Dynamics of Contention and Political Innovation in European Cities
KSTU 2150 01 - UP: 54787

Class Meetings: Thursday, 12.30-15.30. 56, rue des Saints-Pères - Salle : 409
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OVERVIEW

In European cities urban conflicts are more and more defined by strong segmentation and fragmentation. Urban mobilizations underwent deep change since the end of the seventies due to the weakening of Keynesian welfare policies and the extensive spreading of neo-liberal policies. Some claims of the urban movements were accepted pushing many organizations to evolve into agencies involved in projects of urban renovation and fighting against social exclusion. While this general dynamic led to a shrinking of contentious spaces, conflicts have not vanished from European cities: they rather fragmented and ground around new issues, sometimes with a certain continuity. In particular, there has been the emergence of protests against investments supporting the transformation of inner cities in gentrified areas with a specialization in services, and against the dropping of those neighbourhoods that did not fall within these programs. Community activism - not necessarily occurring in poor suburbs - has opened multiple and often contradictory lines of conflict: for the defence of green areas; against the growth of traffic; in opposition to polluting facilities; on immigration and urban security; for and against social mix and spatial segregation; for the acknowledgement and the preservation of common goods and public services. Last but not least, new cleavage within (local and trans-local) urban elites open up room for intensive conflicts on the perspectives of urban growth.

First part: *Forms of urban conflicts*
      1. Introductive Remarks on Public Policy and on Urban Change
      2. Mechanisms and Processes in the Dynamics of Contention
      3. Negotiable and "Un-negotiable" Urban Conflicts

Second part: *Participation and Contention*
      1. Planning, Power and Conflict
      2. Participation and Representation
      3. Participation and the "Two Faces of Power" (non-decision)

Third part: *Urban Conflicts and Institutional Mediation*
      1. Tensions in the Implementation of Area Based Urban Policies
      2. Imperative vs Expressive Mediation
      3. Conflicts, Mediation and Political Innovation

AIM OF THE COURSE
The main aim of the course is to provide analytical instruments and professional skills to answer to a very basic (and relevant) question: *How conflicts impact on urban change?*

RELATION TO OTHER COURSES
This course complements Gilles Pinson's course, "Gouvernement et gouvernance en Europe" (KSTU 2055). The course also complements classes of "Sociologie de la ville et des quartiers" (KSTU 2020).

PREREQUISITES
This course is open also to students actually in Sciences Po for an international exchange. Students who have not frequented KSTU 2055 and KSTU 2020 classes have to contact prof. Vitale to discuss their former education, and discuss eventual adding readings or eventual supports.

REQUIREMENTS

• Students are expected to come to class prepared to discuss the assigned papers. Obviously, lectures will be not (only) on the papers to read, but you are expected to complete the assigned readings before each class session, to participate actively in the class. The readings are a mix of case studies and analytic materials, but you are encouraged as well to draw on your knowledge of policies in locales discussed in other STU courses.
• In addition to participating in-class, students are encouraged to send comments by email each week in connection with the last class session. Emails must be written synthetically and contain (a) one theoretical point that you learn and you find particularly relevant in the last lecture, (b) one link with cases discussed in other GLM courses, (c) one criticism about what has been said (or not), (d) one theoretically driven question you want to raised. These emails will not receive written answers. I will highly consider your questions and criticism, clustering them where I deem it valuable, for use in the next class lecture. Moreover, I will keep track of who are the regular, thoughtful participants at this critical activity, and this will count significantly at the end of the term in assigning class participation grades (along, of course, with your participation in class itself).
• Grades will be determined by the quality of a student's participation in class and by e-mail (20%), participation in groups that will make a weekly exercise (20%), a urban research paper (30%), and either a urban policy paper (30%).
• As you can note, participation (in class and by e-mail) accounts for 20% of your final grade. In order to earn a high grade for participation, students should attend every class, arrive at class on time and stay for the entire class, read all the assigned readings, come to class with comments and criticisms on the readings, consistently take an active part in class discussions, and send the weekly e-mail. Further, note that the course is designed to prepare students to be a professional. As in professional life, timely submissions are expected. No assignment will be accepted after their respective due date unless I provided prior approval for very serious problems. No mobile phones may be used in class. Class will begin and end promptly.
• Group memos will be presented during class hours. 4 groups, each of them composed by 4 students, will be self-organised. Peer feedback will be important. As part of a class group, you will read, discuss, and comment the work of your colleagues, and they yours. While writing the short memos, and preparing relative presentation please reflect on the consequences of bad style and the advantages of stylistic excellence. For students who has not read it yet, it is highly recommended to read Joseph M. Williams, *Style: Ten Lessons in Clarity and Grace*,

Longman.

