

Urban Political Economy

POSC 266/366 Spring 2021

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 are elected officials actors with their own agency that may conflict with local and/or global capital? Do the public’s desires for patterns of residential development, work locales, and entertainment land use set the agenda for capital in a democratic, “invisible-hand” manner? Does capital operate within parameters set by a regulatory state or is capital often exempted from the regulatory state? How different is economic policy-making in a democracy compared to a non-democracy, particularly with respect to these two classical questions? 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 and 366 share a core reading list but there will be additional readings for the upper division course as well as more demanding requirements. POSC 266 is designed for students who do not want to embark on a self-directed research project; 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). POSC 366 should be taken by junior or senior Political Science majors seeking to fulfill the 300-level asterisk requirement of the major, or by students ready and willing to meet the additional requirements listed on the syllabus as well as a research paper of about 25 pages (50% for final paper, 20% for participation and 30% for assignments). The POSC 366 curriculum is designed to raise comparative questions about global cities and the export of development models from innovative cities across the globe (adding a dynamism to the static idea of a fixed center and periphery).

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. 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 my expectation of your class participation. Written submission will not be a requirement unless class discussion falters; if you are having trouble participating, try sending me a paragraph or two of your ideas. Whenever you are absent, you must submit one full page of narrative that you would have shared in class. 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.

There is one course text that is available at the Bookstore, Eric Klineberg's *Heat Wave*.

WEEK 1

Theoretical Frameworks for the study of Urban Political Economy:

Tuesday:

D. Judge, "Pluralism," in Judge, Stoker and Wolman, eds. *Theories of Urban Politics* (London: Sage, 1995). Take the time to recognize that Pluralism is much more about the process/procedure of democratic policymaking than about the outcomes. If the process is fair, the outcomes are supposed to be just.

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

Focus on the discussion of the four quadrants in Wilson's article, not the rest; Rehearse an explanation of why the *problem of collective action* (i.e., *how hard it is to get a large number of people to cooperate in a group effort and how common free-riders are*) is actually centrally important for the prevalence of Distributed Cost-payers and the rarity of Distributed beneficiaries; in a second mental paragraph, explain how the successes of concentrated beneficiaries represents a paradox (that is labeled the paradox of collective action) in majoritarian democracies. What is so paradoxical?

Thursday:

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).

Be ready to discuss: Who are the first-tier actors of the Growth Machine, who are secondary, and who are occasional but not central actors? How is the Growth Machine distinctive from Pluralism? *What type of policies are not investigated by scholarship within the Pluralist school, according to Harding?*

WEEK 2

Tuesday:

Why these Policies, what are mayors thinking? Do they work economically and politically?

L. Bachelor, "Stadiums as Solution Sets." *Policy Studies Review* 15:1 (Spring 1998): 89-101. I'm totally fine with any student not being interested in sports stadiums. They

are merely one example within the solution set. The key to this article is understanding the term "solution set" well enough to be able to use it and recognize them when they are not labeled as such.

A bunch of very small news clips that you can use for examples, examples of what? Read Group A or B (or both)

Group A

J. Walters, "After the Festival is Over," *Governing* (August 1990): 27-34R.

[Guskind](#), "Games Cities Play," *National Journal* 3/18/89, p. 634.

C. Mahtesian, "Romancing the Smokestack," *Governing* (Nov. 1994): 36-40.

L. Tabak, "Wild About Convention Centers," *Atlantic Monthly* (April 1994): 28-34.

Group B

C. V. Bagli, "As Stadiums Rise, So Do Costs to Taxpayers," *New York Times* 11/5/08.

M. [Chass](#), "Baseball; New Parks Lose Magic Quickly," *New York Times* 5/07/02.

N. DeMause, "Why do Mayors Love Sports Stadiums?" *The Nation* (8/15-22/11).

R. Keiser, "Take Me Out to the Ballgame ..." *Le Monde Diplomatique* (July 2008).

Are Solution Sets a policy response to an economic problem, a political problem, or both? Be ready to cite from the text to support your claim.

366: ADDITIONAL READING

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

Thursday:

Not all cities "hit bottom" in the same time period (or even all neighborhoods within a city), some encounter economic disinvestment and decay later than others because they have more diversified economies, better infrastructure, differing demographic pressures, or politicians with more allies, skill, or luck. We see similar patterns of decay and restructuring at different times in neighborhoods, cities in different regions, even different countries. **Is the response from private capital? What is the role of the state, i.e., who governs? Who benefits?**

N. D. Bloom, *Merchant of Illusion*, ch. 2 ("Reinventing the Capitalist City") (Ohio State University Press, 2004).

N. D. Bloom, *Merchant of Illusion*, ch. 6 ("American Midas: Rouse and Festival Marketplaces") (Ohio State University Press, 2004).

