

Urban Politics  
Political Science 102 E  
Urban Politics 107

Week 3

# The Historical Evolution of Cities: Reform

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Office Hours: Wednesdays 9-11 am and by appt

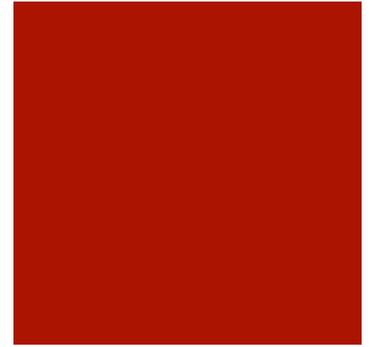
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Tuesday, October 11, 2016

# Today's Agenda

- Revisions on the Syllabus
- Response Papers Discussion Questions
- The Historical Evolution of Cities: Reform
- Visit from Barbara Bry
- Discussion Section
  - Breakdown into Groups
  - Pick a City
  - Begin Review of Part 2: Historical Overview of your city

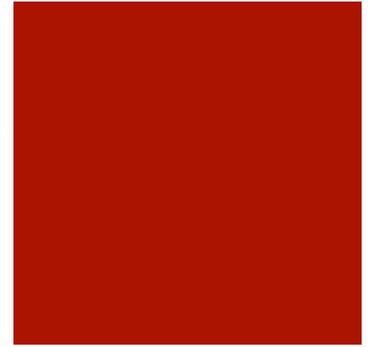


# Syllabus Revisions

- Visit from Annelise Sklar → Moved to Week 4: October 18<sup>th</sup>
- Tutorial on Social Explorer (Parts 3 and 4) of Final Research Paper
- Week 5: Only will take into account the midterm.
  - Extra Office Hours Week 4
    - Monday (1-3 pm)
    - Tuesday (8-9 am and 12-1 pm)
  - Cancellation of Office Hours
    - Wednesday: 9-11 (Week 4)
    - Tuesday: 12-1 (Week 5)
    - Wednesday: 9-11 (Week 5)
  - Office Hours by Appointment (Week 5)
    - Wednesday afternoon, onwards

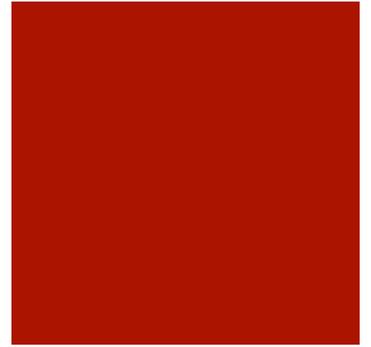
# Response Paper Discussion Questions

- 4 students today:
  - 1. Amanda
  - 2. Emily
  - 3. Hyun
  - 4. Kevin



# Plunkitt of Tammany Hall

## -George Washington (1902)



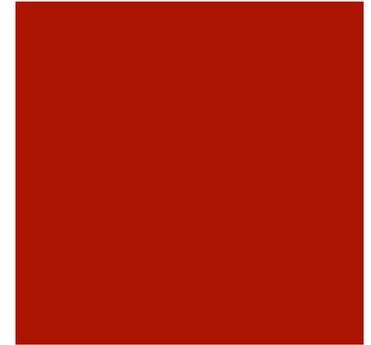
Reformers “were morning glories – looked lovely in the mornin’ and withered up in a short time, while the regular machines went on flourishin’ forever, like fine old oaks.”

# Reform Movements



- At the time Plunkitt delivered this statement, he was essentially correct.
- Throughout the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, reform movements sprang up in many cities.
- The reformers were attempting to dismantle the party organizations that thrived on immigrant votes.

