

**Professor Peter Dreier  
Spring 2003**

**TuTh 10-11:30 a.m.  
UEPI Seminar Room**

**URBAN & ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY (UEP) 301  
URBAN POLICY AND POLITICS**

**What This Course is About**

This is a seminar/discussion course about America's urban crisis -- and what we can do about it. It is also a course in policy analysis -- evaluating different public policies in terms of their effectiveness. It is also a course in American politics -- examining how political conflicts over ideas and interests influences policy regarding cities.

Following the civil disorder in Los Angeles in 1992, many politicians, candidates, journalists, business leaders, and philanthropists expressed growing concern about the "urban crisis." They held hearings, issued reports, wrote articles, and funded research about what caused it and what to do about it. Are other cities, like L.A., ticking time bombs, waiting to explode? Are the problems facing American cities -- poverty, homelessness, high levels of infant mortality, pollution, etc. -- 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 on a **policy memo**. Each student will pick an issue facing Americas cities and write a policy memo to a candidate running for mayor, governor, Congress, or President. The memo should address (a) the key trends and problems, (b) proposed policy solutions, making sure you identify which solutions are appropriate for the city, state, or federal government (depending on who is getting the memo) to address, (c) the political obstacles to getting these policies approved. The memo should be 10-15 pages long. It should not read like an academic term paper. Each section should have its major items written as short bullet points. Unlike a typical policy memo, however, you should have a bibliography page at the end. We will discuss the logistics of doing this paper in class. Each student should give me a short memo on Thursday, Feb. 13 identifying the **issue** you've selected and why you have done so. Each student should give me an outline of your policy memo, along with an annotated bibliography, on Thursday, March 27. The final paper is due on Thursday, May 1. You should use the websites listed below, as well as other sources, in doing the research for this assignment.

## **Required Readings**

### **Books to Purchase**

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

- o Kozol, Savage Inequalities
- o Dreier, Mollenkopf & Swanstrom, Place Matters: Metropolitcs for the 21st Century o
- Nivola, Laws of the Landscape
- o Massey & Denton, American Apartheid: Segregation & the Making of the Underclass
- o Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States
- o Krumholz and Clavel, Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell Their Stories

### **Web Readings**

Most of the readings for this source will be found on the website for UEP 301. You can get there by clicking on the following: <http://www.oxy.edu/departments/library/reserve.html>. The course readings to be found on the website are marked with an asterik (\*). 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.

### **Reports and Journals**

I will distribute free copies of several reports that are part of the required reading. These include reports on sprawl in Los Angeles (Sprawl Hits the Wall), on the income divide in Los Angeles (A Tale of Two Cities), on community development corporations (Corrective Capitalism), and on the federal Earned Income Tax Credit program (Rewarding Work). I will also distribute six issues of the journal, Housing Policy Debate (listed as HPD). We will read selected articles from this journal.

### **Films**

We probably won't have time to see more than one film this seminar. I would encourage you, however, to go to the Library and view some or all of the following films that are relevant to the topics in the course. I am showing some of these films in my Politics 208 course on Monday nights at 7 pm in Johnson 200 on the dates listed below. You are welcome to attend :

- "Hull House: The House that Jane Built" (documentary about the first wave of urban social reform at the turn of the 20th century) -- March 10
- "The Times of Harvey Milk" (documentary about the rise of gay politics in San Francisco) -- April 22
- "Bread and Roses" (feature film about the justice for janitors campaign in LA) - April 28
- "The Killing Floor" (feature film about the 1919 Chicago race riots)
- "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)
- "Holding Ground" (a documentary about community organizing in Boston)
- "Taken for a Ride" (a documentary about America's love affair with the automobile)
- "Home Economics" (a documentary about daily life in the LA suburbs)

### **Web Sites**

I hope that all of you will become familiar with the World Wide Web as a 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.

1. Moving Ideas Network (<http://www.movingideas.org>) -- This site is a link with dozens of organizations and publications that deal with public policy issues. It includes organizations such as the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, Economic Policy Institute, Public/Private Ventures, The American Prospect magazine, Center for Law and Social Policy, and others. It includes links to issues such as economics and politics, welfare and families, education, civic participation, and health policy.

2. Brookings Institution Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy (<http://www.brook.edu/dybdocroot/es/urban/urban.htm>). This is an outstanding research and policy center focusing on urban issues. The website is constantly being updated with new reports on a diversity of issues -- housing, transportation, welfare, banking, segregation, poverty, and other topics.

3. Community Organizing and Development (<http://comm-org.utoledo.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.

4. The Center for Neighborhood Technology (<http://www.cnt.org>), the National Housing Institute ([www.nhi.org](http://www.nhi.org)), 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.

5. The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development has its own web site (<http://www.hud.gov>) with information about its programs, policies, data bases, and many links. More useful for this course is HUD's Office of Policy Development & Research (<http://www.huduser.org>) which has 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.

### **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, 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, Challenge, and American Demographics.

