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Spring 2-1-2006

### PSC 327.01: Politics of Mexico

Paul Haber

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## POLITICS OF MEXICO

\* Instructor: Professor Paul Haber 243-4862

Paul.Haber@umontana.edu

Political Science Department, course #327

Spring 2006

Meets Tuesday and Thursday 2:10 – 3:30

Office Hours: LA 355 Tuesday and Thursday 1:00 – 2:00 and 3:30-4:00 in LA 355

### Required text available in UC Bookstore:

Julia Preston and Samuel Dillon. (2004) *Opening Mexico: The Making of a Democracy*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

Other readings are available at Mansfield Library on print and electronic reserve. **I strongly suggest that you figure out how you will have copies available to read in advance of when you need them to avoid last minute headaches.**

There are two aspects to this class. First, there is the content. It is expected that students will leave this class with knowledge about contemporary Mexico. Second, this is a class that demands of students that they engage in the art of critical thinking. In brief, this means thinking about knowledge in serious and creative ways. Students will be given multiple opportunities to demonstrate the degree to which they have mastered both aspects of the class.

Your grade will be based on two exams (2/3 of total grade) and class attendance, in-class assignments, and participation (1/3 of total grade). **The reading load is quite heavy in this class and students are required to read all assigned readings before the class in which they will be discussed.** Coming to class prepared means having read the material carefully and thoughtfully. It means coming to class each day prepared to participate by offering interpretations or questions concerning the readings' main arguments. Each class, I expect students to come prepared to answer three questions if called upon to do so:

- 1) What is the central thesis of the reading for that day?
- 2) How was this thesis supported or substantiated in the reading?
- 3) What comments or questions do you have concerning the reading?

Students may miss two classes without explanation. After that, students must email me a statement explaining their absence (**please do not phone me, it is neither necessary nor sufficient**). Make a serious effort to get to class on time. If you come in late make sure you check with me after class so that I can mark you late instead of being absent.

### READING ASSIGNMENTS AND OTHER IMPORTANT SCHEDULING INFORMATION

January 24 Introduction to the class.

January 26 Skidmore and Smith, *Modern Latin America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997, pp. 226-262 and Judith Hellman, *Mexico in Crisis*. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1988, pp. 3-31. On reserve as "Skidmore and Smith" and "Hellman."

January 31 Paul Haber, "Import Substitution Industrialization," in Michael Werner, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mexico: History, Society & Culture*. Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998. On reserve as ISI. Also on blackboard.

Paul Haber, "Neoliberalism," in Michael Werner, ed., *Encyclopedia of Mexico: History, Society & Culture*.

# Request and Authorization to Travel

*Not for release*



The University of  
**Montana**

Today's  
Date:

8/31/2005

Traveler ID/SSN:

790203465

Traveler

Name: Peter Koehn

Preparer:

L. Edwards

5202

Address: 340 W. Central

Dept: Political Science

City, State, Zip: Missoula, MT

☐ Employee ☐ Student ☐ Group ☐ Foreign

Destination: Washington, DC

High Cost City

☒ Yes

☐ No

Departure Date: 11/4/2005

Time: 2:49 PM

Return Date: 11/9/2005

Time: 4:08 PM

Business Purpose of Trip: To present workshop at AAMC Annual Meeting

## Estimated Expenses:

Advance Meal Per Diem

### Air Fare:

(Should be paid by UM Procard-include agency fees in total)

\$ 496.50

### Vehicle:

Motor Pool \$:

Type of Vehicle:

Rental Car:

☐ Procard Used

Agency:

Confirmation #:

Expected Miles

Mileage Rate

Private Vehicle:

Mileage Rate Justification:

\$ 0.00

### Meal Per Diem:

See Summary Chart

Breakfast

Number

Foreign/other

US Rate

Dollars

Lunch

Dinner

3

4

3

\$ 6.00

\$ 6.00

\$ 16.00

18 \$18.00

11 \$24.00

18 \$48.00

Total MPD \$90.00

☐ In State

☒ Out of State

☐ Foreign/Other

### Lodging:

Number of Nights: 3

Room Rate Plus Taxes: \$12.00

☐ Procard Used

Total Lodging \$36.00

Allowable Per Diem Rate Plus Taxes:

Request for Reimbursement of Actual Lodging Costs:

### Registration:

☐ Procard Used

Name of Event:

Total Reg.

