

URBAN & ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY (UEP) 301
URBAN POLICY AND POLITICS
Professor Peter Dreier
Spring 2014

Class Sessions: Tuesday and Thursday 10-11:25 am
UEPI conference room

Office: Urban & Environmental Policy Institute (UEPI)
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What This Course is About

For the first time in history, a majority of the earth's human population lives in cities. Vast metropolitan areas are arising in developing and middle income countries, while in the United States – where about 80 percent of the population lives in urban areas, although most of them in suburbs -- there is a resurgence in interest in urban living. Urbanists, planners, mayors, developers, and others are promising that strong cities can unleash productivity, bring diverse people together, and even save the planet.

Amid this promise, cities still face many of the challenges that have plagued them for decades. These include concentrated poverty and stark inequality, the challenges of providing adequate housing for all residents, the persistence of residential racial segregation, and the problem of sprawl and environmental sustainability. There are also controversies over what makes a city "livable," who should have the power to shape cities and neighborhoods, and how much density is OK.

This is a seminar/discussion course about America's cities -- and what we can do to address the problems they (and their residents) face. It is also a course in policy analysis -- evaluating different public policies in terms of their effectiveness at making life better. It is also a course in American politics -- examining how political conflicts over ideas and interests influences policy regarding cities.

Many politicians, candidates, journalists, business leaders, and philanthropists frequently express concern about the "urban crisis." They hold hearings, issue reports, write articles, and fund research about what caused the crisis and what to do about it. Are other cities, like L.A in 1992, ticking time bombs, waiting to explode? Are the problems facing American cities -- poverty, homelessness, high levels of infant mortality, racial segregation, traffic gridlock, pollution, and others -- solvable?

There's been a great deal of research and writing about urban problems in the past few years. Most of the readings for this course draw on up-to-date research and thinking. But many of the urban problems we face today have been around for some time. People have been thinking about urban problems for many years. We can learn a great deal from the urban thinkers of the past as well.

The major questions addressed in this seminar include the following:

1. As the U.S. has changed, so has the shape, function, and number of cities and metropolitan areas. How have these changes come about? How and why did the suburbs grow, especially after World War 2? What's the difference between cities and suburbs? Are they growing more alike or more apart? How has the physical shape of metropolitan areas -- its architecture, roads, residential areas, open spaces, factories, stores, offices, neighborhoods, downtowns -- changed? What impact have these changes had on how people live their lives?
2. Are there certain "urban" characteristics -- economic, social, political, psychological -- common to all cities and metropolitan areas? What is meant by the term "urban crisis?" Does it affect all urban areas in the same way? How has the distribution of wealth and power in the larger society influenced the economic, social, and physical conditions of cities and metro areas? What are the causes of urban poverty and racial segregation?
3. Should there be a national urban policy designed to help rebuild cities? Or should there simply be policies to help individuals wherever they happen to live? What approaches have been tried? What works? What has failed? Why? How do we assess proposals to deal with our urban problems? We'll look at such issues as poverty and employment, housing and homelessness, public health, transportation and environment, racial segregation and discrimination, and others. What are the current policy debates regarding these and other issues?
4. What role do cities play in our national political life? (This is often called "the politics of urban policy"). How are cities governed? (This is often called "urban politics"). Who runs our cities? Business? Local politicians? Neighborhood groups? Developers? Unions? No one? What are the different ways that cities and metro areas are governed? What difference does it make?
5. Do cities in other countries have the same problems? Why or why not? Even if we find some common characteristics, we also know that L.A. has a quality about it that differs from Boston; that Paris is hardly the same as Nairobi; that Beijing is quite

different from Mexico City; that San Diego is very different from San Francisco. How do we account for these differences? What can we learn from these differences to help address the problems facing American cities?

Course Requirements

Your grade will be based on the following:

1. One-third your grade will be based on your class participation. This is a seminar course. Its success depends on class discussions. Students are expected to do the readings on time and participate in class discussions. When doing the reading, think about the issues you want to discuss in class. Most of the readings are short articles from newspapers and magazines with little or no technical jargon. Some readings are more difficult and will take more time to digest. I encourage students to debate and disagree - but to do so based on information and evidence as well as your own values.

2. One-third of your grade will be based on written assignments. You will be assigned a number of short (3 to 4 page) papers, based primarily on the readings. These include book reviews, policy analyses, newspaper editorials, and others. All papers should be typed, double-spaced. Proofread your papers. Check for correct spelling, punctuation, grammar. Put your names on the first page. Cite your sources in the essay (Author: Page Number) and in the bibliography (Author, Title, Publisher, Date). Examples or statistics should be used to illustrate your major points, not as a substitute for critical analysis. A few assignments will require you to work in groups.

3. One-third of your grade will be based a research project that I will explain in class.

Books to Purchase

You should purchase the following paperback books, available at the college bookstore:

- Kozol, Savage Inequalities
- Bernstein, All Together Now
- Nivola, Laws of the Landscape

A third edition of Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom, Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the 21st Century will be published later this year but isn't available yet, so the manuscript will be put on the Moodle site, with different chapters assigned throughout the semester.

Website Readings

Most of the readings for this source will be found on the Moodle website for UEP 301. The course readings to be found on the website are marked with an asterisk (*). It is each student's responsibility to get these readings from the website. Please download them so you can mark them up as well as bring them to class. There are many separate articles from magazines, newspapers, journals and other sources, so it may take time to download them each week. Make sure you have sufficient time to do this.

Films

You should view six films – "Urbanized," "Sicko," "Heist," "Who Killed the Electric Car?," "The New Los Angeles," and "The Pruitt-Igoe Myth" -- on your own time. They are available at the Library reference desk under this course. The deadlines for watching these films are listed in the syllabus.

