

Law and Order in the Americas
CCJ 5934/4934
LAS 6938/4935
SYA 7933/4930
M | Period 6 - 8
(12:50 PM - 3:50 PM)
MAT 0112

Instructor: Dr. Rebecca Hanson

Email: r.hanson@ufl.edu

Office phone: 352-294-7191

Office: 3360 Turlington Hall

Office hours: Tuesdays 12:30 – 2:30

All communication regarding this course should occur through Canvas. If you need to contact me about anything course related, please do so through Canvas, not via email.

REQUIRED READINGS

1. Javier Auyero and Katherine Sobering. 2019. *The Ambivalent State: Police-Criminal Collusion at the Urban Margins*. Oxford University Press
2. David Brinks, Steven Levitsky, Maria Victoria Murillo. 2020. *The Politics of Institutional Weakness in Latin America*. Cambridge University Press (The online version of this book is available for free through the UF Library)
3. Anthony Fontes. 2018. *Mortal Doubt: Transnational Gangs and Social Order in Guatemala City*. University of California Press
4. Janice Gallagher. 2023. *Bootstrap Justice: The Search for Mexico's Disappeared*. Oxford University Press
5. Daniel Goldstein. 2016. *Owners of the Sidewalk: Security and Survival in the Informal City*. Duke University Press (The online version of this book is available for free through the UF Library)

All other readings are available through Canvas.

COURSE OVERVIEW

Law and order are concepts often invoked when politicians promote anti-crime policies and when civil society organizations demand protection and security from the state, but the conceptualization of law and order and ideas about how to achieve these vary according to historical context, state

capacity, and formal and informal policies. In this class, we will follow how institutions associated with law and order developed in Latin America and how they have been transformed by recent changes in the region. We will examine how state development and state capacity shape institutions and practices of law and order and interrogate the relationship between law, order, and violence. Throughout the course we will examine case studies in Brazil, Guatemala, El Salvador, Venezuela, and other countries to understand how law and order are reproduced in the Americas and under what conditions laws, rights, and citizenship are suspended in the name of order.

CLASS POLICIES & CULTURE

Throughout the semester we will work to create an inclusive space. Be mindful of how you can contribute to an academic environment in which people of all identities are encouraged to contribute to discussions. In order to maintain a productive classroom environment for all, it is essential to listen carefully to others and to voice dissent in a respectful manner. If you tend to talk a lot, make sure it is not to the detriment of others who want to speak. Don't interrupt others. If someone who rarely speaks suddenly wants to voice their opinion, consider ceding the floor to them. Respect for your fellow students, your professor, and the educational process is expected at all times. While I encourage dissenting opinions and debate, discriminatory language (racist, sexist, homophobic, etc.) will not be tolerated.

Laptop Policy – Students should bring **laptops or hard copies** of readings to every class session. If you do not have regular access to a laptop and/or printer please see me after the first day of class. Laptops are to be used for course work and course readings only. Students using laptops for non-class purposes will receive a grade penalty.

Cell Phone Policy – Put away your cell phone during the class, unless you have an emergency or other extenuating circumstances that require others be able to contact you. In this case, please let me know before class that you may need to keep your phone out. I understand that students many not want to share details about these situations and circumstances. I do not require a detailed explanation for why students need to have a phone available, but I do need to know before class that there is a reason for keeping it out.

On Seminars – This is a graduate and upper-level undergraduate seminar, not a lecture-based course. Seminars are a part of your development as a professional. They are integral to your transition from being a student who receives knowledge and information in classes to an active participant engaged in constructive criticism and the production of knowledge.

Seminars are constructed in interaction, and the professor is more of a supervisor than a lecturer. I will provide a brief introduction and/overview in some class sessions and will try to provide an environment in which everyone feels comfortable participating, but responsibility for the seminar is borne collectively. In order for this format to be successful, students must come to class prepared to discuss the readings (preferably with written comments and at least one question of your own).

