

# Progressive Planning

The Magazine of Planners Network

## Progressive Planning in the American South



## In This Issue

**Race, Housing, Community Planning and Economic Development  
in the South**

# The Seventh Generation

## The South

### *The Race Culture Sustained*

William M. Harris

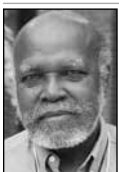
*"In our every deliberation, we must consider the impact of our decisions on the next seven generations."*

*—From The Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy*

**W**E BLACK SOUTHERNERS KNOW. We know the significance of skin color. We know that standard of human worth has not changed over four hundred years of living with European Americans. We know that W.E.B. DuBois was right in 1903 to offer that, "The problem of race in America is the color line." We know that little has changed for us in the attitudes of white Southerners.

It is in this context of white Southern attitudes and actions that this essay presents views of progressive planning responses to the issues of white Southern attitudes and behaviors. It is essential that we attempt some level of clarity on what constitutes *progressive planning* as envisioned by African Americans in the South. In setting forth the invitation to contribute to this special issue of *Progressive Planning Magazine*, the editors provided descriptors of progressive planning. Their presentation is helpful. However, for blacks living in the South, greater clarity is required. For us, progressive planning is to be defined in addition to described.

*We see progressive planning as the aggressive, non-compromising agent for sustained social change that will redistribute all levels of wealth (jobs, economic development, property ownership, education, etc.), public policies that will protect and preserve the African American quality of life in the present and future, and establish guidelines and strategies for reparations in the social, economic, political, and environmental spheres.*



William M. Harris, Sr. is Martin Luther King, Jr. Visiting Professor Emeritus at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

In this essay, the presentation centers around the roles and strategies that planners *should* play in addressing the factors offered in my definition above. No effort is devoted to what planner roles have been in the past. Such discussions lead too heavily to the blame game. Thus I am not going to present and address here the known history of abuses by whites against African Americans in the South. As planners, we are first futurists. As progressive planners we are strategists who value at the highest level the quality of life for all citizens, giving the priority of our attention to the oppressed.

#### Change Intensity

Working in the South to bring about sustained social change that benefits the black community has been (and remains) a very high risk undertaking. The risks have taken many forms: violence to persons and property, political isolation, social exclusion, and economic ostracism. These risks hold for all, independent of race and gender. We progressive planners know that risk taking must be measured in terms of benefits and costs. Where Southern blacks are concerned, costs usually outweigh the benefits, especially in the short term. We also know that involvement must be sustained over the long term in the face of these costs if positive goals are to be realized.

#### Attack Violence

In the South, African Americans, especially males, remain targets of violence. Recent instances in

*continued on page 4*

# Spring 2013 Issue Contents

## Seventh Generation

### The South: The Race Culture Sustained

William M. Harris ..... page 2

### Lack of Diversity in Southern Academia: What Can Progressive Planners Do?

Jeffrey S. Lowe ..... page 6

## The American South

### Progressive Planning in the American South

Pierre Clavel and Nichola Lowe ..... page 10

### Flipping the Script: Toward a Transformative Urban Redevelopment Agenda in Chattanooga, Tennessee

Courtney Elizabeth Knapp ..... page 14

### Community Planning Confronts the Proposed Demolition of Public Housing: A Memphis Tale

Laura Saija, David Westendorff, and Antonio Raciti ..... page 18

### Preserving Emancipation: The Case of St. Helena Island, South Carolina

Charles Connerly ..... page 22

### Civil Rights, Technology and Cultural Tourism:

### The Emmett Till Historic Intrepid Center Museum in Glendora, Mississippi

Joan Marshall Wesley and Daphne G. Foster ..... page 26

### Innovations in Immigrant Incorporation: High Point, NC

Hannah Gill, Meghan Andrew, and Mai Nguyen ..... page 31

### A Tale of Two Cities: Leveling the Development Playing Field in Atlanta and Birmingham

Mike Dobbins ..... page 35

### Please Inquire Within: Local Hiring in Durham, North Carolina

Clara Turner and Nichola Lowe ..... page 39

### Growing Local/Buying Local: Challenging Pessimism and Social Division through Narratives of Possibility

Gabriel Cumming and Dorothy Holland ..... page 43

### Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution

Reviewed by Eeva Berglund ..... page 47

### How to Join, Purchase Back Issues, etc.

..... page 50

## www.plannersnetwork.org

### PLANNERS NETWORK

106 West Sibley Hall  
Cornell University  
Ithaca, NY 14853, USA  
Ph: 607.254.8890  
Fx: 607-255-1971  
Email: [info@plannersnetwork.org](mailto:info@plannersnetwork.org)  
Website: [www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org)

### MAGAZINE EDITORS

Tom Angotti, Jason Blackman, Pierre Clavel,  
Ann Forsyth, Chester Hartman, Kara Heffernan,  
Clara Irazábal, Marie Kennedy, Norma Rantisi,  
Amy Siciliano

### MAGAZINE LAYOUT

Paperwork

### E-NEWSLETTER EDITORS

Jason Blackman, Mandana Nouri-Nekoei  
*Progressive Planning* is published quarterly  
by Planners Network, Inc., a non-profit  
corporation in the State of New York.

Copyright © 2013 by Planners Network.

Reprinting and distribution of portions of  
this magazine for non-commercial purposes  
are encouraged. Reprints for commercial  
purposes require written permission from  
the publisher. *Progressive Planning* is indexed  
in the Alternative Press Index.

### PLANNERS NETWORK STEERING COMMITTEE

Tom Angotti: [tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu](mailto:tangotti@hunter.cuny.edu)  
Eve Baron: [eve\\_baron@mas.org](mailto:eve_baron@mas.org)  
Pierre Clavel: [pc29@cornell.edu](mailto:pc29@cornell.edu)  
Ann Forsyth: [aforsyth@gsd.harvard.edu](mailto:aforsyth@gsd.harvard.edu)  
Aaron Golub: [aaron.golub@asu.edu](mailto:aaron.golub@asu.edu)  
Joe Grengs: [grengs@umich.edu](mailto:grengs@umich.edu)  
Marilena Liguori: [marilenal@gmail.com](mailto:marilenal@gmail.com)  
Richard Milgrom:  
[richardmilgrom@gmail.com](mailto:richardmilgrom@gmail.com)  
Norma Rantisi: [norma.rantisi@gmail.com](mailto:norma.rantisi@gmail.com)  
Alex Schafran: [schafran@gmail.com](mailto:schafran@gmail.com)  
Young Planners Network Representative  
Yolanda Chioma Richards:  
[chioma425@yahoo.com](mailto:chioma425@yahoo.com)

Advisory Committee Representative  
Chester Hartman: [chartman@prrac.org](mailto:chartman@prrac.org)

### PLANNERS NETWORK ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chester Hartman (Chair)  
Teresa Cordova  
Dana R. Driskell  
Marie Kennedy  
Patricia Nolan  
Ken Reardon,  
Arturo Sanchez  
Peg Seip  
Ruth Yabes  
Ayse Yonder

### GUIDELINES FOR AUTHORS

Please see [www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org)

### ON THE COVER

The Vance Avenue Collaborative pres-  
ents its *Vance Avenue Community  
Transformation Plan* to local residents and  
stakeholders.

Photo by Antonio Raciti



## ***Seventh Generation The South: The Race Culture Sustained***

**By William M. Harris**

*continued from page 2*

Mississippi, Texas, Louisiana, Alabama, and other states demonstrate the concern. The Southern Poverty Law Center continues to report cases of violence committed by whites against blacks. Although these instances are troubling, the situation becomes dire when white police violence against blacks is added. White racial violence toward African Americans in the South is present and pervasive. What is to be the role of progressive planners in addressing this issue?

There are two immediate avenues available to confront the problem. Research and data analysis are mainstream activities of planners. Progressive planners must exploit existing data and also create new research into the types of violence, levels of damage (to persons and property), locations, and frequency of violence that will provide evidence to challenge and support legal redress. The second step is to be visible and involved advocates for the oppressed. Appear in court, speak before elected officials (local, state, and national) in support of the oppressed black community being attacked. The research and reporting are very low risk activities. However, participation in public arenas requires courage to withstand the sure-to-come critical challenges by white Southerners.

### **Public Policy Intervention**

The “Separate but Equal” legal doctrine is no longer applicable. The subsequent “Black Codes” are no longer applicable. However, these antecedents continue to raise their heads in public policy in the South and elsewhere in the nation. Currently nearly all the Southern states have passed laws that are designed to restrict suffrage for African Americans. These new voting regulations require identification mechanisms that target the black poor, elderly, and underemployed as unqualified to vote. Second only to the denial of travel (a primary condition of maintaining slavery), denial of suffrage is central to the welfare and security in a representative republic.

What should be the appropriate role of the progressive planner in this context? Here the prescription is not complex. Get involved. There are three immediate roles that may be identified for the progressive planner. On the legal side, progressive planners must take the initiative to bring suit in courts at local, state, and national levels, challenging these regressive political renderings. Second, progressive planners must appear in every media available to expose the racism inherent in these laws. And third, the progressive planner must join coalitions with the NAACP, SCLC, civic advocacy groups, and African American congressional leadership to produce policies that repeal or limit the effectiveness of anti-suffrage laws in the South. There can be no alternative to this necessary direct action involvement.

### **Construct Housing**

The issue and intent here is not focused upon actual or physical manufacturing of housing or the built environment. To construct housing is to make “fair housing” a reality. We progressive planners know the historical and continuing racial discrimination in housing. We are aware of the racial segregation at the neighborhood level that brings about intensive racial segregation in our public schools. We are knowledgeable of the race-specific practices in home lending by banks and mortgage institutions. These data are readily available and most have been reported in the press and white papers. This area is of critical importance. Housing remains a major ingredient in the building of wealth. With African Americans owning only about one-percent of the nation’s wealth, it is clear that housing discrimination is a major deterrent to the building of wealth in the black community.

There are productive roles for progressive planners in the fair housing milieu. One thing is clear; the answer is not more research and academic publications. What is needed is action, the responsibility of progressive planners. Four actions must be taken by progressive planners. The first is to demand a congressional

audience to lay out the issues, consequences, and future hazards of continued racial discrimination in housing. The second is to develop public policies that do more than articulate a principle of fairness, but rather limit decision-makers' options to skirt the law. Third, progressive planners must work with grassroots advocates in the black community who struggle on a continuing basis to bring about equity in housing opportunities. The fourth intervention takes place at a personal level; to identify and work successfully with African Americans, live near us and share our challenges to life and living.

### **Treat Health Inequalities**

When the nation's health issue is raised, again African Americans are clearly oppressed. African American women receive less effective medical care for similar diseases than their white cohorts. The incidence of HIV/AIDS is much more severely present in the black community than elsewhere. Black childhood poverty is triple that of whites. Death from the major killer diseases affect African Americans adversely more than whites. Of course, many factors contribute to these disparities. However, some are clearly race-specific. Since the early work of Benjamin Chavis and subsequent efforts by Robert Bullard, we progressive planners know the devastating impacts of environmental racism (the siting of hazardous wastes facilities, brownfields, etc.). Even when the current administration has moved to expand the health care of the oppressed, many states continue to resist and even refuse to advance the quality of health care for their citizens, especially the poor, inner city and rural African Americans, and the unemployed/underemployed.

Health planning is no longer the narrow domain of health planners. Health planning is a national issue that immediately (and long term) affects the quality of life for all in the environment. What, then, are roles to be played by progressive planners? There are three roles that demand immediate involvement by progressive planners. First, progressive planners must present forcibly in every available public forum the case for national health insurance that will target oppressed and marginalized groups such as blacks in the South. A second responsibility for progressive planners is to join African

American advocate groups that seek to change public health policy, present cases of treatment disparities by the medical profession toward women and children, and educate the black public about health dangers that negatively impact them. The third area of intervention must target and expose policies, institutional failures, and racist practices by individual physicians. There can be no easy solution to a problem that has had negative impacts upon blacks and has been neglected for so long.

### **Blacks in the South**

White racism is part of the DNA of American culture. A social-political-economic-environmental disease itself, eradication will prove to be challenging and enduring. For progressive planners this is a difficult arena. Few white planners see themselves as racist. Few believe their efforts in projecting the nation's future development as inherently racist and exclusionary. Few discuss openly the ethical and practical consequences of their actions as professionals. But progressive planners are NOT excluded from this group.

A major first step in successfully solving a problem is the identification of boundary conditions (bias, limitations, etc.). The first boundary condition for progressive planners is to identify and openly admit their own racism. Once the problem is identified, efforts can be made by ethical people to seek solutions that are beneficial to all. As progressive planners work to build a better, safer, and more fair and just community, they must analyze themselves and be open to the observations and criticisms of those affected most by their practices.

White Americans easily point to the need for African Americans to bail themselves out of their second-class citizenship. Reference to shoe strings, learning to fish, and removing the chip on your shoulder are examples. Frederick Douglas, W.E.B. DuBois, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr. all recognized and pronounced that power concedes nothing without struggle. Vincent Harding posited that the most salient contribution of African people to the Western Hemisphere has been their struggle against oppression. Surely white progressive planners must know or acquire the knowledge of this fact and move with dispatch to address the terrible continuing wrongs put upon blacks. **P<sup>2</sup>**



## Lack of Diversity in Southern Academia *What Can Progressive Planners Do?*

Jeffrey S. Lowe

THE LEVEL OF DIVERSITY in planning programs in the US South is deplorable. The students in many planning departments seem to be nowhere near matching the demographics within their states, let alone the nation as a whole. Regarding faculty diversity, the situation is much more severe. A simple snapshot of faculty of color at the 23 accredited programs in the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) Region II—that includes all the slave-holding states at the outbreak of the Civil War except for Arkansas, Kentucky, Missouri, Louisiana, Tennessee and Texas—indicates that very few programs retain faculty of color. Black faculty account for an under-representative 7.7 percent of all full-time planning faculty in the US and only 2.4 percent find their academic homes in Region II. Furthermore, these states still retain the highest percentages of African Americans in the nation and only six full-time black women faculty exist in the entire region—three above the

junior rank and two at an institution that awards the Ph.D. in planning. Worse yet, there are no full-time African American male faculty with a Ph.D. in planning in Region II.

This void of diversity is of particular concern to me and I have sought to find a remedy. As a planner, a PNER and a contributor to this special edition of *Progressive Planning Magazine*, I am a rare find in this quest for a solution. Certainly, like other PNers, I espouse the organization's principles rooted in the promotion of fundamental change in our economic and political system and a commitment to use abilities in a manner that fosters racial equity and social justice. Adherence to such causes is what makes us progressive planners. My uniqueness comes from the fact that I am an African American male planning scholar; one who has been both a student and a faculty member in planning programs at predominately black and white universities in the US South. Born out of my experiences and reflections, I am raising here (for what I hope will be continued discourse among comrades and readers) my central question: Can progressive planning remedy the low levels of faculty and student diver-

sity in planning programs located in the South where the majority of black citizens in the nation reside?

### **Students Need Mentoring, Programs Need Courageous Leadership**

Answering this question requires a look back to almost two decades ago. I entered the master of city and regional planning program (CRP) at Morgan State University, which is located in the Upper South city of Baltimore, Maryland and, at the time, was one of two accredited-HBCU (Historically Black Colleges and Universities) planning programs in the US. Noticeably diverse, the full-time faculty consisted of one African American woman, an African American man, and two Asian men. The program chair clearly articulated that CRP strategically took advantage of being in Baltimore, a “city of neighborhoods,” and these places were rich laboratories to learn about planning more generally as well as specifically in the African American community. A former African American woman faculty member and assistant director of one of the research centers on campus maintained a



Jeffrey S. Lowe is Associate Professor of Urban Planning and Environmental Policy at Texas Southern University and Co-Chair of Planners of Color Interest Group (POCIG).

very close relationship with the planning program by remaining involved in by-weekly seminars that brought planner practitioners and educators, policymakers and activists to campus. Many of these individuals were former alumni of the program who often spent significant time talking to students after seminars and doing follow-up. Furthermore, faculty members appeared to be attuned to the interests and capabilities of students. Thus, while encouraged to develop one's skills in planning analytics and the manipulation of tools, an emphasis was also placed on clearly identifying one's interest—to become a “generalist with a specialty.” Faculty committed themselves to helping students find their way while exposing them to different areas of planning.

One particular faculty member returned a paper to me with written comments that included the following question: given your interest in research and reasonably good writing skills, have you considered pursuing the Ph.D. in planning? The faculty member would verbally express this sentiment later on several other occasions. After seeking advice from others, including some

scholars I'd met at the bi-weekly seminars, and contemplating these conversations along with my career objectives, I informed my professors of my decision to apply to a few planning doctoral programs. CRP faculty shared their own experiences with me that often included the “good, bad and ugly” of what it was like to be the only student of color in a program. Also, my professors often facilitated introductions and exposure to Ph.D. faculty at other universities, and willingly offered assistance in identifying those doctoral programs that would “best fit” my interest. In the end, I felt affirmed in my decision and equipped with confidence and understanding to begin doctoral studies at Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey.