# Reform Movements



- The explosive growth of American cities during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was a source of deep concern among some.
- Middle and upper income Protestant backgrounds whose families had been in the US for generations looked at the teeming immigrant ghettos of large cities in dismay.
- In their view, impoverished places like the Lower East Side, with their abundance of saloons, brothels, and gaming houses had denigrated to breeding grounds of vice and corruption.
- These places *challenged and threatened* the fundamental values of the American way of life

# Reform Movements



- The reformers' concerns about political corruption were intertwined with their fears about the corrupting moral influence of the “**Great Unwashed**”
  - Upper class Victorians covered piano legs and attended lectures and concerts in formal dress.
- They observed German and Irish immigrants drinking beer on Sundays and read newspaper accounts of prostitution, dance halls, gambling, and public drunkenness.

# Reform Movements



- Reformers passed laws:
  - Requiring school attendance
  - Abolishing prostitution
  - Raising the upper age limit for mandatory schooling
  - Built industrial schools and kindergartens to teach immigrant children their version of dress, speech, manners, and discipline
  - Abolishing gambling
  - Abolishing Sunday liquor sales



Let's take a step back and examine how political machines were running the cities during this time.

# The Limited Government Ideal of Machine Politicians



- At the time, the big city machines could have forged coalitions broad enough to implement social reform in cities.
- They could have:
  - Sought to educate their constituents
  - Put together a labor program designed to modify dangerous working conditions, long hours, child labor, low pay.
  - Etc.

# The Limited Government Ideal of Machine Politicians



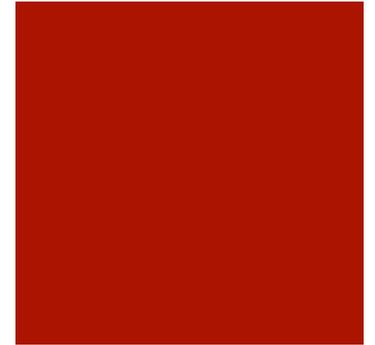
- Instead:
  - They passed out favors and low paying jobs
  - They reaffirmed a tradition where city growth was decided by the **individual decisions of private institutions.**
- Social reform was *rare* in American cities partly because party machines fought it bitterly.
  - The political power of corporate business, in alliance with the machine, overwhelmed reform efforts.
  - Typically, when reformers achieved victory, it was generally short-lived and partial.



So in come reform movements

# Reform Movements

- These movements, tended to be short lived.
  - Recall Plunkitt: Reformers “were morning glories – looked lovely in the mornin’ and withered up in a short time, while the regular machines went on flourishin’ forever, like fine old oaks.”
- They were also sporadic.
- They lacked an organizational base or sustaining cause.
- But from 1900-1920, a well-organized and powerful municipal reform movement swept the nation.



# The Historical Evolution of Cities: Reform



- After some failure, a new group of reformers emerged.
- By the 1890s, industrialization and urban growth had created conditions that could no longer be ignored.
- In response to widespread government corruption and social and physical deterioration in the immigrant wards, there were citizens groups that had sprung up in most cities.
  - These groups asked for improved services and honesty in government.

# The Historical Evolution of Cities: Reform



- The problems faced by reformers in various cities varied little from city to city.
- Like-minded reformers from different cities soon began to exchange advice and information about their efforts.
- These informational networks subsequently led to the formation of national reform organizations.

# The Reform Environment: The National Municipal League



- In 1894, delegates to the First Annual Conference for Good City Government met in Philadelphia to create the first national reform organization: The **National Municipal League**.
- Many of the delegates to the conference were disturbed that democratic institutions had been “corrupted” in the rabble-ruled cities.
- Some argued that the vote should be denied to those unqualified to exercise it responsibly.

# The Reform Environment: The National Municipal League



- The nationalization of reform proceeded quickly after the formation of the NML.
- Within 2 years, 180 local organizations had affiliated with it.
- By the turn of the century, all cities of consequential size had member organizations.
- In the next 20 years, reform and professional organizations had proliferated.

# The Reform Environment: The Progressive Era



- These organizations created an institutional structure for promoting reform.
- This characteristics is primarily what made the Progressive Era different from any previous Reform period in American history.
- The Progressive Reformers created a communications and lobbying network that financed and organized reform on a national scale, using a complex network of specialized organizations to develop a coherent reform agenda.

