

**University of Toronto  
Department of Political Science**

**POL476 H1F  
Topics in Public Policy: Housing Policy in Canada and the US**

**Fall 2017, Mondays, 10am - 12am**

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**1. Course Outline and Objectives**

Cities in Canada and the US are increasingly faced with a crisis of housing. Homeownership is beyond the grasp of many Canadians and Americans, and many of those who find housing in the rental market are dedicating too much of their monthly income to housing costs. Not just an economic good, housing is also an important social policy and a tool of integration (or segregation), as government policy has in some cases deliberately sought to keep races or classes apart. Taking a historical and comparative perspective, this course looks at housing in Canada and the US as an economic policy but also as a social policy, one that is increasingly contributing to inequality and segregation. It also considers the positive attributes of housing as a determinant of health, employment and integration.

**2. Readings and Required texts**

**Required texts:**

Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.

Suttor, Greg. 2016. *Still Renovating: A History of Canadian Social Policy*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press.

In addition to required texts, students are required to complete a book review of one of the following books. **(Graduate students will review both books, either in two ten-page reviews or one 15-page review or together in the same review.)**

Desmond, Matthew. 2016. *Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City*. New York: Crown Publishing Group.

Rothstein, Richard. 2017. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation

Course readings will be available in the following places:

- **Blackboard** site for this course (see below)
- **2-hour Reserve** at Robarts Library

- **Journal articles** through the U of T Library catalogue
- **eBook** through the U of T Library catalogue
- **Required texts** can be purchased at the book store

### 3. Assignments

- 3.1 Seminar participation (**cumulative**): 15%
- 3.2 Seminar presentation (**assigned on the first class**): 10%
- 3.3 Three Critical reflections (4 pages double spaced) (**3 – due in class you choose**): 10% each, 30% total
- 3.4 Book review (**due via email October 13**): 15%
- 3.5 Research essay (1 page single spaced) – Outline and bibliography (**due in class October 23**): 5%
- 3.6 Research essay (25 pages double spaced) (**due December 15**): 25%

**3.1 Seminar participation (15%):** Seminars are designed to encourage the informed and respectful exchange of ideas. If everyone does the readings and comes to class prepared to discuss and debate, the seminar will be a fruitful and enjoyable experience for everyone. Students are expected to have completed the readings and come to class with two comments or questions each week. Each class will begin with a *tour de table* where each student will raise these two questions or comments. Students can choose to “skip” the *tour de table* twice. The seminar discussion will follow from the *tour de table*.

**3.2 Seminar presentation (10%):** At least once in the term (possibly twice for graduate students) students will present the readings. This presentation should not be more than 10 minutes – if the presentation exceeds 15 minutes, I will end the presentation and your mark may be affected. The presentation should cover the main arguments and themes of the week’s readings, highlight the strengths and weaknesses, and raise some questions to guide the discussion during the seminar.

If you wish, you may meet with me during office hours the week before your presentation to discuss the readings and what you plan to present.

**3.3 Three Critical reflections – 4 pages double-spaced (10% each, 30% total):** Three times during the semester, you will write up a critical reflection of the week’s readings. This assignment requires that you review all the texts that were assigned that week, highlight the key themes of the readings, address points of debate and difference between the perspectives presented, and conclude with some of your own thoughts and reflections on the readings.

These papers should be 4-5 pages double-spaced and are due to the instructor at the beginning of class. Assignments handed in after class has started (at 10:00 am sharp) will not be accepted and you will have to do another critical reflection another week.

**3.4 Book review (15%):** Undergraduate students will review either *Evicted* or *The Color of Law*, and graduate students will review both. Both of these recent books have received critical acclaim and provide rich insight into American housing policy. Undergraduates will write one review of one book (10 pages double-spaced), which will cover the main argument and themes of the book,

evaluate the evidence presented, highlight a fact or event in the book that was particularly striking or insightful, will discuss flaws (if any) or missed perspectives, and will conclude with some personal reflections and thoughts. Graduate students will do the same for both books, writing either one 15-page review or two 10-page reviews.

These papers are due via email on October 13th at midnight.

**3.5 Outline and bibliography – 1 page single-spaced (5%):** This portion of the writing assignment is designed to encourage you to get an early start on your paper. The outline should include the main object of study, cases that will be included in the study, an initial presentation of evidence and research, and at least 6 sources (including primary and secondary sources). There is no need to present a thesis statement at this point, though you can if you want to.

