

RUTGERS, THE STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW JERSEY
Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy

762/970/833: 624:01 PLANNING, PUBLIC POLICY, AND SOCIAL THEORY
Monday, 9:50 - 12:30 Civic Square, Room 168

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Fall 2018

OFFICE HOURS: Mon & Wed, 2-4 p.m., or by appointment.
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PURPOSE AND GOALS

A possible starting definition suggests that planning and public policy entail attempts “to transform reality according to the ideas and images of what we think reality ought to be” (Sack, 2003, p. 4).^{*} Much of your education in planning and policy takes something like this definition as given and offers instruction in how to carry out such transformation. Typical questions involve how to prepare better plans, design more affordable housing, engineer more efficient transportation systems, or create healthier or more aesthetically pleasing environments; how to select among alternative strategies and options; how to implement the chosen transformations; and how to evaluate the results.

Hidden behind, supporting, and directing these practices are powerful, complex, and often contentious theories and assumptions that enable but also challenge the conduct of planning and public policy. Our theories and assumptions about the world define what constitutes a “problem” to be addressed, how solutions are devised, and whose interests prevail in the practice of planning and public policy.

This seminar has two goals in clarifying the role of theory in this process: (1) to identify and deconstruct some of the theoretical building-blocks underlying the idea and practice of planning and public policy; and (2) to consider the power of theory in affecting, even determining, how we do our work in planning and public policy. Reflecting on the definition of planning and policy suggested above, we will ask how theory influences how we engage with the world, how we comprehend the reality we seek to transform, and how we form our vision of what reality ought to be? Is there a universally recognizable reality waiting to be discovered or does reality depend on our theoretical frameworks and/or our individually unique vantage points? If the latter, which reality do we seek to transform, and whose “ideas and images” define the goals of such transformation? Who is the “we” that decides “what we think reality ought to be?” How do technology, ideology, and expertise alter our understandings, methods, and goals? How do power relations channel and deflect the transformative process? Through what institutional structure(s), including those of the state, is the transformation of reality accomplished, and with what consequences? How are class, race, ethnicity, gender and other vectors of difference and identity accommodated in decision-making, and is this process compatible with the democratic ideal? How do ethics, morality, and values enter the decision-making process? And finally, what are the implications of these questions (and their answers) for theory-building, for social science research, and for the practice of planning and public policy?

Our reading and discussion will attempt to answer these questions by drawing from an extensive literature vaguely characterized as “social theory.” Broadly speaking, this literature is “social” because it situates the transformative act as a collective, social project. And it is “theoretical” because it offers a framework or approach to guide understanding. This seminar will read intensively yet selectively within the “social theory” literature to help us define issues, develop an approach, and assemble tools that help address fundamental questions regarding the work of theory in the production of knowledge in planning, public policy, and the social sciences more generally.

^{*} Robert Sack. 2003. *A Geographical Guide to the Real and the Good*. New York: Routledge.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

1. **Reading and active participation in seminar discussions (40%)**. This is an advanced doctoral-level seminar in which all participants share responsibility for reading and discussing the materials assigned for each class meeting. At the beginning of each weekly meeting, every seminar participant will identify questions or issues pertaining to the week's readings. These will serve as our discussion agenda for the week.
2. **Completion of four written critical essays (6 -10 pages each) discussing and evaluating the weekly readings (40%)**. You may select readings for *any four weeks* during the semester as the subject of your review essays but you must submit four essays prior to the last class meeting. Guidelines for preparing these essays will be distributed at the first class meeting. Your essays should not merely summarize the readings; rather, they should offer a critical assessment of, and engagement with, ideas or issues in the readings. Papers are due *at the beginning* of the class session when the reading is discussed. Essays should be typed, double-spaced, in 12-point type, and must conform to professional standards of grammar, punctuation, and citation format.
3. **Take-home final exam (20%)** reflecting on the readings and discussion over the semester in a 6-10 page essay due within one week after the last seminar meeting.

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Plagiarism or any other form of academic dishonesty will not be tolerated and will result in a grade of 'F' or zero (0) for the assignment in question. The University's policy on academic integrity is available at https://slwordpress.rutgers.edu/academicintegrity/wp-content/uploads/sites/41/2014/11/AI_Policy_2013.pdf
More information is at <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu/>

REQUIRED READINGS

The following required books are available at the Rutgers Bookstore and used copies are widely available. I may distribute additional readings from time to time to augment (or disrupt) our discussions.