After earning my Ph.D. from Rutgers, I relocated to the deep South—Jackson, Mississippi—and joined the racially-diverse faculty of the new department of urban and regional planning at Jackson State University (DURP-JSU). Emerging out of a 25-year desegregation legal battle and subsequent settlement (*Jake Ayers v. State of Mississippi*), DURP-JSU continued the legacy of agitation and assertive action for social change and racial

equity for those with few options. William M. Harris, one of the first African Americans to gain a Ph.D. in planning and a scholar of black community development was founding chair of DURP-JSU. More importantly, Harris provided strong leadership and the protection necessary for a nascent department and faculty which maintained a unique set of technical and research competencies that did not exist among the other graduate programs on campus. Faculty were encouraged to be good teachers and productive (even activist) scholars while building a department that promoted an inclusive process of relationship building between the university and community for an agenda of social justice. In some instances, DURP-JSU junior faculty advocated for changes opposed by top university administrators. When this occurred, faculty in other departments often offered kudos for “being courageous as junior faculty” and, acknowledging the difference a strong chair can make, expressed desires for similar leadership in their programs. Indeed, given the institutional culture of top-down influence at JSU, the support and cover provided by the chair expanded the space to become more

---

FSU colleagues urged me not to take on any more national-level service or to become involved in local policymaking. After receiving a nomination to the mayor's affordable housing task force, senior faculty members suggested that I decline it.

---

•

like the scholar of my aspiration as I engaged in a number of efforts including service as Chairperson of the Planning and the Black Community Division (PBCD) of the American Planning Association (APA), co-principal investigator of a community-university partnership; and member of the city's task force to end chronic homelessness.

### **When Racial Diversity Alone Is Not Enough**

In 2006, I joined the faculty of the Department of Urban and Regional Planning at Florida State University (DURP-FSU) and became the first African American tenure-track faculty in its 41-year history. Although my service to PBCD was coming to a close, I believed DURP-FSU would support my push for deepening understanding about the interconnections between planning and race, participatory-action research, and activism around diversity in the planning profession. However, FSU colleagues urged me not to take on any more national-level service or to become involved in local policymaking. Even after receiving a nomination to the mayor's affordable housing task force, senior faculty members suggested that I decline it.

I wondered what the reason was for these pressures. Perhaps, some were sincerely concerned about my ability to expand my scholarship and teaching. But in other cases I saw an unwillingness to venture out of a safe space and challenge the institutional status quo that included

Southern attitudes and practices that fortified barriers against progressive planning for social justice and racial equity. Clearly, courageous leadership is needed that challenges this status quo. With more than 100 tenured and tenure-track faculty in the College that includes DURP-FSU, only one African American can be counted among members. No African Americans have received promotion with tenure under the administration of the current Dean that has lasted for a decade. For a planning program at a flagship university in a state with the second-largest black alone population, and black in combination with another race population, to be unsupportive and lacking in diversity of faculty of color seems alarming, even insulting to the profession!

### **Three Strategies for Progressive Planners**

It is my hope that sharing my experiences and reflections illuminated the importance of the following three attributes necessary in increasing the numbers of students and faculty of color in the US South:

1. mentorship that includes affirmation and exposure to a number of opportunities in planning including the Ph.D.;
2. courageous leadership that protects and supports junior faculty while challenging the status quo; and
3. willing acceptance of the totality of racial diversity rather



than assimilation of persons of color into existing cultural-institutional norms that will never offer a good fit.

Developing these three attributes would be a progressive planning response. However, the current dearth of racial diversity in Southern planning education exists because there is not a critical mass of progressive planners inside the universities of Region II. Without a critical mass that breaks down isolation and marginalization, students and faculty of color will continue to be left to fend for themselves as they struggle against oppression in academic settings that tend to devalue their humanity, experiences and expertise.

Looking forward, although I read no signs on the horizon that a significant progressive change will occur through individual departmental efforts in the South, there are still steps to be taken. Non-racially diverse planning programs must move beyond mere cordial acknowledgment of difference and break through the barriers of unpreparedness and unwillingness to support the totality of what diversity means. Diversity is more than others looking different than you and includes accepting variety in experiences, perspectives and purposeful action. Accepting the totality of diversity entails embracing African American faculty who in the progressive planning tradition aggressively seek to provoke understanding that challenges the prevailing notions of students and faculty, and who work rather intensely with

communities to change structures for greater social justice and racial equity. The following seem to be feasible, more modest steps:

- The time is now to create an open and candid discourse that leads to collective actions instead of individual ones undertaken by progressive planners. Planners Network should begin to tackle this deeply-rooted challenge by holding a retreat or conference activities with consideration given to the three attributes mentioned above, convening members from Region II and other places for a period of introspection, accountability and challenge. One of the initial objectives of the network was to increase the racial diversity of the profession. Have we forgotten this fact and failed to hold ourselves, colleagues, and administrators responsible for pursuing agendas that fail at fundamental transformation of systems consistently producing significantly low-levels of diversity in planning education and subsequently the profession? Some knowledge could be gained about processes undertaken over the years on this front by telling “our stories” and by cooperatively assessing successes and failures, and capacities and inadequacies, with the intention of developing strategies for future action.
- Given that three of the four accredited HBCU planning programs are located in Region II, these academic units should intensify their efforts and work to garner more attention. Even among progressive planners, rarely have HBCU planning programs received consideration for contributing to racial diversity in planning.
- Another strategy should be to ally with or join in solidarity and membership with organizations seeking to influence change in the planning academy throughout the US, such as ACSP’s Planners of Color Interest Group (POCIG) and the Standing Committee on Diversity (SCD). At its 2007 Conference in Gary, Indiana, PBCD sponsored student fellowships to participate in workshops about pursuing the Ph.D. in planning. PBCD’s history includes other initiatives such as worthy attempts at increasing the numbers of black planners in practice, AICP and the academy. No doubt, PBCD, POCIG, SCD and the Latinos and Planning Division of APA would welcome having more comrades in this struggle. For certain, should these alternatives be unacceptable, doing nothing is not a viable option. **P<sup>2</sup>**

# Progressive Planning in the American South

*Pierre Clavel and Nichola Lowe*

## Acknowledgments from the Issue Editors:

We are grateful to each of the authors represented in this issue of *Progressive Planning*, and to many others who gave a lot of help, including people who thought about it, but did not write:

Robert Bullard, Kevin Dick, Ann Margaret Esnard, Harley Etienne, Allan M. Freyer, Lesli Hoey, Barbara Lynch, Moki Macias, Emil Malizia, Marla Nelson, Nicole Oretsky, Ken Reardon, Ken Robinson, Anthony Rodriguez, Catherine Ross, Deden Rukmana, Siddhartha Sen, Sigmund Shipp, June Manning Thomas, Jesse White, and Bobby M. Wilson



**Pierre Clavel** is a professor emeritus at Cornell University and author of *Activists in City Hall* (2010).



**Nichola Lowe** is an associate professor in city and regional planning at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

**I**N JANUARY THIS YEAR North Carolinians awoke to their first legislative session in over 100 years with a Republican governor and Republican supermajorities in both houses. In short order they were presented with proposals to cut unemployment insurance by almost half, require voter identification, emblazon pink emblems on the drivers licenses of children of undocumented immigrants, institutionalize the state's existing right-to-work law and ban on public employee collective bargaining as constitutional amendments, and deepen regressive taxation codes through the elimination of the corporate income tax. This followed two years of agitation by these same majorities, constrained by gubernatorial vetoes from the outgoing Democrat. Progressive scholars, reporting to an assembly in Durham, said the week's showing was a textbook application of what the Pentagon had described as "shock and awe" in the Iraq War campaign of the previous decade.

Other Southern states have experienced a similar conservative push in recent years. Emboldened—perhaps also desperate—in the face of an African American president

and the prospect of widespread electoral defeat at national levels and in some states, southern conservatives have hunkered down in statehouses where they have secured majorities, making dramatic gains through a surge of voter sentiment, redistricting, voter suppression and other tactical moves over the past decade or so.

For progressives, and particularly for progressive planners, what is to be made of this political shift? Does it represent a momentary victory for conservatives that are growing increasingly out of touch with the region's diverse and growing population (their approval rating is now less than 25 percent in North Carolina)? If so, are we witnessing a pivotal moment during which Southern progressives can again regroup and push for deeper reform and change? Or are we instead seeing the end to progress made in recent decades and, borrowing directly from the definition of "shock and awe," the potential destruction of the will to fight?

We conceived this issue of *Progressive Planning* with the idea that despite a problematic past we would find rich examples

of progressive adaptations in the South that could potentially temper, if not overtly challenge, this conservative agenda. Our connection to and perspective on this region is as outsiders. One of us left the region in 1960 on the cusp of the civil rights movement and after a two year stint as a planning graduate student at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. The other is a faculty member at that same institution and recent transplant from the West coast, though admittedly with plans to establish Southern roots and raise a family there.

In our reflections on the South, we noted a number of progressive threads and themes: the growth of a black middle class, the continued commitment of a generation of civil rights activists, and advances resulting from the Voting Rights Act of 1965 which led to the election of many black mayors and legislators. We sought evidence of political and administrative innovations that might have resulted from these trends. We hoped that as things thought to be “southern” began to diffuse throughout the nation these innovations might also spread more generally.

So how “progressive” is planning today in the South? Motivated by this question, we wrote a fairly structured “call” for articles in which we asked authors to look for two main qualities in planning: was it “redistributive” in intent, and was it “representative”—i.e. inclusive of the main interests and racial groups in the community? The short essays we received provide a snapshot of

a diverse, perhaps new, southern experience of city and regional planning.

### The Progress and the Problems

In these essays and drawing from our own sources we see elements of progressive planning. But they also reveal problems that persist and thus highlight issues that need more focused attention.

- The political landscape has changed after more than four decades of the federal Voting Rights Act of 1965. Blacks, comprising between 28 and 37 percent of the populations in the heart of the original confederacy from South Carolina through Louisiana, have made increasing inroads in local and state offices, and have influence by operating within Democratic party majorities. This has been threatened more recently as Republicans work to undermine these majorities, culminating in almost complete control of Southern statehouses by 2013. But blacks—and Democrats—still hold seats and enclaves in the cities and in majority black districts. The demographic trends are moving in their direction. Black middle class migration from Northern states is rising, and the number of Latinos as well. In 2012 the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies reported black mayors in 25 cities of 50,000 or greater population in the 17 state “South” census region, and there were similar gains in city and state civil service positions

and in some places department head positions.

- Thus progressives at least had footholds from which to struggle. Past experience may give us clues how these struggles might unfold. The administrations of mayors like Maynard Jackson in Atlanta (1974–82; 1990–94), Richard Arrington in Birmingham (1979–1999),

---

Are we witnessing  
a pivotal  
moment during  
which Southern  
progressives can  
again regroup and  
push for deeper  
reform and change  
or are we instead  
seeing the end to  
progress made in  
recent decades?

---

and Otis Johnson in Savannah (2003–10) offer examples. Under Jackson, Atlanta instituted neighborhood planning units (NPUs) that gave new voice to small district populations within their cities. At least as important was the similar neighborhood innovation in Birmingham that helped give voice to a black community that kept Arrington in office for 20 years, starting in

1979. Johnson pushed through the appointment of Savannah's first black city manager. And Harvey Gantt, Mayor of Charlotte (1983–87), went on to twice mount serious challenges to North Carolina conservative senator Jesse Helms in the 1990s.

- Southern cities, like the rest of the nation, tend to be run by “growth coalitions” of business elites: merchants, bankers, developers, and various professionals (particularly those involved in construction and selling the built environment); allies often include city planners and officials in city halls, and the appeal of the growth machine has tempted most mayors, black or white. But one sign of progress is the emergence of neighborhood-based coalitions that recognize the need to contest this. In Memphis, as Laura Saija, David Westendorff and Antonio Raciti report in this issue, the (black) director of the Housing Authority, declares that his ideal is the elimination of all public housing—a push now contested by a neighborhood coalition. In Chattanooga, Courtney Knapp shows how the city, while celebrating a diverse past, rides the boom in real estate prices that leaves a majority of neighborhood people behind, but there is an opposition constructing an alternative narrative. Atlanta organizers discovered that Maynard Jackson's NPUs did not create unalloyed benefits for poor neighborhoods, but instead established new terrain for debate.

- Everywhere, there is the pain of change, predominantly a sense of unwillingness to accept progress in racial equality. W.E.B. Dubois predicted this and Gunnar Myrdal reiterated it in *The American Dilemma* in 1944. The sense of equality, imposed in formal terms since the 1960s by social movements and legislation, is unevenly accepted, and racial progress seems to grate at every turn.
- Communities and planners struggle to get past these dilemmas, sometimes in ways that will open our eyes. Glendora, with a population of 151 nonwhite persons in Mississippi's Delta region, confronts its legacy of the 1955 Emmett Till lynching by installing a technology center and broadband service along with an Emmett Till Museum (see the article in this issue by Joan Wesley and Daphne Foster). North Carolina, with an aggressive economic development operation, moderates the location and relocation of firms with workforce training, while Durham city officials and planners amplify the policy with local implementation (see the article by Clara Turner and Nichola Lowe). And in rural North Carolina, community activists find that whites, unwilling to confront race barriers in general, will help remove those barriers in the course of promoting agricultural economic development (see article by Gabriel Cumming and Dorothy Holland).

## The Role of Urban Planning in the South

In this issue of *Progressive Planning* there are many examples of emerging progressive approaches to urban planning in the South. But what insights can we draw about the role of planning as a profession?

There is a legacy of the old, post-war planning tradition founded by Howard Odum and Jack Parker at the University of North Carolina, and by others at places like Georgia Tech and the Tennessee Valley Authority. In the 1950s the South could be a good place for a white liberal seeking to do good and perhaps eradicate evils in the name of progress. Planners like Chuck Lewis in Birmingham, and city administrators like Arthur Mendonsa in Savannah set a standard of concern. Mendonsa nudged local elites to worry about the “two Savannahs” lest they cease to sleep well at night. Institutions started in the 1980s helped develop civil society and political capacity; for example, white mayor John Rousakis and Mendonsa created Savannah Youth Futures, a political base for future mayor Otis Johnson in the 1990s.

In the postwar period and until the (delayed) effects of the 1965 Voting Rights Act became clear in the 1980s and 1990s, anecdotal evidence suggested that there was political pressure to create diversity in city administrations, including planning offices. Savannah's regional planning director reports the effect of a (black) assistant city manager who asked him at a meeting “aren't you embarrassed you have no staff who look like me?”

“I am,” he responded. Over time, one guesses whether this climate change in day-to-day administration will have an effect over a range of cities. The question is how long a time, and whether we will soon have national reporting that shines a light on the rate of change.

Unfortunately for the South—and the nation—the racial and ethnic composition of the planning profession is not known in any systematic, precise way. The American Planning Association does not provide periodic or locally specific data about the racial composition of its membership. Its predecessor organization used to, but the last published report on the topic was in 1974. A 2004 APA Diversity Task Force, after a one-time inquiry, reported 3.9 percent of the total membership as African American, roughly what the 1974 report indicated.

We have much better data about the composition of the professional planning schools. In this issue Jeffrey Lowe writes “the level of diversity in planning programs in the US South is deplorable.” The Planning Accreditation Board reports that the proportions of “other than white” full time faculty in accredited planning programs stood at 31 percent for all 22 programs in the “South” census region—a little greater than the 29 percent “other than white” national average. The fact that the percentage of black faculty in the South (11 percent) is relatively low compared to the overall Southern black population (20 percent) only reinforces that there is a representation problem for planning schools nationally. The comparable national

figure is 7 percent black faculty, only half the national black population—a matter of more or less pain and embarrassment, but statistically not one that is unique to this region.

Still, for Southern schools the non-white statistics are bolstered by four relatively small, historically black programs, whose faculty numbers add up to 3 white, 11 black and 12 others out of a total 26 full time faculty. Excluding these, and taking into account the 173 faculty in 18 other planning schools in the “South” census region, the “other than white” percentage drops from 31 percent down to 23 and for black faculty this drop is even more significant, declining to around 6 percent in a region whose black population is around 20 percent, and far higher than that in the five states stretching from South Carolina to Louisiana. From a racial perspective then, the South had essentially separate and different programs in 2009.

Professor William Harris, in his essay, thinks that whites can learn from blacks in the South “how to be progressive.” He provides a checklist: publicize the data, cause legislative hearings and, on occasion, court proceedings and suits. Deal with issues of violence, voter suppression, fair housing and health policy. Fundamentally, confront racism in one’s self and in institutions, to set the preconditions for these actions. It is, perhaps, a Pandora’s box. Planners used to debate the “scope” of planning, whether it ought to be limited to land use and zoning issues, or “as wide as the scope of local government.” Harris implies that there must be a wide scope responsive to the wider par-

ticipation now sanctioned by law.

