

Political Science 266
Urban Political Economy

Professor Keiser
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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, and 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. 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? 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.

Grading: Assignments 1 and 3 are each worth 20 percent, assignment 2 is worth 10 percent, and assignment 4 is worth 30 percent. Class attendance and participation will also be an integral part of the course; failure to participate will be penalized (20 percent). The instructor reserves the right to require "talking points" about the readings if class participation does not meet desired levels.

Format: My teaching philosophy stresses the value of proffering ideas, including many ideas that do not survive scrutiny. I seek to stimulate discussion and argument 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, or because they redound back to earlier discussions -- is what is expected.

Theories of Urban Political Economy

1/7: Pluralist Perspective: D. Judge, "Pluralism."

It would be helpful to look back at your textbook from POSC 122 for a discussion of pluralism and/or Madisonian democracy.

1/9: Growth Machine Perspective: J. Logan and H. Molotch, "The City as Growth Machine," *Urban Fortunes*; A. Harding, "Elite Theory and Growth Machines."

Why is this an "elite theory" of urban democracy? Why would this argument be labeled neo-Marxist? In what way are the *problems of collective action* central to this argument? Check a textbook if you are unfamiliar with this terminology.

1/11: Unitary Interest Perspective: P. Peterson, *City Limits*, chs. 2-3.

Why is this argument labeled the "unitary interest" perspective? What does it have in common with rational choice or rational actor arguments that you have encountered?

1/14: Regime Perspective: G. Stoker, "Regime Theory and Urban Politics;" and S. Elkin, "State and Market in City Politics: Or, The "Real" Dallas."

How does the regime perspective differ from the other perspectives? Be particularly clear about how it differs from the growth machine perspective.

Assignment 1 (Due 1/21) - Organizing Disparate Theories: With a minimum of quotation, explain, contrast, and critique the four perspectives. Doing this serially, and extremely well, will yield no grade higher than a "B." To receive a grade higher than "B" you must organize your essay using a set of questions or foci with which you compare each of the perspectives. One or more tables that illustrate these comparisons will enhance the presentation of your comparison and critical analysis. Eight pages of text maximum.

EMPIRICAL PUBLIC POLICY

1/16-18: **Assignment 2A** - Arts of Oral Presentation & Theory Testing: Students will have 10 minutes (timed) to make a presentation on an article. Demeanor should be formal. If you wish you may discuss your article in comparison with any other article(s) in this section. Summarize the article very briefly, and then move to a discussion of the significance of the article for our understanding of the *politics* of urban economic development. You should use the empirical observations of the articles to assess/evaluate the theories. Your audience will be silent. Students may turn in to the instructor any written, substantive clarification or challenge to the interpretation offered by the presenter. The instructor may share these with the class anonymously and extra grade points will be offered for meritorious contributions. Written feedback and a grade will be provided by the instructor within a week of the presentation.

Guskind, "Games Cities Play."

Mahtesian, "Romancing the Smokestack."

Tabak, "Wild about Convention Centers."

Eisinger, "The Politics of Bread and Circuses."

Perlman, "The Gambling Glut."

N. Fainstein and S. Fainstein, "Restructuring the American City: A Comparative Perspective."

Flores, "Selectivity of the Capitalist State."

Euchner, Playing the Field: Why Sports Teams Move & Cities Fight to Keep them, ch. 7.

Baade, "Professional Sports as Catalysts."

LeRoy and Slocum, "Economic Development in Minnesota"

1/21: Assignment 1 due at start of class. Flex Day/Dudley Street video

Policy Innovations, The Bright Side of the Moon

Assignment 2B - Arts of Oral Presentation & Theory Testing: Students will have 10 minutes (timed) to make a presentation on an article. Demeanor should be formal. If you wish you may discuss your article in comparison with any other article(s) in this section. Summarize the article very briefly, and then move to a discussion of the significance of the article for our understanding of the *politics* of urban economic development. What is/are the lessons to be drawn from the article and what would a careless reader possibly misconstrue as the lessons? You should use the empirical observations of the articles to evaluate the theories and explain what independent variables account for outcomes that are not predicted by the theories. Your audience will be silent. Students may turn in to the instructor any written, substantive clarification or challenge to the interpretation offered by the presenter. The instructor may share these with the class anonymously and extra grade points will be offered for meritorious contributions. Written feedback and a grade will be provided by the instructor within a week of the presentation.

