**Security in the Global South: Latin America case study**

Academic Program:

[Master of Arts in Public Policy](https://courses.ceu.edu/programs/ma/master-arts-public-policy)

[Master of Arts in Public Policy (Mundus MAPP)](https://courses.ceu.edu/programs/ma/master-arts-public-policy-mundus-mapp)

[Master of Public Administration (2 years)](https://courses.ceu.edu/programs/mpa/master-public-administration-2-years)

Instructor: [Julia Buxton](https://people.ceu.edu/node/1844)

Credits: 2.0

Term: Fall

Course Description:

***Elective course, Security Specialization / Concentration***

This course examines security policies, priorities and concerns in the Global South, through reference to the case study of Central and Latin America – the region with the world’s highest rates of homicide and inequality in addition to problems of displacement and small arms (guns) proliferation. It assesses the shift from ‘hard’ to ‘human’ security led by key regional organizations (ie the Organization of American States, UNASUR), moving from the traditional hemispheric security ‘matrix’ dominated by the US and preoccupation with communist ‘containment’, through to the contemporary period of diverse and multidimensional security challenges including gang and drug related violence, femicide and land grabs. State actors and state violence are a particular focus, with the course locating current issues of impunity and popular insecurity in the inadequacy of police and criminal justice reform and demobilization processes after civil war (ie Guatemala, El Salvador, Peru, Colombia) and military dictatorship (ie Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia), in addition to ongoing structural challenges of inequality, racism, patriarchy and marginalization.

***Learning Outcomes***:

At the end of this course, students will have:

* Critical understanding of the actors, dynamics and processes of security problematization and policy in the Western Hemisphere (South America);
* Knowledge of historical shifts in regional security debates and the different approaches through which these changes are understood and analyzed;
* Experience of quantitative and qualitative information sources for policy related research and writing on security in South America, and awareness of cognitive pitfalls (ethics, validation and objectivity) in research and application.

***Assessment***:

The assessment for this course is a 2,500 word security briefing that focuses on any chosen country in the region and of which 30% of the final grade will come from posting and commenting on drafts of your colleagues briefings on moodle. Security briefings are routinely provided for governments, NGOs, donors and the private sector before and (usually) during project and investment initiation. We will discuss structure of the assessment in class, but the aim is to assess how far you are capable of identifying and analysing the security challenges and risks in a particular country or region of your choice. The date for assessment submission will be confirmed in class but will be on completion of the course. However, you must begin posting your assessment outline (and commenting on those of others) by week 4, building the assessment to a regular fortnightly posting before completion and submission. Grading criteria are set out in the SPP (and CEU) student handbook.

Examples of how to conduct a good security assessment include the DCAF, ICRC and IPIECA guide:

<http://www.securityhumanrightshub.org/sites/default/files/publications/Host_Country_Security_Assessment_Guide.pdf>

**Course Outline and Schedule**

Note that the course runs as double sessions (alternate weeks) on Thursday afternoons and starting in the second week of term. This means that you must complete the reading and assessment requirements set out before our fortnightly classes. The final two sessions will run over successive weeks, enabling you to have a longer period to finalise your readings and assessment at the end of the term.

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Session 1 | Overview session: A profile of Latin America  Understanding security and security actors  Framing the course: contemporary security challenges  Examining security in conflict zones : safety and research considerations |
| Session 2 | The Cold War in historical and current context  From state to human security agendas |
| Session 3 | Violence and insecurity: homicide, femicide, gangs, weapons and crime |
| Session 4 | Drug wars, counter narcotics and organized crime |
| Session 5 | Criminal justice, police, SSR and prison systems |
| Session 6 | Conflict and peace: the Colombian peace process  Future challenges |

**Reading and session overview**

The reading listed below should be complemented by your own country specific research for your security assessment. A number of key journals are listed as acronyms below: BLAR (Bulletin Latin American Research), JLAS (Journal of Latin American Studies) etc. The Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) is an excellent resource so familiarise yourself with the site and its resources: <https://www.wola.org/programs/> also the Latin America Bureau <https://lab.org.uk/> and Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC / CEPAL) <http://www.cepal.org/?idioma=IN>; Latinobarometro <http://www.latinobarometro.org/lat.jsp> and Human Rights Watch: Americas <http://www.hrw.org/americas>

