

ULA Course Snapshot

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
			9/6: Course Introduction		9/8: Urban Latin America: Enclaves and Struggles for Land	
	9/11 (continued from Friday) <i>50th anniversary of Chile coup</i>		9/13: Planet of Slums: Apocalyptic Anti-Urbanism?		9/15: São Paulo: Mobilization vs. the Machine <i>Rosh Hashanah</i>	
	9/18: São Paulo: Urban Segregation, Fortified Enclaves, and Public Space		9/20 (continued from Monday) <i>Last day to submit SPP #1</i>		9/22: Resistance to White Supremacy in Brazil	
	9/25: São Paulo: The Talk of Crime and the Limits of Democratic Empowerment <i>Yom Kippur</i>		9/27 (continued from Monday)		9/29: Mexico: Private Policing and the Punitive City	
	10/2: Selling Security in Neoliberal Mexico		10/4: Mexico: Self-Policing, Commodified Protection, and Community Justice		10/6: Screening of “Bus 174” (first half) <i>Last day to submit SPP #2</i>	
	10/9: Screening of “Bus 174” (second half) <i>Research Topic due</i>		10/11: Comparing Urban Brazil and Mexico: Through the Lens of “Bus 174”		10/13: Black-Indigenous Coalitions in the City	
	10/16: Medellín: Resistance by Paintbrush		10/18: Bogotá: Over-Policing and Human Rights Frames		10/20: LGBTQ+ Rights in Bogotá: Contradictory Contours	
<i>Exploratory Draft due</i> <i>Argentina elections</i>	10/23: Workshop Exploratory Drafts		10/25: Methods Workshop <i>Final Exploratory Paper due</i>		<i>FALL BREAK</i>	
	10/30: Peripheral Urbanization in the Global South		11/1: Buenos Aires: Housing Fights and Disability Rights		11/3: TBA	
	11/6: Santiago de Chile: For a Proper Home		11/8: Santiago: Insurgent Ownership		11/10: Santiago: Reactionary Turns	

	11/13: El Alto, Rebel City: Citizens Despite the State		11/15: El Alto: Aymara Power in City Hall		11/17: Caracas and Montevideo: Housing and Urban Popular Power	
	11/20: Visual Communication Workshop <i>"12 Very Rough Pages" due</i>		<i>THANKSGIVING BREAK</i>			
	11/27: Colloquium Planning + Preparation for Comparative Analysis		11/29: Comparative Analysis Across Cities		12/1: Presentation Rehearsals	
	12/4: Colloquium #1 <i>Harmon Room</i>		12/6: Colloquium #2 <i>Harmon Room</i>		12/8: Colloquium #3 <i>Harmon Room</i> <i>(Rough Draft due for those presenting on 12/11)</i>	
	12/11: Colloquium #4 <i>Harmon Room</i> <i>Rough Draft due</i>		12/13: Workshop Rough Drafts Course Surveys			
	12/18: Final Paper due					

Urban Politics of Latin America

M-W-F 10:50-11:50 am / Fall 2023 / Library 250

Instructor: Paul Dosh

Email: dosh@macalester.edu

Cell: 651-641-0416

Office: Carnegie 203H

[Office Hours Sign-Up](#)

[Assessment](#)

[Course Resources Page](#)

APSA Style Guide

[Anonymous Question/Suggestion Box](#)

COURSE OVERVIEW	6
Expectations	7
Readings	8
MAX Center	8
Students with Special Needs	8
Students Experiencing Challenge or Crisis	8
ASSIGNMENTS	10
Due Dates and Assignment Descriptions	10
SYLLABUS	11

COURSE OVERVIEW

Welcome to Urban Politics of Latin America! In São Paulo and Mexico City, how are Black-Indigenous coalitions challenging police violence and housing segregation? Has Bogota's election of an openly gay mayor made the city safer for LGBTQ+ Colombians? And in El Alto, how did a 34-year-old Aymara woman build a coalition to beat the party establishment and capture City Hall?

