

DRAFT 8-28-08

GVPT 878A – Urban Politics Wednesdays 12:30 to 3:15

Professor Karen Kaufmann

Office Hours: Tuesdays and Thursdays
2:00 to 3:00 (or by appointment)

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This course is about the politics of American cities. During the first half of the semester we will focus on the physical, economic and social evolution of American cities from the 1940s to the present. In particular we examine the connections between increasing racial segregation, urban deindustrialization and rising levels of urban inequality that disproportionately and negatively impact racial minorities. The federal government's role in precipitating and perpetuating urban decline is a recurring topic of consideration and debate. In the second half of the semester we look more pointedly at the internal politics of American cities. In particular we explore the factors that enable minority empowerment and the extent to which local governments are willing and/or able to improve urban conditions. In the final weeks of the semester we investigate immigration as a source of urban social and political change. We explore the increasingly multicultural makeup of American cities and evaluate the prospects for political coalition building across different racial and ethnic minority groups.

Assigned Books: (*The first four books are available at the campus bookstore*)

- Thomas J. Sugrue (1996) *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*
- Douglas S. Massey & Nancy A. Denton (1993) *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*
- William Julius Wilson (1996) *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*
- Paul Grogan and Tony Proscio (2000) *Comeback Cities.*
- Karen Kaufmann (2004) *The Urban Voter*

- Roger Waldinger (Ed.) (2001) *Strangers at the Gates: New Immigrants in Urban America*.
- Many of the assigned articles are available on JSTOR or other university-accessible data bases. To the extent possible, I have provided links to assigned readings, but you will need to be on the UMD network to access these. Readings not available online will be made available for you to copy at least one week prior to class.

Course Requirements:

- (1) Class attendance is required. If you are going to be absent from class, please speak with me in advance. Prepare for class by reading and evaluating the assigned materials. Any student may be called upon to share a short critique of the reading. In preparing your critique, you may focus on theory, data, research design, statistical methods, how this work relates to other research done on this topic, etc. Your critique may be positive or negative.
- (2) Three short papers (approximately 5 pages each) corresponding to the three substantive themes we cover in the course. The topic of the papers is entirely up to you. You may evaluate competing arguments from two assigned readings.. You may identify methodological or theoretical weaknesses in an assigned reading. You may want to explore the contemporary applicability of a particular theoretical perspective or propose a potential line of research based on questions that these books/articles don't sufficiently address. You are expected to engage in scholarly critical analysis; no supplemental research is required. Your grades will be based upon the quality of your insights and on your ability to make and support an argument. All else being equal, one well-articulated argument is better than a laundry list of under-developed thoughts. All papers are due at the beginning of the class period. Late papers will be penalized one letter grade per day.
- (3) A 15 to 20 page literature review and research design. The first part of this paper should critically review the literature in some specific sub-area of urban politics. In the context of summarizing and critiquing the extant research on this topic, you should identify a research question that has yet to be adequately explored. The second part of the paper should include the following: a set of theory driven expectations/ hypotheses that flow from the literature review; the identification of an appropriate data set for this

project; and the description of an appropriate research design. In essence, I am asking you to write the front end of a conference paper/journal article with the hope you may go on to conduct the actual research and produce a publishable paper.

The topic for the paper should be tied in some way to one of the major themes in the course. The literature review should extend well beyond the course readings. *A one page description of your paper topic and a preliminary bibliography will be due in class on November 19th.* I highly recommend that you make time to meet with me to discuss your research design sometime during the first half of the semester.

(4) Grades will be assigned according to the following:

Short Papers	45%	(Each section paper is worth 15%).
Research Design (Final Paper)	40%	
Preparation and Participation	15%	

(5) Due Dates:

Short Paper for Part I:	October 15
Short Paper for Part II:	November 12
Paper Proposal and Preliminary Bibliography:	November 19
Short Paper for Part III:	December 3
Final Paper/Research Design:	December 19

PART I: How We Got Here – The Evolution of the Urban/Suburban Landscape

WEEK 1: (September 3) - Introduction

- Film – New York: 1945 to 1960

Discussion: What was the expressed goal of urban renewal? How did local policy makers in New York (and around the nation) use federal urban renewal funds? To what extent is the current state of urban America a byproduct of the kinds of urban renewal efforts undertaken in the 1950s and 1960s? What kinds of other measures might local policy makers have used to advance the goals of neighborhood revitalization?

