

Urban Politics
Political Science 102 E
Urban Politics 107

Week 4

Power Structures and Regime Politics

Nazita Lajevardi, Ph.D. Candidate

Office Hours: Wednesdays 9-11 am and by appt

Office Location: SSB 341

Email: nlajevar@ucsd.edu

Tuesday, October 18, 2016

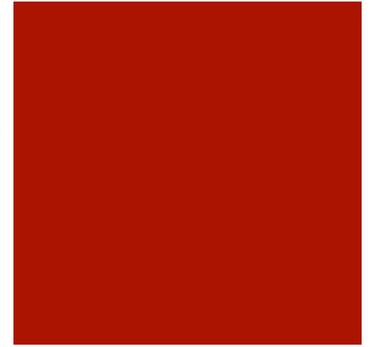
Today's Agenda

- Lecture
 - Discussion Questions
 - Lecture on Regime Politics
 - Midterm Review
- Discussion
 - Group writing and work on Part 2 and beginning to outline plans for research on Part 4 (city planning)
- Visit from Annelise Sklar:
 - Work on Social Explorer and City Data.com with Annelise Sklar to create maps for Part 3.



Response Paper Discussion Questions

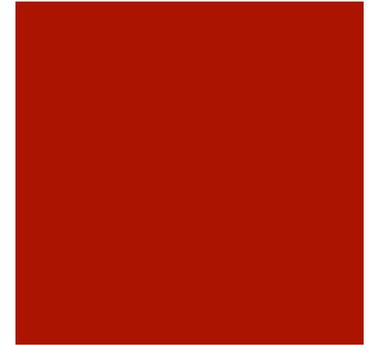
- 9 students today:
 - 1. Michael
 - 2. Jacob
 - 3. Katie
 - 4. Danny
 - 5. Christian
 - 6. Saroop
 - 7. Dominique
 - 8. Amanda and
 - 9. Hyun





Who Governs In The Age Of Urban Restructuring?

Elite v. Pluralism



- **Who Governs In The Age Of Urban Restructuring?**
 - **Elite Model**
 - *Hunter – Atlanta*
 - **Pluralist Model**
 - *Dahl – New Haven*
 - **Conflict between the two models led to disarray in urban political theory**

Pluralism, Dahl 1961



- Perhaps the dominant model of urban politics has been Pluralism.
- Pluralism is based on the premises that political power is fragmented and dispersed and that there are many actors and interests each articulating their case.
- There are also multiple decision-making processes and differing power relationships.
- Outcomes are the result of conflict, bargaining, negotiation and coalition-forming to protect and advance particular interests (Grindle and Thomas, p. 218), and are therefore uncertain.
- In the idealized model of western-liberal democracy, the state is the (neutral) arbiter amongst competing interests.

Pluralism, Dahl 1961



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Elite Theory, but there are problems



- Elite Theory assumes that all decisions are effectively controlled by a few, with little or no opportunity for others to exert influence or change the situation.
- History abounds with examples where the elite groups have managed to dominate, whether through authoritarian regimes or through control over democratic political processes.

Problems with Elite Theory

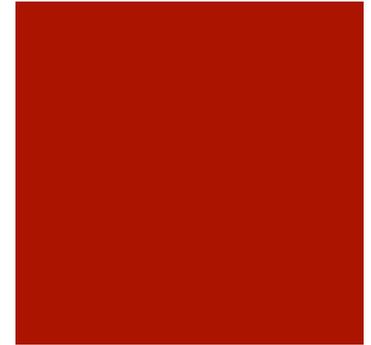


- While the elitist model may have considerable popular appeal, its deterministic approach does not adequately explain the range of political and social changes that have occurred at different places at different times.
- It also seems less convincing as an explanation of the highly fragmented and uncontrolled decision-making processes manifest in most cities of the developing world



In comes Regime Politics to bring
order to Urban Reform theory

Regime Politics



- 2 perspectives on the role of mayors in the late 20th century
 - (1) Paul Peterson
 - Mayors had no real choices to make during this time
 - They were stuck pursuing development policies aimed at retaining investment in their cities
 - Mayors had little agency
 - (2) Clarence Stone
 - While city officials were limited by economic mobility and financial pressures, they had agency.
 - Agency to maneuver and chart alternative paths

Stone's Regime Politics



- Stone observed that while city officials are limited by economic factors, they are also constrained by political factors.
- Politicians need to get elected and reelected.
- Business interests require the support of governmental authority to pursue their pro-growth goals..
- According to Stone, the crucial entity that accommodates the competing forces arising from popular control over the STATE and PRIVATE INFLUENCES is ---→ The REGIME.

Stone's Regime Politics



- Stone defined a Regime:
 - The informal partnership between public officials and private groups that allows an administration to advance an agenda.
- The most valuable – and most *influential* – regime partners are the ones who possess substantial material resources that can be utilized to win elections and get things done.
- All of this happens once they provide a vehicle for mayors facing extraordinarily difficult conditions to govern effectively.

