

Professor Peter Dreier  
11:30 a.m. Spring 2005  
UEPI Seminar Room

TuTh 10-

**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 either (a) a **policy memo** or (b) **community engagement**. You can decide which of these options you wish to choose:

**Policy Memo:** Students electing this option should pick an issue facing America's 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) two proposed policy solutions, making sure you identify which solutions are appropriate for the city, county, 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 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 Tuesday, Feb..

22. 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 Tuesday, March 22. The final paper is due on Thursday, April 28. You should use the websites listed below, as well as other sources, in doing the research for this assignment.

**Community Engagement:** Students who select this option are required to spend at least 25 hours during the semester volunteering for one of the LA mayoral campaigns or the inclusionary zoning campaign. If you select this option, you need to tell me, in writing, by **Thursday, February 3**, which activity you will be doing and the name and phone number of a contact person at the organization. It is your responsibility to contact these campaigns and arrange to volunteer. You should keep a journal of your experiences and, in order to get credit, hand in the journal and a 10-page paper describing the key elements of the campaign, explaining what you did, and examining what you learned about urban policy and politics from this experience. The two non-profit community groups leading the inclusionary zoning campaign are ACORN and the Southern CA Assn. for Nonprofit Housing (SCANPH). At ACORN, contact Peter Kuhns at (213) 727-4211 and at: At SCANPH, contact Lisa Payne at (213) 480-1249 ext 235 or at: The five major candidates for mayor, and their websites, are the following: Robert Hertzberg: Richard Alarcon: Bernard Parks: Antonio Villaraigosa: and James Hahn:

## **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 (2nd edition)
- \_\_\_\_\_ 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 & Clavel, Reinventing Cities: Equity Planners Tell Their Stories
- \_\_\_\_\_ o CQ Researcher, Urban Issues (2nd edition)

### **Web Readings**

Most of the readings for this source will be found on the website for UEP 301. You can get there by going to the Oxy library website. 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.

### **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](#)), and on the income divide in Los Angeles ([A Tale of Two Cities](#)), and on community development corporations ([Corrective Capitalism](#)).

## **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 and encouraged 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) -- Feb. 28**

**"The Times of Harvey Milk" (documentary about the rise of gay politics in San Francisco) -- April 18**

**"Bread and Roses" (feature film about the "justice for janitors" campaign in LA) - April 25**

**"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)**

**\_\_\_\_\_ "Is Wal-Mart Good for America?" (A documentary about the impact of the world's largest corporation on our communities)**

## **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 () -- This site is a link with dozens of organizations and publications that deal with public policy issues. It includes organizations such as the Center on 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 Metropolitan Policy Program ( the Urban Institute ( and the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities ( 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.**

3. **Community Organizing and Development** () -- 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** ([Planners Network](#) (), [Civic Practices Network](#) (), and [Citistates](#) () 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 ( and City Limits ( – provide examples of interesting urban politics and policy from a liberal/progressive perspective. City Journal ( published by the Manhattan Institute, provides interesting articles on urban issues from a conservative perspective.

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 ( 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.  
NYT = New York Times. LAT = Los Angeles Times).

### **I. INTRODUCTION**

#### **Personal Values (Thursday, January 20)**

"Looking for Housing" exercise

#### **Social Choices (Tuesday, January 25)**

Kozol, Savage Inequalities (entire book)

### **II. WHAT MAKES CITIES LIVABLE?**

Tables on demographics

\*Largest Metropolitan Areas in the United States

\*Largest Metropolitan Areas in the World

\*World's Largest Cities (1 to 100)

\*Largest US Cities (1 to 100)

\*"Table 2A-2. Population Change for 100 Largest Central Cities And Their Suburbs: 1980-2000"

#### **Economic Conditions (Thursday, Jan 27)**

- \*Cavnar, "Downtown Dreams" (Continental, December 2004)
- \*Wilson, "When Work Disappears" (NYT Magazine, August 18, 1996)
- \*Kilborn, "Another Notch in the Decline of Main Street" (NYT, November 4, 1993)
- \*"Toronto and Detroit" (Economist, May 19, 1990)
- \*Traub, "No-Fun City" (NYT Magazine, Nov. 4, 2001)
- \*Walljasper, "Denmark: What Works?" (Nation, January 26, 1998)
- \*Greenhouse, "Why Paris Works" (NYT Magazine, July 19, 1992)
- \*Wolfe, "Canada's Liveable Cities" (Social Policy, Summer 1992)

