

Urban Political Economy Fall 2015

Professor Richard Keiser

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, especially financial and real estate, 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, and Who benefits?* We are particularly concerned with whether capital dominates the local state and wields undue influence in agenda setting and policy making. Are elected officials pawns of capital or segments of capital, or is the relationship more nuanced? 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? 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 out-competing 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 and juniors; the majority of the grade will be based on midterm and end of term take-home exams (40% each and 20% for participation and assignments).

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. 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.

My grading standards are as follows:

A= excellent quality work that goes beyond the material as presented with original ideas that synthesize across the course.

B= good quality work, complete comprehension of all materials, not merely in their constituent parts but in a holistic manner. Spelling, grammar, and punctuation are flawless.

C= fair quality work, an ability to regurgitate some important aspects of some materials covered in the course but unfamiliarity with other equally important parts.

D= poor quality work, little demonstration of understanding of the material as evidenced by inaccurate and confused discussions of the subject and an incomplete approach.

Any evidence of cheating or plagiarism will be grounds for failure.

Cell phones should be OFF during class. Checking your email while peers are talking is very disrespectful (and impedes your ability to participate) and **I reserve the right to look at the screen of any student using a laptop to insure that this affront is not taking place.**

If you have questions about the readings, the lectures, and especially the research project, please come to my office. My office is 417 Willis, office hours will be Mondays 11-12 and Wednesdays and Fridays 3:30-4:30 and on those days I will often be available at other times; no appointments are necessary during office hours. This is your time, just drop in. For meetings at other times, I am glad to make an appointment on Tuesdays; Thursdays I will not be available. My office phone is 222-4122, and my e-mail is rkeiser@carleton.edu.

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). Hours and more information can be found on the [writing center website](#). You can reserve specific times for conferences in 420 4th Libe by using their [online appointment system](#). Walk-ins are welcome, though writers with appointments have priority.

Carleton College is committed to providing reasonable accommodations to students with disabilities. Students seeking accommodations should contact the Coordinator of Disability Services, Andy Christensen, at 222-4464 or anchrist@carleton.edu, to begin the process. Carleton faculty are strongly encouraged to wait for official notification of accommodations before modifying course requirements for students.

Week 1

I. Introduction to the Course

Take a look at the Wilson article for next class if you have a chance. Time permitting, we will be discussing it today.

II. THEORY: Pluralism

- 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 in Wilson's chapter; grasp 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. How is this a perversion of democracy? Be ready to recapitulate the critique of Pluralism, offered by Judge, regarding what type of policies are not investigated.

III. Urban Growth Machine

- 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? Being specific, which actors and groups constitute the Growth Machine?

Week 2

IV.

Be VERY Ready to Discuss (or perhaps be Quizzed): Do these articles illustrate Pluralism or Growth Machine Theory? What evidence (specific) from the article points toward either Pluralist or Growth Machine decision making processes. Processes are more important than ultimate outcomes.

- Allen, *Mayor: Notes on the Sixties* (focus on the stadium decision making process)
- Royko, *Boss: Richard J. Daley of Chicago*
- Caves, "Seattle, Washington: Capping Downtown Growth"

V. History is Data Immersion

- *N. D. Bloom, *Merchant of Illusion*, ch. 2 ("Reinventing the Capitalist City") (Ohio State University Press, 2004).
- M. deCourcy Hinds and E. Eckholm, "'80's Legacy: States and Cities in Need." *New York Times* 12/30/90, p. 1.
- *J. Teaford, "Hitting Bottom," *The Rough Road to Renaissance*, ch. 6.

THERE WILL BE NO CLASS MEETING TODAY BUT WE WILL STILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE MATERIAL

VI

- *J. Teaford, "Messiah Mayors," *The Rough Road to Renaissance*, ch. 7.
- Holcomb, "Revisioning Place: De-Constructing and Re-Constructing the Image of the Industrial City."

Week 3

VII. Why these Policies, what are they thinking?

- Baade, "Professional Sports as Catalysts for Metropolitan economic development,"

OR

- D. Coates and B. Humphreys, "The Stadium Gambit," *Regulation* 23:2

AND both

- C. V. Bagli, "As Stadiums Rise, So Do Costs to Taxpayers," *New York Times* 11/5/08.
- N. D. Bloom, *Merchant of Illusion*, ch. 6 ("American Midas: Rouse and Festival Marketplaces") (Ohio State University Press, 2004).

Be prepared to answer: From Wilson's perspective of the 4 quadrants of policy, who/which groups are the *beneficiaries* and which groups are the *cost payers* of stadiums and festival markets, and are these two categories concentrated or distributed? What are the pros and what are the cons of taxpayer financing of a sports stadium?

VIII.

- L. Bachelor, "Stadiums as Solution Sets." *Policy Studies Review* 15:1 (Spring 1998): 89-101.
- Norris, "If We Build It, They Will Come," *The Infrastructure of Play*
- 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* 5/07/02.

