

Gov 1107 Mexican Politics¹
Harvard University
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Sessions: Monday and Wednesday / 9:00-10:15 a.m.

Expected workload: 60 pages per class

Room: CGIS K450

Office Hours: By appointment

Course description

Mexico's history features a unique combination of characteristics unseen in the rest of the world. It experienced a prolonged and violent revolutionary war, constructed one of the world's longest lasting authoritarian regimes, and yet consolidated a democratic political system that's vulnerable to populist appeals. Most countries during the past century had only one or two of these features, but not all three. This course will explore Mexico's idiosyncratic political identity and the distinctive challenges that come with it. We will come to understand why drug-related violence has spiraled out of control over the last decade, the role US-Mexico trade agreements play in creating a widening economic gap between north and south, and how crony capitalism has survived the consolidation of a democratic Mexico. Our primary goal is to discover the country in all its complexities by debunking the cartoonish stereotypes of one of the US's most important political, economic, and strategic allies.

Structure

Part I. Mexican Revolution: Revolution and reconstruction.

Part II. Authoritarianism: The Mexican "Miracle", the perfect dictatorship, and repression & rebellion.

Part III. Neoliberalism: Economic disequilibrium, neoliberalism, social costs and indigenous movements.

Part IV. Democratization: Democratic transition, and unfinished democracy.

Part V. Trying it all: Drug war, the "new" PRI, corruption, and AMLO's victory.

Part VI. Today's challenges: redistributive growth, media freedom, trade & emigration.

The course is divided into six parts. The first and second parts rely on *The Cambridge History of Latin America* as the primary textbook. This text will provide the perspectives of eminent historians, and these will be supplemented by other materials about ethnicity, gender, religion, labor unions, and the U.S. border issues. In these sections, we examine the emergence and consolidation of a post-revolutionary authoritarian government, showing how stability and some economic growth was achieved at the cost of cooptation and violent repression. Part III explores Mexico's illiberal neoliberalism and its social consequences. Part IV uses *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective* and the work of many of the finest Mexican scholars to describe the democratization process that started in the mid-nineties. We will look at the transition, the functioning and malfunctioning aspects of the democratic regime, changes in the society and economy, and relations with the United States. The fifth part tells the story of a Mexico that incessantly tries (and fails) to fix its profound social and economic problems, moving along the entire ideological spectrum, from law-&-order governments, to center-leaning reformers, to the populist left. Finally, part VI explores some of the main issues facing contemporary Mexico and its relationship with the U.S.

¹This syllabus is a celebration of those who share a passion for understanding Mexico and its challenges for divergent perspectives. It stands on the shoulders of many scholars that have taught Mexican Politics before. I especially would like to thank (in alphabetical order) Robert Bunker, Katrina Burgess, Ruth Collier, Wayne A. Cornelius, Jorge I. Dominguez, Todd Eisenstadt, Gustavo Flores Macías, Kenneth Greene, Fausto Hernández, Steve Levitsky, Sandra Ley, Jay McCann, Andrew Paxman, Julio Ríos, Jonathan Solis, and Piero Staning for their outstanding feedback. I also thank (in alphabetical order) Jorge Bravo, Francisco Cantú, Allen Carden, Raymond Craib, Denise Dresser, Terence Garrett, Fredy González, Magda Hinojosa, Joy Langston, Ignacio Marván, Sandra Mendiola, Jeffrey Rubin, Mark Stanley, Matthew Vitz, and Christina Wagner for providing valuable information that could be used in this syllabus. Finally, I would like to thank María Montoya for her superb research assistantship and Aaron With because life with him (in Mexico City) feels like endless laughter, and tastes of cumbia and tacos.

Required materials

To succeed in this course, you must read the **required readings** before class. In each class, I will generally tell you a bit about how to prepare for the next class. Expect to read around 120 pages per week.

All required materials have been uploaded to our website and will remain there for the length of the course.

The only **books** that I recommend you buy (not required) are:

- Bethell, Leslie (ed.) (1986). *The Cambridge History of Latin America*. Cambridge University Press.
- Greene, Kenneth (2007). *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico's Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press.