# The Reform Environment: The Mass Media



- A newly developed mass media spread the reform gospel to upper-class and educated middle-class readers.
- By the turn of the century, **falling paper prices** and **technical advances** in printing made it possible to produce high-quality mass circulation newspapers and magazines.
- Crusading journalists investigated and reported “inside stories” on corruption in government, big business, organized vice, the stock market, and the drug and meatpacking industries.
- In the next few years, dozens of daily newspapers carried stories that appealed to the popular feeling that political, economic, and social institutions had become corrupted.

# The Reform Environment: The Mass Media

- Big business was accused of
  - Producing unsafe and shoddy goods
  - Fixing prices
  - Crushing the competition
  - Engaging in frauds in medicine and life insurance
  - Having long hours, child labor, etc.



# The Municipal Reform Agenda



- It did not take long for municipal reformers to reach substantial agreement about the urban problems they wished to attack.
- By its November 1899 meeting, the members of the National Municipal League had reached agreement on a model municipal charter.
- To abolish the machines, the model charter recommended that ward elections be abandoned in favor of
  - At-large elections,
  - Most administrative positions be placed under civil services, and
  - Local and national elections should be held at different times.

# The Municipal Reform Agenda



- Besides eliminating the machines, the reformers also wanted to “streamline” local government operations to make them more efficient.
- The model charter recommended that a small, unicameral city council replace the bicameral councils that existed in most cities.
- It also encouraged reformers to implement strong mayor governments, giving the mayor the power to appoint top administrators and to veto legislation.
- The municipal reformers shared a conviction that it was their responsibility to educate and instruct the lower classes about good government.

# The Municipal Reform Agenda



- The reformers' first target: **party machines**
- They implemented many strategies to weaken and dismantle political party control over elections.
- Several of these strategies were designed to regulate elections and to make nomination and election procedures more accessible to public inspection and control.
  - Prior – municipal elections were chaotic and corrupt – because few election laws existed – and were rarely enforced

# The Municipal Reform Agenda



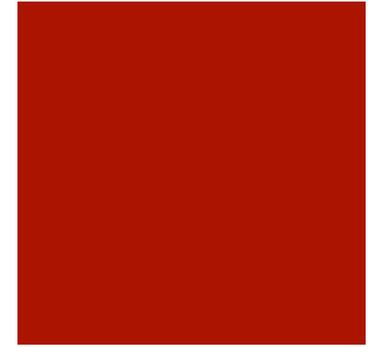
- Reformers everywhere launched campaigns to regulate elections and nominations
- By 1905, voter registration laws had been placed on the books in most states.
- From 1905 – 1920, states and localities set up election boards, making it illegal to vote more than once, and tried to define the legitimate uses of campaign funds.

# The Municipal Reform Agenda



- Within the cities, reformers focused more on the structure and operations of the party machines.
- The reformers' 2 most popular strategies:
  - (1) The non partisan ballot
  - (2) At large elections
- Municipal reformers felt that party labels encouraged bloc voting rather than civic loyalty
  - They felt it was the responsibility of citizens to educate themselves to vote for the best candidates and not vote down the party line.

# The Municipal Reform Agenda: Non Partisan Ballot and At Large Elections



- Non partisan ballot
  - By removing the party symbols as an easy reference for lower-class voters, the nonpartisan ballot made it harder for immigrants to vote as a bloc.
  - Before 1910 nonpartisan elections were almost unknown.
  - By 1929, they were standard in 57% of the cities with over 30,000 ppl.
- At Large Elections
  - Under at-large voting, all voters cast their ballots for all candidates in the jurisdiction.
  - In these city council elections, for example, all voters cast their ballots for five positions, with the top five candidates who receive the most votes citywide winning seats on the city council.
  - They are discriminatory – Why?
  - Nonpartisan at large elections were instituted in LA (1908), Boston (1909), and Detroit (1918).

