As modern states ever more frequently suspend their democratic structures and institutionalized regulations that checked state and private power, do processes of exceptionality or extra-juridical processes become the norm rather than the exception? Is it hyperbole to conclude that practices that existed on the fringe of democratic politics are becoming typical, that citizens that previously saw themselves as privileged now find their citizenship rights unprotected or denied and their lives even disposable? Do modern spatial arrangements, particularly housing patterns and policing practices, reflect not merely class divisions but a hierarchy of democratic accountability and access? What institutional arrangements and ideational perspectives continue to influence these patterns? The foci of this course are democratic regimes and the methods are empirical and comparative.

Students will be expected to participate in almost every class session. If you are absent, you must turn in at least two typed pages of talking points that you would have raised in class, with specific page citations. Grading will be based on quality and frequency of participation (20%), submitted formal assignments (15%), a presentation on research (15%), and either a final exam or research paper (50%; see Options 1 & 2). Due dates will be announced.

Option 1: Exam (Two exam questions, each 7-10 pages).

Option 2: Research Paper in 2 Parts: A) Bibliography (11 new citations (scholarly articles from peer-reviewed journals or book chapters, no more than 2 from any book can count to total) or more and at least 4 from the course (the bibliography is due earlier (SEE BELOW) for review by Professor). B) Synoptic Research Review (18 pages of text minimum) that assesses key questions in this field of research, discusses differences in conclusions, integrates/contrasts new literature with course readings (rather than discussing serially) and proposes in two pages a serious, doable independent study or comps project that involves another term’s worth of work (data gathering; or additional questions/cases to be considered). This will be due at the end of finals period.

Students seeking disability accommodations should make advance arrangements with the Disability Services office in Burton 03. The Speakeasy (go.carleton.edu/speakeasy) offers assistance for class presentations beyond what is available in an office hours meeting with the Professor. The Writing Center, located in 420 4th Libe, has peer writing consultants who can work with you during any stage of the writing process (brainstorming to final proofreading).

WEEK ONE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS OF THE COURSE: AN INTRODUCTION TO COURSE THEMES
MONDAY:


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WEDNESDAY

G. MacLeod, “From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a ‘Revanchist City’?” In *Spaces of Neoliberalism*, N. Brenner and N. Theodore, eds., 254-76.

- Moral discourses about public order. What does this mean?
- Rollback of Keynesianism. The sequencing of neoliberalism's emergence.
- What defines citizenship and being included or excluded in the community? Is this exclusion a stepping stone toward a decline of democracy?
- Do you buy the idea that architectural forms facilitate discipline and management of the marginalized to assist the "renaissance" of a neoliberal city?


- Apply some of the conceptual tools & theoretical framework from MacLeod's article to this data about New York. Where do you see Revanchism, even if the term is not deployed? Do we see evidence of the Keynesian period that both Wacquant and MacLeod discussed? What specific policies unravel the Keynesian social security net?
- Koch's achievements sound significant and they are. For whom? Who are the beneficiaries and who pays the costs of these achievements? Ask the same for the significant and measurable achievements of the Giuliani administration.
- Does this chapter leave you wanting to know far more detail about New York City's neoliberalism and regulation of democratic participation? That's great! Start by looking at the rest of this book and being attentive to the footnote citations. What tools could you use to find newer scholarship that directly builds on this work?

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FRIDAY


- If we are trying to assess the hypothesis of "decline of democracy," what contribution, framework, and set of tools does this chapter offer?

- Pick two different passages or even paragraphs from this chapter that either made you stop and ponder or that you think speak directly to how you are thinking about the subject matter of the course.
- Check out "Reactions to the 2005 French Riots" or "Social situation in French suburbs" on Wikipedia if you want more information on France and responses to precarité.

**WEEK TWO**

**Citizenship and Disposability … and Post-Democracy**

The syllabus separates US cases from the rest of the world. In our class discussions, I will be interested in your view about the similarities of the cases across national boundaries. What similarities suggest that this is an artificial distinction? What differences appear and undermine claims of globalized phenomena?