## **TOPICS AND READINGS**

(Readings preceded by an \*asterisk are available on-line. Books are available in the Bookstore. Reports and journals will be distributed in class).

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

#### **PERSONAL VALUES AND SOCIAL CHOICES (Jan. 23 and Jan. 28)**

##### **Personal Values (Thurs., Jan. 23)**

"Looking for Housing" exercise

##### **Social Choices (Tues., Jan. 28)**

Kozol, Savage Inequalities (entire book)

#### **WHAT MAKES CITIES LIVEABLE? (Jan. 30; Feb. 4, 6 and 11)**

##### **Economic Conditions (Thurs., Jan 30)**

Downs, "The Challenge of Our Declining Big Cities" (HPD, 8/2, 1997) **B** skim for the basic points

\*Wilson, When Work Disappears (NY Times Magazine, August 18, 1996)

\*Verhovek, AA Shopping Institution Falls on Lean Times (LA Times, Dec. 29, 2003)

\*Kilborn, "Another Notch in the Decline of Main Street" (NY Times, November 4, 1993)

\*"Toronto and Detroit" (Economist, May 19, 1990)

\*Traub, No-Fun City (NY Times Magazine, Nov. 4, 2001)

\*Walljasper, "Denmark: What Works?" (Nation, January 26, 1998)

\*Greenhouse, "Why Paris Works" (NY Times Magazine, July 19, 1992)

##### **Optional:**

\*Morgenthau and McCormick, "Are Cities Obsolete?" (Newsweek, Sept. 9, 1991)

\*Walsh, Urban Pain, From Sea to Sea (NY Times, Sept 30, 2001)

\*Sigenbladh, "Stockholm" (Scientific American, September 1965)

\*Wolfe, "Canada's Liveable Cities" (Social Policy, Summer 1992)

##### **Social and Community Conditions (Tues., Feb. 4)**

\*Dogan and Kasarda, "Comparing Giant Cities" (The Metropolis Era: Mega-Cities, 1988)

\*Hall, "How Foreign Cities Cope" (The World & I, June 1991)

\*Ibrahim, "To French, Solidarity Outweighs Balanced Budget" (NY Times, Dec. 20, 1995)

\*Gecan, All Real Living is Meeting (from Michael Gecan, Going Public, 2002, pps 19-26)

\*Pierce, "A Universal Church of Immigrants" (Boston Globe, July 4, 1993)

\*Goldman, "A Hidden Advantage for Some Job Seekers" (LAT, Nov. 28, 1997)

\*Belluck, New Wave of the Homeless Floods Cities=Shelters (NY Times, Dec. 18, 2001)

\*Jordan, Branching Out: Neighborhood Libraries (Governing, October 2001)

##### **Optional:**

\*Tobar, "Housing Laws No Cure for Slums' Ills" (LAT, July 20, 1997)

\*Sheridan, Culture Club (Urban Land, April 2002)

\*Shirley, "Ysleta Elementary School" (from Community Organizing for Urban School Reform, 1997)

\*Kretzman, "Building Communities From the Inside Out" (Shelterforce, Sept./Oct. 1995)

- \*Blankstein and Winton, **A**13 Die in Four Days of Violence@(LA Times, Nov. 19, 2002)
- \*Butterfield, "Study Links Violence Rate to Cohesion of Community" (NYT, Aug. 17, 1997)
- \*@Serious Crimes Fall for 8<sup>th</sup> Consecutive Year@(NY Times, May 8, 2000)
- \*Butterfield, **A**Killings Increase in Many Big Cities@(NY Times , Dec 21, 2001)

### **Environmental Conditions (Thurs., Feb. 6)**

- \*Gowda, **A**Whose Garden Is It?@(Governing, March 2002)
- \*Polakovic, **A**Southland on Course to Reclaim US Smog Title@(LA Times, Sept. 26, 2001)
- \*Willon, "As Inland Empire Grows, Freeway Commute Slows" (LATimes, Oct. 30, 2001)
- \*Selvin, "The View From the European Bus" (LAT, Aug. 15, 1999)
- \*Simons, "Amsterdam Plans Wide Limit on Cars" (NYT, Jan. 28, 1993)
- \*Walters, **A**Urban Role Model: Christchurch, New Zealand@(Governing, October 2001)
- \*James, **A**Eco-cities **B** the Next Swedish Export@(Planning, May 2002)
- \*Dillon, "Mexico City Spawns Suburbs, Changing Face of Countryside" (NYT, Dec. 18, 1999)

Optional:

- \*Firestone, "Suburban Comforts Thwart Atlanta's Plans to Limit Sprawl" (NYT, Nov. 21, 1999)
- \*Templin, "Caution: School Zone is a Bumper-to-Bumper Jam" (Wall Street Journal, Nov. 22, 1999)
- \*Shogren, **A**Sprawl Adds to Drought, Study Says@(LA Times, August 29, 2002)
- \*Egan, "The Freeway, Its Cost, and 2 Cities' Destinies" (NY Times, July 14, 1999)

### **Politics, Public Policies and Planning (Tues, Feb. 11)**

Nivola, Laws of the Landscape (entire book)

