

Civic Culture and Governmentality in the Politics of Growth and Local Economic Development
in Lawrence, Kansas

BY

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Abstract

Leading theories on the politics of local economic development have been anemic in their ability to explain variation among cities regarding economic development policies, priorities, and community support for such activities. This can be addressed through a thorough examination of civic culture using ethnographic methods. Furthermore, governmentality provides a lens for examining the rationalities underpinning government initiatives concerning local economic development while addressing how these rationalities reinforce existing power relations within a community. This study draws on several political controversies as well as interviews with City Commissioners who served from 2007 to 2009 to identify thernane competing values and social structures that characterize Lawrence's civic culture while also constructing the competing governmentalities that frame issues of governance in Lawrence.

Key Words: governmentality; civic culture; governance; economic development; Lawrence, Kansas

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Introduction

All cities have unique attributes that influence and shape local governance. The historically defined traditions, values and civic culture of a community combine with the influences of a capitalist political economy to create processes, norms and expectations of local government that are specific to each city. The political economy of capitalism dictates that growth must be a central concern for cities across the globe and abundant research shows how economic development pressures and initiatives are integral aspects of local governance. However, citizens do not always support growth initiatives. In local economic development, tensions arise between those who seek to maximize the exchange value of land with those who desire to maximize its use value (Molotch 1976; Logan and Molotch 1987). These points of conflict emerge when interests and values differ between developers seeking to profit from land development and citizens who wish to enjoy land in non-economic ways and who expect to have a say in how their communities grow and develop. In this thesis, I argue that such conflicts are sites of contestation where competing values and discourses are drawn upon to resolve political differences within communities, and it is in these sites of contestation that local civic culture is produced, reproduced and transformed. Civic culture is not an inherent aspect of a community, but is instead created through the action of social agents both in their everyday lives and in politics and governance. Furthermore, the government rationalities, or as Foucault (1991; 2007) calls them, governmentalities, are influenced by external economic forces but are also context-specific and influenced by the civic culture of a community. In local political controversies, citizens draw upon the competing values and visions of the community to resolve these conflicts. Because each community has unique traditions, history and culture, the resolution of these conflicts depends on a wide variety of factors that can best be understood with a thorough

understanding of the community context. This study investigates the contributions of local politics and culture in local governance while also exploring the governmentalities of Lawrence's elected officials.

Scholars such as Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) recognize that local politics of economic development can best be understood in relation to the civic culture of a community. However, they do not view civic culture to be the product of action by social agents. Instead, they take for granted the processes of cultural production. To understand the dynamics between governance and culture, I performed an ethnographic study of municipal government in Lawrence, Kansas.

This ethnography focused on major issues in the community, land use, and economic development. It includes my observations from government meetings and the public discourses surrounding major decisions as well as in-depth interviews with local elected officials. In this study, I analyze local governance in Lawrence and explore how culture influences the resolution of land use and economic development decisions in Lawrence. I also use the discourses surrounding major political issues that I observed to construct the competing values, norms and traditions of Lawrence's civic culture. Additionally, I analyze commissioners' views regarding these political issues, their perceptions of the proper role of government in relation to growth and economic development, their priorities, and other topics concerning governance in order to construct the governmentalities of Lawrence's City Commissioners.

Site Selection

Lawrence is an interesting city to study because it has a long history of political activism. Left-leaning or "smart growth" commissioners have occasionally held majorities on the City Commission and their priorities and decisions have generated opposition from the business and

development communities. Because of these factors, Lawrence is an excellent community to examine the tensions and pressures between the initiatives of the development community and the desires of citizens to have a say in their community's growth. With an extended and in-depth examination of Lawrence, we can see how political contestation gives rise to civic culture and influences local governance. In addition to a history of local activism, public participation, and diverse majorities on the city commission, there is substantial previous research on Lawrence and I draw upon this research for further cultural and historical context of the community.

Methodology

This thesis presents an ethnographic case study of city governance with a focus on the City Commission that served Lawrence, Kansas from April 2007 to April 2009. In order to familiarize myself with the local cultural and political context, I observed dozens of City Commission meetings, conducted a literature review, reviewed archived meeting minutes and observed public protests and controversial issues. I took notes at meetings and used the minutes, video, and audio footage for direct quotes from commissioners and citizens. I highlight several controversial issues discussed at City Commission meetings to demonstrate how the civic culture of Lawrence is produced and reproduced in public actions and to show how commissioners' decisions and rationalities reflect the city's culture.

After several months of research and observation, I interviewed four of the five commissioners twice for 45 minutes to one hour per interview. I interviewed Commissioner Evans once and had a follow-up e-mail as was his preference. These interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Though these commissioners are public figures, I used pseudonyms because ethnographies have a tradition of protecting the identities of their informants.

First interviews focused on the views of Lawrence City Commissioners regarding their perceptions of the proper role of government in promoting economic development, why government must engage in economic development activity and the importance of financial incentives. Follow-up interviews were used to question commissioners on their positions on local issues and controversies as well as the city's economic development policies and reputation. The specific issues facing Lawrence contextualize local economic development, giving depth to our understanding of the challenges and abilities of both Lawrence's local government, and local governments in general.

I also took a guided readings course with a local urban planning professor and had several discussions with him concerning local issues and decisions made by the City Commission. Because he was actively involved in local politics and because he was often critical of the commission I studied, I decided not to associate too closely with him out of fear it would compromise my rapport with the commissioners and to ensure my project was not merely based on his own views. However, his knowledge of Lawrence's history and politics were very informative and closely aligned with the views of the smart growth commission.

Methodological Limitations

This study is limited in several respects. I studied only one commission in-depth, so comparisons to previous City Commissions in Lawrence are also limited. However, I researched the commission that served before 2007, and three commissioners I studied served on that commission which provided data for comparing and contrasting the commission I studied from the one that preceded it. I did not interview others involved in local politics and chose instead to focus only on City Commissioners in office during the time of my study, which was an onerous

task in itself. However, a more thorough analysis of local politics in Lawrence would include others involved in local politics. Ideal candidates would include the City manager, Lawrence's Economic Development Coordinator, the Director of Planning, planning staff, Planning Commissioners, individuals from the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce, leaders of neighborhood associations, and even developers. These individuals are closely involved in the politics of local economic development, but focusing on local elected officials narrowed the focus of this study to those who are ultimately responsible for making government decisions.

This study demonstrates how civic culture has influenced politics in Lawrence, Kansas, but it is difficult to argue that civic culture is as influential in other communities as it is in Lawrence. Lawrence has a very active and dynamic civic culture due to its history of political activism. However, this activism is not seen in many other communities and thus the politics seen in Lawrence may not be consistent with other communities. While I stress that each city is unique, my theory is applicable to other cities in recognizing the influence of a city's political economy and civic culture in local governance.

Lawrence was an accessible community for my research because I lived in Lawrence from 2002 through 2010. While being a resident of Lawrence may have provided some inherent biases in the research, I had much to learn about Lawrence's politics and local economic development at the outset of this study, and I entered this study with an open mind to the views of various competing factions within the community.

Outline of Findings

My theory of civic culture asserts that the values, norms, and social structures that comprise the civic culture of a community are a product of the complex relationship between

governmentalities and civil society. Governmentalities consist of the government rationalities and ideologies that assert to the governed the proper roles of government, which are enforced through specific technologies of government. The civic culture is not merely an inherent aspect of a community but is instead produced through the actions of citizens as they engage with government in the public processes that result in styles of governance unique to each community. In this process, citizens have some ability to influence governance, though the power differential between ordinary citizens and those who govern means that governmental rationalities and technologies frame the discourse solidly within the growth paradigm. The “proper” citizen in a capitalist political economy who supports growth is produced through these processes despite the fact that some variation is seen in the priorities, values, and the degree to which growth is supported in the civic cultures of different communities.

Structure of the Thesis

In Chapter 1, I discuss the political history of Lawrence and the tradition of dissent and activism within the community that shapes the city’s civic culture and governance. In Chapter 2, I outline the various theories concerning city governance and present my own anthropologically-informed theory of civic culture. In Chapter 3, I present data from my observations and interviews with City Commissioners to illuminate how they frame various issues debated by Lawrence citizens and how they relate to citizens. In Chapter 4, I analyze the data presented in Chapter 3, discussing patterns in the decisions of the 2007-2009 City Commissioners in relation to governmentalities of the proper role of local government and how government should pursue its desired objectives. In Chapter 5 I conclude by discussing the findings of this project, consider

the implications of these findings for understanding local governance, and suggest areas for future research.

Chapter 1

Lawrence, Kansas

Lawrence is a city of approximately 90,000 people and home to the University of Kansas (KU). In the fall of 2010 over 26,000 students were enrolled at KU. This high proportion of college students has given Lawrence the label of college town. However, Lawrence is also located less than 40 miles west of the Kansas City metro area, which has a population of approximately 2 million people. It is also less than 30 miles east of the state capital Topeka, home to approximately 125,000 people. Located between these two larger cities, many people live in Lawrence and work elsewhere, also making it a bedroom community for commuters.

Lawrence's population was approximately 92,000 in 2009, which is a 14.9% increase from 2000. Forbes Magazine recently ranked Lawrence the 7th "smartest city" in the country based on the percentage of the population with a bachelor's degree or higher (Papalia 2008). Despite this, the city has low median income and high housing prices. The median age is 25.3 years, compared to 35.2 years in Kansas. The city's poverty rate was 29.2% in 2009, compared to 13.4% statewide. However, a great number of those earning income below the poverty level were 18-24 years of age. Median household income was \$39,496 in 2009 versus \$47,817 statewide but median family income was \$64,964 compared to a statewide average of 60,994 in 2009. The median home value was \$172,500 in Lawrence versus \$125,500 in Kansas (<http://www.city-data.com/city/Lawrence-Kansas.html>).

Though a close examination of the numbers suggests much of this data is significantly skewed due to the high proportion of college students, others believe they show a city in poor economic standing. Commissioners frequently cite the fact that Lawrence's local property tax base is nearly 70% residential with just over 30% coming from commercial and industrial property. This is because the city is home to thousands of college students and many residents

who live in Lawrence but work in neighboring cities. Because city leaders perceive a great need to create more jobs for residents there is a great focus on job creation both from existing businesses and in recruiting new business to the city. The commissioners I studied regularly highlighted the need to create more jobs in the city and cited these statistics as evidence of this need.

The Political History of Lawrence

Lawrence's political and cultural history is very rich and it helps contextualize the city's current political economic situation. I draw upon the 2001 book *Embattled Lawrence: Conflict and Community*, edited by Dennis Domer and Barbara Watkins. This book looks at history "from the bottom up" (Domer and Watkins 2001:xiv). It takes a grassroots view of the city's past and can be found in the fourth floor lobby of City Hall, a placement that one might consider an unofficial sanctioning of its quality and validity. I also cite Schumaker's (1991) case study of local politics in Lawrence, *Critical Pluralism, Democratic Performance, and Community Power* which discusses the political culture of the community and the extent that local decisions reflect the predominance of competing values.

The settling of Lawrence was tumultuous. It was founded by a group of approximately ninety abolitionists of the New England Emigrant Aid Company in 1854 as a "free state" stronghold in their mission to prevent Kansas from becoming a slave state. Lawrence was a hotbed of activity during the "Bleeding Kansas" days preceding the Civil War, and was attacked on August 21, 1863 by Missourian William Quantrill and his raiders. "Quantrill's Raid" killed 150 to 200 men and burned most of the town. Lawrence's seal contains a phoenix rising from

the ashes and the town's motto, "From ashes to immortality," is a reflection of the continued importance of this history for community identity.

In the first half of the twentieth century, Lawrence grew slowly and local government did not have a significant role in regulating, anticipating, or planning for growth and development. With the influx of World War II veterans who came to Lawrence for a college education, the city began growing significantly. In the decades since 1960, Lawrence has seen increases of an average of more than 10,000 per decade, and much of this growth has been westward (Figure 1).

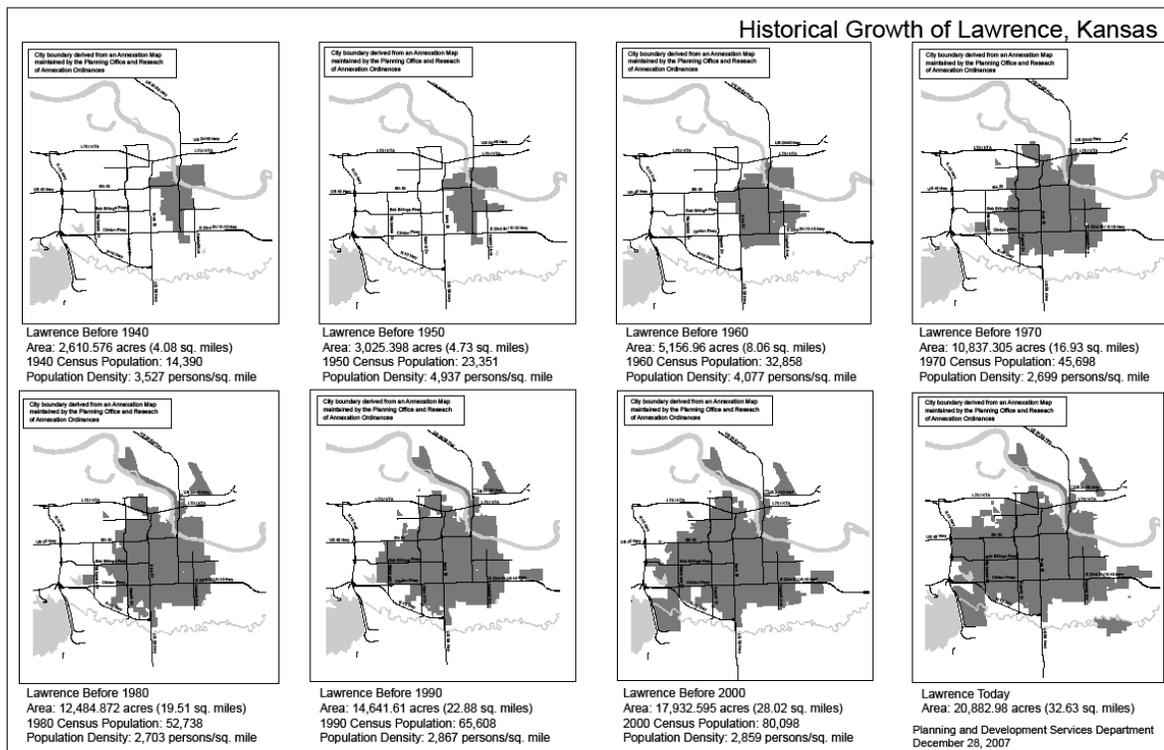


Figure 1: Courtesy of City of Lawrence website; lawrenceks.org/map/CityGrowthStudy.pdf

In the 1960s, many young college students, hippies, and others on the political left were attracted to Lawrence, making it a Midwest hotspot of the counterculture. Great turmoil erupted in the city in the 1960s, with the Military Science building firebombed in 1969, more than forty fires set in 1968 and 1969, and the killing of two young men within four days by the Lawrence Police Department (Domer and Watkins 2001:xix). The city is far less volatile today, but Lawrence remains more “liberal” than the rest of Kansas.¹ Shortridge and Shortridge (2001:17) say that many who move here “are not random souls. Instead, they are self-selected... people who see themselves as matching the existing image and who want to be a part of it.” Lawrence has a history of community activism, and residents have regularly formed grassroots coalitions when they have felt threatened by the forces of development. This active public engagement in local government has had a significant influence in how the city has grown (Lopes 2001). Domer and Watkins (2001:xii) attribute the high community involvement in local politics even further in the past, all the way back to “the mid-nineteenth settlement period when the willingness of many to stand up publicly established a tradition of frank exchange that has lasted 150 years.” This tradition of participation and activism contributes to citizens’ understanding of appropriate political action today.

The Growth Debate in Lawrence

Paul Schumaker (1991) found that tensions between desires for economic growth and neighborhood, historic and environmental protection are the primary sources of conflict in Lawrence. He writes that “pro-growth principles predominate in Lawrence, but neighborhood-

¹ Liberal political beliefs include most visibly support for Democratic candidates for office. Sixty-five percent of Douglas County voters voted for President Obama in the 2008 elections, one of only two counties in Kansas to have a majority that voted Democratic. Political liberals differ from economic liberals, who favor deregulation and free market principles and are not often associated with political liberals.

protection principles are more widely accepted in the community than are property-rights principles” (ibid.:20). Citizens are generally supportive of economic growth and job creation, but growth imperatives are not a unitary and overriding value. There is strong support for protecting valuable community resources. “Economic development projects often become controversial political issues – especially when the downtown or neighborhoods are threatened” (ibid.:56). When citizens have felt developments may threaten areas such as the downtown or neighborhoods, they have not hesitated to openly protest development projects. Many citizens and officials are supportive of growth and are willing to subsidize projects that are expected to create jobs and benefit the community at large, provided the community’s resources are protected. The widespread support for economic growth and for historical and neighborhood protection “is perhaps the greatest ‘contradiction’ in the political culture of Lawrence” (ibid.:131). As a testament to the enduring nature of civic culture in a community, my research shows that these trends continue today.

Schumaker (2001:289) says that “Lawrence commissioners have pursued a middle path between the ‘unfettered market’ and ‘authoritarian governmental control’ approaches to the city’s political economy.” This has generally taken the form of “managed growth” or “smart growth” with regard to the downtown, which are “various names for limited government stimulation and control of market activities. This middle path (and the benefits of pursuing a middle path) is especially evident in the evolution of downtown Lawrence” (ibid.:289-290). However, development on the outskirts has been relatively unhindered for the past twenty years, but even pro-growth commissions have been somewhat protective of the downtown and have worked to keep it the heart of the community. The city has swung back and forth between commissions that favor economic interests and are supported by the local chamber of commerce

and commissions supported by neighborhood associations and other interest groups that are less responsive to the requests of growth coalitions (Loomis 2001:411). Throughout these swings, extensive citizen involvement has created a municipal government that is highly process-oriented and subject to extensive review and discussion before action is taken (Davis 2001).

While several events highlight the tendency for land use controversies, land-based interests in Lawrence have been a powerful force in Lawrence politics. Developers and other growth machine members (real estate speculators, banks, and especially the local newspaper, the Lawrence Journal-World) have complained about the relatively long development process that makes extensive room for community input and discussion. But “competent builders and developers have prospered in Lawrence over the past twenty years” (Loomis 2001:409). Indeed, the city has generally been favorable to growth and development, though they have often been responsive to citizen input and have held their downtown to a higher standard than the rest of the city, both through comprehensive plans such as Plan '95 and the more recent Horizon 2020, as well as strong community opposition to any changes in the downtown (Schumaker 2001). Developers' wishes have not always been granted and protecting the downtown, historic buildings, and the environment have been the primary issues where community groups have checked development interests.

Citizen Activism

Lawrence's extensive history of populist activism has forged a tradition of public involvement in local politics, forcing local government to be responsive to citizens' concerns. Schumaker (1991:65) says “most citizens in Lawrence believe voters should be empowered to decide major issues.” He also says, “Lawrence citizens use the political process to define the

kind of community they want; they specify a variety of economic, social, cultural and environmental goals that they strive to attain through collective action” (Schumaker 2001:289). This widespread belief stems from this history of public involvement in major community decisions. Public referenda were used to reject several mall proposals, and citizens have mobilized to vote more responsive commissioners into office when they felt the commission was not responsive to their desires and instead sided with developers. This occurred in the 1987 elections when neighborhood-backed candidates were swept into office together with an overwhelming rejection of the referendum concerning the proposed Towncenter mall. Neighborhood associations also helped generate extensive support for the Progressive Lawrence Campaign in 2003, where three commissioners were elected to office who promised to reduce the influence of developers and give greater weight to neighborhood interests in development decisions. In 2008, concerned citizens created “Save the T,” an organization that campaigned extensively for the passage of a sales tax increase that ensured the continuation of public transportation in the city.

The Mall Wars

Community activism’s influence can be most clearly seen in the battles of the late 1970s and 1980s against various malls that were perceived to threaten the downtown. In 1979, a mall was proposed for South Iowa and 31st Streets, and citizen groups organized to defeat this proposal for fear it would harm the vitality of the downtown. Schumaker discusses public opposition to mall dubbed the “Cornfield Mall” for its proposed location on agricultural land.

It was feared that the Cornfield Mall would simply redistribute sales, jobs, and tax collections from the [downtown] to the outskirts of town, resulting in boarded up storefronts and blight downtown. For many citizens, the existing downtown is the ‘heart’

of the community; their cultural, historical, and aesthetic values were thus at stake in the struggle to save the [downtown] from a cornfield mall (Schumaker 1991:119).

Former mayor Barkley Clark says this was likely the most important decision of the decade for local government (Clark 2001:250). Domer and Watkins (2001:xx-xxi) say this was

Just one battle among many development battles that Lawrencians would fight over the next twenty-five years. It took heroic efforts of farsighted civic leaders and historic preservationists to maintain the vitality of downtown Lawrence in the face of the powerful sprawling tendencies of late twentieth-century cities... [Various factions] argued in ragtag and changing coalitions that growth at any cost destroyed the qualities that made Lawrence unique. These factions based their arguments on the wise decisions Mayor Clark and his contemporaries made about the downtown and in *Plan '95* during the 1970s that gave the city a vital historic business center and set the stage for more measured commercial development on the periphery than cities, such as Topeka and Kansas City, hollowed out by abandonment and sprawl.

In 1987, another mall controversy was perhaps an even more significant moment in (re)producing the city's political culture. A record 55% of the registered electorate turned out to vote and overwhelmingly defeated three mall questions on the ballot while sweeping in three candidates who opposed the mall. During the 1980s, several malls were proposed, only to be rejected by the community, uninterested in the fact that Lawrence was the largest city in the United States without an enclosed mall despite developers' assertions that this was a liability (Lopes 2001:278).

The importance of these "mall wars" to Lawrence's culture must not be underestimated. In these controversies, the actions of participants have symbolic character and these settings are sites of contestation between competing values and world views. This period saw high levels of participant democracy. At this time "the political process was highly conflictual, and conflict served the useful function of informing citizens about the public values that were at stake downtown and mobilizing them into taking those political actions necessary to save the downtown" (Schumaker 1991:301). Domer and Watkins (2001:xii) echo these sentiments,

saying “all of the conflicts in Lawrence over growth helped prevent many of the detrimental patterns of postmodern city building that occurred in neighboring cities where developers forged ahead without any obstacles.” It is likely that the threat of a mall looming over the community for a decade had a great influence on ensuring the continued vitality of the downtown and making resource protection a central concept to the city’s civic culture. With developers constantly seeking to shape the community as they desired, citizens countered this pressure through collective action to ensure the community would grow in a manner that did not unnecessarily damage the community’s most important resources.

The Downtown: the “Heart of the Community”

Lawrence’s political history in the past half century has centered on the city’s downtown and the moderate protections and efforts the city has made to keep it the “heart of the community,” a name first given to the downtown in the city’s comprehensive plan of the 1970s and 1980s, *Plan ’95*. The downtown is cherished by citizens and city leaders and its continued vitality is the result of the core values of citizens and the actions they took to ensure its survival. In the downtown, we also see a high value placed on protecting and enhancing important historic and civic resources. City and county offices are downtown, and political rallies and marches are held almost exclusively downtown, making this area the civic, political and cultural heart of the community.

Schumaker (2001) discusses the values of the community and the centrality of the downtown to the community’s identity. He says that “there has also been widespread support... for governmental policies that stimulate and encourage a vigorous, multi-use central business district and that regulate land uses that adversely affect historical, social, environmental, and

aesthetic values” (ibid.). This concept of the heart of the community has been enormously important in defining the goals, vision, and identity of Lawrence. Through the extensive history of placing concerns for the downtown at the center of the city’s priorities, social agents have repeatedly drawn upon this structural aspect of the local culture to reinforce the downtown as a quintessential aspect of the city’s identity.

The downtown has also changed significantly in recent decades. It has transformed from the city’s primary retail center to a mixed-use district with niche retail, restaurants, and entertainment venues. This shift has actually strengthened the concept of the downtown as the heart of the community. As retail has shifted toward big box stores elected officials have approved significant amounts of retail on South Iowa Street with little community resistance in the same location as the proposed cornfield mall of 1978-1979. This South Iowa retail center has been the top commercial zone for over a decade (Schumaker 2001). As the downtown has changed to an entertainment and niche retail district, Schumaker (2001:301) explains

Competition between downtown and South Iowa is reduced because they are two very different sorts of marketplaces, and to the extent that they do compete, the downtown is advantaged by its noneconomic qualities, by its being “the heart of the community.” As a consequence, the explosion of big boxes on South Iowa has not reduced sales downtown, downtown merchants have not fled to the periphery, and property values and rents downtown are higher than ever—all measures that downtown is still “the place to be.”

We can also see how downtown’s transformation into an entertainment district has strengthened its centrality in the city’s civic culture and identity in the celebration following the KU men’s basketball national championship in 2008. While students and citizens celebrated KU’s 1988 basketball national championship on the KU campus, the 2008 celebration took place downtown. Again in 2012, the KU men’s basketball team reached the Final Four, and City leaders blocked traffic on Massachusetts Street and allowed thousands of people to celebrate in the streets during the semifinal and championship games. These celebrations show that the

downtown's importance has only increased in recent decades. In these moments of community-wide celebration, citizens drew upon historically defined social structures that place the downtown as the only logical place for the community to gather in such a celebration. In these very public and communal actions, the metaphor of the downtown as the heart of the community was reinforced and reproduced by members of a common civic culture. For the rest of their lives, these people who reveled in community-wide celebration will strongly associate Lawrence with its downtown.

The downtown's noneconomic qualities, such as its rich history and its use as an arena for cultural events have made the downtown one of the defining aspects of the city, both for citizens and outsiders. The vitality of the downtown is no accident; it can be directly attributed to the political activism of countless citizens who have used their political clout to ensure this space remains the heart of the community.

City Governance

Lawrence's City Commission consists of five members who are elected to staggered terms. Elections are held every two years on odd numbered years on the first Tuesday in April. Three commission seats are in contention in these elections. The top two finishers receive four year terms, while the third place finisher receives a two year term. The city has a largely ceremonial and weak mayor with no veto power. Commissioners elect the mayor, and tradition holds that the first-place finisher is elected mayor in the year following the election. The next year, when a new election is held, the second-place finisher serves as mayor for one year following the election and the incoming of the new commissioners. The commission-manager form of government means that elected public officials provide leadership, but most of the day-

to-day workings of local government are run by the city manager and staff. Commissioners are paid \$9000 per year, making this a part-time job for citizens who have the resources to spend an extra 20-30 hours per week working for the city. Political ambitions seem to be minimal for Lawrence's City Commissioners. One former commissioner is currently the city's state senator, but she is one of the few commissioners in recent memory who have pursued higher office. Because of the hard work, little money, and great scrutiny they receive from the community, these people invest their time and energy with the intent of serving the community with little interest in political advancement.

Before the 2007 elections, the Lawrence City Commission was led by three commissioners who were elected with the support of the Progressive Lawrence Campaign (PLC), a political action coalition (PAC) that espoused "smart growth" and "was organized...to counter what organizers said was inordinate control by developers over the city's growth" (Mathis 2003b). The PLC advocated stricter development standards and wanted to ensure that growth paid its fair share for new city services, positions that induced the ire of many members of the growth coalition consisting of property developers, builders, and local newspaper. PLC opposition attacked the commission as being "anti-growth" in a December 13, 2006 editorial, among other venues. One dissenting commissioner also was quoted as saying that the City had a "reputation problem" with certain businesses (Lawhorn 2007d), primarily those considered the major members of the growth machine. Among the most visible political controversies was the commission's denial of Wal-Mart's request to build a second store at 6th and Wakarusa streets, citing that the site plan submitted to the City differed from the initial plan, and that the store was larger than what the comprehensive plan, Horizon 2020, allowed. This led to several lawsuits filed by Wal-Mart and local developers against the City for what they claimed to be an illegal

denial of their permit. Backed by significant contributions from members of the development community, two new commissioners were elected in 2007 which resulted in a 4-1 majority for pro-growth candidates. One of their first actions was to settle the lawsuits with Wal-Mart, and the store is now open at 6th and Wakarusa streets. It is widely perceived that this new commission is more pro-development than the previous one.