One of the hopeful signs is the possibility that planning schools in the South can play a role by creating an alternative to the growth coalition. This has happened in Memphis, where the authors see the main hope for progress in an open debate over options facing the city. Better results may be occurring in Durham and elsewhere, some of it documented in these articles.

### **What’s True for the South is True for the North?**

What do we take away from this discussion on progressive planning in the South?

In the abstract case, progressive means concerned with inequality (poverty, opportunity), and with “representation” (participation, inclusion). And in a pragmatic world, we want to see movement away from the worst injustices on either continuum.

In the South, it is apparent that most injustices stem from racial inequality: the drive to repress voting being the recent egregious example. These and many other cases of inequality seem to be on the increase nationally, and they are perhaps more obvious in the South. The legacy of racial inequalities makes all the others easier to justify and avoid fixing. So pragmatically, that should be the focus in the US South. The more profound truth would seem to be that what is true for the South is true elsewhere, just less obvious. Perhaps that is the lesson to take away here. **P<sup>2</sup>**



# Flipping the Script

## *Toward a Transformative Urban Redevelopment Agenda in Chattanooga, Tennessee*

*Courtney Elizabeth Knapp*

**T**O SOME FOLKS—in particular, those who can afford to access the fruits of the city’s impressive downtown revitalization—the story of Chattanooga’s renaissance is linear and progressive: for thirty years, Chattanooga has been undergoing a citizen-led downtown urban revival. Historically a leader in the New South, with one of the most diverse industrial and manufacturing economies in the nation by mid-century, the “Dynamo of Dixie” suffered massive deindustrialization and economic restructuring between the 1960s and 1980s. Population loss followed, and insult was added to injury in 1969 when Walter Cronkite referred to Chattanooga on the national evening news as the “Dirtiest City in America” due to its pervasive environmental pollution.

Despite these setbacks, the historic “Chattanooga Spirit” of bipartisan cooperation in the pursuit of economic development prevailed, and in 1982 a new generation of committed public officials, residents, entrepreneurs and urban real estate developers banded together under the Moccasin Bend Task Force to retrieve the city from the brink of collapse. Initiated by the local and county governments to study the assets of a 22-mile long stretch of the Tennessee River and make recommendations about the redevelopment of publicly-owned land along the waterfront, the Task Force reignited a public passion for the city, catalyzing substantial reinvestment in several downtown neighborhoods. Over thirty years, the combined efforts of the

public, private, foundation and nonprofit sectors have labored to produce a true “twenty-first century waterfront”—leveraging hundreds of millions of dollars in private and public reinvestment, inspiring a multigenerational Back to the City movement, and expanding its arts-history-and culture based tourist economy.

Today, the riverfront and surrounding neighborhoods stand as testament to the power of these connections. No longer covered in soot, the freshly scrubbed downtown offers a range of cultural, environmental, social and economic amenities. One of the most compelling aspects of more recent urban revitalization efforts in downtown Chattanooga has been their emphasis on re-working historically erased cultures and histories into the local urban physical and social landscapes of the city. Three major components of the *21st Century Waterfront Plan*, for example, are:

- the construction of an interactive public art installation called the “The Passage,” which highlights the history and culture of the Cherokees at the site as well as the city’s crucial role during the Trail of Tears;
- a Memorandum of Understanding between the City of Chattanooga and the Cherokee Nation in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, which “in the spirit of repentance” for indigenous dispossession, intended to bind the parties “together in a relationship” expressed in Cherokee as *Du-na-li-i-yv* and described in English as “a friendship between groups”; and
- the redevelopment of Renaissance Park on the north bank of the Tennessee River, a public space which includes the site of “Camp Contraband”—



**Courtney Elizabeth Knapp** is a doctoral candidate in City and Regional Planning at Cornell University.

the original free African American community in the city—as well as public art and landscape design installations representing the forced and voluntary migration of different populations across the city.

These ongoing efforts provide innovative examples for using place-making and urban revitalization processes to engage in the work of cultural recognition and historical reconciliation. The transformation of the riverfront back into a “Cherokee”—and to a lesser extent, African American—“place” of cultural meaning and belonging, combined with policy measures aimed at formalizing “repentance” and establishing a set of mutual stakes with respect to the preservation and support of Native American culture and history, has produced a unique and fertile physical and cultural urban landscape for thinking through the intersections of cultural recognition and economic development in 21st century equity planning.

### **Exclusion, Expropriation, Violence and Neglect: Alternative Narratives**

While the urban history described above is uncompromisingly optimistic, other, more critical narratives have evolved alongside it. These perspectives argue that for the majority of residents living within the urban core, Chattanooga’s renaissance has been both a blessing *and* a curse. Everyday accounts from local social justice activists working in housing, workforce development, and transportation describe complex legacies of unequal access to planning and development decision-making circles and resource pools. These story lines talk not of inclusion, mutual benefit, and revival, but systematic exclusion, asset expropriation, violence and neglect.

Among *these* versions of development and urban change, forsaken political promises and the constant threat of physical and cultural up-

rooting and dislocation prevail. For example, the Chattanooga Housing Authority’s current annual and five-year plans recommend the sale or demolition of the city’s last two remaining large-scale public housing developments during the current fiscal year. The loss of College Hill and East Lake Courts promise to force as many as nine hundred very low income families into a rapidly gentrifying housing market with a super-saturation of Section 8 vouchers and no public policies to ensure an affordable housing supply meets this dramatic and imminent need.

The *Times Free Press* reported in August 2011 that the city “defies trends” when it comes to new housing construction, and market rate/luxury housing development in particular. Between 2007 and 2011, 2,539 new rental units were added to the local housing stock; most of the centrally located developments charge rents ranging from \$600 for a studio to \$1200 for a two-bedroom.

Ironically, current Census Bureau estimates reveal that 76.7 percent of households living in the urban core cannot afford to pay market prices for housing at those costs. Over the past ten years, housing cost burdens have risen substantially; rent and mortgage increases have outpaced income growth, and today, more than half of urban core households now live in “unaffordable” housing relative to their incomes, with 28 percent of renters and 14 percent of homeowners considered “severely burdened” (50+ percent) by housing costs.



Photo: Courtney Elizabeth Knapp

“The Passage” highlights the history and culture of the Cherokees at the site as well as the city’s crucial role during the Trail of Tears.

The result of this selective engagement and reinvestment is a highly uneven and contradictory urban landscape, where most struggle, many lose, and a few win. This is illustrated by recent figures which show that Chattanooga had both the second fastest growing poverty rate between 2007–2009 *and* the third fastest gentrifying rental housing market in the nation in 2012.

Historically African American, working class neighborhoods on the south side, north shore and east end of the city have experienced the most dramatic demographic shifts. In one north Chattanooga census tract, median gross rents rose an estimated 84.3 percent between 2000 and 2010; in another neighborhood on the southside—one of the areas targeted for creative and cultural redevelopment by the city—the African American community went from being 76.2 percent of the population in 2000 to 30.6 percent in 2010, while whites went from being 10.5 percent in 2000 to 60 percent in 2010. During this same time, median home values increased by 190 percent and median gross rents rose by 37.2 percent.

Given these trends, it's clear to many: serious efforts must be undertaken to coordinate social justice struggles across the urban core and build an alternative urban development vision upon them. The failure to do so, they say, promises that downtown Chattanooga will become little more than a cosmopolitan museum; a playground for the economically privileged, with virtually no safeguards to prevent the displacement of low-income residents from their homes and neighborhoods. Ironically, a city built on the backs of the economically oppressed—which openly acknowledges Cherokee removal and African American slavery as parts of its complex, multicultural heritage—completes its dispossession by inducing the city builders' descendants to peripheral, disinvested spaces, disconnected from families, jobs, urban services, public amenities, and historic connections to place.

In this oppositional storyline, the acknowledgment of historical urban violence, such as with the above mentioned public space The Passage, is an important symbolic gesture. But it can hardly be considered complete reconciliation with historic exploitation and

injustices. Janelle Jackson and Ash Lee Woodward Henderson, organizers with the anti-racism organization Concerned Citizens for Justice (CCJ), stress the need to reverse the equation: “We’re for reconciliation, but it comes at the *end* of a process. Before reconciliation there must be *truth*—then *justice*.”

### Community Groups Flipping the Script

Presently, there are several popular organizations working to flip the mainstream script of urban revitalization in Chattanooga, illuminating the highly uneven terrain of reinvestment across the city and calling for a more equitably developed city. Volunteer-based groups such as Concerned Citizens for Justice (CCJ), Occupy Chattanooga, Chattanooga Organized for Action (COA), the Westside Community Association, Idle No More Chattanooga and the Grove Street Settlement House question Chattanooga’s storybook tale of urban progress through a range of creative, place-based public activities and initiatives, including marches, history tours, protests, street theatre, justice schools, skill sharing, storytelling workshops, spoken word, free stores, discussions with community elders, and solidarity fund raisers.

Importantly, these groups integrate the typically cultural and symbolic work of placemaking with an economic justice-based vision for community planning and development, demonstrating the inextricability of these two elements to a transformative urban social justice movement in a diverse city comprised of many historically oppressed groups searching for material security and cultural belonging in their communities. Cultural development is not a set of relics; it is the active production of communities of belonging.

Also crucially, these groups make links between seemingly disconnected struggles across time and space. During an August 2012 “Organizing the Hood” training co-sponsored by CCJ and COA, lifelong radical activist and former Chattanoogaan Lorenzo Ervin urged participants to draw power from these historical and geographic connections when engaging in their own social justice struggles:

We have laid down a foundation for you . . . We've showed you a way of doing things. Some will say, "Oh, the cops are doing this to me, or the cops are doing that." Well, they've done it to others. And they found the strength to stand up and fight back. You must do the same.

Such everyday activities among physically and/or culturally uprooted folk to create places of security and belonging—are older than Chattanooga itself. They date back to 18th-century struggles between the Chickamauga Cherokee and colonial settlers over land encroachment and resource exploitation, and carry forward through the nineteenth, twentieth and twenty-first centuries vis-à-vis struggles against Native dispossession, slavery, post-Reconstruction racism, Jim Crow segregation, generations of labor exploitation, Urban Renewal, and today, public-private partnership driven gentrification across the urban core.

Another example of contemporary script flipping was the October 2011 March Against Police Brutality, organized by Concerned Citizens for Justice. Held



Photo: Jared Story

during a major annual outdoor sports festival, participants marched to key sites of Cherokee and African American oppression and resistance, drawing attention to these historical moments and connecting them to contemporary struggles for social justice across the city. Their message that “poverty is violence” disrupted the myth that urban reinvestment is shared by everyone in the city.

Fortunately, several groups have recognized the need to shift from being primarily reactive to proactive in their strategies for demanding a more just and sustainable city. To address these concerns, several important initiatives have taken place.

First, an action research project involving input from several local groups, Cornell University’s Department of City and Regional Planning, and the Chattanooga Public Library, launched the “Planning Free School” on the library’s new fourth floor dedicated to civic engagement. The Free School is organized around four types of workshops: issue-based discussion and research groups, skill shares, transformative placemaking events and critical conversations. Importantly, this public initiative is dedicated to framing the discussion in terms of just sustainability, offering space for alternative and underrepresented community members to articulate their own goals for the city and develop planning skills to help realize them. The Free School has hosted community workshops focused on analyzing census housing data, integrating the arts and culture into equitable development, and assessing mobility barriers among low income and disabled residents.

Relatedly, the outspoken social justice organization Chattanooga Organized for Action transitioned from being an individual membership-based protest organization to becoming a coalition of neighborhood-based organizations from primarily subsidized rental and mixed-tenure low income neighborhoods across the city. COA is working closely with the Planning Free School to develop processes to enable both neighborhood-based visions and a larger, longer-term “People’s Plan for Chattanooga.” Although it has and surely will continue to be an uphill journey, a just city has appeared on Chattanooga’s horizon.

P<sup>2</sup>

# Community Planning Confronts the Proposed Demolition of Public Housing

## *A Memphis Tale*

*Laura Saija, David Westendorff, and Antonio Raciti*

**A**LL BUT ONE of the public housing complexes built in Memphis during the New Deal are gone, replaced by mixed income developments through an aggressive use of federal HOPE VI funds. The last remaining public housing complex, Foote Homes, is now targeted for redevelopment under a Choice Neighborhood Planning Initiative. But a concerted grassroots community planning effort has raised the question whether Foote Homes stays or goes.

The Memphis Housing Authority is close to realizing what its director has defined as “his personal dream” of making Memphis a public housing-free zone where poverty will be de-concentrated, crime dispersed, thereby rendering Memphis a better place to live and invest. Should this dream become reality? And if so, who will benefit from it?



**Laura Saija** is a Marie Curie Faculty Research Fellow at the University of Catania, Sicily, and visiting faculty member at the University of Memphis. She was a contributor to the Vance Avenue Choice Neighborhood Planning Grant from 2011 to 2012.



**David Westendorff** is an Associate Professor in City and Regional Planning at the University of Memphis. He also participated in the Vance Avenue Choice Neighborhood Planning Grant from 2010 and 2012.



**Antonio Raciti** is a Visiting Assistant Professor in City and Regional Planning at the University of Memphis. He contributed to the production of the VAC Preliminary Planning Framework and the Vance Avenue Community Transformation Plan.

Since 1994, no one has questioned this approach to fighting poverty in the Bluff City which has the highest proportion of residents living under the poverty line of any US metropolitan area. Newspaper articles and official statements have enthusiastically celebrated the city’s use of HOPE VI funds by the Memphis Housing Authority to reduce blight and crime, while public housing residents have been told, in one complex after another, that their American dream of a house with a backyard and a dog was soon to become reality. Instead, former public housing residents have been relocated with mobile Section 8 vouchers across Memphis’ sprawling territory. At present, less than 15 percent of the displaced public housing tenants have been able to return to housing in their original neighborhoods.

### **Demolishing Housing: Whose Dream?**

At least one institution opposed the plan. Saint Patrick Catholic Church, located at the corner of Pontotoc and 4th, one block from the northwest corner of Foote Homes, is one of the oldest institutions in the neighborhood. Established as a white church by the Irish community shortly after the Civil War, it had developed as a racially-integrated, social justice-oriented parish. Saint Patrick parishioners were not surprised when, in January 2009, the city officially announced that their neighborhood was the target of a new redevelopment plan called the Triangle Noir. The plan intended to tap federal funds to develop a twenty square block area just south of downtown as an expanded entertainment district featuring new housing, a luxury hotel and as much as \$1.1 billion in public and private investments. A structural element of the plan was the proposed use of HOPE VI funds



to tear down the two public housing complexes that were the core of the neighborhood, Foote Homes and Cleaborn Homes. While the announcement surprised few parishioners, it disappointed nearly all the members of the congregation. Following almost 15 years of celebration of HOPE VI as the best strategy for dealing with poverty, many Memphians had concluded that the program was not as good as its supporters claimed.

Concerned about the impact this plan would have had on local residents, the church asked the Graduate Program in City and Regional Planning at the University of Memphis (CRP) to assist them in preparing a comprehensive redevelopment plan for the area. The neighborhood hoped to develop a resident driven planning process where the final plan would be the result of listening intently to people's needs and desires as well as relying on the best research available in the field of community development.

During the summer of 2009, Saint Patrick and CRP formed a broader coalition, called the *Vance Avenue Collaborative* (VAC), with two dozen community organizations sharing their displacement and gentrification concerns. The planning activities in the Vance Avenue community started in the fall semester of 2009. Students and faculty engaged in an intense outreach effort (including phone calls, door-knocking, emails, mailings, press releases, pulpit announcements in parishes). Community members were also encouraged to participate in these neighborhood-based outreach efforts. During the spring break, VAC carried out door-to-door interviews with 170 residents, and then, at the end of March, held a neighborhood summit.

The community development proposals, summarized in June 2010 in a document named *VAC Preliminary Planning Framework*, did not match those contained in the city-generated *Triangle Noir Plan*. Residents did not perceive housing as the top priority in a neighborhood where one of the few quality services citizens actually received was housing. The priority in the resident-generated Framework document was to provide additional neighborhood-based services and amenities (access to fresh food, neighborhood oriented retail shopping, a well-maintained park, healthcare, a homeless shelter, and after-school programs) as well as linking more explicitly to large downtown redevelopments, often

employing a large amount of public money, in order to create jobs for Foote Homes' low-income residents.

The very same month the community was presenting its *Planning Framework*, the city announced the receipt of its fifth HOPE VI grant for the redevelopment of Cleaborn Homes. Cleaborn was demolished shortly thereafter, and is currently in the process of being redeveloped. The Cleaborn planning, relocation, and development process confirmed most of the local residents' worst fears, echoing what many HOPE VI evaluators have found all over the country: involuntary relocation is a very painful process that frequently leaves the hard-to-house behind, especially when case-managers are not on top of their game. Despite several "wheels falling off the Urban Renaissance bus," the city is now aggressively pursuing another federal grant to redevelop Foote, but things are not going as smoothly as city officials had hoped.