For the security assessment, organizations such as SIPRI (Stockholm International Peace Research Institute) <https://sipri.org/> have excellent resources. Also worth researching for country specific information is the Council of the Americas ie <http://www.as-coa.org/articles/visual-breakdown-military-spending-latin-america> and (for more socio-demographic info) the Economist Intelligence Unit.

While I have mainly listed journal articles here, the library has a good collection of books that cover many of the topic areas that we are discussing. An indicative guide is presented in the readings. You are not expected to read every single recommended reading in each of the session lists below, but a minimum of three pieces (in addition to your country specific research) is expected.

**Session 1: Overview**

In this first session, we will examine the socio-economic, demographic, institutional and other relevant characteristics in order to profile the region. A brief historical overview will be provided in order to engage you in scholarship on regime types, historical phases and hemispheric relations – with particular attention given to the key hemispheric actor – the USA, and regional organisations (OAS, UNASUR, ALBA). We will outline contemporary security debates and challenges and key stakeholders in security policy. In the second part of the session, SPP alumni Lucia Sobekova will draw upon her internship experience at a conflict resolution NGO in Colombia and share relevant practical, safety and research considerations of working on the ground. Lucia will also discuss the importance of human security agenda in the Colombian peace process and the current challenges of its implementation.

***Reading list:***

An excellent book framing the study of US/ Latin America and wider hemispheric history and relations is Greg Grandin, *Empires Workshop: Latin America, the US and the Rise of New Imperialism*

* A. Hurrell, (1998). Security in Latin America. *International Affairs*, *74*(3), 529-546.
* R. Diamint, (2004) ‘Security Challenges in Latin America’, *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 23:1, Jan.
* A.Portes (2010) ‘Institutions and National Development in Latin America: a Comparative Study.’ Socio-economic Review 8 (4): 585-621
* Articles on the ‘Pink Tide’ in Third World Quarterly and other journals <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/citedby/10.1080/01436590902770322?scroll=top&needAccess=true>
* J. Castenada (2006) Latin America’s Left Turn. *Foreign Affairs*. May <http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/61702/jorge-g-castaneda/latin-americas-left-turn>

### George Ciccariello-Maher (2013) [*We created Chávez : a people's history of the Venezuelan Revolution (Duke University Press)*](http://eds.a.ebscohost.com/eds/viewarticle/render?data=dGJyMPPp44rp2%2fdV0%2bnjisfk5Ie42eOG4%2bvwh%2b6k63nn5Kx94um%2bUa2orUqup7U4t7CuSrinsTi%2fw6SM8Nfsi9%2fZ8oHt5Od8u6e2TLGvt0i3p7E%2b6tfsf7vb7D7i2Lt73%2bquSLaosXmk6t9%2fu7fMPt%2fku3vj6%2bpG4KevTraprkuk3O2K69fyVeTr6oTy2%2faMpN3zffHqu2zw6%2bMA&vid=27&sid=c876b0de-9fe3-4507-a751-227dfa01c144@sessionmgr4007)

* D. Tussie (2009). Latin America: contrasting motivations for regional projects. *Review of International Studies*. 35. 169–188.

Interesting library books on this topics include: S. Brewer, *Borders and Bridges: A History of US Latin American Relations*; B. Cannon, *The Right in Latin America*; V. Bulmer Thomas, *The Economic History of Latin America Since Independence*; S. Mainwaring, Democracies and Dictatorships in Latin America; E. Silva (2009) *Challenging Neoliberalism in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press; Susan C. Stokes (2001) *Mandates and democracy : neoliberalism by surprise in Latin America*; S. Mainwaring and T. Scully. *Democratic governance in Latin America*; J. Calleros, *The Unfinished Transition to Democracy in Latin America*.

