

**Political Science 913/Urban Studies 913**  
**Urban Political Process**  
**Spring 2005**

Instructor: Joel Rast  
Time: Tuesdays, 7:00-9:40  
Location: Bolton Hall, Room 668C

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**Course Overview**

The field of urban politics has gone through significant changes during the past several decades. During the 1960s and 1970s, cities across the nation experienced economic stagnation and fiscal crisis as industries and middle-class residents migrated to the suburbs. Urban economic restructuring gave rise to new theoretical approaches to urban politics emphasizing structural sources of business power resulting from the increased mobility of business enterprises. Many urban theorists argued that capital mobility had produced a dramatic shift in the balance of political power in cities, dimming the prospects for policies that address the interests of neighborhood organizations, low- and moderate-income city residents, and other non-business groups.

More recent scholarship takes into account the phenomenon of urban economic restructuring, while in many cases moving beyond the economic determinism of much of the earlier literature. Many of these newer studies conclude that various types of governing arrangements are possible in contemporary cities, including regimes that are responsive to the needs of less wealthy city residents. Although scholars continue to debate these issues, there is a growing consensus that the distribution of political power in cities can take a number of different forms.

This course is divided into three parts. Part I is primarily theoretical. This part of the course traces the development of the field of urban politics during the past several decades and examines major theoretical debates in the field.

Part II consists of case studies of four cities: San Francisco, Chicago, New York, and New Haven. The case studies will help us further articulate the theoretical frameworks introduced in Part I of the course. We will examine the relationship between urban political theory and the case studies in part from a Kuhnian perspective (see Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*), observing carefully the “fit” between the cases and the expectations produced by our theoretical models.

Part III of the course is devoted to student research. In this part of the course, students will develop a case study of their own focusing on some aspect of urban political development in Milwaukee. This part of the course is fairly experimental. We will work out the details through a collaborative process as the semester gets underway, but this is basically how I see it working:

Milwaukee has had three long-term mayors since World War II—Frank Zeidler (1948-1960), Henry Maier (1960-1988), and John Norquist (1988-2003). Each of these mayors had a unique governing agenda for Milwaukee which had a significant impact on the city's political development. In examining Milwaukee's political development since World War II, it makes sense to consider the terms of these mayors as three distinct historical periods.

To facilitate your development of the Milwaukee case studies, I would like to create three research teams, each focusing on one of these three historical periods. The members of each team will negotiate a research agenda among themselves and collaborate in carrying out the research. However, each of you will write your own papers individually, relying in part on the research produced by fellow class members. The papers should be theoretically grounded. That is, you should use one or more of the theoretical perspectives covered in Part I of the course to help frame your research question. Our final four class sessions will be devoted to a combination of planning and coordination of efforts by research teams and updates on research findings.

## **Course Requirements**

Class Participation: Since this class is a graduate seminar, your participation in our weekly meetings will be critical to making the class a success. I will devote a minimal amount of time to lecturing. In Parts I and II of the course, most of our class time will be spent providing you with the opportunity to respond to the readings. If students come to class well prepared, our seminar discussions should be lively and thought provoking. In the research portion of the course (Part III), it is expected that all students will contribute equally to the efforts of research teams. Free riding will not be tolerated.

Reaction Papers: During Parts I and II of the course, I would like each of you to prepare a roughly 1-page (single-spaced) reaction to the readings each week. During weeks where the readings consist of a set of articles, feel free to synthesize the readings and treat them thematically rather than responding to each reading individually. A key purpose of the reaction papers is to facilitate your participation in the seminar. Therefore, as you prepare them, consider questions or issues raised by the readings that you would like to see discussed in class.

Research Paper: The research paper should identify and address a research question that addresses some aspect of urban political development in Milwaukee. The context for the paper should be one or more of the historical periods associated with the Zeidler, Maier, and Norquist administrations. The papers should be roughly 20 pages in length (double-spaced). They will be due at the end of the semester. I will provide additional guidelines for the paper later in the semester.

