

PS200A.21 Urban Politics: Getting Along

Fall 2001. MW 7-8:15 pm SocSci 219

<https://courses.duke.edu/courses/POLSCI200A.21-F2001/>

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I will be dining frequently at the Armadillo Grill before class on Wednesdays, starting at about 5:30. Everyone is welcome to join me.

*April 6, 2001: A Cincinnati police officer shoots an unarmed African-American man. For the next ten days, a curfew is imposed to control vandalism and violence. While lifting the boycott, the mayor of Cincinnati declared: "Out of this crisis comes an historic opportunity for our community to make meaningful progress." **Is there any chance for harmony?***

Across the country, American cities find themselves divided by racial, class and ethnic divisions while remaining engines of economic growth and the center of cultural life. In this seminar we look at how economic and social changes over the past century have impacted on political life. Waves of industrialization followed by massive deindustrialization all posed challenges to community organization and government. At times, political leaders struggled to manage conflict in schools, over housing and law enforcement methods while working towards economic progress (or halting economic decline). This course looks at what was (unions, political machines and housing segregation), what changed (deindustrialization, suburbanization, and housing segregation), and what is (competition for economic investment, social divisions). We then consider what can and cannot be achieved by government and the prospects of curing some of these social ills. Special attention will be paid to recent events like the violence in Cincinnati and the 2001 New York City and Detroit Mayoral Elections, which will take place during the semester.

This class focuses on the theme of "getting along." We will primarily focus on the question of whether people of different ethnicity, class or race can co-exist in the urban environment. Will they live together? Can they work together to manage the challenges facing metropolitan areas? What institutions encourage or obstruct such coalitions? Much of the course builds up to our reading of a recent book by a prominent sociologist, William Julius Wilson, who advocates a multi-racial, bipartisan political coalition to combat widespread social injustice in the United States. Is such a coalition realistic? Drawing on our understanding of the important issues confronting America's cities, past patterns of relationship (and conflict) and public opinion, we will evaluate his argument and the likelihood of its success solving our problems.

Books:

Judd, Dennis R & Swanstrom, Todd. 2002. *City Politics: Private Power and Public Policy*. 3rd Edition. Longman Publishers.

This is a very good textbook covering a range of topics. Since we will not be using many of the "updated" chapters, you may consider buying older editions (which are much cheaper –and used copies are available on the web).

Sugrue, Thomas. 1998. *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race & Inequality in Postwar Detroit*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Wilson, William Julius. 1999. *The Bridge Over the Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

This book is also available (free for Duke users) on-line at NetLibrary: <http://www.netlibrary.com/>
Other readings will be available via e-reserve or from the instructor. There will be a small fee for use of copyrighted case studies.

Assignments:

Group Presentation: (20%) Prepare a 15 minute presentation that discusses and analyzes the causes and consequences of a contemporary event or circumstances such as the disturbances in Cincinnati, the mayoral elections in New York City, Detroit or Los Angeles, politics in Durham... Provide important background information to your audience such as the relevant history of the city and a perspective on the composition of the ruling coalition in that city. Your topic must be approved in advance.

Final Paper: (20%) Can we get along? Can urban residents work together to solve the problems confronting their communities? Primarily drawing from course discussion and materials, critically evaluate William Julius Wilson's arguments about the possibility of biracial coalitions. Discuss the possible bases for such a coalition, its vulnerabilities and the likelihood of such a coalition forming (approximately 10-12 pages). Students wishing to work together on the final paper should seek formal approval from me. I can review outlines submitted more than four days before the deadline.

Short Response Essays: (10%) Write two short 1-2 page critical responses to any reading(s), presentation(s) or film(s). Do not assume that your reader is familiar with the work, so it should briefly summarize the author's work before critically evaluating his or her arguments. One short response must be turned in before fall break. All responses should be turned no later than a week following class discussion. The main purpose of this essay is for you to demonstrate careful consideration of the reading. Extra credit to post this paper on the CourseInfo Discussion Board the same week as the reading was assigned.