# The Municipal Reform Agenda: Civil Services



- Civil Service – was a system that introduced to undercut machine rule.
  - Aimed at patronage, civil service was a system that presumably provide “objective” standards for hiring municipal employees.
  - Under civil service, written and oral examinations provided the basis for hiring.
  - A tenure system was also designed to make employees safe from political firings.

# Consequences of Municipal Reform



- Many electoral systems in US cities were originally designed by reformers to reduce electoral influence by ethnics and minorities.
- The reformers' intentions, moreover, were generally realized.
- Where the reformers' electoral rules were adopted, minorities have not been well-represented.

# Consequences of Municipal Reform



- The consequences of municipal reform were mixed.
  - In Los Angeles, for example, the city virtually excluded African Americans from formal representation.
    - City Councilors were selected by nonpartisan ballots from large districts that had been carefully drawn to ensure that blacks would remain a voting minority in all districts.
  - In contrast, in Chicago, African Americans gained representation early because the 50 ward boundaries could not be easily drawn so as to exclude them.

# The Reform Legacy



- In their campaigns for electoral and governmental reform, the municipal reformers sought to install governments that would be free of political conflict.
- The answer to class tensions was not a redistribution of political and economic power.
  - It was a brand of social reform to perpetuate existing social economic and governmental institutions, but make them more efficient.
  - They self-righteously viewed their attacks on the machines, and their campaigns for “better” government, as activities that saved the “Great Unwashed” from themselves.

# The Reform Legacy



- It is often assumed that party machines died out because of the success of reformers.
- But the demise of the machines is probably not the main legacy of the municipal reform movement.
- In big cities, the reformers usually lacked the electoral majorities necessary for achieving reform.
- The machines died basically because they could not **adapt to fundamental national transformations affecting cities and their populations.**

# The Reform Legacy



**Machines could not adapt to fundamental national transformations affecting cities and their populations.**

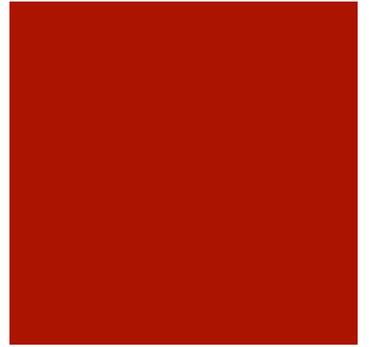
1. Foreign immigration was severely restricted in the early 1920s – a political development of immense national importance.
  - The immigrant bloc that gave machines their base was bound to erode.
2. Another blow occurred when immigrants began to improve their economic positions
  - People of immigrant backgrounds joined the middle class and moved to the suburbs. The constituents saw their new constituents as poor whites and African Americans.
3. New Deal programs of the 1930s
  - Machines thrived on patronage jobs and handouts. When the government began hiring the unemployed during the great depression the machines were in direct competition. The machines didn't do well in this competitive environment.



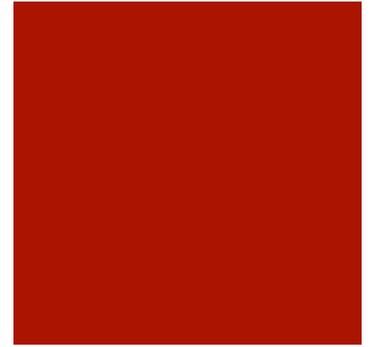
# “The Government of American Cities” – Andrew White

# What is this piece about?

- What is the author's main point?

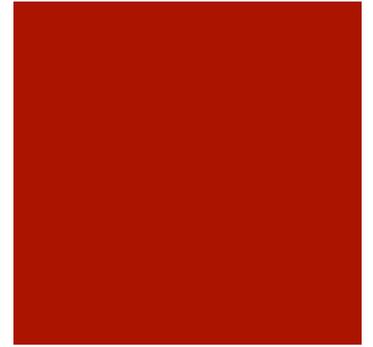


# “The Government of American Cities” – Andrew White



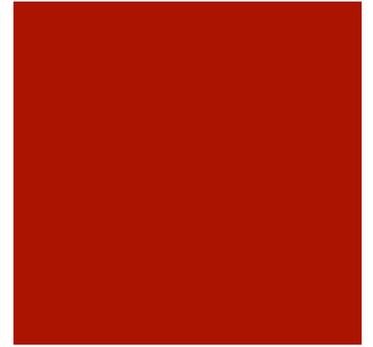
- The city governments of the US are the worst off.
  - They are the most expensive, the most inefficient, the most corrupt
  
- Just walk along the streets .... And what do you see?