The breakdown of your final course grade will be determined as follows:

- Research Paper                    70 %
- Reaction Papers                    20 %
- Class Participation                10 %

## Required Books:

- Clarence Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1989.
- David Imbroscio, *Reconstructing City Politics: Alternative Economic Development and Urban Regimes*. London: Sage, 1997.
- Richard DeLeon, *Left Coast City: Progressive Politics in San Francisco, 1975-1991*. Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1992.
- Joel Rast, *Remaking Chicago: The Political Origins of Urban Industrial Change*. DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1999.
- Christopher Mele, *Selling the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000.
- Douglas Rae, *City: Urbanism and Its End*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003.

All books are available at the UWM bookstore and have been placed on 2-hour reserve at the Golda Meir Library. Additional readings are on electronic reserve.

## Class Schedule

### Part I: Theorizing the City

#### January 25: Course Overview

- No reading assignment

#### February 1: The Dependent City

- Norman Glickman, "Cities and the International Division of Labor." In M.P. Smith and J. Feagin, eds., *The Capitalist City*. Oxford: Blackwell, 1987.
- Michael D. Kennedy, "The Fiscal Crisis of the City." In M.P. Smith, ed., *Cities in Transformation: Class, Capital, and the State*. Beverly Hills: Sage, 1984.
- Paul Kantor, "The Dependent City: The Changing Political Economy of Urban Economic Development in the United States." *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 22: 493-520, 1987.
- Paul Peterson, "The Interests of the Limited City." From Paul Peterson, *City Limits*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Todd Swanstrom, "Semisovereign Cities: The Politics of Urban Development." *Polity* 21: 83-110, 1988.

#### February 8: The City as a Growth Machine

- Harvey Molotch, "The City as a Growth Machine: Toward a Political Economy of Place." *American Journal of Sociology* 82: 309-332, 1976.
- David Wilson and Jared Wouters, "Spatiality and Growth Discourse: The Restructuring of America's Rust Belt Cities." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 25: 123-138, 2003.
- Mark Purcell, "The Decline of the Political Consensus for Urban Growth: Evidence from Los Angeles." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 22: 85-100, 2000.
- Ann Shlay and Robert Giloth, "The Social Organization of a Land-Based Elite: The Case of the Failed 1992 Chicago World's Fair." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 9: 305-324, 1987.
- Harvey Molotch, "The Political Economy of Growth Machines." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 15: 29-53, 1993.

February 15: Urban Regime Theory (Part 1)

- Clarence Stone, *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1946-1988*, chapters 1-8.

February 22: Urban Regime Theory (Part 2)

- Clarence Stone, *Regime Politics*, chapters 9-12.
- Cynthia Horan, "Racializing Regime Politics." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 24: 19-33, 2002.
- Juliet F. Gainsborough, "Business Organizations as Regional Actors: The Politics of Regional Cooperation in Metropolitan America." *Polity* 35: 555-572, 2003.
- Clarence Stone, "The Atlanta Experience Re-examined: The Link between Agenda and Regime Change." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 25: 20-34, 2001.

March 1: Urban Regime Theory (Part 3)

- David Imbroscio, *Reconstructing City Politics: Alternative Economic Development and Urban Regimes*.

**Part II: Case Studies**March 8: San Francisco

- Richard DeLeon, *Left Coast City: Progressive Politics in San Francisco, 1975-1991*.

March 15: Chicago

- Joel Rast, *Remaking Chicago: The Political Origins of Urban Industrial Change*.

March 22: Spring Break

- No assignment

March 29: New York City

- Christopher Mele, *Selling the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City*.

April 5: New Haven (Part 1)

- Douglas Rae, *City: Urbanism and Its End*, pp. 1-211.

April 12: New Haven (Part 2)

- Douglas Rae, *City: Urbanism and Its End*, pp. 215-432.

**Part III: Milwaukee Research**April 19: Research Updates

- Reports on research findings

April 26: Research Updates

- Reports on research findings

May 3: Research Updates

- Reports on research findings

May 7: USP Student Forum

- Keynote speaker: Douglas Rae

May 10: Research Updates

- Reports on research findings