Case Study Role Play: (5%) When we discuss integration, we will use a case study on how some of Cleveland's eastern suburbs attempted to provide incentives for people, white and black, to live in integrated neighborhoods. You will need to purchase a copy of the case. You (probably with a partner) will assume roles described in the case study that will allow us to simulate the deliberations of the Ohio Housing Finance Agency. What is the appropriate role of public agencies? Most roles will prepare a three-minute argument explaining their position to the agency. Following formal presentations, there will be further discussion and deliberation about what policy the agency should (or should not adopt). After class everyone will be required to post up a short (1-2 page) response to the case, discussing what role you played, what you learned from the case and how these lessons can be applied to the class theme of whether people can get along? Your grade will be based on your mastery of material, the quality of your contribution in class, and the extent to which your posting demonstrates understanding or insight.

Discussion Paper: (10%) During select classes, one or two students will be assigned to write a short critique of the papers assigned that session. This paper should be emailed to the other members of the class no later than noon the day of the seminar. The purpose of this paper is to stimulate the discussion by posing interesting questions, making a provocative argument about the topic or critiquing the authors' analysis. You are encouraged to discuss the focus of this paper with the instructor in advance, but you should be guided by what you think are the most interesting or stimulating parts of the assigned reading. If two people are writing on the same week, you should coordinate so that each paper has a contrasting view or different focus. The paper should be 2-3 pages long.

Research: *Where do you [your family*] live? Why?* (10%)

Where do you [your family*] live? How would you describe the neighborhood, the community, the general area, the people who live in the community? Every student should interview their family* about why they chose to live in that area. What unit was most salient to the decision - neighborhood, development, side of town, city? Did they consider another area? Focus your discussion on what qualities or features made their area desirable. For class purposes, you should interview a long-term resident of an area (usually a homeowner). Write a short (3-5 pages) report of your findings. This report should summarize your findings rather than provide direct quotes from the interview.

*You may choose not to interview your immediate family – instead, you may interview a friend, a distant relative, a professor, or a local contact that I will recommend.

Participation: (25%) As with any seminar, participation is essential to an enjoyable and productive learning experience. Although some sessions will be primarily lecture, it is important that you attend class prepared to discuss the readings. I will assume that people will have done the readings. If I get the impression that people are not completing the reading assignments, I reserve the right to give quizzes or even a final exam that will count towards the participation grade. Other assignments that arise over the course of the semester will count towards your participation grade.

Contributions to an interesting thread on the CourseInfo discussion boards is considered to be equivalent to speaking during class, so the best participation grades will reflect regular contributions in class and/or on-line. All students are encouraged to visit the discussion boards at least once a week. If you miss class, you are strongly encouraged to post a short comment on the readings on the discussion boards or respond to on-going discussion about the topic the same week as the missed class. You are also encouraged to post (or email to the instructor) any questions you have about the readings prior to class.

A note on participation:

Remember to always be considerate and respectful of other people during class discussions. This is particularly important for a class like this one that touches on some sensitive and controversial topics. People are entitled to have opinions, especially in this class, and it is one of my priorities to foster an environment where everyone is comfortable sharing their thoughts. Refrain from making personal attacks, especially when offering criticism or engaging in argument. There should be no put-downs in the classroom (and this applies to the instructor too).

Many of the readings and activities address policy questions or present interpretations of historical events. Just because they are on the syllabus does not mean that the interpretation is correct or the

proposed policy is practical or desirable. Their inclusion as part of the class does *not* imply that the instructor endorses the policy or the interpretation. Approach every question, assertion or recommendation with a critical eye. Bold, challenging and provocative (yet thoughtful) contributions to the class and written analyses are not only desirable, they are expected of you.

