USP 689 Advanced Urban Politics & Sociology:

Critical Urban Theory

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Fall 2013 | Mondays 2 – 4:30 pm | 311 URBN

What is "critical" theory? How is it relevant to the study of the city? What can it tell us about social change? This reading-intensive, discussion-centered graduate seminar will expose students to critical theory, a loosely defined body of work with origins in Marxist political economy, but one that moves beyond the oversimplified "base-superstructure" orthodoxy of Marxisms past to provide rich insights into the dialectical relationship between social processes, capitalism, and the environment (both built and "natural"). Further, critical theory reflects on social change, how it arises, and how it can be mobilized. As critical urbanist Neil Brenner writes, critical urban theory "insists that another, more democratic, socially just and sustainable form of urbanization is possible" and "involves the critique of ideology and the critique of power, inequality, injustice and exploitation, at once within and among cities."

Reading original works alongside recent literature in geography, urban studies, and planning, we'll reflect on how these critical theories can inform our understanding of cities as social and material spaces produced and reshaped by flows of capital. By providing a foundation in urban political economy and an introduction to a number of critical theorists and their principal contributions, the course will serve as a point of embarkation into the world of critical urbanism. Moreover, some of the theoretical lenses we discuss may prove particularly relevant to thesis or dissertation research addressing relationships between urban processes, (in)equity, and action.

We'll set the stage for our discussion with an overview of critical theory and chapters from Merrifield's *Metromarxism*, then devote the first few weeks of the term to focusing on the basics of political economic structures and their spatial implications (per Marx, but also as interpreted by Harvey, Smith, et al). We'll then discuss interventions by theorists who have problematized political economic categories such as production and class, notably Bourdieu and feminist geographers such as Gibson-Graham. During the second half of the term, we'll turn to Polanyi, Gramsci, Lefebvre, and others to understand the relationships between a capitalist political economy and the social movements that arise to contest it. Throughout the course, we will also read current scholarship that grounds these theoretical frameworks in contemporary empirical research.

Course Texts

Plan to read about 150 pages of dense academic prose per week. Given how reading-intensive the course is, you should read *strategically* (eg, focus on the authors' key claims or arguments). We will mostly be reading journal articles, available as links/PDFs posted on D2L. In addition, we will read significant sections from the following books (available from the PSU bookstore; ** PDF versions also posted on D2L, but worth buying if you can):

- Harvey, David. 2007. *Limits to Capital*. London: Verso.**
- Merrifield, Andy. 2002. *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City*. New York: Routledge.**
- Polanyi, Karl. 2001. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press.**
- Purcell, Mark. 2013. *The Down-Deep Delight of Democracy*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- Smith, Neil. 2008. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.**

Expectations & Assignments

Participation (15%)

This is a discussion-driven seminar. You are responsible for reading the assigned materials before class and coming ready to discuss. Everyone must join in the discussion. If you're shy, push yourself to talk. If you're a talker, be conscientious not to dominate the discussion. To help move the discussion forward, you should come to class each week with one or two discussion questions. You will need to post these to the week's Discussion Questions forum on D2L by 11pm on Sunday so others have a chance to read over them before we meet. NB: You don't need to post questions to D2L if you are leading discussion (see below), so everyone should post 8 times over the course of the term.

Discussion Facilitation (15%)

Everyone will be required to lead the discussion *at least* once. You should be prepared to walk us through the key concepts/arguments/theories from the week's readings. You should also be prepared to get our discussion started (and keep it going, if necessary!) with a few questions/topics/themes of import. Look over the discussion questions posted to D2L by your peers as you organize your questions and discussion topics. Please prepare an outline/diagram/visual aid to steward us through this process. This can be a one-page handout, or you can use the blackboard.