### **The Last Chance to Get It Right**

In an effort to address the strong criticisms leveled against HOPE VI by experts and scholars, by 2010 HUD has adopted a new, more holistic approach to public housing "redevelopment," with the launch of their *Choice Neighborhood* (CN) Grants Program requiring applicants not just to deal with housing but also to expand supportive services and educational opportunities for residents. CN also requires the minimization of resident displacement, their direct involvement in the planning process and the establishment of partnerships with neighborhood institutions. In Winter 2010–11 the city applied for a CN Planning Grant and, due to HUD's higher expectations regarding community engagement, it asked the Vance Avenue Collaborative and CRP to be responsible for the citizen participation aspect of the grant. The city hired other consultants to be responsible for planning related to housing and social services.

Beginning in July 2011, CRP replicated, in its new role as planning consultant to the city, most of the activities carried out during the Framework planning process, enlarging the number of engaged organizations and residents while significantly enhancing its data collection



Photo: Antonio Raciti

"We are a Community": Vance Community Leaders presenting their Plan to the City of Memphis Planning and Zoning Committee, October 2012

efforts. A community organizer was hired, and several training opportunities on community organizing—one at the Highlander Folk School—were organized as part of the planning initiative.

VAC involvement in the planning initiative resulted in a significant level of conflict: the city and other consultants expected the process to lead to the submission of a CN Implementation Grant that reflected the HOPE VI approach—relocation of residents with Section 8 vouchers, demolition, rebranding and redevelopment as a mixed-income project. While participatory activities are typically expected to

build consensus among residents, that did not happen in this case. CRP faculty and students collected a great amount of primary data that reinforced the findings from the previous phase (this time on the basis of the “bad experiences of many Cleaborn Homes residents”) that led to a strong preference for the rehabilitation instead of redevelopment of public housing units. Many disabled and under-employed residents feel like Foote Homes, while not “perfect” or “luxurious,” is really the “only sure thing they’ve got,” while lacking access to “everything else” (mostly living wage employment, healthcare and quality education).

In the summer of 2012, while university faculty and students, residents, and local institutional representatives were in the process of finalizing their reports to the city, CRP received a letter from the Executive Director of the Memphis Housing Authority terminating their contract “for convenience,” and local residents and institutional leaders were informed that “consultations” were over and decisions regarding the substance of the plan were about to be made without additional community input or review.

This generated a feeling of mistrust in many stakeholders. CRP

researchers were subsequently asked to finalize a community-driven transformation plan anyway, truly reflective of local aspirations and concerns. Once again, Vance residents, with the assistance of university planners, engaged in what Paul Davidoff envisioned decades ago: while city officials worked on their plans behind closed doors, a low-income community, with the help of “advocacy planners,” would be working on its own plan. Who is going to come out with better ideas? And better for whom?

### Is There Any Space Left for Discussion?

Not surprisingly, the two “planning processes” have produced significant conflict. On September 13th the Vance Avenue Collaborative presented its *Vance Avenue Community Transformation Plan* to more than 100 local residents and stakeholders.

The plan looks at the last public housing complex in Memphis as an important community asset that functions as it was designed to during the New Deal, by enabling low-income residents “to get back on their feet.” The plan, in particular, proposes to undertake major renovations of the units one or two buildings at a time, relocating residents to near-by units for a period of no more than six months each. Demolition costs are avoided and relocation costs are significantly reduced, so that more funds can be used to address the real priorities: the creation of living-wage employment opportunities (intensive use of local workers during the

renovations, the establishment of a food-coop maximizing local employment), crime prevention through community policing, the promotion of environmental stewardship through community-based landscape improvements, and the increase of quality public education for all ages through the establishment a community school.

For a time, at least, the Vance Avenue Collaborative had fought the city to a standstill. The situation held through the fall and winter of 2012-2013. However, the city was not finished. The very same day the Vance Avenue Collaborative presented their plan for community review and revision, two city agencies (currently under the same leadership, acting *de facto* as a single agency) filed an application with the Memphis/Shelby Office of Planning and Development to adopt a new *Heritage Trail Redevelopment Plan* that no local stakeholders had the opportunity to see or read. The plan included the establishment of a new downtown TIF (Tax Improvement Finance) district to finance new redevelopment whose first step is the immediate demolition of Foote Homes, even before these agencies secure the funds needed to construct replacement housing.

Meanwhile, VAC has initiated an “Improve—Don’t Remove” campaign, featuring several strategies, including:

- An application to have Foote Homes listed on the National Register of Historic Places;
- An inquiry into the possibility of filing fair housing complaints

with the federal Department of Justice;

- A request that the ultimate decision regarding which plan is followed be made, after open hearings of both plans, not by one appointed official but Memphis’ elected city council.

At this point it is hard to predict how this campaign will affect the city’s decision making. However the campaign itself has had some real positive impact on the overall political atmosphere of a city where “usual business” does not include any form of public disagreement. Among residents and local businessmen, there is also a growing appreciation of the fact that, for the first time in many years, people in Memphis are now engaged in a serious civic discussion regarding the best way to make public investment decisions. They are also pursuing a discussion regarding how to understand persistent urban poverty in a manner that does not necessarily portray the poor as passive and self-destructive individuals to be blamed. People have observed public housing residents working with local service providers and community-based organizations to produce a plan that addresses issues of social decline with creativity and pragmatism, instead of preconceived plans that have been shown to fail! Aware of the failure of past HOPE VI projects to address the needs of a majority of former public housing tenants, an increasing number of local citizens and leaders have voiced their support for the resident-generated Vance Avenue Community Transformation Plan.

P<sup>2</sup>

# Preserving Emancipation

## *The Case of St. Helena Island, South Carolina*

*Charles Connerly*

URBAN PLANNERS in the US rarely if ever think about the Civil War and Emancipation and their impact on the practice of planning. Yet many of the communities they plan for, especially in the South, reflect the experience of blacks in the wake of Emancipation. In the face of pressure to redevelop these areas, it is imperative that planners understand the full historic significance of these communities as they are as deserving of preservation as other historic communities better known for their fine architecture and famous residents.

This is the story of one of these Emancipation communities, St. Helena Island, located in Beaufort County near Beaufort, South Carolina. Prior to the Civil War, St. Helena was home to thousands of African American slaves working on rice and cotton plantations. Reconstruction came early to St. Helena as the Union Navy liberated

some 11,000 slaves there and on nearby plantations in November 1861. In contrast to the experience elsewhere in the South, the former slaves in the area were able to acquire the divided parcels of their former master's plantations. Because of this unusual historical circumstance as well as the relative isolation of St. Helena, black landholders there have been able to retain and farm their small landholdings to the present day. At the same time, in part because African traditions were maintained longer than elsewhere in the South, a distinctive culture and identity—Gullah—emerged there that continues to this day.

### **The Role of Planning in Preserving St. Helena**

Although St. Helena's fulfillment of some of Emancipation's promises—the ownership of property—is unusual, its experience as a community whose daily patterns were shaped in many ways by the black folk who lived there bears strong resemblance to other Emancipation communities populated by blacks in the South in the period between Emancipation and the end of Jim Crow. Like St. Helena, many of

these communities are threatened by resort and urban development.

In the years after the Civil War, cultivation of the land on St. Helena consisted primarily of subsistence farming supplemented by fishing and hunting. While St. Helena's black farmers lived a frugal life in the years after Emancipation, their independence and diversity of plantings contrasted with the dependence experienced by most other rural blacks in the South who relied on sharecropping for a meager livelihood.

By the early 1980s development was rampant in Beaufort County and leaders of St. Helena Island's Penn Center voiced concern about the rapid development taking place on nearby Hilton Head and its implications for other communities in Beaufort County. The Penn Center was founded as Penn School in 1862 by Laura Towne, who was one of the original missionaries who came south to help educate the newly freed slaves of the Island. For many years it served as the best source of primary and secondary education on the island. In 1948, the Penn School ceased functioning as a school and refocused its



**Charles Connerly** is Professor and Director, School of Urban and Regional Planning, the University of Iowa.

*Photos by the author.*



energies on providing community services. During the Civil Rights era, Martin Luther King, Jr. and others used the Penn Center as a meeting place and since the 1980s it has been known as the Penn Center.

In 1982, the Penn Center turned to planning. Emory Campbell, the Penn Center director, who is from Hilton Head Island, states: “The black native population of these islands is now endangered, and we don’t have too much time to protect oysters, fish, and crab. Developers can just come in and roll over whoever is there, move them out or roll over them and change their culture, change their way of life, destroy the environment, and therefore the culture has to be changed.”

In 1993, the Penn Center, along with the South Carolina Coastal Conservation League, recognized they had the opportunity to use comprehensive planning to control development in northern Beaufort County, including St. Helena Island. Together they launched the Penn School for Preservation. Meeting in two sessions between 1993 and 1995, one beginning and the other more advanced and each lasting six months, nearly 60 Sea Islanders graduated from the Penn School for Preservation. The curriculum focused on the fundamental principles of land use planning, coalition building, economic development, and leadership training. Training emphasized lectures, participatory exercises in land use planning including the creation of a master plan for St. Helena’s Corners Community, and discussions with local public officials.



**TOP**  
Corners Community, St. Helena Island

**BOTTOM**  
Gated community, Hilton Head



The Penn School for Preservation coincided with the passage in 1994 by the state legislature of an act requiring each county in South Carolina to adopt a comprehensive plan by 1999. Public participation workshops conducted for the new comprehensive plan began in September 1995, just a few months after the final Penn School for Preservation class had graduated. A first draft of the plan was prepared in October 1996 and then revised and presented in October 1997 before the County Council adopted the plan in December 1997.

The 1997 plan responded to the concerns of residents of St. Helena Island in several ways. First, it created a new concept for American planning and zoning—a “cultural protection overlay” district. The Plan recognized that St. Helena Island was one of a few remaining rural Sea Islands as well as the center of Gullah culture, thereby making the island “a treasure of national significance.” The Cultural Protection Overlay built upon the baseline Rural Services Area designation called for in the Plan, which limited development in rural areas to one unit per three acres, by 1) discouraging gated communities and 2) protecting public access to the water on St. Helena Island. The restriction on gated communities reflected the clear message St. Helena residents gave at a public meeting attended by 56 individuals on April 28, 1996. At the meeting, residents made clear their preference for retaining the rural character of their community. Gated communities and the “Hilton Head model” were specifi-

cally identified for concern: “Don’t fence me in. Don’t fence me out.”

Secondly, for protection and preservation of the Corners Community, the historic commercial core of St. Helena Island, located on the main state highway (Route 21), the Plan created a Public Market District. The purpose of the district was to “. . . create a pedestrian-friendly commercial and community center that retains the character of a rural crossroads, with open green spaces, scenic vistas, a minimum of asphalt paving, preserved historic structures, and community gathering places.” Among the plan’s specific prohibitions were:

1. no “trademark” architecture,
2. no restaurant drive-throughs,
3. no visible outdoor storage, and
4. access points to major roads must be at least 500 feet apart.

Finally, while the Plan limited the county’s rural areas to one unit per three acres, it also recognized the importance of protecting the family compound tradition on St. Helena and elsewhere in the Beaufort County Sea Islands. African American compounds on St. Helena typically include dwellings for multiple households of the same extended family. The Plan permitted extended family members to subdivide land in all zoning districts, using a “simplified subdivision process” that capped density at two units per acre. Setback and minimum lot size requirements were relaxed as long as fire and other health and safety concerns were addressed.

St. Helena residents had a significant hand in shaping these recommendations. Robert Ralph Middleton, who had graduated from both the first and second Penn School for Preservation sessions, chaired the St. Helena Citizen Advisory Committee which oversaw participation in the planning process. At a comprehensive plan workshop on January 23, 1996 on St. Helena Island, the Committee presented a report to the planning consultants, recommending the following: 1) all St. Helena Island should be a conservation overlay district; 2) the Corners Community should be protected from development that is out of character with the existing historic buildings; 3) planned unit developments and gated communities are to be prohibited; and 4) and public access to water should not be denied by private property owners.

In April 1999, Beaufort County codified the comprehensive plan in a new zoning and development standard ordinance. It directly addressed the gentrification of St. Helena Island in justifying the creation of a Cultural Protection Overlay district. The objectives of the Overlay district were “. . . to provide opportunities to protect natural and/or cultural resources found on St. Helena Island.” The ordinance goes on to say, “The comprehensive plan provides ‘actions’ to be undertaken, which would prevent rural gentrification and displacement of residents.”

Specifically, the ordinance prohibited uses that “generate high traffic volume, require substantial

parking, or massively alter the natural landscape” or restrict access to water. The ordinance prohibited three major types of land uses—gated communities, resorts, and golf courses. Clearly, therefore, the ordinance foresaw a future for St. Helena Island that would not duplicate the development history of Hilton Head Island.

### **Political Strength of Black Community, Powerful Role of Planning**

When Emancipation communities such as St. Helena are threatened by development or gentrification, it is important for planners to both understand the history of these communities and consider ways in which these communities can be preserved and protected. These communities were fruits of the Union victory over slavery in 1865. While they often failed to reflect a full citizenship for the freed slaves, they do reflect the freed slaves’ mighty efforts to create communities in which their members could build lives of industry and limited prosperity, often in the midst of poverty. These communities should therefore be treated with respect—they should not be discarded with no thought given towards what it took to create them.

Fundamental to the powerful role of planning was the political strength of the black community, especially with regard to coalition building. In St. Helena, the community had the benefit of the Penn Center, a black institution with a long history of benevolent

support. Both the Center and the Coastal Conservation League recognized that preservation of the environment and preservation of the land-based culture of St. Helena went hand in hand. The St. Helena Citizen Advisory Committee, led by a Penn School for Preservation graduate, provided further leadership in protecting St. Helena from resort-style development.

From the standpoint of protecting against gentrification, the St. Helena case stands out. The cultural protection overlay appears to be the first of its kind in the US and does not seem to have been implemented anywhere else, at least by that name. It clearly builds upon the research that identifies the African folkways that remain among the Sea Islanders as a special justification for land use controls, such as no gated communities, that might otherwise be difficult to legally enforce, especially given the precedent set by the development on Hilton Head Island.

But St. Helena may remain an exceptional case. The question remains whether the cultural protection overlay concept can be expanded to other black communities in the South or elsewhere. The implication of the St. Helena case is that the *historic*, if not the cultural, heritage of Emancipation heritage communities is a clear justification for their preservation. In addition to the ethical and moral arguments for their preservation, efforts by planners to preserve historic black communities can be justified by the fact that they are manifestations of an important, if not the most

important, episode in American history—the freeing of the slaves—and the struggles and achievements that ensued from that event, including the building of communities in the unreconstructed South. The heritage of these Emancipation communities may not be manifested in splendid architecture or large mansions, but the fact that these communities survived against long odds, thereby justifying our attention and their preservation. **P<sup>2</sup>**

# Civil Rights, Technology and Cultural Tourism:

## *The Emmett Till Historic Intrepid Center Museum in Glendora, Mississippi*

*Joan Marshall Wesley and Daphine G. Foster*

**G**LENDORA, MISSISSIPPI, with a population of 151, is undergoing a renaissance. Building on the authentic culture of the Mississippi Delta, and the unique civil rights heritage of Glendora, the village turned an old two-story cotton gin into a multi-purpose facility with a first rate technology center and museum—the Emmett Till Historic Intrepid Center (ETHIC) Museum. The story of Glendora shows that with foresight and careful planning even a small town can raise hopes for the future.

The Village of Glendora is located in Tallahatchie County. It was founded in 1900 with an economy built on sawmilling, later replaced by farming and small plantations. The 2010 census listed Glendora's population at 151, a loss of more than 40 percent since the 2000 census count of 285. The Village is located along the Amtrak train route between Memphis, Tennessee and Jackson, Mississippi. However, Amtrak no longer stops in Glendora. The closest station is 28 miles away in Greenwood, Mississippi. A major highway was rerouted to the west of the city.

The legacy of the “peculiar institution”—slavery—and later Jim Crow, is central to Glendora's history. It defined a repressive and unequal social and economic structure that gave rise to a contested and racialized history. In the 1950s, the most significant event was the 1955 kidnapping and murder of Emmett Till, a Chicago teen visiting relatives in nearby Money, Mississippi. The tragedy began at Bryant's Grocery store in Money, but the violent trail led to Glendora where the murderers used a fan from the cotton gin to weigh down the teen when they threw his body into the Tallahatchie River. The racist killing received international recognition and focused the attention of the broader civil rights movement.

### Technology and Cultural Heritage

Under the leadership of Mayor Johnny Thomas, the Village of Glendora formulated an impressive strategy that invested in technology and education, and linked Glendora's heritage with Mississippi's growing tourism



**Joan Marshall Wesley** is an Assistant Professor in Urban and Regional Planning at Jackson State University, Jackson, Mississippi.



**Daphine G. Foster** is a doctoral candidate in Urban and Regional Planning at Jackson State University, Jackson, Mississippi.