Grading Policy: Extensions may only be granted before the day of the deadline. All assignments turned in without an approved extension will be deducted a ½ point every 24 hours after the deadline. Late short response essays will only be graded if there is no other opportunity for you to submit an essay on time. No response essay in the first half of the class will result in a 50% deduction. Grading appeals should be submitted with a cover letter explaining the basis of the appeal to me.

Part I: “What was”

8/27 Introduction

8/29 What people want from a city/neighborhood/community ~

Brower, Sidney. 1996. “Good Neighborhoods.” Ch. 7, 10
Newsweek: “Are Cities Irrelevant?”

What do people desire in a community? neighborhood? city?

Research: Where do you [your family*] live? Why? Due September 10, 2001.

9/3 What was - Industrialization

Judd, Dennis R & Swanstrom, Todd. 2002. “City Politics: Private Power and Public Policy” 3rd. Edition. Ch 2,
6 (hereafter, J & S)

Katznelson, Ira. 1981 “City Trenches,” pages 45-58 (in Judd and Kantor).

9/5 What was - Transportation, Housing & Mobility ~

J & S, Ch. 6

Monkkonen, Eric. 1988. “America Becomes Urban” Ch. 7 & 8

Katz, Michael B. 1986. “The Limits of Urban Reform: New York’s Tenements and Chicago’s Ghetto.” pp.
171-178, 310-311. (from Judd and Kantor)

Did politics cause technological change? Or did technology change politics?

9/10 What was- Housing & Mobility II

Sugrue, Part One

Part II: Political Power and Control

9/12 Who leads? Who is in control? ~

Ross, Bernard H. and Myron A. Levine. 2001. “Urban Politics: Power in Metropolitan America.” 6th Ed. Ch. 3
(pp. 63-81)

Burns, Nancy. 1994. “The Formation of American Local Governments.” Ch. 1 (pp. 3-22)

9/17 Who led - Machines I History

Royko, Mike. Boss. (Daley)

Readings (from Judd and Kantor):

Riordan, W

Hays, S

Rakove, M

No class discussion- Rosh Hashana

9/19 Who led - Machines II Evaluation ~

Erie, Steven (excerpts in Judd and Kantor)
J & S, Ch. 3

Lijphart, Arend. "Self-Determination..." 1995. In Kymlicka, Will. The Rights of Minority Cultures

Part III: What Changed

9/24 Deindustrialization

Sugrue, Part Two (90 pgs)

9/26 Changes... (Yom Kippur)

Movie: "Liberty Heights"

Movie depicts society in Baltimore circa 1954. This is a society on the brink of widespread change. Focusing on a Jewish family, the movie shows the social tensions between groups that live in clearly demarcated areas- but these groups are mixing and attitudes are changing. Or are they?

10/1 What changed -Neighborhoods ~

Gamm, Gerald. 1999. "Urban Exodus: Why the Jews left Boston and the Catholics Stayed." Ch 1-3, 11

10/3 What changed (cont) ~

Sugrue, Ch. 7

David M. Cutler, Edward L. Glaeser, and Jacob L. Vigdor. 1999. "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto." *Journal of Political Economy*, 107 (3), pp. 455-505. <http://papers.nber.org/papers/W5881.pdf>

Continue discussion of Gamm.

10/8 School Desegregation ~

Guest Speaker: Professor Charles Clotfelter

Clotfelter, Charles. 1999. "Are Whites Still "Fleeing"? Racial Patterns and Enrollment Shifts in Urban Public Schools, 1987-1996." NBER Working Paper No. W7290 <http://papers.nber.org/papers/W7290.pdf>

Clotfelter, Charles. 1998. "Public School Segregation in Metropolitan Areas" NBER Working Paper No. W6779. <http://papers.nber.org/papers/W6779.pdf>

J & S, Ch. 10

Part III: Responses and Consequences

10/10 Resistance and Exclusion ~

Sugrue, Ch. 8

Burns, Nancy. 1994. "Formation of American Local Governments." Ch. 4 "Elements of Collective Action."

