

Political Science 410
Urban Politics
Syllabus
Spring 2001

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Course Description

In this graduate seminar we will discuss the major areas of scholarly inquiry in urban politics. The course begins with an overview of theoretical foundations and models of urban politics. Contemporary approaches to studying urban politics from a political economy or regime perspective are given special attention. The remainder of the course is divided into two major areas of inquiry: (1) political institutions of urban governance and (2) political behavior and political processes in urban settings.

Heavy emphasis is placed on class discussion; thus assigned readings must be done before each class. Students will take an active role in leading class discussions on journal articles and book chapters listed below. Each student will prepare an empirical research paper on a significant topic in urban politics.

Course Objectives

1. To comprehend the key models of urban politics.
2. To be capable of describing the key features of urban political participation and urban government.
3. To understand the explanations for political behavior, processes, and government structure in cities.
4. To design and conduct research on urban politics.

A Note on Academic Honesty: See the department policy on this. Consult your university catalog or contact the instructor if you have any questions about the policy.

Course Requirements and Grading

1. Class Participation

25 percent

This is an important component of any graduate seminar. Students should be prepared to discuss assigned materials and respond to questions. Obviously, you cannot participate if you do not attend.

2. Article Abstracts/Oral Reports

25 percent

Students will write several abstracts of journal articles or book chapters and lead class discussion on these. Abstracts should be limited to a one-page, single-spaced summary of key information from each article. An abstract is not an outline of the article, covering every major section and finding. Rather, an abstract should highlight important information (see attached samples), including the following key items:

- (1) **Thesis (or author's purpose)**
- (2) **Literature (prior research/theory)**
- (3) **Design (hypothesis, methods)**
- (4) **Findings (results)**
- (5) **Conclusion (implications)**

Follow this format for **essays and nonquantitative articles**:

- (1) **Thesis (objectives)**
- (2) **Argument (as developed)**
- (3) **Results (as demonstrated)**
- (4) **Conclusion (implications)**

Oral report: Bring sufficient copies of your written abstract for each member of the seminar. All students will be assigned to read your article. For this reason your oral report must be brief--**about 10 minutes per article**--and focused. Use the oral report to highlight essential material from the article that students should understand, to highlight key findings, and to **stimulate discussion** on the implications of the research. (A failing grade = 0 will be assigned for failure to show up on the night that you are scheduled to review an article.)

3. Research Paper

50 percent

Students will prepare a research paper on a topic in urban politics or policy. This is expected to be an empirical analysis of the topic in which the student will design and execute a research project. The research paper should be 15-20 pages of text, plus notes, references, and tables & figures. **Important dates:**

February 15 - Paper topic, abstract, bibliography

April 19 - Optional draft of paper

May 3 - Final paper due at 5 pm

Books

- Browning, Rufus, Dale Rogers Marshall, and David Tabb (eds.), Racial Politics in American Cities, 2nd ed., Longman, 1997.
- Sharp, Elaine B. (ed.), Culture Wars and Local Politics, University Press of Kansas, 1999.
- Svara, James, Official Leadership in the City, Oxford Press, 1990.
- Welch, Susan and Timothy Bledsoe, Urban Reform and Its Consequences, University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Readings: (Articles are in library or available from instructor)

I. Theories and Models of Urban Politics

Jan 18

- A. Theoretical Perspectives on Urban Politics
Svara, Chapter 1.

Jan 25

- B. Community Power and the Urban Political Economy
Judge, David, "Pluralism," pp. 13-34 in Judge et al., Theories of Urban Politics, Sage, 1995.
- Harding, Alan, "Elite Theory and Growth Machines," pp. 35-53 in Judge et al., 1995.
- Schumaker, Paul, "Estimating the First and (Some of the) Third Faces of Community Power," Urban Affairs Quarterly 28 (March 1993): 441-461.

