

## UP 222A:

### HISTORIES AND THEORIES OF PLANNING<sup>1</sup>

Histories and Theories of Planning is a graduate level course that introduces students to critiques of modern urban planning's historic role in reproducing and resisting the plundering forces of racial capitalism. At the outset of this class, we stand in the United States of America, a deeply unequal empire where a right-wing insurrection at its Capitol not two years ago may have tipped the country into the cosmic direction of civil war. This empire's domestic urban space is our subject of study but situated in the international context of the late Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. To ground our approach to an otherwise unwieldy subject, we will trace the critiques of racial capitalism's urban career as advanced by diverse traditions of liberal, Marxist, feminist, settler colonial, and postcolonial theories and histories.

As inspired by Professor Ananya Roy, from whom we inherit the critical force animating this curriculum, the course has three objectives. 1) train students in the study of urban planning using historicization as a method of systemic critique and policy making, 2) enable students to wield a critical orientation to how governments, institutions, sentient beings, and environments produced, governed, lived, contested, transformed, and destroyed space, and 3) introduce students to key paradigms of planning theory, but from the "bottom up."

First, **we historicize urban planning not as a professional practice, but a social, cultural, and political-economic force borne of persistent contestations and compromises, both of which are uneasy and unstable.** Critical historicization sets aside the past "utopian" visions of privileged elites and instead, assesses what the famed writer and public intellectual James Baldwin called "the state of institutions." We're here together to explore the history of the *effective* governance of urban inequality. If we achieve this commitment, students will be better positioned to pursue diverse struggles for redistribution, or not. The direction you take is up to you.

Second, as we learn from our ancestor, Professor Cedric Robinson, **unequal regimes such as the United States must forward ideological justifications—academic theories, technical programs, political rhetoric, and popular culture—to maintain such an unjust state of past and contemporary affairs.** Students will explore past critiques of these justifications for urban inequality and attempt to level their own.

Lastly, students will learn a selected roster of planning paradigms, from "City Beautiful" to "the Promised Land." Whether explicit or not, planning paradigms harbor assumptions, normative beliefs, and future visions of the good and true. Each week, we assess these paradigms through social, political, and cultural histories of cities, and especially, of the people who inhabit, co-produce, and fight within their extractive spaces. In this class we center the *plunder* of racial

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<sup>1</sup> The official course title is "Introduction to Planning History and Theory." I support Professor Ananya Roy's intervention and continue that legacy as reflected in the course title.

capitalism as complex urban processes, then ask the canon of planning history a question: can it satisfactorily account for the colonized, dispossessed, displaced, indebted, incarcerated, murdered, maimed, and deported people of U.S. cities? If not, then I expect you all to leave this class sharing a collective grievance and an entitled vision that paints something different, wild, and beautiful—what Black radical historian Robin Kelley calls a “freedom dream.” Welcome.

## TEACHING TEAM

Professor Mark Vestal  
Office: 5347 Public Affairs Building  
Office Hours: T/TH 1pm-2:30pm (schedule [here](#))

### Teaching Assistants

Section 1A M 11-11:50AM Abigail Koshollek [akoshollek@g.ucla.edu](mailto:akoshollek@g.ucla.edu)  
Section 1B W 11-11:50AM Leslie Velasquez [leslievelasquez@g.ucla.edu](mailto:leslievelasquez@g.ucla.edu)  
Section 1C R 11-11:50AM Katrina Deloso [kdeloso@g.ucla.edu](mailto:kdeloso@g.ucla.edu)

## COVID-19 PANDEMIC PROTOCOLS

UCLA has implemented several protocols to prevent and limit the transmission of Covid-19. **Above all, let’s commit to taking care of each other with compassion and understanding.**

1. **Vaccine Requirement:** UCLA requires all UC staff, students, faculty, academic appointees, postdoctoral researchers and trainees, as well as anyone accessing UC facilities or in-person UC programs, to be fully vaccinated prior to the fall term — with limited medical exceptions.
2. **Face masks use strongly recommended while indoors:** Mask use, regardless of vaccination status, is strongly recommended in all indoor spaces on the UCLA campus, including classrooms, teaching labs, libraries, pre-K–12 facilities, indoor recreation spaces and when using BruinBus, BruinAccess and UCLA SafeRide services.

For more information on health/safety protocols, resources, and modified campus operations, please visit <https://covid-19.ucla.edu/information-for-students/>.

