

Urban Politics
Political Science 102 E
Urban Politics 107

Week 8

Immigration and Urban Cities in
Crisis

Nazita Lajevardi, Ph.D. Candidate

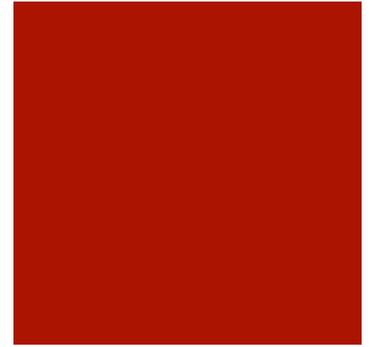
Office Location: SSB 341

Email: nlajevar@ucsd.edu

Tuesday, November 15, 2016

Today's Agenda

- Reading Response Questions
- Lecture – Immigration and Urban Cities in Crisis
 - McGovern Chapters 8 and 13.
- Discussion Group writing:
 - Part 6: Provide an overview of who governs, who participates, and who matters in city politics today



Response Paper Discussion Questions

- 9 students today:

- 1. Andrew
- 2. Angelica
- 3. Candi
- 4. Jacob
- 5. Jessica
- 6. Laura
- 7. Moises
- 8. Cypress
- 9. Tommaso



McGovern Chapter 8:

Cities in Crisis

Introduction



- Cities seemed to absorb the most pernicious effects of powerful societal changes of the mid-20th century.
- Suburbanization, deindustrialization, rising racial conflict, and deepening poverty, welfare dependency, and crime
 - All severely undermined the quality of urban life.
- By the 1960s and 1970s, many citizens and scholars believed that cities were in a state of crisis.

Introduction



- BUT

- A number of scholars have criticized the urban decline narrative.
- They argue that the picture of doom and gloom painted by many observers overstated the extent of problems while underestimating the ability of residents and business owners to revitalize their communities.

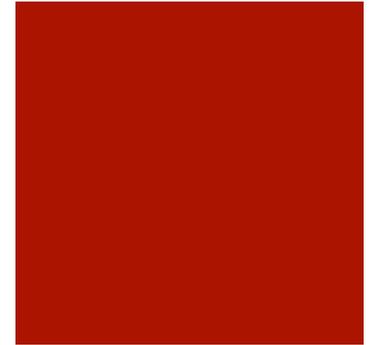
- YET

- Keeping in mind the perspectives of many urban residents who never lost faith in their city's long-term prospects, there is no denying that many American cities experienced hard times.
- One manifestation was the extent to which local officials struggled to balance their budgets.

Introduction

- By the 1970s, numerous cities confronted grave fiscal crises.
 - With some slipping to the very edge of bankruptcy.
- The most obvious cause of fiscal instability was the decentralization of residents and jobs.
- As middle class residents and industry relocated to the suburbs and the Sunbelt, many cities in the northeast and Midwest lost valuable sources of revenue.
 - The tax base diminished at an alarming rate.
- Meanwhile, expenditures soared as crushing job losses yielded increasing poverty and dependence on public assistance and other social services.

Fiscal Crisis: Has a political root or not?



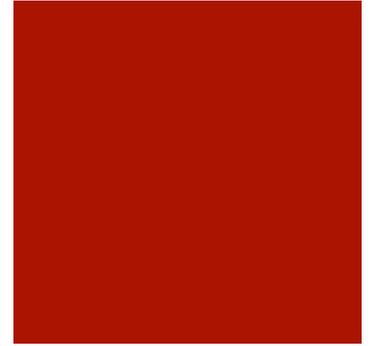
- Fiscal Crisis has a political root (political scientist Martin Shefter)
 - Intense fiscal pressures were primarily caused by groups with rising levels of political power asserting their claims on city officials who were either allied with such groups or unwilling to resist.
 - Specifically, community organizations based in Black and Hispanic neighborhoods mobilized by the Civil Rights movement pressured for sharp hikes in spending for schools, welfare, and hospitals.
 - Politicians seeking political support for election and reelection campaigns gave in.

Fiscal Crisis: Has a political root or not?

- Fiscal Crisis does not have a political root
 - City officials often did not have much of a choice in how they responded to events and phenomena beyond their control.
 - In addition, compliance with federal and state regulations i.e. to reduce air pollution, etc. was expensive.
 - I.e. installing expensive scrubbers on municipal incinerators, reconstructing sidewalks, improving accessibility for disabled citizens, etc.
 - These unfunded mandates from higher levels of government added to the already difficult challenges facing urban policymakers.



Ungovernable Cities?