### **Social and Community Conditions (Tuesday, Feb. 1)**

- \*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" (NYT, Dec. 20, 1995)
- \*Kretzman, "Building Communities from the Inside Out" (Shelterforce, Sept/October 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" (NYT, Dec. 18, 2001)
- \*Tobar, "Housing Laws No Cure for Slums' Ills" (LAT, July 20, 1997)
- \*Jordan, "Branching Out: Neighborhood Libraries" (Governing, October 2001)
- \*Blankstein and Winton, "13 Die in Four Days of Violence" (LAT, Nov. 19, 2002)
- \*Butterfield, "Study Links Violence Rate to Cohesion of Community" (NYT, Aug. 17, 1997)
- \*Butterfield, "Killings Increase in Many Big Cities" (NYT, Dec 21, 2001)

### **Environmental Conditions (Thursday, Feb. 3)**

- \*Gowda, "Whose Garden Is It?" (Governing, March 2002)
- \*Firestone, "Suburban Comforts Thwart Atlanta's Plans to Limit Sprawl" (NYT, Nov. 21, 1999)
- \*Polakovic, "Southland on Course to Reclaim US Smog Title" (LAT, Sept. 26, 2001)
- \*Willon, "As Inland Empire Grows, Freeway Commute Slows" (LAT, 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, "Urban Role Model: Christchurch, New Zealand" (Governing, October 2001)
- \*James, "Eco-cities – the Next Swedish Export" (Planning, May 2002)
- \*Dillon, "Mexico City Spawns Suburbs, Changing Face of Countryside" (NYT,

Dec. 18, 1999)

### **III. WHAT CAN CITIES DO?**

#### **Economic Development: The Dilemma of Capital Mobility (Tuesday, Feb. 8)**

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

CQ Researcher, Urban Issues (Ch. 1, "Exporting Jobs" and Ch. 3 "Living Wage Movement")

\*DeFilippis, "Understanding Capital Mobility..." (From DeFilippis, Unmasking Goliath, 2004)

\*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)

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

\*Newton and Simers, "NFL Talks at Impasse Over Use of Public Funds" (LAT, Aug. 3, 1999)

#### **High Road or Low Road?: The Debate Over Wal-Mart (Thursday, Feb. 10)**

\*Bianco and Zellner, "Is Wal-Mart Too Powerful?" (Business Week, Oct. 6, 2003)

\*Sowell, "Wal-Mart Growth is an Example of Free-Market Economics" (Pasadena Star-News, Dec. 15, 2003)

\*Cleeland, Iritani, and Marshall, "Scouring the Globe to Give Shoppers an \$8.63 Polo Shirt" (LAT, Nov. 25, 2003)

\*Head, "Inside the Leviathan" (NY Review of Books, Dec. 16, 2004)

\*Garten, "Wal-Mart Gives Globalism a Bad Name" (Business Week, March 8, 2004)

\*Cleeland and Goldman, "Grocery Unions Battle to Stop Invasion of Giant Stores" (LAT, Nov. 25, 2003)

\*Greene, "Thinking Outside the Big Box: Inglewood's Obsession with Wal-Mart" (LA Weekly, March 12-18, 2004)

\*Garrison, "LA Council Votes to Restrict Superstores" (LAT, Aug. 11, 2004)

\*Holmes and Zellner, "The Costco Way" (Business Week, April 12, 2004)

Film: "David Beats Goliath: How Inglewood Defeated Wal-Mart" (10 minutes)

#### **Housing: A Right or a Privilege? (Tuesday, Feb. 15)**

CQ Researcher, Urban Issues (Ch. 12, "Affordable Housing")

\*Salins, "Toward a Permanent Housing Problem" (The Public Interest, Fall 1986).