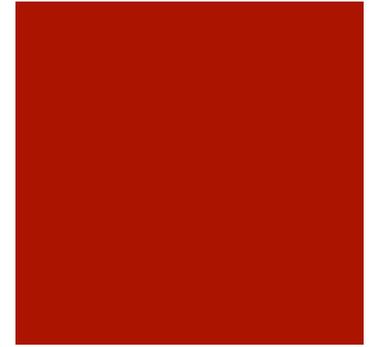
Limitations of Regime Politics



- Regime theory showed how effective and stable governance was possible in the face of trying circumstances.
- Yet some questioned whether it lived up to its promise of offering multiple pathways to varied forms of governance.
 - *I.e. What about those regimes that were willing and able to promote equitable growth?*
- Even when alternative regimes did emerge, policy changes intended to assist neglected communities often proved to be limited and temporary



Moving on to the readings...



“Urban Regimes: A research Perspective
and Conclusion” – Clarence Stone

Importance of Stone's Work



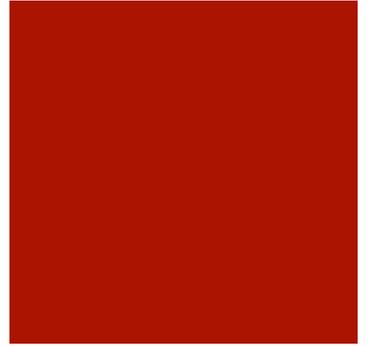
- Clarence Stone developed regime theory through a study of Atlanta politics.
- **“The Atlanta story is, of course, not the story of every city. Yet, although Atlanta is not a typical city, its experience can tell us a great deal that has general relevance. Atlanta in the postwar period offers a case of the formation and maintenance of a governing coalition capable of promoting far-reaching change, even in the face of substantial resistance. Atlanta’s regime has been extraordinarily effective. How and with what consequences are the relevant questions. They lend significance to the Atlanta narrative.”**

Importance of Stone's Work



- Clarence Stone's version of regime theory, outlined in *Regime Politics: Governing Atlanta, 1948-1988*, has become a dominant theoretical framework in urban politics scholarship.
- Stone refines an urban regime as “the informal arrangements by which public bodies and private interests function together in order to be able to make and carry out governing decisions.”
- Regime theory, therefore, offers an explanation for why politics in Atlanta and other minority-majority cities remained relatively pro-development.
- As Stone puts it “the economic role of businesses and the resources they control are too important for these enterprises to be left out” of coalitions.

What is this piece about?



- What is an urban regime according to Stone?

Stone's: "Urban Regimes"



- What makes governance in Atlanta effective is the informal partnership between city hall and the downtown business elite.
- The urban regime is about the **informal arrangements** that surround and complement the formal workings of governmental authority.
- All governmental authority is greatly limited
 - I.e. the Constitution, by formal considerations, etc.
- Because informal understandings and arrangements provide needed flexibility to cope with non-routine matters, they facilitate cooperation to a degree that formally defined relationships do not.

Stone's: "Urban Regimes"

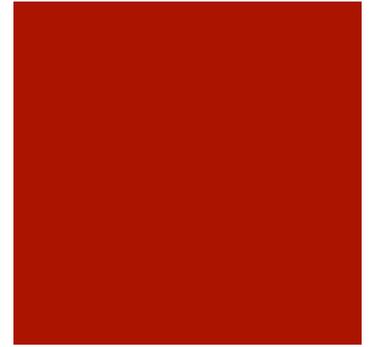


- Informal Relationships: facilitate cooperation to a degree that formally defined relationships do not.
 - People who know one another
 - Who have worked together in the past
 - Who have shared in the achievement in a task, and
 - Who perhaps have experienced the same crisis

... are especially likely to develop tacit understandings

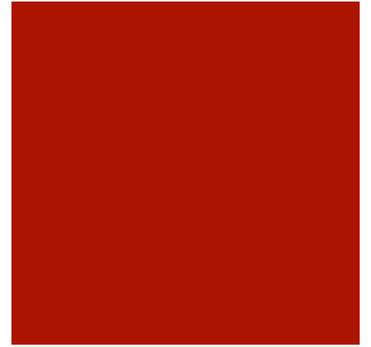
- **Core Question:** do transactions flow more smoothly and business is conducted more efficiently when a core of insiders form and develop an ongoing relationship?