If you have questions about the seminar format and expectations, feel free to talk with me and/or review the following website: <https://grad.uw.edu/for-students-and-post-docs/core-programs/mentoring/mentor-memos/succeeding-in-a-graduate-seminar/>

Accommodations – Students may find themselves limited in their ability to accomplish course requirements for a variety of reasons, including but not limited to: autism, visible physical disability, non-visible physical disability or chronic illness, learning disability, mental illness, and bereavement processes. I aim to provide an inclusive and safe environment for all students and will work with the Disability Support Services and/or students to maintain an accessible and accommodating classroom. Disability Resource Center facilitates accommodations for medically documented disabilities and is located at 0001 Building 0020-Reid Hall (<http://www.dso.ufl.edu/drc/>; accessuf@dso.ufl.edu; Voice 352-392-8565; Fax, 352-392-8570).

Some students seeking disability accommodations may choose to do so through non-medical routes. I recognize potential barriers to seeking medical disability accommodations and will work with students seeking non-medical disability accommodations to specify a plan of action, if needed. Please notify me as soon as possible of any accommodation needs.

Health and Counseling – Health and counseling services are available for students in at the UF Counseling and Wellness Center: <http://www.counseling.ufl.edu/cwc>; 392-1575; and the University Police Department: 392-1111 or 9-1-1 for emergencies.

Student Names and Personal Pronouns – I will refer to students with the name and pronoun that feels best for them in class or on assignments. Please advise me of any name or pronoun changes so I can help create a learning environment in which you, your name, and your pronoun are respected. If you need any assistance or support, please reach out to the LGBT Affairs, <https://lgbtq.multicultural.ufl.edu/>.

Inclusivity Statement – It is my intent that students from all diverse backgrounds and perspectives be well served by this course and that the diversity that students bring to this class be viewed as a resource, strength and benefit. It is my intent to present materials and activities that are respectful of diversity. Your suggestions are encouraged and appreciated. Please let me know ways to improve the effectiveness of the course for you personally or for other students or student groups. In addition, if any of our class meetings conflict with your religious events, please let me know in advance so that we can make arrangements.

Excused Absence Policy – Excused absences include exposure to others that test positive for Covid, indications that you might have Covid, other serious or contagious illnesses, personal or family emergencies, university-sponsored activities, or religious holidays that require your absence from campus. You may be asked to provide documentation verifying your absence. If you know about an excused absence ahead of time, as in the case of a university sponsored-activity or religious holiday, let me know as soon as possible. Absences due to vacations, optional doctor appointments (e.g. teeth cleaning), or to be a spectator at an event are NOT excused. All other absences will be assessed on a case-by-case basis.

Late Work and Extensions – If you know you will not be able to turn in the assignment on time, please notify me as early as possible. **Extensions must be arranged in advance.** We can discuss extensions in person, but I will ask you to send a confirmation email of our agreement. When you submit an assignment for which you have received an extension, submit the assignment via CANVAS along with a screenshot of the confirmation email.

Grade Appeals – Grades will not be discussed via e-mail. If you have a question or a complaint about your grade, please contact me within 48 hours of posting to arrange a meeting time.

Course evaluations – Students are expected to provide professional and respectful feedback on the quality of instruction in this course by completing course evaluations online via GatorEvals. Guidance on how to give feedback in a professional and respectful manner is available at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/students/>. Students will be notified when the evaluation period opens, and can complete evaluations through the email they receive from GatorEvals, in their CANVAS course menu under GatorEvals, or via <https://ufl.bluera.com/ufl/>. Summaries of course evaluation results are available to students at <https://gatorevals.aa.ufl.edu/public-results/>.

COURSE ASSIGNMENTS

All assignments must be uploaded as an editable document (Word document or an equivalent) and not as a PDF. Include page numbers, your name, data of submission, and the name of the assignment at the top.

Leading Class – Each student will lead class once during the semester, in groups of two or three. Leading class will have three essential elements. First, the students leading the class will post discussion questions to CANVAS before class. Second, class leaders will present a brief overview of the readings. The overview should last no longer than 10 minutes and should cover general arguments and claims in the readings. The goal of an overview is to refresh people’s memories about the texts we are reading, not to explore them in-depth. Finally class leaders will direct discussion during class based on their questions.

Class leaders are not expected to cover all readings in their discussion period. Indeed, I encourage students to develop questions specific to their readings of interest but also synthesis questions that draw on multiple readings. Rather than seeing this as a “test” of your leadership or teaching skills, think about this component as the chance to discuss and dig into the parts of the readings that you find most interesting or problematic.