## **II. THREE MAJOR FACTORS SHAPING URBAN LIFE: INEQUALITY, RACISM, AND SUBURBANIZATION**

### **INEQUALITY: WEALTH, POVERTY AND ECONOMIC RESTRUCTURING**

#### **The Magnitude of Inequality and Poverty (Thurs., Feb.13)**

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Preface; Chapters 1 and 2)

*A Tale of Two Cities: Promise and Peril in Los Angeles* (United Way of Greater LA report, 2002) - **skim**

- \*Krugman, **A**For Richer@(NYTimes Magazine, October 20 2002)
- \*Smeeding and Gottschalk, "Cross-National Income Inequality: How Great Is It and What Can We Learn From It?" (Focus, Summer/Fall 1998)
- \*Smeeding, Rainwater, and Burtless, "U.S. Poverty in Cross-National Perspective" (Focus, Spring 2001)
- \*Wolff, "The Rich Get Richer...And Why the Poor Don't" (American Prospect, Feb. 12, 2001)
- \*Bergmann, "Deciding Who's Poor" (Dollars & Sense, March/April 2000)
- \*Bhargava and Kurlansky, **A**Drawing the Line on Poverty@(Wash. Post Weekly, Sept 23, 2002)
- \*Hershey, "The Cost of Not Living on a \$5.15 Minimum" (NYTimes, Sept. 19, 2000)
- \*Hillburg, **A**Living Costs Make More Poor in LA@(LA Daily News, July 24, 2001)
- \*"2001 Poverty Guidelines" (chart)
- \*"Number of Poor and Poverty Rate: 1959-1999" (chart)
- \*"Share of Workers Earning Poverty-Level Wages, 1973-1999" (chart)
- \*"Share of Workers Earning Poverty-Level Wages, By Race/Ethnicity, 1973-2001" (chart)
- \*"Hourly and Weekly Earnings for Production and Non-Supervisory Workers, 1947-99" (table)
- \*"Minimum Wage and Average Hourly Wage" (table)
- \*"Annual Minimum Wage Earnings and the Poverty Level for a Family of Three" (chart)

\*"Value of the Minimum Wage, 1960-2001" (table)

**Optional:**

\*Madrack, **Economic Scene: Child Poverty**@(NY Times, June 12, 2002)

\*Weisman, **How Poor is Poor?**@(Washington Post National Weekly, Dec. 23, 2002)

\*Kilborn and Clemetson, **Gains of 90s Did Not Lift All, Census Shows**@(NY Times, June 5, 2002)

\*Bernstein, "Inequality: How the Gap Between Rich and Poor Hurts the Economy" (Business Week, August 5, 1994)

**The Spatial Concentration of Wealth and Poverty (Tues., Feb. 18)**

Abramson, Tobin, and VanderGoot, "The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Opportunity: The Segregation of the Poor in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970 to 1990," (HPD 6/1, 1995) -- skim the text, look closely at tables and figure out the basic points

Kasarda, "Inner-City Concentrated Poverty and Neighborhood Distress: 1970-1990" (HPD, 4/3, 1993)

\*Roberts, "Gap Between Rich and Poor in New York Grows Wider" (NY Times, Dec. 26, 1994)

\*Reich, "Secession of the Successful" (NY Times Magazine, Jan. 20, 1991)

\*Traub, "What No School Can Do" (NY Times Magazine, January 17, 2000)

**Consequences of Inequality and Poverty (Thurs., Feb. 20)**

Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Chapter 3)

\*Nieves, **In Famously Tolerant City, Impatience with Homeless**@(NYT, Jan. 18, 2002)

\*Marquis, "1 in 3 in L.A. Lacks Health Coverage, Study Says" (LA Times, Dec. 18, 1998)

\*Barboza, "Rampant Obesity, a Debilitating Reality for the Urban Poor" (NYT, Dec. 26, 2000)

\*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**@(LA Times, October 18, 2001)

\*Hamilton, "325 Dreams Shattered by Plant Closing" (LA Times, December 19, 1994)

\*Weiser, "When the Plant Closes" (Washington Post, January 10, 1994)

\*Buntin, **Murder Mystery**@(Governing, June 2002)

**RACISM AND SEGREGATION**

**The Creation of the Ghetto (Tues., Feb. 25)**

Massey and Denton, American Apartheid (entire book)

**Racial Prejudice and Institutional Racism (Thurs., Feb. 27)**

\*Gilens, "Race and Poverty in America: Public Misperceptions and the American News Media" (Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter 1996)

\*Shipler, "The White Niggers of Newark" (Harpers, August 1972)

\*Brownstein and Simon, "Hospitality Turns into Hostility" (LAT, Nov. 14, 1993)

\*Jones-Correa, **Immigrants in Cities**@& **Immigrants as Minorities**@(Governing American Cities, 2001)

\*Kelley, **Statistics Lend Support to Claims of Profiling**@(LAT, Sept. 23, 2001)