The City Commissioners

I interviewed the five City Commissioners who served from 2007 to 2009.

Commissioner Allen was born in a small town in eastern Kansas and came to Lawrence in 1977 to attend the University of Kansas. He suffered a broken neck in 1975 and was paralyzed from the neck down but regained enough mobility to walk. He received a bachelor's degree in electrical engineering and a law degree from the University of Kansas. He is employed as an attorney for the Kansas Department of Health and Environment. He was first elected to the City Commission in 2003 and was backed by the PLC. He won second place and served as mayor of Lawrence from April 2005 to April 2006. He was re-elected in 2007, finishing in third place and winning a two-year term. After the 2007 elections, he was the sole remaining smart growth commissioner and was at times a dissenting vote in development decisions. During his time in the minority on the commission, he was sometimes critical of the use of incentives and voted against Wal-Mart's plan that was approved by the City Commission in 2007. He sought compromise and gained widespread support for the city's Living Wage Ordinance in 2003, which requires all firms receiving tax abatements to pay 130% of the poverty level and offer health insurance to full-time employees. He considers the unanimous passage of the Living Wage Ordinance to be his greatest accomplishment during his time as commissioner.

Commissioner Barton was born in Springfield, Massachusetts and attended junior high and high school in St. Louis, Missouri. She came to Lawrence in 1965 to attend the University of Kansas where she received a degree in secondary education. She taught in Lawrence's public school system for thirty years. After retiring, she finished in first place in the City Commission elections in 2001 and was re-elected to a four-year term in 2005, placing second. She is also Director for Leadership Lawrence at the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce and serves on the chamber's Board of Directors. In 2001, she campaigned on promoting economic development and job creation as well as increasing the civility of discourse within the community. She served in the minority during the smart growth commission's reign but always said there was excellent rapport between the commissioners despite their differences. However, she thought the discourse in the community needed to be more welcoming to the business community and that some of the city's decisions had harmed its reputation and made it more difficult to attract businesses. In the 2005 elections, she repeated her focus on economic development and increasing the civility of political discourse within the community to improve the community's reputation. She consistently voted in favor of economic development initiatives.

Commissioner Carter is a lifelong resident of Lawrence and has owned a business downtown for decades. He has been involved in local politics on and off for nearly thirty years. He first served on the City Commission from 1983 to 1988. He also served on the County Commission from 1988 to 1993. Most recently, he has served on the City Commission since 2005 and was re-elected in 2009. He campaigned on improving the city's infrastructure and being fiscally responsible with the city's resources in addition to supporting established businesses and recruiting new businesses. With his long history as a downtown business owner and local elected official, he embodies the culture of the community. He served on the

commission during the "mall wars" of the 1980s and early 1990s and opposed several mall proposals because of concerns that the downtown and other local businesses would be harmed by a mall. Because he has lived his entire life in the community and has been a downtown business owner for over two decades, he generally supportive of business and strongly supports downtown interests yet also recognizes the central values of Lawrence's civic culture including expectations for responsive and inclusive government as well as high quality services. He has always been careful to consider the cost of major projects but recognizes the need for a strong infrastructure and high quality services in the community as well as ensuring the downtown's continued vitality.

Commissioner Duncan first came to Lawrence to attend the University of Kansas, where he received his B.A. in Environmental Studies and Geography in the 1980s. He has worked as an environmental consultant since 1985 and is president of a Lawrence-based environmental technology consulting firm. He has lived in Lawrence for approximately 20 years, and first ran for City Commission in 2007, finishing in first place. He decided to run for office after becoming frustrated with some of the decisions of the smart growth commission. He campaigned on a platform dedicated to job creation and economic development. He also wanted to create more incentives that the city could offer to attract new business, create new spaces for industrial development, and be more proactive in the city's approach to economic development. During his term as mayor, he saw the vulnerability of the city's public transportation as a threat to its future. He spearheaded the effort to establish a special sales tax to fund public transportation and infrastructure projects. While many in the community were shocked he would be willing to risk the bus system on a vote, the special sales tax passed overwhelmingly in the 2008 general elections which guaranteed the City would continue to invest in and improve the

public transportation system. After these elections, some credited him with saving public transportation.

Commissioner Evans is a life-long resident of Lawrence. He finished second in the 2007 elections. He attended the University of Kansas and received a bachelor's degree in accounting and an MBA. He is the Chief Financial Officer for a local printing press and brings a strong financial background to the City Commission. He campaigned on job creation and economic development in the 2007 elections, saying the city needed to partner more closely with the County Commission and the Chamber of Commerce to be more proactive in recruiting new businesses to the community. He worried there was mistrust between the City and the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce and that the community sent mixed messages to potential employers. During his time on the commission he supported creating new spaces for industrial development and focused on fiscal issues facing the community. His experience with accounting helped balance a difficult budget for 2010 during his term as mayor in 2009. The City was able to absorb falling revenues with minimal cuts to employees and services.

In the next chapter, I discuss the predominant theories of local economic development. The major theories concerning local economic development focus on economics and politics in their attempts to explain why governments engage in economic development activity. However, the substantial variation among cities concerning economic development demonstrates the need for understanding the cultural context. I also highlight emerging theories of the role that culture plays in local economic development. Though these theories recognize the importance of cultural context, I extend this and include an anthropologically-informed understanding of culture to create my own theory of civic culture and its role in local governance and economic development.

Chapter 2

Local Economic Development, Culture, and Governmentality

In many cities, economic development is politically popular and there is minimal conflict surrounding growth and development. However, it is more controversial in some communities, and scholars have struggled to explain the variation observed among different cities. In this chapter, I discuss various theories of local economic development that give a general sense of how and why local governments approach growth and development. I follow this with a discussion of the importance of culture for explaining local governance and economic development policies and priorities. I then use anthropologically-informed understanding of culture to provide greater insight into the dynamics of local political systems and reveal the value of case studies to understand the role of civic culture in local economic development to explain this variation.

Part I: Leading Theories of the Politics of Local Economic Development

The politics of growth and local economic development have been widely studied by several disciplines, each with their own set of assumptions and findings about why local governments have been increasingly participating in economic development activities in recent decades. Empirical studies have sought to generalize across cities about local economic development activity. Case studies have focused on the internal dynamics of cities in search of deeper understandings, often focusing on the relationships between local elected officials and other segments of the community. There is a consensus among disciplines that local governments pursue growth and economic development for reasons related to the fiscal and economic health of the community, namely expanding local tax bases and job creation.

Additionally, these disparate but related approaches agree that the private sector exercises considerable influence on local governments, though there is disagreement as to why and how resistance to growth initiatives occurs.

Structural Reasons for Economic Development Activity

Local governments support growth and economic development primarily because of two structural features of the local political economy. First, local government is dependent on property taxes and must pursue growth and development to increase its tax base. Second, the population at large is dependent on private investment and profit for employment (Cox 1995; Fainstein and Fainstein 1983a; Logan 1990).

This “city limits” paradigm contends that the economy, not politics, dominates the thinking of local elected officials, and they pursue economic development because of the economy’s wide implications for the community. Exacerbated by the increasing mobility of capital, cities have a unitary (or primary and dominant) interest in the health of their economies, and thus try to attract economic activity and investment. Governments have an interest in economic growth because their fiscal health is dependent on a strong economy, because economic growth and development are politically popular, and because they generally believe that economic growth is good for the community (Peterson 1981). Peterson argues that economic forces rather than political choice determine the nature of local economic development policy, though Stone’s (1987:4) work with urban governments shows that politics can determine policy and “local government officials make genuine choices, albeit within structural boundaries.” Wolman and Spitzley (1996:138) also say that while economic forces condition the kinds of local economic development policies a government will pursue, political choice exists within this framework. One of Peterson’s biggest critics, Stone (1987:9) argues that Peterson

“treats the city as an entity bent on maximizing its economic productivity” which ignores the diverse interests of communities and the reality that conflict is common in local economic development (Cox 1995, 1999; Logan and Molotch 1987; Sanders 1987; Schumaker 2001; Stone 1987).

The Pluralist Paradigm

In one of the most famous early studies of local government, Robert Dahl’s (1961) *Who Governs?* examines local politics in New Haven, Connecticut and argues that local power is dispersed widely in the community and that no group of elites dominates local politics or determines policy. This assumption that multiple groups exert influence in local government, known as pluralism, is criticized by those who argue that business interests strongly influence local politics. More recent pluralists have responded by acknowledging the privileged position of business (Lindblom 1977), recognizing that the business community has an important role, but they focus on contexts in which elite desires are checked. For example, Schumaker (1991) studied numerous political issues in Lawrence, Kansas between 1977 and 1987 and found that groups like neighborhood organizations and democratic processes such as public referenda have at times checked elite imperatives of local economic development.

The Elitist Paradigm: The Growth Machine

Elitist models of local politics contrast with pluralist models by focusing on the pervasive influence of local elites, such as leaders of the local business and real estate communities, bankers, and other prominent individuals. A leading elite-driven model is the growth machine paradigm, which looks at the pressures and influence of the private sector on local government initiatives. The growth machine thesis (1976; 1984; 1999; Logan and Molotch 1987; Jonas and

Wilson 1999) is based on a political economy perspective that views local governments' pursuit of economic growth as coming from "external pressure by a powerful set of community elites with a shared interest in obtaining the increased rents from intensified land development"

(Wolman and Spitzley 1996:119). Logan and Molotch (1987:62) explain that

the people who use their time and money to participate in local affairs are the ones who—in vast disproportion to their representation in the population—have the most to gain or lose in land-use decisions. Local business people are the major participants in urban politics, particularly business people in property investing, development, and real estate financing.

This coalition of elites, which Molotch calls the *rentier class*, has a vision of the city's future that conforms to its own interests, and the power to make it happen (Logan and Molotch 1987).

Local elected officials are often part of this growth coalition for several reasons. Some simply accept the ideology of growth and believe development benefits the community, others may personally benefit from this development, and others may be dependent upon these developers for political support.

Logan and Molotch (1987:33) also argue that the promotion of a "value-free" ideology of growth is a primary way members of the growth machine garner community support for growth and development. This concept of a "value-free" ideology of growth posits that all growth is good because it creates jobs, enhances the tax base, and pays for services. This concept can be confusing, as "value-free" does not mean growth lacks value, but instead means that all growth is equally beneficial for the community. However, many communities recognize that aggressive sprawl can actually increase the cost of services.

The growth machine thesis has been criticized because of the assumption that local officials are manipulated into support for development. Elkin (1987:42) explains that "to see the politics of growth as an exercise of power by businessmen manipulating public officials is to

miss the sense in which it is a product of mutuality of interest. And that mutuality grows out of the structural features that define the city's political economy." The community is dependent on private investment for employment, so the state must "facilitate accumulation in order to advance the material interest of its citizens" (Fainstein and Fainstein 1983b:251). Barnekov and Rich (1989) stress importance of the pervasive ideology of privatism, which they say is inevitable in capitalist political economies. This ideology of privatism is a central component of market economies and capitalism, in that the private sector is the engine of economic activity, with the public sector playing a supportive role. They argue that this tradition of privatism is so entrenched that it is difficult for officials to imagine any alternative.

Rationalizations of economic necessity serve to disguise the political nature of such choices, representing public decisions to rely on the private sector for urban development as self-sealing and self-justifying and therefore beyond dispute or challenge. Indeed, the tradition of privatism serves as the intellectual and cultural prism that defines fidelity to its assumptions as natural, inevitable, and politically neutral while dismissing alternative policy orientations as unrealistic, unworkable, and infused with politics. In this sense, privatism has narrowed our vision of the possibilities of urban development (Barnekov and Rich 1989:231).

This concept of privatism, closely linked to market-based capitalism, dictates a limited range of options for local governments in their pursuit of economic growth and development. This includes the need for local governments to take measures to maximize a community's appeal for investment and job creation, which includes most visibly an array of subsidies for economic development. Citizens and communities are made to feel vulnerable in this political economic system, and many acquiesce to pressures by the private sector for generous incentive packages in exchange for the privilege of investment. Furthermore, any protest against this state of affairs is dismissed as "anti-business" and infused with politics, making it an untenable proposition according to this ideology of privatism. Therefore communities have little option but to engage in this practice where government plays a supportive role in ensuring profits for the private

sector. Clearly, there are very real pressures on local officials to engage in economic development activity and to take measures which benefit business interests. However, we must also recognize that local elected officials are not simply pawns of the private sector and that these are political decisions, which is an important contribution of regime theory.

Regime Theory

Regime theory acknowledges that the private sector is influential in local politics, but focuses on the political arrangements necessary to govern. Stone (1989) argues that local officials must form coalitions to achieve policy objectives. The approach originates “in a political economy perspective that rejects both pluralist assumptions that governmental authority is adequate to make and carry out policies, as well as structuralist assumptions that economic forces determine policy” (Mossberger and Stoker 2001:812). The development and wider business communities are important and influential members of a city and local officials frequently require their support to achieve their policy objectives. Coalition building between different sectors of the community is the focus of regime theory. By focusing on the social arrangements of local politics, this approach provides room for variation in the politics of a particular city. Different cities have unique populations and the influence of various groups varies both between cities and across time. The success of a particular regime also depends on cultural and ideological aspects of a community. Where free market capitalist ideologies are more prevalent, citizens are likely to support aggressive development policies and strategies that include generous incentives to encourage development. In communities where citizens are more skeptical of the benefits of growth, it is more likely that progressive regimes will form that mandate public benefits in exchange for development rights.

Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) argue that the regime concept has been too enthusiastically used by some scholars. They say:

If Stone's (1989) initial criteria for a regime are accepted, then several conclusions must be drawn. As noted, many cities will not have regimes because they lack stable governing coalitions. And many cities will not have regimes because the private sector is not significantly involved in governance. Thus, regime theory cannot be used to explain process and policy in all cities. Furthermore, Dowding et al. (1999:517) note that the 'regime concept... at best denotes a model or concept rather than a theory' because the latter would require predicting power regarding the type of regime or the policy agenda pursued (Reese and Rosenfeld 2002:35).

While the regime concept is not always applicable, its in-depth case study methodology is useful as well as its focus on the relationships between local elected officials and other sectors of the community.

Implications for Government

There is substantial agreement that business and development interests tend to take precedence over other groups because of the structural dependence of local government on the local economy. This structural relationship creates what Stone (1980) calls a systemic bias toward business interests. This systemic bias has numerous implications for local governance. Because of the mobility of capital and the fact that governments rely on the private sector, they tend to side with business in controversial land use matters. Local governments also create policies designed to encourage economic activity within their jurisdictions through incentives and other measures. These policies are designed to maintain "a 'good business climate' with low taxes... and a weak regulatory bureaucracy" (Barnekov and Rich 1989:226).

While economic development is not a new function of local government, this activity has accelerated rapidly in recent decades (Kantor and David 1988:230). Local governments have been offering incentives to businesses at an accelerating rate, and governments are creating new

tools to incentivize a wider range of business. While municipal bonds and tax abatements tend to be given to industrial and technology-related businesses, commercial developments are also being subsidized through special sales taxes and bonds. Critics say these incentives are unnecessary and merely corporate welfare. For example, Watson (1995:62-63) cites a 1993 study that showed corporate executives ranked financial incentives 14th out of 17 criteria in their locational decisions though 42% of economic developers thought they were “very important.” Officials continue to offer incentives nonetheless, partly because they allow politicians to claim credit for recruiting employers and local governments feel pressure to take action and promote the local economy. Policies that privilege business are not merely economic decisions; they are political decisions as well (Barnekov and Rich 1989).

Explaining Variation

While local economic development activity has been accelerating throughout the United States, there is substantial variation in many aspects of the politics of local economic development. Numerous hypotheses have been posited to explain this variation through empirical research. Wolman and Spitzley’s (1996) review outlines these hypotheses, which include fiscal need, lack of growth, citizen need, regional competition, government structure, and population size. They say “there is now substantial empirical literature dedicated to testing these hypotheses. Unfortunately the literature is quite problematic” (ibid.:124). These empirical studies are problematic because of a lack of context in the survey research that dominates these empirical approaches. They also point to Donovan (1993), who suggests the extent of controversy in a community surrounding economic development best explains this variation, but

The extent of controversy is operationalized as the response of a single respondent... in each community to the question ‘In general, how controversial would you say economic

development issues are in your city?’ This provides the perception of the degree of controversy, but the perception of only one person—a slim reed on which to base a rather sophisticated concept (Wolman and Spitzley 1996:126-127).

The extent of controversy varies from city to city and it is clear that survey research cannot capture the underlying reasons and other complexities of this controversy. The extent of controversy is also related to the extent of public participation in local government.

“Neighborhood interests, if organized... are more likely to form the core of opposition to development schemes, primarily because, in Molotch’s (1976) terms, their interests are related to the *use value* rather than the *exchange value* of property” (Wolman and Spitzley 1996:137, italics in original).

Logan, Bridges, Whaley and Crowder (1999:76) argue that regime and growth machine theories are very similar because both posit an “inherent conflict between the business community and residents over growth policy.” Logan and Molotch (1987:1) explain that the two major tensions in land use are:

The push by a rentier class to improve the exchange value of local land and property, and the efforts made by residents to preserve and enhance use values in particular places. Urban conflict arises when the actions of those who see a commodity to sell threaten the ability of residents to use place to make a life for themselves.

Whether governments are responsive to the protests of citizens or neighborhood associations depends on many factors relating to the community’s history, political traditions and culture.

Case studies show that the degree of conflict and controversy surrounding economic development can be quite variable. Wolman and Spitzley (1996:137) point to previous research in Lawrence, Kansas to highlight the extent of variation concerning controversy in local economic development. They point to a study by Schumaker, Bolland and Feiock (1986) that found significant variation in the makeup of pro-growth and anti-growth coalitions in 12 economic development issues in a five-year period in Lawrence.

Detailed case studies of urban development in specific cities... reinforce this notion of significant cross-community variations in the patterns of community conflict on growth policies. Even within communities, specific economic development issues can spawn conflicts within the business community or within the middle class, between core and peripheral areas or neighborhoods of the city, between groups seeking capital accumulation and those wishing social consumption, and even among lower-income neighborhoods (Fainstein and Fainstein 1983b:255, quoted in Schumaker, Bolland and Feiock 1986:27).

Though Peterson (1981) is often criticized for his suggestion that economic development initiatives are highly consensual, he concedes this is not always the case.

The consensual quality of development policies does not hold in each and every case... [U]nder some circumstances community leaders may fundamentally disagree about the overarching interest of the community. Especially in smaller communities and in suburban areas, where economic and status interests may bifurcate, community leaders may split into 'growth' and 'no-growth' factions... If there is no agreement on the city's overarching interests, consensus yields to bitter, antagonistic ideological conflict (Peterson 1981:149).

Peterson views conflict as harmful and negative for a community. While it is true conflict can send a negative message about a community's business climate, conflict over economic development reflects important aspects of a community that needs close examination. For example, cities have different decision-making styles. Some are more inclusive to public participation than others while other governments are less open both in process and principle (Reese and Rosenfeld 2002). Wolman and Spitzley (1996:143) point to Sharp's (1990) work:

Sharp argues that there are distinguishable styles of developmental politics: a style dominated by the business elite, largely lacking public controversy and consistent with Peterson's (1981) description of developmental politics; a populist style in which the elite is challenged, fitting better the pluralist model of decision making; and a mixed model somewhere in between the two (Sharp 1990:261). Sharp suggests this populist form of conflictual developmental politics is more likely to arise when the potential unequal outcomes of development policy are more visible, when neighborhood organizations are already active, and in institutional forms that do not submerge conflict.

Again we see the need for an in-depth understanding of a community to understand a community's history, traditions, and values to provide context to its norms of governance and economic development.

The Need for Cultural Sensitivity

Despite the extensive research on the politics of local economic development, many questions remain unanswered. Wolman and Spitzley (1996) say:

Research on the attitudes of local decision makers... would be useful. What are the mental worlds of these local officials concerned with economic development? How do they conceive of the local economy? What objectives do they think they are pursuing in economic development policy? ... What are the political calculations of local officials as they relate to economic development, and what are their motivations? ... Much of the existing literature has been primarily speculative (Wolman and Spitzley 1996:147).

Political scientists are returning to the concept of political culture to understand why such extensive variation in local economic development exists. Rempel and Clark (1998:11) define political culture as “the body of shared political meanings and ideas, and the underlying 'rules of the game' for the conduct of politics, among citizens, parties, pressure groups, government institutions, or the media.” Reese and Rosenfeld place culture at the center of their analyses of local economic development. These authors say:

The limits of the conventional wisdom stem from a lack of sensitivity to local civic culture. Analyses and conclusions are limited and presented out of context... Each community reflects a unique civic culture, historically defined systems for political and/or public action and processes for distribution of goods... The fine distinctions in local culture—the habitus of how interests are balanced, problems defined, symbols interpreted, goals envisioned, and decisions made—will have the greatest and perhaps most subtle effects on public policy. This broader approach to economic development, including explicit attention to the nature and role of civic culture, will go a long way toward bringing greater wisdom to conventional knowledge (Reese and Rosenfeld 2001:308).

Civic culture can best understood through a long-term examination of local issues and controversies, which are sites of cultural production and reproduction (see Giddens 1976, 1979, 1984, 1987) complemented with interviews to assess the views of local elected officials.

Part II: Anthropology and the Politics of Local Economic Development

In the following section, civic culture will be shown to be a significant factor in local politics. The substantial variation in the politics of local economic development can be understood when cultural considerations are placed at the center of analysis. I will first discuss Reese and Rosenfeld's (2002) theory of the civic culture of local economic development. I then strengthen this concept with an anthropological view of culture. Following this, I highlight Foucault's concept of governmentality and argue that the mentalities and rationalities of local elected officials are affected by economic and political considerations as well as the civic culture of the community. Finally, I discuss how local governance is affected by the culture of a community, which is produced through social actions, yet also guided by the ideologies of capitalism and enforced with technologies of governance.

Civic Culture and Political Culture

When tensions arise between the desires of business and the priorities of other citizens, development politics can become controversial. This limits the ability to predict policy outcomes based solely on economic or political factors in a community. To explain the variation of governmental policies and democratic performance, some political scientists have looked to political culture. This is seen in the work of Inglehart (1990), Clark and Inglehart (1998), Putnam (1993), and Reese and Rosenfeld (2002). The empirical approach used by these political scientists provides a very useful and broad picture of the political landscape. However, research of this type can ignore the idiosyncrasies and nuances of a local culture, which Clark (1998:xv) considers 'noise,' or aspects that can be ignored through sufficiently large data sets. This approach often focuses on generalizations that can be used for statistical analyses to determine empirical relationships. Contributing to the breadth of this work, anthropology can provide

depth to the concept through ethnographic case studies. In these case studies, a local culture should be viewed in a more dynamic light, where values are constantly contested, redefined, and compete with each other in the expression of public preferences and public policy. The product of these actions is a culture of governance that is unique to each community, a culture that transcends the views of individual officials and affects the policies, processes, and goals of economic development. Below, I discuss how political scientists are turning to culture to explain local governance and then show how an anthropologically-informed view of culture can strengthen this concept.

Civic Culture in Political Science

Reese and Rosenfeld's (2002) *The Civic Culture of Local Economic Development* contends that a community's locally-oriented political culture, or in their words, the civic culture, can best predict a community's economic development climate and policies. Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) draw from seminal works concerning political culture in their theory of civic culture. These works include Almond and Verba (1963), Banfield and Wilson (1963), Inglehart (1990), Putnam (1993) and Elazar (1994). These studies characterized various political cultures as explanatory variables for political outcomes, and used survey research to empirically study the qualitative and cultural aspects of government.

Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) draw upon these ideas in their formulation of a "civic culture of economic development," and also draw on Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*. Among others, Painter (1997) discusses habitus as the set of learned habits, beliefs and dispositions of different groups of people. Habitus encompasses the basic assumptions about the way the world works, and Reese and Rosenfeld (2002:40) extend the term from the individual level to the community at large. In each community, there are different dispositions that mediate back and forth between

structure and practice, creating a particular habitus both within groups and between groups in the community. Every group of local actors has a habitus that focuses “on the ways in which particular groups of actors make practical sense of their political world” (Painter 1997:137). Reese and Rosenfeld extend this concept to argue that different communities will have their own habitus or culture that defines how individuals and groups act within the public sphere, their understanding of the proper role of government vis-à-vis the market, and the nature of development policies that result. “Local economic development decisions and policies are more than economism and indeed are more contextually defined than a particular regime; they are socially embedded within the cultural fabric of a local community” (ibid.:41-42). Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) stress the importance of understanding the local civic culture, saying:

Civic culture serves as a penumbra, its attributes and components defining what issues are problems, what solutions are possible, how decisions are made, and who is involved in decision making. Local civic cultures embody shared visions—past, present, and future—and are the essence of the local community. Civic culture shapes everything from governmental institutions to governing regimes and to the policies employed... Understanding local civic culture is critical to understanding various approaches to economic development (ibid.:18).

While their theory represents one example of the use of the concept of culture in political science, Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) do not draw on Clark and Inglehart’s (1998) work on political culture. Clark and Inglehart’s concepts are more closely aligned with an anthropologically-based understanding of political culture. Clark and Inglehart (1998:70) understand political culture as the “enduring rules of the game: those general *values* defining important ends (like equality) and more specific *norms* concerning how roles should be performed (such as more citizen participation)” (emphasis in original). Furthermore, political culture to Clark and Inglehart (1998:69) “includes the quintessential elements of a political system—those deep structures defining basic rules of the game—that the analyst can identify and

understand how and why the players play as they do.” Clark appears to have a deeper understanding of culture than Reese and Rosenfeld, and Clark and Inglehart (ibid.:70) say the methods one should use to study it include “survey data, fieldwork, textual readings, content analysis, discourse analysis, and other methods.”

Anthropologists are keenly aware of the dynamic, heterogeneous, and contested aspects of culture that make changes in culture possible. Indeed, the work of Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) could benefit from a richer, more nuanced understanding of culture where political conflicts and discourses surrounding economic development can provide fodder for “thick description” (Geertz 2000:6) of a city’s civic culture rather than considering civic culture to be a list of attributes inherent in a community. Additionally, Anthony Giddens’ work on structuration theory can explain how a community’s civic culture is produced through public action by historically situated social agents and Foucault’s concept of governmentality provides insight into the rationalities of government officials and how these rationalities produce a citizen who supports growth and economic development initiatives.

An Anthropological View of Civic Culture

Anthropologists have fiercely debated exactly how culture should be conceptualized and studied, and it is unlikely its definition will ever be consensually agreed upon (Borofsky et al. 2001:433). Keesing (1987) says that “views of culture as collective phenomena need to be qualified by a view of knowledge as distributed and controlled—that we need to ask who creates and defines cultural meanings, and to what ends.” Similarly, Butler (1990; 1993) finds the concept that meanings are inherently contested through discourse to be central to a concept of culture. Another central tenet in current anthropological thought is that

Culture is always plural... There are subcultures and countercultures within any society, and cultural communities whose membership extends beyond the boundaries of any particular society. Culture is thus both wider and narrower than society," (Worsley 1984:53-54).

Similarly, in a multi-authored conversation about culture, Shweder, cited in Borofsky et al.

(2001:439) says:

One does not stop being a member of a common culture because there are factions in the community or because there are two opposed wings whose disputes with each other help define your way of life. It usually takes two wings to build something that can fly... Not everything has to be 'shared' for a culture to exist. Only enough has to be shared for a people to recognize itself as a cultural community.