WEEK 2: (September 10) – The Evolution of American Cities

- Sugrue, Thomas J. 1996. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton University Press.

Discussion: What factors explain the physical, economic and social deterioration of urban America? How does Sugrue's point of view differ from conventional theories of urban decline? How generalizable is the Detroit case to other American cities?

WEEK 3: (September 17) – Racial Segregation

- Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Harvard University Press.
- Rima Wilkes and John Iceland. 2004. Hypersegregation in the Twenty-First Century. *Demography*, 41:1:23-36.
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1515211>

Discussion: From a historical perspective, what factors have contributed to the hypersegregation of most American cities? What are the consequences of this hypersegregation? What are its policy implications?

WEEK 4: (September 24) – Residential Segregation: Sources, Implications and Policy Responses

- Emerson, M.O., G Yancey and K.J. Chai. 2001. "Does Race Matter in Residential Segregation? Exploring the Preferences of White Americans. *ASR* 66:922-935.
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3088879>
- Krysan, Maria. 2002. "Community Undesirability in Black and White: Examining Racial Residential Preferences through Community Perceptions." *Social Problems* 49:521-543
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3097085>
- Krysan, Maria and Reynolds Farley. 2002. "The Residential Preferences of Blacks: Do They Explain Persistent Segregation?" *Social Forces* 80:937-980.
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3086462>

- Rosenbaum, Emily and Laura E. Harris, "Residential Mobility and Opportunities: Early Impacts of the Moving to Opportunity Demonstration Program in Chicago." *Housing Policy Debate*, Vol. 12, Issue 2, pp. 321-346.
<http://www.fanniemaefoundation.org/programs/hpd.shtml>
- Popkin, Buron, Levy and Cunningham, "The Gautreaux Legacy: What Might Mixed-Income and Dispersal Strategies Mean for the Poorest Public Housing Tenants?" *Housing Policy Debate*, Vol. 11, Issue 4, pp. 911-942.
<http://www.fanniemaefoundation.org/programs/hpd.shtml>
- James DeFillipis and Elvin Wyly. 2008. "Running to Stand Still: Through the Looking Glass with Federally Subsidized Housing in New York City." *Urban Affairs Review* 43:777-816.
<http://uar.sagepub.com.proxy-um.researchport.umd.edu/cgi/reprint/43/6/777>
- David Rusk. *Inside Game/Outside Game*. Chapter 9 - "Montgomery County Maryland: Mixing Up the Neighborhood" (pp. 178-200). (COPY)

Discussion: Even as overt racism has declined considerably over the past half a century, levels of residential segregation generally have not. How do social scientists explain the persistence of racial segregation? Which explanations appear to have the most merit? What methodological challenges plague social scientists looking to study the psychological processes that drive residential settlement patterns? Do contemporary affordable housing policies sufficiently address the disadvantages associated with segregation? Do they pose alternative problems unrelated to segregation?

WEEK 5: (October 1) – Urban Inequality

- Wilson, William Julius. 1996. *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*. Vintage Books.

Discussion: Why have cities undergone such dramatic economic transformations since WWII? What consequences does this transformation hold for the urban poor in particular? From Wilson's perspective, why does work, as opposed to income, hold such importance? What are the policy implications of this perspective?

WEEK 6: (October 8) – American Cities: Changes in the 1990s and beyond

- Grogan, Paul and Tony Proscio. 2000. *Comeback Cities*. Westview Press.

Discussion: From the perspective advanced by Grogan and Proscio, what were the keys to the urban revitalization experienced by many cities in the 1990s? Is similar optimism warranted at the end of 2008? What consequences did the tax policies and spending priorities of the Bush administration have for urban areas, especially the urban poor? Can market based solutions really solve social and economic inequalities endemic to capitalist democracies?