### Miscellaneous Expenses:

Airport parking and ground

60

Total Misc. \$60.00

Total Trip Estimate

\$682.50

Travel should be charged to:

Advance

MPCI01

Account

Activity

Amount

1901

\$0.00

Meal Per Diem

\$0.00

Travel Advance (1901)

\$0.00

Meal Per Diem

\$0.00

Total Check Issued

(Advance/Meal Per Diem)

\$0.00

I acknowledge issuance of a travel advance in the amount specified and authorize the University of Montana as an acknowledged condition of such an advance to withhold from my salary or any other funds due me from the University any portion of the amount hereby advanced to me which is not repaid to the University within 10 working days from the conclusion of my trip.

If you are an employee your travel advance/meal per diem will be mailed to your home address.

If you are a student your travel advance/meal per diem will be mailed to the requesting department.

Please allow 6 working days for processing.

Travelers Signature:

*Peter Koehn*

Dept:

*PSC*

Date:

*1 Sept 2005*

Supervisors Signature:

*Jim Dwyer*

Title:

*Chair*

Date:

*1 Sept*

Dept Authorization:

Title:

Date:

Chicago: Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, 1998. On reserve as Neoliberalism. Also on blackboard.

Hellman, pp. 33-57. On reserve in same "Hellman" folder as previous Hellman reading.

February 2 Opening Mexico, Preface and chaps 1 and 2

February 7 Opening Mexico, chaps 3 and 4

February 9 Film No reading

February 14 Opening Mexico, chaps 5 and 6

February 16 Opening Mexico, chaps 7 and 8

February 21 Opening Mexico, chaps 9 and 12

February 23 Opening Mexico, chaps 12 and 14

February 28 Opening Mexico, chaps 16-17 and Epilogue

March 2 Kevin Middlebrook, "Mexico's Democratic Transitions: Dynamics and Prospects" in Kevin Middlebrook, ed., *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico*. University of London, 2004. Pp. 1-53. On reserve as "Middlebrook."

March 7 Study Review Session

March 9 Exam #1

\*\*I will be gone from campus on March 14 and March 16 (I will be attending a the Latin American Studies Association Meetings in Puerto Rico, presenting a paper entitled "From Social Movement to Party Politics: Implications for Democracy and the Poor in the Case of Urban Popular Movements in Contemporary Mexico" that you will have the opportunity to read and challenge me on later in the semester. While I am gone, you will read a series of readings on the Zapatista movement. For each one of them, you will write a half page response to the author(s). I have listed eight readings here. You will be responsible for finding two more. The papers (five pages in length total) will be due on March 21. All of the readings are grouped together under the title "The Zapatista Movement."

Opening Mexico, chap 15

Rodolfo Stavenhagen, "Mexico's Unfinished Symphony: The Zapatista Movement" from Joseph Tulchin and Andrew Sellee, eds., *Mexico's Politics and Society in Transition*. Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 2003. Pp. 109-126.

Luis Hernandez Navarro and Laura Carlsen, "Indigenous Rights: The Battle for Constitutional Reform in Mexico" from Kevin Middlebrook, ed., *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico*. London: University of London, 2004. Pp. 440-465.

Paul Farmer, "Lessons from Chiapas" in Paul Farmer, *Pathologies of Power: Health, Human Rights, and the New War on the Poor*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005. Pp. 91-114.

Edwards, Loretta J

Tompkins, Jon

From: Karen Ruth Adams [karen.adams@umontana.edu]

Sent: Monday, December 19, 2005 11:45 PM

To: From: Tompkins, Jon Loretta.edwards@umontana.edu

Subject: plants  
Sent: Thursday, December 01, 2005 2:14 PM

To: 'karen.blazevich@umontana.edu'

Subject: New section for spring  
Loretta: I hope you had a good trip and a nice holiday -- without too much rain. When you get settled back in, would you water the plants in my office? They probably just need a good watering once or twice at the most to make it til I return on the 16th. Thanks and see you then. --Karen

If possible, please create a special section of Independent Study for Spring Semester as follows:

ps you can reach me by email and cell 239-1623

PSC 496 sec. 3 Model Arab League 3 credits c/nc only. (I guess I will need to be the instructor of record).

Please let me know if there are any problems. Thanks,

Jon Tompkins, Political Science

Nick Higgins, "Lessons from the indigenous: Zapatista poetics and a cultural humanism for the twenty-first century" in Catherine Eschle and Bice Maiguashca, eds., *Critical Theories, International Relations and the 'Anti-Globalisation Movement': The Politics of Resistance*. New York: Routledge, 2005. Pp. 87-102.

Zapatista Army of National Liberation, "EZLN Demands at the Dialogue Table" in Gilbert Joseph and Timothy Henderson, eds., *The Mexico Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002. Pp. 639-645.

