Community Development and Housing Policy: the roles of the state, the market, and civil society

Instructor: Jacqueline Leavitt
Time: Thursday, 12:30 pm to 3:20 pm
Place: Faculty Lounge, 5th floor, Luskin School of Public Affairs
Appts: after class and appointment set up by email
Linkage to Community Development Lecture Series:

Chris Tilly, Marie Kennedy, and I developed a lecture series, with assistance from members of the CEDH concentration, the Chair, and other members of the faculty; the
Winter lectures are part of this course; the Spring lectures will be a part of Professor Tilly’s class. For this class, attendance is required at all Winter lectures: at 2:00, the lounge will continue to be the class meeting room.

Introduction:

At this moment in time, housing policy is in need of a theory and practice of community development. To begin with, a permanent loss of units exists for the poor, elderly, people of color, women, transgender people, some ethnic groups, and policies excluding children. Over the decades, the number of required units for people of low-income has grown to more than 16 million. Had the numbers penciled out, community development (CD) would probably receive short shrift. CD is more than sequentially adding elements of a general plan, e.g., concerns about schools, transportation, community facilities, commercial uses, and open space (See Ferguson and Stoutland); it is also more than proposals that include various ways social capital is used (DeFilippis and Saegert first edition). While the term community development is used, more often than not, the meaning has to do with setting up CDCs (Community Development Corporations) or CBOs (Community-based Organizations) who in turn own and may manage or spin off a separate management entity.

However, community development is more than physical development, estimating needs and meeting target goals that are restricted by funding packages. Economists and philosophers along with the United Nations pioneered a capabilities approach in the 1980s and the United Nations publishes a Human Development Index (HDI) each year that includes access to health and education. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (2011) defines the capability approach as . . .a theoretical framework that entails two core normative claims: first, the claim that the freedom to achieve well-being is of primary moral importance, and second, that freedom to achieve well-being is to be understood in terms of people's capabilities, that is, their real opportunities to do and be what they have reason to value. The approach has been developed in a variety of more specific normative theories, such as (partial) theories of social justice or accounts of development ethics. It has also led to a new and highly interdisciplinary literature in the social sciences resulting in new statistics and social indicators, and to a new policy paradigm which is mainly used in development studies, the so-called 'human development approach'.

A CDC is also responsible for programs in related spaces, both those in the development or as a separate facility. A few CDCs include organizing and they strive to build leadership coming from the community, that any profits realized be reinvested in the community, and that a “people’s agenda” might involve the impact of traffic, trash, drugs, crime, and vacant lots in a mission statement. CDCs are often started in response to demolition of existing housing units including public housing. Whether it is urban renewal of the 1950s and later or gentrification beginning around the 1970s and 1980s, the impacts are similar. In response programs have been developed
around the concept of healthy communities. Since 2006, a framework based on the "right to the city," has been adopted by CDCs and CBOs.

**Community development is also about democracy.** Tension about representation on boards is an issue about who speaks for the community, what is the community's authentic voice. At one point, beginning in Britain, the idea of civil society was promoted as a third way between private and public. The structure of institutions and regulations have the power to offer opportunities to practice by the means of direct democracy that involves residents and business people in originating ideas and decision-making. This also includes engaging a diverse group that comes together in order to give voice to those who are not represented in politics, on bank boards and corporations. The left out may be found in the intersection of race, ethnicity, gender, class, sexual preference, etc.

Yet other issues in policy, planning, and practice are tied to different strategies, some of which are broad and holistic and others of which are narrowly focused. **This class aims at analyzing different frames and perspectives in CD policies/planning/practice and the underlying implicit and explicit values.** This will be useful in your ability to understand the meanings of policies and end result(s) that informs and impacts everyday life. This also requires pointing out unintended consequences that create “collateral damage” (displacement, eviction, homelessness, insecurity, and shock) for the most vulnerable in society (Fullilove).