366:

Holcomb, "Revisioning Place: De-Constructing and Re-Constructing the Image of the

Industrial City.”

366 Assignment: Submit by email attachment, prior to class, double-spaced, formal citations. No more than 3 pages. Analyze Holcomb's article. Is it an example of (a) pluralist or growth machine process of policy making? (b) What type of outcomes (concentrated vs. distributed)? (c) Does it portray solution sets? (d) What moral claim is advanced?

WEEK 3

Tuesday: Tabula Rasa (or What Wars did for Europe). The path to disaster capitalism (e.g., Katrina)

H. Giroux, "Reading Hurricane Katrina: Race, Class, and the Biopolitics of Disposability." *College Literature* 33:3 (Summer 2006).

K.F. Gotham & M. Greenberg, "From 9/11 to 8/29: Post-Disaster Recovery and Rebuilding in New York and New Orleans." *Social Forces* 87:2 (Dec. 2008), 1039-1062.

L. Farmer, "Disaster Recovery" *Governing* (April 2013).

"Poor, minorities push back against booming Turkey's urban renewal"

366: E. Swyngedouw, F. Moulaert, and A. Rodriguez, "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects ..."

366 Assignment due today prior to class, email attachment (3-5 pages): The Swyngedouw article is crucial for understanding the techniques for the subversion of pluralism in democracies that we normally think of as procedurally healthy and robust. Write an essay addressed to the 266 students that (a) deconstructs and explains these techniques in your own paraphrased words. Try to include in your explanation reference to at least one previous reading they have done.

Thursday: Globalization of Solution Sets? Can these concepts travel across borders and time?

In these readings (1) we want to be assessing and evaluating democratic processes, thinking about where we see pluralism or why we do not. (2) We also want to ask whether these sports mega events represent windows of opportunity, for growth-

machine elites, windows that open and shut, and call out, "Carpe Diem." Have we seen such windows before?

Surborg, B., VanWynsberghe, R., & Wyly, E. (2008). Mapping the Olympic growth machine: Transnational urbanism and the growth machine diaspora. *City*, 12(3), 341-355.

M. Lowes, Neoliberal Power Politics and the ... Australian Grand Prix"

366:

C. M. Hall, "Urban Entrepreneurship, corporate interests and sports mega-events ... neoliberalism," *Sociological Review* (2006): 59-70.

366 Assignment due today prior to class, email attachment (3-5 pp.): The Hall article pursues questions about exceptions to the normal functioning of democracy, much like the readings from last class. Again, explain to 266 students who have not read this article the techniques by which democratic norms that are typically upheld can be subverted by growth machine elites. Using linkages to today's 266 readings will enhance your argument.

WEEK 4

Tuesday: Economic Restructuring and Surplus Labor in Advanced Economies

E. Soja, R. Morales, & G. Wolff, "Urban Restructuring: An Analysis of ... Los Angeles."

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.

G. MacLeod, "From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a "Revanchist City"?" ... Glasgow's Renaissance." In *Spaces of Neoliberalism*, N. Brenner and N. Theodore, eds. (Blackwell 2002).

S. Apgar, "[Uncovering Sweatshops](#)," *Star Tribune* 9/3/95, p. D1.

"Gap Between Rich and Poor Grows in Germany." Spiegel Online 9/8/12.

E. Porter, "Stubborn skills gap in America's workforce," *New York Times* 10/8/13.

366:

Thursday: Is Urban Renewal the harbinger of Neoliberalism and Disaster Capitalism?

***"The Fillmore" (80 min film). You watch the film and read these few clips, we will discuss. Our concern in the film is urban renewal, displacement, the actions of the local state, evidence of pluralism, and whether urban renewal is merely a discrete policy from the past or a template for the future?

<https://carleton.hosted.panopto.com/Panopto/Pages/Viewer.aspx?id=2776ecaa-db47-4788-93e3-acdb0177c1e9>

L. Gottesdiener, "A Tale of Two Detroit's, Separate and Unequal," http://inthesetimes.com/article/print/17372/inequality_in_detroit

L. Alderman, "Europe's ... Disposable Workers," *NYT* 12/11/17.

"Riots grip Paris suburbs after teen allegedly sodomized by cop."