The official website for the Village of Glendora is [www.glendorams.com](http://www.glendorams.com)

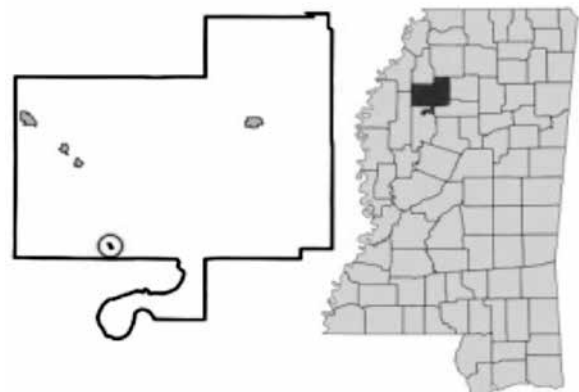


Figure 1. Village of Glendora in Tallahatchie County, MS

Graphic: Arkyan, Wikipedia



Figure 2. ETHIC Museum and Technology and Research Center

industry. In the late 1990s the Glendora Economic and Community Development Corporation purchased the cotton gin. In 2005, the Village received a Rural Development grant from the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) for \$325,405. The two-year funding made it possible for the community to install a twenty-first century technology center. Housed on the lower level of the cotton gin, the Technology Center was fully equipped with 12 workstations, a server and broadband connections. AbsoCom Corporation, the system designers, in collaboration with the Village, designed the Glendora website and Mississippi Valley State University provided content.

But when the funding period ended, the expense for maintaining the Technology Center became unaffordable. Further, negotiations with AbsoCOM stalled over efforts to retain community control of the broadband system. The two issues forced Glendora decision makers to suspend operations. Unwilling to foreclose on efforts to have a technology center, the community continues to explore funding sources to reopen a center with upgraded technology.

During the period of its operation, the Technology Center provided a tantalizing sense of what might develop. It potentially offered Glendora and area residents lifelong learning opportunities and options in adult and continuing education, computer training, and instruction in web-based technology. The Technology Center attracted the attention of visitors, scholars and researchers interested in emerging technology in rural Mississippi Delta communities. Glendora had installed the first broadband network for any rural town in the region. The entire Glendora community received wireless service during the two-year funding period.

The unfunded vision for an upgraded technology center includes a research component, resulting in the Technology and Research Center, which would occupy the upper level of the ETHIC Museum. The research



component would provide a place where area historians, students and local residents could conduct research on Glendora, Tallahatchie County and the Mississippi Delta.

### **The Emmett Till Museum: Economic Development through Cultural and Heritage Tourism**

The ETHIC of the mid to late 2000s was an underdeveloped gallery with a rudimentary collection of local artifacts, a juke joint replication and other objects that reflected some of Glendora's history, installed alongside the USDA-funded Technology Center on the first floor of the old Glendora

Cotton Gin. That changed in 2010, when Thomas was able to generate a \$400,000 federal earmark through the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) to fund the ETHIC Museum. The repurposed cotton gin that served as home to the underdeveloped ETHIC and the Technology Center since 2005 now houses the small but well appointed ETHIC Museum that serves as the centerpiece of Glendora's cultural and heritage tours. (There is still hope for a refunded Technology Center—now to be relocated to the second floor of the building.)

Glendora commissioned the Black Bayou Cultural Heritage

Management Company—an Atlanta, Georgia based corporation—to coordinate research, set up exhibit displays and develop text panels for the ETHIC Museum. The company helped coordinate activities related to the museum's grand reopening. The Village celebrated a grand reopening of the museum in 2011, earlier than the three years allowed for completion.

Located on the lower level of the cotton gin, the ETHIC Museum now featured exhibits of Emmett Till, harmonica genius and bluesman Sonny Boy Williamson, an improved juke joint replica, and various artifacts that chronicle Glendora's history and culture.



Photo: Joan Wesley & Daphne Foster

ETHIC Museum volunteers and employees with Mayor Johnny Thomas (third from left)



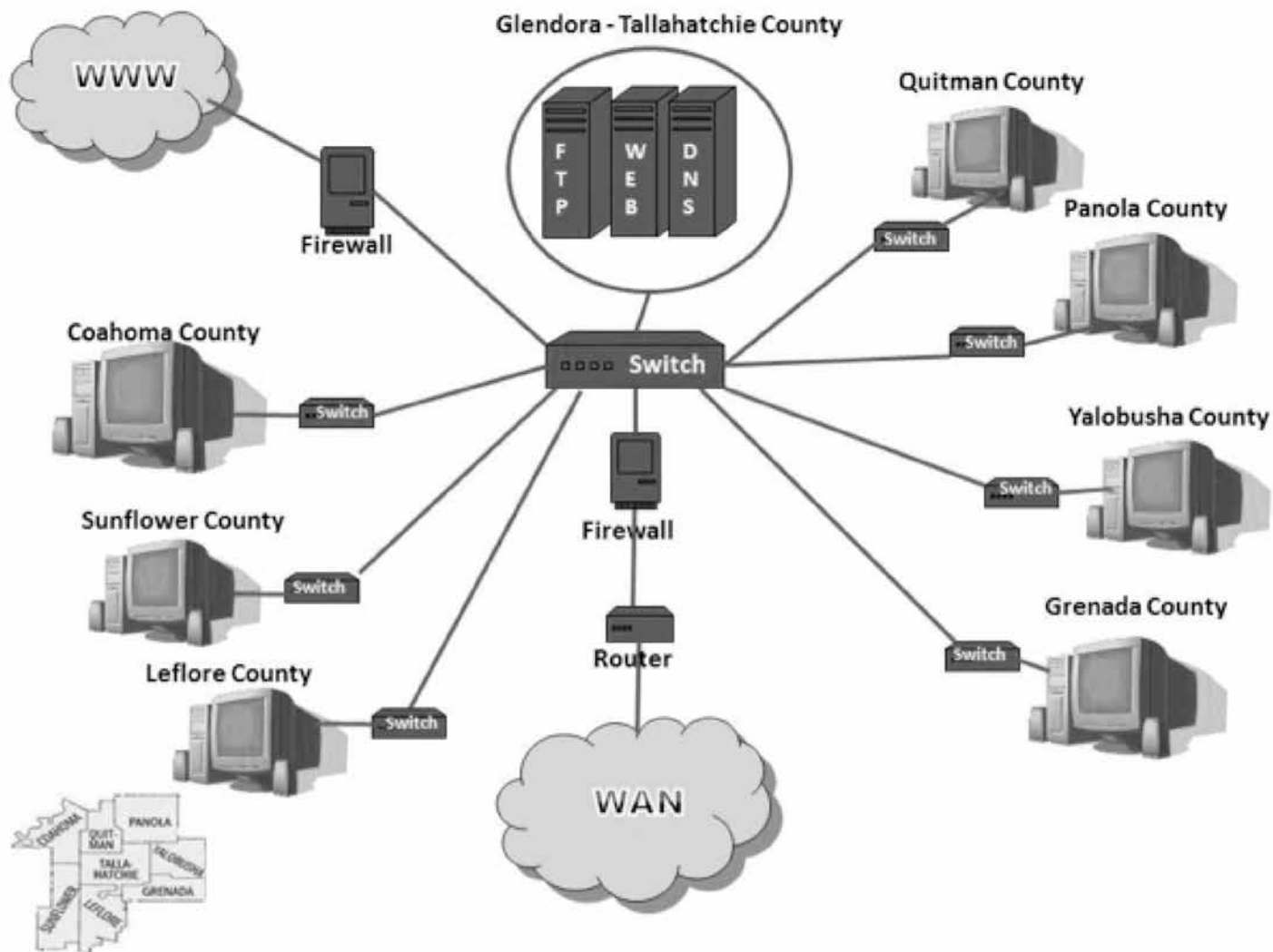
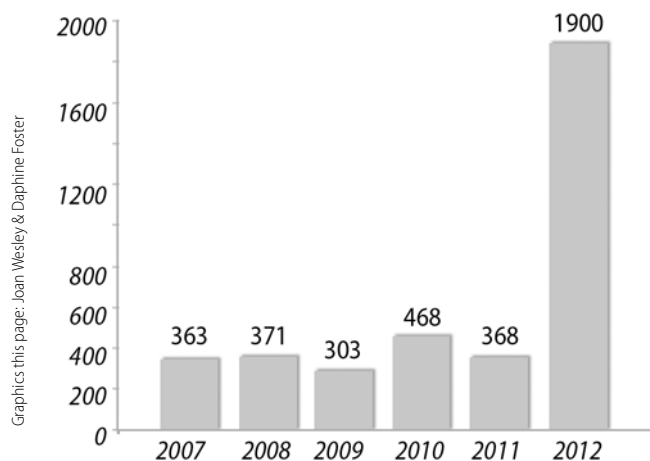


Figure 3. Proposed Technology Hub

### ETHIC Museum visitors, 2007 – 2012



United States		International
Alabama	Montana	Canada
Arizona	New Jersey	England (London)
California	New Mexico	Germany
Colorado	New York	Italy
Florida	North Carolina	Netherlands
Georgia	Ohio	Republic of Mordovia
Illinois	Pennsylvania	
Kansas	South Carolina	
Louisiana	Tennessee	
Maryland	Utah	
Massachusetts	Virginia	
Minnesota	Washington, DC	
Mississippi	Wisconsin	
Missouri	Wyoming	



Photos: Joan Wesley & Daphne Foster

#### FROM TOP

Clinton Melton Historic Marker

Replica of King's Place Juke Joint

Remains of Bryant's Grocery Store

It also provides a poignant account of the Emmett Till tragedy that gave urgency to the civil rights movement. In some ways, the museum is symbolic of a community's attempts to heal the painful past. At the same time, the ETHIC connects Glendora's cultural and heritage assets to the state's broader emphasis on heritage tourism, including the Mississippi Blues Trail.

The Village had been able to take advantage of parts of the USDA-funded Technology Center investments, such as for the website, and for marketing the ETHIC Museum and other tourist attractions. The website likely contributed to the increase in the number of annual visitors to the ETHIC Museum, which grew from 363 in 2007 to almost 2,000 in 2012. Visitors to the ETHIC pay a small entry fee of five dollars and the sale of promotional and souvenir materials generate additional revenue.

Although the ETHIC Museum remains the centerpiece of Glendora's evolving tourism economy, the community continues to build upon existing cultural/heritage assets and natural resources like the Emmett Till National Park & Nature Trail, five roadside markers, a small grocery store and a post office. The Sonny Boy Williamson Bed and Breakfast offers lodging and a restaurant. Tourist season begins in February and festivals and historical observation days occur in August, September and December. Glendora hosts four festivals and celebrations, including Sonny Boy Williamson Day, the Blues Harmonica Festival to pay tribute to the blues legend, and Emmett Till commemorative activities. Plans include a 150-year celebration of the Emancipation Proclamation.

Mayor Johnny Thomas insists that the Village of Glendora is positioning itself to become a leader in technology and cultural/heritage tourism throughout the Mississippi Delta. Other efforts include the acquisition and control of a broadband communications system network to support the expansion of 21-century technology to rural communities throughout the region and the creation of a strong research center. Glendora's leadership continues to pursue bold initiatives, a growing tourism economy, and reestablishment of the Amtrak Station. According to Thomas, "We have the ideas; it just needs to be done."

P2

# Innovations in Immigrant Incorporation

## High Point, North Carolina

*Hannah Gill, Meghan Andrew and Mai Nguyen*

**I**N THE PAST FOUR DECADES, the South has become a region of economic growth and rapid demographic change, with one of the fastest growing immigrant populations in the nation. Between 2000 and 2010, southern states like North Carolina, South Carolina, Mississippi, Tennessee, Georgia, Arkansas, Alabama, and Kentucky saw their foreign-born populations grow at or above twice the national rate.

Some state and local governments in the region and nation have reacted by passing restrictive legislation towards immigrants. Alabama's

2011 immigration law was one of the most notorious. But an increasing number of municipalities are seeking out more inclusive, integration-focused planning—a collaborative process of mutual learning and accommodation involving relationship building and dialogue with immigrants. In the following we show how a group of diverse community stakeholders came together in High Point, North Carolina, to create a plan to enhance immigrant civic engagement, linguistic achievement, and economic and educational advancement.

### Building Integrated Communities

High Point, North Carolina, is a city of 104,371 people, with foreign-born residents, primarily from Latin American countries, accounting for over 11 percent of the total population. At the center of High Point's integration efforts is the Human Relations Commission (HRC), which has a long history of work towards inclusivity through diversity trainings, investigation of fair housing complaints, and the organization of city-wide events celebrating local cultural, ethnic and racial diversity. High Point's

nationally acclaimed Student Human Relations Commission, started in 2004, teaches youth about human and civil rights.

In 2009, the High Point HRC applied to a new program at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill called Building Integrated Communities (BIC). BIC is a resource for municipalities interested in immigrant integration, started by the Latino Migration Project and the School of Government in consultation with immigrant leaders across the state. At UNC, BIC is staffed by a team of anthropologists, urban planners, and demographers committed to community-engaged research; many have personal experiences with immigration. The authors of this article are part of this team.

BIC enters into partnerships with municipalities that are willing to embark upon a three year planning process involving community needs assessments, relationship building and dialogue with local immigrant leaders. The BIC team at UNC pledges a three year commitment to each partnering municipality to help facilitate meetings and provide relevant research on demography



**Hannah Gill** is an anthropologist with the Latino Migration Project at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.



**Meghan Andrew** is a doctoral candidate in Sociocultural Anthropology at the University of California, Riverside.



**Mai Nguyen** is Assistant Professor in City and Regional Planning at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

and best practices. Importantly, BIC is driven by community partners who define goals and priorities and are responsible for the eventual implementation of integration strategies. The High Point HRC applied to BIC after the UNC team sent an invitation to all municipal governments in the state to participate in the program. In their application, the HRC expressed an interest, through letters of support from the mayor and local organizations, to deepen and diversify their relationships with immigrant residents.

as many sectors of the community as possible and encouraged participation from diverse groups of people. The HRC contacted other municipal government agencies, non-profits, religious organizations, immigrant associations, and businesses in order to leverage existing community resources and ultimately generate locally relevant strategies.

Our first meetings, held in local churches, government buildings, and the city museum, focused on relationship building and education about:

government officials about needs and assets, and then shared materials with participants. We found that High Point's immigrant and refugee communities include people from Latin America, India, Pakistan, Burma, Nepal, Vietnam, Sudan, and Eastern Europe. We also discovered many community assets in religious organizations serving immigrant communities. At one of the meetings, the mayor said, "I sit here and I am awed by the diversity that has come in this room and what a challenge it is to all of us to build a city together."



### Three Year Planning Process

After signing agreements that outlined roles and responsibilities, the HRC and UNC team embarked upon a three year planning process in High Point that involved in-person meetings with a core group of 10 to 15 local elected officials, immigrant leaders, and other community stakeholders. We realized that this planning process would be more successful if we involved

1. demographic composition of the city;
2. identification of existing community assets, which included making sure that the meetings involved representatives of local immigrant populations; and
3. identifying community needs.

When not meeting in person, the UNC team and HRC staff interviewed and surveyed community advocates, service providers, and

In the second year, our meetings included the core group plus up to 60 more stakeholders and focused on identifying shared values and prioritizing needs. In sum, more than 100 immigrant residents from 20 different countries participated in these stakeholder meetings. Given the wide range of needs, High Point stakeholders spent much time building consensus over common priorities of leadership development, access to city services and information, and communication between different groups. In many cases, programs existed, but stakeholders agreed that these programs could be more inclusive of immigrants. For example, in High Point, the police department organized community dialogues in neighborhoods across the city, but had not made these events accessible to immigrants. The mayor hosted groups to learn about civics, but had not specifically reached out to foreign-born residents. There were numerous city boards with leadership positions, but few representatives from immigrant communities.

Once the group established these priority areas, the UNC team researched promising integration practices in other parts of the country such as California, Oregon, Colorado, New York, and Chicago, and presented this information to participants over a series of several half-day meetings. Participants then reflected upon the applicability of these practices in their own community. In some cases, mayors in large cities like Chicago and New York had created staff positions devoted to immigration affairs. This practice was not feasible in High Point (and other BIC partnering municipalities) because of budgetary constraints. Politics and history also mattered, and local planners attempting to improve lives for immigrant residents had to work within the constraints of state and local laws. North Carolina laws bar access for immigrants without legal status to higher education, drivers licenses, and in some communities, even the opportunity to receive canned goods at soup kitchens. Local government protocols and policies can also vary by municipality, making strategies developed by one community not necessarily useful in another.

### Action Plan

By year three, stakeholders had created an action plan that brought together and built upon strengths of all community sectors present. To date, High Point's Immigrant Integration plan consists of 16 different initiatives aiming to promote integration in ways that will benefit the entire community and provide

learning opportunities for receiving communities and newcomers. Specifically, they are designed to enhance immigrant leadership, civic engagement, language acquisition, cultural competence, and access to services. Two of the most important aspects of this plan are an International Advisory Committee, an official body of immigrant leaders charged with advising city leaders of their communities' needs, and an Interfaith Advisory Committee,

---

Two of the most important aspects of this plan are an international advisory committee—immigrant leaders charged with advising city leaders of their communities' needs, and an Interfaith Advisory Committee—international faith leaders responsible for improving relationships between newcomers and receiving communities.