Reading Responses (35%)

You are responsible for writing a short reading response (~250 to 500 words) for any 7 of our class meetings. You don't have to prepare a response the week that you lead discussion (so essentially you get one freebie). Your response should not simply summarize the key arguments from the reading; rather, it should synthesize the key insights you take from the ensemble of readings and raise new questions, or can respond to some of the questions raised by others (see above). Please turn in a hard copy of your responses to me at the end of class. Please use 1" margins, 12pt font, and single-spacing! NB: You must turn in a response for any week you are absent, barring extenuating circumstances.

Paper (35%)

In addition to your weekly reading responses, you are required to write a final paper (3,000 to 4,000 words). This should be a well-structured essay that applies some of the theory we've covered in the course to your research area of interest. Please submit as a Word document so I can insert comments… and please use 1" margins and 12-pt font! You will have 5 minutes to present your paper to the class on our last day. Due to the D2L Dropbox by 12:30 PM on W 12/11.

General classroom etiquette

- Please be on time so we can start right at 2 PM.
- Please inform me ahead of time, if possible, If you are unable to come to class for any reason. Barring extenuating circumstances, you must submit a reading response for any day you miss.
- Turn off cell-phones. Use of laptops is welcome for note-taking, but please respect the rest of us by refraining from checking Facebook, email, or any other distraction. To fight temptation, turn off your Wi-Fi if you have to! Please also refrain from immediately looking up something on Wikipedia every time we have a question about something or a fact to be checked. Unless it's really important (and we'll let you know if it is), it can wait!

Academic Integrity

You are graduate students so I don't need to elaborate on this. I take this seriously, as I expect you to.

Academic accommodations / Other campus resources

If you are a student with a documented disability and are registered with the Disability Resource Center (DRC), please contact me immediately to facilitate arranging academic accommodations. Students who believe they are eligible for accommodations but who have not yet obtained approval through the DRC should contact the DRC immediately at 503-725-4150.

- Office of Diversity & Multicultural Student Services, Smith 425, http://www.pdx.edu/dmss/
- Learning Center, Millar Library 245, http://www.pdx.edu/tutoring/
- Writing Center, Cramer 188, http://www.writingcenter.pdx.edu/

Office hours / contact info

Wednesdays 3-5 (or by appointment) in 350-E Urban Center. It's best to contact me ahead of time to sign up for a slot. My email is n.mcclintock@pdx.edu.

Readings

In general, it will be helpful to read these in the order listed. Those listed under "Further Reading" may also be of interest to you, but are not required.

<u>Week 1</u>: Critical Theory & the City

- Brenner, Neil. 2009. What Is Critical Urban Theory? *City* 13 (2-3): 198–207.
- Merrifield, Andy. 2002. *Metromarxism: A Marxist Tale of the City*. New York: Routledge.
    - Introduction (1-11)
    - Ch. 1: Marx (13-29)
    - Ch. 2: Engels (31-48)
- Ribera-Fumaz, Ramon. 2009. From Urban Political Economy to Cultural Political Economy: Rethinking Culture and Economy in and Beyond the Urban. *Progress in Human Geography* 33 (4): 447–465.

Further reading:

- Beauregard, Robert. 2003. Positioning Urban Theory. *Antipode* 35 (5): 999–1007.
- Peet, Richard. 1998. *Modern Geographical Thought*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers. (Ch. 3: Radical Geography, Marxism, and Marxist Geography)
- Sayer, Andrew. 2001. For a Critical Cultural Political Economy. *Antipode* 33 (4): 687–708.

<u>Week 2</u>: Capital: Value and Production

- Marx, Karl. 1976. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Volume 1. London: Penguin Classics. (or see http://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1867-c1/)
    - Ch.1.1. The Two Factors of the Commodity (125-131)
    - Ch. 4. The General Formula for Capital (247-257)
    - Ch. 7. The Labor Process and the Process of Producing Surplus Value (283-306)
    - Ch. 26. The Secret of Primitive Accumulation (873-876)
- *Metromarxism*
    - Ch. 7: Harvey (133-155)
- Harvey, David. 2007. *Limits to Capital*. London: Verso.
    - Ch. 1: Commodities, Values & Class Relations (1-35)
    - Ch. 2: Production & Distribution (42-43, 45-49, quote on 67-74)
    - Ch. 3: Production and Consumption (75-89, 96-97)
    - Ch. 4: Technological Change (98-104, 106-110, 119-125)
    - Ch. 6: The Dynamics of Accumulation (156-166)