**Session 2: The Cold War in Historical and Contemporary Perspective**

Owing largely to the location of Latin America in the US sphere of influence, fears of communism in the US ‘backyard’ have been pervasive and shaped modes of US engagement in countries of the region. We will examine the impact of US sponsorship of right wing military and various anti- communist actors and ideologies through to the late 1980s and how concerns as to left wing political forces (particularly following the ‘pink Tide’ continues to shape US and regional elite engagement and ‘democracy building’ activities today. Of particular importance we will discuss how the legacies of this period shape contemporary militarization and security problems. Fractious Cuba-US relations have been an ongoing dynamic, and an important consideration for us in this session.

# Key reading: [International Peacekeeping,](http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/finp20/current) Volume 17, 2010 - [Issue 5: South American Perspectives on Peace Operations](http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/finp20/17/5)

* Bonner, M. (2009) ‘State Discourses, Police Violence and Democratisation in Argentina’, *BLAR*, 28:2, April.
* Brenner, P. (1990) ‘Cuba and the Missile Crisis’, *Journal of Latin American Studies* 22:1, March.
* J. Sweig (2016) Cuba: What everyone needs to know (NY: OUP)
* Figueroa Ibarra, C. (2013) ‘Genocide and State Terrorism in Guatemala, 1954-1996, An Interpretation’, *BLAR*, 32:1, March.
* P. Riggirozzi (2010) *Region, Regionness and Regionalism in Latin America: Toward a New Synthesis*. LATN. Working Paper 30.

http://www20.iadb.org/intal/catalogo/PE/2012/10382.pdf

* N. Arenas-García (2012) ‘21st Century Regionalism in South America: UNASUR and the Search for Development Alternatives’ eSharp, Issue 18: *Challenges of Development*

<http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_228378_en.pdf>

* J. Grugel, P. Riggirozzi and B. Thirkell-White (2008). Beyond the Washington Consensus? Asia and Latin America in search of more autonomous development. *International Affairs*. 84(3). 499–517.
* B. Loveman, (1994). " Protected democracies" and military guardianship: Political transitions in Latin America, 1978-1993. *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, *36*(2), 105-189.
* Karl, T. L. (1990). Dilemmas of democratization in Latin America. *Comparative politics*, *23*(1), 1-21.
* WOLA website on Cuba

<https://www.wola.org/program/cuba/>

Interesting library books for this topic area include S. Rabe, *The Killing Zone: the US wages Cold War in Latin America*; G. Grandin, *The Last Colonial Massacre, Latin America in the Cold War*; J. Patrice McSherry, Predatory States: *Operation Condor and Covert War in Latin America*; D. Eriskon, *The Cuba wars: Fidel Castro, the US and the next revolution*; C. Danton, *Rivalry and Alliance Politics in Cold War Latin America;* T. Wright, *State Terrorism in Latin America : Chile, Argentina, and International Human Rights*; B. Loveman, *Addicted to Failure : U.S. Security Policy in Latin America and the Andean Region*

**Session 3: Violence and Insecurity**

According to the UN, Latin America is the most violent region on earth owing to homicide, kidnap, femicide and other forms of violence that are pervasive in countries such as Venezuela, Guatemala and Honduras, as well as cities and communities – for example in Brazil. We will look at the types of violence endured, the victims and perpetrators and the role of weapons flows, gangs, paramilitary groups and other forms of informal economic and political organizations in generating the region’s insecurity problem.

