

# **Syllabus: State, Organized Crime, Drug Trafficking in Latin America**

Academic Year 2018-2019, Hillary Term, Thursdays 14.00-16.00

## **Course provider:**

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## **Course aims and objectives**

The course offers to examine the varying ways in which drug trafficking groups interact with the state and the society in contemporary Latin America, as well as the political, economic and social implications of this interaction.

The students will gain knowledge about the historical dynamics and contemporary features of the political economy of the Latin America - U.S. drug trade, as well as its related patterns of violence. Students will develop an understanding of the major concepts and theories on political order and crime, as well as a greater understanding of how drug trafficking became such a formidable challenge for the recent democratization process in the region. Finally, the option aims to encourage students to think about public policy at local/national/regional level that might best minimize the violent effects of drug trafficking.

## **Course description**

Drug trafficking and drug related violence are one of the greatest challenges Latin America has faced in the last decades. Every country in the region and almost every aspect of domestic and foreign policy is somehow affected by the illicit trade and the efforts to counter it. Building on the recent literature on the production of violence in Latin America (which draws from an interdisciplinary approach, combining criminology, political science, history, political economy and sociology) the course addresses some key question on the relation between political order and crime in Latin America: Why do some drug trafficking networks generate different levels of violence? How do these groups shape political life at the local level? Why is the decrease in violence not always a sign of state success but sometimes rather the opposite? Does illegality breed drug related violence in Latin America? Why do particular forms of drug related violence emerge in some cities and not in others?

## **Course structure**

The course examines the ways in which criminal groups relate to the state in contemporary Latin America. The course includes sessions based on specific features of individual countries or cities, as well as sessions focused on common problems. The course is divided into eight different sessions.

Participants will be expected to prepare two essays of approximately 2000 words on the course material, to be discussed in tutorials.

## **Course assessment**

Assessment will be through a three-hour examination.

The option will constitute one component of the final mark for the MSc and MPhil.

## Background readings

*Below you will find a selection of general titles that cover the whole region, which provide helpful insights.*

Marcelo Bergman, *Illegal Drugs, Drug Trafficking and Violence in Latin America* (Springer International Publishing, 2018).

Marcelo Bergman and Laurence Whitehead, eds., *Criminality, Public Security, and the Challenge to Democracy in Latin America* (University of Notre Dame Press, 2009).

Bruce Bagley and Jonathan Rosen, eds., *Drug Trafficking, Organized Crime and Violence in the Americas Today* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2015).

Jens Beckert and Matías Dewey, *The Architecture of Illegal Markets: Towards an Economic Sociology of Illegality in the Economy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), chaps I & II.

Julie Marie Bunck and Michael Ross Fowler, *Bribes, Bullets and Intimidation: Drug Trafficking and the Law in Central America* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2012).

Robert J. Bunker, *Narcos over the Border: Gangs, Cartels and Mercenaries* (London: Routledge, 2011).

Thomas Bruneau, Lucía Dammert, and Elizabeth Skinner, eds., *Maras: Gang Violence and Security in Central America* (University of Texas Press, 2011).

Elaine Carey, *Women Drug Traffickers: Mules, Bosses, and Organized Crime* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014).

David T. Courtwright, *Forces of Habit: Drugs and the Making of the Modern World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Enrique Desmond Arias, *Criminal Enterprises and Governance in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Graham Denyer Willis, *The Killing Consensus: Police, Organized Crime and the Regulation of Life and Death in Urban Brazil* (California: University of California Press, 2015).

Angélica Durán-Martínez, *The Politics of Drug Violence: Criminals, Cops, and Politicians in Colombia and Mexico* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

Paul Gootenberg, *Andean Cocaine: The Making of a Global Drug* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2009).

Paul Gootenberg, *Cocaine: Global Histories* (London: Routledge, 1999).