- By the mid-1970s, numerous American cities, were overwhelmed by immense problems and hampered by a shrinking fiscal capacity to respond.
- A pervasive sense of doom about the future prospects of cities began to settle in.
- One scholar, Theodore Hershberg, remarked that “all of America’s cities are greased skids. What differentiates one from another is the angle of descent.”

Ungovernable Cities?



- Paul Peterson's "City Limits"
 - City officials are constrained in policy options to deal with the urban crises.
 - Peterson warned against redistributive policies that might motivate households and businesses that experience higher taxes or reduced services as a result to relocate to another municipality with a better tax-service ratio.
 - The threat of capital flight, according to Peterson, is especially pronounced for city governments because of the relatively porous boundaries between cities and surrounding jurisdictions.

Ungovernable Cities?



- Paul Peterson's "City Limits"
 - Refraining from redistributive policies may impose substantial burdens on the neediest populations, but Peterson insisted that doing the opposite would yield even greater hardships over the long term.
 - By the same token, cities that implement developmental policies will eventually generate significant economic growth benefiting all residents.

Introduction



- An important exception to the crisis atmosphere that pervaded many US cities during this time concerns metropolitan areas within the Sunbelt
- 5/12 largest metropolitan areas were located in the Sunbelt states of CA, TX, GA, and FL according to the 2000 census.
- 50 years earlier, only 1 of 12 of these areas was up there.
- The proliferation of family tourism, convention business, and retirement communities further fueled mass migration from the Snowbelt to the Sunbelt.

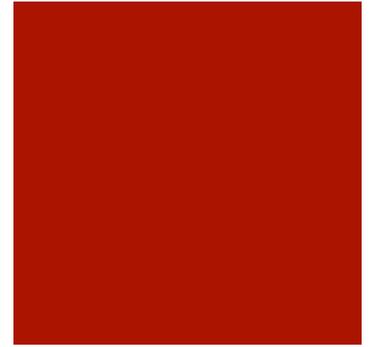


Readings Chapter 8

“The very model of urban decay”

Outsiders' Narratives of Industry and Urban
Decline in Gary, Indiana

By Paul O'Hara



Paul O'Hara



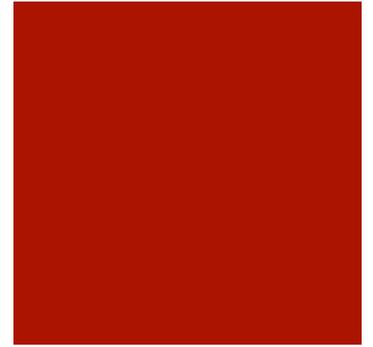
- Point of the article:
 - It traces the changing attitudes outsiders held toward Gary, Indiana from the middle of the 20th century through the period of deindustrialization at the end of the century.

Paul O'Hara



- Time Magazine – 1972
 - Gary, Indiana is not one of those garden spots that perennially win community-service awards ... Indeed, it is in some respects the very model of urban decay.”
 - Time Magazine’s explanation: The danger came from the gang members who called themselves “The Family.”
- But the story of urban crisis and decline for Gary was never this simple.
- Race relations have long captured the public imagination in Gary

Paul O'Hara



- The city has always been about contradictions and paradoxes.
- The narratives of racial politics and racial animosities came to define most discussions of Gary.
- It held the possibility for racial pride as well as racial animosity, moderate black politics along with radical black power.
- By the mid 1960s, anxieties and aspirations on both sides played out in the political arena.



“Children of the Invincible City:
Camden, New Jersey”

Jonathan Kozol

Jonathan Kozol (1991)



- Camden, NJ, is the 4th poorest city of more than 50,000 people in America.
- In 1985, nearly a quarter of its families had less than \$5000 in annual income.
- The city has 200 liquor stores and bars and 180 gambling establishments, no movie theater, one chain supermarket, no new-car dealership, and few restaurants other than fast-food chains.

Jonathan Kozol



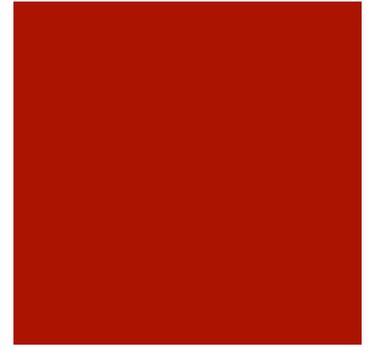
- In a qualitative case study of classrooms in Camden NJ, a principals says:
 - “President Bush speaks of his “goals” and these sounds very fine. He mentions preschool education—early childhood. Where is the money?”
- Camden once had more industry per capita than any city in the world
- Everyone who could leave has now department.
 - “What is left are all the ones with broken wings. I cant tell you what it does to children to grow up amid this filth and ugliness.”