***Reading***

Please start with a data overview of the challenges facing Latin America ie

Igarape Institute Homicide Database

<https://homicide.igarape.org.br/>

Unicef (2014) ‘Hidden in Plain Sight’, report summary, <https://www.unicef.org/publications/files/Hidden_in_plain_sight_statistical_analysis_Summary_EN_2_Sept_2014.pdf>

Unicef (2014) ‘A Statistical Snapshot of Violence against Adolescent Girls’, <https://data.unicef.org/resources/statistical-snapshot-violence-adolescent-girls/>

WOLA resources on violence and insecurity in Central America

<https://www.wola.org/program/central-america/>

* M. Bergman, (2006). Crime and citizen security in Latin America: The challenges for new scholarship. *Latin American Research Review*, *41*(2), 213-227.
* Muggah R. and Szabo de Carvalho, I (2017) ‘Latin America’s Murder Epidemic: How to Stop the Killing’ *Foreign Affairs*, March

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/central-america-caribbean/2017-03-22/latin-americas-murder-epidemic>

* Cavalcanti, R. (2017) ‘Armed Violence and the Politics of Gun Control in Brazil, An Analysis of the 2005 Referendum’, *BLAR*, 36:1, Jan.
* Dominguez Ruvulcaba, H. (2014) ‘Gender Violence at the US-Mexico Border’, *BLAR*, 33:4, Oct.
* Gasman, N and G. Alvarez ‘Violence against Women’, *Americas Quarterly* <http://www.americasquarterly.org/node/1930>
* Gutierrez Rivera, L. (2010) ‘Discipline and Punish? Youth Gangs’ response to ‘Zero-tolerance’ Policies in Honduras’, *BLAR*, 29:4, Oct.
* Hume, M. (2008) The myths of violence: gender, conflict, and community in El Salvador. *Latin American Perspectives*, 35 (5). pp. 59-76 and / or Hume, Mo (2009) [Researching the gendered silences of violence in El Salvador.](http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/44014/) IDS Bulletin, 40 (3). pp. 78-85.
* Jutersonke, O. Muggah, R. and Rodgers, D. ‘Gangs and Violence Reduction in Central America’ (2009) Security Dialogue [https://www.oas.org/dsp/documentos/pandillas/2sesion\_especial/SMALL%20AR...](https://www.oas.org/dsp/documentos/pandillas/2sesion_especial/SMALL%20ARMS%20SURVEY/gangs%20and%20urban%20violence.pdf)
* Lannes Fernandes, F (2013) ‘Youth Gang Members in Rio de Janeiro: The Face of a ‘Lost Generation’ in an Age of Fear and Mistrust’, *BLAR*, 32:2, April.
* Perez, O. (2013) ‘Gang Violence and Insecurity in Contemporary Central America’, BLAR, 32:1, March.
* Piccato,P. (2013) ‘Homicide as Politics in Modern Mexico’, BLAR, 32:1, March.
* Rodgers, D. (2006) ‘Living in the Shadow of Death; Gangs, Violence and Social Order in Urban Nicaragua, 1996-2002’, JLAS, 38:2, May.
* Wilding, P. (2010) ‘New Violence: Silencing Women’s Experiences in the favelas of Brazil’, *JLAS*, 42: 4 Nov.
* Wolf, S. (2012) ‘El Salvador’s Pandilleros Calmados: The Challenges of Contesting Mano Duro through Peer Rehabilitation and Empowerment’, *BLAR*, 31:2, April.
* Denyer Willis, G. (2017) ‘Before the Body Count: Homicide Statistics and Everyday Security in Latin America’, *JLAS*, 49:1, Feb.
* M. Sanchez, (2016). Insecurity and violence as a new power relation in Latin America. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*.

**Session 4 Drug Wars and Organized Crime**

As the Cold War ‘ended’ – the war on drugs replaced the war on communism in Latin America. In the 1990s and 2000s, and with intense US support, key producer (Colombia, Peru and Bolivia) and trafficking countries (Mexico) pursued militarized responses to a thriving drug trade. However the economic, development and justice impacts have been severe while actual progress in reducing the flow of drugs from the region has been modest. This session will consider why this is the case, the assumptions on which counter narcotics programs are based, and analyze wider challenges of organized crime. Reform options and experiences – including cannabis legalization in Uruguay and state regulated coca cultivation in Bolivia will be considered.