Sebastian Huhn and Hannes Warnecke-Berger, *Politics and History of Violence and Crime in Central America* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

Hanna Kassab and Jonathan D. Rosen, eds., *Violence in the Americas* (Maryland: Lexington Books, 2018).

Benjamin Lessing, *Making Peace in Drug Wars: Crackdowns and Cartels in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

Eric A. Johnson, Ricardo D. Salvatore, and Pieter Spierenburg, eds., *Murder and Violence in Modern Latin America* (Wiley-Blackwell, 2013).

Andrae M. Marak and Elaine Carey, eds., *Smugglers, Brothels and Twine: Historical Perspectives on Contraband and Vice in North America's Borderlands* (The University of Arizona Press, 2012).

Ricardo D. Salvatore, Carlos Aguirre, and Gilbert M. Joseph, eds., *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society Since Late Colonial Times* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001).

Mónica Serrano and Paul Kenny, *Mexico's Security Failure: Collapse into Criminal Violence* (New York: Routledge, 2012).

Francisco Thoumi, *Illegal Drugs, Economy and Society in the Andes* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).

Gemma Santamaría and Elaine Carey, eds., *Violence and Crime in Latin America: Representations and Politics* (University of Oklahoma Press, 2017).

Carlos Solar, *Government and Governance of Security: The Politics of Organised Crime in Chile* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

Wil G. Pansters, ed., *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012).

Wil G. Pansters, Benjamin T. Smith, and Peter Watt, *Beyond the Drug War in Mexico: Human Rights, the Public Sphere and Justice* (London: Routledge, 2017).

George Philip and Susana Berruecos, eds., *Mexico's Struggle for Public Security: Organized Crime and State Responses* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

Colleta Youngers and Eileen Rosin, eds., *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005).

## **Course outline and reading list**

*The selected readings for each course session are listed below. Those I have marked with an asterisk (\*) are the required reading for that week. It is mandatory to read them before each class.*

### **WEEK 1 | JANUARY 17, 2019. What is organized crime?**

\*Charles Tilly, 'War Making and State Making as Organized Crime', in *Bringing the State Back In*, ed. Peter B. Evans, Dietrich Rueschemeyer, and Theda Skocpol (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 169–84.

\*Federico Varese, 'What Is Organized Crime?', in *Redefining Organised Crime: A Challenge for the European Union?*, ed. Stefania Carnevale, Serena Forlati, and Orsetta Giolo (Hart Publishing, 2017), 27–55.

\*Michael Kenney, 'The Architecture of Drug Trafficking: Network Forms of Organisation in the Colombian Cocaine Trade', *Global Crime* 8, no. 3 (2007): 233–59.

Mancur Olson, 'Dictatorship, Democracy, and Development.', *American Political Science Review* 87, no. 03 (1993): 567–76.

James O. Finckenauer, 'Problems of Definition: What Is Organized Crime?', *Trends in Organized Crime* 8, no. 3 (2005): 63–83.

Frank E. Hagan, "'Organized Crime" and "Organized Crime": Indeterminate Problems of Definition', *Trends in Organized Crime* 9, no. 4 (2006): 127–37.

Klaus Von Lampe, 'Organized Crime: Analyzing Illegal Activities, Criminal Structures, and Extra-Legal Governance' (Sage Publications, Inc, 2015), chaps I & II.

Jay S. Albanese, 'Risk Assessment in Organized Crime: Developing a Market and Product-Based Model to Determine Threat Levels', *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 24, no. 3 (2008): 263–73.

Peter Reuter, *The Organization of Illegal Markets: An Economic Analysis*, 1985.

Fernando Escalante Gonzalbo, 'Crimen Organizado: La Dimensión Imaginaria', *Nexos*, 2012.

Klaus Von Lampe, 'Criminally Exploitable Ties: A Network Approach to Organized Crime', in *Transnational Organized Crime: Myth Power and Profit*, ed. Emilio C. Viano, José Magallanes, and Laurence Briedel (North Carolina: Carolina Academic Press, 2003), 9–22.