# “The Government of American Cities” – Andrew White

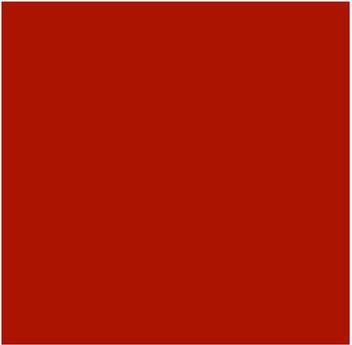


- What are the differences between European and US Cities according to the author?

# “The Government of American Cities” – Andrew White



- Who should vote if a city is a corporation according to the author?
- Do you agree?
- Why or why not?

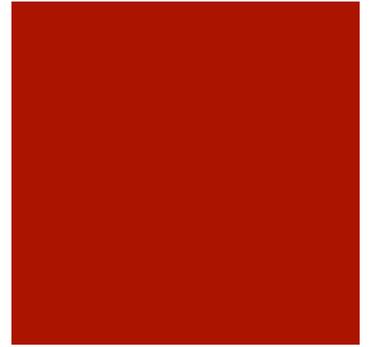


“Genesis of the Tenement” –  
Jacob Riis

# What is this piece about?

- What is the author's main point?

- What do you think of this article?

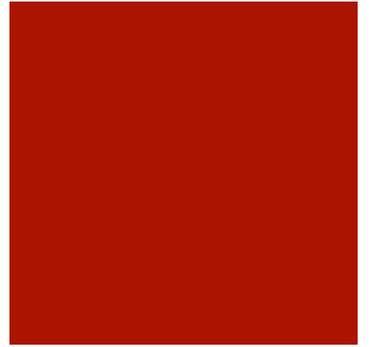




“The Engineered Metropolis” –  
Stanley Schultz

# What is this piece about?

- What is the author's main point?



# “The Engineered Metropolis” – Stanley Schultz



- Virtually the only problems successfully attacked by the 19<sup>th</sup> century urban leaders were those susceptible to engineering enterprise.
- Many cities dramatically lowered their disease and mortality rates with the construction of paved streets and efficient water-supply and sewage systems.
- Sewerage and water supplies required permanent construction and necessitated long-term planning.

# “The Engineered Metropolis” – Stanley Schultz



- Engineers offered city governments a corps of individuals skilled in the technology and management of large-scale enterprises, experts who could solve the physical problems of the cities.
- They advertised themselves, one engineer observed, as having “a high reputation for fairness and a capacity to render wise and just decisions.”

# “The Engineered Metropolis” – Stanley Schultz



- Baltimore

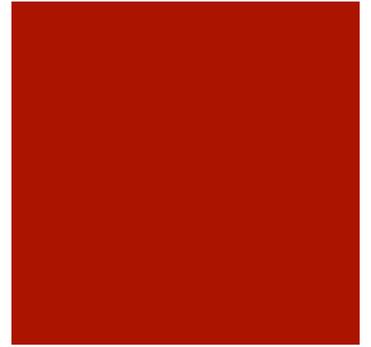
- What does the author tell us about Baltimore?



“The Politics of Reform in *Municipal Government in the Progressive Era*” – Samuel Hays

# What is this piece about?

- Which questions is the author answering?



# “The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era” – Samuel Hays



(1) What was the source of reform?

(2) What was the reform target of attack?

