

The study of political economy emphasizes the role of capital in politics and policy making. Urban political economy focuses specifically on the relationship between the “local state” (urban and suburban governments) and capital, both local and global. However, this relationship does not exist in a local vacuum; the behavior of cities, states, and other nations as well as the actions of national and international capital have profound impacts on this relationship.

Many important questions will emerge during this term, particularly since this course is a survey of a broad subfield. Two classical questions of democratic theory provide an overarching framework for this course, however: *Who governs? Whose interests are advanced?* We are particularly concerned with whether capital dominates the local state and wields undue influence in agenda setting and policy making or whether the state is acting in the public good or some majority interests. Are elected officials pawns of capital, and how would we define this capital? Alternatively, do the public’s desires for patterns of residential development, work locales, and entertainment preferences set the agenda for capital in a democratic, “invisible-hand” manner? Or, does capital operate within parameters set by a regulatory state? Keeping in mind a desire for clarity and parsimony, how else might we describe the relationship between capital and the local state? These questions raise normative concerns about how political economy “ought” to be in an enlightened society and students should not be hesitant to proffer normative evaluations. In addition, questions are often listed on the syllabus accompanying particular readings. Every student should come to class prepared to answer these questions; quizzes may be given when the instructor deems them necessary.

In the 19th and 20th centuries, cities could emerge as manufacturing centers by outcompeting other locales within their region or nation. In the 21st century economy, manufacturing has become very mobile and the competition to attract it has become far more intense. Competition between the global North and South or between nation-states is arguably less intense these days than competition between cities across the globe. The leaders of many cities have recognized, sometimes quite belatedly, that they must find a new role in the international division of labor. The grand theme of this course is how cities, their leaders -- political, economic and, increasingly, cultural -- and their inhabitants cope with the new terrain that is a global economy not a national economy.

POSC 266 is designed for sophomores through seniors; the grade will be based on midterm and end of term take-home exams (35% each, 10 page minimum), class participation and assignment *quality* (20%) and a literary narrative analysis essay (10%, 6 pages). A country-based or topical literature review (with a minimum of twelve additional journal or book citations beyond those in the syllabus) may be substituted for the final, but only with the permission of the instructor based on the appropriateness of the country or topic.

Format: Being able to articulate ideas, respond to questions, and listen effectively to the criticisms of others are important life skills. My teaching philosophy stresses the value of proffering ideas and subjecting those ideas to examination. I seek to stimulate discussion and disagreement but never combat. Coming to class with a list of ideas from our readings that you feel merit discussion -- because they are significant, because they are incorrect or overdrawn, because they reshaped the way you think about something else, because they redound back to earlier discussions or an earlier text and because you want to nominate them as agenda items for our discussion -- is an excellent idea. If you wish to share these with me prior to class, you can send me e-mail and I will do my best to respond in a timely manner and perhaps incorporate your ideas into class. Written submission will not be a requirement unless class discussion falters. Considering that class participation is a non-negligible 20% of the grade, students should be sure that they can meet these requirements.

Any form of academic dishonesty is ground for failure in the course. Students requiring academic accommodations should notify the instructor in writing.

The bookstore should have two texts, Chris Abani's GRACELAND and Katherine Boo's BEYOND THE BEAUTIFUL FOREVERS. Students will be required to read one of these texts in the second half of the term and write an essay that reveals how these texts illustrate course concepts. Most of the readings are on Moodle; I have deliberately left some for you to retrieve on your own so that you develop greater dexterity with databases. Those articles not on the Moodle are no less important.

I. THEORY: Pluralism

Class 1:

- D. Judge,, "Pluralism," in Judge, Stoker and Wolman, eds. *Theories of Urban Politics* (London: Sage, 1995).

- *J. Q. Wilson, "Organizations and Public Policy," *Political Organizations* (Basic Books, 1973).

Master the four quadrants; grasp the insight of the salience of problems of collective action for Distributed Cost-payers and, conversely, how the paradox of collective action enables smaller coalitions of Concentrated groups to organize more readily; consider the critique of Pluralism regarding what type of policies are not investigated in light of this article. It may be helpful to look back at your textbook from POSC 122 for a discussion of pluralism, Madisonian democracy and the paradox of collective action.

II. Urban Growth Machine

Class 2:

- J. Logan and H. Molotch, *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1987), chs. 2-3.
- Harding, "Elite Theory and Growth Machines," in Judge, Stoker and Wolman, eds. *Theories of Urban Politics* (London: Sage, 1995).
In what way are the *problems of collective action* central to this argument? What is the role of the public and where do they stand on growth? Who are the members/actors of the Growth Machine?