• Feedback emails and group memos have to be sent by Wednesday evening before the Thursday class. Earlier sending is fully appreciated.

• Individual urban policy and research papers have to be written after the end of the course. They have to be focused on issues of implementation. Students have to precisely define the specific target they want to reach, to which audience they want to talk. Both the research paper and the policy papers have to be on the same object: an urban conflict. Both case study and comparative study will be accepted. Both policy paper and research paper have to deal intensively on the main question of the course: how conflicts impact on urban change? The difference between a policy paper and a research paper will be introduced in the first class, and reworked during the whole course.

• The main structure of a research paper requires an introduction that should really introduce an argument. A second part should clearly discuss the theoretical outlines of the argument. A third part should discuss data and methods. A fourth part explain the main dynamic of the kind of urban conflict chosen. Finally, a conclusion resume the argument and present the limit of the work. To the extent that the authors follow a standard presentation, they will be more successful in communicating a complex analysis. A research paper has to be between 30.000 and 50.000 characters included. which you will first produce in stages as an outline and then revise and submit as a draft, and only at the end of the course as a graded policy paper. In case of writing impasse, or if you have experienced difficulty with professional writing in the past, please take a look at Flower L. (1998), *Problem-Solving Strategies for Writing in College and Community*, Harcourt Brace. The first outline of the research paper has to be sent by e-mail by February 20th, and will be discussed in class February 24th. The second outline of the research paper (almost a draft) has to be sent by e-mail by April 2nd and will be discussed in class April 7th. Definitive research papers have to be sent by May 10th. No assignment will be accepted after May 10th.

• A policy paper has to be broken down into five main parts—the executive summary, the methodology (short), extended analysis of key data and relevant literature, expected dilemma, proposals—. You will first produce it in stages as an outline and then revise and submit as a draft, and only at the end of the course as a graded policy paper. A research paper has to be 30.000 characters, spaces included. While writing it, please consider the possible ways in which a piece of writing can succeed, how much can you realistically expect from your audience in terms of knowledge, attention, and empathy, how can you locate and prioritize key recommendations and ideas, how do keywords and theoretical approaches shape arguments, and what are the stylistics of effective policy papers. For those who has not read it yet, it is highly recommended to look at Catherine F. Smith, *Writing Public Policy: A Practical Guide to Communicating in the Policy-Making Process*, Oxford UP (paperback, second edition, 2009). The first outline of the policy paper has to be sent by e-mail by March 3rd, and will be discussed in class March 10th. The second outline of the policy paper (almost a draft) has to be sent by e-mail by April 10th and will be discussed in class April 14th. Definitive policy papers have to be sent by May 10th. No assignment will be accepted after May 10th.

READINGS

Handbook: Please, consider them as reference texts, highly relevant also for professional career.
1. Cochrane A, *Understanding Urban Policy: A Critical Introduction*, Wiley Blackwell, 2007.
2. Geyer H.S., *International Handbook of Urban Policy: Contentious Global Issues,* Edward Elgar, 2007.
3. Paddison R., *Handbook of Urban Studies*, Sage, 2001.

4. Also recommended: Loughlin J., Hendriks F., Lidstrom A. (a c. di), *The Oxford Handbook of Local and Regional Democracy in Europe*, Oxford UP, Oxford.

Papers: they have to be read before each lesson.
Books: Tarrow S., Tilly C. (2007), *Contentious Politics*, Boulder, Paradigm. This book is essential. French and Italian translations are available (Presses de Sciences Po; Bruno Mondadori).
Then, please choose **two** books within this list:

