

**HUNTER COLLEGE, CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF URBAN AFFAIRS AND PLANNING**

GOVERNING THE CITY

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HW 1639

This course examines the American city from a historical perspective, with a particular focus on governance: how we structure institutions that have authority to make policy. It begins with the premise that we cannot understand where we are, or where we might be going, unless we first understand where we started and where we have been. This is a big picture course that examines the city as a distinct phenomenon in the development of American democracy. Urban governance involves at least four levels of decision-making: federal, state, local, and community. Policy concerns the exercise of public authority to determine the advantages (or disadvantages) appropriated to individuals, groups, communities, organizations and institutions connected to the city in one way or another. One question that will shape the dialogue in this course pertains to how the quality of civic life in the city has changed over time for those people who live in it: whether it has gotten better or worse, whether people have more or less control over their own destinies. We will not assume, of course, that all urban dwellers have similar control over their destinies, or enjoy the same quality of life. That, in fact, is one of the problems we intend to explore. Nor will we assume that the city is the best place for all people to live, or to pursue their private and civic objectives.

Requirements:

Approximately 20% of the course grade will be based on class participation. Prior to each class, a set of core questions will be posed designed to focus the readings and structure class discussion. Students are expected to complete the required readings and be prepared to discuss them intelligently in class. Attendance is essential. There will be three essay assignments. The first will be 4 pages in length and worth 10% of your grade. The second will be 5 pages in length and worth 15%; the third 6 pages, worth 25%. Topics will be assigned a week prior to the due dates. Late papers will be penalized. There will be a take home final (10 pages) worth 30% of the course grade. All papers will be double spaced and submitted in hard copy. Please number the pages. Points will be deducted for spelling and grammar. Those who so desire may write an optional paper for extra credit, after consulting with the instructor.

Required readings are contained in the books listed below available at Shakespeare's bookstore on Lexington Avenue (bet. E68 & E69) and a selection of materials posted on Blackboard (BKBD). There are also a number of suggested readings that are not required. The latter materials can provide useful starting points for students who want to further

explore topics or prepare an optional paper. You should read the assignments in the order that they appear on the syllabus.

For those with a particular interest in New York City, there are a number of excellent sources and histories that I would recommend (not required):

Kenneth Jackson, ed., *Encyclopedia of New York City* (Yale University Press, 1995)

Robert Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (Random House, 1975)

Thomas Kessner, *Fiorello H. LaGuardia and the Making of Modern New York* (McGraw-Hill, 1989)

David McCullough, *The Great Bridge: The Epic Story of the Building of the Brooklyn Bridge* (Simon & Schuster, 1972)

Edward G. Burrows & Mike Wallace, *Gotham: A History of New York City to 1898* (Oxford University Press, 1999)

Joanne Reitano, *The Restless City: A Short History of New York From Colonial Times to Present* (Routledge, 2006).

Required Books:

Stephen P. Erie, *Rainbow's End: Irish Americans and the Dilemmas of Machine Politics* (University of California Press, 1988)

Paul E. Peterson, *The Price of Federalism* (Brookings Institution Press, 1995)

I. INTRODUCTION: IMAGINING CITIES

Required:

Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (Vintage, 1961), pp. 29-41 (BKBD)

Italo Calvino, "Cities and Memory," in *Invisible Cities* (Harvest Books, 1972), pp. 15-16. (BKBD)

Italo Calvino, "Trading Cities," in *Invisible Cities*, p. 76. (BKBD)

Italo Calvino, "Cities and the Dead," in *Invisible Cities*, pp. 94-95. (BKBD)

Italo Calvino, "Continuous Cities," in, *Invisible Cities*, pp. 109-110. (BKBD)

II. EXPLAINING NEW YORK (first paper assignment distributed)

Required: (read in order they are listed)

Joan Didion, "Good Bye to All That" (1968), in, *New York, New York* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000), pp. 41-42 (BKBD)

John Steinbeck, "The Making of a New Yorker," (1943) in, Kenneth Jackson & David Dunbar, *Empire City: New York Through the Centuries* (Columbia University Press, 2002), pp.666-672. (BKBD)

E.B. White, "Here is New York," (1949) in, *Empire City*, pp. 695-711. (BKBD)

Langston Hughes "Harlem," (1951) in, *Empire City*, pp. 712-713. (BKBD)

James Baldwin, "Fifth Avenue Uptown," (1960) in, *Empire City*, pp.741-749. (BKBD)

Nikki Giovanni, "The New Yorkers," (1978) in *New York, New York*, p. 59 (BLBD)

Claude McKay, "The Tropics in New York," (1920) in, Philip Lopate, ed. *Writing New York: A Literary Anthology* (Washington Square Press, 1998), p. 459. (BKBD)

Junot Diaz, "New York: Science Fiction," (2000) in, *Empire City*, pp. 962-964. (BKBD)

Suggested:

Pete Hamill, *Downtown, My Manhattan* (Little Brown, 2004)

Philip Lopate, *Writing New York: A Literary Anthology* (Washington Square Press, 2000)

New York, New York: The City in Art and Literature (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000)

Italo Calvino, *Invisible Cities*, (Harcourt, 1974)

Kenneth Jackson & David Dunbar, *Empire City: New York Through the Centuries* (Columbia University Press, 2002)

III. THE LEGAL FRAMEWORK (first paper due)

Required:

Gerald Frug, *City Making: Building Communities Without Building Walls* (Princeton University Press, 1999), pp. 17-53 (BKBD)

Suggested

Joseph P. Viteritti & Gerald J. Russello, "Community and American Federalism: Images Romantic and Real," *Virginia Journal of Social Policy & The Law* (1997), pp. 683-728.