\*Husock, "We Don't Need Subsidized Housing" (City Journal, Winter 1997)

\*Dreier and Atlas, "Housing Policy's Moment of Truth" (American Prospect, Summer 1995)

\*Venkatesh, "An Invisible Community: Inside Chicago's Public Housing" (American Prospect, Sept./Oct. 1997)

- \*Nieves, "Homeless Defy Cities Drives to Move Them," (NYT, December 7, 1999)
- \*Stewart, "LA Becoming a City of Renters" (LAT, Nov. 29, 2001)
- \*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)
- \*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)

### **The Debate Over Inclusionary Zoning (Thursday, Feb. 17)**

- \*Breidenbach, "LA Story" and "What We Won" (Shelterforce, March/April 2002)
- \*Hale, "Activists Protest Projects' Lack of Low-Income Units" (LAT, Feb. 18, 2001)
- \*Institute for the Study of Homelessness and Poverty, ***Housing and Poverty in Los Angeles***
- \*Institute for the Study of Homelessness and Poverty, ***Homelessness in Los Angeles***
- \*Center for Community Change, ***Housing Organizing: Inclusionary Zoning***
- \*Greene, "Rebel with a Plan" (LA Weekly, Nov. 19-25, 2004)
- \*Stewart, "Policies Boost Affordable Housing, Study Finds" (LAT, July 15, 2003)
- \*Stewart and Garrison, "Affordable Housing Set for Debate" (LAT, April 6, 2004)
- \*\*"Getting Past 'No' on Housing" (LAT, May 11, 2004 - editorial)
- \*\*"Inclusionary Zoning: It's Just Bad Planning" (LA City Councilman Greig Smith)
- \*\*"Stop the Assault on Single-Family Neighborhoods" (Southland Regional Assn. of Realtors)
- \*\*"Out of Reach in 2004" (SCANPH)
- \*\*"Myths and Facts about Inclusionary Zoning" (LA Inclusionary Zoning Coalition)
- \*\*"Help Make Los Angeles More Livable" (LA Inclusionary Zoning Coalition)

### **The Los Angeles Mayoral Race: What's At Stake? (Tuesday, Feb. 22)**

***A Tale of Two Cities*** (United Way of Greater Los Angeles, 2003) – handout

- \*Dreier, "America's Urban Crisis a Decade After the Los Angeles Riots" (National Civic Review, Spring 2003)
- \*Goodno, "A New LA" (Urban Ecology, Autumn 2001)
- \*Gottlieb, et al, "A Vision for the City: Progressive LA in the Twenty-First Century" (from Gottlieb, Vallianatos, Freer, and Dreier, The Next Los Angeles, 2005, Chapter 7)

- \*City of Los Angeles, ***Budget Summary 2004-2005***
- \*Oldham and Garrison, "Political Scientist's Complex Formula for LAX" (LAT, Dec. 7, 2004)
- \*Broder, "Los Angeles Groups Agree to Airport Growth, for a Price" (NYT, Dec. 17, 2004)
- \*Fine, Bronstad and Greenberg, "Pay to Play Taints Political Science" (LA Business Journal, Dec. 20, 2004)
- \*Greene, "Making It Personal: What's Really Driving These LA Mayoral Candidates?" (LA Weekly, Dec 10-16, 2004)
- \*Greene, "The Hahn Referendum: What It Really Matters Who the Mayor of LA Is" (LA Weekly, Jan 7-13, 2005)
- \*Rabin and McGreevy, "Hahn Leads Rivals in Cash Contest" (LAT, Jan. 11, 2005)
- \*Murray, "Stormy Weather" (CityBeat, Jan. 13, 2005)

**Race, Class, and Power in Cities (Thursday, Feb. 24)**

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

three chapters)

- \*Swanstrom, "The Politics of Default" (from Swanstrom, The Crisis of Growth Politics)
- \*Mitchell, "Giuliani Administration Seeking Sharper Cuts in Health and Welfare Programs for the Poor" (NYT, Dec. 16, 1994)
- \*Kolbert, "Six Million Short: How Will the Mayor Make Ends Meet?" (New Yorker, Jan. 13, 2003)
- \*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)
- \*Callahan, "Ballot Blocks: What Gets the Poor to the Polls?" (American Prospect, July/August 1998)
- \*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" (LAT, April 13, 1999)
- \*Munoz, "Mexican Americans and the Promise of Democracy: San Antonio Mayoral Elections" (from Peterson, ed., Big-City Politics, Governance, and