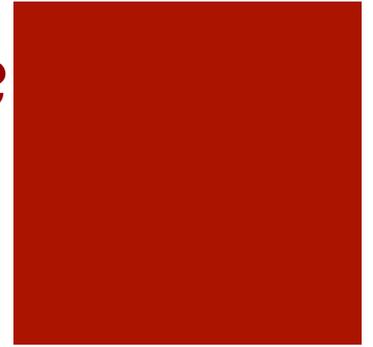
(3) What political innovations did reformers bring about?

# What was the source of reform?



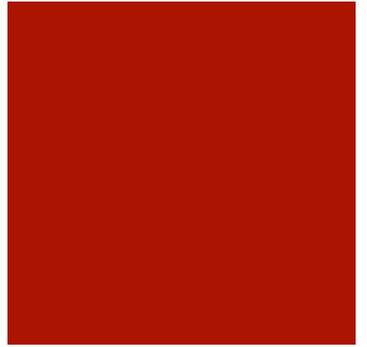
- Available evidence indicates that the source of support for reform in municipal government did not come from the lower or middle classes, but from the upper class.
- Professional groups, broadening the scope of affairs, which they sought to study, measure, or manipulate, also sought to influence the public health, the education system, or the physical arrangements of the entire city.
- Lower and middle class groups not only dominated the pre-reform governments, but vigorously opposed reform.

# What was the reform target of attack?



- Although reformers used the ideology of popular gov't, they in no sense meant that all segments of society should be involved equally in municipal decision-making
- They meant that their concept of the city's welfare would be best achieved if the business community controlled city government.
- As one business told a labor audience, the businessman's slate represented labor "better than you do yourself."

# What was the reform target of attack?



- Reformers, therefore, wished not simply to replaced bad men with good, they proposed to change the occupational and class origins of decisionmakers.
- Toward this end, they sought innovations in the formal machinery of the government which would concentrate political power by sharply centralizing the processes of decision-making rather than distribute it through more popular participation in public affairs.
- A growing imbalance between population and representation sharpened the desire of reformers to change from ward to city-ward elections.

# What political innovations did reformers bring about?



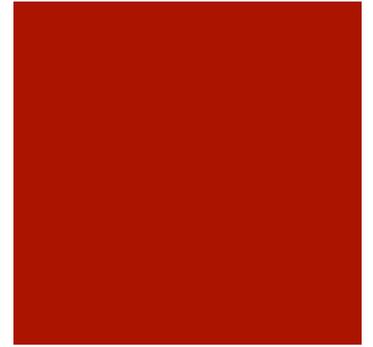
- Within this political system, the community's business leaders grew in influence and power and industrialism advanced, only to find they couldn't work in the old ways.
- Under such circumstances, businessmen sought other methods of influencing municipal affairs.



“In Houston, a 'Nonpartisan' Race  
Is Anything But”

NYT, November 30, 2001

- What was the point of the article?





- This was supposed to be a fairly boring race that would bring a third and final term for Mr. Brown who became the city's first black mayor in 1997.
- But in the the November open primary Mr. Sanchez finished a close second and forced a runoff.
- It appears Sanchez is tapping into the ire of conservative white voters, as well as the aspirations of the city's large Hispanic population to elect the first Hispanic mayor.
- Because both national parties want to attract Hispanic voters, and because there are no other major elections under way, the mayoral race in the country's fourth-largest city has attracted national attention, particularly from Republicans.

- 
- President Bush endorsed Mr. Sanchez
  - Former President George Bush and Barbara Bush, who are Houston residents, appeared in campaign advertisements on Mr. Sanchez's behalf.
  - Who won that election?

- 
- In the non-partisan election, Sanchez developed a coalition that included the Hispanic community, Asian business leaders, Republicans and independent voters.
  - Historically, Hispanic turnout in Houston races hovered around 10%, but nearly 18% of Hispanic voters turned out in this race, with more than 77% voting for Sanchez.
  - Voter turnout in the 2001 mayoral race between Sanchez and Brown was historic.
  - In addition to the near doubling of Latino voter turnout, the total number of voters in the December run-off remains the highest in Houston's history as of 2015. Sanchez narrowly lost the race by 10,702 votes.