Richard Briffault, "Our Localism: Part I – The Structure of Local Government Law," *Columbia Law Review* (1990)

Richard Briffault, "Our Localism: Part II – Localism and Legal Theory," *Columbia Law Review* (1990)

Paul E. Peterson, *City Limits* (University of Chicago Press, 1981)

IV. LIFE UNDER THE MACHINE

Required:

Jon Teaford, *The Unheralded Triumph: City Government in America, 1870-1900* (Johns Hopkins University Press 1984), pp. 1-42. (BKBD)

Seymour J. Mandelbaum, *Boss Tweed's New York* (Ivan Dee, 1965), pp 27-58. (BKBD)

Alexander Callow, *The Tweed Ring* (Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 48-75. (BKBD)

Suggested:

Kenneth D. Ackerman, *Boss Tweed: The Rise and Fall of the Corrupt Poll Who Conceived the Soul of Modern New York* (Carroll & Graff, 2005)

Amy Bridges, *A City in the Republic: New York and the Origins of Machine Politics* (Cambridge University Press, 1984)

Eric Hamberger, *Scenes From the Life of a City: Corruption and Conscience in Old New York* (Yale University Press, 1994)

Joseph P. Viteritti, "Police," in, Kenneth Jackson, ed., *Encyclopedia of New York City* (Yale University Press, 1995)

Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs? Democracy and Power in an American City* (Yale University Press, 1961), pp. 11-86.

V. THE EFFECTS OF REFORM (second paper assignment distributed)

Required:

Stephen P. Erie, *Rainbow's End: Irish Americans and the Dilemmas of Machine Politics* (University of California Press, 1988), pp. 1-25, 67-191

Samuel P. Hayes, "The Politics of Reform in Municipal Government in the Progressive Era," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (1964), pp. 157-169 (BKBD)

Suggested:

Martin Shefter, *Political Crisis/Fiscal Crisis: The Collapse and Revival of New York City* (Basic Books, 1985), pp.13-37.

Frank Anechiaricco & James B. Jacobs, *The Pursuit of Absolute Integrity: How Corruption Control Makes Government Ineffective* (University of Chicago Press, 1996)

Joseph P. Viteritti, "The City and the Constitution: A Historical Analysis of Institutional Evolution and Adaptation," *Journal of Urban Affairs* (1990)

Douglas Rae, *City: Urbanism and its End* (Yale University Press, 2003)

VI. RACIAL SUCCESSION (second paper due)

Required:

Robert F. Pecorella, *Community Power in a Postreform City* (M.E. Sharpe, 1994), pp. 58-81 (BKBD)

Shefter, *Political Crisis/Fiscal Crisis*, pp. 82-104. (BKBD)

Suggested:

Robert A. Dahl, "The City and the Future of Democracy," *American Political Science Review* (1967)

Robert Browning, Dale Rogers Marshall & David H. Tabb, *Protest is Not Enough: The Struggle of Blacks and Hispanics for Equality in Urban Politics* (University of California Press, 1984)

Joseph P. Viteritti, *Bureaucracy and Social Justice* (Kennikat Press, 1979)

Roger Sanjek, *The Future of Us All: Race and Neighborhood Politics in New York City* (Oxford University Press, 1998)

VII. FISCAL CRISIS

Required:

Shefter, *Political Crisis/Fiscal Crisis*, pp. 105-193.

Robert W. Bailey, *The Crisis Regime: The New York City Financial Crisis* (SUNY Press, 1984), pp. 179-190. (BLBD)

Suggested:

Dick Netzer, "The Economy and the Governing of the City," in, Jewel Bellush & Dick Netzer, eds., *Urban Politics New York Style* (M.E. Sharpe, 1990)

Charles Morris, *The Cost of Good Intentions: New York City and the Liberal Experiment* (W.W. Norton, 1980)

William K. Tabb, *The Long Default: New York City and the Urban Fiscal Crisis* (Monthly Review Press, 1982)

VIII. FEDERALISM AND THE CITY

Required:

Paul E. Peterson, *The Price of Federalism* (Brookings Institution Press, 1995), pp.1-107.

Suggested:

Viteritti & Rusello, "Community and American Federalism," pp. 728-742.

