The Politics of Organized Crime
Tutorial – Sophomore Year
Government 97
Spring 2022

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Tutorial Leader: Manuel Meléndez-Sánchez
E-mail: mmelend@g.harvard.edu.
Seminar Website: https://canvas.harvard.edu/groups/119430.
Office Hours: Tu & Th, 2-3 PM. Sign-up via calendly.com/mmelend/manuels-ohs.

Every year, criminal organizations take hundreds of thousands of lives. Across the developing world—and even in parts of industrialized countries such as Italy, the United Kingdom, and the United States—millions more live under the tight control of criminal groups. In such places, it is impossible to fully understand politics without understanding how criminal organizations work—and how they (re-)shape the world around them.

In this seminar, we will use tools and insights from political science to open the black box of criminal organizations. The course is organized around three sections. In Part I of the course, we introduce the four major types of criminal organizations: mafias, cartels, street gangs, and prison gangs. In Part II, we examine the consequences of these organizations for the societies in which they operate. Finally, in Part III, we search for solutions: What, if anything, can governments do to address organized crime effectively? Throughout the course, most of our evidence will come from Latin America—the world's current organized crime "hotspot"—but we will also look at examples from Italy and the United States.

A. Course Components

Course Meetings & Participation: This seminar will meet from 3PM to 5PM on Tuesdays in CGIS K108. Our first meeting will take place on Tuesday, January 25th, which is the first Tuesday of the semester.

This is a seminar course, not a lecture: it is also a chance for everyone (the instructor included) to learn new ideas, challenge existing beliefs, and tackle difficult but important questions about politics. Students are expected to attend all classes and engage actively and constructively in discussion every week. This requires completing all of the reading before class, showing up to class on time, listening to others' points, and helping each other learn.

Readings: This is a reading-intensive seminar. On average, you will be assigned approximately 100 pages of reading per week. You are expected to complete the week's readings before each of our meetings. Each week, I will also circulate a list of guiding questions to help you navigate and reflect on the readings. I recommend taking a look at the guiding questions before *and* after you do the readings.

Social Science Research Skills Training: In addition to the material on the politics of crime, Gov 97 includes training in social science research skills, including writing as a social scientist. Some portion of this research skills training will occur asynchronously. You are expected to complete all assigned skills training activities.

Written Assignments:

1. **Reading Discussion Posts**: Starting in Week 2, you will choose ten weeks for which to post a short reaction to the readings on the Canvas site. These posts are due by **9pm** on Mondays. Your post should be 1 or 2 substantial paragraphs and should bring up one or two questions, critiques, or ideas with explicit reference to the readings assigned for that week's class. Other students in the course can see your postings. You can respond to each other but are not required to do so. While these posts do need not make a formal argument, they should have a coherent point that is grounded in the readings; it should be evident that you have done the readings. In these posts, you are encouraged (but not required) to address one or more of the week's Guiding Questions. The posts should not simply be about your personal experience or about current events, although you can tie anecdotal ideas in with a discussion about the readings. I will use your questions and critiques from the online forum in class discussion. After the first week, there are twelve class meetings with assigned readings. You must post discussions for *at least* ten of the twelve, but you are encouraged to post something every week in order to collect and synthesize your thoughts before class.

2. **Writing as a Social Scientist:** In this course, students will learn how to write like a social scientist, which is an essential part of social science research. To that end, students will write a series of short papers that will accumulate toward a work product central to social science: a research paper. The purpose of the assignments is to make you a skilled consumer of social science claims and evidence and to prepare you to undertake more social science research. Writing these papers is an interactive process and you will meet with your me throughout the process (see "Office Hours" below for more on that).