Class 3:

- Greenblatt, "The Creative Clash," *Governing Magazine* (June 2004): 20.
- Swope, "Chasing the Rainbow," *GOVERNING* (October 2003).
- H. Savitch and P. Kantor, *Cities in the International Marketplace*, ch. 4.
Savitch and Kantor seem to present so many cities with such different patterns. Are they obscuring crucial differences by formulating such a parsimonious typology?

Recommended only for the passionate and dedicated:

- *S. Elkin, "State and Market in City Politics: Or, The "Real" Dallas," in *The Politics of Urban Development*, C. Stone and H. Sanders, eds. (University Press of Kansas, 19??).

Is the Dallas experience typical, representative and where would it fit in the Savitch and Kantor typology?

III. History is Data Immersion

Class 4:

- *J. Teaford, "Hitting Bottom," *The Rough Road to Renaissance*, ch. 6.
- *J. Teaford, "Messiah Mayors," *The Rough Road to Renaissance*, ch. 7.

Class 5:

- L. Bachelor, "Stadiums as Solution Sets." *Policy Studies Review* 15:1 (Spring 1998), pp. 89-101.
- *N. D. Bloom, *Merchant of Illusion*, ch. 2 ("Reinventing the Capitalist City") (Ohio State University Press, 2004).
- M. deCourcy Hinds and E. Eckholm, "80s Leave States and Cities in Need," *New York Times* 12/30/90, p. 1.
Why might Solution Sets be championed as defensible problem-solving tools for efficiency-minded bureaucrats? Same question for mayors about to contest reelection?

Class 6:

- *C. Euchner, *Playing the Field* (Johns Hopkins Press, 1993), ch. 2
OR
D. Coates and B. Humphreys, "The Stadium Gambit," *Regulation* 23:2
- Yewell, "Ball Boosters," *City Pages*
- C. V. Bagli, "As Stadiums Rise, So Do Costs to Taxpayers," *New York Times* 11/5/08.
- R. Keiser, "Take Me Out to the Ballgame," *Le Monde*

IV. Why these Policies, what are they thinking?

Class 7:

- R. Guskind, "Games Cities Play," *National Journal* 3/18/89, p. 634.
- J. Walters, "After the Festival is Over," *Governing* (August 1990): 27-34.
- L. Tabak, "Wild About Convention Centers," *Atlantic Monthly* (April 1994): 28-34.
- M. Chass, "Baseball; New Parks Lose Magic Quickly." *New York Times* (May 7, 2002).
- N. D. Bloom, *Merchant of Illusion*, ch. 6 ("American Midas: Rouse and Festival Marketplaces") (Ohio State University Press, 2004).
- P. Eisinger, "The Politics of Bread and Circuses," *Urban Affairs Review* 35:3 (Jan. 2000): 316-333.
How is the Solution Set model illustrated in these readings? What are the circuses to which Eisinger refers, whom do they benefit, and what makes circus such an appropriate term?
- **Assignment** due in class, printed, one paragraph: Thinking about the Greenblatt article from class 3, what is its relevance for these readings?

Class 8: (Film SF)

- B. Godfrey, "Urban Development and Redevelopment in San Francisco," *The Geographical Review* 87:3 (July 1997):309-33.
- UNGRADED ASSIGNMENT DUE at start of class, electronic submission acceptable. SELECT ONE SCHOLARLY ARTICLE FROM THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF ANY OF THE FOLLOWING ARTICLES AND SUBMIT A 1-2 PAGE SUMMARY. A scholarly article comes from a scholarly journal, not a newspaper, or magazine. Tell from which article the cite emerged, explain what drew you to that article, what the content of the article is, and how this article relates to some of the theoretical concerns of the course. Articles with relevant bibliographies are Bloom, both Teaford chapters and Euchner.

Class 9:

- Holcomb, "Revisioning Place: De-Constructing and Re-Constructing the Image of the Industrial City."
- E. Strom, "Converting Pork into Porcelain."
- Assignment: Be ready to answer, Why are these two articles relevant to the discussion of Solution Sets?

What is neoliberalism? A doctrine of deregulation of state control over major industries, the reduction of corporate taxes, enhancement of openness to international capital and increases in urban economic competition within and across increasingly less salient national borders. These economic goals are advanced by a rollback of the institutional infrastructure upon which Keynesian capitalism was buttressed; specifically, policy attacks on organized labor, the shrinking or privatization of public services, dismantling of welfare state programs, rollback of environmental regulations, and marginalization of the urban poor.

Opponents of neoliberalization interpret the results as a series of poorly performing economic policies that create or exacerbate social polarization and spatial economic inequalities. Advocates see Schumpeterian creative destruction and a Darwinian optimization of land, labor and capital utilization.