---

a group of international faith leaders responsible for improving relationships between newcomers and receiving communities. Other initiatives include an urban garden-

ing project to enhance immigrant entrepreneurial opportunities, public tours of city departments, improved access and awareness about parks and recreational spaces, and the creation of a language and cultural guide for city staff and service agencies. The city will also explore centralizing its interpretation services to save agency costs and hosting public bus tours to improve access to the public transportation system. The Human Relations Commission is expanding its monthly community dialogue series to focus on issues concerning immigrants and refugees and to build cultural understanding. They will host focus groups with immigrants to explore how they can improve access to leadership positions and increase representation on city boards, and invite consultants to provide expertise in this area. Finally, planners will incorporate cultural diversity of new immigrant groups into the city's annual festival.

### Lessons Learned and Challenges

As authors, we offer some reflections about the BIC process based on lessons learned working in High Point and other partnering municipalities. While the goals, strategies and outcomes have varied according to stakeholders in each municipality, all locales have followed a similar collaborative and comprehensive process. Compared to other integration efforts underway nationwide, the content of BIC community initiatives in High Point and other North Carolina locations is not exceptional. Indeed, action plans in each locale have been informed



by promising and successful practices from municipalities across the United States and beyond.

What is less common about the BIC process is the combination of: 1) the collaborative methods used to adapt these promising practices to suit North Carolina municipalities and 2) the use of a comprehensive approach in the context of new immigrant destinations in the South. BIC community integration plans are comprehensive largely because the planning process involved idea sharing from many different sectors within communities. According to in-depth reviews of practices nationwide, few municipalities of similar size undertake such collaborative and comprehensive approaches. Comprehensive approaches appear most frequently in more populated areas, perhaps because these strategies are more resource intensive and thus are more easily sustained. Comprehensive plans tend to provide both the depth of specialization and the breadth of cross-city collaboration. They may also involve policy changes and mechanisms for sustained community feedback and collaboration. The creation of immigrant advisory boards or task forces—an outcome in two of the BIC partner municipalities—is expected to add sustainability by institutionalizing a body that will share ideas and fortify relationships, perhaps achieving a similar level of comprehensiveness to programs found in larger urban areas. One positive aspect of working in smaller municipalities is that it was logistically easier

for stakeholders to engage in the face-to-face meetings necessary to build personal working relationships to achieve community goals.

Collaboration with such a great diversity of people from different sectors of the community, nationalities, races, ages, and religions can present challenges. Communication is critical, and Human Relations staff found it necessary to arrange for interpreters at many meetings, which doubled the meeting time. Even though the UNC team worked in communities that already had strong networks with immigrants, we found it necessary to work with stakeholders to prepare before planning even began. For example, in one community, immigrant newcomers requested education about the functions and agencies of local government, while local officials requested more information about immigrant backgrounds and needs. The UNC team found that participants wanted to be more involved in conducting research about community needs in the beginning, requiring additional time to organize more focus groups and interviews. At every meeting, facilitators from the UNC team made a concerted effort to include time for relationship building by including meals and breaks. Another challenge was the long planning time period necessitated by such a comprehensive process—almost three years, in fact, in all communities. Collaborators sometimes found it challenging to sustain participation over time and

make sure that at each meeting participants were up to date on the latest developments. To address this challenge, the UNC team provided summaries of progress at each meeting and written materials of all research and information to date. Regular email communication and follow up after meetings helped sustain energy during the process. The UNC team also found it helpful to connect all of the human relations commissions in the different communities we worked in so they could share strategies.

Acknowledging immigrants as valuable community assets opens the door to new ways of addressing economic growth, conflict resolution, and social cohesion. Even in a national and regional context hostile to immigrants, the experience of High Point shows that members of small communities can come together to build relationships and create inclusive programs. Local action is not a replacement for federal immigration reform, but while the country awaits comprehensive reform, these efforts offer a promising model for communities of good will. **P<sup>2</sup>**

# A Tale of Two Cities

## *Leveling the Development Playing Field in Atlanta and Birmingham*

**Mike Dobbins**

**M**Y EXPERIENCE as a planning official in two Southern cities—Atlanta and Birmingham—tells me that there are positive examples of progressive planning, and they are the result of a growing democratization in the planning and development process.

Imagine this: putting a Walmart underground, blocking and redirecting ill-conceived, community-destroying public works projects, forcing adaptive reuse instead of wholesale redevelopment, developing parks and preserving open space, forging community benefit agreements, celebrating the legacy of civil rights. These are some examples of how progressive planning and activism has shaped and benefited from large scale development projects in the two cities. Even so, we have a long way left to go to level the class/race playing field so that the public and private resources that build cities better serve their whole populations' needs. As my wife says, "Make capitalism work for the people."

In 1974, Atlanta's first African American mayor, Maynard Jackson, established the NPU (Neighborhood Planning Unit) system in the City Charter. In Birmingham at the same time then Councilman David Vann, a white civil rights activist and later mayor, persuaded his colleagues on the City Council to adopt a similar system, adding a capital funding component to support the capital priorities formulated by neighborhoods. Both programs, unusual in the South and even nationally, were openly and purposefully put in

place to democratize decision-making and to provide a training ground for future leadership. Most private and public planning and development activities over which planners have staff purview must flow through the Birmingham neighborhood association or Atlanta's NPU for an advisory recommendation.

The very structure and legitimation of the advisory process ensures regular monthly meetings, substantive agendas, access to information, and election of leadership. When more hands-on development engagement is required, the framework supports and complements the establishment of legal entities (like community development corporations) that have the capability and the standing to negotiate terms for development (like community benefits agreements) both with the city and developers. Through the years, most council members in both cities got their start through these structures.

The processes thus established in the 1970s are still evolving, working their way through all of the messiness that characterizes democracy in action, yet they have been effective in:

- The growing legitimation of the voice of citizens in development decision-making
- The rapid increase in information availability and reliability
- Cross-issue and cross-locational collaborations, including places for progressive planners in government, academia, and (under cover) in the private sector
- The growing realization in the development community of the need and value of bending to the influence of citizens



**Mike Dobbins** is Professor of Practice at Georgia Tech (School of City and Regional Planning); former Commissioner of Planning, Development and Neighborhood Conservation for the City of Atlanta; and former Director of Planning for the City of Birmingham.

*Illustrations by the author.*

The results are producing less-contested and better projects for all concerned. In both cities, it is clear that citizen influence on planning and development decisions has gained a foothold and is rippling beyond the traditional close-held power centers associated with these cities. This may pave the way for further institutionalization of the policy and practice of community benefits agreements for publicly supported development initiatives. Or it may fall victim to the ever-increasing sophistication with which developers are able to get over, using deceptive presentation promises, throwing bones, and dividing and conquering neighborhood interests. Our job as progressive planners is to advance the shifts that make

us tools in the hands of citizens to push the agenda for equity forward, as aggressively as we can and as accommodatingly as we must.

### **Atlanta: Activists Force Walmart Underground**

In 2001, neighborhood activists from a coalition of Atlanta neighborhoods succeeded in blocking a number of development proposals for a new big box shopping center that would directly impact their neighborhoods. Their issues were traffic, diversity of retail and service options, and aesthetic character. They didn't want a single use big box in the middle of an asphalt desert. Using tools

available to them for influencing the outcome, good information, a cooperative ear in City Hall, and a base of willing picketers, they were able to forge working relationships with both the ultimate developer and the city to achieve a development that addressed all of their concerns. Negotiating with the master developer, Selig Enterprises, they were able to place the Walmart at the base of the development, two stories down from the street level, with parking above, topped by a shopping square with diverse offerings at the street level. In the bargain they were able to connect new multifamily developments directly into the shopping square, cutting down on the need for auto access. They pushed hard to replace



First underground Walmart in the world, surmounted by one level of parking and a shopping square at street level.

the Walmart with a Costco for its labor-friendly advantages but were unable to achieve that goal. They were able to mount the political pressure necessary to rebuild a bottleneck intersection. The process as a whole depended on a canny, well-informed leadership, using necessary city approvals through the NPU system as leverage (in which the city concurred with their goals), and ultimately a developer whose community sensitivity rose substantially in the process. The project worked: it created a community-supported retail and mixed-use center. It comported with the city's visions and policies to support well designed, community-responsive, mixed use developments. And,

by bringing their resources into line with community and city values, the developer greatly shortened his approval time and cost and produced a model project that met his bottom line.

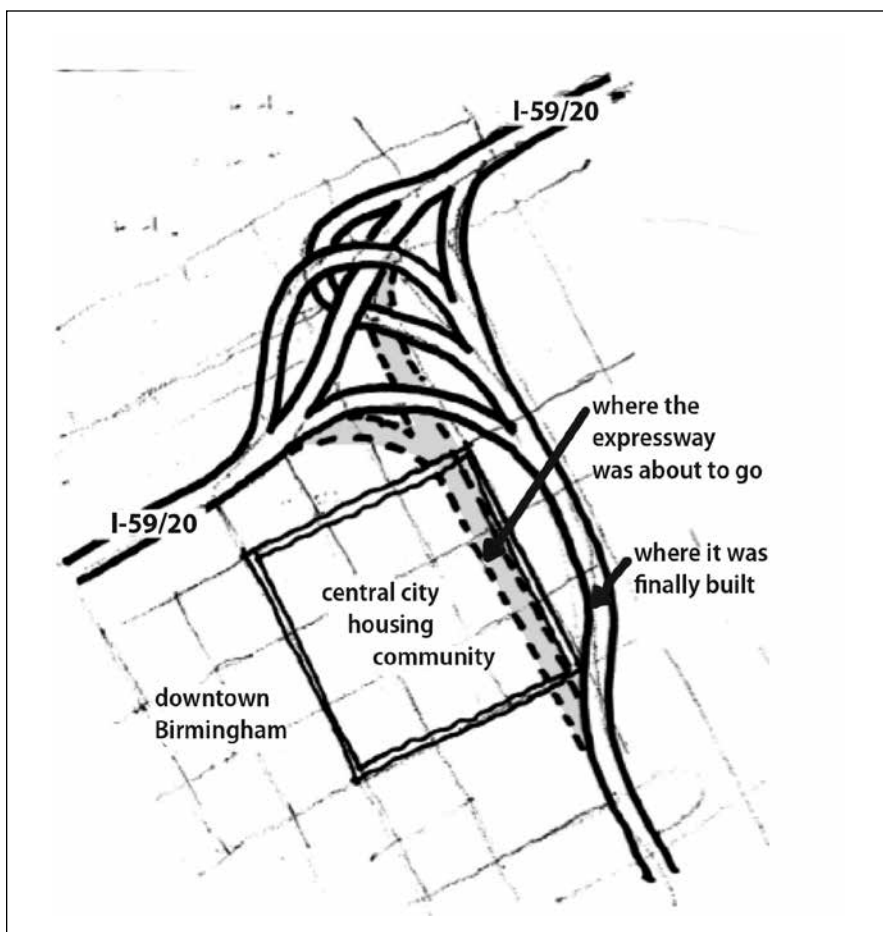
### **Atlanta: From Expressway to Freedom Park**

In the pre-Olympic period, Atlanta was well down the road toward building a freeway from downtown through both low-income, minority neighborhoods as well as more affluent white neighborhoods. The freeway would connect to the site of the Carter Center and beyond to suburban neighborhoods. The project, the Presidential Parkway, part

of the Stone Mountain Freeway, was supported by former President Jimmy Carter, then-Mayor Andrew Young, and a succession of governors and state agencies. Through a torturous, grueling succession of small victories mixed with reverses, CAUTION, the broad-based coalition led by neighborhood activists, succeeded in converting the project from what was to have been freeway right-of-way into a park with a park road, and bike and walking trails. It now constitutes Freedom Park, linking the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center to the Carter Center, and to Candler Park. Citizens expanded their knowledge of how to use regulatory, funding, technical, and procedural protocols and the voice of the NPUs. They persisted and the process ended in marathon mediation sessions, during which Hal Rives, the Commissioner of the Georgia Department of Transportation, was fired, and the redesigned project went forward. The citizens won the day.

### **Birmingham: How a Public Housing Community Deflected an Expressway**

In Birmingham, the powers that be decided to build a connection, the Red Mountain Expressway, from growing suburbs to the south to I-20/59, the central interstate system that passes along the northern edge of downtown. A public housing community, Central City, lay in the straight line path of the selected corridor, which the proponents considered a good thing: break up a housing community that leaders viewed as a blight on the downtown





The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, entrance on axis with the Martin Luther King, Jr. statue in Kelly Ingram Park and building front on axis with the 16th Street Baptist Church.

and create an opportunity for profitable redevelopment. Soon after the establishment of the citizen participation program in the city, neighborhood associations and housing activists engaged a young public interest attorney and a free-lance transportation expert (me) to challenge the plan and the community-destroying impacts it threatened. The community leaders, attorneys, and technical support team rapidly ramped up their knowledge base: politics for the community leaders, the law for the attorneys, and the required technical policies and procedures for the transportation advisor. It

was all geared toward coming up with an alternative that completed the connection without impacting the community. Through legal action, political persuasion, and technically superior alternatives the community was saved and the revised connection established.

### **The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute**

Part of the trend towards greater democratization and citizen empowerment is recognition of the powerful role of the civil rights movement. In 1978, Birmingham Mayor David Vann launched the

idea of creating an interpretive center that would trace Birmingham's civil rights history and experience. His advisory committee urged that the center be an "institute" not a "museum," signifying study and a work in progress instead of a memorial to something the city was over with. Later, Mayor Richard Arrington, Jr., Birmingham's first African American mayor, picked up on the theme and led a broad-based community effort to develop the content, select the site, and devise the funding mechanism to build the institute. The content was bold and unvarnished, tracing the horrors that were black life in the city, its labor force and survival mechanisms. The site was carefully selected to memorialize the places where many of the struggles took place—across from the 16th Street Baptist, where four little girls died in a Sunday morning bomb attack in 1963, and facing Kelly Ingram Park, where many of the marches originated before being turned back by water cannons and police dogs. The mayor sought to include funding in two bond initiatives in 1986 and 1988, but it was voted down both times. He was finally able to proceed with the project through a general obligation bond, and the institute opened in 1993, along with the establishment of the Civil Rights District and the park, which Mayor Arrington subtitled "Place of Revolution and Reconciliation." The leadership of Birmingham's civil rights leaders and foot soldiers was key to planning for the content, site, design, and outfitting of the institute, and essential in gaining political support for the funding. **P<sup>2</sup>**



# Please Inquire Within

## *Local Hiring in Durham, North Carolina*

*Clara Turner and Nichola Lowe*

**E**CONOMIC DEVELOPMENT in the US South relies heavily on offers of public incentives and promises of low-wage workforces to attract companies. Although this strategy often continues unabated, activists and practitioners have in some cases pushed for performance control measures for the firms receiving incentives. These measures involve linking the incentive offers to wage standards, job creation thresholds, and other community benefits. In the aftermath of the Great Recession, however, the competition to attract firms has intensified. In turn, efforts to hold corporate recipients of public money to certain accountability standards have largely been weakened or abandoned.



**Clara Turner** is a policy analyst with Orange County Communities Organized for Responsible Development



**Nichola Lowe** is an associate professor in city and regional planning at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Durham, North Carolina, has managed to subvert this trend through the recent adoption of local hiring standards for corporations receiving public incentives, while designing and framing these provisions as mutually beneficial to both city residents and businesses. Beginning with pressure from organized community interests and building upon progressive roots within city government, the Durham Office of Economic and Workforce Development (OEWD) and the Greater Durham Chamber of Commerce have balanced community-side concerns about job access with concerns about maintaining competitiveness. The resulting policy couples workforce development opportunities with local hiring requirements, leverages state resources for training, and emphasizes a creative salesmanship approach aimed at influencing firm perception of these added requirements.

This approach is important given Durham's large and politically active African American community and the persistent high unemployment within that community—a factor that in other cities might have resulted in resistance to interventions

that had the potential to discourage business investment and job creation. Instead, the City of Durham, in partnership with community groups, has positioned itself as a pioneer in incentive reform in North Carolina. Durham provides a replicable model of local incentive reform fostered through a mutual evolution of grassroots activism and “high-road” economic development.

### **Adopting Local Hiring in Durham**

Local hiring in the City of Durham is formalized through a binding workforce agreement. Incentivized businesses that sign the agreement commit to giving Durham's JobLink Career Center priority (or at least an opportunity) in recruiting and referring applicants for job openings. The Durham JobLink Career Center is a federally-funded employment agency jointly managed by Durham and North Carolina Department of Commerce staff. It operates under the auspices of the Durham Workforce Development Board—a public/private partnership that was created by the federal Workforce Investment Act of 1998 and formalized in an inter-local consortium between the Durham

City and County governments. Individual incentive contracts and accompanying workforce agreements memorialize the numbers of jobs to be created on a particular project, the incentive amount per job, and any base thresholds needed to qualify for incentives, time constraints for job creation, and any additional provisions.