***Reading***

* WOLA website on drug policy in Latin America

<https://www.wola.org/program/drug-policy/> and also the Andean Information Network <http://ain-bolivia.org/> and GDPO at Swansea University <http://www.swansea.ac.uk/gdpo/>

* Fondevila, G. and M. Quintana Navarrete (2015), ‘War Hypothesis: Drug Trafficking, Sovereignty and the Armed Forces in Mexico’, Bulletin of Latin American Research, 34:4, Oct.
* Carlos Garzon, J (2014) ‘Fixing a Broken System: Modernizing Drug Law enforcement in Latin America’ *TNI*

<https://www.tni.org/en/publication/fixing-a-broken-system>

* **Beatriz Labate (2016) Drug** **Policies** and the Politics of **Drugs** in the Americas [electronic resource, CEU library]
* **R. Kirk (2003) More terrible than death: Massacres, Drugs and America’s war in Colombia**
* **A. Cockburn (1998) Whiteout: the CIA, Drugs and the Press**
* IDPC Briefing Paper - *Women, drug offences and penitentiary systems in Latin America*

<http://idpc.net/publications/2013/11/idpc-briefing-paper-women-drug-offenses-and-penitentiary-systems-in-latin-america>

* 2016 World Drug Report UNODC <https://www.unodc.org/doc/wdr2016/WORLD_DRUG_REPORT_2016_web.pdf>
* WOLA *Women, Drug Policies and Incarceration; A Guide for Policy Reform*

<http://www.wola.org/sites/default/files/WOLA%20WOMEN%20FINAL%20ver%2025%2002%201016.pdf>

* Buxton, J. (2015). *Drugs and Development: The Great Disconnect*. Global Drug Policy Observatory. Swansea University. <http://www.swansea.ac.uk/media/The%20Great%20Disconnect.pdf>
* UNODC Alternative Development homepage and reports

https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/alternative-development/index.html?ref=menuside

* Philip Keefer and Norman Loayza (Eds), *Innocent Bystanders: Developing Countries and the War on Drugs,* The World Bank, 2010, pp. 61-93.

<http://www.drugslibrary.stir.ac.uk/documents/536410PUB0Inno101Official0Use0Only1.pdf>

* UNDP (2015) *Perspectives on the Development Dimensions of Drug Control* <https://www.unodc.org/documents/ungass2016/Contributions/UN/UNDP/UNDP_paper_for_CND_March_2015.pdf>

# D. Barret (2011) Children of the Drug War: Perspectives on the Impact of of Drug Policies on Young People

<http://www.ihra.net/files/2011/08/08/Children_of_the_Drug_War%5B1%5D.pdf>

**Session 5 Prisons and the Criminal justice System**

Prisons are notoriously dangerous in Latin America, while the wider criminal justice system has serious problems of corruption, delay and inefficiency. Those that can afford private security in the face of inadequate state protection have contributed to a problematic boom in private security provision in the region. In this session we will discuss the legacies of inadequate civilianization of the security sector after decades of military governance, ongoing problems of neglect of criminal justice reform and a more recent surge in the number of women being imprisoned. Strategies for improving security governance and policing will be explored.

***Reading***

From the previous session: IDPC Briefing Paper - *Women, drug offences and penitentiary systems in Latin America* and WOLA *Women, Drug Policies and Incarceration; A Guide for Policy Reform*

* Macaulay, F. (2013) ‘Modes of prison administration, control and governmentality in Latin America: adoption, adaptation and hybridity’ *Conflict, Security and Development* 13 (4): 361-92 and Macaulay, F. (2007). Knowledge production, framing and criminal justice reform in Latin America. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, *39*(3), 627-651.
* M. Müller, (2012). The rise of the penal state in Latin America. *Contemporary Justice Review*, *15* (1), 57-76.
* M. Ungar, (2007). The privatization of citizen security in Latin America: From elite guards to neighborhood vigilantes. *Social Justice*, *34*(3/4 (109-110), 20-37.