****Short paper requirement for part I - DUE OCTOBER 15****

PART II: LEADERSHIP AND GOVERNANCE

WEEK 7: (October 15) – Machines and Reformers

- Film – **Street Fight**
- Steven Erie. 1988. *Rainbows End*, Chapter 1 (1-24); Chapter 3 (67-106); Chapter 5 (140-190) **(COPY)**
- Amy Bridges. 1997. *Morning Glories: Municipal Reform in the Southwest*, Chapters 6 and 7 (pp.125 to 174) **(COPY)**

Discussion: While the concept of “reform” is imbued with positive connotations, the notion of “political machines” conjures up visions of smoke-filled rooms, rampant corruption and government gone astray. How do urban governments with machine traditions differ from the “reformed” governments that typify urban areas in the southwest? What social groups were advantaged by machine governments and are they the same groups that benefit from municipal reform? How much importance should we tie to questions of municipal structure? How much do institutions matter?

WEEK 8: (October 22) –Urban Leadership and Political Power

(I’m assuming that somewhere in your undergraduate or graduate career you have read Robert Dahl’s seminal work, *Who Governs*. If you haven’t, you may want to familiarize yourself with its primary arguments before you attend class.)

- Peterson, Paul. 1981. *City Limits*, Chapters 1, 2, and 3 (pp.3-65). **(COPY)**
- Swanstrom, Todd. 1988. "Semisovereign Cities: The Politics of Urban Development" in Kantor and Judd (eds.) *The Politics of Urban America*. (272-288).

- Stone, Clarence. 1998. "Urban Regimes: A Research Perspective" in Kantor and Judd (eds.) *The Politics of Urban America*. (24-39). **(COPY)**
- Stone, Clarence. 1993. "Urban Regimes and the Capacity to Govern: A Political Economy Approach." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 15:1:1-28.
- Mollenkopf, John H. 1994. "Chapter 2: How to Study Urban Political Power" in *A Phoenix in the Ashes*. Pp. 23-43.

Discussion: How do we explain the business-centric nature of most city governments? To what extent does catering to the interests of business preclude government actors from responding to the needs of the urban poor? Does the mobility of local investment capital really limit the policy choices available to political leaders? What role do politics play in the governance of American cities?

WEEK 9: (October 29) – The Politics of Biracial Coalitions

- Kaufmann, Karen M. (2004) *The Urban Voter: Group Conflict and Mayoral Voting Behavior in American Cities*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Browning R.P, D.R. Marshall and D.H. Tabb (1990) *Racial Politics in American Cities*. Introduction and Chapter 1 (3-30). **(COPY)**
- Carmichael, Stokely and Charles V. Hamilton (1967) *Black Power* Chapter 3 "The Myth of Coalition" (58-84). **(COPY)**
- Sonenshein, Rafael (1993) *Politics in Black and White* Chapter 1 "Overview: Biracial Coalition Politics." (3-20). **(COPY)**

Discussion: In 1967 Carl Stokes was elected by voters in Cleveland, Ohio to become the nation's first black mayor. Hundreds of cities have followed suit and elected their own African American leaders since Stokes' historic victory. During the pioneering days of the 1960s, what circumstances were typically necessary for the election of a black mayor? What does it take to elect a black mayor today? What are the building blocks of biracial electoral coalitions? What are the obstacles? Are they the same in all cities? Have they changed over time?

WEEK 10: (November 5) – Minority Empowerment: Rewards and Limitations

- Bobo, L and F. D. Gilliam Jr. (1990) *American Political Science Review* "Race, Sociopolitical Participation and Black Empowerment." (377-393).
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1963525>

- F. D. Gilliam Jr. and K.M. Kaufmann (1998) *Urban Affairs Review* "Is There an Empowerment Life Cycle? Long-Term Black Empowerment and Its Influence on Voter Participation." (741-765).
- Reed, Adolph, Jr. (1986) "The Black Urban Regime: Structural Origins and Constraints" *Comparative Urban and Community Research* (138-189).
- Adolph Reed Jr. 1999. *Stirrings in the Jug*, Chapter 4. "Sources of Demobilization in the New Black Political Regime." (117-159). (COPY)

Discussion: Some argue that minority empowerment yields important material benefits to communities of color, while others suggest that the payback of minority empowerment is predominantly symbolic. What do minority communities gain by having their "own" candidates run for office and by achieving descriptive representation? Are Black and Latino mayors able to deliver more to their minority constituents than do their white liberal counterparts? Does having a Black or Latino mayor really make a difference?