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**MONDAY**


Focus on the techniques and tools for the institutional abrogation of previous norms. If you know the many shapes of a hammer, it is easier to see one being picked up, before it hits the nail.

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**WEDNESDAY**

H. A. Giroux, “Reading Hurricane Katrina … Disposability,” *College Literature* 33:3 (Summer 2006).

- Giroux uses the term exception, as did Swyngedouw et al. Is there an overlap? What are the distinctive differences?
- Is this an argument about Race exclusively that would raise questions about the breadth of claims regarding the alleged decline of democracy?
- Given that this is not an article about voting rights or participation nor is it an article about shopping in malls and tourist areas where consumers may have more rights, perhaps this article is not really about the decline of democracy. Is that an accurate conclusion?
- What 2-3 passages from this article either clarify more fully, or advance to a deeper understanding, the theses of this course?
- What 2 citations would you love to check out if you had the time, and why did these pique (not peak!) your interest?

- If a city, like Oakland or Berkeley, had an African-American or Latino mayor, would that change the likelihood of the narrative and evidence that Rios offers?
- This article describes psychological mechanisms that reinforce either criminal behavior or the thuggish self-presentation. Do these kinds of psychological mechanisms exist in your own world at Carleton (without leading to this kind of behavior but perhaps reinforcing other behaviors)? Or are these mechanisms only operative among the hyper-criminalized?

J. Dwyer, “Fear Exceeded Crime’s Reality in New Orleans” (newsclip)

Which of the theoretical frameworks from week one seem to be employed by these authors? Make specific references to paragraphs or ideas from the articles.

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FRIDAY


- Many of you think about the impact of the US export of such things as Disneyland, our Television Industry, Coca Cola, and McDonalds. What about Rudolph Giuliani? Would it be cool to write a paper about him as an export?
- On page 63, "The challenge, however, was to focus public attention on crime rather than on urban redevelopment." Why was this such a central challenge and goal?


**WEEK THREE**

MONDAY


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WEDNESDAY


**Assignment: Due prior to class, typed, with citations, 3-5 PAGES.  This will be graded.**

Which of the theoretical frameworks seem most relevant for understanding any 2 of these 3 articles? Why? I want to see you making connections across the course. What other articles from previous classes seem to be in dialogue with these articles?

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**FRIDAY**


M. LaSusa, “Giuliani in Rio.” Jacobinmag.com

**WEEK FOUR**

**MONDAY**

Review the Swygedouw and Lowes articles from Week 2.


What is the theoretical level dialogue between Calavita and the earlier two authors? Or, they are in disagreement, aren't they? Elaborate Calavita's response to the claims of Swyngedouw and Lowes about the decline of democracy in urban redevelopment?

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**WEDNESDAY**


  o In cities, states and the US, where the proportion of the population that is African-American or Latinx reflects societal averages, the prognosis is …?
  o But size of the minority population is not the only issue, the other key variables are …?

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**FRIDAY**
Watch video "All for the Taking." It is available online through our Library. Be prepared for detailed discussion.

**WEEK FIVE**

**The SUSTAINABILITY of Gentrification**

**MONDAY**

"they reinforce the embedding of social injustice into our physical urban fabric" AND enrich developers and real estate holders who often return the favor through financial support of the politicians.

S. Dooling, “Ecological Gentrification

- We will discuss this article extensively.
- Does this article add much beyond the view that homeless people are evicted, deprived of citizenship rights, and deemed disposable because of a conservative moral discourse that criminalizes poverty?
- Do we see any overlap with the Broken Windows Theory in these articles?

D. Leffers, “Urban Sustainability … Ottawa.”

- What parallels do we see to *My Brooklyn*?
- Neoliberalism is defined in part as a movement away from state power (i.e., agency/action/and culpability) to market forces. Yet in many of our articles we see this is far from a complete picture and that state agency remains selectively applied, sometimes by less visible techniques and sometimes in less visible areas. Is this the case in Ottawa?
- Clearly the narrative about Ottawa contains a past (Time 1) and a present (Time 2). What descriptors are used for Time 1, i.e., how did it differ from Time 2?