- Abu-Lughod J., 2007, *Race, Space, and Riots in Chicago, New York, and Los Angeles*, Oxford UP, Oxford.
- Bagguley P., Hussain Y., *Riotous Citizens. Ethnic conflicts in Multicultural Britain*, Ashgate 2008.
- Callon M., Lascoumes P., Barthe Y. (2009), *Acting in an Uncertain World*, MIT press, Cambridge [ed. or. fr. 2001].
- Cantelli F., Genard J.-L. (2007), *Action publique et subjectivité*, Parigi, LGDJ.
- Caruso L. (2010), *Il territorio della politica,* FrancoAngeli, Milano.
- Castro J. E. (2006), *Water, Power and Citizenship. Social Struggle in the Basin of Mexico*, Palgrave Macmillian, London.
- Centemeri L. (2006), *Ritorno a Seveso*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano.
- Crosta P.L. (2009 a c. di), *Casi di politiche urbane*, FrancoAngeli, Milano.
- Davies J.S. e Imbroscio D.L. (a cura di) (2009) *Theories of Urban Politics*, Sage, Londra.
- Fischer F. (2009), *Democracy and Expertise*, Oxford Up, Oxford.
- Flyvbjerg B., Bruzelius N., Rothengatter W. (2003), *Megaprojects and Risk*, Cambridge Up, Cambridge.
- Garbaye, R. (2005), *Getting into local power, The politics of ethnic minorities in British and French cities,* Oxford, Blackwell.
- Garbaye R., 2011, *Émeutes urbaines et minorités ethniques,* Presses de Sciences Po, Paris.
- Gould R., *Collision of Wills : How Ambiguity about Social Rank Breeds Conflict*, University Of Chicago Press 2003.
- Hirschman A. O., 1991, *The Rhetoric of Reaction: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy*, Belknap Press, Cambridge Mass.
- Judd D.R., Swanstrom T. (1998), *City Politics: Private Power and Public Policy*, Longman, Thousand Oaks.
- Kubler D. (2000), *Politique de la drogue dans les villes suisses entre ordre et santé*, L'Harmattan, Parigi.
- Lagrange, H. e M. Oberti (2006), *Émeutes urbaines et protestations. Une singularité française*, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po
- Melucci A. (1996), *Challenging Codes*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge.
- Nardacchione, Gabriel (2006) *Contester en infériorité: les contestations des quartiers en Argentine (1990-2002).* Paris: L'Harmattan.
- Moulaert F., E. Swyngedouw, F. Martinelli, S. González (a c. di), *Can Neighbourhoods Save the City?*, Routledge, Londra.
- Ostrom E. (2005), *Understanding Institutional Diversity*, Princeton Up, Princeton.
- Pellizzoni L. (2011 a c. di), *Conflitti ambientali. Esperti, politica, istituzioni nelle controversie ecologiche*, il Mulino, Bologna.
- Peterman, William (2000) *Neighborhood Planning and Community-Based Development. The Potential and Limits of Grassroots Action.* Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Pizzorno A. (1960), *Comunità e razionalizzazione. Un caso di sviluppo industriale*, Einaudi, Torino (II ed., Marsilio, Venezia 2010).
- Podestà N. (2009), *Conflitti territoriali e strumenti di confronto*, Aracne, Roma.
- Podestà N. e T. Vitale, Dalla proposta alla protesta, e ritorno. Conflitti locali e innovazione politica, Bruno Mondadori, Milano.
- Schon Donald and Martin Rein. Frame Reflection: Toward the Resolution of Intractable Policy Controversies. Basic Books, 1994.
- Stone C. (1989), *Regime Politics Governing Atlanta, 1946–1988*, Up of Kansas, Lawrence.
- Swanstrom T. (1985), *The Crisis of Growth Politics*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia.
- Susskind Lawrence and Patrick Field. *Dealing with an Angry Public: The Mutual Gains Approach To Resolving Disputes.* The Free Press, 1996.
- Torri R., Vitale T. (a cura di) (2009), *Ai margini dello sviluppo urbano*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano.
- Tosi S., Vitale T., 2011, Piccolo Nord. Scelte pubbliche e interessi privati nell'Alto milanese, Bruno Mondadori, Milano.
- Vicari Haddock S., Moulaert F. (2009 a c. di), *Rigenerare la città,* il Mulino, Bologna.
- Vitale T. (eds), *In nome di chi? Partecipazione e rappresentanza nelle mobilitazioni locali*, FrancoAngeli, Milano, 2007.

Other support readings:
- Smith Catherine F., *Writing Public Policy: A Practical Guide to Communicating in the Policy-Making Process*, Oxford UP (paperback, second edition, 2009).
- Williams Joseph M., *Style: Ten Lessons in Clarity and Grace*, Longman (every edition is good).
- Flower L. (1998), *Problem-Solving Strategies for Writing in College and Community*, Harcourt Brace.

Website: ENTG Group KSTU 2150.