The outline and bibliography are due to the instructor in class on October 23. Assignments handed in after class has started (10:00 am sharp) will not be accepted.

**3.6 Research Essay – 25 pages double-spaced (25%):** The final assignment is a comparison of two housing or homelessness policies or plans. This can be two Canadian provinces (ie Alberta and Quebec), two Canadian cities (ie Vancouver and Halifax), international comparisons (ie Toronto and Amsterdam), two national policies (ie Canada and Finland), two local-based groups (ie The Calgary Homeless Foundation and the *Mouvement pour mettre fin à l'itinérance à Montréal*)... The possibilities are endless! The paper must, however, focus on either housing or homelessness plans or policies, and be comparative.

The paper should include an introduction that announces the main outline and arguments of the paper, a presentation of the two plans or policies being compared (including the context in which they were developed). The analysis is the most important part of the paper, and should include a comparative evaluation of the policies (are they very similar? Different? Why?), a discussion of why those similarities or differences exist, a consideration of the implications of the differences for the target population, and a compelling conclusion.

Papers should be 25 pages double-spaced, should use at least 20 sources (primary and secondary), use a recognized citation style, free of typos and errors, and should include page numbers.

The final paper is due December 15 via email, but students are encouraged to finish their paper well in advance of this deadline.

### **3.7 Late penalties**

The deadlines for writing assignments are included above. You are encouraged to submit your work in advance of the deadline. There will be a late penalty of 5% per day (including weekends).

### **3.8 Statement on Academic Integrity**

Plagiarism, and cheating more broadly, are serious offences and are treated as such. The University Handbook on Student Rights and Responsibilities notes:

Honesty and fairness are fundamental values shared by students, staff and faculty in the University of Toronto community. The ethic of intellectual honesty goes hand in hand with the University's efforts to advance and disseminate knowledge by drawing fairly on the ideas of others, by presenting and testing ideas, and by giving and receiving appropriate recognition.

A list of academic offences can be found online (and linked to on Blackboard) at: <http://www.governingcouncil.utoronto.ca/policies/behaveac.htm>. A few examples include:

- Submitting work that is not your own (taking someone else's or buying someone else's)
- Submitting the same work in more than one course
- Making up sources or facts
- Including word-for-word a sentence (or longer) from a source that is not included in quotation marks and properly referenced

### **3.9 Grade appeals**

If you believe your work deserved a different mark than it received, you may request an appeal. To do so, you must give reasons for your request (not "I worked really hard" or "I need a higher mark to keep my/get a scholarship"). When reviewing your work, your I may change your grade, which includes the possibility that you will receive a lower grade than the original mark (the re-assessed grade is the one that will count as your final mark for the assignment).

There will be no opportunities to "make-up" an assignment.

## **4. Blackboard**

Information about the course, including the outline, assignments, essay topics and supplementary materials will be posted on Blackboard.

## **5. Accessibility and Accommodations**

Students with diverse learning styles and needs are welcome in this course. In particular, if you have a disability/health consideration that may require accommodations, please feel free to approach me and/or the AccessAbility Resource Centre as soon as possible.

AccessAbility staff (located in Rm 2047, South Building) are available by appointment to assess specific needs, provide referrals and arrange appropriate accommodations. Please call 905-569-4699 or email [access.utm@utoronto.ca](mailto:access.utm@utoronto.ca). The sooner you let us know your needs the quicker we can assist you in achieving your learning goals in this course.

## **6. Notice of Collection**

The University of Toronto respects your privacy. The information on medical certificates is collected pursuant to section 2(14) of the University of Toronto Act, 1971. It is collected for the purpose of administering accommodations for academic purposes based on medical grounds. The department will maintain a record of all medical certificates received. At all times it will be protected in accordance with the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act.

If you have questions, please refer to [www.utoronto.ca/privacy](http://www.utoronto.ca/privacy) or contact the University's Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Office at 416-946-5835. Address: Room 201, McMurrich Bldg., 12 Queen's Park Crescent, Toronto, ON, M5S 1A1.