Fiscal Constraints, 1994)

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

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

##### **Inequality and Poverty**

###### **The Magnitude of Inequality and Poverty (Tuesday, March 1)**

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

\*Mohan, "Though Far from Poor, A Family Struggles Daily" (LAT, May 18, 2004)

\*Rivera, "Getting By Gets More Costly for Families" (LAT, Sept. 24, 2001)

\*Smeeding, Rainwater, and Burtless, "U.S. Poverty in Cross-National Perspective" (Focus, Spring 2001)

\*Krugman, "For Richer" (NYT Magazine, October 20 2002)

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

\*Wolff, "The Rich Get Richer...And Why the Poor Don't" (American Prospect, Feb. 12, 2001)

\*Newfield, "How the Other Half Still Lives" (The Nation, March 17, 2003)

\*Bhargava and Kurlansky, "Drawing the Line on Poverty" (Wash. Post Weekly, Sept 23, 2002)

\*Weisman, "How Poor Is Poor?" (Washington Post, Dec. 23, 2002)

\*Colin and Bernstein, "Working and Poor" (Business Week, May 31, 2004)

\*"Poverty Thresholds 2003" (table)

\*"Number in Poverty and Poverty Rate: 1959 to 2003" (chart)

\*"Poverty Rates by Age: 1959 to 2003" (chart)

\*"People and Families in Poverty by Selected Characteristics: 2002 and 2003" (table)

###### **The Spatial Concentration of Wealth and Poverty (Thursday, March 3)**

\*Abramson, Tobin, and VanderGoot, "The Changing Geography of Metropolitan Opportunity: The Segregation of the Poor in U.S. Metropolitan Areas, 1970 to 1990," (Housing Policy Debate, 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" (Housing Policy Debate, 4/3, 1993)

\*Kingsley and Pettit, "Concentrated Poverty: A Change in Course" (Urban Institute, May 2003)

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

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

\*Lu, "Hunger a Growing Problem in Suburbs" (NYT, March 23, 2004)

### **The Consequences of Inequality and Poverty (Tuesday, March 8)**

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

\*Rothstein, "Class and the Classroom" (American School Board Journal, October 2004)

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

\*Marquis, "1 in 3 in L.A. Lacks Health Coverage, Study Says" (LAT, 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" (LAT, October 18, 2001)

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

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

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

### **Racism and Segregation**

#### **Racial Prejudice and Institutional Racism (Thurs., March 10)**

CQ Researcher, Urban Issues (Ch. 2, "Race in America")

\*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)

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

\*Nazario, "Hunger, High Food Costs Found in Inner-City Area" (LAT, 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)

\*Kristoff, "Borrowers Pay Price of Predatory Lending" (LAT, Sept. 10, 2001)

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

\*Rubin and Rubinger, "Don't Let Banks Turn Their Backs on the Poor" (NYT, Dec. 4, 2004)

\*Yinger, "Housing Discrimination is Still a Problem" (Housing Policy Debate, 9/4, 1998)

### **SPRING BREAK: March 14-18**

#### **The Creation of the Ghetto (Tuesday, March 22)**

Massey and Denton, American Apartheid (entire book)

\*"Figure 8-1: Racial/Makeup of 100 Largest Cities and Rest of Nation, 1990 and 2000" (Katz and Lang, eds., Redefining Urban and Suburban America, 2003) (graph)

\*"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)

\*"Sortable List of Dissimilarity Scores" (for 331 metropolitan areas, 2000) (table)

\*"Los Angeles City: Data for the City in 1980, 1990, and 2000" (table)

\*"Los Angeles-Long Beach PMSA: Data for the Metropolitan Area" (table)

### **Is Residential Racial Integration Desirable or Possible? (Thursday, March 24)**

\*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)

\*Cater, "Not Just Black and White: Oak Park, Ill. Grapples With Questions of Diversity" (In These Times, March 18, 2002)

\*Waldinger, "From Ellis Island to LAX: Immigrant Prospects" (Int'l Migration Review, 1996)

\*Salant, "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)