Subcomandante Marcos, "The Long Journey from Despair to Hope" in Gilbert Joseph and Timothy Henderson, eds., *The Mexico Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002. Pp. 646-654.

Marián Peres Tsu, "A Tzotzil Chronicle of the Zapatista Uprising" in Gilbert Joseph and Timothy Henderson, eds., *The Mexico Reader*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2002. Pp. 655-669.

March 23 Russell Crandall, "Mexico's Domestic Economy: Policy Options and Choices" in Russell Crandall, Guadalupe Paz, and Riordan Roett, eds., *Mexico's Democracy at Work: Political and Economic Dynamics*. Boulder: Rienner Publishers, 2005. Pp. 61-87. On reserve as "Crandall."

Manuel Pastor and Carol Wise, "The Fox Administration and the Politics of Economic Transition" in Russell Crandall, Guadalupe Paz, and Riordan Roett, eds., *Mexico's Democracy at Work: Political and Economic Dynamics*. Boulder: Rienner Publishers, 2005. Pp. 89-118. On reserve as "Pastor and Wise."

March 28 and 30 Spring Break

April 4 Gary Gereffi and Martha Martínez, "Mexico's Economic Transformation Under NAFTA" in Russell Crandall, Guadalupe Paz, and Riordan Roett, eds., *Mexico's Democracy at Work: Political and Economic Dynamics*. Boulder: Rienner Publishers, 2005. Pp. 119-150. On reserve as "Gereffi and Martínez."

Jaime Ros and Nora Claudia Lustig, "Economic Liberalization and Income Distribution in Mexico: Losers and Winners in a Time of Global Restructuring" in Susan Eckstein and Timothy Wickham-Crowley, eds., *Struggles For Social Rights in Latin America*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Pp. 125-145. On reserve as "Ros and Lustig."

April 6 Horacio Mackinlay, "Rural Producers' Organizations and the State in Mexico: The Political Consequences of Economic Restructuring" in Kevin Middlebrook, ed., *Dilemmas of Political Change in Mexico*. University of London, 2004. Pp. 286-331. On reserve as "Mackinlay."

April 11 Nora Haenn, "Risking Environmental Justice: Culture, Conservation, and Governance at Calakmul, Mexico" in Susan Eckstein and Timothy Wickham-Crowley, eds., *Struggles For Social Rights in Latin America*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Pp. 81-101. On reserve as "Haenn."

April 13 Martin Medina, "The Cardboard Collectors of Nuevo Laredo: How Scavengers Protect the Environment and Benefit the Economy" in Susan Eckstein and Timothy Wickham-Crowley, eds., *Struggles For Social Rights in Latin America*. New York: Routledge, 2003. Pp. 103 - 121. On reserve as "Medina."

# Request for Personnel Transaction Form (RPT)

Human Resource Services



Complete an RPT form for: change in FTE, funding, pay, title, index, or location and extending temporary employment beyond 6 months.  
 \*\*PLEASE NOTE: INCOMPLETE OR MISSING FORMS WILL RESULT IN DELAYED PROCESSING.

Employee Name: Kimberly Hannon Social Security No: 790038460

Department: Pol. Science Supervisor: Jon Tompkins

Effective Date: 5-22-06 End Date: 6-17-06 Current Base Pay or Research Base: \$26,187

Current Job Title: Adjunct Time Roster #: 332700

☒ Faculty ☐ Instructor ☐ Contract Administrator/Professional ☐ Classified Staff ☐ Temporary

Department Contact: L. Edwards Ext No: 5202

Is this employee a U.S. citizen? ☒ Yes ☐ No

Does employee perform work in Montana? ☒ Yes ☐ No If no, location:

## Check Appropriate Box:

☒ Job Title Change / New Title:

☒ Base Pay Change / New Base Pay:

☐ AY to FY

☐ FY to AY

☐ Index # Change / New Index #:

☐ FTE Change / New FTE:

☐ Other Please Explain:

☐ 6+ Months - 1-Year Temporary Employment

Rate of Pay Requested: \$3,273 Job Title: Adjunct Instructor

Role Description must be attached for extended temporary staff position.  
 Authorization for Pre-Employment Criminal Background Investigation form must be attached.

Position:	Index:	Account:	FTE:	Pay (Opt):	Special Conditions:
	MPG101	61123		3,273	

Note: If funding source is from a grant, you must supply the end date of the grant and a new funding source.

