

Sociology

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Program of Study

The discipline of sociology encompasses a diversity of substantive interests, theoretical orientations, and methodological approaches. The phenomena studied by sociologists range from face-to-face interaction in small groups to the structure of the modern world system. They include the historical emergence, stabilization and disintegration of institutions, practices and symbolic forms, stratification and mobility, demographic change, processes of gendering, urban/rural/suburban communities, race and ethnic relations, mass media, and the social dimensions of such areas as education, family life, law, the military, political behavior, science, and religion. The methodologies of the field range from experimentation, survey research, and ethnography to archival research and mathematical model building.

The knowledge sociology provides for the understanding of human relations and social organization has made it attractive for students considering careers in such professions as business, education, law, marketing, medicine, journalism, social work, politics, public administration, and urban planning. As a basis for more specialized graduate work, it affords entry to careers in social research in federal, state, and local agencies, as well as into business enterprises, private foundations, and research institutes. Sociology also provides an excellent foundation for students who are planning academic careers in any of the social sciences. The program is designed, therefore, to meet the needs of a very diverse group of students.

Program Requirements

Although no special application is required for admission to the sociology program, students are required to (1) inform the sociology department and their College adviser when they decide to enter the program and (2) complete an enrollment form that is available in the department office. Students may enter the sociology program at any time during their second year but no later than the end of Autumn Quarter of their third year. Students must complete any one of the general education social science sequences before declaring a sociology major.

Students are strongly encouraged to complete the required introductory sociology courses as early as possible, definitely before the beginning of their fourth year.

Students are encouraged to select a faculty member to serve as an adviser. In addition, each student is assigned to a preceptor. Students should address technical questions regarding the program (e.g., required courses, petitions) with the preceptor or the program chair. Students may wish to contact their faculty adviser to address general questions regarding the discipline of sociology or to design an individualized program of study.

Course Requirements. Students pursuing a BA degree in sociology are expected to complete the following requirements. However, students with adequate background in sociology from general education courses or other sociology courses may petition the program chair to substitute other 20000-level courses for one or more of the introductory sequence courses.

The Introductory Courses

a. Social Theory

SOCI 20002 and 20005. These required courses acquaint students with some of the fundamental problems and analytic perspectives of the field of sociology.

SOCI 20002. Social Structure and Change. The central objective of this course is to introduce students to the sociological study of individuals in the society, or how individual actions are shaped by their relation to and position in the social structure while contributing to this structure and its change. A central preoccupation is to articulate the linkage between the individual/micro level and the social/macro level. We focus on sociological approaches to the American society, its position in the international structure and its principal dimensions: race and ethnicity; age, gender, and social class.

SOCI 20005. Sociological Theory. Drawing on the classics as well as on contemporary works in sociological theory, this course raises questions about the nature of “theory work” and its relation both to philosophic analysis and empirical research. Authors include Weber, Durkheim, Simmel, Dewey, Parsons, and Merton.

b. Methodology

Students are required to take at least one of the following methodology courses.

SOCI 20001. Sociological Methods. This course introduces the philosophy and practice of social research. Working from the idea that the research process is fundamentally a critical dialogue, we first explore questions of causality and the epistemology of social research. We then study the basic practices that are a component of all methods of social research through an in-depth examination of interviews, ethnography, surveys, and archival research. Students spend the quarter working on a

series of assignments that culminates in a research proposal for the BA thesis.

SOCI 20111. Survey Analysis I. This course teaches students how to analyze and write up previously collected survey data: basic logic of multivariate causal reasoning and its application to OLS regression, percentage tables, and log odds. We emphasize practice in writing. This is not a course in sampling methods.

SOCI 20140. Qualitative Field Methods. This course introduces techniques of, and approaches to, ethnographic field research. Emphasis is placed on quality of attention and awareness of perspective as foundational aspects of the craft. Students conduct research at a site, compose and share field notes, and produce a final paper distilling sociological insight from the fieldwork.

c. Statistics

SOCI 20004. Statistical Methods of Research. This course provides a comprehensive introduction to widely used quantitative methods in sociology and related social sciences. Topics include analysis of variance and multiple regression, considered as they are used by practicing social scientists. Substitutes for this course are STAT 20000 or higher.

d. Additional Courses

Students must take seven additional courses in sociology or related fields, and at least four of these must be in sociology. These courses must be selected in consultation with the program chair. They may be drawn from any of the 20000-level courses in sociology and, after completing SOCI 20002, from any 30000-level courses in sociology that have not been cross listed with undergraduate numbers.

e. Senior Seminar (SOCI 29998)

f. BA Honors Paper (SOCI 29999)

This course is open only to students who are applying for honors.