1. Mitchell, Timothy. 2002. *Rule of Experts: Egypt, Techno-Politics, Modernity*. University of California Press.
2. Flyvbjerg, Bent. 1998. *Rationality and Power: Democracy in Practice*. University of Chicago Press.
3. Polanyi, Karl. 1944 (2001). *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*. Beacon Press.
4. Jessop, Bob. 2002. *The Future of the Capitalist State*. Polity Press.
5. Dewey, John. 1927 (1953). *The Public and its Problems*. Ohio University Press.
6. Young, Iris. 2000. *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford University Press.
7. O'Connor, Alice. 2001. *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History*. Princeton University Press.
8. Cruikshank, Barbara. 1999. *The Will to Empower: Democratic Citizens and Other Subjects*. Cornell University Press.
9. Flyvbjerg, Bent. 2001. *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again*. Cambridge University Press.

SEMINAR SCHEDULE AND READINGS

[**Note:** Items listed as “additional reading” below are suggested should you be interested in reading more deeply into a topic.]

SEPT. 10 INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

Aims – definitions – ground rules – essay guidelines – readings – knowledge and power – theory and method – theory or Theory?

Additional reading:

- Beauregard, Robert. 2012. “What theorists do.” *Urban Geography* 33: 474-487.
- Latour, Bruno. 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Law, John. 2004. *After Method: Mess in Social Science Research*. London: Routledge.
- George Steinmetz, ed. 2005. *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences*. Duke University Press.
- Levine, George, ed. 1993. *Realism and Representation: Essays on the Problem of Realism in Relation to Science, Literature, and Culture*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Pryke, Michael; Rose, Gillian; and Whatmore, Sarah. 2003. *Using Social Theory: Thinking Through Research*. London: Sage Publications.
- Rorty, Richard. 1996. “Idealizations, foundations, and social practices.” In Seyla Benhabib, ed., *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*. Princeton University Press, pp. 333-335.
- Rorty, Richard. 1999. “The humanistic intellectual: eleven theses.” In *Philosophy and Social Hope*. NY: Penguin Books, pp. 127-130.

SEPT. 17 KNOWLEDGE, TECHNOLOGY, POWER, AND POLICY

>>> **Read: Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*, pages 1 – 119** <<<

Abstraction – generalization – representation – case study – complexity – human and non-human actors – agency – politics of expertise – law (and order) – calculability and quantification – economy and policy

Additional reading:

- Hacking, Ian. 1999. *The Social Construction of What?* Harvard University Press.
- Hacking, Ian. 2006. “Making up people.” *London Review of Books* 28, 16 (August 17).
- Farias, Ignacio. 2011. “The politics of urban assemblages.” *City* 15: 365-374.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 2006. “Rethinking economy.” *Geoforum* 39: 1116-1121.
- Latour, Bruno. 2004. *Politics of Nature: How to Bring the Sciences into Democracy*. Harvard University Press.
- Latour, Bruno. 2005. “From Realpolitik to Dingpolitik, or how to make things public.” In B. Latour and P. Weibel, eds., *Making Things Public: Atmospheres of Democracy*. MIT Press, pp. 14-43.
- Simone, AbdouMaliq. 2004. *For the City Yet to Come: Changing African Life in Four Cities*. Duke University Press.
- Scott, James C. 1998. *Seeing Like a State*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Valverde, Mariana. 2011. “Seeing like a city: The dialectic of modern and premodern ways of seeing in urban governance.” *Law and Society Review* 45: 277-312.

SEPT. 24 CONSTRUCTING THE SUBJECT

>>> **Read: Timothy Mitchell, *Rule of Experts*, pages 123 – 303** <<<

Defining the subject – researcher's relation to the subject – positionality – representation and interpretation – types of knowledge – nationhood – development – capitalism – markets

Additional reading:

- Radcliffe, Sarah. 2017. "Decolonising geographical knowledges." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*
- Jazeel, Tariq and McFarlane, Colin. 2010. "The limits of responsibility: a postcolonial politics of academic knowledge production." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35: 109-124.
- Auyero, Javier. 2003. *Contentious Lives: Two Argentine Women, Two Protests, and the Quest for Recognition*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Blaut, James. 1993. *The Colonizer's Model of the World*. NY: Guilford.
- Alcoff, Linda. 1995. "The problem of speaking for others." In Judith Roof and Robyn Wiegman, eds., *Who Can Speak? Authority and Critical Identity*. University of Illinois Press, pp. 97-119.
- Christophers, Brett. 2014. "Wild dragons in the city: Urban political economy, affordable housing development and the performative world-making of economic models." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38: 79-97.
- Roy, Ananya. 2009. "Why India cannot plan its cities: Informality, insurgency and the idiom of urbanization." *Planning Theory* 8: 76-87.
- Sen, Amartya. 1999. *Development as Freedom*. NY: Alfred A. Knopf.