Further reading:

- Peet 1998, Ch. 4: Structuralism and Structural Marxist Geography
- DeAngelis, Massimo. 2004. Separating the Doing and the Deed: Capital and the Continuous Character of Enclosures. *Historical Materialism* 12 (2): 57–87.

<u>Week 3</u>: Capital: Crisis, Circuits, and Cities

- Harvey, *Limits*
    - Ch. 7: Overaccumulation, Devaluation, and the 'First-Cut' Theory of Crisis (190-203)
    - Ch. 8: Fixed Capital (204-208, 215-223, 229-238)
    - Ch. 9: Money, Credit & Finance (239-251, 260-272)
    - Ch.10: Finance Capital & its Contradictions (283-284, 300-305, 307-329)
    - Ch. 12: Production of Spatial Configurations (373-376, 380-398,
    - Ch.13: V. Third-Cut at Crisis Theory (424-438)
- Harvey, David. 1989. *The Urban Experience*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
    - Ch. 2: The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis (59-89)

Further reading:

- Christophers, B. 2011. Revisiting the Urbanization of Capital. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101 (6):1347–1364.
- Harvey, David. 1981. The Spatial Fix – Hegel, Von Thunen, and Marx. *Antipode* 13 (3): 1–12.
- Harvey, *The Urban Experience*, Ch. 1: The Urbanization of Capital (17-58)
- Schoenberger, Erica. 2004. The Spatial Fix Revisited. *Antipode* 36 (3): 427–433.

<u>Week 4</u>: Capital: Space and Scale

- Smith, Neil. 2008. *Uneven Development: Nature, Capital, and the Production of Space*. Athens: University of Georgia Press.
    - Foreword by David Harvey (*vii-x*)
    - Introduction (1-9)
    - Ch. 3: The Production of Space (92-131)
    - Ch. 4: Toward a Theory of Uneven Development I: The Dialectic of Geographical Differentiation and Equalization (132-174)
    - Ch. 5: Toward a Theory of Uneven Development II: Spatial Scale and Seesaw of Capital (175-205)
    - Conclusion (206-211)
    - Afterword to the Third Edition (239-266)

Further reading:

- Brenner, Neil. 2000. The Urban Question: Reflections on Henri Lefebvre, Urban Theory and the Politics of Scale. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24 (2): 361–378.
- Harvey, David. 2006. *Spaces of Global Capitalism*. London: Verso.
- Hackworth, Jason. 2007. *The Neoliberal City: Governance, Ideology, and Development in American Urbanism*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

<u>Week 5</u>: Rethinking Production: Gender and Social Reproduction

- Gibson-Graham, J.K. 2000. "Poststructural Interventions." In Sheppard and Barnes (eds) *A Companion to Economic Geography*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell. (95–110)
- Gibson-Graham, J. K. 2006. *The end of capitalism (as we knew it) a feminist critique of political economy*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
    - Ch.3: Class and the Politics of "Identity" (46-71)
- Heynen, N., P. Hossler, and A. Herod. 2011. Surviving Uneven Development: Social Reproduction and the Persistence of Capitalism. *New Political Economy* 16 (2):239–245.
- Katz, C. 2001. Vagabond Capitalism and the Necessity of Social Reproduction. *Antipode* 33 (4):709–728.
- Guthman, J. 2011. Bodies and Accumulation: Revisiting Labour in the "Production of Nature." *New Political Economy* 16 (2):233–238.