Letizia Paoli and Tom Vander Beken, 'Organized Crime: A Contested Concept', in *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, ed. Letizia Paoli (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 13–32.

David A. Bright and Jordan J. Delaney, 'Evolution of a Drug Trafficking Network: Mapping Changes in Network Structure and Function across Time', *Global Crime* 14, no. 2–3 (2013): 238–60.

Heather Shore, 'A Brief History of the Underworld and Organized Crime, c. 1750–1950', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice*, ed. Paul Knepper and Anja Johansen (Oxford University Press, 2016), chap. 8.

## **WEEK 2 | JANUARY 24, 2019 Conceptualizing Drug Violence in Latin America**

\*Durán-Martínez, *The Politics of Drug Violence: Criminals, Cops, and Politicians in Colombia and Mexico*, 1–64.

\*Benjamin Lessing, 'Logics of Violence in Criminal War', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 8 (2015): 1486–1516.

\*Jenny Pearce, 'Perverse State Formation and Securitized Democracy in Latin America', *Democratization* 17, no. 2 (2010): 286–306.

\*Laura H. Atuesta and Aldo F. Ponce, 'Meet the Narco : Increased Competition among Criminal Organisations and the Explosion of Violence in Mexico', *Global Crime* 18, no. 4 (2017): 375–402.

Daniel M. Goldstein and Enrique Desmond Arias, eds., *Violent Democracies in Latin America* (Duke University Press, 2010), chap. I.

Peter Imbusch, Michel Misse, and Fernando Carrión, 'Violence Research in Latin America and the Caribbean: A Literature Review', *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 5, no. 1 (2011): 87–154.

Henry Brownstein, 'Drugs and Violent Crime', in *The Handbook of Drugs and Society*, ed. Henry Brownstein (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 406–22.

Mónica Serrano, 'Narcotráfico y Gobernabilidad', *Pensamiento Iberoamericano*, no. 1 (2007): 251–78.

Beatriz Labate and Thiago Rodrigues, 'Prohibition and the War on Drugs in the Americas: An Analytical Approach', in *Drug Policies and the Politics of Drugs in the Americas*, ed. Beatriz Labate, Clancy Cavnar, and Thiago Rodrigues (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 11–31.

Mónica Serrano, 'State-Crime Relations in Mexico', in *Violence, Coercion, and State-Making in Twentieth Century Mexico: The Other Half of the Centaur*, ed. Wil G. Pansters (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 135–58.

### **WEEK 3 | JANUARY 31, 2019 The origins and evolution of the international narcotics trade in Latin America**

\*Ethan Nadelmann, 'Global Prohibition Regimes: The Evolution of Norms in International Society', *International Organization* 44, no. 4 (1990): 479–526.

\*Paul Gootenberg, 'The "Pre-Colombian" Era of Drug Trafficking in the Americas: Cocaine, 1945-1965', *The Americas* 64, no. 2 (2007): 133–76.

\*Paul Gootenberg, 'Cocaine's Long March North, 1900-2010', *Latin American Politics and Society* 54, no. 1 (2012): 159–80.

\*Marco Palacios, 'A Historical Perspective on Counterinsurgency and the War on Drugs in Colombia', in *In the Wake of War: Democratization and Internal Armed Conflict in Latin America*, ed. Cynthia Arnson (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 175–206.

Benjamin T. Smith, 'The Rise and Fall of Narcopopulism: Drugs, Politics, and Society in Sinaloa, 1930–1980', *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 7, no. 2 (2013): 125–65.

Paul Knepper, 'Dreams and Nightmares: Drug Trafficking and the History of International Crime', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Crime and Criminal Justice*, ed. Paul Knepper and Anja Johansen (Oxford University Press, 2016), chap. 10.

Isaac Campos, 'Degeneration and the Origins of Mexico's War on Drugs', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 26, no. 2 (2010): 379–408.  
Carey, *Women Drug Traffickers: Mules, Bosses, and Organized Crime*, 1–52.