The work of Clifford Geertz has been highly influential in anthropologists' approach to culture in recent decades. Geertz views culture as a symbolic system. He says "believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs" (Geertz 2000:5). Culture, in this view, is a symbolic system of meanings shared by a group of people, though these meanings tend to vary from person to person. "It is through the flow of behavior—or more precisely, social action—that cultural forms find articulation" (ibid.:17). He finds anthropology to be an interpretive quest, with the task of ethnography to be "thick description," or identifying the meaning behind symbolic actions as seen through the eyes of members of a particular culture. "Culture, this acted document, thus is public... Once human behavior is seen as... symbolic action... The thing to ask is what their import is: what... is getting said" (Geertz 2000:10). For Geertz, the role of ethnography is therefore "the analysis of social discourse" (ibid.:26) and actions. Geertz acknowledges that cultural analysis cannot be predictive in the strict sense of the word, and instead recommends an interpretive approach, focusing on analysis of the public, symbolic actions of a group of people, the purpose of which is to understand the deeper meanings within the public discourse that cannot be separated from its cultural context. He qualifies this by

warning of the dangers of reading too deeply. Rather than using a spider web or pile of sand as a metaphor for culture, Geertz (1966:66-67) uses the octopus, whose limbs are in large part separately integrated yet manages to preserve itself as a viable, if somewhat ungainly entity. Culture may not always be neatly integrated, and internal inconsistencies are likely to exist. Therefore, one must be mindful of diversity and competing visions and values within the community.

Culture is learned, shared, symbolic, integrated, rational, dynamic, adaptive (Lawless 1979) and contested through discourse (Butler 1993, 1999). It is also the product of the actions of social agents, as Anthony Giddens explains, and amenable to interpretation, following Geertz.

Structuration Theory and the Production of Civic Culture

A city's civic culture is not a natural aspect of a community. Instead, Giddens's structuration theory (1976, 1979, 1981, 1987) holds that culture is produced and constantly reproduced through social action. Consistent with Geertz's (2000:17) contention that "it is through the flow of behavior—or more precisely, social action—that cultural forms find articulation," Giddens formulates a theory of the production of culture. He contends that a useful theory of cultural production "must engage issues of agency, structure, and reflexivity in a new key. He argues that social structures are both the condition and outcome of people's activities; one cannot exist without the other" (Tucker 1998:67). Giddens "has deep respect for the protean capacities of social agents to reproduce and transform their own historical circumstances. Social agents, not social theorists, produce, sustain, and alter whatever degree of 'systemness' exists in social life" (Cohen 1989:18).

Giddens focuses on human agents and his work is a reaction to post-structuralists such as Foucault who thoroughly decentered the subject in social analysis. He argues that “it is essential to insist upon the need for an interpretation of the agent rather than the subject, and of agency rather than subjectivity alone” (ibid.:214). Human agents are the ultimate source of social and cultural change, as “the production of society is a skilled performance, sustained and ‘made to happen’ by human beings” (Giddens 1976:15). Central to his understanding of human agency is the power to intervene in a course of events or state of affairs (Cohen 1989:24; Giddens 1976:110-111; Giddens 1979:88; Giddens 1984:14-15). Cohen (1987:284) says that “social agency depends solely upon the capability of actors to ‘make a difference’ in the production of definite outcomes... Since ‘to make a difference’ is to transform some aspect of a process or event, agency in structuration theory is equated with transformative capacity.” This is not to say that agents are completely free to act as they wish; “Giddens argues that in every social relation there is a dialectic of control involving asymmetrical access” (Cohen 1987:285) to resources necessary for influencing the behavior of others, and thus no agent is ever completely autonomous (Giddens 1981:61-63; Giddens 1984:16). In addition to these restrictions, the range of potential social actions is limited by historically-defined social systems. As social systems are constantly reproduced through action, socially acceptable forms of conduct are historically defined. Social agents are situated within this history, and this history is a lens through which members of a society view their world, and this history affects the salience of any action that seeks to alter the system. Giddens’ version of social theory “places an active person at the center of sociological theory and modern society, who incorporates social structure into his/her very actions through reflexivity, or ‘the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life’ (Giddens 1984:3)” (Tucker 1998:2).

Giddens (1979:4) also argues that “structure is both medium and outcome of the reproduction of practices.” Social systems are constantly reproduced through the actions of social agents. Structure is not a physical entity, and it only exists when it is reproduced through social agency.

Structure ‘exists’ in a manifest form only when it is instantiated in social practices... [It] is reconstituted in each instance where a pervasive and enduring practice is reproduced, and this reconstitution of structure reinforces... the mutual knowledge of rules and of the strategies of control of resources associated with these practices (Cohen 1987:301).

Social structure is not separate from human action, and the duality of structure posits that “rules and resources are drawn upon but also constituted by the social activities of people” (Tucker 1998:85). When people draw upon the social norms and rules (structure) in their actions, they reinforce these rules. However, these agents always have the capacity to act otherwise, and thus modify or transform these structures (Cohen 1987:300). Regarding local civic culture, agents have the potential to reshape and transform established rules and produce new visions of the community, concepts of the proper role of government, and the role public participation should have in government decisions. A community’s civic culture is produced through the political debates and discourses within the community. It has stability because it is historically-defined, yet is malleable because it is constantly reproduced by social agents.

With this understanding of cultural production coming from historically-defined social agents, it is evident that local history and tradition are vitally important to local political systems. Lawrence’s tradition of public participation and successfully resisting development initiatives has two results for government. First, citizens expect their opinions to be heard and considered and they expect to be involved in major community decisions. Second, local government is open and responsive to the public. Without a tradition of frank political discourse and community

involvement in local politics, citizens would not be so willing to participate in government or expect their participation to be influential.

As will be further elaborated below, governmentalities are also important in shaping and producing civic culture and the associated norms, values, and priorities of a community. As Giddens makes clear, some groups have more power and control in a community, and local officials have significant influence in framing local discourses concerning growth and development. The values and priorities of citizens do not exist independent of local government. Instead, a dynamic and reflexive relationship exists between governors and the governed.

Governmentality and Governance

While I have highlighted how citizens produce civic culture, governmentality focuses on how government manages social relations (Rose 1999). Populations are managed indirectly through colonizing social norms to produce idealized citizens who willingly and often unwittingly reproduce governmental agendas and power dynamics (Foucault 2007). Economic and political considerations are often very important for government, and the discourses of the market and growth are an important driving force in the production of civic culture. The study of governmentality focuses on how officials and citizens understand the proper role of government and how through the art of governing the “proper” citizen is produced and reproduced through social action.

Both the local civic culture and national political economy frame the ongoing discourses surrounding key issues of governance. The concept of governmentality links governing with the mentalities of government officials and asserts that it is not possible to study the technologies of power and governing without analyzing the mentalities and rationalities that underpin them

(Dean 1999). Therefore, analyses of governmentality (or government rationality) should focus on

The analysis of political reason itself, or the mentalities of politics that have shaped our present, the devices invented to give effect to rule, and the ways in which these have impacted ... those who have been the subjects of these practices of government” (Barry, Osborne and Rose 1996:2)

Governmentality “does not juxtapose politics and knowledge but articulates a ‘political knowledge’” (Lemke 2000:7). This work focuses on a

Mapping of governmental rationalities and techniques... Government... is seen as an attempt by those confronting certain social conditions to make sense of their environment, to imagine ways of improving the state of affairs and to devise ways of achieving those ends (Rose, O’Malley and Valverde 2006:99).

As a set of technologies of power,

Governmentality is to be analyzed in terms of the strategies, techniques, and procedures through which different authorities seek to enact programs of government in relation to the materials and forces at hand and the resistances and oppositions anticipated or encountered (Rose 1996:42).

The mentalities of government are also context-specific. The governmentality of local elected officials reflects the national and global political economic context, but it is also grounded in the city’s history and culture. The formation of a mentality of government, or art of government (two terms Foucault used interchangeably), “takes place through particular attempts to resolve diverse local problems and difficulties, through the need to address unforeseen consequences or the effects of the ‘failure’ of previous actions and always under uncertain conditions” (Burchell 1996:26).

Foucault’s work on governmentality is an extension his study of power relations, recognizing that power is not just a force of repression. Power “doesn’t only weigh on us as a force that says no; it also traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network that runs through the

whole social body” (Foucault 2000:120). Like Giddens’ structuration theory, these power relations are linked to social traditions, rationalities, and forms of knowledge. “The state can only operate on the basis of other, already-existing power relations” (ibid.:122). Furthermore, “truth” is not analyzed in terms of its relation to an objective reality, but how it functions in a particular domain of government or discourse (ibid.). Governmentality’s primary function is to reinforce and maintain existing power relations by justifying and rationalizing governmental initiatives and priorities. For Foucault, governmentality does not focus on whether a logic or rationality is objectively true or false, but instead analyzes how these rationalities operate within discourses to maintain and reinforce power relations. These rationalities can be conceptualized as systems of logic that are internally coherent, and while these rationalities are true within their systems of logic, Foucault shies away from objective assessments of their truth or validity, which is wholly consistent with his view that “truth” is a relative concept, and objective and universal “Truth” is virtually impossible to assess. Furthermore, governmentalities seek to gain citizens’ support for governmental initiatives, creating “proper” citizens who willingly endorse and support their own roles in the existing power relations. Foucault argues that

Government has as its purpose not the act of government itself, but the welfare of the population... [T]he population is the subject of needs, of aspirations, but it is also the object in the hands of the government, aware, vis-à-vis the government, of what it wants, but ignorant of what is being done to it (ibid.:216-217).

Governmentality focuses on governmental systems of logic that define certain goals and justify methods for achieving those goals. In reference to local economic development, the logics for engaging in local economic development activity and growth promotion are drawn from the ideologies of capitalism and neoliberalism to legitimize the ubiquitous formation of growth machines. These growth machines are formal or informal partnerships between government and land-based interests in order to create the economic growth that is purported to

be the panacea for all social problems. According to neoliberal rationalities, government's role is primarily to ensure maximum economic growth. Governments and citizens must be competitive and willing to subsidize private investment to encourage development and economic activity. According to this rationality, business interests should receive every possible advantage from government in the name of growth. However, criticisms of unregulated growth and generous incentive policies as well as other sources of resistance can also influence the rationalities of local elected officials, as seen in the emergence of the new urbanism and smart growth which promise to address the problems of suburban sprawl while maintaining economic growth through gentrification (Fainstein and Fainstein 1983a; Harvey 1997). Governmentality can provide a lens to help understand how local officials reconcile these tensions within their communities and explain why officials act the way they do while also revealing how the discourses between different groups within the community produce historically-defined and locally unique "proper" citizens and civic cultures.

Growth management has been heavily criticized by those advocating neoliberal economic policies. Neoliberals deride any attempt to regulate or manage growth as being business-unfriendly and anti-growth. Neoliberal theory and ideology have had a major role in guiding government rationality in recent decades.

Neoliberalism is in the first instance a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade. The role of the state is to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices" (Harvey 2005:2).

Neoliberals argue that governments must embrace globalization and free trade and that governmental regulation should be minimized while the state should facilitate the private sector.

“Deregulation, privatization, and withdrawal of the state from many areas of social provision” (ibid.:3) have been common in governments following this ideology. Furthermore,

Private enterprise and entrepreneurial initiative are seen as the keys to innovation and wealth creation... Under the assumption that “a rising tide lifts all boats,” or of “trickle down,” neoliberal theory holds that the elimination of poverty can best be secured through free markets and free trade (ibid.:64-65).

This thinking has “become hegemonic as a mode of discourse” (ibid.:3) at all levels of government and throughout society. Proponents argue that the public interest is best served through maximizing economic activity with minimal restrictions. This is related to the tradition of privatism (Barnekov and Rich 1989) where the private sector leads growth and development initiatives while government plays a supportive role and takes measures to assist the private sector when necessary.

However, “Foucault’s discussion of neoliberal governmentality shows that the so-called ‘retreat of the state’ is in fact a prolongation of government, neoliberalism is not the end but a transformation of politics, that restructures the power relations in society” (Lemke 2000:11). The commitments to privatism and neoliberalism have shifted the role of government away from regulation and toward stimulating and assisting economic activity through incentives. The increasing use of tax incentives for local economic development demonstrates that the state is not shrinking, but is actually intensifying its involvement and dedication to local growth. Even in Lawrence, where there is considerable debate concerning how the community should grow, growth is virtually consensually supported. Neoliberal governmentalities have been very successful in shifting the range of acceptable discourse to the right, where those who advocate any form of growth regulation or management are framed as left-wing radicals while those supporting unfettered and unregulated growth are framed as moderates.

Governmentality and structuration theory demonstrate how culture is produced and reproduced through an ongoing power dynamic between governors and the governed. Individuals are transformed into “proper” citizens through systems of logic that allow these citizens to not only acquiesce to governmental initiatives, but actively support them through social actions such as voting, public demonstrations, and speaking at government meetings. By making room for nominal dissent, governments manage their subjects by giving them the opportunity to act as good and “proper” citizens who unwittingly reproduce and maintain existing power relations (Foucault 2007).

The Political Context of Civic Culture

Controversies surrounding land use and economic development highlight the tension between competing values and worldviews and reveal the structural and power dynamics of a community. These issues show that a local civic culture will always be contested and negotiated through public debate. The public discourses in local conflicts and controversies can shed light on the dynamics between various groups and reveal the competing values that produce a local civic culture, as these controversies are intertwined with the values and ideals of a community’s culture (McCann 2002).

To fully describe a city’s local civic culture, one cannot gloss over the idiosyncrasies and competing values and ideals that transcend specific issues. It is therefore best to examine the political controversies that unfold within a community and analyze the resolution of these conflicts to truly understand the civic culture. While Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) contend that local civic culture is the best way to understand local economic development politics and policy, they do not treat civic culture as the dynamic or contested product of the actions and discourses

of historically situated agents. They instead assess a community's culture through interviews with officials and short-term observation in the community. Drawing on structuration theory, a city's civic culture can best be understood by examining the community's historically-informed political debates and their resolutions, as this political arena is where local cultural values are produced, reproduced, reinforced and institutionalized.

In order to understand local governance in Lawrence, in the next chapter I will present my data, which consists of several important political events, discourses surrounding them, and their resolutions to construct Lawrence's civic culture. This data also includes the views of local elected officials regarding their perceptions of these issues, the proper role of government in economic development, and how they justify the technologies of government they use to achieve their goals. With this information, I will analyze how local officials in Lawrence balance competing tensions between various factions in the civic culture and how the discourses surrounding these tensions are incorporated into a local mentality of government.

Chapter 3

Data Presentation

To illuminate the culture of local governance in Lawrence, Kansas and to understand how it relates to the civic culture of the community, I present selected data that concern community involvement in local political issues, primarily those that generated controversy and that concerned growth and economic development. The values, structures, and rules of conduct of the civic culture can be seen in the discourses and actions surrounding these contested political issues. I also present data from interviews with City Commissioners that reveal government rationalities concerning local economic development, their decisions on controversial matters, and the role of citizen input in the political process. I also present technologies of power that officials use to enact desired government initiatives and policies. This data will be used to show how governance is ultimately a product of the interaction of civic culture and governmentalities that are influenced by national and international market forces and neoliberal ideology.

Part I: Events, Discourses, and Actions That Reveal Lawrence's Civic Culture

In this section, I briefly describe political events and then discuss the discourses and actions surrounding these issues that reveal the competing values that are an important component of the city's civic culture. In these actions, we see how citizens produce and reproduce civic culture and how civic culture influences governance. Furthermore, the discourses surrounding these issues reveal how citizens view their government and its roles and priorities for the community.

Case #1: The 2007 Elections

The 2007 City Commission elections are important because the discourse surrounding these elections frames the growth debate in Lawrence. Lawrence has a long tradition of debate surrounding how the city should grow, competing visions of the community, and how to pursue the public interest. From 2003 to 2007, the Lawrence City Commission was led by three commissioners who were elected with the support of a political action committee called the Progressive Lawrence Campaign (PLC), whose platform was dedicated to “smart growth.” In this instance, the terms smart growth and progressive government were used interchangeably, and the goals of the PLC centered on curbing the influence of developers and increasing the influence of neighborhood groups in the development process while advocating long-range planning and sustainable development. They spent their entire four years in the majority fighting developers’ and Wal-Mart’s attempts to build a second store in the city. They also passed a Living Wage Ordinance that requires all firms receiving municipal property tax abatements to pay wages equivalent to 130% of the federal poverty level and offer health insurance to all permanent full-time employees. They also closely evaluated major development proposals, and this approach to governance aroused considerable ire in the development community and local media. Developers donated large sums to 2007 commission candidates Duncan and Evans, who pledged to take a more proactive approach to local growth and economic development (Lawhorn 2007a). The rhetoric in these elections claimed the smart growth commission’s focus on growth management had harmed the local economy by tarnishing the community’s reputation in the eyes of business. Commissioners Duncan and Evans finished first and second, respectively in the 2007 elections. Commissioner Allen, a member of the previous smart growth majority, won third place and a two-year term, making him the last remaining smart growth commissioner.

Citizen Discourses and Actions in the 2007 Elections

The 2007 elections saw extensive criticisms of the smart growth commission, and these criticisms highlight a politically conservative view of how government should operate with respect to the economy. In the run-up to the 2007 local elections, candidates and the local newspaper spent significant effort claiming the local economy had suffered because of the smart growth commission's approach to governance, claiming they had discouraged businesses from investing in the community. Commissioners Duncan and Evans advocated taking a more proactive approach to economic development. The Lawrence Journal-World and developers wholeheartedly supported these two candidates for their desire for an "attitude adjustment" at City Hall (field notes 6-16-08).

The editor of the Lawrence Journal-World was especially critical of this smart growth commission, and his December 13, 2006 editorial exemplifies his opinion. After some residents discussed creating a city-wide minimum wage and formula zoning that would limit the number of chain retailers downtown and commissioners discussed creating new impact fees for residential development, the editor blasted citizens and the commission.

Is there any question why entrepreneurs, builders, dreamers and "doers" look upon Lawrence as extremely difficult city in which to do business? There isn't just a neutral attitude in Lawrence about growth and expansion; there is a definite "anti" attitude... What's next? There must be some other policy or law that some city commissioner or other do-gooder thinks would make Lawrence a better city and, in the process, discourage anyone from wanting to come here to start a new business or industry... "Progressive government" or "smart growth" sounds good and could be good if applied in a sound, forward-looking manner. Unfortunately, that apparently isn't the goal of some who champion the cause because their actions and efforts are far more negative and harmful to a community than anything resembling "progressive" or "smart." (Simons 2006)..

Smart growth commissioners defended their positions in the face of criticisms that they were too restrictive of growth and development. In a Lawrence Journal-World article detailing the various opinions of the smart growth commission's legacy, one local business owner argued

that the commissioners had “made every decision a political decision” (Lawhorn 2006c). Lawhorn also wrote that “commissioners cringe when [critics] suggest that they’re anti-growth” (ibid.). One smart growth commissioner was quoted as saying, “Just because I have a sense that growth doesn’t pay for itself, doesn’t mean I think we should stop growing. It just means we need to properly allocate its costs. I absolutely believe good things happen when growth occurs” (ibid.).

Developers’ dissatisfaction with the smart growth commission was verified in a planning workshop that cost the city \$250,000. Jennifer Hurley of the PlaceMakers consulting firm hired by the City said:

“I have never been in a community where I have heard such consistent complaints about the development review process... We heard word-for-word the same complaints: We don’t know what to do, we don’t know what the City Commission wants and it takes forever to get anything approved.” And that process, Hurley said, has created another problem: lack of trust among everyone involved in the development process, ranging from developers to neighborhood leaders. “The depth of the trust problem is really striking here,” Hurley said. “It is more than in most communities,” (Lawhorn 2007c).

The smart growth commission’s message of curbing the influence of developers and giving more weight to citizen input had resonated with many citizens in 2003, and high voter turnout for a local election (45 percent in 2003, versus 33 percent in 2005, 19 percent in 2007 and 14 percent in 2009) swept the smart growth commission into office. However, this mobilization was less evident in subsequent elections. The decreasing turnout in later elections translated into more conservative commissioners elected in 2007.

In this election, citizen actions were most visible at the polls. A more politically liberal electorate was evident in the 2003 elections, where higher voter turnout was the result of extensive involvement and campaign contributions from politically liberal citizens. This stood in stark contrast to the 2007 elections, where support for the smart growth commission waned while

the development community strongly supported Commissioners Duncan and Evans and politically liberal citizens did not turn out to vote in the numbers they had in 2003, partly due to their own frustrations with the smart growth commission. Clearly, voter turnout is very important in determining the members of the Lawrence City Commission.

Case #2: Wal-Mart

The issue that came to define the smart growth commission was the fight with Wal-Mart over the approval of a second store in west Lawrence. In 2001, developers secured approval to build approximately 155,000 square feet of retail space at 6th and Wakarusa St. under the expectation that a home improvement store would be built on the property. The plan was approved with the condition that a department store would not be built on the property. These plans did not come to fruition, and in late 2002 Wal-Mart sought approval to build a 199,000 square foot store at this location. While the Wal-Mart issue was for many the defining issue of the smart growth commission's term, they were not the first commission to reject Wal-Mart's request to build.

It was the previous, seemingly more development-friendly commission that rejected Wal-Mart's first plans to build at the northwest corner. And it was the previous commission that, as one of its last acts April 1, declared Wal-Mart was a "department store" of the sort prohibited from the site... The new commissioners, once in office, enthusiastically embraced that approach. And they took it a step further, initiating rezoning to reduce the potential size of any building allowed on the site (Mathis 2003c).

Smart growth commissioners fought Wal-Mart's plans because its size exceeded what had initially been approved and because they said they had banned department stores such as Wal-Mart from the site. Wal-Mart argued they were not a department store but instead a variety store and came back with plans for smaller stores on two occasions, but commissioners rejected these

plans as well. In total, the property owners and Wal-Mart filed seven lawsuits against the City of Lawrence and the controversy surrounding this project was drawn out over nearly five years.

On April 21, 2006, it appeared the smart growth commissioners would settle with Wal-Mart and the local development group, Wak Land Investments, and allow the firm to build a smaller store than originally requested. The commission reached an agreement to put the lawsuits on hold, but this was not an official settlement. The City and Wal-Mart agreed to two major conditions. First, the City would rezone the property to allow a maximum of 128,000 square feet of commercial space on the property with a maximum of 99,990 square feet for the largest building on the property. Second, Wal-Mart would use enhanced aesthetics in the design of the building. But on October 24, 2006 the City Commission rejected Wal-Mart's plan for a 99,990 -square foot store on a two-to-three vote. Commissioners felt Wal-Mart did not uphold their promise to use the highest aesthetic standards for the project, though the proposed store incorporated several design elements not seen at a typical Wal-Mart.

After this rejection, Wal-Mart filed to restart the lawsuits and District Judge Michael Malone scheduled the trial date for April 16, 2007, just after the 2007 City Commission elections. After the April 2007 elections, two of the three commissioners who opposed the Wal-Mart were replaced by two commissioners who held more pro-business views. Immediately following the elections, commissioners asked for a continuance in the trial so new commissioners could be briefed on the details of the ongoing battle with Wal-Mart (Lawhorn 2007b). On May 1, 2007 the City Commission held a public hearing to discuss details of the issues and asked Wal-Mart to submit another plan for consideration. Wal-Mart then submitted plans for a 99,990 square foot store at the August 7, 2007 City Commission meeting. Despite

extensive public comment in opposition to the project, the City Commission approved these plans, thus ending a five year battle that included seven lawsuits and four different site plans.

Citizen Discourses and Actions Concerning Wal-Mart

In the fight over Wal-Mart, the discourses and actions surrounding this highly charged issue demonstrates the tensions between desires for unrestricted versus managed growth. At the several City Commission meetings concerning Wal-Mart, numerous citizens spoke out against the project. Some were concerned about traffic generated by this Wal-Mart. Others worried this development would place even greater development pressure along the West Sixth Street corridor and thus create a second retail power center to compete with the well-established South Iowa Street retail hub. Still others feared that allowing this much retail space would create over-development and therefore put other retailers out of business due to insufficient demand in the community to absorb the new retail. The developers of this land contended the smart growth commission's opposition was part of a no-growth political agenda claiming that Wal-Mart was treated unfairly due to political motivations, which they argued was an embarrassment to the community and had harmed the city's reputation.

One outspoken critic of this development was a local urban planning professor. He argued the approval of this much retail space would be disastrous because it would be "a recipe for an extremely overbuilt community" (Lawhorn 2006b). At the May 1, 2007 City Commission meeting where the newly-seated commissioners reviewed the issues surrounding the Wal-Mart plan, this professor presented his own retail market study of Lawrence. According to his data, commercial space in Lawrence grew at 3.0% per year from 1995 to 2007 while increases in retail sales, measured by sales tax collections, grew at only 0.9% per year. He argued the community

had long been over-building, and approving this development would further exacerbate these problems (City Commission meeting minutes, 5-1-07). At the August 7, 2007 meeting he reminded commissioners that what was good for a developer was not necessarily good for the community and that commissioners must do what was best for the community as a whole, not what was best for the property owners. (City Commission meeting minutes, 8-7-07). This professor was a major proponent of smart growth and was one of many who drew upon the lessons learned in the community's long tradition of protecting existing businesses from the unrestricted development and sprawl that ravaged countless downtowns across the United States. However, his criticisms largely fell on deaf ears. Commissioner Evans called him "the bane of the economic development community" (field notes, 10-17-08) and Commissioner Barton said that "academically, he may be right on target... but when you're in the real world, that's not how it works" (field notes, 5-6-08). While his comments were repeatedly ignored by the commission, he represented many in the community who wanted to ensure new retail development would not threaten existing retail. The desire to protect existing retail has been a recurring theme in local controversies surrounding growth dating back to the mall wars and shows that the value for deliberate and careful growth in Lawrence has endured for decades.

A local attorney who ran for the City Commission in 2005 argued that the community perceived the sudden move to settle the lawsuits with Wal-Mart after the 2007 elections to be fraught with impropriety. He said this issue had been controversial for several years, yet this new City Commission moved to settle the lawsuit within weeks of seating two new members who were more supportive of development. He said there was the perception that developers were getting "another bite at this apple. That leaves a very sour taste in the mouths of many citizens" (Lawhorn, 2007e). He said commissioners should be concerned about the perceptions

created by these actions. These two new commissioners were elected with extensive campaign contributions from the development and real estate communities. In this commission's first major decision, he said some citizens felt these commissioners were pawns of the development community. After citizens spent years fighting against this development, he said that many long-time opponents worried that these two new commissioners would undo everything they had fought for.

Another citizen's comments clearly reflected opposition to Wal-Mart and big box stores in general. While commissioners were careful to frame this issue in terms of land use and not about the potential tenant, some citizens were clearly opposed to Wal-Mart in particular. For example, some citizens created a public spectacle at the May 1, 2007 meeting to dramatize the damage that Wal-Mart does to local businesses. Before the meeting, dozens of citizens gathered outside City Hall with signs protesting Wal-Mart. They also attended the commission meeting, and while one citizen discussed the impacts of big box retailers to communities by harming local businesses and creating low-wage jobs, a woman dressed in black with dark sunglasses representing Wal-Mart walked through the meeting room and ripped fake dollar bills out of the hands of people who represented locally-owned businesses. This spectacle was said to represent how retailers such as Wal-Mart took money away from other businesses in the community. In seeking to dismiss this public spectacle, commissioners asked the woman to cease her actions because they were out of order and were distracting from public comment (*ibid.*). This public display provides important insight into the civic culture of the community. Some citizens are highly critical of the social problems created by big box retailers and also believe that dramatic acts of opposition are appropriate forms of protest. Because Lawrence's citizens have a tradition of using public protests to demonstrate their values, they drew upon these social structures in

their public dramatization. This demonstration showed that they felt the City Commission should protect established businesses in Lawrence, and that the focus of governance should be the long-term well-being of the community rather than the short-term profits of developers and other special interests. This contrasts with commissioners' assertions that their decisions cannot be about the tenant in question, but must be framed in terms of land use and zoning.

