

# URBAN POLITICS

Fall 2017

Political Science 227  
Haverford College

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Hours: Th 9-11  
(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 struggling pockets of diminished opportunity and deepening conflict. 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 analyzing how cities have sought to overcome the structural and political constraints that limit their capacity to address chronic problems such as inequality, poverty, crime, inadequate schools, and a lack of decent, affordable housing. Why have some cities made more progress in dealing with such issues than others? Recent scholars of city politics have emphasized the importance of stable governing coalitions composed of groups from the public and private sectors with the resources and organizational capacity to get things done in an otherwise fragmented political environment. How are such coalitions constructed? How does the composition of governing coalitions shape policy making? Whose agendas are advanced and why? How do social divisions based upon race, ethnicity, national origin, 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 thinking about the future prospects of American cities.

## Course Requirements

Class Participation	20%
First Paper (5 pages)	20%
Second Paper (5 pages)	20%
Third Paper (10 pages)	40%
Film outside of class on Thursday, September 14, Gest 101	no grade
Film outside of class on Sunday, November 12, Stokes Auditorium	no grade

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

## Newspaper Coverage of Urban Politics

Our academic examination of urban politics will be enriched if we simultaneously follow the reporting of relevant news in the media. To that end, students are expected to read at least one daily newspaper such as *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Los Angeles Times*, *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, or perhaps your home city's primary newspaper on a regular basis and be able to draw upon material in these newspapers in class discussions when appropriate.

### Required Texts

Julian Brash, *Bloomberg's New York: Class and Governance in the Luxury City* (University of Georgia Press 2011).

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

Stephen J. McGovern, ed., *Urban Politics: A Reader* (Los Angeles: Sage Publications, 2016).

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

All other assigned readings will be on Moodle.

### Topics and Readings

#### Week 1

I. Introduction to Course

II. Politics in the Preindustrial City

Allen Tully, "The Ruling Elite" (Reader, 2-1)

Sam Bass Warner, "The Environment of Private Opportunity" (Reader, 2-2)

Daniel J. Boorstin, "The Businessman as City Booster" (Reader, 2-3)

#### Week 2

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'" (Reader, 3-1)

Robert K. Merton, "The Latent Functions of the Machine" in (Reader, 3-2)

Alexander Callow, "That Impudent Autocrat" (Reader, 3-3) 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*

Film outside of class: "Scandalous Mayor," 7:30 pm, September 14 in Gest 101

### Week 3

#### B. The Reform Era

Andrew D. White, "The Government of American Cities" (Reader, 4-1)

Jacob A. Riis, "Genesis of the Tenement" (Reader, 4-2) and "The Italian in New York" in *How the Other Half Lives: Studies among the Tenements of New York*

Stanley Schultz, "The Engineered Metropolis" (Reader, 4-3)

Samuel P. Hays, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era" (Reader, 4-4)

Margaret Kohn, "Public Space in the Progressive Era" in *Justice and the American Metropolis*, eds. Clarissa Rile Hayward and Todd Swanstrom

Jon C. Teaford, "Trumpeted Failures and Unheralded Triumphs" in *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870-1900*

### Week 4

#### IV. Suburbanization and Urban Decline

##### A. The Suburban Century

Kenneth T. Jackson, "The Loss of Community in Metropolitan America" (Reader, 5-1)

Peter Dreier, Todd Swanstrom, and John Mollenkopf, "The Roads Not Taken: How Federal Policies Promote Economic Segregation and Suburban Sprawl" (Reader, 5-2)

James Wolfinger, "'The American Dream—For All Americans': Race, Politics, and the Campaign to Desegregate Levittown," *Journal of Urban History*, May 2012

Michael N. Danielson, "Suburban Autonomy" (Reader, 5-3)

##### B. Migration to Cities

James N. Gregory, "The Second Great Migration: A Historical Overview," in *African American History since World War II*, eds. Kenneth L. Kusmer and Joe W. Trotter

Arnold R. Hirsch, "The Second Ghetto and the Dynamics of Neighborhood Change" (Reader, 5-4)

### **First Paper Due**

### Week 5

#### V. Urban Politics under Stress

##### A. Deindustrialization and the Rise of a Postindustrial City

Thomas Sugrue, "'The Damning Mark of False Prosperities': The Deindustrialization of Detroit" (Reader, 6-1)

Jon C. Teaford, "The Problem Perceived" (Reader, 6-2)

Joel Rast, "Creating a Unified Business Elite: The Origins of the Chicago Central Area Committee" (Reader, 6-3)

Guian A. McKee, "Liberals, Race, and Jobs in Postwar Philadelphia" (Reader, 6-4)

Robert A. Caro, “The Meat Ax” in *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York*  
Film in class: “The World that Moses Built”

Week 6

B. Race, Protest, and Backlash

Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, “Black Power: Its Needs and Substance” (Reader, 7-1) and “The Myths of Coalition” in *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*