Democratic elections have penetrated metropolitan Latin America, offering excluded communities new avenues for making demands. In this research seminar, we will explore how the changing rules of political competition affect urban struggles around representation, gender inequality, housing discrimination, and the informal sector. The course examines mayoral elections and urban movements in cities such as Caracas, Lima, Medellín, Montevideo, Porto Alegre, and Santiago de Chile. Student responsibilities include seminar leadership roles, a research project, and presentation of your findings in a public colloquium.

Like many graduate seminars, our course is designed to support you in two principal tasks: 1) read and analyze scholarship, both through participation in and facilitation of seminar discussion; and 2) complete a research project that is embedded in the same literature—scholarship focused on urban Latin America. These two tasks reinforce each other. Insights from our shared readings inform your research, and you bring what you are learning in your research project into our discussions. You and your peers will both help each other extract insights from assigned readings, and you will support and critique each other's projects. A third major collaborative task is to organize and host our December colloquium, in which you will present your findings.

Seminar Engagement. As a graduate-style seminar, your engagement of texts through discussion is key to our course. Some of the skills you will further develop include: effective and efficient reading; preparing for seminar discussion when you are *not* a facilitator; and preparing and co-leading our seminar. One of your key responsibilities will be to co-lead two seminar sessions.

Research Project. You will complete a research project related to urban politics in (typically) one or two Latin American cities; you need not study the same cities that the syllabus emphasizes. This project is separate from assigned readings—you will assemble your own reading list—but also integrated with the seminar, as you will check in with the group about your progress, receive feedback, and draw connections between your project and the common readings all of us are discussing. The majority of the assignments described below are actually steps within this larger project.

Urban Latin America Colloquium. In December our public colloquium will showcase your research findings. Collectively, our class will take charge of all aspects of the event including organization, publicity, refreshments, event format, and tech.

Expectations

To get the most out of our diverse class, we will need to be respectful of the views others have to offer, and of the fact that each of us has something to teach the rest of the class. Everyone's engagement is needed to create a seminar that is equitable and inclusive.

I expect you to make this class a priority. Especially these first couple weeks, we need you to *leap* into the readings with enthusiasm! When everyone does that, we will have set an excellent tone for the semester.

Each class will require you to also spend non-reading time preparing for class. Create a habit of setting aside non-reading time to prepare your ideas.

You can expect me to be tirelessly enthusiastic and to work hard for you, and to provide constructive and encouraging feedback.

Please arrive on time and prepared to *engage*. If you can't make it to class, please do your best to let me know in advance. If you are feeling sick, *please do not attend*. Rest, let me know, and I'll support you in getting caught up.

If you need to Zoom into class, it is helpful if you both 1) arrange with a classmate for them to Zoom you in via their phone; and 2) let me know, so I can give you any slides/videos for that day in advance.

Readings

Readings are available via this gDoc syllabus. Some links lead to online articles or eBooks at the Library; others download PDFs from Moodle (you may be prompted to login to Moodle). There is one required book, listed below (at the Bookstore, but also available electronically from the Library).

- Caldeira, Teresa. 2000. [*City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*](#). Berkeley: University of California Press. (Library eBook; also at the bookstore).

MAX Center

The Macalester Academic Excellence (MAX) Center, located in Kagin Commons, has peer tutors available for assisting students in all stages of their writing. Writing tutors are available for scheduling and Zoom consultations through [WC Online](#).

Students with Special Needs

I am committed to providing assistance to help you be successful in this course. Students seeking accommodations based on disabilities should meet with [Disability Services](#). Students are encouraged to address any special needs or accommodations with me as soon as you become aware of your needs. I am committed to working with you to develop creative solutions and accommodations that fit your needs.

Students Experiencing Challenge or Crisis

Macalester has professionally trained staff to support students experiencing crisis. When a personal challenge or crisis occurs, it has an academic impact and may require flexibility around course responsibilities. In such situations, talking to a trusted professor can be helpful. If I can be of help, please don't hesitate to talk to me.