366:

W.E. Pritchett, "The 'Public Menace' of Blight: Urban Renewal and the Private Uses of Eminent Domain." *Yale Law & Policy Review* 21:1 (Winter 2003), 1-52 [almost half is footnotes].

WEEK 5

J. Teaford, "Hitting Bottom," *The Rough Road to Renaissance*, ch. 6.

J. Teaford, "Messiah Mayors," *The Rough Road to Renaissance*, ch. 7.

These readings are a big opportunity for class participation. By this point we have learned so much that enables us to amplify the hidden meanings in these chapters and to point out processes and factors that the author does not highlight. Be prepared to share these insights.

366:

D. Davis, "Zero-Tolerance Policing, Stealth Real Estate Development, and the Transformation of Public Space ... Mexico City," *Latin American Perspectives* (March 2013), 53-76.

E. Kurtenbach, "Affluence eludes poor crowding into Asian cities," *Star Tribune* (Sept. 22, 2014).

I. Johnson, [New China Cities](#): Shoddy Homes, Broken Hope," NYT 11/9/13. Article is posted below, but online there is also a slide show, links to other articles in this NYT series, and you can read the article in Chinese!

There are lots of resources for a research paper on China. Comparison with the US and Europe raises the scintillating question of how (in)significant democratic institutions are when faced with the "imperatives" of economic restructuring.

Thursday:

No 266 readings for today so that you have time to do Monday and Tuesday readings for other classes, creating time to work on Midterm.

Drop 266 Midterm

Assignment 366 presentations for Today and next Tuesday (13 min each). *Pick two to present. Or pick your own scholarly article, to advance your research interests, with permission from Professor.* Purpose is to advance toward a research topic. Codes indicate pairing options.

~X. Ren, "Aspirational Urbanism from Beijing to Rio de Janeiro," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 39:7 (2017), 894-908.

*=C. Mcauliffe, "Graffiti or Street Art? Negotiating the Moral Geographies of the Creative City." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 34:2 (2012), 189-206.

*J. Betancur, "The Politics of Gentrification: The Case of West Town in Chicago," *Urban Affairs Review* 37:6 (July 2002), 780-814.

*=C. Lai, "The Racial Triangulation of Space: The Case of Urban Renewal in San Francisco's Fillmore District," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* (2012), 151-170.

*=C. G. Anthony, "Urban Forced Removals in Rio de Janeiro and Los Angeles." *Univ. of Miami Inter-American Law Review* 44 (2017), 337-364.

*=A. Becker and M.-M. Muller, "The Securitization of Urban Space and the "Rescue" of Downtown Mexico City." *Latin American Perspectives* (March 2013).

^=M. Muller, "The Mega-Event Syndrome." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 81:1 (Winter 2015), 6-17.

~^M. Corrarino, "'Law Exclusion Zones': Mega-Events as Sites of Procedural and Substantive Human Rights Violations." *Yale Human Rights and Development L.J.* 17 (2014), 180-204.

^~G. MacLeod, "Urban Politics Reconsidered: Growth Machine to Post-democratic City?" *Urban Studies* 48:12 (Sept. 2011), 2629-2660.

+ =G. A. Jones and M. Moreno-Carranco, "Megaprojects: beneath the pavement, excess."

+R. Salcedo and A. Torres, "Gated Communities in Santiago: Wall or Frontier?" *Intl. Journal of Urban and Regional Research* (March 2004), 27-44.

POSC 266 MIDTERM EXAM DUE _____. LATE PENALTY OF ENTIRE LETTER GRADE, PER DAY.

WEEK 6

Tuesday: 366 presentations, remember our class social contract

Thursday:

Tourism and the Growth Machine: Commodification of Culture and Identity

The field of the Political Economy of Tourism is huge and can easily be an entire course. Here we only have a sampling based on the interests of Carleton students in the past. If you have other ideas or personal experiences related to Tourism P.E., share them with me during office hours or by email.

G. Evans, "Measure for Measure: Evaluating the Evidence of Culture's Contribution to Regeneration." *Urban Studies* (May 2005).

R. Bendix, "Capitalizing on Memories, Past, Present and Future" *Anthropological Theory* (2002).

"Red Tourism is Golden for Chinese Economy." Spiegel Online 3/28/13.

"Fake Soldiers Turning Brandenburg Gate into 'Disneyland'" Spiegel Online 4/15/09.

Do you see distributed benefits? Do you see broadening of political power and inclusion in decisions? Do you see another form of the exploitation of the poor, like animals in a zoo?