OCT. 1 POWER, POLITICS, POLICY, AND PLANNING

>>> **Read: Bent Flyvbjerg, *Rationality and Power*** <<<

Power – rationality vs. rationalization – politics – democracy – interests – resistance – knowledge – expertise – problem definition – agenda-setting

Additional reading:

- Castells, Manuel. 1983. *The City and the Grassroots*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Forester, John. 1989. *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley: Univ. of California Press.
- Gaventa, John. 1980. *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Lukes, Steven. 1974. *Power*. London: Macmillan.
- Rose, Nikolas. 1991. "Governing by the numbers: figuring out democracy." *Accounting, Organizations & Society* 16: 673-692.
- Jasanoff, Sheila. 2012. *Science and Public Reason*. NY: Routledge.
- Latour, Bruno. 1987. *Science in Action*. Harvard University Press.
- Fischer, Frank. 2009. *Democracy and Expertise: Reorienting Policy Inquiry*. NY: Oxford.

OCT. 8 STATES AND MARKETS

>>> **Read: Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, vii – xxxviii, 3 – 135** <<<

Self-regulating market – market and society – embeddedness – commodification – fictitious commodities – double movement – wealth and poverty – Poor Laws – welfare – class

Additional reading:

- Rogan, Tim. 2017. *The Moral Economists: R.H. Tawney, Karl Polanyi, E.P. Thompson and the Critique of Capitalism*. Princeton University Press.

- Peck, Jamie. 2013. "Disembedding Polanyi: Exploring Polanyian economic geographies." *Environment and Planning A* 45: 1536-1544.
- Callon, Michel, ed. 1998. *The Laws of the Markets*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fine, Ben and Lapavistas, Costas. 2000. "Markets and money in social theory: what role for economics?" *Economy and Society* 29: 357-382.
- Haila, Anne. 2007. "The market as the new emperor." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 31: 3-20.
- MacKenzie, Donald; Muniesa, Fabian; and Siu, Lucia, eds. 2007. *Do Economists Make Markets? On the Performativity of Economics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Mitchell, Timothy. 2005. "The work of economics: How a discipline makes its world." *European Journal of Sociology* 45: 297-320.

OCT. 15 STATE REGULATION

>>> **Read: Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation*, pages 136 – 268** <<<

Laissez-faire – (neo)liberalism – socialism – fascism – democracy – regulation – planning – nationhood – globalization – freedom

Additional reading:

- Dale, Gareth. 2016. *Reconstructing Polanyi: Excavation and Critique*. London: Pluto Press.
- Booth, William. 1994. "On the idea of the moral economy." *American Political Science Review* 88: 653-667.
- Christophers, Brett. 2010. "On voodoo economics: Theorizing relations of property, value and contemporary capitalism." *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 35: 94-108.
- Fraser, Nancy. 2014. "Can society be commodities all the way down? Post-Polanyian reflections on capitalist crisis." *Economic and Society* 43: 541-558.
- MacKenzie, Donald. 2006. *An Engine, Not a Camera: How Financial Models Shape Markets*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- MacKenzie, Donald. 2009. *Material Markets: How Economic Agents are Constructed*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Sternberg, Ernest. 1993. "Justifying public intervention without market externalities: Karl Polanyi's theory of planning in capitalism." *Public Administration Review* 53: 100-109.
- Rossi, Ugo. 2013. "On life as a fictitious commodity: Cities and the biopolitics of late neoliberalism." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37: 1067-74.