I would also encourage you to go to the Library and view some of the following films that are relevant to the topics in the course. I've listed those here:

- "Hull House: The House that Jane Built" (documentary about the first wave of urban social reform at the turn of the 20th century)
- "The Times of Harvey Milk" (documentary on the rise of gay politics in San Francisco)
- "Daley: The Last Boss" (documentary about Chicago Mayor Richard Daley, a legendary figure in urban politics in the 1950s and 1960s).
- "Taken for a Ride" (documentary about the political maneuvering that led to the dismantling of urban public transportation in the mid-20th century)
- "Bread and Roses" (feature film about the "justice for janitors" union campaign in LA)
- "City of Hope" (a feature film, directed by John Sayles, about urban politics)
- "Do The Right Thing" (Spike Lee's film about the Brooklyn ghetto)
- "Home Economics" (documentary about daily life in the LA suburbs)
- "Is Wal-Mart Good for America?" (documentary about the impact of the world's largest corporation on our communities)
- "Building Hope" (documentary about the history and track record of community development corporations)
- "Holding Ground: The Rebirth of Dudley Street" (documentary about successful community organizing in a low-income neighborhood of Boston)

Web Sites

The internet is a great way of connecting to the larger worlds of public policy. There are thousands of web sites that deal with social issues and thousands of advocacy

organizations and political networks that have their own web sites. Here are several key sites with which you should be familiar. I encourage you to bookmark them so you can find them easily.

Brookings Institution Metropolitan Policy Program

(<http://www.brookings.edu/metro.aspx>), the Urban Institute (<http://www.urban.org>), and the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities (<http://www.cbpp.org>) are three outstanding research and policy centers focusing on urban issues. These websites are constantly being updated with new reports on a diversity of issues -- housing, transportation, welfare, banking, segregation, poverty, and other topics.

Campaign for America's Future (<http://www.ourfuture.org>), the Economic Policy Institute (<http://www.epinet.org>), and the Center for American Progress (<http://www.americanprogress.org>) These sites are a goldmine of policy ideas and data about economic and social policy from a liberal/progressive perspective. Similar organizations from a conservative perspective include the Cato Institute (<http://www.cato.org>), the Heritage Foundation (<http://www.heritage.org>), and the American Enterprise Institute (<http://www.aei.org>).

Community Organizing and Development (<http://comm-org.wisc.edu>) -- This site is a link with hundreds of groups involved in urban community development. If you want to find out what groups are working on different urban issues, this is the site. It also has many articles and reports on urban community development and community organizing.

The Center for Neighborhood Technology (<http://www.cnt.org>), the National Housing Institute (www.nhi.org), the Metropolitan Initiative (<http://www.cnt.org/mi/index.html>), Planners Network (<http://www.plannersnetwork.org>), Civic Practices Network (<http://www.cpn.org>), and Citistates (<http://www.citistates.com>) all focus on innovative research and programs that strengthen urban neighborhoods and metropolitan areas. Each site has links to many other resources about particular issues, programs, cities, and metropolitan areas. Two magazines -- Shelterforce (<http://www.nhi.org/online>) and City Limits (<http://www.citylimits.org>) -- provide examples of interesting urban politics and policy from a liberal/progressive perspective. City Journal (<http://www.city-journal.org>), published by the Manhattan Institute, provides interesting articles on urban issues from a conservative perspective. Next American City is a provocative magazine about livable cities, innovative practices, and debates over what cities are doing the best. (<http://americancity.org>)

The Poverty Resource Center of the United Way of Greater Los Angeles (<http://www.unitedwayla.org/GETINFORMED/RR/Pages/default.aspx>) has regular reports on various issues related to poverty in the LA area:

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has its own web site with information about its programs, policies, data bases, and many links. HUD's Office of Policy Development & Research (<http://www.huduser.org>) has its own site with a great deal of information about housing and urban problems, studies and publications, and available data. You reach can the HUD library, with many reports and publications about cities and housing problems, at this site.

American Prospect (<http://www.prospect.org>), and The Nation (<http://www.thenation.com>). These are two of the most important magazines analyzing American politics from a progressive, grassroots perspective

Demos - A Network for Ideas and Action (<http://www.demos-usa.org/demos>); Center for Responsive Politics (<http://www.opensecrets.org>); Public Campaign (<http://www.publiccampaign.org>); Good Jobs First (<http://www.goodjobsfirst.org>); Center on Budget and Policy Priorities (<http://www.cbpp.org>); California Budget Project (<http://www.cbpp.org>); -- These think tanks all provide interesting policy ideas on such issues as tax policy, campaign finance, anti-poverty policy, economic development, citizen participation, housing and homelessness, voting rights, and others

MoveOn.Org: Democracy in Action (<http://www.moveon.org>); Jobs with Justice (<http://www.jwj.org>); AFL-CIO (<http://www.aflcio.org>); Union Summer (<http://www.aflcio.org/unionsummer>); Center for Community Change (<http://www.communitychange.org>); California Peace Action (<http://www.californiapeaceaction.org>); Industrial Areas Foundation (<http://www.tresser.com/IAF.htm>); Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (LAANE) (<http://www.laane.org>); Los Angeles County Federation of Labor (<http://www.launionaflcio.org>); Community Coalition (<http://www.ccsapt.org>); Communities for a Better Environment (<http://www.cbecal.org>) Strategic Action for a Just Economy (SAJE) (<http://www.saje.net>); Southern California Assn. for Non-Profit Housing (SCANPH) (<http://www.scanph.org>); Liberty Hill Foundation (<http://www.libertyhill.org>) -- These websites from various activist organizations reflect much of the best organizing taking place around the U.S. and in L.A.

Neighborhood Planning: <http://www.neighborhoodplanning.org>. This is a wonderful website about what makes cities and communities livable. It looks at neighborhoods (and neighborhood planning) from the point of view of planning tools for housing,

transportation, schools, economic development, public safety, and other issues. It also has a section on the “heroes” of community planning - some of the most important figures in the history of planning, architecture, organizing, and other topics.

Newspapers, Magazines and Journals

Students are expected to read at least one daily newspaper -- the LA Times, the New York Times, or the Wall Street Journal -- on a regular basis. When an article appears in one of these papers that relates to the topics in the course, bring it up in class. There are also many magazines -- such as The Neighborhood Works, Governing, Next American City, and Planning -- targeted to urban practitioners and policymakers. The best sources for following national politics are Washington Post Weekly and National Journal. You should also become familiar with the major journals that focus on urban problems and policies. In the Library, peruse these publications to see what scholars and practitioners are saying. The major journals include Urban Affairs Quarterly, Journal of the American Planning Association, Journal of Urban Affairs, and National Civic Review. Other relevant journals include Social Work, Social Policy, and Challenge.