\*Nazario, "Hunger, High Food Costs Found in Inner-City Area" (LA Times, June 11, 1993)

\*Squires, "The Indelible Color Line" (American Prospect, Jan./Feb. 1999)

\*Kilborn, "Bias Worsens for Minorities Buying Homes" (NY Times, Sept. 16, 1999)

\*Hudson, "Going for Broke" (Washington Post, Jan. 10, 1993)

\*Murray, **Hunting the Predators**@(Nation, July 15, 2002)

Turner, "Discrimination in Urban Housing Markets" (HPD, 3/2, 1992)

**Optional:**

- \*Waldinger, **A**From Ellis Island to LAX: Immigrant Prospects in the City@(Int'l Migration Review, 1996)
- \*Turque, "Where the Food Isn't" (Newsweek, February 24, 1992)
- \*Kristoff, **A**Borrowers Pay Price of Predatory Lending@(LAT, Sept. 10, 2001)
- \*Pan, "Surveys Point to Racial Bias by Landlord" (LAT, Aug. 22, 1993)
- \*Henriques, **A**New Front Opens in Effort to Fight Race Bias in Loans@(NYT, Oct. 22, 2000)
- Finkel and Kennedy, "Racial/Ethnic Differences in Utilization of Section 8 Existing Rental Vouchers and Certificates" (HPD, 3/2, 1992, **pp. 463-467 only**)

**Is Residential Racial Integration Desirable or Possible? (Tues, March 4)**

- \*Cater, **A**Not Just Black and White: Oak Park, Ill. Grapples With Questions of Diversity@(In These Times, March 18, 2002)
- \*Massey and Fischer, "Where We Live, In Black and White" (Nation, Dec. 14, 1998)
- \*Salant, **A**Census: Metro Areas More Integrated@(Pasadena Star-News, Nov. 28, 2002)
- \*Two Tables: Public Opinion of Whites on School and Neighborhood Integration
- \*Funderburg, "Loving Thy Neighborhood" (Nation, Dec. 14, 1998)
- \*Wilkerson, "One City's 30-Year Crusade for Integration" (NYT, Dec. 30, 1991)
- \*Patterson, "The Paradox of Integration" (New Republic, November 6, 1995)
- \*Thernstrom and Thernstrom, "We Have Overcome" (New Republic, Oct. 13, 1997)
- \*Glazer, "A Tale of Two Cities" (New Republic, August 2, 1993)
- \*Ramos, "Latino Middle Class Growing in Suburbia" (LAT, Nov. 30, 1997)
- \*Scott, **A**Rethinking Segregation Beyond Black and White@(NYT, July 29, 2001)
- Turner, "Introduction: Achieving a New Urban Diversity" (HPD, 8/2, 1997)

**Optional:**

Nyden, Maly and Lukehart, "The Emergence of Stable Racially and Ethnically Diverse Urban Communities: Case Study of Nine U.S. Cities" (HPD, 8/2, 1997)

**SUBURBANIZATION, SPRAWL, AND METROPOLITAN FRAGMENTATION**

**The Push for Suburbanization (Thurs, March 6)**

- Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier (Intro, Chapters 2, 6-11)
- Sprawl Hits the Wall: Confronting the Realities of Metropolitan Los Angeles (report)* B skim
- \*"Flee the City" (Cartoon)
- \*Easterbrook, "The Suburban Myth: The Case for Sprawl" (New Republic, March 15, 1999)
- \*Kelley, "As Suburbs Change, They Still Satisfy" (LAT, Oct. 19, 1999)
- \*Conte, **A**Sudden City@(Governing, Nov. 2001)
- \*Wilson, **A**Developers Are Putting Southland's Last Dairy Farmers Out to Pasture@(LAT, May 27, 2002)
- \*Gold, **A**Inland Empire Pays Price for Housing Crisis@(LAT, May 20, 2002)
- \*Hirsch, **A**Ahmanson Ranch Protestors Turn Up the Heat on Sizzler Chairman@(LAT, Jan. 1, 2003)

**Optional:**

- \*Halper, "CDC Study on Suburban Life Hits a Nerve" (LA Times, Jan. 7, 2002)
- \*Sanchez, "LA County's Growth Spurt Pushes North" (LA Times, Nov. 23, 1999)
- \*Fulton and Shifley, "Operation Desert Sprawl" (Governing, August 1999)

**Who Pays for Sprawl and Fragmentation? (Tues., March 11)**

- \*Minerbrook, "Why a City Alone Cannot Save Itself" (U.S. News & World Report, Nov. 9, 1992)
- \*Glionna, **A**Oakland's In-Your-Face Ads Invade San Francisco@(LAT, July 9, 2001)
- \*Fulton, "Welcome to Sales Tax Canyon" (from The Reluctant Metropoli, 1997)
- \*Curtiss and Watson, "Desperate Cities Court Developers" (LA Times, Jan. 16, 1993)