OCT. 22 THE STATE–1

>>> **Read: Bob Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, pages 1 – 139** <<<

What is the state? – the capitalist state – Fordism and post-Fordism – state crisis – government, governance, and metagovernance – welfare state – competition state – neoliberalism – globalization

Additional reading:

- Barrow, Clyde. 1993. *Critical Theories of the State*. Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin Press.
- Hay, Colin. 1999. "Crisis and the structural transformation of the state: interrogating the process of change." *British Journal of Politics and International Relations* 1: 317-344.
- Painter, Joe. 2006. "Prosaic geographies of stateness." *Political Geography* 25: 752-774.
- Painter, Joe. 2005. "State:Society." In *Spaces of Geographical Thought*. London: Sage, pp. 42-60.
- Rose, Nikolas and Miller, Peter. 1992. "Political power beyond the state: Problematics of government." *British Journal of Sociology* 43: 173-205.

OCT. 29 THE STATE–2

>>> **Read: Bob Jessop, *The Future of the Capitalist State*, pages 140 – 276 <<<**
Social welfare policy – nation, state, and territory – spatial scale, globalization, and the national state – governance systems – future form(s) of the state – state and capital

Additional reading:

- Brenner, Neil. 2004. *New State Spaces: Urban Governance and the Rescaling of Statehood*. NY: Oxford University Press.
- Lake, Robert. 2002. "Bring back big government." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 26: 815-822.
- Lake, Robert and Newman, Kathe. 2002. "Differential citizenship in the shadow state." *GeoJournal* 58: 109-120.
- Mitchell, Kathryn. 2001. "Transnationalism, neo-liberalism, and the rise of the shadow state." *Economy and Society* 30: 165-189.
- Offe, Claus. 1984. *Contradictions of the Welfare State*. London: Hutchinson.
- Peck, Jamie. 2001. *Workfare States*. NY: Guilford Press.

NOV. 5 DEMOCRACY, THE STATE, AND THE PUBLIC

>>> **Read: John Dewey, *The Public and its Problems* <<<**
Pragmatism – private and public – defining the public – emergence of the state – democracy – eclipse of the public – media – education – public relations – society and community

Additional reading:

- Dewey, John. 1919. "Philosophy and democracy." In D. Morris and I. Shapiro, eds. *John Dewey: The Political Writings*. Hackett.
- Marres, N. 2007. "The issues deserve more credit: Pragmatist contributions to the study of public involvement in controversy." *Social Studies of Science* 37: 759-780.
- Livingston, Alexander. 2018. "John Dewey's experiments in democratic socialism." *Jacobin* January 8.
- Barnett, Clive and Bridge, Gary. 2017. "The situations of urban inquiry: Thinking problematically about the city." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40: 1186-1204.
- Menand, Louis. 2001. *The Metaphysical Club: A Story of Ideas in America*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux.
- Healey, Patsie. 2009. "The pragmatic turn in planning thought." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 28: 277-292.
- Lake, Robert. 2017. "On poetry, pragmatism, and the urban possibility of creative democracy." *Urban Geography* 38: 479-494.
- Lake, Robert. 2016. "Justice as subject and object of planning." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40: 1206-1221.
- Schultz, Bart. 2009. "Obama's political philosophy: Pragmatism, politics, and the University of Chicago." *Philosophy of the Social Sciences* 39: 127-173.

NOV. 12 IDENTITY, DIFFERENCE, AND DEMOCRACY

>>> **Read: Iris Young, *Inclusion and Democracy* <<<**
Aggregative vs. deliberative democracy – structural inequality – differentiated solidarity – representation – participation – communicative practices – civil society – public sphere – spatial segregation – democracy and geographic scale

Additional reading:

- Arendt, Hannah. 1958. *The Human Condition*. University of Chicago Press.

- Arendt, Hannah. 1972. *Crises of the Republic*. NY: Harcourt Brace.
- Benhabib, Seyla, ed. 1996. *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Fraser, Nancy. 1989. *Unruly Practices: Power, Discourse and Gender in Contemporary Social Theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Sandercock, Leonie. 2003. *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities in the 21st Century*. London: Continuum Publishers.
- Young, Iris. 1990. *Justice and the Politics of Difference*. Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press.
- Young, Iris. 2011. *Responsibility for Justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.