Summary of Requirements

2	SOCI 20002, 20005, or approved substitute
1	SOCI 20001, 20111, or 20140 (sociological methods)
1	SOCI 20004/30004 (statistics course)
4	sociology courses (one may be a reading and research course)
3	approved courses in sociology or related fields* (one may be a reading and research course)
1	SOCI 29998 (Senior Seminar)
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* *Students must submit a general petition form to the program chair for approval. With a few exceptions, courses offered in the Division of the Social Sciences are accepted. Humanities courses with significant social science content may also be accepted.*

** *Students who are applying for honors must also register for SOCI 29999 (BA Paper) for a total of thirteen courses.*

Senior Project. During their fourth year, students majoring in sociology are expected to complete an original project of sociological inquiry on a topic of their choice, culminating in a final paper from twenty to forty pages in length. The project may take the form of: either (1) a critical review of a body of literature on a problem developed in conjunction with the work of one or more courses, or (2) an independent research project in which questions are formulated and data are collected and analyzed by the student. Recent projects have included studies of comparative order and disorder in urban neighborhoods in Chicago, immigration and national identity in Germany and Guatemala, processes of gendering in various workplaces, the role of emotions in social theory, the decisions that boys and girls make about what math courses to take in high school, homosexuality and AIDS in South Africa, hegemonic discourses of whiteness in women's magazines, emerging forms of social interaction on the Internet, church leadership transition among Korean immigrants, the power of public rhetoric in public housing, role models among Mexican-American youth, gender roles in families of graduate students, peer pressure and teenage pregnancy, and attitudes toward immigration.

The senior project is researched, discussed, and written in the context of the senior seminar (SOCI 29998), which is a required yearlong course. Students enroll in the senior seminar in Spring Quarter of their third year. They attend the seminar during Spring Quarter of their third year and during Autumn and Winter Quarters of their fourth year. They submit a completed thesis during Spring Quarter of their fourth year.

In general, the senior project is written under the guidance of the preceptors of the department. Students who wish to be considered for honors must consult the program chair at the beginning of Spring Quarter of their third year. They

will then choose an individual faculty member under whose supervision they will write their thesis. These students may register for additional reading courses (SOCI 29997); however, only two sociology reading/research courses can be counted toward the courses required for the sociology major. Students must obtain consent of the program chair if they wish to register for more than one reading and research course to complete the BA paper.

Grading. All courses required for completion of the sociology program must be taken for quality grades. This includes Reading and Research courses with the exception of SOCI 29999, which may be taken for *P/F* grading with consent of instructor.

Honors. If their cumulative GPA is at or above 3.25 and their GPA in the major is at or above 3.5, students may be nominated for graduation with honors on the basis of the excellence of their thesis. The thesis must be based on *substantial individual research* conducted under the guidance of a faculty member, and it must be evaluated both by the student's adviser and by the program chair at A- or A. Students who are applying for honors must also register for SOCI 29999 (BA Paper) for a total of thirteen courses.

Declaring a Sociology Major. Before declaring a sociology major, students should discuss their plans with their College adviser. They must then complete the enrollment form, which includes a short entry survey and is available in the Office of the Department of Sociology (SS 307). Before graduation, students are required to submit a brief exit survey.

BA Paper Waiver. Students who have had to withdraw from the University prematurely and, as a result, have been out of residence for an extended period, could, at the designation of the dean of students in the College (see College guidelines), complete their studies by finishing their course work at another university or college. Students may also petition their program chair for a BA paper waiver; if the petition is granted, students may substitute adequate course work for the BA paper requirements.

Handbook. Students interested in pursuing the BA degree in sociology are encouraged to read the brochure *Undergraduate Program in Sociology*, which is available in the Office of the Department of Sociology (SS 307).

