

## Cambridge Elements =

#### **Elements in the Politics of Development**

edited by
Rachel Beatty Riedl
Einaudi Center for International Studies and Cornell University
Ben Ross Schneider
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Mario Einaudi
CENTER FOR
INTERNATIONAL STUDIES



# CRIMINAL POLITICS AND BOTCHED DEVELOPMENT IN CONTEMPORARY LATIN AMERICA

Andreas E. Feldmann
University of Illinois Chicago
Juan Pablo Luna
Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781108958059

DOI: 10.1017/9781108955461

© Andreas E. Feldmann and Juan Pablo Luna 2023

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

First published 2023

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library.

ISBN 978-1-108-95805-9 Paperback ISSN 2515-1584 (online) ISSN 2515-1576 (print)

Additional resources for this publication at www.cambridge.org/feldmann.

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



## Criminal Politics and Botched Development in Contemporary Latin America

Elements in the Politics of Development

DOI: 10.1017/9781108955461 First published online: June 2023

Andreas E. Feldmann University of Illinois Chicago

Juan Pablo Luna Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Author for correspondence: Andreas E. Feldmann, feldmana@uic.edu

**Abstract:** This Element investigates the relationship between the narcotics industry and politics and assesses how it influences domestic political dynamics, including economic development prospects in Latin America. It argues that links between criminal organizations, politicians, and state agents give rise to criminal politics (i.e., the interrelated activity of politicians, organized crime actors, and state agents in pursuing their respective agendas and goals). Criminal politics is upending how countries function politically and, consequently, impacting the prospects and nature of their social and economic development. The Element claims that diverse manifestations of criminal politics arise depending on how different phases of drug-trafficking activity (e.g., production, trafficking, and money laundering) interact with countries' distinct politico-institutional endowments. The argument is probed through the systematic examination of four cases that have received scant attention in the specialized literature: Chile, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay.

**Keywords:** drug trafficking, criminal politics, development, Latin America, corruption

© Andreas E. Feldmann and Juan Pablo Luna 2023

ISBNs: 9781108958059 (PB), 9781108955461 (OC) ISSNs: 2515-1584 (online), 2515-1576 (print)



### **Contents**

1	Introduction	1
2	Conceptualizing Criminal Politics	5
3	Case Studies	34
4	Implications	64
	References	72
	Further online supplementary material for appendix can be accessed at Cambridge.org/Feldmann/Luna	