foreign Affairs* 84.3 (2005): 98-110.

Miguel Cruz, José. "Central American maras: from youth street gangs to transnational protection rackets." *Global Crime* 11, no. 4 (2010): 379-398.

**CLASS 11: DRUGS, CITIZENSHIP, AND VOTES
WEDNESDAY – FEBRUARY 21**

Jaffe, Rivke. "The hybrid state: Crime and citizenship in urban Jamaica." *American Ethnologist* 40.4 (2013): 734-748.

Sives, Amanda. "Changing patrons, from politician to drug don: clientelism in downtown Kingston, Jamaica." *Latin American Perspectives* (2002): 66-89.

**CLASS 12: GENDER AND THE DRUG TRADE
MONDAY – FEBRUARY 26**

Hume, Mo. *The politics of violence: gender, conflict and community in El Salvador*. Wiley-Blackwell, 2009 (Selected chapters).

Menjívar, Cecilia, and Shannon Drysdale Walsh. "The architecture of femicide: the state, inequalities, and everyday gender violence in Honduras." *Latin American research review* 52, no. 2 (2017).

**CLASS 13: FILM: LA SIERRA
WEDNESDAY – FEBRUARY 28**

**CLASS 14: TEAM-BASED IN-CLASS WRITING ASSIGNMENT
MONDAY - MARCH 5**

Note: Essay 2 is available today on Canvas at 5:00pm.

SPRING BREAK: MARCH 10 – 18

SECTION III: DRUG POLICY AND POLITICS

CLASS 15: SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR ON DRUGS IN U.S. (I): DRUG POLICY REGIME

MONDAY – MARCH 19

Before coming to class, students will be assigned to independently watch and discuss *The House I Live In* (1.5 hours).

CLASS 16: SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE WAR ON DRUGS IN THE U.S. (II): RACE AND INCARCERATION

WEDNESDAY – MARCH 21

Bobo, Lawrence D., and Victor Thompson. "Unfair by design: The war on drugs, race, and the legitimacy of the criminal justice system." *Social Research* (2006): 445-472.

Pettit, Becky, and Bruce Western. "Mass imprisonment and the life course: Race and class inequality in US incarceration." *American Sociological Review* 69.2 (2004): 151-169.

CLASS 17: WAR ON DRUGS IN PRODUCER NATIONS

MONDAY – MARCH 26

Caulkins, Jonathan P., et al. *How Goes the "War on Drugs"?*. Rand Corporation, 2005, Entire monograph (60 pages total)

CLASS 18: SOCIAL RESPONSES TO DRUG-RELATED CRIME

WEDNESDAY – MARCH 28

READINGS TBD

CLASS 19: SOCIAL RESISTANCE TO DRUG-RELATED CRIME: INSTRUCTOR'S RESEARCH PRESENTATION

MONDAY – APRIL 2

CLASS 20: DRUGS AND TERRORISM: CONNECTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

WEDNESDAY - APRIL 4

Sanderson, Thomas M. "Transnational terror and organized crime: blurring the lines." *SAIS Review of International Affairs* 24.1 (2004): 49-61.

ProPublica. “The Narco-Terror Trap.” 2015. Available at:
<https://www.propublica.org/article/the-dea-narco-terror-trap>.

CLASS 21: GUEST LECTURE: TITLE TBD

Ames Grawert, Justice Program, Brennan Center for Justice

MONDAY – APRIL 9

READINGS TBD

CLASS 22: LEGALIZATION

WEDNESDAY – APRIL 11

Huggins, Laura (Ed.). “The Decriminalization Deadlock.” In *Drug war Deadlock*. Hoover Institution Press (1999).

CLASS 23: GUEST LECTURE: TITLE TBD

Christopher Alexander, Drug Policy Alliance (New York State Office)

MONDAY – APRIL 16

READINGS TBD

Note: Essay 3 is available today on Canvas at 5:00pm.

CLASS 24: TEAM-BASED IN-CLASS WRITING ASSIGNMENT

WEDNESDAY – APRIL 18

CLASS 25: GUEST LECTURE: ILLICIT DRUGS, SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE

Diego Garcia Devis, Global Drug Policy Program, Open Society Foundation

MONDAY – APRIL 23

CLASS 26: TOPIC TBD

WEDNESDAY – APRIL 25

CLASS 27: CATCH UP AND WRAP UP

MONDAY – APRIL 30