Elaine Carey, "'Selling Is More of a Habit than Using" Narcotraficante Lola La Chata and Her Threat to Civilization, 1930-1960', *Journal of Women's History* 21, no. 2 (2009): 62–89.

Lina Britto, 'Hurricane Winds: Vallenato Music and Marijuana Traffic in Colombia's First Illegal Drugs Boom', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (2015): 71–102.

Valeria Manzano, 'The Creation of a Social Problem: Youth Culture, Drugs, and Politics in Cold War Argentina', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 95, no. 1 (2015): 37–69.

## **WEEK 4 | FEBRUARY 7, 2019 Ethnographies: Politics, drugs and violence in the Latin American city**

*Class provider: Gabriel Feltran*

\*Arias, *Criminal Enterprises and Governance in Latin America*, 1–75.

\*Willis, *The Killing Consensus: Police, Organized Crime and the Regulation of Life and Death in Urban Brazil*, 3–46.

\*Michel Misse, 'Violence, Criminal Subjection and Political Merchandise in Brazil: An Overview from Rio', *International Journal of Criminology and Sociology* 7 (2018): 135–48.

\*Gabriel Feltran, 'Crime and Punishment in the City', in *The Entangled City: Crime as Urban Fabric* (Manchester University Press, forthcoming).

Javier Auyero, *Routine Politics and Violence in Argentina: The Gray Zone of State Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1–46.

Markus-Michael Müller, *The Punitive City: Privatized Policing and Protection in Neoliberal Mexico* (London: Zed Books, 2016), 1–46.

Michel Misse and Joana D. Vargas, 'Drug Use and Trafficking in Rio de Janeiro: Some Remarks on Harm Reduction Policies', *Vibrant – Virtual Brazilian Anthropology* 7, no. 2 (2010): 88–108.

## **WEEK 5 | FEBRUARY 14, 2019 The economics of illicit drug trafficking & and the business of Extra-legal Governance**

*Class provider: Carlos Solar (Oxford)*

\*Peter Reuter, 'Drug Markets and Organized Crime', in *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, ed. Letizia Paoli (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 360–78.

\*Peter Andreas, 'The Politics of Measuring Illicit Flows and Policy Effectiveness', in *Sex, Drugs, and Body Counts*, ed. Peter Andreas and Kelly M. Greenhill (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2010), 23–45.

\*Carlos Solar, 'The Inter-Institutional Governance of Money Laundering an in-Depth Look at Chile Following Re-Democratisation', *Global Crime* 16, no. 4 (2015): 328–50.

Juan Carlos Garzón, 'From Drug Cartels to Predatory Micro Networks: The "New" Face of Organized Crime in Latin America', in *Reconceptualizing Security in the Western Hemisphere in the 21st Century*, ed. Bruce M. Bagley, Jonathan D. Rosen, and Hanna Kassab (Lexington Books, 2015).

Juan Carlos Garzón and John Bailey, 'Displacement Effects of Supply Reduction Policies in Latin America', in *The Handbook of Drugs and Society*, ed. Henry Brownstein (Oxford: John Wiley & Sons, 2016), 482–503.

Diego Gambetta, *The Sicilian Mafia: The Business of Private Protection* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), chaps 1 & 2.

Mares David R., *Drug Wars and Coffeeshouses: The Political Economy of the International Drug Trade* (Washington D.C.: CQ Press, 2006), chaps 1–7.

Thoumi, *Illegal Drugs, Economy and Society in the Andes*, chaps V & VI.

Daniel Mejía Londoño and Pascual Restrepo, 'Why Is Strict Prohibition Collapsing? A Perspective from Producer and Transit Countries', in *Ending the Drug Wars: Report of the LSE Expert Group on the Economics of Drug Policy*, ed. John Collins (London: LSE, 2014), 26–32.

