

URBAN POLITICS

Fall 2009

Political Science 227
Haverford College

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Hours: Weds 2-4
(and by appointment)

Course Description

This course introduces students to the theory and practice of urban politics in the United States. Much of the first half of the semester will be devoted to investigating how urban power and politics changed as cities evolved from small mercantile entities into industrial juggernauts before transforming once again into postindustrial centers of an ever-expanding metropolis or decaying landscapes of despair. How have cities responded to the challenges produced by large-scale economic, social, cultural, and technological change? How do the political processes and institutions of the past continue to influence those of the present?

During the second half of the semester we will focus on the contemporary period by examining how cities have sought to overcome the structural and political constraints that limit their capacity to address chronic problems such as inequality, poverty, crime, and inadequate schools, housing, and public transportation. Why have some cities made more progress in dealing with such issues than others? Recent scholars of city politics have emphasized the role of electoral and governing coalitions as the key to urban revitalization. How are such coalitions constructed? Why do some endure while others fade away? How do social divisions based upon race, ethnicity, and class reinforce or undermine collective efforts to promote political change? How do various ideological approaches to the ongoing challenges faced by cities differ from one another? Why have some been more effective, and under what circumstances? We will conclude the course by considering how the condition of American cities is intertwined with policy and politics at the regional and national levels of government.

Course Requirements

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|------------------------|-----|
| Class Participation | 20% |
| First Paper (5 pages) | 20% |
| Second Paper (5 pages) | 20% |
| Third Paper (10 pages) | 40% |

Note: Papers submitted after the due date will be penalized by one third of a grade each day they are late.

Required Texts

Stephen Goldsmith, *The Twenty-First Century City: Resurrecting Urban America* (Regnery Publishing Co., 1997).

Clarence N. Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988* (University Press of Kansas, 1989).

J. Phillip Thompson, *Double Trouble: Black Mayors, Black Communities, and the Call for a Deep Democracy* (Oxford University, 2006).

All other assigned readings will be on Blackboard.

Topics and Readings

Week 1

I. Introduction to Course

II. Politics in the Preindustrial City

Gary B. Nash, "Artisans and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," in *Race, Class, and Politics: Essays on American Colonial and Revolutionary Society*

Sam Bass Warner, "The Environment of Private Opportunity" in *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth*

Daniel J. Boorstin, "The Businessman as City Booster" in *American Urban History*, ed. Alexander B. Callow

Weeks 2-3

III. Urbanization, Industrialization and the Political Response to an Urban Crisis

A. Machine Politics

Humbert S. Nelli, "European Immigrants and Urban America" in *The Urban Experience*, eds. Raymond A. Mohl and James F. Richardson

William L. Riorden, "To Hold Your District: Study Human Nature and Act Accordin'" in *Plunkitt of Tammany Hall*

Robert K. Merton, "The Latent Functions of the Machine" in *Social Theory and Social Structure*

Alexander Callow, "That Impudent Autocrat" and "The House That Tweed Built" in *The Tweed Ring*

John M. Allswang, "Charles Francis Murphy: The Enduring Boss," in *Bosses, Machines, and Urban Voters*

Raymond E. Wolfinger, "Why Political Machines Have Not Withered Away and Other Revisionist Thoughts" in *The Urban Politics Reader*, eds. Elizabeth A. Strom and John H. Mollenkopf

Film in class: "Scandalous Mayor"

B. The Reform Era

Andrew D. White, "City Affairs Are Not Political" in *American Urban Politics: The Reader*, eds. Dennis R. Judd and Paul Kantor

- Jacob Riis, "Genesis of the Tenement" and "The Italian in New York" in *How the Other Half Lives*
- Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era" in *American Urban Politics: The Reader*, eds. Dennis R. Judd and Paul Kantor
- Amy Bridges, "Winning the West to Municipal Reform," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, June 1992
- Stanley Schultz, "The Engineered Metropolis" in *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800-1920*
- Jon C. Teaford, "Trumpeted Failures and Unheralded Triumphs" in *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870-1900*

Week 4

IV. Deindustrialization and Suburbanization

- Kenneth T. Jackson, Excerpt from *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* in *The Suburb Reader*, eds. Becky M. Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese
- Jon C. Teaford, "Suburbia Triumphant, 1945-1964" in *The Twentieth Century American City*
- Michael N. Danielson, "Suburban Autonomy" in *The Politics of Exclusion*
- Herbert Gans, Excerpt from *The Levittowners* in *The Suburb Reader*, eds. Becky M. Nicolaides and Andrew Wiese
- William Schneider, "The Suburban Century Begins: The Real Meaning of the 1992 Election," *Atlantic Monthly*, July 1992
- Michael Jones-Correa, "Reshaping the American Dream: Immigrants, Ethnic Minorities, and the Politics of the New Suburbs" in *The New Suburban History*, eds. Kevin M. Kruse and Thomas J. Sugrue