Feb. 1

- C. Urban Regimes
Stone, Clarence, "The Study of the Politics of Urban Development," Chapter 1 in Clarence Stone and Heywood Sanders, eds., The Politics of Urban Development. University Press of Kansas, 1987.
- Stone, Clarence, "Summing Up: Urban Regimes, Development Policy, and Political Arrangements," Chapter 14 in Clarence Stone and Heywood Sanders, eds., The Politics of Urban Development. University Press of Kansas, 1987.
- Elkin, Stephen L., "State and Market in City Politics: Or, the 'Real' Dallas," pp. 25-51 in Stone and Sanders.
- Bennett, Larry, "Harold Washington and the Black Urban Regime," Urban Affairs Quarterly 28 (March 1993): 423-440.
- Logan, John R., Rachel B. Whaley, and Kyle Crowder, "The Character and Consequences of Growth Regimes: An Assessment of 20 Years of Research." Urban Affairs Review 32 (May 1997): 603-630

Feb 8

II. Urban Political Institutions

A. Municipal Government Structure

Svara, Chapters 2, 3

B. Mayors

Svara, Chapter 4.

Pressman, Jeffrey, "Preconditions of Mayoral Leadership," American Political Science Review 66 (June 1972): 511-524.

Wolman, Harold et al. "Mayors and Mayoral Careers," Urban Affairs Quarterly 25 (March 1990):500-514.

Strate, John, Harold Wolman, Alan Melchior, "Are There Election-Driven Tax-and-Expenditure Cycles For Urban Governments?" Urban Affairs Quarterly 28 (March 1993):462-479.

Pelissero, John P., David B. Holian, and Laura A. Tomaka, "Does Political Incorporation Matter? The Impact of Minority Mayors over Time." Urban Affairs Review 36 (September 2000): 84-92.

Feb 15

C. City Councils

Svara, Chapter 5.

Prewitt, Kenneth, "Political Ambitions, Volunteerism, and Electoral Accountability," American Political Science Review 64 (March 1970): 5-17.

Pelissero, John P. and Timothy B. Krebs, "City Council Legislative Committees and Policy-making in Large U.S. Cities," American Journal of Political Science 41 (April 1997): 499-518.

Bullock, Charles and Susan MacManus, "Municipal Electoral Structure and the Election of Councilwomen," Journal of Politics 53 (February 1991):75-89.

Alozie, Nicholas O. and Lynne L. Manganaro, "Women's Council Representation: Measurement Implications for Public Policy." Political Research Quarterly 46 (June 1993):383-398.

Alozie, Nicholas O. and Lynne L. Manganaro, "Black and Hispanic Council Representation: Does Council Size Matter?" Urban Affairs Quarterly 29 (December 1993): 276-298.

Herring, Mary and John Forbes, "The Overrepresentation of a White Minority: Detroit's At-Large City Council, 1961-1989." Social Science Quarterly 75 (June 1994):431-45.

Feb 22

D. City Managers and Bureaucrats

Svara, Chapters 6, 7.

Svara, James H., "Dichotomy and Duality: Reconceptualizing the Relationship between Policy and Administration in Council-Manager Cities," Public Administration Review 45 (January/February 1985): 221-232.

- Kerr, Brinck and Kenneth R. Mladenka, "Does Politics Matter? A Time-Series Analysis of Minority Employment Patterns." American Journal of Political Science 38 (November 1994): 918-943.
- Ruhil, Anirudh V.S. et al. "Institutions and Reform: Reinventing Local Government." Urban Affairs Review 34 (January 1999): 433-455.
- Weikart, Lynne A. "The Giuliani Administration and the New Public Management in New York City." Urban Affairs Review 36 (January 2001): 359-381.

Mar 1

E. The Politics and Impact of Municipal Reform

- Welch and Bledsoe, Urban Reform and Its Consequences, 1988.

March 15

III. Political Behavior and Processes

A. Citizens in City Politics

- Oliver, J. Eric. "The Effects of Metropolitan Economic Segregation on Local Civic Participation." American Journal of Political Science 43 (January 1999): 186-212.
- Thomas, John C. and Julia Melkers. "Explaining Citizen-Initiated Contacts with Municipal Bureaucrats: Lessons from the Atlanta Experience." Urban Affairs Review 34 (May 1999): 667-690.
- Karnig and Walter, "Decline in Municipal Voter Turnout," American Politics Quarterly 11 (October 1983): 491-505.
- Lieske, Joel, "The Political Dynamics of Urban Voting Behavior," American Journal of Political Science 33 (February 1989): 150-174.
- Krebs, Timothy B. "The Determinants of Candidates' Vote Share and Advantages of Incumbency in City Council Elections" American Journal Of Political Science 42 (July 1998): 921-35.