- \*"San Marino: The Affluent Grapple with Low-Income Housing" (LA Times, June 14, 1993)
- \*Tempest, "In Marin County Plenty, a Poverty of Service Workers" (LA Times, Oct. 25, 1999)
- \*DeWitt, "Older Suburbs Struggle..." (NY Times, Feb. 26, 1995)
- \*Gross, "Getting There the Hard Way, Every Day" (LAT, July 16, 1995)
- \*"Let Them Drive Cars" (New Republic, March 20, 2000)
- \*Mason, "The Buses Don't Stop Here Anymore" (American Prospect, March/April 1998)

**Optional:**

- \*Stewart, "Burbank May Woo Company with \$250,000 Incentive" (LA Times, Dec. 9, 1993)
- \*Glastris, "A Tale of Two Suburbias" (U.S. News & World Report, Nov. 9, 1992)

**Regionalism and Smart Growth (Thurs., March 13)**

- Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Chapter 6)
- \*Downs, "What Does 'Smart Growth' Really Mean?" (Planning, April 2001)
- \*Sheehan, "What Will It Take to Halt Sprawl?" (WorldWatch, Jan/Feb 2002)
- \*Smothers, "City [Memphis] Seeks to Grow By Disappearing" (NY Times, Oct. 18, 1993)
- \*Greenblatt, "Anatomy of a Merger" (Governing, December 2002)
- \*Swope, "After the Mall" (Governing, October 2002)
- \*Barnett, "Turning Edge Cities into Real Cities" (Planning, November 2002)
- \*Fulton and Shigley, "The Inland Empire Strikes Back" (Planning, February 2002)
- \*Halper, "Starting to Think Outside the Big Box" (LA Times, April 29, 2002)
- \*Ehrenhalt, "The Great Wall of Portland" (Governing, May 1997)
- \*Staley, "The Crusade Against Sprawl will Drive Up the Cost of Housing" and Wilkie, "Limiting Sprawl Will Make Towns and Cities More Livable" (Commonwealth, Summer 1999)

**Optional:**

- \*Halper, "State Plans Offensive in Sprawl War" (LA Times, May 12, 2002)
- \*Gurwitt, "The State vs. Sprawl" (Governing, January 1999)
- \*Ehrenhalt, "The Czar of Gridlock" (Governing, May 1999)
- \*Rabinovitz, "Hard-Line Approach or Means for Survival?" (NY Times, March 25, 1996)
- \*"Two Views of the Commuter's Curse: Pataki ('Isn't It Obvious') and Fuchs ('The City Already Pays More than Its Fair Share')" (NY Times, May 22, 1998)
- \*"Handling Growth as a Region" (LAT, March 19, 1998)
- \*Cone, "Southland Smog Levels Are Lowest in 4 Decades" (LAT, October 21, 1995)
- Abbott, "The Portland Region" and comments by Richmond and Fischel (HPD, 8/1, 1997)

***SPRING BREAK B MONDAY, MARCH 17 TO FRIDAY, MARCH 21***

**III. GOVERNING CITIES: HOW CITIES COPE**

**How Federal Policy Has Shaped Cities and Metropolitan Areas (Tues., March 25)**

- Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Chapter 4)
- Hirsch, "Searching for a 'Sound Negro Policy,'" (HPD, 11/2, 2000).
- \*Wright, "Public Housing for the Worthy Poor" (from Building the Dream, 1981)
- \*Mohr, "The Industrial City" (Environment, June 1976)
- \*Halstead and Lind, "The National Debate Over School Funding Needs a Federal Focus" (LAT, Oct. 8, 2000)

**Who Runs Cities? Urban Power Structures and the Dilemma of Capital Mobility (Thurs., March 27)**

Dreier, Mollenkopf and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Chapter 5)

\*Domhoff, "The Corporate Community and Growth Coalitions" (Who Rules America?, 2000)

\*Reich, "The Bridgestone Tire Controversy" (from Locked in the Cabinet)

\*Bluestone and Harrison, "Boomtown and Bust-town" (The Deindustrialization of America, 1982)

\*Zaretsky, "Should Cities Pay for Sports Facilities?" (The Regional Economist/Federal Reserve Bank of St.Louis, April 2001)

\*Swanstrom, "The Politics of Default" (from The Crisis of Growth Politics)

\*Peterson, "Introduction" (from Peterson, ed., Big City Politics, Governance, and Fiscal Constraints, 1994)

**Optional:**

\*Rosentraub, "Testimony before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary on the *Stadium Financing and Franchise Relocation Act of 1999*," June 15, 1999.