**Some broader issues are covered when** housing policies are promoted as solutions to society-wide problems such as poverty or unemployment. At the same time, housing policies are based on its own dominant frame, e.g. economics (calculating supply and demand), politics (translating into governance and regulation), and design/development (acknowledging cultural issues). Finally, whether economic, political, or cultural frames are used, regardless of the use of mainstream economics, institutional or cultural analysis, “pragmatic” policies are favored over ideas that are typically labeled progressive and or utopian; innovations may be tolerated but do not reach mass use; demonstration programs are implemented before the results are fully understood. **This class will weigh the benefits of programs that may have been stopped as well as the forms of resistance that communities show.**

Community Development also entails social movements that **infrequently** put housing at the center of strategies even though housing and place are central to the choices that people make about their lives. Coalition building looks towards making connections among housing and labor, civil rights, women, and other groups that are most subject to rising rents, foreclosures, displacement, evictions, etc. and in opposition to growth coalitions. **This class explores how planners, social workers, and policy analysts can best position themselves in relation to social movements**

In today's context, **globalization and neo-liberalization create a context that requires knowing about relationships between domestic and international policies.** On the one hand, globalization may create tighter transnational connections
that cross national borders and on the other hand, neo-liberalization toughens the playing field for the poor, people of color, elderly, disabled, women, transgender, in the South and the North. In countries like the Philippines, exporting people into largely low-income jobs abroad is considered part of their overall economic strategy and impacts housing. Nonetheless, in the same country, innovative programs may also provide knowledge about community development in which housing plays a large role but usually with “grassroots" groups pushing from the outside. City statutes as in Brazil have been used to level the playing field between displaces and the government/state and developers/private. Land reforms around the world are being proposed along with a revived interest in land trusts in the United States that may be initiated and managed by the state or civil society.

The seminar will explore these many issues and contradictions in search of ways to understand relevancy to and redefining community development.

This seminar will use readings, documentaries, invited guests, and class discussions to stimulate thinking about the ways in which past policies provide a legacy and may inform the future (e.g. changing meanings of affordability; the role of gentrification as an intervening factor where personal goals are contradictory to political ideals; recreating programs of social housing); of current innovations that are inviting debates about the use of land and meaning of ownership such as shared equity and shared partnerships.

Recommended (for everyone)


Joint Center for Housing Studies of Harvard University and MIT. The State of the Nation’s Housing 2014, http://www.jch.harvard.edu Especially read Executive Study


Coalition for Economic Survival: CES Organizing Times Online, an occasional email newsletter reporting on the activities of the CES www.cesinaction.org

Alex Schwartz


All lecture series speakers will provide a paper prior to their remarks; you will be expected to read them. They will be posted on the CCLE page or else distributed in class.

**Required Assignments**

1. Post responses to two readings per week. This will be on the CCLE class page.
2. Attend lecture series and write a short paper of no more than 3 pages for two out of the four speakers. Explain in what ways the speaker clarified (or not) your understanding of community development. This requires your defining the term CD.
3. 10 page paper including footnotes and bibliography. Select a frame/position (human rights, political economy, market, privatization, feminism). Two Parts: (a) Name the frame/position about underlying values that drives housing policy, and (b) Select the place (cities, metro regions, countries) and level (blocks, communities, local, regional, national, international).

   Answer the following questions.

   a. how does the frame you use describe the view of the general public (e.g. as found in popular magazines, electoral campaigns, NIMBY campaigns, polls) about housing for low-income people;
   b. how is the issue generally framed by (select one) local, regional, national, international institutions, e.g. a housing department, redevelopment agency;
   c. identify two key recommendations that may or may not have been tried (as long as you back up your viewpoint);
   d. analyze whether anything is omitted from using this frame/position, and what repercussions may occur because of this omission(s).

4. 10 page paper including footnotes and bibliography. Some progressive responses to housing policy in this country and others around the world include social ownership (public housing, council housing, cooperatives, community land trusts); other approaches start with analyses based on critical race theory, feminism, class; still others promote social housing and have identified innovative mortgage programs; organizing and coalition building is another approach as is convincing the philanthropic sector to take more responsibility. Pick one of the progressive responses, what is the frame used in this case, and add ideas of your own about progressiveness in today’s context. You may select domestic or international examples as long as you back up your choice.

**NOTE: Plagiarism is a serious breach of conduct.** Guidelines for academic honesty are posted at [http://www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu/StudentGuide.pdf](http://www.deanofstudents.ucla.edu/StudentGuide.pdf). If in doubt, use direct quotes and at the same time avoid cut and pastes.