As with most local hiring policies in the United States, Durham's is not mandatory. It is based on "good-faith" principles and a strong reporting system that enables city officials to establish clear hiring goals in line with what the private entity originally proposed in order to qualify for the incentive. Employers, while not required to hire or even interview all applicants that are referred from JobLink, are required to document the referrals that they receive and the eventual outcome of their applications in quarterly compliance reports. By establishing a long-term relationship with workforce development specialists at JobLink, incentivized businesses provide city officials with information that is useful for assessing industry skill needs and evaluating the effectiveness of local training supports in addressing them. As a result, Durham has one of the most sophisticated and institutionally embedded local hiring systems in North Carolina.

### **Years of Planning and Advocacy**

It took years of planning and advocacy to get the City of Durham to this point. In 2006 a local so-

cial justice coalition, Durham Congregations, Associations and Network (Durham C.A.N.), requested research assistance from the Department of City and Regional Planning (DCRP) at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. Durham C.A.N. is affiliated with Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation and its members are primarily faith-based organizations with a large African American constituent base. In response to Durham C.A.N.'s request, UNC's DCRP developed a semester-long economic development workshop course under the supervision of

C.A.N. leaders trusted us and shared their deliberations, and we were able to inform the conversation with our ideas and research."

Durham's economic development practitioners, especially Alan DeLisle and Kevin Dick, were immediately receptive to the idea of introducing local hiring provisions to business incentive deals. They were already familiar with performance controls, as DeLisle had worked years earlier with members of Durham C.A.N. to incorporate living wage standards in all city and county business incentive deals.



professor Nichola Lowe, co-author of this article. The workshop enabled planning graduate students to investigate Durham County and City's incentive granting processes and make recommendations for improvements based on a review of best practices. Durham C.A.N. used the results of this analysis to establish a dialogue about incentive reform and local hiring more specifically with city and county officials. Workshop participant Brady Gordon (Master's in Regional Planning '08) stated, "our work was exciting right from the start because we knew Durham C.A.N. didn't just want a report. They wanted us to participate in a conversation about what was possible in Durham.

Beyond this, local practitioners were also mindful of the need to promote progressive policies that melded equity and business development goals—a conceptual coupling that Durham had institutionalized decades before with a forward-thinking decision to combine economic and workforce development functions under one roof. While Durham C.A.N. motivated action through its community organizing efforts, city officials ultimately took the local hiring issue to the next level, shepherding it through the halls of government—which required convincing initial skeptics—and eventually making local hiring an integral part of Durham City's incentive granting process.

To date, Durham's OEWD has established six workforce development agreements with businesses receiving incentives to locate or develop within the City of Durham. Furthermore, the workforce agreement model has evolved and strengthened since it was first applied to information technology firm EMC in 2009. The core requirement of meeting job creation quotas within a specified timeframe remains the same. More recent agreements for the redevelopment of the Hill Building in downtown Durham have added explicit provisions for targeted youth hiring and training—a much welcomed addition given Durham's high youth unemployment rate.

### **Beyond Local Hiring to Industry Clusters**

However, Durham illustrates more than just the successful integration of local hiring requirements. By implementing the workforce development agreements as a part of a larger comprehensive economic development strategy, Durham has managed to both improve the likelihood of voluntary local hiring from recruited firms and avoid the potential danger of frightening away prospective businesses with the additional requirements.

Key here is Durham's ability to make incentive-granting part of larger economic development strategy that is focused on recruiting firms that fit within diverse but pre-determined cluster industries. Businesses seeking incentives from

the City are expected to fit into one of these targeted cluster industries. In turn, Durham positions itself as a competitive location for these specific industries, touting and investing in the specific infrastructure and labor force features that will make firms in these industries successful. For example, the City of Durham, and the Durham Chamber of Commerce, focused on recruiting firms that needed the specific skills available in Durham's labor pool, a strategy that allowed the city to match laid-off workers with openings at ACW, an electronics manufacturing firm recruited in 2010 with a modest incentives package of just under \$70,000.

Durham's OEWD, with help from the Chamber, also approaches recruitment as salesmen rather than as bureaucrats. OEWD and Chamber staff work closely with potential firms to understand their workforce and infrastructure needs throughout the recruiting process. The workforce development agreement is also couched in this "salesmanship" approach, with Durham framing the agreement and the JobLink career center as beneficial resources for incoming companies rather than burdensome requirements. JobLink receives positive reviews for its assistance to firms in recruiting, screening and training workers, and both large and small firms take advantage of its services. ACW, a smaller firm with a one-person HR department, worked closely with OEWD's Darrell Solomon, who in turn worked with JobLink to provide referrals to fit the firm's needs. ACW hired 28 of its initial 45 employees

through JobLink. Larger firms use JobLink to complement existing HR work, tapping into the local career fairs and other workforce development outreach that JobLink and its training partners provide in the area. For example, Save-A-Lot Food Stores in Durham recruited 20 of its 21 initial hires through JobLink.

Finally, OEWD's approach allows Durham to leverage existing state incentive programs toward their recruitment efforts. Durham has streamlined communication between local community colleges, JobLink, and incoming firms to use Customized Training (NEIT) or Incumbent Worker Training (IWT) grants, which assist with or subsidize the cost of employee training through JobLink or Durham Technical Community College. Once local employees are found and hired, employers can customize training to fit the specific needs of their workforce and business. Together with JobLink's screening and placement support, these grants and services are portrayed successfully by OEWD as a full-service human resources package provided by Durham, and incoming firms use Customized Training or IWT funding frequently to upskill their workforces. Even if firms using Customized Training or IWT relocate from Durham in the future, they leave behind a better trained and more employable workforce. This represents a high cost-benefit trade off for Durham, and reinforces the view that local hiring is mutually beneficial for businesses and community alike.

The City of Durham is the only jurisdiction in North Carolina's Research Triangle region with the workforce development agreement addendum as a requirement to an incentive contract. Other communities have experimented with considerably weaker versions of local hiring, in most cases offering extra incentives once a company chooses to hire local residents, but forgoing a mediated process for influencing those hiring decisions by institutionalizing connections to

JobLink centers. Durham offers a more encompassing and inclusion-ary workforce development solution by requiring all incentivized firms to sign a workforce agreement and brokering, from the start, a relationship with JobLink and local vocational training programs.

Some critics of Durham's policy have argued local hiring requirements may hurt recruitment efforts, yet the City of Durham has been selected over other counties

that have offered considerably larger incentive packages and without local hiring conditions. In other words, the Durham case shows that local governments don't have to pay more to ensure that more of the benefits of investment are shared locally. Durham officials understand this winning formula. The next planning challenge is to convince other communities to push for similar progressive standards. **P2**

## REGISTER NOW!

# Beyond Resilience: Actions for a Just Metropolis

PLANNERS NETWORK CONFERENCE • JUNE 6-8 • NEW YORK CITY

**Superstorm Sandy**—and other cataclysmic events across North America and throughout the world—laid bare the ongoing crises in low-income communities: unemployment, foreclosures, homelessness, and service cutbacks.

During Sandy, historic patterns of racial discrimination isolated the most vulnerable while wealthier, better-connected residents had the privilege of mobility. Traditional planning is partially responsible for these injustices. Now, community-based organizations and activist networks are mobilizing, networking, and filling the gaps exposed by the failures of local and federal responses. This organizing continues beyond simple resilience, toward building a more just collective future.

**Join us June 6-8 in New York City for a progressive, practice-based planning conference that explores these alternatives to urban development and planning practice.** At this conference, planners, architects, designers, activists, and neighborhood advocates come together to exchange ideas and perspectives to promote alternative, more sustainable, and just ways of preserving and developing the metropolis.

### Full registration includes:

- Screening of the acclaimed documentary, *My Brooklyn*, and a discussion with the filmmaker at Hunter College.
- A full day of dialogues and tours with neighborhood organizations and residents
- A kick-off party at Pratt Institute in Brooklyn—a celebration of justice and action!
- A full Saturday of diverse conference panels, interactive workshops, and plenaries.
- The conference will wrap up Saturday evening with a performance by the dynamic Reverend Billy and the Church of Stop Shopping.

### Featured speakers:

- John Davis *Burlington Associates*
- Mindy Fullilove *NYS Psychiatric Institute, Columbia University*
- Rachel LaForest *Right to the City Alliance*
- Erminia Maricato *University of São Paulo*
- Peter Marcuse *Columbia University*
- Marla Nelson *University of New Orleans*
- Miguel Robles-Durán *Parsons/New School*
- Tony Schuman *New Jersey Institute of Technology*
- Aixa Torres *Smith Houses Resident Association*
- And dozens more!

### Community dialogues and tours:

- East Harlem gentrification and planning
- South Bronx waterfront
- Brooklyn waterfront bike tour
- Corona/Flushing Meadows, Queens
- Downtown Brooklyn redevelopment
- Far Rockaway, Queens after Sandy



Full information and registration at  
**justmetropolis.org**

Questions? Contact  
**PN2013@plannersnetwork.org**

# Growing Local/Buying Local

## *Challenging Pessimism and Social Division through Narratives of Possibility*

*Gabriel Cumming and Dorothy Holland*

If you've been labeled a poor county, many times, people take on that label and that blinds them to what they do have and to what their abilities are. . . . We're not poor—we've got resources, we've got skills, we've got land, we've got people, and we're not taking advantage of what God has blessed us with.

—Rev. William Kearney  
Warren County,  
North Carolina



**Gabriel Cumming** is Economic Development Director for Warren County, North Carolina.



**Dorothy Holland** is Boshamer Professor of Anthropology and Director of the Warren/UNC SPARC at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill.

WARREN COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA comprises a rolling, lightly-populated swath of Piedmont countryside along the Virginia border. Many residents live in close-knit family clusters, as they have for generations. Despite their attachment to the place, Warren residents have a tendency to denigrate their county in public discourse, casting it as intractably devoid of opportunity. This pessimistic internal narrative reinforces, and is reinforced by, external designations such as the state's classification of the county as "most economically distressed"—based on a high poverty rate (27 percent) and low median household income (\$34,000). Alongside this economic narrative is another, also prevalent among locals, that portrays the county as hampered by internal divisions: "there are a lot of talented people in Warren County, but they don't work together." Sometimes what they mean is that people do not collaborate across racial lines: Warren County's population of 21,000 is 53 percent African American, 40 percent white, 5 percent American Indian, and 3 percent Hispanic.

We have engaged in a series of community-university initiatives in Warren County since 2010, designed to challenge narratives that cast the county as economically barren and defined by race and class divides. Through these initiatives, we have forwarded "narratives of possibility"—shared story lines positing that economic opportunities do exist locally and that community members can work together to realize those opportunities. In a racially diverse community like Warren County, where most economic activity is homegrown, prevalent narratives that arc toward inevitable decline and division represent real obstacles to progress. Working to reorient local narratives toward possibility is a laborious and fragile endeavor, perpetually at risk of being set back by reassertions of skepticism or distrust. However, this work is necessary to foster conditions in which economic opportunities can take root and be realized.

### **Growing Local/Buying Local and the Community Voice Method**

We started with the conviction that economic development work





Small-group discussion at a *Growing Local/Buying Local* meeting in Warren County, North Carolina, August 2011

involving historically marginalized populations in a Southern community like Warren County must be approached through intervention not only in the physical environment, but also in the communicative environment. We used the Community Voice Method (CVM), a participatory planning approach designed by Warren County native and then-Duke University researcher Carla Norwood, and Gabe Cumming, a contributor to this article and currently Warren County's Economic Development Director. CVM is not meant to be a formal planning or community organizing process in its own right, but a precursor to such processes. It lays the groundwork for planning and action. These functions make CVM particularly useful in rural communities where a high proportion of local residents are disempowered or alienated from public planning processes. It can provide a way of integrating marginalized voices into public conversations.

In Warren County, we decided to focus the CVM process on identifying opportunities for building the local agricultural economy. This responded to a growing recognition among Warren residents that a generic model of economic development based on recruiting outside firms had not been successful, and that agriculture represented a potential source of economic opportunity but had diminished in recent

decades. Interest in agricultural development was resurgent but diffuse, with agricultural strategies and networks remaining largely divided along racial lines. Drawing upon the local food movement that was already prevalent in the nearby Research Triangle area, Cumming and Norwood saw an opportunity to bring Warren residents together around revitalizing the county's food economy. They dubbed the initiative *Growing Local/Buying Local* (GLBL)—a reference not only to food production/consumption but also to locally-rooted economic growth. The project was supported by the development of a Sustained Participatory Action Research Collaboration (SPARC), that enabled Warren residents to work directly with researchers at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. This community-university collaboration remained a defining characteristic of the project throughout its implementation.

We initiated *Growing Local/Buying Local* in August 2010. We began with video-recorded interviews of over 70 people county-wide across race, class and gender categories and across a spectrum of roles including farmers, small business owners, public officials, and community activists. We selected the participants in these interviews through peer referral, while simultaneously working to ensure that the

interviewee pool reflected the county's racial diversity. We asked questions about the past, present, and future of Warren's agricultural economy. Interviewee remarks were both descriptive (of the county's past and present) and prescriptive (of possible future trajectories).

We then used the recorded interview data to identify themes emerging from the individual stories and selected video clips from the interviews to create shared story lines expressed through the actual voices and images of almost all of the interviewees. These narratives were the basis for one of the outcomes of this first phase of the project—a half-hour long, un-narrated film composed entirely of interview footage.

Drafts of the film, along with supporting documents and data, were then shown to focus groups in Warren County, which were asked to give feedback on their clarity and relevance. This enabled us to refine the film and presentation of data based on local feedback. Since we wanted the draft film to reflect the sentiments of all groups and we wanted the focus group discussions to be safe environments for reflecting on sensitive topics including racial dynamics, we convened one group that was composed solely of African American participants and another that was comprised solely of white participants.

The resulting film ([www.communityvoicemethod.org/growinglocal](http://www.communityvoicemethod.org/growinglocal)) represents the broad diversity of the Warren County community, revealing some tensions but also widespread commonalities across social divisions in sentiments about local food, possibilities and challenges. Importantly, the film reveals a, more positive identity that could help to replace the negative ones now associated with the county.

### **From Voice to Action**

In August 2011 we organized a series of public meetings to showcase the film and use it to spur community dialog and action. Over 130 people attended these public meetings. To ensure that all participants had a chance to fully participate, the presentations were followed immediately by facilitated small-group discussion. The small groups were formed by

a random numbering system and participants were invited to respond to the presentation and articulate their own recommendations—orally and in writing—for how the community should move forward in addressing the opportunities and issues raised.

We aggregated the recommendations from the three meetings and ranked them according to the number of small groups that had independently arrived at each recommendation. The ranked recommendations were presented at a subsequent public meeting the following month, at which participants were invited to identify the most important recommendations to pursue. Four action areas were identified:

1. developing a farm-to-fork infrastructure that supported the food chain from production to consumption;
2. supporting small farmers;
3. engaging consumers; and
4. engaging youth.

The group then divided into four “action teams,” one for each topic. These teams, which were diverse, identified both short-term projects and long-term goals for addressing their respective topics. With this step, the work changed from gathering and re-presenting community voices to supporting and assisting the action teams.

The action team format itself, however, did not prove sustainable over time. Many participants' interest in the identified topics was diffuse, not direct, and so action team attendance dwindled after a few months. In an effort to maintain broad public involvement, we invited all project participants to a Local Supper Series, monthly dinner discussions/presentations that often featured outside speakers addressing issues of local food production. These meetings continued through June 2012, but then ceased when the non-profit hosting the dinners had to re-allocate its energies elsewhere. Still, despite the challenges to maintaining interest from the general public, we were still able to move forward on a number of short-term projects identified by the action teams. We completed a county-wide survey of farmers to determine needs for agricultural processing, distribution, and marketing support. We organized a

conference for small farmers in the county. And finally, we formed a youth economic-development leadership project. Crucially, we were able to leverage the project and the public participation process to secure multiple grants that continue to fund implementation efforts.

Ultimately, we found that implementing projects aimed at restructuring the food system was more effectively accomplished through the targeted engagement of those individuals with economic and/or occupational stakes in the outcome—for example, farmers and food business owners and, for the youth activities, non-profit leaders and school district personnel. While many, though not all, of these stakeholders chose not to participate long-term in the more open-ended action team meetings, they did participate in targeted action efforts that were clearly in their interests. Through these ongoing collaborative efforts, we are continuing to work with Warren residents on a number of related initiatives, including distribution of affordable, local produce to area corner stores; growing and processing produce for local school districts; regional distribution of Warren area produce; building capacity for the local processing/marketing of pasture-raised meats; and developing youth to be leaders in Warren County's economic development endeavors. In fall 2012, Working Landscapes, a local non-profit partner of ours, completed the installation of a shared-use cold storage facility in a former cotton gin building—a sign to county residents that once

again agricultural infrastructure was being added to, not removed from, the landscape. Warren County has gone from having relatively little interest or identification as a hub of “local food” activity to one that is able to attract support for building and supporting local food efforts.