TOPICS AND READINGS

(Readings preceded by an *asterisk are available on the class Moodle site.
NYT = New York Times. LAT = Los Angeles Times).

PART I

POLITICS AND POLICY ARE ABOUT VALUES AND CHOICES

Personal Values (Tuesday, January 21)

"Looking for Housing" exercise

Social Choices (Thursday, January 23)

Kozol, Savage Inequalities (entire book)

*Bernstein, "Is Education the Cure for Poverty?" (American Prospect, April 2007)

"Sicko" (Monday, January 27)

I will be showing this film in Weingart 117 at 7 pm. You can also watch it on your own time. (It is on reserve in the library. Just make sure you see it before the January 30 class. If you've already seen it, see it again, looking at it from the perspective of YOYO vs. WITT. Likewise, when reading the articles, consider how YOYO and WITT perspectives shape views about health care and housing/banking.

Two Approaches to Public Policy: YOYO vs. WITT (Tuesday, January 28)

Bernstein, All Together Now (entire book)

Health Care: YOYO vs WITT (Thursday, January 30)

Watch: This 5-minute video, from February 19, 2009. This "rant" about mortgages is considered the beginning of the Tea Party movement:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jiCOB49vVVM>

*Leland, "When Health Insurance is Not a Safeguard" (NYT, Oct. 23, 2005)

*Begley, "The Myth of the Best in the World" (Newsweek, March 22, 2008)

*Parker-Pope, "Tackling a Racial Gap in Breast Cancer Survival" (NYT, December 20, 2013)

*Leonhardt, "Opposition to Health Law Is Steeped in Tradition" (NYT, Dec. 14, 2010)

*Alter, "Health Care as a Human Right" (Newsweek, August 31, 2009)

*Reid, "5 Myths About Health Care Around the World" (Washington Post, August 23, 2009)

- *Hartman, "Don't like 'Obamacare'? Republicans say 'Elect Us'" (The Ticket, March 23, 2011)
- *Ward, "Obamacare to the Rescue" (LAT, December 6, 2011)
- *Lapidos, "Sabotaging Health Care, One Lie at a Time" (NYT, September 23, 2013)
- *Gawande, "States of Health" (New Yorker, October 7, 2013)
- *Moore, "The Obamacare We Deserve" (NYT, December 31, 2013)

PART II

URBAN PLANNING AND LIVABLE CITIES

Different Views About Cities (Tuesday, February 4)

- *Aronovici, "Housing Reformer Carol Aronovici Calls for Suburban Planning, 1914" (in Nicolaidis and Wiese, eds., The Suburb Reader)
- *Glaeser, "Our Urban Species" (from Glaeser, The Triumph of the City, 2011)
- *Sampson, "Placed" (from Great American City, 2013, pages 3-13)
- *Jackson, "Once Again, the City Beckons" (NYT, March 30, 2001)
- *Kotkin, "Urban Legends: Why Suburbs, Not Cities, are the Answer," (Foreign Policy, August 2010).
- *Stiglitz, "The Wrong Lesson From Detroit's Bankruptcy" (NYT, August 11, 2013)
- *Connor and Smith, "Imagine: If Mayor de Blasio Really Were a Socialist" (Truthout, January 2, 2014)

What Makes Cities Livable? (Thursday, February 6)

- *Lennard and Lennard, "Principles of True Urbanism" (2005)
- *Dreier, "The United States in Comparative Perspective" (Contexts, August 2007)
- *Reid, "The European Social Model" (in The United States of Europe, 2004)
- *Khazan, "The Secret to Finland's Success With Schools, Moms, Kids—and Everything" (Atlantic, July 11, 2013)
- *Hall, "How Foreign Cities Cope" (The World & I, June 1991)
- *"Toronto and Detroit" (Economist, May 19, 1990)
- *Greenhouse, "Why Paris Works" (NYT, July 19, 1992)
- *Ibrahim, "To French, Solidarity Outweighs Balanced Budget" (NYT, Dec. 20, 1995)
- *Smeeding, "The Poverty Quagmire" (Washington Post, Dec. 21, 2003)
- *Francis, "It's Better to be Poor in Norway Than in the US" (Christian Science Monitor, April 14, 2005).
- *Johansen, "Scandinavia Gets Serious on Global Warming" (Progressive, July 2007)
- *Rosenthal, "In German Suburb, Life Goes On Without Cars" (NYT, May 12, 2009)
- *Walljasper, "Denmark: What Works?" (Nation, January 26, 1998)
- *Selvin, "The View From the European Bus" (LAT, Aug. 15, 1999)

Urban Planning: The Built Environment (Tuesday, February 11)

Film: "The Social Life of Small Urban Spaces"

*Lennard and Lennard, "The Genius of the European Square"

*Jacobs, "The Uses of Sidewalks: Safety" and "The Uses of Sidewalks: Contacts" (from Jacobs, The Death and Life of Great American Cities)

*Bloomekatz, "Backlog of Broken Sidewalks" (LAT, Nov. 28, 2011)

*Gish, "Challenging the Myth of an Unplanned Los Angeles" (in Sloan, ed., Planning Los Angeles, 2012)

*Davis, "Fortress LA" (from City of Quartz)

*Avent, "One Path to Better Jobs: More Density in Cities" (NYT, September 3, 2011)

*Owen, "Green Manhattan" (The New Yorker, October 18, 2004)

<http://www.davidowen.net/files/green-manhattan.pdf>

*Kunstler, "Home From Nowhere" (The Atlantic, September 1996)

*Lerner, "How Urban Planning Can Improve Public Health" (Pacific Standard, April 28, 2010)

*Speck, "Making Better Places: Ten City Design Resolutions" (Planetizen, January 10, 2005)

Urban Planning: Whose City? (Thursday, February 13)