Choose two:

- Heynen, N. 2010. Cooking up Non-violent Civil-disobedient Direct Action for the Hungry: "Food Not Bombs" and the Resurgence of Radical Democracy in the US. *Urban Studies* 47 (6):1225–1240.
- Shillington, L. J. 2013. Right to food, right to the city: Household urban agriculture, and socionatural metabolism in Managua, Nicaragua. *Geoforum* 44 (1):103–111.
- McDowell, L., K. Ward, C. Fagan, D. Perrons, K. Ray. 2006. Connecting Time and Space: The Significance of Transformations in Women's Work in the City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 30 (1):141–158.

Further reading:

- Peet 1998. Ch. 6: Poststructuralism, Postmodernism, Postmoderngeographies; Ch. 7: Feminist Theory and the Geography of Gender
- Glassman, J. 2003. Rethinking Overdetermination, Structural Power, and Social Change: A Critique of Gibson-Graham, Resnick, and Wolff. *Antipode* 35 (4):678–698.
- Krueger, R., and L. Savage. 2007. City-Regions and Social Reproduction: A "Place" for Sustainable Development? *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31 (1):215–223.
- Rose, D. 2010. Refractions and recombinations of the "economic" and the "social": a personalized reflection on challenges by—and to—feminist urban geographies. *Canadian Geographer / Le Géographe canadien* 54 (4):391–409.

<u>Week 6</u>: Rethinking Production: Class and Capital(s)

- Waquant. L. 2008. Pierre Bourdieu. In R. Stones (ed.), *Key Sociological Thinkers*. New York: Macmillan, 261-277 (http://loicwacquant.net/assets/Papers/PIERREBOURDIEU-Stones2007.pdf)
- Burawoy, Conversations with Bourdieu (http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/Bourdieu.htm)
    - Burawoy, Theory and Practice: Marx Meets Bourdieu (http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/Bourdieu/3.Marx.pdf)
- Lave, Rebecca. 2012. Bridging Political Ecology and STS: A Field Analysis of the Rosgen Wars. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 102 (2): 366–382. (read "Bourdieu's Field Concept", 367-369)
- Bourdieu, Pierre. 1998. *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Tran. Randall Johnson. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press.
    - Ch. 1: Social Space and Symbolic Space (1-13)
- Bourdieu, P. 1986. The forms of capital. In J. Richardson (Ed.) *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. New York: Greenwood, 241-258. (http://www.marxists.org/reference/subject/philosophy/works/fr/bourdieu-forms-capital.htm)
- Beasley-Murray, Jon. 2012. Value and Capital in Bourdieu and Marx. In Brown and Szeman (eds) *Pierre Bourdieu: Fieldwork in Culture*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield. (100–119) (http://www.academia.edu/842645/Value_and_Capital_in_Bourdieu_and_Marx)

Choose two:

- Hanquinet, Laurie, Mike Savage, and Louise Callier. 2012. Elaborating Bourdieu's Field Analysis in Urban Studies: Cultural Dynamics in Brussels. *Urban Geography* 33 (4): 508–529.
- Haylett, Chris. 2003. Culture, Class and Urban Policy: Reconsidering Equality. *Antipode* 35 (1): 55–73.
- Marom, N. 2013. Relating a City's History and Geography with Bourdieu: One Hundred Years of Spatial Distinction in Tel Aviv. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12027

<u>Week 7</u>: Theorizing Social Change: Market and Society

- Polanyi, Karl. 2001. *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Boston: Beacon Press. (** indicates entire chapter)
    - Introduction by Fred Block (*xviii – xxxviii*)
    - Ch. 1: The Hundred Years Peace (3-5)
    - Ch. 2: Conservative Twenties, Revolutionary Thirties (31-32)
    - Ch. 3: "Habitation versus Improvement" (35-44)**
    - Ch. 4: Societies and Economic Systems (45-58)**
    - Ch. 5: Evolution of the Market Pattern (59-70)**
    - Ch. 6: The Self Regulating Market and the Fictitious Commodities: Labor, Land, and Money (71-80)**
    - Ch. 11: Man, Nature, and Productive Organization (136-140)**
    - Ch. 12: Birth of the Liberal Creed (141-157)**
    - Ch. 13: Birth of the Liberal Creed (Cont'd): Class Interest and Social Change (158-170)**
    - Ch. 14: Market and Man (171-173, 183-186)
    - Ch. 15: Market and Nature (187-192)
    - Ch. 21: Freedom in a Complex Society (256, 265-267)
- Walker, R. 2013. The two Karls, or reflections on Karl Polanyi's The Great Transformation. *Environment and Planning A* 45 (7):1662–1670.
- Smith, A. 2013. Polanyi, double movements, and political economic transformations. *Environment and Planning A* 45 (7):1656–1661.