## CLASS REQUIREMENTS AND GRADING

1. Attend lectures and sections, be engaged, complete all required readings. Collective reading, notetaking, and study are encouraged. **(10%)**
2. Complete Bruin Learn discussions and activities. **(10%)**
3. Students are required to write **two reading response essays** between 750 and 1,000 words. Essays must cite at least four class readings, each from a different week’s reading assignments. Please double-space essays. **(30%)**
  - A) Reading Response Essay 1, due **October 21, 2022 by midnight via Bruin Learn**

*In Week 2 we read Peter Hall's "City of Dreadful Night" and the archival document Heart of Empire. Compare Hall's recounting of planning history with the provided [archival document](#) (see Week 2). What social, political, and economic forces are not addressed in Hall's account? How do the other assigned readings address these gaps and how does that challenge our understanding of professional planning's origins?*

B) Reading Response Essay 2, due **November 11, 2022 by midnight via Bruin Learn**

*World War II was a pivotal moment in the history of modern urban planning, as professional practice and social praxis from the bottom up. World War II seemed to have offered some promise of more social democracy, but the country's commitment to racialized modernism birthed an unevenly distributed "urban crisis" linked to newly expanded suburban regions. Discuss that transformation.*

4. Final Group Presentation (50%)

INTRODUCTION

For your group final project, you are tasked with solving the political and cultural economy of this (*warning: black and white digitized photograph of homicide and police violence*) [fatal moment of land violence](#) captured by a *Los Angeles Times* photographer on February 17, 1938. George Farley, a Black tenant, fatally shot the two unarmed White Los Angeles County Marshals who their landlord hired to evict him and Cora Farley, his wife, for unpaid rent. The People of Los Angeles demanded a sentence of death, which in 1938 the State of California carried out by poison gas.

The people of Black Los Angeles demanded George be spared execution, for the gun violence on February 17, 1938, was not only about delinquent rent. According to Black Los Angeles, the running blood and cooling bodies of the eviction squad evidenced "a cussed system" of taxation for urban (and rural) development that saddled the Farley's with unjust debts. Your teams are tasked with uncovering the truth of the matter.

DIRECTIONS

You will select teams of no more than eleven people, three teams per section, with members being in the same section. Each team will be further subdivided into two committees: 1) Making Street Debt, and 2) Collecting Street Debt. The **Making Street Debt** committee will investigate how the politics of local improvements in Los Angeles created this infrastructure debt between 1911 and 1928. The **Collecting Street Debt** committee will investigate how a private debt collector who specialized in purchasing delinquent assessments came to foreclose on a home the Farley's once owned,

unencumbered, including an assessment of the broader debt market between 1923 and 1938. *Collectively, teams will answer: what theory of planning codified and encouraged this system of municipal debt making and collecting that culminated in what Ned Blackhawk named as “violence over the land?” How did it extract benefits by exploiting working-class people’s vulnerability? Why did space, or as real estate brokers think of it—location, location, location—or as planners think of it—land use—matter?*

### DELIVERABLE

Teams (consisting of the two committees) will report their synthesized findings in a Google Slides presentation, which should be created in the “Collaborations” space in Bruin Learn after you join a pre-created group. Teams are to record a 20–25-minute presentation using Zoom. Professor Vestal will respond to the class with a memo, choosing the team who articulates the most rigorous and persuasive argument solving the murder. Remember, we are not adjudicating the guilt or innocence of George Farley. Instead, *we are using land violence as a diagnostic of racial capitalism, and more specifically, urban development and planning theory in the West during the opening decades of the Twentieth Century.*

**\*\*Students are prohibited from reading my dissertation or watching any of my presentations posted on the Internet. Doing so will be considered cheating. Please do not share any class materials.\*\***

**Friday, December 9, 2022:** Submit final presentations on Bruin Learn.

## **BRUIN LEARN**

Our class learning management system has been migrated to [Bruin Learn](#). Please check the site for resources, trainings, and support. You may need to accept an invitation to this course before accessing the course webpage. Additionally, please ensure that you set the appropriate notification settings on the site to receive class related notifications. For *course related* technical issues, contact your section’s Teaching Assistant.

## **CENTER FOR ACCESSIBLE EDUCATION**

If you are already registered with the Center for Accessible Education (CAE), please request your Letter of Accommodation in the Student Portal. If you are seeking registration with the CAE, please submit your request for accommodations via the CAE website. Students with disabilities requiring academic accommodations should submit their request for accommodations as soon as possible, as it may take up to two weeks to review the request. For more information, please visit the CAE website ([www.cae.ucla.edu](http://www.cae.ucla.edu)), visit the CAE at A255 Murphy Hall, or contact us by phone at (310) 825-1501.