*Medina, "Los Angeles Neighborhood Tries to Change, but Avoid the Pitfalls" (NYT, August 17, 2013) [Read the article and watch the 3-minute video]

http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/18/us/los-angeles-neighborhood-tries-to-change-but-avoid-the-pitfalls.html?nl=todaysheadlines&emc=edit_th_20130818&r=0

*Gudrais, "Disrupted Lives" (Harvard Magazine, January/February 2014)

*McDonald, "The Reclamation of Skid Row" (City Journal, August 2007)

*Fainstein, "Planning and the Just City" (in Marcuse, ed., Searching for the Just City: Debates in Urban Theory and Practice, 2009)

*Krueckeberg, "The Difficult Character of Property: To Whom Do Things Belong?" (APA Journal, Summer 1995)

*Silver, "The Racial Origins of Zoning in American Cities" (from In the Shadows: Urban Planning & the African American Community, 1997)

*Ritzdorf, "Locked Out of Paradise" (from In the Shadows: Urban Planning & the African American Community, 1997)

*Burden, "Jane Jacobs, Robert Moses & City Planning Today" (Gotham Gazette, Nov. 6, 2006)

*Fishman, "The Mumford-Jacobs Debate" (Planning History Studies, 10 (1-2), n.d.)

*Janis, "Special Attention Paid to 'Special Interests'" (LA Business Journal, August 9, 2010)

*Krumholz and Clavel, "Denver: Interview with Billie Bramhall" (from Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell Their Stories, 1994)

*Krumholz and Clavel, "Portland: Interview with Margaret Strachan" (from Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell Their Stories, 1994)

How National Policy Shapes Cities (Tuesday, February 18)

Watch the film "Urbanized" before coming to class. It is on reserve in the Library.

Nivola, Laws of the Landscape (entire book)

Federal Urban Policy and its Consequences (Thursday, February 20)

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters (3rd edition)

Chapter 4, "The Roads Not Taken: How Government Policies Promote Economic Segregation and Suburban Sprawl"

Chapter 5, "From FDR to Obama: A Brief History of Federal Urban Policy"*

*Warner, "Evolution and Transformation: The American Industrial Metropolis, 1840-1940" (from LeGates and Stout, eds., The City Reader, 2011)

*Saltzstein, "The Social and Economic Structure of American Cities" (from Governing Urban Areas, 2003)

*Mohl, "Planned Destruction: The Interstates and Central City Housing" (In Baumann, et al., From Tenements to the Taylor Homes)

*Dreier and Rothstein, "Seismic Stimulus: The California Quake's Creative Destruction" (American Prospect, Summer 1994)

*Dreier, "Katrina and Power in America" (Urban Affairs Review, March 2006)

*Cooper, "Cities Face Tough Choices as U.S. Slashes Block Grants Program" (NYT, Dec. 21, 2011)

*Cooper, "Few Cities Have Regained Jobs They Lost, Report Finds" (NYT, Jan. 18, 2012)

Assignment: Go to the National Priorities Project website (<http://nationalpriorities.org>). This website examines the impact of federal spending priorities on states, cities, and communities. Go to the Tradeoffs page (<http://www.nationalpriorities.org/tradeoffs>) and the Cost of War page (http://www.nationalpriorities.org/costofwar_home) and look up your state, your city or town, and your Congressional district. Bring with you to class your findings about how federal spending impacts where you live.

PART III
THREE MAJOR FACTORS SHAPING URBAN LIFE:
INEQUALITY, RACISM, AND SUBURBANIZATION

Inequality and Poverty

“Heist” (Monday, February 24)

I will be showing this film at 7 pm in Weingart 117. It focuses on the reasons for the nation’s widening inequality and especially the role that Wall Street has played. You can also watch in on your own time; the library has a copy on reserve. Just make sure you see it before the February 25 class.

The Magnitude of Inequality (Tuesday, February 25)

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters

Preface

Chapter 1 – “Place Still Matters”

Chapter 2 – “The Facts of Economic Segregation and Sprawl”

- *Mohan, “Though Far from Poor, A Family Struggles Daily” (LAT, May 18, 2004)
- *Sing, “Families Strain to Make Do, Study Finds” (LAT, Sept. 28, 2005)
- *Gladstone and Fainstein, “The New York and Los Angeles Economies from Boom to Crisis” (in Halle and Beveridge, eds., New York and Los Angeles, 2013)
- * Obama, “Remarks by the President on Economic Mobility” (December 4, 2013)
- *Wilkenson and Pickett, “The Spirit Level: Why Greater Equality Makes Societies Stronger” (Poverty & Race, May/June 2010)
- *Popper, “Income Divide Grows in the US” (LAT, Dec. 6, 2011)
- *Miller, “Wealthiest Angelenos: Fortunes Favorite” (LA Business Journal, May 28, 2007)
- *Surowiecki, “Soak the Very, Very Rich” (New Yorker, August 16/23, 2010)
- *Frank, “The Rising Treshold for Being in America’s Top 1%” (Wall Street Journal, October 11, 2010)
- *Frank, “Is There an Optimal Rich Poor Gap?” (Wall Street Journal, Nov. 8, 2010)
- *“Middle Class in America” (Focus, Summer 2010)
- *Making Ends Meet: How Much Does It Cost to Raise a Family in California? (California Budget Project, June 2010) - just read pages 1-14 and 19.