366:

J. Nijman, "The global moment in urban evolution: A comparison of Amsterdam" In *Understanding Amsterdam* (2000).

WEEK 7

Tuesday: Neoliberal Cooptation or Empowerment via Commodification?

S. Shaw, S. Bagwell and J. Karmowska, "Ethnoscapes as Spectacle: Reimagining Multicultural Districts as New Destinations ..." *Urban Studies* 41:10 (Sept. 2004), 1983-2000.

J. Burgold and M. Rolfes, "Of voyeuristic safari tours and responsible tourism with educational value: slum and township tourism in Cape Town and Mumbai." *Erde* 144:2 (2013), 161-74.

E. Wong, "China's Han flock to theme parks featuring minorities," *New York Times* 2/24/10.

C. Swope, "Chasing the Rainbow," *Governing Magazine* (Oct 2003).

366:

B. Freire-Medeiros, "The favela and its touristic transits," *Geoforum* 40 (Dec. 2009), 580-588.

366 Assignment: Submit a 2 page, double spaced synopsis of an article that piqued your interest that you discovered via a Google Scholar search of any course article. Your article will be more recent than the course article if you are using Scholar correctly. Tell me the source article, provide a citation of the new article, provide a synopsis, and *then offer at least two paragraphs explaining how this article could be a stepping stone to a course project.*

Thursday:

Resistance against the Neoliberal State Apparatus? Disorganized, Organized, and Institutional

P. Street, "Public Health Concerns? Urban Neoliberal Racism, Mass Poverty, and the Repression of Occupy"

O. Unsal and T. Kuyucu, "Challenging the Neoliberal Urban Regime: Regeneration and Resistance." In *Orienting Istanbul: Cultural Capital of Europe?*

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

P. Dreier and T. Swanstrom, "Suburban ghettos like Ferguson ..."

D. Barboza and K. Bradsher, "Riot at Foxconn Factory Underscores Rift in China." NYT 9/24/12.

S. Romero, "Slum Dwellers ... Rio Olympics," NYT

366 Assignment: Submit a 2 page, double spaced synopsis of an article that piqued your interest that you discovered via a Google Scholar search of a course article. Your article will be more recent than the course article. Tell me the source article, provide a citation of the new article, provide a synopsis, and *then offer at least two paragraphs explaining how this article could be a stepping stone to a course project*. This is a test of how well you can see the connections to the course materials and how well you have synthesized seven weeks of material.

F. Halais, "Pacifying Rio: ... Latin America's Most Talked about Security Operation," opendemocracy.net.

S. Romero, "Slum Dwellers ... Rio Olympics," NYT

366 Assignment: Submit a 2 page, double spaced synopsis of an article that piqued your interest from the bibliography of a course article. Tell me the source article, provide a citation of the new article, provide a synopsis, and then offer at least one paragraph explaining how this article could be a stepping stone to a course project.

WEEK 8

Tuesday: Remember to think about processes, not just the specifics of a narrative

T. Cresswell, "The crucial 'where of graffiti ... New York"

Dreier, "The War Over Wages, City by City,"

C. Cain, Negotiating with the Growth Machine: [Community Benefits Agreements ...](#)"
Sociological Forum 29:4 (Dec. 2014).

L. Alderman, "Greeks take to the streets, some violently, in a strike over austerity," *NYT* 10/8/12.

K. Bradsher, "Facing Protests, China's business Investment Slows," *NYT* (11/06/12).

366:

R. Keiser, "Ya Don't Have to Get Snippy About It: Sports Stadium Politics in Minnesota." In *Perspectives on Minnesota Government and Politics*, S. Hoffman, H. Williamson, and K. Wolsborn, eds., vol. 5 (Pearson, 2003).

Thursday:

E. Klineberg, *Heatwave: A Social Autopsy of Disaster in Chicago* (Chicago: 2002), 1-78.

What parts of the course does this fit with? If you don't think seriously about this question, then all you are experiencing is a stand-alone book.

Assignment 366 (no grade): Paper Topic Proposals for 366 Due Today, or Week 9 Tuesday or Thursday You may submit up to 3 times and get feedback each time; you must submit at least once. 1-3 pages of non-bibliography: explain your topic in no more than 3 sentences, how does your topic build upon the questions of our course, which specific literature from the course are you building upon. Then bibliography of at least 10 scholarly articles or 4 books. Conversations with the professor prior to this deadline are advisable.

WEEK 9

Tuesday:

Heatwave, 79-184.

Thursday:

Heatwave, 185-242 (end).

Drop 266 Final, due last day of classes (Wednesday).

WEEK 10

Tuesday: TBA