NOV. 19 POLITICS, POLICY-MAKING, AND THE POLICY PROCESS

>>> Read: Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge* <<<

Social science – politics of knowledge – politics of policy-making – problem definition – traditions and paradigms – poverty knowledge and social policy – the knowledge industry

Additional reading:

- Cassidy, John. 2006. "Relatively deprived: How poor is poor?" *The New Yorker*, April 3.
- Gans, Herbert. 1972. "The positive functions of poverty," *American Journal of Sociology* 78: 275-289.
- Goldsmith, William and Blakely, Edward. 2010. *Separate Societies: Poverty and Inequality in U.S. Cities*. 2nd edition. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Piven, Frances and Cloward, Richard. 1971. *Regulating the Poor: The Functions of Public Welfare*. NY: Vintage Books.
- Sen, Amartya. 1992. *Inequality Reexamined*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- O'Connor, Alice. 2007. *Social Science for What?* NY: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Drezner, Daniel. 2017. *The Ideas Industry*. NY: Oxford University Press.

NOV. 26 GOVERNANCE, POWER, AND POWERLESSNESS

>>> Read: Barbara Cruikshank, *The Will to Empower* <<<

Democratic practice – citizenship – subjectivity – governmentality – authority – autonomy – disciplinary power – political contestation – resistance and protest

Additional reading:

- Elden, Stuart. 2007. "Governmentality, calculation, territory." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25: 562-580.
- Ettlinger, Nancy. 2011. "Governmentality as epistemology." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 101: 537-560.
- Foucault, Michel. 1978 [1991]. "Governmentality." In G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller, eds. *The Foucault Effect*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 87-104.
- Legg, Stephen. 2005. "Foucault's population geographies: classifications, biopolitics and governmental spaces." *Population, Space and Place* 11: 137-156.
- Raco, Mike. 2003. "Governmentality, subject-building, and the discourses and practices of devolution in the UK." *Transactions of the Inst. of British Geographers* 28: 75-95.
- Villadsen, Kaspar and Karlsen, Mads Peter. 2012. "Public policy and Foucaultian critique: Towards a happy marriage?" *Review of European Studies* 4: 138-147.
- Porter, T. 1995. "How social numbers are made valid." In *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public Life*. Princeton University Press, pp. 33-48.

DEC. 3 THEORY AND PRACTICE; THINKING AND KNOWING

>>> **Read: Bent Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter*** <<<

Forms of inquiry – the possibility of theory – expertise, again – science, ethics, and common sense – voice – theory and method – research – “social” science

Additional reading:

Callon, Michel. 2011. *Acting in an Uncertain World: An Essay on Technical Democracy*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Fischer, Frank. 2003. *Reframing Public Policy: Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kuhn, Thomas. 1962. *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lake, Robert. 2014. “Methods and moral inquiry.” *Urban Geography* 35: 657-668.

Latour, Bruno. 2004. “Why has critique run out of steam? From matters of fact to matters of concern.” *Critical Inquiry* 30: 225-248.

Rorty, Richard. 1979. *Philosophy and the Mirror of Nature*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Steinmetz, George, ed. 2005. *The Politics of Method in the Human Sciences*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

DEC. 10 SUMMARY

Theory and metatheory – theory/method – knowledge and understanding – politics of calculability – categorical thinking – processual thinking – reflexive thinking – the authoritarianism of expertise – theory as thoughtlessness – theory as liberation – on not knowing the answer

Additional reading:

Arendt, Hannah. 2018. *Thinking Without a Bannister: Essays in Understanding 1953-1975*. NY: Schocken.

Clegg, Joshua. 2010. “Uncertainty as a fundamental scientific value.” *Integrative Psychological and Behavioral Science* 44: 245-251.

Law, John. 2004. “And if the global were small and incoherent? Method, complexity, and the baroque.” *Environment and Planning D: Society & Space* 22: 13-26.

Minnich, Elizabeth. 2005. *Transforming Knowledge*, 2nd ed., Temple University Press.

Brenner, Neil. 2009. “What is critical urban theory?” *City* 13: 198-207.

Gleeson, Brendan. 2013. “What role for social science in the ‘urban age’?” *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37: 1839-51.

Baum, Howie. 1995. “Practicing planning theory in a political world.” In S. Mandelbaum et al., *Explorations in Planning Theory*. CUPR Press, pp. 365-382.

Mountz, Allison et al. 2015. “For slow scholarship: A feminist politics of resistance through collective action in the neoliberal university.” *Acme* 14: 1235-1259.

Geraldine Pratt. 2000. Research performance. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 18: 639-651.

Bammer, Angelika and Joeres, Ruth-Ellen, eds. 2015. *The Future of Scholarly Writing: Critical Interventions*. NY: Palgrave MacMillan.