# Pyper, N. ‘Corrupt, violent and overcrowded: inside Latin America’s prisons’, *The Conversation*

# <http://theconversation.com/corrupt-violent-and-overcrowded-inside-latin-americas-prisons-46230>

* Ramsey, G., 2012, ‘Private Security Firms are Unfortunate Necessity in Central America’, Insight Crime

<http://www.insightcrime.org/news-analysis/private-security-necessity-central-america>

* O. Argueta, ‘Private Security in Guatemala: Pathways to its Proliferation’, BLAR, 31:3, July 2012.
* J. Miguel Cruz, ‘Police Misconduct and Political legitimacy in Central America’, JLAS 47: 2, May 2015
* The Economist (2012) ‘Prisons in Latin America: A Journey into Hell’ <http://www.economist.com/node/21563288> and also the NYT piece <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/14/world/americas/in-latin-america-prisons-condemned-to-crisis.html>
* GDPO Swansea, Ros Eventon (2015) *Justifying Militarisation: Counter Narcotics and counter narco-terrorism*

<http://www.swansea.ac.uk/gdpo/projectpages/cannabispolicyintheusimplicationsandpossibilities/>

On police reform, see

GSDRC Security Sector Reform <http://www.gsdrc.org/go/security-sector-reform>

SSR network: <http://www.ssrnetwork.net/about/what_is_ss.php>

SSR Resource Centre: <http://www.ssrresourcecentre.org/>

**Session 6 Conflict and Peace**

Latin America has experienced few inter-state wars and the risks of terrorism are low. Nevertheless the region has a long history of insurgency, civil conflict and revolutionary movements. In this session we will look at conflict and peace processes in the region, using the case study of the current Colombian peace process, which will be used to assess wider aspects of Latin America’s distributional conflicts, including in relation to land, power and access to justice. The costs and implications of pursuing a ‘negative peace’, under which rights abuses, injustice and insecurity persist will be analysed. We will finish by coming full circle and exploring the range of security challenges the region faces – and how new world powers may influence the direction taken.

***Reading***

### WOLA series on Colombia peace process

<https://www.wola.org/analysis/colombias-peace-process-ensuring-the-success-of-a-potential-bilateral-ceasefire-agreement/>

* USIP Colombia peace research page <https://www.usip.org/regions/americas/colombia>
* Hagen, J. (2016). Did sexual orientation and gender identity play a role in the rejection of the Colombian peace deal?. *Women, Peace and Public Sphere Blog*.
* V. Felbab Brown, Who Pays for Peace in Colombia? <https://www.brookings.edu/research/who-pays-for-peace-in-colombia/>
* Forrest Hylton (2006) Evil Hour in Colombia (London: Verso).
* C. Moser (2000) Urban poor perceptions of violence and exclusion in Colombia (DC: World Bank)

### J. Arvelo, (2005). International Law and Conflict Resolution in Colombia: Balancing Peace and Justice in the Paramilitary Demobilization Process. *Geo. J. Int'l L.*, *37*, 411.

* J. Pearce, (1998). From civil war to ‘civil society’: Has the end of the Cold War brought peace to Central America?. *International Affairs*, *74*(3), 587-615.
* T. Karl, (1995). The hybrid regimes of Central America. *Journal of democracy*, *6*(3), 72-86.

### M. Glebbek, ‘Police reform and the Peace Process in Guatemala’, BLAR, 20:4, Oct 2001.

* L. Taylor, ‘Counter Insurgency Strategy, the PCP-Sendero Luminoso and the Civil war in Peru, 1980-1996’, BLAR, 17:1, Jan 1998
* Nygren, A. ‘Violent Conflicts and Threatened Lives: The Nicaraguan experience of Wartime displacement and Postwar Distress’, JLAS, 35:2, May 2003

### P. Vasquez (2014) Oil sparks in the Amazon: local conflicts, indigenous populations, and natural resources (Athens: Georgia Uni Press)

* CRS Report for Congress (2005) *China’s Growing Interest in Latin America* http://fpc.state.gov/documents/organization/45464.pdf
* K. Gallagher, (2011). China Discovers Latin America. *Berkeley Review of Latin American Studies*, 8-13.