These points of opposition to Wal-Mart are starkly contrasted by the arguments of developers that they were treated unfairly by a smart growth commission that had a political agenda to block this development. One Wal-Mart attorney said "obviously the slate of no-growth commissioners with a political agenda are driving the agenda on this matter" (Mathis 2003a). Allegations that the City unfairly denied building permits because of a political agenda were the basis for the seven lawsuits filed against the City. Wal-Mart and these local developers were highly frustrated with the rejection of their plans. They dug in their heels and decided to fight the City until they got their way. By alleging the commission's rejections to be politically motivated, developers sought to harm the credibility of the commission and paint them as anti-growth.

Case #3: Saving the T

In the summer of 2008, City Commissioners crafted the 2009 budget. They were faced with difficulties due to a lack of growth in property tax and sales tax revenues. In attempting to balance the budget with nearly zero increase in projected revenues, officials refused to make any cuts to the city's core services, which include police, fire, water, and infrastructure. They decided to deliver a 6% cut in funding to all social service agencies and did not include funding for the city's bus system, the "T," in the 2009 budget. The bus system was created in 2000 after

citizens voted for an increase in the property tax mill levy to fund the system. However, in the years that followed, City Commissions opted to use some of this funding for the general budget to avoid increasing property taxes. Each year, the extent of funding for the bus was a question for the commissioners, and they were not obligated to devote any portion of property taxes to the T. For the 2009 budget, commissioners opted not to include funding for the T and decided to create sales tax proposals to fund infrastructure maintenance and fire equipment as well as the bus system. They proposed a 0.3% sales tax to fund infrastructure maintenance and fire equipment and a 0.2% sales tax for the bus system which was to be decided during the November 2008 elections. The condition of the city's streets was a top concern for Lawrence residents, and the infrastructure tax was designed to increase the City's ability to maintain its streets and other infrastructure. Regarding the T, Mayor Duncan argued the community needed a referendum on public transportation because it had not been discussed for nearly 10 years.

After deciding to create the 0.2% sales tax question for the T, citizens argued that the tax would not be enough to fund public transportation and implored commissioners to increase the sales tax to 0.25% to allow for service expansion and new equipment purchases. After studying the issue, Mayor Duncan proposed an additional 0.5% sales tax question to be added to the ballot that would be implemented only if both the 0.2% and 0.05% sales tax questions were approved by voters.

Despite their initial criticism of the commission's decision, citizens were emboldened by their ability to convince Mayor Duncan to add the additional sales tax question to ensure adequate funding for the T. Together with their strong desire to ensure the continuation of public transportation, several groups, most notably the Campaign to Save the T, emerged and campaigned for the passage of the sales tax questions. All three sales tax questions passed with

70% of voters in favor of the sales taxes in an election with a 67% voter turnout

(<http://www.kssos.org/elections/08elec/2008GeneralOfficialTurnout.xls>), and despite initial fears of its demise, the T now has guaranteed funding through 2019.

Citizen Discourses and Actions Concerning the T

Support for the T in the 2008 elections reflects Lawrence's tradition of support for public services in the interest of wider community well-being, even when faced with tax increases. The discourses and actions surrounding this issue highlight the high value many citizens place on public services and their opinion that public transportation is an essential public service, as well as the belief that the proper role of government is more than promoting economic growth and facilitating the interests of business.

Citizens were initially shocked because commissioners were willing to risk the future of the T on a sales tax vote. Because commissioners had no back-up plan if the sales tax question failed, there was widespread concern that the bus system would be ended if the sales tax question did not pass. Many argued that public transportation was not a luxury, but was instead a vital core service.

One woman said she was part of the Citizens for Public Transportation, which formed in the late 1990s and successfully petitioned for the creation of the T. She said the bus system was one of the reasons why Lawrence was considered a highly livable city. She argued the bus should be considered a core service, and if the City could not afford to fund the bus, they should raise property taxes or find some other method to fund the system other than sales taxes (City Commission meeting minutes 7-22-08:17).

Several citizens also argued that the bus system was an important component of the city's growth and economic development, as it helped people get to work. One citizen said this was the second year in a row he had to speak to the City Commission about the importance of the bus system. He was irritated about this situation and said the bus was obviously a core service, not a luxury. "For anyone leading the community, to tell the citizens that a bus system was not a vital core service lacked the insight it took to lead a community" (ibid.:22-23).

Another person argued that rather than focusing on the costs of the T, the city should look at the benefits. "As a tax payer and citizen, she asked why the subsidy for public transportation was being targeted for elimination in such a disingenuous way" (ibid.:23). She argued that public transportation reduced the community's greenhouse gas emissions, traffic congestion, allowed young people and the elderly to get around the city, and was necessary for economic development. In the meeting minutes, she was quoted as saying that "eliminating the T meant Lawrence would take a giant step backwards at just the moment in history when the City needed a step forward desperately" (ibid.).

Many citizens were frustrated with the commission, and the editor of the Lawrence Journal-World was no exception. His editorial on July 22, 2008 was highly critical of the commission's position.

As they head into budget discussions at tonight's meeting, Lawrence city commissioners need to be honest with themselves and their constituents about their support – or lack of support – for the city's bus system. So far, commissioners have been passing the buck. Rather than making any decision about whether to maintain, decrease or do away with T service, commissioners are sidestepping the issue by moving toward a ballot question that would include a proposed 0.2 percent sales tax to support the bus system... It's ironic that when the nation is facing an energy crisis that has many states and communities looking at expanding public transportation services, Lawrence is looking at killing the T... It's time for commissioners to take responsibility and level with the people who elected them. (Simons 2008a).

Though many citizens were highly critical of the commission's move to create a sales tax question, they realized they needed to campaign in support of the sales tax questions to ensure the taxes passed. Members of Grassroots Action, a progressive-leaning local political group, formed the Campaign to Save the T and lobbied for the sales tax question. They rallied and collected signatures on a petition for the T nearly every weekend in the heart of downtown in the weeks leading up to the election and occasionally rallied on the KU campus. They created a website and handed out flyers to educate the community about the importance of the bus system. They reproduced the social structures that place the downtown as the proper setting for such demonstrations, as the downtown is considered the civic, political and cultural heart of the community. Through these demonstrations in support of the T, they reinforced this notion of the downtown as the most logical place for such civic action. They also reproduced concepts of appropriate civic action with these demonstrations, drawing on past examples of success through the use of these public spaces for community mobilization and participation in local politics. Because the downtown has regular foot traffic and the T's hub is downtown, they were able to communicate with citizens about the importance of the T and the dire need for supporting the sales tax questions.

The Campaign to Save the T framed the issue in terms of values that resonated with different sectors of the community. They argued the T was an essential social service that served the least fortunate in the community. The success of the sales tax question was not just a referendum on the bus system's necessity in the community, but was an opportunity to demonstrate that Lawrence is a caring and compassionate community that believes strongly in equity and social services. They also framed the issue in terms of the environmental and economic benefits the T could provide. If the City was able to enhance the T, increased ridership

could take cars off the road and reduce the community's carbon footprint. In seeking support from politically conservative citizens, they also argued that public transportation helped generate investment and economic development by giving more people the ability to get to work.

Other groups also came out in support of the sales tax questions. The Lawrence Association of Neighborhoods decided to support all three ballot questions, and the League of Women Voters endorsed the two transit questions. The League endorsed the transit measures because of their longstanding support for public transportation, but was not enthusiastic about the sales taxes because of their regressive nature, disproportionately affecting low-income people. A pair of Lawrence attorneys, one a Democrat and one a Republican joined forces to create a campaign called Yes for Lawrence that urged voters to support all three sales tax questions. Their campaign focused on the harm that would be done if these taxes failed, such as deterioration of roads and harming their ability to recruit investment (Lawhorn 2008b). Even the Lawrence Journal-World eventually came out in support of the three ballot questions, saying they were important to maintaining Lawrence's quality of life (Simons 2008c).

With such widespread support across different sectors of the community, all three ballot questions passed with approximately 70% approval in an election with 67% voter turnout. With such overwhelming success for the sales tax measures, the T now had 10 years of guaranteed funding, and some began crediting the mayor with "saving" the T. One member of Grassroots Action and Campaign to Save the T said:

This is the Lawrence I know. It is a very welcoming community, a very inclusive community with real civic spirit. This vote said something very important about Lawrence and its identity. It was about whether we do think about the whole community, about whether we rally together (Lawhorn 2008a).

The electoral success of this ballot initiative was due in part to the framing of the issue of public transportation. Left-leaning citizens tend to be highly supportive of public services, while

more conservative citizens tend to be more apprehensive about tax increases yet support economic development initiatives. By framing the issue in terms of demonstrating that Lawrence is a “caring community” as well as arguing for the necessity of public transportation for economic development, the political groups that lobbied for the passage of these sales taxes garnered support from both politically liberal and conservative citizens.

While the vast majority of public comments and campaigning were in support of the T, thirty percent of voters opposed all three sales tax questions, demonstrating that many in the community did not support tax increases regardless of the merits of public transportation or infrastructure improvements. Critics of the T commented on articles on the Lawrence Journal-World’s website, claiming the bus system was a waste of money and had low ridership, calling the bus system the “emp-T.” They also opposed the infrastructure sales taxes, demonstrating that it was not just the T they opposed, but tax increases in general. However, they were significantly outnumbered at the polls, and the Lawrence Journal-World celebrated how Lawrence voters saved the bus system (ibid.).

Case #4: The Farmer’s Turnpike - Annexing an Industrial Park

In March of 2004, a group of local developers sought to create a 155-acre industrial park in rural Douglas County at the northwest corner of N 1800 Road and E 900 Road, which lies less than 1000 feet from the Interstate 70/Kansas Turnpike interchange 197 but over two miles from the city’s contiguous border. Neighbors of this proposed development filed a protest petition which required the three-member Douglas County Commission to approve the plan with a supermajority (75%) 3-0 vote in support of the project. The County Commission voted 2-1 in favor of the development, which was insufficient for approval.

With a more pro-development City Commission in office in 2007, developers decided to pursue annexation of the land by the City of Lawrence for their industrial park. This annexation and rezoning for industrial development needed approval from the Lawrence-Douglas County Planning Commission, the Douglas County Commission, and the Lawrence City Commission. All three entities approved the annexation and rezoning and the issue created extensive controversy. Public comment was split between those supporting and opposing this development. The Scenic Riverway Community Association, neighbors of the proposed development who staunchly opposed the annexation and rezoning, filed a protest petition and lawsuits against both Douglas County and the City of Lawrence, claiming they acted illegally in their annexation and rezoning. Other citizens asked commissioners to follow up on their promises to create new spaces for industrial development and take action to create jobs. Both the Chamber of Commerce and citizens asked commissioners to approve the development due to what they perceived to be a significant lack of available land for industrial development.

This industrial park is over two miles from the nearest contiguous city limit and the property does not contain city water or sewer services. By annexing this property, the City became obligated to provide these services. Despite these obligations, the property owners contended that they would develop the property without city services and commissioners opted to approve the development on the condition that they would not pay for the extension of these services. Four of the five commissioners were supportive of making this land available for industrial use, citing the need for more industrial space to create the jobs they had promised. However, neighbors filed lawsuits arguing that the Douglas County Board of Commissioners did not properly consider whether the annexation would hinder or interfere with the proper growth and development of the area. A Douglas County judge ruled that the county had properly

considered these factors, but a three-judge panel of the Kansas Court of Appeals reversed the decision (Lawhorn 2011b) preventing development on the property. The property has also changed hands since the City voted to annex the property. Despite the lack of development on this property, other zoning changes have been approved in the area to allow for industrial use, most notably the approval of a 675,000 square foot distribution center for Berry Plastics, a major employer in Lawrence (Lawhorn 2011a).

Citizen Discourses and Actions Concerning the Industrial Park

Commissioners felt significant pressure from members of the development community and other citizens to take actions to create more space for industrial development, but neighbors argued these plans were irresponsible, premature, and potentially expensive. The Scenic Riverway Community Association, neighbors of the proposed development, staunchly opposed this development. The discourses and actions surrounding this issue demonstrate how competing pressures for the proactive pursuit of development clash with desires for careful and deliberate growth in Lawrence while also demonstrating this commission's strong support for economic development.

Opponents framed the annexation as premature, risky, and irresponsible. An urban planning professor at KU argued this development was premature and sprawl at its very worst. He also said that manufacturing employment was declining and it would be difficult to find a tenant for this land and that the community should focus on high-technology businesses that employ the community's highly educated workforce rather than pursuing manufacturing or warehouses (City Commission meeting minutes, 6-17-08:40-41).

Developers told commissioners they would not seek the extension of water or sewer lines to the site and would seek businesses that could be serviced with rural water, but neighbors argued that annexation could put the City in a position where they would be obligated to spend millions of dollars to extend these services if an applicant came forward and requested municipal services. Neighbors worried that commissioners were rushing to approve this development without any knowledge of what type of industry might locate there, and annexing this land would create an expensive liability because they could be obligated to provide water and sewer extensions to the property.

The attorney representing the Scenic Riverway Community Association argued that commissioners would be approving a half-baked plan with no tenants on the horizon. He said the applicant wanted to develop this property profitably, but when asked how the applicant planned on doing that,

The applicant was not sure, but the answer the applicant was presenting, was let them do anything possible and not limit their use. He said the Chamber of Commerce testified... and stated their goal was to have a site available for potential new development which was an honorable goal, but in order to do so, they also said they needed infinite flexibility (ibid.:22).

He said his clients were not opposed to development on this property but wanted to know what the developer planned to do with the land. He argued that without more information about future land uses, the City should not approve IG zoning, the industrial zoning that allows the most intensive uses.

The president of the Scenic Riverway Community Association argued at this meeting that this site could not compete with the New Century Business Park in nearby Gardner, Kansas. New Century was directly on an interstate, had its own water system and wastewater plant, a rail switching station, natural gas and a fire station. He said the site in question could only offer

interstate access, 155 acres, and an anxious developer. There was no water, gas, sewer or rail, and only had a fire station almost eight miles away. He argued Lawrence should build upon its strengths rather than trying to compete head-to-head when they were clearly outmatched. He recommended the community should think outside the box and think of different ways to provide employment, maintain value to the surrounding area, and allow the property owner to develop the land in a profitable way. He argued that the community should use its strengths that included the University, the vibrant downtown, and a well-educated workforce to recruit high-quality employment (ibid.:24-25).

Another citizen's comments reflect a widespread view that citizens should be involved in the development process, especially for major projects. The minutes cite her as saying

She hoped that the public process was not just an accommodation to due process but actually entailed consideration of differing ideas and trying to hone together the best compromise. Each one of the phases she participated in, she felt there was not due process... She said she was saddened because she was not sure she was being heard. She did not think anyone was against new jobs or a successful and growing community... but did not feel there had been a working compromise (ibid.:50-51).

Comments supporting this annexation and industrial zoning highlight the desire for job creation and economic development by many in the community. Mayor Duncan and Commissioner Evans were elected to the City Commission on a platform of job creation and economic development, and their supporters encouraged them to take this opportunity to create more spaces for economic development.

The attorney representing the property owners stressed the need for more industrial land in the community. City leaders had not approved any significant industrial development since the East Hills Business Park twenty years earlier. She also reminded commissioners that East Hills took three years before it had its first tenant, and was still not fully built twenty years later. "This was not something that was going to happen overnight" (ibid.:32). She also reminded

commissioners “they had reached a consensus that they were in critical need of industrial space” (ibid.) and she argued that this was the perfect opportunity to correct this problem.

The lack of available land for industrial use was reiterated by several citizens and a representative from the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce. The representative detailed the vacant industrial land in the city and argued there was not enough. She said site selectors had contacted the Chamber about available industrial land over the last decade and 35% of the time Lawrence was eliminated because of lack of available land. The city had only one site over 50 acres, and plots of this size were increasingly being asked for by site selectors.

She said the city had to compete with surrounding areas that were bringing in industrial sites every year. They needed to take the first step to add industrial [land]... to get a company on that property that would bring jobs to the community and help the tax base (ibid.:37).

The CEO of the Chamber of Commerce read a letter from the Vice Chair of Economic Development for the Chamber of Commerce, which said “As you know, Douglas County is in dire need of ready and available industrial sites. We have precious few real choices to offer prospective companies” (ibid.:47). Other citizens also argued that Lawrence lacked available land, and zoning this land for industrial use was necessary to create jobs and help take the tax burden off residential taxpayers. One resident said “The lack of this type of property caused site selectors to completely avoid Lawrence” (ibid.:45). The plant manager for Berry Plastics, a large employer in Lawrence, also wrote to say that this type of land was desperately needed to ensure local companies could expand in the community.

Another common theme in citizens’ requests for approval of this site related to the need for job creation and reducing the tax burden on residential property. One citizen said they were in desperate need of more jobs in the community, as many of his friends and neighbors were traveling to Kansas City to work. He also said his local taxes kept increasing because “they were

relying more and more on residential taxpayers” (ibid.:44). Another person echoed these comments, saying she was concerned about the continued viability of the community. She said she was very aware of the need to expand the tax base because the city relied far too heavily on residential taxpayers to maintain the quality of life in the community (ibid.:45). Another citizen said she was very interested in jobs and economic development. City Commission meeting minutes quote her as saying:

Economic development was at the forefront of last year’s election and was at the top of everyone’s mind. In addition to adding to the tax base and being able to provide for the services in the community that every citizen deserved, it [keeps]... their children and grandchildren from going out of town (ibid.)

Another citizen’s comments were critical of the attitudes of some citizens that he felt had hindered the community’s ability to attract jobs in recent year.

Lawrence was not the... greatest place on the face of the earth and there were other nice communities in this competition and people [were] very satisfied with going to other communities. Lawrence had a crisis. The City allowed residential development to go on... and residential properties did not raise the taxes that were needed to provide the services the residents insisted upon. This was a crisis and the only way out of it was to get industrial and commercial property in town that would pay the City decent taxes (City Commission meeting minutes 8-5-08:37-38).

This citizen argued that Lawrence had fallen behind other communities because the community had not been proactive enough in economic development matters. These tensions between desires for the proactive pursuit of growth and development and desires for responsible and careful growth were at the forefront of this debate. Though opposition to particular development projects has received considerable attention, this issue reveals that many in the community strongly support economic development. Here we see how the same goal of community well-being is called upon not only by neighborhood interests, but also by those supporting aggressive economic development. Those advocating the approval of this industrial park argued that

development would pay for the services that residents expect while creating jobs, thus benefitting the community.

Case #5: Saying No To Lowe's

Though one of their first actions as a commission was approving the Wal-Mart at the northwest corner of 6th St. and Wakarusa Drive, the commissioners who served from 2007-2009 were more moderate in their support for development than the Wal-Mart settlement and decision to annex an industrial park despite neighbors' protests may suggest. In 2010, Lowe's approached the City requesting permission to build a store east of the second Wal-Mart in the adjacent Bauer Farms development. At this time, two commissioners from this study were no longer on the commission, but commissioners Carter, Duncan and Evans were still serving. The commission's decision to reject Lowe's request for a Comprehensive Plan Amendment to the Bauer Farms development reveals how the community's civic culture prevented commissioners from taking exceedingly pro-development actions. Though Commissioners Carter, Duncan and Evans were generally very supportive of development, their decision to reject Lowe's request shows that the civic culture of the community plays an important role in local government and that support for development in Lawrence is conditional.

The Bauer Farms mixed-use development was created to be "a mix of housing types that would be part of a new urbanism development that features walkability and an old-style neighborhood feel" (Lawhorn 2010a). Commissioners approved Bauer Farms as a "political promise dating back to 2008 when a compromise was struck to allow Wal-Mart to build a store at Sixth Street and Wakarusa Drive. Neighbors were told then that the area east of Wal-Mart would not be allowed to have a big box store" (ibid.). Lowe's requested that the City significantly change this comprehensive plan to allow Lowe's to build, but the Planning

Commission recommended denial of the project on an 8-2 vote on August 23, 2010. City staff also recommended denial due to the significant deviation from plans. The City instead asked Lowe's to consider building farther west on Sixth Street, where it intersects with Kansas Highway 10 (K-10). The Mercato development at Sixth and K-10 "is the largest, vacant property that's zoned retail in the city. It can accommodate two big-box retailers of 175,000 square feet a piece, plus more than a half-dozen smaller retailers" (Lawhorn 2010b). However, Lowe's argued that this site was too far away from existing residential and retail development, and the Bauer Farms site was the only viable option.

On October 5, 2010, City Commissioners heard Lowe's request for a change to the Bauer Farms comprehensive plan to allow Lowe's to build. Lowe's told the City this site was the only one approved by senior management, and no other site could be considered. Commissioners Carter, Duncan and Evans all agreed with planning staff, the Planning Commission, and citizens' requests for denial of this project. The Bauer Farms plan was the product of nearly fifteen years of planning and commissioners were uncomfortable making such a significant change to plans to accommodate a retailer. Lowe's was requesting a 145,551 square foot store in an area that was zoned for residential development, as well as a 7,500 square foot site in addition to the already-approved 72,000 square feet of retail in the Bauer Farms development. The plans for the Sixth St. and Wakarusa Dr. area focused on nodal development, which is considered "the antithesis of strip development" (ibid.:9). Additionally, the Sixth and Wakarusa Area Plan recommended the northeast corner of Sixth and Wakarusa to be "less intensive commercial development' and that it should be part of a planned development that incorporated a mix of pedestrian-friendly uses" (ibid.:10).

Though they felt pressure from the business community to approve this development, commissioners honored the plans that were the product of considerable effort from many interested citizens. This decision shows that while these commissioners were supportive of development, they also recognized the importance of planning and their support for development was tempered by an active community that made commissioners stand by their promises.

Citizen Discourses and Actions Concerning Lowe's

Proponents of the development argued that this project would have great benefits for the community and that Lawrence should feel honored that Lowe's had chosen their community for one of only 25 stores they planned to build in the United States in 2011 (City Commission meeting minutes 10-5-10:14). Members of the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce spoke and stressed the economic benefits from this development. They claimed that this development would create 125 jobs and pay approximately \$500,000 in sales taxes and \$300,000 in property taxes each year. One chamber official said they had been working on becoming more forceful in creating a positive image of Lawrence, Kansas from an economic development standpoint, and this decision would send a strong message about Lawrence's business climate (ibid.:16-17). The developer of this site told the City that "this was a huge win-win for the community... He said he was sorry, but the plan previously approved was just not going to work anymore due to the market and the economy" (ibid.:20).

Proponents hoped commissioners would approve this development in the face of community protest because they knew commissioners had worked hard to reverse the perceived reputation problem facing Lawrence, and they argued that a rejection of this proposal would undermine the work they had done to improve Lawrence's image in the eyes of the business community. The editor of the Lawrence Journal-World also sought to pressure commissioners

into approving this development by saying a rejection of the store would demonstrate that Lawrence's reputation problem continued to be well-deserved. After the Planning Commission recommended denial of this proposal, he strongly criticized their decision in an editorial.

Are there any other cities in Kansas these days facing serious economic challenges who would turn away the opportunity to attract a company that wants to build a 150,000 square foot store, employ approximately 125 people, pay good salaries, pay approximately \$500,000 in taxes, is a so-called clean industry and would attract more shoppers to the city? It's likely Lawrence is one of the very few cities, in Kansas or nationally, that would turn its back on this opportunity. On the other hand, Lawrence has earned the reputation of being one of the state's most difficult cities in which to build a new major retail facility. When other cities are using most every incentive to attract new retailers, create new jobs, improve the economic climate of their communities, offer special tax breaks and attract shoppers from a wide area, Lawrence officials have turned their thumbs down on one of the nation's most successful retailers, Lowe's (Simons 2010).

These assertions that commissioners needed to approve this development were countered with significant protest from neighborhood interests. A local professor told commissioners that the City would not benefit from this as much as Lowe's claimed because it would cannibalize other retailers. He said the net benefit of this development would be zero, as it would cause other businesses to close or reduce employment. He also said the Bauer Farms plan was a political promise that if the commissioners approved Wal-Mart, they would stop developing the area (ibid.:18). Another citizen asked, "Why would you throw all these good plans out the window just because one company asks you to?" (ibid.:19). The President of the Lawrence Association of Neighborhoods also spoke out against the proposal. "This is the poster child of bad planning... You made a promise that if we put up with a small Wal-Mart, you would stop commercial development at Bauer Farms" (ibid.:19). While some opposition to Wal-Mart was due to the company's reputation as a predatory retailer that treats its employees unfairly, there was no such opposition to Lowe's. Citizens were not opposed to a Lowe's in their community; they were opposed to completely changing a development to accommodate a retailer. Citizens

expected commissioners to stand by the promises they made when they approved the Bauer Farms development, and commissioners felt compelled to keep these plans intact.

Part II: Government Rationalities

In this section, I present City Commissioners' views and rationalities concerning governance in Lawrence. I discuss their rationalities regarding their decisions in the issues presented above as well as other aspects of governance related to economic development. Economic development rationalities include the role of government in promoting growth and development, their justifications for using tax incentives, educating skeptical citizens regarding the use of these incentives, the implications of the community's reputation for economic development, and the role of public participation in their decision-making.

Wal-Mart

In interviews, several commissioners gave several reasons for settling with Wal-Mart. They said that their decision to settle was because the City had already spent nearly a half million dollars fighting Wal-Mart, they worried they could lose the lawsuit, or if they won, Wal-Mart would appeal the decision until they got a satisfactory legal outcome, and they felt it was no longer worth fighting. Some also thought the previous commission's denial of Wal-Mart was politically motivated. Commissioner Evans discussed his perception that the City was on shaky legal ground and felt it was irresponsible to spend more money fighting in court.

First of all, it's not about Wal-Mart. It was never about Wal-Mart and it shouldn't have been about Wal-Mart. It was a land use request... The facts were, we approved a final development plan and refused to issue building permits... We were headed down a path of everything good to go, and then when Wal-Mart became associated with it, everybody tried to reverse course. You just can't do that... Then you have the second issue, which was, if we had not come to a compromise, we would still be litigating today. We had

spent by that point close to a half-million dollars, so we would probably be at a million dollars by now with no end in sight... It was clear that Wal-Mart was going to litigate until it was adjudicated to their satisfaction... I think it was a huge distraction that had to go” (field notes, 10-17-08).

Commissioner Barton also viewed the issue similarly. She said the issue was initially about the size of the store and she felt a 225,000 square foot Wal-Mart was far too large for the intersection. However, the issue became about Wal-Mart, and people told her, “‘Put a Costco there, put a Target there, put just about anything you want there, but not Wal-Mart.’ But you can’t do that. It’s not our responsibility to decide whether Lowe’s needs to be there versus Wal-Mart, that’s not a decision we can legally make” (field notes, 12-22-08). She said the two parties had agreed to put the lawsuits on hold and commissioners had said they would approve a smaller Wal-Mart, but when Wal-Mart presented its plan, several “commissioners said, ‘No, I don’t like it.’ And of course they are going to sue us. And there were lawsuits on top of lawsuits on top of lawsuits, and it used an incredible amount of staff time” (ibid.).

Commissioner Duncan also said that he felt they needed to settle the lawsuit because he felt they were on shaky legal ground and it had become prohibitively expensive. He was proud of the settlement because they ended up with a smaller and more aesthetically pleasing store. He also felt that the publicity surrounding the issue was very bad for Lawrence and its reputation (field notes, 1-20-09).

Commissioner Allen, who opposed the Wal-Mart, said that community input on the issue was predominantly opposed to the Wal-Mart. Many spoke in terms of Wal-Mart’s business practices and effects on small business. He agreed with other commissioners that these concerns were not germane to the issue, which was strictly about land use and not Wal-Mart. However, he felt they should have taken a stand and defended their rights regarding land use restrictions and felt they would have won the lawsuit (field notes, 12-15-08). Commissioners’ views on settling

with Wal-Mart demonstrate the view that government should limit its role in the development approval process to code compliance and were not as concerned with the impact of the development on the community as a whole.