Please be aware that I am *not* a confidential resource. Faculty and student preceptors are mandatory reporters of sexual violence and are required to report any information you share about an experience of sexual violence (whether it occurred on or off campus, or before or after you came to Macalester) with the Office of Title IX & Equity. This allows the Office of Title IX & Equity to follow up to offer resources and options for support. To find confidential resources, visit <https://www.macalester.edu/title-ix/find-support>.

Artificial Intelligence (AI) Use Policy

With the exception of Single Point Paper #2, you should not make use of AI tools to generate content for assignments. If you elect to use an AI tool for Single Point Paper #2 (see assignment description options), you are asked to also reflect on your use of AI tools to complete that short paper. Based on that reflection, you are welcome to propose to Paul to make further use of AI tools on other assignments, but this must be done in advance and with Paul's approval, to ensure you are not overusing AI tools to the detriment of developing other skills.

ASSIGNMENTS

Courses Resources Web Page: Access sample work [here](#).

Citation Style: Use the APSA Style Guide to format citations and bibliography. If you use another style guide, include the name of the style guide along with your name/date, at the start of paper.

Deadlines: Papers are due at midnight via Moodle.

On-Time Work Policy: Setting and meeting deadlines is an important professional skill. The syllabus provides “default” deadlines for assignments. We expect you to either meet these deadlines or set alternate deadlines in advance. College is an important time to develop a reputation as someone who gets things done and gets things done on time. If you cannot meet a deadline, it is your responsibility to communicate about when you will complete your work.

“Universal Design” Policy on Extensions: Three-day extensions on papers are available to all students. You are not required to justify your need for an extension. To get a three-day extension, simply send Paul a brief email.

Exception: The Final Paper deadline cannot be extended later than December 20, which is the last day of finals and of the semester.

Final Date for Work to Receive Credit: The absolute latest that work can be received in order to still receive partial or full credit is 2 weeks after the standard deadline.

Exceptions: The last day the required Rough Draft can be accepted for credit is December 15. The last day the final Research Paper can be accepted is December 20.

Policy on Incompletes: Please see the [College Catalog policy on Incompletes](#).

Due Dates and Assignment Descriptions

Due	Grade Percentage	Assignment
Sept 6-Oct 20	10%	Class Engagement (first 7 weeks)
Oct 23-Dec 13	10%	Class Engagement (last 7 weeks)
varies	10%	Classroom Leadership #1
varies	10%	Classroom Leadership #2
no later than Sept 20	part of Class Engagement	Single Point Paper #1
no later than Oct 6	part of Class Engagement	Single Point Paper #2
Oct 9	part of Class Engagement	Research Paper Topic
Oct 22	part of Class Engagement	Exploratory Paper Draft
Oct 25	15%	Final Exploratory Paper
Nov 20	part of Class Engagement	12 Very Rough Pages
Dec 4-11	15%	Colloquium Presentation
Dec 11 (or Dec 8)	part of Class Engagement	Research Paper Rough Draft
Dec 18	30%	Research Paper Final Draft

* Ungraded assignments contribute to Class Engagement grade.

SYLLABUS

—Wednesday, September 6—

Course Introduction

Introduce Single Point Paper assignment

- O’Grady, Mary Anastasia. 2011. “Honduras’s Experiment with Free-Market Cities.” *Wall Street Journal* (February 14). [4-min read]
- Democracy Now*: “[Hondurans Fight Private Cities Run by US Companies as Gov’t Sued for Outlawing ‘Neocolonial Project.’](#)” [watch first 8 min]

—Friday, September 8 (*continues on Monday, September 11*)—

Urban Latin America: Enclaves and Struggles for Land

Lecture

- Perry, Keisha-Khan Y. 2022. “Housing Justice in the Americas: Struggle and Solidarity.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Fall): 237-239.
- Angotti, Tom. 2013. “Urban Latin America: Violence, Enclaves, and Struggles for Land.” *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 40., No. 3 (March): 5-18.