Faculty

A. Abbott, G. Becker, C. Bidwell, D. Bogue, T. Clark, E. Clemens, J. L. Comaroff, J. Davis, J. Evans, A. Glaeser, K. Knorr Cetina, R. Lancaster, E. Laumann, C. Lee, D. Levine, J. Martin, O. McRoberts, S. Raudenbush, M. Riesebrodt, K. Schilt, M. Small, R. Stolzenberg, R. Taub, L. Waite, K. Yamaguchi, Y. Yang, D. Zhao

Courses: Sociology (soci)

20001. Sociological Methods. This course provides an introduction to the philosophy and practice of social research. Working from the idea that the research

process is fundamentally a critical dialogue, we begin by exploring questions of causality and the epistemology of social research. Then we turn to examine the basic practices that are a component of all methods of social research through an in-depth examination of interviews, ethnography, surveys, and archival research. Students spend the quarter working on a series of assignments that culminates in a research proposal for their BA thesis. *R. Lancaster. Spring.*

2002. Social Structure and Change. The central objective of this course is to introduce the sociological study of individuals in the society. We study how individual actions are shaped by their relation to and position in the social structure while contributing to this structure and its change. A central preoccupation is to articulate the linkage between the individual/micro level and the social/macro level. We also discuss the properties of a stratified social fabric. We focus on sociological approaches to the American society, its position in the international structure, and its principal dimensions (i.e., race and ethnicity, age, gender, social class). *J. Evans. Winter.*

20004/30004. Statistical Methods of Research. This course provides a comprehensive introduction to widely used quantitative methods in sociology and related social sciences. Topics include analysis of variance and multiple regression, considered as they are used by practicing social scientists. *S. Raudenbush. Winter.*

20005. Sociological Theory. *Required of students who are majoring in Sociology.* Building on the works of Marx, Weber, Durkheim, Simmel, and other classical theorists, this course addresses the role of theory in sociology. In addition to classic texts, readings explore both contemporary theoretical projects and the implications of theory for empirical research. *J. Martin, Spring.*

20101/30101. Organizational Analysis. (=PBPL 23000) This course is a systematic introduction to theoretical and empirical work on organizations broadly conceived (e.g., public and private economic organizations, governmental organizations, prisons, professional and voluntary associations, health-care organizations). Topics include intraorganizational questions about organizational goals and effectiveness, communication, authority, and decision making. Using recent developments in market, political economy, and neoinstitutional theories, we explore organizational change and interorganizational relationships for their implications in understanding social change in modern societies. *E. Laumann. Autumn.*

20102/30102. Social Change. This course focuses on economic development, political development, social movements, and opinion change. Case materials are drawn from developing countries, European historical patterns, and the contemporary United States. *C. Lee. Spring.*

20103. Social Stratification. Social stratification is the unequal distribution of the goods that members of a society value (e.g., earnings, income, authority, political power, status, prestige). This course introduces various sociological perspectives about stratification. We look at major patterns of inequality throughout human

history, how they vary across countries, how they are formed and maintained, how they come to be seen as legitimate and desirable, and how they affect the lives of individuals within a society. The readings incorporate classical theoretical statements, contemporary debates, and recent empirical evidence. *R. Stolzenberg. Autumn.*

20104/30104. Urban Structure and Process. (=CRPC 20104, GEOG 22700/32700, SOSC 25100) This course reviews competing theories of urban development, especially their ability to explain the changing nature of cities under the impact of advanced industrialism. Analysis includes a consideration of emerging metropolitan regions, the microstructure of local neighborhoods, and the limitations of the past U.S. experience as a way of developing worldwide urban policy. *O. McRoberts. Spring.*

20106/30106. Political Sociology. (=ENST 23500, PBPL 23600) *PQ: Completion of the general education requirement in social sciences.* This course provides analytical perspectives on citizen preference theory, public choice, group theory, bureaucrats and state-centered theory, coalition theory, elite theories, and political culture. These competing analytical perspectives are assessed in considering middle-range theories and empirical studies on central themes of political sociology. Local, national, and cross-national analyses are explored. *T. Clark. Spring.*

20107/30107. Sociology of Human Sexuality. (=GNDR 27100) *PQ: Introductory social sciences course.* After briefly reviewing several biological and psychological approaches to human sexuality as points of comparison, this course explores the sociological perspective on sexual conduct and its associated beliefs and consequences for individuals and society. Substantive topics include gender relations; life-course perspectives on sexual conduct in youth, adolescence, and adulthood; social epidemiology of sexually transmitted infections (e.g., AIDS); sexual partner choice and turnover; and the incidence/prevalence of selected sexual practices. *E. Laumann. Spring.*