Grading

– Participation (20%): Students are expected to complete all assigned readings prior to class, actively engage in discussions, and link assigned materials to relevant debates in the media and politics. Readings marked as “additional readings” are not required.

– Op-Ed (20%): Write an op-ed (750 words) linking topics addressed in the class with today's political debates. A good op-ed should make a single point, describe the issue, and provide specific recommendations. In order to do so, it should use short sentences and paragraphs and show evidence in creative ways. Due on March 15th.

– Final paper (20%): Response paper (2500-3000 words) due on May 8th. The topic will be given 3 days in advance.

– Reading Quizzes (20%): Students will be given two quizzes over the course of the semester. Dates won't be provided in advance.

– Report (20%): Students will choose one of the following activities:

(i) A 10-minute oral report about one reading in the female canon. Students must explain the main argument and compare it to the baseline male research/narratives to see if they a) reinforce and compliment such male work, b) are in variance/contradict it, or c) explore areas the male work does not look at.

(ii) A presentation of a 5-minute film/podcast clip out of our list of recommended films/podcasts (choose either your favorite clip, or the clip you think is most revealing). The presentation will be followed by a 10-minute oral report explaining how this audiovisual material complements/reinforces the reading materials of the course. Students should select the date for their presentation and notify the professor before February 7.

Additional materials

With the help of contemporary dramaturgs, filmmakers, and audio artists of Mexico City, I selected a **film, a fictional novel, and a podcast** that capture the nuances of living in Mexico during each of the periods we study. Take some time (if possible, not required at all) to immerse yourself in the harsh realities of Mexico's inner city during the late nineties, to experience the onset of feminism during the post-revolutionary period, and to feel the claustrophobia of student protesters hiding in trash cans from army assassins in the sixties. You'll tremble.

In addition, you will have a list of optional (not required) **additional readings** that provide you with further knowledge and alternative interpretations of the topics we study. You'll also find a special list of **fresh revelations of recent literature**. Written after 2012, these articles and books show how social science keeps advancing and clarifying our understanding of Mexico in real time. In these, you'll find studies that use experimental designs to show that officers request more bribes from drivers who appear to be poor, and quantitative tests examining the effects of the drug war on income inequality, to name a few examples. You do not have to read these.

Female Canon

Because there is evidence that women are systematically cited less than men (Maliniak et al 2013) and are continually underrepresented in the most prominent political science journals (Teele and Thelen 2017),

I have supplemented each section's readings with papers written by females. In these readings, labeled as the "**female canon**", you will find top academic research that's been largely uncelebrated in a male dominated discipline. These female academics created fascinating accounts of the survival of Mexico's authoritarian party, comprehensive studies of income inequality, and studies of prostitution and gender politics in Mexico City, to name a few examples. You do not have to read these.

Late Policy

Barring an extraordinary excuse, late papers will be marked down one-third of a grade (e.g., A to A-minus) per day.

Colaboration in Written Work

Discussion and the exchange of ideas are essential to academic work. For assignments in this course, you are encouraged to consult with your classmates on the choice of paper topics and to share sources. You may find it useful to discuss your chosen topic with your peers, particularly if you are working on the same topic as a classmate. However, you should ensure that any written work you submit for evaluation is the result of your own research and writing and that it reflects your own approach to the topic. You must also adhere to standard citation practices in this discipline and properly cite any books, articles, websites, lectures, etc. that have helped you with your work. If you received any help with your writing (feedback on drafts, etc), you must also acknowledge this assistance.

Harvard Honor Code

Members of the Harvard College community commit themselves to producing academic work of integrity – that is, work that adheres to the scholarly and intellectual standards of accurate attribution of sources, appropriate collection and use of data, and transparent acknowledgement of the contribution of others to their ideas, discoveries, interpretations, and conclusions. Cheating on exams or problem sets, plagiarizing or misrepresenting the ideas or language of someone else as one's own, falsifying data, or any other instance of academic dishonesty violates the standards of our community, as well as the standards of the wider world of learning and affairs.