Organization of American States, 'The Economics of Drug Trafficking', in *The Drug Problem in the Americas* (OAS, 2013).

Nikos Passas, 'Cross-Border Crime and the Interface between Legal and Illegal Actors', *Security Journal* 16 (2003): 19–37.

Peter Chalk, *The Latin American Drug Trade: Scope, Dimensions, Impact, and Response* (RAND, 2011).

## **WEEK 6 | FEBRUARY 21, 2019 Two case studies: Colombia and Mexico**

*Class providers: Carlos. A. Pérez Ricart and Jerónimo Castillo (Ideas para la Paz)*

\*Mónica Serrano and Marco Palacios, 'Colombia y México: Las Violencias Del Narcotráfico', in *Los Grandes Problemas de México: Relaciones Internacionales XV*, ed. Arturo Alvarado and Mónica Serrano (D.F. México: El Colegio de México, 2010), 105–54.

*On Colombia:*

\*Elvira María Restrepo, 'Colombia and Its Wars against Drug Trafficking, 1970–2010', in *Drug Trafficking, Organized Crime and Violence in the Americas Today*, ed. Bruce Bagley and Jonathan Rosen (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2015), 139–60.

\*Francisco Thoumi, 'Organized Crime in Colombia: The Actors Running the Illegal Drug Industry', in *The Oxford Handbook of Organized Crime*, ed. Letizia Paoli (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 177–95.

Malcolm Deas and Fernando Gaitán Daza, *Dos Ensayos Especulativos Sobre La Violencia En Colombia* (Bogotá: Fonade & Departamento Nacional de Planeación, 1995).

Mauricio Rubio, *Crimen e Impunidad: Precisiones Sobre La Violencia* (Bogotá: TM Editores & CEDE, 1999).

Luis Jorge Garay Salamanca and Eduardo Salcedo-Albarán, *Redes Ilícitas y Reconfiguración de Estados: El Caso Colombia* (Bogotá: Centro Internacional para la Justicia Transicional, ICTJ, 2012).

Bruce M. Bagley, 'Colombia and the War on Drugs', *Foreign Affairs*, 1988, 70–92.

Thoumi, *Illegal Drugs, Economy and Society in the Andes*, VII.

*On Mexico:*

\*Wil G. Pansters, 'Drug Trafficking the Informal Order and Caciques Reflections on the Crime Governance Nexus in Mexico', *Global Crime*, 2018.

\*Héctor Aguilar Camín, 'La Captura Criminal Del Estado', *Nexos*, enero 2015.

Benjamin T. Smith, 'Drug Policies in Mexico, 1900---1980', in *Drug Policies and the Politics of Drugs in Latin America*, ed. Beatriz Labate, Clancy Cavnar, and Thiago Rodrigues (Switzerland: Springer, 2016), 33–52.

Stephanie Brophy, 'Mexico: Cartels, Corruption and Cocaine: A Profile of the Gulf Cartel', *Global Crime* 9, no. 3 (2008): 248–61.

John Bailey and Roy Godson, eds., *Organized Crime & Democratic Governability: Mexico and the U.S.-Mexican Borderlands* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000).

David A. Shirk and Joel Wallman, 'Understanding Mexico's Drug Violence', *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 59, no. 8 (2015): 1348–76.

Ioan Grillo, *El Narco: En El Corazón de La Insurgencia Criminal Mexicana* (D.F. México: Tendencias, 2012).

Carlos Solar, 'State, Violence, and Security in Mexico: Developments and Consequences for Democracy', *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos* 30, no. 1 (2014): 241–55.

## **WEEK 7 | FEBRUARY 28 Human Rights and US Drug Policy in Latin America (20th and 21st century)**

\*Horace Bartilow, 'Drug Wars Collateral Damage: US Counternarcotic Aid and Human Rights in the Americas', *Latin America Research Review* 49, no. 2 (2014): 24–46.