The T

When commissioners initially proposed a sales tax referendum to fund public transportation, many citizens were outraged that commissioners would place Lawrence's bus system at risk. However, commissioners framed the issue far differently than these citizens or even the Lawrence Journal-World. Because property taxes were subject to change with each budget year and funding for public transportation could not be guaranteed in future years through property taxes, commissioners were seeking a sales tax that would guarantee funding for the bus system at a stable level for the next 10 years.

Commissioner Barton said that previous commissions had "essentially robbed Peter to pay Paul" (City Commission Meeting Minutes 7-22-08:41), and commissioners never expected an economic downturn of the magnitude they were facing. She also stressed her desire to avoid any property tax increases. For every e-mail she received asking to save the T, she received an e-mail asking not to raise property taxes (*ibid.*).

Mayor Duncan, who was the biggest proponent of a sales tax for the T, said he was trying to find a way to make the transit system better through creating a revenue source that was not at the whim of commissioners every year. The extent of funding for the T had been an ongoing question, and he wanted to settle the question. His job was to make sure people knew they needed to sell the idea of a sales tax and he asked those citizens who came to the meeting to go out and campaign for the passage of this sales tax.

Commissioners Barton and Duncan also discussed how they generated support from the business community by framing the bus as an economic development tool. Framing it in this way was instrumental in gaining the support of those who were hesitant to raise taxes yet supported economic development initiatives. Commissioner Barton believed it was widely supported because “people realized it’s an economic development tool. Between environmental issues, the opportunity to improve [the T], and it really is an economic development tool... If we are going to create jobs, we need to have a way to get people there,” (field notes, 12-22-08). Mayor Duncan said “It’s an economic development tool. That’s one of its faces” (field notes, 1-20-09). Framing the T in terms of economic development helped ensure a broad coalition in support of the T, despite the sentiments of conservative citizens who did not support tax increases. The T was necessary both as a social service and an economic development tool.

Commissioner Carter also discussed what the overwhelming support for the T says about Lawrence residents.

It says everything I knew about them, which is they are caring and they understand the importance of transit as it relates to the environment, as it relates to community, [and] as it relates to the underprivileged... Overall we have a caring population... one that looks very far into the future. I think that we understand as a community what [our] future needs are going to be (field notes, 1-31-09).

Commissioners, and especially Mayor Duncan, led the initiative on the sales tax questions. They were harshly criticized at first, but were able to frame the issue as an attempt to shore up guaranteed funding and advocated the social, environmental, and economic benefits of the T to garner support from multiple sectors of the community. They garnered widespread support and used citizens’ willingness to campaign in support of the T to ensure electoral success of the sales tax measures. Commissioners framed the issue for both managed and unrestricted growth constituencies, selling the sales tax increase both as a public service and an economic development tool. In doing so, they appealed to both factions’ conceptions of the public interest.

Commissioner Allen was the sole commissioner opposed to the move because it placed the T at risk. He argued the bus was a core service and that he could not support a budget that did not include funding for the T.

[He] thought it was completely inappropriate to have a referendum on core City services and was a decision that they, as a Commission, needed to make. There was \$1 million in this budget for economic development and asked why that was not a referendum item. There were a number of things they have not taken out and separated as an item for public vote. He said he could not support the City Manager's recommended budget" (ibid.:44).

Farmer's Turnpike Industrial Park

Four commissioners felt the community desperately needed to create more spaces for industrial development and argued the location near Interstate 70 and K-10 was ideal for industrial development because of its access to these major roadways and because the land did not contain any prime farmland. Development on prime farmland (Class I soils) has long been a contentious issue in Lawrence. The presence of Class I soils had made the long-proposed industrial park near the Lawrence Municipal Airport a highly unpopular proposal since a rail-served industrial park was rejected on the site in 1982 (Schumaker 1991). Though developers for the land near the airport had considered asking this more pro-development commission to approve their industrial park, they never brought it to the commission because commissioners had signaled they could not support industrial development on a plot that contained so much prime farmland.

Commissioners cited the need for more industrial space to create the jobs that many people desired. They also said because the applicant would not request the extension of municipal services, they were comfortable annexing the land. Opponents of the industrial park argued that commissioners had not listened to their concerns and went forward with the

annexation without any attempt to compromise with neighbors or address their concerns. However, commissioners dismissed these criticisms, arguing that just because they disagreed with these criticisms did not mean they were ignored.

At the June 17 meeting, Commissioner Evans said extending services to the site was not practical or affordable, and he was comfortable with the annexation because they were not spending any money. While a local professor argued there was a lack of demand for these jobs, Commissioner Evans found that the American Eagle Outfitters distribution center in Ottawa employed 300-400 Lawrence residents, which showed him there was demand for this type of employment (City Commission meeting minutes 6-17-08:55-56). Regarding zoning the land, he agreed with neighbors at the August 5 meeting that a lot of uncertainty remained about the future of this land and he said he would support IG zoning on the condition that any future plats and final development plans be regular agenda items with opportunity for public involvement and comment on future development plans. He said public involvement was always welcomed and encouraged. Despite neighbors' protests, he said this land was probably the best piece of industrial land in the area because of its access to transportation and because it didn't contain any prime farmland. He also said the City was disproportionately asking residential home owners to pay for municipal services, and government needed to create opportunities for investment and job creation to balance the tax base (City Commission meeting minutes, 8-5-08:45-46).

Mayor Duncan also denied allegations that he did not listen to public comment, saying that these allegations were a dishonor to what they were trying to do. He argued that they needed to look 20 years into the future, which required taking action to create space for industrial development (City Commission meeting minutes 6-17-08:57-59). Regarding concerns by neighbors, he recognized they were disappointed to know that there might be a plant in their

back yard, but the intersection of two major roadways dictated that development of this type would be likely. In an interview, he reflected on this decision and said, “I’m not going to do something just to make somebody rich, and I’m not going to do something just to protect someone’s backyard” (field notes, 1-20-09).

Commissioner Barton also said that she listened to a lot of comments, analyzed a wealth of information, and put a lot of thought into her decision to support this annexation. In an interview, she discussed allegations that they had ignored public comment on this issue.

I understand that the people out in the northwest believe very strongly that we made a huge error in zoning that the way we wanted to zone it... And because we disagreed with them, we were told we didn't listen to them. And that's just not right; it's just not accurate. A good commissioner is going to listen to all sides, and really study [the issue]... You know, you can gripe all you want about what we're doing, but we're still going to go out and try to get jobs for you and your kids. I think that's pretty much what it came down to (field notes, 12-22-08).

For her and other commissioners, the needs of the local economy were more important than neighbors’ concerns because the potential tax revenue would benefit the entire community. Commissioners were not persuaded by neighbors’ concerns, which they seemed to view as “not in my back yard” (NIMBY) concerns. They argued their decisions must reflect what is best for the community as a whole, and the economic needs of the community were more important to commissioners than protecting neighbors. Lawrence needed more land for industrial development, and unhappy neighbors could not stand in the way of this opportunity. Here we see economic concerns equated with the community well-being while those advocating managed growth were framed as being self-interested and harmful to the greater goals of the community. This demonstrates how both sides appeal to competing visions of the public’s best interest in their justifications for their positions.

Saying No to Lowe's

The decision to deny Lowe's request for a Comprehensive Plan Amendment to the Bauer Farms development, which would have significantly altered the plan and drastically increased the amount of retail in the development, came from commissioners' recognition that they would be breaking political promises and that such a significant change in the plans would have been highly unpopular. Citizens have long expected the community's long-range plans to be honored, and the changes that Lowe's sought were such a significant departure from the Bauer Farms development plan that the Lawrence-Douglas County Planning Commission, planning staff, and City Commissioners all agreed that the request should be denied.

City Commission meeting minutes report that Commissioner Evans said "he had been supportive of economic development and was somewhat disappointed... that if you supported the denial, you were business unfriendly, and if you supported the approval you were basically kowtowing to planning being driven by developers" (City Commission meeting minutes, 10-5-10:22). He said "he had a great deal of concern in reversing fifteen years of planning" and that Lowe's was asking the City to "waive a lot of the planning that was done over the last fifteen years" and though economic times were tough, he was not comfortable "doing a 180 degree turn on the land use issue" (ibid.). He went on to say "the City's planning process was something the community had relied on for a long time to create a great community" (ibid.) and said he was not comfortable making such a significant reversal of the already approved plans.

The minutes also report that Commissioner Duncan said he "looked at the plan and how much of a fight they had put up as a community to uphold the plans... The community had a great plan and great vision for this corner when it was approved originally" (ibid.:27). "As a commission they had been supportive of development and he would like to continue to be

supportive” (ibid.:28) but he said he was simply not comfortable making such a significant change to the plan for any tenant, regardless of the merits of this proposal. Commissioner Carter agreed with Commissioners Evans and Duncan. He said he would stand by the plans he had approved in 2008. The Bauer Farms development required no building could be larger than 50,000 square feet and was uncomfortable making such significant changes (ibid.:29).

Perceptions of the Smart Growth Commission and the 2007 Elections

Much of the discussion regarding economic development during the 2007 elections concerned changing how local government related to the local economy. The two newcomers to the commission made it a priority to make an “attitude adjustment” (field notes 6-16-08) at City Hall. This was both to reverse the perceived damages created by the smart growth commission and to change the city’s reputation in the eyes of the business community. Commissioner Barton, who had been in office since 2001, said that the business community perceived Lawrence as “not business-friendly, that we’re the hardest community in Kansas to do business” and commissioners sought to show that Lawrence was “open for business” (field notes, 12-22-08). Commissioners Duncan and Barton also spoke critically of the smart growth commission’s perceived lack of focus on job creation. They felt the smart growth commission was too passive in its approach to the local economy, excessively scrutinized development, and did not work hard enough to promote development and business recruitment or expansion. They also felt that the smart growth commission at times had an adversarial relationship with the development community and forced developers to jump through excessive hurdles to receive approval for their projects (field notes, 6-16-08; field notes, 12-22-08).

The support for candidates with more pro-business views in the 2007 elections was perceived by several commissioners to be related to public frustration or dissatisfaction with the

smart growth commission. Commissioner Barton believed the two newcomers were successful because many people “felt that the work of the PLC had perhaps harmed the community, reputation-wise, process-wise, and because of that, I think there was widespread support” (field notes, 12-22-08). Commissioner Evans felt Lawrence citizens needed to be more supportive of the commission’s economic development efforts.

The opposition to any significant economic development investment has hurt the ability to create jobs and diversify the local economy away from the housing industry that fueled growth and prosperity for 20 years... KU acts as a stabilizer for employment, but it has also led the community into a false sense of security in thinking we really do not need to be competitive with peer communities. We are suffering from that attitude today (field notes, 10-10-09).

The above commissioners assert that it is necessary to constantly pursue more growth and development and a city cannot rest on its laurels or ever be content with its economy.

Lawrence’s “Reputation Problem”

During the 2007 elections, addressing the city’s alleged reputation problem was a salient theme. Candidates and the local newspaper contended there was an anti-growth attitude on the City Commission, and the two newcomers sought to show the business community that the City had changed its attitude and would be more open to business, rather than “scrutinizing every detail” (field notes, 6-16-08). Commissioner Allen contended that this perceived reputation problem was invented by those who were saying these things. He believed local homebuilders were the primary ones unhappy with the City.

In terms of manufacturing businesses, I’m not sure [the reputation problem is] true. I think a lot of the comments heard in the election campaigns were geared more toward the home-building industry than economic development and economic growth. I mean, there was some dissatisfaction there, because they weren’t getting to do exactly what they wanted to do (field notes, 4-21-08)

He pointed to the fact that the smart growth commission had approved every property tax abatement that came before them as evidence that they were not opposed to growth and contended the smart growth commission was simply willing to say no to bad residential projects.

Other commissioners had a different perception of Lawrence's reputation. They suggested the approval process took too long and staff did not adequately facilitate the approval process. The public spectacle surrounding the City's fight with Wal-Mart was "a huge distraction" (field notes, 10-17-08) and the 2000 controversy concerning American Eagle Outfitters distribution center was "an embarrassment to the community" (field notes, 1-20-09). Commissioner Barton believed the City's inability to secure the American Eagle after public controversy surrounding the project and its proposed tax abatements was still impacting the community's reputation, though it happened nearly a decade before (field notes, 5-22-08).

Commissioner Barton also said outside firms and site selectors perceived Lawrence to be "not business-friendly; we're the hardest community in Kansas to do business, and that you're going to come here and people are going to rake you over the coals" (field notes, 12-22-08). After the American Eagle Outfitters project moved to neighboring Ottawa, then-Lieutenant Governor of Kansas Harry Shearer spoke to Lawrence officials.

[He told us] the worst place in Kansas to do business is Lawrence. And this is our Lieutenant Governor of the state of Kansas. You don't have to say that many times.... It takes hundreds of [positive] examples to overcome one negative statement. People from the Kansas City Area Development Council will tell you that there are site selectors that don't even look at us anymore. Number one, we don't have land, and number two, we have a bad reputation (ibid.).

Commissioner Duncan had a similar opinion.

I think the city is in a period of readjustment... We have focused on scrutinizing and analyzing every opportunity too much... We haven't been a really good place for people to come. People want to come here, but they're not willing to put up with some of the time constraints and attitudinal constraints that are put on them when they try to do business here... Sometimes I get calls like "okay, this is the hardest place I've ever done

this in, and I do it in 100 different places.”... I used to think it was people just complaining because developers in general want an easy ride down the road, but people that I respect tell me this, so I have to wonder if there’s not some truth in that both at the staff level and the elected official level (field notes, 6-16-08).

He also believed that some firms likely did not locate in Lawrence because the community “made a public spectacle out of some of the activities that went on in this community in the last five years. There are things that happened and development policies and procedures and people who outwardly said things that maybe discouraged people from coming here” (ibid.). These comments were a criticism of the longstanding controversy surrounding the second Wal-Mart and of the smart growth commission’s careful approach to growth and development. They highlight the views of some commissioners that the role of local government is to promote growth and development. They are highly critical of opposition, which they consider a hindrance to their ability to create jobs.

While the above commissioners were critical of Lawrence’s tradition of scrutinizing major development projects, two commissioners recognized this approach to be a historically situated aspect of the local culture. They recognized that local politics are a product of tradition and the values in the community. With a long history of public participation in growth and development decisions, two commissioners acknowledged that this process and responsiveness is what the community expects. Commissioner Evans expressed the following opinion.

The perception is that the City is difficult to deal with; it’s not really timely in response. I think that people know coming in that the political climate is going to be more charged than others in land use. I’m not sure how much that’s a reputation problem. I think it’s just one of the factors you’ve got to consider when you come here... I think the Chamber [of Commerce] just needs to realize that it has to accept and embrace some of the differentiations that Lawrence has from other communities and figure out how to make that to their advantage, versus feeling like that’s a millstone. That’s where we’ve been in the past (field notes, 10-17-08).

He believed the controversial nature of land use in Lawrence has had mixed results. He, like all of the commissioners I spoke with, agreed that grassroots opposition to numerous mall proposals saved the downtown from the deterioration seen in many communities across the country. He believed the opposition to any significant economic development also prevented local government from diversifying the economy, yet he believed the city's sometimes obstreperous culture can be appealing and beneficial to the community.

The conflicts over... economic development tools such as tax abatements have been detrimental to diversifying the economy here in Lawrence... Local government politics will always be more controversial than average given the community where we reside. But, the culture creates an environment that is very attractive for many residents and represents in some ways what we are as a community today. I have always enjoyed that element which differentiates us from many other communities (field notes, 10-10-09).

Commissioner Carter was also unwilling to criticize Lawrence's political history and reputation and felt Lawrence's high expectations were nothing to be ashamed of. Because he was involved in local government during the mall controversies of the 1980s he learned the value of community participation and critically examining growth and development opportunities. He not only recognized the need to acknowledge the cultural and political climate, but celebrated it.

Do we have a reputation? Yeah, we're tough! And because we are tough, do we have a better community? You're damn right we do. If our reputation is tainted because our policies are tough, because we expect more than another community, then we must be doing something right. You know? If I've got a reputation because I want something good, then hell, so be it. I can live with that (field notes, 6-8-08).

Despite disagreements concerning the importance of the community's reputation in its ability to succeed in economic development, all agreed that growth and development should be a top priority as a local elected official. In the next section, this dedication to growth and development will be more closely examined in light of its implications for commissioners' views of the proper role of government.

The Centrality of Growth in Government

Peterson (1981) wrote that there is a unitary interest in growth for local elected officials. This is due to the political economic arrangements of capitalism where the private sector creates wealth and governments are dependent upon an expanding economy for increasing their tax bases and fiscal resources. Local elected officials across the United States almost unanimously view job creation and economic growth as top priorities for local government. Officials in Lawrence are no exception to this trend. Even the smart growth commission, which was criticized as being anti-growth, supported job creation and economic development by approving every tax abatement that came before them.

Commissioners Duncan and Evans found support from citizens who wanted the City to be more proactive in job creation and development efforts. They took several measures to pursue these goals including settling with Wal-Mart, approving the large Bauer Farms development just east of the second Wal-Mart, and island annexing 155 acres of land for industrial development. They also formalized policies for two special sales taxes to reimburse developers to recoup costs of building commercial developments. Tax Incremental Financing (TIF²) and Transportation Development Districts (TDD³) were ~~created~~ updated to “incentivize” commercial development in early 2008 and create formalized guidelines for their implementation. These new incentives demonstrate the commitment of these commissioners to promoting growth.

² TIF policy is City Resolution 6789. It allows for a 1% special sales tax to be created to reimburse developers for projects that demonstrate significant public improvements in support of developments. Applicants must demonstrate their development would not be feasible “but for” the use of a TIF.

³ TDD is City Resolution 6790. It allows for a 1% sales tax to be created to reimburse developers for transportation-related improvements above and beyond what is required by the City.

City leaders focused on growth to reduce the tax burden on citizens and pay for services the community expected. Commissioner Carter stressed the fiscal benefits of commercial and industrial growth for local government.

One of the good things about the development of new businesses and new industrial [is that] ... they pay a lot of taxes and they give us the opportunity to have things like expanded libraries and we would have more money to spend on streets and infrastructure, and [be] able to help fund outside agencies (field notes, 6-8-08).

Commissioner Duncan also said he wanted to encourage economic development to take the burden off residential taxpayers.

I wanted to steer our community into a more balanced and more sustainable tax base. Specifically, avoid the continuation of residential sales tax and residential property owners as the major payers of taxes in this community... There are a lot of reasons I want to change the tax base, but I think the main reason is to rebalance the property tax issue. The tax is substantial (field notes, 6-16-08).

While Lawrence's imbalanced tax base was a sign that job creation and economic development needed to be a top priority, commissioners also said these pursuits would remain a top priority regardless of the city's economic health. Commissioner Barton said

You always have to [pursue economic development]. And this is in a sense why we got ourselves into hot water... The '90s were great for us, and so were the late '80s... But that was 10-20 years ago. I think we got a little fat and sassy and didn't look for that next industrial park (field notes, 5-6-08).

Commissioner Carter said that economic development "is always going to be a top priority just because as local officials [we are] able to create spaces for new business or industry to come" (field notes, 6-8-08). The tax revenue from non-residential growth also reduces the tax burden on residential taxpayers and provides more resources for local governments. The bottom line was stressed by Commissioner Evans:

We are going to be challenged to provide city services without modest growth in all areas. It's not a grow-or-die scenario, it's just that... if [non-residential growth] is not moving along with the general growth in the population, it's going to be harder and harder for the City government (field notes, 10-17-08).

The above comments demonstrate how commissioners perceived Lawrence's economy to be suffering from a decade of complacency by previous commissions that had exacerbated the trend of Lawrence becoming a bedroom community. However, they also said they would be proactively pursuing growth and development no matter the condition of the local economy. Economic growth and property development were a top priority for Lawrence's commissioners because they were considered the best ways of benefitting the community by growing the local tax base and therefore funding services that many citizens highly value.

Manage Growth, or Facilitate and Encourage Growth?

The commission that preceded the 2007-2009 commission focused on "smart" growth. They were concerned developers had too much influence in the development process and sought to give neighborhood concerns more weight in their decision-making. They viewed the role of government as a mediator between private interests and the public interest, which they did not consider one in the same. New development may be profitable for developers and property owners, but over-building can create high vacancy rates, especially in older areas such as the urban core. Their growth management philosophy resulted in the creation of policies that give the City greater ability to manage growth. For example, the smart growth commission created a law requiring any new commercial development over 50,000 square feet to pay for an independent retail market analysis and gave the City the right to reject a development proposal if the study predicted vacancy rates to exceed 8% as a result of the development. Consideration of the conditions and timing of growth were viewed as important. The smart growth commissioners viewed the responsibility to the public interest as ensuring that growth did not harm existing businesses or cause blight through overbuilding. This growth management philosophy was criticized by members of the economic development community as being

restrictive of business interests by forcing them to jump through excessive hurdles, and they argued that these policies and principles discouraged job creation and development.

In response, Commissioners Barton, Duncan and Evans worried that the smart growth commission was not supportive enough of business interests, and they made it a top priority to be more supportive of the business community. In their statements, we see how this bias toward business interests influences local governance in Lawrence. Commissioner Duncan said he wanted to show the business community that “there are votes on the commission for progress and moving forward and not scrutinizing every detail of a project” (field notes, 6-16-08). He worried the City had an adversarial relationship with the business community before 2007 and he believed it was very important to show the business community that attitudes had changed at City Hall. As an example of this support, he visited over 50 businesses in the community to say to them,

“We want you here, we’re glad you’re here. What can we do to make your stay better? What can we do to help you expand?”... I’ve made that a priority for myself... I think I’ve done everything I can as a part-time position to make the businesses here feel more welcome (ibid.).

We can see the contrasting attitudes between smart growth and pro-business commissioners in the comments of Commissioners Allen and Evans. Commissioner Allen, a smart growth commissioner, criticized the way Commissioner Evans perceived the relationship between local government and developers.

In Lawrence, when a developer says jump, we ask how high, instead of saying, “No, these are our community standards and we expect you to follow them.” Some people think if we’re not just going to kiss people’s feet then we’re going to hurt their feelings and they will go somewhere else. The way I see it is, these are rational business people who make rational business decisions. If we’re grossly offensive, we might chase some people away, but the bottom line is what’s going to guide their decisions (field notes, 12-15-08).

Commissioner Evans discusses the changing approach to development between the smart growth commission and the 2007-2009 commission.

I think the paradigm shift is the fact that we can't mold business to our own means... I think that the majority of the former commission would say, "Here are our rules, these are the hurdles you'll have to jump, and people will jump." Our view is, "We can set the rules, but... many people will decide not to jump them and they'll go other places" (field notes, 10-17-08).

Commissioners Barton, Duncan and Evans sought to facilitate and encourage growth and allow the market to determine the pace of development. Commissioner Barton said, "What we do best is facilitate the situation" (field notes, 5-6-08). Commissioner Evans said, "We're a facilitator, period. Not a manager or regulator, a facilitator. I think we don't regulate the business community... What we do is create the guidelines... I think we facilitate and let the process take care of itself" (field notes, 10-17-08). Commissioner Duncan had an even more proactive stance, saying, "I'm about trying to stimulate [growth], using any tools we possibly can... I think it's important as a professional to put every effort forward to try to gain an advantage for business" (field notes, 6-16-08). Because growth in the local economy increases tax revenues that fund city services, they felt growth was the best way to benefit the community.

The priorities of incoming commissioners Duncan and Evans represent a critical reaction to the smart growth commission's growth management philosophy. These commissioners claimed to hold a free market view concerning the pace of development. A key assumption of free market capitalism is that by allowing individuals to pursue their own private interests, society as a whole benefits and the public interest is realized. Neoliberals extend this philosophy such that the role of the state is to maximize economic activity through minimizing regulations and restrictions (Harvey 2005). In the case of housing and commercial development, the 2007-2009 commission was hesitant to question the timing of development. This contrasted with the

earlier smart growth commissioners who understood their job to include deciding the pace of growth and development. Commissioner Evans' comments regarding the pace of growth demonstrate this neoliberal philosophy of avoiding growth restrictions or regulations.

I think it makes sense for the city to have an awareness of our vacancy rates... but ultimately I think project-by-project, the market decides the timing of development, not the City. Because they're putting the risk capital into the ground and they typically have their reasons for doing it... I think the point is that when you start looking at projects place to place and start saying, "I don't know if this is the time or not" the question you need to ask yourself is first, "What is their motive to want to invest?" and secondly, "If you bypass that opportunity, when will it come around again?" So I think I'm much more market-based in saying our focus needs to be [to] make sure our planning is good, our zoning is good, we have all the parameters in place that we feel comfortable and then it's not such a question of "I don't know if it's the right time or not" (field notes, 10-17-08).

A key tenet of this philosophy lies in commissioners' views that if a firm believes it can be profitable with a particular development, it is generally not the job of city officials to decide if the development is a good idea. Government should not take restrictive actions on developers and private firms. However, using government subsidies and other incentives to stimulate and encourage development is not a "hands-off" free market approach to growth and development. Instead, it demonstrates that government has a special relationship with the private sector where government attempts to provide more favorable conditions for development, thus skewing the "free market" toward more growth and development than a truly independent market would allow.

Inter-Local Competition, Marketing the City, and Justifying Incentives

Understanding how Lawrence's City Commissioners perceive competition with other cities provides insight into the government rationality for being business-friendly and offering incentives. All commissioners agree that Lawrence is in competition with other cities for investment, but there is a range of opinions concerning how to deal with this competition.

Several commissioners discussed their perceptions of inter-local competition, largely taking it for granted as simply the new rules of the game for job creation and economic development efforts.

Commissioner Barton said:

I think we are always in competition. We know we are in competition with other Kansas communities such as Wichita or Emporia. We were in competition with Lincoln, Nebraska and another community for Seriologicals... If we are going to get into competition with the biosciences, we know we are in competition with North Carolina and California (field notes, 5-6-08).

When asked to describe the positive or negative aspects of competition between cities,

Commissioner Evans said "I just don't see it as a positive or negative; it just is. Competition is a driver in the business community, and I can't imagine it any other way" (field notes, 10-17-08).

Because officials highly value economic growth, cities compete with each other for investment, and they use a wide variety of measures to enhance their appeal to investors.

Incentives are one tool they use, but Lawrence City Commissioners recognize other methods. In this competitive struggle for job creation, several commissioners discuss how Lawrence can "sell" itself to firms. Commissioner Evans discussed this at length. He felt that Lawrence needed to utilize aspects of the community that some have considered a detriment to the community's ability to recruit employers, including the community's reputation as being different from other communities.

I think our effectiveness has been hampered certainly [not having a] clear focus from what we're trying to do. And we're a community that has some contrasting opinions about the methods to attract business, so really what I would like to see is much more focus on our differentiating factors from surrounding communities... I think the problem is we haven't done a very good job in differentiation. We've got some unique characteristics that can be exploited. The university itself is a big draw, [as well as] our music scene and the lifestyle issues. I think we're a much more... liberal community compared to surrounding communities, and that has some appeal. I think the question is how do you package that into something that people understand?... I think the Chamber just needs to realize that it has to accept and embrace some of the differentiations that Lawrence has from other communities and figure out how to make that to their advantage, versus feeling like that's a millstone (field notes, 10-17-08).

Because every community offers similar incentive packages, Commissioner Carter also said that Lawrence needs to differentiate itself from other communities.

You've got to have something that is going to set your community one step ahead that they can see a visible difference. Is that going to be good housing stock? I think that's something. Is it going to be streets? I think that's something. Are you going to have good sidewalks? Yeah. Are the shopping and personal needs of their employees going to be met in this community? I think those are the kinds of things you have to have as the cream on top of the strawberries to get somebody. Because all things equal again, because every community is offering the same thing, that's where the difference is going to come from (field notes, 6-8-08).