Introduction (January 28)

Part 1: The Mexican Revolution

Revolution(January 30)

- “Mexico Revolution, #101”. *Frontline*, WGBH TV Educational Foundation, record date 11/8/88, Jorge I. Domínguez, Chief Editorial Adviser
- Hernández Chávez, Alicia (2006). Mexico: A Brief History. University of California Press. 204-213
- Womack, Jr., John (1986). The Mexican Revolution, 1910-1920. In Leslie Bethell (ed.) *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. V. Cambridge University Press. 82-93, 95-102, 105-112, 118-119, 122-123, 126-131, 149-153.
- Camp, Roderic A. (2014). *Politics in Mexico*. Oxford University Press. 49-51.

Reconstruction(February, 4-7)

February 4

- Meyer, Jean (1984). Mexico: Revolution and Reconstruction in the 1920s. In Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. V. Cambridge University Press. 155-194.
- Bailey, David C. (1974). *¡Viva Cristo Rey!: The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico*. University of Texas Press. 47-50, 54-55, 61, 76-79, 82-83, 96-100, 111, 137, 142-143, 217, 299-303, 309-310.

February 7

Send an email to the professor to select the date when you would like to present your report.

- Knight, Alan (1990). Mexico, c. 1930-1946. In Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. VII. Cambridge University Press. 3-63.

Part 2: Authoritarianism

The Mexican Miracle(February 11)

- Knight, Alan (1990). Mexico, c. 1930-1946. In Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. VII. Cambridge University Press. 64-82.
- Smith, Alan (1986) Mexico since 1946. In Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. VII. Cambridge University Press. 99-114.
- Hansen, Roger (1971). *The Politics of Mexican Development*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 41- 47; 65-69; 72-75; 77-78; 83, 87-88.

The Perfect Dictatorship(February 13)

February 13

- Hellman, Judith Adler (1988). *Mexico in Crisis*. Holmes and Meier. 95-106.
- Brandenburg, Frank (1964). *The Making of Modern Mexico*. Prentice-Hall. 145-150.
- Garrido, Luis Javier (1988). The Crisis of Presidencialismo. In Wayne A. Cornelius, Judith Gentleman and Peter H. Smith (eds.) *Mexico's Alternative Political Futures*. University of California, San Diego. 417-421; 432-433.
- Haber, Stephen, Herbet Klein, Noel Maurer, and Kevin Middlebrook (2008). *Mexico Since 1980*. Cambridge University Press. 37-54.

Repression and Rebellion(February 20)

- Smith, Peter (1990). Mexico Since 1946: Dynamics of an authoritarian regime. In Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. VII. Cambridge University Press. 114-124.
- Pensado, Jaime M. (2013). Conservative Mexican Exceptionalism: Body politics and the “Wound” of 68. In *Rebel Mexico: Student Unrest and Authoritarian Political Culture During the Long Sixties*. Stanford University Press. 201-242.

Economic disequilibrium(February 25)

- “Mexico: From Boom to Bust, #102” Frontline, WGBH TV Educational Foundation, record date 11/8/88, Jorge I. Domínguez, Chief Editorial Adviser.
- Smith, Peter. (1990). Mexico Since 1946: Dynamics of an Authoritarian Regime. In Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America, vol. VII*. Cambridge University Press. 124-145.
- Teichman, Judith (1988). *Policymaking in Mexico*. Allen & Unwin. 33-43.
- Haber, Stephen, Herbert Klein, Noel Maurer, and Kevin Middlebrook (2008). *Mexico Since 1980*. Cambridge University Press. 58-68.

Part 3: Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism(February 27)

- Pastor, Manuel Jr. and Carol Wise (2010). “Mexican-Style Neoliberalism” in Carol Wise (ed.), *The Post-NAFTA Political Economy: Mexico and the Western Hemisphere*. Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 41-81.
- Domínguez, Jorge I. and Rafael Fernández de Castro (2001). *Between Partnership and Conflict: The United States and Mexico*. Routledge. 17-34.
- DiPalma, Anthony (2001). “NAFTA’s Powerful Little Secret; Obscure Tribunals Settle Disputes, but Go Too Far, Critics Say” *The New York Times*, March 11.
- Celarier, Michelle (1997). Privatization: A Case Study in Corruption. *Journal of International Affairs*, 50(2): 531–543.