## UP 222A:

### INTRODUCTION TO HISTORIES AND THEORIES OF PLANNING

#### **WEEK 0. SEPTEMBER 22**

#### **“AND MY GRANDMOTHER WAS NOT A RAPIST” - JAMES BALDWIN ON THE PATHOLOGY OF WHITE SUPREMACIST HISTORY IN A YEAR OF BLACK REBELLION. (1965)**

1. “James Baldwin Debates William F. Buckley (1965), YouTube Video, clip from ~14:13-38:10 minutes, <https://youtu.be/oFeoS41xe7w>.
2. Texas Legislature. An act relating to the social studies curriculum in public schools. H.B. No.3979. 87<sup>th</sup> Legislature. Passed June 15, 2021. <https://legiscan.com/TX/text/HB3979/id/2339637>

*“What we are not facing is the results of what we’ve done.” In 1965, the year of the Watts Rebellion, James Baldwin delivered this diagnosis of the U.S. politics of memory and history while standing in the halls of Harvard University, one of the most prestigious institutions responsible for its manufacture. In our introductory week, we sit with the terrifying prospect of planning in a country that both legislates the suppression and construction of history in service to the perpetuation of racial capitalism.*

#### **WEEK 1. SEPTEMBER 27 & 29**

#### **EMPIRE’S LAW, ORDER, AND LIBERTY: PROPERTY**

1. Macpherson, C. B. "Human Rights as Property Rights." *Dissent: A Journal Devoted to Radical Ideas and the Values of Socialism and Democracy* 24, no. 1 (1977).
2. Nedelsky, Jennifer. “The Legacy of the Formation and the Limits of American Constitutionalism” in *Private Property and the Limits of American Constitutionalism: The Madisonian Framework and Its Legacy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990.
3. Cuff, Dana. *The Provisional City: Los Angeles Stories of Architecture and Urbanism*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000. Pages: 62-93.
4. Roy, Ananya. "Paradigms of Propertied Citizenship: Transnational Techniques of Analysis." *Urban Affairs Review* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.) 38, no. 4 (2003): 463-91.

*This week we explore property. Property is not a thing, but a political relation that governs claims to things, land especially. Thus, there is no planning without property, nor empire. First, we engage with the role of property in the making of the U.S. political order, as western liberal theorists understand it. Then we take up some critical texts on property and examine the role of*

*property rights in modern urban planning. The goal this week is to understand planning, not just as a practice seeking “policy” and technical solutions to urban problems, but also as a field of practice beholden to the constitutional limits of a settler colonial nation-state. If we aim to conclude this course with a serious discussion of redistribution, we must grapple with the racialized opportunities and limits of property under racial capitalism.*

## **WEEK 2. OCTOBER 4 & 6**

### **IMPERIAL CITIES: EMPIRE, RACE, AND REAL ESTATE**

1. Hall, Peter. “The City of Dreadful Night” in *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design Since 1880*. 4th ed. Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014. Pages 13-48.
2. Schneer, Jonathan. “London in 1900” and “The Face of Imperial London” in *London 1900: the Imperial Metropolis*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001. Pages 3-36.
3. Hartman, Saidiya V. “The Terrible Beauty of the Slum” and “A Minor Figure” in *Wayward Lives, Beautiful Experiments: Intimate Histories of Social Upheaval*. First ed. New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company, 2019.
4. Alyosha Goldstein. 2017. “On the Reproduction of Race, Capitalism, and Settler Colonialism” in A. Roy, ed. *Race and Capitalism: Global Territories, Transnational Histories*, Institute on Inequality and Democracy at UCLA Luskin, 42-51, <https://challengeinequality.luskin.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/16/2018/04/Race-and-Capitalism-digital-volume.pdf>

Archive: Masterman, Charles F. G., and Bentley B. Gilbert. [\*The Heart of the Empire: Discussions of Problems of Modern City Life in England\*](#). London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1902. Pages 1-9.

*Orthodox planning history traces the origins of the profession to efforts addressing the problem of urban poverty in late nineteenth-century London. This week, we equip ourselves with critiques of gender-racial capitalism and colonialism to situate the purported birthplace of professional planning in the context of dispossession, ownership, and the ongoing use of the “police power.” How would you revise the canon of planning history given these critiques?*

## **WEEK 3. OCTOBER 11 & 13**

### **“They killed our boy!” - POLICE POWERS IN THE PROGRESSIVE CITY**

1. Hernandez, Kelly Lytle. “Hobos in Heaven” and “Justice for Samuel Faulkner” in *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771-1965*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017.
2. Haley, Sarah. “Convict Leasing, (Re)Production, and Gendered Racial Terror,” in *No Mercy Here: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016.