Stone's: "Urban Regimes"



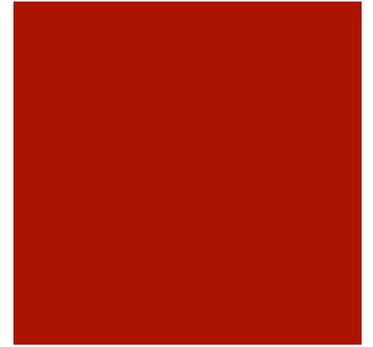
- A regime involves just not any informal group that comes together to make a decision,
 - BUT a relatively stable group *with access to institutional resources* that enable it to have a sustained role in making governing decisions.
- There is a purposive coordination of efforts, but it comes about informally.

Stone's: "Urban Regimes"



- Question: What gives a regime coherence according to Stone?

Stone's: "Urban Regimes"



- Why pay particular attention to business interests?
 1. The now well-understood need to encourage business investment in order to have an economically thriving community.
 2. Sometimes overlooked factor that businesses control politically important resources and are rarely absent totally from the scene.

Stone's: "Urban Regimes"



- Race in Atlanta
 - Stone structures Atlanta as a story in which race is central.
 - If regimes are about who cooperates, how, and with what consequences, one of the remarkable features of Atlanta's urban regime is its biracial character.
 - Atlanta has been governed by a biracial coalition for so long that it is tempting to believe that nothing else was possible.
 - In 1906, the city was the site of a violent race riot apparently precipitated by inflammatory antiblack newspaper rhetoric

Stone's: "Urban Regimes"



- Regimes are to be understood in terms of :
 1. Who makes up the governing coalition
 2. How the coalition achieves cooperation.

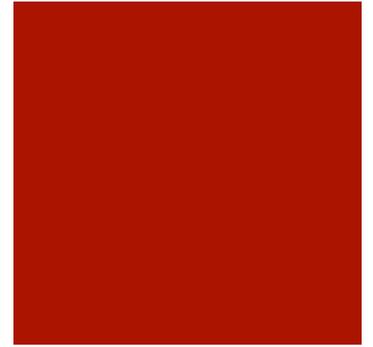
- Both points illustrate how the unequal distribution of resources affects politics and what differences the formation of a regime make.

- Once we focus on the regime and the importance of informally achieved cooperation, we can appreciate better the complex way in which local politics actually functions.



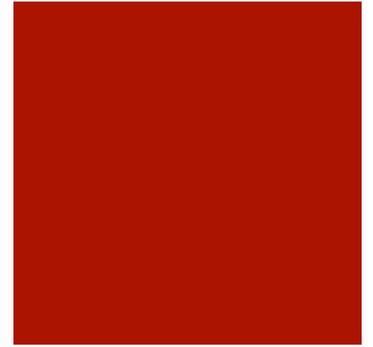
“Conclusions and Implications: Toward a
New Contract for Biracial Politics” –
Raphael Sonenshein

Sonenshein's: "Toward a new Contract for Biracial Politics"



- What city are we talking about?
- Why?
- What is the racial history in this city?
 - What happened between 1961-1963?
 - What happened in 1973? What was the consequence of this election?
 - Who were the members of the 1973 election coalition?

Sonenshein's: "Toward a new Contract for Biracial Politics"



- What policy consequences emerged as a consequence of the 1973 election?

Sonenshein's: "Toward a new Contract for Biracial Politics"

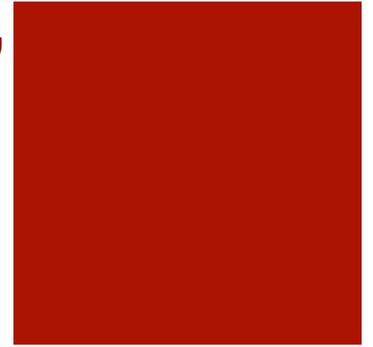


- Sonenshein claims that African American political incorporation came about over the last few decades as a result of:
 - Black mobilization + White Liberal Support
- But Blacks and liberals often saw these events differently.
 - Blacks tended to see the great effort put toward Black unity.
 - White liberals often noticed how at the crucial junctures, the support of whites like themselves put the Black movement over the top.



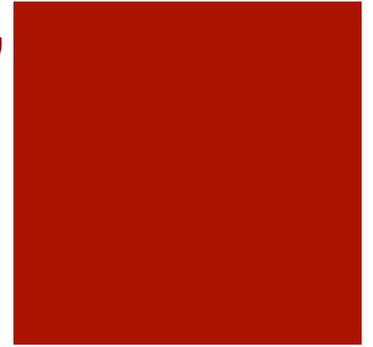
“The Public-Private Partnership” – Jason Hackworth

Hackworth: “The Public-Private Partnership”



- What does the author say about regime theory?