****Short paper requirement for part II – DUE November 12th****

PART III: IMMIGRATION, THE CHANGING URBAN LANDSCAPE AND THE FUTURE OF MINORITY POWER IN AMERICAN CITIES

WEEK 11: (November 12) – Immigration: Its Influence on Urban Environments

- Roberto Suro. 1998. "Strangers among Us: How Latino Immigration is Transforming America. Chapter 1, pp. 2-26 (COPY)
- Junn, Jane. 1999. "Participation in Liberal Democracy: The Political Assimilation of Ethnic Minorities in the United States." *The American Behavioral Scientist: Jun/Jul* 42,9; ABI/INFORM Global pp.1417-1438.
- Waldinger, Roger. 2001. *Strangers at the Gates: New Immigrants in Urban America*. University of California Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, and 8.

Discussion: How is immigration changing urban America? What nationality groups make up the contemporary immigrant pool and how do they differ from the groups that came in prior waves of immigration? What are the social, economic and political prospects for today's immigrants? What are the key barriers to immigrant success? To what extent has immigration negatively

influenced the economic and political prospects for native-born African American urban dwellers?

WEEK 12: (November 19) - Racial and Ethnic Identities

- Frederickson, George M. 1999. "Models of American Ethnic Relations: A Historical Perspective" In *Cultural Divides*, Deborah A. Prentice and Dale T. Miller (eds.) pp. 23-34.
- Sears, Citrin Cheleden and van Laar. 1999. Cultural Diversity and Multicultural Politics: Is Ethnic Balkanization Psychologically Inevitable? " In *Cultural Divides*, Deborah A. Prentice and Dale T. Miller (eds.) pp. 35-79.
- Kaufmann, Karen M. 2003. "Cracks in the Rainbow: Group Commonality as a Basis for Latino and African-American Political Coalitions." *Political Research Quarterly* 199-210.
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3219898>
- Marable, Manning. 1994. "Building Coalitions among Communities of Color: Beyond Racial Identity Politics." In James Jennings (ed.) *Blacks, Latinos and Asians in Urban America*.
- Shelby Steele. 1990. "Ghettoized by Black Unity" *Harpers Magazine*.

Discussion: What role do racial and ethnic identities play in the development of political attitudes? To what extent does living the U.S. promote racial and ethnic consciousness? Should we expect immigrants to become more or less politically homogenous over time? How well do theories of assimilation apply to the contemporary pool of new immigrants? Does strong ethnic identity facilitate cross-cultural political coalitions or do strong ethnic ties create obstacles for alliance building and political incorporation?

WEEK 13: (November 26) – Ethnic Conflict and Multiracial Coalitions

- Lawrence Bobo and Vincent L. Hutchings. 1996. "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context." *American Sociological Review* 61 (Pp. 951-72)
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2096302>
- Lawrence D. Bobo and Michael P. Massaglli. 2001. "Stereotyping and Urban Inequality." In Alice O'Connor, Chris Tilly and Lawrence D. Bobo (eds.) *Urban Inequality*. Pp.89-161. **(COPY)**
- Kaufmann, Karen M. 2007. Immigration and the Future of Black Power in American Cities. *Du Bois Review*, Volume 4 (1):79-96.

- Gay, Claudine. 2006. "Seeing Difference: The Effect of Economic Disparity on Black Attitudes toward Latinos." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 4, pp. 982-997
Stable URL: <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4122928>

Discussion: How likely is it that Blacks, Latinos and Asians will build multiracial, political coalitions? Under what circumstances are multiracial minority-based electoral alliances most likely occur? What are the sources of tension that exist among the members of different racial and ethnic urban minorities? If the members of disadvantaged minority groups do not band together politically, what kind of alternative political coalitions are likely to arise?

****SHORT PAPER REQUIREMENT FOR PART III DUE NOVEMBER 29th**.**

WEEK 14: (December 3) – RESEARCH ROUNDTABLE

Students will make short presentations of their research designs. Class discussion of each project will follow.

WEEK 15: (December 10) – RESEARCH ROUNDTABLE

Students will make short presentations of their research designs. Class discussion of each project will follow.

FINAL PAPERS ARE DUE IN MY OFFICE BY NOON, DECEMBER 19.