   For the research paper, you will compose a research question that speaks to a topic covered in the course. You will then draw on literature from the course, in addition to literature from outside the course, to consider possible answers to your question. You will use data sources provided by the course staff to answer your question. The data analysis you undertake will match your skill level – there are no prerequisites and the minimum special skills required for this assignment will be taught in class. Qualitative or quantitative research is permitted. To help you accomplish these tasks, the research paper assignment is preceded by three assignments that build toward the final paper.

   a. Pre-Prospectus: The pre-prospectus paper will propose a research question and review the literature related to that question. It will allow you to make a first attempt at writing a compelling introduction and will provide practice with tying a specific research question to a broader theory in the surrounding social science literature. In the pre-prospectus, you will also build from the literature to articulate preliminary hypotheses about the answer to your research question. The pre-prospectus will be 4 to 5 pages in length. You will meet with your

Teaching Fellow at some point in this process, before the due date of the pre-prospectus. You will upload the completed assignment by 9PM on Thursday, March 3.

b. <u>Analysis Reflection Paper:</u> The analysis reflection paper will allow you to explore the strengths and drawbacks of various methodological approaches to answering your proposed research question. In the reflection paper, you will propose **two** potential methodological approaches to answering your research question. You will identify potential data sources and describe preliminary plans for using them to generate evidence for your hypotheses. You will then discuss the limitations of each approach. This assignment will be 3 to 4 pages in length. You will upload the completed assignment by 9PM on Thursday, March 31.

c. <u>Prospectus:</u> The prospectus will be 6 to 7 pages, and will lay out your research question, review the relevant literature, describe your planned methodology to answer the question, and address any limitations with this methodology. You will essentially combine an edited version of the pre-prospectus and a portion of the analysis reflection paper to generate the prospectus. The prospectus will allow you to refine your presentation of the research question and literature review based on your TF's feedback and your growing knowledge of the topic. You will also propose a refined version of *one* of the methodological approaches described in your analysis reflection paper and broaden your discussion of the limitations of your chosen methodology. You will meet with your Teaching Fellow at some point in this process, before the due date of the prospectus. You will upload the completed assignment by 9 PM on Thursday, April 21.

d. <u>Final Research Paper:</u> The final research paper will essentially be an improved version of the prospectus plus the results of your research and a conclusion. It should be 10 to 12 pages. It is due by 9 PM on Tuesday, May 10.

B. Grading & Deadlines

Assignments are to be submitted via Canvas by 9 PM on the due date. *To reduce potential bias, assignments are graded using a standardized Gov 97-wide rubric.*

Assignment Due Dates and Contribution to Final Grade

Assignment	Percent of Final Grade	Due Date
1. Class Participation	25%	
1.1 Discussion Section Participation	10%	
1.2 Reading Discussion Posts	10%	
1.3 Skill-Building Activities	5%	
2. Written Assignments	75%	
2.1 Pre-Prospectus	10%	March 3
2.2 Analysis Reflection Paper	10%	March 31
2.3 Prospectus	20%	April 21
2.4 Final Paper	35%	May 10

C. Other Policies

Laptop policy: You are welcome to use a laptop or tablet in this class as long as it contributes to your learning. Our class meetings are discussion-based. This means that all students are expected to actively listen to one another and to participate in the conversation. If you are unable to contribute to the discussion or are otherwise distracted by your computer or tablet, I will ask that you refrain from using it in class. Cell phone use is not allowed.

Attendance Policy: Students are expected to attend all class meetings. Appropriate excuses for missing class (e.g., health or family emergencies) will be permitted with documentation from HUHS or your Resident Dean. If you communicate with me in an open and timely manner, I will do my best to be flexible and try to accommodate your situation.

Late Assignments: Weekly reading posts turned in after the deadline (9pm the evening before class) will receive a maximum of half credit if submitted before the beginning of class, and zero credit if submitted later than that. Any component of the paper turned in after its respective due date will be docked 1/3 of a letter grade (i.e., an A- paper would receive a B+) for each 24-hour period it is late. If there are truly unforeseen and unavoidable circumstances that prevent you from turning in an assignment on time, you should communicate with me as early as possible— but this is a last resort and extensions will not be automatically granted without sufficient documentation.

Reaching Me Outside of Class: Email is the fastest and most efficient way to reach me. During the week, I will always answer your emails within 24 hours. If you email me after noon on a Friday, I may not be able to get back to you until Monday afternoon. If I do not respond to an email from you within these time frames, there has been some sort of blip—please resend your message.

Office Hours: My office hours are on Tuesdays and Thursdays from 2 to 3 PM in CGIS café. If these times do not work for you, please shoot me an email and we will find a different time to talk. The sign-up link is at the top of this document. My goal is to make sure that scheduling issues never get in the way of us having a conversation.