The Magnitude of Poverty (Thursday, February 27)

Watch: Before coming to class watch the film, “The Pruitt-Igoe Myth: An Urban History”

- *Colin and Bernstein, “Working and Poor” (Business Week, May 31, 2004)
- *Lopez, “Buses are Their Route to a Better Future” (LAT, December 18, 2013)
- *“Mis-measuring Poverty” (American Prospect, September 2009)
- *DeParle, Gebeloff and Tavernise, “Older, Suburban and Struggling, ‘Near Poor’ Startle

the Census" (NYT, Nov. 18, 2011)

*El Nasser, "Suburbs Grass Isn't Always Greener" (USA Today, October 18, 2004)

*Kaufman, "Time to Take on Concentrated Poverty and Education" (The Nation, February 1, 2013)

*Berube, "Concentrated Poverty in America: An Overview" (from The Enduring Challenge of Concentrated Poverty in America, Federal Reserve System and the Brookings Institution, 2008, pages 3-15 only)

*Egan, "Good Poor, Bad Poor" (NYT, December 22, 2013)

*Ehrenreich, "Too Poor to Make the News" (NYT, June 14, 2009)

*DeParle, "Harder for Americans to Rise From Lower Rungs" (NYT, January 4, 2012)

*Bohan, "In an election year, Republicans join the debate on poverty" (Fiscal Times, January 9, 2014)

*Stevens and Page, "War on Poverty – It's Not a Lost Cause" (LAT, January 8, 2014)

*"Poverty Thresholds - 2013"

<http://aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/13poverty.cfm#thresholds>

*"Number in Poverty and Poverty Rate: 1959 to 2012" (chart)

<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/incpovhlth/2012/figure4.pdf>

*"Poverty Rates by Age: 1959 to 2012" (chart)

<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/incpovhlth/2012/figure5.pdf>

*"People and Families in Poverty by Selected Characteristics: 2011 and 2012" (table)

<http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/poverty/data/incpovhlth/2012/table3.pdf>

The Consequences of Poverty and Inequality (Tuesday, March 4)

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters

Chapter 3 – "The Costs of Economic Segregation and Sprawl"

*Davey, "In a Soaring Homicide Rate, a Divide in Chicago" (NYT, January 2, 2013)

*Epstein, "Ghetto Miasma: Enough To Make You Sick?" (NYT, Oct. 12, 2003)

*Little, "Not in Whose Backyard?" (NYT, Sept. 2, 2007)

*Noble, "Study Shows a Big Asthma Risk for Children in Poor Neighborhoods" (NYT, July 27, 1999)

*Polakovic, "Latinos, Poor Live Closer to Sources of Air Pollution" (LAT, October 18, 2001)

*Sahagun and Orr, "Ailments Diminish, Air Improvements are Notable After Oil Field Closes" (LAT, January 11, 2014)

*Rosenblatt, "Minority Women in LA Found to have Higher Rates of Chronic Disease" (LAT, May 24, 2007)

*Rothstein, "The Urban Poor Shall Inherit Poverty" (American Prospect, January/February 2014)

*Turner, "Place Matters Even More than We Thought: New Insights on the Persistence of Racial Inequality" (PPRAC, July/August 2013)

- *Burtless, "What Have We Learned About Poverty and Inequality? Evidence from Cross-National Analysis" (Focus, No. 1, 2007)
- *Ladd and Fiske, "Class Matters. Why Don't We Admit It?" (NYT, Dec. 12, 2011)
- *Lu, "Hunger a Growing Problem in Suburbs" (NYT, March 23, 2004)
- *Barboza, "Rampant Obesity, a Debilitating Reality for the Urban Poor" (NYT, Dec. 26, 2000)
- *Lyderson, "Making Food Deserts Bloom" (Shelterforce, Summer 2008)
- *Brooks-Gunn and Duncan, "The Effects of Poverty on Children" (The Future of Children, Summer/Fall 1997, pages 55-68)
- *Rothstein, "Class and the Classroom" (American School Board Journal, October 2004)
- *Finder, "As Test Scores Jump, Raleigh Credits Integration by Income" (NYT, Sept. 25, 2005)

Segregation and Racism

Racial Segregation (Thursday, March 6)

- *Sugrue, "No Right More Elemental" (from Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North, 2008, pages 200-250)
- *Massey and Denton "The Construction of the Ghetto" (from American Apartheid, Chapter 2)
- *Kotz, "Uncivil Rights" (Review of *When Affirmative Action Was White*, NYT, Aug. 28, 2005)
- *Ellen, "Continuing Isolation: Segregation in America Today" (in Carr and Kutty, eds., Segregation, 2008)
- *Logan and Stults, "Racial and Ethnic Separation in the Neighborhoods: Progress at a Standstill" (Brown University, December 2010)
- *"Figure 2-1a: Distribution of Households Within One Hypothetical Metropolitan Area With High Segregation and One With Low Segregation" (U.S. Census Bureau, Residential and Ethnic Residential Segregation in the United States: 1980-2000, August 2002) (graph)

Spring Break – March 10-14

Racial Prejudice and Discrimination (Tuesday, March 18)

- *"Study: It Helps To Have a White Name" (Associated Press, January 14, 2003)
- *Kristof, "Study Alleges Racial Bias in Auto Rates" (LAT, Dec. 20, 2005)
- *Kelley, "Statistics Lend Support to Claims of Profiling" (LAT, Sept. 23, 2001)
- *Peterson, "Racial Gap in Loans is High in State" (LAT, Sept. 29, 2005)
- *Bajaj and Fessenden, "What's Behind the Race Gap?" (NYT, Nov. 4, 2007)

- *Patterson, "The Paradox of Integration" (New Republic, November 6, 1995)
- *Thernstrom and Thernstrom, "We Have Overcome" (New Republic, Oct. 13, 1997)
- *Brownstein and Simon, "Hospitality Turns into Hostility" (LAT, Nov. 14, 1993)
- *Gilens, "Race and Poverty in America" (Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter 1996)
- *Smith and Cloud, "Welcome to the Neighborhood? The Persistence of Discrimination and Segregation" (in Hartman and Squires, eds., The Integration Debate: Competing Futures for American Cities, 2010)
- *Galster and Godfrey, "By Words and Deeds: Racial Steering by Real Estate Agents in the U.S." Journal of the American Planning Association, Summer 2005) - skim
- *Williams, "Health and the Quality of Life Among African Americans" (Daniels, ed., The State of Black America: 2004, National Urban League, 2004)
- *Martino and Bensman, "Regular Work in an Irregular Economy" (American Prospect, September 2008)
- *Echaveste, "African Americans and Immigrants" (American Prospect, September 2008)
- *Cole, "Getting Past 'Tough on Crime'" (NY Review of Books, August 14, 2013)
- **Profiting from Poverty: How Payday Lenders Strip Wealth from the Working Poor* (National Peoples Action January 2012)