## **7. Need Help?**

### **Need help with an assignment/exam prep?**

- Visit me during office hours
- Make an appointment with Robert Gillespie Academic Skills Centre ([academicskills.utm@utoronto.ca](mailto:academicskills.utm@utoronto.ca), 905-828-3858)

### **Need academic accommodation?**

- Contact the AccessAbility Resource Centre (DV 2037, [access.utm@utoronto.ca](mailto:access.utm@utoronto.ca), 905-569-4699)
- Visit the course instructor during office hours

### **Need counseling?**

- UTM Health & Counselling Centre (DV 1123A, [health.utm@utoronto.ca](mailto:health.utm@utoronto.ca), 905-828-5255)
- Good2Talk Postsecondary Student Helpline (1-866-925-5454)

## **8. Class Schedule**

### **September 11: Introduction**

Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House. Chapter 1.

Hulchanski, David. 2010. "The Three Cities Within Toronto: Income Polarization Among Toronto's Neighbourhoods, 1970-2005". Cities Centre, University of Toronto.

Demond, Matthew. 2017. "How Homeownership Became the Engine of American Inequality." *The New York Times*.

Vikander, Tessa. 2016. "The Right to Camp". *The Walrus*.

### **September 18: Welfare State Context in Canada**

Béland, Daniel. 2010. *What Is Social Policy?* Cambridge: Polity Press. Chapter 1.

Mahon, Rianne. 2008. "Varieties of Liberalism: Canadian Social Policy from the 'Golden Age' to the Present". *Social Policy and Administration*. 42:2 (342-361).

Banting, Keith and John Myles, 2013. "Introduction" in Banting and Myles, *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics* pp 1-39.

Jenson, Jane. 2013. "Historical Transformations of Canada's Social Architecture" in eds Banting and Myles, *Inequality and the Fading of Redistributive Politics* pp 43-64.

### **September 25: Early History of Canadian Housing Policy**

Suttor, Greg. 2016. *Still Renovating*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Chapters 3-4 (pages 45-124).

Bacher, John. 1993. *Keeping to the Marketplace*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Chapter 1 (3-36).

Banting, Keith. 1990. "Social Housing in a Divided State" in *Housing the Homeless and the Poor*, eds Fallis and Murray. Toronto: University of Toronto Press., pp 115-162

## **October 2: Recent History of Canadian Housing Policy**

Suttor, Greg. 2016. *Still Renovating*. Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press. Chapters 6-7 (pages 125-170).

Hulchanski, David. 2004. "What Factors Shape Canadian Housing Policy? The Intergovernmental Role in Canada's Housing System" in *The State of the Federation 2004 – Municipal-Federal-Provincial Relations in Canada*, R Young and C Leuprecht, eds., Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

Gaetz, Stephen. 2010. "The Struggle to End Homelessness in Canada: How We Created the Crisis, and How We Can End it." *Open Health Services and Policy Journal* 3: 21–26.

Pomeroy, Steve and Nick Falvo. 2013. "Pragmatism and Political Expediency: Housing Policy in Canada Under the Harper Regime" ONPHA Workshop 308.

## **October 9 – No Class (Thanksgiving)**

## **October 16: Welfare State Context in the US**

Hacker, Jacob and Paul Pierson. 2010. *Winner Take All Politics*. New York: Simon and Shuster. Chapter 2.

Hacker, Jacob. 2004. "Privatizing Risk without Privatizing the Welfare State: The Hidden Politics of Social Policy Retrenchment in the United States" in *American Political Science Review* 98(2) 243-260.

Myles, John. 1998. "How to Design a 'Liberal' Welfare State: A Comparison of Canada and the United States" in *Social Policy & Administration*. 32(4), 341-364.

Partanen, Anu. 2016. *The Nordic Theory of Everything: In Search of a Better Life*. New York: HarperCollins. Chapter 1.

## **October 23 - US Housing Policy**

Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House. Chapters 17 and 20.

Von Hoffman, Alexander. 2012. "History lessons for today's housing policy: the politics of low-income housing" in *Housing Policy Debate* 22(3), 321-376.

Orlebeke, Charles. 2000. "The Evolution of Low-Income Housing Policy, 1949-1999" in *Housing Policy Debate* 11(2), 489-520.

Wexler, Martin. 1996. "A Comparison of Canadian and American Housing Policies." *Urban Studies* 33(10): 1909–1921.

### **October 30 - Housing as a predictor/precursor**

Desmond, Matthew. 2012. "Eviction and the Reproduction of Urban Poverty" in *American Journal of Sociology* 118(1) 88-133.