Social Costs(March 4)

- Walker, Louise (2013). La Crisis: On the Front Lines of Austerity and Apertura: 1981-1988. In *Waking from the Dream: Mexico’s Middle Classes after 1968*. Stanford University Press. 149-172.
- Lustig, Nora (2001). Life is Not Easy: Mexico’s Quest for Stability and Growth. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 15(1): 99-106.
- Appendi, Kristin (2003). The Challenges to Rural Mexico in an Open Economy. In Joseph S. Tulchin and Andrew Selee (eds.) *Mexico’s Politics and Society in Transition*. Lynne Rienner. 255-275.
- Teichman, Judith (1995). *Privatization and Political Change in Mexico*. University of Pittsburgh Press. 152-156; 183-191.

Indigenous Movements(March 6)

- EZLN’s Declaration of War, “Today we say ‘enough is enough!’ (Ya Basta!)”, December 1993.
- Womack, Jr., John (1999). *Rebellion in Chiapas*. The New Press. 3-4, 11-13, 20-23, 30-45.
- Stavenhagen, Rodolfo (2010). Struggle and Resistance: The Nation’s Indians in Transition. In Andrew Selee and Jacqueline Peschard (eds.) *Mexico’s Democratic Challenges*. 251-266.
- Eisenstadt, Todd (2006). Indigenous Attitudes and Ethnic Identity Construction in Mexico. *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 22(1): 107-130

Part 4: Democratization

Democratic transition(March 11-13)

March 11

- Greene, Kenneth (2007). Dominant Party Advantages and Opposition Party Failure. In *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico’s Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press. 71-118.

March 13

- Greene, Kenneth (2007). Dominance Defeated. In *Why Dominant Parties Lose: Mexico’s Democratization in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge University Press. 210-254.
- Magaloni, Beatriz (2006). *Voting for Autocracy: Hegemonic Party Survival and its Demise in Mexico*. Cambridge University Press. 239-245; 252-256.
- Domínguez, Jorge I., and James McCann (1996). *Democratizing Mexico*. Johns Hopkins University Press. 1-2, 17-22.

Unfinished Democracy (March 25 - April 1)

March 25

- Joseph L. Klesner (1995). The 1994 Mexican Elections: Manifestation of a Divided Society? *Mexican Studies*, 11(1): 137-149.
- Lawson, Chappell (1997). The Elections of 1997. *Journal of Democracy*, 8(4): 13-27.
- Loeza, Soledad (2006). Vicente Fox's Presidential Style and the New Mexican Presidency. *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 22(1):3-32.
- Klesner, Joseph L (2007). The July 2006 Presidential and Congressional Elections in Mexico. *Electoral Studies*, 26(4): 803-808.

March 27

- Morgenstern, Scott et al. (2013). Tall, Grande, or Venti: Presidential Powers in the United States and Latin America. *Journal of Politics in Latin America*, 5(2): 37-70.
- Beer, Caroline C. (2012). Invigorating Federalism: The Emergence of Governors and State legislatures as Powerbrokers and Policy Innovators. In Roderic Ai Camp (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Mexican Politics*. 119-142.

April 1

- Weldon, Jeffrey. (2004). Changing Patterns of Executive-Legislative Relations in Mexico. In Kevin J. Middlebrook, (ed.) *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico*. University of London: Institute of Latin American Studies 133-167.
- Ríos-Figueroa, Julio and Andrea Pozas-Loyo (2016). The Transformations of the Role of the Mexican Supreme Court. In Andrea Castagnola and Saul López Noriega (eds.) *Judicial Politics in Mexico*. Routledge. 8-34.