Hackworth: "The Public-Private Partnership"



- Regime theory developed initially as an attempt to reconcile the strength of both pluralist and elitist notions of local power
- But orthodox regime theory is not the only source of insight on public-private cooperate
- Three observable periods of Regime Formation

Hackworth: “The Public-Private Partnership”

- Three observable periods of Regime Formation:
 - (1) **The Directive Period** (1950-1964)
 - Local coalitions formed during the Directive Period were typically intent on sustaining postwar growth and restoring the vitality of the downtown areas. (these areas had fallen into disrepair)
 - (2) **The Concessionary Period** (1965-1974)
 - This period is largely defined by the mildly redistributive programs that developed under President Johnson’s “Great Society”
 - The 1964 Civil Rights Act and rising minority power forced the shift
 - (3) **The Conserving Period** (1975-1984)
 - During this time, cities were forced to respond to the harsh fiscal realities of the mid-1970s by focusing more attention on property tax generation than on social service provision



“Can Politicians Bargain with Business? A
Theoretical and Comparative
Perspective on Urban Development” –
Kantor and Savitch

Kantor and Savitch: “Can Politicians Bargain with Business?”



- Regime theory shows that politics matters, but it offers little guidance about how much, and when, it matters.
- The regime concept does not account for how local policy is constrained by different economic contexts.
- This chapter: outlines a framework that suggests the ways that local government can influence private decisions concerning developing.
- They argue that cities in a weak position are more inclined to accommodate private-sector demands, even at the cost of maintaining or expanding programs that serve non-business groups.

Kantor and Savitch: “Can Politicians Bargain with Business?”



- Do institutions of popular control afford political authorities with a valuable bargaining resource in dealing with business?
- They contend: these institutions can provide a resources upon which political leaders can draw to impose their own policy preferences when these three conditions are satisfied:

Kantor and Savitch: “Can Politicians Bargain with Business?”



1. Public approval of bargaining outcomes between government and business must be connected to the capital-investment process.
2. Public authorities must have the managerial capability to organize and deliver political support for programs sought by business.
3. Popular control mechanisms are a valuable bargaining resource when they bind elected leaders to programmatic objectives.
 1. If political authorities are not easily disciplined for failure to promote objectives, business may provide selective incentives (i.e. jobs), campaign donations, etc. in exchange for their support



Midterm Format

Midterm Format:

(Bring a Bluebook!!!)



- **Part I. True/False.**

- Answer all of the 10 questions. 2 points each. (20 points)

- **Part II. Definitional/Conceptual Questions.**

- Answer 4/6 Questions. 10 points each. (40 points)

- **Part III. Essay Question**

- Answer Essay Question. 40 points.



Midterm Review

Week 1 – Introduction



- What is urban politics?
- America's Federalist system of government
- Citizens as the consumers of the city as a marketplace
- Politics in the Preindustrial city
 - Role of Merchants
 - Philadelphia
 - Privatism

Week 2 – Machine Politics



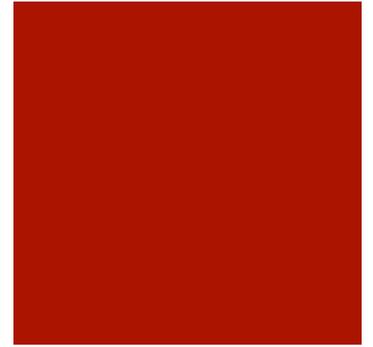
- Growth of cities in the 19th century (and its consequences)
- Industrialization (its role and feedback loop)
- The role of immigration in the 19th century
- Machine Politics:
 - definitional, why they come about, hierarchy, exchange relationship, immigrants and the machine, grafting, corruption, Pendleton Act
- Tammany Hall
 - William Tweed
- Decline of the Machine
 - The Plunkitt of Tammany Hall

Week 3 – Reform Politics



- Reform movements
 - Why did it take so long for them to surge up?
 - What was their main concern with the machines?
 - How did they become successful? Factors that helped them sustain their presence?
 - What laws did they pass?
- National Municipal League and its Agenda (first target and periphery targets – why ?)
 - Non partisan ballots, at large elections, civil service reform
- The role of the mass media
- Decline of Machines and the rise of Reform Politics
- Differences between European and US Cities
- The role of Engineers

Week 4 – Regime Politics



- Materials Covered Today



Discussion Section

A note on citations for the final paper



- In text footnotes
- AND
- Bibliography are required.

Discussion



- PART I:

- Meet with me as Groups and inform me on group progress.
- Group writing and work on Part 2 and beginning to outline plans for research on Part 4 (city planning)

- PART II:

- Work on Social Explorer and City Data.com with Annelise Sklar to create maps for Part 3.

Note for Next Week

- Extra Office Hours:
 - Monday, October 17, 2016:
 - 2:15 – 4:00 pm
 - Tuesday, October 18, 2016:
 - 8-9 am
 - 12-1 pm

- NO OFFICE HOURS WEEK 5

- Week 5 in class: Midterm. With Groups: should work on Parts 2-4
- Week 6: Suburbanization – Discussion: will work on Part 5 (suburbanization)