Choose one:

- Bernt, M. 2012. The "Double Movements" of Neighbourhood Change: Gentrification and Public Policy in Harlem and Prenzlauer Berg. *Urban Studies* 49 (14):3045–3062.
- Martin, Nina. 2011. Toward a New Countermovement: a Framework for Interpreting the Contradictory Interventions of Migrant Civil Society Organizations in Urban Labor Markets. *Environment and Planning A* 43 (12): 2934 – 2952.

Further reading:

- Polanyi, *The Great Transformation.* Foreword by Joseph Stiglitz (*vii – xvii*)
- Block, Fred. 2008. Polanyi's Double Movement and the Reconstruction of Critical Theory. Ed. Jean-Marc Fontan and Diane-Gabrielle Tremblay. *Revue Interventions Économiques. Papers in Political Economy* 38. (http://interventionseconomiques.revues.org/274) (14 pp.)
- Peck, J. 2013. For Polanyian economic geographies. *Environment and Planning A* 45 (7):1545–1568.
- Schoenberger, E. 2013. Class and situated knowledge in Polanyi's The Great Transformation. *Environment and Planning A* 45 (7):1671–1678.
- Silver, Beverly J., and Giovanni Arrighi. 2003. Polanyi's 'Double Movement': The Belle Époques of British and U.S. Hegemony Compared. *Politics & Society* 31 (2): 325–355.

<u>Week 8</u>: Theorizing Social Change: State and Civil Society

- Gramsci, Antonio. 2000. *The Antonio Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings 1916-1935*. Ed. David Forgacs. New York: NYU Press.
    - Glossary of Key Terms (420-431)
    - IX. Philosophy, Common Sense, Language and Folklore (323-336)
- Burawoy, Michael. 2003. For a Sociological Marxism: The Complementary Convergence of Antonio Gramsci and Karl Polanyi. *Politics & Society* 31: 193–261.
- Burawoy, Conversations with Bourdieu (http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/Bourdieu.htm)
    - Burawoy, Cultural Domination: Gramsci Meets Bourdieu http://burawoy.berkeley.edu/Bourdieu/4.Gramsci.pdf)

Choose two:

- Loftus, Alex, and Fiona Lumsden. 2008. Reworking Hegemony in the Urban Waterscape. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 33 (1): 109–126.
- McGuirk, Pauline M. 2004. State, Strategy, and Scale in the Competitive City: a neo-Gramscian Analysis of the Governance of 'Global Sydney'. *Environment and Planning A* 36 (6): 1019 – 1043.
- Perkins, Harold A. 2013. Consent to Neoliberal Hegemony Through Coercive Urban Environmental Governance. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37(1):311-327.

Further reading:

- Donaldson, Mike. 2008. Gramsci, Class and Post-Marxism. *International Gramsci Journal* 1(1):1-27. (http://ro.uow.edu.au/artspapers/182/)
- Hall, Stuart. 1987. Gramsci and Us. *Marxism Today*. (http://www.amielandmelburn.org.uk/collections/mt/pdf/87_06_16.pdf)
- Purcell, Mark. 2012. Gramsci Is Not Dead: For a 'Both/And' Approach to Radical Geography. *ACME* 11 (2): 512–524.