Although neoliberalism is a global project abetted by the WTO, IMF, World Bank, the World Economic Forum, and US and EU economic policy, the local application of such policies is path-dependent and contextually specific. Conflicts between neoliberal actors and both the pre-existing local regulatory landscapes and the extant array of local capitalist actors and infrastructure produce considerable geographical variation. Yet, however variable, the retrenchment of national welfare apparatuses has left cities with fewer resources to address social problems that demand action.

Over the next few weeks, ask yourself how similar global neoliberalism is to the patterns of governance and economic policy developed under the Messiah Mayors.

V. Diffusion of the US Model?

Class 10:

- E. Swyngedouw, F. Moulaert and A. Rodriguez, "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe," *Antipode* 2002.

- Caglar Keyder, "Istanbul into the Twenty-First Century." In *Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?* Denis Gokturk, Levent Soysal and Ipek Tureli, eds. (Routledge 2010).
- N. Berg, "Brazil's Soul, In Form of a Stadium," *New York Times* 5/6/11, p. B11.

Class 11:

- R. F. Daher, "Amman: Disguised Genealogy and Recent Urban Restructuring and Neoliberal Threats." In *The Evolving Arab City*.
- S. Zemni and K. Bogaert, "Urban renewal and social development in Morocco ..." Review of African Political Economy (Sept. 2011): 403-417.
- *M. Lowes, "Neoliberal Power Politics and the ... Australian Grand Prix ... Park," *Society and Leisure* 27:1 (Spring 2004): 69-88.

Class 12:

- *D. Crilley, "Architecture as Advertising: Constructing the Image of Redevelopment," in G. Kearns and C. Philo, eds., *Selling Places: The City as Cultural Capital, Past and Present* (Pergamon 1993).
- S. J. McGovern, "Mobilization on the Waterfront: The Ideological/Cultural Roots ... Philadelphia." *Urban Affairs Review* (2009).

VI. Spatial Fortification in Neoliberalism

Class 13:

- *G. MacLeod, "From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a 'Revanchist City'?" In *Spaces of Neoliberalism*, N. Brenner and N. Theodore, eds., 254-76.
- D. Judd, "The Rise of the New Walled Cities,"
- *T. Boddy, "Underground and Overhead: Building the Analogous City," in M. Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park* (NY: Hill and Wang, 199?).

Be ready with your homemade definition of revanchist, that should be far better than a dictionary definition (not for submission, for in class reading).

Class 14:

- D. Rodgers, "Disembedding the City: Crime, Insecurity and Spatial Organization in Managua, Nicaragua," *Environment and Urbanization* 16:2 (Oct. 2004): 113.

- M. Kanashiro, "Surveillance cameras in Brazil: Exclusion ... security," *Surveillance and Society* 5:3 (2008):270-89.

Assignment Submit by e-mail 2 page answer by 9am.

Fortification is a term often associated with military encampments. Drawing on four of the five articles from class 13 and 14, explain whether this is an accurate and useful term to characterize the discussion or unnecessarily hyperbolic. Refer to specifics in the articles.

Class 15: TBA

Class 16: Midterm Break

Class 17 and 18:

- **Mike Davis, PLANET OF SLUMS**

VII. Global Gating: Implications for Economic Opportunity and Consequences for Community (please remind me to post the midterm exam soon)

From the perspective of Neoclassical economics is derived the libertarian perspective that GATED COMMUNITIES are private, voluntary associations of free individuals to provide public services with greater efficiency than those provided by the public sector. Their growth is produced by human agency, personal choice. In this view the utopic aspect of the Privatopia is their cost-effectiveness and a democratic accountability that is seen as more developed than in the municipality.

The challenge to this view is, first, from the question of whether people actually have choices other than CIDs (common interest developments, the larger category within which Gated Communities are found). In many parts of the country, almost no new housing for the middle class and upwards is not a CID. These developments are not voluntary creations; rather, developers build the housing, create an association with rules that are mandatory for all owners, and make many rules nearly impossible to change. This reality is at odds with the theory of choice and democratic governance. Furthermore, just how democratic is a set of institutions that deprive members of Constitutional rights for free expression (i.e., the posting of political signs). The frequent legal battles between CID associations and their owners also belies the notion that these institutions are the products of, and producers of, some community spirit.

Institutional analysis is another lens for understanding the rise of CIDs and gated communities. Restrictions on zoning, the emergence of the discipline of planning and planned utopian communities, and the Progressive era belief in manager-council forms of city governance all came together as the US was seeking ways to increase housing for the middle class. Reinvention of government, through privatization since the 1980s, was another trend that contributed to the CID movement.