\*Dreier, "The Vault Comes Out of the Shadows" (Boston Business Journal, Oct. 10, 1983)

\*Dreier, "Rent-a-Politician Exposed" (Shelterforce, 1981)

**Can Cities Be Progressive? B Limits and Potential of Urban Government (Tues., April 1)**

Krumholz and Clavel, Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell Their Stories (select and read four chapters)

\*Clairborne, "From Champion to Chief Critic of the Homeless" (Washington Post, Dec. 9, 1997)

\*Kolbert, "Six Million Short: How Will the Mayor Make Ends Meet?" (New Yorker, Jan. 13, 2003)

\*Mitchell, "Giuliani Administration Seeking Sharper Cuts in Health and Welfare Programs for the Poor" (NYT, Dec. 16, 1994)

\*Grunwald, "The Myth of the Supermayor" (American Prospect, Sept/Oct. 1998)

\*Dreier, "Urban Politics and Progressive Housing Policy: Ray Flynn and Boston's Neighborhood Agenda" (Keating, Krumholz, and Star, eds., Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods, 1996)

\*Mier and Moe, "Decentralized Development: From Theory to Practice" (from Harold Washington and the Neighborhoods, 1991)

\*Rath, "Grassroots: The Next Generation: BUILD and the Groups It's Inspired Remake Baltimore Politics from the Ground Up" (City Paper, June 15, 1999)

\*Dreier and Pitcoff, "I'm a Tenant and I Vote: New Yorkers Find Victory in Rent Struggle" (Shelterforce, July/August 1997)

\*Uchitelle, "Minimum Wages: City by City" (NY Times, Nov. 19, 1999)

\*Callahan, "Ballot Blocks: What Gets the Poor to the Polls?" (American Prospect, July/August 1998)

**Optional:**

\*Wimpey, "The Housing Agenda that Led to Victory" (Shelterforce, March/April 1992)

\*Nichols, "From Muckraker to Mayor" (The Nation on-line, Feb. 18, 2002)

\*Nichols, "Success in Santa Fe" (Shelterforce, March/April 1996)

\*Fine, "Building Community Unions" (Nation, January 1, 2001)

\*Kolker, "Dallas Mayor Gets Credit for Dispersing City's Cloud of Hate" (LA Times, April 13, 1999)

\*"Atlanta's Mayor Defies Threat to End Affirmative Action" (NY Times, July 16, 1999)

\*Munoz, "Mexican Americans and the Promise of Democracy: San Antonio Mayoral Elections" (from Peterson, ed., Big-City Politics, Governance, and Fiscal Constraints, 1994)

\*LaGanga, "Oakland Mayor...Jerry Brown" (LA Times Magazine, Nov. 4, 2001)

\*Gurwitt, "Black, White and Blurred" (Governing, Sept. 2001)

\*Brownstein, "Latinos Stir Tension in New Brand of Urban Politics" (LA Times, Nov. 26, 2001)

\*Goldsmith, "Competing for Better Government" (NY Times, Dec. 7, 2001)

**Los Angeles: Conservative, Liberal, or Progressive? (Thursday, April 3)**

- \*Johnson, Jones, Farrell, and Oliver, "The Los Angeles Rebellion: A Retrospective View" (Economic Development Quarterly, November 1992)
- \*Smith, "The Best Intentions: Why Rebuild LA Didn't" (LA Weekly, April 27, 1997)
- \*Newton, "LA's Inner Circle is Mostly Rich, Enormously Powerful" (LAT, Nov. 28, 1999)
- \*Newton, "Recovery Does Little to Help L.A. Homeless" (LAT, May 19, 1997)
- \*Cleeland, "Lives Get a Little Better on a Living Wage" (LAT, Feb. 7, 1999)
- \*Friedman and Meyerson, "What's Riordan Done for LA: Plenty or Precious Little?" (LAT, July 1, 2001)
- \*Newton, "Would-Be LA Mayors Do the Math for 2001" (LAT, Aug. 23, 1999)
- \*Candaele and Dreier, "LA's Progressive Mosaic" (Nation, August 21/28, 2000)
- \*Breidenbach, "LA Story" (Shelterforce, March/April 2002)
- \*Meyerson, "LA City Hesitates at Political Change" (NYT, June 8, 2001)
- \*Gold, "Hahn Hopes Tax Break Will Bring Small Business to LA" (LAT, August 1, 2000)
- \*Stewart, "Homeless May Be Sleepless if Law Passes" (LA Times, Dec. 26, 2002)

**Optional:**

- \*Jackson and Preston, "Race and Ethnicity in Los Angeles Politics" (from Peterson, ed., Big City Politics, Governance, and Fiscal Constraints, 1994)
- \*Rainey and Lacey, "Riordan's Budget Spares only LAPD" (LAT, Sept. 16, 1993)
- \*Baker, "How Many Will Die in County Cutbacks?" (LAT, July 16, 1993)
- \*Rohrlich, "Union's Fight with Hotel Reverberates Across LA" (LAT, Dec. 5, 1997)
- \*Meyerson, "Why Liberalism Fled the City...And How It Might Come Back" (American Prospect, March/April 1998)
- \*Goodno, "A New LA" (Urban Ecology, Autumn 2001)
- \*Holland, "A Municipal Perfect Storm: Secession" (LA Times, May 19, 2002)