1/23-25: Lacayo, "The Brawl over Sprawl"

von Hoffman, "Good News"

Gurwitt, "Counties Rethink Growth"

"Urban Economic Development Packet"

"Fighting the Wage War on Local Turf"

Dreier, "Urban Politics and Progressive Housing Policy"
 Downs, "The Devolution Revolution"
 Mahtesian, "The Stadium Trap."
 McCullom, "Playing ball."

1/28: A. Vidal, "CDCs as Agents of Neighborhood Change."
 B. Marquez, "Mexican American Community Development Corporations and the Limits of Directed Capitalism."

1/30: J. M. Thomas and R. N. Blake, Jr., "Faith Based Community Development and African American Neighborhoods."

2/1: TBA/Flex Day. Begin the next readings!!

Case Study: San Francisco's Progressive Response to Growth Advocates

Kennedy School of Government Case Program, "San Francisco Growth Management."
 Rich DeLeon, *Left Coast City*

Assignment 3 - Midterm Book Project. You may either write the paper that is described below or you can take an in-class, one essay, open notes examination that will focus largely on the San Francisco case. The exam will be during class on 2/6; the paper will be due 2/8 at the start of class.

Your paper will (a) summarize the most relevant arguments of the book and (b) fit this book into our course. This will be the crux of the paper: Why is this book relevant to the course? How does it provide answers to questions that have been raised in earlier sections and/or echo innovations that have been discussed? How does it provide an alternative perspective or explanation? Is San Francisco a unique case, in a class by itself, or can slow growth activists in other cities use some of the tools (which) and strategies (specifically) discussed in these two readings? Each of these books contains a few cases; I don't expect you to talk about each case, select the ones on which you want to focus. Seven to ten pages of text with endnotes. Formal rules of writing!

2/6: Exam only

2/8: Discussion of San Francisco case

2/11: More discussion of San Francisco case; start readings for next class!!

SUBURBAN AND URBAN INTERDEPENDENCE or the Doughnut and the Hole

2/13: Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, chs. 11-12.
 Danielson, "Suburban Autonomy"

2/15: W. J. Wilson, "Inner-City Dislocations."
 Stark, "America the Gated"

URBAN IS AMERICAN, AMERICAN IS GLOBAL, GLOBAL IS URBAN

2/18: W. D. Keating, and J. Smith, "Past Federal Policy for Urban Neighborhoods."
 Dosh, "Federal Rollback and the Los Angeles Riots of 1992"
 Ong, Park and Tong, "The Korean-Black Conflict and the State"
 Sweatshops videos?

2/20: Ong, Bonacich and Cheng, "The Political Economy of Capitalist Restructuring and the New Asian Immigration"

Nguyen, "High Tech Migrant Labor"

Bonacich, "Asians in the Los Angeles Garment Industry"

2/22: N. J. Glickman, "Cities and the International Division of Labor."

M. P. Smith, R. Ready, D. Judd, "Capital Flight, Tax Incentives and the Marginalization of American States and Localities."

2/25: Flex Day; Orfield video

2/27: D. Rusk, "Growth Management: The Core Regional Issue," in Katz, *Reflections on Regionalism*
Ehrenhalt, "The Great Wall of Portland" and Claiborne, "The Cracks in the 'Great Wall of Portland'"

3/1:

3/4:

3/6: SPEAKERS/Student Presentations/Newly discovered readings

3/8:

3/11: **Assignment 4** ♦ Students will have the option of a take-home examination or a research prospectus which demonstrates a mastery of extant literature on a topic, understanding of theoretical significance, and a detailed plan for future research.