Part 5: Trying it all

Drug War (April 3)

- Alt.Latino (2015). Narcocorridos: Telling Truths, Or Glorifying an Escaped Drug Lord?
- Rios, Viridiana (2013). Why did Mexico Become So Violent? A Self-reinforcing Violent Equilibrium Caused by Competition and Enforcement. *Trends in Organized Crime*, 16(2) :138-155.
- Ríos, Viridiana (2015). How Government Coordination Controlled Organized Crime: The Case of Mexico's Cocaine Markets. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 59(8) :1433-1454.
- Dube, Arindrajit, Oeindrila Dube, and Omar García-Ponce (2013). Cross-Border Spillover: U.S. Gun Laws and Violence in Mexico. *American Political Science Review*. 107(3): 397-418
- Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (2015). *The Human Rights Situation in Mexico*. Executive Summary. Ayotzinapa (78-82); Tlatlaya, Apatzingán, Tlanhuato (106-112).

Corruption (April 8)

- Rios, Viridiana and Duncan Wood (eds.) (2018). *The Missing Reform: Strengthening the Rule of Law in Mexico*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press. 1-6.
- Bleyntat, Ingrid (2017). The Business of Governing: Corruption and Informal Politics in Mexico City's Markets, 1946–1958. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 50(2): 357-38.
- Kaiser, Max and Viridiana Rios (2017). Mexico's Anti-corruption Spring. In Rios, Viridiana and Duncan Wood (eds.) (2018). *The Missing Reform: Strengthening the Rule of Law in Mexico*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press. 21-35.
- Chong, Alberto, Ana L. De la O and Dean Karlan (2015). Does Corruption Information Inspire the Fight or Quash the Hope? A Field Experiment in Mexico on Voter Turnout, Choice, and Party Identification. *The Journal of Politics*, 77(1): 55-71.

The “new” PRI (April 10)

- Langston, Joy (2017). *Democratization and Authoritarian Party Survival: Mexico's PRI*. Oxford University Press. 89-106.
- Camp, Roderic Ai (2014). *Politics in Mexico*. Oxford University Press. 156-171.
- Díaz-Domínguez, Alejandro. and Alejandro Moreno (2015). Effects of #YoSoy132 and Social Media in Mexico's 2012 Presidential Campaign. In Jorge I. Domínguez, Greene, Kenneth F. Greene, Chappell H. Lawson and Alejandro Moreno (eds.) *Mexico's Evolving Democracy: A Comparative Study of the 2012 Elections*. John Hopkins University Press. 227-251.

AMLO's victory (April 15)

- Lee Anderson, Jon (2018). A new revolution in Mexico. *The New Yorker*.
- Rios, Viridiana (2018). AMLO's Biggest Test? Turning His Economic Message into Reality. *Americas Quarterly*.
- Esquivel, Gerardo (2015). *Extreme Inequality in Mexico: Concentration of Economic and Political power. Technical report*. OXFAM. 11-35.
- Levy, Santiago and Michael Walton (eds.) (2009). *No Growth Without Equity?* The World Bank. 27-38
- Trejo, Guillermo and Melina Altamirano (2016). The Mexican Color Hierarchy: How Race and Skin Tone Still Define Life Chances 200 Years After Independence. In Juliet Hooker and Alvin Tillery (eds.) *Task Force on Racial and Class Inequalities in the Americas*. American Political Science Association.

Part 6: Challenges

Informality (April 17)

- Levy, Santiago (2018). *Under-rewarded Efforts*. Inter-American Development Bank. 1-10; 14-19; 29-41; 49-53.
- Hanson, G. H. (2010). Why Isn't Mexico Rich? *Journal of Economic Literature*, 48(4):987–1004.

The Press (April 22)

- Levy, Daniel, and Gabriel Székely (1987). *Mexico: Paradoxes of Stability and Change*. Second edition. Westview. 87-104
- Lawson, Chappell (2002). Media Opening, Campaigns and Elections. In *Building the Fourth Estate: Democratization and the Rise of a Free Press in Mexico*. University of California Press. 173-180, 185-188, 192, 194, 196-200, 207
- (2017) No Excuse: Mexico Must Break Cycle of Impunity in Journalists' Murders. *Committee to Protect Journalists*. May 3.
- Moreno, Daniel (2017). Media and the Press. In *The Missing Reform: Strengthening the Rule of Law in Mexico*. Woodrow Wilson Center Press. 162-175.
- Holland, Bradley and Viridiana Ríos (2017). How Criminal Rivalry Leads to Violence Against the Press. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*. 1-3.