The Many Faces of Segregation and Integration (Thursday, March 20)

- *Two Tables: Public Opinion of Whites on School and Neighborhood Integration
- *Cater, "Not Just Black and White: Oak Park, Ill. Grapples With Questions of Diversity" (In These Times, March 18, 2002)
- *Wilkerson, "One City's 30-Year Crusade for Integration" (NYT, Dec. 30, 1991)
- *Scott, "Rethinking Segregation Beyond Black and White" (NYT, July 29, 2001)
- *Connell, Smith and Watanabe, "Local Suburbs More Diverse" (LAT, December 9, 2008)
- *Ramos, "Latino Middle Class Growing in Suburbia" (LAT, Nov. 30, 1997)
- *Chowkwanyun and Segall, "The Rise of the Asian Majority Suburb" (The Atlantic, August 24, 2012)
- *Benjamin, "Refugees of Diversity" (American Prospect, October 2009)
- *Goldstein, "Shaking Up Suburbia" (American Prospect, August 2009)
- *Spriggs, "The Economic Crisis in Black and White" (American Prospect, September 2008)
- *Pitts, "Unionization and Black Workers" (American Prospect, September 2008)

Suburbanization and Sprawl

A Suburban Nation (Tuesday, March 25)

- *"Flee the City" (Cartoon)
- *Jackson, "The Drive-In Culture of Contemporary America" (from Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States, 1985)

- *Glaeser, "Why Has Sprawl Spread?" (in Glaeser, The Triumph of the City, 2011)
- *Dittmar, "Sprawl: The Automobile and Affording the American Dream" (in Schor and Taylor, eds., Sustainable Planet: Solutions for the Twenty-First Century, 2002)
- *Fulton and Shigley, "The Inland Empire Strikes Back" (Planning, February 2002)
- *Gold, 'Inland Empire Pays Price for Housing Crisis' (LAT, May 20, 2002)
- *Danielson, "Suburban Autonomy" (from The Politics of Exclusion, 1976)
- *Hayden, "Planning Suburban-Style Development" (from Building Suburbia, 2003)
- Wilson, "Developers Are Putting Southland's Last Dairy Farmers Out to Pasture" (LAT, May 27, 2002)
- *Lyman, "Living Large, by Design, in Middle of Nowhere" (NYT, Aug. 15, 2005)
- *Fulton, "Welcome to Sales Tax Canyon" (from The Reluctant Metropolis, 1997)

Smart Growth and Regionalism (Thursday, March 27)

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters

Chapter 8 – "Regionalisms Old and New"

- *Magi, "Beyond Sprawl: Part I" (Next American City, January 5, 2011)
- *Leinberger, "The Death of the Fringe Suburb" (NYT, Nov. 25, 2011)
- *Mazingo, "To Rethink Sprawl, Start with Offices" (NYT, Nov. 25, 2011)
- *Cooper, "Smart Growth" (from CQ Researcher, Urban Issues, 3rd edition, 2007)
- *Hernandez, "Making green housing affordable" (Al Jazeera, April 27, 2013)
- *Sheehan, "What Will It Take to Halt Sprawl?" (WorldWatch, Jan/Feb 2002)
- *Kirp, "Here Comes the Neighborhood" (NYT, October 20, 2013)
- *Smothers, "City [Memphis] Seeks to Grow By Disappearing" (NYT, October 18, 1993)
- *Cone, "Southland Smog Levels Are Lowest in 4 Decades" (LAT, October 21, 1995)
- *Barringer, "California Moves on Bill to Curb Sprawl and Emissions" (NYT, August 28, 2008)
- *Biron, "US Cities Joining Push to Dump Fossil Fuel Investments" (Truth-out, April 27, 2013)

PART IV:

URBAN POLITICS AND POLICY CHOICES

Power and Politics

City Finances (Tuesday, April 1)

Watch: "The New Los Angeles" on your own in the Library before this class. Compare how power is exercised in Los Angeles. Who are the key players?

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Chapter 6 – "City Limits: City Limits: What Can Motown Teach Us About

Wealth, Poverty and Municipal Finance?"

- *Swanstrom, "The Politics of Default" (Swanstrom, The Crisis of Growth Politics, 1985)
- *Hiltzik, "The Boeing Vote and the Death of the Middle Class" (LAT, January 5, 2014)
- *Fiscal Stress Faced by Local Governments (Congressional Budget Office, Dec. 2010)
- *City of Los Angeles, 2013-2014 Budget Summary (Skim this document to learn what functions is the city of LA responsible for, where does the money come from, and where does the money go): <http://cao.lacity.org/budget/summary/2013-14BudgetSummaryBooklet.pdf>
- *Zahniser, Saillant, and Finnegan, "LA is Facing a Grim Future, Panel Says" (LAT, January 9, 2014)

Who Rules Cities? (Thursday, April 3)

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Chapter 7 – "Urban Politics Matters: Progressive, Liberal and Conservative Cities"

- *Dreier and Pitcoff, "I'm a Tenant and I Vote: New Yorkers Find Victory in Rent Struggle" (Shelterforce, July/August 1997)
- *McGreevy, "Alleged Slumlords Donated to Delgadillo" (LAT, Oct. 26, 2005)
- *Dreier, "Radicals in City Hall: An American Tradition" (Dissent, December 19, 2013)
- *Davidson, "Why Mayors Can't Combat Income Inequality" (NYT, December 1, 2013)
- *Cohen, "Step Aside, New York City. Los Angeles's Populism Is for Real: City to Consider the Highest Minimum Wage in the Country" (New Republic, January 13, 2014)
- *Meyerson, "LA Story" (American Prospect, August/September 2013)
- *Meyerson, "Dan Cantor's Machine" (American Prospect, January/February 2014)
- *Bruck, "The Man Who Owns L.A." (New Yorker, January 16, 2012)
- *Hames, "Connections Are Key to Valley Most Powerful Person: David Fleming" (San Fernando Valley Business Journal, December 10, 2007)
- *Zahniser, "LA Mayor Lines Up Donors for Favorite Causes" (LAT, Dec. 18, 2007)
- *Helfand and Zahniser, "Fight Over LA Agency Official Reflects Gentrification Tensions" (LAT, December 19, 2007)
- *Walker, "Los Angeles: Questions Arise over Giving Greater Role to Neighborhood Councils" (The Argonaut, January 10, 2008)