Assignment, answer all questions with detail, using formal citations as found in Bachelor article (due 9am by email PDF (not Word) attachment, graded; 3 pages approx.): How do four out of the six articles (listed after Bachelor, above) illustrate the concept of solution sets? Are Solution Sets examples of policy making that are innovative or safe, outside of the box or inside? Why would inside the box policy making be considered safe rather than stale?

IX. From Suburbanites to the Globally Mobile

- [Fainstein and Judd](#), "Cities as Places to Play," *The Tourist City*
- E. Strom, "Rethinking the Politics of Downtown Development," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 30:1 (2008), 37-61. <This is an example of the format you should use for citations.>

Be prepared to explain how these articles suggest an expansion or revision of the Growth Machine coalition partners that were first delineated by [Logan and Molotch](#).

Week 4

X. Surplus Labor, Disorganized People and State Power

- 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.
- Y. Liu and S. Wu, "Urban Pauperization Under China's Social Exclusion," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 30:1 (2008): 21-36.

- S. Apgar, "[Uncovering Sweatshops](#)," *Star Tribune* 9/3/95, p. D1.
- E. Porter, "Stubborn skills gap in America's workforce," *New York Times* 10/8/13.
- E. Kurtenbach, "Affluence eludes poor crowding into Asian cities," *Star Tribune* (Sept. 22, 2014).

What themes unite these articles? What does sweatshop labor have to do with urban rebellions? And are these urban rebellions at all similar? Are they similar to the Ferguson, Missouri riots? Is Capitalism on a path of convergence, in which distinctions between First World and Third World are eroding?

XI. Diffusion of the US Model or Apples and Oranges? From Growth Machine to Neoliberal Regime

- E. [Swyngedouw](#), F. Moulaert and A. Rodriguez, "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe," *Antipode* 2002.
- *M. Lowes, "Neoliberal Power Politics and the ... Australian [Grand Prix](#) ... Park," *Society and Leisure* 27:1 (Spring 2004): 69-88.

For this next section of the course, you should be thinking like a comparativist. Of course the context of each country is different, there are local histories and cultures that are unique. But do global forces, like capitalism or neoliberal regimes or international financial institutions shape cities across the globe towards some convergence, towards far more similarities than once existed, towards discernible patterns? Or do the differences remain so crucial that they produce a wide range of outcomes that are only invisible to those blinded by macro terms like globalization?

XII.

- Plaza, "The Return on Investment of the Guggenheim Museum Bilbao."
- [MacClancy](#), "The Museum as a Site of Contest ... Guggenheim."
- N. Berg, "Brazil's Soul, In Form of a Stadium," *New York Times* 5/6/11, p. B11.

Be prepared to answer whether these articles represent a new solution set. Be prepared to answer whether these articles depict concentrated or distributed beneficiaries. If you have never heard of the Bilbao Guggenheim, do a Google Image search or a You Tube search.

Think about the basic questions of the course in the context of decision making about development priorities in democracies.

Week 5

XIII. EXAM

XIV. From Use Value to Exchange Value? Ethnic Exoticism as Tourist Attraction

- Anderson, *Vancouver's Chinatown*, chs. 4-5 (M)

XV.

- S. Shaw, S. Bagwell and J. Karmowska, "Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Reimagining Multicultural Districts as New Destinations ..." *Urban Studies* 41:10 (Sept. 2004), 1983-2000.
- What locale that you have personally visited would be considered an ethnoscape? What do ethnoscapes communicate? How might the homogeneity or heterogeneity of a nation impact the salience of ethnoscapes? What is the distinction about Canada's development of ethnoscapes that is highlighted by the author? What role does the state play in ethnoscapes?

Be sure to detect the irony of how the marginalized may gain leverage about decisions in their locale. Have you encountered anything like ethnoscapes in your own travels? Great paper topic, US Chinatowns or Little Italy's, how the marginalized use their exoticism and difference for economic gain and political leverage.

Week 6

XVI. Midterm Break (POSC 266 exam due Tuesday at 3pm; late penalty of letter grade per fraction of 24 hour period)

XVII. Spatial Fortification in Neoliberalism

- *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,"

- M. Navarro, "City Council Moves to Stall Land Leases at Public Housing," New York Times 10/10/13.

1) We are thinking about patterns of land use, who decides, who benefits, what is the process of decision making. If the GNP of the city is expanding, how is this being distributed? What "identities" are activated to build community in our modern cities? What is the meaning of this word revanchist?

2) Is spatial apartheid a term that you feel accurately describes the narrative presented by Judd?

3) "what is excluded from malls is as important in creating an ambience as the particular mix that defines them." (149). Be ready to share your responses to the following:

- Nothing is excluded from malls, that is just another instance of paranoia!
- The exclusion is really something that benefits the many at the expense of the few and would probably be acceptable to most users of the mall. Kind of like supplying what is demanded.
- The mall is private property, and protection of private property is sacrosanct.
- Everybody's doing it: "Almost all malls have increased security measures targeted at teens" (150). Profiling and surveillance benefits everyone except criminals, right?
- Gay rights advocates and proponents of world peace should find some other public space in which to demonstrate.