Bayard Rustin, “From Protest to Politics: The Future of the Civil Rights Movement,” (Reader, 7-2)

Jonathan Rieder, “The Fenced Land” and “The Lost People” (Reader, 7-3)

Film in class: “Rizzo”

Week 7

**Fall Break**

Week 8

VI. Crisis

Paul S. O’Hara, “‘The Very Model of Modern Urban Decay’: Outsiders’ Narratives of Industry and Urban Decline in Gary, Indiana,” (Reader, 8-1)

Jonathan Kozol, “Children of the Invincible City: Camden, New Jersey” (Reader, 8-2)

Paul Peterson, “The Interests of the Limited City” (Reader, 8-3)

VII. Cities in a Federal System

Tracy Neumann, “Privatization, Devolution, and Jimmy Carter’s National Urban Policy” (Reader, 9-1)

Peter Eisinger, “City Politics in the Era of Federal Devolution” (Reader, 9-2)

Karen Paget, “Can Cities Escape Political Isolation?” (Reader, 9-3)

Carl Abbott, “The Portland Region: Where City and Suburbs Talk to Each Other – And Often Agree” (Reader, 9-4)

Week 9

VIII. Grassroots Politics

Saul D. Alinsky, Excerpts from *Reveille for Radicals* (Reader, 10-1)

Mark R. Warren, “A Theology of Organizing: From Alinsky to the Modern IAF” (Reader, 10-2)

Michael B. Katz, “Why Don’t American Cities Burn Very Often?” (Reader, 10-3)

Clarence N. Stone, *Regime Politics*, Chs. 1-4

Film in class: “The Democratic Promise: Saul Alinsky and His Legacy”

## Week 10

### IX. Regime Politics

Clarence N. Stone, *Regime Politics*, Chs. 5-10

Raphael J. Sonenshein, "Conclusions and Implications: Toward a New Contract for Biracial Politics" (Reader, 10-2)

Jason Hackworth, "The Public-Private Partnership" (Reader, 10-3)

Peter Dreier, "Urban Politics and Progressive Housing Policy: Ray Flynn and Boston's Neighborhood Agenda" in *Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods*, eds. W. Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, and Philip Star

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

## Week 11

### IX. Changing Dynamics of Urban Politics

#### A. Racial and Ethnic and Contemporary Urban Politics

Andra Gillespie, "Meet the New Class: Theorizing Young Black Leadership in a 'Postracial' Era" (Reader, 12-1)

Rachel Yon, "The Declining Significance of Race: Adrian Fenty and the Smooth Electoral Transition" in *Whose Black Politics? Cases in Post-Racial Black Leadership*, ed. Andra Gillespie

Adolph Reed, Jr., "Demobilization in the New Black Political Regime: Ideological Capitulation and Radical Failure in the Post-Segregation Era" (Reader, 12-2)

Arnold R. Hirsch and A. Lee Levert, "The Katrina Conspiracies: The Problem of Trust in Rebuilding an American Cities" (Reader, 12-3)

Film outside of class: "Bridging the Divide: Tom Bradley and the Politics of Race" 7:30 pm, Sunday, November 12 in Stokes Auditorium

### **Second Paper Due**

## Week 12

#### B. Immigration

Audrey Singer, "Contemporary Immigrant Gateways in Historical Perspective" (Reader, 13-1)

Domenic Vitiello, "The Politics of Immigration and Suburban Revitalization: Divergent Responses in Adjacent Pennsylvania Towns" (Reader, 13-2)

Karen M. Kaufmann, "Immigration and the Future of Black Power in U.S. Cities," *Du Bois Review*, vol. 4, no. 1, (2007)

William Julius Wilson, "Building a Foundation for Multiracial Cooperation" in *The Bridge over the Racial Divide*

Week 12 (con't)

X. Contemporary Approaches to Urban Governance

A. Privatism

Larry Bennett, "The Mayor among His Peers: Interpreting Richard M. Daley" (Reader, 14-1)  
Stephen P. Erie, Vladimir Kogan, and Scott A. MacKenzie, "Redevelopment, San Diego Style:  
The Limits of Public-Private Partnerships," *Urban Affairs Review*, vol. 45, no. 5, (2010)

Week 13

B. Populism

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

Week 14

C. Managerialism

Julian Brash, *Bloomberg's New York*, Introduction, Chs. 1-7  
Tom Lowry, "The CEO Mayor," *Business Week*, June 25, 2007

Week 15

D. Progressivism

Thad Williamson, "Justice, the Public Sector, and Cities: Relegitimizing the Activist State"  
(Reader, 14-4)

Paul Kantor and H.V. Savitch, "Can Politicians Bargain with Business? A Theoretical and  
Comparative Perspective on Urban Development" (Reader, 11-4)

Manuel Pastor, "How Immigrant Activists Changed L.A." *Dissent*, Winter 2015

Harold Meyerson, "The Revolt of the Cities," *American Prospect*, May/June 2014

**Third Paper Due at End of Exam Period**