**IV. GOVERNMENT POLICY CHOICES TO ADDRESS URBAN PROBLEMS**

**Is There a Housing Crisis? What Should Be Done? (Tuesday, April 8)**

- \*Salins, "Toward a Permanent Housing Problem," The Public Interest, Fall 1986.
- \*Dreier and Atlas, "Housing Policy's Moment of Truth" (American Prospect, Summer 1995)
- \*Nieves, "Homeless Defy Cities Drives to Move Them," (NY Times, December 7, 1999)
- \*Rivera, "The Growing Numbers and Problems of Women on Skid Row" (LAT, Nov. 15, 2001)
- \*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)
- \*Stewart, "Crackdown on Unsafe Housing Has Downside for Many Tenants" (LAT, Dec. 19, 2001)
- \*Renwick, "Fed-Up Tenants Take Over" (LAT, August 15, 1994)
- \*Husock, "We Don't Need Subsidized Housing" (City Journal, Winter 1997)
- \*Swope, "Subsidizing Blight" (Governing, May 2002)
- \*Venkatesh, "An Invisible Community: Inside Chicago's Public Housing" (American Prospect, Sept./Oct. 1997)
- \*DeParle, "In Booming Economy, Poor Still Struggle to Pay the Rent" (NYT, June 16, 1998)
- \*Cleeland, "Rents Are Rising in L.A.'s Blue-Collar Neighborhoods" (LAT, Dec. 24, 1998)
- \*Stewart, "LA Becoming a City of Renters" (LAT, Nov. 29, 2001)
- \*Hale, "Activists Protest Projects=Lack of Low-Income Units" (LAT, Feb. 18, 2001)

**Urban Renewal: Rebuilding Downtowns (Thurs., April 10)**

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

- \*Tabak, "Wild About Convention Centers" (Atlantic Monthly, April 1994)
- \*Applebome, "An Olympic Renewal? Atlanta's Big Question" (NY Times, October 9, 1994)
- \*Hayden, "A New Spin: `Rebuild LA' From the Top" (LAT, Jan. 5, 1999)
- \*Rivera, "Staples Center's Displaced Have New Homes and New Worries" (LAT, Oct. 9, 1999)

**Optional:**

- \*Clines, "In Pittsburgh, a Redevelopment Too Far?" (NY Times, May 2, 2000)
- \*Newton and Simers, "NFL Talks at Impasse Over Use of Public Funds" (LAT, Aug. 3, 1999)
- \*Schwartz and Barrett, "Can You Top This?" (Newsweek, Feb. 17, 1992)
- \*Schoenberger, "Bringing the Life Back to City's Heart" (LAT, Dec. 14, 1993)
- \*Lueck, "Giuliani Plans Inducements to Help Lower Manhattan" (NY Times, Dec. 16, 1994)

**Community Development: Bringing Private Investment and Jobs to the Ghetto (Tues., April 15)**

Peirce and Steinbach, *Corrective Capitalism: The Rise of America's Community Development Corporations* (Ford Foundation report, 1987)

\*Halpern, Introduction and Community Economic Development, Rebuilding the Inner City: A History of Neighborhood Initiatives in the United States

- \*Goozner, "The Porter Prescription" (American Prospect, May/June 1998)
- \*Gurwitt, Betting on the Bulldozer (Governing, July 2002)
- \*Howard, "Big Retailers Bet Big on the Inner City" (LAT, April 25, 2000)
- \*Fulton and Newman, "The Strange Career of Enterprise Zones" (Governing, March 1994)
- \*Wayne, "New Hope in Inner Cities: Banks Offering Mortgages" (NYT, March 14, 1992)
- \*Martin, "A Haven for Vendors" (LAT, Nov. 22, 1999)
- \*Cnaan, "Our Hidden Safety Net: Social and Community Work by Urban American Religious Congregations" (Brookings Review, Spring 1999)
- \*Walljasper, "When Activists Win: The Renaissance of Dudley Street" (The Nation, March 3, 1997)
- \*Belluck, "Blighted Areas Are Revived as Crime Rate Falls in Cities" (NYT, May 29, 2000)
- \*Stanfield, "City Slickers" (National Journal, July 19, 1997)

**Optional:**

- \*Oppel, "Many Banks Making Money on Lending in Poor Areas" (NYT, Oct. 22, 1999)
- \*Pasternack, "Chicago's Shorebank Earns Interest as Model for Rebirth" (LAT, Feb 22, 1993)

**Mobility: Escaping Inner City Neighborhoods (Thursday, April 17)**

Hughes, "A Mobility Strategy for Improving Opportunity" (HPD, 6, 1, 1995)

Turner, "Moving Out of Poverty" (HPD, 9/2, 1998)

Briggs, "Brown Kids in White Suburbs" (HPD, 9/1, 2000)

Rosenbaum, "Changing the Geography of Opportunity By Expanding Residential Choice" (HPD, 6/1, 1995)

\*Stanfield, "The Reverse Commute" (National Journal, Nov. 23, 1996)

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

\*Dreier and Moberg, "Moving From the 'Hood: The Mixed Success of Integrating Suburbia" (The American Prospect, Winter 1996)

\*Rockwell, "The Ghost of Gautreaux" (National Review, March 7, 1994)