Documentary: Eyes on the Prize II, Program 7 "The Keys to the Kingdom (1974-1980) – Excerpts showing Boston school desegregation battle

****Fall Break** Remember: One short response essay is due before the break.**

10/17 Consequences - Riots

Sugrue, Ch 9 and Conclusion.

Documentary: Eyes on the Prize II, Program 2 "Two Societies (1965-1968)"

10/22 Consequences – African American Political Response

McClain and Stewart "Can We All Get Along?" Ch. 5 "Coalition or Competition?"

Documentary: Eyes on the Prize II, Program 3 "Power" (View at Lilly)

Discussion about group interests, competition and coalition prospects.

10/24 Consequences - Fiscal Crisis

Bissinger, Buzz. 1997. A Prayer for the City. Ch. 2 (pp. 29-43), pp. 106-119, Ch. 8 (pp. 133-154).

J & S, Ch. 12.

10/29 Government Responses- Urban Renewal? ~

Norquist, John O. 1998. "The Wealth of Cities." Ch. 6. "How the Government Killed Affordable Housing."
Pressman, Jeffrey L. and Aaron Wildavsky. "Implementation..." pp. 1-18, 147-162.
J & S, Ch. 7

10/31 Responses – Integration

Ellen, Ingrid Gould. 2000. "Sharing America's Neighborhoods." Ch. 2, 8
Case Study: "Integration Incentives in Suburban Cleveland." Kennedy School of Government Case C16-89-
877.0. 1989. <http://www.ksgcase.harvard.edu/case.htm?PID=877>
The fee for this case is \$2.45. Since the minimum order is \$25, we will collect payment in advance.

11/5 Coalitions ~

Burnham, Robert A. "Cincinnati Charter Revolt 1924..." in Henry Shapiro and Jonathan Sarna, 1992.
Guinier, Lani. 1993. "The Representation of Minority Interests: The Question of Single-Member Districts."
Cardozo Law Review, April.
Can African-Americans be represented fairly by non African-Americans?

Part IV: Today and Tomorrow

11/7 Urban Inequality Today ~

Downs, Anthony. 1994. "New Visions for a Metropolitan America." Ch. 5 "Urban Decline and Inner City
Problems."
Farley, Reynolds. 2000. "Metropolises of the Multi-City Study of Urban Inequality: Social, Economic,
Demographic and Racial Issues in Atlanta, Boston, Detroit and Los Angeles." In A. O'Conner, et al.
"Urban Inequality: Evidence From Four Cities." New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

11/12 What is -Current Events: NY, Cincinnati. . .

Group presentation

11/14 What divides whites and blacks ~

Sears, David O. 2000. "Race in American Politics: Framing the Debates" In Sears, et al. "Racialized Politics,"
pp. 1-36.
Kluegel, James and Lawrence Bobo. 2000. "Perceived Group Discrimination and Policy Attitudes: The
Sources And Consequences of The Race and Gender Gaps." In A. O'Conner, et al.
Washington Post Survey, July 2001

11/19 What divides whites and blacks ~

Kinder Donald and Sanders, Lynn. "Divided by Color," 1996. pp. 81-91; 98-127
Sniderman and Carmines, "Reaching Beyond Race." 1997. 2
Sidanius, Jim et al. 2000. "It's not Affirmative Action, its the Blacks: The Continuing Relevance of Race in
American Politics." In Sears, et al. "Racialized Politics," pp. 1-36.
Inequality, racial injustice and racial injustice- attitudes towards affirmative action.

11/26 TBA

11/28 Governance Issues - Can blacks and whites form interracial coalitions? How?

Eyes on the Prize II, Program 8 "Back to the Movement (1979-mid 1980s)"
Wilson, William Julius. 1999. "The Bridge Over the Racial Divide."
J & S, Ch. 14

12/3 The Bridge Over the Racial Divide II

Wilson, William J. 1999. "The Bridge Over the Racial Divide."

12/5 Conclusion

12/10 Final paper due at 10am