Mar 22

B. Parties and Groups in City Politics

- Green, Donald P. and Jonathan A. Cowden, "Who Protests: Self-Interest and White Opposition to Busing," Journal of Politics 54 (May 1992): 471-496.
- Clingermayer, James C. and Richard C. Feiock, "Campaigns, Careerism, and Constituencies: Contacting Council Members About Economic Development Policy," American Politics Quarterly 22 (October 1994): 453-468.
- Wald, Kenneth D., James W. Button, and Barbara A. Rienzo, "The Politics of Gay Rights in American Communities: Explaining Antidiscrimination Ordinances and Policies," American Journal of Political Science 40 (November 1996): 1152-1178.
- Pelissero, John P., Timothy B. Krebs, and Shannon Jenkins. "Asian-Americans, Political Organizations, and Participation in Chicago Electoral Precincts." Urban Affairs Review 35 (July 2000): 750-69.

Fuchs, Ester, E. Scott Adler, and Lincoln A. Mitchell. "Win, Place, Show: Public Opinion Polls and Campaign Contributions in a New York City Election." Urban Affairs Review 35 (March 2000): 479-501.

Mar 29, April 5

C. Minority Group Politics

Browning, Marshall, and Tabb, Racial Politics in American Cities, 1997.

1. Overview
 - Browning et al, Introduction, Ch. 1, and Ch. 13
2. Biracial Coalitions
 - Soneshein, Los Angeles, Ch. 2
 - Keiser, Philadelphia, Ch. 3
3. Multiethnic Coalitions
 - Mollenkopf, New York, Ch. 4
 - Pinderhughes, Chicago, Ch. 5
 - DeLeon, San Francisco, Ch. 6
 - Sonenshein, New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, Ch. 12
4. Political Incorporation in the South
 - Stone and Pierannunzi, Atlanta, Ch. 7
 - Perry, Birmingham and New Orleans, Ch. 8
 - Orr, Baltimore, Ch. 9
5. Latino Incorporation
 - Warren, Miami, Ch. 10
 - Hero, Denver and Pueblo, Ch. 11

April 12 - Easter Holiday

April 19, April 26

D. Political Culture in Cities

Sharp, Culture Wars and Local Politics, 1999.

1. Overview,
 - Sharp, Ch. 1, 12
2. Abortion Politics
 - Woliver (Ch. 2)
 - Clarke (Ch. 3)

3. Gay and Lesbian Politics and Issues
 - Rosenthal (Ch. 4)
 - Button, Wald, and Rienzo (Ch. 5)
 - Reinzo, Button, and Wald (Ch. 6)
 - DeLeon (Ch. 7)

4. Cultural Clashes
 - Haider-Markel and O'Brien (Ch. 8)
 - Musser (Ch. 9)
 - Kirp and Bayer (Ch. 10)
 - Schumaker (Ch. 11)

Format for an abstract of essays and nonquantitative articles

John Pelissero
January 19, 2001

Clarence N. Stone, "Toward An Urban-Regimes Paradigm," Urban Politics and Urban Policy Newsletter 1 (Spring, 1987): 7-13.

Thesis: The contemporary paradigm of urban politics, derived from Paul Peterson's City Limits, is an insufficient model of city politics, policy, and power today. Stone makes the case for an urban regime paradigm that emphasizes the continuing importance of city governments as conflict-mediators among competing interests in cities.

Argument: Paul Peterson's theory is directly challenged as it applies to the "limits" of city politics. Stone specifically objects to Peterson's parsimonious policy analysis which purports to show that developmental policies are the basis of all other city policies because economic competition exists and economic growth is in all cities interests. Therefore, the Peterson argument suggests that all cities follow a cooperative, non-conflictual process of adopting development policies while conflict, bargaining, and group activities take place only when there is an absence of economic competition. Cities appear to act much like business firms in Peterson's theory, while politics and conflict are emphasized in the alternative regime theory of Stephen Elkin (1980, 1985).