Approval Signature(s)/Date:

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Signature: \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Recommended Levels of Signature Approval:	Approval Level:
Executive Officer	President
Administrator	Dean/Provost
Faculty	Dean/P of Res & Dev
Research Faculty	Dean/Director
Professional	Dean/Director
Staff	Dean/Director

April 18 Pastoral Juvenil Obrera, "The Struggle for Justice in the Maquiladoras: The Experience of the Autotrim Workers" in Timothy Wise, Hilda Salazar and Laura Carlsen, eds., *Confronting Globalization: Economic Integration and Popular Resistance in Mexico*. Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2003. pp. 173-194. On reserve as "Juvenil Obrera."

Heather Williams, "Lessons from the Labor Front: The Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras" in David Brooks and Jonathan Fox, eds., *Cross-Border Dialogues: U.S.-Mexico Social Movement Networking*. La Jolla: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of San Diego, California, 2002. Pp. 87-111. On reserve as "Willams."

April 20 Paul Haber, "From Social Movement to Party Politics: Implications for Democracy and the Poor in the Case of Urban Popular Movements in Contemporary Mexico". Paper Prepared for delivery at the 2006 Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association, San Juan, Puerto Rico March 15-18, 2006. On blackboard.

April 25 Luis Carlos Ugalde, "U.S.-Mexican Relations: A View from Mexico" in Luis Rubio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, eds., *Mexico Under Fox*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004. Pp. 115 – 141. On reserve as "U.S.-Mexican Relations."

Susan Kaufman Purcell, "The Changing Bilateral Relationship: A U.S. View" in Luis Rubio and Susan Kaufman Purcell, eds., *Mexico Under Fox*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004. Pp. 143 – 164. On reserve as "U.S.-Mexican Relations."

April 27 Coletta Youngers and Eileen Rosin, "The U.S. War on Drugs: It's Impact in Latin America and the Caribbean" in Coletta Youngers and Eileen Rosin, eds., *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005. Pp. 1-13. On reserve as "War on Drugs."

Laurie Freeman and Jorge Luis Sierra, "Mexico: The Militarization Trap" in Coletta Youngers and Eileen Rosin, eds., *Drugs and Democracy in Latin America: The Impact of U.S. Policy*. Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2005. Pp. 263-302. On reserve as "War on Drugs."

May 2 Kristin Norget, "Knowing Where We Enter: Indigenous Theology and the Popular Church in Oaxaca, Mexico: in Edward Cleary and Timothy Steigenga, eds., *Resurgent Voices in Latin America: Indigenous Peoples, Political Mobilization, and Religious Change*. Rutgers University Press, 2004. Pp. 154 – 186. On reserve as "Resurgent Voices."

Christine Kovic, "Mayan Catholics in Chiapas, Mexico: Practicing Faith on Their Own Terms" in Edward Cleary and Timothy Steigenga, eds., *Resurgent Voices in Latin America: Indigenous Peoples, Political Mobilization, and Religious Change*. Rutgers University Press, 2004. Pp. 187 – 209. On reserve as "Resurgent Voices."

May 4 Exam review and course evaluations

May 11 Exam #2 (1:10-3:10)



The proposed rule provoked considerable general comment, largely critical, on the relationship between the Forest Service and the public.... There were a substantial number of people who feel that by tightening the appeals rules, the Forest Service is trying to close a legitimate avenue of involvement... The "trust" and "bad faith" comments are legitimate, if troubling, expressions of public concern (54 Fed. Reg. 13: 3343-3344).

These comments indicate that reducing the opportunity costs of appeals also may carry large public image costs for the agency.

## Methods

A quantitative assessment of judicial decisions and administrative appeals involving the Forest Service was undertaken to analyze trends in the use of the court system and the appeals process to force agency change. This analysis was done in two stages.

First, data on lawsuits involving the Forest Service were gathered from the WestLaw computerized database, which compiles all cases published in the West Reporter System and Environmental Law Reporter. A general list of Forest Service lawsuits was obtained via a March 1993 WestLaw computer search for all federal court cases decided after 1976 that mentioned "Forest Service" in the text and included the agency's name in the descriptive paragraph at the beginning of the case. This search procedure was used because not all suits to which the Forest Service is a party actually name the agency in the case title (often, individual Forest Service personnel are sued). Conversely, a computer search of all lawsuits mentioning the Forest Service in their text would have yielded many cases that did not pertain to the agency. The method chosen generated a list of 271 cases, which then were used to illustrate trends in the overall frequency of use of the judicial system to influence Forest Service actions.