Suggestions for academics journals: please note that the most important academic journals for urban conflict analysis are: International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, Urban Affairs Review, Journal of Urban Affairs, Urban Studies, Environment and Planning C: Government and Policy.

CLASS MEETINGS, READINGS AND ASSIGNMENTS

I. Forms of Urban Conflicts

(C1) Jan 27: Introductive Remarks on Public Policy and on Urban Change

(C2) Feb 3: Mechanisms and Processes in the Dynamics of Contention
Readings:
• Tilly C., "Social Boundary Mechanisms", in Philosophy of the Social Sciences, Vol. 34 No. 2, June 2004, pp. 211-236.
• Mayer M., 2006, *Urban movements in the neoliberal era: the cases of the US and Germany*, unpublished English Version ofMayer M. (2007), "Movimenti urbani nell'era neoliberista: i casi degli Stati Uniti e della Germania", in Vitale T. (ed.), *In nome di chi? Partecipazione e rappresentanza nelle mobilitazioni locali*, Milano, Franco Angeli.

(C3) Feb 10: Negotiable and "Un-negotiable" Urban Conflicts
Readings:
• Vitale T., 2011, *Ethnic Conflict and Institutional Mediation. The Role of Public Administration in Normative Polarization Dynamics*. Working Paper.
• Vitale T., 2010, *"Building a Shared Interest. Olinda, Milan: Social Innovation between Strategy and Organizational Learning"*, in F. Moulaert, E. Swyngedouw, F. Martinelli, S. González (eds), Can Neighbourhoods Save the City? Community Development and Social Innovation, London, Routledge, pp 81-92.

II. Participation and Contention

(C4) Feb 24: Planning, Power and Conflict
Readings:
• Judith E. Innes, "Planning Through Consensus Building: A New View of the Comprehensive Planning Ideal," *Journal of the American Planning Association,* Autumn 1996, pp. 460-72.
• Peter Marcuse, *From justice planning to commons planning*, pp. 91-102 in *Searching for the Just City*, edited by Peter Marcuse, James Connolly, Ingrid Olivo Magana, Johannes Novy, Cuz Potter, and Justin Steil (New York: Routledge, 2009).

(C5) Mar 10: Participation and Representation
Readings:
• Baldassarri D., Diani M., "The Integrative Power of Civic Networks", in *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 113 Number 3 (November 2007): 735–80.
• Garcìa M., Citizenship Practices and Urban Governance in European Cities, in *Urban Studies*, Vol. 43, No. 4, 745–765, April 2006.

(C6) Mar 31: Participation and the "Two Faces of Power" (non-decision)
Readings:
• Bachrach P., Baratz M. (1962) "Two Faces of Power", *American Political Science Review*, 56, pp. 947-52.
• Hogenstijn M., van Middelkoop D., and Terlouw K., "The established, the outsiders and scale strategies: studying local power conflicts", in *The Sociological Review*, 56:1 (2008).

III. Urban Conflicts and Institutional Mediation

(C7) Apr 7: Tensions in the Implementation of Area Based Urban Policies
Readings:
• Kubler D., Walti S., "Drug Policy-Making in Metropolitan Areas: Urban Conflicts and Governance", in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, vol. 25 n° 1, 2001.
• Auyero, Javier (2006) 'Spaces and Places as Sites and Objects of Politics' in Robert Goodin e Charles Tilly (a cura di) *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis*, pp. 564-78. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

(C8) Apr 14: Imperative vs Expressive Mediation
Readings:
• Rootes C., "Acting Locally: The Character, Contexts and Significance of Local Environmental Mobilisations", in *Environmental Politics*,Vol. 16, No. 5, 722 – 741, November 2007.
• Cinalli, Manlio (2003) 'Socio-Politically Polarized Contexts and Urban Mobilization: A Comparative Study of Two Campaigns of Protest in Northern Ireland' *International Journal for Urban and Regional Research* 27 (1): 158-77.

(C9) Apr 21: Conflict, Mediation and Political Innovation
Readings:
• Vitale T., 2009, *"Politique des évictions. Une approche pragmatique"*, in Cantelli F., Roca i Escoda M., Stavo-Debauge J., Pattaroni L. (eds), Sensibilités pragmatiques. Enquêter sur l'action publique, Bruxelles, P.I.E. Peter Lang, pp. 71-92.
• Vitale T., 2011, *Roma Settlements, Contentious Politics and Policy Instruments Choice. A Comparative Approach to Varieties of Urban Conflicts*, working paper.