Housing and Banking

The Banking Crisis, Foreclosures, and Homeownership (Tuesday, April 8)

Video: "Mo' Money, Mo' Money, Mo' Money: How Greedy Corporations Destroy the American Dream" (Watch this 9-minute video before class:

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tWEdtVnSWQg&feature=youtu.be>

- **From Foreclosure to Re-Redlining: How America's Largest Financial Institutions Devastated California Communities* (California Reinvestment Coalition, 2010) – just read the Executive Summary and skim the rest
- **Home Wreckers: How Wall Street Foreclosures Are Devastating Communities (Re-Fund California, 2011)* -- just skim this report
- *Murphy, "A Homecoming and a Home Lost" ([LA Times](#), August 11, 2011)
- *Atlas and Dreier, "The Conservative Origins of the Sub-Prime Mortgage Crisis" ([American Prospect](#), Dec. 18, 2007)
- *Becker, Stolberg, and Labaton, "White House Philosophy Stoked Mortgage Bonfire" ([NYT](#), December 21, 2008)
- *Wright, "The Assault on the Black Middle Class" ([American Prospect](#), June 2009)
- *Kaufmann, "The Silent Depression" ([Nation](#), Sept. 25, 2009)
- *Ruiz, "Not With My Home" ([American Prospect](#), June 2011)
- *Savage, "Justice Dept. Opens Front Against Bias In Lending" ([NYT](#), Jan 14, 2010)
- *Krugman, "Home - Not-so-Sweet Home" ([NYT](#), June 23, 2008)
- *Marcuse, "The Housing Change We Need" ([Shelterforce](#), November 2008)
- *Acharya, Richardson, Nieuwerburgh and White, "White Picket Fences? Not So Fast" ([NYT](#), Aug. 17, 2011)
- *Steinhauer, "A Cul-de-Sac of Lost Dreams, and New Ones" ([NYT](#), Aug 23, 2009)
- *Kudlow, "More Foreclosures Will Solve Housing" ([National Review](#), March 29, 2010)
- *Reich, "Moral Hazard" (September 7, 2007)
- *Sherter, "Banks Are Stealing Homes: Why Won't Obama Stop It?" (CBS News, Oct. 14, 2010)
- *Dreier, "To Rescue Local Economies, Cities Seize Underwater Mortgages Through Eminent Domain" ([The Nation](#), July 12, 2013)
- *Dewan, "Eminent Domain: A Long Shot Against Blight" ([NYT](#), January 11, 2014)

Is Housing a Right or a Privilege? - Homelessness and Renters' Rights (Thursday, April 10)

- *Salins, "Toward a Permanent Housing Problem" ([The Public Interest](#), Fall 1986).
- *Stone, "Social Housing" (in Bratt, Stone and Hartman, eds., [A Right to Housing](#), 2006)
- *Grabar, "The Rent is Still Too Damn High!" ([Salon](#), January 4, 2014)
- *"LA: Out of Reach in 2012" (SCANPH)
- *"What Do You Mean By Affordable?" (Livable Places)
- *Breidenbach, "LA Story" and "What We Won" ([Shelterforce](#), March/April 2002)
- *Dellinger, "Two Veteran Community Organizers Tackle LA's Burgeoning Rental Housing Crisis" ([The Tidings](#), January 18, 2008)
- *Archibold, "Problem of Homelessness in Los Angeles and Its Environs Draws Renewed Calls for Attention" ([NYT](#), January 15, 2006)

- *Mangano and Blasi, "Stuck on Skid Row" (LAT, October 29, 2007)
- *Orlov, "Protestors Erect Tent City in Front of LA City Hall" (LA Daily News, April 13, 2007)
- *DiMassa, "Crowded Out by Luxury Lofts, Poor Seek Relief" (LAT, Oct. 12, 2005)
- *DiMassa, "1-Year Ban OK'd on Loft Conversions" (LAT, May 11, 2006)
- *Ramos, "A Bitter Year for Victims of Collapse" (LAT, December 29, 2001)
- *Fears, "Angry Tenants Protest Lack of Enforcement of Slum Laws" (LAT, March 19, 1999)
- *Renwick, "Fed-Up Tenants Take Over" (LAT, August 15, 1994)
- *Hyman, "Activists Press Council for Affordable Housing Law" (LAT, June 5, 2005)
- *Lopez, "No Words, No Sign of a Heart From Developer" (LAT, December 6, 2006)
- *Scott, "Lawsuit Ruling Put Housing Plan in Question" (LA Downtown News, 7/24/09)

The Battle Over Jobs and Economic Development

What If Everyone Had a Job? Work and Welfare (Tuesday, April 15)

Watch this 2-minute video of Newt Gingrich: "Food Stamps vs. Pay Checks"

<http://mrctv.org/videos/gingrichobama-best-food-stamp-president-american-history>

Watch this 6-minute video about Evergreen Cooperatives: <http://blip.tv/episode/2769043>

- *Taub, "What If Everyone Had a Job?" (Shelterforce, Sept./Oct. 1996)
- *Bennet, "Mere Hint of Jobs Draws Crowd in Detroit" (NYT, Nov. 12, 1993)
- *Quigley, "Ten Examples of Welfare for the Rich and Corporations" (Huffington Post, January 14, 2014)
- *Sonn and Bernhardt, "Government Paves the Way: A Decent Work Agenda for the Obama Administration" (American Prospect, October 2009)
- *Meyerson, "Accelerating Measure R's Job Creation" (LAT, August 10, 2010)
- *Alperovitz, et al, "Asset-Building Comes of Age" (Shelterforce, April 2007)
- *Christopher, "Family Friendly Europe" (American Prospect, April 2002)
- *Gornick and Meyers, "Support for Working Families" (American Prospect, January 2001)
- *Lee, "State, Local Governments Take Action on Minimum Wage" (LAT, December 8, 2013)
- *Hanauer, "The Capitalist's Case for a \$15 Minimum Wage" (Bloomberg News, June 19, 2013)
- *Gertner, "What is a Living Wage?" (NYT, Jan. 15, 2006)
- *Malanga, "How the Living Wage Sneaks Socialism Into Cities" (City Journal, Winter 2003)
- *Mathews, "Labor Protest Targets Airport-Area Hotels" (LAT, Sept. 29, 2006)
- *Jones, "Business Groups Blast Living Wage Ordinance" (CNS News, Nov. 16, 2006)
- *Rainey, "L.A. Expected to Soon Debate Raising Minimum Wage for Hotel Workers"