From the long view of history there is nothing new about gated communities but from another perspective they are unusual and disturbing. Walled cities with fortifications were typical in antiquity and many examples remain. But in the modern world, gates have only demarcated the very rich or prisoners from the rest of society. Today, and since the 1990s in the US and in many urban areas across the globe, the gated community is a residence that provides security from what is feared and social status for the middle class and above. Has the growing inequality of late market capitalism been replicated and has it produced a culture of fear of the have-nots? Have increases in local diversity and decreases in traditional bonds

produced a search for community that has found satisfaction in housing settlements that control for homogeneity?

Class 19:

- *S. Low, *Behind the Gates*, chs. 1, 6-7.
- E. McKenzie, "Competing Interpretations of Residential Private Governance," *Beyond Privatopia* (Urban Institute 2011).

Class 20:

- R. Putnam, *Bowling Alone*, ch. 1.
- Candan Cinar, "The New Address of Social Polarization in Istanbul: Gated Communities."
- Fulong Wu and Klaire Webber, "The Rise of 'foreign gated communities in Beijing'" *Cities* 21:3 (2004): 203-213.

Class 21:

- M. Coy and M. Pohler, "Gated Communities in ... Brazil and Argentina," *Environment and Planning B* 29 (2002):355-70.
 - H. Leisch, "Gated communities in Indonesia," *Cities* 19:5 (2002): 341-50.
- OR
- Choon-Piew Pow,, "Public intervention, private aspiration: Gated communities and the condominisation of housing landscapes in Singapore," *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, Vol 50, No 2: August 2009, 215-227.

Class 22: MIDTERM EXAM DUE (Filmore)

VIII. Cleaning the Urban Canvas

Class 23:

- Buntin, "Land Rush," (Houston) *Governing*
- Yan Zhang and Ke Fang, "Is History Repeating Itself? From Urban Renewal in the United States to Inner City Redevelopment in China," *Journal of Planning Education and Research* (Dec. 2004) 23:286-89.
- T. Robinson, "Gentrification and Grassroots Resistance in San Francisco's Tenderloin," *Urban Affairs Review* 30:4 (March 1995): 483-513.

- P. Nobel, "Delirious Beijing," *Metropolis Magazine* (March 2008) <http://www.metropolismag.com/cda/story.php?artid=3201>.

Recommended only:

- K. Newman and E. Wyly, "The Right to Stay Put, Revisited: Gentrification and Resistance to Displacement in New York City," *Urban Studies* 43:1 (Jan. 2006): 23-57.

IX. Surplus Labor, Disorganized People, and State Power

Class 24:

- L. Uchitelle, "Minimum Wages, City by City." *New York Times*, 11/19/99, B1.
- S. Apgar, "Uncovering Sweatshops," *Star Tribune* 9/3/95, p. D1.
- Y. Liu and S. Wu, "Urban Pauperization Under China's Social Exclusion," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 30:1 (2008): 21-36.
- Ozlem Unsal and Tuna Kuyucu, "Challenging the Neoliberal Urban Regime: regeneration and resistance in Basibuyuk and Tarlabasi." In *Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?* Denis Gokturk, Levent Soysal and Ipek Tureli, eds. (Routledge 2010).

Class 25: TBA (Start reading literary narrative!)

X. Patterns of Resistance, Or Not?

Class 26:

- J. H. Johnson, Jr., W. C. Farrell, Jr. and M. Oliver, "Seeds of the Los Angeles rebellion of 1992," *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 17:1 (March 1993): 115-119.
- S. Romero, "Slum Dwellers are Defying Brazil's Grand Design for Olympics," *NYTimes* 3/4/12.
- Keiser, "Collective Action and Voting ... Sports Stadium."
- Jean du Plessis, "The growing problem of forced evictions and the crucial importance of community-based, locally appropriate alternatives." *ENVIRONMENT AND URBANIZATION* 17:1 (April 2005), 123-134.

Class 27:

- “Janitors March in Los Angeles After Voting to Begin a Strike,” *New York Times* 4/9/00.
- C. Swope, “Fighting the Wage War on Local Turf,” *Governing* (June 1996): 35-37.
- R. DeLeon, “The Birth of the Slow Growth Movement and Proposition M,” *Left Coast City*.
- M. Blinnikov et al., “Gated Communities of the Moscow Greenbelt,” *GeoJournal* 66 (2006): 65-81.

Class 28:

- P. Street, “Urban Neoliberal Racism ... Occupy Wall Street,” (<http://www.paulstreet.org/?p=560>)
- P. Dreier, “Urban Politics and Progressive Housing Policy.” In *Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods*.
- D. Ducharme, “Planned Manufacturing Districts: How a community initiative became city policy.” In *Harold Washington and the Neighborhoods*.

Class 29: TBA