At three or four points during the semester, I will ask that everyone in the class schedule an office hours appointment to discuss progress toward the final paper. I will share more information about those meetings in class. Other than that, I encourage you to come to office hours early and often! At OHs, we can discuss any questions you have about the course, but you do not need an agenda or a specific question to drop by.

Providing Feedback: I welcome your feedback about our seminar, both positive and negative. You can share your thoughts with me at any time via email or during office hours. In addition, I will distribute an anonymous section feedback during week 5. I will use these forms, as well as any other feedback I receive from you, to make section as productive and enjoyable as possible.

Collaboration Policy: The exchange of ideas is essential to strong academic research. You may find it useful to share sources or discuss your thinking for any of the assignments with peers,

particularly if you are working on similar topics. You may even read each other's drafts and provide feedback. However, you should ensure that any written work you submit is the result of your own research and writing and that it reflects your own thinking and approach to the topic. You must be sure to cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that you draw on. Furthermore, while you may seek the advice or help of your peers, your data analysis must be performed on your own and you should consult with me to make sure you are not duplicating the analysis of any other student in your section.

Inclusion and Non-Discrimination: In the spirit of maintaining a safe, healthy, and productive learning environment for all, our seminar will have a zero-tolerance policy for any form of harassment or discrimination, including—but not limited to—on the basis of sex, sexual orientation, gender identity, race, creed, age, nationality, or disability. If you have any concerns about issues of harassment of discrimination at any point during the semester, I am committed to listening to your concerns and doing my best to address them, and to doing so as respectfully and discreetly as possible. More generally, if you ever feel uncomfortable in the classroom or nervous to express your views, please see me and we can talk about how to make sure that our class environment encourages participation for everyone.

However, please keep in mind that, as per Harvard's university-wide policy, if you share information with me about an experience that could violate the University's sexual and gender-based harassment policy, I am required to share that information with the Title IX office. If you would like to learn about other options for reporting Title IX-related concerns, please visit the following link: https://oge.harvard.edu/.

Accessibility: Please let me know as soon as possible and not later than the 3rd week of the semester if you are registered with the Accessible Education Office so we can work together to make any and all alterations necessary.

D. Course Schedule and Readings

Part I. Opening the Black Box of Organized Crime

Week 1: Introduction (January 25)

* Sign up for reading responses by Thursday, January 27 at 9 PM.

This week's readings introduce different perspectives on what "organized crime" and "criminal organizations" are—a much more complicated question than meets the eye. The readings also lay out important questions and puzzles in the study of organized crime that we will return to throughout the semester.

Readings:

> Tondo, Lorenzo. 2020. "Mafia distributes food to Italy's struggling residents." *The Guardian*, April 10, 2020. https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/10/mafia-distributes-food-to-italys-struggling-residents.

Dalby, Chris, Alex Papadovassilakis, and Juan Diego Posada. 2020. "3 Ways Criminal Groups Overcome Coronavirus." *InSight Crime*, December 29, 2020. https://insightcrime.org/news/analysis/gamechangers-2020-criminal-governance/.

Dalby, Chris. 2021. "No End in Sight for Ecuador's Downward Spiral." *InSight Crime*, December 24, 2021. https://insightcrime.org/news/gamechangers-2021-no-end-sight-ecuador-downward-spiral/.

Varese, Federico. 2010. "General Introduction: What is Organized Crime?" In *Organized Crime*, ed. Federico Varese. London: Routledge, pp. 1-33.
- Note: Read only pp. 1-17 (up to the section labeled "The Mafia").

Kalyvas, Stathis. 2015. "How Civil Wars Help Explain Organized Crime—and How They Do Not." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1517-1540.

Week 2: Criminal Organizations as Protection Rackets (February 1)

This is the first of four weeks in which we examine a different type of criminal organization. We begin with organizations that provide "private protection"—commonly known as mafias. *Our empirical focus is on the Sicilian Mafia.*

Readings:

Gambetta, Diego. 1993. *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Chapters 1-4 (pp. 15-99).

Koivu, Kendra L. 2016. "In the Shadow of the State: Mafias and Illicit Markets." *Comparative Political Studies* 49(2): 155-183.