XVIII.

- M. Coy and M. Pohler, "Gated Communities in Latin American Megacities,"
- S. [Sengupta](#), "Inside Gate, India's good life; outside, servant's slums," New York Times (June 9, 2008).

What debate about the significance of the proximity of gated communities and slums is suggested in these articles? Is there a silver linings playbook here that does not exist in US suburban gated communities? What are your thoughts about the significance of this research for a Planet of growing inequality? This "silver lining" possibility, symbiosis rather than exploitation, is an interesting research topic that could be the basis for a travel/research project.

Equally interesting, the articles that we read about ethnoscaapes in London, China, and Chinatowns in North America are a great research topic that could easily accommodate the traveler with a stipend from a Junior or Senior Fellowship. The question, how much agency is in the hands of a local ethnic business/political elite (a marginalized group that usually gets little more than scraps from the national budget) to develop their brand, shape an identity, employ locals and accrue community capital? For those of you who feel that urban development schemes only yield cynicism, this topic may be another with a silver lining ... or it may be more rhetoric and another veil over capitalist cooptation and empty promises of trickle down growth and pluralist democracy.

Week 7

XIX. Commodified Space, Surplus Citizens, or Progress?

- Peters, "The Assault on Occupancy in Surabaya," *Development and Change* 40:5 (2009), 903-25.
- Keyder, "Istanbul into the 21st Century," In *Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?*

XX.

- T. Boddy, "Underground and Overhead: Building the Analogous City," in M. Sorkin, ed., *Variations on a Theme Park* (NY: Hill and Wang, 199?).
- S. Romero, "Sao Paulo Journal: Rich Brazilians Rise Above," NYT (Feb. 15, 2000).
- A. Barrionuevo, "Fearful Brazilians Keep Armored Car Sales Booming," NYT (May 14, 2009).

Is there a connection between mid-1980s Minneapolis and contemporary Northern and Western European cities? Think: "Like other cities in the heartland, Minneapolis now confronted a largely benign but visually offensive street population that had previously only been obvious in cities on the coasts and the Great Lakes" (Boddy 139). What prevents the US from reaching the extremes of Sao Paulo, or does this question make unwarranted assumptions?

XXI. TBA

Week 8

XXII. Patterns of Resistance, Or Not?

- 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.
- L. Alderman, "Greeks take to the streets, some violently, in a strike over austerity," NYT 10/8/12. Find on your own.
- F. Halais, "Pacifying Rio: ... Latin America's Most Talked about Security Operation," [opendemocracy.net](#).

XXIII.

- S. Mitrani, "Stop Kidding Yourself: The police were created to control working class and poor people," LaborOnline (find via Google)

- Savage, "Geographies of Organizing: Justice for Janitors in LA," in *Organizing the Landscape*.
- Dreier, "The War Over Wages, City by City,"

XXIV.

- A. Becker and M. Muller, "The Securitization of Urban Space and the "Rescue" of Downtown Mexico City: Vision and Practice," *Latin American Perspectives* (2013).
- K. Swanson, "Revanchist Urbanism Heads South: The Regulation of Indigenous Beggars and Street Vendors in Ecuador." *Antipode* (2007).

Do we see similarities in US cities to the patterns described in these articles? Specifically?

Week 9

XXV. More Gentrification in the Name of Progress: Concentrated or Distributed Benefits

- L. Gottesdiener, "A Tale of Two Detroits, Separate and Unequal," http://inthesetimes.com/article/print/17372/inequality_in_detroit
- T. Robinson, "Gentrification and Grassroots Resistance in San Francisco's Tenderloin," *Urban Affairs Review* (March 1995).

Be thinking about the similarities and differences that the displaced face in democratic and authoritarian regimes. How does the Detroit article engage in dialogue with Davis' Planet of Slums?

XXVI: A Progressive Coalition, or a Trojan Horse

- Checker, M. 2011. "Wiped Out by the Greenwave: Environmental Gentrification and the Paradoxical Politics of Urban Sustainability." *City and Society* 23, 210-229.
- Tretter, E. 2013. "Sustainability and Neoliberal Urban Development: The Environment, Crime and the Remaking of Austin's Downtown." *Urban Studies* 50, 2222-2237.

XXVII

- Wolch, J., J. Byrne and J. P. Newell. 2014. "Urban Green Space, Public Health, and Environmental Justice: The Challenge of Making Cities 'Just Green Enough.'" *Landscape and Urban Planning* 125, 234-44.

Week 10

XXVIII.

- Y. Zhang and K. Fang, "Is History Repeating Itself? From Urban Renewal in the United States to Inner-City Redevelopment in China." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 23 (2004), 286-298.
- A. Von Hoffman, "Olympic Efforts in Boomtown," *House By House, Block By Block*

XXIX.

Final Class Session