Next, for a more in-depth analysis, a list of NFMA-cited cases was obtained from the USDA's Office of General Counsel, which undertook a WestLaw computer search in December 1992 for all federal court cases including the key terms "N.F.M.A." and "National Forest" or "Forest Service" (Mulach, 1993). This list then was edited to remove any cases that were not concerned primarily with the National Forest System or the Forest Service, to yield a total of 67 cases: 1 Supreme Court case, 20 suits from the appellate level, 42 district court cases and 4 suits brought in Federal Claims court. In addition, a list of all cases published by the WestLaw Publishing Company that involved Forest Service NEPA documents (environmental impact statements or environmental assessments) also was obtained from the USDA Office of General Counsel. Consisting of all cases from 1971 through 1992, this NEPA list included 58 district court cases and 41 appellate-level lawsuits, for a total of 99 cases. These NFMA and NEPA lawsuits then were analyzed according to five different variables: date of decision, court in which the suit was brought, identity of the plaintiff or appellant initiating the suit, purpose of the suit, and whether the plaintiffs or appellants successfully achieved their NFMA or NEPA objective.

Several shortcomings of this methodology should be noted. First, it examines only suits that have been decided, thereby overlooking pending cases and suits settled out of court, neither of which are on a database nor have an easily accessed paper trail. For example, in January 1993, there were more than 34 pending NFMA cases (United States Department of Agriculture, Office of the General Counsel, 1993). Although the WestLaw Publishing series is "the official and most comprehensive reporter of legal

published cases (Vail, 1993, p. 1). Similarly, this analysis includes only published cases; courts occasionally rule on lawsuits without publishing their decisions (which makes it very difficult to obtain information on the cases). Generally, unpublished cases do not set legal precedent. The Forest Service did not keep record of unpublished decisions prior to 1989, but reports that at least 23 unpublished NEPA cases have been decided since 1989. Similarly, the NEPA and NFMA cases analyzed represent less than 50% of all cases that have been brought against the Forest Service in the past two decades.

Lawsuits involving the agency can be based on a whole range of other environmental laws, such as the Endangered Species Act, the Wilderness Act, and the Clean Water Act, to name just a few, and most suits base their arguments on a number of statutes and regulations. For example, the Office of General Counsel reports that roughly 47% of the cases on our NEPA list also are crosslisted on the NFMA list (Vail, 1993). Additionally, although NFMA was cited in all of the cases analyzed on the NFMA list, it was not always the pivotal statute affecting the outcome of the case; nonetheless, "success" was based on the results of the NFMA argument, rather than the overall case, to assess the impact of the statute. This same approach was followed with the NEPA analysis. This distinction, however, affected only a small number of cases. Also, in a handful of cases, determining "success" was a slightly subjective undertaking. In two NFMA and two NEPA cases a "remand" was reported, and one NFMA case was categorized as "mixed." Lastly, while the more meaningful timing measurement would have been the date when each suit was brought, these data largely are unavailable; therefore, the date of the court ruling was used instead.

Despite these limitations, this analysis provides a good picture of how the court system is accessed to attempt changes in Forest Service management behavior. If anything, it provides a conservative estimate of the potential impact of court cases as a tool to achieve agency changes, because we do not report undecided or unpublished decisions, and because the mere threat of lawsuits may impact decisionmaking. Moreover, it is agreed widely in the environmental legal community that NFMA is not the most effective litigation tool among the environmental statutes, due to the fact that much of the law is broad and process-oriented in nature (Honold, 1993).

Quantitative data on administrative appeals of Forest Service decisions was obtained from the Forest Service's Washington Office. Data were collected on the total number of appeals brought against the agency, the number brought in each Forest Service region, and the frequency and nature of the appeal decisions rendered by the agency. Unfortunately, the agency only recently has begun collecting detailed data on appeals, so no information is available for years prior to 1986, and relatively little is known regarding the type of litigants who have initiated appeals.

In addition to this quantitative analysis, a more in-depth qualitative analysis was undertaken to assess the on-the-ground impact of successful lawsuits against the Forest Service and to attempt to establish a cause-and-effect link between legal challenges and agency change. Specifically, court decisions were analyzed involving the legal adequacy or development of the land resource management plans or forest planning mandated by NFMA. Such decisions are particularly important given the precedent they will set for future forest planning and the overall potential impact of the NFMA forest planning process upon National Forest management.

The Office of the General Counsel reports that 20 federal court cases had been decided as of January 1993 specifically regarding NFMA forest planning or land resource management plans (United States Department of Agriculture, Office of the General Counsel, 1993). This relatively small number of decisions occurs because plans for many forests have been completed only recently and appeals of them that