Week 3: Criminal Organizations as Drug Traffickers (February 8)

This week we focus on criminal organizations that smuggle drugs and other goods—commonly known as "cartels." *Our empirical focus is on Mexico's drug cartels.*

Readings:

Debusmann, Bernd. 2008. "America's unwinnable war on drugs." *Reuters*, July 3, 2008. https://www.reuters.com/article/columns-column-usa-drugs-dc/americas-unwinnable-war-on-drugs-bernd-debusmann-idUSL0320469420080703.

Reuter, Peter. 2014. "Drug Markets and Organized Crime." In *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, ed. Letizia Paoli. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 359-380.

Medel, Monica and Francisco Thuomi. 2014. "Mexican Drug 'Cartels.'" In *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, ed. Letizia Paoli. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 196-218.

Trejo, Guillermo and Sandra Ley. 2020. *Votes, Drugs, and Violence: The Political Logic of Criminal Wars in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 31-65).

Week 4: Criminal Organizations as Street Gangs (February 15)

We continue our tour of criminal organizations by examining street gangs. Our empirical focus is on street gangs in Central America, and in El Salvador in particular.

Readings:

Martínez, Óscar, Efren Lemus, Carlos Martínez, and Deborah Sontag. "Killers on a Shoestring: Inside the Gangs of El Salvador." *The New York Times*, November 20, 2016. https://www.nytimes.com/2016/11/21/world/americas/el-salvador-drugs-gang-ms-13.html.

Cruz, José Miguel. 2010. "Central American Maras: From Youth Street Gangs to Transnational Protection Rackets." *Global Crime* 11(4): 379-398.

Yashar, Deborah. 2018. *Homicidal Ecologies: Illicit Economies and Complicit States in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 3 (pp. 65-99) and Chapter 4 (pp. 100-132).

Week 5: Criminal Organizations as Prison Gangs (February 22)

* Anonymous feedback from due by 9 PM on Thursday, February 24

We conclude our overview of the major types of criminal organizations by examining prison gangs: criminal groups born and based behind bars. We look at examples of prison gangs in the United States and Brazil.

Readings:

Skarbek, David. 2014. *The Social Order of the Underworld: How Prison Gangs Govern the American Penal System*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Chapters 1-3 (pp. 1-72).

Skarbek, D. 2011. "Governance and Prison Gangs." *American Political Science Review.* 105(4): 702-716.

Biondi, Karina. 2016. *Sharing this Walk: An Ethnography of Prison Life and the PCC in Brazil.* University of North Carolina Press. Chapter 1 (pp. 32-58).

Week 6: The Organization of Criminal Organizations (March 1)

* Pre-Prospectus due at 9 PM on Thursday, March 3 via Canvas.

Having introduced the four major types of criminal organizations, we explore a series of organizational dilemmas that all criminal organizations must solve.

<u>*Readings*</u>*:*

Catino, Maurizio. 2019. *Mafia Organizations: The Visible Hand of Criminal Enterprise*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6, pp. 260-303.

And at least <u>two</u> of the following:

Catino, Maurizio. 2014. "How Do Mafias Organize? Conflict and Violence in Three Mafia Organizations." *European Journal of Sociology* 55(2): 177-220.

Leeson, Peter T. 2007. "An-arrgh-chy: The Law and Economics of a Pirate Organization." *Journal of Political Economy* 115(6): 1049-1094.

Lessing, Benjamin and Graham Denyer Willis. 2019. "Legitimacy in Criminal Governance: Managing a Drug Empire from Behind Bars." *American Political Science Review* 113(2): 584-606.

Levitt, Steven D. and Sudhir Alladi Venkatesh. 2000. "An Economic Analysis of a Drug-Selling Gang's Finances." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 115(3): 755-789.

Part II. The Consequences of Organized Crime

Week 7: Violence (March 8)

We often think of criminal organizations as being inherently violent. But the evidence suggests that criminal organizations do not always resort to force: instead, they use violence selectively *and* strategically. *This week, we examine different types of criminal violence; the costs and benefits of violence (and its alternatives); and competing theories of when and why criminal organizations turn violent.*

<u>*Readings*</u>*:*

Lessing, Benjamin. 2018. *Making Peace in Drug Wars: Crackdowns and Cartels in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 37-55) and Chapter 3 (pp. 56-81).