\*Ramos, "Latino Middle Class Growing in Suburbia" (LAT, Nov. 30, 1997)

\*Scott, "Rethinking Segregation Beyond Black and White" (NYT, July 29, 2001)

### **Suburbanization and Sprawl**

#### **The Push for Suburbanization (Tuesday, March 29)**

Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier (Intro, Chapters 2, 6-11)

*Sprawl Hits the Wall: Confronting the Realities of Metropolitan Los Angeles (report) – 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)

\*Wilson, "Developers Are Putting Southland's Last Dairy Farmers Out to Pasture" (LAT, May 27, 2002)

\*Kriz, "The Politics of Sprawl" (National Journal, Feb. 6, 1999)

## Thursday, March 31 – No Class – Cesar Chavez Day

### **Who Pays for Sprawl? (Tuesday, April 5)**

CQ Researcher, Urban Issues (Ch. 10, “Urban Sprawl in the West” and Ch. 11, “Environmental Justice”)

\*Minerbrook, "Why a City Alone Cannot Save Itself" (U.S. News & World Report, Nov. 9, 1992)

\*Fulton, "Welcome to Sales Tax Canyon" (from The Reluctant Metropolis, 1997)

\*Glionna, “Oakland’s In-Your-Face Ads Invade San Francisco” (LAT, July 9, 2001)

\*Stewart, "Burbank May Woo Company with \$250,000 Incentive" (LAT, Dec. 9, 1993)

\*Curtiss and Watson, "Desperate Cities Court Developers" (LAT, Jan. 16, 1993)

\*Gold, “Inland Empire Pays Price for Housing Crisis” (LAT, May 20, 2002)

\*"San Marino: The Affluent Grapple with Low-Income Housing" (LAT, June 14, 1993)

\*Tempest, "In Marin County Plenty, a Poverty of Service Workers" (LAT, Oct. 25, 1999)

\*DeWitt, "Older Suburbs Struggle..." (NYT, 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)

### **Regionalism and “Smart Growth”(Thursday, April 7)**

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Chapter 6)

CQ Researcher, Urban Issues (Ch. 9, “Smart Growth”)

\*Downs, “What Does ‘Smart Growth’ Really Mean?” (Planning, April 2001)

\*Sheehan, "What Will It Take to Halt Sprawl?" (WorldWatch, Jan/Feb 2002)

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

\*Smothers, "City [Memphis] Seeks to Grow By Disappearing" (NYT, 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)

\*Gurwitt, "The State vs. Sprawl" (Governing, January 1999)

\*Rabinovitz, "Hard-Line Approach or Means for Survival?" (NYT, 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’)" (NYT, May 22, 1998)

\*Cone, "Southland Smog Levels Are Lowest in 4 Decades" (LAT, October 21, 1995)

## **V. POLICY CHOICES: URBAN POLITICS IN NATIONAL CONTEXT**

### **How National Policies Shape Cities in Europe and America (Tuesday, April 12)**

Nivola, Laws of the Landscape (entire book)

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Chapter 4)

### **Does Revitalizing of Downtowns Improve Cities? (Thursday, April 14)**

\*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)

\*Schoenberger "Bringing the Life Back to City's Heart" (LAT, Dec. 14, 1993)

\*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)

\*Levey and Roug, "New York Developer Chosen to Make Grand Ave. Grandier" (LAT, Aug. 10, 2004)

\*Goldin, "Grand Illusions on Bunker Hills" (LAT, March 30, 2004)

\*Kotkin, "Extreme Makeover: Los Angeles Edition" (Wall Street Journal, Aug. 25, 2004)

\*Loh, "Plans for Skid Row Raise Questions" (LAT, Aug. 24, 2002)

\*Rivera, "Crackdown Demanded on Skid Row Camps" (LAT, Nov. 19, 2002)

\*Blankstein, "City Bulldozes Homeless Camp" (LAT, Dec. 30, 2003)

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

\*Applebome, "An Olympic Renewal? Atlanta's Big Question" (NYT, October 9, 1994)

\*Gold, "Hahn Hopes Tax Break Will Bring Small Business to LA" (LAT, August 1, 2000)