*“A Model City in Nonpartisan  
Correctness”*

NYT, October 21, 2003

- What is this article about?



- 
- Since elected mayor in 2001, Bloomberg has been passionate about switching to nonpartisan elections.
  - A former Democrat, he switched parties to run for mayor rather than try to elbow his way into a crowded Democratic field and win the support of the party leaders.
  - He has vowed ever since to open up races so anyone who qualifies can run, without running through the party apparatus.

- 
- Jacksonville, like many other places in the South, has shifted dramatically toward the Republican column.
  - While Democrats in the early 1990's enjoyed a nearly 16-fold advantage in registration over Republicans (206,707 to 12,864), today there are 225,791 registered Democrats to 173,709 Republicans (the overall population has grown greatly).
  - Apparently as a result, more Republicans are now being elected, including the current mayor, John Peyton.
  - It is difficult for officials and citizens in Jacksonville to figure out the role that nonpartisan elections have played in all this.

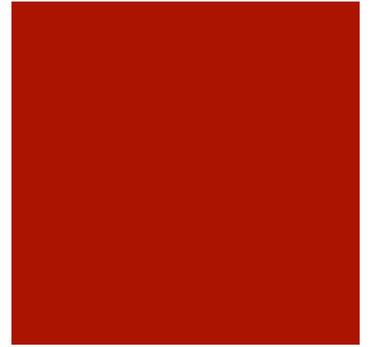
- 
- While officials in New York City say removing political barriers will improve turnout, the officials in Jacksonville say the evidence is inconclusive.
  - Less clear is whether nonpartisan elections have been the cause of an increase of minority representation, an issue that New York supporters are heavily promoting.
  - In terms of partisanship, not much has changed.



# Discussion Section

# Discussion Section

- Breakdown into Groups
- Pick a City
- Begin Review of Part 2: Historical Overview of your city



# Final Research Paper

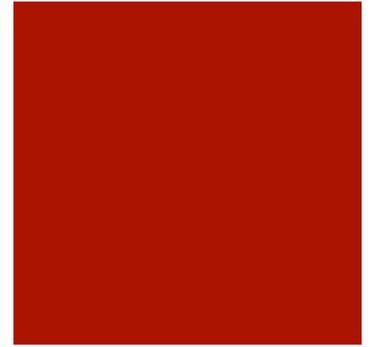
## Guidelines: 7 parts



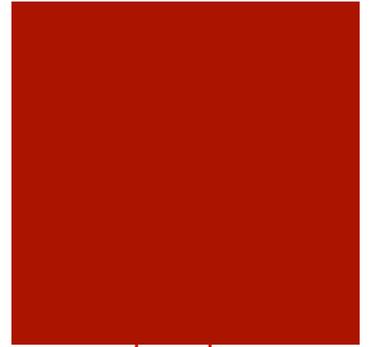
1. Pick a city
2. Provide a historical overview of the city.
3. Provide three maps of the city: when it was first founded, to the mid 1950s, to present day.
4. Provide an overview of the city's planning history
5. Provide a history of the suburbanization in your city.
6. Provide an overview of who governs, who participates, and who matters in city politics today.
7. Provide an overview of the challenges facing the city today

# Pick a City

1. Boston
2. Philadelphia
3. New York City
4. Cleveland
5. St. Louis
6. Chicago
7. Kansas City
8. San Francisco
9. Milwaukee
10. Los Angeles



# Remainder of the class



1. Identify the books you will need from the library at <http://roger.ucsd.edu>.  
Get the books after class. You will need them.
2. Google Drive/Doc/Sheets
3. Start work on Part 2.
  - This is the most involved part of the paper.
  - Has 3 subparts
4. Exchange contact information. Next week we will continue work on Part 2 and meet with Annelise to do maps.
5. Set up meetings with each other outside of class and/or divide up labor.

# Next week: Week 4



- Topic: Power Structures and Regime Politics.
- McGovern Chapter 11.
- Stone's "Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta." on TED
- 9 Reading Response Papers
- Week 5: Midterm – 20% of your grade