Tips on how to write questions for class discussion can be found in the ADDITIONAL MATERIALS folder in Canvas.

Reading Notes – Students will upload reading notes – 500 word minimum for undergraduates 750 word minimum for graduate students– for each class **starting September 11. Reading notes must be uploaded through Canvas before class.** You should also bring a print copy to class or on your laptop/tablet. You do not have to engage with all of the texts we read each week but will only receive credit for notes if you complete the assignment in a timely manner and critically engage with a few texts of most interest to you. Each reading note is worth 2 point towards your final grade. You are allowed to miss up to two class session’s reading notes. If you complete reading notes for all class sessions, you will receive an additional 2 point towards your final grade. **Make sure to include your name, class date, and topic at the top of your reading notes!!!**

Reading notes are useful for several reasons.

- They prepare students to come to class ready to engage in discussion
- Studies suggest that we retain information better if we take notes while reading
- Reading notes allow students to synthesize ideas, work through concepts, and develop opinions before having to articulate them in discussion

While I often review student notes before class, I do not provide feedback on reading notes.

Class Participation – There are various approaches to understanding law and order in Latin America. Part of this course involves students identifying which approaches and theories they find most useful and learning how to defend these choices. Discussion, debate, and constructive criticism are all integral to this process. While I will lecture at the beginning of some classes, much more time will be spent discussing, evaluating, and criticizing the readings assigned for the day. Classes will be much richer and beneficial if everyone comes to class prepared to discuss the readings, particularly in relation to your own research and research interests. The goal of our discussions in class is not to test your memory of the readings or to quiz you on the entirety of a text. Rather, they are a space for us to collectively work through the claims, arguments, and implications of the texts that we read, and go beyond them.

Content Analysis – Students will construct a conceptual content analysis of newspaper articles over the course of the semester. News stories can be in English, Portuguese, or Spanish. The content analysis will be oriented around a particular question related to topics discussed in class. Students

will present drafts of the content analysis throughout the semester. See the ADDITIONAL MATERIALS folder in Canvas for further instructions.

Grading

Leading class	10
Reading Notes	20
Participation	20
Content Analysis Workshopping	20
Content Analysis	30
Total	100

Grading Scale

A	94 and above
A-	90-93
B+	87-89
B	83-86
B-	79-82
C+	76-78
C	72-75
C-	69-71
D+	66-68
D	62-65
D-	59-61
E	58 and below

The syllabus is a general plan for the course. Deviations announced to the class by the instructor may be necessary.

August 28	<p>INTRODUCTION</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review syllabus and assignments • Review course expectations • How to read for course • Organize class leading groups • Organize content analysis groups
Sept. 4	<p>*LABOR DAY NO CLASS*</p>
Sept. 11	<p>THEORIES OF THE STATE, LAW, AND ORDER</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Blood and Debt: War and Taxation in Nineteenth-Century Latin America, Miguel Centeno 2. Selections from Leviathan, Thomas Hobbes 3. What is to Be Done About Law and Order?, John Lea and Jock Young 4. Governmentality, review essay Nikolas Rose, Pat O'Malley, and Mariana Valverde
Sept. 18	<p>STATE CAPACITY IN LATIN AMERICA</p> <p>The Politics of Institutional Weakness in Latin America, Steven Levitsky, Daniel M. Brinks, Maria Victoria Murillo, Chapters 1, 5, 6</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*No class/Out of Class Assignment* *Submit questions/topics for content analysis through Canvas before 3:00pm*</p>
Sept. 25	<p>INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. “Extraordinary” Police Operations in Venezuela, Tosca Hernández 2. From Bureaucratic Consolidation to Structural Devolution: Police Death Squads in Brazil, Martha Huggins 3. Legacies of Authoritarianism Brazilian Torturers’ and Murderers’ Reformulation of Memory, Martha Huggins 4. Latin American National Security Doctrines: Hard- and Softline Themes, David Pion-Berlin
Oct. 2	<p>INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Preventing Rebel Resurgence after Civil War: A Field Experiment in Security and Justice Provision in Rural Colombia, Robert A. Blair et al. 2. Police Reform and the Peace Process in Guatemala: The Fifth Promotion of the National Civilian Police, Marie-Louise Glebbeek