(LAT, January 14, 2014)

**Economic Footprint of Unions in LA* (Economic Roundtable, 2007)

*Boots and Martinson, "A Modern Safety Net" (American Prospect, September 2009)

*Vanden Heuvel, "Putting Poverty on the Agenda Again" (The Nation, Jan. 16, 2011)

Green Jobs, Transportation, and Sustainable Development (Thursday, April 17)

Watch: "Who Killed the Electric Car?" before this class session.

Watch: "Don't Waste L.A. No More Deaths in Waste Facilities" (3 minutes)

<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hFRg0EFpYL0>

Film: "The Blue and Green Alliance" (8 minutes)

*Fitzgerald, "Help Wanted – Green" (American Prospect, January 2005)

*Wilson, "A Trade Boom's Unintended Costs" (LAT, April 23, 2006)

*Wilson, "Port Panels OK Plan to Cut Pollution" (LAT, Nov. 21, 2006)

*White and Wilson, "Opposition Grows to Ports' Clean-Air Plan" (LAT, Sept 29, 2007)

*Garrison and Mai-Duc, "LA Council Approves New Trash Plan" (LAT, November 15, 2012)

*Owens-Wilson, *Transforming Trash in Urban America* (Partnership for Working Families, 2013) – just read pages 106)

*"Can L.A. Find a Way to Create Local Jobs from Local Transit Projects?" (LAT, January 15, 2014)

*Johnson, "Mass Transit, Buy America, and the Economy" (National Journal, January 13, 2014)

*Billitteri, "Mass Transit Boom" (Chapter 6 in Urban Issues, 5th edition, 2011)

*Roosevelt, "To Go Green, Live Closer to Work" (LAT, Sept 21, 2007)

*Tumlin and Millard-Ball, "How to Make Transit-Oriented Development Work" (Planning, May 2003)

*Dreier and Steckler, "Not Just for the Gentry" (American Prospect, January 2005)

*"Who Rides the Bus?" (LAT, October 1994)

*Gross, "Getting There the Hard Way, Every Day" (LAT, July 16, 1995)

*Randolph, "Recession Squeeze on Buses and Trains" (NYTimes, Jan. 1, 2012)

*Shoup "The Free Market for Parking is Anything But Free" (StreetBlog.Org, Sept. 1, 2010)

Revitalizing Downtowns: Accountable Development (Tuesday, April 22)

*Teaford, "Urban Renewal and Its Aftermath" (Housing Policy Debate 11/2, 2000)

*Hines, "Housing, Baseball, and Creeping Socialism: The Battle of Chavez Ravine, Los Angeles" (Journal of Urban History, February 1982)

*Greenblatt and Clark, "Downtown Renaissance" (Chapter 8 in Urban Issues, 2010)

*Tabak, "Wild About Convention Centers" (Atlantic Monthly, April 1994)

- *DiMassa, "Mega-projects Could Reshape L.A. Growth" (LAT, December 13, 2006)
- *Rivera, "Staples Center's Displaced Have New Homes and New Worries" (LAT, Oct. 9, 1999)
- *Dreier, "Town versus Gown in Los Angeles" (New Labor Forum, Jan/Feb 2013)
- *Murray, "A Tale of Two Anaheims" (Shelterforce, Summer 2008)
- *Dreier, "Good Jobs, Healthy Cities" (American Prospect, October 2009)
- *Dreier, "Builders Clucking Like Chicken Little" (LAT, July 3, 2005)
- *Glionna, "Oakland's In-Your-Face Ads Invade San Francisco" (LAT, July 9, 2001)
- *Sowell, "Wal-Mart Growth is an Example of Free-Market Economics" (Pasadena Star-News, Dec. 15, 2003)
- *Lichtenstein, "Wal-Mart Tries To Go To Town" (American Prospect, May 2011)
- *Garrison, "LA Council Votes to Restrict Superstores" (LAT, Aug. 11, 2004)

People or Places? Rebuild or Dismantle the Ghetto? (Thursday, April 24)

- *Oppel, "Many Banks Making Money on Lending in Poor Areas" (NYT, Oct. 22, 1999)
- *Martin, "A Haven for Vendors" (LAT, Nov. 22, 1999)
- *Pacenza, "East Harlem's Bottom Line" (Shelterforce, September/October 2002)
- *Lazar, "Balancing Business and Mission" (Shelterforce, September/October 2002)
- *Lander, "Community Development as Freedom?" (Shelterforce, September/October 2002)
- *Samara and Chang, "Gentrifying Downtown Miami" (Urban Habitat, Spring 2008)
- *Serna, "Tenants Plus Land Trust Beat Gentrification" (Urban Habitat, Spring 2008)
- *Dreier and Moberg, "Moving From the Hood: the Mixed Success of Integrating Suburbia" (American Prospect, Winter 1996)
- *Engdahl and Tegeler, "Regional Housing Mobility: A Report from Baltimore" (Poverty & Race, November/December 2009)
- *Goetz, "The Reality of Deconcentration" (Shelterforce, November/December 2004)
- *Medina, "Subsidies and Suspicion" (NYT, August 11, 2011)

The Urban Future

A Policy Agenda for Urban America (Tuesday, April 29)

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters
Chapter 9 "Metropolitics for the 21st Century"

Cities in National Politics

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters
Chapter 10 – "Crossing the City Line: A Metropolitics for the 21st Century"