<u>Week 9</u>: Mobilizing Social Change: Right to the City

- *Metromarxism*
    - Ch. 4: Lefebvre (71-92)
- Excerpts from Lefebvre's *Production of Space* and/or *Right to the City* (TBD)
- Kipfer, S., P. Saberi, and T. Wieditz. 2013. Henri Lefebvre Debates and controversies. *Progress in Human Geography* 37 (1):115–134.
- Purcell, Mark. 2002. Excavating Lefebvre: The Right to the City and Its Urban Politics of the Inhabitant. *GeoJournal* 58 (2): 99–108.
- Uitermark, Justus, Walter Nicholls, and Maarten Loopmans. 2012. Cities and Social Movements: Theorizing Beyond the Right to the City. *Environment and Planning A* 44 (11): 2546–2554.

Choose two:

- Carpio, G., C. Irazábal, and L. Pulido. 2011. Right to the Suburb? Rethinking Lefebvre and Immigrant Activism. *Journal of Urban Affairs* 33 (2):185–208.
- Eizenberg, E. 2012. Actually Existing Commons: Three Moments of Space of Community Gardens in New York City. *Antipode* 44 (3):764–782.
- Mitchell, D., and N. Heynen. 2009. The Geography of Survival and the Right to the City: Speculations on Surveillance, Legal Innovation, and the Criminalization of Intervention. *Urban Geography* 30 (6):611–632.

Further reading:

- Attoh, K. A. 2011. What kind of right is the right to the city? *Progress in Human Geography* 35 (5):669–685.
- Purcell, M. 2013. To Inhabit Well: Counterhegemonic Movements and the Right to the City. *Urban Geography* 34 (4):560–574.
- Kuymulu, M. B. 2013. The Vortex of Rights: "Right to the City" at a Crossroads. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (3):923–940.

<u>Week 10</u>: Mobilizing Social Change: Democracy and Political Subjects

- Boudreau, J., N. Boucher, and M. Liguori. 2009. Taking the bus daily and demonstrating on Sunday: Reflections on the formation of political subjectivity in an urban world. *City* 13 (2-3):336–346.
- Rutland, T. 2013. Activists in the Making: Urban Movements, Political Processes and the Creation of Political Subjects. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (3):989–1011.
- Purcell, Mark. 2013. *The Down-Deep Delight of Democracy*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell. Chs. 1- 4 (pp. 1 – 121)

Further reading:

- Uitermark, J., and W. Nicholls. 2013. From Politicization to Policing: The Rise and Decline of New Social Movements in Amsterdam and Paris. *Antipode* :1–22.

Meeting Schedule

Week	Date	Topic	Key Theorists	Key Concepts
1	9/30	What is critical theory?		Critical urban theory, Marxian political economy
2	10/7	Capital: Value and production	Marx, Harvey	Use and exchange value, labor theory of value, commodities, production, division of labor, labor power, class, accumulation, primitive accumulation
3	10/14	Capital: Crisis and concentration	Marx, Harvey	Crisis, devaluation, fixed capital, urbanization of capital
4	10/21	Capital: Space and scale	Smith	Uneven development
5	10/28	Rethinking production: Gender and social reproduction	Gibson-Graham, Katz	Social reproduction
6	11/4	Rethinking production: Class and capital(s)	Bourdieu	Species of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic), doxa, habitus, field
7	11/11	NO CLASS – VETERAN'S DAY – WE'LL RESCHEDULE FOR LATER IN THE WEEK		
7	ALT DATE/TIME:	Theorizing social change: Market and society	Polanyi	Embeddedness, double movement, fictitious commodities
8	11/18	Theorizing social change: Hegemony	Gramsci, Burawoy	Hegemony, common sense, war of position
9	11/25	Mobilizing social change: Right to the city	Lefebvre	Production of space, right to the city
10	12/2	Mobilizing social change: Democracy and the political subject	various	Subject formation, political process theory, democracy
11	W 12/11 12:30 – 2:20 PM **PAPER DUE**	Paper presentations / Closing discussion	YOU	