3. Fogelson, Robert M. "City and Regional Planning" in *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.
4. Freund, David M. P. "Local Control and the Rights of Property: The Politics of Incorporation, Zoning, and Race before 1940" in *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Archive #1: Charles Mulford Robinson, [\*The City Beautiful: Report to the Municipal Art Commission\*](#) (Los Angeles, 1909).

*This week we consider exploitative development in the Progressive City, a planning paradigm whose reformist vision we still contend with today. We assess the Progressive City through its use of the police power, that in U.S. constitutional law, endows the government with the power to enforce public order for the benefit of the "general welfare" of its residents. Planning through government is effectively predicated on this power. So, we'll examine two linked municipal planning functions: racialized zoning and policing.*

#### **WEEK 4. OCTOBER 18 & 20**

##### **WAR CITY - MODERNIST CITY**

1. Ananya Roy, "Emergency Urbanism," *Public Books*, November 11, 2020. <https://www.publicbooks.org/emergency-urbanism/>
2. James Holston. "Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship" in *Making the Invisible Visible: A Multicultural Planning History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
3. Avila, Eric. "The Master's Plan: The Rise and Fall of the Modernist City," in *The Folklore of the Freeway: Race and Revolt in the Modernist City*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2014.
4. Zipp, Samuel. "Introduction," "Cold War Public Housing in the Age of Urban Renewal," and "Confronting the Mass Way of Life," in *Manhattan Projects: the Rise and Fall of Urban Renewal in Cold War New York*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.

*We have returned to campus under the fading call of "emergency." Today it's a waning global pandemic; yesterday it was global war. This week we take up U.S. emergency planning during World War II and link its interventions to bottom-up demands for security and redistribution in the two decades leading to the war's devastating bloodletting. We then pivot to the Modernist City of the postwar period, whose commitment to slum-clearing mega projects was predicated on the capacity building opportunities of the City of Global War.*

Archive: Tenant complaints from the Los Angeles Rent Office, 1942-1950, collected from the National Archives, San Francisco, CA.

**\*\*READING RESPONSE ESSAY #1 DUE FRIDAY, OCTOBER 21, 2022 BY MIDNIGHT. \*\***

## **WEEK 5. OCTOBER 25 & 27**

### **AMERICAN BABYLON**

1. Self, Robert O. "Introduction" and "Tax Dollar" in *American Babylon: Race and the Struggle for Postwar Oakland*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2003.
2. Freund, David M. P. "A Free Market for Housing: Policy, Growth, and Exclusion in Suburbia, 1940-1970" in *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
3. Williams, Rhonda Y. "'An Awakening Giant' The Search for Poor People's Political Power" in *The Politics of Public Housing: Black Women's Struggles Against Urban Inequality*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2004.
4. Jenkins, Destin. "Shelter" in *The Bonds of Inequality: Debt and the Making of the American City*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2021.

Contemporary: "[Affordable housing program targets California's middle class](#)," *Los Angeles Times*, September 15, 2021.

*The Modernist City of expulsive downtowns, exclusionary suburbs, and the federally funded freeways that connected them had an intricate political and cultural economy. "The suburb" and "the ghetto" became key planning geographies that were segregated but linked through what Robert Self identifies as struggles over the redistribution of people, jobs, money, and political power. They were struggles, not only over segregation in private housing markets or the ballot box, but also struggles over the racialized governance of property—from public housing evictions to public housing revenue bonds. From the plunder of these times, we inherit our contemporary racial wealth gap. Hence, when the mouths of Black Oakland activists got biblical about the postwar Modernist City, the name they delivered was apt. American Babylon.*

## **WEEK 6. NOVEMBER 1 & 3**

Special Guest on Nov. 3rd: Frank Shyong, *Los Angeles Times* columnist.

### **REBELLIONS**

*"Just get a bulldozer and run over Martin Luther King, that's all you need to say about him."*

- Mrs. Coleman of Watts, Los Angeles, CA

1. Roy, Ananya, Stuart Schrader, and Emma Shaw Crane. "'The Anti-Poverty Hoax': Development, Pacification, and the Making of Community in the Global 1960s." *Cities* 44 (2015/04/01/ 2015): 139-45.
2. Checkoway, Barry. "Paul Davidoff and Advocacy Planning in Retrospect" and Hayden, Dolores. "Who Plans the U.S.A.? A Comment on "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning"." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60, no. 2 (1994/06/30 1994).