20108/30108. The Institution of Education. This course is a general survey of the properties of education considered as an institution of historical and contemporary societies. Particular attention is given to institutional formation and change in education, as well as to education's role in processes of social control and social stratification. *C. Bidwell. Winter.*

20111/30111. Survey Analysis I. This course covers how to analyze and write up previously collected survey data: the basic logic of multivariate causal reasoning and its application to OLS regression, percentage tables, and log odds. We emphasize practice in writing. This is not a course in sampling methods. *J. Davis. Autumn.*

20112/30112. Applications of Hierarchical Linear Models. A number of diverse methodological problems (e.g., correlates of change, analysis of multi-level data, certain aspects of meta-analysis) share a common feature: a hierarchical

structure. The hierarchical linear model offers a promising approach to analyzing data in these situations. This course surveys the methodological literature in this area and demonstrates how the hierarchical linear model can be applied to a range of problems. *S. Raudenbush. Spring.*

20116/30116. Global-Local Politics. (=PBPL 27900) Globalizing and local forces are generating a new politics in the United States and around the world. This course explores this new politics by mapping its emerging elements: the rise of social issues, ethno-religious and regional attachments, environmentalism, gender and life-style identity issues, new social movements, transformed political parties and organized groups, and new efforts to mobilize individual citizens. *T. Clark. Winter.*

20118/30118. Survey Research Overview. (=SOSC 20200/30900) The goal for each student is to find a research question to guide his or her overall research design. The course walks students through the steps involved in survey research: finding funding, writing a grant proposal, sampling, questionnaire design, coding, cleaning, and data analysis. This is a useful introduction for students who are interested in survey research because it provides the big picture of what should be considered when designing survey research and how to approach the different tasks involved in a survey project. *This single-quarter course is offered each Autumn and Winter Quarter. M. Van Haitzma. Autumn, Winter.*

20120/30120. Urban Policy Analysis. (=PBPL 24800) This course addresses the explanations available for varying patterns of policies that cities provide in terms of expenditures and service delivery. Topics include theoretical approaches and policy options, migration as a policy option, group theory, citizen preference theory, incrementalism, economic base influences, and an integrated model. Also examined are the New York fiscal crisis and taxpayer revolts, measuring citizen preferences, service delivery, and productivity. *T. Clark. Autumn.*

20122/30122. Introduction to Population. (=ENST 20500) This course introduces the field of demography, which examines the growth and characteristics of human populations. It also provides an overview of our knowledge of three fundamental population processes: fertility, mortality, and migration. We cover marriage, cohabitation, marital disruption, aging, and population and environment. In each case we examine historical trends. We also discuss causes and consequences of recent trends in population growth, as well as the current demographic situation in developing and developed countries. *L. Waite. Winter.*

20129/30129. Economic Development in the Inner City. (=PBPL 24600) *PQ: At least one prior course in economics, political science, public policy, or sociology.* This course explores conceptually what the issues are around the economic position of cities in the early twenty-first century, as well as how to think creatively about strategies to generate economic growth that would have positive consequences for low-income residents. We consider community Development Corporations, empowerment zones, housing projects, and business development plans through credit and technical assistance. *R. Taub. Winter.*

20131/30131. Social and Political Movements. This course provides a general overview and a synthesis on theories of social and political movements. We emphasize the importance of state and state-society relations to the rise and outcome of a social or political movement. *D. Zhao. Winter.*

20148/30148. Social Studies of Science. (=HIPS 26502) This course examines science as an institution, drawing primarily on research not only from sociology but also from economics, philosophy, history, and interdisciplinary approaches. We examine the culture and practice of science, the many-layered organization of scientific activity, ways in which the scientific system draws inputs from society (e.g., money, students) and produces outputs for it (e.g., technologies, scientists and engineers, articles, certainty), the role of science in governments and economies, and the influence of these and other institutions on the evolution of scientific knowledge. *J. Evans. Spring.*

20157/30157. Mathematical Models. This course examines mathematical models and related analyses of social action, emphasizing a rational-choice perspective. About half the lectures focus on models of collective action, power, and exchange as developed by Coleman, Bonacich, Marsden, and Yamaguchi. Then we examine models of choice over the life course, including rational and social choice models of marriage, births, friendship networks, occupations, and divorce. Both behavioral and analytical models are surveyed. *K. Yamaguchi. Spring.*