	<p>3. The Architecture of Femicide: The State, Inequalities, and Everyday Gender Violence in Honduras, Cecilia Menjívar and Shannon Drysdale Walsh</p> <p>4. Breaking state impunity in post-authoritarian regimes: Why transitional justice processes deter criminal violence in new democracies, Guillermo Trejo, Juan Albarracín, and Lucía Tiscornia</p> <p>*Submit additional readings for content analysis through Canvas before class*</p>
Oct. 9	<p>POLICING IN CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA</p> <p>1. Confidence in the police in Latin America, Liqun Cao a, Jihong Solomon Zhao</p> <p>2. Masculinity, Insecure Spaces, and Policing in Venezuela, Rebecca Hanson</p> <p>3. From carceral punitivism to systematic killing: The necropolitics of policing in post-Chávez Venezuela, Rebecca Hanson and Verónica Zubillaga</p> <p>4. Violence in Latin America: An Overview of Research and Issues, Carlos Vilalta</p> <p>*Submit list of news stories for content analysis through Canvas before class*</p>
Oct. 16	<p>POLICING IN CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA</p> <p>The Ambivalent State: Police-Criminal Collusion at the Urban Margins, Javier Auyero and Katherine Sobering, Chapters 2, 4-6</p>
Oct. 23	<p>STATE JUDICIAL BUREAUCRACIES</p> <p>Bootstrap Justice: The Search for Mexico's Disappeared, Janice K. Gallagher, Chapters 1-3, 5-6</p> <p>*Content Analysis Group 1 Workshopping*</p>
Oct. 30	<p>PRISONS</p> <p>1. The Lights of Peonía: Violence and Prison Order in Venezuela, Andrés Antillano</p> <p>2. The Venezuelan prison: from neoliberalism to the Bolivarian revolution, Andrés Antillano, et al.</p> <p>3. Gothic Sovereignty: Gangs and Criminal Community in a Honduran Prison, Jon Carter</p> <p>4. From dispersed to monopolized violence: expansion and consolidation of the Primeiro Comando da Capital's Hegemony in São Paulo's prisons, Camila Nunes Dias & Sacha Darke</p> <p>*Content Analysis Group 2 Workshopping*</p>

Nov. 6	<p>CONTESTED SOVEREINGTY</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Violent Democracies, Desmond Arias and Daniel Goldstein 2. Lynching and Power in the United States: Southern, Western, and National Vigilante Violence, Kathleen Belew 3. Criminal Governance, Benjamin Lessing 4. Resisting Protection: Rackets, Resistance, and State Building, Eduardo Moncada <p style="text-align: center;">*Content Analysis Group 3 Workshopping*</p>
Nov. 13	<p>CONTESTED SOVEREINGTY</p> <p>Mortal Doubt: Transnational Gangs and Social Order in Guatemala City, Anthony Fontes, Introduction, Chapters, Parts I and II</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*Content Analysis Group 4 Workshopping*</p>
Nov. 20	<p>PUNITIVISM/ MILITARIZATION</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Militarization of Law Enforcement: Evidence from Latin America Gustavo A. Flores-Macías and Jessica Zarkin 2. Militarization fails to enhance police safety or reduce crime but may harm police reputation, Jonathan Mummolo 3. The Pressure to Bring in a Body: How Systematic Killing Transformed Police Raids and Gangs in Post-Chávez Venezuela, Leonard Gómez Núñez and Rebecca Hanson 4. Armed Forces, Police and Crime-fighting in Latin America David Pion-Berlin and Miguel Carreras <p style="text-align: center;">*Content Analysis Group 1 and 2 Workshopping*</p>
Nov. 27	<p>SECURITY AND SURVIVAL</p> <p>Owners of the Sidewalk: Security and Survival in the Informal City, Daniel Goldstein, pp. 64-121, 139-213</p> <p style="text-align: center;">*Content Analysis Group 3 and 4*</p>
Dec. 4	*Workshopping content analysis*
Dec. 11	*Submit content analysis through Canvas by 11:59pm*
Dec. 18	Grades due