Local governments and chambers of commerce often describe incentives as tools of competition (Cox and Mair 1988), but Lawrence City Commissioners' views were more consistent with Weinbaum (2004), who suggests these incentives have become so commonplace in economic development that they have become normalized and expected. In Lawrence, commissioners felt compelled to offer them, regardless of their effectiveness. They also felt that Lawrence's differences should be exploited as advantages, rather than detriments to the community's appeal to employers. This shows an awareness of marketing techniques by seeking to turn a potential liability into a selling point.

In my interviews, every commissioner acknowledged that financial incentives were not the most important consideration in firms' location decisions, but they all contended they were so commonplace that some form of incentive was expected and necessary. These incentives were also perceived to be symbolic of the community's support for the firms receiving these incentives. Commissioner Barton said:

Are financial incentives number one? Probably not, but you better have them in your toolbox, because every other community does... We've met with people from the Kansas City Area Development Council and the Kansas Department of Commerce, and they've said these incentives are just the bottom line now. That is accepted and expected... Without that incentive a company is not going to come. So you can stand at the corner of 9th and Mass. Street until hell freezes over talking about how we shouldn't be giving away money, but they are not going to come if you don't provide the incentives (field notes, 5-6-08).

Commissioner Carter had a similar opinion. “I think we’re caught in a situation where incentives are expected. It’s not a recruiting tool because... [they] are given all the time and they’re part of the package of getting a business to come in” (field notes, 6-8-08). Commissioner Allen, who advocated the careful use of tax abatements, also expressed the necessity of incentives to even begin to compete for investment.

I am fairly confident that there are projects we didn’t get because we didn’t have the right incentives and... [others] that we got which we wouldn’t have got if we hadn’t offered some incentives. I think in terms of coming to this area, incentives hardly make any difference, but in terms of where in the region a project might locate, it can still be a significant factor (field notes, 4-21-08).

Commissioner Duncan also addressed critics in Lawrence about why the City must offer incentives. “People think Lawrence is so great we shouldn’t have to ask people to come, we shouldn’t have to pay them to come, but that is the reality that is out there, and there are great communities all over the country that are paying people to come” (field notes, 6-16-08).

Commissioner Evans agreed that incentives may not be major considerations but they are necessary in this day and age.

I don’t think it’s a matter of how effective they are. I think it’s just a matter that you’ve got to have them. The question of whether or not a business would choose a spot or not if the incentive is there is sort of moot. I think it really comes down to, if you don’t have the tools, you’re not on the list (field notes, 10-17-08).

Commissioner Barton admitted the situation is not ideal, but governments must accept the new rules of the game and play by them, or else they risk being left behind. She argued that incentives may not be a major factor, but they are absolutely necessary in our current political economy. “We can whine about it, we can say it’s an arms race, we can say we don’t like it. We can drop out, but our economic development will not occur without it” (field notes, 5-6-08).

Because of the controversial nature of incentives in Lawrence, commissioners discussed

their desire to educate the community about why they give tax abatements by discussing the benefits the city receives from investment. Commissioner Barton said that “we are a demanding community and we want lots of services but we have a disconnect I think in terms of how we pay for it” (field notes, 5-6-08). Commissioner Barton talked extensively about her perception that people don’t understand these incentives.

They don’t understand why you give them to big corporations... It just goes back to the original disconnect between the need for businesses and what it costs to get them here... I could just about guarantee that there are people who would say, “Why on earth would you give a big company a dime when we don’t have money to fill all the potholes?” It goes back to not understanding the ripple effect a big company can have in terms of all the employees [who are] spending money, buying property, and paying property taxes. When people don’t understand the ripple effect of that, there will be reluctance on their part that the City should be giving away money to somebody (field notes, 5-6-08).

Commissioner Carter agreed that the City had not done a good job educating the community. He believed they could do a better job explaining that incentives benefit the community as a whole. He wanted to

have general discussions on how these tools are going to assist this community over time, how they’re going to help bring in more additional moneys to the coffers of the City, and at the same time take burdens off of residential taxpayers by helping to fund the services that residents expect (field notes 6-8-08)

In explaining why cities grant incentives so freely, three commissioners drew an analogy to professional sports teams. They argued that because other cities were willing to offer generous incentives, Lawrence needed to be willing to do the same.

Hill’s [pet food] was promised over a million dollars from the community of Emporia to locate there. Does Hill’s need that? Probably not. But if we’ve got an NBA team in Lawrence, Kansas and we want LeBron James, we’d better be able to pony up the money to get LeBron James... It’s the same thing. You’ve got to really show that company that you want them in the community (field notes, 5-6-08).

Commissioner Duncan echoed the above comments.

It’s just part of the playing field. It’s like, major league baseball players shouldn’t make \$10 million a year, but they do because somebody else is willing to pay them... So it’s what the other guy is willing to do, and eventually you have to be willing to do it too.

That's where we are now, coming to the realization that we have to pay to play (field notes, 6-16-08).

Commissioner Evans agreed that incentives may not be needed by a firm, but they were simply a cost of doing business for a local government pursuing economic growth and development. He related communities granting incentives to

Football stadiums and other such things. I mean can you really justify spending \$400 million or whatever the number is? That's a hard question to answer. Is it worth \$400 million worth of economic development, or is it just the cost of doing business as a major metropolitan community? That's really difficult, but the fact is, if you don't put money on the table, you're not going to get a sports team, and that's universal (field notes, 10-17-08).

These comments reflect an attitude that incentive packages may be excessive, but cities need to be willing to offer them to be considered by a firm because there will always be another city willing to offer a lucrative deal.

From the above comments, it is clear that commissioners feel compelled to offer financial incentives because these are among the rules of governance. Because retaining or recruiting a large employer is so important to the community, officials do not feel they are in any position to drive a hard bargain. Commissioner Duncan expressed this opinion.

We can't gamble; we can't play poker with potential people. We need to tell them what our best deal is and know we put our best foot forward and we didn't gamble to try to save a buck... We can't treat every opportunity as a game of poker. People who pretend it is don't really know what it's like to be in business. Because you gamble with people's lives, with their future, with their families, with their paycheck. I don't do that, I never have, and I wouldn't do that with the City's staff either (field notes, 1-20-09).

Commissioner Allen discussed why the smart growth commission offered a 90% tax abatement for the expansion at Berry Plastics. He believed they could have pushed for a better deal, such as a 50 or 60 percent tax abatement, but he felt there was too much at stake to risk losing the firm. "That risk of not getting that \$80 million investment, we would have lost several hundred jobs

that we already have here, so I didn't really want to gamble; I didn't want to push that too hard" (field notes, 4-21-08).

The above comments demonstrate a view of the relationship between government and business where business has significant leverage over communities. In this view, government's most important role is to take measures that maximize a community's appeal to investors. The overwhelming concern for the local economy compels officials to take any and all measures available to secure a large employer. Adding a large employer to the city can be a major political and economic victory for elected officials, and failing to do so can be very detrimental. Because incentives are expected by firms and commissioners believe there is so much at stake in economic development both politically and economically, officials feel they are in no position to play hardball with businesses. However, they are willing to play hardball with other communities whose negotiators are equally willing to offer taxpayer funds to win the "game" of economic development.

The Role of Public Participation

My theory of local governance argues that the civic culture of the community conditions local governance. Furthermore governmentalities, which include rationalities and technologies of governance, are a product of this historically defined culture and produce "proper" citizens who support existing power relations. The values, goals and priorities of citizens can influence the decisions of local elected officials, though these officials are not compelled to follow popular opinion. In Lawrence, citizen activism has had numerous effects. In the 1980s, citizens protested several mall proposals and as seen above, economic development initiatives have at times generated opposition from some citizens. Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) argue that

responsive governments are a product of a politically active and often liberal civic culture.

Schumaker (1991:52-53) uses the term “representative discretion,” which he defines as a desire to leave major decisions to elected officials, and contrasts with public involvement through measures such as referenda, to describe the extent of local governmental responsiveness.

Schumaker (1991) found that officials in Lawrence favored representative discretion, while citizens preferred public involvement, especially in major decisions. My study suggests that this continues to be the case. While the Lowe’s decision shows how the commissioners I studied were sometimes responsive to the community’s expectations and values, their decision to create a sales tax referendum on the T shows that they also were willing to make an unpopular decision in the opinion that the public’s disapproval was misguided.

Commissioners in my study discussed their views regarding the role that public opinion should have on their decision-making process. They said that public input was an important part of the process, but argued that other criteria were more important. Commissioners allow room for dissenting views, but criticisms that do not support growth are dismissed as selfish and not consistent with the public interest. Commissioner Evans discussed why he approved the expansion of athletic fields at Lawrence High School despite neighbors’ protests that they would be subjected to light and noise pollution from the fields.

Code compliance is number one. That should be the main determinant of approval or denial. Otherwise, public opinion is an important element... Where everything is at becomes a secondary consideration. That’s why Lawrence High... you can build fields at high schools. At the end of the day, that’s what it comes down to. I mean, I’m sorry you live on Alabama [St.], but your back yard abuts to a high school, and there’s going to be activity at a high school. So you have to kind of weigh those things, and when code compliance becomes so clear and it’s really hard to say “How can I prohibit somebody from building a baseball field at a high school?” You start to think this is getting a little bit out of bounds here (field notes, 10-17-08).

Commissioner Evans also discussed his opinion of citizen opposition to the South Lawrence Trafficway, which would complete a seven-mile gap in Kansas Highway 10 that would bypass the city to the south and connect Johnson County with Interstate 70 northwest of the city. If the highway is ever completed, it will destroy a section of the Haskell-Baker wetlands, and Native American groups and environmentalists have strongly opposed the road for the last twenty-five years. He said he valued their participation, but thought some of their arguments were not germane to the issue.

I think there is incredibly valuable community grassroots kind of input into public process. I think sometimes it gets a little on the crazy side. And I think in this case it got a little crazy... I went to a neighborhood association meeting with... the spokesman for the Wetlands. And he goes up there and starts talking about how the federal government stole land from them in the 1950s and it's like, what do you do with that?... It's like let's go back to Plymouth Rock. I mean, I can't speak to that. It creates misdirection and it's intended to create emotion that really takes you off of what the issue is (ibid.).

Commissioner Evans acknowledged that public comment and participation should have a role in his decision making, but he argued that code compliance should be the primary condition for approval or denial and felt public comment and concerns were secondary to the code.

Commissioner Duncan expressed similar opinions. He said he spent a lot of time talking with people from both sides of particular issues, and public comments at meetings either helped him confirm his initial feelings or led him to question them.

I think citizen input is one part of the formula and I look at it as the frosting on the cake... What nobody sees is the time I put in developing my opinion, putting together my feelings and learning about a subject. Nobody sees the heavy lifting going on... The problem with that is at the meeting, it appears you aren't listening because the vocal minorities [are] there, the ones with the most at stake are there, and the ones with the most to lose are there, so unfortunately it's not a true sampling... I try to learn as much as I can about... how it's going to affect the average person, and the most disappointing thing I've had as a commissioner probably, is how hesitant people are to do anything for this community if it affects them personally... [If people] think it's going to hurt them, they'll say no. But I have to look at what's best for the community, not just the neighbors, because they are just one part of Lawrence (field notes, 1-20-09).

Commissioner Duncan was critical of protests he saw as NIMBY concerns, which did not hold as much weight as the needs of the community as a whole. However, because of the overriding concern of the local economy, his perception of the public interest tended to lean toward the desires of the private sector in the pursuit of growth and development and argued that the public's interest is served through maximizing economic activity, even if it is detrimental to neighbors or one sector of the community.

Commissioner Barton also thought that public comments were an important aspect of the decision-making process, but her opinions also reflect a preference for representative discretion and utilitarianism while viewing the public interest in economic terms. Like Commissioner Duncan, she thought much protest to development came from NIMBY concerns. She paraphrased these protests as "I'm all for economic development, I believe in jobs, but really, not here, or there, or back there, but yeah, jobs" (field notes 12-22-08). She also argued that many who protested at City Commission meetings vilified developers and commissioners when they supported development.

Citizen input is extremely important to me, but I think what they don't get is that developers are citizens. Their attorneys, their architects are citizens, you know. They are heard as well... And because we disagreed with [neighbors of the industrial island annexation] we were told we didn't listen to them. And that's just not right, it's just not accurate. A good commissioner is going to listen to all sides, and really study the issue... That's the thing, the hours that go into prior to the meetings that people don't see, and so, you get up there and because the commission happens to disagree with you, then you attack that group for not listening to you... It's not that I didn't listen to you; I just disagreed with you (ibid.).

In her opinion, just because some citizens opposed a development did not mean the development was bad for the community as a whole. She addressed this criticism by arguing that her decisions reflect what she felt to be best for the community, and like Commissioner Duncan, the local economy was closely tied to her conception of the public interest. Commissioners Duncan

and Barton were comfortable exercising representative discretion with a utilitarian view of justice, where they were willing to go against the opposition of a vocal minority in the name of their view of the public interest.

While the above comments highlight a preference for representative discretion, other commissioners gave more weight to public opinion. Commissioners Allen and Carter held public participation in very high esteem and were hesitant to criticize public opposition, arguing this debate has created a special community. Commissioner Allen was elected with support from the PLC and pledged to “give more weight to citizen concerns” (field notes, 12-15-08). He argued it was necessary to ensure development did not adversely affect citizens or the community as a whole. His conception of justice was less utilitarian than other commissioners, and he illustrated this by saying:

I certainly think we need to not place unreasonable barriers in the way of entrepreneurs; they're the people who take risks and make things happen and do the things we all depend on, but I don't think they deserve absolute carte blanche because there are social consequences to their actions. And that's part of my job; a public official's job is to make sure that individual actions don't adversely impact the community as a whole (ibid.).

He was more willing to deny a project if it might harm neighbors or the community and gave more weight to citizen concerns than other commissioners. Because of this governing philosophy, he opposed several major issues including settling with Wal-Mart, the 2009 budget that did not include funding for the T, and the island annexation of 155 acres for industrial development. In all of these issues, he sided with opponents because he felt citizens and neighbors could be harmed by these actions and would therefore not be in the interest of the community as a whole.

Commissioner Carter's time as a public official includes terms on both the City and County Commissions in the 1980s. He opposed the mall projects that came before him because

of widespread opposition and he worried they would destroy the downtown. Being a downtown business owner, he has long supported the community's desire to protect the downtown from unregulated growth and sprawl that destroyed the downtowns of many cities and has been somewhat supportive of growth management strategies. Both neighborhood associations and business interests have supported him because he has sought a middle path between the needs of business and the concerns of the community in major growth and development issues. He acknowledged the community's desire to participate in local politics and welcomed public input, believing this participation creates both better government and a better city. He said, "Having public debate in open government is something that should always happen. If it takes a little longer and you end up with a better project, then it was for the good of the community" (field notes, 6-8-08). He also said

I think debate in Lawrence, Kansas is always going to be a huge item. And I would hope that in our community, that it is (always) something that people (care about)... I guess I'll put it this way, I want people to participate. I want people to understand for the sake of today and for history saying, "This is why we did it this way." And I think we have a pretty good community because of that (field notes, 1-31-09).

Commissioner Carter's long tenure as a public official in Lawrence has led him to see the importance of public participation in creating a unique and special community that citizens are very proud of. He saw participation as an important aspect of the city's civic culture that has a long tradition within the community. Citizens draw upon these historically-defined traditions and reinforce them by participating and debating controversial issues.

Commissioner Carter also offered an example of a time when public comment led him to change his mind on an important issue. The City Commission was considering the Industrial Chapter of Horizon 2020 (Chapter 7), and the chapter included wording regarding the protection of prime farmland from industrial development.

Let me give you an example of where public comment swayed one of my decisions, and it goes back to [protecting] prime agricultural property, okay? I was probably set to vote for Chapter 7 (of Horizon 2020) as written, and I forget the individual's name, but she got up and gave a presentation about the need to protect [prime farmland]. She had maps and graphs and the whole deal, and talked about the fact that we only had 10-11% of this land available left in this county. And I was thinking to myself, "You know, she's right." I actually changed my position on an item in a meeting because of what a member of the public had said. And this is a huge issue... There's not been a time I don't think when I haven't been open-minded to listen to every comment, take notes on every comment, and understand the importance of that participation, and trying to figure out if there's something that I may be missing in all of this (ibid.).

Commissioner Carter's willingness to change his mind at a public meeting demonstrates the high importance he places on public input in his decision-making process.

There is clearly a range of opinion regarding how to respond to public comments and participation in elected officials' decisions. In Lawrence, land use is often a heated and controversial topic, and there is no shortage of opinions regarding the impact of a particular land use project on the community. Citizens expect that their opinions will carry significant weight when commissioners consider major land use decisions, and Commissioners Allen and Carter are willing to consider the wider impacts of land use decisions on the community, including sustainability, quality of life for neighbors, and environmental impacts, all of which they view to be part of the public's best interest. However, the salience of these values held by neighborhood interests is also affected by their modes of participation. These citizens tend to seek to influence government in public spheres, such as demonstrations and rallies downtown, public comment at City Commission meetings, and in elections. While these avenues are highly visible, they are often reactionary and only manifest once a controversial issue comes to the fore. This stands in contrast to the modes of participation of the development community, whose participation is less visible.

While Commissioners Barton, Duncan and Evans do not dismiss public opinion, they give less weight to concerns they perceive as not supportive of growth. Therefore, they give significant weight to those pushing for development initiatives. The development community participates heavily in local government, but members tend to work behind the scenes and have greater access to commissioners. They initiate land use proposals, work closely with the Department of Planning and Development Services, and the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce is an advocate for their interests while also receiving funding from the City of Lawrence for economic development efforts. This public-private partnership creates very close ties between the Chamber and the City, and because of this, the Chamber's opinions and advice often carry great weight for City Commissioners. This is an important structural advantage for the growth machine and wider business community when they seek to garner support from commissioners for development projects, even in the face of controversy. The business and development communities are entrenched in local government through structural arrangements between business and government, the fiscal resources that growth can provide, and ideological confluence with some commissioners.

Part III: Governmental Technologies of Power

In order to achieve the goal of growth and to gain the support of civil society for the pursuit of this goal, certain technologies are used by government. As mentioned above, these technologies of power are to "be analyzed in terms of the strategies, techniques, and procedures through which different authorities seek to enact programs of government in relation to the materials and forces at hand and the resistances and oppositions anticipated or encountered" (Rose 1996:42). There are several technologies of power that Lawrence City Commissioners use to assist them in their pursuit of growth and development, even in the face of protest. These technologies include

incentives, rules concerning public process and code compliance, discourses of economic growth, and framing government initiatives in ways that resonate with and shape the values and priorities of the civic culture. In this section, I discuss how commissioners use each of these technologies to enact their programs and objectives and to produce a “proper” citizen who supports these goals.

Incentives

Local governments have accelerated the use of incentives to the point that they are expected in this day and age. These incentives are used as tools of business recruitment, despite the fact that commissioners argue they are not so much tools of competition as a prerequisite to begin to compete for outside firms or to keep existing firms within their jurisdictions. These incentives are a standard tool used by virtually all levels of government. They are used to lower costs for businesses and improve their profitability, but when every community offers similar incentive packages, cities receive little to no competitive advantage from these subsidies. Despite commissioners’ acknowledgement of this situation, they strongly support granting any and all possible incentives to all firms who meet the City’s requirements.

The 2007-2009 City Commission demonstrated their strong support for incentives granting two large developments special sales taxes, Tax Incremental Financing (TIF) and the Transportation Development District (TDD), at the Oread Inn and Bauer Farms, respectively, which reimburse developers through direct sales tax surcharges. They praised these taxes as being revenue-neutral to the City budget. However, these sales taxes are regressive on middle and lower income citizens and are a direct subsidy to developers coming from consumers shopping in these commercial developments. These sales taxes are also Lawrence’s first subsidy

for commercial development, which is not eligible for property tax abatements. In creating these sales taxes, commissioners expanded the range of businesses that could qualify for government subsidies while framing them as a “revenue-neutral” subsidy to negate criticisms that property tax abatements transfer money to developers directly from taxpayers’ pockets.

Mobilizing Citizen Activists

Lawrence citizens have mobilized numerous times in support of or opposition to important issues. The results of these mobilizations reveal that this activism is not just a means of checking power but has also been used to further the goals of government. In several of the mall propositions in the 1980s, commissioners opposing these malls created public referenda and citizens overwhelmingly voted in opposition to these mall proposals. The PLC-backed commission took advantage of citizen mobilization to sweep three smart growth commissioners into office in the 2003 elections.

The above examples demonstrate how participation can be used as a technology of power to achieve certain goals, and the campaigning in support of the T also demonstrates how citizen involvement ensured the electoral success of these sales tax questions. Commissioners took advantage of the fact that Lawrence citizens willingly and actively mobilize to ensure their political goals are attained. Mayor Duncan’s willingness to create a third sales tax question for an additional 0.05% sales tax helped turn the tide of public opinion from derision to gratitude for the mayor’s responsiveness to their concerns. With the creation of this third sales tax question, groups such as Grassroots Action mobilized and created the Campaign to Save the T to raise awareness of the issue and helped ensure the sales tax’s success at the polls. Though the sales tax questions placed the T’s future at risk, citizens willingly mobilized and campaigned for the

sales taxes. In this case, commissioners successfully framed the discourse surrounding the sales tax questions to transform a decision that was initially highly unpopular into one that was strongly supported by highly active citizens who enthusiastically supported a regressive sales tax increase.

Rules, Restrictions, and the Structured Decision-Making Process

The smart growth commission created stipulations and other requirements that developments must meet in order to receive approval from the City. The most prominent one is the Living Wage Ordinance, which requires firms receiving tax abatements to pay all full-time employees at least 130% of the federal poverty level. This incentive is a Type II policy, a designation that means that subsidies should come with strings attached. By requiring all firms receiving property tax abatements to pay their full time employees a living wage, they felt that they could ensure the community would only subsidize employers who gave back to the community through paying fair wages. The smart growth commission created this ordinance because of public pressure to create rules that would guarantee some reciprocity from firms receiving taxpayer subsidies. Commissioner Allen claimed this ordinance was a symbolic statement that the community would not subsidize poverty-level jobs, despite criticisms from the business community that it would harm Lawrence's reputation as well as its ability to promote economic development.

While these restrictions were heavily criticized in the local media, there are numerous rules and regulations that systematically favor business interests over citizens. As discussed above, commissioners argue that code compliance should be the primary consideration when considering a land use proposal, even when citizen protests are substantial. Therefore, the

development code is a technology of power that allows government to subordinate citizen concerns to that of developers or other business interests. If the development code calls for commercial development on a particular lot, pro-development commissioners argue it is outside their jurisdiction to determine if a particular commercial development may have detrimental effects on the wider community such as increasing vacancy rates. This is especially relevant in the Wal-Mart case, where commissioners argued that it was not within their purview to decide whether or not Wal-Mart was good for the community. Their decision had to be based solely on whether the development proposal was consistent with the zoning for the plot of land.

This structured decision-making process identifies “stakeholders,” which are applicants, others with a financial interest in a land use proposal, and people living within a designated radius of the proposal. The views of these stakeholders are given the greatest weight in the decision-making process, which allows for the marginalization of citizens who do not live within the designated stakeholder radius while creating the appearance of collaboration between applicants and neighbors, despite the dismissal of any concerns that can be portrayed as anti-growth or “not in my backyard.” Therefore, officials can make room for dissenting views yet freely ignore them when they do not support growth and development while framing their decisions as inclusive and cooperative between various stakeholders.

Discursive Strategies

Setting the agenda is a discursive strategy that delineates the topics addressed by the commission. Routine matters that are not considered likely to draw the interest of citizens are placed on the consent agenda. The consent agenda is routinely voted on at the beginning of City Commission meetings and consensually supported with no public input. These items are

generally limited to payments to vendors, payroll, and minor development proposals or changes to already-approved developments. However, vigilant citizens occasionally ask for particular items to be removed from the consent agenda to allow for public input. In some communities where public participation is minimal, significant items may be placed on consent agendas and approved without public discussion. In Lawrence, public participation is institutionalized to the point that the City Manager, who sets the agenda, is careful to place any item that may arouse citizen interest on the regular agenda, where each item is analyzed individually. Officials are able to claim governmental transparency by placing items on the regular agenda where they can be publicly discussed. However, as will be discussed below, public discussion is also limited through other technologies of power.

While commissioners said they welcomed public comment, the 2007-2009 commission implemented five minute time limits on public comments. They argued that because so many citizens wanted to comment on major issues, they wanted to ensure meetings did not go late into the night. On several occasions, a large number of citizens offering public comment caused meetings to go from 6:35pm to nearly midnight and even forced commissioners to postpone some agenda items due to time constraints. However, five minutes did not always allow ample time for some citizens to completely voice their concerns. Furthermore, the time limits created a double standard between developers and citizens. Those requesting land use changes, the “applicants,” were often developers, their attorneys, or other representatives. These applicants were never asked to limit their presentations, which often lasted twenty or thirty minutes or more. They were also given opportunities at the end of public comment to rebut concerns of citizens. This time limit is a technology of power that allows applicants every opportunity to explain the merits of their project and to respond to criticisms or concerns about their project,

while citizens are allowed only limited input into the decision-making process that is structured in favor of business and development interests.

Commissioners say they welcome public input in the decision-making process, but when citizen opinion does not support the growth paradigm, these concerns are dismissed as untenable, selfish, or illegitimate. Though they ostensibly supported growth, smart growth commissioners were accused by the growth machine of creating a bad reputation for the community by discouraging investment through their growth management strategies. They were accused of being anti-business and anti-growth, which harmed the community as framed in economic terms. In response, Commissioner Duncan advocated an “attitude adjustment” that included “using any tools we possibly can” to stimulate the local economy (field notes, 5-16-08).

Also, the industrial park issue reveals how officials quickly dismissed public concerns as selfish “not in my back yard” concerns that didn’t take into account the goals or needs of the community as a whole, and the public interest was directly equated with economic activity above any other concerns. Many citizens spoke of the risks associated with island-annexing land for an industrial park but were ignored because of the significant benefits this industrial park was predicted to deliver to the community. Public concerns that do not support the growth paradigm are dismissed because they fall outside the range of acceptable critique. Concerning this issue, Commissioner Barton argued that developers are citizens, too, and their concerns and desires have significant merit because of this sector’s contributions to the public’s best interest, once again defined in economic terms. This rhetorical strategy was used to delegitimize opposition by arguing that critics of the plan felt that developers were not members of the community or the civic culture, and therefore their desires should be given less merit than neighbors’ concerns,

thus painting these critics as selfish and not concerned with what is best for the community as a whole.

The sales taxes for the T were framed in a way that appealed to those who support economic development as well as those who support public services. This framing helped garner widespread community support, but it obscured a shifting of the tax burden off of the wealthy and onto middle and lower-income citizens. While the sales taxes for the T were framed by many as a triumph of citizen activism and a symbol of Lawrence citizens' strong support for public services, it was based on a political decision by commissioners not to raise property taxes. Property taxes are a progressive tax that places a greater burden on those who own more property (the wealthy and the business and development communities), while sales taxes are a regressive tax that shifts the burden disproportionately on the middle class and the poor, who use a greater share of their income on taxable goods and services. Businesses and the development community would have shouldered a greater share of the burden of paying for the T through a property tax increase instead of a sales tax increase. These actions are consistent with commissioners' rationalities that the business and development communities are the most important citizens in the community, and that the job of local government is to give them every possible advantage. In this example, we see how commissioners successfully used the community's tendency for activism to help achieve a political goal that shifted the tax burden toward lower and middle income citizens in the face of budget shortfalls while framing the issue in terms of Lawrence as a caring community.