20160/30160. Social Behavior and Health. *PQ: Prior course(s) in sociology or health studies.* This course surveys major literature in medical sociology, with a focus on social behavior and health. Topics include social construction of illness, medicine as an institution of social control, stress process theory and models, socioeconomic status and health, and the behavioral models of health care utilization. *Y. Yang. Spring.*

20169/30169. Global Society and Global Culture: Paradigms of Social and Cultural Analysis. (=ANTH 25710/35710) This course introduces major theories of globalization and core approaches to global society and global culture. We discuss micro- and macroglobalization, cultural approaches to globalization, systems theory, discourse approaches, and the “strong program” in globalization studies. Topics include a section on the ethnography of the global, empirical studies that illustrate the interest and feasibility of globalization studies, and critical studies of dimensions of globalization. *K. Knorr Cetina. Autumn.*

20175. Deviant Behavior. (=GNDR 20170) This course examines how distinctions between “normal” and “deviant” are created, and how these labels shift historically, culturally, and politically. We analyze the construction of social problems and moral panics (e.g., smoking, “satanic” daycares, obesity) to explore how various moral entrepreneurs shape what some sociologists call a “culture of fear.” Additionally, we investigate the impact on individuals of being labeled “deviant,” either voluntarily or involuntarily, as a way of illustrating how both social control and social change operate in society. *K. Schilt. Autumn.*

20178. Management and Organizations. This course introduces social science approaches to life within organizations, with a focus on the singular role of the manager. We explore various issues relating to management and organizational problems (e.g., competitive decision making, social networks and careers, corporate culture, negotiations, organizational design, leadership). We also explore the rise of the large corporation and the central role managers play in contemporary capitalism. *R. Lancaster. Autumn.*

20179/30179. Labor Force and Employment. This course introduces key concepts, methods, and sources of information for understanding the structure of work and the organization of workers in the United States and other industrialized nations. We survey social science approaches to answering key questions about work and employment, including: What is the labor force? What determines the supply of workers? How is work organized into jobs, occupations careers and industries? What, if anything, happened to unions? How much money do workers earn and why? What is the effect of work on health? How do workers and employers find each other? Who is unemployed? What are the employment effects of race, gender, ethnicity, and religion. *R. Stolzenberg. Winter.*

20181/30181. From the Transhuman to the Postsocial. (=ANTH 24805/35805) What do we mean by the “transhuman” and “transsocial?” What are all the phenomena and processes associated with a “postsocial” environment? Are our Western societies becoming more postsocial, or are we simply experiencing a postmodernist turn? Which particular developments feed into and sustain a postsocial world? How can these developments be theorized and related to a knowledge society, to globalization and consumption? Do transhuman tendencies affect our notion of agency, meaning, and identity? What empirical examples are there of some of these tendencies? This course includes literature that points beyond traditional sociological concepts, as well as readings based on psychology, economics, and neurophysiology. *K. Knorr Cetina. Winter.*

20182/30182. Population and Development of Russia and the Former Soviet Union. This course covers the past and contemporary demographic situation in Russia and other post-Soviet countries, including current challenges of depopulation, high working-age mortality, and population aging. *Gavrilov. Winter.*

20184/30184. Political Culture, Social Capital, and the Arts. New work finds that certain arts and cultural activities are rising, especially among the young, in many countries. This course reviews core related concepts (e.g., political culture, social capital, legitimacy) and how they change with these new developments. Scenes, nightlife, design, the internet, and entertainment emerge as critical drivers of the post-industrial/knowledge society. Older primordial conflicts over class, race, and gender are transformed with these new issues, which spark new social movements and political tensions. After a focus on the discussion of readings, the second part of the course is conducted as a seminar. *T. Clark. Autumn.*

20193/30193. Religious Politics in the Neo-Liberal Epoch: Islamic Political Discourse in Turkey and Western Europe. Over the past several decades, political Islam has become increasingly a central element in global politics, conflicts, and disputes. This course focuses on the rise of Islamic politics in Turkey and, to some extent, in Western Europe. We utilize the current body of research and literature on sociology of Islam, history, and political sociology. Our goal is to understand the rise of Islamic politics as a historically unique cultural and political formation that has its social origins in the structural transformation of social relations in Turkish modernity. *R. Kadakal. Winter.*