Optional (for Monday, 9/11)

- Achtenberg, Emily. 2013. “[In Chile, Remembering 9/11: Reflections.](#)” *NACLA.org* (September 30).

—Wednesday, September 13—

Planet of Slums: Apocalyptic Anti-Urbanism?

Film excerpt: “Waste Land” (by Lucy Walker; 2011)

Introduce Classroom Leadership assignment

- Davis, Mike. 2006. *Planet of Slums*. London: Verso (Ch. 4 “Illusions of Self Help,” pp. 70-94; and Ch. 7: “SAPing the Third World,” pp. 151-173).
- Angotti, Tom. 2006. “Apocalyptic Anti-Urbanism: Mike Davis and His Planet of Slums.” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 30, No. 4 (December): 961-967.

—Friday, September 15—

São Paulo: Mobilization vs. the Machine

Lecture

Film excerpt: “Black in Latin America, with Henry Louis Gates, Jr.” (director Ricardo Pollack)

- Schneider, Cathy, and Paul Amar. 2003. “The Rise of Crime, Disorder, and Authoritarian Policing.” *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 37, 2 (Sept/Oct): 12-16.
- Graham, Lawrence, and Pedro Jacobi. 2002. “São Paulo: Tensions Between Clientelism and Participatory Democracy.” *Capital City Politics in Latin America*, pp. 310-323.

Optional

- Mead, Rebecca. 2003. “Letter from Brazil: Dressing for Lula.” *The New Yorker* (March 17): 82-91.

—Monday, September 18 (*continues on Wednesday, September 20*)—

São Paulo: Urban Segregation, Fortified Enclaves, and Public Space

DUE: Sept 20 is last day to submit Single Point Paper #1

Film excerpt: “Favela Rising.” (directed by Jeff Zimbalist and Matt Mochary)

Skills Workshop: Lesson Planning and Facilitating Discussion

•Caldeira, Teresa. 2000. [*City of Walls: Crime, Segregation, and Citizenship in São Paulo*](#). Berkeley: University of California (Chs. 6-8, pp. 213-335).

—Friday, September 22—

Resistance to White Supremacy in Brazil

- Schucman, Lia Vainer, and Williamys da Costa Melo. 2022. “White Supremacy, Brazil Style.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Summer): 197-202.
- Brito Reis, Dyane, and José Raimundo Santos. 2022. “Wins and Uncertainties After 10 Years of Affirmative Action.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Summer): 203-208.
- Lima Santos, Jaqueline, and Mário Augusto Medeiros da Silva. 2022. “Archives of Hip Hop and Black Activism in Brazil.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Summer): 209-216.
- Perry, Keisha-Khan. 2022. “[‘We Still Have a Lot of Struggles Ahead’: A Conversation with Anielle Franco](#).” *NACLA* (January 4). [9-minute read] [Content: focuses on the anti-Black assassination of Congresswoman Marielle Franco]

Optional

- [Marielle Franco Institute web page](#).

—Monday, September 25 (continues on Wednesday, September 27)—

São Paulo: The Talk of Crime and the Limits of Democratic Empowerment

Lecture: “Violence, Spatial Segregation, and the Limits of Democratic Empowerment in São Paulo”

- [Caldeira](#) (excerpts of Chs. 1-2, 4 and skim Ch. 3, but read p. 137 carefully).

—Friday, September 29 —

Mexico: Private Policing and the Punitive City

Introduce Research Paper assignments

- Müller, Markus-Michael. 2016. *The Punitive City: Privatized Policing and Protection in Neoliberal Mexico*. London: Zed Books (Introduction and Ch. 1 “The Making of the Punitive City”)

—Monday, October 2—

Selling Security in Neoliberal Mexico

- Müller, *The Punitive City* (Ch. 4 “Securitized Civic Activism”).
- Law, Sam. 2019. “Building Homes, Building Lives in Mexico City.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter): 401-409.

—Wednesday, October 4—

Mexico: Self-Policing, Commodified Protection, and Community Justice

- Müller, *The Punitive City* (Ch. 5 “Self-Policing, Commodified Protection and Community Justice”).