Emigration² (April 24)

- Cornelius, Wayne A. (2018). Mexico: From Country of Mass Emigration to Transit State. In Emmanuel Abuelafia and Miryam Hazan (eds.) *Northern Triangle Migration to the United States*. Inter-American Development Bank. 1-3;10-11; 28-30.
- Letter from Andrés Manuel López Obrador to Donald Trump. July 12 2018.

Trade (April 29)

²If anyone is interested in doing survey research on Mexican public opinion and voting choices, the Mexican campaign panel studies (2000, 2006, and 2012) are a great source and are accessible at the ICPSR. For analysis of the political beliefs of Mexican immigrants in the US, the 2012 Latino Immigrant National Election Study done by Prof. Jay McCann is publicly available at the Purdue University Research Repository. About two thirds of the respondents in this study are Mexican-origin. A really outstanding source!

- Clemens, Michael A. (2016). *Shared Border, Shared Future: A Blueprint to Regulate US-Mexico Labor Mobility*. Center for Global Development. 1-19.
- Wilson, Christopher (2017). *Growing Together: Economic Ties between the United States and Mexico*. Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Mexico Institute. 7-11
- Broughton, Chad (2015). *Boom, Bust, Exodus: The Rust belt, the Maquilas and the Tale of Two Cities*. Oxford University Press. 89-109; 188-208.
- Flores Macías, Gustavo and Mariano Sánchez-Talanquer (2018). Worse than NAFTA. *The New York Times*. October 1.

Wrapping Up (*May 1*)

Additional materials

Part 1: The Mexican Revolution

Revolution(January 30)

Film: *Like Water for Chocolate*, 1992 [film]. Directed by Alfonso Arau. USA: Arau Films.

Fiction: Azuela, Mariano (1929). *The underdogs*.

Podcast: Alan Knight (2016). The Mexican Revolution in Global Perspective [Podcast].

Additional readings

- Jenkins, William O. (2003). Mexico Has Been Turned into Hell. In Gil Joseph and Timothy Henderson, *The Mexico Reader*. Duke University Press. 357-363.
- Hernández Chávez, Alicia (2006). *Mexico: A Brief History*. University of California Press. 218-233.
- Coatsworth, John H. (1981). *Growth against development: the economic impact of railroads in Porfirian Mexico*. Northern Illinois University Press.
- Joseph, Gilbert M. (1988). *Revolution from Without: Yucatan, Mexico, and the United States, 1880-1924 (Vol. 42)*. Duke University Press.
- Tutino, J. (1988). *From Insurrection to Revolution in Mexico: Social Bases of Agrarian Violence, 1750-1940*. Princeton University Press. 326-356

Fresh revelations

- Dell, Melisa. (2012). Path Dependence in Development: Evidence from the Mexican Revolution. *Harvard University, working paper*.
- Ervin, Michael A. (2013). The Formation of the Revolutionary Middle Class during the Mexican Revolution. *The Making of the Middle Class: Toward a Transnational History*. 196-222.
- Fallaw, Ben. (2013). The Seduction of Revolution: Anticlerical Campaigns against Confession in Mexico, 1914–1935. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 45(1): 91-120.
- Kosack, Edward and Zachary Ward. (2014). Who Crossed the Border? Self-selection of Mexican Migrants in the Early Twentieth Century. *The Journal of Economic History*, 74(4): 1015-1044.

Female Canon

- Brenner, Anita (1971). *The Wind that Swept Mexico: The History of the Mexican Revolution of 1910-1942*. University of Texas Press.
- Hellman, Judith Adler (1988). *Mexico in Crisis*. Holmes and Meier. 3-31.
- Markiewicz, Dana (1993). *The Mexican Revolution and the Limits of Agrarian Reform, 1915-1946*. Lynne Rienner. 13-35.
- Smith, Stephanie (2009). *Gender and the Mexican Revolution: Yucatán Women & the Realities of Patriarchy*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Bliss, Katherine Elaine (2010). *Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City*. Penn State Press.