Results: Stone reviews literature critical of Peterson's thesis about developmental policy showing that it cannot be validated empirically. Stone's analysis and theory building are also based upon empirical research articles in the edited volume by Stone and H.T. Sanders (The Politics of Urban Development, 1987). Key points:

- a. Urban regimes--communities' governing coalition--act as a mediating force between community groups/politics and the policy outputs of the city.
 - b. Politics matters in all city policy areas--including developmental policies.
 - c. Peterson has some valid points, but his paradigm is too limiting.
 - d. Policies are not self-labeling; actors in the city political system have different views of what might constitute a developmental, allocational, or redistributive policy.
 - e. Developmental policies cannot be adopted on the sole basis of efficiency.
 - f. Political arrangements are of prime concern in understanding urban political outcomes.
4. **Conclusion:** He effectively argued that it is time to consider a new urban paradigm.

Format for an abstract of an empirical, quantitative article

Timothy Krebs
January 20, 1997

Liebert, Roland J. 1974. "Municipal Functions, Structures and Expenditures: A Reanalysis of Recent Research." Social Science Quarterly 54 (March) :765-783.

Thesis: Examining expenditure patterns in cities by looking at overall levels of spending, instead of spending that the city is actually responsible for, is misleading. One must look at policies or functions for which cities alone are responsible.

Literature: This work challenges the work of Lineberry and Fowler (1967) and Clark (1968) insofar as it redirects the inquiry toward those programs that originate within the city, and for which the city is responsible. The link between structural characteristics, environmental factors and policy outputs is blurred if the impetus for a particular policy originates elsewhere, or if a higher level of government mandates the policy.

Design: Liebert reanalyzes previous studies utilizing the notion of "functional inclusiveness." "Inclusiveness refers to the scope of functions combined within a government" (Liebert, 1974:771). Of importance is determining the extent to which cities are involved in policies, both in dollars spent and administrative support. The author ranks the degree to which a city controls a policy area: total, partial and no control. He then uses regression analysis to determine the degree to which control is related to expenditures in the areas of education, welfare, highways and hospitals. 675 cities with populations larger than 25,000 are analyzed.

Findings: 1) Control over schools and welfare account for most of the variation in spending. 2) Control over welfare/education is related to all other aspects of the municipal budget because spending in these two areas is usually high. 3) Cities that are highly inclusive in some areas tend to be highly inclusive in others, thus increasing their functional scope. 4) Inclusiveness is related to number of municipal employees. 5) Greater functional inclusiveness results in greater diversification and less reform structures (the converse is also true). 6) Functionally inclusive cities have decentralized decision-making patterns. 7) The correlation between decentralization and higher expenditures found Jon Clark (1968) represents a spurious correlation insofar as the inclusiveness variable represents an intervening variable, i.e. the relationship is between inclusiveness and expenditures. 8) Public schools have the greatest impact on city budgets. 9) With inclusiveness as an independent variable, Lineberry and Fowler's (1967) finding that cities with higher minority population spend more disappears and actually decreases.

Conclusion: Determining what cities are actually responsible for instead overall levels of spending is a more accurate measure of municipal outputs.

Research Paper

Students will prepare an empirical research paper of approximately 15-20 double-spaced pages in length on a topic appropriate to urban politics or policy. Collection and analysis of data are expected components of the research process. Projects may include case studies, comparative, cross-sectional studies, or time-series analysis. Although analysis does not require the use of inferential statistical techniques (e.g. correlation, regression, probit), students are expected--as a minimum--to prepare a research paper that uses descriptive statistics (e.g. percentages, cross-tabular presentations) and/or figures (e.g. histograms, maps). Your instructor will help with data analysis techniques. Each paper should follow the format below:

- A. Introduction and statement of the importance of the investigation
- B. Review of the Literature
- C. Research Design
- D. Discussion of the analysis and results
- E. Conclusion and Discussion of Implications
- F. References (use citation style)

Reading articles from journals, such as those in this syllabus, will provide you with ideas for a research paper. You should think of this as a project that will lead to a possible conference presentation and publication.

Many sources of data are available for cities. Among those that will be useful to data collection efforts:

1. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987 Census of Governments (and earlier years); City Government Finances in (Year); Census of Population.
2. International City Management Association, The Municipal Yearbook.
3. Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, Significant Features of Fiscal Federalism, various years.
4. Datasets of the I.C.P.S.R.
5. City and other government websites.
6. Websites of agencies that collect urban data.