Officials' justifications for using incentives also demonstrate how they marginalized dissent by arguing that criticisms of incentives came from ignorance about how business and government operate. They argued that incentives are necessary and expected in a globalizing

political economy, as seen in Commissioner Barton's above comments that "you can stand at the corner of 9th and Mass. Street until hell freezes over talking about how we shouldn't be giving away money, but they are not going to come if you don't provide the incentives" (field notes, 5-6-08). Commissioners argued that they symbolize a community's appreciation for the firm and the investment and employment they bring to the community. They argued that citizens' criticisms of incentives only served to harm the community's reputation and therefore harm the community by discouraging business from coming to Lawrence, as seen in Commissioner Barton's comment that "you can gripe all you want about what we're doing, but we're still going to go out and try to get jobs for you and your kids" (field notes, 12-22-08). These rationalities marginalize and delegitimize protests by framing them as untenable, ignorant, anti-growth, and harmful to the community, which discursively limits the range of acceptable speech (at least in the eyes of commissioners) for members of Lawrence's civic culture. This discourse also garners support for incentives by making citizens feel vulnerable. It was asserted that the community desperately needed jobs and offering incentives or taking other measures to serve the private sector was the only way to create these jobs. Commissioners appropriate the discourses of civil society and civic culture to their own ends to justify the privileged position given to the business and development communities by framing support for business in terms of the interests of the community as a whole.

Data Presentation Summary

This chapter presents events, discourses, and actions through which Lawrence citizens produce their civic culture and shape local governance, and it presents government rationalities and technologies of power that shape civic culture. Lawrence's civic culture has competing factions who seek to influence local government. The tensions between those aggressively

pursuing growth and those seeking managed growth reveal how discourses of community well-being are framed in economic and non-economic terms by competing groups. The rationalities of Lawrence's City Commissioners demonstrate their commitment to growth, though there is some variation in the degree to which commissioners support growth in the face of controversy or concerns about the effects of growth on the community as a whole.

City Commissioners use several technologies to achieve the objective of economic growth: taxpayer subsidies and other incentives, rules and restrictions that create the guidelines that businesses must follow, and the development code that is designed to promote economic growth. Commissioners manage dissent with additional technologies of power: discursive strategies, the structured decision-making process, and citizen activist mobilization.

In the next chapter, I analyze the above data to outline the competing factions that make up Lawrence's civic culture, including their competing values, social structures, and behavioral norms. I also construct the governmentalities of Lawrence's City Commissioners out of their rationalities and technologies, and I show how the "proper" citizen produced in this relationship between governance and civic culture in Lawrence is one who is committed to economic growth and community well-being.

Chapter 4: Analysis

In this chapter, I analyze the data presented in Chapter 3 by presenting the competing factions that make up Lawrence's civic culture, their different behavioral norms, and how they frame their values and priorities. I also discuss how civic culture frames the debates in Lawrence and influences local governance. Also, I construct the governmentalities of Lawrence City Commissioners in my study to analyze the extent that these mentalities of government are influenced by civic culture and the extent that they reflect the ideologies of privatism and neoliberal capitalism in their focus on the local economy. This analysis will highlight the tensions between those pursuing growth at all costs and others advocating growth management who stress values such as public participation in Lawrence's growth and development, honoring long-range planning, and providing high quality services. Despite this tension between those advocating growth promotion and growth management, I will discuss the fact that there is a unitary interest in growth, and that the pursuit of growth is unquestioned despite disagreement regarding how it should be pursued. I will also discuss how the governmentalities of Lawrence's government produce the "proper" citizen who supports the growth paradigm in the name of community well-being. Finally, I will analyze how civic culture and governance interact with one another in a community to produce "proper" citizens who willingly support the growth paradigm in the name of community well-being.

Part I: Lawrence's Civic Culture

Lawrence's civic culture is diverse, but can be generalized into two primary competing factions. The growth machine in Lawrence is comprised of the development and business communities and citizens who support their initiatives, and they argue that government's role

should be focused on growth promotion and using the government's resources to secure advantages for the private sector. Neighborhood interests comprise the primary source of opposition to the growth machine and many in this faction strongly support high quality public services. Though Lawrence's civic culture cannot be neatly separated into these two factions, they are the primary dividing line in the culture. More politically conservative citizens tend to side with the growth machine, while more politically liberal citizens tend to side with neighborhood interests. Both factions support growth, but there are differences of opinion regarding how growth should be pursued. Furthermore, the growth machine has more direct access to local government, while neighborhood interests tend to work from the outside and use public participation to achieve their goals.

The Growth Machine in Lawrence

The growth machine in Lawrence consists most notably of developers, real estate brokers, bankers, the Lawrence Journal-World, and the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce. As Logan and Molotch (1987) argue, those forming the core of the growth machine are the ones with the most to gain or lose in land use decisions. These are the community elites, and their values center around self-interest and unregulated economic growth. The political philosophy and worldview of the growth machine reflects the neoliberal ideology that dominates right wing politics in the United States.

At the local level, neoliberalism entails strong private property rights, deregulation, and the creation of a good business climate. The role of government in this view includes minimal regulation, giving freedom to the market, low taxes, and public subsidies to support business interests (Harvey 2005). "Under the assumption that 'a rising tide lifts all boats' or of 'trickle down,' neoliberal theory holds that the elimination of poverty can best be secured through free

markets and free trade” (ibid.:64-65). Therefore, the public’s best interest can be achieved through pursuing maximum economic growth because it benefits everyone. Competition is a primary virtue, and efficiency and productivity are maximized through eliminating bureaucratic red tape, which at the local level entails streamlining the development approval process and not “scrutinizing every detail of a project” (field notes, 6-16-08). While this worldview espouses the free market, there is an inherent contradiction in the fact that “on the one hand the neoliberal state is expected to take a back seat and simply set the stage for market functions, but on the other it is supposed to be activist in creating a good business climate and to behave as a competitive entity in global politics” (Harvey 2005:79). Regulation and restrictions are eschewed in favor of policies designed to encourage economic activity and development. This is seen in commissioners’ arguments that the pace of development should be determined by the market (field notes, 10-17-08) because “the state cannot possibly possess enough information to second-guess market signals” (Harvey 2005:2) but they also offer a wide variety of incentives to distort the market to encourage development at a rate faster than a free market would allow.

While the elite are the most prominent members of this faction of Lawrence’s civic culture, there is a large contingent of citizens who also support the views of the growth machine. This is most notably seen in the electoral success of Commissioners Barton, Duncan, and Evans, who found support in this segment of the community. Commissioners Duncan and Evans raised significant campaign funds from the development community and set local records for the amounts they raised (Lawhorn 2007a). These commissioners advocated several neoliberal policies including proactive economic development efforts, minimizing regulation, streamlining the development review process, and being more supportive of business interests by creating a good business climate. These policies are justified through the rationality that growth is the best

method to benefit the community as a whole and therefore government should focus on promoting economic growth.

Critics of the smart growth commission lambasted the commission's growth management philosophy, calling it anti-growth and claiming that any attempts to create rules or restrictions on growth harmed the community. Growth machine members framed the issue in a way that alleged that any rules or restrictions on growth were bad for the economy and the community and they instead advocated being more welcoming to businesses. The editor of the Lawrence Journal-World argued that Lawrence had a severe reputation problem with businesses, which had harmed the community's ability to recruit employers. He alleged that the smart growth commission and its supporters' "actions and efforts are far more negative and harmful to a community than anything resembling 'progressive' or 'smart'" (Simons 2006). We see here that their view of the public interest closely coincides with minimal regulations and restrictions as well as the belief that maximizing economic activity is the best way to ensure the public interest is realized.

The pro-growth values that center on taking any and all actions in the pursuit of growth are also seen in the calls to approve Lowe's request to build a store because of the purported jobs that would be created and taxes that would be generated from the development. Though many in the community highly value long-range planning, advocates for the store argued that plans should be changed in the pursuit of growth. For citizens whose values align with the growth machine, the pursuit of growth often takes precedence over other considerations such as planning, and their calls for Lowe's approval demonstrates a willingness to disregard the democratic processes of long-range planning in favor of supporting business interests.

The public interest is framed in economic terms, alleging that citizen protests actually harm the City's ability to provide the services that these citizens desire most. According to this world view, the commission's efforts to promote economic growth and development are the best way to benefit the community as a whole, and other values or concerns take a back seat to growth.

The needs of the local economy take precedence above other considerations, and these citizens support aggressive and proactive economic development initiatives in pursuit of job creation and economic development, even if it requires changing the community's long-range plans or inconveniencing neighbors.

In relation to neoliberal thinking, these views reflect a particular view of the role of government. Government is seen as a handmaiden to business interests, and the need for jobs in the community means government should do anything it must in order to create a good business climate. The benefits of promoting growth and development are assumed to trickle down to the community at large through providing employment and increased tax revenues that fund the public services that contribute to Lawrence's quality of life. Therefore, the best way to ensure a high quality of life in Lawrence is through a neoliberal approach to the local economy.

Neighborhood Interests: Growth Management in Lawrence

Lawrence's reputation as a politically liberal community comes from a significant number of citizens who are critical of unregulated growth and government acting as the handmaiden to business interests. These citizens support growth but reject the neoliberal model where government's primary focus is on the pursuit of unimpeded economic growth and development. They believe that government should have a regulatory role in growth and

development to ensure that overbuilding does not lead to increased vacancy rates, that the costs of growth are adequately addressed, and to ensure that the community actually benefits from growth through the careful use of incentives as well as tools for growth management. This is seen when Commissioner Allen said:

I certainly think we need to not place unreasonable barriers in the way of entrepreneurs... but I don't think they deserve absolute carte blanche because there are social consequences to their actions. And that's part of my job; a public official's job is to make sure that individual actions don't adversely impact the community as a whole (field notes, 12-15-08).

This faction does not directly equate growth with the public interest, pointing out that growth can have adverse social consequences, and therefore government needs to ensure that growth benefits the community. This is in contrast to neoliberal assumptions that all growth is good, and therefore growth should be the primary focus for government in the pursuit of the public interest. They also expect the City to deliver high quality public services to the community, ensure resources and neighborhood protection and to keep the downtown strong and vibrant.

Neighborhood associations and their umbrella group, the Lawrence Association of Neighborhoods (LAN), form the core of this faction of Lawrence's civic culture. The Progressive Lawrence Campaign in 2003 was also closely tied to these neighborhood interests, and their calls for curbing the influence of developers in the development approval process resonated with many citizens who turned out at the polls to elect a smart growth majority to the Lawrence City Commission. Another prominent group representing neighborhood interests during the period of my study was Grassroots Action. Members of this group formed the Campaign to Save the T and they were the most prominent voice supporting the sales tax questions for public transportation.

The values held by neighborhood interests are seen in citizen opposition to the second Wal-Mart. They argued the size of the store exceeded the approved plans for the land, they had concerns about the impact the store would have on adjacent neighborhoods, and worried it would harm existing businesses. Their values are also highlighted in neighbors' opposition to the island annexation for an industrial park northwest of Lawrence. Neighbors argued that the development was premature, risky, and potentially expensive. The island annexation left the City responsible for providing municipal infrastructure, namely water and sewer services, regardless of developers' promises that they would not ask for these services to be extended to the site at a multi-million dollar cost to the City. They argued that they did not oppose growth, but wanted to ensure the City did not take excessive risks in the pursuit of job creation and growth. However, their calls for careful and managed growth did not find salience with commissioners who advocated taking more proactive measures in pursuit of growth and commissioners moved ahead with their annexation out of a strong desire to create jobs. In both of these cases, the concerns of neighborhood interests reflect their views that government should have a role in ensuring that growth benefits the community as a whole and that the detrimental effects of growth are mitigated.

These citizens' strong support for high quality public services are seen in their initial outrage surrounding commissioners' decision to remove funding for the T from the general budget and create a special sales tax, as well as their willingness to organize and campaign for the sales tax's passage. Citizens argued at City Commission meetings that the T was a vital core service and that any commissioner who did not recognize this lacked the insight to lead the community (City Commission meeting minutes 7-22-08:22-23). However, some also stepped up

and campaigned extensively for the T because they strongly believed in the value of the T for the community.

Neighborhood interests have been persistent in their attempts to influence governance in Lawrence in recent decades, with the vitality of Lawrence's downtown being one of the most celebrated victories. The downtown's success is no accident. It is product of decades of participation and policy designed to ensure that the downtown will always be "the heart of the community." All commissioners celebrate Lawrence's downtown and credit the rejections of numerous mall proposals to be responsible for this widely lauded achievement. The City Commission's decision to deny Lowe's request for a Comprehensive Plan Amendment that would have significantly changed the Bauer Farms development demonstrates that changing site plans or long-range plans comes with significant political consequences. Neighborhood interests have long been active in the community's long-range planning, and they have institutionalized the expectation that plans will be honored in the development process. This has not always been the case, as commissioners were willing to change the Northwest Area plan to accommodate the industrial park northwest of the city. However, the Bauer Farms development represented an important political compromise between neighborhood interests and commissioners. Neighbors of Wal-Mart and Bauer Farms were extensively involved in the planning and approval processes for Bauer Farms, and commissioners honored the promises they had made to neighbors when they approved the development in 2008. Commissioners had solid legal grounds to deny the rezoning request, but they also had the power to rezone the development. However, approving Lowe's request would have come with significant political backlash, which demonstrates that neighborhood interests may not always get their way in Lawrence, but they do have some influence in local government.

Citizens whose values align with neighborhood interests have different visions of the public interest and the role of government than members of the growth machine. Though these citizens support growth and acknowledge that growth can be beneficial to the community, they recognize that growth can also have detrimental effects. Therefore, they believe government should take measures to ensure that growth benefits the community and that the negative effects of growth are mitigated. Their support for smart growth and growth management strategies was demonstrated by the electoral success of the smart growth commission in 2003. They view the public interest not just in economic terms, but also in terms of quality of life, environmental and cultural resource protection, and high quality public and social services. They do not oppose growth, but they do not value growth above everything else in the community.

Social Structures and Modes of Participation in Lawrence's Civic Culture

Following structuration theory in the work of Anthony Giddens (1976; 1979; 1984), we see that the systemic bias toward business interests comes from the structural features of the local political economy that privilege the local elites. "Giddens argues that in every social relationship there is a dialectic of control involving the asymmetrical access to and manipulation of the resources through which agents influence one another's behavior" (cited in Cohen 1989:26). The leaders of the growth machine are the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce, developers, businessmen, and other community elites. They work from the inside with local government and because of this tradition of close participation with government they have structural advantages in the political process. They initiate development proposals, work closely with the Department of Planning and Development Services, and they contribute significant amounts to ideologically aligned commissioners' election campaigns. Furthermore, the

development code is written to promote economic growth. The close working relationship between business interests and local government creates a tradition that officials constantly reproduce in the development approval process. Our political economy dictates a need for government to focus on economic growth, and commissioners often take the side of business in the face of community opposition because of the overriding concern for the local economy.

Stone argues that local government and the business community must collaborate and form partnerships because neither group has the power to realize their objectives on their own. There are several structural advantages that come from these partnerships which form the systemic bias discussed by Stone (1989). The Lawrence Chamber of Commerce is comprised of local businesses, and they serve as advocates and lobbyists for the growth machine. The Chamber also receives funding from the City of Lawrence for economic development efforts. This public-private partnership creates very close ties between the Chamber and the City. This is an important structural advantage for the growth machine and wider business community when they seek to garner support from commissioners for development projects, even in the face of controversy. Another structural advantage for the growth machine lies in the development approval process, as they work closely with the Department of Planning and Development Services, with the goal of creating a development plan consistent with the Development Code that addresses any potential opposition and can be approved by the Planning Commission and City Commission. The unitary interest in growth among growth machine members and local government also leads officials to be highly sympathetic to the desires of the growth machine.

Stone (1980; 1989) argues that support from the business community is crucial to successful governance. The smart growth commission lacked support from many businesses in the Lawrence Chamber of Commerce and was heavily criticized by the development community

and the Lawrence Journal-World for positions deemed unfriendly to business. Because the growth machine is represented by the local media, they were able to structure the discourse to frame the smart growth commission as a no-growth commission that did great harm to the community. These criticisms from the business community were a check on the smart growth commission's goals and priorities and were responsible for the subsequent success of commissioners who represented the Chamber business community.

Though neighborhood interests do not enjoy the structural advantages of the growth machine, their tradition of participation in local government provides an avenue for influencing governance. As structuration theory shows how culture is produced through the actions of social agents (Giddens 1981; 1984; 1987), Lawrence's long history of public participation has institutionalized responsive government by creating several avenues for citizens to influence government. Neighborhood interests tend to be composed of fluid coalitions whose membership ebbs and flows with important political issues in the community. Citizens come from a wide range of backgrounds, and though the Lawrence Association of Neighborhoods has longstanding ties with local government, its influence varies according to the issue in question. They work from the outside, using public demonstrations, public input at meetings, and voter turnout in an attempt to influence local government. Neighborhood associations often form the core of opposition to developments or other projects that are perceived to threaten neighbors, existing businesses, or the quality of life of Lawrence residents. Members of these groups come from various backgrounds, and they lack the structural advantages seen in the growth machine due to a lack of stable membership or consistent agendas. Opposition is often issue-specific, and they work from outside the government and in public spaces, including City Commission meetings, as they seek to influence commissioners' decisions.

While the growth machine participates from the inside, neighborhood interests use public rallies in visible spaces and public comment at City Commission meetings to influence government. Both factions attempt to influence voters to pursue their different interests. Citizens aligned with neighborhood interests rallied outside City Hall in opposition to the City Commission's discussions of settling with Wal-Mart at the May 1, 2007 meeting. The Campaign to Save the T was also highly active in the downtown. They held rallies and educated citizens on the value of the T and the necessity of approving the sales tax increases. Citizens also spoke extensively at City Commission meetings in opposition to the creation of the sales tax questions for the T's survival, the island annexation of the industrial park, and the settlement with Wal-Mart. Their efforts were uphill battles with local government, as they did not enjoy the structural advantages of the growth machine. These citizens, through actions and their location, reproduced social structures that place the downtown as the civic center of the community. Their rallies downtown and at City Hall, which anchors the north end of the downtown, follow a long tradition of civic participation that goes back decades. Public rallies are used to mobilize others and to demonstrate their values and priorities to the City Commission. These citizens operate in public spaces to claim citizenship and influence public opinion and commissioners' positions on important matters. Their choice of the downtown for these rallies is no accident. It is the product of a historically-defined tradition of public demonstration that is central to Lawrence's civic culture and its social structures.

Many citizens want to be involved in the political process in Lawrence, especially those who are involved in their neighborhood associations. This is evidenced by their participation in the planning process and their expectations that plans will be adhered to as the community grows. Though commissioners wanted Lowe's to come to Lawrence, they could not justify

changing the Bauer Farms development to accommodate this development because of the political backlash they would have faced from neighbors. This view is also seen in the comments of one citizen at the City Commission meeting concerning the island annexation for an industrial park. She said she hoped that the public process actually entailed consideration of differing ideas and that the development would represent a compromise between neighbors and developers (City Commission meeting minutes 6-17-08:50-51). These citizens expect their voices to carry as much weight as developers, arguing that while developers are self-interested, their concerns represent the interests of the community as a whole. This expectation that citizens will be involved in the planning and development approval processes are another product of the historically-defined traditions in Lawrence's civic culture, and their participation is institutionalized in the political process because of this tradition.

Despite lacking the structural advantages enjoyed by the growth machine, neighborhood interests in Lawrence have been influential in the goals, priorities and policies of the Lawrence City Commission. Three smart growth commissioners were elected to the City Commission in 2003 through extensive electoral support. The voter turnout in the 2003 elections, at 45%, was over three times the turnout in 2007, which was 14%. Citizen mobilization is not constant, but when citizens mobilize in Lawrence, their influence can be significant. Though citizens were unable to convince commissioners to avoid placing public transportation at risk through a sales tax ballot question, their eventual support for the sales tax helped the measure pass with an overwhelming margin. The best example of the influence of neighborhood interests is seen in commissioners' denial of Lowe's. Commissioners recognized the economic benefits that Lawrence could receive with this store, but refused to go back on the promises they made with neighbors of the development. They recognized that the plans they approved in 2008 were a

compromise with neighbors and the product of the efforts of many involved citizens. Though these commissioners strongly supported growth and development, they were unwilling to reverse over a decade of planning to accommodate a retailer. This demonstrates how neighborhood interests can serve as a check on the most aggressive economic development efforts. Furthermore, the decision to deny Lowe's comprehensive plan amendment further reproduced citizen participation in the planning process as a core tenet of Lawrence's civic culture.

Part II: Governmentalities

The mentalities of government in Lawrence have some degree of variation, but the pursuit of growth is consensual among commissioners as well as in the competing factions of Lawrence's civic culture, though there is disagreement regarding how growth should be pursued. In this section, I discuss the mentalities of commissioners who strongly support unfettered growth, and those who advocate growth management, and I discuss the unitary interest in growth between these two moderately different factions. Furthermore, I analyze how governmentalities produce an idealized "proper" citizen (Foucault 2007) who supports growth through dedication to community well-being, pursued through economic growth.

Government as a Growth Promoter

Commissioners Barton, Duncan and Evans strongly supported economic development and growth, and their views regarding the role of government, the benefits of growth, and appropriate actions in pursuit of growth have a strong degree of ideological consistency. They view government's role to be that of a growth facilitator and promoter. They argue that the business community is the most important segment of the community because they pay significant taxes and employ residents, and therefore they should receive every possible

advantage the City can offer. While they argue in support of free market based approaches to land use and development, their support for using taxpayer subsidies to support private investment demonstrates that the business community has a special relationship to government, where government actively supports and promotes the interests of the private sector.

This governmentality of growth promotion consists of several key ideological components. First, it is accepted as common knowledge that economic growth is necessary to the well-being of the community as a whole. Therefore, government should not place very many rules or regulations on economic activity, but should instead facilitate the process and take any and all possible measures to gain advantages for the private sector because of the fiscal benefits and jobs created by the private sector. Cities are in competition for investment with which to grow the economy, so therefore taxpayers should subsidize development projects that promise to bring jobs and taxes to pay for services in the community. Though incentives may not be the most important consideration for firms when making decisions on where to locate, these incentives have symbolic character and are necessary to even begin to compete for investment. Because of the mobility of capital, cities have no leverage to dictate certain rules or restrictions on business, and therefore should be welcoming and do whatever they can to gain an advantage for business. Cities risk creating a bad reputation if they take any action perceived to be business-unfriendly, and should therefore accept this political economic reality and play by these rules, or their economic development will suffer.

Commissioners stress the benefits of growth when they discuss that economic growth is the most effective way to increase the fiscal resources of the government and therefore allow government to expand public services and reduce the tax burden on individuals and homeowners. Even when the government grants property tax abatements that significantly reduce the fiscal

benefits of a development, commissioners cite other benefits including increased employment of residents, increased sales tax revenues from this extra money, and other indirect benefits from economic growth.

In order to achieve growth, this rationality dictates that government must take certain actions to be perceived as business-friendly, including lowering taxes, minimizing bureaucratic hurdles, and promulgating supportive rules and regulations and government should not place hurdles on development or do anything that might discourage businesses activity. Commissioner Duncan said he wanted to demonstrate that there were “votes on the commission for progress and moving forward and not scrutinizing every detail of a project” (field notes, 6-16-08). Commissioner Barton also argued that government must be careful not to take any actions that could be perceived to be business-unfriendly. “It takes hundreds of [positive] examples to overcome one negative statement” (field notes, 12-22-08).

The underlying reasons that government must facilitate business and create a business-friendly environment comes from the perception that because firms can freely choose where to locate, communities have little leverage to dictate rules, and therefore they need to minimize regulations and hurdles, or they will be left behind. Commissioners argue that cities must be willing to follow the trend of offering increasingly generous incentive packages, claiming that these are the result of natural processes of our globalizing political economy. However, these are not merely the outcomes of inevitable processes; these are political decisions that contribute to the systemic privileging of business over other sectors of the community. As Barnekov and Rich (1989) argue, the intellectual prism of privatism masks the political nature of these decisions, which are framed as matters of economic necessity. As structuration theory reveals, these officials are constantly reproducing the structures and norms of this behavior with every

incentive they offer, and thus reproducing and reinforcing this political economic reality where business interests are the primary constituents, rather than ordinary citizens.

An environment of fierce competition and substantial uncertainty regarding what a community must do to secure a firm in its community, combined with a fixation on economic growth, leads to extremely generous incentive packages. Several commissioners compared the increasing generosity of incentive packages to the exorbitant salaries of professional athletes. We see a convergence of the discourses of governance and sports in these rationalities. Sports are about competition, with winners and losers. In economic development, cities compete with each other, and win or lose investment based on their competitive advantages. Incentives were originally a tool for creating an advantage for a community over others. However, because so many communities offer these incentives, other cities are compelled to do the same, just as teams must be willing to pay athletes millions of dollars because other teams are willing to do so. Because Americans have come to accept the generous salaries of professional athletes, commissioners use this analogy to normalize the increasingly generous incentive packages offered by cities in the pursuit of investment. By saying that local governments need to “pay to play” and that incentives are simply the “cost of doing business,” officials argue that a central role of government is to offer public subsidies to promote growth. Despite officials’ recognition that incentives are not a primary consideration in a firm’s decision where to locate, the prevalence of these incentives in economic development forces communities to join in this race to the bottom, where communities sacrifice an ever greater share of the benefits of growth and development to the companies that promise to create jobs.

Commissioners Carter and Evans also discussed using the liberal elements of Lawrence as a selling point for the community. They argued that the city’s reputation was part of

Lawrence's character and symbolized the culture of the community. Instead of simply being proud of the aspects of the community that distinguish Lawrence from other communities, commissioners sought to exploit these distinctions in their pursuit of growth. This example demonstrates the extent to which the pursuit of growth dominates the thinking of commissioners. Virtually all aspects of a community are considered selling points in Lawrence's pursuit of investment, and commissioners, by "playing" the game, must use every opportunity to compete and win.

According to the rationality of growth promotion, government's role is to help and support the business community to promote growth, and commissioners make this clear in their statements that government should be a facilitator of the development process. Commissioner Evans said that government should be a facilitator, rather than a regulator or manager of growth and development. He also said it was not government's job to determine the pace of growth or development and that government should allow the market to determine the pace of development. Government's role should be limited to creating the planning and zoning guidelines. Rhetoric of free market capitalism is seen in calls for allowing the market to determine the pace of development, for government avoiding restrictions or regulations, and creating a business-friendly environment that allows the private sector to operate with minimal impediments. However, there are inherent contradictions between this rhetoric and governmental actions. According to Milton Friedman (1962), the role of government in a free market system should primarily be limited to enforce contracts. He argued that governments should allow markets to operate with minimal governmental involvement or regulations. The increasing dominance of neoliberal policies and thinking glorify "free markets" and have successfully dismantled many governmental regulations and programs. Yet, as Lemke (2000:11)

argues, “Foucault’s discussion of neo-liberal governmentality shows that the so-called ‘retreat of the state’ is in fact a prolongation of government; neo-liberalism is not the end but a transformation of politics that restructures the power relations in society” Government officials who view government as a growth promoter do not operate on principles of the free market, though they cite the rhetoric of free markets when defending their aversion to rules or restrictions. In reality, business has a special relationship with government, where government serves as a handmaiden to the private sector. Governments offer lucrative deals to firms for locating in their jurisdictions and officials overwhelmingly side with business interests in controversial matters. Commissioner Duncan professed his desire to do whatever he could to provide business with every possible advantage. Commissioner Barton found the community’s reputation as a difficult place to do business to be a major liability that she vowed to change through demonstrating her support for the business community. Commissioners Duncan and Evans promised to take a more proactive approach to economic development, and delivered by approving significant amounts of commercial development, creating an industrial park, and creating new tax incentives for commercial development. Their decision to create a sales tax initiative instead of raising property taxes demonstrates their commitment to keeping taxes low for property owners and the business community. Commissioners’ commitment to keep taxes low for this sector of the community while creating new sales taxes, which are regressive and disproportionately affect middle and lower-income individuals, shows that they view their constituents to be primarily the business and development communities.