Trejo, Guillermo and Sandra Ley. 2020. *Votes, Drugs, and Violence: The Political Logic of Criminal Wars in Mexico*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2 (pp. 69-89 <u>only</u>) and Chapter 3 (113-140).

Durán-Martínez, Angélica. 2015. "To Kill and Tell? State Power, Criminal Competition, and Drug Violence." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1377-1402.

Week 8: Criminal Governance (March 22)

In the words of one of this week's authors: "In informal urban areas throughout the developing world, and even in some US and UK neighborhoods, tens if not hundreds of millions of people live under some form of criminal governance." This week we examine what life is like under the rule of criminal organizations, how criminal organizations impose authority in the communities the control, and how they compete—and collude—with the state in the process.

Readings:

Lessing, Benjamin. 2021. "Conceptualizing Criminal Governance." *Perspectives on Politics* 19(3): 854-873.

Venkatesh, Sudhir. 1997. "The Social Organization of Street Gang Activity in an Urban Ghetto." *American Journal of Sociology* 103(1): 82–111.

Arias, Enrique Desmond. 2006. "The Dynamics of Criminal Governance: Networks and Social Order in Rio de Janeiro." *Journal of Latin American Studies* 38(2): 293-325.

Wolff, Michael Jerome. 2015. "Building Criminal Authority: A Comparative Analysis of Drug Gangs in Rio de Janeiro and Recife." *Latin American Politics and Society* 57(2): 21-40.

Week 9. Crime and Democracy I (March 29)

* Analysis Reflection Paper due at 9 PM on Thursday, March 31 via Canvas.

Organized crime has profound consequences for the quality and survival of democracy. This week, we focus on untangling the effects of organized crime on corruption and political participation.

Readings:

Feuer, Alan. 2018. "El Chapo Trial Shows That Mexico's Corruption is Even Worse Than You Think." *The New York Times*, December 28, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/12/28/nyregion/el-chapo-trial-mexico-corruption.html.

Dal Bó, Ernesto, Pedro Dal Bó, and Rafael Di Tella. "'Plata o Plomo?': Bribe and Punishment in a Theory of Political Influence." *American Political Science Review*

100(1): 41-53.

- Note: Parts of this reading are very technical. Skip or skim the math; focus on understanding the key takeaways.

García-Ponce, Omar, Thomas Zeitzoff, and Leonard Wantchekon. 2021. "Are Voters Too Afraid to Tackle Corruption? Survey and Experimental Evidence from Mexico." *Political Science Research and Methods* 9(4): 709-727.

Pérez, Orlando J. 2015. "The Impact of Crime on Voter Choice in Latin America." In *The Latin American Voter*, eds. Ryan Carlin, Matthew Singer, and Elizabeth Zechmeister. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 324-345.

Bateson, Regina. 2012. "Crime Victimization and Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 106(3): 570-587.

Córdova, Abby. 2019. "Living in Gang-Controlled Neighborhoods: Impacts on Electoral and Nonelectoral Participation in El Salvador." *Latin American Research Review* 54(1): 201-221.

Week 10. Crime and Democracy II (April 5)

We continue our exploration of the consequences of organized crime for democracy by examining deliberate attempts by criminal organizations to influence elections.

Readings:

Arias, Desmond Enrique. 2017. *Criminal Enterprises and Governance in Latin America and the Caribbean*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 6.

Albarracín, Juan. 2018. "Criminalized Electoral Politics in Brazilian Urban Peripheries." *Crime, Law, and Social Change* 69(4): 553-575.

Alesina, Alberto, Salvatore Piccolo, and Paolo Pinotti. 2019. "Organized Crime, Violence, and Politics." *Review of Economic Studies* 86: 457-499.

- Note: Parts of this reading are very technical. Skip or skim the math; focus on understanding the key takeaways.

Ley, Sandra. 2018. "To Vote or Not to Vote: How Criminal Violence Shapes Electoral Participation." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 62(9): 1963-1990.