### **Rebuild or Escape the Ghetto? The Debate Over Community Development (Tues., April 19)**

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

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

\*Wright, "Public Housing for the Worthy Poor" (from Building the Dream, 1981)

\*Gurwitt, "Betting on the Bulldozer" (Governing, July 2002)

\*Stewart, "Activists Seek Agreement With USC" (LAT, Oct. 8, 2003)

\*Howard, "Big Retailers Bet Big on the Inner City" (LAT, April 25, 2000)

- \*Belluck, "Blighted Areas Are Revived as Crime Rate Falls in Cities" (NYT, May 29, 2000)
- \*Oppel, "Many Banks Making Money on Lending in Poor Areas" (NYT, Oct. 22, 1999)
- \*Martin, "A Haven for Vendors" (LAT, Nov. 22, 1999)
- \*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)
- \*Turner, "Moving Out of Poverty" (Housing Policy Debate, 9/2, 1998)
- \*Rosenbaum, "Changing the Geography of Opportunity" (Housing Policy Debate, 6/1, 1995)
- \*Stanfield, "The Reverse Commute" (National Journal, Nov. 23, 1996)
- Work or Welfare? The Debate over Jobs and the Safety Net (Thursday, April 21)**
- \*Taub, "What If Anyone Had a Job?" (Shelterforce, Sept./Oct. 1996)
- \*Bennet, "Mere Hint of Jobs Draws Crowd in Detroit" (NYT, Nov. 12, 1993)
- \*Uchitelle, "Jobless Rate Drops to 4.1% As Wages Rise By 1c an Hour" (NYT, Nov. 6, 1999)
- \*Dreier and Rothstein, "Seismic Stimulus: The California Quake's Creative Destruction" (American Prospect, Summer 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)
- \*Walljasper, "A Quest for Jobs in San Antonio" (Nation, July 21, 1997)
- \*Romney, "Jobs Program a Model of Success" (LAT, Dec. 12, 2001)
- \*Krauthammer, "Pull the Plug on Welfare to Solve Poverty" (LAT, Nov. 21, 1993)
- \*Katz and Allen, "Cities Matter" (Brookings Review, Summer 2001)
- \*Weil, "Ten Things Everyone Should Know about Welfare Reform" (Urban Institute, May 2002)
- \*Walters, "The Flip Side of Welfare Reform" (Governing, March 2002)
- \*"More People on Welfare After Years of Decline" (NYT, Dec. 31, 2002)
- \*Swarns, "Mothers Poised for Workfare Face Acute Lack of Day Care" (NYT, April 14, 1998)
- \*DeParle, "A Mass of Newly Laid-Off Workers Will Put Social Safety Net to the Test" (NYT, Oct. 8, 2001)
- \*Dreier and Candaele, "A Moral Minimum Wage" (The Nation, Dec. 6, 2004)
- \*Thompson, "...But One Size Doesn't Fit All Workers" (LAT, Sept. 16, 1999)
- Berube and Forman, *Rewarding Work: The Impact of the Earned Income Tax Credit in Greater LA*  
(Brookings Institution, June 2001)

### **Can Cities Get Back on the Nation's Agenda? (Tuesday, April 26)**

- Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, Place Matters (Chapters 8)
- \*Stout, "Republicans Remain Hostile to Proposal for Census Sampling" (NYT,

May 12, 1997)

\*Brownstein and Rainey, "GOP Plants Flag on New Voting Frontier" (LAT, Nov. 22, 2004)

\*Brooks, "Take a Ride to Exurbia" (NYT, Nov. 9, 2004)

\*Barnes, "When the Playing Field is Crabgrass" (National Journal, Oct. 30, 2004)

\*Weir, "In the Shadows: Central Cities' Loss of Power in State Politics" (Brookings Review, Spring 1995)

\*Germond and Witcover, "Mayors Find Their Clout Has Shrunk" (National Journal, June 26, 1993)

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

**What Kind of Urban Policy Agenda? (Thursday, April 28)**

Dreier, Mollenkopf, and Swanstrom, *Place Matters* (Chapters 7)

\*Dreier, "George W. Bush and the Cities" (Progressive Planning, Fall 2004)

\*Meyerson, "George and the Governor" (LA Weekly, Jan. 14-20, 2005)