First Paper Due

Weeks 5-6

V. A New Urban Crisis

A. Racial Transition and Conflict

- Thomas Sugrue, "Racial Confrontation in Post-War Detroit" in *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*
- Herbert J. Gans, "The West End: An Urban Village" and "Redevelopment of the West End" in *The Urban Villagers*
- Bayard Rustin, "From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement," *Commentary*, February 1965
- Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, "Black Power: Its Needs and Substance" and "The Myths of Coalition" in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*
- Jonathan Rieder, "The Fenced Land" and "The Lost People" in *Canarsie: The Jews and Italians of Brooklyn against Liberalism*
- Film in class: "Rizzo"

B. Poverty and Fiscal Crisis

William Julius Wilson, "Societal Changes and Vulnerable Neighborhoods" in *When Work Disappears*

Jonathan Kozol, "Children of the Invincible City: Camden, New Jersey" in *Savage Inequalities*

Martin Shefter, "New York City's Fiscal Crisis: The Politics of Inflation and Retrenchment," *The Public Interest*, Summer 1977

Clarence N. Stone, *Regime Politics*, Chs. 1-2

Guest Lecture: Ruth Messinger, Manhattan Borough President, 1990-1998 and Member of New York City Council, 1978-1989; Wednesday, October 7

Week 7

Fall Break

VI. Regime Politics

Week 8

Paul E. Peterson, "The Interests of the Limited City" in *The Urban Politics Reader*, eds. Elizabeth A. Strom and John H. Mollenkopf

Clarence N. Stone, *Regime Politics*, Chs. 3-10

Film in class: "Eyes on the Prize" (Profile of Mayor Maynard Jackson of Atlanta)

VII. Racial and Ethnic Politics

Week 9

J. Phillip Thompson, *Double Trouble*, Chs. 1-4

Second Paper Due

Week 10

J. Phillip Thompson, *Double Trouble*, Chs. 5-7

Film in class: "Street Fight"

Weeks 11-13

VIII. Visions of Urban Politics

A. Privatism

Alice O'Connor, "The Privatized City: The Manhattan Institute, the Urban Crisis, and the Conservative Counterrevolution in New York," *Journal of Urban History*, January 2008
Elena Vessilinov, et al., "Gated Communities and Spatial Inequality," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, May 2007
Howard Gillette, Jr., "The Downtown Waterfront: Changing Camden's Image" in *Camden After the Fall: Decline and Renewal in a Post-Industrial City*

B. Populism

Stephen Goldsmith, *The Twenty-First Century City*, Ch. 1-3, 6-12

C. Managerialism

Tom Lowry, "The CEO Mayor," *Business Week*, June 25, 2007
John J. Betancur and Douglas C. Gils, "Race, Politics, and Community Development in U.S. Cities: Community Development in Chicago – From Harold Washington to Richard M. Daley," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, July 2004
Film in class: "The World that Moses Built"

Thanksgiving Break

Week 14

D. Progressivism

Elizabeth Strom, "Rethinking the Politics of Downtown Development," *Journal of Urban Affairs*, February 2008
Stephen J. McGovern, "Mobilization on the Waterfront: The Ideological/Cultural Roots of Potential Regime Change in Philadelphia," *Urban Affairs Review*, May 2009
Peter Dreier, et al., "Movement Mayor: Can Antonio Villaraigosa Change Los Angeles?" *Dissent*, Summer 2006
William Julius Wilson, "Building a Foundation for Multiracial Cooperation" in *The Bridge over the Racial Divide*
Reuel Rogers, "Minority Groups and Coalition Politics," *Urban Affairs Review*, January 2004
Paul Kantor and H.V. Savitch, "Can Politicians Bargain with Business? A Theoretical and Comparative Perspective on Urban Development," *Urban Affairs Quarterly*, December 1993

Week 15

IX. Cities in a Federal System

A. Cities and National Policy

Peter Eisinger, "City Politics in the Era of Federal Devolution," *Urban Affairs Review*, January 1998
Alan Greenblatt, "Obama and the Cities," *Governing*, April 2009

B. Cities and the Metropolis

H.V. Savitch and Ronald K. Vogel, "Suburbs Without a City: Power and City-County Consolidation," *Urban Affairs Review*, July 2004

Myron Orfield, "Conflict or Consensus?" *The Brookings Review*, Fall 1998

Third Paper Due