Reconstruction(February, 4-7)

Film: *Out on the Big Ranch*, 1936 [Film]. Directed by Fernando de Fuentes. Mexico: Antonio Díaz Lombardo and Bustamente y Fuentes.

Fiction: Fuentes, Carlos (1964). *The Death of Artemio Cruz*

Garro, Elena (1969). *Recollection of Things to Come*.

Podcast: Alan Knight (2012) *Was the Mexican Revolution a Success?* [Podcast]. 21 February.

Additional readings

- Ramos Escandón, Carmen. (1998). Women and Power in Mexico: The Forgotten Heritage, 1880-1954. In Victoria Rodríguez (ed.) *Women's Participation in Mexican Political Life*. Westview. 87-101.
- Calles, Plutarco E. (2002). Mexico Must Become a Nation of Institutions and Laws. In Gil Joseph and Timothy Henderson, *The Mexico Reader*. Duke University Press. 421-425.
- Daniel, Josephus (2002). The Oil Expropriation. In Gil Joseph and Timothy Henderson, *The Mexico Reader*. Duke University Press- 452-455.
- Collier, David and Ruth Berins Collier (2001). Mexico and Venezuela: Radical Populism. In *Shaping the Political Arena*. Notre Dame Press. 196-250.

Fresh revelations

- Noel Maurer (2011). The Empire Struck Back: Sanctions and Compensation in the Mexican Oil Expropriation of 1938. *The Journal of Economic History*, (3): 590.
- Galindo, José (2013). Some Considerations Regarding the Persistence of the Economic Elite in Mexico in the First Half of the Twentieth Century. *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 32(2): 149–162.
- Salinas, Salvador (2014). Untangling Mexico's Noodle: El Tallarín and the Revival of Zapatismo in Morelos, 1934–1938. *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 46(3): 471–499.
- Banerjee, Vasabjit (2015). The Religious Origins of Class Coalitions: Elite Participation in Religiously Motivated Peasant Rebellions in Mexico, Zimbabwe, and India. *International Political Science Review*, 36(5): 564-561.
- Garfias, Francisco (2018). Elite Competition and State Capacity Development: Theory and Evidence from Post-Revolutionary Mexico. *American Political Science Review*, 112(2): 339–357.

Female Canon

- Clark, Marjorie Ruth (1934). *Organized Labor in Mexico*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Fowler-Salamini, Heather (1978). *Agrarian Radicalism in Veracruz, 1920-38*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Hellman, Judith Adler (1988). A Ruling Party is Formed. In *Mexico in Crisis*. Holmes and Meier. 33-54.
- Markiewicz, Dana (1993). *The Mexican Revolution and the Limits of Agrarian Reform, 1915-1946*. Lynne Rienner. 35-113.
- Vaughan, Mary Kay (2006). Nationalizing the Countryside: School and Rural Communities in the 1930s. In Mary Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis (eds.) *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940*. Duke University Press.

Part 2: Authoritarianism

The Mexican Miracle (February 11)

Film: *The Young and the Damned*, 1950 [film]. Directed by Luis Buñuel. USA: Ultramar Films.
Fiction: Rulfo, Juan (1971). They Have Given Us the Land. In *The Burning Plain*.
Pacheco, José Emilio (1981). *Battles in the Desert*.
Spota, Luis (1963). *Almost Paradise*.
Podcast: Farthing, Linda and Nicole Fabricant (2018). *Open Veins Revisited: The New Extractivism in Latin America* [Podcast] September 1.

Additional readings

- Scott, Robert (1964). *Mexican Government in Transition*. Revised edition. University of Illinois Press. 244-261.
- Cosío Villegas, Daniel (2002). Mexico's Crisis. In Gil Joseph and Timothy Henderson, *The Mexico Reader*. Duke University Press. 470-481.
- Sckett, Andrew (2002). The Two Faces of Acapulco During the Golden Age. In Gil Joseph and Timothy Henderson, *The Mexico Reader*. Duke University Press. 500-510.