28044. Empire and Nation. This course explores the theoretical and historical development of empire and nation. We begin with the question of whether or not America is an empire, which leads to an explanation of what an empire is and its relationship to nation- and state-building. In particular, we focus on the cases of Britain and China to explore these and related questions, as well as to understand the historical development of empire and nation and their future trajectories. *L. Wang. Autumn.*

28045. Markets, Models, and Risk. The ways in which risk and uncertainty were modeled were central to the making of the current financial crisis. Rating agencies, credit raters, banks, corporations, and individual investors all used quantitative models of risk that helped create and legitimize decisions that led to a collapse of the financial sector. This course explores how organizations, institutions, and markets make decisions involving risk and develop quantitative models to capture risk and uncertainty. We explore the particular role that quantification plays in understanding risk and shaping decision making, contrasting rational economic views with sociological theory and science studies. *E. Coslor. Winter.*

28046. Sociology of Space. This course examines the dynamic relationship between space and social life. Whether the micro-spaces of everyday life or the macro-spaces of nation-state or global system, space and place play a fundamental role to our understanding of social life and interaction. This course provides an overview of contemporary work that theorizes these relationships. *X. Tian. Winter.*

29997. Readings in Sociology. *PQ: Consent of instructor and program chair. Students are required to submit the College Reading and Research Course Form. With consent of instructor, students may take this course for P/F grading if it is not being used to meet program requirements. Summer, Autumn, Winter, Spring.*

29998. Senior Seminar. *PQ: Open only to students who are majoring in sociology. Must be taken for a quality grade.* This required yearlong course is a forum for students who are majoring in sociology to present their BA papers. Students typically enroll in Autumn or Winter Quarter of their fourth year. Students attend the seminar during Spring Quarter of their third year and during Autumn and Winter Quarters of their fourth year. They submit a completed thesis during Spring Quarter of their fourth year. Students who are not graduating

in June should participate in three quarters of the senior seminar in the twelve months before graduation. See the more general statement about the BA paper in the brochure *Undergraduate Program in Sociology*, which is available in the departmental office. *Autumn, Winter, Spring.*

29999. BA Honors Paper. *PQ: Consent of instructor and program chair. Open only to students who wish to be considered for honors. Students are required to submit the College Reading and Research Course Form. Must be taken for a quality grade. Summer, Autumn, Winter, Spring.*

The following 30000-level courses are open to College students.

30197. Race and Ethnicity. This course surveys classic and contemporary understandings of racial and ethnic groups within the sociological tradition, which emphasizes the social constructionist framework. Specifically, the course exposes students to the different ways that sociologists (1) have conceptualized racial and ethnic group difference, (2) have analyzed systems of racial and ethnic categorization, and (3) have provided proscriptions for racial equality. While the course's main focus is to examine race and ethnicity in the United States, readings on other countries will be drawn on to illuminate how epistemic cultures of race/ethnicity emerge in different institutional environments. This class is intended mainly for advanced undergraduates in the major, as well as graduate students. Students are expected to already be familiar with the sociological study of inequality, group processes, and culture. *G. C. Mora. Spring.*

30302. Problems of Public Policy Implementation. (=PBPL 22300) *PQ: One prior 20000-level social sciences course. PBPL 22100-22200-22300 may be taken in or out of sequence.* Once a governmental policy or program is established, there is the challenge of getting it carried out in ways intended by the policy makers. We explore how obstacles emerge because of problems of hierarchy, competing goals, and cultures of different groups. We then discuss how they may be overcome by groups, as well as by creators and by those responsible for implementing programs. We also look at varying responses of target populations. *R. Taub. Spring.*

30303. Urban Landscapes as Social Text. (=GEOG 42400) *PQ: Advanced standing and consent of instructor.* This seminar explores the meanings found in varieties of urban landscapes, both in the context of individual elements and composite structures. These meanings are examined in relation to three fundamental approaches that can be identified in the analytical literature on landscapes: normative, historical, and communicative modes of conceptualization. Emphasis is placed on analyzing the explicitly visual features of the urban landscape. Students pursue research topics of their own choosing within the general framework. *M. Conzen. Autumn.*