Throughout these *Growing Local/Buying Local* and subsequent implementation initiatives, our project team has made a conscious effort to sustain the racial and class diversity of participants. This has proven more difficult during the implementation phase. Many Warren residents do not, for reasons of habit if nothing else, see dividends to be gained by collaborating across racial and class lines.

Still despite this challenge, we have witnessed an unprecedented level of cross-racial collaboration on agricultural initiatives. In a county with a population as small as Warren's, racial antagonisms had fragmented an already small population into untenably minuscule constituencies; only by overcoming these historic divides could county residents achieve the collective capacity needed to bring about systemic change. In our case, we have been able to bring stakeholders together across racial lines by presenting projects as being about agriculture, not about race or other social divisions per se. Indeed, some white participants have bridled at any suggestion that racial divisions are an issue in the county, suggesting that more direct discussions of race could have led them to abandon

the process. While directly confronting ongoing social divisions is arguably needed in Warren County, indirectly challenging those divisions by emphasizing shared goals has enabled unprecedented collaboration.

Thus far, the *Growing Local/Buying Local* initiative appears to have helped legitimize the premise that the revitalization of Warren County's agricultural economy is conceivable and maybe even achievable, thus creating an alternative to the negative characterization of the county that residents sometimes entertain. The project has also made headway in enabling a diverse cross-section of Warren County's population to recognize that they can work together for a common good. The project did not advance these narratives of possibility primarily by introducing new ideas into local discourse; rather, we used participatory research and engagement to document diffuse ideas that already existed locally, and then re-present them in ways that made them available in a clear form as a basis for action. **P<sup>2</sup>**

### Errata

The authors of the article *Revisiting Equity: The HUD Sustainable Communities Initiative* that appeared in the Winter 2013 issue were misidentified. Their photos should have been:



**Lisa K. Bates** is an assistant professor at Portland State University.

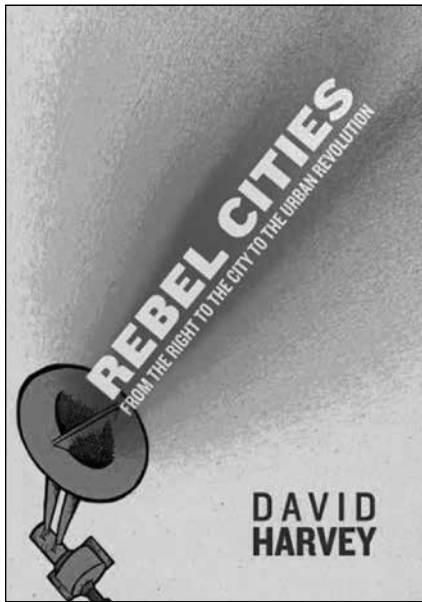


**Marisa Zapata** is an assistant professor at the University of Cincinnati.

# Rebel Cities

## *From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*

Book Review by Eeva Berglund



**Rebel Cities**  
**From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution**

David Harvey

2012, Verso, 206 pp,  
hardcover, paperback, kindle



**Eeva Berglund** is an  
independent scholar in  
Helsinki, Finland.

**A**N ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHER who is sometimes described as an anthropologist, David Harvey is one of the most cited critical urban scholars today. In *Rebel Cities* he paints a grim picture of our times and our cities. Harvey takes his cue on the one hand from the urban rebels who are saying “no” to neoliberalism, and on the other from the typically depressing urban environments that capitalism so frenetically produces. The book is perhaps best considered a call to arms: “the left” must develop a real alternative to the devastation and moral turpitude of capitalist normality.

The book combines two insights: first, it is in the city that capitalism is at its most intense, and secondly it is in the city where capitalism is most contested. *Rebel Cities* shows how the economics of neoliberalism have been indelibly etched into the urban fabric. Everywhere, not only in the long-polarized developing world, cycles of boom and bust have produced not just new millionaires and new paupers, but an anti-social cocktail of Disneyfied authenticity, fortified fragmentation and ceaseless surveillance. The book also lays bare the costs of society’s

fixation with private property—most tragically in the desire to own one’s home—and shows how this has crowded out other forms of politics.

This is not to say, of course, that the process is linear or evenly distributed, as Harvey has been at pains to demonstrate throughout his career. It is the “rebel” perspective that Harvey develops, but it is clear that the mainstream can no longer pretend that all is well. Post-2011 with its Arab Spring, Tel Aviv summer, London riots and global Occupy camps, we know that simmering discontent can and will crystallize into action. Despite the repressive efforts of capital-friendly states and municipal guardians of law and order (in the service of the propertied classes) autonomous actions have continued to flourish. They arise both in response to immediate needs—as in campaigns against entrenched homelessness or in the aftermath of hurricane Sandy—and in the guise of more or less utopian experiments that harken back to the counter-cultures of previous generations.

Harvey’s Marxist background provides ample tools for connecting the street level experience of urban space to the dynamics of capitalist

expansion. The book scans the horizon for the real costs—environmental and human—of what convention still dubs “development.” Its important contribution is in linking these to macroeconomic “disruptions,” the absurdities of bankers’ bonuses, freshly produced homelessness and the full scope of the speculative transformations unfolding in urban built environments. The cities we fight for turn out not to be under accidental or random assault. Rather, the relentless competition between cities and the equally relentless rearrangements of the built environment are part of the same problem: capitalism.

The book takes a global view, arguing that capital’s drive to extract surplus operates against any common social goals. Capital appropriates not just physical production but the creation of cultural value. Everything comes under assault, but above all the environment and the people of the city, the laborers who, in body (labor) and spirit (culture), actually already produced and continue to produce that environment. Perhaps that is why there is something very understandable in the recent interest in campaigns that claim a “right to the city.” The slogan, which was launched by Henri Lefebvre in the social upheavals of the late 1960s and which has been given recent exposure by Harvey’s own work, has almost become institutionalized. The Right to the City Alliance came into being in 2007, and continues to provide a shared language and a platform for a plethora of urban-based justice campaigns within the USA, and inspiration and resources for activists beyond. In Brazil a right to the city was incor-

porated into law in 2001. Despite the revolutionary tone of the slogan, however, it is not clear that struggles for urban rights really do challenge prevailing and essentially bourgeois concepts of rights, ones based on individualist and property-based notions of legality. And it is not clear whether the slogan’s apparent popularity is an academic illusion.

Harvey does not elaborate much on urban movements, but he is probably on the right track in that many of them are struggling against privatization at a local level. Claiming the right to the city is often about wanting safe public spaces, wanting affordable housing, and demanding more say in the definition of what the city could be. It is necessary but it is reformist and does not strike at the real problem, just like a worker collective that ends up behaving like a capitalist firm is not exactly threatening the operations of the market, as he points out. There are many interesting points about urban struggles here. Though they are presented as central to the book, it is not quite clear how they connect to Harvey’s argument about capital and its urban character.

Typically in Harvey’s writing, much of the argument is rather abstract and assumes prior engagement with the histories of urban struggle. What is new and interesting is that a deepening respect for the generative powers of culture is evident throughout the book. Towards the end of *Rebel Cities*, empirical detail is put to work explicitly to support a more general argument for attending to cultural specifics. The example he offers is of El Alto in Bolivia, invoked to show that a city

can be reclaimed in anti-capitalist struggle. Harvey relies almost exclusively on the work of two anthropologists, Leslie Gill and, especially, Sian Lazar, who separately describe and analyze the mix of indigenous and class politics that brought El Alto to international attention as a “rebel city” that successfully resisted neoliberal reforms in 2003. When subsequently Evo Morales was elected as president of Bolivia, many saw it as a sign of a totally new momentum to progressive left-wing politics. Harvey admits that since then Bolivia has been drawn into a kind of reconstituted neoliberalism, but he still sees in these accounts of El Alto important lessons for anti-capitalist struggle. The local ties of solidarity so carefully described by Lazar offer Harvey a tantalizing glimpse of how the abstract need for an alternative to global capitalism fuses with local forces to produce real change and genuine hope.

There is a suggestion in the book that as more and more struggles come out into the open surely this should be telling us that the conditions are ripe for a break with capitalism. Harvey seems to be saying that while the activists are doing their bit the intellectuals are fainthearted. For instance, he does not see that the noticeable and productive interest in the politics of the commons and the active pursuit of commoning is particularly well served by current academic debate. Of course Harvey’s primary targets are the architects of the new normal who insist on imposing austerity on the poor to save “the markets.” But even the Marxists whose theories are supposed to be based on “historical materialism,”



and the theorists of the commons for whom culture as well as materiality are already incorporated into economic analysis, fall short of the kind of radicalism he is seeking.

As a book, *Rebel Cities* could be more robust and more thoughtfully edited. Each chapter is very different, as might be expected of a book put together from previously published articles. Still, in readable prose and with some impressive analysis, Harvey persuades that it is time to dislodge the dysfunctional and immoral Party of Wall Street and replace its intellectually incoherent model of “normal” with something else. He manages to weave together a compelling story about a global system, incoherent, crisis-ridden and raggedy as it is, whose impacts on social reproduction and the environment—built and unbuilt—

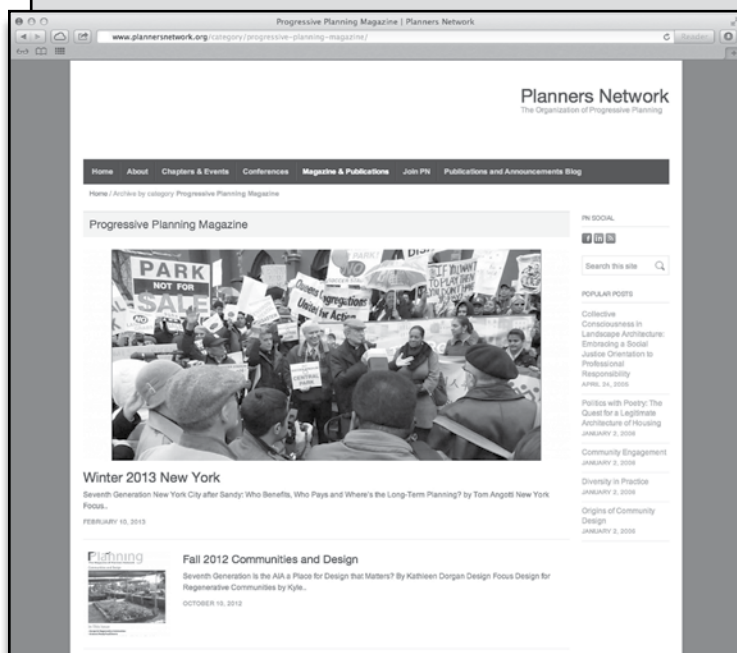
are of the same destructive kind everywhere. The book left me unsure of how, exactly, the history of urban struggles is linked to the urban character of capitalism, but I am persuaded that the terrain is worth more exploration. And in reading *Rebel Cities* I did often visualize the imagination-defying architectural gigantism of Shanghai and New York, felt the eeriness of China’s new ghost towns and conjured up some sense of life in a slum, based (unsurprisingly) on a few fleeting drive-by encounters. Harvey’s account also resonated with the less spectacular but no less distressing “developments” that continue to make over many medium-sized (perhaps even dull) cities to suit “the new normal.” At least in the cities I know best, London and Helsinki, the relentless drive to commodify is precisely the evil that most thwarts human-scale

and locally meaningful urban life.

Although the book has its shortcomings, in Harvey’s hands the idea of “the city” as the locus of capitalism’s most voracious, even feral, powers makes sense. So does his claim that urban struggles are a force of history worth taking seriously. Although the whole remains uneven and maybe underdeveloped, along the way there are many reassuringly quotable lines and insights to ponder. For instance Harvey notes that like Henri Lefebvre before him, “the revolution in our times has to be urban—or nothing” (p. 25). The meaning of this may be opaque and may even turn out to be shallow, but thinking about it might lead to more ambitious debate about why our cities are in such a mess. **P<sup>2</sup>**

## Planners Network on the Web

Currently available at [www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org):



The latest e-Newsletter

Downloadable student Disorientation Guide

The latest Individual Membership Directory

Local PN Chapter details

Information on Young Planners Network

Over 200 articles from *Planners Network Magazine* and *Progressive Planning* from 1997 to the present

PDFs available of all issues 2001 – 2011

PDFs of current year issues (PN members only)

13 Case Studies and Working Papers

Planners Network issue statements

Planners Network History

# Join Planners Network

*an important voice for  
progressive planning, social equity,  
and environmental justice*

## Back Issues

Back issues of *Progressive Planning* are available (in print).  
Visit our web site for a full description of the issues and details of how to order.

\$10 – Single issue  
\$8 – Each for more than one

Order at  
[www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org)

Or send a check to:  
Planners Network  
106 West Sibley Hall  
Cornell University  
Ithaca, NY 14853, USA

## Join the Conversation, Join the PN LISTSERV

You'll find new ideas, debates, and news of jobs and events on our lively Listserv. ***Be part of it.***

Free to members and non-members.

To join send an email to [majordomo@list.pratt.edu](mailto:majordomo@list.pratt.edu) with "subscribe pn-net" (without the quotes) in the body of the message (not the subject line).

You'll be sent instructions on how to use the list.

## How to Advertise

Reach progressive planners around the world by placing your ad in *Progressive Planning*.

***Reasonable rates, big impact.***

For rates, closing dates, sizes and other details check [www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org)

## The Progressive Planning Reader



**The indispensable selection of 47 articles from *Progressive Planning* about:**

Politics and Planning • Urban Design • Planning Education  
Race, Gender and Diversity • Community Planning • Sustainability, Environment and Health  
Globalization and International Issues • Transportation and Information • Regional Planning

### Articles by:

Tom Angotti, Gail Dubrow, Ann Forsyth, Ted Jojola, Marie Kennedy, Norman Krumholz, Peter Marcuse, Michael Pyatok, Barbara Rahder, Ken Reardon, Janet Smith, Leonardo Vazquez . . . and many more.

Number of copies	Price (in US dollars)
Fewer than 5 copies	\$12 per copy, postage paid
5 - 15 copies	\$8 per copy, postage paid
15+ copies	\$4 per copy, postage paid
Box of 30 copies	\$100/box (includes postage and handling)

**Table of Contents and order information at [www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org).**

**Or by check to: Planners Network, 106 West Sibley Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, USA**

# Join the *Progressive Planners Network* and Receive all these Valuable Benefits!

- 4 Quarterly Issues of **Progressive Planning Magazine**
- The monthly **Members Only e-newsletter** — filled with job openings, events and conference calendar, member updates, online resources, and more
- **Full and Free Access** to over 10 years of online PN archives
- **News** about PN events
- **Discount** for the annual PN Conference

USA		Canada	
\$25	Students, community activists, and income under \$25,000	\$25	Students, community activists, those unemployed, and low income
\$35	Income between \$25,000 and \$50,000	\$35	Income between \$25,000 and \$50,000
\$50	Income over \$50,000	\$50	Income over \$50,000, organizations and libraries
\$100	Sustaining Members	\$100	Sustaining Members
\$200	Super-Sustainers	\$200	Super-Sustainers
\$1,000	Lifetime Members	\$1,000	Lifetime Members
\$50/yr	Organizations and libraries		

International Members: Please send US funds only.

## Your Information

NAME

TITLE

FIRM/INSTITUTION

ADDRESS 1

ADDRESS 2

CITY

STATE/PROVINCE

ZIP/POSTAL CODE

COUNTRY

EMAIL (FOR QUERIES)

☐ Current Member ☐ Renewing Member

## Payment

☐ **PayPal** at [www.plannersnetwork.org](http://www.plannersnetwork.org)

*This is simple, saves us money, and you don't have to send in this form! Note what you are buying in the "payment for" box.*

☐ **Check** Enclosed payable to Planners Network

**Mail** completed form to: Planners Network, 106 West Sibley Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY 14853, USA

**Fax** order to: 607-255-1971

## PLANNERS NETWORK

106 West Sibley Hall  
Cornell University  
Ithaca, NY 14853, USA

Address Service Requested

Non-Profit  
Organization  
U.S. Postage  
**PAID**  
New Haven, CT  
PERMIT NO. 541



Photo: Joan Wesley & Daphne Foster

Keyboard display in ETHIC Museum highlighting Glendora as a regional pioneer in broadband communications

## *In This Issue—*

- **Progressive Planning in the South**
- **Race, Housing, Community Planning**
- **Review of David Harvey's *Rebel Cities***
  - *Chattanooga and Memphis, Tennessee*
  - *St. Helena Island, South Carolina*
  - *Glendora, Mississippi*
  - *High Point, Durham, Warren County, North Carolina*
  - *Atlanta, Georgia*
  - *Birmingham, Alabama*

## *Time to Renew?*

Please check the date on your mailing label and if it is past, this will be your last issue unless we receive your annual dues **RIGHT AWAY!** See inside back cover for minimum dues amounts. And while you're at it send us an **UPDATE** on what you're doing.

**MOVING?** Please send us your new address.