Use of computer or other electronic devices only permitted for note taking.
Due Date for Assignments – Material that can be sent by email is preferred unless asked for hard copy

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Posting Questions on Class Page</th>
<th>Based on 2 readings</th>
<th>Post no later than Tuesday before class, 2nd week through 9th</th>
<th>On Class page under Assignments</th>
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<tr>
<td>2. Lecture attendance</td>
<td>4 outside speakers during first half of class, open to public</td>
<td>All lectures to be attended. Assignment is to turn in two brief papers (no more than 3 pages). Due Fridays by 5 pm.</td>
<td>On Class page under Assignments</td>
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<td>3. Outline for framing paper</td>
<td>See above section for details</td>
<td>January 29</td>
<td>Send by email to <a href="mailto:jleavitt@ucla.edu">jleavitt@ucla.edu</a></td>
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<td>3. Framing paper</td>
<td>February 5</td>
<td>As above</td>
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<td>4. Outline for Progressive responses paper</td>
<td>See above section for details</td>
<td>February 19</td>
<td>As above</td>
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<td>4. Framing paper</td>
<td>March 16</td>
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**Class Grading**

| 10% | Posting discussion questions on class board, please read at least two articles in addition to the speaker's papers | Based on readings; post by preceding Wednesday by 5 pm. Do not include first week. |
| 10% | 3-page brief on each lecture | Attendance, summarize key arguments, state your opinion about recommendations. |
| 15% | Participation in class discussion | Seminar format, each student is expected to come to class prepared to ask questions, make comments, illustrate evidence of readings. |
| 30% | 10-page paper on “framing” | See readings for first and second week; consult USC on line guideline for how to do a research paper, [http://libguides.usc.edu/content.php?pid=83009&sid=618409](http://libguides.usc.edu/content.php?pid=83009&sid=618409) |
| 35% | 10-page paper on progressive approach to a housing issue; state how the approach builds community or destroys/fractures it, and what is the relationship to community development at individual and collective levels | Readings: lectures. |
Seminar Topics and Readings:

NOTE: THE READINGS ARE REQUIRED UNLESS OTHERWISE LISTED UNDER RECOMMENDED

January 8  Neoliberalism and the Current Legacy

**Required**


**Recommended**


January 15  The Role of the State in Housing

**Required**

Peter Marcuse. “Housing Policy & Myth of the Benevolent State


**Recommended** (Note, two other articles by Basolo and Scally, and by Rawls are on CCLE page but not listed here)


Documentary, **Excerpts** from Philip Morton, "Spanish Lake," 8 miles from Ferguson

**January 22**

**Homelessness, the Role of Race, Resistance and Response**

**Speaker:** Tanya Tull, President and CEO, Beyond Shelter, and UCLA Luskin School Senior Fellow

**Required**


James H. Carr, Katrin B. Anacker, and Inez Hernandez. State of Housing in Black America, a report for the National Association of Real Estate Brokers


Review materials on web Beyond Shelter

**Recommended**


**January 29**

**John Betancur, Community Development Lecture Series**


Through the Work of the Advisory Group on Forced Evictions, UN-Habitat and other International Actors.

Sugranyes y Mathivet, eds., UN-HABITAT Cities for All, Proposals and Experiences towards the Right to the City
Peter Marcuse. “Rights in Cities and the Right to the City?,” pp. 87-98.


Charlotte Mathivet, “The Right to the City: Keys to Understanding the Proposal for ‘Another City is Possible’,” pp. 21-26.

Review materials on Right to the City Alliance website.

Recommended


February 5 Lisa Bates, Community Development Lecture Series

Required


Right to the City. “We Call These Projects Home,” A report of the Right to the City Alliance,” May 2010.


Documentary: “At Homes in Utopia”

February 12       Karen Chapple, Community Development Lecture Series

Speaker: Marie Kennedy, Professor Emeriti, University of Massachusetts; Visiting Professor, UCLA, on Dudley Street

Required


(*Documentary on Dudley Street if enough class time)

Recommended


February 19       Ted Jojola, Community Development Lecture Series

Required


Natives, January 2014, a report prepared for the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Executive Summary, pp. ix-xvi; Introduction, pp. 1-5. Everything in this report is important; cover as much as you can but at least read one section.

Grant Christensen. “Selling Stories OR You Can’t Own This: Cultural Property as a Form of Collateral in a Secured Transaction under the Model Tribal Secured Transactions Act,” electronic copy, no date, no page numbers

February 26  John Emmeus Davis, Community Lecture Series

The Community Land Trust Reader (NOTE). These selections are on the class page; however, others may be substituted for these.

John Emmeus Davis. “Reallocationd Equity,” pp/


Chuck Matthei. “U.S. Land Reform Movements: The Theory Behind the Practice,” (Complete citation)

Rameau. Take Back the Land. Selected chapters on CCLE page

March 5  Speaker and Readings to be added

March 12  Concluding Discussion. (Readings on Class page recommended)
Presentation
March 19

If required for presentations