\*Markus-Michael Müller, 'Punitive Entanglements: The "War on Gangs" and the Making of a Transnational Penal Apparatus in the Americas', *Geopolitics* 20, no. 3 (3 July 2015): 696–727.

\*Mónica Serrano, 'Unilateralism, Multilateralism, and US Drug Diplomacy. The Politics of the Certification Process in Latin America', in *Unilateralism and U.S. Foreign Policy*, ed. Yuen Foong Khong and David Malone (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003), 117–36.

\*Adam Isacson, 'Mission Creep: The U.S. Military's Counterdrug Role in the Americas', in *Drug Trafficking, Organized Crime and Violence in the Americas Today*, ed. Bruce Bagley and Jonathan Rosen (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2015), 87–108.

\*Arlene B. Tickner and Carolina Cepeda, 'Illicit Drugs in the Colombia-U.S. Relationship Review and Prospects', in *Drug Trafficking, Organized Crime and Violence in the Americas Today*, ed. Bruce Bagley and Jonathan Rosen (Florida: University Press of Florida, 2015), 161–84.

Juan Carlos Garzón and Luciana Pol, 'The Elephant in the Room: Drugs and Human Rights in Latin America', *SUR International Journal on Human Rights* 12, no. 21 (2015).

Youngers and Rosin, *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy*.

Carlos A. Pérez Ricart, 'U.S. Pressure and Mexican Anti-Drugs Efforts from 1940 to 1980: Importing the War on Drugs?', in *Beyond the Drug War in Mexico: Human Rights, the Public Sphere and Justice*, ed. Wil G. Pansters, Benjamin T. Smith, and Peter Watt (Oxford: Routledge, 2018), 33–52.

Martha K. Huggins, 'U.S.-Supported State Terror: A History of Police Training in Latin America', *Crime and Social Justice* 27/28 (1987): 149–71.



José Miguel Cruz, 'Central American Maras: From Youth Street Gangs to Transnational Protection Rackets', *Global Crime* 11, no. 4 (2010): 379–98.

## **WEEK 8 | MARCH 7, 2019 Current debates and drug reform in contemporary Latin America: which alternatives?**

*Class provider: Jonas von Hoffmann*

\*Alejandro Corda, 'Drug Policy Reform in Latin America: Discourse and Reality' (CEED, 2015), [http://www.drogasyderecho.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/alejandro\\_i.pdf](http://www.drogasyderecho.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/alejandro_i.pdf).

\*Jonas von Hoffmann, 'Breaking Ranks: Pioneering Drug Policy Protagonism in Uruguay and Bolivia', in *Collapse of the Global Order on Drugs: From UNGASS 2016 to Review 2019*, ed. Axel Klein and Blaine Stothard (Emerald, 2018), 191–216.

\*Thomas Grisaffi, 'Social Control in Bolivia: A Humane Alternative to the Forced Eradication of Coca Crops', in *Drug Policies and the Politics of Drugs in the Americas*, ed. Beatriz Labate, Clancy Cavnar, and Thiago Rodrigues (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 149–66.

\*Guillermo Garat, 'Uruguay: A Way to Regulate the Cannabis Market', in *Drug Policies and the Politics of Drugs in the Americas*, ed. Beatriz Labate, Clancy Cavnar, and Thiago Rodrigues (Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2016), 209–26.

\*Juan Gabriel Tokatlán, "'Guerra Contra Las Drogas": ¿se Puede Modificar El Paradigma Internacional?' (CIDOB, 2016).

Linda Farthing and Benjamin Kohl, 'Social Control Bolivia's New Approach to Coca Reduction', *Latin American Perspectives* 37, no. 4 (2010): 197–213.

Magdalena Cerdá and Beau Kilmer, 'Uruguay's Middle-Ground Approach to Cannabis Legalization', *International Journal of Drug Policy* 42 (2017): 118–20.

Betty Horwitz, 'A Change in the Approach to the Drug Problem in the Americas', in *New Approaches to Drug Policies A Time for Change* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 194–212.