3. Frank Shyong, "How a skid row store faces the tensions in Black-Korean history—by discussing its bleakest chapters," *Los Angeles Times*, July 26, 2022.
4. Kelley, Robin D. G. 1994. "Birmingham's Untouchables" in *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* / Robin D.G. Kelley. New York: Free Press.

Archive: Jerry Cohen and William S. Murphy. "[Watts Today](#)," *LIFE MAGAZINE*. July 16, 1966.

*The people of the Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles responded to the uneven development, dispossession, accumulation, and redistribution making the Modernist City with an uprising, whose space of fires, reappropriations of property, and curfews rivaled the size of Manhattan. This week, we consider the critiques of Mrs. Coleman and the contested planning visions that were at dialectical odds within the promise and pacification of urban rebellion.*

## **WEEK 7. NOVEMBER 8 & 10**

### **NEOLIBERALISM**

1. Harvey, David. "Neoliberalism as Creative Destruction." *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 610, no. 1 (March 2007): 21–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716206296780>.
2. Hong, Grace Kyungwon. "Introduction" in *Death beyond Disavowal: The Impossible Politics of Difference*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2015. Accessed October 27, 2021. ProQuest Ebook Central.
3. Arena, John. "Introduction" and "Neoliberalism and Nonprofits" in *Driven from New Orleans: How Nonprofits Betray Public Housing and Promote Privatization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012.
4. Vincanne Adams. "The Other Road to Serfdom: Recovery by the Market and the Affect Economy in New Orleans." *Public Culture* 1 January 2012; 24 (1 (66)): 185–216. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1215/08992363-1443601>

*This week we take up the big bad wolf that is neoliberalism and the City of Enterprise. Harvey argues that neoliberalism's deregulation, deep cuts in social welfare spending, and structural adjustment policies were "above all a project to restore class dominance to sectors that saw their fortunes threatened by the ascent of social democratic endeavors in the aftermath of the Second World War." By taking a dive into both past and not so past federal carceral and disaster policies, we find that neoliberalism reconstituted the governance of making wealth inequality in the U.S., and thus, the making, or in the case of Hurricane Katrina-hit New Orleans, the unmaking of cities. Ironically, the often romanticized "community" of participatory planning paradigms became a governing partner in neoliberalism, but not all at once.*

**\*\*READING RESPONSE ESSAY #2 DUE FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 11, 2022 BY MIDNIGHT. \*\***

## **WEEK 8. NOVEMBER 15 & 17**

### **DRUG WAR URBANISM**

1. Goetz, Edward G. *Shelter Burden: Local Politics and Progressive Housing Policy*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993.
2. Tracy Jeanne Rosenthal. "The Enduring Fiction of Affordable Housing." *New Republic*. April 2, 2021. <https://newrepublic.com/article/161806/affordable-housing-public-housing-rent-los-angeles>
3. Gilmore, Ruth Wilson. "The California Political Economy" and "The Prison Fix" in *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007.
4. Felker-Kantor, Max. "Police Crimes and Power Abuses Police Reform and Anti-Police Abuse Movements" in *Policing Los Angeles: Race, Resistance, and the Rise of the LAPD*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2018.

## **WEEK 9. NOVEMBER 22 & 24**

NOVEMBER 23: **NO CLASS**. In-person or remote group work on final presentations. Meet with Professor Vestal and TAs for feedback.

NOVEMBER 25: **THANKSGIVING HOLIDAY. NO CLASS**

## **WEEK 10. NOVEMBER 29 & DECEMBER 1**

### **REPARATIONS, ABOLITION, AND FIGHTING EXTRACTION**

1. Olufemi O. Taiwo. "Preface" and "The Constructive View" in *Reconsidering Reparations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021.
2. Kaba, Mariame, and Tamara Nopper. "Part VI. Accountability Is Not Punishment: Transforming How We Deal with Harm and Violence" in *We Do This 'Til We Free Us: Abolitionist Organizing and Transforming Justice*. La Vergne: Haymarket Books, 2021.
3. Roy, A.; Bennett, A.; Blake, J.; Coleman, J.; Cornfield, H.; Harrell, L., et al. (2022). "Executive Summary," "Infrastructures of Community," and "In Conclusion, A letter to the Future" in *(Dis)Placement: The Fight for Housing and Community After Echo Park Lake*. Retrieved from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/70r0p7q4>.
4. Olufemi O. Taiwo. "The Arc of the Moral Universe" in *Reconsidering Reparations*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2021.

*ABOLITION NOW. Class is dismissed. I mean this figuratively. You still need to attend class. This week we discuss paradigms for planning abolition and reparations considering the history of racial capitalism and colonialism we explored together in class.*