—Friday, October 6 (*continues on Monday, October 9*)—

Screening of “Bus 174”

DUE: Oct 6 is last day to submit Single Point Paper #2

DUE: Oct 9 is deadline for Research Paper Topic

- Ng, David. 2003. “[Blame it on Rio](#)” [interview with director Jose Padilha]. *Salon* (October 8).
- Villarejo, Amy. 2006. “‘Bus 174’ and the Living Present.” *Cinema Journal*, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Autumn): 115-120.

Optional

- Walsh, David. 2003. “[A Modest Proposal: A Cinema of Ideas](#).” *World Socialist Web Site* (May 21). [paragraphs #13-17 review “Bus 174”]

—Wednesday, October 11—

**Comparing Urban Brazil and Mexico: Through the Lens of “Bus 174”
Introduce Exploratory Paper assignment**

—Friday, October 13—

Black-Indigenous Coalitions in the City

- de Andrade Souza, Jurema Machado, with Rosivaldo Ferreira da Silva. 2022. “In Defense of Land for the Future of Humanity.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 2 (Summer): 182-189.
- Mora, Mariana, and Mónica Moreno Figueroa. 2021. “Horizons of Anti-Racist Organizing in Mexico.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 53, No. 3 (Fall): 239-247.
- Castellanos, M. Bianet. 2022. “In Cancún, Maya Migrants Fight for Dignity.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Fall): 266-270.

—Monday, October 16—

Resistance by Paintbrush: Medellín

- Moncada, Eduardo. 2016. “Urban Violence, Political Economy, and Territorial Control: Insights from Medellín.” *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 51, No. 4: 225-243.
- Young, Alexandra. 2019. “Creative Resistance in Medellín’s Changing Public Space.” *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter): 341-347.

—Wednesday, October 18—

Human Rights Frames and Over-policing in Bogotá

- Mayka, Lindsay. 2021. “The Power of Human Rights Frames in Urban Security: Lessons from Bogotá.” *Comparative Politics* (October): 1-19.

—Friday, October 20—

LGBTQ+ Rights in Bogotá: Contradictory Contours

- Squires, Lily. 2021. “[Claudia López: The First LGBTQ+ Mayor of Bogotá, Colombia](#).” *Her Culture* (May 25).
- Bocanumenth, Matthew. 2020. “[LGBT+ Rights and Peace in Colombia: The Paradox Between Law](#)”

[and Practice](#)." Washington Office on Latin America (July 3). [8-minute read]

- Taipei Times. 2023. "[More Than 100,000 March in Colombia's Pride Parade](#)" (July 4).

Optional

- Achtenberg, Emily. 2014. "[Bogotá Mayor's Ouster Undermines Political Struggle for an Inclusive City](#)." *NACLA.org* (April 17).

—Sunday, October 22—

DUE: Exploratory Paper Draft

—Monday, October 23—

Workshop Exploratory Drafts

—Wednesday, October 25—

Methods Workshop

DUE: Final Exploratory Paper

Mid-semester feedback for improving course

—FALL BREAK—

—Monday, October 30—

Peripheral Urbanization in the Global South

- Caldeira, Teresa. 2017. "Peripheral Urbanization: Autoconstruction, Transversal Logics, and Politics in Cities of the Global South." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, Vol. 35, No. 1: 3-16.

—Wednesday, November 1 —

Buenos Aires: Housing Fights and Disability Rights

- Procupez, Valeria, with Leonor Rojas. 2022. "'Housing is Only the Beginning.'" *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Fall): 312-316.
- Joly, Eduardo. 2022. "The Struggle for Disability Rights in Argentina and Beyond." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Fall): 317-323.
- Procupez, Valeria, and María Carla Rodríguez. 2019. "Cooperatives Battle Displacement in Buenos Aires." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter): 386-393.