“The Interests of the Limited City”

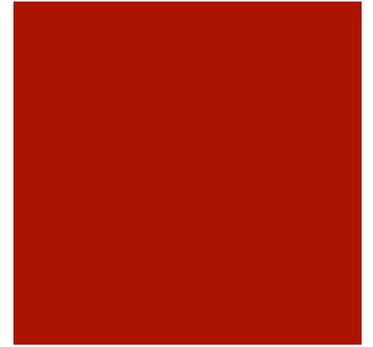
Paul Peterson

Paul Peterson



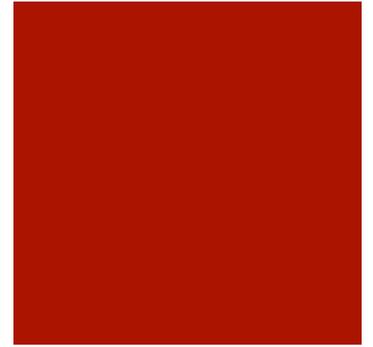
- Local government leaders are likely to be sensitive to the economic interests of their communities.
- Economic prosperity is necessary for protecting the fiscal base of a local government.
- Local politicians, eager for relief from the cross-pressures of local politics, promote goals that have widespread benefits.

Paul Peterson



- Like all social structures, cities have interests.
- Especially in large cities, the sounds of competing claims by diverse class, race, ethnic, and occupational groups makes impossible the determination of any overall city interest by compiling all the demands and desires of individual city residents.
- Policies or programs can be said to be in the interests of cities whenever the policies maintain or enhance the economic position, social prestige, or political power of the city, taken as a whole.

Paul Peterson



- Cities constantly seek to upgrade their economic standing.
- Land is an economic resource cities have.
- Cities must also attract not only capital but also productive labor
- Capital is a factor of production that also must be attracted to an economically productive territory.



“Urbanizing the South”

Carl Abbott

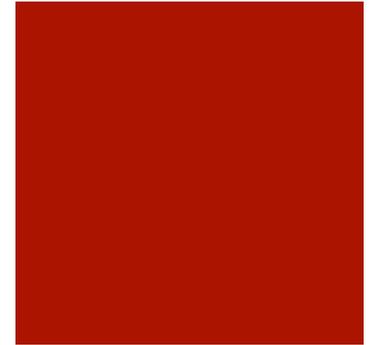
Carl Abbott (2003)



- No matter which measure you choose, Sunbelt cities now dominate urban growth in the US
- The urbanization of the sunbelt over the last two generations has involved growth at 3 levels:
 - 1. Super-cities like LA, Houston, and Atlanta have emerged to challenge older cities like NYC, Philly, and Chicago.
 - 2. Growing second-level cities are filling in the middle of the urban system (i.e. Charlotte, Austin).
 - 3. Smaller cities have grown into new metropolitan areas in their own right. More than 3/5 of the Sunbelt's 121 metropolitan areas in 2000 were too small for metropolitan status 50 years earlier.

Carl Abbott

- What has changed?
 - One answer is air conditioning and air travel.
 - The development and marketing of home and business air cooling systems opened up the steamy Gulf Coast.
 - It allowed for the introduction of resort communities, the geographic dispersal of professional sports, etc.
 - Another answer is the defense economy.
 - During WWII and after, the Sunbelt became the most military-dependent part of the US.
- American leisure culture takes place in the Sunbelt.





Discussion Section

Parts 2-5 should have one draft by now



- Part 2: **Provide a historical overview of the city.**
- Part 3: **Provide three maps of the city: when it was first founded, to the mid 1950s, to present day.**
- Part 4: **Provide an overview of the city's planning history**
- Part 5: **Provide a history of the suburbanization in your city.**

Next Week: Part 7



- **(7) Provide an overview of the challenges facing the city today**
 - What kinds of quality of life issues face the city today? (i.e. education, crime control, housing)
 - What are the demands of the citizenry with respect to these quality of life issues?
 - How are city leaders responding to the citizenry with respect to these issues?
 - How has immigration affected contemporary urban politics in your city today?

Today: Part 6



- **Provide an overview of who governs, who participates, and who matters in city politics today.**
 - How has your city changed in the last 50 years? (In terms of its economic, demographic, immigration, economic, and political outcomes).
 - Who participates in local elections today?
 - Which segments of the population are courted by political city leaders today?
 - To what extent do different communities in your city participate in politics today?