Part III. Policies Against Organized Crime: The Latin American Laboratory

Week 11: Confrontation (April 12)

Traditionally, governments have attempted to tackle organize crime via direct confrontation. This week we examine the consequences and viability of different types of confrontation-based strategies.

Readings:

Lessing, Benjamin. 2018. *Making Peace in Drug Wars: Crackdowns and Cartels in Latin America*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Introduction (pp. 1-34) and <u>either</u> Chapter 6 (pp. 158-201) <u>or</u> Chapter 7 (pp. 202-238).

Magaloni, Beatriz, Edgar Franco-Vivanco, and Vanessa Melo. 2020. "Killing in the Slums: Social Order, Criminal Governance, and Police Violence in Rio de Janeiro." *American Political Science Review* 114(2): 552-572.

Calderón, Gabriela, Gustavo Robles, Alberto Díaz-Cayeros, and Beatriz Magaloni. 2015. "The Beheading of Criminal Organizations and the Dynamics of Violence in Mexico." *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59(8): 1455–1485.

Week 12: Alternatives to Confrontation (April 19)

* Prospectus Paper due at 9 PM on Thursday, April 21 via Canvas.

This week we examine policy alternatives to confrontation, including negotiation, legalization, and prevention.

Readings:

González Bustelo, Mabel. 2015. "El Salvador's gang truce: a lost opportunity?" *Open Democracy*, May 18, 2015. https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opensecurity/el-salvadors-gang-truce-lost-opportunity/.

Cruz, José Miguel and Angélica Durán-Martínez. 2016. "Hiding Violence to Deal with the State: Criminal Pacts in El Salvador and Medellín." *Journal of Peace Research* 53(2): 197-210.

Gagne, David. 2016. "Criminal Truces in Latin America: The Ultimate Catch-22." *InSight Crime*, June 1, 2016. https://insightcrime.org/news/analysis/criminal-truces-in-latin-america-the-ultimate-catch-22/.

Brotherton, David and Rafael Gude. 2018. "Social Inclusion from Below: The Perspectives of Street Gangs and Their Possible Effects on Declining Homicide Rates in Ecuador." IDB Discussion Paper No. IDB-DP-578.

Gardner, Alexia, Andrea Kim, and Alyson Woolley (with Annabronia Ospeck). 2021. "Can U.S. Anti-Violence Models Succeed in Mexico and the Northern Triangle?" Wilson Center Report, Washington DC.

Optional:

Meléndez-Sánchez, Manuel. 2022. "What's Behind the Spike of Violence in El Salvador?" *Lawfare*, April 11, 2022. https://www.lawfareblog.com/whats-behind-spike-violence-el-salvador.

- Note: This is my analysis of recent events in El Salvador. It ties in nicely with the other readings on pacts from this week. Read it if you are interested, but it is *not* required.

Week 13: The International Dimension (April 26)

We conclude our exploration of policy alternatives by examining the role of international actors, with a focus on the United States.

Readings:

Huey, David. 2014. "The US war on drugs and its legacy in Latin America." *The Guardian*, February 3, 2014. https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2014/feb/03/us-war-on-drugs-impact-in-latin-american.

LSE Expert Group on the Economics of Drug Policy. 2014. *Ending the Drug Wars*. Recommended: All. Required:

- "The Economics of a New Global Strategy," pp. 8-15.
- "Why Is Strict Prohibition Collapsing?" pp. 26-32.
- "Improving Supply-Side Policies," pp. 41-48.

Grillo, Ioan. 2021. "Slow the Iron River of Guns to Mexico." *The New York Times*, February 20, 2021. https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/20/opinion/international-world/guns-mexico.html.

Matei, Florina Cristiana. 2011. "The Impact of U.S. Anti-gang Policies in Central America: Quo Vadis?" In *Maras: Gang Violence and Security in Central America*, eds. Thomas Bruneau, Lucía Dammert and Elizabeth Skinner. Austin: University of Texas Press, pp. 197-210.

Ambrosius, Christian and David A. Leblang. 2020. "Exporting Murder: US Deportations and the Spread of Violence." *International Studies Quarterly* 64(2): 316-328.

Final Paper due at 9 PM on Tuesday, May 10 via Canvas.