These rationalities of government demonstrate how business interests are viewed as the most important constituents because of their role in the economy. Because economic growth is valued above all else and is viewed as the most effective means to achieving the goal of

community well-being, this rationality dictates that citizens should willingly support incentives and other subsidies designed to encourage economic growth in a competitive global market. Many citizens support this view of government and willingly reinforce the power dynamics that posit the need to privilege the private sector through a whole host of technologies designed to stimulate growth.

Government as a Growth Manager

The views that government should take measures to ensure that growth benefits the community as a whole and does not harm existing businesses, neighborhood interests, or Lawrence's historic downtown, are widely held by politically liberal citizens. These values have been prominent for decades, as seen in the mall wars from 1979 through the 1980s, and in the tensions between growth promotion and resource protection are the greatest contradiction in Lawrence's civic culture (Schumaker 1991). The high voter turnout (approximately 45%) in the 2003 City Commission elections swept in three commissioners who pursued smart growth, desired to curb the influence of developers in the development approval process, and gave more weight to neighborhood concerns. They sought to create more stringent development standards and wanted to ensure that growth paid for itself. They created living wage requirements for firms receiving tax abatements and created a rule requiring any commercial developments over 50,000 square feet to pay for a retail market analysis that would give commissioners the ability to reject the development plan if the study projected the development to push commercial vacancy rates above 8%. These growth management strategies were strongly favored by neighborhood groups and other liberal citizens, but they were harshly criticized by the growth machine as anti-growth and therefore harmful to the community.

The desire for smart and managed growth was advocated most consistently during my study by Commissioner Allen, who was the last remaining smart growth commissioner after the 2007 elections. His views demonstrate a support for growth, but he did not value growth above all other priorities in the community. Commissioner Carter's views were often somewhere in the middle of growth promotion and growth management. He strongly supported keeping the downtown as the heart of the community and refused to criticize the community's reputation, arguing that Lawrence's reputation was a product of public participation, which he strongly supported.

Commissioner Allen disagreed with other commissioners' decision to settle the lawsuits with Wal-Mart and allow them to build. He felt the City should have defended their rights to create land use restrictions and felt they could have won in court. Commissioner Allen also opposed the City Commission's move to create a referendum on the T, saying that it was completely inappropriate to have a referendum on what he considered a core service and questioned why the \$1 million for economic development was not a referendum item (City Commission Meeting Minutes 7-22-08:44). This position clearly reflects his philosophy of governance that includes service delivery as a top priority in addition to economic development.

Commissioner Allen cited the smart growth commission's approval of every tax abatement that came before them as evidence that they supported job creation and economic growth. However, he argued that the City needed to pay attention to vacancy rates when considering commercial and residential development. While growth promoters conflated economic development and economic growth with residential and commercial property development, Commissioner Allen viewed commercial and residential development as being distinct from the industrial development that creates new jobs. He agreed with a local professor

that commercial and residential development do not create new demand but merely absorb existing demand. He asserted that allowing the residential and commercial sectors to over-build would merely increase vacancy rates and harm the community as a whole. He argued that government needed to consider the pace of commercial and residential development to avoid these potentially damaging effects of growth and development. According to Commissioner Allen, controlling these potentially harmful social consequences of developers' actions is an integral role of local government.

Commissioner Carter also dismissed arguments that the community's reputation was a problem. He discussed his perception that the community's reputation was merely a reflection of the civic culture of Lawrence and felt the community should be proud of its reputation. He said, "If I've got a reputation because I want something good, then hell, so be it. I can live with that" (field notes, 6-8-08). Commissioner Carter said he always supported community involvement in local government and argued the community's legacy of public involvement has created a better community. Commissioner Allen argued that government should not simply cater to the needs of business, but should instead make sure that the community benefits from growth. He claimed that Lawrence officials cater to the requests of developers, rather than expecting developers to follow the community's rules and guidelines. He argued that the bottom line guides the decisions of business interests, and that the City should focus on its needs and expectations when considering a development. He did not equate growth directly with the public interest and said that his job as a City Commissioner was to ensure that development did not adversely impact the community as a whole, saying he didn't think developers deserved absolute *carte blanche* because there are social consequences from their actions. He argued that other commissioners

pursued growth without consideration of its consequences, as they assumed that growth always benefitted the community as a whole.

Two key differences between the philosophy of growth management and growth promotion lie in assumptions about the value of growth for a community and which citizens they view to be their most important constituents. Those advocating growth promotion view growth as inherently good, regardless of the type or circumstances of growth. They argue that all growth is beneficial to the community, claiming it leads to increased money to pay for community services, and therefore growth is in the public interest. Those advocating growth management support growth but find that growth does not always pay for itself. They pursue regulations that give the community control over the quality and pace of growth and argue that government should ensure that growth benefits the community as a whole. While they do not oppose growth, they view growth to be only one of several priorities for government. While growth promoters consider the business and development communities to be their most important constituents, those supporting growth management view neighborhood groups and other citizens as their most important constituents. Their concerns about neighborhood protection, curbing the influence of developers, and ensuring that growth does not have detrimental effects on the rest of the community demonstrate this fact. According to this government rationality of managed growth, citizens should have a significant role in determining the growth and development of their community, service delivery should be a top priority, and while economic development is viewed as important, it should not be given precedence over all other governmental responsibilities.

Interactions between Civic Culture and Governmentality

Governance in Lawrence is unique because of its civic culture, traditions of governance, and its economy. Communities are governed by their citizens, and the culture of these citizens leaves an indelible mark on traditions, values and priorities in governance and the governmentalities of elected officials.

As noted in Chapter 1, Davis (2001) says that Lawrence's long history of community participation has created a government that is highly process-oriented where major decisions are subject to extensive review and discussion before action is taken. The institutionalization of extensive community discussion on major issues supports the theory that the civic culture of a community is an important factor in the politics and governance of the community.

Several other issues also demonstrate the influence of neighborhood interests on governance and governmentality. The mall wars established a consensus for local officials to place a high priority on the downtown despite significant growth and development in the outskirts of the community. The downtown would not be the vibrant civic center of the community had citizens and officials not rejected the several proposed shopping malls that would have dramatically affected the downtown's vitality as happened in countless other American cities. More recent examples also demonstrate the importance of civic culture in understanding local politics and governance.

The high value placed on long-range planning in Lawrence also shaped the five-year fight with Wal-Mart over a second store and commissioners' rejection of Lowe's request to significantly alter the Bauer Farms development. Though Wal-Mart was eventually allowed to build, the City's fight with Wal-Mart over the size of the store led to a smaller store than Wal-Mart had pursued. In this case, citizens and commissioners refused to change plans to

accommodate a development. They also refused to accommodate Lowe's request and ignore the Bauer Farms plan simply because Lowe's asked them to. In defense of their decision, commissioners argued that the planning process was something that the community had relied on for a long time to create a great community, and these commissioners were unwilling to undo decades of planning at this location simply to accommodate a retailer. These decisions were predicated on the civic culture of the community. Had planning not been held in such high esteem in Lawrence's civic culture, officials would have been far more likely to approve Lowe's request.

The sales tax questions concerning the future of the T and infrastructure maintenance that were supported by 70% of voters in the 2008 elections is another example of the interactions between civic culture and governance. Commissioners took advantage of the strong support in the community for public services, citizens' willingness to support tax increases, and their willingness to campaign for the taxes. The decision to create this referendum and its support in the community demonstrates how government was able to achieve its objectives with the support of a wide range of citizens. The enactment of these sales taxes reflects the values of many citizens who comprise Lawrence's civic culture.

Despite the above examples of neighborhood interests influencing government, the growth machine has had a major influence in Lawrence. They have been the strongest advocates for growth and development and because of this, they have dictated the agendas and priorities of City Commissions in recent decades. Despite developers' complaints about the development approval process and opposition to development, "competent builders and developers have prospered in Lawrence... Although their every whim has not been accommodated, in general they have triumphed" (Loomis 2001:409). These complaints have also helped push the discourse

in Lawrence to the right. Fueled by large sums of money and their dominance in the local media, their criticisms of the smart growth commission were instrumental in moving the City Commission to the right in 2007.

The growth machine's influence in local government is hidden because many of their dealings with government are through the Chamber of Commerce or behind closed doors. The Chamber receives money from the City for economic development efforts in Lawrence while also acting as lobbyists for many business interests in Lawrence. These close interactions help forge a systemic bias toward business interests, together with governmentalities sympathetic to their interests. In fact, governmental growth promotion is business as usual in Lawrence. Though this study highlights a few isolated incidents where opposition led to the defeat of a development project, they are discussed in detail because they are exceptions to the rule in Lawrence. The vast majority of projects are approved with little to no public scrutiny or opposition.

Though Lawrence's tradition of participation may be viewed in terms of citizens seeking to shape and influence government, making room for participation is an important facet of governmentality and the production of the "proper" citizen who not only supports growth but is also involved in his or her community. Officials in Lawrence say they want people to be involved in the process. By welcoming citizen input, we see the ideal citizen in Lawrence is one who is involved in local government and interested in community well-being and the public interest. Government is granted greater legitimacy when it allows room for dissent and participation, though this participation rarely alters decisions in any significant way and maintains the existing power dynamic where business interests are systematically privileged over citizens in the name of economic growth.

The influence of governmentality on civic culture is seen in the community discourse that frames values of community well-being in an economic context. Commissioners managed the dissent of those who were critical of their economic development policies and priorities by arguing that they had no choice but to follow national trends concerning incentives. They used numerous technologies to frame the discourse in a way that painted opposition as not understanding the connection between economic growth and government's ability to pay for the services that residents expect. Governmentality in Lawrence encourages citizens to support growth by framing this as a good and desirable value of the "proper" citizen. Growth is framed as helping everyone through trickle-down processes, while opposition or critiques of a development project are framed as undesirable values of selfish citizens only concerned with how a development might affect them personally. As Commissioner Duncan said,

The most disappointing thing I've had as a commissioner probably, is how hesitant people are to do anything for this community if it affects them personally... [If people] think it's going to hurt them, they'll say no. But I have to look at what's best for the community, not just the neighbors (field notes, 1-20-09).

Here we see how the desirable values of supporting growth and development out of utilitarian values of the greatest good for the greatest number is contrasted with critics who are framed as more concerned with themselves than the community as a whole. As Barnekov and Rich (1989) assert, the tradition of privatism obscures the political nature of economic development, painting it as the product of natural economic processes while painting alternatives as obstructive and infused with politics.

Competing governmentalties of managed growth and unregulated growth each paint their own picture of the "proper" citizen through their competing visions of the public interest. Each side has shaped the civic culture in its own way through discursive strategies and technologies of government in attempt to legitimize and implement their governmental agendas. Both sides

contend they represent the public interest but they have differing opinions on how best to achieve the same goal. Those advocating growth promotion contend that growth benefits the community by creating jobs and contributing tax revenues in order to pay for services that citizens expect. Therefore, government should take any and all necessary measures to promote and encourage growth. Neighborhood interests agree that growth can benefit the community but also argue that it can have detrimental effects. They seek to ensure that the costs of growth are properly allocated and attempt to minimize over-building by ensuring the pace of development is consistent with growth in population and demand. They also argue that other ideals should be pursued by government. These ideals include protecting historical and environmental resources and delivering high quality services. These competing conceptions of the public interest have been and will continue to be the primary source political controversies in Lawrence.

Many approaches to studying the politics of local economic development seek to simplify and generalize a very complex topic and many scholars view civic culture as an extraneous variable. However, an in-depth examination of the politics of local economic development in Lawrence reveals that civic culture can play a significant role in many aspects of governance and it clearly cannot be ignored when studying the politics of local economic development. One also cannot ignore the influence of governmentalities on shaping civic culture and producing good citizens. However, these dynamics will vary across different communities. The influence of civic culture depends on the traditions, norms, values, and structures that comprise the culture. In Lawrence, civic culture plays an important role, but this is the product of a long history of civic participation in local politics.

The Growth Consensus and Producing the “Proper” Citizen

The system of logic that dominates governmentality and the power relations in Lawrence focus on the need for economic growth, though there is some disagreement concerning how to balance this growth with other priorities in the community. However, the necessity of growth is hegemonic in the local discourse, and any assertions otherwise are dismissed as false. Whether these assertions are objectively true or false are not the focus of governmentality studies. Rather, the focus lies in how the discourses of growth function as a system of truth that validates and reinforces the political economic context where business and development interests are privileged above the average citizen. Because the rationalities of capitalism underpin many of the assumptions in our society, growth is equated with the public interest. Any measures that may be perceived harm the community’s ability to grow are therefore considered wrong and harmful to the community. This limits the range of acceptable action for citizens and marginalizes any citizen whose views lie outside this system of truth that posits growth as unequivocally good and a lack of growth as inherently bad or false.

Despite assertions by some in the growth machine that smart growth or growth management are equivalent to being “anti-growth,” these positions are merely two sides of the same pro-growth coin. There is no opposition to growth in Lawrence’s civic culture. Even the biggest critics in Lawrence support growth but want to see it occur in a managed fashion. Because of the consensual support for growth, I argue that government rationalities and technologies have produced the “proper” citizen who supports growth. Citizens are not coerced into supporting growth but instead buy into the system because of the dominance of capitalism and the ideologies supporting it. Governmentality is a process of governance involving managing populations indirectly through social relations, behavioral norms, and moral models of

an idealized good and “proper” citizen (Foucault 2007). This is a productive use of power whereby citizens become self-regulating and willingly reproduce a worldview that maintains existing power relations that prescribe economic growth as the solution to all of society’s problems. Despite some degree of variation concerning how aggressively growth should be pursued, growth is consensually supported in our society, and Lawrence is no exception.

Government officials in Lawrence disagree about how growth should be pursued, but it is outside the range of acceptable discourse to oppose growth. “Anti-growth” is a derogatory term in the local discourse. It was created by representatives of the growth machine, reproduced in the Lawrence Journal-World, and then reproduced by smart growth commissioners whose defense against the label allowed the growth machine to frame the debate in an anti-growth/pro-growth polemic. In a Lawrence Journal-World article, one smart growth commissioner said he cringed when people called him anti-growth and argued that he merely wanted to ensure that the costs of growth were properly allocated. In Lawrence’s discourse, smart growth commissioners were framed by their opponents as extremists and far-left wing. In defense, smart growth advocates argued that they were actually moderates who favored growth. However, this discourse has been very influential in asserting that government should play an active role in facilitating and encouraging growth and development to promote the public interest. At the same time, this discourse obscures the reality that governmental growth promotion systematically favors private interests on the backs of citizens who pay for the subsidies offered to business in the name of growth and progress.

This framing is also a discursive act that creates a false dichotomy which limits the range of acceptable speech. It is virtually impossible for citizens to critique the paradigm of growth or oppose growth, as these views are considered far outside the range of acceptable thought. One

would lose all credibility in the community's civic discourse if he or she were to oppose growth outright. Evidence of this is seen in the fact citizens were careful not to frame their opposition to development projects as being opposed to growth or development, as seen in the comments of one citizen who said she didn't think anyone was opposed to new jobs or a growing community but was frustrated because she felt there should have been a working compromise between neighbors and developers in the island annexation for an industrial park (City Commission meeting minutes 6-17-08:50-51). The discourse is framed around how Lawrence should grow and who should be involved in deciding the growth and development of the community. Neighborhood groups argue that they merely want major land use decisions to be decided by the community instead of allowing a small group of special interests to determine the future of Lawrence. However, these opinions were largely dismissed by commissioners. Commissioner Barton said, "Because we disagreed with them, we were told we didn't listen to them... And because the commission happens to disagree with you, then you attack that group for not listening to you" (field notes 12-22-08). Commissioner Duncan said that allegations that neighbors weren't listened to was a dishonor to the public process and what they were trying to accomplish (City Commission meeting minutes 6-17-08:57). This example shows that while all commissioners acknowledge that public participation has an important role in government and two commissioners even encourage this participation, dissent is allowed but dismissed when it falls outside the paradigm that dictates the necessity and value of growth.

This participation, however, demonstrates a productive use of power. The good citizen is one who participates in government, and this participation reinforces and validates the existing power relations. Citizens willingly involve themselves in the political discourses of the community, and even if they disagree with the commission, their participation validates the

commission's decisions because members of the community were involved in the decision-making process. This nominal acknowledgement of public opinion legitimizes the decisions of the commission through the assertion that the decision-making process is open and transparent. We see the productive role of power in these dynamics, where citizens feel as if they had a say in the outcome of local politics, though the range of acceptable actions falls squarely within the growth paradigm.

In this discourse, the community must grow and government must be involved in ensuring this growth benefits the community. The only difference between those supporting unfettered growth and those advocating managed growth comes in the perceived value of this growth. Those supporting unfettered growth assume that the benefits of growth outweigh any potential costs, and therefore assume that growth is unequivocally in the public's best interest. Others advocating growth management argue that growth can come with consequences and costs to the community and government should ensure the community benefits from growth and the costs of growth are properly allocated. These views demonstrate how civic culture and governmentality come together to produce the "proper" citizen who supports growth despite a small range of views concerning how the community and government should approach the subject. The "proper" citizen may want to control the pace of growth, exercise caution, or consider non-economic values, or the "proper" citizen may want to give the private sector free reign. In either case, the "proper" citizen endorses the political economy of capitalism and the engine of economic growth.

The Functions of Governmentality in Maintaining Existing Power Relations

The discourses and rationalities surrounding growth reveal that local government does not hold all of the cards in existing power relations, but often serves the interests of developers

and other private interests. The development community's harsh criticisms of the smart growth commission and their financial contributions in support of pro-growth candidates derailed many of the smart growth commission's initiatives, demonstrating the extent that these moneyed interests can influence government. Government frames the local discourses surrounding growth and development, arguing that growth is pursued out of concern for the public interest and claiming that giving local elites and other land-based interests every possible advantage is the most efficient way to serve the community as a whole. Consistent with the findings of Stone (1980, 1989), government does not have sufficient power to govern on its own. Instead, it relies on support from local elites, primarily land-based development interests that comprise the growth machine. Therefore, the rationalities and discourses of government serve to reinforce in the minds of citizens the necessity and beneficence of policies and codes designed to benefit members of this growth machine, often using subsidies and other incentives paid for by local taxpayers. As a testament to the efficacy of these discourses and rationalities, many citizens accept these incentives and other policies as effective and necessary in the pursuit of job creation and growth promotion in an increasingly competitive global economy. Government is not all-powerful, especially at the local level. Instead, it mediates between the moneyed interests that hold power and citizens who allow this power dynamic to be maintained through public subsidies and political support for neoliberal economic policies.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

The politics of local economic development are complex and influenced by structural, political, economic, and cultural aspects of a community. Because each city is unique, the confluence of these factors is responsible for the observed variation in economic development politics and policies in American cities. It is clear that local governments engage in economic development activity because of their structural dependence on the local economy for fiscal resources and employment for residents, and because they share and reproduce the hegemonic discourse that renders economic growth as a necessity. However, I hypothesize that economic development politics and policies are likely to vary among communities, albeit within the growth paradigm. Though growth is universally pursued, there is variation in the degree of community support or controversy for economic development and in the generosity of incentive policies and other subsidies.

Some scholars have turned their attention to culture in explaining this variation, and it is now clear that culture cannot be ignored when analyzing the politics of local economic development. My project follows in the footsteps of scholars such as Laura Reese and Raymond Rosenfeld (2002) who argue that civic culture must be a component of analysis when studying local economic development. However, I take a more complex and dynamic view of culture and my methods reflect this view. I pair extended observation of local politics with in-depth qualitative interviews to assess the extent to which local officials are influenced by local culture, and the extent that civic culture is in turn influenced by governmentalities.

Lawrence's civic culture is dynamic and contested, and the debate concerning how the city should grow has been a central dividing line in the community. Also, there is widespread desire to ensure a high quality of life by providing quality public and social services as well as a

growing tax base on which to finance these services. The tensions between developers and neighborhood groups have been the major forces of conflict in the community in recent decades. The fact that these controversies have been based on similar rationales for decades shows how consistent and influential civic culture has been in Lawrence's politics of land use, growth, and development. This consistency also shows the pervasiveness of this debate concerning how the community should grow, framed in a discourse within the bounds of economic growth. Because the community has an extensive tradition of public participation, citizens have the power to influence local politics despite the limited range of acceptable actions within this paradigm.

The governmentalities of Lawrence's City Commissioners were firmly committed to capitalism and economic growth, as seen both in their rationalities justifying their economic development efforts and in their technologies of power. Though there were disagreements regarding the aggression with which local government should pursue this growth, they were consensual in their support for growth. Commissioners all argued that financial incentives were necessary for job creation and economic development in our current political economy where these practices are ubiquitous. Framing the local discourse is a powerful technology of governance that delimits the boundaries of acceptable speech and action to reinforce the dominant ideology of growth. Some commissioners argue that community opposition to particular development projects has done egregious harm to the public's best interest by discouraging investment, others are less critical of these debates. However, issues are always framed in a way that discusses the way a community should grow and never questions the necessity of growth. In sum, these rationalities and technologies have influenced civic culture to produce the "proper" citizen who supports growth. However, the critiques of neoliberal

capitalism are important because of their connection to global movements that question the neoliberal model of growth and development.

As the United States has transformed into a post-industrial economy due to accelerating capital mobility and globalization, governments have accelerated the use of incentives and other measures in pursuit of development and job creation while also reducing rules and regulations. Neoliberal ideology has been instrumental in this process by finding justification for the dismantling of government regulation (Harvey 2005). Governments are moving away from regulation toward incentivizing the private sector, yet some criticize the systemic bias toward business and corporate interests at all levels of government. The critiques of aggressive economic development in Lawrence are part of a broader set of social movements discussed by Giddens (2003). These progressive movements accept the market economy but seek to ameliorate the social problems created by capitalism. Giddens (2000:18) writes

A good society, locally, nationally and globally, is one that balances the state and government, civil society and a market economy... A decent society can't be one where markets flood into everything and all values are commercialized. Yet without spaces for the market, freedom and prosperity are both threatened.

This new "life politics" (Giddens 2003) is considered by Harvey (1989) to be a reaction to, and thus created by, the expansion of homogenizing neoliberal policies that encourage the expansion of market activity and free trade with movement away from governmental regulation in favor of governmental stimulation of market activity through financial and tax incentives, and a pursuit of economic growth above all other priorities. However, while some question neoliberal policies that are responsible for the acceleration of government acting as the handmaiden to the private sector, it is likely that many governments will redouble their aggressive development efforts in the pursuit of economic growth and job creation in the wake of the nation's economic contraction and slow recovery.

The politics of local economic development in Lawrence reflect not only the civic culture of the community, but also trends seen across the United States in response to a globalizing neoliberal economy. Officials feel compelled to offer incentives and take other measures to appeal to the private sector, yet they also acknowledge other priorities in the community. Citizen participation in local politics ensures that the costs and benefits of growth and development are thoroughly discussed and debated. By understanding the values, norms, traditions, and social structure of the community's civic culture, we can better contextualize the government rationalities of Lawrence's City Commissioners as they govern and pursue growth and development while also pursuing other goals and priorities. While their rationalities in many ways reflect the conventional wisdom of the politics of economic development, the tendency for controversy in Lawrence has forced commissioners to manage tensions in the community while pursuing growth and development.

Directions for Future Research

As scholars are recognizing the role of culture in the politics of local economic development, anthropologists have the opportunity to lend their cultural expertise to the many disciplines studying local government and economic development. Reese and Rosenfeld used both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in their seminal work on the civic culture of local economic development. They argue that there are distinct local factors that shape the environment of decision making in local economic development. Taken together, these factors help us understand key elements of a community's civic culture. They used cross-sectional survey research to determine trends and develop distinct types of civic cultures in relation to economic development. They then used nine cities for case studies to get a more detailed understanding of the civic culture of a sample of cities from each of their categories developed

from their survey research. However, these case studies consisted only of uniform interviews with local decision-makers and economic development practitioners. An ethnographic case study like the one I performed can provide a fuller and more nuanced understanding of a community's civic culture and the extent that it influences, and is influenced by, local government. I recommend that more cities be studied in an ethnographic manner to allow for a more complete and nuanced understanding of the relationships among civic culture and governance in different communities. Ideally, the cities chosen for these ethnographic case studies would be part of the survey research already performed by Reese and Rosenfeld (2002) to complement and "thicken" the research. Scholars from other disciplines are increasingly looking to culture to explain the variation in local economic development politics and policy, and anthropology should contribute to this work.

While this study was extensive concerning the views of the five Lawrence City Commissioners who served from 2007-2009, it was not exhaustive. I chose only to interview Lawrence's five City Commissioners in office during the time of my study because I was able to pair my observations with interviews. I discussed the smart growth commission to provide context for the 2007 elections, but a more thorough comparison of the two commissions could illuminate the extent of these two commissions' actual similarities and differences. A comparison could also give a better picture of how the growth machine and neighborhood interests were involved with the different commissions. For example, how did the growth machine's efforts affect the smart growth commission's ability to govern in comparison to their participation with the more development-friendly commission? Did the growth machine's efforts represent a veto power as theorized in regime theory? To what extent were the influences of neighborhood groups the same or different between the two commissions?

In addition to comparisons between these two commissions, interviews with other former commissioners who served even further in the past could provide a picture of how Lawrence's civic culture has changed or remained the same in recent decades. It could also provide insight into how the relationship between government and civic culture has changed or remained constant in the decades since the "mall wars."

Continuing this research with current commissioners could also provide a fuller picture of the views of officials by increasing the sample size of commissioners. I also continued to observe local politics after two new commissioners were elected in 2009, but I limited my discussion to the period of 2007-2009 for consistency, with the exception of the Lowe's case. However, new political controversies have developed recently that would be ripe for analysis. Developers are seeking approval for a multistory hotel in downtown Lawrence that has aroused concerns from neighbors due to its height, which some worry would not fit well with existing buildings and could set a precedent for more tall buildings downtown. Also, the City is looking to overhaul its economic development program with the aim of streamlining the process. However, neighborhood groups and other citizens have expressed concerns that this new council could be heavily tilted toward Chamber of Commerce interests and in turn disregard the views of others in the community. These would be excellent issues to study concerning the production of civic culture in Lawrence and its interaction with governmentality in the pursuit of economic development. Furthermore, it would be beneficial to study citizen activism to better understand how activists construct themselves as good and "proper" citizens. What are the technologies of citizenship as seen through these social actions?

It would also be beneficial to interview others involved in the politics of local economic development. Ideal candidates would include the city manager, the local economic development

coordinator, the director of planning, and individuals from the Chamber of Commerce. These bureaucrats and local lobbyists are not elected officials, and their perspectives could give a thicker description of the views of those involved in economic development.

Also, members of the growth machine and neighborhood interests could provide a better understanding of these activists and how they view their roles in the political process in Lawrence. It could also provide a more full and nuanced understanding of the values and priorities they represent, the social structures of the civic culture, and modes of participation and cultural production. How do they see themselves in the context of Lawrence's civic culture, and what do they claim to stand for?

Policy analysis could also be a fruitful area of inquiry. Textual analysis could uncover relationships between government and business interests, neighborhood interests, and conceptions of the public interest. Many policies are the product of many interested parties, and analysis of this text could reveal the extent that government serves business interests versus the extent that it dictates rules and regulations on business. For example, the tax abatement policy has a wide variety of criteria a firm must meet to qualify at a baseline level. Additionally, certain desirable factors are used as a "carrot" to encourage desirable criteria, such as LEED certification and wages that are above community or industry averages, which are rewarded with additional abatements of 5-10%. Analysis of other documents such as economic development policies, the City and County long-range plan Horizon 2020, the development code and the TIF and TDD policies would also be insightful.

In summary, civic culture and the politics of local economic development are incredibly complex topics of inquiry and there is likely to be considerable variation in economic development policy and attitudes among communities. Both quantitative and qualitative

research are essential to fully understanding this topic. Because culture is an important element in local politics, anthropology can contribute to this field through ethnographic studies of communities to provide greater depth and context to a field where these insights are lacking.

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