A. Betsky, "Are America's New Urban Parks Trojan Horses of Gentrification?"

- What is the metaphor of the Trojan Horse?
- Dooling (622) mentions "punishing people for performing private acts in public when they lack private places of their own" in the context of homelessness and squatting. Is this phrasing of constraints on citizen behavior relevant for understanding Betsky's perspective?

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M. Checker, “Wiped Out by the Greenwave … Harlem

J. Wolch, J. Byrne, & J. Newell, “ Urban Green Space … ‘just green enough’”

- If this phenomenon is indeed taking place in China, what is the relevance for our theoretical frameworks of (a) Neoliberalism (in a communist country?), and (b) decline of democracy (in a country that is a one-party authoritarian regime)? Does this case upset our theoretical claims?
Assignment, 3-5 pages, formal with citations, due prior to class:

Which of the theoretical frameworks of our course seem most relevant and applicable to this week's readings? Be specific in making the case, from empirical data to theoretical framework, for two at most.

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FRIDAY

M. Honey, “Giving a Grade to Costa Rica’s Green Tourism.”


WEEK SIX

MONDAY: MIDTERM BREAK; No class but assigned the following readings in exchange for no readings and no class on Friday.

D. Judd, “The Rise of the New Walled Cities,”

A. Stark, “America the gated”

W. Hu, “A Message of Peace on 2 shirts touches off hostilities at a Mall,” NYT 3/6/03.

GATES, COMMUNITY. REVANCHISM AND DISPOSABILITY

WEDNESDAY


M. H. Song, Strange Future, ch. 1.

ASSIGNMENT: BE PREPARED for in class writing about what the most useful concept or idea was that you derived from the chapter by Song. If you have a great deal of difficulty writing in class (due to distractions, pressure, anxiety), then it seems wise to come to class with something already written/typed.

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FRIDAY

TBA

WEEK SEVEN

MONDAY

Assignment: Submitted prior to class. Find two articles, that are cited in ANY of our readings, that you will commit to reading, submitting a 2-4 page analysis that summarizes and connects to the article it was found within and to your larger course-centered interests, in weeks 8-9. Scholarly articles from Journals, not magazines or newspapers. All that is due now is the citation. IF TWO STUDENTS SELECT THE SAME ARTICLE I RESERVE THE RIGHT TO REQUIRE ONE TO SELECT AN ALTERNATIVE.

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WEDNESDAY


E. McKenzie, “Constructing the Pomerium”

How do these articles related to the Putnam chapter that commenced this section? How do these articles, or the one from Monday, relate to the Judd article from last week? How are the empirical ideas from these articles related to the claims made by Bauman from Week One?

FRIDAY

R. Coleman, "Images of a Neoliberal City" Critical Criminology (2003)


WEEK EIGHT

MONDAY


C. Cinar et al., "The new address of social polarization in Istanbul"

BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR RESEARCH PAPER DUE 9 PM MONDAY. INSTRUCTIONS ARE FOUND ABOVE.

WEDNESDAY

WE WILL COMMENCE STUDENT PRESENTATIONS ON THE ARTICLES THAT YOU PREVIOUSLY MADE A COMMITMENT TO WRITE ABOUT. Depending on class size, I will choose one or both of the articles you cited and ask you to present on that article over the next five classes. These articles will be listed on an update of the syllabus and all of us will be responsible for reading. Although you may be asked to present on only one article, you must submit the summary and analysis for two articles (10% + 5%). Updates to your selections are allowed so that you can incorporate more recent readings.
WEEK NINE

STUDENT PRESENTATIONS.

ALL STUDENTS MUST DO PRESENTATIONS.

WEEK TEN

WEDNESDAY: FINAL CLASS DAY

Final Exam Essays will be due at 11:59 pm, Wednesday night.