Shapiro, Thomas, Tatjana Meschede and Sam Osoro. 2013. "The Roots of the Widening Racial Wealth Gap: Explaining the Black-White Economic Divide". *Institute on Assets and Social Policy*, 1-8.

Alvarez, Jennifer, Nikki Baumrind, Marta Induni and Rachel Kimerling. 2007. "Intimate Partner Violence and Housing Instability" in *American Journal of Preventative Medicine* 32(2): 143-146.

Horn, Keren Mertens, Ingrid Gould Ellen, Amy Ellen Schwartz. 104. "Do Housing Choice Voucher Holders Live Near Good Schools?" in *Journal of Housing Economics* 24, 109-121.

Solari, Claudia and Robert Mare. 2012. "Housing Crowding Effects on Children's Wellbeing" in *Soc Sci Res* 41(2): 464-476.

Newman, Sandra and C. School Holupka. 2014. "Housing affordability and investments in children" in *Journal of Housing Economics* 24, 89-100.

### **November 6 – No Class (Reading Week)**

### **November 13 - Space and Neighbourhood Effects**

Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House. Chapter 4.

Desmond, Matthew and Weihua An. 2015. "Neighborhood and Network Disadvantage among Urban Renters" in *Sociological Science* 329-349.

Musterd, Sako, Wim Ostendorf and Sjoerd de Vos. 2003. "Neighbourhood Effects and Social Mobility: A Longitudinal Analysis" in *Housing Studies* 18(6) 877-892.

Oreopoulos, Philip. 2008. "Neighbourhood Effects in Canada: A Critique" in *Canadian Public Policy* 19(2) 2008.



## **November 20 - Housing and Segregation**

Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House. Chapter 14.

Williams, David and Chiquita Collins. 2001. "Racial Residential Segregation: A Fundamental Cause of Racial Disparities in Health" in *Public Health Reports* 116(5) 404-416.

Bolt, Gideon, Deborah Phillips and Ronald Van Kempen. 2010. "Housing Policy, (De)segregation and Social Mixing: An International Perspective" in *Housing Studies* 25(2), 129-135.

Walks, Alan. 2006. "Ghettos in Canada's cities? Racial segregation, ethnic enclaves and poverty concentration in Canadian urban areas" in *Canadian Geographer*, 50(3) 273-297.

## **November 27 - Neighbourhood Change and Gentrification**

Jacobs, Jane. 1992. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House. Chapters 13, 15 and 16.

Walks, Alan and Martine August. 2008. "The Factors Inhibiting Gentrification in Areas with Little Non-market Housing: Policy Lessons from the Toronto Experience" in *Urban Studies* 45(12) 2594-2625.

Mitchell, Don. 1997. "The Annihilation of Space by Law: The Roots and Implications of Anti-Homeless Laws in the United States" in *Antipode* 29(3), 303-335.

Yee, Vivian. 2015. "Gentrification in a Brooklyn Neighbourhood Forces Residents to Move On" in *The New York Times* available online:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/29/nyregion/gentrification-in-a-brooklyn-neighborhood-forces-residents-to-move-on.html>

## **December 4 - Homelessness**

Desmond, Matthew. 2012. "Disposable Ties and the Urban Poor" in *American Journal of Sociology* 117(5) 1295-1335.

Aubry, Tim, Susan Farrell, Stephen Hwang and Melissa Calhoun. 2013. "Identifying the Patterns of Emergency Shelter Stays of Single Individuals in Canadian Cities of Different Sizes" in *Housing Studies* 28(6), 910-927.

Hulchanski, David. 2009. Homelessness in Canada: Past, Present, Future. Keynote Address *Growing Home: Housing and Homelessness in Canada*.

Minnery, John and Emma Greenhalgh. 2007. "Approaches to Homelessness Policy in Europe, the United States, and Australia" in *Journal of Social Issues* 63(3), 641-655.

Culhane, Dennis. 2008. "The Cost of Homelessness: A Perspective from the United States" in *The European Journal of Homelessness* 2(1), 97-114.

The National Alliance to End Homelessness. 2016. "The State of Homelessness in America, 2016". The Homelessness Research Institute. (*skim*).

The Canadian Alliance to End Homelessness. 2016. "The State of Homelessness in Canada, 2016". The Canadian Observatory on Homelessness. (*skim*).