Fresh revelations

- Vom Hau, Matthias (2008). State Infrastructural Power and Nationalism: Comparative Lessons from Mexico and Argentina. *Studies in Comparative International Development*. 43(3-4): 334-354.
- Kehoe, Timothy J. and Meza, Felipe (2011). Catch-Up Growth Followed by Stagnation: Mexico, 1950-2010. *Latin American Journal of Economics*, 48(2): 227–268.
- Del Angel, Gustavo (2016). The Nexus Between Business Groups and Banks: Mexico, 1932–1982. *Business History*, 58(1):111–128.

Female Canon

- Martínez, Ifigenia* (1960). *La Distribución del Ingreso y el desarrollo económico de México*. Instituto de Investigaciones Económicas, Escuela Nacional de Economía. *Also known as Ifigenia Navarrete.
- Hellman, Judith Adler (1988). La vía Mexicana: The Mexican Road to Development. In *Mexico in Crisis*. Holmes and Meier. 55-94.
- Collier, Ruth Berins (1992). Critical Juncture: Founding the Mexican Regime. In *The Contradictory Alliance*. University of California: Institute of International Studies. 26-37.
- Babb, Sara (2004). The Mexican Miracle and its Policy Paradigm: 1940-1970. In *Managing Mexico: From Nationalism to Neoliberalism*. Princeton University Press.
- Hamilton, Nora (2014). *The Limits of State Autonomy: Post-Revolutionary Mexico*. Princeton University Press

The Perfect Dictatorship (February 13)

Film: *Herod's Law*, 1999 [film]. Directed by Luis Estrada. Mexico: Alta Vista Films, Bandidos Films, IMCINE.
Fiction: Paz, Octavio (1950). *The Labyrinth of Solitude*.
Podcast: The cold war and Latin American Studies, July 1, 2018.

Additional readings

- Middlebrook, Kevin (1995). *The Paradox of Revolution*. Johns Hopkins University Press. 72-111; 153-155.

- Alegre, Robert (2011). Las Rieleras: Gender, Politics and Power in the Mexican Railway Movement, 1958-1959. *Journal of Women's History*, 23(2): 162-186.
- Business International Corp (1970). *Nationalism in Latin America*. 42.
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Repression and Rebellion (February 20)

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Economic disequilibrium(February 25)

Film: *Roma*, 2018 [film]. Directed by Alfonso Cuarón. USA: Esperanto Filmoj, Participant Media.
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Part 3: Neoliberalism

Neoliberalism(February 27)

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Social Costs(March 4)

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Fiction: Poniatowska, Elena (1995). *Nothing, Nobody: The Voices of the Mexico City Earthquake*.

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Part 4: Democratization

Democratic transition(*March 11-13*)

Film: *Gimme the Power*, 2012 [documentary]. Directed by Olallo Rubio. Mexico: Amateur Film
Fiction: Taibo, Paco Ignacio and Subcomandante Marcos (2004). *The Uncomfortable Dead*. Akashic Books.
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Unfinished Democracy (March 25 - April 1)

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**Federalism*

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**Legislative*

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**Judiciary*

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Part 5: Trying it all

Drug War (April 3)

Film: *Cartel Land*, 2015 [documentary]. Directed by Matthew Heineman. USA: A&E IndieFilms, Our Time Project, The Documentary Group.

Fiction: Corchado, Alfredo (2014). *Midnight in Mexico*. Penguin Books.

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Corruption (April 8)

Film: *Ayotzinapa, El paso de la Tortuga*, 2018 [documentary]. Directed by Enrique García Meza. Mexico: Salamandra Producciones.

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Part 6: Challenges

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³If anyone is interested in doing survey research on Mexican public opinion and voting choices, the Mexican campaign panel studies (2000, 2006, 2012) are a great source and are accessible at the ICPSR. For analysis of political beliefs of Mexican immigrants in the US, the 2012 Latino Immigrant National Election Study done by Prof. Jay McCann is publicly available at the Purdue University Research Repository. About two thirds of the respondents in this study are Mexican-origin. A really outstanding source!

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Wrapping Up (May 1)

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