Larry Gerson, *American Federalism: A Concise Introduction* (M.E. Sharpe, 2007)

David Walker, *The Rebirth of Federalism: Slouching Towards Washington* (Chatham House, 1999)

IX. SUBURBANIZATION

Required:

Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (Oxford University Press: 1985), pp.45-61 (BKBD)

John Cheever, "Moving Out," in, *Writing New York*, pp. 802-807. (BKBD)

Bernard Malamud, "The Cost of Living," in, *Writing New York*, pp. 694-702 (BKBD)

Gay Talese, "Panic in Brooklyn," in, *Writing New York*, pp. 841-850 (BKBD)

Suggested:

Andrea Duany, Elizabeth Platei-Zyberk, & Jeff Speck, *Suburban Nation: The Rise of Sprawl and the Decline of the American Dream* (North Point Press, 2001)

Myron Orfield, *American Metropolis: The New Suburban Reality* (Brookings Institution Press, 2002)

J. Eric Oliver, *Democracy in Suburbia* (Princeton University Press, 2001)

X. CITY VS. SUBURB? (Third Assignment Distributed)

Required:

Peter Drier, John Mollenkoph & Todd Swonstrom, *Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the Twenty-First Century* (University Press of Kansas, 2001), pp. 30-91. (BKBD)

Sam Roberts, "City Growing More Diverse, Census Finds," *New York Times*, December 9, 2008, p.1 (BKBD)

Joseph P. Viteritti & Thomas W. Matteo, "The Political Economy of City Life Cycles: A Comparative Analysis of Services, Expenditures and Revenues," *Public Budgeting and Financial Management*, vol. 6 (1994), pp. 518-541, reprinted in Aman Kahn & W. Bartley Hildreth, eds., *Case Studies in Public Budgeting* (Marcel Dekker, 2003), pp. 1-16 (BKBD)

Suggested:

Richard C. Feiock, ed., *Metropolitan Governance: Conflict, Competition and Cooperation* (Georgetown University Press, 2004)

Gerald Benjamin & Richard Nathan, *Regionalism and Realism: A Study of Governments in the New York Metropolitan Area* (Brookings Institution Press, 2001)

XI. SPRAWL (Third Paper Due)

Robert Bruegmann, *Sprawl: A Compact History* (University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 17-20, 51-112 (BKBD)

Lee Siegel, "Why Does Hollywood Hate the Suburbs?" *Wall Street Journal*, December 27 & 28, 2008, p. W4. (BKBD)

Suggested:

Bruce Katz & Robert E. Lang, eds., *Redefining Urban and Suburban America: Evidence From Census 2000* (Brookings Institution Press, 2003)

Gregory Squires, *Urban Sprawl: Causes, Consequences and Policy Responses* (Urban Institute Press, 2002)

Joel Garreau, *Edge City: Life on the New Frontier* (Anchor, 1992)

XII. SECESSION: STATEN ISLAND (and Los Angeles)

Required:

Joseph P. Viteritti, "Municipal Home Rule and the Conditions of Justifiable Secession," *Fordham Urban Law Journal*, Vol. 23 (1995), pp. 1-68 (BKBD)

Raphael J. Sonenshein & Tom Hogen-Esch, "Bringing the State (Government) Back in: Home Rule and the Politics of Secession in Los Angeles and New York City," *Urban Affairs Review*, Vol. 41 (March, 2006), pp 467-491 (BKBD)

Suggested:

Raphael J. Sonenshein, *The City at Stake: Secession, Reform and the Battle for Los Angeles* (Princeton University Press, 2004)

David Hale, ed., *New York and Los Angeles Politics, Society, Culture: A Comparative View* (University of Chicago Press, 2003)

Fred Siegel, *The Future Once Happened Here: NY, DC, and LA and the Fate of America's Big Cities* (Encounter Books, 2000)

Joseph P. Viteritti, "The Tradition of Municipal Reform: Charter Revision in Historical Context," in, Frank J. Mauro & Gerald Benjamin, eds., *Restructuring the New York City Government: The Reemergence of Municipal Reform* (Academy of Political Science, 1989), pp. 16-30

Joseph P. Viteritti, "Epilogue: The New Charter: Will it Make a Difference?" in Bellush & Netzer, *Urban Politics New York Style*, pp. 413-428

XIII. A HELL'UVA TOWN

Required:

George W. Plunkitt & William Riorden, "Honest Graft and Dishonest Graft," in, *Writing New York*, pp. 347-350 (BKBD)

Tom Angotti, *New York for Sale: Community Planning Confronts Global Real Estate* (MIT Press, 2007), pp. 37-61 (BKBD)

Joseph V. Last, "Columbia University, Slumlord," *The Weekly Standard*, December 8, 2008, pp. 18-26 (BKBD)

Suggested:

Robert Finch, *The Assassination of New York* (Verso, 1993)

Joseph P. Viteritti, "New York: Past, Present, Future," in, *When Mayors Take Charge: School Governance in the City* (Brookings Institution Press, 2009), pp. 206-233

Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeois* (Cambridge University Press, 2003)