—Friday, November 3—

TBA

—Monday, November 6—

Santiago de Chile: *For a Proper Home*

Lecture

- Pérez, Miguel. 2022. "A Home for All in Chile's New Housing Occupations." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Fall): 278-285.
- Murphy, Edward. 2015. [*For a Proper Home: Housing Rights in the Margins of Urban Chile, 1960-2010*](#). Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press (Introduction and excerpts of Chs. 1-2).

—Wednesday, November 8—

Santiago de Chile: Insurgent Ownership

- Murphy, [*For a Proper Home*](#) (excerpts of Chs. 3-4).

—Friday, November 10—

Santiago de Chile: Reactionary Turns

- Murphy, [*For a Proper Home*](#) (excerpts of Chs. 5-6).

—Monday, November 13—

El Alto, Rebel City: Citizens Despite the State

Lecture

- McNelly, Angus. 2019. "The Highs and Lows of Bolivia's Rebel City." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter): 333-340.
- Lazar, Sian. 2008. [*El Alto, Rebel City: Self and Citizenship in Andean Bolivia*](#). Durham: Duke University Press (excerpts TBA).
- Achtenberg, Emily. 2015. ["A Vote for Local Democracy in Bolivia's Regional Elections"](#). *NACLA.org* (April 17).

—Wednesday, November 15—

El Alto: Aymara Power in City Hall

- Thomson Reuters Foundation. 2017. ["When Women Rule: Soledad Chapetón, Mayor of El Alto, Bolivia."](#) [6-minute video] [production funded by Reuters corporation]
- Achtenberg, Emily. 2015. ["A Vote for Local Democracy in Bolivia's Regional Elections."](#) *NACLA.org* (April 17).
- Moloney, Anastasia. 2017. ["When Women Rule: El Alto's First Female Mayor Defies Bolivia's Old Boys' Network."](#) Thomson Reuters Foundation (October 26). [article funded by Reuters corporation]

Optional

- Soledad Chapetón's Wikipedia page in [English](#) or [Spanish](#).
- Boobbyer, Claire. 2018. ["High Society: El Alto, Bolivia, Steps into the Spotlight."](#) *The Guardian* (October 17). [article funded by a UK travel agency]
- Asuntos Centrales. 2022. ["La Ex-Alcaldesa de El Alto, Soledad Chapetón Detenida"](#) ("Former Mayor of El Alto, Soledad Chapetón, arrested"). Spanish news video with English subtitles. She was arrested a second time in July 2023. [8-minute video]
- Dosh, Paul, and Nicole Kligerman (Mac '10). 2010. "Women's Voices on the Executive Council: Popular Organizations and Resource Battles in Bolivia and Ecuador." *Latin American Perspectives* 37, 4 (July): 214-237.

—Friday, November 17—

Caracas and Montevideo: Housing and Urban Popular Power

- Torres Angarita, Andreina. 2022. "From Housing to Homespace in Bolivarian Caracas." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 54, No. 3 (Fall): 286-294.
- García-Guadilla, María Pilar. 2019. "Learning from Venezuela's Missteps in Building Urban Popular Power." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter): 348-355.
- Goni Mazzitelli, Adriana. 2019. "Reclaiming Montevideo's Vacant Spaces." *NACLA Report on the Americas*, Vol. 51, No. 4 (Winter): 371-378.

—Monday, November 20—

Skills workshop: Visual Communication

DUE: 12 Very Rough Pages

—THANKSGIVING BREAK—

—Monday, November 27—

Colloquium Planning

Preparation for Comparative Analysis

—Wednesday, November 29—

Comparative Analysis Across Cities

—Friday, December 1—

Colloquium Presentation Rehearsals

—Monday, December 4, Harmon Room—

Colloquium #1

—Wednesday, December 6, Harmon Room—

Colloquium #2

—Friday, December 8, Harmon Room—

Colloquium #4

DUE: Rough Drafts of students presenting on Dec 11

—Monday, December 11, Harmon Room—

Colloquium #4

DUE: Rough Draft

—Wednesday, December 13—

Workshop Rough Drafts
Course Surveys

—Monday, December 18—

DUE: Final Paper