\*Waldrom, "Parading Politicians Hear Critics of Housing Program" (Baltimore Sun, September 12, 1994)

\*Walljasper, A Fair Share in Suburbia (The Nation, Jan. 25, 1999)

**Welfare and Job Training (Tuesday, April 22)**

\*Krauthammer, "Pull the Plug on Welfare to Solve Poverty" (LA Times, Nov. 21, 1993)

\*Katz and Allen, Cities Matter (Brookings Review, Summer 2001)

- \*Edelman, "The True Purpose of Welfare Reform" (NY Times, May 29, 2002)
- \*Weil, "Ten Things Everyone Should Know about Welfare Reform" (Urban Institute, May 2002)
- \*"5 Years After Welfare Reform, Success Stuns Even Critics" (USA Today editorial, August 20, 2001)
- \*Rodgers, "Target Poverty, Not Welfare" (USA Today, August 20, 2001)
- \*Walters, "The Flip Side of Welfare Reform" (Governing, March 2002)
- \*Rivera, "Too Few Jobs May Imperil Welfare Reform Plan" (LA Times, May 20, 1998)
- \*"More People on Welfare After Years of Decline" (NY Times, Dec. 31, 2002)
- \*Swarns, "Mothers Poised for Workfare Face Acute Lack of Day Care" (NY Times, April 14, 1998)
- \*"Historical Trends in AFDC Enrollments and Average Payments, 1970-1996" (table)
- \*"Maximum AFDC/TANF Benefits by Family Size, January 1997" (table)
- \*"Need Standard and Maximum AFDC/TANF and Food Stamp Benefits, One-Parent Family of Three Persons, January 1997" (table)
- \*Nazario, "USDA Tries to Serve Up Food Stamps to the Hungry" (LAT, Nov. 22, 1994)
- \*DeParle, "A Mass of Newly Laid-Off Workers Will Put Social Safety Net to the Test" (NYT, Oct. 8, 2001)
- \*Feldman, "Ready, Willing, Unable" (LAT, November 2, 1993)
- \*Stanfield, "Just Connect" (National Journal, May 31, 1997)
- \*Walljasper, "A Quest for Jobs in San Antonio" (Nation, July 21, 1997)
- \*Romney, "Jobs Program a Model of Success" (LAT, Dec. 12, 2001)

#### **When Work Reappears: Job Creation and Labor Market Strategies (Thursday, April 24)**

- \*Taub, "What If Anyone Had a Job?" (Shelterforce, Sept./Oct. 1996)
  - \*Bennet, "Mere Hint of Jobs Draws Crowd in Detroit" (NY Times, Nov. 12, 1993)
  - \*Uchitelle, "Jobless Rate Drops to 4.1% As Wages Rise By 1c an Hour" (NY Times, Nov. 6, 1999)
  - \*Dreier and Rothstein, "Seismic Stimulus: The California Quake's Creative Destruction" (American Prospect, Summer 1994)
  - \*Anderson & Dreier, "How the Pentagon Redlines America's Cities" (PN, May 25, 1993)
  - \*Moberg, "Conversion Inexperience" (In These Times, December 26, 1994)
  - \*Miller, "The American Infrastructure" (Industry Week, May 21, 1990)
  - \*Murray, "New Deal's WPA and CCC Enjoy Renewed Vogue" (Wall St. Journal, June 1, 1992)
  - \*Wildavsky, "Pigging Out" (National Journal, April 19, 1997)
  - \*"Real Value of the Minimum Wage, 1960-1997" (chart and table)
  - \*Boxer, "Increase the National Minimum Wage..." (LAT, Sept. 16, 1999)
  - \*Thompson, "...But One Size Doesn't Fit All Workers" (LAT, Sept. 16, 1999)
  - \*Dreier, "LA Workers Miss a Tax Break" (LAT, Jan. 34, 1999)
- Berube and Forman, *Rewarding Work: The Impact of the Earned Income Tax Credit in Greater LA* (Brookings Institution report, June 2001)

### **V. THE FUTURE OF AMERICAN CITIES**

#### **Can Cities Get Back on the Nation's Agenda? (Tuesday, April 29 and Thursday, May 1)**

- Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Chapters 7 and 8)
- \*Weir, "In the Shadows: Central Cities' Loss of Power in State Politics" (Brookings Review, Spring 1995)
- \*Brownstein, "Assault on Clinton's Urban Agenda..." (LAT, July 31, 1995)
- \*Germond and Witcover, "Mayors Find Their Clout Has Shrunk" (National Journal, June 26, 1993)
- \*Stanfield, "Splitsville" (National Journal, May 3, 1997)
- \*Kriz, "The Politics of Sprawl" (National Journal, Feb. 6, 1999)

\*DeParle and Holmes, "A War on Poverty Subtly Linked to Race" (NY Times, Dec. 26, 2000)

\*Stout, "Republicans Remain Hostile to Proposal for Census Sampling" (NY Times, May 12, 1997)

\*Brownstein, "Tax Cuts Clouds Bush's Urban Agenda" (LA Times, April 29, 2002)